



# TERRORISM IN SPAIN

UNIT OF WORK ON  
THE HISTORY OF SPAIN

**16-17-YEAR-OLD SECONDARY  
SCHOOL STUDENTS**



STUDENT  
WORKBOOK

**EDUCATIONAL PROJECT:  
"MEMORY AND PREVENTION OF  
TERRORISM". UNIT OF WORK NO. 2**

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# INDEX

This Unit of Work is presented as a complete tool available for teachers so it can be used in the classroom. Teachers will have all content at hand, as well as its didactic application, as in a textbook.

It includes the work that must be carried out in each of the sessions. The unit of work can also be found in the subject Syllabus.

**04**

## **Session 01**

Introduction

What is terrorism?

Terrorist violence and social consequences

Activity 1.1.- Economic Extortion: a form of violence

**10**

## **Session 02**

The Franco dictatorship as justification

Activity 2.1.- A local policeman, a father of four

Activity 2.2.- Massacre in the café

**16**

## **Session 03**

The transition

Activity 3.1.- I wanted the transfer. They were going to kill me

Activity 3.2.- Shooting at the dog track

Activity 3.3.- The milkman of Alonsotegi

**26**

## **Session 04**

Democratic consolidation

Activity 4.1.- The cities of San Fernando, Coslada, Santa Eugenia, and El Pozo

Activity 4.2.- Fanaticism with religious roots

**40**

## **To know more**

# SESSION

01

RAJ

*Fig. 1. Graffiti demanding peace next to the symbol of the white hands, which represents the innocence of the victims after the murder of Miguel Ángel Blanco in July 1997. Source: Fidel Raso / Diario 16.*

IN THIS FIRST SESSION, AN INTRODUCTION ON TERRORISM AS A CONTEMPORARY PHENOMENON CONTEXTUALIZES THE TOPIC . THE TERRORIST GROUPS THAT HAVE ENGAGED IN ACTS OF TERRORISM IN SPAIN ARE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES. FINALLY, THE TERRIBLE PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR VIOLENCE ARE HIGHLIGHTED. IN THIS FIRST SESSION, THE TEACHER CAN USED SLIDES OR PHOTOCOPIES. WE SUGGEST THAT STUDENTS COPY IN THEIR NOTEBOOK THE SUMMARY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TERRORISM AND THEY DEFINE THE MAIN WORDS AND PHRASES WITH THEIR OWN VOCABULARY. THEY MUST ALSO RECORD IN THEIR NOTEBOOK THE TYPOLOGY OF TERRORIST GROUPS, WHICH GROUPS CURRENTLY ARE ACTIVE OR HAVE BEEN ACTIVE, AND THEIR PARTICULAR CHARACTERISTICS. THE CONSEQUENCES OF VIOLENCE, WHICH ARE COMMENTED ON IN THE INTRODUCTION, MUST ALSO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. AS A FINAL ACTIVITY, RESEARCH WORK ON ECONOMIC EXTORTION AS A TERRORIST WEAPON IS SUGGESTED.

## INTRODUCTION

Terrorism has marked the history of Spain since the 1960s. In this Unit of Work, we will first analyze what such a phenomenon consists of. Then we will delve into its evolution during the following three distinct phases:

The Franco dictatorship

The transition  
to democracy

The democratic period

When analyzing the phenomenon of terrorism, it is necessary to focus on the victims. Only in this way will we make the injustices visible. Victims of terrorism are the clearest sign of the violation of the most basic human right: the right to life.

## WHAT IS TERRORISM?

As with other complex social phenomena, there are different definitions of terrorism. Among experts, no consensus has been reached on what terrorism is; however, in almost all cases, it is seen as a tool to impose a certain political belief by force. Most notably, it is about instilling fear in opponents and in society itself. Taking this into context, let us now summarize the following elements that characterize, in general, the phenomenon of terrorism:

### CLANDESTINE VIOLENCE

Terrorism acts in a secret or hidden way to evade the action of justice. Secrecy provokes in turn a greater isolation and radicality of the group.

### PROPAGANDISTIC IMPACT

Terrorist groups take advantage of the impact their attacks cause and its effect on media to spread their demands.

### SEEKING TO IMPOSE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

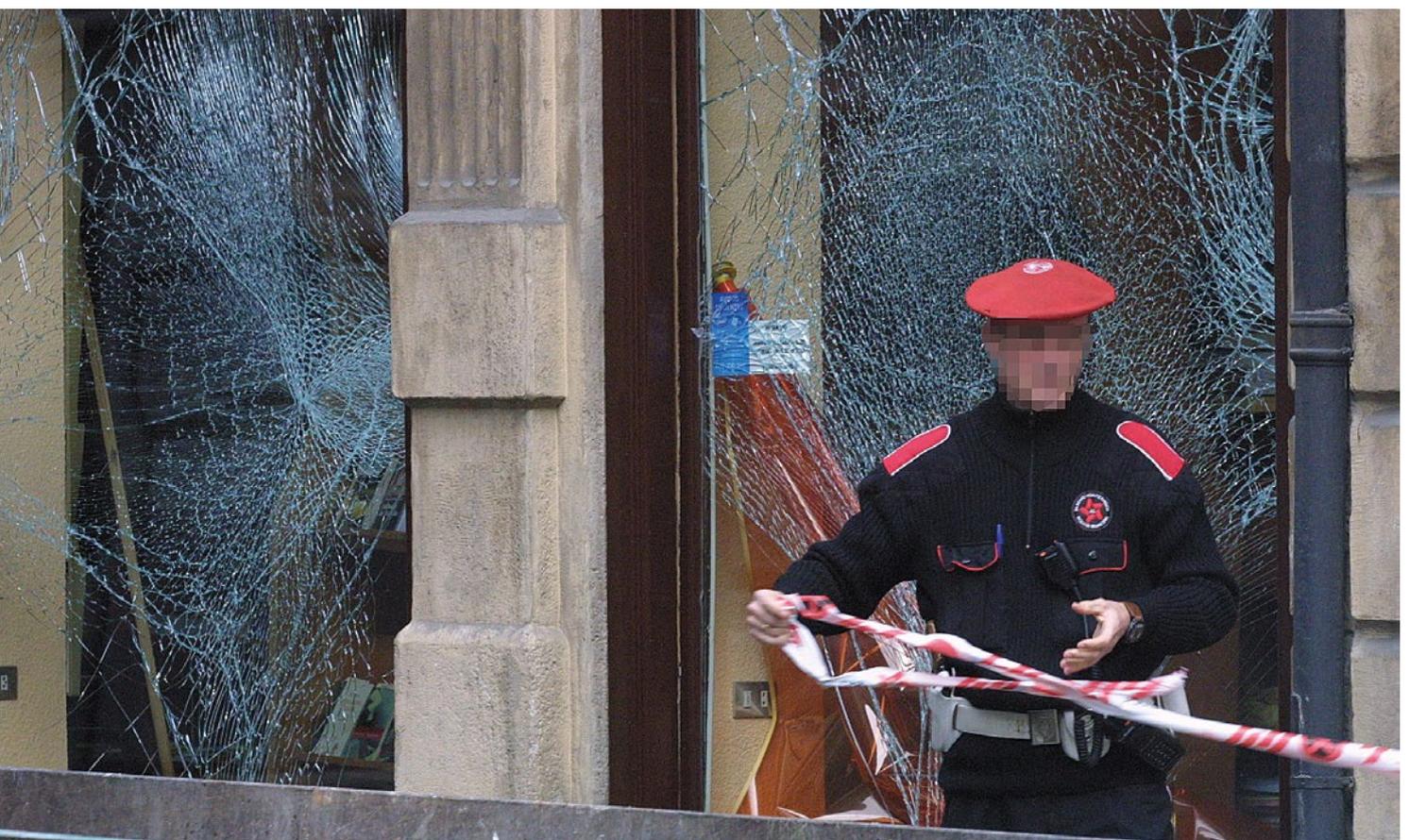
Behind terrorism there is a project of power, directed against an institution or organization which the terrorist group try to make submit to their demands.

### GENERATING AN ATMOSPHERE OF TERROR

The etymology of the word indicates that terrorism comes from terror, which is precisely the intention: intense fear between people in society.

Although the phenomenon of terrorism is a global problem, it has affected countries to different degrees and in different ways.

Fig. 2. A Bilbao police officer cordons off the street where an ETA bomb has just exploded. Source: El Correo newspaper.



Types of terrorist organizations that have engaged in acts of terrorism in Spain:

### RADICAL AND INDEPENDENT NATIONALISTS

The most active terrorist group in the history of Spain was driven by this ideology of independence: ETA. ETA, *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (Basque Country and Freedom), was responsible for the death of 853 people between 1968 and 2010. ETA's violent campaign was driven by the desire for the independence of the Basque Country. Other groups which followed ETA's example were EPOCA (Catalan People's Army) and Terra Lliure (Catalonian nationalist paramilitary group), the *Guerrilheiro do Povo Galego Ceive* Army (Guerrilla Army of the Free Galician People in Galician language) and MPAIAC (Movement for the Independence and self-determination of the Canary Archipelago in the Canary Islands).

### JIHADISTS

The objective of these terrorists is to establish a caliphate under a dogmatic, orthodox and minority interpretation of the *sharia*, Islamic law. In Spain the first attack of this orientation took place in 1985 at the restaurant *El Descanso*. Jihadist cells caused the greatest terrorist massacre of our history: the attacks of 11th March 2004 in Madrid, with a total of 193 fatalities and 1,761 injured. More recent are the attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils, committed by the Islamic State on 17th August 2017, with 16 people murdered and more than a hundred wounded.

### EXTREME LEFT

The main exponents of Extreme Left terrorism were GRAPO, First October Revolutionary Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups. Founded in 1975, they remained active until the first decade of the twenty-first century. Supporting a Maoist ideology, they tried to establish a socialist republic in Spain by force. They are responsible for around 80 murders.

### GAL

GAL, Antiterrorist Groups of Liberation, does not conform to ultra-ideology. It was a type of illicit counterterrorism, parapolice, which used the same terrorist methods as their opponents (mainly ETA). They murdered 27 people between 1983 and 1987.

### EXTREME RIGHT WING

Terrorism of this type was fragmented in different organizations: BVE (Spanish Basque Battalion), Triple A (Anticommunist Apostolic Alliance) or GAE (Spanish Armed Groups). The main goal of these groups was to return to a dictatorship like the Franco regime and respond to ETA's attacks from the opposite side. They committed around 60 murders.

## TERRORIST VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Juan Avilés, an expert on international terrorism, affirms that in Spain during the 1960s there was a confluence of nationalist, Marxist-Leninist and far-right terrorism: "ETA began to kill in 1968 and continued to do so until 2011; Catalan independence terrorists killed for the first time in 1971 and achieved sinister notoriety with the murders of businessman José María Bultó in 1977 and of politician Joaquín Viola and his wife Monserrat Tarragona in 1978. Although they were never able to reach the lethality of ETA; the FRAP - Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriot Front-, held a campaign of deadly attacks in the summer of 1975; the GRAPO - First October Revolutionary Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups, began a campaign of terror in 1975 with its last fatality in 2006; and the first victims of the extreme right wing died in Montejurra in May 1976.<sup>1</sup>

Added to national terrorism in Spain, jihadist terrorism appeared in the 1980s and would commit acts of terrorism in many countries, including Spain, and cause more than two hundred victims among our fellow citizens. Jihadism would become one of the main security problems of the international community in the 21st century.

Of all the violent organizations mentioned, ETA constitutes a special case for its length, mortality, and political impact caused in Spain for decades, and for the social support that allowed all of this to happen. In the book *La voluntad del gudari* (The will of the soldier), its author, Gaizka Fernández Soldevilla, asks himself and asks us: "When and where was fanaticism born? What were the roots of hate? How and why had ETA appeared? Had it been born by spontaneous generation? What did ETA's choice for violence respond to? And why did the same not happen in other areas of Spain?"<sup>2</sup> They are all crucial questions.

When one member of ETA, Txabi Echebarrieta, assassinated the civil guard José Antonio Pardines on 7th of June, 1968, he chose to kill. He was not forced, like the image the Basque radical and nationalist imaginary has built around that event that occurred in the municipality of Aduna (Gipuzkoa, Basque Country).

The murder of the civil guard José Antonio Pardines in 1968 in the context of an unjustifiable dictatorship was a voluntary act and marked the beginning of a bloody history for the Basque society and for the whole of Spanish society which lasted until 2011. While the victims of terrorism and their families have suffered death, psychological disorders or social withdrawal, it is no less true than in a society liv-

ing under a subculture of terror there have also been deep wounds that need time and intervention to fully heal. And, perhaps, looking to the future, the moral and political condemnation of the inhuman actions must be one of the enforceable and necessary conditions to recover the minimum of democratic and civic values.

A crime is a crime. The cruelty of denying life to a human being configures it as such, even if it is performed in a certain context of lack of freedoms, as was the case in 1968. The death of the young civil guard could have been avoided, it not only happened but Echebarrieta was also presented as a hero of the people, like a martyr of the revolution. Hanna Arendt, a philosopher, author and Holocaust survivor famously said: "deception, the deliberate falsehood and pure lies as legitimate means to achieve political ends, has been with us since the beginning of written history. Lies are often much more plausible, more attractive to reason than reality, because who is lying has the great advantage of knowing in advance what your audience wants or expects to hear".

Further reading: Fernández Soldevilla, G. (2016): *La voluntad del gudari* (The will of the soldier), Tecnos, Madrid.

<sup>1</sup> Avilés, 2018: 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> Fernández Soldevilla, 2016: 20.

## ACTIVITY 1.1

### ECONOMIC EXTORTION: A FORM OF VIOLENCE

One of the forms of violence committed by ETA has been economic extortion. We could talk about the request of large sums of money to businessmen, both in the Basque Country and Navarra as well as the rest of Spain, but also small amounts (the so-called micro-extortion) from small shopkeepers, liberal professionals, athletes, freelancers, hoteliers and many more. The arrival of a letter asking for a certain amount and threatening the employer always began a period of panic for the person in question and, if he shared it, for his family and friends as well. According to several studies carried out, the vast majority of extorted businessmen suffered from coercion and threats in silence. The kidnapping or murder of a man in his factory or workshop had a devastating effect, so much so that many members of the business community opted to pay ETA, even when knowing that paying for their safety and that of their families could lead to the blackmail or murder of others. While kidnapping and murder were the most effective weapons to earn economic income, the terrorist gang also used the sending of threatening letters (sometimes with exact information from parents, wives, children and relatives), acts of sabotage in companies, theft, demonstrations, insults in the street, intimidating posters placed in squares, and many more strategies.

ETA were not the only group to carry out kidnappings; other terrorist groups like GRAPO did it as well. Three businessmen kidnapped by ETA (Angel Berazadi, Javier de Ybarra and Francisco Arín), and one from GRAPO (Publio Cordón), were killed by their captors. The longest kidnappings were those of José María Aldaya, who was held captive for 341 days, Emiliano Revilla, held for 244 days, and Cosme Delclaux who was deprived of freedom for 232 days. They all remained in harsh conditions for the duration of their kidnapping. However, the captivity that lasted the longest was that of the prison official José Antonio Ortega Lara who lived locked up and in subhuman conditions in a hole underground for 532 days. This kidnapping, committed by ETA, had no economic motivation, but was part of a political blackmail against the State, similar to what happened with the politician Miguel Ángel Blanco. Ortega Lara was rescued by the Civil Guard on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1997. Miguel Ángel Blanco, however, was assassinated by the terrorists.



Fig. 3. Letter from ETA asking for 100 million pesetas for the rescue of the businessman José Luis Arrasate, January 1976. Source: Municipal Archive of Bilbao (AMB), *La Gaceta del Norte Fund*.

Suggestions for further reading on this topic include the following books: Ugarte, J. (coord.) (2018): *La bolsa y la vida. La extorsión y la violencia de ETA contra el mundo empresarial* (The bag and the life. ETA's extortion and violence against the business world), La Esfera de los Libros, Madrid; and Sáez de la Fuente, I. et al. (2017): *Misivas del terror. Análisis ético político de la extorsión de ETA contra el mundo empresarial* (Missives of terror. Ethical and political analysis of ETA's extortion against the business world), Marcial Pons, Madrid.

## SUGGESTED ACTIVITY

Have you read about anyone who was blackmailed by ETA?

You can search for information (individually or part of group work) on an extortion case to produce a report, either on paper or digitally, which will be displayed in the classroom.



NOW THAT WE HAVE DEFINED WHAT TERRORISM IS AND UNDERSTAND ITS COMPLEXITIES, IN THIS SECOND SESSION WE CAN LOOK AT THE CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PHENOMENON OF TERRORISM IN SPAIN. THIS SESSION WILL FOCUS IN PARTICULAR ON THE PERIOD OF THE FRANCO DICTATORSHIP. A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION WILL SUMMARIZE THE CONTENTS OF THE UNIT OF WORK. IT IS IN THIS HISTORICAL PERIOD IN WHICH TERRORISM CAN BE SEEN AS A MODERN PHENOMENON, PARTICULARLY WITHIN AN INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN CONTEXT OF DECOLONIZATION AND VIOLENT REVINDICATION OF EXTREMIST IDEOLOGIES. IN THIS CONTEXT, SOME MINORITY GROUPS TURNED TO TERRORISM IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST THE FRANCO REGIME. AMONG THEM WAS ETA. SUFFERING REPRESSION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP, ETA INCREASED THE INCORPORATION OF NEW MILITANTS INTO THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION.

### THE FRANCO DICTATORSHIP AS JUSTIFICATION

The Franco Regime lasted between 1939 and 1975, that is, from the end of the Spanish Civil War until the death of the dictator Francisco Franco. A lack of freedom affected all Spaniards, especially those who were not supporters of the regime. This was characterized by uncompromising Spanish nationalism, the cult of the "Caudillo" (Franco), the one-party regime (the National Movement) and a national Catholicism.

After the end of the Second World War in 1945, Europe experienced a period of prosperity. The dictatorships of Spain, Portugal and Greece were the exception in such prosperity in the West, where democracies flourished.

In the 1960s and 1970s, some extremist ideologies once again defended the use of violence in politics to achieve their goals. This was the case both in democratic countries and in others with dictatorships. Among the first was Italy, where far-left terrorist organizations such as the Red Brigades existed alongside groups from the extreme right such as the New Order, which sought to reinstate a fascist dictatorship. In the United Kingdom, the IRA, the Irish Republican Army, reappeared and, in the late 1960s, launched a terrorist campaign to expel the British from Northern Ireland. The IRA is the terrorist organization that has caused the most fatalities in Europe - more than 1,700. On its opposite side, among the terrorist organizations in favor of Northern Ireland's continued membership of the United Kingdom was the UVF, the Ulster Volunteer Force, which killed around 500 people from 1966 to the 1990s.

During the Franco dictatorship, different terrorist organizations arose. The first victim of terrorism in Spain was the girl Begoña Urroz in 1960. She was killed in a train station in San Sebastián (The Basque Country) by the explosion of a bomb that had been placed by DRIL,



Fig. 4. The crime scene after the murder of José Antonio Pardines. The motorcycle of the Traffic Civil Guard lies overturned. Source: Civil Guard.

the Iberian Revolutionary Directorate of Liberation. Before Franco's death, various groups emerged, namely FRAP (Revolutionary Antifascist Patriotic Front), GRAPO (First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups), and ETA (Basque Country and Freedom). After breaking with the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party), ETA was founded in 1958. The first version of ETA was inspired by the anti-colonial movements from countries such as Algeria or Vietnam. Its first victim was the young civil traffic guard José Antonio Pardines Arcay in 1968. ETA thus wanted to start a spiral of violence, a so-called action-reaction, consisting of, first, committing attacks; second, provoking an aggressive response from the dictatorship; and third, generating a stream of sympathy for its cause among the Basque and Navarrese populations. In December 1973, ETA assassinated the President of the Francoist Government, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco. Few foresaw that terrorism would continue after the dictatorship with greater intensity than during the dictatorship.

The emergence of terrorism was not an inevitable consequence of the existence of a dictatorship in Spain. We have already seen that terrorism also arose during those same years in countries not under a dictatorship. Furthermore, the vast majority of parties and trade unions of the anti-Franco opposition did not resort to murder against the dictatorship, but to engage in peaceful tools such as strikes, spreading propaganda or holding demonstrations. Terrorism was a bloody instrument of a minority who caused irreversible consequences. In the case of ETA, it killed 43 people between 1968 and 1975. It was actually after the death of Franco when ETA caused 95% of his fatal crimes.

Paradoxically, this option of violent methods made terrorists resemble the regime they claimed to be up against, thus becoming servants of totalitarian and fanatical thoughts. As Florencio Domínguez, Director of the Spanish National Victims of Terrorism Memorial Centre writes, the use of terrorism is not the last option for those who do not have any other tool to defend their political ideas, no matter how much it was during the Franco dictatorship when ETA started its violent path. Following that logic, all democratic groups opposed to Francoism would have taken up arms - and they didn't. Terrorism dehumanizes, it leaves behind victims, it creates pain, fear, and social fracture and precisely for those reasons, all victims of terrorism are innocent insofar as they did not deserve the pain and hurt inflicted upon them.

In the last years of the Franco Regime and in the early years of democracy, all of Spain was abuzz with political and social demands. The Basque Country was no exception. Repression during the dictatorship, including the last five shootings in September 1975, meant that ETA was seen as fighters of the Basque people, an image that penetrated deeply into the social fabric of the time. As Juan Avilés, expert on international terrorism states: "at the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, a significant number of people, mostly young, living in places as far away as Euskadi, Northern Ireland, Italy, Germany, Argentina, Uruguay, United States, Japan or Palestine, concluded that, in order to advance social revolution, or to combat it, or to promote its national objectives, or to prevent others from achieving them, the most effective way was violence"<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Avilés, 2018: 21.

## ACTIVITY 2.1

A LOCAL POLICEMAN,  
A FATHER OF FOUR

It was 29th August 1972. That day the terrorist gang ETA assassinated a local policeman named Eloy García Cambra in Galdakao (Vizcaya, Basque Country). As retold in the book *Vidas Rotas* (Broken Lives), the night before, on Monday 28th August, Eloy had noticed a *Seat 600* car that made him suspicious. The next morning, he observed an individual approaching the car, so Eloy approached the individual and asked him if it was his property. Eloy was unaware that the aforementioned individual was a member of ETA, so he let him go in a taxi; but not without first reporting this event to his colleague. A couple of Civil Guards followed the taxi and the vehicle was later intercepted and the suspects were transported to the Galdakao barracks. When they got out of the vehicle, one of the suspects pushed his captor and fired at Eloy, who was hit twice, once in the neck and once in the back. Although an intense period of shooting started, in which another civil guard was also injured, the attackers managed to escape. At the crime scene, the terrorists left behind a wallet that identified one of them and later led to the capture of the entire command.

Eloy García Cambra was 44 years old and was a native of the Navarra town of San Martín de Unx. He lived in a small neighborhood and was a very popular man appreciated by his neighbors. He was married with four children.

Recommended reading: Alonso, R., Domínguez, F. y García Rey, M. (2010): *Vidas rotas* (Broken lives), Espasa, Madrid. Available at:  
[http://fundacionvt.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/Vidas\\_Rotas.pdf](http://fundacionvt.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/Vidas_Rotas.pdf)

## SUGGESTED ACTIVITY

After having read this story, split into groups of no more than five students. Try to reach an agreement on answers to the following questions:



Fig. 5. First page of *La Gaceta del Norte* newspaper of 30th August 1972, with the news of the murder of Eloy García Cambra. Source: Hemeroteca Foral (statutory newspaper library) of Bizkaia.

The ideological sectors related to ETA justify this violence due to the undemocratic context of the time. Do you think that the murder of this local policeman can be justified by having been carried out during a dictatorship? Explain your answer.

Do you know the concept of *resilience*? A resilient person is someone who allows themselves to feel the barrage of emotions that are triggered by such harsh situations and sets out to rebuild his or her life.

Do you think it would be easy for you to rebuild your life, both your family life and social life, after a fact like that? Who or what would be your main support? What would be the biggest challenge?

## ACTIVITY 2.2

### MASSACRE IN THE CAFÉ

Until the Hipercor massacre (1987), the ETA attack with the highest number of mortal victims was the one perpetrated in the Rolando café in Madrid. A powerful bomb destroyed this hotel establishment in Madrid's *Correo* street, located a few miles away from *Puerta del Sol*. ETA members selected this location because many policemen regularly visited this place due to its proximity to the General Directorate of Security. As recorded in the book *Vidas Rotas* (Broken lives), on 13th September 1974 (when the dictatorship was facing its last years of existence; Franco would die in November 1975), ETA members placed a bomb in the café toilets, causing a massacre without precedent in which thirteen people died and another sixty were injured, eleven of them police officers. The Police specialists calculated that in the attack about thirty kilos of dynamite and screws of about two centimeters in diameter which acted as shrapnel were used".<sup>4</sup>

Antonio Alonso Palacín was native of Alhama de Aragón (Zaragoza). Six days before he had married María Jesús Arcos, who was twenty-eight years old. Their marriage was tragically cut short that afternoon at the Rolando café. Baldomero Barral and his wife, María Josefina Pérez, aged twenty-four and twenty-one years old respectively, natives of A Coruña (Galicia) and visiting Madrid, had a similar end. The same happened to Professor Francisca Baeza, an only daughter, who was the carer of her elderly parents; the policeman Felix Ayuso; the waiter, and father of three children, Gerardo García, and his partner Manuel Llanos; the chef Francisco Gómez; Antonio Lobo, a railway driver from Villanueva del Río (Seville); the salesman Luis Martínez, the secretary Concepción Pérez Paino, and the young student María Ángeles Rey. All of them, were people with family, friends, a life full of hopes and plans that were cut short by that bomb. Nothing can justify such cruelty.

María Ángeles Rey Martínez, twenty years old and a native of Burgos, had moved to Madrid to complete her exams. Her father, Francisco Rey, offered this testimony:

"...my daughter separated from the rest, I guess she moved a few meters over to take one of the tables. And that's when the bomb exploded. Many times it has come to my mind that, for just a few meters, my daughter lost her life ... That Christmas was very sad, very sad.

You saw happy people, in the street, shopping, full of joy, and you with your sadness and your grief. It was very sad for the whole family. My little boy, who was seven years old when his sister died, seemed to be less aware, but my other daughters, 16 and 14 years old, felt it very much. María Ángeles was their older sister and they were very attached to her. It took them a long time to get over it".

### SUGGESTED ACTIVITY

After reading this story, split into groups of no more than five students. Try to reach an agreement on answers to the following questions:

Imagine for a moment that you are a relative of one of the victims of the Rolando café. The phone rings and you get the terrible news. Your family member has died as a result of the explosion. How would you feel? How would your relatives and friends feel? What feelings or emotions would be the strongest in such a hard moment?

Find out more information about this terrorist attack and about its victims, and relate it to what you know about the Franco dictatorship. Then discuss the following question with your group: does the end justify the means?

<sup>4</sup> Alonso, Domínguez y García Rey, 2010: 40-42.

<sup>5</sup> Arteta y Galletero, 2006.



*Fig. 6. The interior of the Rolando café after the explosion of the ETA bomb. Madrid, September 1974. Source: AMB, La Gaceta del Norte Fund.*

SESSION

03





*Funeral for lawyers murdered by far-right terrorists in January 1977 in Madrid.  
Source: Efe*

THIS THIRD SESSION BEGINS WITH A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE SPANISH TRANSITION, THAT IS, THE PERIOD FROM THE DEATH OF DICTATOR FRANCISCO FRANCO UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY. WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS NO CONSENSUS REGARDING THE TIMELINE OF THIS PERIOD. ALTHOUGH FOR SOME IT BEGINS WITH THE DEATH OF FRANCO IN 1975 AND LASTS UNTIL THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC GENERAL ELECTIONS IN JUNE OF 1977 IN WHICH ADOLFO SUÁREZ WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF SPAIN, FOR OTHERS, THIS TRANSITION IS ACHIEVED IN 1978 WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION. FOR CERTAIN PEOPLE, THIS PERIOD CAN BE EXTENDED UNTIL THE RESISTANCE OF THE ATTEMPTED COUP D'ÉTAT IN 1981 OR EVEN UNTIL THE SOCIALIST VICTORY OF 1982.

TWO ACTIVITIES ARE INCLUDED IN THIS SESSION AND WE WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT THE USE OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES CAN BE VERY USEFUL FOR LEARNING ABOUT THIS PERIOD.

## THE TRANSITION

Franco's death in November 1975 opened a period of uncertainty and hope in Spain. The dictatorship had lasted 40 years, during which Franco exercised power in an authoritarian way. His supporters wanted the regime founded by him to continue after his death and they formed what was called "the Bunker". However, the majority of the population wanted a change so that Spain would cease to be the dictatorial exception in Western Europe. Democracy by a social majority implied, among other things, that the State would possess a monopoly on the use of violence and would exercise it while respecting the rules of law.

From 1976, a process of dismantling the institutions of Franco's regime and the gradual re-introduction of freedoms began. Thanks to successive pardons and amnesties, by the end of 1977 all political prisoners had been released from jail, as well as those belonging to terrorist organizations such as ETA or the GRAPO and those accused of murders. Likewise, crimes committed in the name of the Franco Regime were amnestied. In this way, the country wanted to overcome its violent past in favor of principles that were present at that time, such as reconciliation and consensus. Spanish society, also including the majority of the Basque community, thought that a future of peace was opening up before them. However, those who had supported terrorism not only refused to stop killing, but also increased their violent attacks.



Fig. 7. First page of the newspaper *La Voz de Galicia* of 29th August 1978, where several terrorist murders committed at different points are reported from Spain by GRAPO and ETA. Source: *La Voz de Galicia* newspaper.

The Spanish Constitution, the basis of the new system of rights and freedoms, was developed with a broad consensus and was approved in a referendum in December 1978. In subsequent years, the State, made up of autonomous regions, was developing. This created a political and administrative division due to the approval of the statutes of autonomy of the different regions. Decentralization came to replace the previous political and cultural uniformity of the Franco regime. The nostalgic ideological sectors of the dictatorship opposed this decentralized framework, but, despite their pressures, the first democratic government went ahead with the reforms. For its part, although the Basque Country achieved an unparalleled level of self-government, it was not enough for Radical Nationalism, which rejected the Constitution and the Statute of Autonomy, and continued with its violent practice.

The transition was not as peaceful as expected. A minority wanted to destabilize this process of democracy being built to impose his ideas on the rest by force. On the one hand, those nostalgic for the Franco regime tried to return to the dictatorship and attacked the rights that were being conquered, like the freedom of expression. For instance, in 1977 the Triple A (Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance) sent a package bomb to the editorial staff of the satirical magazine *El Pápus*, murdering the caretaker Joan Peñalver. The biggest massacre committed by the extreme right was the Atocha attack in January 1977. Three gunmen broke into a law firm linked to the Communist Party and the trade union *Comisiones Obreras*, killing five of them and seriously injuring four others.

At the opposite ideological extreme, GRAPO tried to initiate their particular violent revolution by assassinating numerous policemen, civil guards, and businessmen. In 1979, its most lethal year, GRAPO killed 31 people. At certain moments of the transition, the terrorist pressure was very intense. When the Atocha massacre occurred, GRAPO held two important public figures hostage: the traditionalist politician Antonio María de Oriol and Lieutenant General Emilio Villaescusa.

However, without minimizing the pain caused by other organizations, the main terrorist threat against the nascent democracy was ETA, the deadliest group, which had social and political support centered around the electoral coalition HB, *Herri Batasuna* (Popular Unity). This support was definitive, and the protection that ETA received was key to ETA's survival.

According to data collected by historian Raúl López Romo in the *Foronda Report: the effects of terrorism in the Basque society*, ETA and other related organizations, such as the Autonomous and Anticapitalists Cells, killed 11 people in 1977, 66 in 1978, 80 in 1979 and 96 in 1980, the year with the most terrorist murders in Spain during the transition.<sup>6</sup> If we interpret this data, we see how at the same time as the main milestones of democratization, such as the Constitution and the statutes of autonomy, terrorists redoubled their efforts to destabilize the process, increasing the number of its victims.

In those years there were certain extremist minorities who did not view their political rivals as people with rights, but as enemies that they had to eliminate to achieve their individual objectives. On 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1981, reactionary sectors of the Spanish Army staged a coup. One of its main pretexts was the continuous attacks by ETA against the military and the police. Finally, democracy prevailed, but the transition, although it was an exciting period with obvious successes, was marked by violence. In this "fertile humus," ETA's supporting groups began to take over the symbolic and public space of the Basque Country, throwing everyone else out of it.

<sup>6</sup> López Romo, 2015: 40-41.



Fig. 8. Funeral procession of the commander of the Armed Police, Joaquín Imaz, assassinated by ETA. Pamplona, November 1977. Source: Jorge Nagore.

### ACTIVITY 3.1

#### I WANTED THE TRANSFER. THEY WERE GOING TO KILL ME

It happened on 8th October 1979. Francisco Ponce, a policeman, was having lunch with seven colleagues in the Gurea Pub in the San Sebastian neighborhood of Loyola when three members of the terrorist organization ETA fired at him with machine guns. As a result of the shooting, various policemen were seriously injured along with three civilians who happened to be in the same establishment. Francisco offers us his testimony:

"My life was a normal, a very simple life. I've always been a very happy person, I liked playing football with my colleagues and had hundreds of friends. I got along well with everybody.

I was given the Basque Country as a work destination. I suppose it was just a hunch, but from that moment I started to feel nervous, restless, with a strange sort of feeling. I was honest with my working partner Luis, and I told him that I was scared. When they informed us that we were going to be transferred to Madrid I just thought: I only hope that after so long here in these next three days nothing happens to us.

How I want to forget that memory! The day of the terrorist attack was a Monday. We had gone to Eibar to collect some colleagues ...when we returned to the Loyola barracks in San Sebastián, we went to eat at a nearby restaurant so we would not be delayed. I remember even the most insignificant details: like the plate in front of me. When the terrorists came in and they machine-gunned us, everyone of us did what we could at that moment. I remember being on the floor and looking for my gun, but I couldn't find it. I only thought that if they saw us on the floor they would finish us off, and just at that moment, I moved the table and next to me it fell, near my ear, a plate from the table. It left me cold. At that moment my body burned, I felt like a bullet was going through my whole body, everything burned.

At the hospital, after seeing the bullet holes, they determined that it wasn't very serious and they left me naked on a stretcher in the hallway. When my superior came in, he asked them to transfer me to a room. Within a

few days, the Minister visited and told me to ask for what I wanted. I only asked him for the transfer to Madrid, so that they could take care of my rehabilitation as I was sure that they were going to find me and kill me there. The next day they transferred me to Madrid. In Madrid I had to have emergency surgery because I was dying.

My life totally changed. You lose the desire, the motivation, the joy. You feel fear. I couldn't study, I didn't want to be promoted ... I was overcome by the fear that they will send me back to the Basque Country to work ... seeing the number of colleagues who have died in terrorist attacks, I consider myself privileged, because I am alive and I am here".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Moreno Pérez y Folguera Heredia, 2015.

## SUGGESTED ACTIVITY

After reading Francisco Ponce's testimony, you must complete a group assignment in which your digital skills will be important.

The terrorist attack suffered by Francisco and his colleagues will certainly have had an impact on you. You will have noticed the fear that seized this policeman, both after the attack and in later years. Search the Internet for data on the terrorist attack, historical context, perpetrators, trial, and penalties imposed.

Francisco Ponce's life story is that of many other servants of the Armed Forces or of the National Police Force that were placed in the crosshairs of terrorism. Use digital technologies to answer the following question: do you see any commonalities in the different cases?

Presentation by each group of the work carried out.

In order to document the final product that the different groups have to present in the class, it is recommended to visit the websites of several victims of terrorism associations or foundations, specifically those in the section "To know more" at the end of this Unit of Work.



## ACTIVITY 3.2

### SHOOTING IN THE CANODROME

GRAPO (First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups) emerged in the last years of the dictatorship. Even after the amnesty of 1977 they continued to attack. María Pilar was only 15 years old when members of GRAPO shot her father, the civil guard Casimiro Sánchez García. The Armed Institute agent had been stationed in Madrid for a year together with his wife and four children. In the book *La voz de las víctimas* (The Voice of the Victims), her daughter María Pilar offers an emotional testimony:

"My father managed to come to Madrid. We were so happy to be in Madrid. He was happy because he wanted something else for his children and he had already achieved something. That day, it was a Saturday, we went shopping. My sister was 11 years old and dad wanted to buy her some gifts. When he went to the toilet, my mother, my uncle and I went to the barracks. At around ten thirty at night we noticed a big commotion. My mother got nervous when they told us they had suffered an attack and they took us to Gómez Ulla. As soon as we arrived they told us that my father had died. I remember that I tried to be strong. They asked us to bring a uniform. I myself looked for my father's clothes to dress him.

Your life changes. It changes everything, everything. He was not there. Already you couldn't give him the "Varon Dandy" that we would usually give him for his birthday. We didn't know if we could live in the barracks, we didn't know anything. I didn't know if we would go to live somewhere else, we didn't know if we were going to be able to eat, if my mother would have to work, I didn't know if I could continue studying.

Classmates and teachers looked after you somewhat. But people looked at you weird. Your father was a military man, wore a uniform and was now dead. It was an era, I don't know ... very revolutionary. Some thought that if he had passed away it was because of his job or because he deserved it. His loss was very powerful. You go on because you have to keep fighting, but it was horrible, horrible, horrible. I think that for a disease we are all prepared, but for this ... you leave him and half an hour later they tell you that because some people wanted it, they have taken him away from you. We could not say goodbye to him. We didn't have time. They took him from us, they took him from us. When we finally saw him, we saw him in the coffin".

The testimony can be viewed here:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mulkCKb-d9E>

### SUGGESTED ACTIVITY

After reading the testimony of María Pilar (or watching the video), complete the activities set out below using the information available on the internet.

Investigate this historical period and then make a list of people killed by GRAPO. How many people lost their lives at the hands of this terrorist group?

How did Spanish society react?

The families of murdered people, such as María Pilar, never sought revenge. Surely some of the phrases you have read or heard, recalling those hard moments of the murder of her father, have been especially noteworthy. Could you write any?

With the collected phrases you could prepare a dramatized reading with the double objective of educating the rest of the students about the injustice in attacking a servant of the state; or indeed to recognize the generous spirit that the victims of terrorism have demonstrated.



Fig. 10. The widow and children of Casimiro Sánchez during the funeral for the civil guard killed by GRAPO. Madrid, August 1975. Source: EFE.

### ACTIVITY 3.3

#### THE MILKMAN OF ALONSOTEGI

Liborio Arana, along with his wife and children, owned a cattle ranch and distributed milk throughout the Biscayan municipality of Alonsotegi, at that time integrated into Barakaldo. They were a humble family and highly appreciated in the town. They were known as the "milkmen of Alonsotegi." On 20th January 1980, an extreme right-wing gang called Spanish Armed Groups (GAE) planted a powerful bomb in a pub called Aldana, a popular place in the aforementioned town. The explosion killed four people and injured ten. One of those killed was Liborio Arana. His youngest son, Iñaki, offers his heartbreaking testimony:

"The night of the terrorist attack was a Saturday. It was half past ten or eleven. Dad had been feeding the cows and then went to the pub. We were talking a little bit. I wanted to take him home but he said: Look, later I'll give alfalfa and water to the cows, I've just given them their feed... Please go ahead. As I had my little boy, I went home and...we were calm until we heard the explosion: Boom! What happened? I took some clothes and went down. People were already running. The pub Aldana has been blown up! I went out with my brother Javi and we saw how everything was. I started to ask if they had seen my dad. The neighbours couldn't face me, they didn't want to tell me.

I went down to the [hospital of] San Eloy, where they had taken people. I even went into an operating room. Nothing. I went up to the village again, and then our family doctor came and told me: Your father is dead. Then I went home to break the news. In those times we didn't have a phone, we couldn't afford that luxury.

The next morning, some relatives came down to help, because we had to milk, and the others went to collect the pieces of aita (dad in Basque) that had been lying around there. I remember some relatives arguing over a piece of liver, an arm, over there a leg appeared in an allotment ... it was very hard. The terrorist attack that night was terrible. It was also a very hard time after. In fact, we didn't talk about it. I didn't tell my son anything about the attack until recently. I became an ertzaina (member of the Basque police) to try to find out what happened. The police acted very poorly, especially in the investigation and in their behaviour ... José Amedo, later convicted for his association with GAL, was Head of the investigation.

At first, the nationalist left supported the issue. They were going to bring a bouquet of flowers on the day of the anniversary. But then, when ama (mother in Basque) came from giving out milk to the houses, she found letters threatening her:

the others have killed your husband, but we are going to kill your children for being ertzainas (basque policemen). It was very hard for my mother. We didn't want to put a phone line at home so she wouldn't get threatening calls. So they were getting the best of us in every way".<sup>8</sup>

#### SUGGESTED ACTIVITY

After reading the testimony of Iñaki Arana, we suggest an activity to use the cooperative learning strategy Think-Pair-Share 1-2-4.

To carry out this activity, the class must be divided into groups of four students. It is also essential, in addition to individual reflection, to develop a group answer.

Think quietly about what happened in this terrorist attack. Note the consequences for the family, specifically for Iñaki and his mum. What points stand out especially? With them in mind write a short text of only two or three sentences.

In pairs, think aloud, talk about your sentences. You must discuss, agree and redo the contributions made in order to write a new single text per pair of only two or three sentences.

Once in the group of four, talk about your two sentences from each pair. You must discuss, agree, and redo the contributions made by each pair with the aim of writing a single text for the whole group of just two or three sentences. This will be the final contribution, assessed by the teacher.

With the collected sentences you can make some (bookmarks) to distribute in class or in the city center.

<sup>8</sup>López Romo, 2018: 219.



Fig. 11. The building where the Aldana pub was located was left completely destroyed after an attack by the extreme right (20/01/1980). Source: AMB, La Gaceta del Norte Fund.



SESSION

04

DAKITUAK ASKATU  
CUESTRADOS LIBER





IN THIS FOURTH AND FINAL SESSION, WE WILL ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF TERRORISM IN SPAIN SINCE 1982. DURING THIS DEMOCRATIC PERIOD, VIOLENT ATROCITIES WERE COMMITTED, FOR EXAMPLE BY GRAPO (RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KIDNAPPING AND LATER DEATH OF BUSINESSMAN PUBLIO CORDÓN IN 1995); GAL, WHO WERE ACTIVE BETWEEN 1983 AND 1987 (THE YEAR IN WHICH JUAN CARLOS GARCÍA GOENA, THEIR LAST VICTIM, WAS MURDERED); AND ETA, WHO CONTINUED TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAJORITY OF TERRORIST KILLINGS UNTIL THEIR DEFINITIVE CEASEFIRE ON 20TH OCTOBER 2011. BEFORE THE CEASEFIRE, ETA PERPETRATED ATTACKS WHICH HAS SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL IMPACT, SUCH AS THE HIPERCOR BOMBING (1987) AND THE KIDNAPPING AND SUBSEQUENT MURDER OF POLITICIAN MIGUEL ÁNGEL BLANCO (1997).

After 1982, the reaction of all parts of society against the terrorists and those who supported the terrorists increased. Different figures contributed to this change in conscience, no more so than the victims themselves who came together during this period. The pioneering AVT, the Spanish National Association of Victims of Terrorism, was born in 1981. Later, other groups and foundations would be created until they reached the current number of thirty organizations. Their work, key to the public visibility of the victims, was inspired by four main concepts: justice, truth, dignity and memory.

Another pillar for the delegitimization of terrorism was the pacifist movement, which emerged in the mid-1980s initiated by groups such as *Gesto por la Paz* (a Gesture for Peace) and *Donon Artean* (Between All). These these groups dared to demonstrate their rejection of terrorism in public.<sup>9</sup> These groups held 15-minute silent rallies in a series of fixed locations in different towns and neighborhoods each time a new murder or kidnapping was committed. Hundreds of citizens, including victims of terrorism, participated in these demonstrations.

In addition to those groups mentioned above, other organizations emerged that also managed to make the rejection of the terrorist groups and those who justified them visible, including *Bakea Orain* (Peace Now), a Pro-Human Rights Association of the Basque Country. At the end of the 1990s other groups also appeared on the Basque scene that went beyond the classical framework of pacifism to make an explicit defence of the Constitution and organize demonstrations. They were critical of both the terrorist organizations and the so-called *Abertzale* (Basque

*Fig. 12. A rally in Llodio in favour of the liberation of those kidnapped by ETA. José Antonio Ortega Lara and Cosme Delclaux stand in front of a counter-demonstration of nationalist radicals (23/12/1996). Source: El Correo newspaper.*

nationalist) left, as well as the whole of Basque nationalism, who they particularly accused of inaction. Thus, the *Ermua* Forum and the *Basta Ya* (Enough) platform were formed.

We cannot forget that with the arrival of the new millennium another form of terrorism arose - jihadism - which, although not new, manifested in the public consciousness with the attacks of 11th September 2001 in the United States. In Spain, this form of terrorism shook the country

on 11<sup>th</sup> March 2004, causing 193 deaths and leaving more than 1700 injured in Madrid. Again on 17<sup>th</sup> August 2017, this form of terrorism caused 16 deaths in the Ramblas of Barcelona and in Cambrils.

Fig. 13. 11-M Demonstration led by "Basta Ya" under the slogan "Let's defend what unites us: Statute and Constitution." San Sebastian, September 2004. Source: Santos Cirilo / El País newspaper.



Fig. 14. Firefighters trying to access the inside of the Hipercor car park in Barcelona affected by an ETA explosion (19/06/1987). Source: EFE.



## DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION

At the beginning of the 1980s, democracy was consolidated in Spain. The coup d'état of February 1981 had failed and a path of European integration and of economic, social and cultural modernization had begun. However, democracy had to continue to confront different terrorist threats.

Democracy, as a formula for political management in a State

Fig. 15. Bomberos participan en las labores de rescate de la casa-cuartel de Zaragoza tras el coche-bomba de ETA (11/12/1987). Fotografía: EFE.



of Law, provides us with tools for the peaceful resolution of conflicts through dialogue. In this sense, terrorism was seen by the majority of the Spanish population as a terrible option, typical of extremist and totalitarian sectors. However, a minor but significant sector supported violent action. Terrorists, as they demonstrated for a long time, still had the capacity to cause pain and threaten the freedom of all.

Throughout the 1980s, ETA was responsible for attacks like the one suffered at the barracks of the Civil Guards of Zaragoza, with a total of 11 murdered people (among them five children), or the attack on the Hipercor supermarket in Barcelona, which resulted in 21 fatalities (of which four were children). The latter was the largest terrorist massacre ever in Spain until 11-M.

In the 1980s, a type of parapolitical terrorism also made its appearance, framed under the acronym GAL (Antiterrorist Liberation Groups). Some public officials, including the then Minister of Home Affairs, and a group of officials from the Security Forces, were involved in this illegal plot. Its purpose was to fight ETA using the same methods of terrorism. Between 1983 and 1987, GAL committed 27 murders. Its case, equally horrible and unfair to the victims, reminds us that the fight against terrorism must operate within the rules of law to avoid sinking to the same level as the terrorists.

The Spanish Security Forces, as an institution, were on the

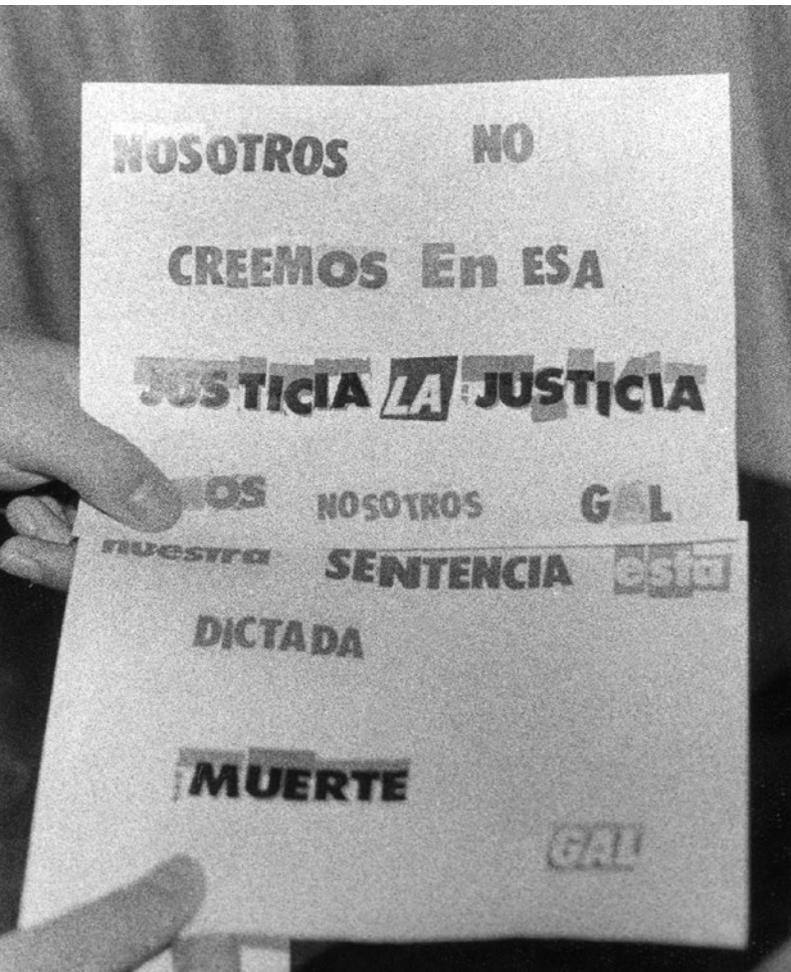


Fig. 16. Threatening letter by the terrorist group GAL, Antiterrorist Liberation Group (1985). Source: AMB, *La Gaceta del Norte Fund*.

side of the rule of law. Counting on collaboration with the neighboring country France, they were notably effective and arrested numerous ETA members, including successive leaders. This weakened the group in the 1990s and more so in the first decade of the 21st century. This weakening led to the emergence of certain social sectors that once supported ETA to question the usefulness, in terms of political gain, of the exercise of violence.

During the 1990s, when society was little by little growing stronger in the face of ETA's violence, the general public responded to the murders of the group with protests. The kidnapping of businessman Julio Iglesias Zamora caused a demonstration of more than 80,000 people calling for his release in San Sebastián, Basque Country. In such a context, Gesto por la Paz (Gesture for Peace) created a symbol, the

blue ribbon, which people pinned to their clothes to demand the freedom of victims and the end to terrorist violence. The biggest demonstrations against terrorism in Spain occurred around the kidnapping and murder in 1997 of the young Ermua councillor Miguel Ángel Blanco at the hands of ETA. On that occasion, millions of people came out to the streets in cities and towns throughout Spain. As it had happened with the blue ribbon, that time pacifist demonstrators expressed their rejection of terrorist violence by raising their painted white hands. They wanted to show that, unlike the terrorists, their hands were not stained with blood.

Despite the gradual disappearance of other types of violence (the last GRAPO murder was in 2006 and cost the life of the businesswoman Ana Isabel Herrero), ETA's violence lasted until October 2011. To this end, police work and French collaboration were key. During the counterterrorism struggle that weakened ETA until it was forced to resign from its campaign of terror, it is necessary to mention operations such as one in 1992 which allowed the capture of the entire leadership of the group. In 2004, the "Sanctuary operation" displayed the large caches of weapons and explosives that ETA had in French territory and led to the capture of those responsible for their political apparatus and extortion.

ETA's main leaders who were hiding in France were captured, one after another, while the terrorist cells who committed the attacks were dismantled. Investigations even spread to other European countries, such as Germany, UK, Belgium or Italy, where ETA members were hiding, and to Portugal, where the gang had installed an explosives factory. Police harassment was undermining ETA's ability to act, forcing its resignation to end its terrorist activities.

The actions of the police and the judicial system was joined by social activists (the pacifist movement). In June 2003, under the application of the Law of Parties Doctrine, Batasuna (civil arm of ETA and supporter of Herri Batasuna, the far-left Basque nationalist coalition) was outlawed in Spain. This measure, ratified by the European Court of Human Rights of Strasbourg in 2009, made a significant contribution in the defeat of ETA. Finally, on 3rd May 2018, ETA announced its dissolution, leaving behind a dark history.

However, the 21st century had brought us another threat, practically previously unknown in the West: jihadist terrorism. Such acts had previously been committed in Spain: for example, the bomb attack against the restaurant El Descanso in 1985, in Madrid, when 18 people died. But such acts were now coming back with even more virulence, as is the case of the terrible attack of 11th March 2004 on four trains in Madrid, the largest terrorist massacre in Spain. The Prosecu-

tor's Office, in its indictment, indicated that the preparations to carry out a jihadist attack in Spain began in response to the dismantling of an Al Qaeda cell in Spain in 2001. Part of these preparations, according to the prosecution, were people linked to Al Qaeda, a Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group, the Armed Islamic Group, from Algeria, and radicalized common criminals. However, not even in the judgment handed down by the National High Court on 31st October 2007, nor that in the Supreme Court, rendered on appeal, were reflected; the ninth legal foundation of the Supreme Court ruling says verbatim:

"This case, in the first instance of ruling, describes the existence of an organized group of a terrorist nature made up of the people who caused the explosion and lost their lives in the Leganés flat. No individualized criminal liability attribution is established to each of them, as it was extinguished with their deaths, which consequently determined that they were not judged and that no charge or discharge tests were charged on their conduct. However, from the data handled in the hereby contested resolution, it turns out that at least some of the

people who lost their lives in the explosion that occurred in the Leganés flat constituted an organized group, and had participated in the terrorist acts of 11th March 2004. The provenance of the dynamite; the relationship of any of the deceased with its suppliers; the data related to obtaining and concealing explosives; the elements that refer to making the artifacts; and especially the objects found in the rubble of the Leganés flat after the explosion caused by its occupants demonstrate the link of this group with the 11th March terrorist attacks".

"Ideological dependence on the postulates defended by Al Qaeda also results from the content of the claims of the authorship of the terrorist acts and the rest of the seized material. However, it does not appear to hold any hierarchical relationship with other groups or with other leaders of that organization, which allows the conclusion that the cell operating in Madrid, insofar as it has been identified,

Fig. 17. A massive demonstration at Bilbao City Hall for the freedom of Miguel Ángel Blanco (12/07/1997). Source: Fidel Raso / Diario 16 newspaper.



did not depend hierarchically on another and therefore can be considered as a different and independent terrorist group or organization”.

We have to say that the demonstrations throughout Spain after the 11-M attack were, together with the demonstrations carried out after the murder of Miguel Ángel Blanco, the most multitudinous events in our recent history. A black ribbon was the expression of rejection of the 11-M attacks and of solidarity with their victims.

Jihadist terrorism is still active today in different countries. We cannot forget the attacks of Barcelona and Cambrils in the summer of 2017, committed by Daesh, also called Islamic State. This terrorist organization began to gain prominence in 2014 by bringing under its control large parts of the territory of two Middle Eastern countries: Syria and Iraq.

Al Qaeda was born in 1988 in Afghanistan, where its founder, Osama Bin Laden, had fought the Soviets who had occupied the country in the late 1970s. The same year that the army of the former USSR withdrew, Bin Laden created the terrorist group who targeted the United States, governments of Muslim countries that did not share radicalism that inspired Al Qaeda, and Western countries in general. In 1998, Al Qaeda, jointly with other groups, formed the so-called World Islamic Front for Jihad (fight against the enemies of Islam) against Jews and Crusaders. The most important terrorist attack of

the organization led by Osama Bin Laden was the attack committed on 11th September 2001 on the Twin Towers, in New York, and the Pentagon, in Washington, which caused 3,000 deaths. US reaction to the attack consisted of military intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan.

For years, Al Qaeda was the symbol of jihadist terror that committed attacks decided by the central nucleus, hidden in Afghanistan and Pakistan; or by some of the different branches that were being organized in the Arabian Peninsula, in the Maghreb, Iraq, in the Horn of Africa, and other places. In 2011, Bin Laden was killed by the US Military Forces in a house in Pakistan where he was hiding.

The Al Qaeda branch operating in Iraq ended up breaking with the central leadership and in 2013 it was renamed the Islamic State Iraq and the Levant while engaging in the war of Syria. The following year, after having resounding military triumphs that brought the terrorists under control vast extensions of those two countries, the Islamic State, also known as Daesh by its Arabic initials, proclaimed the Caliphate. The two terrorist groups, Al Qaeda, through its Syrian branch, the Al-Nusra Front, and Daesh, came to face each other militarily for achieving hegemony over the global jihadist movement and the control of Syrian territories.

Daesh then became the reference for all extremists who flocked to Syria by the thousands to fight in the military

*Fig. 18. Hundreds of thousands of people participated in the demonstration under the slogan "With the victims, with the Constitution, for the defeat of terrorism" the day after the attacks of 11th March 2004. Source: Emilio Naranjo / EFE.*





*Fig. 19. Hundreds of people congregate in La Rambla in Barcelona, in the Miró mosaic, a place where citizens place candles, flowers and messages of support and Remembrance of the victims of the August 2017 attack. Source: Alejandro García / EFE.*

ranks of that group. Jihadists from all over Europe and dozens of countries from the rest of the world traveled to war in the Middle East. From Spain, more than two hundred people moved. The flow of terrorists began to slow in 2017 as a consequence of the serious military setbacks suffered for Daesh that made them lose almost all the territory that they had come to control. The Islamic State inspired and promoted numerous attacks in European countries, including those registered in Barcelona and Cambrils in August 2017.

Terrorism has caused the existence of another type of victim:

Those threatened by terrorist groups. ETA is the group that has caused the greatest number of threats. People who lived with the anguish of suffering an attack had to abandon their home to get to a safe place in another part of Spain. Some were threatened by the fact of belonging to certain collectives that were in the crosshairs of ETA (members of the Police Armed Forces, public officials of constitutional parties, journalists, teachers, businessmen, judges, intellectuals critical of terrorism, amongst others). Other people threatened

included those who refused to pay extortion to ETA or those that found themselves accused by the terrorists of anything that made them worthy of an attack. such as being considered, simply, as enemies of the Basque people. The terrorist threat, what was called "persecution violence," forced thousands of people to live with police protection for many years and forced others to leave their home, city, friendships, hobbies, and work to go into exile.



*Fig. 20. Place where ETA assassinated national police officer Eduardo Puelles by means of a limpet bomb placed on the underside of his vehicle. Arrigorriaga, June 2009. Source: Luis Alberto García / El País Newspaper.*

“THERE WAS TERRORISM, ITS EXECUTORS, AND THOSE WHO EXTORTED THEM. THERE WERE THE VICTIMS, MANY OF THEM WITHOUT ANY OTHER ROLE THAN TO DIE. THERE WAS SOCIETY, IGNORED AND LOST. THERE WERE, WHEN THEY COULD APPEAR, POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES, AND THE FRAGILITY OF THOSE WHO SUFFER THE TEMPTATION TO GET SOMETHING IN EXCHANGE. IT WAS HARD TO SEE INSIDE THAT WEB. BUT, SUDDENLY, IT HAPPENED - A LITTLE GROUP OF ANONYMOUS PEOPLE, THOSE WHO ARE USUALLY DESCRIBED AS ONLY “HAVING ONE SENTENCE” BUT ARE FUNDAMENTAL FOR THE STORY, STOOD IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EVERYONE WITH THE PURPOSE OF THROWING A LITTLE LIGHT ON THE DARKNESS ... FROM THEN ON, THERE WOULD NO LONGER BE A DEATH WITHOUT AN ANSWER.”

ANA ROSA GÓMEZ MORAL

## ACTIVITY 4.1

On 11th March 2004, which will forever remain in our memory as 11-M, Spain suffered a terrorist attack in Madrid which left 193 dead and more than 1,700 wounded, some of them with serious injuries. Various jihadist cells placed bombs in four trains of the commuter network of the capital city of Madrid.

Jihadist violence struck repeatedly and globally in numerous countries with mostly Arab and Muslim populations. This type of violence also reached Europe. Thus, in addition to Spain, UK, Belgium, France, Holland, Germany, and Sweden, also suffered attacks leading to a very high number of victims. In Spain, it was thirteen years later, in August 2017, when this form of terror struck again. This time the terrorists used a van as a weapon in the Barcelona attacks (which resulted in 15 people dead and more than one hundred wounded), as well as a fatality in the town of Cambrils, where one woman died. Without doubt, the International community is facing a new form of global terrorism, with the great potential to impact victims with even greater cruelty. Since 9/11, many of the characteristics of terrorism have emerged: indoctrination, ideological sustenance, recruitment and use of sectarian language for the purpose of training fanatical militants willing to die and kill for a religious, ethnic, identity or economical cause.

*Fig. 21. Firefighters and medical staff examining several bodies among the remains of one of the Atocha station carriages moments after the terrorist attack. Source: Emilio Naranjo / EFE.*



## THE CITIES OF SAN FERNANDO, COSLADA, SANTA EUGENIA, AND EL POZO

Antonio Miguel Utrera, a young History student, was seriously injured in the 11-M attacks in Madrid. His memory of what happened takes us to those tragic moments from the perception of a young traveler on that day. His story provides an interesting narrative about what happened and its subsequent impact. It is worth reading multiple times:

"I close my eyes to the rhythm of the rattle of the train and I wish I was asleep, thousands of miles away, while the seasons follow one another mercilessly in the order of each morning like an unalterable litany: San Fernando... Coslada... Santa Eugenia ...

El Pozo ... it is possible that in that last second I should have said to myself to go back to bed. I wish I would have turned off the lights on time that morning.

Twenty minutes passed in which I didn't exist for myself but I didn't stop existing for others. She, aware of everything at all times, looks for me in the chaos because she saw me on the bus and at the station, and she knows that I have gone on that train. But she can't find me. By the time I exist again, the world is different, and my time has been fractured in two forever. The after has just begun. I remember thick white smoke surrounding me like a cotton shroud. I barely emerged with the echo of the explosion still in my bleeding ears. I get out of the carriage, perhaps helped by the hand of a kind stranger, and I observe the state of the train in which I have

*Fig. 22. Antonio Miguel Utrera, victim of the 11-M.*



traveled until that abrupt stop without a station. The wrecked train yells at me what happened, and I hollowly shouted it to an audience of sleepwalkers who can't or don't know how to hear me. There, at a distance myopia by myopia (glasses, where did I leave my glasses?), Atocha looms against the dawn like the back of a metal dinosaur. I remember the cold as the most devastating cold that I have ever experienced...

From that moment, I travel in the quantum reality of the disappeared. In my parents' minds I am ...alive and dead at the same time. That uncertainty will consume long hours of that day and will condition the rest of their lives. The shadow of trauma born then will never disappear completely.

When the paradox is resolved, I am more dead than alive and there is hardly anything in me that can remind them of their son. The days go by without any possible anesthesia in the face of so much pain. Long hours in which death clings to me, hours in which you are without being, floating in that amniotic state of induced coma, while the conscious ones wish they had died.

After an apparently inevitable end, a horizon of hope emerges that, unexpectedly, is close to happiness. Against all odds, would be, perhaps, the best title for this story. After the expectantly difficult first moments, hemiplegia and post- traumatic stress, physiotherapy and hearing loss, tinnitus and other sequelae would need to be incorporated to explain it. The body and invisible aftermath as an indelible reminder of human infamy. And the abyss.

In the first days (I say thinking on years) that would come after the terrorist attack and in which, despite the activity, I would only feel an unfathomable white emptiness similar to sadness. The one peeking in the mirror was not me. Recognizing myself in that person again, feeling that the left half of my body was now different and clumsy, was as mine as it was ever before, was the necessary conquest for fitting my life after. I understood that overcoming does not exist as something impossible like oblivion, but I focused on adaptation and there I found the exit, the way back to the track from which I was once expelled.

I don't remember the moment when I started living in the Now nor if that Now is even plausible. I only know that this side of time there are hands of people so compassionate and kind as before as towards any After. The time is Now, which is compatible with remembrance and memory, and memory is the only thing that exists and must remain".<sup>10</sup>

## SUGGESTED ACTIVITY

It is important that each student reads the text carefully. It is a complex text and therefore may need to be read several times.

Once you have read the text, you will have noticed the great number of literary tools used (metaphor, simile, etc); For example, in reference to the smoke that is produced after the explosion, he says: "I remember a thick white smoke surrounding me like a cotton shroud". Could you collect any of these images and express what, in your opinion, Antonio Miguel Utrera means when using them?

Write in a few sentences, in your own style, the feelings experienced by the young Antonio Miguel Utrera during and after the attack.

The tributes to the victims occurred in crowded places in the city of Madrid, such as the Atocha station. With the completed texts from this activity, an exhibition could be presented in a central place in the school, a place where the entire school community usually walks by.

<sup>10</sup> López Romo, 2018: 273-277.

## ACTIVITY 4.2

### FANATICISM WITH RELIGIOUS ROOTS

The trail of deaths and injuries that jihadist terrorism has left both in Muslim countries and in the West is already very significant. The 11-M attacks, attacks that occurred in Europe and other parts of the world, or those attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils, all have one thing in common: religious fanaticism.

### SUGGESTED ACTIVITY

Watch the following documentary (in Spanish):

*The 11-M narrated by the victims and their families*, BBC News World: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-vaX9bGKoW8>

In a “brainstroming” exercise, comment on the testimonies that have impacted you or made you think. It would be very interesting to find common aspects between the testimonies of victims of the 11-M, victims of other attacks in Europe, such as those in Nice or Paris, and testimonies of those victims who suffered attacks in Barcelona or Cambrils.

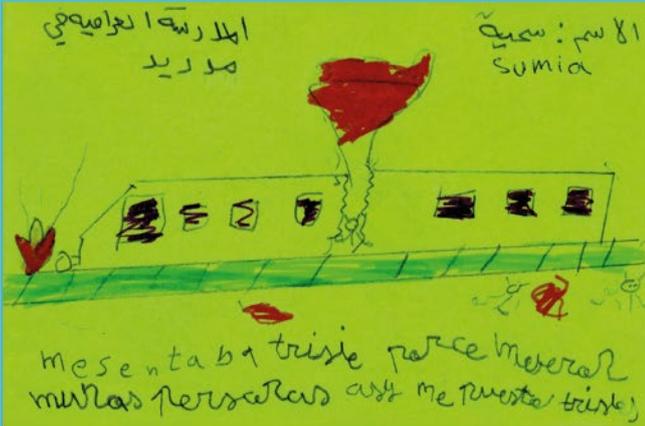
One suggestion is to have a debate in class. The focus of the debate could be on the possibility of living together while being equal but different, such as in contemporary society? How can a desirable intercultural coexistence in our European societies be promoted?

“The forgetful have no future: when a society empties its symbolic references lived, it is adrift in the present and defenseless in the face of the future”.

*Ernest Bloch*

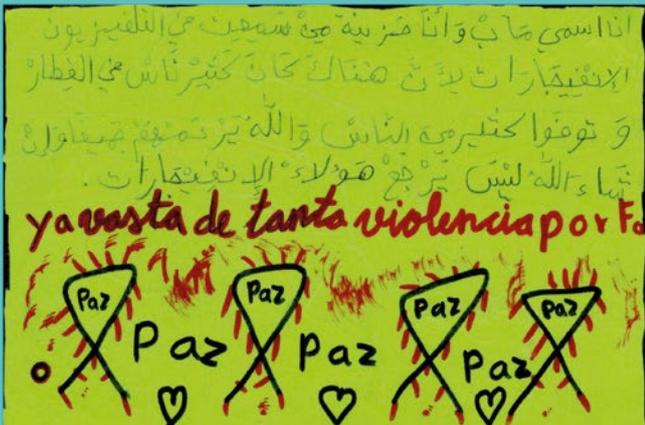
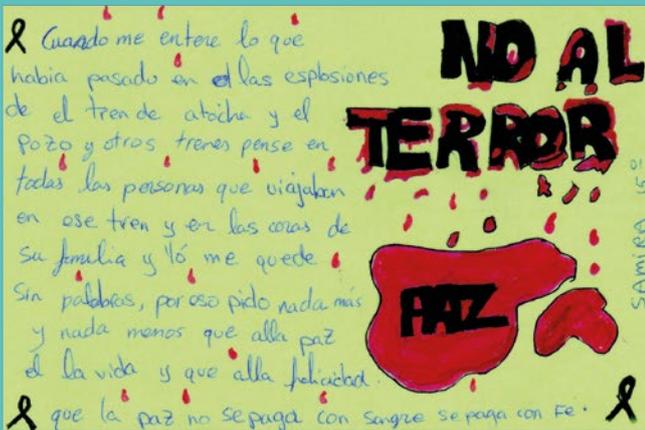
“... what should be happen is, on the one hand, that victims lead a dignified life and see their legitimate rights as attacked people upheld. On the other hand, it is desirable that they can remember what happened so that this memory becomes a strength as part of their future, and that they recover a trust in society and in coexistence, and that they participate and enjoy a peaceful society”.

*Xabier Etxeberria*



Nombre: Ammal guered oles maguender  
Edad: 11 años  
Curso: 5 de primaria.

মাকাম সৰ্ব্বৈ জৰুৰ ওহীতগণনা ওহীত কামগণনা  
জৰুৰ মৰীচ এটৈ আৰু মাক কৰুৰক লক্ষ্য  
ওহীতগণনা কৰুৰক সৰ্ব্বৈ আৰু মাক এটৈ  
মাকগণনা কৰুৰক সৰ্ব্বৈ আৰু মাক ওহীত  
আৰু ওহীতগণনা ওহীতগণনা ওহীতগণনা



quiero Decar no hagais eso!!

Fig. 23. The Young Muslim Association of Madrid published a book of messages and drawings made by Muslim children, in which they express their feelings and their pain for the attacks of 11th March 2004. Source: EFE.

TO

KNOW

MORE

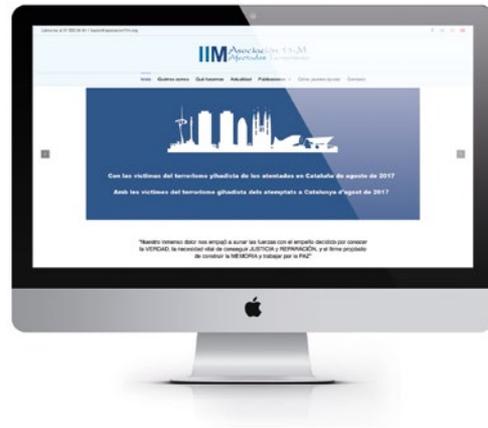


## ONLINE RESOURCES



**AROVITE, ONLINE ARCHIVE ON TERRORIST VIOLENCE IN EUSKADI. SCHOOL OF PEACE (BAKEAZ) PUBLICATION SERIES**

<https://www.arovite.com/en/collection-of-bakeaz/peace-school/>



**VICTIMS AFFECTED BY THE 11-M TERRORISM ASSOCIATION (WEBSITE IN SPANISH)**

<http://asociacion11m.org>



**AVT, ASSOCIATION OF VICTIMS OF TERRORISM (YOUTUBE CHANNEL WITH TESTIMONIES IN SPANISH)**

<https://www.youtube.com/user/avt>



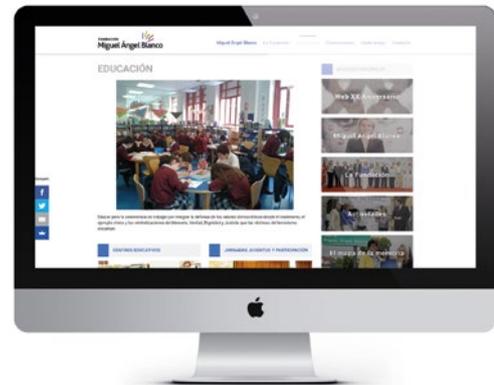
**SPANISH NATIONAL VICTIMS OF TERRORISM MEMORIAL CENTRE**

<http://www.memorialvt.com>



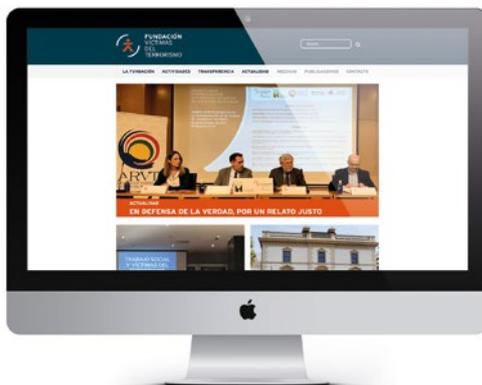
**FERNANDO BUESA FUNDAZIOA  
DOCUMENTARY CENTRE**

<http://fundacionfernandobuesa.com/web/en/>



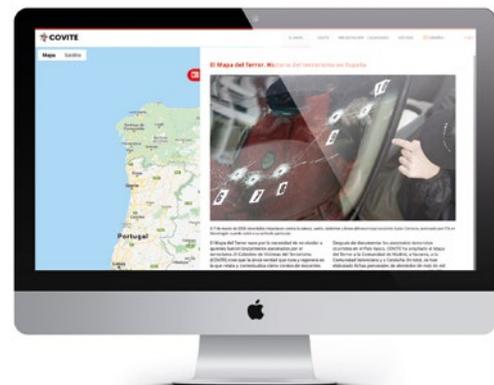
**MIGUEL ÁNGEL BLANCO FOUNDATION  
(EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN SPANISH)**

<http://www.fmiguelangelblanco.es/actividades/educacion/>



**FVT, VICTIMS OF TERRORISM  
FOUNDATION (WEBSITE IN SPANISH)**

<http://fundacionvt.org/>



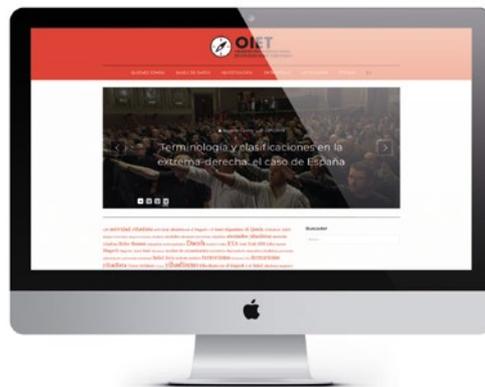
**COVITE MAP OF TERRORISM,  
VICTIMS OF TERRORISM GROUP**

<http://mapadelterror.com/>



**LIFE MEMORY (WEBSITE IN SPANISH)**

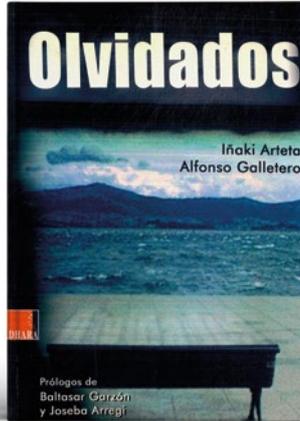
<http://www.rtve.es/memoriadevida/>



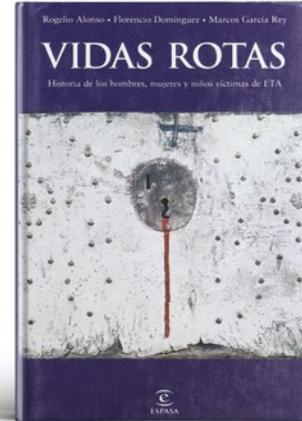
**INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATORY OF STUDIES  
ON TERRORISM (WEBSITE IN SPANISH)**

<https://observatorioterrorismo.com>

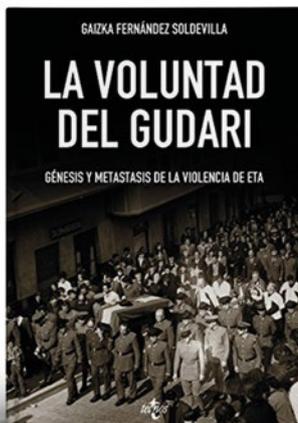
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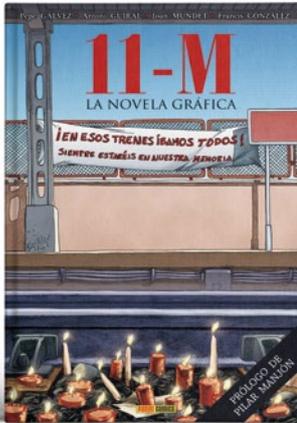
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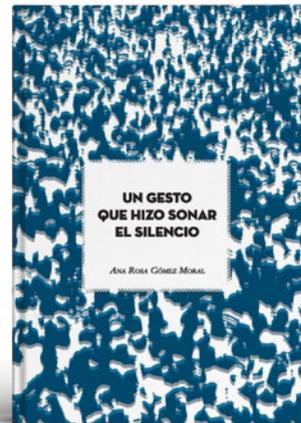
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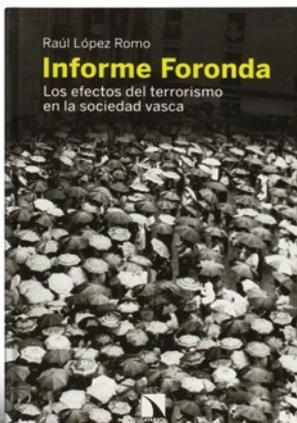
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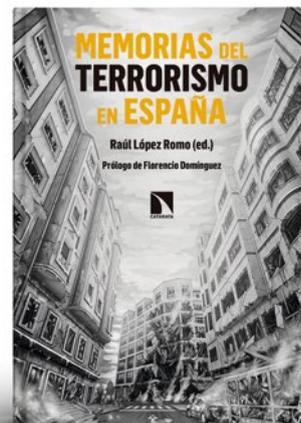
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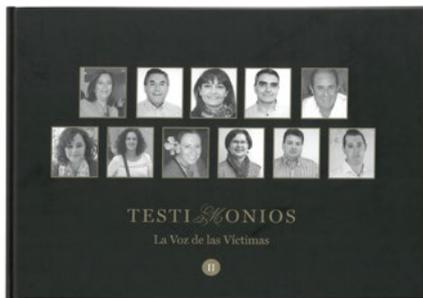
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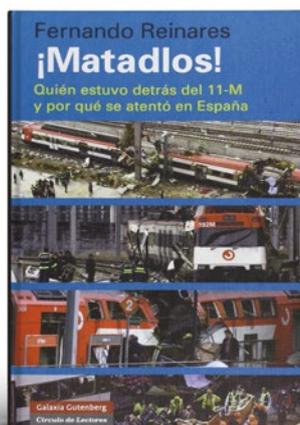
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UNIT OF WORK ON THE HISTORY OF SPAIN  
**16-17-YEAR-OLD SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS**  
**STUDENT WORKBOOK**

