

**Transgenerational Trauma  
in Post-Dictatorship and Transition to Democracy in Spain.**

**Pau Perez Sales.  
MD PhD Psychiatrist  
Clinical Director. SiRa Center (Madrid)**  
[pauperez@runbox.com](mailto:pauperez@runbox.com)

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# The Spanish Republic

- In Spain, social movements in the 1930' were very much advanced to its age.
- Women's rights, educational system, rights of workers and peasants. There was an air of Revolution.





- In 1936, there was a military Coup d'Etat against the constitutional forces of the Spanish Republic.
- The official versión describes it as a "*Civil War.*" It was not. The Military Regime created a rethoric of a quick war that liberated the country from leftists, where *all parts* were equally responsible and committed crimes



During the war



***According to historians,  
because there has never been a Truth Commission of the Civil War***

- According to conservative estimates, in the 3 years of war (1936-39) the fascist Army killed around 300.000 persons in the front **and around 200.000 in the áreas under their control, 80% civilians.**
  
- There was a cleansing operation of “communists, socialists and anarchists”, where everybody could be targeted. During many months the army went to capture people in the morning and executed them, usually in the walls of the cemeteries. Nowadays there are still around 125.000 people disappeared, according to organizations of victims

The number estimated of extrajudicial killings during the Pinochet dictatorship (10 years) according to the Rettig Report was 1245. If this was extrapolated to Spain it would mean around 6000 people executed.

- The Franco's army conquered the country also by Massive bombings of big towns (Madrid, Barcelona, Málaga...).
- In some cases entire villages were destroyed (Guernica)

. A preliminary census has identified **2382 mass graves** all around the country (2015), from 5 to more than 200 persons.

In a massive grave in Valencia Cemetery the forensic studies identified around 10.000 corpses of people, who were trying to escape through sea.

### **Less than 20% have been exhumated**

All exhumations are done by private initiative of organizations of victims. There are more than 120 all around the country, very small and usually organized around small exhumations.

Forensic anthropologists and psychosocial accompaniment work pro-bono

There is no legal process. The remains of the victims are considered *historical remains* (as if they were ancient Roman Coins...). No judge is present, no collection of probes, no documentation of crimes unless the organizations try to do it at their best.





When asked in 2014 about the possibility of a Truth Commission on the crimes of Francoism, President Mariano Rajoy answered, smiling: “*Truth Comissions are for Banana Republics*”

## After the war

During 1939-1941 there were around 1.000.000 people in prisons.

According to official figures from the Regime, 200.000 died in prison

There were 800 “concentration camps” all around the country where allegedly communist prisoners underwent torture and “re-education” of their evil mind. Psychiatrist were instrumental in designing the process of re-education. To their saying, socialist and communist women were specially vicious and very difficult to re-educate into women who respected moral principles and religion





The dictatorship remained for 40 years and ended when Franco peacefully died in his bed in 1978 (1939-1978)



**TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AFTER A COUP D'ETAT AND 40 YEARS OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP  
– The case of Spain**

**. Truth – No truth comisión.**

Recognized if the victim probes with documents. **No reparation**

**Justice – Amnesty Law (1978)**

**Rehabilitation – No**

**Reparation - NO**

**Guarantees of No Repetition – Never discussed.**

# La ley de víctimas del franquismo no permitirá la publicación de los nombres de los verdugos

Los cinco notables que decidirán las reparaciones personales no podrán ejercer otro cargo político

# Transgenerational trauma: the case of Spain

- . Official history.
  - . Silence of suffering and suffering in silence
  - . Fear: Torture, Prison, Execution
  
- . The frustrated generation : big expectations that after Dictatorship a new time would come. But in fact, the dreams of a “new society” never were true.
  - . Wounds never healed
  
- . This is the “new world”: The socialist party (PSOE) created paramilitary groups to defeat ETA / dismantled labor organizations / introduced Spain into NATO / fostered private bussiness
  
- . Disappointment – Hedonistic and empty generation – Neoliberalism as a religion
- . Center-Right and Center-Left Technocratic governments protecting status quo. Human Right violations and use of prisión and torture : migrants, nationalists and divergent



## Transgenerational trauma: the case of Spain

- Conscientious objectors
- Recovering the memory: exhumation of mass graves and memorialistic movement
- 15-M Citizens Revolution
- Platforms to protect housing rights
- White wave to defend the public health system
- Opposition to the Gulf War

Political parties – Red lines

Amnesty law

Limits to the freedom of expression and right to protest

# Consequences of the lack of memory and identity

- . **Revisionism – Theory of the two evils** – one must forget for the Benefit of everybody

- . **Absolute impunity** – The useless attempts to judge torturers

  - . Prescription

  - . Amnesty law

  - . Torture was not in the penal code

A shame : the Argentinian demand.

- . **There are limits to how a society can thing themselves** (the example of Chile). The constitution makes imposible to question the Monarchy, allow referéndums of Independence (like in UK or Canada), change of economic model (like in Portugal) etc

## Consequences of the lack of memory and identity

- . Surge of neofascist political parties (VOX, 15% votes) that embrace Franco's ideology.

**Ultrnationalist,**

**Negationist of the crimes of the Dictatorship (it was a "liberation" war)**

**Oppose any law against gender violence, are homophobic and transphobic**

**.Want to forbid abortion,**

**. Defend full privatization of health and education etc**

**. Have a hate discourse against migrants and refugees and demand they are send back to their countries of origin**

# Thanks

