## Kekerasan dan kebebasan: perspektif kritis terhadap penggunaan kembali pola-pola terorisme oleh ETA dalam mencapai kemerdekaan Basque Pasca insiden pemboman Madrid 2004

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## Abstrak

<i>The main objective of this research is to find out the reappearance in the use of terrorism patterns by ETA after the Madrid Bombing incident in 2004. According to many resources ETA had stopped their attacks after this incident, but then after six month they started again even though four day after the bombing a new prime minister was elected.

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This research uses critical theory as tool of analysis and literature study as research method for finding the needed data. After carefully researching the writer has discovered that there are five main causes that can explain ETA's behavior; first, based on their history ETA has been split into many groups, but the legacy of the original ETA is now carried on by ETA-Military. ETA-Military now considered many of their former members as betrayer to the armed struggle for the independence of the Basque region. Second, Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero still carries out the same policies from the old administration which Jose Maria Aznar was the head of it by banning all ETA political activities. Another reason is also by the compromising behavior of other pro independence parties after the rejection of the Ibarretxe Plan. Third, for ETA there is no real difference between Zapatero and Aznar even though Zapatero has a more soft approach towards ETA and also ETA don't trust the Spanish Socialist Party because in the past this party has secretly carried out an ETA termination programme that was being applied by the Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberacion (GAL). Fourth, there is a decline of support from the Basque people toward ETA actions.Fifth, ETA is being weakened by the international cooperation between Spain and France, the European Union, United States of America and the United Nations.

The conclusion of this research is that the reappearance in the use of terrorism patterns by ETA is a way for ETA to show all the people especially the Basque people that they still exist and this is also a way for them to notify that they would like to negotiate with the Spanish. government but on condition that they would not have to put down their arms first because in the past they had a bad experience with cease fire which only made them weak. Even though ETA is still using socialism as their ideology, but ETA is has become what Herbert Marcuse describe as a one dimensional man by still continuing their terrorist attacks.