The traumatic legacy of the wounds of history and the role of emancipative values in the long struggle for independence of Catalonia from Spain. Clinical vignettes.

Abstract: This paper is written from the perspective of the way the political confrontation of the more than two million (2,079,340) people in favor of self-determination or Independence is experienced (according to the figures of 21D2017 election). Catalonia currently has a broad community of activists who fight stubbornly, but peacefully and democratically, thrilled by an emancipative project. My interest is to explain this process from within, in an honest and frank way, highlighting its relational construction. I develop its traumatic legacy with some clinical vignettes and point to its resilient effects.

Key words: trauma, historical trauma, trans-generational transmission; wounds of history

"To be born is to be connected to history ... is to have a history before having 'one's own' history" (Grand & Salberg, 2017, p.32)

On the days around the referendum held on October 1, 2017- not authorized by the Spanish state- there was a common denominator among the citizens of Catalonia: we were all very disturbed. The agitation of the moment of political confrontation connected each person with the very wounds of his/her family's history, with the historical trauma and with its transgenerational transmission. What the inhabitants of Catalonia have been suffering throughout these months is one trauma after another, according to its definition. *Trauma* occurs when a person is involved in events that:

a) they represent a real danger to their life or their physical integrity is threatened; or when he/she witnesses an event where there are dead or injured, or there is a threat to the lives of other people.

b) The response to these events is of intense fear, despair and horror, manifested with recurrent and intrusive memories and with activation symptoms: nightmares and trouble getting to sleep or keeping asleep; concentration difficulties; psychological discomfort; and irritability.
c) The event exceeds his/her response capacity and his/her usual coping and defense mechanisms and the person experiences sensations of

interest reduction, restriction of affective life and limited future (Talarn, T. 2003, personal communication).

This traumatization and/or retraumatization of citizens has been caused by:

1. The awareness of serious economic persecution of the members of the Catalan government who organized the consultation of November 9, 2014^{i} : they are accused of embezzlement and forced to hand in \in 5.1M of their private assets, which are seized. They are also disqualified from holding public office.

The perception of a severe blow to our institutions on September 20th
 (the police intervened several branches of the Catalan government: vice-presidency, work, social affairs and family, and dismantled the Center for Telecommunications and Information Technologies)
 Direct injury or witnessing police violence of October 1st (according to the "Final Report of the Department of Health there were 1066 injured")ⁱⁱ;
 The institutional tension, on October 10th, of having won the referendum, having all the international press waiting, and seeing that President Puigdemont (of the Catalan Parliament) declared independence but left it suspended"ⁱⁱⁱ.

5. The threat of 155 (article 155 of the Spanish constitution) on October 16th, before it was decreed, with the imprisonment of the presidents of the civic-cultural organizations Òmnium Cultural and the Catalan National Assembly, respectively (Jordi Cuixart and Jordi Sánchez).

6. The difficulty of being able to celebrate, on October 27, the proclamation of the Republic, under the threat of 155 (when we already knew that the Spanish government was capable of perpetrating a bloodbath even greater than that of 1st October);

7. The effective application of the 155 on October 30: when its full weight fell on our elected politicians. Prison for 11 of them and exile for 9 (in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Scotland). Call for elections for 21D2017. The repression of the Spanish state against Catalonia is very high^{iv}, besides the 13 politicians in prison, the 9 exiled and the 1066 voters injured, we have 179 citizens prosecuted, 259 public workers purged and 712 mayors accused. Within the 100 days of its application there were 24 suppressed organizations, hiring affected, activities canceled and subsidies blocked (especially in social services)^v. Deputy Anna Gabriel goes into exile to Switzerland on 21st February 2018)^{vi}. Deputy Clara Ponsatí goes into exile on 10th March 2108 opening a new front in Scotland^{vii}

8. Refusal of the Spanish government to accept the result of the elections of 21December2017, which demands to return the institutions to those who legitimately governed them before 155. The pro-independence forces obtain an absolute majority, 70 out of 135 deputies, and we wish to give the presidency back to whom it was taken away from.

What I will argue throughout my article is that the general unrest that the citizens of Catalonia have been suffering, particularly since September 2017, expresses the pathology that has been generated as a result of successive traumatic events: in particular, acute stress disorder and chronic and/or acute post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depending on the historical background of each one, which in many cases shows a trans-generational transmission and/or a historical trauma (Grand & Salberg, 2017; Salberg & Grand, 2017).

Clinical examples

Throughout this work I will present some clinical vignettes, properly disguised in order to maintain confidentiality, which show that the unease that both therapists and patients suffered on the days around the referendum of October 1st, expressed the acute stress disorder or the post-traumatic stress disorder (with the symptoms I have described above, especially difficulties with sleep and concentration) due to the traumatization, re-traumatization, or the manifestations of trans-generational transmission or historical trauma that each one was suffering in a unique way depending on the vicissitudes of his/her development.

In her session the week before October 1st Anna told me that she was very distressed: "what can happen to us?" she wondered. She retired a couple of years ago and she has

3

a very low pension. "Am I going to lose it? I feel the threats and I'm afraid. I'm sorry, but I will not participate in the voting. I do not want to be hit. Have you seen how many police officers have arrived? I'll lock myself in at home". She tells me with tears in her eyes. She has always been liberal, she's been an activist in left-wing parties, she has been a single mother, and now she feels so frightened that she doesn't acknowledge herself. There is a story of much loneliness behind her fear. Her mother died when she was 8 years old. Her father, an authoritarian Francoist, re-married and terrorised her family with his violence. At 20 she left her family with no money and moved to Barcelona, 500km away. Over the years, she has managed to build a satisfactory life. Will she able able to keep it? She wonders in dread. When I see her again she tells me that she pulled herself together; that on October 1st she got in touch with her rebellious soul, especially when she saw the brutality of the police, and that she sought the quietest moment to go to the polling station. On later dates she finds ways to stay away from the news, and she keeps calm.

The wounds of history

Historical trauma has a profound impact on the psychological functioning of people, it is associated with emotional distress, specically depression and anger and it is transmitted from generation to generation (Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, 2017). It is defined as " cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations, including the lifespan, which emanates from massive group trauma" p. 252. Historic events that have long-term psychological consequences include collective catastrophes such as war, hunger, forced colonization and genocide even in the absence of war. When someone is in psychotherapy, looking for the possible roots of his/her individual and interpersonal conflicts in historical trauma has significant beneficial effects. It can be seen in the clinical vignettes of the present paper. Its beneficial effects can be seen in the paper about a psychotherapy treatment between an Iranian therapist and a Syrian patient (Hosseini, 2017); and in the trauma literature (Van der Kolk, 2014).

Marina comes in in restless state, she is in the process of reconstructing a difficult relationship with her her husband with whom she has had three children. Marina and Peter, her husband, don't hold the same position before the referendum. Marina has lived in a gray, heavy, environment. Her mother was born in an industrial colony (factory housing). During the war (1936-1939) her grandfather was arrested and imprisoned. As

an effect, her maternal grandmother was cast out of the colony, on her own, with a oneyear-old baby (her mother). A relative lodged them. Marina remembers her childhood surrounded by silence. Her parents ran a pub where nothing could be talked about: "be careful", "shut up" were their most frequent expressions. She sees herself quite retracted, feeling embarrassed, with little room for pleasure, sexuality included... Whereas her husband's family is quite the opposite: his parents were born in a winners' environment. His grandfather was a policeman in a rural area. They assumed there would always be a source of income, there, and they lived a life free of concern. Part of the problems that they have as a couple are related to the fact of her introversion, her worries about the future and her commitment to her family's well-being whereas he's more party-going, disengaged and open. Being able to connect her difficulties with the wounds of history alleviated her. Understanding where her own withdrawal comes from made it easy for her to wonder if, now that she knows and she can afford it, she can give herself permission for more enjoyment, particularly for her own well-being, but also for her relationship and for her children's fun. Also as a way to stop the transgenerational transmission of the trauma of war. In fact, this has been the case for Marina. In the last few months she's been allowing herself more pleasure.

Marina's difficulties in her relationship are an outcome of the unbearable affection she feels that shows as "an atrocious sensation of uniqueness and loneliness" (Stolorow, 2007) and that was generated by her early trauma, which registered at a procedural level as <u>implicit relational knowledge</u> (BCPSG, 1998), and that is active at a somatic level in her shame and withdrawal. My "attunement" ability to capture her suffering, which also wrecked her affective life, provided her with a "container context" that allowed her to have a "relational home" where she could bear and integrate her trauma, express her shame, and feel its dissolution, as she became more capable of enjoying what she has (Carr, 2011).

The concept of implicit relational knowledge (BCPSG, 1998) refers to the effect that a certain emotional tone of one's parents or grandparents causes to the person who receives it. It's a procedural effect; it is not an explicit one. It refers to a particular suffering that the preceding generations passed on to their sons and daughters, out of their own suffering: that sadness in their gaze that emanated from father or mother; that difficulty of enjoyment that they had and that they translated into disdain towards any source of joy of their children; that lack of passion in the conversations, ... that affected them because it conferred a low emotional tone that meant that, if the child didn't attune to it – and showed unexpected joy or vitality – they would feel betrayed or guilty.

The processing of historical trauma

Salberg (2017) states: "It often takes the passage of some time to process trauma... it takes half a century to process a war, sometimes an even longer gestational period of silence" p. 82. In the case of Spain, the war formally ended in 1939, 78 years ago, but not Franco's dictatorship, which lasted theoretically until 1978. I say theoretically, because what we are clearly experiencing since the last term of 2017 is that the so-called Transition was just a story that disguised the continuation in all the power posts of the Francoists and their heirs, in the same way that "the political legal bases of the Spanish Constituion are the Fundamental Laws of Franco's National Movement. The Law of Succession of the Head of the State (1947) and, finally, the Law for the Political Reform, that were passed by the Francoist parliament and which have never been adapted to the forms of advanced democracies" (de Toro, 21/07/2018, Encarnación, 27/07/2018^{viii}).

José's is a story of unease and of transgenerational incongruity. His father consciuosly became a member of the winning political organization that governed Spain after the war (Falange Española). José's is a very special story due to the extreme severity of his state (disabling agoraphobia) when he came. When I met him he had been on medical leave for months and he was unable to be in open spaces or in enclosed areas with other people (agoraphobia). He had experienced extreme suffering. He also comes from another region. When his mother was two her father was killed in the war, his grandmother was stigmatized as a communist, and she raised José's mum with hardship. José's mother barely went to school. His father also came from a poor and marginal environment, they married and they began to have children who they didn't have the means to raise. One day, all of a sudden, his father became a member of the right wing party that won the war and his mother became an alcoholic. Overnight, everything changed for this family; from living in peripheral neighborhoods they moved to the center of the city; the children began to go to Catholic high class schools ... My patient was bewildered at the change in lifestyle. His confusion increased as he began to take drugs and to be rebellious. He also became a member of an anarchist group. His is a very long story. I'm only going to point out that, this same father who warned

José about the dangers of his drug abuse became a large-scale drug dealer together with the police. José is currently overcoming his agoraphobia, which has diminished so much that it allowed him to go to the polling station on the 1st October 2017. José could explore the links of the Catalan political moment with his family's stories, as he kept improving and was able to go back to work.

If Salberg's assertion is true, the time has come to work through the effects of the war, which will have to be done simultaneously with those of the dictatorship, because Francoism is alive and well, and operates through the thick dissolution network of the three powers in one^{ix}: the court, through a tailor-made constitutional court, in what is called "lawfare", that is, "judicial war", a concept of American origin that refers to the use of the law as a political weapon. It is an unequal kind of war, because whoever promotes it is the one who has control over the law, even if it means forcing it, distorting it or even breaching it (Casulleras, 02/26/2018). In order to do this working through, we need to speak up clearly, from every platform that is available to us. One first statement is that neither the effects of Francoism nor the legacy of history are of the same magnitude in every Spanish community. As stated in the abstract, I will focus on what happened in Catalonia, and on how the more than two million (2,079,340, according to the figures of 21D2017) people in favor of self-determination or independence experience it.

I still want to provide a last vignette because, unlike the fact that the ages of the people in the previous vignettes are between 50 and 70, that is, they suffered the effects of the dictatorship in their youth and they rekindled them around the 1st Ooctober 2017 (there was retraumatization and/or transgenerational transmission), Juan has just turned 30. He also commented that he had been very distressed, that in spite of the fact that on the 1st October he volunteered, what worried him most was the 12th October (day of the Spanishness), in which Juan worked in Bacelona and he met the unleashed unionists who didn't show any respect to him while he was attending them. At that moment, he had an anxiety attack that, when analyzed, we realized that it was linked to his previous bullying wounds. As a child he suffered bullying at school because of speaking Catalan.

Healing the wounds of history

7

The working through of the war is done with the recovery of historical memory and the repairs that are possible: burying in a dignified way the bodies found in the mass graves when they are opened; cancelling the 66,614 (+15) pro-Franco trials that still weighed on the victims^x [The execution of the123rd president of the Generalitat, Lluís Companys, has never been officially acknowledged as a crime]. We also work through and repair when we call things by their name: the war that began in 1936 was not a civil war, but a military uprising against a democratically voted 2nd Spanish Republic, which was particularly cruel against Catalonia, as shown by the deeply rooted meaning of the phrase "Rather red than broken"(Calvo Sotelo, 1936), which recent history has confirmed: it has been possible for the Socialist party to govern in Spain; but there has been no way that we could have a statute of autonomy (like the one of 2006) that would open the slightest possibility to a Catalan political subjectivity.

What is happening in Catalonia today has many identical elements to what happened in 1934 (only 83 years ago). On October 6, 1934, as part of the Second Spanish Republic, Lluís Companys proclaimed the Catalan state. On the same day, the Spanish government dismissed and arrested him. From October 1934 to February 1936 the autonomy of Catalonia was suspended and regained by Companys. But on July 18, 1936, the military, led by Franco, rose against the Republic in what became a war of the forces of the right against the left People's Front, which lasted three horrible years. Then the dictatorship (1939-1977) came: nepotism, repression of the losers, fear, hatred and destruction of the different (Catalan); books, radio, press, institutions. Many losers were executed, incarcerated, exiled, or purged of public posts or professions.

Nowadays, the Spanish authorities perpetrate all kinds of abuses against the Catalan people, whether by article 155 or by "the sacred unity of Spain": violations of civil, political and human rights, breaking their own most basic commitments with the United Nations^{xi} (as Wolfgang Kaleck, the president of the European Center for Human Rights in Berlin, denounces), and with the international treaties to which they are adhered. Always by the imposition of the

force of weapons, as Human Rights Watch denounced in its 2017^{xii} report. Or by a disproportionate and abusive use of the law, as repeatedly denounced by the Strasbourg court of Human Rights (SCHR)^{xiii}, ^{xiv}.

Only, that there is a very significant difference between now and then: since 1948 we have the International Charter for Human Rights, which includes, in 1966^{xv}, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the first article of which says "All peoples have the right to self-determination, including the right to determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Both the European Union and Spain (on the 09/28/1976) adhered to them and King Juan Carlos I ratified them (BOE 04/30/1977)xvi. Since then, there are 16 new states in Europe: Lithuania (1990), Latvia (1990), Estonia (1991), Belarus (1991), Macedonia (1991), Slovenia (1991), Moldova (1991), Croatia (1991), Ukraine (1991), Bosnia (1992), Czech Republic (1993), Slovakia (1993), Montenegro (2006), Serbia (2008) and Kosovo (2008). The unification of Germany (1990) also gave rise to a new state, although by another procedure (VilaWeb, 09/09/2012). The Catalans pro-independence appeal to this international right. We want to constitute ourselves in the next new state of Europe. We want to get it peacefully, by the force of votes and backed by international law, as a way to confront the repeated unlawful and open lies of Spain (VilaWeb, 09/17/2017) such as:

a) A referendum is a crime and it is illegal. False. The convening of a referendum has not been defined as a crime in the criminal code.
b) The right of self-determination does not exist. Lie. In addition to the 1966 International Covenant that I just mentioned, there are 38 constitutions in the world that invoke it as a source of legitimacy.
c) The Spanish constitution bans it. Lie. Article 96: "International treaties will be part of the internal legal system as soon as they have been officially published" (as said, Juan Carlos I signed it).
d) Catalonia is autonomous because it was decided by the constitution. False. The source of legitimacy of the Generalitat is Royal Decree

41/1977 (10/05/1977)^{xvii}, prior to the constitution (12/29/1978), and it takes up the entire history of the institution since it was founded in 1359. e) The independence can not be achieved unilaterally. Lie. Since 1991 there have been 53 new countries, 26 of which unilateral, 7 of them are part of the European Union, and after Kosovo the International Court of Justice made clear that international law does not contain any prohibition that can be used to stop a unilateral independence declaration.

In light of this reality, we, the independentists, are trying to build the right to independence by all means: to be able to avail ourselves of secession as "the right remedy" or "the last resort" (Buchanan, 2017) at the Strasbourg Court of Human Rights, or appealing to other international organizations with the help of the exiled politicians.

The hypothesis I hold with this paper is that the rise of the independentist and republican longings among us has been the very way we have found to face, repair and cure the massive traumas that we have had to endure from war and dictatorship, and, if we look backwards, since 1621, since Felipe IV began his reign. This is the way we have found to build a sense of restoring hope that thrills us. To the extent that we get involved in the exciting project that is the constituent process of the Catalan Republic, and we give continuity to the historical structures of resistance that have preceded us, we cure the traumas of history. Not in vain is our president (another word that should not be taken away), Carles Puigdemont, the 130th president of the Generalitat. He takes up the history of the presidents since 1359 (when the Corts became the Generalitat, the oldest parliament in Europe) (Vilar, 1987).

Historical or massive trauma

Many of our parents suffered the war and experienced a dictatorship, and many of us have lived and still live in a dictatorship. We are just talking about one or two generations ago. As I have wanted to show with the clinical vignettes above, for each person the wounds of history are unique. What I'm stating now is that they also have a collective component, massive trauma. What has updated the wounds of history in such a particular way is the awareness of continuity of the Franco regime, the perception on one's own skin that this period continues [on 10/09/2017 the Deputy Secretary of Communication of the Popular Party, threatened Puigdemont to end up in the same way as Companys did -executed-, on 01/28/2018 he threatened the children of Torrent, the actual President of the Parliament] causes a traumatic effect, due to the very empty use of the word "democracy"xviii on the part of the Spanish government, and because, in spite of the fact the history books that we have studied were written from the point of view of the winners, censorship could not forbid other readings of what happened (Soldevila, 1963, Vilar, 1987). We are aware that ours is a history of treason and colonization from Philip IV (Soldevila, 1963). We also know that, as a people, we have tried to become a Republic up to six times (1641-1652, 1810-1812, 1873, 1931, 1934, 2017) (VilaWeb, 10/27/2017), not always with the goal of becoming a state, since we sometimes were expecting a reform of Spain, until we have come to realize, painfully, that Spain is irreformable. Our anthem "The reapers. La cançó dels Segadors" (now a hit by US group "A sound of Thunderxix) reminds us of the first time (1640) in which we ran into the Castilian character: so conceited and so arrogant.

Actually, we have realized much more than that. Thanks to the work of the journalists of VilaWeb, Ara, Avui, Catràdio, TV3 and Deia, we are experiencing, astonished, the most grievous dismissal of our legitimate ideological positions. Natza Farré (10/18/2017) reminds us of the psychological phenomenon "gaslighting": It is a form of abuse in which the person or the group that perpetrates it, with antisocial or narcissistic disorders, seeks to sow seeds of doubts in a particular individual or in members of a particular group, in the hope to make them question their memory and their perception and to drive them nuts. With the use of persistent denial, distraction, contradiction and lying, they try to psychically destabilize the targeted person/group and to delegitimize their beliefs. Initially this concept was applied to the sexist relationships, lately it has been used in politics: making gas light is a combination of modern techniques of

communication, marketing and advertising with long-term propaganda methods. The journalist José Ramón Blázquez (11/14/2017), of the Deia newspaper, calls "The other 155", to the emotional violence that is being exerted against Catalans: insults, humiliations, dismissals ... in which all the unionist media participate. They use rude lies and distortions to blame and humiliate callously the Catalan people, using without shame the defense mechanism of projection. They accuse us of what they do to us: dividing, inciting hate, of being cowards, traitors, that we make businesses flee from Catalonia, of being selfish, stingy, of being Nazis. Their goal is to degrade us to "scum" to justify the "Let's go for them"^{xx}. Minister Dastis is the paradigm of cynicism: in the face of the images of violence of the 1st October that were filmed by the BBC he stated without any shame: "they are false"^{xxi}. The journalist who was interviewing him, Andrew Mar, outraged, looked at him astonished. Whoever opposes must build a contumacious resistance.

At present, delation is encouraged for "hate crimes", but only towards Spanish, hate rallies against Catalan legitimate representatives are dismissed^{xxii} or unpunished (We have not heard any voice against who has threatened to death our legitimate representatives and their children).

Spain and Catalonia

Spain, "rather than a political project, is an economical project. Specifically, a project of scandalous enrichment of some elites that have plundered the state, using it without shame or prudence, with insatiable voracity and centralist obsession. They have maneuvered for decades to transform Madrid into a global economic center (Bel, 2011), at the expense of investing economic rationality. Between 1985 and 2010 it received 80,000 million net euros from the EU, 50% of which have served to finance large public works, the use of which has been that a few emblematic companies of Spanish capitalism received a rain of millions (ACS, Acciona, Sacyr Ferrovial, FCC, Telefónica, Endesa, Repsol, Iberdrola, Gas Natural) and two banks (Santander and BBVA) behind which is the 'pro-Franco' developmentism that favored the related businessmen and whom now integrate 40% of the ministers of the so-called democratic

period in their headquarters. The other half has gone to favor the territories that vote for them: both the Socialist Party and the Popular Party. In Spain, politics and economy are confused at levels impossible to find in any other European state" (Partal, 07/19/2017), to favor such extractive elites.

But there is still more: the party that led the Spanish government^{xxiii} till June 2018, which has a 4% representation of the votes in Catalonia, and which wants us to return to "democratic legality" is the most corrupt party in Europe, with more than 900 accused members (05/29/2017)xxiv and which uses the Attorney's Office and all the Spanish courts for their own benefit because most members of these legal institutions are militants, attached or not, of the Popular Party, and they do nothing but prevaricate^{xxv}. [On 01/29/2018 the public prosecutor dictates that destroying the computer of Bárcenas (the secretary of the PP responsible of the black accountancy) is not a crimexxvi]. The antidemocratic "brushing" of the Statute of 2006, which had been approved and endorsed following the rules of the constitution, with the 2010 sentence of the Spanish constitutional court, showed us, for the umpteenth time, that Spain, whoever governs it, is not willing to respect any pact. In fact, with this act, it gave the final blow to the pact of the transition (which had already begun to laminate with the LOAPA –Organic Law of Armonization of the Autonomic Process- of 1983, which emptied the 1979 statute). It was made obvious to us that Spain has absolutism in its DNA; that it views us as its right of conquest; that it will never be able to see us as a political subject, but as nationals at the service of its economic project; like a colony. This is why on that July 10, 2010 we went out massively into the streets shouting: "in, inde, independence !!!"

But in addition, the Spanish state, not happy with the "brushing" of the 2006 statute, activated an aggressive and systematic recentralization program that continuously attacks our competencies and decisions through decrees, laws and regulations. It also stopped investing in basic infrastructures and underestimated the Catalan language and culture, and made it clear that it does not admit any Catalan particularity, but that it is Spain that carries the reins. Which translates into an obsession to prevent us from acting in two fundamental aspects: in legislative capacity and in the capacity to use the economic resources that we generate for the projects we value and need. We are 16% of the population and we contribute with 19% Gross Domestic Product^{xxvii}; we make 25% of exports in general^{xxviii}, and in 2016 we exported 65% more abroad than Spain did^{xxix}. We should receive from 16% to 19% in investments, but this is what we received: (Hakobyan, S. & Solano, 03/24/2017).



So that the Catalan "locomotive" is in a dead end (Pont, 2012, 2013). Then, we may decide to build what we need, with what we end up paying for our works and those of the rest of the state: 82% of the motorway tolls are in Catalonia; there is no way to get the Mediterranean corridor, which we finally see "go" through Madrid (the investments in tunnels are made there)^{xxx} with an expense of 80% of its funds^{xxxi}.

Our feeling is that Spain denies our very existence as a political subject in order to continue draining our resources (€16,570 per year in 2014, 8.4% of the Catalan GDP^{xxxii} is not a small thing), as it has been doing for more than 133 years (the notion of economic drainage already appears in the "The Grievance Memorial" of 1885^{xxxii}). You only have to multiply to see the enormity of the figure at stake.

But there is more, following de Toro (01/27/2018), we can notice that in addition to legal Francoism, the totalitarian regime, in Spain, created a sociological and ideological Francoism: a model of person (distributed irregularly by the territory).

Franco's strategy, during the war, was to annihilate entire social sectors (genocide) and allow the survival of the sectors that embodied his nationalist idea. In recent months, these sectors, encouraged by the terror and the ideology of the post-Franco state, mobilized against their neighbors by threatening and resorting to the police to go against civil society. This aroused fear towards the state itself. In Spain, who we fear is the state. Fear of Spain.

We fear the absolute arbitrariness:

a) political prisoners for ideological reasons, accused of crimes that were abolished in the United Kingdom because they are considered
"mediaeval"xxxiv, which doesn't hold in Europe [Puigdemont, who did not abscond, as he came forward before the Belgian court (La Vanguardia, 11/6/2017)xxxv, has had to have the European Arrest Warrant withdrawn twice in Belgium and in Germany because it didn't hold) (Expansion, 5/12/2017)xxxvi, (La Vanguardia, 15/7/2018)xxxvii];

b) personalization of pain in some people (too many, more than 900): all the pro-independence politicians of the 27S2015 legislature are imputed to some extent, almost all the mayors, teachers, rappers ...

The situation is very serious because they are disabling all the politicians of the 27S2015^{xxxviii}, there are also many elected on the 21D2017 who have been subpoenaed, who will be left? Who will be willing to endure so much suffering? We accepted the illegitimate elections (only Puigdemont could dissolve the Parliament) of 21D2017 with the idea of restoring the government that was taken away from us by 155. We won and we wanted to restore "our" Parliament, not the one Rajoy wanted. Finally we had to "accept" Quim Torra, as the 131st President of the Generalitat of Catalonia^{xxxix}, but we are all aware that we voted for Puigdemont. Both of them will activate the Republic's Council in September 2018^{xl}

The emancipative values

Meanwhile, in the most advanced Western democracies of Northern Europe, and also among some of us, there has been an evolution of social values in the direction of emancipative values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2006, Welzel, 2014). We, the people who grew up during the postwar period and the dictatorship, also did it in Catholicism and patriarchy ("organic democracy" meant that the father - not the mother - of the family was the representative of the state and of God). The rest of the members had to serve him, as he had to serve the state (compulsory military service). We grew up in what Welzel calls traditional values (religiosity, respect for authority, national pride, obedience and marriage) and survival values (priority to security over freedom, no political participation, distrust in what comes from outside, non-acceptance of homosexuality, and a weak sense of happiness).

The so-called transition period was also a moment of transformation of the industrial society into a post-industrial one, and it contributed to the evolution of society towards secular-rational values through membership to civic and political organizations such as political parties, the feminist movement, May 68. There also took place an economic development that contributed to the widening of the middle classes, which allowed for a subjective agent empowerment, that is, people who wanted it and found the way, could, through the relevant efforts, evolve in the labor scale, or rise to social positions intellectually or economically more valued. For some years in Catalonia the social scale worked quite adequately. The advanced post-industrial societies were transformed into societies of knowledge, and the values of self-expression replaced the traditional and survival values, giving rise to a sense of individual agency. Having this sense allows people to bring nearer what they want to what they really end up doing or becoming. A subgroup of these values are the emancipative ones that consist of freedom in lifestyle, gender equality, personal autonomy and the voice of the people. Emancipative values generate individual freedom and desires for liberal-critical democracy.

In the way of widening individual freedom there are people who turn up to psychotherapy, as a way to help themselves. The vignettes I mentioned at the beginning illustrate the way this process takes place. On the other hand, it is only in the contexts of open liberal democracies, that the people of the World Values Survey have well located in Protestant Europe, with Sweden, Norway and Denmark at the forefront, that the maximum expression of emancipative values takes place.



Catalonia looks at these countries since Espriu (1954) published his "Attempted Canticle in the Temple. *Assaig de Càntic en el Temple*":

How tired I am of this, my craven, ancient, savage fatherland; how it would delight me to leave and go beyond the farthest north, where the people, they say, are noble and clean, cultured, rich, and free, unsupervised and happy! But then my disapproving brethren would tell the congregation: 'Leaving his native place a man becomes like a bird leaving the nest,' while I, in the distance, laughed at the law, the antique wisdom, of this my arid people. But the dream will never be followed, I'll stay here till my death. For I too am full of cowardice and savagery, and also in despair and pain love this poor land, my sad, unclean, unlucky fatherland. (Translation: Pearse Hutchinson)^{xli} But, unlike him, today, the independentists no longer feel cowardly and savage, because we want to see our homeland evolve towards "noble and clean, cultured, rich, and free, unsupervised and happy", and we no longer want to live in this "this poor land, my sad, unclean, unlucky fatherland". The way to achieve our goal is by listening to the voice of the people, as the government that was taken away from us with article 155 did, in compliance with the democratic mandate of 27S2015. The Catalan Republic is the expression of these Espriuan yearnings and the organization that best satisfies them.

Let me explain with a historical example the evolution of values from the traditional and survival ones, which predominated at the beginning of the twentieth century, to the emancipative values of the 21st century, where the society of knowledge, freedom in self-expression, lifestyle and gender roles; personal autonomy; and democracy understood as the voice of the people are prevalent. The end of the war (1936-1939) was being discussed among Azaña, Negrin and Companys, and it was quite obvious that the Republic was being lost. With the values of last century, they didn't hesitate in recruiting more fighters, they decided to mobilize those that were left: 17 year old Catalans who were called the fifth of the bottle. They did it, even though they knew that they were sending them to die en masse. Whereas, when on October the 10th and 27th, 2017 everything was ready to proclaim the Catalan Republic, our government chose: "rather a step back than a massacre", given the threats from the Spanish government which we had already tasted on October 1st. We had attempted to obtain independence through democratic and pacifist means; better to accept that there were no conditions and to continue working than to take on a single human life. The emancipative values in action; the acceptance of human vulnerability, of rulers and governed, rather than the military bravado (Riera, 2018, personal communication)^{xlii}.

The relational aspect of our organization in "civil society"

In July 10th, 2010 "the revolution of the smiles" began with the huge demonstration "*In, inde, independència*" followed by the successive annual

waves of massive protest marches, each with a slogan: the 2010 one, "We are a nation, we decide"; that of 2011, "We are a nation, we want a state of our own"; 2012, "Catalonia, new state of Europe"; 2013, "The Catalan Way" (another historical landmark, a human chain of 400kms); 2014, the V (we drew a V of Catalan flag at the crossing of two avenues in Barcelona, of over 11 kms, drawn by the participants wearing yellow or red T-shirts); 2015, "Now is the time"; 2016, "Ready"; and 2017, "Yes".

This revolution has been articulated, in addition to some political parties, by what we call the "civil society", which consists mainly of two organizations: "*Òmnium Cultural*", founded in 1961, exactly 57 years ago, in full dictatorship, as "a fundamental tool of national resistance and substitution of the Catalan cultural institutions that were taken away after the war" and the "Catalan National Assembly (*ANC*) ", created in 2011," with the aim of achieving the independence of Catalonia through the constitution of a democratic and social state of law ". Since its foundation, Òmnium has had a very important role in the teaching of the Catalan language because when it appeared, Castilian was the official language, at school and at the institutions. Little by little, in non-teaching hours, a group of teachers taught Catalan where they were allowed, until they managed to make a compulsory academic subject of it, and finally the vehicular language at school.

On the other hand, ANC, emerged determined to bring together activists who despaired at the repeated refusal of the Spanish state to credibly articulate the so-called state of autonomies. Up to eighteen times, officially requested, we have been denied the political dialogue about our will (Gregori, 10/10/2017).

The leaders of these two organisations, the Jordis, are political prisoners without trial for their ideas, and are held hostages of the Spanish authorities, since October, 16th, 2017, as if they were criminals.

Thanks to their tireless activity, Catalonia has currently a large community of activists organized around these organizations, plus others that have emerged,

such as the CDR (defense committees of the republic), and others that were there, such as sports clubs of all sorts, all kinds of folk centers, etcetera, which are pushing this desire to the fullest. These activists fight stubbornly, but peacefully and democratically, thrilled by the emancipative project that the republic –as opposed to the imposed monarchy we have- represents. My interest is to explain this process from within, in an honest and frank way, highlighting its relational construction.

This is the way the Catalan society began to organize to convene a referendum on self-determination. There was a long period in which this referendum was incubating (since the first consultation of Arenys, on September 13th, 2009)^{x/iii}, in which the expression of the republican yearnings in the streets and the squares emerged, and which ended up voting yes to the question: "Do you want Catalonia to be an independent state in the form of a republic?"^{x/iv}. It was the time when the "civil society" together with the favorable political parties organized a network of complicities and very powerful hopes, to stand up for some values/feelings that were asleep: compassion, company, solidarity, a sense of belonging to a community, the pride in being part of it, and the awareness that in this process each contribution of each individual is necessary and welcome (sense of individual agency), that together we are stronger (sense of human empowerment)). All this was taking place in an inclusive climate: of ages, of classes, of genders and of origins, that had not been seen for a long time.

I want to emphasize the relational aspect of the movement we have built: the personal relationships that have generated its widening; the personal commitment and solidarity that each individual has taken, based on the confidence that the other will also be there. We, the activists, are aware of the enormous difficulty of the path we have chosen, because we see the ferocity and thirst for revenge of our opponents, and we know that we will only get ahead if we go together and we know how to build more powerful alliances than theirs. To know that Puigdemont, Serret, Comín and Puig are in Brussels (with their lawyers), that Ponsatí is in Scotland (with her lawyer), and that Gabriel and

Rovira are in Switzerland, to build them, is hopeful. To know, as Partal says (11/10/2017), that the Republic has been proclaimed, as those who say they do not recognize it, attest. Especially if we take into account the experience of the new states that have preceded us, that have not controlled the administration until long after having declared their independence.

The key to our survival is also relationality. That we have been able to keep a language spoken after centuries of contempt is pure relationality. It is also relationality what we do when a member of our government receives a fine, a disqualification or an arrest: we let them know that "You are not alone" in massive demonstrations; we make donations to cover the amounts of the huge fines; we make donations to organize the mass mobilizations; we write letters to them. Relationality is what took place on 1st October: in spite of the enormity of the threats and terror we held the referendum: we protected the schools with our bodies, we got the ballots and ballot boxes, we had international observers who were aware of the impeccability of the procedure. We felt the determined epic of a people! We felt our empowerment! We felt the communion of a government and its people! We felt the emotion of the contribution of each one! That the contribution of each one was necessary and important! The emancipative values in action!

All this group of feelings: compassion, company, solidarity, the sense of belonging to a community, and the pride in being part of it, are those that we can find in the recovery processes of people who have suffered abuse, of any kind: physical, psychic and/or sexual and also in the groups that have been gas lighted.

The Catalan people felt this way: deluded by the emancipative project that is the construction of a state and looking for a way to get it. What is clear and limpid is that the pro-independence forces won the elections of 21D2017, as shown on the front pages of the international press^{xlv} (Ara, 12/22/2018) and that the government of Spain continues to insist on imposing its criteria using the inequality of resources in their favor to prevent us from proclaiming our

president. The Spanish government is installed in "only one can live", and the Catalan continues to appeal to the third, ie "we all deserve to live" (Benjamin, 2018). No wonder that Spain begins to be named as "defective democracy"^{xivi} by "The Economist Intelligence Unit". Our wish is to go over the same way that the independence processes that have preceded us have, which is that other countries have to recognize us, in order to finally be able to access mutual recognition which will allow us to coexist among equals.

We need to build and sustain a stubborn resistance: to be together by supporting each other; to share narratives that show the impeccability of our vision to ourselves; to find ways to show them to the world; to keep using Catalan language; to ignore the illegal juridical instructions of the Spanish authoritiesxivii All without using violence. We have to act peacefully, but with determination. We have to continue on the path of freedom (Schönberger, 02/06/2018), which for Catalonia is the materialization of the Catalan Republic (valid internationally since October 27, 2017) already proclaimed, the only path that takes us away from slavery, which heals the wounds of history and allows us to build a better society and a better life.

References:

Bel, Germà (2011), *Espanya, capital París*, Barcelona: La Campana.

Blázquez, José Ramón (14/11/2017), "El otro 155: deshonor y humillación", *Deia.* http://www.deia.com/2017/11/14/opinion/tribuna-abierta/el-otro-155-deshonor-y-humillacion

Buchanan, A. (2017), "Secession", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* E. N. Zalta (Ed.) https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2917/entries/secession/

Carr, R. B., (2011), "Combat and human existence: toward an Intersubjective Appoach to combat-related PTSD", *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, 28(4), 471-496.

Castresana, Ignacio (2016), "Del silencio a la palabra", Película/Documental

Casulleras, J. (6/2/2918) <u>https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/aixi-desplega-espanya-una-</u>estrategia-clara-de-lawfare-contra-catalunya/

De Toro, S. (27/1/2108), "La continuidad del miedo", *Ara.* <u>https://www.ara.cat/es/continuidad-</u> franquismo-miedo_0_1950405196.html

Diversos autores, (2002), *DSM-IV-TR. Manual Diagnóstico y estadístico de los trastornos mentales,* Bercelona, Masson.

Espriu, S. (1954), El caminant i el Mur. Barcelona: Edicions 62 (2008).

Farré, Natza (18/10/2017), "Fer llum de gas", *Ara.* <u>https://www.ara.cat/opinio/Natza-Farre-Llum-gas_0_1890410980.html</u>

Hosseini, M.A. (2017), "Repensando el discurso del trauma en el trabajo con supervivientes de violaciones de derechos humanos". *Clínica e Investigación Relacional,* Vol. 11(3):615-625.

Inglehart, R. & Welzel, Ch. (2006), *Modernización, cambio cultural y democracia: la secuencia del desarrollo humano,* Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS).

Grand, S. & Salberg, J. (2017), *Trans-generational Trauma and the Other,* New York: Routledge.

Gregori, M (10/10/2017), https://www.racocatala.cat/noticia/42702/ultims-18-cops-porta-madridgeneralitat-catalunya

Hakobyan, S. & Solano, A. (24/03/2017), <u>https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/lestat-porta-anys-</u>prometent-inversions-que-despres-no-compleix/

Lyons-Ruth, K., Bruschweiler-Stern, N., Harrison, A. M., Morgarn, A. C., Naum, J. P., Sander, L., Stern, D. N. & Tronik, E. Z. (1998), "Implicit Relational Knowing: its role in development and psychoanalytic treatment", *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 19(3):282-289. (The Boston Change Process Study Group (BCPSG).

Partal, Vicent (19/7/2017), "El context d'un estrany tret al pit", *VilaWeb* https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/el-context-dun-estrany-tret-al-pit-vicent-partal/

Partal, Vicent (10/11/2017), "S'ha proclamat la República? Només cal que feu servir el sentit comú", *VilaWeb.* <u>https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/sha-proclamat-la-republica-nomes-cal-que-feu-servir-el-sentit-comu-editorial-vicent-partal/</u>

Pont, A. (2012), Delenda est Hispania, Barcelona: Viena Edicions.

----- (2013), Addendum, Barcelona: Viena Edicions.

Redacció de VilaWeb (9/10/2917), "La Sisena república", *VilaWeb.* https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/la-sisena-es-la-bona-declaracio-independencia/

Salberg, Jill (2017), "The texture of Traumatic Attachment", [en: Salberg, J. & Grand, S., (2017), *Wounds of History*, New York: Routledge].

Schönberger, Axel (6/2/2018), "Elegir entre la llibertat i l'esclavatge", *L'Unilateral. El digital de la República Catalana.* (Traducción: Grau, P. del original: 3/2/2018 <u>http://blickpunktkatalonien.com/die-wahl-zwischen-freiheit-und-knechtschaft-von-prof-dr-axel-</u> schoenberger/)

Stolorow, R., (2007), *Trauma and Human Existence: autobiographical, psychoanalytic, and philosophical reflections,* New York: Analytic Press.

Soldevila, F. (1963), Història deCatalunya, Vol.III, Barcelona: Editorial Alpha.

Talarn, Antoni (2003), "El trauma des de la perspectiva de la patología y el psicoanálisis", lectura given in BCN includded in the training in Relational Psychotherapy.

Van der Kolk, B, (2014), *The body keeps the score*", Viking Penguin (traducción 2015, *El cuerpo lleva la cuenta*,Barcelona: Eleftheria)

Vilar, P. (1987), Historia de Catalunya, Vol. VI Barcelona: Edicions 62.

VilaWeb (09/09/2012), https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticia/4039069/20120909/prop-quarta-estatsmon-shan-declarat-independents-diada-1977.html

VilaWeb (17/09/2017), <u>https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/les-cinc-mentides-mes-grans-de-la-</u>campanya-del-no/

VilaWeb (27/10/2017) https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/la-sisena-es-la-bona-declaracioindependencia/

Welzel, Ch. (2014), *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emacipation,* Harvard: Cambridge University Press. Yellow Horse Brave Heart, Maria (2017), "Historical Trauma Among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas", [en: Salberg, J. & Grand, S., (2017), *Wounds of History*, New York: Routledge

 vi https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/les-armes-juridiques-que-anna-gabriel-pot-utilitzar-des-de-suissacontra-espanya/
 vii https://ultimahora.es/noticias/nacional/2018/03/10/985557/ponsati-abandona-belgica-regresa-

- xiv https://www.ara.cat/politica/Estrasburg-condemna-Espanya-Rei-Girona 0 1977402340.html
- ^{xv} <u>http://www.un.org/es/rights/overview/charter-hr.shtml</u>

xvi https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1977-10733

xvii http://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1977-24354

xviii https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/axel-sxchonberger-des-del-27-doctubre-de-2017-espanya-no-esuna-democracia/

xix https://www.google.es/search?q=a+sound+of+thunder+the+reapers&rlz=1C1GIWA_enES653ES653& oq=a+sound+of+thunder&aqs=chrome.5.69i57j015.10873j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

xxhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gA1Sw-szU6w

xxi http://www.publico.es/politica/dastis-cargas-policiales-1-muchas-imagenes-son-falsas.html

xxii https://www.ara.cat/politica/jutge-delicte-video-amenacava-Puigdemont_0_1972602820.html

^{xxiii} When the paper was written it was the Partido Popular, now we have the Socialist Party, but it doesn't make much difference since they are both uninists and have the same limited Reading of the constitution in terms of sel-determination.

```
xxiv <u>http://kaosenlared.net/900-cargos-del-partido-popular-imputados-por-corrupcion-cuantas-organizaciones-criminales-en-el-mundo-tienen-esa-cifra/</u> (29/05/2017)
```

```
xxv <u>https://cotarelo.blogspot.com.es/search/label/Justicia</u> (24/01/2018)
```

```
<sup>xxvi</sup> <u>https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2018-01-29/la-fiscalia-pide-absolver-al-pp-por-la-destruccion-de-los-ordenadores-de-barcenas_1513328/</u>
```

xxvii <u>http://www.lavanguardia.com/economia/20170622/423601590811/catalunya-pib-espana.html</u> (22/06/2017)

xxviii <u>http://www.lavanguardia.com/economia/20160218/302257147776/catalunya-economia-espanola-exportaciones-catalanas-record.html</u> (18/02/2016)

xxix https://www.ara.cat/economia/Nou-historic-empreses-primera-record-

exportacions 0 1745825534.html (20/02/2017)

xxx https://www.ara.cat/societat/LEstat-destinats-corredor-mediterrani-Madrid 0 1739826148.html (10/02/2017)

^{xxxi} cat.elpais.com/cat/2017/03/29/economia/1490783609_524353.html "El 80% de la inversión del corredor meditarrani ha anat a inversions a Madrid"

xxxii <u>http://www.lavanguardia.com/economia/20171204/433420916831/balanzas-fiscales-deficit-fiscal-</u> <u>cataluna.html</u> (04/12/2017)

ⁱ <u>https://cat.elpais.com/cat/2017/06/02/espana/1496397151_082775.html</u>

ⁱⁱ http://www.ccma.cat/324/linforme-final-de-salut-eleva-a-1-066-les-persones-ateses-per-11o/noticia/2816073/

ⁱⁱⁱ <u>https://cat.elpais.com/cat/2017/10/10/catalunya/1507624143_410500.htlm</u>

^{iv} <u>https://www.cataloniaaltert.info/numbers</u>-of- the- repression (July12th, 2018)

v http://www.ccma.cat/324/100-dies-del-155-251-persones-i-24-organismes-afectats/noticia/2835835/

^{vii} <u>https://ultimahora.es/noticias/nacional/2018/03/10/985557/ponsati-abandona-belgica-regresa-universidad-escocesa.html</u>

^{viii} Encarnación, O. G., <u>https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/27/spains-dictator-is-dead-but-his-popularity-lives-on/</u>

^{ix} <u>https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2018/01/10/catalogna-la-cura-rajoy-minaccia-di-uccidere-il-malato/4073554/</u>

^x On the 7th July 2017 a list is published which contains the names of **66.614** people and **15** organizations: "Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Llista de reparació jurídica de víctimes del franquisme (1938-1978)".

^{xi} <u>http://www.cataladigital.cat/2018/03/19/ultima-hora-un-grup-juristes-internacionals-determina-que-les-accions-del-govern-espanyol-contra-catalunya-son-illegals/</u>

xii <u>http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20171218/433743312289/human-rights-watch-cargas-policiales-</u> <u>10-2017.html</u>

xⁱⁱⁱ <u>http://www.regio7.cat/arreu-catalunya-espanya-mon/2018/02/14/tribunal-europeu-condemna-espanya-pagar/459909.html</u>

xxxiii Several authors, (1885), Memoria en defensa dels interessos morals i materials de Catalunya, Barcelona: Estampa de Lluís Tasso Serra

xxxiv https://www.vilaweb.cat/noticies/belgica-suissa-ara-regne-unit-editorial-vicent-partal/ xxxv "Puigdemont se entrega a la justicia belga, que le deja en libertad vigilada"

http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20171106/432667141929/puigdemont-libertad-vigilada-bruselasjusticia-belga.html

^{xxxvi} "El juez retira la euroorden contra Puigdemont para evitar que Bélgica restrinja los delitos que le imputa el Supremo" http://www.expansion.com/economia/2017/12/05/5a266ff2ca4741b53a8b4599.html

xxxvii https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20180715/45912373401/puigdemont-tribunal-alemaniaresolucion-entrega.html

xxxviii https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/politica/Santamaria-PP-independentismo-ERC-JxCat 0 719178407.html

xxxix http://www.ccma.cat/324/el-parlament-escull-avui-quim-torra-com-a-president-de-lageneralitat/noticia/2855434/ ^{xi}https://www.naciodigital.cat/noticia/160556/torra/puigdemont/planifiquen/activar/aquest/setembre/conse

ll/republica

xli http://www.visat.cat/traduccions-literatura-catalana/eng/fragments/277/151/deu/0//salvador-espriu.html xlii Discussion at Ramon Riera's seminar, on Friday the 16th March of 2018.

x^{liii}https://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consulta_sobre_la_independ%C3%A8ncia_de_Catalunya_a_Arenys_de_ Munt xliv https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20170907/431103009407/papeleta-referendum-1-octubre.html

xlv Ara (22/12/2017), https://www.ara.cat/eleccions21d/victoria-independentista-portades-premsainternacional 0 1928807180.htm

xlvi https://www.elnacional.cat/en/news/the-economist-spain-flawed-democracycatalonia 234585 102.html ^{xlvii} http://unilateral.cat/2018/02/06/elegir-entre-la-llibertat-i-lesclavatge/