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TERRIFYING EUROPE

History and Memory of Terrorism in European Identity

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PART I THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

HISTORY, MEMORY AND TRAUMA AT THE CORE OF EUROPEAN IDENTITIES: BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

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Few would dispute that European identities during the second half of the 20th century were built upon memories of the dreadful events unfolded before. As the historian Tony Judt outlined within the epilogue of his famous *Postwar*, modern European Memory could be reframed such as "the house of the dead" (2006: 801-811). Two Worlds Wars, the Holocaust, the Gulag, and other countless massive crimes admittedly shattered collective identities to give rise to a common mnemonic framework which aims at encompassing all multifarious and heterogeneous histories of violence. Even though such unfolding of the events had not been displayed within European soil in the last decades, remembrance of violence could not be considered detached from European identities. Not only the recent conflict in Ukraine which is arising the most unsettling memories of the recent past, but the common experience of Terrorist attack within different European countries brings about remembering violence as one of the everlasting trends in our collective identities. To those who were borne during the eighties and the nineties —as it's the case of the ones who are written these chapter— images of the devastated aftermaths derived from terrorist attacks in France, Belgium or Spain became memories intensity of which did not fade as the years go by. Nonetheless, Terrorism's long history could not be reduced as a contemporary phenomenon. On the contrary, its historical roots can be traced back to precious centuries in such a way that it worth exploring. Nonetheless, what we Europeans conceive by Terrorism does not only depends on its history, but more specifically on the ways in which such events have been reframed, mediatized and symbolized through memory as the generations go. This could be identified as the main concern underlying *Terrifying Europe. History and Memory of Terrorism in European Identity*.

As different historians and Memory Studies scholars have outlined memories and identities stemming from the dreadful events unfolded in Europe during the 20th century are deeply connected with the ways in which traumatic and violent pasts are remembered, commemorated and mourned as the years go by. As asserted by Enzo Traverso (2017), collective and national identities during the second half of the last century have revolve around how victims are depicted within public sphere. As a result, the ways in which contemporary violence is framed through the different "mediations and re-meditations" (Erll, 2011) provided by cultural memory are key to understand the reconfiguration of contemporary European identities. After all, from some events to become collective traumas is not only relevant the historical experience itself, but the way in which has been retrospectively mediated and represented later. As Jeffrey Alexander has outlined when framing his theory on cultural trauma: "Experiencing trauma can be understood as a sociological process that defines a painful injury to the collective, establishes the victim, attributes responsibility, and distributes the ideal and material consequences" (2013: 26). All these processes utterly required cultural and symbolic mediations which reframed such historical experiences. To Alexander, "this reconstruction means that there will be a searching re-membering of the collective past" (2013: 26) giving rise to a shared sense of being harmed.

Undoubtedly, the experience of terrorism in European soil is one of the most important evens when dealing the remembrance of violence. Regardless of the political nature and grounding of the different terrorist attacks which have shocked and undermined the feeling of security within Western societies, the evolution of European identities is dependent on how such events are depicted and on how their victims are remembered and commemorated. Echo-

ing this situation, *Remembering Terror* aims at offering a diverse set of perspectives focusing on different historical cases of remembering and commemorating terrorism in contemporary Europe. Therefore, each chapter included in this book is thus intended to provide a different approach to how a specific event in Europe —related to terrorism— has been reframed in a specific way as the decades go by. In this regard, far from endorsing a particular perspective, *Remembering Terror*. History and Memory of Terrorism in European Identity is bound to offer a glimpse on the heterogeneous ways in which memory of terrorism has reshaped collective identities in Europe. With a view of achieving such goals, the entire volume is divided within three parts each of which points at a specific purpose with regards to reconstructing the ways in which terrorism has reconfigured collective European identities.

The first one, entitled "Theoretical framework", is indebted to outlining the basic of the overall perspective of *Remembering Terror*. History and Memory of Terrorism in European Identity when approaching the aftermaths of terrorist attacks with regards to the emergence of traumatic effects. Such part includes this brief introduction and the chapter "Terrorism Crimes and Victimization: From Trauma to Resilience" by Marta María Aguilar Cárceles and Agustina María Vinagre González. Within this text, the authors delved further into the multifarious and heterogeneous process underlying traumatization after suffering a terrorist attack. Consequently, this text brings light into the different layers involved within what is meant to be a victim of terrorism. First, by means of quantitative analysis, the implications of psychological effects in victims of terrorism are inquired in detail. Secondly, by means of exploring collective aftermaths of Covid-19 crisis, the communitarian bonds underlying the framing of traumatization is outlined. Such study paves the way towards delving further into the overcoming of traumatic aftermaths derived from being involved in terrorist attacks by means of the notion of "resilience". By emphasizing the relevance of orientation to the future by injured people, the text outlines the most recent and creative social strategies to promote the social integration of victims and avoid retrospective processes of re-victimization.

The second part of the volume is entitled "History of Terrorism in Europe", and it aims at delving further into the historical trends underlying the unfolding of terrorist attacks within contemporary Europe. By endorsing this diachronic perspective, the texts included

in this part strive to reframing such violent processes as an essential part of European history during the last two decades. Opposing to any prefiguration of terrorism as a contemporary phenomenon, these contributions emphasize the extent to which its roots are far deeper.

The first text within "History of Terrorism in Europe" deals with one of the most common trends underlying this practice, which is to say, anarchist terrorist violence. In this regard, Ángel Herrerín delves further in "Anarchist Violence and State Repression at the Turn of the century (XIX-XX)" into the origins the unfolding of a politically oriented violence which crosses borders and reached and international dimension. By endorsing such transnational perspective, Angel Herrerin's contribution brings to the fore the similarities and differences in the ways in which such violence was unfolded in countries such as Spain, Italy, England, or France. As outlined, the different process underlying anarchist terror should be contextualized between the push and the pull of political repression and the so-called "propaganda of the deed". In summary, the text discusses how the illegality and repression faced by organizations associated with the First International led members to operate clandestinely, resulting in escalating violence. This created a cycle of illegality, secrecy, repression, and violence that was challenging to break. Anarchist violence, spreading across Europe through attacks, was met with varying degrees of repression depending on the country. Spain stood out due to the prolonged duration and brutal repression of such actions. However, the brutality of these acts contradicted the anarchists' aim of raising awareness and achieving social revolution, leading them to shift towards propaganda for repression, highlighting the oppressive nature of the state. The political regime in Spain, characterized by the Restoration, hindered democratic progress and failed to enact necessary reforms, contributing to social unrest. While anarchists began to favour revolutionary unionism over violence and authorities attempted reforms, progress was impeded by factors like the immobility of institutions such as the Catholic Church and the bourgeoisie, and a lack of transition towards a more democratic regime.

In the following text "Criminal Laws, State of Emergency and Culture of Security: A Historical Overview of (Counter)Terrorism in France", Eduardo Cano brings to the fore the different states underlying the evolution of Terrorism in France, from the XVIII century to today. By means of outlining the historical origins of such prac-