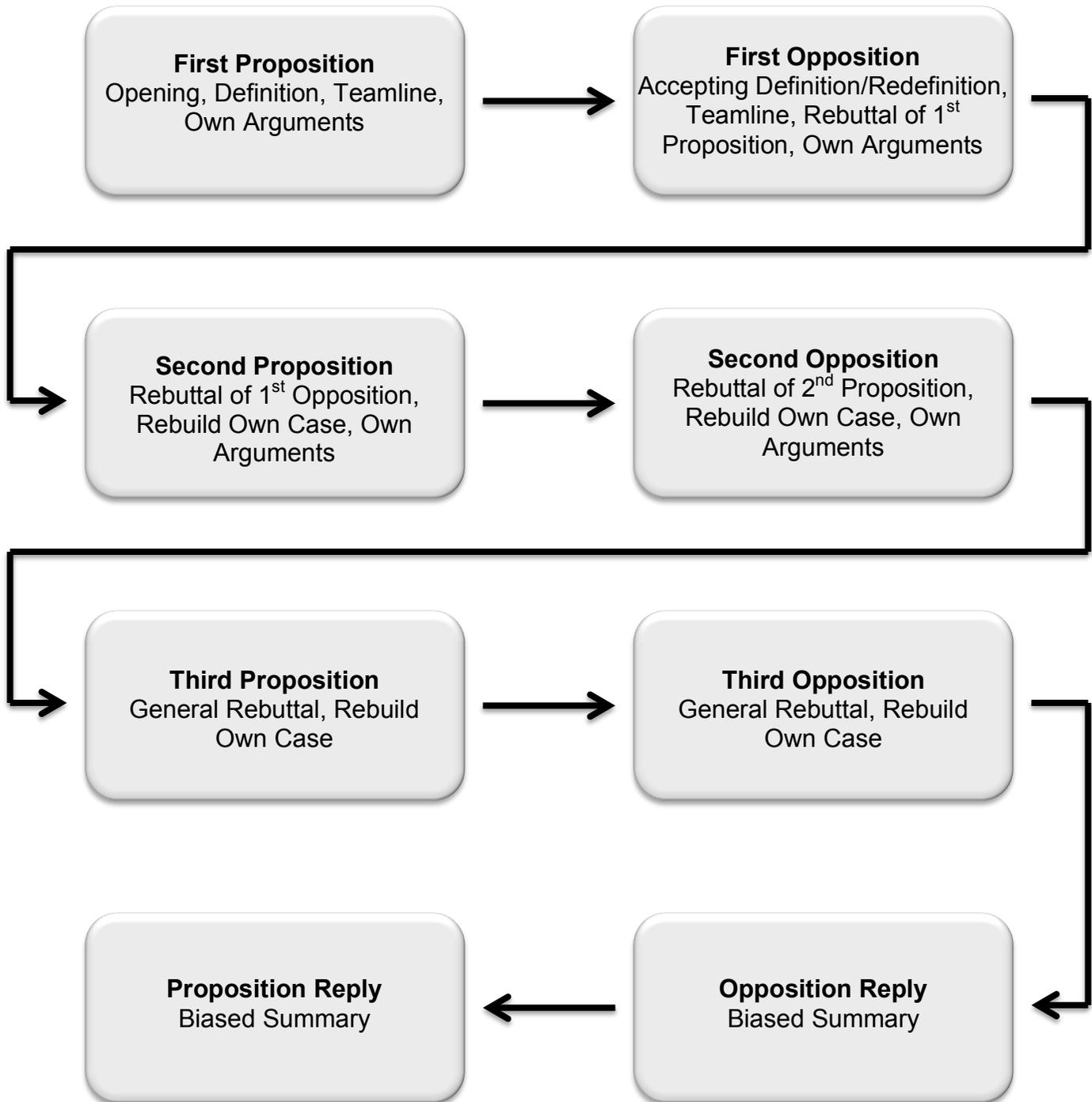


Phases of a Debate



Useful Expressions

Opening the Debate

- [some nice opening, e.g. quote]
- Ladies and Gentlemen, welcome to this debate.
- Welcome from this side of the house...
- The motion for debate today is: ...

Defining the Motion

- Now we as today's proposition/opposition strongly believe that this is true/not true, but before we come to our actual argumentation, let us first define some important terms in this debate.
- We believe that what is meant by... is... / that... are...
- When we say... we mean that...

Presenting the Teamline

- We as today's proposition/opposition have structured our case as follows:
- I, as the first speaker, will be talking about...
- Our second speaker, ..., will elaborate on the fact that...
- And our third speaker, ..., will do the rebuttal.

Rebutting Arguments, Rebuilding Case

- But before I come to my own arguments, let us first have a look at what... has said.
- I will continue our case in a minute, but before that there are some things about the... speech that need to be addressed.
- The first proposition/opposition speaker has told us... ; on the contrary...
- She/he also said that... ; but in fact...
- She/he was claiming that... ; but as my first speaker already told you...

Introducing Arguments

- Let me come to my first/second/next argument: [concise label of argument]
- My first/... argument is:
- The first/... reason why we are proposing/opposing this motion is:

Giving Examples

- There are many examples of this, for instance...
- In fact, you can find many examples for this in real life. Just think of...
- And there are similar cases, such as ...
- So in this simple example, we can clearly see the effect of...

Summarizing and Linking the Argument

- So as we have seen [argument label], and therefore [motion].
- Now because of this... we have to support this motion.

Summarizing and Ending Speech

- So, Ladies and Gentlemen, what have I told you today? Firstly..., secondly...
- [some nice closing words]
- And for all of these reasons, the motion must stand/fall.

Answering Points of Information

- On that point.
- Wouldn't you have to agree...?
- Doesn't what you're saying contradict with...?
- What about the...?
- How would you explain, then, that...?
- No, thank you, Sir/Madam.
- Declined.
- Yes, please. / Go ahead.
- Thank you very much, Sir/Madam, I'm going to come to this very point in my second argument in a minute.

Giving Reply Speeches

- Ladies and Gentlemen, welcome for the last time from today's proposition/opposition. It is now my pleasure to summarize this debate, take a look at what both sides have said and see what the outcome of this debate actually is.
- A first/second/major clash was: ... ; Today's proposition/opposition told us... we had to find...
- [some particularly nice closing words]
- And for all these reasons, I beg you to propose/oppose.

Debate Scoring Sheet

Debate Topic: _____

Proposition or Opposition (circle one)

Team Member Names

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____
- 4) _____

Criteria	Rate: 1-10	Comments
Opening statement was clear, well organized, factual and relevant.		
First argument in support of its position was stated clearly, was relevant and well informed.		
Rebuttal to opposing side's first argument was clear, relevant, well informed and effective.		
Second argument in support of its position was stated clearly, was relevant and well informed.		
Rebuttal to opposing side's second argument was clear, relevant, well informed and effective.		
Third argument in support of its position was stated clearly, was relevant and well informed.		
Rebuttal to opposing side's third argument was clear, relevant, well informed and effective.		
Closing statement was stated clearly, was relevant and effectively summarized the team's position.		
Answers to audience questions were clear, well informed and relevant.		
Overall preparedness, effectiveness and professionalism in the debate.		

Total Points Earned: _____ divided by 10 = _____ (final debate score)

Fate of Franco's Valley of Fallen reopens Spain wounds

By Sarah Rainsford BBC News, Madrid
18 July 2011 Last updated at 19:20 ET

In the hills outside Madrid there is a striking symbol of four decades of dictatorship.

The Valley of the Fallen is the vast monument General Francisco Franco commissioned to commemorate his victory in the Spanish Civil War.

Seventy-five years after that war began, there are finally plans to change this landmark.

At its heart is an enormous basilica, scooped out of the hillside. Franco himself is buried behind the altar, beneath a gravestone decorated with fresh flowers.

The Valley has long been a rallying point for the far right in Spain, built to exalt the armed nationalist uprising Franco led against the elected Republican government, his "glorious crusade".

Now the Socialist government is considering exhuming the dictator's remains in order to transform the site into a place of reconciliation.

'Prudence'

Even 36 years after Franco died the government minister in charge admits that is a delicate task.

"Spain's transition to democracy was an act of prudence after the deep wounds caused by the war and the dictatorship," Ramon Jauregui explains.

"We have dealt with the past little by little. Maybe we're tackling this site a little late, but prudence has been the key to our peaceful transition."

Spain held no truth and reconciliation process after the war; there was no accounting for crimes, or punishment. The country agreed to "forget" and look to the future, for the sake of peace.

But as the fear has faded, that approach has been changing.

For the past decade, archaeologists and volunteers have been exhuming the remains of Republicans from unmarked graves. (The bodies of most of those who died fighting for Franco were recovered long ago.)

Then in 2007, the government passed the Historical Memory Law, granting victims of the war and dictatorship formal rehabilitation and compensation. All remaining monuments to Francoism were to be removed.

But Spain's conservative opposition party, the PP, refused to back the bill. There was talk of opening up old wounds.

"There are people in Spain who are afraid of being confronted with the darkness of the past," explains historian Angel Vinas.

"There were horrors committed here, massacres. But we're not unique in that and other countries have come to terms with it. I don't see why Spain should not," Mr Vinas says.

For him, reforming the Valley of the Fallen is all part of the process.

Hidden past

The monument was one of the most visited sites in Spain. But it has no signs explaining its history and no mention that it was built largely by political prisoners.

Nicolas Sanchez Albornoz was one of them - a student activist sentenced to six years in a labour camp for "activities against the state". He escaped in 1948 and has never been back.

"I think it is really shocking that in a European country you still have a huge monument to the memory of one of the bloodiest dictators," says Mr Sanchez, now in his 80s.

"The best thing to do is to remove all the symbolism [from the site]. And what gives such force to that symbolism, is the presence of Franco."

The government is waiting for an expert commission to deliver its proposals before deciding.

But one suggestion is to transfer Franco's remains to a modest, municipal cemetery beside his wife. His daughter has already objected, and the Franco Foundation she heads has vowed to take legal action to prevent it.

"A huge number of people will oppose this barbarity," insists Jaime Alonso, in a room plastered with photographs of Franco, and a life-size portrait. He argues the general's revolt saved Spain from the clutches of Soviet Russia.

"They can't move Franco without his family's permission, that would be desecration. You have to be careful with history in Spain. You can't demonise one part of society and praise the other. That's wrong and achieves nothing," he warns.

Government's challenge

Few Spaniards are so open in their admiration of Franco. But many voice the same aversion to moving his grave.

"It's a ridiculous idea, after all this years," says Jose Luis, on a visit to the Valley of the Fallen. "That way we'll just keep the war going!"

"This is just tampering with the past," Jorge agrees. "And the monument is very beautiful."

For the losers in the war, though, it's quite the opposite.

In August 1936, Jorge Valrico Canales was taken from his home in the middle of the night and shot by a Fascist execution squad. His town had fallen to the uprising and he had been singled out as a socialist.

In 1959, his remains were dug from a well and moved to the Valley of the Fallen. More than 30,000 war dead from both sides were transferred there on Franco's orders.

"For me, it's excruciatingly painful that my father's remains are in a place built to the glory of the victors in a military coup," says Fausto Canales. "It feels like a double crime. First when he was executed, then when they moved his body without our permission to a place which is totally inappropriate."

The family is one of a group now demanding they be permitted to exhume their relatives' remains for a proper burial, though a study suggests that might be impossible now.

The challenge for the government is to transform the divisive monument into one for all Spaniards.

"Changing perceptions is not easy," Ramon Jauregui admits. "But if this place is to have a future it must be in remembrance of the horror of the war and all its victims."

Seventy-five years on, that would be the first of its kind here.

The New York Times

Spain Examines Future of Fascist Monument, and Franco's Remains

By **RAPHAEL MINDER**

Published: June 21, 2011

MADRID — Next month will be 75 years since the start of the Spanish Civil War, the bloody three-year-long conflict that claimed the lives of 450,000 people.

Yet the Spanish government has not scheduled an official commemoration of the war, which began with a military uprising on July 17, 1936. Nonetheless, the war and its victor, Francisco Franco, still generate plenty of heated debate in Spain.

One of the unexpected and most recent controversies was set off in May by the release of a national biographical dictionary that praised Franco's leadership in the war and described his subsequent regime as "authoritarian, but not totalitarian."

The debate over Franco's legacy also has been stirred by the Socialist government's decision to set up a commission to review the future of the Valley of the Fallen, the massive underground basilica built to honor those who died for the Fascist victory.

As part of its review, the commission also is supposed to recommend whether Franco's remains should be moved from the basilica to a far less controversial cemetery adjoining his former residence of El Pardo, on the outskirts of Madrid.

"My feeling is that Spaniards are perhaps less comfortable with the legacy of the civil war today than 20 or 30 years ago," said José Álvarez Junco, a history professor at Complutense University in Madrid. "Since about 2000, there is a new generation from the left who have given much greater impulse to

the whole debate, because they never knew Franco and really want to understand what happened to their grandfathers."

Successive governments have adhered to a tacit agreement, struck in the aftermath of Franco's death in 1975, not to use this dark chapter in the country's history for political purposes.

Some historians say that while such an agreement eased Spain's return to democracy, it may have since forced it to steer clear of measures that could have helped heal old wounds.

For instance, Nigel Townson, a British historian who lives in Madrid, suggested that it would have made sense instead to build a new monument to the fallen, to commemorate all of the estimated 450,000 victims of the war.

The fact that such a project had not even been considered, Dr. Townson said, showed that "there simply has not been closure and there is still a lot of unease about what happened."

In the meantime, the war continues to generate myriad publications, with new revelations regularly making the national headlines. On Sunday, *El Mundo*, a center-right newspaper, ran a front-page article about an investigation that had confirmed the identities of the men who formed the firing squad that killed the poet Federico García Lorca, one of the war's most famous victims.

The national biographical dictionary, meanwhile, was the fruit of 12 years of work and €6.4 million, or \$9.2 million, of public financing. It was meant to showcase Spain's

royal academy of history and provide a work of reference for libraries across the country.

Although some other entries in the dictionary also raised eyebrows, that of Franco generated such fierce criticism that the academy had to agree within weeks to replace the initial contribution, which was made by Luis Suárez, a renowned Franco apologist.

But many historians have continued to call for a sweeping overhaul of the academy, including the removal of its aging leadership and the introduction of a proper peer review system.

Asked to comment on Mr. Suárez's description of Franco, Gonzalo Anes, the director of the academy, said that he had not had time to read it.

Such a response showed "a stunning lack of understanding of the basic principles of scholarly production, including peer review, academic freedom, and the responsibilities of an editor," said Sebastiaan Faber, professor of Hispanic studies at Oberlin College in Ohio. "It is hard to believe that Anes, as he claims, has never actually read the entry on Franco."

The Valley of the Fallen, meanwhile, is probably the largest mass grave in Europe, home to the remains of nearly 34,000 people. Most of them fought for Franco, but the monument is also believed to contain the remains of hundreds of dead Republicans, some of which were allegedly gathered from mass graves across the country in order to swell the number in the fascist monument.

Eleven families of Republican prisoners are demanding that the bodies of their loved ones be returned to them for proper burial.

On May 30, Ramón Jáuregui, the minister charged with overseeing the issue of the Valley of the Fallen, explained that the task of the 12-member commission would be to determine how to transform "a monument to National Catholicism" into "a place of reconciled memory where we can all feel comfortable as Spaniards."

Among its other sensitive tasks, the commission will try to establish whether to allow exhumations from the mass grave, as has already been demanded by some victims' families.

The government of Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero has said that it would implement the commission's recommendations. Its report is expected before the end of the year, but activists on both sides have already issued their own warnings.

A group called the Association for the Defense of the Valley of the Fallen said it would take legal action if the remains of Franco were not "left in peace." Franco's daughter, Carmen, also waded into the debate, on June 14, by saying that her family opposed moving the remains, even if Franco were to be reburied alongside his wife in the El Pardo cemetery.

On the other hand, the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory asserts that it would "a humiliation" if Franco's victims had to continue to finance, via taxpayers' money, the upkeep of his Fascist shrine. In recent years, this association has also been leading efforts to exhume and identify bodies in mass graves across Spain.

"The Valley of the Fallen is a very hard symbol to deal with because it is exactly the opposite of a monument of reconciliation," said Mercedes Cabrera Calvo-Sotelo, a Socialist lawmaker and former education minister of Spain.

"It would have been a lot easier for Spaniards to digest the past if the dictatorship had come first and had then been followed by a war, as happened in many other countries," she added, "but wishful thinking cannot change history."

A version of this article appeared in print on June 22, 2011, in The International Herald Tribune with the headline: Spain Examines Future of Fascist Monument, and Even Franco's Remains.

A valley for all of the fallen?

NATALIA JUNQUERA Madrid 12 JUN 2011 - 19:01 CET

He may be buried under 1.5 metric tons of granite, but General Francisco Franco is still very much with us. As the recent furor over the Royal Academy of History's refusal to label him a dictator in its latest biographical dictionary shows, more than 35 years after his death, Spain has still not come to terms with either the man or his legacy.

And there is no more powerful and enduring symbol of the man and his legacy than the Valley of the Fallen, his monument to the fascist victory that ended the 1936-39 Civil War carved out of a mountainside close to El Escorial, some 50 kilometers north of Madrid, and which remains his burial place.

Spain's first two post-Franco prime ministers, Adolfo Suárez and Felipe González, set up commissions to decide what to do with the Valley of the Fallen, but came up with no answers. Now, with less than a year to go before the next general elections, Socialist Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero has asked a group of experts to come up with a plan in five months to resolve the issue.

The Valley of the Fallen is not a monument to all those who died in the Spanish Civil War; it was built by Republican prisoners in memory of the victors, not the vanquished.

"There is nothing else like it anywhere in the world," says one member of the latest commission, which includes historians, lawyers, philosophers and even a Benedictine monk. EL PAÍS has talked to the commission's members on how to convert this "monument to the war and national-Catholicism," in the words of its president, Socialist Party politician Ramón Jáuregui, "into a place of reconciliation."

What to do with the Valley of the Fallen is the big question, but it is also worth asking why it has taken so long to pose that question. How is it that almost four decades after the death of Franco the monument retains the legal status given it by the dictator?

"Fear," is historian Ricard Vinyes' short answer. "Nobody had the courage to tackle the issue, nor the sensitivity to know how to go about it. And that is extraordinary, because it is the most important monument to the victors that the dictatorship left behind."

Julián Casanova, a fellow member of the commission and also a historian, says that the monument is "too big, with too many conflicting interests involved, and so nobody knows what to do. And when we were asked what to do, nobody liked our answers." Casanova doesn't believe that the Valley of the Fallen can ever be a place of reconciliation. "It is a monument to the victors, and it should remain that, but it should be explained to visitors through a museum on the site."

Veteran Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo, who is himself accused of war-time atrocities against Nationalist prisoners, argues that the reason nothing has been done to the Valley of the

Fallen is "because the right wing in this country still hasn't broken its ties to Franco, while the left is timid, and afraid of facing up to the prejudices of public opinion."

Philosopher Reyes Mate says that the delay in addressing the question is to do with what he calls "Spain, and Europe's culture of forgetting. We have refused to look at the past because many people think that it is dangerous, that it creates problems, when of course it is the only real way to find a solution."

Most of the experts on the panel agree that fear is the overriding reason why successive governments have avoided the issue. "This is a historic opportunity, and at the same time a challenge as huge as the cross that towers over the Valley of the Fallen. We need to be conscientious, imaginative, and above all courageous," says anthropologist Francisco Ferrán.

"The first thing that we have to do is to explode the myth of the Valley of the Fallen, defuse its symbolic value; we have to turn the whole meaning of the thing round. It isn't enough to just put up some panels explaining to visitors what these stones mean," he says.

The commission is all too aware of the strong feelings that the Valley of the Fallen arouses, particularly from those opposed to changing its status. For this reason its members say that they will not discuss their ideas and proposals with the media until they have reached a conclusion they all agree on.

That said, some decisions have been made. The 150 meter-cross that dominates the site will remain, despite requests from some groups that it be dismantled. The Benedictine monastery there will also remain. A memorial will also be constructed to honor those who are buried there, as well as to the prisoners who were forced to build the site.

A more delicate question that the experts will have to address is what to do with the remains of Franco and José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange, and who is also buried there as a hero. Some say that while their bodies remain on the site, the Valley of the Fallen will always be their monument. They say that Franco should be reburied alongside his wife, in the small cemetery outside the Pardo, once the dictator's official residence just outside Madrid.

Primo de Rivera's case is different: he was, after all, executed by Republican soldiers in Alicante following his arrest at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Does that make him a victim of the war? "Removing Franco's remains from the Valley of the Fallen would send a powerful symbolic message," says one member of the commission. Others say that he should be left there, and that all the statues of Franco that have been removed from public places throughout Spain should also be deposited there.

If the commission does finally decide to exhume Franco, the government would have to involve his family. EL PAÍS tried to contact Franco's daughter, Carmen Franco Polo, but was told by Emilio de Miguel, the spokesman for the Franco Foundation, which is presided over by Franco Polo: "Franco deserves respect, as do all the dead. If they wish to build a museum, there is plenty of mountainside on which to do, but not there."

Of course, Franco and Primo de Rivera are not the only two bodies that lie in the Valley of the Fallen. The site is the largest mass grave in Europe, with the remains of some 33,833 people buried there. Among them are hundreds of Republican prisoners whose remains were dug up from the roadside

graves they had been thrown into and taken to the site to make up the numbers. Eleven families are now demanding that their loved ones be returned to them.

Historian Queralt Solé, who has written about the Valley of the Fallen in the book *Los muertos clandestinos* (or, *The hidden dead*), says that Franco did not want Republican prisoners buried in the Valley of the Fallen. But she also points out that many families who supported the Nationalist cause didn't want their loved ones buried there either, which is why Franco had to resort to burying casualties from the defeated side there.

Many towns and villages around the country were only too happy to dig up the mass graves of Republican soldiers and sympathizers to make more room in the cemeteries. Solé says that Franco and Primo de Rivera should remain where they are so that "the Valley will be conserved as the pharaonic tomb that the dictator ordered to be built, an example of something that should never be allowed to happen again." But she agrees that the mass graves there should be exhumed over time and the dead given proper burials.

Casanova also says that Franco should be left in his current tomb. "He had it built for his own glory, and that should be explained. José Antonio should be with the other martyrs because this person lived until November 20, 1936, and was then reinvented by Franco. In February 1936, he was not even elected, and led a tiny party with no influence until the military uprising in July of that year.

Miguel Herrero y Rodríguez de Miñón, a jurist who has held several senior posts within the Popular Party (PP), and is currently a member of the Council of State government advisory body, is also on the commission. He believes that the most difficult task is to decide how the Valley of the Fallen will be run. The commission has to reach agreement with the Benedictine community currently in charge of the site, but which is funded by Spain's National Heritage organization, despite not being on its list of sites. In other words, the Valley of the Fallen has no owner.

Legislation passed by the current government on commemorating those who were killed during the Civil War and subsequently by the Franco regime says that the foundation responsible for running the Valley of the Fallen, which was set up in 1959, should "include among its objectives the rehabilitation of all those who died as a consequence of the war and the repression that followed and that it should deepen our understanding of this period of history and our constitutional values."

But Rodríguez de Miñón says that "with common sense and good will, we can resolve this; it isn't as though we have to rewrite the Constitution." Others on the commission say that the site must first be deconsecrated, a task that will doubtless be opposed by some. "I am concerned about the pressure that the Catholic Church and the PP will apply to the commission," says Vinyes.

What would you do with the Valley?

- Marcos Ana, 23 years in Franco's jails. "Many prisoners wanted to be transferred to the Valley of the Fallen, to work on the construction site there because they thought that they would be able to escape, but they only used prisoners with shorter sentences. I had been sent down for 60 years, so I never went there. The victors are still a very powerful presence in Spanish society - they are woven into the fabric of the state, and, of course, in places like the Valley of the Fallen. I would like to see it turned into an anti-Franco museum, a place that remembers those who built it."
- Santiago Carrillo, former leader of the Communist Party. "From the moment that I returned to Spain, I decided never to visit the place. I used to think that it should be cased in lead, like Chernobyl. But now I think that it should be turned into somewhere that we can all go to, and that would involve removing Franco, dismantling the cross, and converting it into a secular site, given that many of those buried there were not religious. It would be a good thing to build a museum that explained how it was built."
- Luis Eduardo Aute, singer-songwriter. "I have never been. For me it is a symbol of horror, of the terrible Civil War, a symbol of the coup leaders' victory. I think that it should be turned into a museum about the civil war, in the same way that the concentration camps have been used to explain Nazism. But to do that, Franco and Primo de Rivera would have to be removed."
- Emilio de Miguel, spokesman for the Franco Foundation. "I would leave it as it is. A lot of problems are being created needlessly, while at the same time people are going hungry, which is a bigger problem. The commission that has been set up seems very sectarian to me. Who are they to decide? Franco isn't there because he wanted to be, but because the king authorized it. If they want to build a museum, let them do it somewhere else, and leave the dead in peace."
- Juan Diego Botto, actor, and son of one of Argentina's disappeared. "For me it is the mausoleum of a dictator paid for with public money, and a site of pilgrimage for the far right. It has no place in democratic Spain. Franco and Primo de Rivera's remains should be removed and it should be turned into a place to remember all those who died fighting for democracy. Fear has prevented the government from doing anything until now. It is amazing that there are still so many monuments and streets named after murderers in this country."
- Fernando Savater, philosopher. "I have an uncle who is buried there. He was among those killed by the Communists in Paracuellos. At the same time, Franco, who ruined my youth, and stuck me in prison, is also buried there. I think that the best thing would be to remove all the dead from the Valley of the Fallen and bury them in a cemetery. The site should be turned into a church."
- Fabio Gándara, law graduate, currently camped out in Madrid's Puerta del Sol as part of the May 15 protests. "The whole thing has been very badly handled. I think that it should be left as it is, but turned into a site where Spaniards can remember the prisoners who built it, along with the Republicans buried there: a kind of museum to their memory."
- Juan José Solozábal, professor of constitutional law. "I am absolutely against the idea of removing Franco and Primo de Rivera's remains. What is important about the dead is their memory rather than their relics, which are all too easily manipulated. I think that the Valley of the Fallen should be turned into a study center, and that a memorial should be created there to commemorate all Spaniards, which is both necessary, and possible."

Spain: Anger over republicans buried in Franco's tomb

Relatives of the fallen demand return of remains 50,000 from both sides of civil war in mausoleum

Graham Keeley in Barcelona
The Guardian, Sunday 6 July 2008

Its huge cross looms large on the horizon as visitors approach the vast memorial to one of Europe's longest-serving dictators. But the Valley of the Fallen, which still attracts thousands of visitors each year, is not only the resting place of General Francisco Franco.

Historians believe the bodies of 50,000 casualties of the civil war - both nationalists and republicans - are buried at the tomb a few miles north-west of Madrid. Many remains were moved secretly to the mausoleum without permission.

Ever since Franco's death the tomb has acted as a Francoist shrine. Now families, angry that their loved ones lie next to the dictator, want their remains returned to them.

Three leftwing parties have also demanded that the government allows families to remove relatives transferred without permission.

Laura Colom, 77, discovered her father Joan's body did not lie in a republican mass grave in Lleida, Catalonia, but in the Valley of the Fallen. "We took flowers many times to the mass grave, but my father wasn't there," she said, crying. In fact, Joan Colom is registered as body No 26, 569 in the mausoleum.

His grandson, Joan Pinyol, said: "My grandmother would have thrown up if she had known her husband was buried next to this villain. If a dictator could profane tombs and steal bodies, why can't we, in a democracy, move our own to be buried with their loved ones?"

"It is an insult that my grandfather who died defending the Republic should make this monument look grander."

Franco intended the Valley of the Fallen to honour those who died in the civil war. Work started in 1940, but it was not finished until 1959.

Officials realised the huge crypt needed bodies to fill it and the remains of republicans, some shot by Francoist firing squads, as well as nationalists, were moved.

An order was sent by the regime to councils across Spain to find remains of those killed on both sides.

Valerico Canales was shot with six other leftwingers in 1936 in Aldeaseca, Avila. In 1959, his remains were removed from a mass grave and taken to the mausoleum.

His son, Fausto Canales, 74, said: "People from the village told us one night they took all the bodies to the Valley of the Fallen. They rushed it, leaving a skull, bones, vertebrae, teeth and finger of a woman killed [with my father]."

After checking records at the Valley of the Fallen, Canales found his father's resting place. "I will only return there to take my father's body and his six companions home," he said.

The regime also clandestinely moved the bodies of nationalist soldiers to fill up the mausoleum. The body of Pedro Gil, who died fighting for Franco's forces, was moved to the Valley of the Fallen from Soria, northern Spain.

Historian Queralt Solé, author of *The Hidden Dead*, said: "The international panorama had changed and Franco could not go on using the [mausoleum] to honour only victors. The crypt was very large and at the end Franco changed his criteria to allow republican prisoners."

After Spain passed the law of historical memory last year to offer some justice to Franco's victims, pressure has grown to transform the tomb into a museum.



Spain To Uncover Past In 'Valley Of The Fallen'

by JEROME SOCOLOVSKY
November 09, 2009 4:00 PM

Spain's parliament recently voted to identify thousands of dead from the Spanish civil war of the 1930s. Their remains are in the same tomb as former dictator Francisco Franco.

Fausto Canales, 75, has been fighting to get his father's bones taken out of that tomb. He has a table full of paperwork related to his search for the remains of his father, Valerico Canales.

"This is my father," he says, as he finds an old sepia-toned photo of a proud young soldier. "He was 21 years old and a conscript in this photo. And he was 29 when they killed him."

Valerico Canales was a day laborer in a small town about 70 miles from Madrid. During the Spanish civil war, he says, fascists executed Canales and dumped his body into a mass grave along with the mayor and eight other townsfolk.

"I was just 2 1/2 years old," Canales says.

The war ended in 1939 with the defeat of forces loyal to the overthrown Republican government, and Franco became Spain's dictator. In 1959, Canales heard rumors that his father's remains had been dug up and taken to the Guadarrama Mountains outside Madrid, where Franco was building a giant memorial.

'Those Who Died For God And Spain'

The monument, the Holy Cross of the Valley of the Fallen, has barely changed since the dictatorship ended three decades ago. Under a towering stone cross that can be seen 30 miles away in Madrid, an enormous subterranean gallery leads deep into the mountain.

"Come in and discover one of the most awesome and breathtaking sites the Patrimonio Nacional directs," urges an audio guide provided by the

Heritage Authority. It doesn't mention the forced labor that was used to build the monument, which is presented as a memorial to the fallen from both sides, whose coffins are stacked in vaults deep inside the basilica.

In the Chapel of the Sepulcher, there is a locked wooden door under an inscription that reads "*Caidos por Dios y por Espana*" — those who died for God and Spain. In Spain, it is a slogan closely associated with the fascists. Fausto Canales says that — and the presence of Franco's decorated tomb nearby — are an insult to his father's memory.

'Old Wounds'

Parliament's recent vote to identify the remains inside the vaults set off alarm bells for the political right, especially when leftist parties went further. They demanded that the Valley of the Fallen be turned into a memorial of Francoist repression and that Franco's body be removed.

"It would reopen old wounds from the civil war just when we Spaniards have overcome them," says Miguel Bernard Remon, the secretary-general of the right-wing labor union Manos Limpias. "What kind of country is this, where parts of the left are refighting the civil war and distracting attention from our real problems?"

Canales disagrees. He says Spain needs to go through a process of self-scrutiny, as Germany did after the Nazi regime. But he says it is not about revenge.

"We just want to clarify what happened," Canales says.

Canales says he hopes that at the very least he can give the father he never knew a proper burial — far away from Franco's grave.