

DIDACTIC UNIT 4

# **Historical Memory Nowadays:**

---

## **The New Language of Totalitarian Movements in Europe**

IES Tirant Lo Blanc, Elche, Spain

2014-2017

## Table of contents

INTRODUCTION .....	2
RATIONALE .....	6
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .....	8
International context.....	8
Spanish Civil War: internationalisation of the conflict. (1936-1939) .....	9
Franco’s dictatorship during World War II. (1939-1945) .....	10
National context.....	12
Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, Second Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War. (1923-1939) .....	12
Francoism. (1939-1975) .....	17
Historical memory .....	25
ACTIVITIES .....	28
Activities from a historical perspective. ....	28
Activities from an ethical-moral perspective. ....	33
Activities from a political perspective. ....	36
REFERENCES .....	42
Glossary of terms.....	42
Bibliography and other resources .....	43
AUTHORS.....	45

# **INTRODUCTION**

---

## **Title**

Historical Memory Nowadays: The New Language of Totalitarian Movements in Europe.

## **Age**

This unit can be addressed to 15-16 year-olds in the activities from a historical perspective and from an ethical-moral perspective; and to 16-17 year-olds in the activities from a political perspective.

In Spain, the Spanish Civil war and the Second Republic are usually taught to students of this age, but we consider that in a different country (with maybe a more shallow treatment of a foreign war), the age of the students addressed could be up to 18.

## **Duration**

5 sessions (50 mins. each)

## **Sources**

In this section, we present the materials (printable documents, audio-visual materials, Internet links, pictures, etc.) that will be used during the didactic unit. The audio-visual materials can be found in the USB unit.

- Prezi presentation with a summary of the historical background for the teacher's explanations.

- **Activities from a historical perspective:**

Picture 1: [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arco\\_de\\_la\\_Victoria](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arco_de_la_Victoria)

Picture 2: <http://melilladesconocida.blogspot.com.es/2011/05/monumento-los-heroes-de-espana.html>

Picture 3: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2013/06/18/alicante/1371576910.html>

Picture 4: [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valle\\_de\\_los\\_Caidos](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valle_de_los_Caidos)

Picture 5: <http://www.akal.com/libros/Historia-de-la-literatura-fascista-espaNola-2-vols-/9788446029540>

- **Activities from an ethical-moral perspective:**

Diagram 1 and Diagram 2 can be found in the USB unit.

Picture 6: <https://baxtalo.wordpress.com/2012/04/04/racismo-antiromani-el-caso-de-la-republica-checa/>

Picture 7: <http://laintoleranciavalentina.blogspot.com.es/2014/10/la-homofobia-y-el-racismo.html>

Picture 8:

[http://deportes.elpais.com/deportes/2014/10/21/actualidad/1413910089\\_256896.html](http://deportes.elpais.com/deportes/2014/10/21/actualidad/1413910089_256896.html)

Picture 9: <https://historiadoreshistericos.wordpress.com/2011/05/16/violencia-de-genero/>

Picture 10: <http://mediolleno.com.sv/politica/alto-a-la-discriminacion>

- **Activities from a political perspective. Stage 1.**

Link to a webpage of the United Nations with useful information for the students:

<http://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/index.html>

**Document1.pdf:** United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, Pablo de Greiff.

**Document4.pdf:** 17 frequently asked questions about Special Rapporteurs of the United Nations.

**Reports:** <http://research.un.org/en/docs/reports>

<http://research.un.org/c.php?g=98281&p=636258>

<http://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/index.html>

**STAGE1-worksheet1.pdf:** a set of activities to work Document1.pdf

- **Activities from a political perspective. Stage 2.**

Stage2-group1.pdf

Stage2-group2.pdf

[http://mapadefosas.mjusticia.es/exovi\\_externo/CargarInformacion.htm](http://mapadefosas.mjusticia.es/exovi_externo/CargarInformacion.htm)

**2-casado regional congress.mp4:** Video clip 2 from “El Intermedio” Spanish television programme.

Stage2-group3.pdf

Stage2-group4.pdf

▪ **Activities from a legal perspective: Attitude of the Spanish Government. Stage 4.**

**Document3.pdf:** Remarks of the Spanish government about the Report of the Special Rapporteur.

**1-rajoy interview.mp4:** Video clip 1 from “El Intermedio” Spanish television programme.

## Aims

1. To reflect on the fact that Francoism is still present nowadays through its memorials and other public (or private) places that citizens do not seem to worry about.
2. To become aware of the relationship between some of the nationalist movements appearing all over Europe these days and the increasing level of all forms of intolerance also present in our European Union.
3. To understand that intolerance is present in the students’ world too. It is not only an abstract concept unrelated to them, but a social and global issue they are also responsible of.
4. To make the students socially reflect on the fact that the Spanish Civil War and Francoism, are unfinished chapters within the recent history of Spain; and to face this situation as a current event nowadays that not all political parties are willing to deal with.
5. To become aware of the consequences of the repression of Francoism upon the defeated and how the present-day political parties deal with this issue in an indolent way.
6. To raise awareness and foster students’ critical thinking by analysing legal documents used by international authorities as a way to understand the real facts and how they should be dealt with.

## Methodology

The methodology to be used in this didactic unit is mainly active and contextualised. A methodology which tries to foster participation and the involvement of students in the learning

process, as well as their assimilation of the historical events and their reflection on those events taking place these days and which are closely related to past events.

That is why most of the activities presented here will be worked mainly in small groups, since we think that students are more likely to express their ideas and reflections when they work in small groups.

The structure and sequencing of this didactic unit is conditioned by the methodology we want to follow and foster:

1. The **Historical Background** is for the teacher to prepare the didactic unit.
2. The teacher can use the **Historical Background** and the **Prezi presentation** to introduce the contents to the students.
3. Once the students have been presented with the information, the teacher divides the class in five groups to prepare a PowerPoint presentation and explain their section to the rest of the class.

We include an example of one of the presentations prepared by the Spanish students after they were introduced with the historical information.

4. Students and teacher work on the activities proposed. As in our previous units, we have divided them into three categories: activities from a historical perspective, from an ethical-moral perspective and from a political perspective.

### Other aspects

- **Classroom arrangements.** Depending on the activities, students will be sitting in pairs and in small groups. Thus, a classroom with a flexible arrangement of chairs and desks is more advisable.
- **Groups.** Students will work individually, in pairs and in small groups.
- **Equipment.** A computer, speakers and a projector are needed for the Prezi presentation of the didactic unit, for the PowerPoint presentation of the biography and for the video clips used in Activity 2.

# RATIONALE

---

The German writer Kurt Tucholsky, one of the first who warned against the danger of the rising radicalism in Germany in the early 1930s, talked about the responsibility of society before its governors: *“a country is not only what it does, but what it tolerates”*.

This is the starting point for this didactic unit, becoming aware of the social responsibility in democracies, where each one of us is responsible before ourselves and before the others, both of our particular or public actions and our silences and omissions. The defence of democracy is an attitude and thus it requires activity and action. In other words, democracy can only be achieved step by step, but it can be lost simply by passivity or inaction. Not defending the democratic values is a way of losing that democracy.

Historical memory plays in this case a keystone role as a democratic support, since we are a social and historical construction. One of the misfortunes that a society may suffer is, as a matter of fact, forgetting its memory and, therefore, repeating its history, as the saying goes: *“Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it”*. And this is what is happening in Europe today with the discourse of the extreme-right political parties. In many cases, they falsify history, in some others, they omit it or simply ignore it, but always with the clear intention of demagogically manipulating and imposing certain ideological views of the reality we live in. A society which does not know its history or its rights is defenceless and so, will not demand what ignores and it is a right achieved with great effort by preceding generations. We must not hope, for instance, our youngsters to fight for education if we have not transmitted to them that it is a right, no a service or a privilege. We must not intend that these same youngsters appreciate education if they are unaware of the fact that it is defrayed by society with the money and effort of all of us and, thus, it implies a responsibility on their side that we should be able to transmit.

In Spain, the Law 52/2007 of December, which recognises and widens the rights and establishes some measures in favour of those who suffered persecution or violence during the Civil War and the dictatorship, popularly known as Law of Historical Memory, caused for the first time a great controversy in the Spanish society about the historical memory, whether Spain should remember or forget the events which happened during the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent forty years of dictatorship.

However, the subject is not as petty as it may seem, since remembering is not a simple cognitive activity, but it refers to a way of giving their due to all those who arbitrarily suffered,

## Historical Memory Nowadays:

The New Language of Totalitarian Movements in Europe

IES Tirant Lo Blanc, Elche, Spain

---

out of court in many cases, or under an abusive interpretation of the law, the violence during the Spanish Civil War and after the subsequent forty years of dictatorship. Obviously, as the Law has been already analysed in previous didactic units, the fact of remembering implies action, it also implies the recognition of their rights, as well as the public and social acceptance of the fact the defeated in the war became the subject of a great injustice which had nothing to do with the fact of losing a war, but it was a clear abuse and violation of the Human Rights. Likewise, the law also implies the right of the relatives to get the mortal remains of the victims. It has been a long time since the end of the Spanish Civil War on 1 April 1939, in addition to the forty years of a dictatorship in which the winner shaped and constructed a society on the basis of disdain, repression and the oblivion of the opposing side, either dead or alive. Once dictatorship was over, after Francisco Franco's death on 20 November 1975, Spain starts its way to the transition towards democracy, not exempt of great stress. However, it was not until 2007 when there was a true intention to do justice with the law of historical memory and to face what had happened. However, that law was virtually broken up after being devoid of a budget line when Mariano Rajoy of the Partido Popular won the elections in 2011.

Over the years, there are fewer witnesses of that war and of Francoism, as well as people searching for their missing relatives and who still remember the day they saw them for the last time. Therefore, memories faint progressively but they leave a bleeding wound which passes from generation to generation. This transmission is based not only on the formal fact itself, which the generations to come will ignore in many cases, but also on the emotional part, that is to say, the feeling of injustice suffered. That is why it is so important to heal wounds, to face what happened and to draw out a lesson that makes us stronger as a society.

Through the following materials, we present a tour around several documents which can help us get an impression of the present-day attitude of our political representatives as well as the different stances before the Historical Memory.

We also present a set of activities from several supporting materials that you can use for reflection and which start a discussion on the concepts worked.

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

---

### **International context**

**Before 1914**, democracy, respect for the law and defence of civil rights were scarce assets. They were present in countries such as France or Great Britain but absent in most parts of Europe. Moreover, in Russia, Italy, Germany or Spain, the Parliament was considered as an instrument of political management at the service of the ruling classes. This was due to corruption, restricted suffrage and the Kings' intervention.

**After 1914**, the fall of autocrat empires led to a new stage of parliamentary democracies and liberal and republican constitutions. However, in spite of that apparent victory of democracy, those governments were not able to solve the political, social and economic problems of the inter-war Europe. There were difficulties in the creation of new States in central and Eastern Europe, based on the principles of nationality, but with the inherited problem of national minorities inside and outside their borders. There were difficulties because of the national, linguistic, religious, ethnic or class division which led to a system with lots of political parties but weak. There were difficulties because of the economic crisis of the 1930s, which caused an increase of unemployment, a resurgence of conflict and a threat of revolution after the Communist regime settlement in Russia, the Communist revolutions break out in Hungary and Bavaria and a wave of strikes and workers' demands between 1919 and 1920. That environment frightened the middle class and contributed to the generation of a counter-revolutionary spirit.

In the background of the economic crisis and the social upheaval, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Scandinavia, all of them countries with a strong Parliamentary tradition, managed to consolidate Parliamentary democracy by the integration of the growing socialism into the system (by means of big political alliances) and the isolation of the radical political parties.

In Central, West, Balkan and Mediterranean Europe, where the liberal-parliamentary system had little tradition and liberal or conservative parties were helpless against the economic crisis and the social upheaval, authoritarian regimes were established. Basing on the need to stop revolution, they defended heated and aggressive nationalism, totalitarianism and the single party: Italy with Mussolini in 1922, Spain with General Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in 1923, Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and Franco's military uprising in 1933. That way, by 1940, over

half of the European political systems (such as France, Holland or Belgium's) were authoritarian or had decommissioned democracies after being invaded by the German army.

### **Spanish Civil War: internationalisation of the conflict. (1936-1939)**

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War had great international impact due to the tense situation Europe was living, mainly owing to the expansionist policies of Italian Fascism and German Nazism. In the foreign political arena, Spanish Civil War became one more link in the chain of crisis which led to the outbreak of World War II, as well as the battle field of Fascism, Communism and Democracy.

Within the conflict of those three ideologies, and the intention of not worsening such tense situation, the USA pursued a policy of isolationism, whereas England and France pursued a policy of appeasement before Germany. This country was already back on track after its rearmament policy in 1932-33, but it also accepted the annexation of the Saar in 1935, as well as the remilitarisation of Rhineland in March 1936.

That way, when the Spanish government of the Republic asked for support to France on 19 July 1936, England notified France that if they took actions in Spain, England would not support the French foreign policy in facing up the German threat, as the important thing was to avoid the spread of the Civil War all over Europe. Thus, France, seeing Hitler and Mussolini's support to Franco on 25 July 1936, moved from supporting the Republic to leading the non-intervention agreement between France and England. 27 more countries, among which we find Germany, Italy, Portugal and the USSR, signed that agreement.

Despite this agreement, Spanish Civil War was marked by a foreign intervention and non-intervention. The Nationalist faction received the support of Italy and Germany, which allowed the relocation of the army from Africa to the peninsula on 24 July 1936. This support was almost unconditional until the end of the war, since if the military coup succeeded in Spain, a pro-French regime would be substituted by an opposite regime, whereas if a left-wing revolution succeeded a possible France-Spain front of Popular Front, together with the USSR, would threaten the development of the German foreign policy.

Salazar's Estado novo was also at the Nationalist Front's disposal from the very beginning, providing them with far-reaching logistical support and bringing the whole weight of its diplomacy to foster the victory of the rebels.

In December 1936, the Holy See made regular contacts with Burgos, in 1938 they interchanged ambassadors and the international Catholic influence took Franco's side. Moreover, Germany and Italy provided Franco with credit and made several compensations in the form of commercial-economic mechanisms.

In the Republican Faction, the Soviet support was a major contribution in the defence of Madrid in November 1936, but unlike the supplies of the Axis, the Soviet supplies had several problems: the piracy of Italian submarines, the marine control of Spanish shores imposed by Franco and the more or less strict Pyrenees border controls on war materials transport. The direct Soviet intervention coincided with the beginning of the International Brigades, set up thanks to the collaboration of European communist organisations with 60,000 volunteers of over 60 nationalities. From the very first moment, the Mexican government tried to help the Republicans and understood the war as one more example of external aggression to weaker countries. Regarding the initial little French supplies and the first purchase of weapons abroad, bypassing the non-intervention agreement, they were financed thanks to the sale of a quarter of the Spanish Gold reserve to the Bank of France, as well as to the Soviet support.

By the end of 1938, Franco had consolidated his situation and the only option for the Republic was to resist, hoping that it would not take long for other democracies to respond. However, the appeasement policy and the non-intervention agreement continued even when Hitler strengthened his actions in 1938, after the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland. This situation was confirmed after the Agreement between British and Italians, which meant that both parts would respect the Status Quo of the Mediterranean. Just the Nazi coup in Prague on 15 March 1939 eventually triggered the diplomatic revolution that the Republicans had been waiting for nearly three years, although it was too late.

### **Franco's dictatorship during World War II. (1939-1945)**

With the Republic defeated in April 1939, an international situation quite favourable to fascism contributed to the consolidation of the violent counter-revolution which had already started with the support of this same fascism. Meanwhile, Spanish attitude towards war wavered between ambiguous neutrality and not belligerency, as the country was a debtor with Germany and Italy.

At the beginning of World War II (September 1939) Franco announced the country's neutrality "forced" by the domestic political situation and the economic crisis. In any case, that neutrality

implied the French and British acceptance of the Spanish territorial integrity if the war spread, and so, some agreements were signed with France and Portugal.

In the summer of 1940 Franco saw the weakness of France and England and moved from neutrality to not belligerency in a Germanophilic atmosphere which encouraged the entry into the war. For Germany and Italy it was all about Spain's geostrategic situation, both Atlantic and Mediterranean, and so they explored the possibility of Spain's entry in the conflict since the summer of 1940 through a series of interviews and bilateral meetings, such as the one in Hendaye between Franco and Hitler in 1940 or the one between Franco and Mussolini in Bordighera in 1941. Franco accepted a war pact as long as Hitler accepted several territorial claims in Gibraltar, the French Morocco, Oran, some Saharan lands and the Guinea Gulf, as well as the shipment of military supplies and provisions. Thus, a secret pact was signed, in which Spain was committed to support the Three-Power Pact (Germany, Italy and Japan) and to go to war against Great Britain on a date to be specified by the Spanish government. On the other hand, Great Britain tried to soften Spain's image as a supporter of Fascist countries and to keep Spain's neutrality through the economic agreement of April 1941, which guaranteed food and raw materials supply.

From the spring of 1941, the upward trend of the Allies made Franco move back to neutrality. The German invasion of the USSR in June 1941 triggered a more pragmatic alliance with the Axis but Franco's caution advised an indirect confrontation with the Communist regime through the "Blue Division", consisting of Falangist volunteers from October 1941 to November 1943. In December 1941, the USA entry into the war and the country's condemnation, together with Great Britain, of the intervention in the Russian front implied a modification of the pro-Nazi momentum of the Spanish government in 1942 as well as a pro-West turn of the Regime.

In October 1943, the war started to be unfavourable to the Fascist powers, and so the British and American governments required Spain the retreat of the Blue Division and the explicit abandonment of the non-belligerency attitude. So Franco eventually defined Spain's position as "alert neutrality" in October 1943. Facing the Allies' threat to block oil supplies and to cut off wheat and rubber supplies unless wolfram exports to Germany were cancelled, Franco accepted the Blue Division retreat (November 1943), the cancellation of the mineral exports (1944), the dispatch of the Italian warships which were still in some Spanish ports, the dismissal of the Axis agents operating in Spain and the removal of the German consulate in Tangier.

After the German defeat in 1945, and the subsequent reorganisation of the world, the Allies started an international boycott of Franco's government, which kept diplomatic relations with the nuncio, Portugal and Switzerland. Francoism left behind the most clearly fascist aspects of the regime and presented itself as a Catholic, conservative and anti-communist regime, bastion of the western civilization against the communist enemy.

### National context

#### Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, Second Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War. (1923-1939)

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Spain was living a great political upheaval due to the crisis of 1898, which forced the turning parties, monarchical, liberal or conservative, to adopt a reformist policy that even so did not manage to modernise the political life of the country.

Despite all this, the Spanish society started an important economic development and a social modernisation featured by the higher classes, the intellectuals and the appearance of the mass print media. The impact of World War I increased the political and social problems: political unrest, social tensions and military issues in Morocco, which were an excuse for an authoritarian solution in September 1923, the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.

Dictatorship, which lasted for seven years, established two ways of government: the Military Directory (1923-1925) and the Civil Directory (1925-1930). The first one, on an interim and reformist basis, had a strong populist part supported by King Alfonso XIII to avoid monarchic and military responsibilities in the Disaster of Annual. Dictatorship influenced by the rise of Fascism all over Europe was presented as a way of political regeneration, but without a clear ideological programme and with a single party, Unión Patriota (Patriotic Union), able to bring together authority, military defence and Catholic orthodoxy.

During the Civil Directory, Primo de Rivera tried to make his regime official by means of a plebiscite which put to the vote his domestic and foreign policies. He carried out a nationalist policy of government dirigisme, the promotion of public works, the granting of specific monopolies and state interventionism in labour regulations which caused a State debt seven times higher in 1929 than in 1924.

According to some historians, this system did not intend to finish the outdated system of the Restoration, but to avoid the democratisation of the Spanish political system. The dictatorship was unable to find the way towards a constitutional system, and so King Alfonso XIII withdrew

his trust in him in 1930. After a short period of time, known as “the Dictablanda” (a softer dictatorship), the opposition began to get organised. The Republicans, the left-wing pro-Catalan parties and PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party) signed the Pact of San Sebastian, in which they committed to provide an alternative to monarchy, creating a Revolutionary Committee that would later become the temporary government of the future Second Republic.

In 1931, the last government of the Monarchy took the task of calling for local elections on 12 April and they became a plebiscite for or against Monarchy. The republican powers won the elections in most large cities and, before this situation, King Alfonso XIII renounced to the throne and left the country. That new regime was acclaimed by the Spanish society in the hope of creating a new framework for a democratic coexistence, of updating the new State and of carrying out a program of important economic and social reforms.

The Second Republic, which was the first democratic regime in Spain, can be divided in three distinguishing parts:

- The First Biennium (1931-1933)
- The Black Biennium (1933-1936)
- The victory of the Popular Front and the preparation of the military coup (February to July 1936).

**The First Biennium (1931-1933).** After the local elections of 1931, a temporary government had been established by the liberal republican right-wing, the left-wing republicans, the radical republicans, the pro-Catalan and the pro-Galician nationalists. The right-wing monarchists, the Basque nationalists, the communists and the anarchists were outside that coalition.

The new Republic had to face social conflicts, the unrest of industry entrepreneurs, land owners and the Catholic Church hierarchy, as well as the impact of the international crisis of 1929, although to a minor extent, due to the little importance of foreign trade in the Spanish economy.

In the summer of 1931, democratic elections were held, with a government consisting of left-wing republicans and socialists. They introduced a set of military reforms to update the army and to put an end to the top-heaviness in the official positions, which caused some kind of uneasiness among those military officials, especially the Africanists, who had the intention of

ending up with the order established by means of a military coup. The country's social life was secularised in order to avoid the influence of religion and a Constitution was elaborated in order to establish the non-confessional nature of the State, religious freedom, divorce, civil marriage and secularisation of graveyards. That triggered the protest of the Catholic Church against the religious reform.

Another key aspect was the land reform: Spain, a mainly agricultural country, needed to find a solution to the situation of farmers and the poor performance of agriculture. Its main aim was the expropriation of the large estates and the settlement of farmers, which divided the conservative powers of the country and the farmers, who, disappointed by the complete ineffectiveness of the reform, moved towards more revolutionary and violent attitudes.

Other autonomy-oriented reforms were passed, such as the Catalonia case, with regional autonomy and economic, social, educational and cultural competences. The Basque Country and Galicia were preparing their autonomy reform, but it was interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War.

The labour conditions were improved: a 40-hour working week and higher wages. The educational labour was extraordinary: 10,000 schools were built, 7,000 new teaching posts were created and the model of co-educational, secular, compulsory and free school was adopted. We want to highlight the Pedagogical Missions, aimed at the spreading of culture in rural areas, as is the case with García Lorca, who collaborated in theatre performances nationwide.

**The Black Biennium (1933-1936).** All these previous reforms focused the political life, and so, the opposition of entrepreneurs, the Church, the Army and the land owners reorganised the monarchic right-wing and other authoritarian and coup-supporter organisations. On the other hand, workers fostered a wave of social conflicts encouraged by both the increase of unemployment and the harsh field-working conditions.

The country's monarchic powers moved to anti-democratic positions, some intellectual groups armed ideologically the right-wing and presented the Monarchy as the staunch defender against social revolution. Furthermore, there were some coup-oriented political parties and fascist nationalist-socialist small groups (inspired by the Italian fascism which defended direct action, fists and guns) willing to fight left-wing activists.

In 1931, new elections were held and the centre-right parties won. They dismantled all the reformist work of the previous two-year period, which caused the increasing radicalism of

PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) and of UGT (General Workers' Union). Those parties suggested not negotiating an agreement with the middle class and fostered social revolution, whereas the moderate sectors intended to stabilise the Republic and to go in-depth on the reforms introduced in the previous period.

The large amount of strikes and struggles favoured the right-wing move towards fascist positions and the entry of CEDA (Orthodox Catholic and fascist party) activists into the Black Biennium government. Henceforth, the general strikes made the government hastily declare a state of war, especially in Asturias and Catalonia.

Asturian miners fostered a social revolution in 1934, which set the stage for the Spanish civil War. The Spanish Legion had to take action and for ten days every single insurgent was defeated, killed or arrested. Such revolution caused a government crisis, worsened by corruption and misappropriation of funds scandals which forced President Alcalá Zamora to call for elections in February 1936.

### **Victory of the Popular Front and preparation of the military coup (February-July 1936).**

Two opposing groups appeared and the Spanish political life was divided into right-wing and left-wing. The latter grouped together as the Popular Front, which defended amnesty for the victims of the reprisal after the Revolution of October 1934 as well as the streamlining of the reforms already introduced during the First Biennium in 1931.

The victory of the Popular Front was not accepted by the country's reactionaries, who started a conspiracy against the Republic. Azaña was appointed President of the Republic and the new government resumed the reformist process stalled during the Black Biennium.

Some coup-plotters were removed from power and sent to different places (Franco was sent to the Canary Islands and Mola was sent to Navarra). However, some sectors of the right-wing considered the idea of the military coup d'état as the only solution for the stoppage of the democratic reforms. They tried to obtain German and Italian aids and to establish a military dictatorship without making it clear if Spain would become a Republic again or a Monarchy. The military uprising took place in Morocco, on 17 June, and the next day it spread throughout the nation.

The lack of a democratic culture, the political instability, the social conflict and the intransigence of its enemies, led the Republic towards social struggles of which the enemies of democracy took advantage in order to put an end to it.

We can consider the Spanish Civil War as the most important event in Spain during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many European, North American and Spanish historians consider the study of the Civil War from a double perspective: first, as the result of the Spanish social and political dynamics, and the tensions rising in Europe after the appearance of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany; and second, as the hard economic circumstances in the Europe and the USA of the 1930s.

Neither the conspiracy against the Republic, in July 1936, nor the Republican authorities and political parties took into account the possibility of a war. The failed military coup turned into a civil war because both the rebels and the legal republican government were supported by other countries despite the non-intervention Committee.

The uprising started in Melilla, and Mola, the director of such uprising, also rose up in Navarra. From North to South, the most important cities in Andalusia, Castile and Galicia were taken. However, Madrid and Barcelona resisted. The coup failed in the rest of the country and so the civil war broke out.

In the legal Republican area the Popular Militias appeared. As they were not supported by France or England (due to the non-intervention agreement), they asked for the USSR support and so the International Brigades were created.

In the rebel area, Franco was appointed Generalissimo and the war almost turned into a religious crusade. Hitler and Mussolini supported the nationalists with soldiers and weapons. Franco had the intention of winning the war, of getting rid of any dissidents opposing the dictatorial ideals, of re-educating and of “ideologically cleansing” the Spanish nation.

The reprisal of coup-plotters remained all through the war by means of war proclamations and trials without any legal guarantee, like the execution of the poet Federico García Lorca. The documentation referred confirm this reprisal: “...*reprisal must be encouraged to spread fear and to paralyse the opponent.*”

It took time for the Republican government to organise the State security forces and it was unable to avoid that several despicable people committed atrocities against right-wing and religious Spaniards. But the difference lies in the fact that the Republican government did not encourage such offensive practices, it pursued them and brought the operators to justice.

Due to the external support that the rebels had and their military superiority they won the war on 27 March 1939, imposing a dictatorial regime and appointing Franco as the Leader of

Spain. Shortly before, within the Republican Party, they ended up with the Negrín government and a National Defence Council was created. It was directed by Colonel Casado, Besteiro from the Socialist Party and the anarchist Mera. They reported by radio to be in contact with Franco in order to reach an “honourable peace”, where “those who did not have blood on their hands” would have nothing to fear and should rely on “the Leader’s magnanimity”.

However, Franco did not recognize any agreement and this caused a climate of hostility based on the systematic repression and the assassination of all those Spaniards who took part in the defence of the legal order democratically established by the government of the Republic.

This active repression during the long Francoist dictatorship, the silence of the Spanish democratic Transition and the delay of the Spanish governments when passing the Historical Memory Act, requires on the academics’ side the need to clarify what happened to all those people missing, assassinated or buried in over 30,000 mass graves, apart from the 120,000 people assassinated during the Civil War and Franco’s Dictatorship.

The historian Francisco Espinosa claims that *“the historical memory simply represents the recollection of the history of those who lived it first-hand,”* adding: *“Historians know that nearly every single documentation in the files is the memory of the winners, we must carefully pick the memory of the defeated, of the ‘nobodies’, whose voice does not usually appear in the story... We must pick the living memory from the lips of those who suffered it.”*

### **Francoism. (1939-1975)**

During Francoism, especially during its first years, the type of regime established by the Nationalist Faction during the war was consolidated: power gathering, censorship, reprisal, corporatism, etc.

Its intention was to “regenerate Spain”, banishing liberalism and democracy. Thus, its enemies (democrats, separatists, communists) suffered strong repression, as they were executed, sent to prison or exiled. The regime needed endorsement, task in which the Fundamental Laws of the Realm would have a key role. Some of these Fundamental Laws, such as the Law for Political Responsibilities, had been passed even during the war.

Franco Regime was a very long period, covering from the end of the war (1939) until the death of the dictator (1975). During its long existence, dictatorship was kept: although it adapted itself to the varying circumstances, the pillars of the regime stood still until the end, for instance the fierce repression against opponents.

When studying Franco Regime, most historians admit the existence of two stages: the first one, also known as Autarchy, up to 1959, and the second one, known as Developmentalism, characterized by development policies, up to Franco's death. We will base on these categories, as they are the most widespread, as mentioned before. During Francoism, especially during its first years, the type of regime established by the Nationalist Faction during the war was consolidated: power gathering, censorship, reprisal, corporatism, etc.

Its intention was to "regenerate Spain", banishing liberalism and democracy. Thus, its enemies (democrats, separatists, communists) suffered strong repression, as they were executed, sent to prison or exiled. The regime needed endorsement, task in which the Fundamental Laws of the Realm would have a key role. Some of these Fundamental Laws, such as the Law for Political Responsibilities, had been passed even during the war.

Franco Regime was a very long period, covering from the end of the war (1939) until the death of the dictator (1975). During its long existence, dictatorship was kept: although it adapted itself to the varying circumstances, the pillars of the regime stood still until the end, for instance the fierce repression against opponents.

When studying Franco Regime, most historians admit the existence of two stages: the first one, also known as Autarchy, up to 1959, and the second one, known as Developmentalism, characterized by development policies, up to Franco's death. We will base on these categories, as they are the most widespread, as mentioned before.

### *Autarchy period: construction and consolidation of the dictatorship (1939-1959)*

#### **Political organisation of the State.**

It was a dictatorial state of a totalitarian character, highly influenced by Italian and German Fascism, especially in its first years. The political and military power gathered around the person of Franco, who adopted titles such as "Caudillo" de España ("Leader" of Spain) or "Generalísimo de los Ejércitos" ("Generalissimo of the Army"). He was also the National Chief of the "FET de las JONS Party" (Traditionalist Spanish Falange of the National Unionist Offensive Body), the only legal political party after the unification of 1937.

Those considered as enemies of the system were repressed until they were completely silenced. From the power positions, they insisted on the idea of "regenerating" Spain so as to get it away from Liberalism, Democracy, Separatism or Communism. That is why political parties or trade unions were banned and all institutions, laws and organisms of the Second Republic were suppressed, including the Constitution or the Statutes of Autonomy. In this

sense, we can consider Francoism a kind of involution, as from 1812, when the first Constitution was passed, there was a tendency towards a liberal and democratic system.

The structure was supported by the groups which showed affinity during the war, the ones which later made up the “National Movement”. These groups of influence were known as the “families” of the regime: the Church, the army and “la Falange” (the political party). The extent of the influence of such families depended on the evolution of the regime and the international circumstances.

As the Regime was the result of a war, its legalisation became a key task. In order to achieve that image of authenticity, the Fundamental Laws were passed:

- Fundamental Law of work. Highly influenced by the Italian Carta del Lavoro, it ruled the working relationships.
- Fundamental Law of Spaniards. It summarised the rights and duties of Spanish citizens, but with no grant of observance.
- Law of National Referendum. According to it, the chief of the State could submit for enquiry those aspects which he considered relevant.
- Law of succession. It established monarchy as the succession to Franco Regime.
- Law of the Principles of the Movement. It established the basic principles of the system and compelled civil servants to obey them.

As for the power institutions, we highlight: the government, chaired by Franco; the Single Party, also chaired by the dictator (this party was not subject to any type of legalisation, as there were no elections); the Courts, or house of citizen representatives, with a merely advisory character and members chosen from the power; Civil Government and General Captancy, the institutions for territorial organisation, chosen from the power as well; Town Halls and mayors, local chiefs of the Movement chosen by a civil governor. We want to emphasize the dictatorial and centralist character of all these institutions.

We cannot talk about a clear political ideology, but about the ideological control of society, the lack of freedom became evident especially in private life. We were in an extraordinary conservative and puritan society, where the institutions and organisations, controlled by the State, classified people both politically and ideologically. Religious education was basic in the creation of the “National Spirit”. Catholic religion was the only one allowed. It became the basic

ideology of the Regime and of the educational system. The role of women was totally pushed into a domestic field, where they became mothers and wives. This also involved a backward movement in relation to the years of the Second Republic, when women had had a remarkable participation in political life.

### **Opposition: exile, repression and resistance.**

Repression's basic aim was the negation of any type of opposition to the Regime (the enemies of Spain), achieved thanks to the Law for Political Responsibilities (1939), the celebration of military or civil trials or the general practices carried out during the war, such as the night walks. The end of the war did not imply the cessation of such practices, but a really strong repression carried out towards the defeated. This repression was controlled from the power, which allows us to speak about the Institutionalisation of Repression.

The Law for Political Responsibilities was completed with the Law for the Repression of Communism and Freemasonry in 1940. It allowed to exercise legal actions against the accused of defending ideas contrary to religion, homeland and the basic institutions. The directions were established from the power, while the army was in charge of putting them into practice. There was not an independent judiciary branch, which extended the defencelessness of the accused before the Court-martials.

Among the most usual practices, we can talk about working in roads and mines, confiscation of properties, purging of civil servants and professionals, dismissals and, of course, prison, executions and exile. Concentration camps were kept at the beginning of the post-war period, most of them improvised in headquarters, convents and even bull rings (for example, in Alicante). As for the figures, we can talk of about 50,000 people executed during the post-war era and of about 280,000 people under arrest. Many people took up exile, especially to France and Mexico, where they recovered the republican political action, with the celebration of Courts and the election of a government which remained until 1977.

Despite repression, there was a more and more minority opposition in this period, formed by groups of guerrilla fighters (*maquis*) who intended to conquer the peninsula from the Pyrenees. They did not get any international support and eventually gave up their activities. There were also groups of urban and rural guerrilla in several places all over the country.

Political opposition, still in secrecy, got unstructured little by little. It only remained in exile.

### **Economy.**

War caused starvation, poverty and the dismantling of the Spanish economy. The Regime's response was late and inadequate. The main aim was the economic self-sufficiency, or autarchy. Its central concepts were the regulation of international trade (import and export controlled by the government) and the furtherance of national industry.

This autarchic policy, together with the post-war circumstances, caused starvation and poverty until the early 50s. There was a shortage of some products, smuggling and rationing. The international isolation contributed to the lack of food. The purchasing power of Spaniards was very low, which caused a drop in the demand, reduction of production, increase of unemployment and reduction of competitiveness.

The State inspected economy through price control, the furtherance of industry, especially of capital goods, or the creation of monopolistic public enterprises, most of them loss making (*Iberia, Renfe, Endesa, etc.*).

The result was a deep economic stagnation, made evident in the drop of production, consumption and standard of living, as well as a clear economic stagnation in relation to Europe, which was in fact recovering from war, partially thanks to the Marshall Plan aids.

### **International relationships.**

We can see an evolution in the international relationships, related to the European circumstances. In this sense, World War II was the turning point which would determine the alliances of the Regime.

Just as in World War I, Spain did not take part in World War II. However, the attitude was not neutral now, as there was a clear alignment towards the Axis powers. We moved from impartiality to belligerence. Due to the fact that the post-war situation did not allow any bigger participation, Spanish involvement was focused on diplomatic and economic support, as well as on the Blue Division, a body of volunteers who fought along with the German troops in the West front. After interviews with both Hitler in Hendaye and Mussolini in Bordighera, Franco claimed for economic and territorial compensations in the North of Africa.

The Axis defeat caused a change, not only in foreign politics (we come back to impartiality) but also in the Regime's own identity – Fascism lost its relevance, Falangists were set aside from the main power positions and the Regime was shown as Catholic, conservative and highly anti-communist.

Spanish alignment during the war years left the country internationally isolated from 1945 onwards. Spain was not accepted into the UNO, which also recommended its member states the recall of their ambassadors from our country. Spain was also out of the Marshall Plan and the NATO aids.

However, as cold war consolidated and the world's division in blocks becomes a reality, the country's geostrategic situation and Franco's clear anticommunism, made us attractive for the United States. During the 1950s, Franco's Spain was not internationally isolated any longer. In 1950, Spain was admitted into the UNESCO, in 1955 into the UNO, and in 1958 a new Concordat with the Holy See was signed. Also noteworthy on their own were the agreements signed by the US in 1953, in which Spain received economic aids in return for the establishment of American military bases in Spanish territory. The visit of President Eisenhower in 1959 confirmed the end of the isolation.

### *Economic development and social changes: 1959-1975*

It was during this period that great economic growth happened, which caused social changes. However, politics remained virtually as it had been during the first period: a dictatorship, with a complete lack of democracy and freedom; we were still apart from the rest of Europe (we were not part of the EEC); repression kept on being the only response to the demand for freedom and to opposition.

Economic changes let us call this stage "developmentalism".

#### **Economic growth.**

Economy grew to a level never before seen, although more slowly than in other countries in Western Europe. This growth was a consequence of legal measures such as the "Plan for stabilisation" (end of Autarchy, furtherance of industry, external goods receipt and reduction of interventionism) and the "Plans for economic and social development" (four-year plans based on industrial development).

Industry was the wellspring of economic growth. Some foreign companies invested in Spain, such as car multinational corporations, attracted by low salaries and the lack of labour and union rights. The leading sectors involved in the technological progress were iron and steel, automotive, naval, textile, footwear or furniture industry, as well as chemistry. Regarding industrial areas, Biscay and Catalonia not only remained but grew; Madrid, Valencia, Alicante, Ferrol, Vigo or Valladolid became new industrial centres.

Agriculture also updated: there was an important furtherance of irrigation, mechanisation, rural migration, rise of productivity, diversification and regional specialisation. Latifundia and small farmsteads were kept, both scarcely productive, although the policy of lands concentration had good results in some areas.

We can also see a process in which the third sector (services) became more and more important, typical of a developed country. Means of transport, the communications system and foreign and domestic trade improved noticeably. In the services sector, we can highlight the development of tourism, especially sun and sand tourism, which became an important source of income for Spanish economy. There was a massive influx of tourists, mainly European, attracted by the weather, the beaches and cheaper services than in other inshore countries.

The consequences were basically the growth of GDP and of per capita income, the price decrease, the exports increase and employment. This led to greater purchasing power, which also contributed to increase demand and consequently to increase in production. However, we want to point out Spain's external dependency on capital and on technology as a negative point. The new economic activities also caused the economic disequilibrium downtown-suburbs, as, with the exception of Madrid, the most populated and developed areas and the ones with greatest economic activity were placed on the coast.

Developmentalism also fostered the modernisation of society, due to the increase of urban population, to changes in professional structures and to contact with foreign tourists. This modernisation appeared with changes in consumption and cultural habits, characteristic of a modern society: fashion changes, customs, social habits, incorporation of women to workplace, drop of the Church's role in the mindset of population, reduction of illiteracy rate, etc. It is important to explain that all these changes were more obvious in coastal and developed regions, whereas rural areas lagged behind.

### **Politics: persistence of the Regime.**

Economic and social modernisation did not affect, however, the Regime's institutions. We can talk about "ultra-conservatism", as the concentration of powers around Franco remained, as well as the lack of political pluralism, rights or freedom. There were several slight changes:

In 1967, the Organic Law of the State was passed. Franco remained as the head of the State and the figure of vice president appeared (Carrero Blanco). The Law of Religious freedom was also passed this year. It was very restrictive.

In 1969's government there were no more Falange members. The most important group was the Opus Dei Technocrats, although there was disagreement between Falangists and technocrats, for instance the Matesa Case (corruption of some Ministers). In this same year, Juan Carlos of Borbón was appointed as Franco's successor, with the title of Prince of Spain (there was a law of 1947, according to which monarchy was the substitute for the Regime). Franco thought of him as a way to follow his Regime, and so Juan Carlos accepted and swore alliance to the principles of the movement.

### **Opposition.**

In the last years, opposition to the Regime increased. Some crimes were considered as military rebellion and the state of emergency became a frequent resource. Detentions and police brutality also increased.

The Church (II Vatican Council) defended reformist hypothesis. Several catholic associations were used by anti-Franco youngsters (e.g. the so called JOC, Christian Working Youth), whereas other types of organisations were banned. There was an increasing toughening of Christian core communities, of youngsters and of young priests.

There was also a workers' uprising, and a subsequent atmosphere of social conflict hidden during the first decades of Francoism. In the 60s, a new type of unionism appeared. The organisations previous to dictatorship had been muzzled. Just the UGT (General Union of Workers) kept its activity in hiding. CCOO (Workers' Committees) appeared. It was an independent trade union which fostered the labour struggle, through strikes and demonstrations, as well as the political struggle.

In 1970, death penalty was decreed on ETA (Basque Country and Freedom) activists, on the so-called Burgos Trial, which caused numerous social protests and international pressure. So Franco exercised the right to pardon, but kept turning to a systematic repression against opposition.

Regarding political opposition, there was a renovation of leaders in the traditional political parties and new opposing powers appeared, both left-wing and conservative. Political parties were still in hiding, so they acted clandestinely. We can mention PCE (Communist Party of Spain), PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party), Democracia Cristiana (Christian Democracy), nationalist parties such as the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party), CDC (Catalonia's Democratic Convergence), ERC (Catalonia's Republican Left-wing). We can also mention the

appearance of terrorist groups such as ETA, FRAP (Anti-fascist and Patriot Revolutionary Front) or GRAPO (First of October Anti-fascist Resistance Groups).

### **Regime's agony.**

In 1973, Carrero Blanco was appointed President of the Government, the person in charge of granting the Regime's continuity and of ensuring the union of the several "families". This same year, he was assassinated by ETA. In 1974, Carlos Arias Navarro was named President of the Government. He intended to bring liberalising and ultraconservative positions closer, although his government clearly opted for the latter.

Opposition groups protested in the streets, with labour and students uprisings. The activism and brutality of terrorist groups also increased. Political opposition groups unified in the so-called Democratic Coordination.

Being the dictator ill, Morocco's occupation of Sahara took place. Morocco's King, Hassan II, organised a peaceful march, the Green March, consisting of the mobilisation of thousands of civilians. Facing the possibility of a military conflict in such challenging times, Spain recognised Morocco's occupation in the Madrid Accords.

A few days later, 20 November 1975, Franco died. Then the process of Democratic Transition started and ended with the passing of the current Spanish Constitution.

## **Historical memory**

When democracy started in Spain and after the Spanish Constitution was passed in 1978, a new process of revision and research on the consequences of the repression during and after the Spanish Civil War was started. However, this process was not apparent until the late 90s due to the Spanish Transition to Democracy, when the Amnesty law was passed in an attempt to forget the past. At the end of the 90s Republican victims' relatives claimed their right to know where their relatives had been buried in order to bury their mortal remains with dignity, as most of those missing during the SCW had been thrown to common graves.

During the struggle, human rights were violated systematically in both sides. The victims in the Republican side during the civil war were approximately 38.563, according to the Francoist version, carried out by Francoist Minister Eduardo Aunós Pérez as a part of a General Trial to judge the Red domination in Spain. Some Historians, as Ramón Salas Larrazábal, raise the amount of victims to 70000, but in any case, the total amount does not seem to exceed 50000

murders. Most of the victims were conservative politicians, landowners and people belonging to the Christian Church as priests, monks and nuns. This last group of religious people was about 6832, according to the research of Antonio Moreno Moreno.

Regarding the total amount of victims in the Francoist side (the side that rose up against the Legal Republican Government by supporting General Franco), it is quite difficult to calculate it, because the facts were concealed not just during the war but also during Franco's Dictatorship. The research to understand the truth has been hard and complex. First of all, many murders and disappearances were not recorded. In addition, the access to the documents and files has been not allowed for a long time. It was not until 2008, when the Spanish society started to get to know the first accurate and independent researches about the significance of the Francoist repression. In 2008, thanks to a bill of complaint lodged by the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory of Majorca, Judge Baltasar Garzón started a research. The judge found and collected 143.353 names of missing people during and after the Spanish Civil War due to Francoist repression. According to the Spanish Association of Judges for democracy, *"Spain is the second country in the world after Cambodia with most victims of enforced disappearance, whose remains have not been recovered nor identified yet."* The total amount is higher than the enforced disappearances in Argentina, Chile, Peru and Guatemala all together.

In both sides there was violation of Human Rights, but there is a crucial difference between both sides. The victims from Franco's side were compensated morally and materially. Their remains were buried with dignity. By contrast, the defeated were forgotten and in many cases their remains were hidden in mass graves whose location is nowadays unknown. The disappearance of corpses and the unknown whereabouts were used as repression tools by Franco's Government to punish not only victims but also their families, who could not bury their relatives' remains with dignity and had to live with uncertainty. In addition to enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions, Franco's Government promoted the children enforced disappearance by stealing the children's identity, whose consequences the Spanish society is still suffering.

On 17 March 2006, The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed unanimously the condemnation of Franco's Regime and the violation of Human Rights perpetrated in Spain from 1936 to 1975. The Parliamentary Assembly urged the Spanish Government to erect monuments to commemorate all victims.

The 27 October 2008 Human Rights Committee established in a report that the Spanish State should:

*a) consider repealing the 1977 amnesty law; (b) take the necessary legislative measures to guarantee recognition by the domestic courts of the non-applicability of a statute of limitations to crimes against humanity; (c) consider setting up a commission of independent experts to establish the historical truth about human rights violations committed during the civil war and dictatorship; and d) allow families to exhume and identify victims' bodies, and provide them with compensation where appropriate.*

This committee considered that the 1977 Amnesty Law, which amnestied a lot of crimes committed until 15 December 1976, and which so included enforced disappearances with extrajudicial executions, was unlawful and contrary to International Treaties signed by Spain, now that those crimes are considered as crimes against humanity and they do not expire.

On 31 October 2007 the Spanish Parliament passed the Law 52/2007, promoted by the Spanish Prime Minister, Mr. José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, who belonged to the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE). It can be read *"The Historical Memory Act acknowledges and broadens rights, and establishes measures, for those who suffered persecution or violence [...] during the civil war and the period of dictatorship, including the right to obtain a declaration of redress and personal acknowledgement as a form of redress for the victims of the Franco regime (including victims of torture)."* This law dealt with the illegitimacy of the courts during the Spanish Civil War due to political, ideological or religious reasons, as well as the Tribunal for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism, and the Tribunal for Political Responsibilities and Court-martials. Certain orphan's pensions and certain measures for the identification and location of the victims were established, as well as the withdrawal of the military uprising, the Civil War and the Dictatorship memorial. However it did not include the opening of mass grave.

The Popular Party, a conservative party, won the general elections in 2011. This party opposed to this law. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Mariano Rajoy, reduced the budget of the law so that it remained with no effect.

On 10 February 2012 the representative of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navanethem Pillay, requested Spain to abolish the 1977 Amnesty Law because it was contrary to the International Law on Human Rights.

## **ACTIVITIES**

---

### **Activities from a historical perspective.**

#### **Survival of Francoism in our present-day society**

##### **1. Francoist symbols.**

In about 38 Spanish municipalities, we can find Francoist symbols which have not been withdrawn yet. Madrid is the city with the largest number of traces from the Dictatorship, among which we can point out Victory Arch, which was built in the 1950s to honour the victory of the rebel troops in the capital city.

Students are shown a series of pictures of Spanish memorials and they have to explain their meaning, as well as the Francoist symbol they imply. Some additional information is provided by the teacher for help.

#### **MEMORIAL**



Picture 1 (See **Sources**)

#### **ADDITIONAL INFORMATION**

##### **Victory Arch (Madrid)**

(Moncloa Gate) 1950-1956. Architects López Otero and Bravo Sanfeliú.

This urban memorial celebrates the victory of the rebel faction on the Republic during the Spanish Civil War.

## Historical Memory Nowadays:

The New Language of Totalitarian Movements in Europe

IES Tirant Lo Blanc, Elche, Spain

### MEMORIAL



Picture 2 (See *Sources*)

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

#### Memorial in the Square *Heroes of Spain* (Melilla)

Statue of the Legionnaire and the Lion,  
1941.

### MEMORIAL



Picture 3 (See *Sources*)

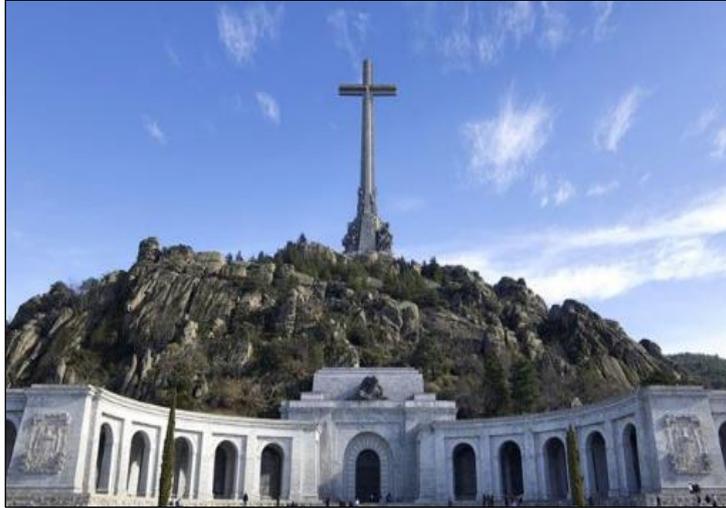
### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

#### Bank of Spain (Alicante)

Inside of the stained glass of the Bank of  
Spain branch office in Alicante.

### 2. *Valley of the Fallen.*

Students are shown this picture:



Picture 4 (See **Sources**)

Once they recognise the memorial (with the help of the teacher if needed) they are asked to look for information about Valley of the Fallen and point out:

- The reason for its construction.
- Which citizens took part in its construction.
- Who is buried there.

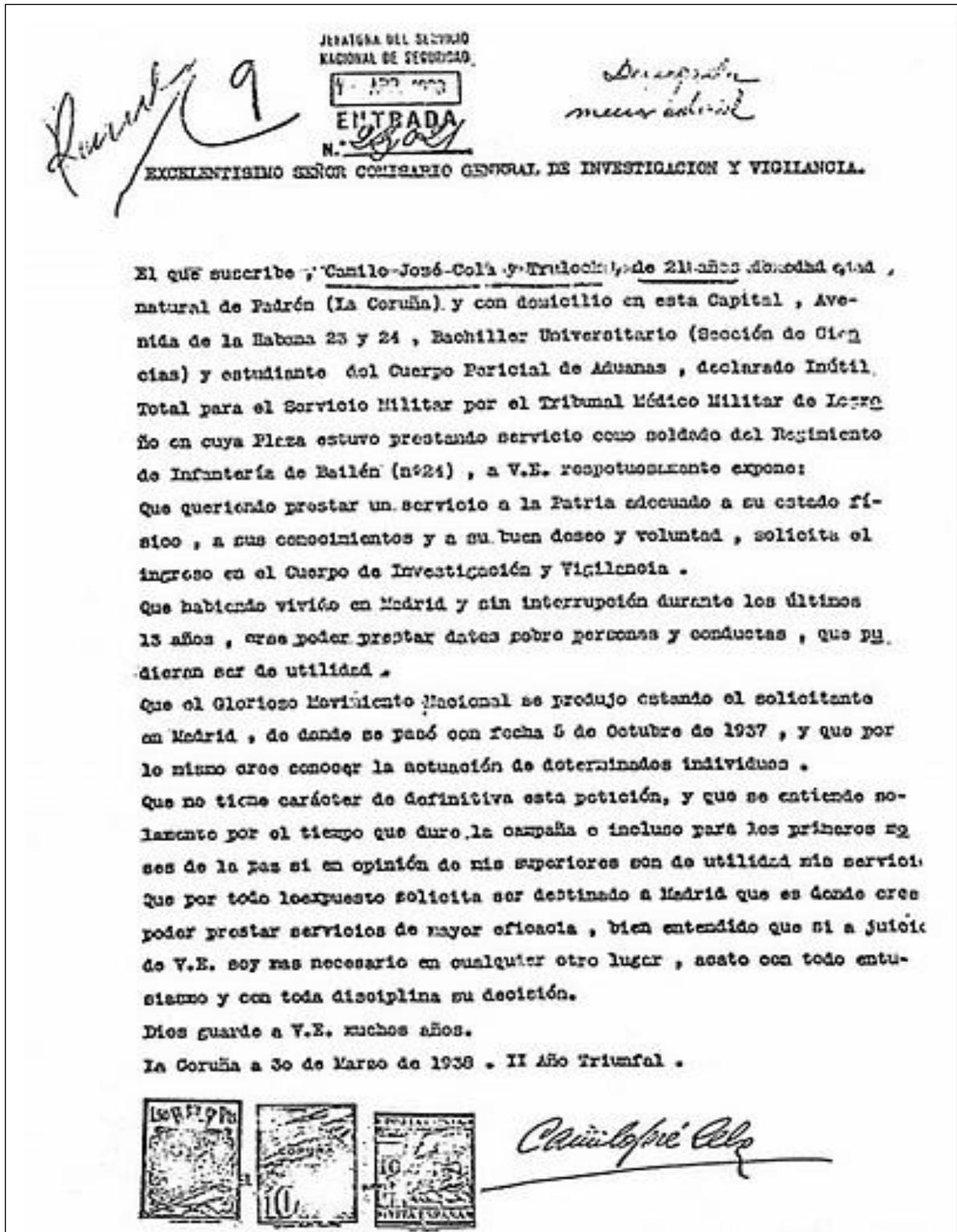
Keeping in mind the information they have found out, they answer the following question:  
How do you think this memorial should be used today? Justify your answer.

### 3. *The Fascist past of intellectuals and politicians.*

The document presented is a letter written by Spanish Nobel Literature Prize Mr Camilo José Cela. In 1938, he addressed to the General Inspector of Investigation and Surveillance this application offering his service as an informer.

Students read carefully the document and answer this question:

Do you think that Spanish politicians and intellectuals hide their fascist past nowadays?



Picture 5 (See Sources)

**TO HIS EXCELLENCY MR GENERAL INSPECTOR OF INVESTIGATION AND  
SURVEILLANCE**

The undersigned, Camilo José Cela y Trulock, 21-year-old, born in Padrón (La Coruña), whose address is in this capital city, 23-24 La Habana Avenue, University Baccalaureate (Section of Science) and student at the National Body of Customs, considered unfit for the military service by Logroño's Military Medical panel, where he was serving as a soldier of Bailén's Infantry Regiment (number 24), exposes to your excellency:

That with the intention of serving his Homeland according to his physical condition, his knowledge and his good will and wish, he applies for a post in the Body of Investigation and Surveillance.

That having lived in Madrid uninterruptedly for the last 15 years, he thinks he can provide information about persons and behaviours which can be found useful.

That the Glorious National Movement was produced when the applicant was in Madrid, from where he passed on 5 October 1937, and, consequently, he believes to know about the acts of certain individuals.

That this application has not got a definitive character. It must be understood only during the time in which the campaign lasts, even during the first months of peace if, according to my supervisors, my service is still useful.

For all these reasons, he requests to be sent to Madrid, where he believes to be able to serve more efficiently, understanding that if your Excellency considers that I am more necessary at any other place, I will comply with your decision with enthusiasm and respect.

God save your Excellency for many years.

La Coruña, 30 March 1938. Second year after the Victory.

Camilo José Cela

## Activities from an ethical-moral perspective.

### Survival of Francoism in our present-day society

#### 1. *Fascist symbols and racism.*

After the first three activities, the teacher poses this question to the students: Do you think that the survival of Francoist symbols in our present-day society is a sign of racist behaviour?

Students write a short composition about this topic, bearing in mind the previous activities that they have been dealing all through the lesson.

#### 2. *Are we racist?*

We intend to develop this idea of racism through these three activities:

- Students must think of different ways of intolerance. Then the teacher asks them the following questions: How can we measure the degree of racist tolerance?

After students tell their ideas, the teacher shows Diagram 1 (see **Sources**) to provide more ideas to discuss.

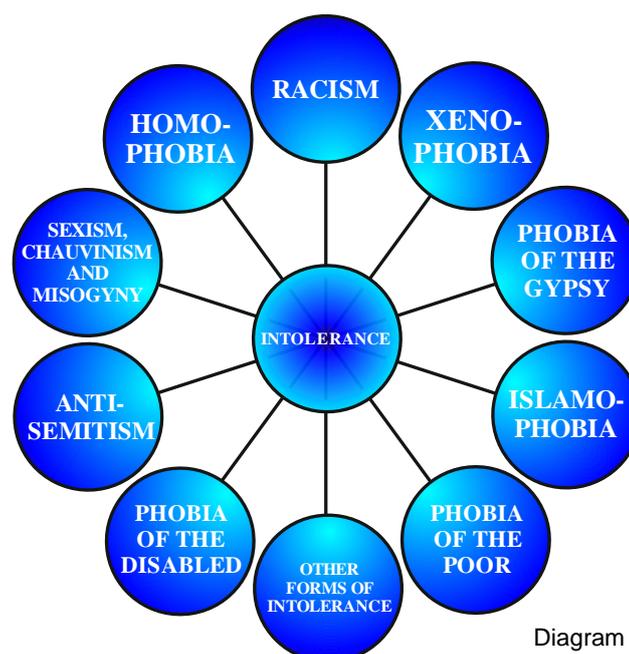


Diagram 1 (See USB unit)

## Historical Memory Nowadays:

The New Language of Totalitarian Movements in Europe

IES Tirant Lo Blanc, Elche, Spain

After checking students' new answers, they must reflect on all the types of intolerance in the diagram. Then they answer the following questions:

1. Which group would you prefer as your neighbour?
  2. What would be your selection criteria?
  3. Imagine a block of flats. Choose your own house (floor, condition, equipment, etc.). Now order, from nearest to furthest, the neighbours you would prefer to have in this block of flats. Justify your answer.
- Looking at the diagram in the previous activity, students relate those forms of intolerance with the behaviours they generate. Then they make a list of such behaviours.

After students give their ideas, the teacher shows them Diagram 2 (See **Sources**) to provide them with more ideas to discuss.

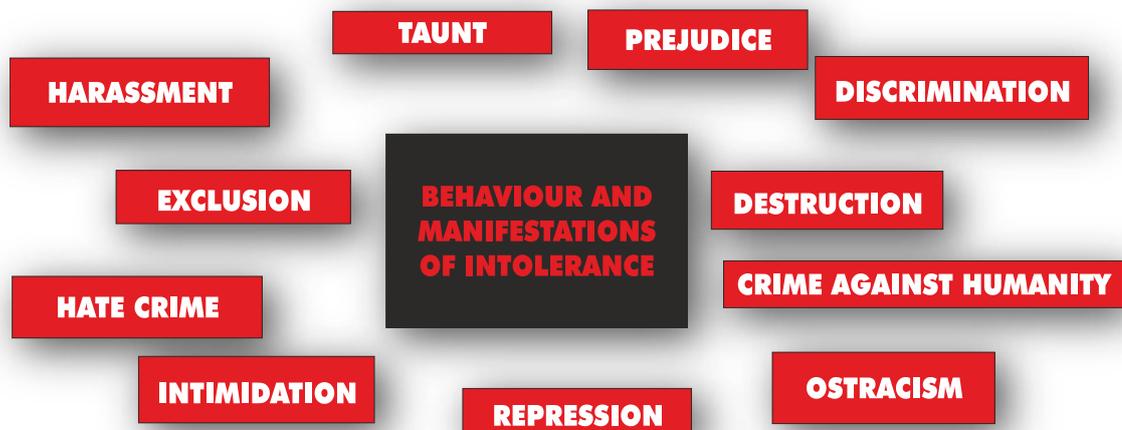


Diagram 2 (See USB unit)

- Students are presented with Pictures 6 to 10 (See **Sources**). In pairs, they comment on the pictures and answer these questions:
  1. Which picture was most striking to you?
  2. Do you think this behaviour is frequent?
  3. Should it be corrected? How?
  4. Justify your answers.

## Historical Memory Nowadays:

The New Language of Totalitarian Movements in Europe

IES Tirant Lo Blanc, Elche, Spain



Picture 6 (See **Sources**)



Picture 7 (See **Sources**)



Picture 8 (See **Sources**)



Picture 9 (See **Sources**)



Picture 10 (See **Sources**)

## **Activities from a political perspective.**

**“An unbiased glance at the current political and social attitude before the Spanish Civil War and General Franco’s dictatorship.”**

We suggest working on the Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, written by Pablo de Greiff on 22 June 2014, as well as on the comments that the Spanish Government presented on 17 September 2014.

It is a long but very useful report when studying this conflict, not only because it allows us to introduce the study of the Spanish Civil War from its very beginning, but also because it allows us to clearly become aware and understand the problem with an overall picture. The report is a current in-depth analysis of how the Spanish society understands the conflict and its consequences and, particularly, the attitude of the different political parties before this conflict.

Although all activities presented here are liable to be modified according to the group’s needs, we present here the following model.

The activity may be the starting point for a comprehensive analysis of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism. In this sense, we suggest an analysis from the present day to the beginning of the War, that is to say, following the opposite course of events.

It would be advisable that, either beforehand or in line with the possible topics arising, the key milestones of the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent Francoist dictatorship are explained according to the historical background provided.

First of all, we will work on the Report of the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations. Hence, we will pose several questions in order to understand the current situation, which will allow us to find answers in preceding episodes of History.

### **STAGE 1**

Firstly, we suggest a short project that students will have to work previously. For that purpose, and during all the sessions of the didactic unit, we will divide the students in groups according to our interests or needs.

Then we will hand a copy of the Report of the Special Rapporteur (Document1.pdf in **Sources**) to each group, but without the Summary of the first page and Part VII. Conclusions and recommendations, pp. 19-22.

The first task consists of learning to interpret United Nations documents. With this idea in mind, we briefly explain the history, the functioning and the aims of the United Nations. Here we have a link to a webpage with information:

<http://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/index.html>

Next, each group does Worksheet 1, with the information they find in Document1.pdf and the help of the webpage. The aim is to learn how to work with United Nations documents and to understand the nature, the reach and the validity of the document by the United Nations' rapporteur, Pablo de Greiff, on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism.

### **Documents and sources for the task:**

- **Document 1:** a copy of the Report of the Special Rapporteur, but without the *Summary* of the first page and *Part VII. Conclusions and recommendations*, pp. 19-22.
- **Document 4:** 17 frequently asked questions about Special Rapporteurs of the United Nations.
- **Reports:** <http://research.un.org/en/docs/reports>  
<http://research.un.org/c.php?g=98281&p=636258>  
<http://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/index.html>

## STAGE 2

For this second stage of the activity, we will divide the students in 4 groups, if possible. Each group will read and work one of the four blocks in which Document1.pdf is divided. They will work through the corresponding Worksheets. So, group 1 will work with worksheet Stage2-group1.docx, group 2 will work with worksheet Stage2-group2.docx, group 3 will work with worksheet Stage2-group3.docx and group 4 will work with worksheet Stage2-group4.docx (See **Sources**).

- **Group 1: Guarantees of non-recurrence (paragraphs 11-42)**

- A. Democratic consolidation and reform of the Armed Forces
  - B. Removal of symbols or monuments exalting the military uprising, the Civil War and Franco's dictatorship
  - C. Education
  - D. Civil servant training
- **Group 2: Truth (paragraphs 43-66)**
    - A. Institutional mechanisms for elucidating the truth
    - B. Archives
    - C. Institutions of historical memory
    - D. Exhumations
  - **Group 3: Justice (paragraphs 67-84)**
    - A. Impediments to victims' access to justice
    - B. The lack of investigations as an obstacle to the right to truth
    - C. Application of universal jurisdiction
  - **Group 4: Reparation (paragraphs 85-99)**
    - A. Definition of victim
    - B. Programme of reparations
    - C. Annulment of sentences handed down by courts during the Civil War and the Franco regime

**Documents for the task:**

- **Document 1:** a copy of the Report of the Special Rapporteur divided in four blocks. Each group will receive just one of the blocks.
- **Worksheets Stage2-group1 to 4.docx:** Each group will also receive one of these worksheets.

### STAGE 3

Once all the questions in worksheets 1-4 from Stage 2 have been answered, the groups discuss at least 3 conclusions and 3 recommendations to improve and support a democratic atmosphere, as well as to grant the victims with a fair treatment. Then a spokesperson of each group will explain the rest of the class the block his/her group worked and will write the conclusions and recommendations of his/her group on the blackboard. At the end, the conclusions and recommendations for the four blocks will be written on the board:

- Truth
- Guarantees of non-recurrence.
- Reparation.
- Justice.

Once all the conclusions and recommendations have been orally presented by the four groups and have been gathered on the board, the students will be handed the real conclusions and recommendations of the Special Rapporteur (the ones we had withdrawn at the beginning of Stage 1), included in the following paragraphs:

- **Conclusions:** paragraphs 100-103
- **Recommendations:** paragraph 104 (a-f)

Truth: (g-i)

Guarantees of non-recurrence: (j-m)

Reparation (n-p)

Justice (q-s)

Afterwards, we will pose the following questions in order to start a discussion based on intellectual argumentation:

1. Do you think that the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Rapporteur are legitimate and relate to the reality of the Spanish society? Why?
2. Has the Spanish society overcome the Civil War? Why?
3. Which are, in your opinion, the aspects in which Spain has reached a better standard regarding the transition to democracy? Which aspects are improvable? Why?

4. Up to what extent is the Historical Memory important? Do you think that it is a way to definitely heal the wounds or, on the contrary, a way of intensifying old resentments? Why?

Document for the task:

- **Document 1:** a copy of the conclusions and the recommendations found in the Report of the Special Rapporteur divided in four blocks.

## STAGE 4

Next, we will work with the Comments of Spain to the Report of the Special Rapporteur (See **Sources**, Document 2.pdf) which was presented by the Spanish government presented to be included in the Report of the Special Rapporteur, Pablo de Greiff. It is to be noted that in 2014 the Prime Minister was Mr Mariano Rajoy Brey, president of the right-winged Popular Party.

After reading Document 2.pdf, according to the groups already formed in the previous stages, students answer the following questions:

1. Relate the statements of the report (paragraph 7), and the reference to the Law of Historical Memory when arguing the action of the State, with the statement of the Prime Minister of Spain in November 2015.

- Paragraph 7: comments of Spain to the report, 17 September 2014.

“The rights of the victims were initially set aside, but from the dawning of democracy several measures of recognition and reparation were taken which concluded with the adoption of the so-called Law of Historical Memory in 2007. This law binds together a set of measures of reparation and recognition, as well as other measures of a symbolic character. So, we consider it important to reclaim the value of the regulations that reflect the way in which the Spaniards have wanted to come to terms with their past.”

- Statement of the Prime Minister of Spain, November 2015.

Video clip 1: 1-rajoy interview.mp4 (See **Sources**)

2. What does the Spanish government allege about the validity of the Amnesty Law of 1977? In what points does it defend its validity and its democratic legitimacy? Why?
3. Do you agree with the idea of paragraph 9, according to which “only by means of oblivion, amnesia and forgiveness this reconciliation was possible”? Why?

Paragraph 9: “Actually, in the parliamentary debates before the Act of Amnesty, in the statements of the opposition-party politicians or even in the political analyses carried out hindsight, there exist many references to the desire of reconciliation and the conviction that only by means of oblivion, amnesia and forgiveness this reconciliation was possible. Even long time before the adoption of the Act of Amnesty, as far as 1960, the minutes to the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Spain, still illegal at that time, already includes the proposal of a general amnesty, extended to all, in both opposing factions.”

4. What does it follow from paragraph 15, regarding the victims and the associations? On the one hand, they highlight a meaningful group of victims, quiet and silent, against those associations which have met the Special Rapporteur and which have mobilised and required exhumations. Do you think that the silence of the victims may be interpreted in a specific sense? Why?

Paragraph 15: “seems to ignore that an equally meaningful part of the victims of the Civil War and of the dictatorship, although quiet and silent, does not share the appreciations of those associations that the Rapporteur seems to have met. These victims consider that the biggest success of their intentions before the violations of human rights committed during these periods is precisely the consolidation of democracy.”

## **REFERENCES**

---

### **Glossary of terms**

The following glossary of terms should be photocopied and handed in to students who are not Spanish.

- **FUERO (regional code of law):**

Basic Law of the State enacted as a Constitution and granted by Franco. This kind of laws date from the Middle Ages when feudal lords granted a group of laws, rights or privileges for a given territory or social group. These laws were based on ancient written documents and customary rules.

- **FALANGE ESPAÑOLA DE LAS JONS (Spanish Phalange of the JONS):**

Fascist political party resulting from the merger of two different parties: Ramiro Ledesma's JONS (Committees of the National Syndicalist Offensive) and José Antonio Primo de Rivera's Falange Española (Spanish Phalanx). During the II Spanish Republic this party used violence as a part of social action, including bloody confrontations against Socialists and Communists. After the Spanish Civil War it became the only legal political party in Spain. Its ideology was based on National Syndicalism, Fascism and Anticommunism, as well as unyielding defence of National Catholicism. The party was dissolved by Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez after Franco's death during the Transition to Democracy.

- **PARTIDO REPUBLICANO RADICAL SOCIALISTA (Radical Socialist Republican Party):**

Spanish Political Party emerged in 1929 from a split up of Alianza Republicana (Republican Alliance). This party supports Anticlerical and Jacobin liberalism. The majority of its members came from Masonic lodges. It was part of the interim government of the II Spanish Republic and was involved in the San Sebastián Deal.

- **UNIÓN REPUBLICANA (Republican Union):**

Spanish political party emerged in 1934 from the split up of the Radical Democratic Party and the Radical Republican Socialist Party. It certainly played an important role before the Spanish Civil War. It was part of Popular Front together with Communists, leftist

Republicans and Progressives. After the Spanish Civil War it became one of the most important Republican forces in exile.

- **GENOCIDE:**

According to the UN 1948 Convention, and following the Polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin, *“genocide is defined as the extermination of a nation or an ethnic group.”*

- **FREEMASONRY:**

It is an initiatory, non-religious, philanthropic, symbolic and philosophical institution based on a sense of brotherhood. They claim to pursue the quest for the truth, the promotion of the social and moral development of human being and social progress. The Free Masons are organized in basic structures called “lodges”.

- **NON-INTERVENTION AGREEMENT:**

It was an organisation founded in 1936, on the motion of France and supported by the UK, to avoid foreign participation in the Spanish Civil War and the internationalisation of the conflict at a time of greatest strain among democracies and dictatorships in Europe. Although many countries joined the pact, the agreements signed were not observed.

- **HERO:**

According to the philosopher Fernando Savater and from a moral point of view, *“a hero is someone who shows the virtue as strength and excellence through the example of his actions.”*

- **“RED”:**

A synonym of “republican” during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. Applied to persons.

## Bibliography and other resources

[www.brainyquote.com](http://www.brainyquote.com)

[www.azquotes.com/](http://www.azquotes.com/)

AGÜERO, Felipe, *Militares, Civiles y Democracia*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1995.

## Historical Memory Nowadays:

The New Language of Totalitarian Movements in Europe

IES Tirant Lo Blanc, Elche, Spain

---

AGUILAR, Paloma, *Políticas de la Memoria y Memorias de la Política*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, chap. 2, 2008.

BOYD, Carolyn, “The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain”, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sage Publications Inc., 2008.

RODRÍGUEZ PUÉRTOLAS, Julio, *Historia de la literatura fascista*, Editorial AKAL, 2008.

SERRA, Narcís, *The Military Transition, Democratic Reform of the Armed Forces*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

## **AUTHORS**

---

- **DIDACTIC UNIT COORDINATORS:** Mrs Carmen García Alarcón and Mrs Ana María Ibáñez Lopera.
- Ms María Belén Delgado Chaparro: **National context (Francoism).**
- Mr José Francisco Fernández García: **Glossary of terms.**
- Mrs Carmen García Alarcón: **Introduction, Biography rationale, International context, Activities from a historical perspective, Activities from an ethical-moral perspective.**
- Mrs María Salud García Zamora: **Introduction, Translation, Edition.**
- Mrs Ana María Ibáñez Lopera: **Introduction, National context (Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, Second Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War), Activities from a historical perspective, Activities from an ethical-moral perspective.**
- Mr Darío Martínez Montesinos: **Prezi Presentation for the teacher (Julio María López Orozco, a life of resistance), Historical Memory, Activities from a political perspective, Edition.**