

Master Thesis:

**Embracing the Sorrow in Pursuing Peace: Gernika as a Case Study**

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Abstract

The commemoration of the bombing in Gernika that happened in April 27, 1937 is actually the leading activity for Gernika to pursue peace. Continued by the peace museum, peace research center and the legendary painting by Pablo Picasso, the people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace through the memory of war. The thesis is about three theories, one place as a case study and four elements as research focus. Through the memory of war, which is embedded in the four elements, they create an identity of Gernika to be the symbol of peace and the symbol of anti-war.

**Keywords:** identity, memory of war, philosophy for peace, Gernika-Spain



To my father who lives in my own memory and in the **collective memory** between me and other people who loves him.

To Gernika which becomes one important part of **my identity**

To my wife who creates everyday's **peace(s)** in my life

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### **List of Abbreviations**

AIPAZ	<i>Asociación Española de Investigación Para la Paz</i> (Spanish Association of Research for Peace)
BAC	Basque Autonomous Country
BNP	Basque National Party
BASKale	Socio-cultural Basque-German Association
ETA	<i>Euskadi Ta Askatasuna</i> (Basque Homeland and Freedom)
FC Barcelona	Football Club Barcelona
IC-MEMO	The International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes
ICOM	International Council of Museums
NAZI	National Socialist German Workers' Party
OPM	<i>Organisasi Papua Merdeka</i> (The Free Papua Movement)
PNV	<i>Partido Nacionalista Vasco</i> (Basque Nationalist Party)
PSAN	<i>Partit Socialista d'Alliberament Nacional</i> (Socialist Party of National liberation)
UJI	<i>Universitat Jaume I</i>
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America

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## Introduction

*“We Forgive, but never forget”* – People of Gernika

### 1. Presentation of the Thesis

My thesis focuses on the exceptional importance the people of Gernika in Spain place on the yearly commemoration of the bombing that caused the death of around two thousand people on 26 April, 1937. The commemoration was actually forbidden until the rule of Dictator Francisco Franco came to an end on November 20, 1975. Due to Franco’s desire for a homogenous national identity for Spain, all forms of commemorative signage, local languages and other defining cultural influences that might encourage the people of Gernika to start an independence movement were strictly banned.

Upon looking deeper, I found that in addition to the commemoration there are in fact another three examples unique to Gernika. The second (after the commemoration) is the *Peace Museum of Gernika* founded in 1998 and located in *Los Fueros Square*. The museum happens to be the first peace museum in not only Gernika but also Spain. It hosts a remarkable collection of the history of Gernika, with a particular focus on the tragedy of the bombing. The museum allows visitors to experience the moments of the bombing through an audiovisual room equipped with sound and light effects and ends with the view of the original wreckage after the bombing.

The third is the peace research center, *Gernika Gogoratuz Peace Center*. The name of center directly translates to ‘Gernika Remembers’ and was founded in 1987 following the unanimous decision of the Basque parliament. This decision occurred at the same time Petra K. Kelly, a member of parliament from the German green party, visited Gernika and offered a bouquet of

flowers for the victims of the bombing tragedy. This gesture, along with a formal apology from Kelly, was a pivotal moment for the people of Gernika. It was an official acceptance of responsibility and remorse for the terrible actions committed by Germany in the bombing.

Finally, Gernika also has a painting by Pablo Picasso depicting the bombing. The painting was the first by Pablo Picasso with a political meaning and was actually a form of resistance against the atrocity. The painting travelled to many places to educate and promote what was happening in Gernika in 1937, until finally coming to reside permanently at the *Reina Sofia Museum* in Madrid.

Upon analyzing these four distinctive examples from Gernika, I could see that the people of Gernika are actively trying to pursue peace. For them, the horrors that remain in their mindshare being prevented from happening again in reality. The peace museum and the peace research center are both forms of empirical evidence that the people of Gernika are pursuing peace through them.

Additionally, the way the people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace is quite unique and interesting in its own right. While people usually try to forget traumatic things that happened in the past, the people of Gernika are actively trying to remember the tragedy that killed thousands of people 77 years ago. This active form of remembrance in fact becomes the very method the people of Gernika use to pursue peace. The four examples I've highlighted above all represent a distinctive attempt of remembering the tragedy. Essentially the people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace through 'the memory of war'.

## 2. Personal Motivation

Last year I had the opportunity to visit Gernika for the commemoration day in April 2013. It was my first trip to northern Spain and I found it both very different to what I had already seen in Spain but extremely fascinating at the same time. The language is completely different to the south, the weather is colder and the landscape is greener. Not to mention, the portion size of meals in restaurants is bigger than anywhere else I have ever found during my stay in Spain. I was extremely delighted and thoroughly enjoyed the trip. It never occurred to me at the time that such an interest for Gernika would form the topic for my thesis.

The people of Gernika possess a strong and unified identity despite Franco's attempts to assimilate the Basque country and establish national homogeneity for forty years during his reign. I have witnessed this phenomenon in my own country where the people of Papua's identity became more unified under the oppression of dictator Soeharto (The second president of Indonesia). Both cases reflect the process of being oppressed and then assimilated. The result of both these dictator's pressures were underground resistance movements. During both periods, the fight for freedom resulted in the formation of political organizations both in the Basque country and in Papua. They were called the ETA (Basque Homeland and Freedom<sup>1</sup>) and the OPM (The Free Papua Movement<sup>2</sup>) respectively. It is essential to address that both movements were created during the regime of a dictator. This is an important point for two reasons. Firstly, the emergence of these movements was an automatic response to an extreme situation and secondly, independence movements occurring nowadays might not be relevant anymore because

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<sup>1</sup> Original: *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*

<sup>2</sup> Original: *Organisasi Papua Merdeka*

democratic governments no longer threaten the lives of people and solitary regions can establish equal rights to others more easily.

Because I have been in Spain for over a year without visiting Indonesia, I have decided to base my research on Spain instead of my home country. Acquiring more knowledge about the culture, language and history of Spain will enhance my future career prospects to become a lecturer in Indonesia. For over a year now I have learnt about many aspects about the social life in Spain outside of class and writing this thesis will provide the perfect opportunity to acquire an in depth understanding about Spain. My goal for when I am a lecturer at a university in Indonesia is for people to come to me in their search for more information, knowledge and understanding about Spain.

As I had an experience living in the US for an exchange program during the high school, I started to be interested in international issues. Once I came back home, I took social science for the concentration of my high school in order to be connected with the international major in the university. Later, it continued by taking international relations study and actively engaged in the American Corner of the university as I was consistent in my interest in the international line. Finally, this interest brought me to the peace, conflict and development studies; and without hesitation taking Gernika-Spain as my research topic of the master thesis.

### **3. Relevance and Justification**

The topic is relevant because still to this day, the people of Gernika continually pursue peace. Their efforts are manifested in the four examples addressed above and provide physical evidence for people to observe. In addition, the pursuit of peace is something inevitable in any society in the world. Within the majority of countries around the world, all people in power are trying to

pursue peace through policies and resources. Within the community, committees are trying to pursue peace through interactions and routines. Within Gernika, people are trying to pursue peace through the memory of war.

The second factor that is relevant form in my thesis is the issue of identity. When the people of Gernika are remembering the tragedy that happened 77 years ago, they are essentially longing for the recognition of the identity that was denied to them 77 years ago. Although the recognition of the Basque people does not have to result in an independent state as it used to be, it could instead simply be the recognition that it is a state within Spain.

Gernika has passed through the phases of destruction, reconstruction-deconstruction and reconstruction. Destruction encompasses many factors such as culture, language and ideology, which were occurring during the civil war. Reconstruction-deconstruction took place during Franco's attempts to assimilate the Basque with the Spanish by reconstructing the Spanish infrastructure and deconstructing the Basque culture at the same time. The final reconstruction phase began after Franco's death, allowing the recognition of the past through the commemoration and other three examples to commence.

#### **4. Guiding question**

To what extent are the people of Gernika trying to pursue peace through the memory of war?

#### **5. Objectives**

Overall, this thesis has the objective to analyze and consider the methods used in this memory of war in accordance with the efforts conducted by the people of Gernika in

pursuing peace and expressing their identity. To be specific, the overall objective of the thesis can be divided into four areas:

- 1) To analyze the memory of war that is used through various efforts by the people of Gernika
- 2) To consider the identity of the people of Gernika through the memory of war using the four examples (commemoration, peace museum, peace research center and the Picasso painting).
- 3) To attribute the awareness of identity and memory of war in the context of Gernika in the framework of *UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace* and in the broader area of peace studies.
- 4) To dedicate an appreciation and concern towards the people of Gernika

## **6. Research Methodology**

In this thesis, I use both qualitative and quantitative methods of the research. Both methodologies have different characters but strengthen to each other which make them both very important in this thesis. For example, the qualitative research mainly focuses on the theories and the data of the object through books and second information while quantitative would involve my emotion and my direct observation toward the object of the research.

In addition, the qualitative method helps me in understanding the theories that I use as basis of my thesis topic and some other information about the same topic which have been researched before in many different angles or research focuses. Three theories as basis of my thesis are definitely obtained well from the books through the qualitative research method. Some

information about Gernika which have been written by George Steer and Allan Serries are listened closely by me in order to obtain as much as possible the story of Gernika historically.

On the other hand, the research methodology using the quantitative research is also presented to enrich my thesis through the ‘personal touch’ as close as I could. Through going directly to the field of the research, I feel like I could earn the sense of belonging toward the topic, in this case is Gernika. This going-to-the-field thing would permit me to write much information emotionally as a person who knows Gernika personally.

In the category of quantitative research, few things I have done such as ‘interview’, visit the museums and historic places, spread the questionnaires, participate several programs of the commemoration of the bombing and join the discussion as reflection of the annual commemoration of the bombing.

In that occasion, at least four people have been able to be interviewed and each person represents very important role. Firstly, I have interviewed the director of the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz, María Oianguren Idígoras; secondly, the director of peace museum of Gernika was able to be interviewed as well, Iratxe Momoitio; the third person I have been able to interview with is Anna Leon, one of the researchers in the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz; last but not least, I have interviewed Amaia Egia who is also my friend from Gernika represented the young graduate student of Gernika who was also born and grew up in Gernika.

Apart from interviewing, I have used my visit to spread questionnaire also to the random people in Gernika. For about three days every lunch time, I came to persuade couple, family and single person from one café to another café, from one restaurant to another restaurant and from one public park to another public park in Gernika. Obviously not everyone was willing to fill my

questionnaire but I guess it was normal and I even considered as something extraordinary since it was my first time doing so, tried hard to persuade and convince people to fill the questionnaire with my limited Spanish. Hence, I was so thankful and grateful that I have done it successfully with the 42 respondents which later the data became so important and one of the strengths of my thesis as an authentic data.

Both interview and questionnaire, they represent three important keywords for the thesis; they are: identity, memory of war and peace. About thirteen questions in the interview and three multiple answer questions in the questionnaire are projected to get the answer of my research question of this thesis. The identity, memory of war and peace optimistically will be resulted from these interview and questionnaire in the original version of the people of Gernika and those who care about Gernika.

Since English is not my mother tongue, I found easier to write it in Indonesian first then translated into English. Although I could actually directly write it in English, I feel like more inspired and easier to see the points of each sentence in my own language. I can express more what is in my head and heart with my own language. Something technical could be alright to be written directly in English, but something philosophical and emotional, to me Indonesian is better. Therefore, this technique is one method that I proudly attached to this methodology of the research section.

## **7. Theoretical Framework**

This thesis will follow a deductive approach in order to obtain a more in depth analysis and form a conclusion for the phenomenon of making peace through the memory of war. This will be



achieved under the theoretical framework of philosophy for peace and identity studies as well as collective memory studies.

In the very beginning, I intentionally want to write the thesis with the strong character of where the thesis is written. In this case, UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace with the Peace Master of *Universitat Jaume I* (UJI) and one of the Spanish territories as my research field would be the elements in strengthening the character of the expected thesis.

Even though what I have learned in the class of the Master of Peace, Conflict and Development Studies was not only about peace but as well as conflict and development, I decided to focus more on the peace category which I believe that I have more interest and tendency on thinking on the perspective of peace rather than conflict or development. It is more on the personal reason where I am very comfortable thinking from this perspective and I wish that I would continue to focus on this specific field.

From here, the theory of philosophy for peacemaking would be the most character of the UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace in the Peace Master Study of UJI that I would take as basis of my thesis's foundation. Some authors who are also the lecturer staffs of this peace master would be presented in this thesis such as Vicent Martínez Guzmán, a senior professor and founding father of the peace master study of UJI who emphasizes that peace has to be made and peace is not singular, but peace are many that is why he called it peace(s) in his book entitled, *Filosofia para hacer las paces*<sup>3</sup>.

In addition, another lecturer staff of UJI who is invited (her arguments) in my thesis is Sonia París Albert. From her, I would try to explain 'peace' from the perspective of conflict as

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<sup>3</sup> Philosophy for peacemaking (original translation)

she wrote it in her book, *Filosofia de los conflictos*<sup>4</sup>. Those two philosophical theories on peace(s) and conflicts are projected to be the strong character of my thesis as philosophy is the strength of this peace master study of the Universitat Jaume I.

Furthermore, another theory which is very important in this thesis foundation is identity, in which peace has a close relation with it. In accordance with the argument made by Amin Maalouf how he thought about identity based on his experience as he originally was from Lebanon and grew up in France. There is also Kath Woodward who explains about the details of difference when people identify themselves 'we' and 'they' or 'others'. Another philosopher who is famous with the theory of recognition talked on how this theory was actually responding the phenomenon of democracy named Charles Taylor. Finally, I have the Germans Philosopher named Axel Honneth who shows the points that people demand for the struggle of recognition.

Ultimately, the theory that I would rely on for this thesis is the collective memory which I refer to some authors as follow. Maurice Halbwachs, a French sociologist who was also the student of Emile Durkheim tells us that every memory which stays are actually the collective memory because she argues that everyone will only memorize things that have been validated by others or surroundings. And then we have Daniel Schacter who let us know that how fast human being can easily forget anything. People will just forget if they do not make any effort to make them remembered or stored in the memory.

## **8. Research Limitations**

The thesis will attempt to explore to what extent the people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace, but it is not trying to prove that Gernika has successfully obtained peace through

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<sup>4</sup> Philosophy of the conflicts (personal translation)

the memory of war method. As relative peace is difficult to prove, this thesis will not give the guarantee that the efforts made by Gernika has successfully brought about peace in their society. Therefore, there will be no answer given to the question of whether or not the people of Gernika have found peace nor will any examples of evidence that the people of Gernika are in peace be given.

The discussion of the ETA will be limited only in terms of the history of how it emerged along with other resistance movements during Franco's reign. Both the ETA and the people of Gernika are striving for their identity to be recognized; only their desired outcomes are significantly different. The ETA wants to achieve whole sovereignty over Spain and France as a Basque country through violence whereas the people of Gernika, through these four elements, are aiming for peace and their identity to be recognized. I am not trying to say that all the people of Gernika have no sympathy toward ETA, there might be some, but in the context of realizing these four elements, the indication of getting independence is unlikely. The indication of pursuing peace is certain and the indication of getting recognition of identity is definite. Some people in Gernika remained to possess the independence, but after peace and recognized identity which is not the priority; and people strongly disagree to use violence. Therefore, the thesis will not examine the issue of the ETA and the independent states in great detail because the thesis will focus on how the memory of war is the primary method for Gernika to pursue peace and express its identity as viewed from the philosophical lens of peace studies.

## 9. Structure of the thesis

The thesis is categorized into three parts based on the three keywords, they are: identity, memory of war, and philosophy for peace. Each part represents each keyword followed by the context or the case study, in this case is Gernika.

Basically, the thesis is divided into five important parts, they are: introduction, chapter I, chapter II, chapter III and conclusion. The model of the structure is that points are delivered one by one; and in the last chapter, all points are elaborated and analyzed comprehensively.

Previously, the thesis is begun with the introduction where it explains few things such as why Gernika as a case study, how will I conduct the research and things I need to explain before going into the research. Basically it is about the information which answers the general journalistic questions of five 'W' and one 'H', they are *what* is my research, *where* is my research, *who* is involved in the research, *when* is or *when* was the event of the research, *why* is that research, and *how* the research is conducted.

As in the introduction part, it explains more about my personal reason choosing the research topic and what is the research about in general. Chapter I will give an introduction about Gernika in general and will narrate the history of Gernika until Gernika now. Other than that, the theory of identity is intentionally delivered in the chapter along with the history of Gernika as well as the journey of Gernika's identity from time to time. Thus, the reader would know Gernika better through the information of the identity before they go further on the research focuses.

As it applies in the first chapter, in the chapter II the second theory, the collective memory, will be delivered and followed by the context or case study, in this case is Gernika.

This model of the structure is projected to introduce the reader about the theory one-by-one and its application toward the case study. For example in the chapter II, it explains about the theory of the collective memory which is embedded in the four elements that Gernika have been using for promoting peace. Furthermore, this chapter emphasizes that every element, the bombing commemoration, the peace research center, the peace museum of Gernika Gogoratuz, and the Picasso's painting, all of them are using the collective memory of the 'memory of war'.

It comes to the chapter III which is also the final chapter and tells about the last theory named 'the philosophy for peace'. Not only explaining about the theory and its application with the case of Gernika, but also it combines all theories and all elements in one single analysis. The theories and the elements connect to each other in the analysis in order to find out the answer of the research question of this thesis.

The thesis is ended with the conclusion along with the recommendation, limitation, and the future research possibilities. All materials supported the research such as interview and questionnaire sheets are attached in the appendix section after the bibliography.

## **10. Conclusion**

Writing this thesis is a golden opportunity for someone to be able to create a unique masterpiece. This is due to the motivation of the person rather than any perceived abilities. I know that my experience with this topic is going to be with me for my whole life and I understand that I must use this opportunity wisely and remain totally committed. Spain has been my home throughout studying my master degree and deserves all of my time and energy to develop this thesis.

The thesis topic that I chose is quite clearly interesting to me personally and professionally. On a personal level, I was so impressed with the phenomenon surrounding the commemoration event that I witnessed last year. Professionally speaking, it would enrich my knowledge about Spain and peace studies and enhance my aspirations to become a lecturer at an Indonesian university after I have accomplished this master degree.

The people of Gernika have been working at pursuing peace through the memory of war and at the same time expressing their identity through these efforts. The thesis will address the extent to which the people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace through the memory of war by investigating the four examples: The yearly commemoration of the bombing, establishment of the peace museum with the memory of war content, the peace research center which came about from the tragedy of the bombing and finally, the legendary and famous painting by Pablo Picasso illustrating the bombing. The issue of the identity of the Basque country is expressed strongly through these four examples. In particular, the yearly commemoration of the bombing has a different message and expression from what the ETA has been declaring. Gernika has forgiven the tragedies of the past, but never forgets. It strives for peace without limiting its self-expression and consequently possesses a unique identity robust enough to pursue peace through embracing sorrow.

## Chapter I

### The everlasting identity of people of Gernika

...identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves (1996: 4).

#### 1.1. Studies on identity

Identity encompasses more than just a name, face and other physical appearances. Someone might have consistent qualities or aspects in their appearance that results in an identity, but there is more to it than that. Non-physical identity exists in every human being and in every group. Identity in general is defined as something that differentiates me and from the other or between them and us (Woodward, 2002: 10; Maalouf, 2001: 10). The way I style my hair in a certain way can be classed as an identity because it allows me to be associated with others who wear their hair the same way. The process of identification occurs automatically with every human being when they meet each other. As I mentioned above, two kinds of identities are being considered in the identification process by human beings; physical identity and non-physical identity. Examples of physical identity include the face, hairstyle, shape of the body, and all parts of the body that can be seen. Non-physical identity includes, but is not limited to, religion, nationality and sexual orientation.

Identity formation involves setting boundaries. These boundaries locate the parameters of difference and of sameness. Those with whom we share an identity are marked out as the same, in contrast to those who are different. Sameness is featured by the use of 'we' and 'us' and 'our' pronouns which draw in those with whom the identity is shared and exclude those who are characterized as 'other' (Woodward, 2002: ix).

Identity's coverage is quite broad and each person has a number of elements to create an identity. However, these elements are not restricted in the form of official records. According to Maalouf there is a certain hierarchy to these elements that encompass identity, but they are not fixed in terms of which is at the top or the bottom and they will always be changeable throughout the person's life (Maalouf, 2001: 10&13). You could hand over your passport when you are asked for your identity or just speak in the same language as the person who is asking your identity. You might also just pronounce your name because you think your name would share an identity with the person who is asking you.

However, from the examples above, in order to make something an identity, they need to be acknowledged or recognized in the first place. Before recognition, people need to be introduced because it is impossible to acknowledge something that is not even known yet. Let's say that I am from country Z, but country Z is not recognized yet internationally or by the country where I currently reside. In this case country Z fails as a form of identification. Therefore, the necessary order should be people knowing, recognizing and finally identifying.

What determines a person's affiliation to a given group is essentially the influence of others: the influence of those about him - relatives, fellow-countrymen, co-religionists - who try to make him one of them; together with the influence of those on the other side, who do their best to exclude him (Maalouf, 2001: 25).

In a traditional society, identity is understood as something fixed and cannot be changed (Kellner, 1995: 231). Therefore, many people (predominantly those from an older demographic), keep alerting younger generations not to forget their ancestors' identity. They are worried that globalization, movies and television will change their identity, which is of great importance to them. Since they believe that identity is something fixed, the influence of others are considered a threat because it may lead to the change of their original cultures.



What we conveniently call "murderous folly" is the propensity of our fellow-creatures to turn into butchers when they suspect that their "tribe" is being threatened. The emotions of fear or insecurity don't always obey rational considerations... Identity is powerful element in each individual. Someone can turn him/herself to be the killer in the name of identity. Someone can make suicidal bombing in the name of identity and someone can struggle no matter what in the name of identity or someone can act blindly in the name of identity. The identity a person lays claim to is, often based, in reverse, on that of his enemy (Maalouf, 2001: 14, 28).

However, from a modern perspective, identity is no longer strict and uniform, but rather flexible and subject to change (Kellner, 1995: 231). In the globalization era where people easily move from one place to another and stay there for lengthy periods, they tend to adopt the identity of the host place. Moreover, in an era where the migration phenomenon is happening more frequently people are adopting more dynamic identities. According to Douglas, modern times make it possible for people to distance themselves from their traditions and choose others to make and remake their identity (Kellner, 1995: 231; Maalouf, 2001: 23).

*We live in a world in which the internet, satellite dishes and an increase in overseas travel etc. have led us to standardize certain aspects of our daily life (Sánchez, 2001: 8). This situation has caused the notion of identity in modern society to change from the group or tribe into individuality (Kellner, 1995: 232).* This doesn't mean that people don't represent themselves on behalf of their tribe or group, but more occasions require them to express their individual identity as opposed to their group or tribe's identity. For instance, people would rather introduce their profession instead of their group, tribe or nationality. For example, Peace Master Student, Lecturer at the Universitat Jaume I or a Pilot of Iberia Airlines.

The journey of the identity trend has gone from the rigid to the changeable and finally to a time when it is fragile and unstable in the post-modern perspective. In this perspective, people believe that identity is just a myth and an illusion where everyone is not required to have a

specific identity. It is no longer a must for someone to subscribe to a specific identity. People can speak more than one language, have parents from more than one country and even have more than one nationality. It is possible for someone to choose from more than one identity. It used to be a pressure or imperative to have it but as the world's nations become more connected and globalization increases, identity is something that people voluntarily adopt. Maalouf said, *'I talk of their being pressed and ordered - but by whom? Not just by fanatics and xenophobes of all kinds, but also by you and me, by each and all of us'* (Maalouf, 2001: 5).

However, these perspectives are not exclusive to any specific time period. For example, the traditional perspective is not only adopted by those who lived in the period before World War II and those taking on a more modern perspective do not only live in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. People have always been thinking in their own way regardless of the time period they are from.

Identity also includes the use of symbols as a method of more easily identifying certain groups. For instance, such a group would not introduce such a long group textual identity in such a short of time and such relax condition. Using this symbolic system, a group can wear a certain color with a unique simple logo/symbol (Woodward, 2002: ix). Using symbol is kind of strategy that is used quite often by political parties or in similar social movements.

## **1.2. The Identity of the People of Gernika**

The identity of Gernika must also encompass the identity of the Basque people because Gernika is only one of the regions in the Basque country. The Basque country is actually comprised of three countries predominantly Spain, France and the United States of America (USA). Originally the Basque people lived in the regions of the Pyrenees Mountains, bordering

Spain in the north and France in the south. Many immigrated to the USA to live in exile during the pressure of Dictator Franco when they were unable to express their identity as Basque.

I firmly believe that identity is something that is changeable throughout the lifetime of a person or group. The identity of the people of Gernika and the Basque people overall has also been evolving throughout history. Because the focus of my thesis is on Gernika, I will analyze this evolution of the Gernikan identity within the history of Spain, including the period of the pre-Spanish civil war, during the civil war and during the democracy of Spain (which began in 1978, two years after the death of Dictator Franco).

### **1.3. Gernika or Guernica**

When Gernika's voice returned after being silenced for forty years during the era of Dictator Franco, Gernika began the process of rebuilding and making up for lost time. Gernika faces the arduous task of regaining its identity, making the town into what it used to be and to be the representative of the Basque people. I mean that normal in the sense of being free to express its identities which of course have a wide coverage.

Gernika possesses a number of different cultural aspects with the majority being from Spain, including but not limited to, language, dance, music and food. The Basque culture truly differs greatly to the other distinct cultures in Spain such as Catalanian<sup>5</sup> and Castilian<sup>6</sup> or Galician<sup>7</sup> and Castilian. This is the very reason why Dictator Franco fought so hard against the Basque culture because it did not belong in the ambitious design he had for Spain to be 'One, Great and Free'. There were numerous attempts for the culture of the Basque to be ruthlessly

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<sup>5</sup> People who are from the region of Catalunya

<sup>6</sup> People who are from regions who only speak Spanish

<sup>7</sup> People who are from Galicia

abolished by Dictator Franco throughout his reign. This applied to the people outside of Gernika and the Basque country that were unaware of the culture and those within Gernika and the Basque country itself. Therefore, reintroducing Gernika and the Basque culture required internal and external efforts.

One of the elements crucial for Gernika to be spread throughout the country is the Basque language known as 'Euskera'. Since language is one of the most important elements in identifying people or groups, it was pertinent that Euskera was a part of the normalization process. In addition, the Euskera language was not only introduced as the verbal and written language, but also to name places and signs across the country's regions as part of the identity.

Gernika had been an important town for the Basque people before the era of Franco due to its role as a place for the Basque leaders' assembly. Laws and regulations were democratically formulated under the sacred oak tree. Gernika became even more significant after the Spanish civil war due to the following key points. It was the bombing site which claimed the lives of thousands of victims, it became the commemoration site by the emigrants of the Basque people in their exile from the region and the legendary painting by Pablo Picasso resides there (Raento and Watson, 2000: 708).

Franco altered Gernika to the Spanish version of 'Guernica' when he was in power after he banned the use of Euskera language in any form. People were even arrested for simply speaking in Euskera. Soon after Gernika was able to speak again and use their voices in the Euskera language, Gernika, along with all regions of the Basque country, were obliged to make a normalization process of the cultures, including the language. Therefore, Gernika chose to name

itself as Gernika not Guernica as a means of strengthening their identity and in an effort to promote the language of Euskera.

Gernika, in the context of language, is not supposed to be translated because it is the original name even though there are alternative versions in other languages. For instance, *Jaume* is the Spanish version of *James* in English. The name of my university is *Universitat Jaume I* and will remain the same even though it is written in the article of English, *Universitat Jaume I*.

Gernika in the context of Pablo Picasso's painting is named, "Guernica" and will remain in this form because Picasso named it so. It makes sense because Pablo Picasso was not from the Basque country but instead grew up in Malaga, in the south of Spain and he was in Paris when he made this painting. In addition, Guernica was the name published in the Medias at that time. Having said that, the people of Gernika respect the name of Picasso's painting by Guernica as well as they wanted the town's name of Gernika to be respected. People will consider the painting if they say Guernica, but will attribute it to the town if they say Gernika. The evidence that the people of Gernika respect the name of Guernica for the painting is shown on the wall of Gernika where a copy of the painting is located and titled in its original name 'Guernica'.

In light of this I agree with Aritz Zearra that people should be conscious and deliberate when they use Guernica and Gernika (Raento and Watson, 2000: 708). On the other hand, the people of Basque are proud and apprehensive in the same instance. They are proud because Euskera is the oldest language in Europe and has no roots to any other languages in the world (Azurmendi et al, 2007: 37), and apprehensive because it has not been spoken in the origin of its region and has tried to be erased for years in Spain during Franco's era. Its survival is attributed

only to the Basque people in exile and others who whispered the language throughout a period of about forty years.

#### **1.4. The People of Gernika pre-civil war**

This people is perhaps the only one in the world, at the least the only one in Europe, whose origin remains absolutely unknown. It is strange to think at the end of the 19th century, which has been so fertile on the subject of origins, that these few people still remain a mystery (Kurlansky, 1991, 4)

Gernika was very important even before the Spanish civil war. Gernika used to be the town where many representative of Basque country gathered and made regulations democratically. The sacred oak tree in Gernika used to be the sacred place where the Queen Isabella and Ferdinand II went to swear as a symbolic respect to the Basque people. Due to its important throughout the history, the word of Gernika is used to refer Basque land by Basque people in the exile.

The early Basques left no written records, and the first accounts of them, two centuries after the Romans arrived in 218 B.C., give the impression that they were already an ancient—or at least not a new—people. (Kurlansky, 1991, 16).

Just like all the Basque people, people of Gernika were there for centuries even before the France Revolution as historian stated (Kurlansky, 1991, 7-8). Due to their long existence and civilization, people of Gernika and all the Basque people created such solid and strong bonding and identity. Despite all the obstacles and pressure by the central Spanish government, people of Gernika tried to be consistent in standing on their identity as Basque. The identity of people who had been living in the community even before the history of Europe, the identity of people who have the unique language which had no root to any language, the identity of religious people (Schweimler, 1991), the identity of people whose the special food of cake and fish, the identity

of people whose the special sport called *Herri Kirrolak*,<sup>8</sup> and the identity of people who respect and consistently keep their identities as Basque. The identity of this era was the identity of Basque, distinguished from anyone in the world but Basque.

The dynamic of getting the special right of Basque Autonomous Country were various in those years. The Basque was enjoying the autonomy in the era of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand II since they respected the Basque cultures, and Gernika was the important town as the queen and the king went there at least once a year. It also because Basque never really had been occupied by Muslim caliphate along with other Spain regions, therefore when King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella defeated Muslim Caliphate of Cordova, the Basque did not automatically became part of Castile (Spain). Instead, Basque maintained to become the autonomous region with Spain.

Not only Basque country, several regions such as Navarra, Leon, Aragon and Catalonia were respected as autonomous regions under the legal code named *fueros* (Douglass & Bilbao, 1975: 65–66). The *fueros* was also the capital of initiation process of differentiating between Basque and Spaniard, and then it started the new evolution of identity as the Basque from Spain.

As the time went by, *fueros* was translated differently. As if the *fueros* was the law, the central government thought that it can be amended as they wished. The amendment was not translated as it has to be agreed by two sides, central and the autonomous regions. It was more like one side more superior to the others. Therefore, it created some tensions between Basque and the central government over the authority of the region.

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<sup>8</sup> Basque rural sport (Google translation)

According to Marianne, the Spanish government failed to change the people who lived in Spain to become Spaniards, especially those who live in Basque and Catalonia. This was the reason why the identity of their nationalism grew whereas in the early of their integration (to become autonomous), they were potentially able to be united. The integration was intended due to mutual interest, such as to be able to each other and to be defended to each other. This initial intention was pure of mutual cooperation and integration which did not make the superiority one party to another. And Gernika was the key that connect the integration with the Castile (Spain) since its significance as the commercial and manufacturing center (Raento and Watson, 2000: 711).

### **1.5. Gernika and the Civil war 1936-1939**

Gernika obviously cannot be separated from the Spanish civil war that happened in 1936-1939, considering that Gernika was the town that witnessed the ruthless Dictator Franco in his beginning of the coup toward republican government at that time. Gernika that inhabited around seven thousand people were shot gunned and bombed by the air strike of *German Condor Legion* and *Italian Aviazione Legionaria* on behalf of Franco. Fortunately, there were three British and one Belgian journalist reported the action and published it in the news of *New York Times* and *London Times* where on the other side, Dictator Franco were trying to hide his brutal action executed by his fascist allies, German and Italy. In addition, Gernika was also the key of the policy change of France and Britain which was 'No Intervention at all' policy, and then decided to help along with other countries, Belgium, Denmark and Switzerland to shelter more than 20.000 Basque children (Kurlansky, 1999, Part II, Section 9: Graham, 2005, 71).

The Spanish civil war was actually the failure of the 'reform' effort done by the left-wing of the republican government on the governmental system in Spain. Republican Party which



consists of labors, trade union and socialist wanted to realize the democratic values into the system of the government. However, it was not easy because it was opposed strongly by the opposition, right-wing nationalist party which was dominated with at least two major groups, they are religious and capitalist group. Democracy stood for the separation between the religion and the government in which, the religious group would against it; the democracy stood for the equality between men and women in which, the traditional gender activist would counter it; the democracy voiced for the welfare of the migrants, in which the employers would not be pleased. In this sense, the civil war was also caused by complex actors within the society, between the old and the youth, traditional and modern, liberal and authoritarian, secular and religious; but the status quo at that time was the country which had just left from the monarchy absolute, a typical kingdom, for years with its characteristics (Graham, 2005: 2), as Helen mentioned in her book that, *“inevitably, the reforms raised opposition among Spain’s traditional elites”* (Graham, 2005: 8).

Although the reform had successfully done in some parts such as allowed women to vote in 1931, it faced problems and rejections for further changes in the governmental system from the people in its progress, especially those from the Nationalist Party which consists of monarchists, religious people who thought that the reform would just erase the traditional values of Spain through the abolition of the religion role in the government. Not only had the massive protest from this party but also the reform found difficulties in having progress due to instability of the economy caused by the global crisis since 1929 after the wall street crash.

Nationalist Party which consists of religious group, capitalist, employer, and military army finally executed the military coup toward the republican government in the middle of the instability of the crisis and multi groups’ conflicts. Prime Minister Manuel Azaña had to face his

military army led by General Franco which was supposed to be his guard as the head of the state. In July 1936, the people of Spain split into two groups which were not only fighting in argumentation and opinion, but also fighting literally and put their lives at the stake.

On the other hand, Basque Statute Autonomy had just been approved by the republican government in the same year, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1936, as the military coup happened. PNV (*Partido Nacionalista Vasco*)<sup>9</sup> set up the administration of the Basque once they got the autonomy. However, not long after its successful getting the autonomy, the military coup operation targeted the north of Spain which Basque country was one of them (Graham, 2005: 160). In this situation, obviously it made the Basque Autonomous Country harder in the beginning of its settlement.

Due to the coup, the split of taking a side between left-wing of republican government and right-wing of military coup happened in the Basque country as the cities such as Pamplona in Navarra and Vitoria in Alava fell to the military coup led by Emilio Mola Vidal; meanwhile Biscay (which Gernika is in it) and Guipuzcoa remained under the administration of Basque government (Romero, 1991: 11). And soon after that, the occupation by the military coup is continued to San Sebastian in Guipuzcoa (Forrest, 2000: 51).

José Antonio Aguirre was the first president of Basque country and mobilized the army consisted of many groups in Biscay province, the only region left under the Basque government to fight the rebels or the military coup. Yet, the struggle was not succeed especially after the Durango and Gernika were bombed brutally in order to kill the spirit of the Basque people's struggling efforts. Finally, in 1937 the whole Basque country fell to the rebels, and soon after that, Franco banned the public use of Basque language. In April 1938, the Autonomy Statutes for the Basque country was abolished (Forrest, 2000: 116).

*"Spain is an indivisible destiny. All separatism is a crime."* - (Rivera, 1934)

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<sup>9</sup> Basque Nationalist Party (Personal translation)

## 1.6. The Emergence of Basque Separatist Movement

Spain which was departed from the country whose many different group of people is not in the exception list of having the separatist movements within the country. There are three, at least, strong separatist movement in which, each group has their own local language as part of the difference. The regions in which, their language became co-official with Spanish currently, have desire to be independent from the unity of Spain or at least, want to increase their degree of autonomy. These three regions are: Basque, Catalan and Galicia.

The regional separatist movement basically arose when they realized that they are different group of people and have different culture and language than the mainstream of Spain. Furthermore, their behavior became more violence since the government of Dictator Franco repressed them harshly. Most of the movements started with the methods of peaceful such as dialogue, political campaign and promotion, but later these actions turned into violence in some places due to repressive response from the government.

One of the Basque separatist movements named ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatsuna* or Basque Homeland for Freedom) was formed in 1959, in a year where Franco was in power and did many repressions towards Basque. The second group of Galicia was also emerged during the era of Franco in year of 70s and 80s such as *Loita Armada Revolucionaria*<sup>10</sup>, *Liga Armada Galega*<sup>11</sup> or *Exército Guerrilheiro do Povo Galego Ceive*<sup>12</sup>. And finally the group of pro-independence of

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<sup>10</sup> Loita Revolutionary Army (Google Translation)

<sup>11</sup> Navy League of Galicia (Personal Translation)

<sup>12</sup> People's Army Guerrilla Galician Ceive (Google Translation)

Catalonia was born during the reign of Franco in 1960s named *Partit Socialista d'Alliberament Nacional*<sup>13</sup>(PSAN).

If only the identity is something that is not valuable, obviously they would be able to live normally, blend with the cultural and language mainstream of Spain, and not to worry about their identity being abolished. The emergence of separatist movement shows how important and valuable someone or group's identity is, for some their lives even on the bet of this struggle.

Among those three separatist movements, the Basque is the one that is most interesting and been paid attention by many, nationally and internationally. Especially because one of the groups from Basque named ETA has been using violence method since its establishment in 1959. Due to its attacks for more than 3.300 attacks, ETA caused about 829 people killed and more than 2.000 people injured (until 2011).

In the very beginning, Basque separatist movement first time formed by Sabina Arana in the end of the nineteenth century. The struggle to get the autonomy first time obtained in 1936, in the same time were the Spanish civil war began. The autonomous Basque country lasted short, due to the Spanish civil war, some regions in Basque country fell to the rebellion under Franco and General Mola until finally the Basque Autonomous Country had to be back as regular region like others when Franco won the Spanish civil war in 1939.

During the era of Franco, ETA was born with the platform of the struggle through violence. Therefore, there were two Basque separatist movements at that time, the one with the use of peaceful method called Basque National Party (BNP) and the one with the use of violence called ETA. Later, ETA split into two groups, one group is committed in the struggle for the full

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<sup>13</sup> Socialist Party of National Liberation (Google Translation)

independence and full violence and another group is not as much the group support the use of violence and its commitment is merely in favor for the autonomy.

The supporters of ETA have been decreasing from time to time due to inhumane actions done by ETA, especially when ETA killed some even Basque such as Jesus María Pedrosa from the Popular Party Councilor of Durango and the Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco, which was planned as a successor of Franco later on. It has been emerged movements even from Basque people voicing of disagreement towards the method by ETA. They have been always wanting the special right of Basque but they denied to use of violence by anyone or group including ETA.

Identity is very important for Basque people, but peace is way more important than that. Having said that, the struggle to obtain the special right of Basque, it can be done by alternative ways but violence. Many people of Basque believe in that, including the protest in Bilbao on the disagreement towards terrorism act by ETA means an important statement by Basque to the world that they are not part of the terrorism act or ETA.

Another disadvantage for the people of Basque due to the impact of terrorism act by ETA, they often get generalized by other people from outside of Basque region. Those people often generalized anyone from Basque as terrorist due to the terrorism act done by ETA. Same thing happened to the phenomenon where the terrorism act done by few Muslim but all Muslim get accused by it.

*I am a Muslim and I am not a terrorist. I am a Basque and I am not a terrorist.*

## 1.7. When Franco in Power

The people of Basque had been a threat for those leaders who wished to have an absolute power over Spain. In this case, Franco was not an exceptional since he believed in fascism where the thought that the leader had to control the country and its people comprehensively. Moreover, when Franco started the civil war, the people of Basque was one of the hot targets to be attacked such as bombing in Gernika and Durango as Franco believed that these attacks would weaken the opposition from the Basque which supported Republican at that time.

When Franco successfully won the civil war and became of Head of State of Spain in 1939, the view of his toward Basque had not changed since his ideology of fascism has not changed either. The fascism that is in his spirit leading Spain has been manifested in his motto of Spain called 'One, Great and Free'.<sup>14</sup> It was obvious that this motto was on the contrary with the reality of the existence of Basque within the Spanish territory. Therefore, Franco kept going on the policies that can weaken the resistance of Basque.

On the other hand, as a Dictator he would not find any problems nor had accountability to the people on anything he would do. Simply I could say that there were not anything could prevent him to do anything violently toward people of Spain (and Basque).

During the reign of Franco, people of Basque suffered in many aspect of life from distress to starvation. People of Basque who were suspected involved in the separatist movement, they would be caught, put them in jail and tortured them. Since many of them were men who did the winner bread in the family, many children and wives were abandoned. The situation was planned intentionally by the Dictator in order to weaken the resistance of the Basque.

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<sup>14</sup> Original: *Una, Grande y Libre*.

The second tangible fact where most Basque suffered, during the reign of Franco was that the youth could not access the education in the public schools due to its great length to make the schooling nearly impossible (Macko, 2011: 15). Rich family could send their children to the private school, although it was closely monitored by government. Meanwhile, the poor could just learn at home or neighbors secretly. The development of the formal education was intentionally inhibited the development of education in the Basque regions.

Lastly, the people of Basque were forced to leave their original identity as Basque. Their Basque names had to be replaced by common Spanish names and the language of Basque, *Euskera* was banned to use at anytime and anywhere. People of Basque would simply end up in jail just because of using *Euskera*. Not only that, the names of the places and signs that were in Basque had to be replaced in Spanish too.

As a respond toward what Franco had been doing to the people of Basque, emerged a separatist movement, named *Euskadi Ta Askatsuna*,<sup>15</sup> abbreviated by ETA in 1959. This movement was reborn from the first Basque political party named *Basque National Party* which was formed in 1895 by the famous Basque figure named, Sabina Arana y Goiri.

...Arana began to develop a personal moral code that drew inspiration from an idealization of traditional Basque society... a society with both physical and moral rights, and its only salvation could be achieved through liberation (Watson, 49-50)<sup>16</sup>.

During the reign of Franco, the battle between the people of Basque and the government kept going on. ETA did many attacks, not only to the front lines of those who support the government of Franco, but also the strategic and important person who was planned to be the successor of Franco, the Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco, shot gunned on the head by ETA.

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<sup>15</sup> Translated by Basque Homeland and Freedom

<sup>16</sup> (Macko (2011: 9)

On the other side, Franco kept repressing the people of Basque by catching those people who were suspected to be involved in this movement without any legal procedure (in the sense of authorization process), putting them in the jail without any clear law in the sense of until *when* or *how long* they are going to be there, and torturing them in order to get more information about others which are unlikely to be obtained.

Was it reasonable, things have been doing by the people of Basque? This is the struggle for the sake of identity as Basque. At least there are three things as base for Basque until they would do the deadly struggling as such. Firstly, their language, called Euskera is completely different than Spanish; secondly, their physical appearance is also different than Spaniards, they have freer skin and reddish tint on the women; and finally, they were granted to govern their regions with the autonomous right called *fueros* which was valid until the end of the eighteen century or was abolished in 1876. Since then, the people of Basque were struggling to get it back through many ways, peaceful and violence method, depending on the situation needed.

### **1.8. After the Dictator died**

When Franco died, many Spaniards were happy, especially those people who had been pressed during his reign such as Basque country, Catalan and Galician. Those people saw opportunity to change the status quo at that time to be a democratic country which enabled groups to deliver their aspirations. In this case, Gernika along with other regions in Basque country were celebrating the death of Franco.

The human tragedy that happened thirty eight years ago in Gernika when the Dictator passed away started to emerge again on the surface of the people of Gernika. The memory of the



horror came to mind again and able to tell people what happened in the past on Gernika. Many people sought the truth through the history that was prohibited to be told during the reign. The people of Gernika tried to remember and contested again on how the bombing was happening in April 26, 1937. The witnesses and survivors were presented to be interviewed for the sake of the true history.

On the other hand, although Franco had died at that time, the resistance of ETA through the violence kept going on. Although actually there was a chance for ETA to switch their struggle method from violence into the peaceful method, they did not take it. Some researchers believed that it would be very hard to change the ideology of ETA that had been rooted deeply. It would need some times to erase the memory of what Franco had done to the people of Basque.

“Since they did not believe in a new state of affairs, they continued to behave as before, some practicing violence and others legitimizing it. So their activities provoked state suppression and imprisonment of the perpetrators of violence, as well as its supporters. For those who had accepted the democratic transition continued (and continue) to consider them political prisoners. This intergenerational closed world of radical Basque nationalism constituted a structure of social plausibility that maintained favorable definitions and attitudes about the violence” (Pérez-Agote, 2003; Kalyna, 2011: 24).

When the reign of Franco was over, there was a moment where the people of Basque were divided into groups. Basque national were divided into the group who were less radical and the one that remained extreme; and ETA were also divided into regular Basque people and ETA. Since then, ETA was just the terrorist organization who was admitted not only by the state government of Spain and the international coverage, but also by the people of Basque themselves.

Many believed that ETA was no longer representing the people of Basque after the *Caudillo*<sup>17</sup> of the state closed his eyes. Spain was no longer authoritarian but was in transition to democracy, so that was one of the reasons why ETA was no longer relevant. Secondly, due to

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<sup>17</sup> Means Head as Franco often mentioned as ‘El-Caudillo’ or the leader.

more open governmental system of Spain, people could deliver their aspiration freely and demand their right as Basque, Catalan, Galician or others. Later, in 1978 the constitution about the self-governing was made and applied throughout Spain which enable those groups could express themselves freely. Lastly, the terrorist acts that have killed many civilians done by ETA were obviously disappointing the people of Basque. So, we could see the disconnected line clearly between ETA and the people of Basque.

The Constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish Nation, the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards; it recognizes and guarantees the right to self-government of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed and the solidarity among them all.

— Second Article of the Spanish Constitution of 1978

However, there were times where ETA was actually trying to switch their method from violence into dialogue or peaceful method. It can be seen from the initiations of the ceasefires they made few times in 1996, 2006 and 2010 (or 2011 for the repetition) which was actually efforts by them to change the method. Even though actually that time was already late for them, it was late because they were in the position where they did not have more bargaining position as they used to have in the past. Therefore, the ceasefire statement they made was kind of ignored by the government. *With the Basque separatist group in decline, Madrid may feel it has no need to pay a price for its disappearance (Murado, 2011).*

Gernika, however, has been the balance of the situation in Basque country. Gernika initiated few activities that raised the awareness of the people of how important to remember the tragedy in the purpose of preventing from happening again either in Gernika itself or anywhere else Spain or International world. Gernika initiated the commemoration of the bombing in 1987 for the first time. Later, Gernika established the peace research center as it was embarked from

the tragedy and is line with the spirit of making peace in Gernika and the world. While ETA has been spreading the terror, Gernika has been spreading the spirit of peace.

Gernika has been also connecting to the world in the consistent spirit of peace. They engaged with the peace workers from Nagasaki-Hiroshima who had the same experience of the bombing tragedy in the past. This international connection obviously helped Gernika to be known internationally and effect wider and be able to spread peace spirit more in this wider coverage.

In this stage, Gernika after Franco, they have made progress in the reconciliation process. Petra K. Kelly, member of the parliament with the Green Party deposited flower for the victims of Gernika in the 50<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the bombing as a gesture of reconciliation on behalf of Germans. Later, the Germany's President made a political apology toward Gernika in 1998.

Gernika after the Franco was in the fruitful years. Gernika gives awards to the peace workers, peace activists and those who concern with the human right issues. On the other hand, Gernika received many awards from outside, such as UNESCO as the International cities prizes and the maximum institutional recognition granted by the Governor of Caquetá, Columbia.

### **1.9. Being Spaniard or Basque**

On the survey that I have done to the people of Gernika, surprisingly that almost everybody in Gernika feels that they are Basque or called *Euskalduna* not Spaniard. Even though there was an option to choose *being Spaniard and Basque*, but they did not go for it.

To me, it attracts my attention because Gernika and all other regions in Basque country have been under Spain for centuries, but the sense of belonging of the people of Gernika is not as Spaniard but Basque instead. I assumed that the phenomenon happened even to the people of

Gernika in the past, only the reason behind it was probably a bit different. Therefore, it reflected to the fact that the people of Gernika in the past also felt Basque instead of Spaniards.

In the past, people of the Basque could feel as Basque due to the situation at that time where the sense as a group was stronger, where the identity is more on the smaller group that could be reached not the bigger group like a kingdom or too small such as an individual identity. That was the trend in the past actually; people tend to show themselves as a small group. That was one of the reasons why many groups are fighting to each other, between tribes and between regions tend to fight quite often in the past.

Nowadays, the reason why many people of Gernika feel more as Basque than Spaniard is because they have suffered so much and kept the hatred towards the government of Franco. For about forty years they were oppressed and dictated by the Dictator with the bunch of discriminative policies. Therefore, even after Franco has died, the hatred would not go away. More over some policies of Franco on the prisoners of ETA (those who were caught or suspected during Franco) were still the same. The dissatisfaction of the people was the main reason why their hatred kept going on and made feel more as Basque than Spaniard.

Talking about identity or sense of belonging toward certain identity, I was surprise to the fact that there is a unique fact within the people of Gernika-Lumo itself. Gernika-Lumo used to be two different towns in the neighborhood. Later they became one, so they called the town by Gernika-Lumo. However, that morning, when I went up the hill and met someone in Lumo, I found it interesting when she said that feel more *Lumonian*<sup>18</sup> than *Gernikan*. Moreover, they refused to call it Gernika-Lumo, but she prefers to call it: Lumo-Gernika.

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<sup>18</sup> People of Lumo

Furthermore, the people of Lumo believed that the sacred tree of Gernika used to be in Lumo and later they moved it to Gernika when people started to move to Gernika. Originally, what they believed, people used to live in Lumo which is higher land as it was normal in the past. Later, people started to move down the hill and built the town. I think it makes so much sense if I take an example of Castellón de la Plana where the people of Castellón used to live in the hill of Magdalena. Later, they went down the hill and built the town called Castellón de la Plana or it means Castellón which is plain. This momentum where the people of Castellón were moving down is celebrated every year by the people of Castellón name, Festival of Magdalena.

### **1.10. Euskera and Spanish**

Language is part of identity on the person or certain group. Through the shared language, people can have a comfortable communication to each other. Moreover, not only the comfort, but also the closeness can be even possible to achieve with the same language of both communicators.

Euskera is the original language of the people of Basque. This language is believed that has no roots to any language in the Indo-European culture, so the original root of this language is remained history. Some believed that that Euskera is closer to the language of Aquitania as we see the sample of the comparison among four languages (Aquitania, Basque, Gothic and English) in the figure below. Having said that, the people of Basque is actually proud of this fact and tries hard to preserve the language as part of the cultural identity of the people of Basque.

**The comparison between Aquitanian, Basque, Gothic and English.**

<b>Aquitanian</b>	<b>Basque</b>	<b>Gothic</b>	<b>English</b>
arixo	haritz	(faírguni) <sup>2</sup>	oak
atta	aita	fadar	father
belex	beltz	swarts	black
bon-	on	goþs	good
sembe-	seme	sunus	son
hanna	anaia	broþar	brother
seni-	sehi/seiñ	magus	boy
oxson	otso	wulfs	wolf
siri(co)	suri	hweits	white
ausci	euska(ra)		'Basque'

Figure 1

In the town of Gernika-Lumo, the language of Euskera is quite strong its use and existence. Almost everywhere I went to, I found people were talking in Euskera. I could see that Euskera is in everyday's life of the people of Gernika. Even though the people of Gernika are able to speak Spanish, especially when I came to them and ask to be my respondent of the survey, but the people of Gernika tend to speak Euskera more than Spanish. It is also in line with the statement of the Director of the Peace Museum of Gernika, she said that Euskera is essential and it's the language of the people of Gernika for their everyday's life (Personal Interview, 28 April 2014).

Not only adults, the children in Gernika also tend to use Euskera rather than Spanish. Some kids I found on the street, restaurant and park, I have heard them speaking in Euskera all the time with their parents. My observation came to a kid named Alec in the hill of Lumo, part of Gernika-Lumo who has been there for ten years as he has the same number of his age. Alec, who has an English father and Basque mother, could speak English, Euskera and Spanish. He always

speaks English with his father, Euskera with the family from the side of his mother, and Spanish at school.

What has been experienced by Alec, in fact, gave him more opportunities to learn more languages. When the children are introduced to more than one language, the capability of the children to learn more language is bigger. For the children of Gernika-Lumo and some other regions in the Basque country, at least they would learn Euskera and Spanish since they were young, therefore most children of Basque have more opportunities to learn other languages easier. Lasagabaster (2005) found that increased knowledge of multiple languages is positively correlated with increasingly positive attitudes toward the acquisition of languages (Destrades, 2011: 4).

Euskera that is the co-official language with Spanish in the Basque country is also shown in the signs all over the country side by side, such as in directions, public information and in the formal meetings. The same condition is also applied in some other autonomous regions such as Catalan in Catalonia, Valenciano in Valencia and Galician in Galicia.

The restoration of these languages after the repression by the Dictator Franco was not easy. The repression which lasted for about forty years made many people have forgotten the language. Having said that, some regions are proven that they are able to restore them back. Gernika, to me is the best example where I witnessed myself that the people of Gernika are truly speaking Euskera nowadays. I could also see that they are really proud of their own language.

The research in Bilbao, a big city of the Basque country and many outsiders came and stayed there for jobs, I found interesting facts related to the language of Euskera. In the research, the people of Bilbao believed that having proficiency of Basque for the people of Basque is quite

important which is indicated by the survey with 72, 4% while there is only 48, 3% of the people who believed that the people of Basque should have proficiency of the Spanish. It shows how proud and confident the people of Basque toward their own language and identity.

**Survey Participant Agreement with Importance of Having Proficiency in Castilian**

<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Rating Average</u>	<u>Response Count</u>
<b>48.3% (14)</b>	<b>48.3% (14)</b>	3.4% (1)	0.0% (0)	3.46	29

**Survey Participant Agreement with Importance of Having Proficiency in Euskera**

<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Rating Average</u>	<u>Response Count</u>
<b>72.4% (21)</b>	20.7% (6)	3.4% (1)	3.4% (1)	3.62	29

Figure 2 (Destrades, 2011: 27)

However, the next result of the survey tells that the proficiency of the people of Basque currently is more on Spanish than in Euskera. There is about 94, 1% people are fluent in Spanish and only 70, 6% are fluent in Euskera. The reality of many people in Bilbao is fluent in Spanish than in Euskera due to some reasons. The fact that many people of non Basque came to Bilbao could be a significant factor; and the other factor would be the prohibition of the Euskera by the Dictator is definitely behind the fact that many people lost Euskera for years. See figure below (Olivia, 2011: 39).

**Indicated current proficiency of survey participants**

	<u>Fluent-Advanced</u>	<u>Intermediate</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>No proficiency</u>	<u>Rating Average</u>	<u>Response Count</u>
Castilian	<b>94.1% (32)</b>	5.9% (2)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	3.94	34
Euskera	<b>70.6% (24)</b>	8.8% (3)	14.7% (5)	5.9% (2)	3.44	34
English	31.3% (10)	<b>40.6% (13)</b>	25.0% (8)	3.1 (1)	3.0	32

Figure 3



### **1.11. Athletic Club of Bilbao and the identity of Basque**

Before the interview with Amaia, my friend who is also the resident of Gernika, for the thesis that I write about Gernika, She told me that she would not be able to spend sometimes with since the Athletic Club will have a match soon against Seville. When the match was going on, many people were concentrated in some cafes in Gernika which they tended to watch it together with friends and colleagues. Shouts and comments were thrown during the match in the cafes. The phenomenon mentioned above was a form of identity of Basque, including the people of Gernika, through their beloved club and they are proud of, the Athletic club.

The club of Athletic was formed in 1989, just three years after the National Party of Basque founded by Sabino Arana Goiri as a form of struggle by Basque for the sake of their identity. Since the club was formed in the time where the struggle for identity was quite strong, the influence was just inevitable in the journey of the club from time to time.

The club which is also famous by *Los Leones* (The Lions) applies the ‘Basque-only Policy’ in the recruitment system. If it was not based on the strong identity toward the club as the representative of the Basque, the policy would not be applied from the first place. The players can be from anywhere in the world, but they have to be Basque descendent. Not every Basque lives in Spain, some of them live in France, USA and Latin America; there is possibility that Basque live in any countries due to the globalization.

Through this ‘Basques Only’ policy, notwithstanding internecine divisions as to what constitutes Basque nationality, from the four provinces of Vizcaya to embracing Basque diasporas in South West France and South America, this continuity has allowed a fluid criteria to be applied in assessing the legitimacy of Basque ancestry (Jim, 2013: 5-6)

According to Jim, the policy of recruiting only Basque descendent has a purpose to improve the fighting spirit among players (Jim, 2013: 5). The exclusiveness would trigger them to keep the team better in order to keep the team consist of Basque only; the foreign players can come if they cannot play well. Therefore, the club also has the training center or academia for the young players in order to prepare them before they play in the club. The academia is called *La Cantera* which has the literal meaning *Quarry* means an open surface excavation for the extraction of building stone, slate, marble, etc, by drilling, blasting, or cutting (wordreference, 2014).

Talking about identity, there is an interesting fact that three strong clubs in Spain were never fall from the first division up until now. These three clubs are Real Madrid, FC Barcelona and Athletic, in which they were representing each region politically; Madrid was representing the centre of the government, FC Barcelona was representing Catalonia and Athletic was representing Basque. In the early of the struggle of Basque before democracy, the common situation between Catalonia and Basque country made the football club as a way to express their political will, these two clubs were hand in hand against Madrid.

Through this commonality of origins, notwithstanding a fierce football rivalry, a certain kindred spirit grew, especially between FC Barcelona and Athletic Bilbao, in opposition to the hated centralism of Madrid, although 'whilst the characteristic features of the two Basque teams were physical power and aggression, in FC Barcelona they were talent and imagination'. (O'Brien, 2013: 5)

As time goes by, as democracy embraces Spain, the Athletic club was gradually belong to anyone, not only in Basque country but also throughout Spain. It can be seen from the congresses of the supporters that were held, moving around from one city to another city in Spain (Athleticclub, 2014).

## 1.12. Summary of the Chapter I

In the chapter one, I invited the readers to the introduction of Basque identity from many aspects, from the writing preference of Gernika instead of Guernica, the language of Euskera, and the journey of their football club from time to time. The exposure in more detail about Gernika as a research object is given in this chapter apart from what has been elaborated in the introduction section.

In addition, the explanation in-depth about the identity of Gernika based on the theories of identity is delivered. Since I believe that identity is in many forms, many aspects of Gernika and Basque are highlighted as identity of Gernika or Basque. Basque and Gernika cannot be separated in this context since Gernika used to be the significant town for all Basque as it was the town where many representative of Basque gathered and made policies democratically.

I argue that the people of Gernika have been expressing themselves in many forms of identity. As I have presented many identities in the beginning of the chapter, I have applied them as well into the context of Gernika. For example, the people of Gernika expressed themselves through the language preference of Euskera which they really proud of; another example is how they prefer to use *Gernika* instead of *Guernica* until finally they made a distinction between *Guernica* which refers to the painting by Pablo Picasso and *Gernika* which refers to the town of Gernika which obviously they are proud of.

Chapter one is ended by the explanation of the football club named Athletic. The existence of the club was the only one who had been permitted by Franco as the expression of the people of Basque as Basque; when the culture and language were forbidden to be expressed during the reign of Franco, the football was the only media for Basque to express their identity as

Basque. Nowadays, this club is not only supported by the people of Basque since the supporters of this club were not only the people of Basque but many people throughout Spain. The fact that this club has a character of fielding only Basque players, yes; but the fact that this club is exclusively owned by the people of Basque, obviously not.

Another point that I want to bring in the first chapter is trying to implement the theory by Amin Maalouf that identity is not fixed and will keep changing throughout someone's or a certain groups' life time. I absolutely agree with him that identity is not constant, but it's dynamic. Therefore, in the context of Gernika I tried to present this change from time to time.

First of all, the distinction between the people of Basque (including Gernika) and the rest of the Castile kingdom (at that time), encouraged the people of Basque to be highlighted as different ethnic which later pushed them to make autonomous administration. During the reign of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand II, the autonomous administration named *fueros* was respected as these leaders visited Gernika once a year to make oath under the oak tree of Gernika.

The *fueros* was not standing forever. When the leader who obsessed the full authority came, *fueros* was threaten and abolished. The people of Gernika and Basque started to do the struggle again to get the *fueros* back. The *fueros* was successfully gotten back in the year where the civil war started, but it was not long enough. As the *fueros* faded, the struggle of the Basque in order to get it back emerged again.

When Franco in power, when the pressures was applied to the people of Basque including Gernika, the resistance went stronger until it formed a separatist movement, called ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*). When the autonomous administration or *fueros* had not been

obtained, this movement demanded the freedom or independence. This movement had done many attacks which caused the fatalities from both government and civilians.

The movement was supported by many people of Basque in the first place, but the support dramatically went down when the Dictator died, the Spain had started the democratic government and the attacks by ETA kept going on (even to the civilians). In this position, the identity of the people of Basque including Gernika had gone two things; first is the assimilation done by Franco for about 40 years and the second is the strong resistance as it had been pressed for about 40 years.

Finally, when we see Gernika now, the identity of Gernika becomes an important symbol which has the message to tell to the world. It's a symbol of the terrible human tragedy which reminds people not to repeat the same thing again, either in Gernika or anywhere else in the world. Gernika remembers the horror and shares the horror and makes an input of peace for the positive respond toward remembering. As Iratxe, the Director of Peace Museum of Gernika said, "Peace is the link for Gernika when remembers the horror in order to be optimistic facing the future" (personal interview, April 29, 2014).

## Chapter II

### The people of Gernika's pursuit of peace

#### 2.1. Studies on Collective Memory

“The past is never dead. In fact, it's not even past.”

William Faulkner (Requiem for a Nun)

*“El olvido es una de las formas de la memoria”*

Jorge Luis Borges

Before we get to know about what collective memory is, it would be better if could take a look the definition of these two words, collective and memory in the literal meaning. It would always better to start the explanation from the very beginning as such, in order to have a better and comprehensive understanding for the readers. First word is ‘collective’; it is an adjective which has two meanings based on the dictionary of oxford: done by people acting as group and the second meaning is taken as a whole (Oxforddictionary, 2014).

The second word, memory, has at least three meaning which close to each other based on the same dictionary, oxford dictionary. First, memory can be translated as a place to store what human remember about anything. For example, the thing happened last night was stored already in my memory. The second meaning of memory is the thing that is remembered. For example, my happiest memory with you was when I had succeeded saying ‘I love you’. Finally the meaning of memory is part of the computer body which has the function to store the data and information digitally (Oxforddictionaries, 2014).

According to Maurice Halbwachs, collective memory is the active past that forms the identity of a person or a group of people in the present. The term of collective memory can also

be distinguished by other terms' definitions such as historical memory, autobiographical memory and the history itself. Historical memory is the memory that reaches the person through the historical records; autobiographical memory is the memory which based on the personal experience of the person; and finally the history itself means that the past that has no longer relations organically with the person or that part is not relevant in the present (Olick, 2008: 7).

Therefore from the definitions above, thing that can be highlighted as the character of the collective memory compared to other terms above is that collective memory has a character of active memory which plays an important role in the present day for the person or a group. They are things in the past that determine the identity of the person or a group in the present.

It is named collective because according to Halbwachs the memory of the person is influenced by the society in the surrounding. Facts or events are easy to remember when it has the possibility to be recognized by the society. Our memory selects which ones that people would admit and which ones are not. Although in the process of remembering person is using their own memory, but the presence of the society in their surrounding validate them as it is mentioned by Stratigoula that, *although recalling is a personal activity, it is influenced by social factors. Recalling as an activity is common to all people, but the way each person handles it differs (Stratigoula, 2009: 5).*

The reason why I inserted one section of collective memory into my thesis is because having the close relations with the identity. Memory that forms identity is called collective memory. That was actually the reason why Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) and Maurice Halbwachs coined the collective memory in the first place. They saw the points on how history has to be differentiated with collective memory and how the collective memory forms identity of

the person or a group. If only they did not see this point, there will be no collective memory; it would be enough just history and memory in the separate definition and context.

Bartlett also argued that our memory is influenced by the presence of others and by our social organization. According to Halbwachs, individual memory and identity are always mediated by some collectivity. Hence, individual memory cannot be seen as detached from social factors, but every step of the memory process is influenced by the social resources provided by the environment. (Ferron and Massa, 2011: 3)

Another definition of collective memory is the past events that are done together by certain group of people, and later these memories are adjusted in a group discussion (formally or informally) which is passed on generations through the public commemoration. From here, we can actually see the living memories that have been passed many years ago. This is also why the memory is called active which is meaningful in the current state. Furthermore, the active status of memory makes the form of identity and the social solidarity in the present since the events have been constructed socially and historically rooted (Eyerman, 2004: 5-6).

The collective memory is a social necessity for the individual or a group because it determines the identity of the individual or the group. The collective memory answers the questions of ‘who are we?’, ‘where are we from?’ and ‘where we are going?’. Therefore, the collective memory is the one that connect the past to the present and the future (Eyerman, 2004: 6). The question of ‘who are we?’ is the representative of the present, the question of ‘where we are from?’ is the representative of the past and the question of ‘where are we going?’ is the representative of the future.

Memoria que recuerda para vislumbrar propuestas en las que los símbolos pierdan perpetuidad y adquieran versatilidad como aportación a la paz y como en el ciclo de la vida: nacimiento, desarrollo y muerte. En su entretanto, lo que le caracteriza a esta vida: el cambio de manera dinámica ante el estático absoluto, en lo concreto y cotidiano.

Arte como propuesta creadora, que inspira para desocupar las esferas de la violencia y ubicarnos como creadores en espacios ciudadanos, artísticos y culturales, que imaginando



fueran desde el consenso y respeto a la pluralidad de ideas, sentimientos de pertenencia a espacios propios y distintos, apuntaría a des-localizar su significado conocido para adentrarnos en su desconocidas oportunidades, propias y ajenas, en lo concreto, es decir, en el cuidado de la vida con criterios de justicia (Oianguren Idígoras, 2013: 212-213)

## **2.2. Why memory of war?**

As far as I explain about the collective memory specified in the memory of war, it emerges question right away to me, why memory of war? Gernika came with the memory of war to pursue peace because they happened had this experience. It triggers my curiosity to see a bit deeper on why memory of war happened to be the strong character of the people of Gernika in their efforts pursuing peace. Moreover, I will try to see this from the angle of the psychology study, and it always would be more interesting to see the point from many angles in order to enrich the comprehension of the research.

All (or four) elements in Gernika are using collective memory, particularly memory of war. Let's take a look at them one by one; the commemoration of the bombing has the role to keep reminding people every year about the tragedy and to ensure the transfer of the collective memory is being done successfully. The second element is the peace museum of Gernika; this one has a role to present the evidence of the collective memory which is already in everybody's mind; objects in the museum's collection are the authentic evidences to strengthen the collective memory which was already in everybody's mind. The third one is the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz; it has the role to strengthen the collective memory with the scientific approach. Finally the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso came as the perpetual symbol of the collective memory in this case the memory of war.

Again, the question raised in my mind to highlight the collective memory of the memory of war in the case of Gernika in their efforts to pursue peace is 'why memory of war?'. Such

research found many amazing facts about the memory which involved people to be tested. The result of the research found that memory that has no emotional relations with the people will be easily forgotten. Every memory contains the emotional relations will potentially stay longer or even hard to be erased even the people to want forget it (Payne and Corrigan, 2007: 784). If are asked to remember what did we eat thirty days ago, it can be assured that we will find difficulty to recall it because it has no emotional relations with us as eating just like normal and regular activity of the people. On the other hand we will remember easily things that were the most disappointing and the happiest moment in our life in the past few years; not only what or when, we potentially even remember the exact and detail information about those moments since they have close emotional relations with us.

Emotions are functional because they signal important events and prepare a body and mind to react (Dolan, 2002; Frijda, 1986; Tooby & Cosmedes, 1990).

When participants tried to forget emotional or neutral memories, they were able to forget only the neutral ones. Emotional memories were persistent, loitering even when asked to leave. The painful or unhappy memories people would most like to leave behind may be the ones that are most difficult to dislodge (Payne and Corrigan, 2007: 784).

However, the question rises again, if the emotional event will potentially higher to be staying, why shall we use the memory of the happiness to promote peace? The research found that the negative memory is potentially higher to linger in the memory rather than the positive memory. Furthermore the negative memory keeps more on the accuracy of the events as Kensinger (2007) found in the research.

Negative emotion can lead to fewer reconstructive-memory errors than positive emotion, consistent with evidence that individuals in a negative mood process information in an analytical and detailed fashion, whereas people in a positive mood rely on broader schematic or thematic information and ignore the details (Bless & Schwarz, 1999 in Kensinger, 2007: 214).

And then, what is next? What happen if the memory of war lingers? I would say that it is actually the power of the collective memory. Since the bad experience of the people would allow them automatically to avoid or to prevent the same tragedy from happening again, plus the memory of war lingers more. Therefore the people of Gernika would try to prevent the war (in other words to achieve and keep peace) and it can linger for such long period of time.

Furthermore, the memory of war would enable the people to have more power or strength of the struggle, more than what they can get from the positive memory since the accuracy of the positive memory is hardly remembered. Not giving so easily will be one strong character of the people using the memory of war as the basis of the struggle.

Finally the powerful struggle of the negative memory needs to be used positively. The memory of war is like disconnected link which needs another link to transform it into positive. What Gernika has been doing was just great because they found peace as the connected link into the positive one. Four elements which are using the collective memory functioned as bridge that connects the negative into the positive, memory of war (negative) into the peace (positive).

### 2.3. The Commemoration of the Bombing of Gernika



Figure 4 - me with the son of George Steer (Personal doc.)

The bombing that happened in April 27, 2014 in the town of Gernika is commemorated annually by the people of Gernika, and the first commemoration was held in 1987 in the same time as the peace research center of Gernika was established. The commemoration was not directly held after the event since Franco repressed the people of Gernika and he did not admit the action done by him (he even blamed the people Gernika did it by themselves instead). The commemoration was not even held right after Franco died since the people of Gernika needed sometimes to have the same shared memory and later is called collective memory.

The commemoration is held every year since then. The commemoration has been promoted reconciliation and peace until it obtained the good results: the official apology from the

Petra K Kelly, the parliament member from the green party of the Germany. Later, the apology was also made by the President of the Germany, Roman Herzog who asked forgiveness in 1998 to the survivors and to the people of Gernika for the role of the Germany during the Spanish civil war and to be specific, for the bombing of Gernika 77 years ago.

The commemoration is developed from time to time. In the last two years, two commemorations that I have been participated in 2013 and 2014 were impressed me much. As it happened in those two commemorations, the programs were made in about 4-5 days. However, the program of 4 minutes remembrance of the bombing with the siren is always there every year.

Another important program during the commemoration is the academic programs which are seminar and workshop. For example in 2014 the academic program had the big theme: "*Universo de la memoria y memoria universal. Palabra, vacío y silencio*".<sup>19</sup> In 2013, the academic program brought the big theme: "*Poder y Paz. Economía de Paz. El Poder de la Paz*".<sup>20</sup> In this academic program, usually students from the major of peace or related are invited to the program to have discussions. In addition, the students could apply what they have learned in the class to the context of Gernika.

Beside the academic programs, they usually have the art and cultural programs. I was lucky to experience watching the art performance in the form of musical drama with many actors. The musical drama narrated the story of the moment where the town of Gernika was bombed by the *Condor Legion* of the Germany and *Legendaria* of Italy. Casted by many actors in the street, the performance moved around the city with the sorrow songs sung by them. The performance

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<sup>19</sup> "Universe of the memory and universal memory. Word, emptiness and silence" (Personal translation).

<sup>20</sup> "Power and Peace. Peace Economy. The Power of Peace".

was amazing, strong and impressed many people including me. In fact, this performance was the most I remembered after I left the town and decided to write the thesis about this town.

The commemoration that is done annually and attracts many tourists (domestically and internationally) is organized by many parties. Those parties are: Gernika Gogoratuz Foundation, Zine Klub Elkartea, Gernika-Lumoko udala, Gernikazarra elkartea, Ayuntamiento de Gernika-Lumo, Gernika Batzordea y Kultura Batzordea, Gernikarra historia taldea, and BASKale elkartea.

To complete the programs in the commemoration of the bombing, some museums were open for free in only one day-the day where the bombing happened, April 26. The museums that are interesting to visit are the peace museum, the museum of *Euskal Herria* and *La Casa de Juntas*. The peace museum has the complete collection of the bombing of Gernika and few collection of other human tragedy in the world; the *Euskal Herria* has the complete collection of the people of Basque includes history and cultures; and finally *La Casa de Juntas de Gernika* has the sacred oak tree of Gernika and the place of the Basque representative for making policies which of course it was before they moved it to Bilbao as the capital city of Basque Autonomous Country.

The commemoration actually brings the simple message but is hard to apply in places in the world. The message is, Gernika has experienced the dark history which became collective memory of the people of Gernika, and they voice to the world that they suffered from it, and they do not want that happens anywhere, either in Gernika or anywhere else in the world. Even the message has been spread all the time, not only from Gernika but many other places but the human tragedy keep going on in many places, the war is ongoing in some other parts of the world and the everlasting conflict between groups or countries such as Northern Ireland and the

Republic of Ireland, Israel and Palestine, North Korea and South Korea and many other conflicts that are not famous in the media.

The commemoration is also a way for Gernika to connect with the other victims of the bombing in other parts of the world such as Dresden in Germany and Hiroshima in Japan. Dresden started to invite the representative of Gernika to commemorate the bombing in Dresden on February 13, 2003; while Hiroshima, represented by the mayor of the town and the president of Mayors for Peace, joined the commemoration of Gernika in 2007 for the first time. Afterwards, the commemoration is attended by the representative annually as a solidarity act by the victims for the similar tragedy. Both have the collective memory on the same feelings but in different events, bombing on the defenseless civilians.

As our television sets show bombers preparing for war against Iraq, we survivors of Guernica and Dresden recall our own helplessness and horror when we were flung into the inferno of bombing—we saw people killed. Suffocated. Crushed. Incinerated. Mothers trying to protect their children with only their bodies. Old people with no strength left to flee from the flames. These pictures are still alive in our memory, and our accounts capture indelibly what we went through - Gernika and Dresden Survivors, 2003 (Internationalnetworkforpeace, 2014)

In this sense, the leadership of those here in Guernica who seek peace and have worked hard to bring about this memorial ceremony is profoundly meaningful. The solidarity we feel today derives from our shared experience of the horror of war, and this solidarity can truly lead us toward a world beyond war. As I said, peace has always been a cherished goal of humankind. I fervently hope that we can broadcast from Guernica a call for people of conscience everywhere to join hands and work together to make genuine peace a reality (Tadatoshi, 2007).

The people of Gernika supported the commemoration that is held every year in Gernika. Based on the survey I made to the people of Gernika, almost everyone (of the respondent) chose to commemorate the bombing every year and they think that the commemoration is very important (Questionnaire, 2014). From this point, I can see that the collective memory has been passed on generation successfully because none of them were the survivors. Some survivors

were still alive but in the old age. And so, either those who experience the bombing or those have just heard the story from their grandparents, they have the collective memory in their mind and it tells them not forget what has happened in Gernika in April 26, 1937 because that forms the identity of the people of Gernika.

#### **2.4. Peace Museum of Gernika<sup>21</sup>**

"A museum is a non-profit making permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment." (Icommuseum, 2014)

The name of the 'peace museum' in fact evolved from the first was established until it is used in many countries nowadays. The name which was called 'anti-war museum' changed to memorial museum and finally became 'peace museum' which is quite common up until now.

In the beginning, the 'anti-war' was a concept by a polish named Jean de Bloch (1836-1902) for the exhibition which later he wanted to make it as museum. The man who was awarded *A Nobel Peace Prize* in 1902 realized his intention to participate the exhibition of 'anti-war' in Paris in 1900. Unfortunately, although the exhibition was successfully done, Jean never had a chance to see his dream museum opened its door until he passed away in 1902 (Young, 2010: 85).

Few years later after Jean died, still in the same year, the museum of 'anti-war' for the first time was established in Lucerne, Switzerland. The museum which was named 'war and peace museum' could attract twice of the population number of the residents of Lucerne annually. Due to its fame and the existence of the museum, Lucerne became the venue of the fourteenth of

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<sup>21</sup> *Moseo de la Paz*



the International Congress of Peace in 1905 which previously was held in Boston, USA (Young, 2010: 85).

The third museum was established in 1925 in Berlin, Germany which was called '*Anti-Kriegs Museum*'<sup>22</sup>. This museum was founded by Ernst Friedrich (1894-1967), a pacifist anarchist. As time went by, this museum experienced up and down, especially during the era of Nazi. The museum was broken into in 1933 and Ernst was imprisoned. He did not give up that easy, the museum was reopened up again in Belgium to avoid Nazi, but he was followed and the museum had to be shut down again. The museum finally reopened up again back in Germany by his grandson in 1981 up until now (Young, 2010: 85).

After the end of the Second World War, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum began the new form of museum by the new name, memorial museum which obviously focused on the memory. The museum has the spirit to deny forgetting, these two museums are projected to ensure human not to forget to the tragic events that happened in the past, in this case the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 (Young, 2010: 84). The museums have warned the people on the terrible effect of the atomic bombing which is still happening even until now. Those victims have been suffering not only those direct ones, but their generations have inherited the illness from their parents through their grandparents, their grandparents of their grandparents.

Even now, after over half a century later, many aftereffects remain: leukemia, A-bomb cataracts, and cancers of thyroid, breast, lungs, salivary glands, birth defects, including mental retardation, and fears of birth defects in their children, plus, of course, the disfiguring keloid scars (atomicbombmuseum, 2014).

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<sup>22</sup> War against War (original translation)

Apart from the name of ‘peace museum’ that has evolved, the concept of the museum has also been evolving from time to time in accordance with the phenomenon that happened on the way. In the early of its establishment, museum had displayed arms and its effect toward human or victims which were documented by pictures and videos. Later one, the peace museum emerged as not only displaying the terrible things happened in the past, but now the museum is more than only an exhibition. Museum attempts to reclaim and retold the old stories of the peace makers, peacemaking, and equips the new generation to build peace in their own time and live. Furthermore, the peace museum is part of the important thing in the culture of peace in the continuity of working toward peaceful world (Young, 2010: 85).

If one day anyone of you visits Gernika, you should also visit this museum which was the first peace museum, not only in Gernika but also the whole Spain. Embarked from the human tragedy of the Gernika Bombing in 1937, the peace museum is established in 1998 by the unanimous decision of the town hall of Gernika-Lumo.

In its early existence, the museum was named by the history museum of Gernika which guide people to the history of Gernika, especially the civil war of Spain in which Gernika as a focus. However, in 1999 until 2002, the museum was renovated and adjusted with the assistance of the ministry of culture of Spain. The museum which is located in *Plaza de los Fueros* number one, finally changed its name became the peace museum of Gernika which was the first peace museum in Spain.

Due to the changing name from *history* to *peace*, the mission of the museum was also changed from only *providing information* to become active mission for *achieving peace*. It’s remembering the history for the sake of peace.

In detail, the museum has the mission to preserve, visualize, publicize and to conduct research while also to educate visitors to understand the basic ideas about culture of peace, the past, the present through the history of Gernika-Lumo. Therefore, the museum through its function and dedication could be one of the references for the researchers about the culture and peace.

Furthermore, the museum became active members of the international network in the museum community of the world in order to keep it updated and informed and to gain more coverage of this museum to reach the world. Those communities that been participated are: International Network of Museums for Peace (ICOM), ICOM: International Council of Museums, IC-MEMO (The International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes), AIPAZ (Spanish Association of Research for Peace<sup>23</sup>), International Coalition of Sites of Conscience Forum of Peace and Human Rights Associations.

Apart from the permanent and interesting objects of the past, the museum also has the collection of the reading materials in the documentation center. The documentation center which is like a library has several collections that include: *The bombing of Gernika, the Spanish Civil War, The exile, and History of Gernika-Lumo.*

Not to be available in the scheme of exhibition only like normal museum, Gernika Peace Museum has program called education program which has the function to serve visitors of the students from schools to do the fieldtrip. Furthermore, the staffs of the education program could be reached by email or phone for any question or doubt regarding the museum and its collections' explanation.

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<sup>23</sup> Original: *Asociación Española de Investigación Para la Paz*

As the museum is categorized as modern museum, Gernika Peace Museum allows the visitor experience the moments before and during the bombing of Gernika on April 26, 1937 through the audiovisual room. The narration is read in three options of languages, they are Euskera, Spanish, French and English. The audiovisual room is able to make the moment as if a real condition because they made the room look like as it was and the sounds such as when kids were playing, the noise of the Monday market, and all of them make the visitor could really feel how the feeling at that time was. Finally, the audiovisual room simulation is ended by the view of the wreckage of the house that was built exactly on the place where peace museum is currently. The wreckage which was shown suddenly after the light shoots the space behind the glass of the mirror. To me, the audiovisual room is the most interesting part among others in the museum.

Apart from the permanent spaces of the museum that visitors can see, they also have temporary space which is changing from time to time. When I visited this museum for the second time in 2014, I found the exhibition called 'Transit Gernika'. This exhibition brought the concept of time travel from the old time of Gernika until the recent situation of Gernika. Some pictures are shown in this exhibition but in two types of pictures: the old town and the new town, the old generation picture and the young generation of Gernika, the old street and the new street of Gernika and many aspects that can be compared between the past and the present. The most interesting part on this section is actually the Photoshop Photos where they combine two different pictures of old and new pictures together but only different color; for example they showed soldiers (in white color) standing on the street with the current photo (in color).

To be able to bring back home as souvenirs, the museum also has a shop of simple things to remember. They have mug of peace, bookmark, pencil and many others. Beside souvenirs, the shop also sells books, magazines and publications about peace and Gernika.

This museum is a witness of the collective memory of the people of Gernika through its complete collection. This museum tries to bring the people of Gernika and other visitors to heading the destination of peace. The museum as if strengthens the collective memory of the people of Gernika and to be a bridge between the past and the present with the goal of the future. The past represents the history of the people Gernika in museum's collections, the present represents the identity of the people of Gernika where the past influenced it much and finally he future is the goal to achieve peace as the destination of the people of Gernika and all people of the world.

## **2.5. Peace Research Center of Gernika Gogoratuz**

“Wars are poor chisels for carving out peaceful tomorrows.”

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Its name is Gernika Gogoratuz in Euskera and has a meaning ‘Gernika is remembering’. The peace research center that has the same name as its foundation is dedicated for the human tragedy that happened in Gernika in 1937 or during the Spanish civil war.

The center was established in 1987 coincided with the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gernika bombing through the unanimous decision of Basque parliament. The establishment of the center was also in the same time as the first apology from the Germany, represented by the parliament

member of the green party Petra K Kelly which later the apology was also made by the Germany President, Roman Herzog in 1998.

The center has a goal to perpetuate the symbol of peace and to remember the historical fact of the town of Gernika. Through the framework of *memory and culture of peace*, the center brings Gernika as an object of the scientific research for the peaceful world, particularly in Basque country.

In their activities, not only the researches are held by this peace research center, but also other activities such as *training* and *community work* are conducted in the big theme of *Peace Symbolology and Everyday Life & Peace*.

In the topic of *peace symbolology*, this research aims to get some achievements in three categories. First, this research is projected to create some spaces for the meeting and the reflections such programs that have been conducted, they are: international conventions, summer programs and days of antimilitary dedication. The second target is to strengthen the researches and innovations with the academic collaboration; it could be with the individuals, universities and some institutions in scheme of peace. Finally, the center has targeted to participate actively in the international networks to strengthen the researches, especially in the scoop of Europe and Latin America.



Figure 5

Meanwhile, in the topic of *everyday life & peace*, the center has at least three targets to be achieved. First, the center is projected to have an intervention community-based towards everyday's conflict and to help the process of transformation through looking at the historical and social sides. The second is to recover the group as the reflection forum to encourage the transformation process. Finally, the center on the everyday life & peace is projected to strengthen the social fabric and to recover the capacity of the new institution in the society.

The centre has also the special libraries, such as newspaper library and the archives of the documentary films of about 8807. In addition, the library also has 4077 of scientific researches, 208 units of the educative resources and 336 of the audiovisual teaching references. In addition, the research center also has editorials named *Red Gernika* which has been published in 13 editions and 17 drafts of the editions that are edited which published afterwards. In different edition and other framework, the research has resulted 25 of monographic works and audiovisual materials.

This research is there for strengthening the collective memory that has been in the people of Gernika about Gernika through the scientific approach. After the commemoration of the bombing that help to make the same perception of the collective memory and the transfer of collective memory from the old generation to the young generation, peace museum came for the authentic data of the bombing through its authentic collection, and now the peace research center is coming not only with the emotional and memory, but with the scientific methodology. The center is coming with the logic calculation of struggle for peace. The centre is to complete the commemoration and the peace museum for peace.

## **2.6. The Legendary Painting of *Guernica* by Pablo Picasso**

The world has changed a great deal since Picasso painted that first political masterpiece, but it has not necessarily grown easier. We are near the end of a tumultuous century that has witnessed both the best and worst of human endeavour. Peace spreads in one region as genocidal fury rages in another. Unprecedented wealth coexists with terrible deprivation, as a quarter of the world's people remain mired in poverty. *Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations* (Hensbergen, 2005: 1).

As we have mentioned earlier in the introduction, *Guernica* is different than Gernika apart from the spelling difference; Gernika is the spelling of Euskera and Guernica is the spelling of Spanish. Gernika refers to the town of Gernika, while Guernica refers to the painting by Pablo Picasso. Therefore, in this section, the reader should be ensured to understand in the first place between Gernika and Guernica.





Figure 6 at Reina Sofia Museum (reinasofia, 2014)

His name is Pablo Ruiz Picasso. Was born in Malaga – Spain in 1881, this son of an artist father named José Ruiz y Blasco would be one of the most Spanish influential artists whose masterpiece holds the significant relation with the Spanish soil. Knowing that his son with his wife named María Picasso had the interest and talent in art-especially drawing, he introduced objects of life to him to draw. The father who was also the professor of the fine art in the school, encouraged him to learn more on the field of art, until one day he said something meaningful to Picasso, “*a drawing should be an exact representation of the model: red fabric should look like red fabric, sadness should look like sadness*” (Serres and Price, 2010: 7).

Artist expresses their feeling and mood through what they are good at. A writer would write pages and pages of sorrow to express their sadness; the music instrumentalist would play their instruments with the bitter sound and finally painter like Picasso would express his sadness

and sorrow through painting. Picasso painted *Guernica* with all his heart in every scratch to the big canvas of 3, 5 m x 7, 8 m. What he saw on May 1, 1937 on the French national newspaper of *Ce Soir*<sup>24</sup>, he poured all of them into the painting of *Guernica* (Serres and Price, 2010: 20).

Picasso was commissioned by the Republic government of Spain to paint something about the situation in Spain, to tell the world how the civil war suffered many people in Spain. The painting was projected to fill the pavilion of the international routine agenda called, 'The World Fair' in Paris which was held in Brussels before in 1935. The world fair which was participated by many countries in the world entitled by, *The Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne*<sup>25</sup> and opened on May 25 - November 25, 1937. However, even one month before the world agenda opened, Picasso had not had any inspiration to paint his first political painting in his life for that event. It is political because he wanted to end the civil war in Spain as he always loves his own country and he was pacifist.

One morning in Paris, April 27, 1937 there was a big demonstration wave in the city centre. They have got news from the people in the border (with Spain in the south) through the radio broadcasting by the president of the Basque country, José Antonio Aguirre in Bilbao about the bombing in Gernika. They were protesting about the human tragedy which was against the values of humanity. Three days later, the bombing of Gernika done by the German and Italian air forces on the service of Francisco Franco was strengthened by the London Times journalist, George Steer reported from the field; and later the news was reprinted to many medias in the world, including *Ce Soir* in Paris. Soon after Picasso knew the news, he was so sad and

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<sup>24</sup> French newspaper, 'Tonight' (Google translation)

<sup>25</sup> International Exposition dedicated to Art and Technology in Modern Life (original translation)

continued to paint his sketch. But not the painting he had started, painting that had just come to his mind with anger. He painted *Guernica*.

Guernica looks like only painted in black and white, but it actually has blue color in the little part of the painting; and Picasso intended to use these three limited colors for Guernica and painted with oil (Pablo Picasso, 2014) Although the interpretation was many and not little were contradicted one to another, but I would like to present one in this thesis. The blue color showed the sadness as it is line with the English idiom, 'Feeling Blue' which has the meaning sad or depression;<sup>26</sup> in the same time, blue has the meaning of hope or peace which would be the output of the painting as anti-war symbol. Meanwhile, the black and white were simple combination to represent the sorrow as people go the funeral with the black clothes. The three colors were much better representing the sadness and the hope rather than many colors which often symbolize the happiness and cheers. Picasso was taught by his father to present the exact sadness for the sadness and exact happiness for the happiness; and the color is one important aspect to make Guernica alive for Picasso and for many people who see it.

Behind the chaos and extreme sadness that is described in Guernica about Gernika, Picasso intended to put hope in it by coloring it little in blue (as United Nations uses it for the color of peace keeping force) and three symbols at least in the painting. The hope of Picasso is deposited in these three symbols, they are: first is *the dove* that is painted behind in between bull and the horse. The second is the candle or little lamp held by a hand which was believed by Spanish people as a hope. Finally the symbol of hope is deposited by Picasso on the grown flower on the piece of the broken sword held by the dead soldier (Guernica Picasso, 2014). Therefore, the painting of Guernica is not only about the documentation of the tragedy or

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<sup>26</sup> *Idiom: 'feeling blue'* (usingenglish, 2014).

perpetual reminder of the tragedy, but Guernica is also the symbol of anti-war and an embodiment of peace.

‘If peace wins in the world, the war I have painted will be a thing of the past ... The only blood that flows will be before a fine drawing, a beautiful picture. People will get too close to it, and when they scratch it a drop of blood will form, showing that the work is truly alive.’ Pablo Picasso (Gijs, 2004: 53).

The words above were said after Picasso had finished the painting and would be ready to hang it in the Spanish pavilion of the world routine agenda named ‘The World Fair’ in Paris along with other Spanish colleagues. As he did not come alone to the pavilion, Paul Eluard came with his poem about Spain, Joan Miro came with the painting of ‘uplifted hands with a clenched fist’, Alexander Calder came with his fountain of ‘mercury’ and mobile, Luis Buñuel came with his documentary film of *España 1936*, and another documentary film entitled *Spanish Earth* by Joris Ivens and Ernest Hemingway (pbspressroom, 2014). On that event, Guernica was introduced to the world for the first time. On the event, the political painting was trying to gather the supports from the international world to the Spanish civil war that was going on and made the people of Spain suffered a lot.

Even though Guernica had been traveled in many countries in the world, but Guernica never had been allowed by Picasso to visit Spain. Picasso made a promise not to let Guernica come home before the democracy was applied and Franco stepped down from the power. One day, Franco made a campaign to repatriate the Guernica in 1968 and assured Picasso that the government did not subject to the controversial matter, but Picasso turned the offer down through his lawyer without hesitation. It means that Picasso was not only painting it for the Republican government at that time, but he dedicated himself as idealist artist and pacifist, and

he kept that consistency until he died in 1973 (pbspress, 2014). Picasso had never seen Guernica came home in 1981 at the *Casón del Buen Retiro* until finally resided in the current permanent place in Reina Museum, Madrid in 1992.

The existence of this painting strengthened the collective memory of the people of Gernika after they have the commemoration, peace museum of Gernika and peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz. As if the collective memory of the people of Gernika is also validated by the international community through the painting of Guernica. In addition, the painting of Guernica is also a transfer media of the collective memory from generation to generation through the extraordinary painting that has the power of art. Earlier we have the commemoration which functioned to transfer the collective memory through the narration of the survivors and the exact timing of the bombing, the peace museum transfers the collective memory through the objects from the bombing that were collected as a silent witness, peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz is transferring the collective memory through the education and scientific approach and finally the painting of Guernica is presented to transfer the collective memory through the power of the art and the international recognition.

## 2.6. Summary of the Chapter II

*"Recordar es fácil para quien tiene memoria, olvidar es difícil para quien tiene corazón".<sup>27</sup>*

— Gabriel García Márquez

In this section, one of the three important keywords is presented which is about 'collective memory'. This point would strengthen the foundation of theories that I use for the foundation of this thesis along with two other keywords, they are identity and peace studies. Like a triangle, these three keywords are related to each other and strengthening to each other in viewing the case of Gernika in pursuing peace.

This chapter is also emphasizing four elements as a focus of the research object and as a way to narrowing down the research observation and analysis. The four elements, the commemoration of the bombing, the peace museum of Gernika, the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz and the Guernica painting of Pablo Picasso are based on the theories above mentioned, particularly with the collective memory theory in this chapter, in which other theories would be followed to observe in the chapter, the final chapter of chapter III.

If the chapter II is connected to the chapter I about the identity of the people of Gernika, the collective memory in this chapter would complete the explanation on how the identity of the people of Gernika is formed in the chapter I. The collective memory was behind the social phenomenon which became the identity of the people of Gernika through these four elements in this chapter.

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<sup>27</sup> Remembering is easy for someone who has a memory, forgetting is difficult for someone who has a heart. (Personal translation)

Chapter II is required to be presented to order to able to answer the research question of this thesis after the reader has settled the about the basic information about Gernika, including identity and timeline of the people of Gernika in chapter I. In this chapter, the reader will be invited to see comprehensively the four important elements which were part of the identity of the people of Gernika and in the same time as efforts or ways for Gernika to obtain peace. The reader would be pretty much ready to find the answer of the research question in the chapter III after they knew well the identity of the people of Gernika, collective memory-things that formed their identity in the present day what they are trying to obtain in the future.

As collective memory has a role to connect the past to the present and the future, chapter II has also the same role, in which it connects the first chapter to the second chapter. The chapter II which contains the collective memory connects the identity of the people of Gernika which was elaborated in the chapter I to the four elements in the chapter II to reveal what was behind and what formed the identity of the people of Gernika, and finally to what extend people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace which will be explained later in the third chapter or the final chapter.

Furthermore, the presence of Picasso who is the maestro of the legend painting of Guernica (which is one important element out of four in this thesis) brought the case not only in the scoop of local, but also regional and international. This extraordinary painting came to be known internationally as a perpetual symbol of anti-war and an embodiment of peace in the world.

## Chapter III

### **Through the memory of war, the people of Gernika are pursuing peace and strengthening their identity**

Simply stated, the moral imagination requires the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that includes our enemies; the ability to sustain a paradoxical curiosity that embraces complexity without reliance on dualistic polarity; the fundamental belief in and pursuit of the creative act; and the acceptance of the inherent risk of stepping into the mystery of the unknown that lies beyond the far too familiar landscape of violence (Lederach, 2005: 5).

#### **3.1. Philosophy for Peacemaking**

I believe that peace can be considered as a primary reality throughout all human, psychological, sociological, anthropological, political and historical periods. ‘Peace’ has an important meaning for the human being on this world (Muñoz, 2006: 1). Even so, people do not ask what the meaning is. People are so familiar with the word of ‘peace’ although most of them do not exactly know how to put it in words.

‘Peace’ is considered as something default or normal, but most of the time people are conscious with its existence. As other things that people can have in everyday’s life or things that people have been taking for granted, peace is forgotten just like that without people realizing it.

As people have desire to obtain peace, many people are trying to make theories about peace. Hence, there is a big possibility for us to create peace but it is not that simple since those theories are developed from many different backgrounds which became the big challenges for peace to be achieved. There are at least two vital challenges which make it so difficult for peace to be achieved, they are: there are no similarities in the term of their assumptions; and the second



is the absence of the common bases to formulate the theory of peace. Muñoz added that the formulation of the peace theories so far is coming from the perspective of conflict. It means that the peace theories or peace action is necessary to be done once the conflict comes. We should think on the contrary where we have to see from the peace perspective in the first place as a default of the social reality (Muñoz, 2006: 3).

Someone who has the toothache would finally know or remember how pleasant having healthy teeth, in which they can enjoy delicious food fully and comprehensively. It applies with the context of peace as well where people would remember and know how precious the peace was when the war and violence came to them. Therefore, no wonder why researchers defined peace theories from the perspective of violence and war in the first place.

The first theory about peace which was popular in 1950s was that peace is the absence of war; peace is the condition where the unpleasant event is not occurred. This is in fact has the same definition of the 'healthy teeth', the healthy teeth is where there is no pain on teeth and doesn't smell bad.

As time went by, the peace theory has been developing more than only the absence of war or violence which later called 'negative peace'. The state where there is no absence apparently do not make people live peacefully. Hence, there is a new definition of peace emerged called 'positive peace' which has the definition of the occurrences of positive things that creates peace. If there are two parties decided to build up the strong relationship, then it is called 'positive peace'; if there is a restoration of the relationship between two parties, it is also called 'positive peace'; and if there is a new system that helps parties to manage their relationship better, it is also called 'positive peace'.

Furthermore, there is another term for peace called *imperfect peace* which Francisco Muñoz wrote about it in his book entitled '*La Paz Imperfecta*'. It is imperfect peace because it is an antonym word for positive peace which has also the meaning of 'perfect'. It obviously shows that there is no single perfection considering that peace is something easy to formulate but hard to be applied. In addition, the definition of peace is just imperfect because it has more than one definition of peace and there is no single definitive one; even though the definitions of peace at the moment are there (negative peace and positive peace), but the definition of peace can be more than that if we ask more people even from the same background, moreover from the different background (Muñoz, 2006: 12)

The peace concept emerged in the same time as the concept of war emerged. The peace concept came up to stop the war or violence that is occurred (Muñoz, 2006: 5). Since the theories are embarked from the perspective of war and violence, it would be comprehensive if we also know what are kinds of violence are there. According to Johan Galtung, there are three kinds of violence or he called it 'triangle of violence', they are: direct violence, cultural and structural violence. Direct violence means the direct physical violence which can be with any means or bear hands; the cultural violence means the violence that have been believed by the society from a lot of time, and it could be based on religion, belief or local customs; finally the structural violence is the violence that occurred on a certain group or class to the others; it could be based on gender, race or position (París Albert, 2009: 173).

'Direct Violence' tend to be visibly seen, while structural and cultural violence is not visible or even hardly felt. Philosophy for peace in the framework of UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace invites people to see this cultural and structural violence to be visible scientifically. In its dedication, the UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace has been working

hard to transform into the better condition with the peaceful approach and peaceful means (Martínez Guzmán, 2005: 89; Ahmed Ali, 2005; Alcañiz Moscardó, 2009: 44).

The word of ‘violence’ actually has been so close to human being and it has the positive and negative impact. Violence has the meaning ‘vital force’ or in Latin it means strength and life. In Spanish, there is a term commonly said: ‘*Força Barça!*’ means Go Barcelona (football club) but literally meaning is ‘strength Barcelona!’. It is an expression to give a full spirit for the football club of FC Barcelona which is positive. On the other hand, strength can be negative if it is too much or uncontrolled. The over capacity of this strength would endanger the people itself instead of benefiting them (Guzmán, 2009: 8).

This is how violence arises, far from expressing its etymological roots as a vital force, violence goes against life itself, using power destructively (Boulding, 1992; Guzmán, 2009).

To sum up, the human being can use the violence in two options, either using for the positive way or the negative one. The people should be aware that violence is very close to them; therefore the control should be paid continuously in order to keep storing and leading the strength into the positive path.

Conflict in Latin is *pugna*<sup>28</sup> which means fight. Fight is one of the expressions to give motivation for someone or group that are on the competition. In Korea, fight or pronounced ‘hwight’ is common to be said for those who are studying or catching their dreams. What I wanted to say is that violence is created as one of two outputs that are from the human being named ‘strength’.

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<sup>28</sup> Google translation

Conflict cannot be separated from the people, is part of them, but it does not mean that we let the conflict go as it is until it develops to the violence or war. Therefore, there is a distinct difference between conflict and war or violence. Conflict can be managed, but war is not tolerable to be managed although it can but it should not even exist. War or violence should be stopped immediately and even should be prevented from even happening. It is in accordance with the expression that peace does not mean that there is no conflict at all, but there are conflicts which are controlled, managed and resolved by the constructive ways.

Peace does not mean the total absence of any conflict. It means the absence of violence in all forms and the unfolding of conflict in a constructive way. Peace therefore exists where people are interacting non-violently and are managing their conflict positively – with respectful attention to the legitimate needs and interest of all concerned (Dijkema and Saint Martin d'Hères, 2007)

One way that is proposed by the philosopher from Japan named Nichiren, human should not differentiate one person to another based on the nation, country, race or other distinctions. People should see each other as common creature that has thousand similarities (Kobayashi, 2008: 153).

I would say that what Nichiren has said it is in the same tone as Jon Paul Lederach has also stated that enemy should be included in our web of relationship. I think that what he meant by enemy is competition match where their existence are expected in order to show the strength of both. The better match they have, the more they are triggered to train more. However, they are competing for good.

Stated simply, the moral imagination requires the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that includes our enemies; the ability to sustain a paradoxical curiosity that embraces complexity without reliance on dualistic polarity; the fundamental belief in and pursuit of the creative act; and the acceptance of the inherent risk of stepping into the mystery of the unknown that lies beyond the far too familiar landscape of violence (Lederach, 2005: 5).

### 3.1.1. Imperfect Peace in an Imperfect Acceptance

Imperfect peace came to known as the world cannot make a peaceful world comprehensively. The definition of peace is considered based on the definition of war or violence. The absence of war made automatically the definition of peace or we called it ‘negative peace’ (Muñoz, 2006: 1).

It is certainly true that we could go on speaking only of Peace, as what we are doing here is just to place certain conditions on it. By using the adjective imperfect, I am able to reveal the meanings of Peace in some way (Muñoz, 2006: 1).

Another reason why it is called imperfect peace is because people tend to put condition in order to reach peace (Muñoz, 2006: 1). Even though every single person on this planet wish to have peace, but every single person tend to negotiate –either using soft diplomacy or hard diplomacy- in order to achieve peace. Therefore, many people put ‘peace’ in the second after the religion (although none of the religion teaches violence), state, nation and so on. It is happening regularly, that is why we called it ‘imperfect peace’. For example, in the case of Israel and Palestine, the Prime Minister of Benyamin Netanyahu disagree to negotiate with the Palestine as long as Hamas<sup>29</sup> (Macaluso, 2014) is in the government of Palestine, this is the condition that Israel gives in order to reach peace with Palestine; meanwhile on the side of Palestine, they give condition to make peace with Israel as long as Israel agrees to the territorial boundaries of each state based on the agreement of 1967 (Tarnopolsky, 2013).

Peace is also imperfect when so many people are shouting and echoing about peace, but the war and violence are still happening even until I write this thesis. There are many peace activists, peace researchers and many people who believe that the world can live without the war and violence and replaced them with peace and love, but they have to face the reality where the

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<sup>29</sup> Hamas is a political party in Palestine considered as a terrorist group by Israel

war and violence are going on, maybe not here but there, maybe not there but here; in some parts are stopping and the other parts are starting.

Many ways and methods were done to realize peace in all part of the world since the history of the human beings from time to time, from the *Nation Leagues* to the *United Nations*, but the war and violence remain there. People think that the world without war or violence is just a dream and the world with only single word, peace is just the utopia. Jay Winter answered, in the specific context that of the effort of ‘self determination’ by the Nation League to create peace which was also dreamt by minor utopians<sup>30</sup> was something possible. However, the problem was because the people, especially those who were in power did not want to realize it. Hence, those people who believe in peace should not lose hope and give up struggling, but instead collect piece by piece, to obtain peace and transform the world into the peaceful one (Winter, 2006: 2).

Peace is not only absence in the war zone, but apparently it did not exist in the countries that do not have a war, even to some developed and prosperous countries. The peace does not come because the violence they have are not the direct violence, but cultural and structural. Moreover, if the peace is brought to the personal level, every single person can have different opinion about the state of peace. A painter would think that the quite shore of the beach with the paintbrush in his/her hand and the canvas in front of him or her is the state of peace. Unlike the painter, the football player would think that the green field of the match would be the heaven of peace for them. That is why we called it ‘the imperfect peace’.

Peace is becoming imperfect because the way to get it is different from one case to another case. In the same situation and characteristic, the concept of peace resolution that has

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<sup>30</sup> ‘Minor utopians’ are people who configured limited and much less sanguinary plans for partial transformations of the world; while ‘Major utopians’ like Stalin and Hitler murdered millions of people in their efforts to transform the world. (Winter, 2006: 1-2)

been successfully done in one place cannot be successfully applied in another place. Hence, the research and the observation have to be done for the new case or new place. Many aspects involved, and interdisciplinary expertise are needed for every specific case.

The imperfectness of the peace does not mean all about the disadvantages of peace itself, but many benefits and opportunity we can get. As researchers and peace activist, there are plenty of rooms to dig more about peace. This shortage can be used in order to create more creation with the creative ways to obtain peace. The imperfectness apparently is the perfectness in the sense of the opening the future.

### **3.1.2. Positive and negative peace in Gernika**

According to Vicent Martínez Guzmán in his book entitled *Peacemaking of Philosophy*, negative peace that has the meaning of the absence of war is the alternative of the direct violence. Meanwhile, positive peace which has the meaning of the fulfillment of the basic need of the human being is the alternative of the structural violence which I think cultural violence is in it as well.

In the context of Gernika, the definition and perspective of peace was the negative peace since every effort to create peace are based on the tragedy of war, the tragedy that killed thousand people of Gernika by the bombing of Germany's Nazi and Italian fascist. Gernika objectives was to prevent that war from happening again which is actually the definition of negative peace.

In addition, the elements are used by Gernika in trying to pursue peace have the character of the memory of war, inviting people to remember how terrible the past was in each element. The commemoration of the bombing obviously memorizes the tragedy of the bombing and later

invites the people to create (negative) peace and keep that (negative peace). The museum of peace invites the visitors to see the collections of the bombing history and even invites the visitors to experience how the moment before the bombing was happening through the audiovisual room which is like amazingly real; and from there the visitor are told to understand how suffering it was in the past and continued by inviting them to seek or keep the (negative) peace. The peace research center is also inviting to seek or keep the (negative) peace by inviting people to remember the horror of the bombing through its name 'Gernika Gogoratuz' which has the meaning of 'Gernika Remembers' in Euskera. Finally, the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso is well known by its symbol of anti-war and promotes (negative) peace from each item in the painting that shows extraordinary sorrow.

Gradually the objective of the people of Gernika is leveled up from the negative peace to the positive peace. Not only the negative peace, but also the positive peace has been started to be campaigned and struggled. It can be seen from the answers that I have obtained from the interviews with several people on their opinion about peace. Their answers are showing more than only the absence of war. It is more than only the absence of war which means they are answering the positive peace already. For example some of them answered that peace is the freedom of expressing opinion and others said that peace is the development of the capacity. Their answers matched to what Vicent Martínez Guzmán has said in the book of *Peacemaking philosophy* that positive peace is about promoting the development and justice (Guzmán, 2011: 15).

Furthermore, the freedom of the usage of Euskera is one of the efforts done by the people of Gernika. Many signs and formal books are written in Euskera. Apart from Euskera is the co-official languages of Basque country with Spanish, people of Gernika dominantly use Euskera in



their everyday's life. Apart from the fact that the freedom of Euskera was the result of the death of Franco and democracy came to Spain, people of Gernika express and preserve Euskera; and that is the high conscious which is in-line with the wish of the Gernikes to get peace which is not only the absence of war. The usage of Euskera in everyday's life is the symbol of the freedom of expression; and freedom of expression is the character of the positive peace.

### 3.1.3. 'Peace' for Gernikes<sup>31</sup>

When each interviewee was asked on what is peace for them, all of them have unique answer which distinguished from one to another. Amaia answered that peace is to live side by side consciously with all the different among them, "*La paz es saber con vivir o además saber que no todos tenemos una mismo opinión pero de todas formas saber entender al prójimo y aceptar lo y intentar con vivir*"<sup>32</sup> (Amaia, 2014). For María, peace is a process of the development on the human capacity from time to time, "*la paz es el desarrollo de las capacidades humanas*" (Oianguren Idígoras, 2014). As Anna expressed her feeling about peace that, *es una ilusión y una realidad*<sup>33</sup> because to her, many people want to have peace but the reality says the war is still going on even until today, even until now in other part of the world. On the contrary, Iratxe argued that peace is not utopia; peace is something real that people can be obtained (Iratxe, 2014). As Iratxe is a peace activist, I can tell why she said peace is not utopia otherwise everything he has done so far is just useless and waste. Therefore, she believes in it and she works hard for it.

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<sup>31</sup> People of Gernika

<sup>32</sup> Peace is know how to live, aware that everybody has different opinion followed by the respect respond by one to another (Personal translation)

<sup>33</sup> Illusion and reality (personal translation)

Gernika at the moment in peace, Anna said. Although it is peace in the term of negative peace where there is no war, but peace has to be nurtured and kept Iratxe said. When I asked these four interviewees, most of them said understanding other people, understanding other's position is the key to keep peace in Gernika where they also have to work on it every day. María reminded that memory of the bombing has to be there along with the works for peace.

Wishing for better Gernika is unlimited. From the interview with these four people, everyone wished better future for Gernika without regretting to what they have at the moment. As for Amaia, representing the youth, she wishes that Gernika has better economical condition which enables the youth stays in Gernika and builds the town rather than find the better luck in other places. Anna commented on the model of Astra that has changed the face from the arm factory to be the art works center; she expects to have more creation as such created by the youth of the new generation of Gernika. As for María, the research centers should develop more in the future, she even dreams about making Gernika Campus of Peace which allows the center promote Gernika and Peace more to the world. Finally Iratxe keep saying that there is no other works except keep working for peace on and on.

My last question toward the interviewees was, what the wish for Spain was as previously I asked the same question but specifically only for Gernika. Most of the answers were 'the same as I wished for Gernika'. In addition, Amaia commented her wish for Spain after she said it was the same, "*Que te vaya bien*<sup>34</sup>" (Amaia, 2014).

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<sup>34</sup> Have a good one (personal translation)

### **3.2. The identity of Gernika within the Basque identity**

Few conversations I made with non Basque or non Gernikes often tells me about the bad impression of the phenomenon in Basque in general. Some people of non Basque told me that the people of Basque tend to be introvert especially toward the people of non Basque and some others thought that the struggle of the people of Basque is just not relevant.

In respond to that opinion, I completely disagree due to my twice visits to Gernika and some parts of Basque country, including my interactions and observations during my visit, and the information I have read from many literatures. I argue that those people who told me so did not understand the core issue in Basque country and did not understand the history well. I back my arguments with the following reasons and example below.

I have been there for two times and my impression is one hundreds on the contrary to what those people told me about the people in Basque country, especially Gernika since I spent more times there. At least my impression was made from my interactions with the people I knew before and I had no problem interacting with the people that I just met and made friends or never made friends only for having small conversation as strangers. I have an impression that interacting with them is just like I interact with any people in Spain; I did not see any difference. I saw a normal acceptance as other Spaniards toward foreigner like me.

As for the opinion of those people who told me that Basque people are introvert especially to the people of non Basque, it could be misunderstanding of two things. First, people still refer to the time of few years ago when Franco was in power and people of Basque tend to be careful to have interaction with the strangers. It could lead them to the jail as they would be imprisoned for talking in Euskera. The freedom of expression was repressed restrictedly at that

time. People can get caught and put them in the jail without any clear process of courts. Therefore, it is quite normal when someone refers to the old days and described the people of Basque are introvert, it used to be during the Franco era, not anymore.

The second, some people told me that people of Basque including Gernika are introvert especially toward the people of non Basque due to the terrors made by ETA, the radical separatist movement which was emerged during the repression of Franco regime; the action made by ETA was associated to all people of Basque country, although it was not. The implication of this phenomenon, people of non Basque has been keeping the distance with the people of non Basque which automatically led to the bad communication among them. The image seems like the people of Basque are introvert, but in fact that the interaction is never happened due to the tension among them. Therefore, it is quite normal that people of non Basque think that people of Basque are introvert, but it just because there has not been any interaction among them, not because of being introvert.

Apart from what the assumption of non Basque people toward Basque people that Basque are introvert especially toward the people of non Basque, apart from the argumentation of my disagreement on that, through this thesis I would like to invite people to see little bit further on what is actually the core issue of the people in Basque or Gernika in particular. People have been blinded to only see the independence issue of the Basque country, although actually I would say that 'identity' is the core issue of the Basque people.

The recognition of the identity is the right of every individual and every group. Just like other Spaniards, people of Basque have the right to fulfill as well. Therefore, the fail of recognition of the identity is the cause of several problems which colored Basque with the world

‘conflict’ for several years. Furthermore, the issue of identity was actually an embryo of the people of Basque to initiate the independence movement, longing to be separated from the state of Spain. Once again, emphasizing on the failure of the recognition of identity and the identity is the beginning of the issue of independence are the core issues of the Basque country, hopefully would give a comprehensive understanding for non Basque toward the people of non Basque, especially for those who have bad impression toward the people of Basque.

Just like many other Spaniards, people of Basque demands for their rights to be fulfilled, one of the rights that everyone should be fulfilled is the recognition of the identity. In this case, people should aware that identity of someone differs from someone else and identity of the group differs from some other groups as well. Those identity, even though are difference between one to another, they are deserved to get the recognition with justice. In the sense that justice is not about give them equally, but give what they deserved. For example, giving the stipend are not the same for all kids in different ages such as five years old that is just in the kindergarten, twelve years old who is the primary school and eighteen years old who is in the university. Same thing applied to the people of Basque and non Basque, they have different recognition of identity.

The people of Basque demanded the autonomy called *fueros* that they used to have in the beginning of their merge to the kingdom of Castile. This some kind of agreement called *fueros* is a symbol of the recognition toward the identity of the people of Basque where they have different aspects such as language and culture. Their differences are deserved to be recognized because their differences are their identity which are not the same with the people of non Basque on those aspect mentioned above. Honneth is behind them in this case, saying that the people of Basque will keep struggling in order to get their right back, in order to get their identity recognized.

Struggle of the people of Basque toward the recognition of identity was already there even before Dictator Franco, but do not forget that there was another Dictator even before Franco, it was Miguel Primo de Rivera (15 September 1923 – 28 January 1930) who applied the absolute power toward their people did not accept differences. Since the government of Spain failed to recognize the people of Basque, they started to struggle to get it back. The struggle was gradually increased in levels from the very simple struggle until the very extreme struggle such as using arms. In this case, Taylor is behind the people of Basque, saying in this book entitled *the politics of recognition* that fail to recognize or misrecognition can inflict harm and create tension among them.

The more the repression done the by the government toward the effort of the people of Basque, the more the resistance is done by the people of Basque in struggling for it. In this case, Amin Maalouf is behind the people of Basque, saying in his book *in the name of identity* that on the name of identity people can do anything, including violence, killing or even suicide. In the case of Basque, ETA<sup>35</sup> emerged as the radical resistance movement which was the respond toward the hard repression by Franco reign toward the identity of the people of Basque. ETA came for the struggle of recognition; ETA came for the *fueros* which they are deserved to get it back. Later when Franco passed away and the people of Basque obtained what they had been wanting, *fueros* as an autonomous region in Spain, eventually the people of Basque started to leave ETA and withdrew their support toward ETA. As ETA kept on struggling to get independence by keep on struggling, it was no longer representing the people of the Basque holistically. The struggle with ETA was no longer relevant in the different condition; it was no longer relevant when *fueros* has been back.

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<sup>35</sup> *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*

The emergence of Gernika as one of the representatives in Basque country with the identity of peace after the death of Franco, it shows that the struggle was over already. It is evidence that the resistance was already over once the recognition was fulfilled completely. The struggle was over the people of Basque could live their Euskera, when they could live with their cultures of Basque which were repressed and prohibited during the Franco reign. Gernika has been the balance or counter movement in peace toward ETA which had been continuing while it was no longer relevant anymore. Gernika came to promote peace with the peaceful means. Gernika came with the excellent plants and equipped with the elements supported to campaign of peace even better, they are: the commemoration of the bombing, the peace museum of Gernika, the peace research of Gernika Gogoratuz and the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso.

### **3.2.1. Gernika's long journey of 'Struggle for Recognition'**

In the beginning, Gernika was founded by Count Tello in 1366. Later on, they found themselves different than the south; apparently they were ones along with other Basque people in Basque country and Navarra. It was quite normal when they made distinction of themselves when they decided to join the kingdom of Castile.

It was something normal that their different identity was compromised by both parties as Charles Taylor agreed on that, he said the identity of the past went on natural process. It was not because they did not see the difference of their identity and its recognition of both parties, but the process was not too unproblematic.

In pre-modern times, people didn't speak of "identity" and "recognition"—not because people didn't have (what we call) identities, or because these didn't depend on recognition, but rather because these were then too unproblematic to be thematized as such (Taylor, 1994: 34).

In the latter period, Gernika became the symbol of democracy and freedom of Basque in 1512. Gernika realized that they had to have a formal agreement with Kingdom of Castile; therefore, the *fueros* was established between them in order to set the rights and the responsibilities of each party which it was signed by both of the parties.

For Honneth, the human being at least demands three things in the struggle for recognition, they are: love, right and solidarity or self-esteem. Love is the basic need of the human being, and it is quite normal they human being needs to love and being loved. The love is not limited only as couple in the romantic love, but also in general such as mother to the kids, brother to sisters, among relatives and friendship. As Honneth recognized the reciprocal recognition among human beings, “[...] *love represents the first stage of reciprocal recognition, because in it subjects mutually confirm each other with regard to the concrete nature of their needs and thereby recognize each other as needy creatures*” (Honneth, 1996: 95). Also Charles Taylor strengthens what Honneth has argued in the first place, that *Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need* (Taylor, 1994: 26).

The second, people realized that they are legal subject where they know what their rights and obligations are that attached in the society. Therefore, respecting each other among people in the society is something inevitable to do as they want it for themselves as mutual respect. Honneth actually continued from what Kath has argued in the first place, people identify ‘me’ or ‘us’ to ‘they’ and ‘them’ or ‘others’ (Woodward, 2002) and people respect the right and obligation for ‘us’ and ‘them’, “[...] *only once we have taken the perspective of the “generalized other”, which teaches us to recognize the other members of the community as the bearers of rights, can we also understand ourselves to be legal persons, in the sense that we can be sure*



*that certain of our claims will be met” (Honneth, 1996:108); or people would identify ‘them’ or ‘other’ as enemy if they failed to recognize it (Taylor, 1994; Woodward, 2002).*

Finally, Honneth argued that solidarity is one of the things people need for recognition from others. Solidarity means that value others, not only recognize the right and obligation but also the abilities that other people have, as he stated that “[...] *in order to be able to acquire an undistorted relation-to-self, human subjects always need –over and above the experience of affectionate care and legal recognition- a form of social esteem that allows them to relate positively to their concrete traits and abilities” (Honneth, 1996:121).*

The theory of ‘recognition’ which was coined by Hegel for the first time was a response toward the modern era of nowadays. Basically, the recognition theory denies the social class that is no longer relevant in the nowadays society. When people embraced democracy, one important value in it is equality no matter what, therefore, this theory is also against the politic of difference (Taylor, 1994: 39).

In the past, people knew the term of honor which attached to certain people such as priest, leader and rich people. Democracy came and denied all of that, stating that all people are equal; there is no important person than the other. Eventually, the term of ‘honor’ is disappearing from the society.

It is obvious that this concept of dignity is the only one compatible with a democratic society, and that it was inevitable that the old concept of honor was superseded (Taylor, 1994: 27).

Democracy has ushered in a politics of equal recognition, which has taken various forms over the years, and has now returned in the form of demands for the equal status of cultures and of genders (Taylor, 1994: 27).

When Spain was led by the absolute leader who wished to have an absolute and full power, automatically the *fueros*<sup>36</sup> which is the key of the recognition between two parties vanished. Gernika and all the people in the Basque country automatically went down to the struggle of recognition. They were trying to get the *fueros* back. Some even tried to be completely independent or separated from Spain.

Let me try to make a better understanding on how Gernika has been trying to get its recognition. First of all, the people of Gernika along with other Basque people found themselves different; they could identify themselves different than others. Once they found it different, they would demand the recognition for these three things (love, right and solidarity). Later, when the other party failed to recognize them, and then they struggle for it, they struggle for recognition. Apart from what would be the form of this recognition output (could be autonomous or completely different) but theory says that they demands for recognition as Taylor has said, *“What has come about with the modern age is not the need for recognition but the conditions in which the attempt to be recognized can fail”* (Taylor, 1994: 34).

On the contrary, fail to recognize which in Germany called *'Mifiachtung'* or in English called *'disrespect'* could lead them in to the conflicts. The forms of disrespect could be humiliation, downgraded, insulting or even violence. Respect and disrespect in fact will shape the identity of the people or group.

A number of strands in contemporary politics turn on the need, sometimes the demand, for recognition (Taylor, 1994: 25).

Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the

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<sup>36</sup> *Fueros* were the charters granted to villages, towns and regions by Spanish monarchs in the Middle Ages and which established their rights and obligations.

people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves (Taylor, 1994: 25).

Gernika has been in a journey of struggle for recognition which shape Gernika into the Hybridity of identity. The Performativity of Gernika's identity makes them able to be called in many symbols of identities. Some people called Gernika as 'the symbol of horror', some called 'the symbol of peace', some called 'the symbol of Basque', and some called it 'the symbol of the Spanish civil war'.

### **3.2.2. Identity and its potentials (on conflict)**

Identity has big potentials to turn peaceful condition into the conflicted situation. However, the identity is also considered as something important to resolve the conflict. The nature of identity is the issue of difference as Maalouf has said that "*my identity is what prevents me from being identical to anybody else*" (Maalouf, 2003), and difference leads to the conflict. Therefore, it is quite normal where the conflict begins from the identity. Nevertheless, the identity-based conflict can potentially be transformative and creative (Rothman, 2014).

Someone will automatically strengthen part of his or her identity whenever it is being threatened by others. Since identity is the pride and something to hold on, people have an automatic response to keep and guard the identity of theirs. For example, someone who believes in religion will strengthen his or her belief when another person, who is atheist, comes to this person to convince what he or she believes. This will lead the distinction of the difference between them, and difference leads to the conflict most of the time.

Other than the individual identity, there is also the collective identity where people could share it together. Some collective identity has the character to be protective and selective such as country they will be selective receiving other nationalities to be their members. On the other

hand, some other collective identity even tries to get other members to be part of them, in which they have the missionary character such as the collective identity of the religion. Both types of collective identities potentially trigger the conflict since both of them differentiate between their group's members and other group's members. This difference also leads to the conflicts. *Although self-identity may seem to coincide with a particular human being, identities are actually much wider than that. They are also collective -- identities extend to countries and ethnic communities, so that people feel injured when other persons sharing their identity are injured or killed* (Kriesberg, 2003).

Many identities, then, are not based on ascribed traits but on shared values, beliefs, or concerns, which are varyingly open to acquisition by choice. This includes shared religious adherence -- indeed, members of many religious communities proselytize to win converts to their faith. This is also true for political ideologies, attachment to particular pieces of land, or practicing a particular way of life (Kriesberg, 2003).

The strong collective identity has more potential in clash between other collective identities. The behavior of the fans sometimes even blinds themselves in seeing other collective identities. No matter how good other people, they would not take that as credits while the bad things of other collective identities would be highlighted inevitably as Julia Chatin wrote that *“strong collective identity has often led to hatred and persecution and it often arises from us-versus-them thinking”* (Waller; Chatin, 2010).

Furthermore, the hatred of us-versus-them thinking would lead people to three outcomes as Julia Chatin wrote in the international oxford dictionary of peace. Those three outcomes are destructive actions by human to human. Julia categorized three causes can be done by one collective identity to other collective identities. *There are three outcomes of us-versus-them thinking, they are: deindividuation, dehumanization (Stub; Waller), and moral exclusion (Opotow)*. The deindividuation is actually the psychology term defined as losing self-awareness

in groups. The groups can do violent together without thinking that what they are doing is actually not humanized or not right. For example when the crowd found the thief, people defines themselves as good people and define the thief is a bad person so they think that they are justified to do violence toward the thief. Julia added that deindividuation can lead to the dehumanization and the moral exclusion.

Moral exclusion is described as “the process whereby individuals or groups are perceived to be outside the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply” (Jenkins, 2000)

According to Rothman (1997), the identity-based conflict can be transformative and creative because it can create the better relationship between identities or collective identities as soon after they reach the agreement. It is transformative because they figure the way to live together in difference. It is transformative because both parties could see each needs and values through dialogues, and Rothman argues that *such dialog can promote the empowerment and recognition needed to transform the conflict into a more productive relationship* (Glaser, 2014)

In the case of Gernika, the collective identity of Gernika has the potential to destructive behavior since the collective identity of Gernika is very strong. It is kept strong since being nurtured from time to time, with the commemoration of the bombing as one of them. However, Gernika is aware on this disadvantage potential so right away Gernika connect this strong identity of the ‘memory of war’ into something positive which is the cultures of peace, to be the symbol of peace, to prevent wars, to spread the message of peace. The effort of Gernika to promote peace has two advantages actually, preventing wars and to guard the strong collective identity into bad behaviors that Julia have mentioned earlier. Prevent the illness is better than heal the illness.

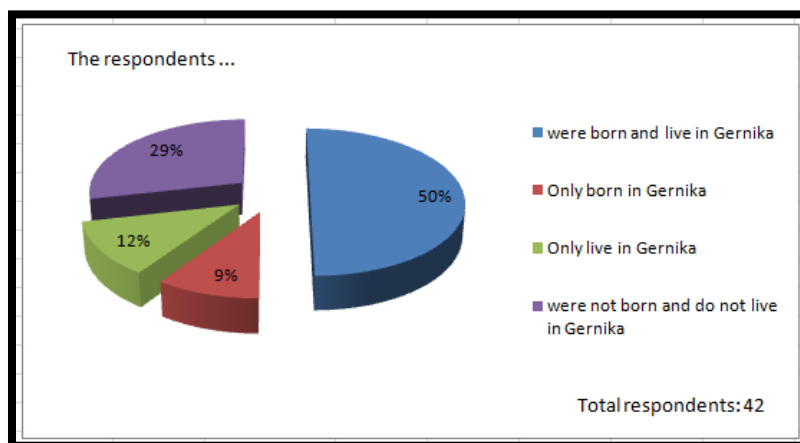
In addition, Gernika’s collective identity is the kind that invites others to be part of them. In a way Gernika promotes peace, Gernika engage many external sectors to work hand in hand promoting peace. The more people engaged in the effort would make the work way easier and

productive. Gernika for example engage the peace movement in Ireland, peace movement in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, peace movement in Columbia and peace movement in Dresden-Germany. To sum up, I think Gernika is on the right track as the strong collective identity, but not potentially engages in identity-based conflict.

### 3.2.3. Between identity and peace: The original version of the people of Gernika

The questionnaire has been completely filled in Gernika in between April 27-29, 2014, and now it is the time for me to interpret the meaning and to see the trend that is built by the people of Gernika through three questions I asked them to fill.

There are three keywords behind those three questions in the questionnaire which is the focus of my research for the thesis I write currently. Those three are identity, memory of war and peace. The first question on the *wish* or *hope* for Gernikan towards Gernika is actually representing the keyword of peace; on the question on the feeling of belonging either to Basque, Spanish or both is actually representing the keyword of identity; and finally on the question on either is important to commemorate the bombing annually is actually representing the keyword of memory of war. *See figure 7 below.*



The total respondents of the questionnaire that was taking place in Gernika are 42 people. Most of them are people who were born and live in Gernika, they are 21 people or equivalent with 50%; meanwhile, some respondents who were born in Gernika and do not live in Gernika are 4 people or equivalent with 9%; the respondents who were not born in Gernika but live in Gernika are 5 people or equivalent with 12%; and finally, the respondents who were not born in Gernika and do not live in Gernika are 12 people or equivalent with 29%. However, the questionnaire is relevant and valid because the people of Gernika do not have to be born in Gernika; as long as they live in Gernika they are called people of Gernika. Therefore, the questionnaire represents 71% of people of Gernika from the total respondents. See figure below.

Another interesting fact about this questionnaire was obviously when we look at the answers of the people of Gernika on these three questions. On the first question, on what is their wish towards Gernika, most respondents chose the choice of *peace* over choices *conflict*, *independent* and *other*. The total respondents on this answer are 28 people or equivalent with 67% out of 42 respondents.

The next result down below from the same question, respondents chose *independent* along with other Basque region to create Basque independent state. These respondents are 12 people or equivalent with 28%. This fact shows that some people of Basque are still longing to be independent from Spain although their number is not many but they are exist. To me, personally, I think it makes sense that the influence of being independent is still there since its emergence during the repression in the era of Dictator Franco. See figure 8.

Finally, the last result from the same question, the respondents chose *other* with the number of respondents is two people or equivalent with 5%. These two respondents wrote *peace*

*and independent* on the blank after the word *other*. It is interesting because these two want the freedom but with the condition, in which it is *peace*. Actually this expression is in line with the tagline that was echoed during the manifestation in Bilbao, "*Peace and Freedom, yes; violence, No*". See figure 9.



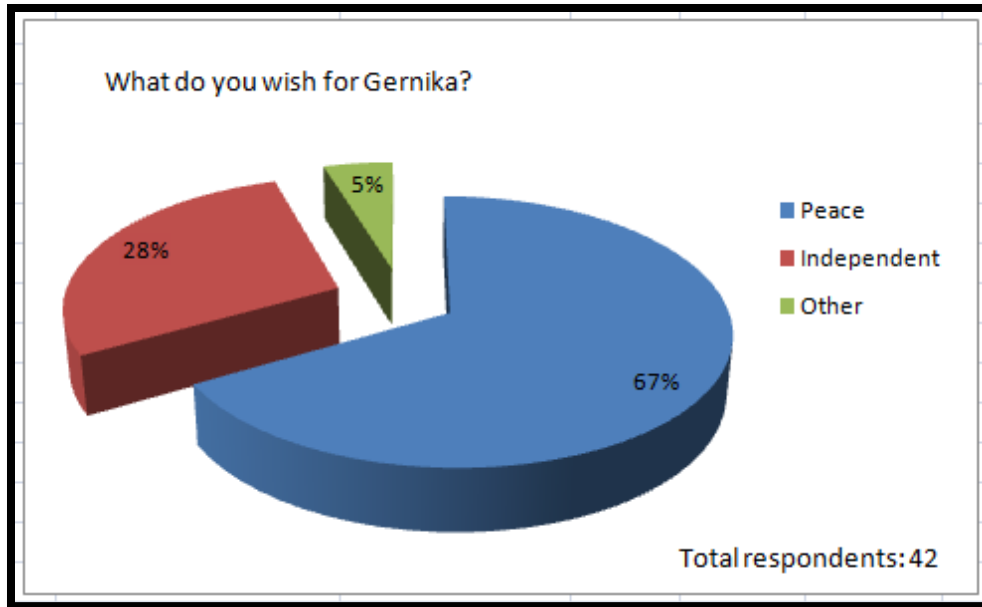


Figure 8

Also please see figure below.



Figure 9 (elpais, 2014)

The next answer from the second question about the sense of belonging of people of Gernika, the majority agree that they are belong to the people Basque instead of *Spaniard* or even *both Basque and Spaniard*. These respondents are 37 people or equivalent with 88%. The strong expression of identity can be seen from here, something that is obvious to be proud of after the repression for about 40 years during the regime of Dictator Franco. See figure 10.

The next gain from the second question, the respondents of 7% or 3 people chose to being *Spaniard* and *Basque* in the same time. These respondents consist of each category of the respondents, they are someone who was born and live in Gernika, someone who was not born in Gernika but live in Gernika and someone who was not born in Gernika and does not live in Gernika. On this point, it can be concluded that identity cannot always be based on the place of origin, especially nowadays in the globalization and modern era where many people tend to introduce their individual identity as profession instead of tribe or group.

The final result of the second question comes to the open answer *other* with the total respondents only 2 people or equivalent with 5%. On the blank space where these respondents could write anything, one respondent wrote *whatever* and another respondent did not write anything. It seems like these respondents confuse or were not sure to answer the question.

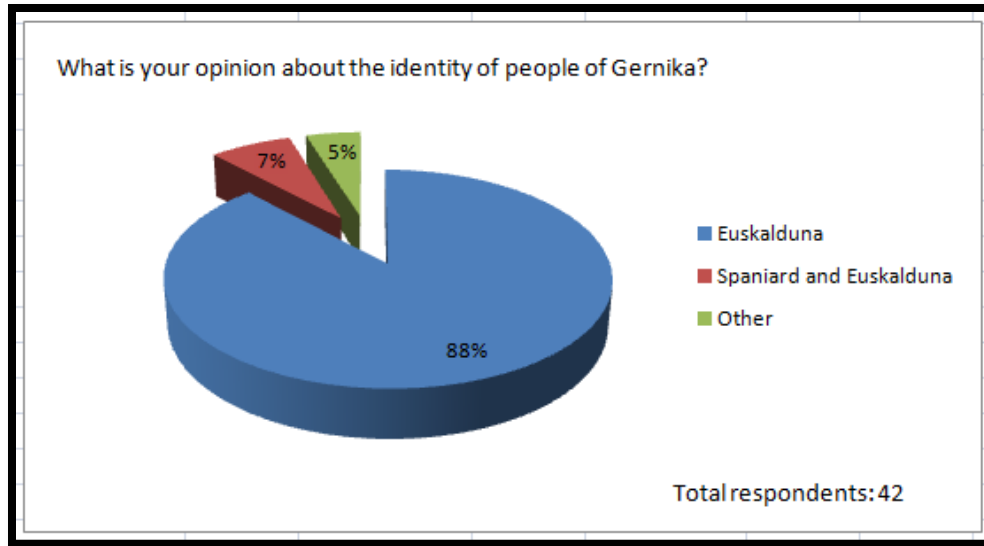


Figure 10

The final answer of the final question on the questionnaire, the majority of the people of Gernika chose to be in favor of the commemoration of the bombing that happened in 1937 or during the Spanish civil war. There are 90% of the respondents or equivalent with 38 people agree that the commemoration is important. It indicates that the people of Gernika are ready to remember the past, the horror of the human tragedy that happened 77 years ago. When many people are trying to forget the sorrow memory in their life, people of Gernika are acting the other way around. See figure 11.

However, there are some people who think that the commemoration is no longer important for them. Represented by 5% or 2 people of Gernika chose to give opinion differently on the commemoration of the bombing. It is possible that this small group think that it is the time for Gernika to *move on* and forget the past that sometimes can be a barrier to gain achievement in the future.

In addition, this voice can be interpreted as an act of not ready to reveal the terrible memory of the past. It is not easy to speak up about the extraordinary experience in the past.

Therefore, this small group chose not to commemorate the bombing annually in order to give space and time as long it is needed.

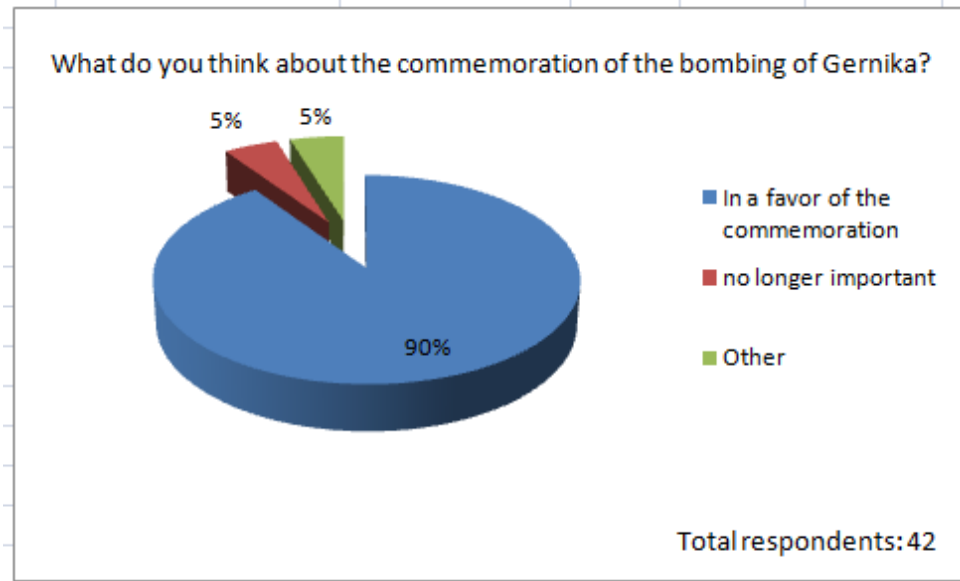


Figure 11

From those three questions above, can be concluded that people of Gernika; in general, I think that the commemoration of the bombing is very important for the identity of Basque. Remembering the tragedy has the meaning that they are respecting the sacrifice of the people in the past on their struggle to keep their identity. This commemoration is also a symbol of the existence of Basque identity nowadays, because through this commemoration people would know it nationally and internationally.

In addition, it can be sum up as well that the wish of the people of Gernika on *the situation of peace* is priority apart from the hope of some people who want to be independent along with other regions in Basque country to create independent state. If the options are in between *peace* or *independent*, people of Gernika agree to choose *peace* over *independent* because the ultimate

goal of all struggles they have been doing is making *peace*. Therefore, the consequence is quite serious to chose independent, it is unlikely ended up in the everlasting conflict which is far from the situation of peace, and it affect not only Gernika or Basque country but the whole Spain.

In one sentence, the result of the questionnaire can be written by *the people of Gernika needs to commemorate the bombing in order to preserve their identity as Basque who have the history of bombing on their town by Franco and to pursue peace in the same time.*

### **3.3. Through the memory of war people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace**

Remembering the past is something normal, but remembering the past of the sorrow for many times is not ordinary. Moreover, if someone is trying to remember the past for many times without any clear purpose, then it would be just pointless, painful and even considered as suicide action since it is hurting his or her own body.

Everybody has his or her own identity which is not limited by the time, the past or in the current time. The identity of the past will not be gone as the time went by; the identity of the past is saved and became hybrid identity with the new inputs of the current time. People's identity is changing all the time as people are developing and finding new things in their life the identity of the person will be adjusted with those new interactions. That is what Amin Maalouf (2001) in his book entitled *in the name of identity* as reflection of his own experience as a person who has the Lebanese descendant but grew and lives in French.

Either the good or bad past, they both are taking parts in shaping someone's identity. The memory of the past that is remembered by a group of people called collective memory; if the memory shapes someone's identity, then the collective memory shapes group of people's

identity. Meanwhile, according to Honneth (1996) the recognition of identity is a normal demand for every human being or a certain group.

The phenomenon above is exactly what is happening in Gernika. Some years ago, this town was razed to the ground due to the bombing done by Germany's Nazi and the Italian fascist on behalf of Dictator Franco with the controversial motives between as an aerial bombing trial or as a way to destroy the power of the Basque support toward republican government. No matter what the reason was, the victims were many, it was at least around two thousands died and hundreds were wounded. The collective memory has been remembered by group of people and has been passed to generations through the story of the survivors. What Gernikes have done is not something ordinary just like the illustration above.

However, what Gernikes have done was not stopped there, remembering without clear purposes. Gernika has been doing it for the honorable purpose named 'peace'. The purpose was not only for them, but on behalf of the human being, war is not justified on earth so then war should be abolished from any place at any time. Gernika remembers the past the clear purpose, to prevent war from anything from anyone, to anything and to anyone. Gernika is trying to make peace through the peaceful means, not by threat, cheat or violence because it impossible to create non violence situation with the violence, since violence creates violence as lies create another lies. Nonviolence and peaceful means is also something that has been promoted by Vicent Martínez Guzmán (2011) on his book entitled *peacemaking philosophy* that in order to gain peace or avoid war; it should be using peaceful means. Gernika through the memory of war, nonviolence means, are trying to pursue peace.

### 3.3.1. Between memory and peace: denying forgetting

As a normal human being, forget is something usual and people often have done it many-many times. It does not have to be the name of events that happened in the past long time ago, the name or event that have just happened in few seconds, people most likely can forget. It is called it transience, and a psychologist, Daniel Schacter argued that transience can happen in the short and long-term memory (Schacter, 2001).

The research has been done by Peterson in 1959 proved that the short-term memory of the human being can be gone in few second only. There were groups in the research, and each group was given three letter sequences and each group was asked in different time after they were given those three letter sequence. The result was surprising, first group was asked after six seconds, and they only remembered a half of the letters; the second group was asked after twelve seconds and they only remembered about 15 persons of the memory; and finally the last group was asked after eighteen seconds and they did not remember anything, the memory of all letters were gone already (McLeod, 2008).

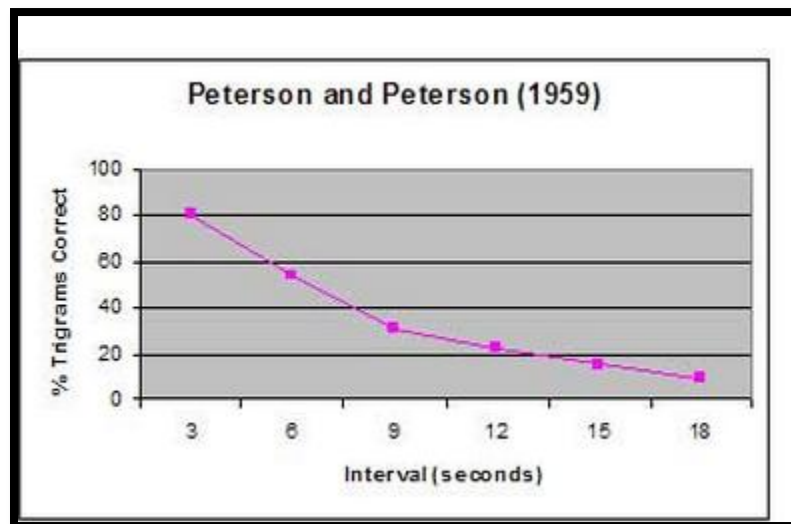


Figure 12

Without any effort to remember it, people can easily forget about it, event or names they know. The effort can be an intention and followed by the actions which are believed can help the people remember them. For example, people need to practice their second language in order to keep them there; people can write and make notes or even reminder in the cellular and computer to keep that memory.

Forgetting is not always bad; sometimes people need it as it is the nature of the human being. A mother is better to forget how painful the giving birth was, so she could be pregnant again and giving a birth again. Forgetting is also useful for them who have been in a trauma; they need to forget them in order to continue their life again normally. However people not supposed to forget some events such as the bombing of Gernika in order to prevent the same thing that possibly can happen in the future.

The same case happened in my own country, many people started to forget what was happening in 1998 where the military spread the terror in order to stop the demonstration of the students who struggled for democracy. The military was proven guilty during the reformation of the dictator Soeharto in May, 1998 because of the kidnapping, torturing and killing many activists at that time. And now, I was even shocked finding that the retired general who was allegedly involved in the human right abuses is running for president of Indonesia. Although his involvement is controversial, he has not been in the trial in order to see whether or not he was involved in the human right abuses in 1998 (Cochrane, 2014).

Retired General Prabowo who is also the son in law of dictator Soeharto would potentially lead the decline of the human right establishment in Indonesia. The past of his background would haunt him all the time and would not finish the effort of the reconciliation that



has been hanging up until now. I am worried so much about the future of the human right establishment in my own country of people of Indonesia keep forgetting this history and finally chose him as president for the next five or even ten years.

Therefore, I personally would make an effort to deny forgetting in certain cases such as the reformation event in May 1998 which was the transition time from autocracy to democracy. I deny forgetting the event because it was a people power against tyranny. I deny forgetting because it was terrible, many activists were kidnapped, tortured and killed; and I do not want to have the same thing happen again in the future. I deny forgetting in order to continue the reformation or the struggle have been obtained by their bloods.

As I mentioned earlier, we need efforts to deny forgetting. We could commemorate the event as Gernika always do. We could collect all the information about that and put them in one place such as museum which nowadays many countries establish it where they called it 'peace museum'. The effort can also be made by writing articles or books scientifically or in fictional books in order to get many readers in the segmented targets. The modern media can be used such as film documentary or fictional film based on the true story in order to get more people to remember. Many Medias can be optimally used in order to deliver the message for the people not to forget to what happened in the past.

Gernika has done it for long time. At least there are four elements that are used by them to help the people of Gernika not to forget what happened in the past, seventy seven year ago. These Medias are segmented mainly in order to reach many people, locally, nationally and internationally. The first effort is the commemoration of the bombing with the substantial programs and different every year. The second is the peace museum of Gernika which presents

with the modern concept of museum and pro-active to spread the information to anyone in need. The third is the peace research of Gernika Gogoratuz which embraces the people in the academic sectors such as figures, students, professors and peace activists. Finally the painting of Pablo Picasso, the everlasting masterpiece that keep reminding the world about the cruelty of Germany's Nazi, Italian Fascist and the dictator of Franco toward the defenseless civilians in Gernika at that time.

### 3.3.2. Remember to Reject

In the interview with four people that have close relations with Gernika, I have asked them about what they feel about tragedy and what they think about the commemoration of the bombing. Surprisingly, I have found similar answers from all of them which I can conclude in one sentence: the horror of the tragedy is unforgettable and they are working for peace due to it.

Anna who is one of the researchers in the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz said that, *iban massacre*<sup>37</sup> and María Oianguren who is the director of the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz said that what he felt when the commemoration comes, she always remember the victims of the bombing, *recuerdo a las víctimas del bombardeo*<sup>38</sup>. Meanwhile, as Amaia, a graduate student who is originally from Gernika and was born in Gernika said that her grandmother told her that it was terrible suffering, on the other hand, Iratxe who is the director of the peace museum of Gernika says that it was the horror of human being that has been repeated in many places even when we are aware on that (Iratxe, 2014<sup>39</sup>).

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<sup>37</sup> Personal interview: It was massacre (personal translation)

<sup>38</sup> Personal interview: remember the victims of the bombing (personal translation)

<sup>39</sup> Personal interview

María, Iratxe, Anna and Amaia agreed that the commemoration is on the right track since it is in accordance with the effort to make peace, especially in Gernika generally worldwide. Therefore, the commemoration has to be conducted all the time although the way or forms in conducting the commemoration is changing from time to time, adjusted with style and taste of the young generation of Gernika, “*new generation will find a way to commemorate it*” (Iratxe, 2014). The same thing is expressed by Anna Leon that on her observation when he started working in the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz on the first commemoration she attended, it was flat and was not interesting; later she found it very interesting in the following years when the youth take parts in the commemoration and she added that the commemoration became able to be enjoyed by many people and levels of age (Anna, 2014). As Amaia agrees on the annual commemoration of the bombing, María emphasized that every year the commemoration has its focus to tell differently, “*los años tiene unos puntos importantes*”<sup>40</sup> (Oianguren Idígoras, 2014).

About the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz, every interviewees agree that the center has a very tight relations with the memory of the bombing since it was departed from the there and tries hard to make peace either in the level of local, national and international. Anna said that this center is one of the agents that connect Gernika to the international world to create cooperation in the same majors, peace, such as with Ireland and Columbia (Anna, 2014). In addition, María emphasizes that this center focuses in the research field with the scientific approach, *y incorporo elemento de reflexión científica*<sup>41</sup> (Oianguren Idígoras, 2014). Furthermore, Iratxe affirmed that the center has an important role to take part as reminder for the people not to forget as Gernika Gogoratuz has the meaning ‘Gernika Remembers’ in order to work for peace

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<sup>40</sup> Those years have important points (Personal translation)

<sup>41</sup> And incorporate the scientific reflection element (Google translation)

in the world, “agents (that<sup>42</sup>) are continuously feeding the symbol of Gernika.” (Iratxe, 2014). As Amaia do not know the existence of the peace research center, Iratxe clarified that the focus of the peace research center are in the academic field such as for students, professors and peace activists who are in the same concern to work on peace, “*Gernika Gogoratuz more for research, university students and Gernika peace museum more for the society*” (Iratxe, 2014). However it becomes an evaluation for peace research center to embrace more targets such as Amaia in the future.

María said that Gernika Peace Museum is “*una manera de otra vamos, no ... de un trabajo por la paz*”<sup>43</sup> (Oianguren Idígoras, 2014) which includes many forms not like the classic museum, but as Iratxe said that “(works for peace should be<sup>44</sup>) are socialized in different ways with research, with books, with exhibition, with workshop” (Iratxe, 2014).

According to Amaia, Gernika is very lucky that it has many options to remember its tragedy, and Pablo Picasso painting of Guernica<sup>45</sup> is one of them (Amaia, 2014). Moreover, not only the people of Gernika who can remember the tragedy through the painting, but the whole world can remember Gernika through Guernica of Picasso since its copy is everywhere as the symbol of peace and the symbol of anti-war. Agrees on what Amaia said, María asserts that the painting has traveled to many places to deliver the message of peace, “*y es el cuadro más viajero del siglo 20, se expuso muchos sitios*”<sup>46</sup> (Oianguren Idígoras, 2014). Meanwhile, Iratxe explained that the painting is adorable and wonders how such an art work can be more than that, it saves a lot of memories in it, “*for me it’s astonishing how an art work can be so important/*

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<sup>42</sup> Author’s additional information

<sup>43</sup> Another way of ‘let’s go’ .. to work for peace (personal translation)

<sup>44</sup> Author’s additional text when contextualizing interviewee’s sentence.

<sup>45</sup> Gernika refers to the town while Guernica refers to the painting by Pablo Picasso (Author additional information)

<sup>46</sup> The painting has been traveled since the 20<sup>th</sup> century and was exhibited in many places. (personal translation)

*you know/ and how the symbolism of it has changed/ and it's more than an art work/ much more than an art work.*" (Iratxe, 2014).

### ***La Semana Santa* (similar case)**

In fact there is a similarity between the commemoration of the bombing and the holy week or called 'La Semana Santa'. The celebration that is conducted annually was strong throughout the Spain, especially in the south of Spain such Seville, Granada, Malaga, Cordoba and Cadiz. The celebration that has religious and tradition content is facilitated by the state with the public holidays since several agendas are held during the week.

Once again, this celebration has the similar case with spirit of my thesis where people are using the memory of sorrow to get the positive output. The Christians remembers how suffering Jesus was at that time and they transform from the celebration into something positive, something satisfied spiritually, something they could learn from the history, but the main focus is remembering the sorrow for the positive output. Gernika is remembering the sorrow for the rejecting the same thing repeated again.

According to the priest I have interviewed, there are three important phases substantially in the celebration of *La Semana Santa*. The important phases of the celebration which is started from the *domingo de ramos* until *la resurrección del señor* are: suffering, passed away and awakening. According to him, to reach the peak of the complete faith, someone has to get through the suffering phase (Ignatius, 2014<sup>47</sup>). When I heard that saying, it reminds me to the

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<sup>47</sup> Personal interview on June 4, 2014.

local wisdom of Indonesia, it says, *berakit-rakit ke hulu, berenang ke tepian. Bersakit-sakit dahulu, bersenang-senang kemudian*<sup>48</sup> or in English people says ‘no pain, no gain’.

### **3.3.3. From the Deadly Bullets to the Beautiful Art Works**

As the north of Spain was developed earlier and more than in the south, Basque country including Gernika was ahead in the industrial sectors. Many investments were planted there, and business men and women were attracted to multiply their wealth in the Basque country. Gernika was one of the towns in Basque that was crowded with the industrial factories, and Astra arms factory was one of the focuses in Gernika.

Astra was originally from Eibar, one region in Basque country, which was established by Pedro Unceta and Juan Esperanza in 1908 entitled with their family names, Esperanza y Unceta in the beginning. In 1913, this factory moved to Gernika and concentrated fully in the sector of arms production and changed its name became ‘Astra’.

During the bombing in the civil war, this building is one of the untouched buildings by the bomber planes intentionally. Although it was definitely possible to crack all of the building down since the planes were flying low and the bombing duration were about three and a half hours, there was no single bomb landed in this building. Many speculated that Franco with his allies had a big plan behind this because not only Astra, rail line, key bridge and the church were not destroyed as well.

Franco accused the bombing on the people of Gernika themselves. The building of Astra became his alibi for this accuse. Fortunately that the journalist of London Times, George Steer was in Bilbao during the event and could run over Gernika minutes after it happened; he

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<sup>48</sup> Raft to the upstream, then swim to the edge. Pain in the first place, and then happy in the end.

managed to report to the office in London and the news was spread all over the world through London Times which was reprinted by many international newspaper in many countries.

When Franco was in power, the factory of Astra kept on producing weapons and Astra made a sale for more than 100.000 arms to the NAZI,<sup>49</sup> Germany. People had speculated that that was the reason why the factory was not destroyed by Germans and Italian bomber planes. They planned to use the fabrics to make weapons for them as the return to what they had helped Franco succeeded the civil war toward republican government.

A man named Luis Iriondo Aurtenetxea is one of the survivors who managed to escape from the terrible tragedy 77 years ago. He was fourteen years old was working in the bank as an assistant when that happened. Luis was saved from the wreckage of the houses after the bombing, he was taken by his mom and they all together climbed to the higher land called Lumo and stayed there for a while along with three other siblings. Luis and family was refugee for some years and came back to Gernika while he was alive and decided to spend the rest of his time there. In his age of 91 years old (in 2014), Luis was one of the active survivors that keep telling people about the story 77 years ago although his eyes welled many times every time he tries to remember the tragedy (Goodman, 2012).

In Lumo, he painted some that has relations with the tragedy or what he felt about the tragedy. And then, the youth of Gernika initiated to have a center of artworks in Gernika as a space for someone like Luis to hang or exhibit their works which has the content of the history. Finally, these youths managed to use Astra building to be the centre of the artworks in 1997 which is not only for the exhibition but also for the classes of artworks (Goodman, 2012).

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<sup>49</sup> National Socialist German Workers' Party

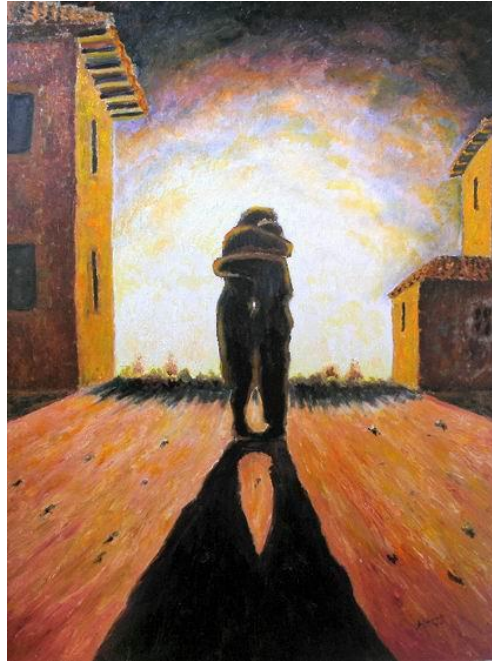


Figure 13 Luis met his mother, painted by Luis (internationalnetworkforpeace, 2014)

One of the youth, named Oer Plaza was one of them who desired to change the scary image of Astra to be the nice image even beautiful image in Gernika. It can be said that Astra tried to pay the mistakes that had been contributed for the past many years as the producers of the weapons that takes lives of many people, and now Astra would try to longer people's lives by presenting the beautiful artworks in people's lives (Goodman, 2012).

The aim of the Astra project is to convert this weapons plant into a cultural center with classes in art, video and other media production. "We have to look to the past to understand the present, to create a better future, and I think Astra is part of that process. It is the past, it is the present, and it is the future of this town." – Oer Plaza (Goodman, 2012).

Astra has been obviously part of the Gernika's identity in a way it evolved from time to time. Astra was known by its contribution helping the people's economy by absorbing many workers and helping the country's soldier defend the country from external; Astra was known



bad since Franco was in power and (was forced) to help the enemy of the people of Gernika itself such Nazi in sending some weapons for them. And Gernika now is trying to have a better face especially for the local people of Gernika, proving that not only people of Gernika is trying to pursue peace, but also Astra is also being supportive for this matter.

### **3.3.4. Hybridity and Performativity of Gernika's Identity**

From the interview that I made with four people that have close relations with Gernika, I tried to see Gernika's identity through what they say about it. Four out of thirteen questions that I have asked in the interview are about identity of Gernika.

Three out of four interviewees said that Gernika is a symbol. It is the symbol of peace, the symbol of the recovery and the symbol of Pablo Picasso. I can see that Gernika represents something as a normal function of the symbol. It has also the meaning that Gernika is not only one of the towns in the Basque country with the 16.000 habitants, but also a town that is associated with others such the symbol of peace, the symbol of the bombing tragedy and the symbol of Pablo Picasso's legendary painting. Moreover, in the US, Gernika is used in a sentence to show the event that can take people's lives; it was in the shopping center where many people could possibly die due to the one-day-big discount which attracted so many people (Goodman, 2008).

On how we could see Gernika in the past and Gernika now, I would like to divide the periods into four periods of different times, they are: pre-civil war, civil war, posts Franco, democracy or nowadays. In the period of the pre-civil war, people of Gernika has been passing the story from generation to generation that Gernika was the symbol of the Basque as they have

an evidence of the oak tree of Gernika which used to be the sacred place for all Basque to gather and decided the policies for all Basque. It can be said that Gernika pre-civil war was the center of Basque or the representative of Basque. Gernika was away important in the past, long time ago even before they knew the word of 'Spain'.

The second period which is during the civil war, three of the interviewees mentioned Gernika as the symbol of horror. The tragedy of Gernika was very famous not only in the level of local or national, but international due to two spectacular things, at least. First, George Steer who was the journalist of the London Times happened to be in Bilbao when that happened, as he followed the instinct of the journalist he went to Gernika right away as soon as he heard the news. Thanks to him, the world heard the story of the bombing in Gernika through the newspaper published by London Times and reprinted in many newspapers in many countries in the world. The second reason why Gernika's bombing tragedy was heard all the world because Pablo Picasso, the famous artist expressed his anger toward the tragedy of Gernika through the legendary painting and made it exhibited in the world fair in Paris in 1937. Therefore, probably the most spread information about Gernika is the terrible tragedy of Gernika, while the information before and after not many of them knew it or even trying to find out.

When the civil war was over, Gernika was part of the loser groups along with the republican government that was supported by them. Gernika knew that when they lost the war, meaning that the *fueros* which was the key of their freedom or autonomy vanished along with it. With the fact that Gernika lost the war, they were powerless to ask for the responsibility on the bombing tragedy that killed many people of Gernika. With the Franco in power, it means that they were not allowed to speak even in their own languages. With the fact that Gernika lost the civil war, the style of the buildings in Gernika in order to reconstruct the destroyed ones would

be determined by Franco who was obvious with his desire to build Spain as a homogenous country. With the Franco in power, it means that the days will be the assimilation days of cultures for Gernika who is Basque. Therefore, this period can be said that the process of reconstruction in Gernika is actually the deconstruction at the same time.

Finally, the last period is democracy or nowadays. According to the opinions of the interviewees, they agreed on saying that Gernika is the symbol of peace or the symbol of the anti-war. I can say that this is the most expression of the people of Gernika who insist to have the same tragedy, especially in Gernika. Gernika denies completely the violence and the war as they experienced it and suffered a lot on how it went. Although those interviewees are not the ones that experienced the bombing tragedy, I can see that the process of the collective memory transfer has been conducted successfully from generation to generation. The collective memory of the bombing are kept safely in the generation of the people of Gernika.

This is the identity of Gernika; it has the dynamic change from time to time. The people of Gernika experienced the changing and overlapping or even mixed influence of identities which shaped the current identity of Gernika which is called *Hybridity*. Furthermore, what made the identity of Gernika is not static gives the fact that identity of Gernika is *Performativity*. From many aspects, sides and angles, Gernika is different among its period of time from pre-civil war, during the civil war, during the Franco and post-Franco. However, Gernika remains important as a symbol that represents many different things in those periods. Gernika remains important for the people of Gernika. Gernika is projected to be the reminder as many other place that have the similar history in order to remind people to support peace and anti-war campaign.

### **3.4. Four elements in Gernika creates symbol of identity**

If there is one single element for a great purpose, it is something ordinary. But if there are four elements with the different forms of each element with the same character and for the same purpose, that is something extraordinary and far from the impression of ‘coincident’; and it must be something planned with the strong intention.

If there is one single element to achieve something big, it perhaps has a small possibility to be succeeded or it could be just lucky if it is succeeded. If there are four elements with the different forms of each element but have the same character and for the same purpose, then there must be plenty of the possibility to be succeeded.

The illustration shows the condition that happened in Gernika, a small town with the sorrow history where their 2/3 of its populations were swept to death by the bombings that were launched by the German Nazi and the Italian Fascist on behalf of Franco for about 3, 5 hours. After that happened, the people insisted to struggle against the war and struggle for peace through four important and strategic elements with the different forms of each element but the same character and for the same purpose. The same character is to use the memory of war and the same purpose is to create peace.

Those four elements are: the commemoration of the bombing, the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz, the peace museum of Gernika and the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso. These four elements have the same character, remembering the past, remembering the memory of war that happened to the town of Gernika; and these four elements have the same purpose, to create peace through these characters.

The work and the struggle of these four elements are not stopping until whenever because peace is not something to achieve, but it is something to keep. The work and the struggle of these four elements are also not stopping until whenever because the war is still going on the other parts of the worlds. The work and the struggle of these four elements are not stopping because ‘achieving peace’ is an identity of each element of these four.

There are at least three important points of each element in the effort of pursuing peace. These three are identity, the memory of war and peace. The past and the present identity of Gernika are saved well in each of these elements; moreover, the wish of the future identity of Gernika is also stored in these four elements since these four elements know what Gernikes want. In addition, since symbol is part of identity, Gernika are known by these four elements as symbols of Gernika. People could know Gernika from its peace museum which is located in Gernika, people could know Gernika from its peace research center of Gernika which has networks in many places and it has the name of Gernika in its formal name ‘Gernika Gogoraturz’, people could know Gernika from its commemoration which held annually, and people could know Gernika from the legendary painting of Guernica by Picasso (even though is not stored in Gernika).

Obviously it is not only four that creates an identity of Gernika, there are many more since Gernika has many aspects which potentially creates identity. However, these four elements create identity of Gernika in the way Gernika create peace or trying to pursue peace. These four elements create identity of Gernika in the way they memorized the past for the peace. These four elements create an identity of Gernika as a city of peace and as a city of anti-war.

### **3.4.1. Gernika is the symbol of peace**

*Through the memory of war which is embedded in the four elements, the commemoration of peace, the peace research center, the peace museum and the legendary painting of Pablo Picasso, the people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace and that creates an identity of Gernika to be the symbol of peace and the symbol of anti-war – Idham Badruzaman*

In the beginning, Kath (2002) said that identity can be a symbol since people will associate symbol with something behind it. For example, a flag is a symbol of a country; people no need to see the name of the country if the flag is already there. Through the colors or shape, people can recognize symbols as the representative behind it.

To become a symbol of course not just happened by itself, it needs processes have been passed until it becomes a symbol. The process is categorized in two, first is the natural process and the second is non-natural process or people need to do some efforts to make it happened.

In the case of Gernika, there are also natural process and non-natural process to become the symbol of anti-war and the symbol of peace. The natural process Gernika became the symbol horror in the early age soon after the bombing by Germans Nazi and Italian Fascist. The symbol went up as soon as George Steer told the world about what had happened through the London Times which was reprinted in many other newspapers of the world. Gernika became a symbol of human tragedy once Aguirre, the president of Basque country broadcasted the news through the radio in Bilbao and heard by people in the borders between France and Spain and spread the news massively. Gernika became the symbol of sorrow once Picasso exhibited the legendary painting of Guernica in the world fair exhibition in Paris 1937. In the natural process, Gernika became the symbol of war, horror and human tragedy.

On the other hand, people of Gernika along with many peace activists were trying to prevent the same thing happening again, neither in Gernika nor anywhere in the world. They thought forward and changed this symbol of Gernika from the symbol of horror to the symbol of peace, although the previous symbol will never be abolished completely, but public were adjusted to see Gernika as a symbol of peace after several efforts had been made by the people of Gernika along with those activists. The previous identity was not gone, but Gernika experience the Hybridity where those included in it, but the one in the front now is the symbol of peace.

How the Hybridity happened in Gernika? The people of Gernika had a strong will not to dissolve in grief, they did not want only remember the sorrow without any destination where. Therefore, they started to make campaign of the anti-war or peace. Departed from their will not to have the same thing happening again whether in Gernika no anywhere in the world, they sounded the culture of peace in order to preserve peace in Gernika. They did not want to let the disconnected link of the sorrow, so they connect the link to the campaign for anti-war or peace.

Many things were done as efforts to create peace. At least, there are four elements that consistently are used to make peace campaign in Gernika. 'Gernika for peace', that would be the slogan. Gernika denies forgetting what happened in the past, but Gernika is looking forward to the future for better Gernika and for peaceful Gernika. These four elements are: The commemoration of the bombing, the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz and the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso.

In the annual commemoration of the bombing of Gernika, some witnesses were presented to ensure that no body shall forget to what has happened to Gernika in April 26, 1937. However the commemoration is not only remembering, but it is facing the future as Luis Iriondo wished

the betterment of Gernika and as he invited everyone to be in the same squad to promote peace. As many Gernikes believe that they will forgive but not forget.

*“On behalf of the survivors, I answered the ambassador saying that “then, when ‘other German people’ came to Gernika, we couldn’t be understood because they were up there and we down here and they saw us as ants desperate to escape; and ants and men can’t communicate. But now yes, everybody is the same height and we can be understood and walk together and be in peace.” - Luis Iriondo (internationalnetworkforpeace, 2009)*

The peace museum of Gernika used to be the history museum in 1997 followed the trend at that time where Gernika was a symbol of war that was known internationally. Hence the history museum came displayed the collections of the bombing of Gernika. Although the people of Gernika intended to prevent the same thing happening again in Gernika, it was not explicitly stated when the museum remained the history of museum. Later the museum changed its name to ‘the peace museum of Gernika’ in 2003, in which did not only affect the name but also the configuration, purpose and the most important thing is the campaign or the message of the museum. Obviously it was the starting of the effort of the people of Gernika through museum in the peace campaign and effort of change the symbol of Gernika from the symbol of war or horror into the symbol of peace or anti-war. As the museum’s name changed, the configuration of the museum followed, such as the word of ‘peace’ written in the big letter accompanied by its definition in the first entrance of the museum section. The museum was displayed differently when its name was the history of museum which it was only displaying the documentation of the bombing which was only remembering and remembering. Now, when the museum changed its name became peace museum, the peace of museum of Gernika is not only remembering but also campaigning peace. *See the figure below (Mundakabc, 2014).*





Figure 14

The peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz also took a part in the campaigning of the change Gernika as the symbol of horror or war to the symbol of anti-war or peace. Two words that are used for the name of this research center became significant in the campaign of peace and anti-war, they are: Gernika and Peace (in the 'Peace' Research Center). Two words that are together are intended to create an association between Gernika and Peace as people will often mentioned it. When many scientific works were published by this center, it would definitely boost the name of the research center which has the two words (Gernika and Peace) in it and in the same time promote the campaign of Gernika as the symbol of peace. The frequent mention of these two words would fasten the association between Gernika and peace and eventually Gernika became the symbol of peace. In addition, the research center has been in the contact with the university student, professors and peace activists all over the world; this is counted as a widen campaign of the people of Gernika to promote Gernika as a symbol of peace. Since 1990, furthermore, through seminars and workshops on the theme of peace, the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz invited many people locally, nationally and internationally; again, this is another effort to promote the identity of Gernika as a symbol of peace.

And finally the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso was the symbol of horror in the beginning of its exhibition in Paris 1937 since it was displayed a moment after it happened in Gernika. Meanwhile, Pablo Picasso denied explaining what was the real meaning implicitly included in the painting, as he said the reason why: *"It isn't up to the painter to define the symbols. Otherwise it would be better if he wrote them out in so many words! The public who look at the picture must interpret the symbols as they understand them."* Picasso 1937 (pbspressroom, 2014). Automatically public was dragged to the sorrow of the painting as it was painted after the real sad event that happened few moments before the exhibition. Later, as Picasso started to be involved in the peace struggle, as he also drew the dove as a symbol of peace, Guernica started to symbolize of the painter's passion; it promotes an anti-war or peace. The fact that the painting promoted peace, most likely influenced the people of Gernika to struggle along with it to promote peace. The interpretation also came along on the painting of Guernica that the lamp was a hope in Spanish culture and the hidden dove was revealed to represent the passion of the people of Gernika to the better future named 'peace'.

Those efforts did not end up without result. The efforts were fruitful as Gernika won the prize by the UNESO as the city for peace in 2002-2003 which is dedicated to the works by the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz with the work of *Gernika-Alemania: Historia de una reconciliación*<sup>50</sup> and the peace museum of Gernika. Moreover, the fruitful result was perpetuated by two sculptures made in the city of Gernika as the symbol of the city of peace.

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<sup>50</sup> Gernika-Germany: History of one reconciliation (personal translation)



Figure 15: Large Figure in a Shelter by Henry Moore (Mammodouy, 2014)



Figure 16 Gure Aitaren Etxea by Eduardo Chillida (Mammodouy, 2014)

### **3.4.2. Gernika embraces the sorrow**

Dream is the only thing in human memory which is not rooted with the social and structure context (Halbwach, 1992). Gernika knew that she was not dreaming all this time about the terrible bombing tragedy that happened in April 26, 1937. Therefore, first of all Gernika had to make the same collective memory along with other sources. Luis Iriondo is one of the survivors who is offering his memory to be collected and become the collective memory of the bombing. Later, the memory of Luis Iriondo and many other survivors along with other sources such as the story of George Steer eventually formed the collective memory.

Collective Memory was the first capital for Gernikes to determine their next identity after the bombing event that was taking place in 1937. Eventually the collective memory awakened the spirit of the people of Gernika to prevent the same terrible war to be repeated again. Collective memory was the one that saved Gernikes and its cultures passed the repression of Franco for forty years. The collective memory saved the Euskera from the extinction. Collective memory shaped and guarded the identity of the people of Gernika.

Collective memory became the first capital of the people of Gernika to promote peace. One by one, the struggle to promote peace emerged in Gernika and the spirit to deny the war was strengthened. There are at least four elements that are used by the people of Gernika to promote peace based on the collective memory. Those four elements are: the commemoration of the bombing, the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz, the peace museum of Gernika and the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso.

The commemoration of the bombing that is held every year is to remember the terrible event in 1937 that killed around two thousand victims and hundreds wounded. The

commemoration is held to ensure that transfer of collective memory is going well from the generation to the generation. The commemoration has several agendas that at least contained two characters, they are sorrow and peace. They are also two important points as the sorrow is the departure point and the peace is the destination point. Gernika through the collective memory of the commemoration of the bombing embraces the sorrow for peace.

Peace museum of Gernika which is located in the historic place of *plaza los fueros* is also embarked from the collective memory of the bombing. Departed from the previous name of this museum called 'history museum', it displayed the collection of the civil war, especially the bombing tragedy which means it remembers the tragedy or based on the collective memory. Many objects were displayed in this museum to remember the past. The collections are the evidence of the collective memory that has been formed in the people of Gernika. Every object is accompanied by the notes of information which are based on the collective memory; every signs for the visitor to make easier visit is guided based on the collective memory. It can be said that this museum is one of the Medias to transfer the collective memory from generation to generation. Through the collective memory of this museum, Gernika embraces the sorrow in the mission to pursue peace.

Peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz, its name has an important identity for its purpose and background. Gernika Gogoratuz which means Gernika remembers in Euskera obviously tells us that this peace research center is departed from the collective memory. Gernika Gogoratuz had done many communications with the Germany in order to make reconciliation which ended up fruitfully with the apology made by the president of the Germany toward the people of Gernika. Gernika Gogoratuz through its name showing that this center does not want to

forget what has happened in the past in 1937. With Gernika Gogoratuz keeps remembering, Gernika embraces the sorrow in obtaining peace.

*Guernica* became the perpetuated witness of the bombing tragedy that happened in Gernika although not everybody knows that Guernica is actually a real story of the town named Gernika that suffered from the bombing tragedy in 1937 by Nazi Germany and Italian fascist on behalf of the dictator Franco. Guernica echoes the campaign of anti-war to the world apart from where it is right now because it has been famous so far. Gernika is also campaigning peace through the collective memory that is contained in the painting of Guernica apart from the fact that the original Guernica is not in Gernika now. Gernika through the collective memory of Guernica that is in Reina Sofia Museum and the copy of Guernica mural that is in *calle Pedro de Elejalde Kalea, 1 Gernika-Lumo, Spain*, embraces the sorrow to promote anti-war and peace.



Figure 17 copy of Guernica painting in Gernika (Personal doc.)

### 3.4.3. Cultures of Peace

I want to celebrate the fact that women's groups, particularly in Africa and in places in Asia like Sri Lanka, are coming together to hold up their own traditionally peacemaking practices. They are going into the village councils and saying, we know how to deal with this. And they are successfully disarming guerillas and militias and armed people in civil wars. They are actually engaging in a process of some disarmament and in starting another process of consultation based on tradition. You're not going to read about these groups in the New York Times or the Boston Globe, but they are happening. These efforts need to be honored. The women's program in the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the International Peace Bureau are doing some very important work. One of the important projects in the Culture of Peace is working with former guerillas, going into areas like Nicaragua, like Mozambique, working with former soldiers and guerillas, people who have been killing and torturing each other, and developing a reconciling project, listening to each other and learning to respect the difference instead of trying to obliterate it. So these things are happening. And the more Culture of Peace projects we have like this, the better off we will be. (Boulding, 2014)

'Living with difference'. That is the phrase of Boulding that represents the cultures of peace as she believes that every human being is different. There is no single couple of two persons who are exactly the same. The creature is never repeated. *Difference is always there. Wherever you have two humans together, you've got difference (Boulding, 2014)*. Not only the character that every human being is different, but also physically every human being is different. Therefore, the difference is something absolute or it is natural and living with the difference supposed to be the same, it is natural and it is a must.

“Acting in concert we do make a difference in the quality of our lives, our institutions, our environment and our planetary future. Through our cooperation, we manifest the essential spirit that unites us amongst our diverse ways.” – Avon Mattison (pathwaystopeace, 2014)

When wars came as cultures because its existence is being repeated again and again, then the cultures of peace should also be emerged. I would like to make an analogy for this, the medicine should be found out when the illness came to attack. It is simply because illness is something people do not wish for and peace is something everybody wishes for. It is about the

voice of the heart, even those who are in the battlefield are actually against their will, put their heart aside when shooting, killing, bombing, and so on. Hence, the medicine should be found out when the illness came, peace should be seek when the war broke out and the culture of peace should be presented when the cultures of war are there to threat the well being of the people.

In fact, not only the cultures of war came to respond the war, but also the activist are came for response of the wars. One of the activists is Elise Boulding who is famous with her passion toward peace and women's gender equality. Elise M. Boulding was born in Norway in 1920, she moved to the United States of America when she was three years old and grew up in the States. Boulding is the peace activist who's her peace struggle spirit was born when the World War II broke out. She thought that there were no safe places on earth; there is no option but struggle to make those places safe. The place where he was growing up was in war in the Second World War and Norway, a place where she thought that it was safe and planned to go back there was invaded by the Germany and became unsafe place. From there, she knew what she was going to do for her life. She decided to dedicate herself for the sake of the peaceful world. She knew how terrible it was in the state of war. Hence she tries hard to avoid wars in many ways, and cultures of peace are one of the methods she supported and used to prevent war and conflict and to realize the peaceful world by promoting it in many places in the world.

Simply Boulding defines cultures of peace in her book, *Cultures of Peace: The hidden side of history* it is:

... is a culture that promotes peaceable diversity. Such culture includes lifeways, patterns of believe, values, behaviour, and accompanying institutional arrangements that promote cultural caring and well being as well as one equality that includes appreciation of difference, stewardship, and equitable sharing of the earth's resources among members and with all living beings (Boulding, 2000).



Meanwhile, United Nations has also the definition of the ‘culture of peace’ which I found it the website of UNESCO (unesco, 2014), it is:

As defined by the United Nations, the Culture of Peace is a set of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reject violence and prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations (UN Resolutions A/RES/52/13: Culture of Peace and A/RES/53/243, Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace).

One of the keywords of the cultures of peace is ‘listening’ (Boulding, 2014). Not only listening physically through the ears but also listening with the heart. As I have mentioned earlier that the heart of the people basically chose for peace over the war. They were just against their will when had to face the war. In the small society, Boulding believes that they naturally are able to solve the conflict peacefully since they listen to their heart. However, in the complex society like nowadays in many cities where many people came from many different background and cultures, finding solutions peacefully is not as easy as the small society. Furthermore, ‘listening’ also means open the dialogue where each party could listen to what the other party wants and the reason behind it. Open dialogue means having an interaction among human beings, and hopefully people could understand easily through the human beings interaction in the dialogue where every party is listening to each other and could find the better which gives mutual understanding and solution.

The cultures of peace are something to be learned as people learned the cultures of war. The culture of peace will not be just there by itself, especially in the complex society. *The culture of peace is something which is learned, just as violence is learned and war culture is learned (Boulding, 2014).* As I made an analogy previously that war is an illness, people need to find out the medicine to heal the illness. In this case, Boulding argues that as people learn war, people learn peace; as people learn the cultures of war, people learn the cultures of peace.

The cultures of peace are part of the promotion made by the people of Gernika in their efforts to make peace. Gernika often mention in their mission that are eager to spread the cultures of peace. I can see the basic similarity between Gernika and Boulding in the way they found the mission to spread peace. Boulding was born as a peace activist after she witnessed the terrible second World War II while Gernika is dedicated their town to be the symbol of peace after the terrible happened to them during the civil war where they suffered a lot from it. They both have the 'memory of war' of each memory and they both are successful in transforming the negative memory into the positive action, from the memory of war to the struggle of peace, from the cultures of war to the cultures of peace.

Gernika is considered having at least four elements in promoting cultures of peace which is matched with both definitions by Boulding and the United Nations. We shall take a look one by one. The commemoration of the bombing is an activity initiated by the people of Gernika to refresh their memory of the bombing and to transfer the collective memory to the new generation, in which this behavior is projected to prevent the same terrible thing from happening again in Gernika in particular; in other words, this behavior is to prevent war. The substantial meaning of this commemoration is coherent with the definition of Boulding, *Such culture includes behavior that promotes peaceable diversity (Boulding, 2000)*; and it is also coherent with the definition of the United Nations, which is: *behavior ... that rejects violence and prevents conflicts (unesco, 2014)*.

The second element used by Gernikes to spread the cultures of peace is the existence of the peace museum of Gernika. The museum has dedicated its name for the peace, it is 'peace museum' but the contents of the museum is the object and documentation collection of the bombing in Gernika 1937, the civil war, and the wars of other places. Hence, it can be said that

the museum is the place to study peace from the perspective of war. As the name of this museum is peace museum, there is the definition and understanding about peace in the very beginning of the museum entrance and along with the museum path. The museum invites the visitors to see the understanding of the peace through the perspective of the wars. This understanding about peace which is taken from the perspective war is actually a set of values which is projected to prevent wars. Thus, the museum is in line with the definition of cultures of peace by both Boulding and the United Nations, it is: *'a set of values that rejects violence and prevent conflicts (UN, 2014); such culture includes values that promote peaceable diversity (Boulding, 2000).*

The third element used by Gernikes to spread the culture of peace is through the researches done by the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz. Through the 'memory of war' this research center struggle for peace in the area of the scientific approach. Some activities such as seminars and dialogues are presented in this element which involves the university students, professors and the peace activists. The research center was the one who worked for the reconciliation process through dialogues which was successful as the parliament member and the president of Germany made an official apology toward the people of Gernika in 1987 and 1997 respectively. Therefore, based on the definition both by Boulding and the United Nations, such thing that prevent conflicts (UN) or promote cultural caring (Boulding) is the cultures of peace. *Such culture includes accompanying institutional arrangements that promote cultural caring and well being... (Boulding, 2014); reject violence and prevent conflicts ... through dialogue (UN, 2014).*

The fourth element used by the Gernikes to spread the cultures of peace is by spreading the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso. Its existence is the symbol of anti-war. It is an artwork which is believed to be the perpetual reminder of the terrible fact of the human

tragedy. As the picture is worth a thousand words, the painting of Guernica would be consistent spreading the message of anti-war campaign. In addition, the painting has been traveling all over the world telling the messages of anti-war and invited everybody to remember of what happened in Gernika should not be repeated anywhere in the world. The painting is actually one of the cultures of peace where it has the ‘values’ that prevent conflicts as in both definition mentioned that such values that promotes peace is the cultures of peace.

### **3.5. Summary of the chapter III**

Chapter III is the heart of this thesis since it has the answer of the research question; it is the climax of the thesis where every element are combined and formulated in carefully answering the research question. In addition, chapter three is the sign where the journey to the historic town named Gernika between you and I have to be ended.

In the early of the chapter, it presents one last theory of the thesis named ‘philosophy for peacemaking’ in accordance with the character of UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace. This last theory was presented solo as the previous style of the thesis which presents the discourse of the theory and then penetrated the case along with the theory. As soon as the theory of peace is delivered comprehensively, other previous theories such as identity and collective memory are invited to join the analytical elaboration about the case of Gernika. Explanations and elaborations are made in this chapter to see to what extend people of Gernika is trying to make peace.

Despite many limitations, people of Gernika are trying to make peace with the continuous transfer of collective memory from generation to generation. Gernika along with four important elements which are the main focus of this thesis is trying to answer that the commemoration of

the bombing, the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz and the painting of Pablo Picasso are efforts made by Gernika to pursue peace with the contents the memory of war in each element. Through the memory of war people of Gernika is trying to pursue peace.

However, as I have mentioned earlier in the section of the limitation, this thesis is not trying to answer whether or not people of Gernika are in peace. Not only because that is not the question of my research in this thesis but also the framework of the UNESCO<sup>51</sup> Chair of Philosophy for Peace in the Peace Master Study, we are trying to focus more than only peace in the classical definition or called negative peace where peace means the absence of war, instead the philosophy for peace by UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace is trying to make other peace(s) visible to see, to observe and to pursue. Furthermore, the thesis presents the imperfect peace which in this case is not possible to measure peace since everyone has their own opinion and expectation about peace. Instead, this thesis presents the original opinion of some Gernikes about peace which obviously not as measurement of peace in general of the people of Gernika, but at least we could hear some of them, we could hear what they talk about peace and how they want to make peace in Gernika in their own original and personal feeling.

Another one of this thesis' strengths is the original sound of the people of Gernika through the surveys I made for about 42 people in Gernika and interview with four people who have concern and close relations with Gernika. It is always interesting to see the result of the quantitative method of the research because I see many unexpected things during the process.

Furthermore, in this ultimate chapter, three keywords are mixing together in analyzing the case. The theory of identity, memory of war and the peace philosophy that were presented one by

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<sup>51</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

one previously in the previous chapter, chapter I and chapter II, in the final chapter they are together in order to bring Gernika in front of us with many analytical reviews. Not only the keywords are combined in this chapter, but also four elements are not left behind in the mixing joys of these three keywords. To sum up, in the chapter III, the four elements (the commemoration of the bombing, the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz, the peace museum of Gernika and the legendary Guernica painting of Pablo Picasso) strongly characterized with the memory of war, all of them, in their purpose to pursue peace; and that is the identity of Gernika. Let me say it one more time, the people of Gernika is trying to pursue peace with the four elements mentioned above through the content of the memory of war which is embedded in each element, and that leads to the identity of Gernika now.

As I would like to emphasize the character of this thesis with the character of UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace, I would like to close the conclusion with the two words frequently used, they are: Hybridity and Performativity. From those two words resulted those strong identities of Gernika that have the dynamic change from time to time as Gernika's identity is not static just like the nature of identity.

As the climax section in many films, this chapter III has no meaning without the two chapters in the previous ones. It is series that cannot be separated in order to get the comprehensive meaning of this thesis. Therefore, every chapter is important in this thesis. Chapter three can be anti-climax if it is not together with the previous chapters in presenting it. This chapter is the key of the thesis but it has more than one door to reach the answer of the thesis because the other doors are in the previous chapters which are not less important.

## **General conclusion**

Finally the journey to Gernika has to end soon. Every meeting has parting, and here we are; the journey in the historic place of Gernika with thousand of identities has to be ended here. However, before I end the journey with Gernika, let me make flash back of how the journey went from the very beginning until this point.

Gernika attracted my attention in my first visit and it was coincided with the commemoration of the bombing of the 76<sup>th</sup> in 2013. My feeling and emotion was involved when the whole villagers deeply participated a drama musical, one of the programs in the event, raised the story of how the bombing was happening in the town. I was drawn deeply into the events since the way they sang the sorrow song described how terrible it was. I wrote how I felt about the event on my personal blog entitled ‘Silence in Gernika, Pais Vasco-Spain’. I felt that the commemoration was emotional and sorrow, that was the reason why such memory sticks in my mind for quite sometimes. My personal writing on my personal blog about Gernika is also accompanied by the footage that I took with the mobile phone camera; the quality is not quite good, but it is good enough to describe one of the events during the commemoration. My writing about it is remained available on the internet; anyone can access it if you want to: <http://diarysangpenulis.wordpress.com/2013/04/29/silence-in-gernika-pais-vasco-spain>.

On the other part of my life story, I really wanted to take Spain as my research topic for some reasons. I have been living in a small city of Castellon for almost two years, I would not know so much about Spain since small city does not offer much either. Taking Spain as my research field will require me to learn more about Spain. Furthermore, I really want to have something great that I could carry on with me to go home. Since I would be teaching in one of the university in Indonesia, knowing more about Spain and Spanish would encourage my future

career as the lecturer. Regardless to being lecturer, knowing more things always benefits someone in his or her future career especially many literature about Spain in Indonesian is quite limited, it could open up a new and big opportunity for me to optimize what I have about knowledge of Spain and Spanish to be beneficial in Indonesia.

Apparently, not many people know about Gernika, even some Spaniards, especially who live in the south. It can be seen from my conversation with them; I asked few Spaniards in Castellon and Valencia; and most of them only know limited information about the bombing in Gernika. Some of them even would not even care about it when I tried to explain what I know about Gernika. I am quite sure they are just unknowledgeable. Due to their nescience, they did not see the points why people of Gernika commemorated the bombing along with other movements of the similar tragedy in the world such as Hiroshima Nagasaki atomic bombing victims, Dresden bombing victims and Ireland conflict victims. They think that it was too much. Again, I can just say that they do not know much about the case. They do not really know that Gernika is trying hard to create peace. Not many people in Spain know that ‘the memory of war’ is used to promote peace in Gernika. Very limited people know that Gernika connects their past memory of war to something positive which it will be just disconnected link without it; the memory of war would even endanger Gernika itself and others if it is not connected to something positive such as peace; without it, the memory would just keep the anger inside and possibly raises the revenge in the future. Gernika should promote better, and the Spaniards especially in the south should learn more about Gernika.

The memory of the bombing in Gernika which was allowed to be celebrated once the Dictator died was the turning point of Gernika as it was used to promote peace. There are four elements at least used by the Gernikes in pursuing peace characterized with the memory of war.



These four elements have different forms but exactly having the same character and the same purpose. Having the different forms because each element is different; one as the commemoration; one as the museum; one as the research center; and one as the painting. Having the same character, each element consists of ‘the memory of war’. Having the same purpose is to avoid war, to reach peace, to promote anti-war and to promote Gernika is the symbol of peace. Nevertheless, since each element is different one to another, as well as the role of each element; but each element is *to complete* one to another in their *form differences* and *to strengthen* one to another in their similarity of ‘*memory of war*’ and the *purpose of peace*.

The annual commemoration is projected to refresh the memory of the bombing that happened in 1937 with several agendas that juxtapose the people of Gernika to the emotional moments so it will stay in their minds for quite sometimes, at least until the next commemoration which is next year; other than that, the commemoration is intended to ensure the transfer of the collective memory of the memory of war is being done well from time to time and from generation to generation. Meanwhile, the peace museum of Gernika takes the role to present the authentic evidences of the war stored in their collection to strengthen the memory of the bombing that have been in people’s mind. After that, we have the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz which is taking the role to make the scientific approach in pursuing peace with the scientific research about the conflict resolution, reconciliation, and peace predominantly with the target of university students, professors and peace activists. The research is dedicated for the memory of war since its name is ‘Gernika Gogoratuz’ which has the meaning of ‘Gernika Remembers’ in Euskera. And finally the legendary painting of Guernica by Pablo Picasso, its existence takes the role to perpetuate the symbol of anti-war of Gernika through the artwork that has been famous since its creation few days after the event took place and painted by the famous

artist Pablo Picasso. Guernica brought Gernika into the international level and perpetuated for long-long time. The journey of the painting was also the promotion of the Gernika and the message of peace from Gernika.

Through these four elements with the character of ‘the memory of war’, people of Gernika are trying to pursue peace; and that is the identity of Gernika, symbol of peace and anti-war. Gernika’s identity is not the identity that emerged by itself of nowadays. Gernika’s identity is the long journey’s elements from the past to the present. Does Gernika have the identity of the important town in Basque? Yes. Does Gernika have the identity of the torn down city due to the bombing that happened during the civil war? Yes. Does Gernika have the identity of the city awarded by UNESCO as the city of peace in 2002-2003? Yes. Does Gernika have the identity of the historic town? Yes. The question is which one is the identity of Gernika? It is all of them. Gernika has the identity which is shaped by many elements overlapped one to another or it is called Hybridity and every event takes place in Gernika will shape the identity of Gernika since the nature of identity is not static or it is called Performativity.

Few days before I submitted my thesis, I had an opportunity to talk about it in the university radio named UJI Vox Radio 107, 8 FM. I thought that it was a great opportunity for me as an excersice before the defense. The program went very well; it is available on their website (<http://radio.uji.es>) and I made it available also online on my account of soundcloud, here: <https://soundcloud.com/idham-badruzaman/radio-interview-about-gernika-spain>.

## **Recommendation**

This recommendation does not mean to assess the policies of any parties that have been issued or implemented, but it comes only to give the second opinion toward the existing policies

if it is different. The recommendation comes from the personal opinion based on the research and observation I made throughout my research period.

First recommendation is addressed to Gernika. As the city of peace, Gernika could expand the promotion the symbol of peace as well as the message of peace throughout Spain. Since Gernika has the potential to be the bridge between Basque and non Basque to have more communication and interaction in order to create such a close relationship with the peaceful agendas. Inviting more students (i.e. Universitat Jaume I, Castellon - Valencia) from non Basque country was done many times to the commemoration which was excellent in order to spread the promotion of Gernika as the city of peace as well as the message of peace; unfortunately, invitation to non Basque students was limited only one non Basque university students until 2013 and it was stopped in 2014. On the other hand, student has the many potential to help expanding the message of the peace as well as the promotion of Gernika as the city of peace due to two things at least: student is energetic young generation and the second; student has learned knowledge as the basic in which easily accept the message scientifically.

In addition, Gernika can be a model of city of peace for other cities either in Basque country or other places in Spain. Gernika used to be the most important and representative of the Basque country in the past due to its location and the oak tree where the gathering of the Basque leaders gathered and decided the policy democratically; and now Gernika can also be important city which consistently spread the message of peace locally, nationally and internationally. The promotion of the city of peace should be more spread, since I believe this is one of the strength of this city. The momentum of the commemoration is perfect timing to invite people to come to Gernika and then once they are in Gernika, they can be introduced to other promotion of peace,

in this case four elements that are used by the Gernikes to promote peace which are consistently using the memory of war to pursue peace.

This method is unique in words and in the effect. It can be emphasized again about this method in promoting Gernika as the city of peace as well as the message of peace. Memory of war is one of the effective ones in order to promote peace since it is in accordance with the saying 'experience is the best teacher'; memory of war tells this experience to others through transfer experience of the dark past. Therefore, people would try hard to avoid as much as possible to the terrible things from happening again.

Gernika Gogoratuz as the main locomotive of the struggle shall make the method of the moving leadership which means make the people of Gernika not only the members of the movements, but also the small motors that can also doing the same things as Gernika Gogoratuz in the same substantial but different forms. Therefore, there will not be only four elements using by the people of Gernika us spreading the cultures of peace but more than that. Meanwhile, Gernika Gogoratuz shall announce officially about four elements that are the main elements at the moment in spreading the word of 'peace', so then more elements can be invented by looking at them.

The next recommendation is for the people of Spain, especially non Basque who have never been to Gernika or even Basque country. I think that they should visit Gernika since is worth visiting for all Spaniards in order to see part of their own history. Four elements that are used in Gernika to promote peace as well as Gernika as the city of peace cannot be missed during the visit. This visit, I believe, would change people's mind about the people of Basque, especially about the people of Gernika.

The next recommendation is addressed to the government of Spain in Madrid. Gernika is one of the best assets of this country. Therefore, Gernika is deserved to get more attention from the central government to promote peace as well as Gernika as the city of peace. The attention and support does not have to be financial supports, any supports would be great for both Gernika and for the central government of Spain in Madrid. Beyond the recognition of the identity which is manifested in *fueros*, the emotional support given by the central government of Madrid would enhance the relationship quality between Basque and the central government. This gesture, I believe would be followed by the rest of the people on both places: the people of Basque and the people of non Basque.

Moreover, the central government could embrace more on places that have strong identities such as Basque country through the personal approach. This method, I believe could help the government to grow the sense of belonging on the Spaniards wherever they are. The failure of the government in growing the nationality of being Spaniards were occurred many times as Marianne (Raento and Watson, 2000: 711) has said since the approach of the government to unite the people of Spain was not the personal approach or can be said peaceful means. Gernika gives an excellent example to unite people in the framework of promoting Gernika as the city of peace as well as the message of peace to borderless human being; it is beyond their culture, religion, race and nation. On behalf of the humanity, government should actually see Gernika as one of the best example in order to unite people of Spain regardless of many differences and identities. It is quite possible to pile up the identities of the people, in other words people of Spain are quite possible to have the sense of belonging of their own regions within the sense of belonging of Spain. Remember the identity has Hybridity where people can overlap more than one element of identities.

My last, but not least recommendation is for the resident of the world regardless their religion, nation, race and state. I would like to remind them not to forget to any key events that occurred on human beings in this world. Remember them to prevent the bad things from happening again, to keep doing the good things again and again. Remember them to see the identities which were shaped from the past to take the lessons to act now and to prepare the future.

### **Limitations**

*No ivory that is not cracked;* and there is no perfection in the product and there is no absence of the limitation of my thesis. This thesis is not perfect, lack of few things such as lack of literatures that explain Gernika in the contemporary period. Many of them tell Gernika in the past, about bombing and the civil war. Therefore the relevancy with the topic is limited.

Furthermore, the contemporary books of Gernika published by the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz most of them are in Spanish and Euskera. For me who am still struggling with Spanish would find many difficulties to understand Spanish for many books. I would spend hours and hours to understand even single topic which is written in Spanish, and obviously I would spend days to understand one single topic in Euskera with the assistance of Google Translation. Therefore, due to the limited times and patients, I had to let many references in Euskera and Spanish went away and looked me in the eyes while saying, *“Try to learn Spanish more”*.

### **Possibilities of the future research**

Gernika’s case is quite interesting for more research in the future. The icon of the civil war for the Spanish history cannot be separated from both the history of Gernika and the history

of Spain. Therefore, it can be raised an interesting question on how Spanish government sees Gernika and support Gernika to be elevated in the national scope because so far Gernika itself that is the one to contribute the world about peace and its identities.

In addition it would be more interesting to conduct such a future research on what do people think, people of Gernika, people outside Gernika and the government official in Madrid about the repatriation of Guernica painting to Gernika. Among four elements that are used by the people of Gernika in pursuing peace, only one that is not in Gernika, it is Guernica which is resided in Reina Sofia Museum in Madrid. It is controversial in many aspects, but the future research would ease people to see the arguments clearer.

Taking Euskera as the future research topic would be interesting, too. Euskera is not strong in many places due to its repression on Franco regime, but Gernika is one of the places that have a strong Euskera. The guiding question on the topic of Euskera would be, to what extend the language of Euskera become the identity of Gernika. The method for this specific object would be interesting to be conducted in quantitative method through surveys many people in Euskera.

It would not be less interesting to do the research about the specific case of the culture of peace that has been building by these four elements in Gernika in the efforts to make peace. In this thesis, we just did the exploration on these four elements in their method of remembering the past to try the pursuit of peace. One of the concrete products these four elements made is actually the culture of peace. The future possible research would be possible to take this culture of peace as focus of the research.

## **Farewell**

It is true that the more I come closer to an ends, the more I have questions to ask about the topic. I guess this is what Dr. Sidi Omar has said in the class of Research Methodology of Technique that thesis is a working progress where you can always develop it more, where you can never be satisfied with it, where you can always say, “I could have added this and that” and where you can continue to the work to the deeper and wider scope in dissertation or any other works related to it.

As I have studied identity within the process in working of the thesis, I have realized myself that in fact those identities are applicable to me. I often denied the identity of the past as I have a new identity which is contradictory one to another. I tried to hide the past identities but I could not. Now, after I have studied identity and how it happened in many people, I started to accept my past identities and open it without hesitation.

I remembered that peace is utopia in the first class of ‘introduction to peace studies’ by Dr. Fatuma Ahmed Ali. This journey to Gernika changed my view on that. As peace master student who believes in peace, I have to have faith in it and work every day to obtain it. When there is war that is going on even until now does not mean that we cannot make peace, it does not mean that working for peace is something useless when the war keeps happening. I realized that I still need to eat even later I would be hungry again. I still need to drink even later I will be thirsty again. Iratxe taught me to believe in peace and work for it María taught me that peace is a process where it is done little by little, part by part.

As last days were very intense with my thesis, my heart was pounding very quickly every time I woke up from sleep. I think thesis was the only thing in my head for those days even in a



moment I got back to live from sleep. I know that I was doing my best for my thesis and I was doing it with all my heart. Knowing how intense my thesis and I at those moments, I knew that the experience with the thesis would be the collective memory between me, my supervisor and all the readers. This experience is worth telling, so I decided not let this go as a dream if I did not put it here to be the collective memory. I wanted to tell the readers that this is one of my best experiences in my life. *Adios* (Goodbye) Spain, but I will *gogorätzen* (remember) you!

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## Appendixes

### I. Interview Material

#### Information Release Form\* (Consent Form)

I voluntarily agree to participate in the Master Thesis Research entitled 'Embracing the Sorrow in Pursuing Peace: Gernika as a case study'. I understand that this research is being conducted by Idham Badruzaman, the Peace Master student of Universitat Jaume I, to improve the research of his master thesis.

I understand that the research method which may involve me is *my participation in a 30-60 minute interview*.

I grant permission for the interview to be tape recorded and transcribed, and to be used only by Idham Badruzaman for analysis of interview data to be published in the master thesis and future publication(s).

I understand that any identifiable information in regard to my name may be listed *only* in the above-mentioned to the researcher, that is, this information will *not* be listed in other researchers or any other future publication(s).

*\*Traducción en el otro lado de la hoja*

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Research Participant/*Participante en la Investigación*

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Researcher/*Investigador*

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Date/*Fecha*

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Date/*Fecha*



### ***Formulario de Consentimiento***

*Acepto voluntariamente participar en la investigación de Tesis de Máster titulada 'Abrazar el dolor en la búsqueda de la paz: Gernika como un estudio de caso'. Entiendo que esta investigación está siendo realizada por Idham Badruzaman, estudiante del Máster en Estudios Internacionales de Paz, Conflictos y Desarrollo de la Universitat Jaume I, para mejorar la investigación de su tesis de maestría.*

*Entiendo que el método de investigación que me puede implicar es mi participación en una entrevista de 30-60 minutos.*

*Doy permiso para la entrevista grabada y transcrita, para ser utilizada sólo por Idham Badruzaman para el análisis de datos de la entrevista que se publicará en la tesis de maestría y publicación(es) futura(s).*

*Entiendo que cualquier información de identificación personal con respecto a mi nombre puede aparecer sólo en el antes mencionado trabajo e investigador, es decir, esta información no será utilizada por otros investigadores ni incluida en cualquier otra publicación(es) futura(s).*

## II. Questions for the interview

1. What is Gernika to you?
2. How did you see Gernika in the past?
3. How do you see Gernika now?
4. How important is Euskera for the people of Gernika?
5. What do you think of when remembering the tragedy?
6. What do you think of *the Annual Commemoration of the Bombing*?
7. What do you think of *the Peace Research Center of Gernika Gogoratuz*?
8. What do you think of *the Peace Museum of Gernika*?
9. What do you think of *the painting of Pablo Picasso 'Guernica'*?
10. What is 'peace' to you?
11. How to make or keep peace in Gernika?
12. What is your expectation for Gernika?
13. What is your expectation for Spain?

### *Preguntas para la entrevista*

1. *¿Qué es Gernika para ti?*
2. *¿Cómo mirabas/veías Gernika en el pasado?*
3. *¿Cómo miras Gernika ahora?*
4. *¿Cuán importante es la lengua Euskera para la gente de Gernika?*
5. *¿Qué piensas cuando recuerdas/piensas en la tragedia del bombardeo?*
6. *¿Qué piensas de la conmemoración del bombardeo?*
7. *¿Qué piensas del Centro de Investigación por la Paz y Transformación de Conflictos?*
8. *¿Qué piensas del museo de la paz de Gernika?*
9. *¿Qué piensas de la pintura de Guernica por Pablo Picasso?*
10. *¿Qué es la 'paz' para ti?*
11. *¿Cómo hacer o mantener la paz en Gernika?*
12. *¿Qué deseas para Gernika?*
13. *¿Qué deseas para España?*

### III. Questionnaire Material

Lugar de nacimiento :

Ciudad de domicilio :

1. ¿Qué te deseas la situación en Gernika actualmente?

- a) en la paz
- b) en él guerra
- c) en conflicto
- d) otra \_\_\_\_\_

2. ¿Qué sientas sobre la identidad de gente de Gernika?

- a) Español
- b) Euskalduna
- c) Español y Euskalduna
- d) otra \_\_\_\_\_

3. ¿Qué te parece sobre la conmemoración del bombardeo?

- a) Estoy a favor de la conmemoración
- b) No es importante actualmente
- c) No quiero recordar la bombardeo
- d) otra \_\_\_\_\_

Muchas gracias por su colaboración. Si quieres leer mi tesis sobre Gernika, te enviaré la tesis por el correo electrónico, así puedes poner lo en la lista del contacto. ¡Gracias!

#### **IV. Transcript Interview**

##### **1. Iratxe, Director of Peace Museum of Gernika**



Idham: What is Gernika to you?

Iratxe: Gernika for me is, a symbol, a working place because I don't live in Gernika and I am not from Gernika.

Id: You were not born here?

Ir: I was not born here, my grandmother was from Gernika but I am not from Gernika. So I think it's a dynamic place that wants to combine past, present and work for future.

Id: so the symbol of a working place..

Ir: The symbol .. I would say, the symbol of recovery from a very tragic situation, and .. and a place (that is) very related with the Basque identity too.

Id: Okay.. okay..

Id: how did you see Gernika in the past and how do you see Gernika now?

Ir: I will answer both questions, how did you see Gernika in the past and how do you see Gernika now?

What I see is that what happened in the past now even if we are trying to work every day on this, it's been diluted somehow for many people, but I think that's normal in a way that you cannot remember everything, you only remember something, but, I am very, something I have the impression that the young people only take or pick the topic, the topic of what it happened, you know Only some facts, not the broader point of few. But I think that's normal in the memory process everywhere and all the time, so.. what I have seen is that perhaps because of that symbol, because of that identity it's quite different, what how it is live here this past in relation with the presence than in another places, in the Basque country, no. They suffered too, in a way not like in Gernika now, but they live in a different way. For example I think that Durango that was completely destroyed as Gernika, haven't done the process as Gernika in a way, you know. So I think it's true that symbol of being a symbol says a lot, but feeding the symbol too in a way, you know, with new, with new symbolism too. And giving a new symbolism and there's some places that only stay in what it was before but they are not breeding or feeding this symbol nowadays or giving other significance to the symbol and in Gernika that .. that is the reason.

Id: How important Euskera for the people of Gernika?

Ir: I think it's essential, is their language, is our language, so here, I don't know if you know, but the Basque language and how the Basque language is in the middle of our relation in the Basque country is different from one part to the other. Depending of how many immigrants of people from another place came/ For example I live near Bilbao and where I live is not so use.. usual that people talking Basque in the street/ you know/ but here the live is Basque/

Id: But Gernika has many Immigrants as well

Ir: But I suppose that/ I don't know if the immigrants learn Basque/ some I know that they learned/ but for everyday's life I think not learning perhaps as to know, to talk be a conversation, but you should be I think in a way where of the cultural identity that this with the language in itself/ you know.

Id: Would you define immigrants here as Spanish or non Spanish?

Ir: There are many people that not being Basque and they do not speak Basque because their parents didn't teach them/ because the use of the language very much has been manipulated in a way politically/ but in some places more/ I think here in Gernika is not that it has been manipulated or not that the essential life of the people is in Basque.

Id: What do you think of when remembering the tragedy?

Ir: As the first expression, it could be the horror of human being/ how can we can be/ how can we start something that has been repeated with the holocaust, with a new war, with many-many things. When I remember and when I was the other day in the 26 the anniversary etc./ very often comes to my mind/ the same situation that are living in another place nowadays/ how in a way, even we are aware of that/ you know/ and we are since in a way the frustration that things like that happen and happen once.. /once after the other.

Id: what do you think of the annual commemoration of the bombing?

Ir: I think it's very important/ I think it should be more/ it's very important/ but I am afraid that the new generation are not participated as much as they should/ and I would like to know what will happen in ten years with.. when the survivors of the people don't participate/ what will be that/ but I think the new generation will find a way to commemorate it/ perhaps on their own language/ you know/ For example some years ago, four minutes with the alarm at quarter to four was something not done/ something that is started from the young people/ perhaps other way of commemorate and other kinds of.. /perhaps young people are not use to or they don't like going to the cemetery for example and have a mass there. So that will change.

Id: what do you think of the peace research center of Gernika Gogoratuz?

Ir: I think that.. /the works that they have done is.. /essential to understand how has been that changed of Gernika/ and how we, they and other agents are continuously feeding the symbol of Gernika. Because if

not, it would be like other cities that did happened something and they are not working anymore/ you know/ For me is essential/ very important.

Id: Would what would you connect peace and remembering?

Ir: I think it's very necessary this connection/ very often When you do this connection it's more/ you become like martyr city/ you only remember one part/ the tragic part/ there is not that link with/ how to say/ the compromise that you have to change what happened you know/ and this is essential/ remember but to work for peace to change it/

Id: what do you think of the peace museum of Gernika?

Ir: what would I like that the museum should be or/ for the people I would say because I am the director so I am not very objective to explain you that/ I think both Gernika Gogoratuz more for research, university students and Gernika peace museum more for the society/ should be/ try to be like/ anthem or places where a what happened and the work that should be done not only here in Gernika but around the world/ not to happened those things again/ are socialized in different ways with research, with books, with exhibition, with workshop/ this is our task/ I think.

Id: What do you think of the painting of Pablo Picasso?

I think have in the painting is another way to see the symbol/ very important/ because for many-many people/ especially people from abroad, Gernika is a painting/ is not a place/ and when they come they realize that it is a place/ but before it was the painting/ so it's very important/ and it's for me it's astonishing how an art work can be so important/ you know/ and how the symbolism of it has changed/ and it's more than an art work/ much more than an art work.

What is peace to you?

Ir: Something is not utopic/ something real/ something.. it's like / who do you say/ *una equilibrista*/ equilibrium/ Trying to go a place equilibrium/ working everyday on not knowing where are you going with that equilibrium of people, of thought and trying to be balance. That's what I would say.

Ir: How to make/ keep peace in Gernika?

Working every day, talking a lot and participating in many things/ you know/ and I think trying to understand other positions that perhaps as far away from ours/ you know/ how they think ideas/ I think to work for peace you have to try to be very open minded and try to understand other people's situation and perception.

Id: Do you think keeping peace in Gernika would also affect the peace in general?

It could be a good thing/ you know/ but I don't think we are so important as what it would have been here/ in a way similar to the world/

Id: what is your expectation for Gernika?

Ir: To continue working every day and doing different thing and trying to send the message that I think/it tries to say that it's not only the place to be remembered terrible fact, but a place that works not to happened another terrible fact and to be conscious of what it is supposed/ those things.

Id: What is your expectation for Spain?

I would like better future than what it looks it's going to be/ because of the crisis/ not only because of the crisis but of the lack of being brave to do things and because of all the situations that is happening now/ young people very desperate/ not having job/ not having the future/ after have studied so much/ and I think with the very big and poor political establishment/ in a way that they only see not the big horizon or trying to cover the needs for tomorrow but not looking to the future/ I am quite worried because of that/ I



think this crisis of this year is not only/ they are not only maintained/ will maintain for those years/ it will be longer because we are not looking through the politicians.

-End of transcript-

## 2. Amaia Egia



Idham: What is Gernika to you?

Amaia: it's my hometown/ I've lived here for the whole of my life/ I guess it's part of me.

Id: What did you see Gernika in the past?

Am: It was quite an active town/ there was a lot going on/ people used to go out/ was quite/ una ciudad muy viva/ yeah I don't know/ that's the first impression that I have/ because for example my grandfather used to play in a band/ used to do a lot of things in Gernika/ was quite an active town because quite a lot of industries/ it was during the Franco/ like 50 years ago/ that's impression that I have in my grandparents/ in the past there was a lot industries and they used to earn more money and they used the money to many things/ that's why the town was quite active.

Id: What do you Gernika now?

Am: Right now we don't have industries/ many fabrics went/ and then the economic crisis is another thing/ right now is stuck/ maybe/ people don't go out very much/ it's not so active/ not so alive/ it used to be a lot factories, but they disappeared/ about 10 years ago they've started to closing down/ the plan was to make Gernika become a tourist town/ like what happened in Bilbao, when the factories were closing down, they started to make a place as a touristic town/ here in Gernika they tried to do the same, but it didn't work/ and then the crisis same, so it was worst because we can stand so much/ we can live with just touristic sectors/

Id: how important is Euskera for the people of Gernika?

Am: It's our language, so I don't know if it's important, I guess it's important/ it's our mother tongue/ Right now there are a lot of immigrants people so a lot people came here, so they speak more Spanish than Basque. They don't learn Basque. Immigrants what meant are Spanish, Romanian, and Africans/ started in my generations; they go to school and learned Basque. But right now, you have quite a lot of Spanish also. Twenty years ago maybe it was all Euskera. Lumo was quite small and Lumo doesn't host so many immigrants, so it still follows the Euskera culture/ here we normally speak in Basque but you also hear Spanish, but Euskera is always part of the town/ there was a repression (toward Basque by Franco), you always lose something but I mean in my case is a bit different because my parents are not from Gernika-Gernika, they are from small town, Garita and Aratxo, they are very small town/ maybe the conversion of Euskera is easier

Id: What do you think of when remembering the tragedy?

Am: That../ it's always happened the.. the normal people always pays the death/ the conflict is among powerful people because of different reasons, the ones who pays the death are always the workers, the ones that are below/ The tragedy is quite far from me/my Grandma was speaking about it yesterday/ She remembered with fears/ so you know that she suffered it/ for us it's a past/ in my case, I didn't feel it so close/ I didn't live it/ it's always sad/

Id: What do you think of the commemoration of the bombing?

Am: It's fine to remember it/ to have it clear/ to have it present/ talk about it/ it's okay.

Id: what do you think of the peace research center of Gernika?

Am: I don't know the peace research center

Id: What do you think of peace museum of Gernika?

Am: I haven't been in the peace museum even I am from Gernika

Id: What do you think of the painting of Pablo Picasso?

Am: I think it's a good way to remember things that happened to remain people that/ that's not the right way to go/ that's one day/ it's quite related with the question before, no/ maybe because it was painted by Picasso, so it's more known so, it was more spread than the other, for example the commemoration is just for the people of Gernika and the surrounding/ with the painting spread more/ when famous people/ at that time Picasso was already famous/

Id: What is peace to you?

Am: *La paz es saber con vivir o además saber que no todos tenemos una mismo opinión pero de todas formas saber entender al prójimo y aceptar lo y intentar con vivir.*

Id: Como hacer o mantener la paz en Gernika?

Am: I guess we are in peace now. I guess it's related to the previous question. Understanding each other and trying to understand to each other

Id: What is your expectation for Gernika?

Am: Bueno, la gente empezará tener más conciencia de lo que está pasando y de lo que sea entonces la gente joven sobre todo/ si que está participando aquí va mente en el pueblo entonces me parece muy pasa adelante porque al final en pueblo los hacemos entre los ciudades asi que aparte de los políticos bueno opinar, la participación de la gente muy intención de/ para el titulo. Y eso espero que la gente que está participando ... pueblo muy activo. Aparte de la ahora crisis/ la economía no está muy bien/ se va mejorar/ for ejemplo estoy trabajando en comercios entonces se nota que la economía no está bien/ el pueblo tampoco no está bien.

Id: what is your expectation for Spain?

Am: Que te va ya bien.. no sé.. que salga de la crisis .. No sé..

Si, no lo mismo como Gernika. I will say to improve the economy.

-End of transcript-

### 3. María Oianguren Idigoras, Director of Peace Research Center of Gernika

#### Gogoratuz



Idham: ¿Qué es Gernika para ti?

María: Lugar donde nací y estoy viviendo. En primer lugar donde trabajo también. Y especialmente. Es e.. Significa mucho. Porque centro de investigación por la paz donde trabajo desde aquellos 20 años se llama Gernika Gogoratuz. Entonces Gernika es un referente importante y Gernika también es el nombre del cuadro de Pablo Ruiz Picasso. Uno del los cuadros más emblemáticos del siglo veinte. Un cuadro que denuncia de la guerra. Y Gernika tiene una simbología poliédrica. Entonces Gernika para mi es una villa. Es un referente simbólico y todo su significado en torno a la paz. A la memoria. A la reconciliación. Al arte

Id: ¿Como mirabas o como veías Gernika en pasado?

Mar: Gernika es la villa emblemática digamos la identidad Vasca. Antes de la guerra o incluso al principio del siglo. Era una localidad similares localidades de la entornó. Una villa su contexto histórico. Tenía un componente rural importante pero también de servicios. A partir de .. para guerra digamos qué un poeta vasco le dijo una canción Gernika con arbola que tiene un componente simbólico para todos los vascos y las vascas. Entonces digamos su canción el libro Gernika con arbola llevo el mensaje de una simbología propia digamos identitaria de sentimiento vasco a otros lugares del mundo otra vez de la diáspora. Esto el final de siglo de diez y nueve. Y tras del bombardeo del Gernika en el marco de la guerra civil española 26 de abril de 1937 con la presencia de Steer el corresponsal del guerra que amplio y so conocer la noticia ya nivel internacional y especialmente también gracias a el lienzo que Picasso se llamo Gernika se internacionalizo digamos que su recuerdo, no. Su potencial simbólico. Entonces sí creo que otra vez del tiempo la simbología hay do digamos quien riceciendos y en ricensiendos sentido de . Es una simbología dinámica. No es sola. No represento una simbología exclusivamente de identidad Vasca. Sí no que represento una simbología de si lo vasco como algo propio. Sí lo. Sí Gernika. Digamos que. Como símbolo contra el horror. Contra la barbaría. Contra los bombardeos. A población civil contra no fue la primera ciudad bombardeada. Otras Gernika anteriormente pero no fueron pintadas. Entonces hay también cebe el poder. Difusión distención que el arte puede tener o los medios de comunicación a la hora de hacer público a la hora de internacionalizó/ también ya desde la edad media Gernika era considerada un lugar en que se reunión señores de Vizcaya para consensuar uso si costumbres en torno al árbol de Gernika/ y los reyes de Castilla venia a Gernika Isabela y Fernando/ venia a Gernika jurar digamos que suele alta felicidad a los fueros que representaba es decir ya villa una forma de gobierno con cao en el contexto de la media, no/ en el que los señores de Vizcaya y los reyes de Castilla/ Se respetaba no mostraban

allí un acuerdo de reconocer mutuamente/ el recuerda que los reyes de castilla que venía a Gernika/ Entonces si considerada una primeras entendida también en aquel contexto democracias de Europa. La tradición reunión de entorno un arboles era anterior ya había otros pueblos a nivel de Europa también so consensuaban/ entonces podemos tener allí Gernika en primer lugar un lugar en el que se entendía una insipiente democracia entendida en.. con las característica digamos de la edad media y en Gernika presente respeto a las formas usos del costumbre reyes o los señores de Vizcaya, no/ entonces si tienen componencial político de incipiente democracia luego tiene un componente también digamos que poético en cuanto que para guerreen/ escribe el verso del Gernika ko arbola y pon de su mensaje otra vez de esa canción que lleva muchas lugares diásporas Vasca en todo América donde había inmígranos muchos vascos / luego el elemento del bueno/ pues primera población es que bombardeada/ y en el contexto de la guerra y luego/ otra vez del cuadro como se/ se empieza realizar lo que nosotros venimos a la hora de Ártico pedagogía de paz ártico modenuncia.

Id: ¿Como miras Gernika ahora?

Mar: Pues una evolución histórico y social/ una evolución cultural/ la gente en Gernika así en general con el trabajo que se realiza tanto para rescatar la importancia de la historia/ la importancia de la memoria y la simbología de paz que representa/ e digamos que es concedora desde potencial simbólico/ en Gernika el/ las personas saben que Picasso pinto el cuadro/ conocen que Gernika fue ciudad bombardeadas/ conocen su historia/ quedan conocen de talle en todas su historia pero si/ en de talle me refiero como puedes saber un especialista de la materia/ un historiador/ pero si saben que conocer Gernika digamos que en general la historia/ y entonces sabe el trabajo que puede realizar desde Gernika/ trabajador de la paz/ entonces sí y ha vido/ una dinámica social pero también como habitan otro lugares/ quiero que decir que es un fenómeno a

nivel global/ sobre todo ahora cada vez más con los sociedad globalizadas/ si ha vido/ no sé si estoy contestando tu pregunta pero no muy bien que tu refieres.

Id: ¿Cuán importante es la lengua de euskera para la gente de Gernika?

Mar: Cuán importante, pues es una lengua de .. es la lengua .. las dos son las lenguas oficiales .. el Castellano y el Euskera/ entonces durante muchos años estuvo prohibido/ esta es una zona rural donde se hablaba euskera/ pero tras cuarenta años de dictadura en la que se prohibido/ hablar la incluso bueno y la alfabetización / no se permitía a las escuelas / se mantuvo núcleos familiares núcleos más de amistades/ pero buena campaña importante y un esforzó para recuperar lo de mucha gente y actual mente es una e es una es una lengua la que es sorpresa de muchas personas/ digamos que es una sociedad bilingüe / no significa que todo el mundo la hable perfectamente/ pero si significa que la que las nuevas generaciones ya están alfabetizadas que pueden cursar todos estudian euskera y que se combina tan todo el uso la lectura del escritura del euskera del castellano.

Id: ¿Qué piensas cuando recuerdas sobre la tragedia del bombardeo del Gernika?

Mar: Pues el centro de investigación la paz se constituyo en 1998, en el Marco del los/ del 50 de aniversario del bombardeo de Gernika/ entonces nuestro trabajo desde sus orígenes están muy vinculado a la memoria/ la memoria de aquel echo/ qué pienso/ pienso que Gernika tiene un compromiso importante sobre todo por la importancia simbólica que representa para realizar un trabajo pavor de la paz/ es decir un trabajo de denuncia de las otras Gernikas/ de las que gua antes que no pintaron pintadas no que si gua, no/ de las toda vías si lloviendo/ entonces Gernika cuando e una boca/ e boca un potencial simbólico importante/ entonces creo que/ ese eco/ esa fuerza que tiene/ tiene estar al servicio de la paz/ al servicio de un trabajo de la paz/ por eso



nuestra filosofía metodología plantea memoria y arte como pedagogía de paz, no/ porque pensamos Gernika/ y que/ y que des recuerdo/ nos permite poner digamos que su potencial a la servicio de la paz/ pero sola nivel local/ también a nivel internacional, no. Y todas nuestra actividades son actividades que giran en torno a propuesta construcción de paz, derechos humanos, transformación no violenta de conflictos/ en propuesta también de como trabajamos las identidades/ de cómo no relaciona nos con las otras personas.

Id: ¿Qué piensas la conmemoración del bombardeo del Gernika?

Mar: Pienso que las conmemoraciones en concreto con la conmemoración del bombardeo del Gernika es una conmemoración importante para los Gernikes especialmente para los que vivieron el bombardeo del Gernika/ para supervivientes/ para el colectivo del hombres mujeres/ Creo que a lo largo de los años tiene unos puntos importantes/ es unos él/ es el que se realizan cementerio del Gernika la ofrenda floral de respeto/ de reconocimiento/ de recuerdo a las víctimas del bombardeo/ las jornadas que nosotros organizamos anualmente desde 24 años del jornadas internacionales cultura de la paz/ son una manera también de cuan memorar/ es una conmemoración que invita la reflexión/ es una conmemoración/ son unas jornadas académica sociales y culturales que permiten un punto de encuentro para estudiantes, para profesores, para gente que está trabajando en este tema/ es decir no solamente/ no para recordar/ y que también recordar, solidarizar nos, pero realizar trabajo por la paz/ este es reflexionar/ que corión/ que pensamos sobre ellos/ como podemos aportar a la construcción de paz/ y la propia conmemoración ha ido es una conmemoración dinámica/ porque desde hace dos años de 2012 hay otra repentización se para cuatro minutos en Gernika distintas en distintos puntos/ esta es un conmemoración digamos que de carácter social, civil/ cuatro minutos de silencio/ suena sirena/ para visar llegaras los aviones/ las propias conmemoración luego también las novas generación

bana haciendo las propias/ y realizan propuestas para con memorar/ se mantiene las tradicionales/ que en el cementerio de Gernika donde se reunión en las destitución autoridades supervivientes abierta a todos los Gernikeses y las Gernikesas/ y la iniciativa conmemorativa de cuatro minutos es una iniciativa que ha surgido también digamos de las nuevas generaciones, no/ y se realizan los tiempos para que una persona pueda poder así si a una y a otras/ y luego hay distintos seventos nivel cultural también en Gernika.

Id: ¿Qué piensas de centro de investigación de la paz?

Mar: Pues eso el centro de investigación donde trabajo/ entonces pienso que realiza que fue una iniciativa en el año 1997 interesante/ es decir una iniciativa que propuso una arquitectura memorial/ entorno un hecho dramático trágico que no de villa de ha ocurrido/ y de lo que planteo una reflexión/ y un trabajo por la paz/ entonces no solamente era memoria recuerdo un sentido una mirada del pasado si no quiera memoria y esperanza, no/ con una mirada sí el futuro/ y incorporo elemento de reflexión científica/ es decir la memoria como contribución a la paz, no/ como se vincula/ y es una arquitectura memorial también que aun no en ese andar a instituciones/ y a sociedad civil/ y luego también incorporo los elementos de la academia de las universidades/ entonces instituciones sociedad civil y academia/ o y en día digamos que banqué juntas, no/ las estructurar/ la arquitectura memoria y a un sudia fue pionera interesante, no/ para realizar un trabajo de construcción de la paz y derechos humanos.

Id: ¿Qué piensas del museo de la paz de Gernika?

Mar: Que realiza también una importante labor/ es el único museo del estados español/ y a la hora de difundir/ a nivel educativo/ y a nivel ciudadano/ e lo que en Gernika soy en día y que reflexión sobre ese hecho y trabajo podemos hacer la paz tiene también un lugar en el mundo/

realiza un trabajo importante cuanto difusión educativa, talleres, congresos/ en nuestra casas también después de 27 años tenemos a las jornadas internacionales de cultura y paz en colaboración con el museo y la casa de cultura los 50 internacionales de arte y paz/ desde el año pasado 2013/ y a partir de la transformación y la inauguración de ASTRA como fabrica de creación cultural/ una fabrica que fue de armas, no/ realizamos allí las jornadas internacionales de anti mil/ de memoria histórica anti militarismo con otros colectivos de Gernika/ con la coordinadora ASTRA/ significa que de una manera de otra vamos, no/ conociendo todo ese potencial le ponemos el servicio/ de un trabajo por la paz/ pero luego también de una paz vinculada a la vida cotidiana / y lo largo del año tanto en el museo como centro investigación por la paz/ se mantienen actividades permanentes curso de formación/ publicaciones/

Id: ¿Qué piensas del cuadro de Picasso?

Mar: uhh.. eso un cuadro impresionante/ un cuadro emblemático, no/ no solamente a nivel artístico/ si no también fue de los cuadros más importante de denuncia/ entonces el Gernika de Picasso es un cuadro con mucho potencial/ simbólico y representa/ un tipo/ un arte/ una/ representa para mí el lienzo que clama el favor de la paz/ y eso lienzo que recoge el potencial también de/ de las víctimas, no/ es un cuadro que la denuncia de la guerra que hace/ es otra vez de la víctimas/ y es el cuadro más viajero del siglo 20/ se expuso muchos sitios/ es un cuadro en sí que cada elemento aporta/ una interpretación que pueden requieser el universo memorial de Gernika, no/

Id: ¿Que es la paz para ti?

Mar: la paz para mí/ sí/ la paz es el desarrollo de las capacidades humanas/ de las personas para cuidar la vida/ con elementos de justicia

Id: ¿Cómo hacer o mantener la paz en Gernika?

Mar: en Gernika me imagino que quieres decir ¿desde Gernika? Bueno en Gernika también/ pues comento el largo/ sitio potencial simbólico importante entorno grande de la humanidad es un concepto universales/ identitaria/ cuando no son incluyentes/ cuando no se entienden/ digamos que manera que se incluye, no/ otros son tienes todo el mundo/ tiene sus propias identidades/ deberse dinámico él lo largo de la vida, no/ la propia también colectiva/ entonces Gernika habla digamos que universales/ las just de la identidad de la persona, no/ colectivo/ relaciones con otro lugares / de todas las personas/ o las formas de con venir/ como vamos a gestionar otra convivencia diaria/ ya des entonces sistema digamos que democrático/ y entonces las cuestión de la identidad/ cuestión de la democracia/ la cuestión de la denuncia/ de la guerra/ la cuestión de la paz/ la cuestión de la memoria, no/ como contribución a la paz/ es el trabajo/ que desde Gernika se puede hacer cual quiero de otro lugares/ pero digamos que la simbología por distinta razones históricas/ y simbólicos/ simbólicas le hacen un faro decir, no/ que boca todas cuestiones que estamos hablando, no/ que a cada uno le boca su propia imaginarios simbólicos entorno a la paz/ la democracia/ la reconciliación/

Id: ¿Qué deseas para Gernika?

Mar: Qué deseo para Gernika/ pues deseo que las personas que vivan en Gernika reflexionen cuestión entes del potencial de la villa/ sin embargo también este es un deseo que tengo para todas las personas general, no/ que Gernika se va combinar las propuestas que han ven indo haciendo distintas instituciones para un trabajo por la paz/ y que sigamos trabajando las instituciones también a favor in ese trabajo/ que se crea a mí me gusta a que en este ámbito como un campus por la paz en Gernika/ que ya un día cultura y paz/ viene siendo punto de encuentro

de viene de estudiantes de distintos más/ donde tenemos más reflexión de en torno de las teorías y las practicas de la investigación por la paz/ de la construcción de la paz/ entonces para Gernika también para en general los lugares del mundo, no/ que su historia y que sean/ e.. Digamos que contentes de las capacidades que tenemos para trabajar por la paz

Id: ¿Que deseas para España?

Mar: Los mismos que para Gernika

-End of transcript-

#### 4. Anna Leon, a researcher of Gernika Gogoratuz



Idham: ¿Qué es Gernika para ti?

Anna: Es difícil contestar lo.. / no, no, no es difícil, es fácil pero.. quiero decir que para mí Gernika tiene dos, tiene como dos **capacidades** de vividas/ una la Gernika que conocía con estudiaba pero vivía en Bilbao y ya he **venido** aquí para visita/ y otra, a partir de empieza trabajar en Gernika y sobre todo por el tipo de trabajo que tiene en Gernika y Gernika Gogoratuz

concretamente/ entonces diferenciaría pues eso Gernika que te enseñan el sobre la historia de Gernika lo que era Gernika el del cuadro del Guernica que tenía casi todo a las familias vascas/ por los menos las de Bilbao los que conocía/ y bueno sabes/ sabes de Gernika del bombardeo y además otra vez de Picasso/ pero luego ara ir de trabajar con supervivientes del bombardeo/ pues bueno ya conoces o veis a Gernika como pues eso como más la e.. la ciudad de símbolo/ lo que ha significado/ porque tienes tuvieras oportunidad muchas suerte del poder contacto con ellos entrevistas/ de poder también conocer a/ al hijo de George Steer/ de conocer a Nicholas Rangkin que fue a la historia escribió sobre George Steer/ Entonces bueno ya conoces eso/ pues otra Gernika llamas profundamente aparte de por motivo laborales/ pues vivir mucho en el pueblo, no/ Entonces siempre digo ahora que ya Gernika considera con mi segunda casa/ porque he vivido aquí/ aquí aprendí Vizcaya, no/ des el Euskera/ Euskera .. claro Euskera es lo que sea no sé te me meto mucho royo me dices/ el Euskera principio era osa el Euskera es/ tiene cada zona tiene su Euskera, no/ forma de hablar lo/ y lo que sí fue recoger todo van tueras que se llama lo que recoge que todos las Euskera para hacer un Euskera digamos un Euskera académicos/ una Euskera para utilizar en todos los lugares/ entonces el Vizcaya yo conocía se va tueras, no/aprendí el **castol/ y el Rey** de esta aquí también pues pueden aprender el Vizcaya/ pues para mí es una/ es una villa con una simbología muy grande/ y que para mí me significa pues eso/ aparte de mi segunda lugar vamos a decir/ pues bueno significa históricamente/ pues/ pues me resulta/ bueno creo que gracias a Gernika el trabajo aquí ha aprendido bastante sobre tema de memoria.

Id: ¿Cómo mirabas Gernika en pasado y cómo miras Gernika ahora?

Ann: Yo miraba Gernika antes lo veía como símbolo del horror vamos a decir/ símbolo que pues osa había ha traído bombardeo/ pues era una ciudad vosca bombardeada/ y símbolos de los

horrores y además ... hablar tema sobre Picasso cuadro/ y ahora mismo lo veo como un símbolo de paz y de reconciliación/ veo que en Gernika hay mucho semilla/ ¿semilla entiendes? Lo que se planta para que ... una planta/ Planta bueno veo como una semilla grande que está trabajando mucho desde Gernika para que/ para nobel Gernika solamente como el pasado del horror/ si no para ver algo positivo y algo que nos puedo llevar a quien general en el mundo/ pues.. pues hay paz.

Id: ¿Cuán importante es la lengua de Euskera para la gente de Gernika?

Ann: Mucho/ mucho porque ellos es su lengua/ la utiliza muchísimo aquí pide un café en Euskera/ compra ... en Euskera/ pues yo que es de Bilbao/ no tenemos osa en Bilbao el Euskera está muy pesado zona concreta/ no se utiliza casi/ y utiliza mucho a la hablar con los niños/ además pero luego la miente de cuadrilla de día a día en casa no se utiliza/ aquí por ejemplo Euskera pues eso vive en Euskera

Id: ¿qué piensas cuando recuerdas tragedia del bombardeo?

Ann: pues creo que/ yo es que te voy a recoger algo que esta comenta aquí en las Jornadas y que se ha comentado otras veces/ y a mí me viene mucho a la idea lo que digo Luiz Riondo que se ha comentado/ lo que estaban en los aviones visto más cerca bajado un poco y andar un poco por la villa he visto/ que los/ que la gente que la iban masacrar era como gente con hijos como podían tener con sus familias y quizás lo ves

Id: ¿Qué piensas de la conmemoración del bombardeo de Gernika?

An: pues me parece que/ bueno/ creo que es una conmemoración que se hace a veces más actividades/ desde que yo empieza trabajar aquí e ha cambiado mucho/ te voya dato anterior

cuando yo empieza trabajar aquí los colores del bombardeo/ ellos decían que antiguamente/ anteriormente cuando aniversario de era la conmemoración sentaba muy mal/ entonces ellos consideraba un día para celebrar pues el día del mercado el último lunes sentido conmemoración tiene si no que tenía momento para recuerdo con otras actividades yo creo que no estaba/ mucho/ cada vez/ también/ por parte de los jóvenes como el tema de lo que está un grupo de los jóvenes/ denie todo el tema del diálogo generaciones cabeza simpliza mas la conmemoración del aniversario/ entonces creo que muchísimas cosas muy interesante y generaciones otra están participando mucho están implicando es un tema festivo de poner de las calles como celebrar antes si no que por ejemplo con diez años con tema de los premios de la paz y la reconciliación, la ofrenda de la floral/ pero yo creo que mas y cabeza si haces más cosas cada vez mas implica el pueblo cosas no/ y las actividades las conmemoración.

Id: ¿Qué piensas del centro de la investigación de la paz de Gernika?

Ann: Bueno pues/ creo que un centro que ha hecho mucho-mucho-mucho por eso que te digo mucho/ ha trabajado mucho para que esto/ lo que te comento la conmemoración y además otras jornadas y además ha trabajado mucho para conmemorar de otra manera diferente y acercada internacional a Gernika/ para hablar no de bombardeos/ para hablar el tema de paz/ de reconciliación de memoria y aquí el pueblo de Gernika tenga la posibilidad de tener a gente aquí es que le cuente/ que le cuente pues esa situación de otras ciudades/ de otros países/ pues otras posibilidades conocer más Colombia, Irlanda/ quiero decir que es una oportunidad que Gernika Gogoratuz se han cargado pasase/ yo he trabajado mucho porque esa así/ centro muy importante en tema de paz/ luego con centro documentación pues casi documentación de referencia durante mucho tiempo en este matic/ y que/ bueno disfrutado materia para trabajar



Id: ¿Qué piensas del museo de la paz de Gernika?

Ann: Pues mira, el único museo que en el mundo que trabaja el/ que trabaja/ es el museo de la paz/ me parece muy importante/ me parece que hacer una labor muy buena/ muy poco recursos/ muchas veces/ y que también otra vez entiendes posiciones interesantes/ que traer la gente en el pueblo/ que para el pueblo también es un referente/ y que a veces parece obvio que tiene hacer algo pero luego en otras mismas cosas o instituciones, organizaciones que quizás no veamos, no/ yo creo que el museo de la paz ha sabido el visible/ ha sabido visibilizar mucho lo que se una paz/ no solamente para la gente de la fuera del pueblo de Gernika.

Id: ¿Qué piensas de la pintura de Pablo Picasso de Gernika?

Ann: Es un cuadro/ yo no soy muy experta en arte, no soy/ y me parece en su momento/ pues veía el cuadro de Gernika.. de Picasso/ el cuadro pues como lo que he comentado antes/ un cuadro que tenía mucha gente en casa/ que era un símbolo de paz/ símbolo de la y tal/ y me parece que/ una vez me dijo una superviviente del bombardeo me dijo que le parece que horrible el cuadro/ que no le gustaba nada la estética del cuadro, no/ que no le parecía que era muy feo/ como ve ha pintado/ entonces bueno porque claro eso es para nosotros a mi no me gusta nada/ yo estéticamente claro el arte de no controlo mucho/ bueno me parece que pasa que luego es verdad es que cuando conociendo experto aquí también posibilidades que te explica en el cuadro expertos y que te lo saben/ y quizás me hecho ver e más lo que/ veo el cuadro de otra manera, no/ o sea un sepa mucho de arte otra vez que gente sabe y que te explica puedes ver el cuadro más el/ entonces a la me gusta

Id: ¿Qué la paz para ti?

Ann: hufh.. Que pregunta/ bueno es que no sé porque/ creo que tanto tiempo trabajando en tema de paz y con el tema de la paz y tal/ que ahora mismo me parece estoy entre que me parece a una ilusión y una realidad/ sé que es complicado/ que puede ser contra diccionario/ una ilusión porque es la ilusión que tengo/ que de que la paz/ como he entendido la paz sea real/ lo que pasa que viendo ahora los conflictos que ... en el mundo que gente como los sobre el bombardeo como Gernika Gogoratuz, como el museo, como miles de organizaciones que trabajan por la paz y aun así / creo hay muy poco ha van se/ y hay van mucho al guerra / pues entonces me parece/ algo complicado de alcanzar/ pero también pienso que nos abrazos que trabajan

Id: ¿Cómo hacer o mantener la paz en Gernika?

Ann: Bueno yo creo que la paz en Gernika/ yo creo que es paz/ y ahora mismo no lo veo como algo/ que no que/ es hay un pueblo y pongo el ejemplo de ASTRA/ a mí yo solo decir que a mí me encanta/ yo tengo dos hijas/ y a mí me encantaría que un día/ un día que noche buena como fue cuando ocupada ASTRA de Gernika ellas de con tan jóvenes hace movimiento como esto/ explicó/ creo que/ que tuvieron mucho valor pero mucha/ era muy juventud/ muy diferente a la igual hemos ahora no/ la juventud del Botello/ es cuando beben/ entonces me parece que la paz en Gernika estaba tan asegurada jóvenes que trabajan por ellas/ y eso ya es/ es mucho

Id: ¿Qué deseas para Gernika?

Ann: Bueno pues yo/ creo que desear que sigan como están/ que sigan implicados/ que sigan creando pues eso como zonas culturales como ASTRA que era antigua fábrica de arma/ que sigan trabajando las organizaciones que están que no dé aparezcan por una crisis económica que también es difícil porque ahora mismo estamos en una situación en la que es muy difícil trabajar en cualquier cosa pero estos tema se consideran segunda, o de tercera/ ¿eso entiendes?/ no son

prioritarios/ son muy importante/ entonces e.. pues el mío esta allí a que organizaciones que están trabajando en sus temas/ puede a ver momento en el que no puedan por un tema económica

Id: ¿Qué deseas para España?

Ann: Bueno, pues lo mismo que para todo el mundo/ o sea yo no quiero hacer diferente sentido/ lo que/ me gustaría es que en España o sea los que sean Españolas se sientan Españoles que lo sean/ y hay que oportunidad decir para todo el mundo y que no/ no estamos obligado esta nada y sobre todo/ lo que más deseo/ es que salgamos esta crisis/ de la crisis económica/ y que tengan una oportunidad y que gente con mis hijas no se encuentra con matan negro como lo que tenemos ahora.

-End of transcript-