

Hanno Balz (Johns Hopkins University)

Intellectuals and „Sympathizers“ in German Terrorism Discourse during the 1970s.

Suppression of critical intellectuals and demanding loyalty towards the state is a reoccurring theme in German politics in times of perceived crisis. Take for example, the significant debate on the role of influential terrorist „sympathizers“ in 1970s Western Germany.

While “terrorism” discourse was set in a highly ritualized framework in the 1970s, it became clear that the whole notion of the critical and liberal German intellectual was under threat.

The most important role of discourse regarding the Red Army Faction is played out in the debate surrounding real or imagined "sympathizers". This conflict first implicitly, and later explicitly, demanded active loyalty towards the State. Corresponding with the first "prominent" generation of the RAF prominent public figures, like writer Heinrich Böll and artists and intellectuals like Peter Brückner, were confronted with the suspicion of being "sympathizers". From the mid-70s on the media's focus changed to the rather amorphous mass of radical "accomplices", especially on university campuses. The conservative philosopher Günter Rohrmoser wasn't the only one who in this context worried about “the intelligentsia's turn away from society”.

In this pejorative "Sympathizers" discourse we find strategies of personalization, which construct the "story of terrorism" on the moral pattern of guilt, especially that of a *guilt by association* (Kontaktschuld) with actual persons or mere ideologies. In the end, this marks a discursive framing of conviction beyond the law, but with serious consequences nonetheless, particularly if we take the many cases of resulting “Berufsverbote” into account.

More than this, the influential argument, the "Sympathizers" would have been responsible for "terrorism" resulted in dissolving the borders of societal exclusion. This especially affected the liberal political spectrum. In the tradition of "the pen is mightier than the sword" the magazine "Quick" headlined: „Die Bölls sind gefährlicher als Baader-Meinhof“ (Bölls are more dangerous than Baader-Meinhof).

It can be argued that the „terrorism“ discourse manufactured consent on a wide scale, - never again was the divide between society and state as small as during the escalation of the „German Autumn“ in 1977.

In this regard, I want to focus on the crisis of public intellectual engagement in the 1970s and discuss the possibilities of a renewal of similar professions of faith under current political circumstance.

Thyll Warmbold (Universität Göttingen)

„Your republic is not ours“ – The Christian Democratic Party’s linguistic strategies during the ‚German autumn‘.

In 1973, at the party convention of the Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) in Hamburg, the then secretary general Klaus Biedenkopf, who had just taken office, argued “what is happening in our country nowadays is a revolution of a new kind. Instead of occupying the government’s buildings the terms which the government uses to govern are being occupied.” Biedenkopf then elaborated on his thoughts: by defining certain terms like “liberty”, “solidarity” or “participation”, the Social Democratic Party would leave their political opponent literally speechless because these terms couldn’t be used by another party without evoking the Social Democrats’ edifice of ideas, inherently linked to those terms. In Biedenkopf’s opinion, the CDU needed to coin their own terms in order to get recognized and distinguish itself in the public eye as an autonomous political party. The CDU tried to invent a new term with the so-called “new social question”, but this concept backfired since most people rather associated the term with the Social Democrats than with the CDU. Furthermore, they thought it meant measures taken by the government to aid socially disadvantaged groups instead of blaming the government for leaving these groups behind. The CDU was in a desperate need to find a way to present itself as the better and more capable alternative to the social-liberal coalition. I argue that the left-wing-terrorism thereby was not only perceived as a perilous threat to the public safety but also as an opportunity to strengthen the party’s profile by dismissing the social-liberal coalition’s policy as a whole and accusing the government of inaction. The party pursued an ambivalent strategy: on the one hand it claimed to support the government (the so-called “solidarity amongst democrats”, a phrase which was also used by the social-liberal-coalition), on the other hand the Christian Democrats blamed the government for being too permissive towards the terrorists’ activities and thus even indirectly fostering them. The specific usage of language became a key factor in the public dispute, in which the CDU tried to nurture the narrative of a weak left government, inept and to some extent even unwilling to cope with the existential threat posed by left-wing-terrorism. The successful implementation of this narrative not only got the government into decidedly hot water but also laid the foundation for the CDU’s reputation as a law-and-order-party for decades to come.

Jörg Requate (Universität Kassel)

Terrorism in the media society. Strategies of communication and their consequences.

The pictures produced by the attacks of 9/11 are well known all over the world. With regard to publicity, the attacks were extremely successful. However, the idea to use violence as a means of communication was anything but new. The kidnapping of Aldo Moro and Hans-Martin Schleyer in 1977 and 1978, the hijacking of Palestinians in the 1970s, the attack on the Olympic games in Munich in 1972: all these terrorist acts had already shown the close relationship between terrorism and mass media. Thus, one could argue that terrorism is a product of the media society. But things are more difficult: The terrorist attack that caused the most victims in the history of the Federal Republic – the attack on the Münchener Oktoberfest in 1980 – is far less known than the assaults of the RAF. The initiators of the Oktoberfest attack were a group of right-wing terrorists as well as members of the NSU (National Socialist Underground), who are held responsible for at least ten murders between 2000 and 2011. Neither the police nor the public attributed these murders to neo-Nazi terrorists until the day they died. Therefore, this paper deals with the question in what way and to what extent media attention and terrorism are connected or even mutually dependent. Obviously, it is not always the main target of terrorists just to achieve the maximum of attention. Do right-wing terrorists pursue other communicative strategies than left-wing or Islamic terrorists? The contribution seeks to differentiate the relationship between terrorist aims and the mechanisms of the media society.

Patrick Eser (Universität Kassel)

El atentado contra Carrero Blanco como lugar de (no-)memoria.

On the 20th December of 1973 ETA catapulted itself, realizing an attack on the live of Luis Carrero Blanco, on the headlines of the international newspapers. The attack catapulted the car of Carrero Blanco dozens of meters in the air and finished with the life of one of the most important political actors of the late Francoist regime. At the same time the attack meant the final crisis of the regime making impossible the planned succession and continuity of the regime after the coming dead of the old aged dictator Franco. The attack made (indirectly) possible the transition of the dictatorship to democracy. The historical importance of the attack is nevertheless disputed, in historiographical debates like in the cultural memory and politics of memory of Spain (and of the Basque Country).

I will present historiographical debates and cultural representations (in the media of popular songs like in film and literature) of this event, trying to conceptualize the contradictions concerning this disputed memory as (no-)memory space (lugar de (no-)memoria); and trying to reconstruct how historical and fictitious narratives try to integrate this disturbing event – an assassination realized by an ‘terrorist gang’ which made possible the transition to democracy?– in the cultural memory of Spain and/or the Basque Country.

Catherine Teissier (Université d'Aix-Marseille)

Remembering the years of lead and looking at the issue of identity in contemporary German crime novel: 'Die Blaue List' by Wolfgang Schorlau.

Terrorist violence by the RAF did not end with the suicide of its first generation members, nor with the trials or death of its second-generation members. A third generation of members carried on fighting", attacking, killing, assaulting in Germany into the 90s and the RAF would only announce its self-dissolution in 1998. The last of the murders it claimed was perpetrated in 1991 against the then head of the Treuhand, Carsten Detlev Rohwedder. His alleged assassin, Wolfgang Grams, was killed when he was arrested in Bad Kleinen, on June 27, 1993. These two deaths are at the heart of the plot developed in the detective story 'Die Blaue list'.

The RAF's claim over terrorist acts after the historical break of 1990 and the reunification of the two German states raises a question, because this claim seems out of step not only with the period of the 'years of lead', but also with the speech that was trying at the time to 'legitimize' the terrorists' violence. The assassination of the first President of the Treuhand, in particular, does not fit with the methods used by the RAF, either as regards the choice of the "target" or the procedure.

The so-called "popular" literature, of which crime fiction is part, has often proved effective in detecting and expressing the malaise of a society facing its own inconsistencies or uncertainties. This communication aims to study the coming together of two complex historical, painful and unresolved realities in German society today through analysing Wolfgang Schorlau's novel. On the one hand how German unification happened from an economic point of view, and how the choice made after the death of Carsten Detlev Rohwedder would prove humanly disastrous. On the other hand the fascination in a largely pacified and profoundly democratic German society for the temptation of violence as a solution to political challenges.

Main points:

- The codes in crime fiction and political thrillers are used here to interrogate and deconstruct on the one hand the discourse of extreme-left terrorism, and on the other hand the legitimizing of state violence.
- Conspiracy theories reveal a malaise in German society: a bad conscience toward two always-painful periods of the past (the Years of Lead, and the reunification and its consequences)

Carsten Würmann (Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

How It All Is Coming to an End. The End of Terrorism in the Crime Genre.

„Again and again he had before his eyes this Amigo, for two seconds, a film snippet, repeated at infinitum. Teddy’s knees were shaking. A few hours of sleep and he would forget Amigo. It was not his story. Sorry about that.“ (Lars Becker: Amigo)

This Amigo Steiger is the protagonist in Lars Becker’s novel ‘Amigo’ of 1991. He was a member of the ‘Revolutionäre Front’; a terror group that was committing bomb attacks against military factories. Amigo was discovered and had to flee abroad. After he realizes that his former comrades had dumped him, he returns to Hamburg to get even with them. Amigo is not interested in any explanations or excuses. His return home leads to a final reckoning. The author and film director Lars Becker depicts the end of the era of terrorism according to popular formula. He does not bother with psychological explanations or moral reasoning. With minimal words he sketches some characters that have just the right dose of clichés for this effective “roman noir”.

Terrorist actions are simple indeed, when juxtaposed with the complex, modern society: something is destroyed, someone is killed. The terrorists’ world-view knows what is right and who is not, and terrorists execute that knowledge accordingly. They set a dichotomous simple agenda: ‘entweder Mensch oder Schwein, entweder Problem oder Lösung’. In this logic of violence, there are only unambiguous solutions. In the end there must be either the destruction of the attacked established order and the installation of a new one or the victory over terrorism and the permanent elimination of the terrorists. The history of German Left-wing terrorism illustrates how such an argument can polarise a society over decades. However, if this issue was presented as clear and simple as the dichotomous interpretation suggests, why have so many people felt the need to talk and write about this matter from the late 1960 onwards and make it one of the most discussed subjects of postwar German history? This intensive focus illustrates the endeavour to come to an understanding and find satisfying answers to this challenge. Literary texts offered other, sometimes quite complex solutions to integrate and explain terrorism. Here, the crime genre seems per definition to be the place to talk about men and women and their actions which challenge and violate social order. At the end, as the genre demands, there is a denouement, but even if often the ‘good guys win and the bad ones get what they deserve’, the genre does not necessarily provide a happy ending. Often the reinstated and reconfirmed order might just as well be the unjust one of the beginning.

The paper presents some crime novels and movies and analyses how this popular genre imagines the ending of terrorism. What remains of the complex interrelations of terror and repression? Who shows up for the show down? Who remains? And what comes after?

Simon Hagemann (Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté)

Discourses Around the Red Army Faction (RAF) in Film Productions of the Last Five Decades.

The Red Army Faction (RAF) existed from 1970 to 1998. Film productions focusing on social-revolutionary terrorism in (West) Germany started before then, with Klaus Lemke's *Brandstifter* (1969), inspired by the first violent actions of later RAF members Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin. They continue to be created now: one of the latest realizations is Jean-Gabriel Périot's *A German Youth* (2015), which gives a rather rare view on the topic from outside Germany. Spanning almost five decades, the thematic focus of the films, their social and political discourse and their cinematic approaches have changed. Major evolution can be interpreted as representing evolution in the general political discourse or, at least, the dominant opinion of the German film and television industry. Despite this, sometimes more innovative productions break out of the general canon.

The productions can be structured in three periods. The first is from 1975 to 1985, although it was initiated by *Brandstifter* in 1969. However, after five years without any major productions, the period really started with *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* by Volker Schlöndorff in 1975. A decade of productions by protagonists of New German Cinema started. These productions from mainly moderate left-wing filmmakers show their struggle to deal with the growing social tensions between social-revolutionary terrorism and state reactions favouring security over civil freedom. The anthology film *Germany in Autumn* (1978) can be considered a central production. The second period was from 1986 to 1997 and is characterized by an absence of the topic in cinema, but a growing presence of documentaries on television. These productions focused on detailed and spectacular reconstructions of some of the terrorist attacks. Even if the social and political context is less discussed, the productions often imply some sort of political comment. The last period started after the dissolution of the RAF in 1998, again with a Schlöndorff film, *The Legend of Rita* (1999), as a starting point. Since then, the thematic focus and the cinematic approaches have diversified. The question of historical truth has been enlarged by questions of representation and media discourse.

Mehdi Kochbati (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense)

Transgression esthétique de la violence : instrumentalisation et représentation textuelle de la violence dans *Leviathan* de Paul Auster.

À travers des récits épisodiques de l'histoire américaine faisant intervenir des incidents marquant la fin du 19^e siècle, une violence textuelle, langagière, politique, sociale et éthique émerge dans *Leviathan*. Bien qu'elle dénonce également l'injustice sociale de la nation américaine, celle-ci prend une tonalité violente de par son intensité. Le récit mémoriel remonte jusqu'à la période située entre 1876 et 1890, où la nation sombre dans la violence et décrit une Amérique qui commence à perdre ses repères et à se séparer de ses valeurs fondatrices. Le passé américain marqué par les guerres et les massacres ethniques et la montée de la répression des luttes ouvrières est un reniement par la nation de ses valeurs fondamentales de justice et des idéaux représentés par la Statue de la Liberté. Sachs rappelle à la nation son devoir de justice en se livrant à un programme de terrorisme esthétique. Celui-ci fait détruire le symbole de la démocratie en posant des bombes partout en Amérique contre des répliques de la Statue de la Liberté tout en veillant à ce que personne ne soit blessé. *Leviathan* reflète l'instrumentalisation de la violence, la stratégie de la dislocation et la fragmentation de l'écriture, car il s'agit de remembrer le corps d'un homme déchiqueté suite à l'explosion de la bombe artisanale qu'il était en train de fabriquer. Ici, l'écriture mémorielle, conduite par son ami Peter Aaron, reconstruit à partir de la trace d'un fragment et élabore une mise en image de la violence, à travers l'existence de Sachs, condamné à disparaître dans le programme qui l'anéantit complètement. Le programme terroriste de Sachs qui vise les répliques de la Statue de la Liberté, le recours à la violence et la bombe, la nécessaire fragmentation pour la recherche de l'intégrité et de l'unicité sont les thèmes privilégiés de l'œuvre et créent un réseau de signification fragmentaire. C'est la représentation de la violence de l'acte de Sachs, qui tente de marquer et d'agir dans l'histoire, qui impose un registre de destruction et d'anéantissement. Néanmoins, *Leviathan* met en exergue une vision ambivalente, celle de la nécessité de l'éparpillement en vue de l'unification, et de la destruction en vue de la recréation. Paradoxalement, la fragmentation et la violence réunissent et remembrent le corps déchiqueté de Sachs. Toutefois, le thème de l'unité dans le fragment est ce qui donne signification à la représentation de la violence. Dès le début du récit mémoriel, le champ sémantique de la fragmentation et de la violence apparaît via la mise en scène d'un homme déchiqueté lors de la préparation de son ultime attentat pacifique. Ben Sachs est né le jour du bombardement atomique d'Hiroshima le 6 août 1945 ce qui introduit d'ores et déjà dans le roman une dimension post-apocalyptique. Dès l'ouverture du roman, une désintégration violente marque la trame narrative : l'explosion pulvérise le corps, qui se trouve déchiqueté en innombrables morceaux. L'éclatement du corps de l'écrivain Benjamin Sachs lui donne une « existence posthume » car c'est Peter Aaron qui élabore cette entreprise mémorielle et textuelle consistant à réunir les segments et les fragments d'une transgression esthétique par la violence. Le programme de « désobéissance civile » de Sachs rappelle à la nation américaine son « échec » à pérenniser les principes de la liberté et de la démocratie. *Leviathan* est l'expérience d'un homme qui se dresse contre la tyrannie d'un Etat qui ne respecte plus les symboles nationaux. À travers l'opposition et l'esprit anarchiste de Benjamin Sachs qui trouvent leur origine dans la théorie révolutionnaire de la « Désobéissance civile »

de Henry David Thoreau, *Leviathan* s'ancre dans un contexte de résistance et de la transgression esthétique de la violence dans le développement global de l'histoire américaine.

Mots-clés : violence, transgression, texte, langage, mémoire, dislocation, fragmentation, instrumentalisation de la violence, production et réception de la violence, littérature américaine, Paul Auster

Michel Savaric (Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté)

Interpreting terrorism in Northern Ireland, during and after.

Debates on terrorism always fluctuate between two positions: it is either interpreted as the sign or expression of a wider social or political problem, or there is a focus on the character or individual responsibility of those who engage in it. By its very nature, terrorism can generally be apprehended from the outside only. There can be no direct access to the subjective positions of its perpetrators. How and in what type of organisation they actually operate gives rise to all kinds of speculation, projections and fantasies. The reliability of information available is questionable. In Northern Ireland, even if the terrorist phenomenon is still present, the period of the so-called 'Troubles' is now over. It is possible to look back upon it with a degree of distance. Many former actors of the conflict, former members of terrorist organisations but also former members of the security forces have written their memoirs. The question seems to have increased in complexity. The history of paramilitary organisations is now partly known, yet many shady areas remain and those areas of doubt may themselves have moved over time. The point of this paper will be to examine whether a change of paradigm has occurred in the way terrorism is understood in Northern Ireland.

Tanguy Bérenger (University of Versailles)

The Enemy Within in the 1960s: Philip Roth's *American Pastoral*.

Philip Roth's *American Pastoral* explores left-wing revolutionary terrorism in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s through the character of Merry Levov, a teenager who becomes radicalized in her protest of the Vietnam War. In order to "bring the war home," she ends up bombing the local post office and killing a passerby before going underground. Merry's actions are inspired by the Weather Underground, a radical organization that splintered off from Students for a Democratic Society. Their violent rhetoric epitomized a critical split in the American New Left at the tail end of the 1960s, with many calling for a shift "from protest to resistance." The Weather Underground practiced armed propaganda, committing dozens of bombings as well as other types of terrorist attacks up to the mid-1970s. Like Merry in *American Pastoral*, many of its members were students from a comfortable background who rebelled against everything that their parents stood for. *American Pastoral* is seen through the eyes of Merry's father, Seymour Levov, a firm believer in the American Dream until his world is shattered by his daughter's act of terrorism. By focusing on Seymour's point of view, Roth emphasizes the ideological split between the generations and the way the "silent majority" failed to comprehend this political Other. The father sees her daughter and her revolutionary movement as an enemy within that he himself engendered. Revolutionary terrorism is described as a form of cancer that spreads from within and is impossible to contain. The novel highlights the impact of left-wing revolutionary action on the public imagination at a decisive time when the concept of terrorism took hold in the media and in the public discourse.

Valérie Morisson (Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté)

Willie Doherty's aesthetics of disjunction in post-conflict Ireland.

Willie Doherty, whose photographs and video installations focus on trauma and memory in post-conflict Northern Ireland, is one of the best-known Irish contemporary artists. Born in Derry in 1959, he was confronted to sectarian violence and terrorism very directly. His works dwell upon the Northern Irish question and the way it was represented in the mass media and in collective memory through stereotypical constructs. In order to deconstruct the dichotomous interpretation of conflict and the biased narratives which inevitably fuel opposition and violence, he repeatedly introduces disjunction in his works. By printing decontextualized words on his photographs of war-torn landscapes, by introducing uncanny repetitions with a twist in looped videos or by juxtaposing fragmentary and dissonant voice-overs to his videos for instance, he introduces subjectivity and misremembering where official discourse imposes one-sidedness and evidential testimony as discursive weapons or aims at commemorative consensus. His works investigate the evidential value of testimonies, the impact of trauma on recollections of terrorist violence, as well as victimhood and its role in identity construction. Doherty's artistic approach has often been quoted as an example of new documentary practice but what we shall call 'the aesthetics of disjunction', which lies at the core of his *œuvre*, show how he has managed to distance himself from the documentary to reach beyond the oversimplistic divide between objectivity and subjectivity. By making the status of victim versus perpetrator uncertain he raises questions which reconciliation and truth recovery commissions address in Ireland and abroad.

Anne Cousson (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris 3 / Université Paris-Diderot)

Memory of counter-terrorism: mobilising the trauma of Northern Ireland terrorism in British political speech since 2000.

Between 1997 et 2010, the Labour governments of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown passed five laws directly related to counter-terrorism, especially after 9/11 increased the fear of terrorism. The debates drew heavily on the remembered experience of counter-terrorism during the Irish Troubles as the reforms were widely contested on human rights grounds.

With rare exceptions, the policy pursued in Northern Ireland is remembered as a failure for the defence of human rights on both sides of the debate. However, each side appropriates differently this memory of human rights abuses: proponents of the bills highlight the differences with the current threat while opponents draw comparisons to show how the bills reuse similar measures to those used in Northern Ireland to disastrous effects for civil liberties.

Therefore, the experience of counter-terrorism in Northern Ireland is included as evidence in a larger debate: that of the balance to be achieved between liberty and security. As focus shifts from the violation of human rights to the reality of a new threat, so does the weight of each side of the argument. However, the example of Northern Ireland, and more specifically the fact that the Catholic community was alienated by the special powers granted to the police, is also used to undermine the very idea of an ideal balance to be reached and shows the complex relations between liberty and security.

Terrorists by association.

In a paper on gangs, I recently evoked the dangers entailed when the law uses - or fails to use - terms that may seem perfectly understandable to the “man on the Clapham omnibus,” but actually present huge complexities politicians and sections of the media find politic to minimise. As I looked into the risks resulting from the law “*not* calling a gang a gang”, US examples emerged of ill-adapted statutes and other legal tools being used; on occasion, as a senior New York judge put it, prosecutors “erred in trying to use a state terrorism charge to prosecute street gangs”. Broad anti-terror legislation was part of the problem and the judge dealt with it, but other uses of “terrorism” have led British judges to make questionable use of their own broad-spectrum anti-terror laws: in *Miranda*, their construction of such legislation was described as a ‘barefaced abuse of power’. The growing fear of terrorism that characterises this period in history means it is becoming an ever-greater part of most citizens’ everyday concerns in a context where France claims to be ‘at war’ with terrorism, and its politicians contemplated violating international conventions and unnecessarily amending the Constitution. With the reasonable fear that more bloody attacks are to come and the no less reasonable feeling that more should be done to stop them, the risk of a parallel between terrorism and other criminal (and non-criminal) notions can only increase, not to mention the stigmatisation of certain groups. Britain, with its extensive colonial experience of fighting “terrorism”, has recently experienced controversies regarding groups being “tarred with the same brush” as those most people would deem to be terrorists, yet there is little media coverage for the indignation of those who denounce this danger at a time when derogations to the rule of law and *prima facie* sensible policies based on prevention purport to associate an electorate that has grown distrustful of the ECHR. This paper will question whether there is a tendency among UK lawmakers and the judiciary to take advantage of the “moral panic” permeating the current political discourse world-wide - not just Trump’s and his extolling the virtues of torture - to use terrorism “out of context” or to allow the “war” against an ill-defined concept dependent on the existence of a form of “association” to weaken, “by association”, common criminals and law-abiding citizens, turning each of them into what R. Flanagan chillingly called an “unknown terrorist”.

Élodie Gallet (Université d'Orléans)

Representing the IRA on British TV after 1998: Continuity or Change?

On April 10th, 1998 the Belfast Agreement put an official end to thirty years of violent conflict in Northern Ireland. While the violence had mostly been allotted to the IRA for decades, we wonder if the Peace Agreement entailed a change – or not – in the way the IRA was represented on British Television.

Our paper revolves around three questions. Did the signature of the Peace Agreement incite journalists to search for the "historical truth", leading to a new version of the narrative of the events or to the disclosure of new elements? Is there a determination not to reconsider events of past, thus betraying self-censorship concerning not only the past, but also the present and the future? How did British TV react to the resurgence of the Republican violence after 1998?

Our analysis is based upon a directory including all the programmes dealing with the conflict in Northern Ireland broadcast on British national television between 1988 and 2005. It can be noticed that overall, from 1998 onwards, British TV neglected the situation in Northern Ireland. The channels did not make the most of the freedom they enjoyed at the end of the conflict, to raise questions which they were discouraged from handling previously. Neither did they adopt a critical attitude towards the new situation. Only a few programmes demonstrated a will to serve as intermediary to work for peace, but it does not correspond to the general trend which betrays an indifference towards the post-conflict situation in Northern Ireland.

Pierre-Paul Grégorio (Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté)

Truce and the ETA in three Basque newspapers: hope, politics and nationalism.

When the end of the ETA was announced in October 2011, there began in reality another conflict: the one over memory and, more particularly, the one over the narrative of the omnipresence of the *etarra* phenomenon, that lasted for over forty years. Yet, throughout its history, the ETA offered several times a truce – 1988, 1989, 1992, 1998, 2006 – that would have begun the process of peace and brought back normalcy to the Basque country and the whole of Spain. This led to false hope in parallel to the ETA's strategy of "socialization of violence", which radically transformed Basque society. Through different Basque newspapers - *El Correo*, *Deia* and *Egin* (and its later names, *Euskadi Información* and *Gara*, once the first was made illegal by judge Garzón) – we will analyze what the simultaneous tragic vitality of the organization of the axe and the snake had inside society and a future without it. This will be done from three different schools of thought represented by the newspapers studied here: liberal conservatism, which was for autonomy but against independence, centrist non-independentist nationalism and the independentism of the radical left wing. The adaptation of their discourse according to power struggles and internal evolutions of the ETA will show how the post-ETA discourse began very early to shape itself, as a precursor sign of the ineluctable disappearance of the organization.

Alexandra Palau (Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté)

Political Speeches and Terrorism: A study of the discursive production of King Juan Carlos I of Spain.

After the death of Franco, Juan Carlos claimed the throne of Spain. He was considered Franco's inheritor and, as such, he raised the suspicion of the opposition which doubted his capabilities, while Franco's partisans only gave him a limited amount of confidence. Nevertheless, he played a crucial role in the process of democratization, that was put into place during the period of Transition. He was both a key political actor in the anti-terrorism process and the target of attacks. His speeches, which were highly diffused in the media, provide a lot of information on how he saw preventive measures and/or the management of the terrorist conflict, while taking into account the acuteness of the military problem. In fact, the military forces constituted the main targets of terrorist attacks during this period. In this context, where terrorism and putschist ideals seemed to go together, how did the king as commander in chief position himself? In this sense, the corpus studied here is composed of two series of different kinds of speeches, both ritualized, but addressing very different people. The first concerns the speeches directed to the whole of nation during the Christmas period and the second regroups the speeches given during the military ceremonies at Easter time.

István Szilágyi (University of Pécs)

From guerrilla warfare to counter-power. The discourse of political and social violence in the works of Ernesto Che Guevara and António Negri.

In times of political crises the discourse about the theory and practice of social violence in order to seize the governmental power is more and more intensifying.

This happened in the period of the Cuban Revolution. In 1960 Ernesto Che Guevara wrote his book *La Guerra de guerrillas (The Guerrilla Warfare)*, which summarized the experiences of the Cuban armed uprising, which later on was followed by the failed military action in Bolivia in 1967.

Twenty years after the publication of Che Guevara's book some new concepts of counter-power and Empire became known in the 1980s, which reflected the power relations of the globalised world and the planned social changes in the developed countries. The most significant representative of this concept is the Italian António Negri.

António Negri - apart from his book *Contrapoder (The Counter-power)*- together with Michael Hardt- published another book *Imperio (The Empire)* in order to clarify his idea.

This paper aims at analyzing the features of the ideas based on the three books. We pay attention to the representatives of social movements, the national and international factors, the connections with countryside and town and its narrative consequences. We try to focus on the usage of special terms, realizing that Guevara's political discourse about the class struggle had to be changed with certain transversal umbrella- terms.

Key words: political and social violence, terrorism, dictatorial systems, exceptional states, guerrilla warfare, counter-power, Empire, Ernesto Che Guevara, António Negri

Laureano Montero (Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté)

The representation of ETA in Spanish cinema: an explosive issue?

Contrary to widespread belief, ETA terrorism, which has dominated Spain's domestic politics in the last decades, far from being a taboo subject, has been treated either directly or indirectly by national cinema in about forty films made from 1977 to the present time.

This communication will point out how this corpus of films has tackled the complex issue of Basque terrorism according to the evolution of the country's political context and public opinion, from mythologized nationalist armed struggle associated with anti-Franco resistance at the beginning of the transition to democracy, to a clear denunciation of violence that shifts focus to victims and social consequences in more recent productions, through, in the 80s and 90s, a psychological approach centered on individual conflicts experienced by former members of the terrorist organization.

Most of these films, however, tend to remove any analysis of the very foundations of the terrorist phenomenon. This is why we will focus especially on two films: *La pelota vasca* (Julio Medem, 2003) and *Tiro en la cabeza* (Jaime Rosales, 2008), which attempt to address the issue of Basque terrorism while moving away from prevailing models, through debate in the case of the first title, or a radical distancing effect in the second one, both prompting thereby countless polemics in the media.

Finally, we will emphasize the fact that if the abandonment of armed struggle by ETA in 2011 made it possible to represent the Basque "conflict" through a Laugh-Out-Loud comedy like *Ocho apellidos vascos* (Emilio Martínez-Lázaro, 2014), one of the biggest Spanish box office hits of all time, the recent arrest of two puppeteers in Madrid for glorifying terrorism in a children's show proves how delicate it can still be to address ETA issues in the field of artistic creation in today's Spain.

Carole Viñals (Université de Lille)

Hasier Larretxea: A poetic commitment against terrorism.

Hasier Larretxea is a young Basque poet, born in 1982. For the generation he belongs to terrorism was a daily reality, forcing to commit to face it. He was a kid during a period called the « socialized suffering » and the conscientious voice of the poet fixes this historical moment. Terrorism forces poetry to be ethic.

Terrorism has consequences on writing too: Larretxea's verses are based on the art of singing Bertso by using images without logical connection in order to reflect the syntax of violence. His poetry traces modern terrorism back to its poetic roots of language. He continues the tradition of Basque poetry in spite he belongs to the new generation of experimental poets.

Larretxea expresses himself in Euskera but recently he has started to employ the Spanish language to escape from the prison of terror. Though terror is essentially considered a monolithic structure — negative, nihilistic and demonic, Larretxea's poems seek to pave newer paths of regeneration based on the landscape and millenary roots.

Bénédicte Brémard (Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté)

Terror's cinegenic power : from *Operación Ogro* to *El asesinato de Carrero Blanco*.

If we consider the Spanish case of ETA, we must recognize that a certain terror's cinegenic power exists. ETA has inspired many film makers (Mario Camus, Imanol Uribe, Julio Medem...), but some of its characters (as repentant Yoyes) or of its actions have been directed several times, under different forms (fictions, documentaries) and by different media, as in the case of the spectacular assassination attempt against the head of Government, admiral Carrero Blanco, in 1973, from *Operación Ogro* (Gillo Pontecorvo, 1979) to *El asesinato de Carrero Blanco* (Miguel Bardem, TVE, 2011). From Pontecorvo's movie to Bardem's mini series, it's not only the media and duration of the historical fiction that change, but also all the mythology around the attack which would have meant the death knell of the Francoist regime and the necessity of a transition to democracy. In 1979, Gillo Pontecorvo focuses on nostalgia for union in the fight of a little group of anonymous activists who would soon be divided by the dilemma between armed fight and political fight, whereas in 2011, inspired by film noir, Miguel Bardem puts forward a new reading of the events where terrorists are only puppets who serve USA's interests without knowing it. We'll see how these different variations around the same attack reveal their authors's point of view but also visions and revisions of History peculiar to their times and creation and production contexts.

Ludivine Thouverez (Université de Poitiers)

Responsabilité des médias : vers la réconciliation et la promotion d'une mémoire collective au Pays Basque et en Espagne ?

The end of armed activities on the part of the ETA, made public on the 20th of October 2011, opened up the possibility for a pacific end to the basque conflict after forty years of violence. Following this announcement, initiatives in favour of peace developed among different sectors of society. However, pitfalls remain numerous. In the fringe of the question of disarmament, that of recognition and the repartition of victims still needs to be answered. While the families of militaries or civils murdered by the ETA have always benefited from the support of the Spanish public authorities, what about the ones of the Basques killed during two waves of « messy war » during the 1970s and 1980s? Is the end of terror leading to a semantic redefinition of the notion of victim?

This paper aims at describing the discursive evolution of two daily newspapers (*El País* and *Deia*) used to talk about the victims of the conflicts, between 2011 and 2016. Through the comparative analysis of the opinion pieces published on the question, we will try to determine their level of involvement in the promotion of the idea of coexistence and of a collective commemoration. After noting the dissymetry of the characterization of victims during the conflict, we will show that the narratives which predominated for several decades have not clearly evolved. Therefore, initiatives of peacebuilding are mostly led by the civil society.

David Grégorio (Université de Montpellier III)

Terrorism in the journal *Reconquista* : the Army's values in the « dictatorship of bombs and machine guns » (1977-1980).

During the 70s, the military journal *Reconquista*, edited monthly by the military apostolate, is facing a time of turmoil and uncertainty, known as the Spanish Transition. Following Franco's death in 1975, Spain begins to work towards democracy. The political evolution that follows is substantial one: in January 1977, Adolfo Suárez's political reform is put into effect, in 1978 a new Constitution establishes the principle of regional autonomy, in december 1979 the Basque Country's Status of Autonomy is adopted and the basque national holiday of Aberri Eguna is celebrated in march 1979. But more and more between 1977 and 1980 the transformation is dotted with many terrorist acts of violence. Yet *Reconquista* selects the information it relays about those acts of terrorism.

Extreme right-wing terrorism, or terrorism of state origins, when not put into doubt nor refuted, is simply ignored. The journal only defines as « terrorism » those in accord with extreme left-winged and/or nationalist ideologies, granting major interest to the basque independentist movement ETA. Since the summer of 1978, Alcazar Sotoca is appointed director of the journal, and marks a turning point in the editorial strategy: articles tackling the subject of terrorism grow in number, mirroring a strategy change that took place at the time inside the terrorist group.

ETA engages in a more active phase of armed struggle, directly attacking the Law Enforcement authorities. The journal's strategy consists in catching the attention of its electorate, which is widely comprised of military men, by encouraging a community spirit built around a profusion of articles, sections, charts and interviews about terrorism. Victimization is one of the strategy's main expressions, that emphasizes the tragic tone at the mention of the murdered militaries' families, and that glorifies the victims who become actual « protomartyrs » of a nation in need of a new « Crusade ».

The second aspect of the journal's strategy is based upon a clearly depreciative characterization of the terrorists, especially the Basque – called cowards, barbarians, atheists, reds – to which *Reconquista* opposes what the journal considers as constitutive values of the Army : honor, discipline, the catholic faith. The Army is thus displayed as a guarantor of a certain idiosyncrasy of Spain, one defined by the traditional values, such as national confessionality, that franquism had established as the social norm. Terrorists are then portrayed as « disciples of anti-Spain » ; *Reconquista* therefore tackles the subject of terrorism with franquist propaganda commonplaces : hypothetically, ETA could very well be the latest manifestation of a worldwide scheme plotted against Spain. In that case, with the traditionnal enemies of the Nation at work, the possibility of another civil war should no longer be ignored.

From then on *Reconquista* empasizes the armed forces' mission, supposedly a cause of consensus among the readers. The guarantee of national unity is then at stake, as opposed to separatism, and the journal uses all the patriotic symbols in order to promote it: the Flag, that the cadets swear to defend during their military service, faith, that must unify all Spaniards, and the king Juan Carlos, Chief Commander of the Armed Forces since Franco's death.

However, as an example of conflation, the notion of terrorism is politicized, and established as a merely complementary issue. In spite of the mandatory apoliticism of the Army asserted by *Reconquista* also, most criticisms of the consecutive governments of Adolfo Suárez as to his way of conducting the Transition often relies on examples of terrorism. Terrorism thus becomes a constitutive argument of the journal's call to vote « no » in the referendum for the Constitution of 1978, because of their opposition against the autonomies and the Spanish nationalities. More generally, the government appears inefficient, and the Army seems to be the only Institution apt to take action in order to save the Nation. Terrorism is therefore a powerful lever of the strategy of tension that aims at intensifying the Army's pretorian tendencies. *Reconquista* remains cautious on that aspect, and keeps calling for military intervention during those three years in only a roundabout way, even going as far as criticizing the idea and considering it illegal at some point. Nevertheless, the long list of military victims over the journal's pages, accentuated by the impact of recapitulative charts, and by the invariable reminder that the Nation's values are endangered – as a consequence of « terrorism of ideas » - support the image of the Army losing her patience. As a matter of fact, their most tell-tale expression is from the *Catilinarias* : « Quo usque tandem abutere ? ».

Marta Requejo Fraile (Universidad de Valladolid)

Itziar Reguero Sanz (Universidad de Valladolid)

**The freedom patriots: Terrorist rhetoric and public opinion in the Spain of the 1980s.
The Basque case through the press.**

The inclusion of the terrorist rhetoric in the mass media is one of the main components that terrorism uses in order to get citizenship support to the legitimacy of its violence. According to Sabucedo, Rodríguez y Fernández (2002), this is possible thanks to the introduction of a number of positive categories in the terrorist discourse such as: the introducing of the existence of a highly relevant dispute in the collective, blaming the adversary for the level of violence, the presentation of the group as an advocate of dialogue and peaceful means or the undermining of their victims in order to encourage their own victimhood. Other resources in the implementation of this strategy have been found in the use of lexical items that involve positive assessments of the terrorist band as contrast, hyperbole, parallelism or euphemisms ... especially these latter.

On that basis and taking as a starting point a specific case in the press, this study intends to determine the most common discursive strategies use for the terrorists in the media. With that aim, we analyse the editorial treatment given to one of the oldest terrorist bands in the European continent (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*, ETA) through one of the most traditional and leading newspaper in the Basque Country: *El Correo*.

The study period chosen has been 1981 for two reasons: it was one of the most active epochs of the band and, also, during this period it was noted the principal change in the Basque society attitude towards ETA. In this regard, we must not forget that in the middle of the Spanish democracy establishment (1978), almost half of the Basques used terrorist adjectives to describe members of the band as is the case of the terms ‘patriots’ or ‘idealists’ (Linz, 1986), while a decade later (1989), only do this two in ten (Llera, 1994).

Sara Álvarez Pérez (Université de Paris Sorbonne)

‘An articulation of the image of terrorists in political discourse through the analysis of stereotypes’.

Discourses about political violence create, reproduce and assist the enactment of several stereotypes that entail a propagandist interest. These stereotypes, whose nature and origin we will elucidate, simplify the conceptualisation of the perpetrators of political violence. Indeed, they intervene in the construction of national identity in binary terms (Them vs. Us), stimulating the collective response of society. The grounds of this analysis are the discourses stemming from Article 55.2 of the Spanish Constitution (1978). We will analyse the way in which the process of conceptualising political otherness is based on stereotyped images. We will analyse, as well, the mechanisms that create those stereotypes, such as dehumanisation, dysphemism, mythification or neologism.

Marina Ruiz Cano (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense)

Basque terrorism on the stage : *Los justos* adapted by Javier Hernández-Simón y José A. Pérez.

ABSTRACT

The complete rewriting of Albert Camus' text and its representation all over Spain in 2014 permitted theatre to break the silence about ETA in the artistic field, in spite of initial reserves. Nevertheless, the public reception was quite positive and it demonstrates society's desire to understand the conflict and face it. In order to do so, Javier Hernández-Simón and José A. Pérez depict a terrorist commando as an emotional community whose balance is suddenly broken by arguments and disagreements concerning the definition of innocence or justice. The aesthetics of violence, linked to the Basque culture and nationalism, evidences the instability inside the group and focuses on fear. In addition, internal conflicts are pointed out in order to show members of ETA's doubts and feelings. Therefore, this drama emphasizes their human side and proposes dialogue as the way to resolve both internal and national conflicts.

Key words: drama, Basque culture, emotional community, nationalism, conflict.

Dorothee Chouitem (Université de Paris-Sorbonne)

An -attacked nation-'s anti-terrorist lecture: The case of the armed revolutionary struggle (MLN-Tupamaros).

In 1978 general Commandment of Uruguay's armed forces published a report about the "subversive" movements: *Testimonio de una nación agredida*. In this contribution I develop the anti-terrorist speech in three points:

1. The evolution of M.L.N. towards the paradigm of the Uruguayan terrorism.

It was defining itself as an answer to the economical social and political crisis and to the atomization of the forces of left. For the M.L.N. the revolution was the first step in the construction of a socialist society. The MLN had several evolutions: direct action - utopian "Robin Hood" period - political party - armed revolutionary struggle.

2. The international planning of "the aggression ": the amalgamation.

In the beginning of the 70' = degradation of the image of the tupamaros in the public opinion + political collapse.

For the general Commandment of Uruguay's armed forces, The M.L.N. belonged to the communist vandalism. The armed revolutionary struggle was not limited to the tupamaros but for the armed forces judged the other groups of guerrilla insignificant or of minor interest. They defined the MNL as even more dangerous because of three changes:

- an aggression planned in the frame of an international conspiracy with an axis which would move from Cuba to the U.S.S.R.
 - an alignment on Moscow while the guerrilla was practiced and claimed up to then = modification of the terrorist classical action.
 - The diversification of the actions was making possible the infiltration of M.L.N. and the propagation of the terrorism on terrains normally busied by the political parliamentary or syndical action.
3. The infiltration of the society: example of two commonplaces (teaching, clergy.)
 - the doctrinaire dominion exercises itself in the teaching (terrain of predilection)
 - the perfidy of the "communist vandalism" expresses fully in the Church.

In 1978, all the dictatorships of the South Cone are installed and the terrorism is officially no longer a problem. So why is the M.L.N. so present in the *TNA*? = justification of the dictatorship and of the state terrorism = justification for Europe and to open the eyes of a population which always refuses to believe in the in the danger of the MLN and the armed revolutionary struggle, a population which passivity makes itself the accomplice of the terrorism.

Elisa Santalena (Université de Grenoble)

The prison as the theater of the irreconcilable memory in Italy in the 70s and 80s.

Studying the years of revolt in Italy through the lens of the prison system, and highlight this fighting arena for long remained in the shadows, is not to be taken for granted. First, because for the vast majority of the Italian population the seventies are nothing but a succession of criminal acts and painful events that should better be cancelled from collective memory. This removal from the republican memory has been constantly exploited by the Italian institutions, which, to this day, have not undertaken any process of reconciliation and construction of memory, nor even history, regarding these years. Such a reconciliation process appears all the more necessary, since struggling individuals were hundreds of thousands.

In our work we do not focus particularly on the history of struggles in the Italian prison from the late sixties to the mid-eighties as such, but we will take it as the symptom of a sick memory, which fails to close a historical period by perpetuating the conflict through hundreds of life sentences – a period which should be closed, politically and historically, for over twenty years.

Paolo Desogus (Université de Paris-Sorbonne)

Memory and trauma in the Italian cinema. The representation of Red Brigades.

My paper aims to analyze the representation of Red Brigades in the Italian cinema by taking into account those movies in which the psychology of terrorists and the ways in which their ideological reasons, acts and passions participate to the subversive phenomenon. My hypothesis is that the movies dedicated to the Red Brigades reflect the collective memory of the “Years of lead” and the left-wing terrorism in Italy.

The corpus of movies I propose to analyze is divided in three groups. The first includes *La tragedia di un uomo ridicolo* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1981) and *Colpire al cuore* (Gianni Amelio, 1983), since their narratives are based on the Oedipus complex and on two different representations of the crisis of the Italian bourgeoisie; the second includes *La seconda volta* (Mimmo Calopresti, 1995), *La meglio gioventù* (Marco Tullio Giordana 2003) and *Buongiorno notte* (Marco Bellocchio 2003), given that their narratives is based on the category of repentance; the last group includes those movies in which the members of BR is shown without an autonomous psychology, since it is driven by their fanaticism (*Il caso Moro* and *Guido che sfidò le Brigate Rosse*, Giuseppe Ferrara, 1987, 2005) or mysterious forces in accordance with a conspiracy theory, such as *Piazza delle Cinque Lune* (Renzo Martinelli, 2003).

The purpose of the paper is to show how the Italian cinema – through its aesthetic specificity and its capacity to give representation to historical facts – has built the identity of the Red Brigades inside the collective memory. Hence, my research will combine the study of the cinematic style with the historical analysis in order to understand how the Italian cinema has given a visual form to the political trauma produced by terrorism.