

## Exhumaciones, generales y *militarismo fantasma*: cómo confrontar el legado de la Guerra Civil española\*

FRANCISCO FERRÁNDIZ\*\*

Este texto refleja una investigación etnográfica de 20 años sobre exhumaciones de fosas comunes en la España contemporánea. Aborda las condiciones del desmantelamiento de la jerarquía funeraria derivada de su última guerra interna (1936-1939) y la posterior dictadura (1939-1975), entendida como una inscripción militarizada de una victoria cruenta sobre los derrotados en la contienda, y cuyas consecuencias son aún trágicamente evidentes en el país. Para comprender la complejidad de este proceso necropolítico y sus raíces históricas, en primer lugar analizo la formación de una suerte de *apartheid funerario* en el país, desde el final de la guerra, en el cual el régimen dictatorial impulsó a los cadáveres de los vencedores y de los vencidos a habitar dos espacios de muerte radicalmente diferentes a medida que su gestión, por acción u omisión, se convirtió en un rasgo destacado de la arquitectura de la nueva soberanía nacional.<sup>1</sup>

En segundo lugar, examino el enorme impacto que han tenido en el tejido social y político las exhumaciones de fosas comunes de civiles republicanos, que comenzaron en el año 2000, como parte de un movimiento social más amplio que desafía la impu-

nidad de los crímenes franquistas durante la guerra y la posguerra. La irrupción de las víctimas olvidadas de Franco en el espacio público, en forma de restos cadavéricos heridos y mal enterrados en fosas comunes, comenzó a suscitar preguntas incómodas sobre el alcance y la profundidad del legado de Franco, y la perdurabilidad de la máquina de impunidad que lo sigue encubriendo, al menos en parte, décadas después de su muerte. Este proceso, en un principio impulsado por los nietos de los vencidos en la guerra, desafió a las instituciones públicas y cuestionó la capacidad de respuesta del sistema judicial a las demandas de rendición de cuentas que se planteaban, al tiempo que arrojaron luz sobre las profundas contradicciones que todavía hoy dominan la relación de España con la Guerra Civil.

En tercer lugar, como una consecuencia crucial de este proceso, exploro la forma en que estas exhumaciones del siglo *xx*, que han tenido un gran impacto político y mediático, se entrecruzan con el monumento franquista más destacado y polémico del país, el Valle de los Caídos, y empezaron a amenazar su integridad patrimonial, su estatus de enorme ce-

\* Este texto es una adaptación sustancialmente reducida y actualizada del artículo "Unburials, generals and phantoms: militarism: Engaging with the Spanish Civil War legacy", publicado en 2019 en *Current Anthropology*, vol. 60 (519), pp. S62-S76, en el número especial *Cultures of Militarism*, coordinado por Catherine Besteman y Hugh Gusterson (<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/701057>). Puede consultarse un archivo suplementario con imágenes y videos que ilustran el texto en ([https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/suppl/10.1086/701057/suppl\\_file/303438Appendix.pdf](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/suppl/10.1086/701057/suppl_file/303438Appendix.pdf)). El artículo forma parte del proyecto de investigación *Exorcismos. Más allá del subterráneo: del giro forense a la necropolítica en las exhumaciones de fosas comunes* (código PID2019-104418RB-I000, financiado por la Agencia Estatal de Investigación (aei) del Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (España). La web del proyecto puede visitarse en (<http://www.politicadela memoria.org/esp>).

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<sup>1</sup> Tomo la noción de *apartheid funerario* de Emilio Silva, un activista clave en el impulso de este movimiento de memoria, que tradujo en estos términos mi noción de los dos espacios diferenciados de muerte, durante un debate público en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

# El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana

**Matt A. Casado**



## **El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillana norteamericana:**

**Libros en venta en Hispanoamérica y España**, 1993      **LEV**, 1998      **El legado de la guerra hispano-antillana-norteamericana** Rodrigo Quesada Monge, 2001      **La Guerra Hispano-Estadounidense de 1898** Matt A. Casado, 2014 DESCRIPCIÓN DE LOS ACONTECIMIENTOS ACARECIDOS EN EL CONFLICTO HISPANO ESTADOUNIDENSE SEGÚN FUENTES NORTEAMERICANAS Este libro consta de la traducción libre de escritos pertenecientes a archivos y fuentes estadounidenses de la transcripción de notas atribuidas a los protagonistas americanos de la contienda y a informes de los miembros del gobierno del ejército y de la marina española Para algunos historiadores americanos la guerra hispano estadounidense fue una de las más significativas del siglo XIX En solo cien días España perdió todas sus colonias su flota fue aniquilada la mayor parte de su ejército fue capturado su comercio internacional paralizado y sus finanzas alcanzaron la bancarrota El conflicto fue un golpe mortal para España y el comienzo del creciente poderío de los Estados Unidos El contenido de esta obra está ajustado a los datos hallados durante la labor de investigación sin que el autor haya añadido comentarios propios ni establecido juicios que pudieran haber tergiversado o influenciado en ningún caso el significado de la opinión exclusiva de los actores que participaron en el conflicto armado El cotejo de los hechos narrados en este trabajo con los publicados en fuentes no estadounidenses queda al libre albedrío de los lectores      **La guerra hispano-estadounidense (The Spanish-American War)** Marie Roesser, 2019-12-15 A war between Spain and the United States was waged in 1898 in the Caribbean and in the Philippines It forced Spain out of Cuba and established the United States as a true world power Young historians will learn the causes of the war each side's military maneuvers and the conflict's aftereffects all clearly explained in comprehensible text especially for the struggling reader Remarkable photographs and images of the war will help visual learners connect with the material      **La guerra hispano-estadounidense** Captivating History, 2020-10-03 La guerra hispano estadounidense en realidad solo duró unas diez semanas la preparación y la decisión de ir a la guerra tomaron más tiempo que la guerra misma pero no se firmó un tratado de paz hasta diciembre de 1898      *La guerra hispano-estadounidense* Captivating History, 2020 Si quiere descubrir la fascinante historia de la guerra hispano estadounidense siga leyendo La guerra hispano estadounidense en realidad solo duró unas diez semanas la preparación y la decisión de ir a la guerra tomaron más tiempo que la guerra misma pero no se firmó un tratado de paz hasta diciembre de 1898 Este evento fue el punto de inflexión entre el fin del Imperio español y el ascenso de Estados Unidos como actor formidable dentro del escenario mundial No todos los estadounidenses estaban contentos con el cambio hubo estadounidenses famosos como Mark Twain que hablaron sobre la ocupación estadounidense de las tierras que iban a salvar Esta brecha se consideró tan antitética respecto a los ideales estadounidenses como se habría visto inclinarse ante la corona inglesa durante la Revolución Americana Aunque la visión del país que tenían los aislacionistas ya no era popular y muchos estadounidenses deseaban desempeñar un papel más importante en el mundo La ideología del país no era completamente diferente de lo que

hab a sido pero se dirig a m s hacia la superpotencia en la que finalmente se convirti al final de la Segunda Guerra Mundial Estados Unidos finalmente hab a dado los pasos para igualar el poder y la gloria de los otros pa ses occidentales y cada vez resultaba m s dif cil ignorar los eventos del mundo al tener tierras que proteger tan lejos del continente En La guerra hispano estadounidense Una gu a fascinante sobre la guerra entre los Estados Unidos de Am rica y Espa a despu s de la intervenci n de Estados Unidos en la Guerra de Independencia de Cuba descubrir temas como La influencia menguante de Espa a Estados Unidos un pa s ansioso por salir del aislacionismo Tensiones crecientes La sensacionalista simpat a de Estados Unidos hacia Cuba Recordar el Maine Una excusa para la guerra Una breve guerra con enormes implicaciones Rough Riders el comienzo de la leyenda de Theodore Roosevelt C mo los Smoked Yanquis aseguraron el xito de Roosevelt El precio de la paz La Liga Antiperialista La Ley Foraker de 1900 y los Nuevos Territorios La tensa relaci n entre Cuba y Estados Unidos En la mitad del mundo la relaci n filipino estadounidense Un mundo cambiado Y mucho mucho m s Obtenga este libro ahora para aprender m s sobre la guerra hispano estadounidense Historia de la Guerra Hispano-Americana Francisco G Cosm Mendoza Y Vizcaino,2022-10-27 This work has been selected by scholars as being culturally important and is part of the knowledge base of civilization as we know it This work is in the public domain in the United States of America and possibly other nations Within the United States you may freely copy and distribute this work as no entity individual or corporate has a copyright on the body of the work Scholars believe and we concur that this work is important enough to be preserved reproduced and made generally available to the public We appreciate your support of the preservation process and thank you for being an important part of keeping this knowledge alive and relevant **Guerra Hispano-Americana** Pascual Cervera y Topete,1900 *Historia de la Guerra Hispano-Americana - Primary Source Edition* Sr Alberto Leduc,2013-10-01 This is a reproduction of a book published before 1923 This book may have occasional imperfections such as missing or blurred pages poor pictures errant marks etc that were either part of the original artifact or were introduced by the scanning process We believe this work is culturally important and despite the imperfections have elected to bring it back into print as part of our continuing commitment to the preservation of printed works worldwide We appreciate your understanding of the imperfections in the preservation process and hope you enjoy this valuable book *Historia de la Guerra Hispano-Americana* Enrique Mendoza Enrique Mendoza Y . Vizcaino,1902 Historia De La Guerra Hispano Americana by Enrique Mendoza Y Vizcaino first published in 1902 is a rare manuscript the original residing in one of the great libraries of the world This book is a reproduction of that original which has been scanned and cleaned by state of the art publishing tools for better readability and enhanced appreciation Restoration Editors mission is to bring long out of print manuscripts back to life Some smudges annotations or unclear text may still exist due to permanent damage to the original work We believe the literary significance of the text justifies offering this reproduction allowing a new generation to appreciate it

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## **Table of Contents El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana**

1. Understanding the eBook El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - The Rise of Digital Reading El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Exploring Different Genres
  - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
  - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
  - Popular eBook Platforms
  - Features to Look for in an El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - User-Friendly Interface

4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Personalized Recommendations
  - El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana User Reviews and Ratings
  - El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana Free and Paid eBooks
  - El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana Public Domain eBooks
  - El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana eBook Subscription Services
  - El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana eBook Formats
  - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
  - El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana Compatibility with Devices
  - El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
  - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Highlighting and Note-Taking El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Interactive Elements El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
8. Staying Engaged with El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Joining Online Reading Communities
  - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
  - Following Authors and Publishers El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Benefits of a Digital Library
  - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
  - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
  - Minimizing Distractions
  - Managing Screen Time
11. Cultivating a Reading Routine El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Setting Reading Goals El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time

12. Sourcing Reliable Information of El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Fact-Checking eBook Content of El Legado De La Guerra Hispanoantillananorteamericana
  - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
  - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
  - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
  - Integration of Multimedia Elements
  - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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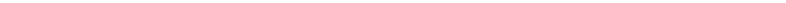
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