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Negotiating Memories of Protest in Western Europe

The Case of Italy

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Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies

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In memory of Franz and Francesco

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Acronyms

AN	Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance)
AO	Autonomia Operaia (Workers' Autonomy)
BR	Brigate Rosse (Red Brigades)
CL	Comunione e Liberazione (Communion and Liberation)
DC	Democrazia Cristiana (Christian Democracy)
DP	Democrazia Proletaria (Proletarian Democracy)
FGCI	Federazione dei Giovani Comunisti Italiani (Federation of Young Italian Communists)
LC	Lotta Continua (Continuous Battle)
MSI	Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement)
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano (Italian Communist Party)
PDS	Partito Democratico della Sinistra (Democratic Party of the Left)
PL	Prima Linea (Front Line)
PO	Potere Operaio (Proletarian Power)
PRC	Partito di Rifondazione Comunista (Communist Refoundation Party)
PSDI	Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano (Italian Socio-Democratic Party)
PSI	Partito Socialista Italiano (Italian Socialist Party)

Introduction: Negotiating Memories of Protest

In 2004 I set foot for the first time in Bologna, a popular university city in northern Italy, nicknamed the 'red city' – and not just because of the characteristic red buildings that make up the medieval city. In the 1970s Bologna was also the showpiece of the Italian Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano, or PCI), which was the largest Communist party in Western Europe and had dominated the so-called red belt regions of this part of the country since the late 1960s (Mussi, 1978; Clark, 2008, pp. 467–468). Although the hegemony of the left has long since waned, the memory of the 1970s is still very much alive among both older and younger generations of left-wing activists. This first came to my attention when a friend pointed out to me a curious commemorative site only one block from where I was living at the time: it consisted of a plaque recalling the violent death of a certain Francesco Lorusso. The site was complemented by a glass plate on a wall near by, covering the holes left by the bullet holes made by a police officer who shot Lorusso during student protests in 1977. I had walked past this site many times without ever noticing it. When I attended the next anniversary of the shooting, I was struck by the presence of many young people: after all, they had no direct memory of these events, so what had brought them to pay tribute to Lorusso? How come a 30-year-old incident is still being commemorated, and why are young activists so sensitive to this particular, local memory, as opposed to more recent incidents they might have witnessed directly, such as the death of a protester at the G8 summit in Genoa in 2001? These and other questions have driven my academic research in the years following the 'discovery' of the commemorative site in Bologna, which became the point of departure for an exploration of the way incidents of political dissent are remembered and commemorated publicly, culturally and socially.

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The impact of contentious memories on protest cultures today has largely been neglected in research into social movements.[1] The latter has moved away from the resource mobilization and political process theories that dominated the second half of the twentieth century, which focused on organizational factors, external circumstances and the cultural dynamics of protest, turning instead to an analysis of collective identity, language, the importance of emotions and – more recently – the role of social media.[2] Hence the uprisings in the Arab world in 2011 and anti-austerity movements such as the Spanish *indignados* and Occupy Wall Street are predominantly placed in a context of globalization and technological progress, with particular attention to the role of social and mobile media in these protests.[3] Yet the impact of collective and cultural memories of past protests on the modes of communication and identity building remains unacknowledged. Nor has there been much research into the way contentious memories of protest and police violence have been negotiated over time. This book engages precisely with these kinds of memory, how and why they originate and evolve in the course of time and to what extent they can be (re-)negotiated by different memory agents. So the focus is not on the study of social movements or past protests but on discourses of 'collective' memory – i.e., 'the product of a social interaction, a communication, capable of choosing from the past what is relevant and significant with regard to the interests and the identity of group members' (Grande, 2001, p. 75),[4] – and on 'cultural' memory of protest, which is produced through the media and through culture.

The crisis of history and the boom of memory

The importance of memory in the understanding of the past and the present has become increasingly evident since the 1980s, when scholars developed a criticism of history, acknowledging that historiography is not objective but 'continuously reconsidered and renegotiated' (Stråth, 2000, p. 41; p. 25). According to them, history is constructed through language and therefore no more than a representation of reality, 'one among many types of narrative' (Stråth, 2000, p. 41; p. 25; Misztal, 2003, p. 107). Indeed, history's 'monopoly' over the past has been profoundly called into question over the past decades (Misztal, 2003, p. 103), beginning with the challenges to traditional historiography by social movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Next, the erosion of earlier established frameworks of interpretation – or 'meta-narratives' (Lyotard, 1984) – resulted in the inability of historiography to provide us with

any of those frameworks that once provided a sense of 'psychological identity, social conduct and moral certainty' (Strinati, 1995, pp. 6–7). As Michel Foucault observed, history in the traditional sense of the word always implies 'the end of time, a completed development' (1980, p. 150). The postmodern world has, however, challenged notions of absolute knowledge and organizing systems, as major geopolitical transformations, attempts collectively to work through traumatic experiences (e.g., the Holocaust), large migratory fluxes and rapidly changing modes of communication and information have opened up new perspectives on the different ways in which past events have been experienced and remembered by different social groups (Grande, 2001, p. 73). Consequently, knowledge of the past has become multiple and fragmented, allowing memory – which is, typically, instable and partial – to become a sort of 'counterhistory that challenges the false generalizations in exclusionary History'. In other words, a virtue 'better suited for our chaotic times' (Klein, 2000, p. 137).

A second explanation for what has been called a memory 'boom' lies in an anxiety about forgetting, another result of major technological and social changes. In a rapidly changing world, where information travels faster and distances shrink through state-of-the-art technology, temporal and spatial experiences are ever more unstable and fluid. Social anthropologist Paul Connerton has demonstrated, for example, that processes of decentralization and uprooting have contributed to a perception of space that promotes amnesia, while developments in information technology and media communication have led to a faster and easier circulation of information, thus creating a virtual simultaneity that causes abbreviated time and allows for events to be witnessed more directly (2009, p. 10). Indeed, the use of new media technologies marks a new departure in which the idea of long-term development becomes obfuscated by the workings of the media, time being compressed into an 'extended present'.[5] Consequently, memories are uncoupled from the past, creating the impression of living in an eternal present and nurturing an anxiety about forgetting, which is reflected in the recent academic proliferation of memory culture.[6]

These developments have not only contributed to a disruption in the continuity of memories and habits but have also weakened the bonds that once bound individuals to their community, hence complicating processes of identity formation (Jedlowski, 2001, p. 48). The relation between memory and identity is a fundamental one, and various groups, Barbara Misztal argues, 'rely on their collective memory to claim their group identity' (2003, p. 138). However, in our contemporary world

identities are no longer constructed within a single social group but, rather, belong to a number of groups at once, each of which has its own memory. Hence there may be as many collective memories as there are groups (Halbwachs, 1992): individuals have a multitude of identities at their disposal that interact and overlap, forcing them constantly to revise their memories in order 'to suit [their] current identities' (Gillis, 1994, p. 3). This adds to the sense of uprootedness described above. In addition, continuous changes in social mobility and lifestyles have undermined stability and further complicated the sense of belonging to a community (Connerton, 2009, p. 118).

The media(tion) of memory

In order to ward off the dangers of forgetting and to regain a sense of belonging and identity, we therefore turn to memory (Huyssen, 2003). However, this is not a natural kind of 'living', or what Jan Assmann has called 'communicative', memory[7] – i.e., those *milieux de mémoire* that Pierre Nora refers to when he speaks of the 'experience still lived in the warmth of tradition, in the silence of custom, in the repetition of the ancestral', disrupted by industrialization and technological developments (1989, p. 7). In a similar fashion, Misztal argues that memory is no longer lived authentically but has become 'a matter of explicit signs' (2003, p. 105): it has become externalized and is mediated culturally, so that we tend to speak of 'cultural' memory. The latter manifests itself through the media, cultural formations and institutional communication, and consists of 'objectified culture' – i.e., texts, images, rites and monuments 'which are designed to recall fateful events in the history of the collective' (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 182). It is a symbolic order in which social groups construct a shared past through media, institutions and practices.[8]

As an outcome of 'the long-term shift of memory from the mind to external loci', memory has become mediation itself (Olick, 2007, p. 87; p. 11). This development is related to the above-mentioned challenges that have been made to historiography over the past few decades. According to Hayden White, one of the promoters of the 'linguistic turn' of the 1960s and 1970s, the past is not actually 'out there' but is constructed in a discourse mediated by language.[9] In other words, reality does not 'exist' in any concrete form, nor can it be referred to directly: it is 'implied' or 'made thinkable' (De Certeau, 1988, pp. 41–42). Hence the past 'always comes to us through some representational medium', and remembering is an 'ongoing process of mediation rather than of

storage and retrieval' (Olick, 2007, p. 98). This will become evident throughout the book, as I analyse how various 'media of memory' – primarily commemorative rituals and memory sites – have continuously 'mediated' memories of past protests, transferring them to the present.

Recent studies have discerned a second shift in memory studies from 'sites' to 'dynamics' – i.e., 'from a focus on discrete cultural artefacts to an interest in the way those artefacts circulate and interact with their environment' (Erll and Rigney, 2009, p. 3). The dynamics of cultural memory are connected to processes of re-mediation, in that 'memorial media borrow from, incorporate, absorb, critique and refashion earlier memorial media' (ibid., p. 5). The themes of mediation and re-mediation of memory through public commemorative practices are crucial in the analysis of divisions over the past, as these manifest themselves in societies and social groups (Foot, 2009b, p. 2). This is particularly the case when these divisions regard 'traumatic' or contested memories such as those that have marked the 1970s in Germany and, especially, in Italy. As we shall see throughout this book, here a multitude of smaller, often local memories have taken on the task of giving a voice to silenced pasts by promoting a different version – or counter-memory, thus continuously challenging dominant, national interpretations of the past.

Trauma, counter-memories and the duty to remember

Over the past years scholars have criticized the metaphorical use of 'trauma' – originally a medical term that described a psychological and neurological condition – in the analysis of collective experiences of violence or injustice (Kansteiner, 2004; Pickering and Keightley, 2010). It is accused of misrepresenting 'the social dynamics of collective memory as an effect and extension of individual, autobiographical memory', given the importance of 'available historical records' on the one hand, and the present social and political agenda, on the other (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 179). In the case of the Holocaust, for example, 'the delayed onset of public debates about the meaning of negative pasts has more to do with political interest and opportunities than the persistence of trauma' (ibid., p. 187). In other words, we cannot treat collective phenomena as clinical traumas.

While bearing in mind the various social and political factors that determine the production of memory in the present, in this book I will nevertheless apply the concept of trauma in my analysis of an incident that affected an entire community. In doing so, I will use the concept of 'collective' trauma as well as draw on Jeffrey Alexander's definition of

'cultural' trauma, i.e. trauma as a 'socially mediated attribution' (2004, p. 8) the conscious experience of which occurs only after a 'temporal delay' (Caruth, 1995, p. 8). This demonstrates that it is the impact of the event, rather than the event itself, that constitutes trauma (Glynn, 2006, p. 319), and this depends on the way the event is given importance in the public sphere, primarily in the mass media. The latter allow people to become aware of things they have not experienced directly, but they also dramatize events, so that we may suffer from traumas we have not been exposed to personally. Indeed, cultural trauma 'need not necessarily be felt by everyone in a community or expressed directly by any or all' (Eyerman, 2004, p. 61).

Kai Erikson's definition of cultural trauma as 'a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality' is highly appropriate in a description of the Italian case.[10] In the 1970s the country was struck by a series of failed coups d'état, terrorist attacks (in which the secret services often played a dubious auxiliary role) and violent deaths during public demonstrations, protests and clashes between youth groups of opposed ideologies. Many of these events have remained unresolved, and trials continued well into the 2000s. John Foot concludes from this that '[t]he Italian state has been unable to create a consensus over the past' and to reach closure, resulting in a legitimization crisis which has contributed to the creation and maintenance of several 'divided memories' that play a significant role in current political culture, and in processes of identity formation (2009b, p. 14). Divided memories have marked Italian history more in general, especially since the nineteenth century, resulting in 'certain accounts [being] excluded from historical discourse for long periods of time' (ibid., p. 11). Indeed, hegemonic forces tend to appropriate and silence other identity discourses (Olick and Robbins, 1998, p. 126), although the proliferation of divided memories in Italy is also due to a strong 'politicization of historical practice' (Foot, 2009b, p. 11). The legitimization crisis of the state and the political use of the past have contributed to tensions between official memories, public memories and alternative memories of protests in the 1970s, which have in fact remained strong in Italy throughout the years.

Hence the importance of studying these memories and their impact on present-day social movements in Italy. As Rainer Horn has observed, speaking of the experience of 1968 in Italy:

It is this exceptional experience of Italy's 'creeping May' which accounts for the fact that, even at the beginning of the third millennium, Italy's civil society remains a home to a culture of social

movement activism far surpassing similar instances in any other European state.

(2007, p. 112)[11]

Similarly, Jan Kurz and Marica Tolomelli observe that in hardly any other country, with the exception – to a certain degree – of Germany, did 'the events of 1968 lead to such a comprehensive *rivoluzione antropologica* ['anthropological revolution'], and no other country can so clearly differentiate the before and after in historical time' (2008, p. 83).

Yet trauma not only disconnects the members of a community by disrupting its continuity (Neal, 2005, p. 4): collective traumatic experiences may at the same time create the basis for a new, different communality, be a source of 'kinship' (Erikson, 1995, p. 190). In fact, past sufferings have significance 'as a source of categories through which a group constructs its identity' (Misztal, 2004, p. 68). As processes of globalization and decentralization destabilize communities and create the need for collective identities, traumatic memories are employed as 'a source of group empowerment, as a vehicle for reclaiming the past and as a means of readdressing past injustices' (ibid., p. 75). In other words, collective traumatic memories help a community build up a new collective identity and become the means of 'establishing collective rights and voicing collective demands' (ibid., p. 80).

Indeed, public commemorative processes are often closely connected to discourses about power and hegemony, and minority groups use traumatic past experiences to create and promote counter-memories that contest dominant political powers (ibid., p. 79). This recalls Michel Foucault's analysis of 'traditional history' as opposed to 'effective history' – or what he defined as 'counter-memory'; the former promotes continuity and the 'permanence of the past', whereas effective history 'introduces discontinuity into our very being' and refuses the 'certainty of absolutes' (1980, pp. 153–158). Counter-memory is therefore a force 'from below', produced locally and by marginalized communities 'who have been "left out", as it were, of mainstream history' (Rigney, 2005, p. 13). They oppose themselves to hegemonic views of the past. Their recourse to traumatic memories is also directed to the future. Trauma is, in fact, a 'storehouse of lessons', and the importance of memory 'lies not in atonement but in its ability to help us avoiding repeating the injustices of the past' (Booth, 1999, p. 256). Counter-memories therefore also represent a moral duty to remember traumatic incidents that have been silenced by dominant master narratives, and which risk repetition (Irwin-Zarecka, 2009, p. 58). This duty is transmitted to future generations in a process that Rigney has called 'memory transfer'

(2005), a particularly relevant concept for the understanding of the main theme of this book: the public memory of Francesco Lorusso's death in 1977.

Negotiating memories of protest

In the 1970s political, economic and social transformations led to the eruption of a new social movement in Italy, the so-called Movement of '77, which mainly manifested itself in Rome, Milan and Bologna. Although the 'Movement' in Bologna distinguished itself from other cities through its predominantly creative and joyful character, it was eventually restrained by police forces, resulting in the death of Francesco Lorusso, a sympathizer with the former left-wing extra-parliamentary group Lotta Continua (Continuous Battle, LC), on 11 March 1977.[12] The incident provoked a period of urban unrest in which students vented their anger publicly, and marked the final stage in a long conflict with the local Communist authorities. Weakened also by widespread problems with drugs and the escalation of left-wing terrorism during the second half of the decade, the Movement dissolved towards the end of the year. The protests of 1977 can therefore be seen as a turning point in the local history of Bologna.

The chapter on 1977 was, however, all but closed off, as the police officer who shot Lorusso was acquitted on the basis of a disputed public order law, and Lorusso's death was written off as an unfortunate tragedy. Numerous requests by Lorusso's family to open a new investigation remained unanswered, while the ferocity of the intervention by the authorities and the students' violent reaction to Lorusso's death, in the afternoon of 11 March, led to a deterioration in the relationship between the student population, the authorities and the inhabitants of Bologna. Due also to the difficult historicization of the events of March 1977 and of the 1970s in general, 1977 is nowadays presented as a sort of 'apotheosis of violence and death' that marked the entire decade (Bellassai, 2009, p. 225), nicknamed *anni di piombo* or 'years of lead'.[13] This has left a strong feeling of injustice among Lorusso's family, friends, the (former) student movement in Bologna and younger generations of left-wing activists and sympathizers.

The 'trauma' of March 1977 in Bologna manifested itself, however, at various levels. Above and beyond Lorusso's family, which suffered both a personal and a public trauma, and the student movement, the city as a whole was affected by the incidents: first by the violent reaction of Lorusso's outraged companions and then by the harsh intervention of

the police and military. The presence of army tanks in the narrow streets, in particular, left a mark on the city's collective memory, bringing back traumatic memories of the Second World War. The local Communist authorities, finally, lost much of their credibility and authority, not to mention a highly positive reputation both in and outside Italy. It is, however, mostly the stigmatization of Lorusso and – through him – the Movement of '77 as a violent phenomenon, as well as the absence of any serious attempts to establish exactly what happened and who was to be held (morally) responsible, that have kept the wound open, obstructed processes of reconciliation and reduced historical and media interpretations of the incidents of 1977 to mere violence.[14]

Yet the memory of 1977 in Bologna has 'resisted' through time, and it may actually have been the lack of public consensus – as well as the co-existence of contrasting positions and counter-memories nurtured by former 77-ers and people close to Lorusso – that has kept this memory alive. Ann Rigney argues that 'consensus may facilitate inertia, and [. . .] controversy rather than canonization may be the most important motor in keeping a memory alive' (2008a, p. 94). As we have seen, counter-memories allow social groups to protect values and restate views of reality 'derived from firsthand experience in small-scale communities rather than the "imagined" communities of a large nation' (Bodnar, 1992, p. 14). These 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006), on the other hand, find expression in an 'official culture' promoted by the authorities and by cultural leaders who 'share a common interest in social unity, the continuity of existing institutions, and loyalty to the status quo' (Bodnar, 1992, p. 13).

The competing restatements of reality that are produced by official memory agents, on the one hand, and by 'vernacular' memory agents, on the other, are mediated in the public sphere: the latter forms a background against which various parts of the social structure exchange and negotiate their views of the past (Phillips, 2004; Bodnar, 1992, p. 15).[15] Public memory is, then, the outcome of a process of negotiation by different memory agents, which gives authority to one specific interpretation of the past (King, 2001, p. 149). In this book I will analyse the process of negotiating a publicly shared memory of the incidents of March 1977 in Bologna as performed by a variety of media of memory and memory agents. It is therefore not an investigation into the circumstances of Lorusso's death on 11 March 1977, nor does it aspire to be a historical account of the student movement of '77. Mass-media reports and historical interpretations of 1977 will be set alongside local 'memory work' (Irwin-Zarecka, 2009) – i.e., memorial activities continuously

'performed' by individuals 'as they [...] become involved in various forms of memorial activity, from narrating and reading to attending commemorative ceremonies or going on pilgrimages' (Rigney, 2005, p. 17). I will consider the performances – over the past 30 years – of memory work in the form of monuments and commemorative rituals by Lorusso's family and friends, the alternative left-wing milieu in Bologna and local official culture (i.e., the public administration, individual politicians and political parties). In doing so, I will also pay attention to the modes and motivations of forgetting in history writing and education as in the media, on the one hand, and the sense of 'ownership' that marks the attitude of former participants in social movements, on the other. I will thus highlight the problems this approach creates for a commonly shared memory and history of social movements in the late 1960s and 1970s, in particular regarding the relationship between eye-witnesses and (younger generations of) historians. Absences and voids in the public memory of 1977 in Bologna will allow me to explore the workings of power and hegemony, the dynamic relation between national and local discourses on the past and the way memory can be used, both by eyewitnesses and future generations, to denounce injustices and claim rights and to reconfirm or (re-)appropriate collective identities.

In short, the Bologna incident offers an interesting 'micro-history' which will lay bare the dynamic relation between official and vernacular memories and the motivations and mechanisms employed by both official and vernacular memory agents in the creation of a more widely shared, public memory of protest. Although the book focuses on local debates and divisions, it also draws on examples from other European contexts (Germany, Great Britain and France) as well as some international case studies, in order to create an understanding of how collective experiences of contentious politics are produced, (re-)negotiated and re-mediated in the present. The thesis underlying these analyses is that in Italy, unlike in countries with a comparable history of political activism (such as Germany), there is a kind of 'collective amnesia' when it comes to contentious memories involving violence and political activists, the level of consensus on these victims being much lower than in other cases of violence. In order for these to become publicly shared memories, then, they require a longer and more complex process of negotiation, in which the victims' identities undergo fundamental changes. Secondly, and related to this difficult memory of protest and violence, the book offers a discussion of the shortcomings of traditional historical methods in the study of Italian social movements in the 1970s, and of the value

of alternative research methodologies such as oral history. Finally, the book sheds more light on Italy's troubled relationship with the 1970s as a whole.

Sources and methodology

The empirical research data analysed here were drawn from a variety of materials and methods, ranging from newspaper articles to (public and private) letters, press releases, official documents and material produced by the 1977 student movement; from discourse analyses to interviews with former participants in the protests in Bologna in 1977. The latter served mostly to fill in gaps left by the documentary material. With the exception of newspaper articles, the visual and written material was mostly retrieved from personal archives of former activists, the grassroots Documentary Centre 'Francesco Lorusso – Carlo Giuliani', the City Hall archive in Bologna and a small Lorusso archive located at the historical research centre Istituto Parri in Bologna.[16]

The fact that my research builds so strongly on such a variety of material reflects the above-mentioned lack of a systematic and profound analysis of 1977 from a historical perspective, and the reluctance of former activists to become an object of historical research. Indeed, both in publications by former participants and in my own interactions with the 77-ers during my doctoral research, which formed the basis of this book, there was a strong sense of 'ownership' which occasionally resulted in a diffident attitude towards 'outsiders' such as myself. This was due, in particular, to the generation gap, as well as to my representing a 'category' (that of an academic and historian) which – in the eyes of those who participated in the social movements of the late 1960s and 1970s – simply cannot and should not claim any role in the transmission of historical knowledge of the events.

I interpreted this as a fear that I might undermine the authority of those 'who were there'. Such a 'monopoly' over the public memory of 1977 is also illustrated by the account of two young historians who identified a similar resistance to allow anyone who 'was not there' to offer an interpretation, and hence to 'intellectualize' events and emotions that others have experienced (Betta and Capussotti, 2004, p. 117). Moreover, in the introduction to a counter-informational text published shortly after the incidents of 1977 we read that

> [t]here can be no illuminated historian who may dare offer a recon-
> struction of the facts of March in Bologna [. . .]. There is no historian,

we will not tolerate that there is any historian who [...] will reconstruct the facts [...].

<div align="right">(*Bologna marzo 1977*, 2007, p. 9, my italics)</div>

In addition, my belonging to a different sex (almost all of my interviewees being men) and nationality further determined my relation with some of the interviewees, who seemed to have set their minds to a more generic explanation of what the Movement of '77 was and how they had experienced it, as if they expected me not to have any knowledge of it whatsoever, being young and foreign. They had probably had a certain authoritative role in previous interviews and public interventions, where they had explained the events of 1977 to 'outsiders' like myself, and now set out to interpret that same role again during their interview with me. Hence some of them reacted with surprise, and almost annoyance, when I confronted them with questions relating to memory and commemoration. The inter-subjective dynamics (Abrams, 2010) of oral history are not, however, the theme of this book, which primarily aims at discussing memory debates in official and vernacular memory communities, in relation to public commemorative rituals and memory sites for contentious memories of protest.

Organization of the book

The book begins with a confrontation between the two opposing yet co-existing public memories of the late 1960s and 1970s that have marked Italy, Germany and, to a far lesser degree, France and Great Britain: the violent *anni di piombo* or 'years of lead', on the one hand, and *anni formidabili* or 'wonderful years', on the other. The first chapter ('"Years of Lead"? Political Violence in Perspective') challenges dominant narratives about the 1970s as a decade marked by political violence. In Italy this was primarily the work of the left-wing terrorist group Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse, BR), best known for the infamous abduction and assassination of Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro in 1978.[17] Thus the chapter explores the origins of the notion of 'years of lead' and its application in the public sphere (i.e., in history books and in the media), it identifies strategies of selection and omission in the creation of a national history of the 1970s in Italy and assesses the consequences of the specific way this politically loaded term has been used to remember the 1970s in the public sphere.

The 1970s in West Germany too were marked by protests and left-wing terrorism, and will therefore be compared to Italy in this opening

chapter. The analogy also resides in the alliance between the two countries during the Second World War, and the difficult memory of Fascism/Nazism this has produced. Indeed, the latter played a significant role in the motivation and self-representation of many terrorist organizations in the 1970s. Finally, the chapter contains a brief historical overview of the main political, economic and social transformations and their impact on the development of a new political subject in Italy and Germany, as opposed to countries such as France or Great Britain, where the 'momentum' of 1968 did not carry on much beyond the end of the decade.

In the second chapter ('"Wonderful Years"? Myth, Nostalgia and Authority'), the analysis of the difficult historicization of the late 1960s and 1970s is continued, this time focusing on the way former activists look back on those years and in particular the 1968 experience. Hence it engages with issues of myth-making and nostalgia, and investigates the difficult relationship of social movements with traditional historiography, their 'possessive' memory of this past and the consequences of this attitude for contemporary research(ers) into social movements in the European context. In addition to the historical 'silences' identified in the first chapter, this second chapter, then, addresses individual and collective silences. The focus is on the protests of the late 1960s, which have been particularly subject to the process of idealizing this past. Both chapters, therefore, engage with questions of historical methodology and identify problems caused by the dominance of memories rather than historical interpretations in analyses of the late 1960s and 1970s in the four countries mentioned earlier on.

In the third chapter, entitled 'The Trauma of 1977', the tensions between the two contrasting perspectives on the 1970s are further explored in an analysis of the case of Bologna. The chapter examines the origins and characteristics of the Movement of '77 in Italy and provides a brief historical outline of the political and social situation in Bologna in the mid-1970s. This will help explain the sense of trauma various parts of the local community experienced after the so-called events of March, as I will call them throughout this book. A brief discursive and visual analysis of reports in the press and on national television will demonstrate how the public memory of these incidents was shaped at the time, and illustrate the traumatic impact of the 'events of March' as these were transmitted in the media.

The following three chapters each focus on one specific local group and the way it has tried to (re)negotiate a memory of Lorusso and of the events of March 1977 in the public sphere in the 30 years

following the events. Although the chapters imply a clear division between official and vernacular memory agents, they will demonstrate that official and vernacular memories tend to overlap and intertwine. The first of these chapters ('Affective Labour: Between Mourning and Moral Duty') concentrates on tensions between private and public memories. It demonstrates how Lorusso's difficult victim status forced his family to develop a variety of strategies to renegotiate his person and to obtain some form of public acknowledgement. Examples of other victims' family associations within the (inter)national context will contribute to the examination of affective labour among memory agents and the emotional relations it creates (Brown and Allen, 2011).

The second chapter, entitled 'Seeking Consensus: Political Uses of the Past', focuses on the official sphere in Bologna. It primarily considers the historical left, which governed the city up to the late 1990s and then again from the second half of the 2000s onwards. The events of March 1977 represent an important turning point in the history of the 'red city', Lorusso's death provoking a definite breach between Communist authorities and left-wing youth groups. This explains why the Italian Communist Party (PCI) desperately tried to regain consensus among younger generations of left-wing voters in the wake of the events of March. This chapter then analyses how the PCI – and its political heirs in the 1990s and 2000s – reinterpreted the events of 1977 in subsequent years, and how the historical context (e.g., terrorism) determined these reinterpretations. The chapter goes on to discuss the role of other local politicians and political parties as well as the University of Bologna in negotiations of Lorusso's public memory through time. It explores the implications of March 1977 for local politics and demonstrates how difficult memories of political violence can be (re)used and manipulated in an attempt to (re)gain a political electorate.

The third and final chapter that deals with memory communities in Bologna focuses on Lorusso's companions and the student movement of 1977: 'Rebuilding Group Identities on the Far Left'. It gives a brief history of an annual protest march that took place between 1977 and 1997, during the anniversaries of Lorusso's death, which explicitly rejected the official reading of this incident. It thus served as a counter-memory not only of the events of March but also of other incidents of political violence in and beyond the 1970s. Secondly, the chapter examines the role Lorusso has played in these alternative commemorations, and the meaning he was given by the various subgroups of the former student movement of 1977. Lorusso – like other victims of police violence

who became myths and martyrs for the Italian alternative left – was not purely an object of commemoration: his death, rather, served as a means of unification for the former student movement, even if it was interpreted in different ways among the various subgroups, enhancing tensions and internal conflicts. This chapter, then, provides an insight into the relationship between death and identity formation, emotions and memory, and the tensions between heroism and victimhood. The analysis includes more recent examples of police violence in the Italian and European context, which younger generations often link back to the Lorusso memory: for example, the death of Carlo Giuliani during the G8 summit in Genoa in 2001. In fact, the chapter concludes with an examination of the extent to which the memories of Lorusso and March 1977 serve as a model for younger generations of left-wing activists, and how 'transfers' of memory take shape in the present day, thus linking back to the idea of 'possessive' memory and its effects on younger generations of historians, discussed in Chapter 2.

The book concludes with an analysis of the 'memory sites' that were proposed, debated and created in Bologna to commemorate the incidents of March 1977, and Lorusso in particular ('Memory Sites: Negotiating Protest in Urban Space').[18] After a brief discussion of a number of proposals made by Lorusso's family, his former companions and local politicians throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, I will compare two contradictory sites of memory: first, a commemorative plaque placed by Lorusso's friends and family shortly after the events of March, which – in spite of its conventional form – represents a highly spontaneous and critical, 'grassroots' memorial; and secondly, a public garden dedicated to Lorusso in the 1990s by the local government.

Other, minor memory sites or attempts to create sites that are discussed here include a tomb that the Lorusso family managed to negotiate in the city's cemetery, a university lecture hall that a local unionist wanted to dedicate to Lorusso and a wooden statue of Lorusso which is currently waiting to be placed in a university location. This chapter, then, again explores debates about how contentious memories are negotiated in the public sphere, and to what extent official and vernacular memories intertwine. The chapter also contains – drawing again on other examples from the European context – a more general discussion about the role of memory sites in the creation of local and national, shared memory discourses and reconciliation processes.

In conclusion, by shifting attention away from historical key figures (e.g., political leaders) or dramatic events of (inter)national and

historical importance (e.g., wars or genocide) and towards the more delicate and controversial area of political and police violence in the 1970s, a decade which – in Italy – has yet to be studied in all its complexity, the book offers a new insight into the mechanisms and strategies of commemoration – when such commemoration regards contentious memories – and highlights the precariousness of official reconciliation.

1
"Years of Lead"? Political Violence in Perspective

Introduction

On 7 May 2012 the chief executive of a leading Italian firm specializing in the manufacture of thermoelectric power plants was kneecapped by two men as he left his home in Genoa to go to work. This attack immediately prompted the mainstream media to resurrect memories of left-wing – or 'red' – terrorism in Italy (Hajek, 2012c).[1] Such a dramatic re-evocation of traumatic memories of political violence is symptomatic of Italy's failure – or reluctance – to come to terms with its past, and hence of a wound that refuses to heal. At the same time, however, those who were involved in the various social movements of the late 1960s and 1970s tend to promote an overly celebrative narrative which equally hinders a more objective and inclusive elaboration of this past. In the first two chapters of this book I will outline the contrasting yet co-existing public memories of the 1970s in Italy as, on the one hand, the violent *anni di piombo* ('years of lead'), and, on the other, *anni formidabili* ('wonderful years').[2] The first chapter challenges dominant narratives – characteristic of the Italian and German context in particular – of the 1970s as a decade marked by political violence and terrorism. In Germany these master narratives mostly revolve around the Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion, RAF), the left-wing terrorist group which regained notoriety in 2008, when Stefan Aust's best-selling history of the RAF – *The Baader–Meinhof Group: The Inside Story of a Phenomenon* (1986) – was adapted for the cinema (*The Baader Meinhof Complex*).[3] Similarly, the public memory of the 1970s in Italy primarily focuses on the violence perpetrated by the extreme left-wing terrorist organization the Red Brigades, and in particular the abduction and assassination of Aldo Moro in 1978. This played a major role in the

'condemnation' – in the public sphere – of these years as *anni di piombo*, which continues to be evident today, as the abovementioned incident illustrates.

The chapter analyses the origins of the notion of 'years of lead' in Italy, its application in the official and public sphere, and the emphasis it places on narratives of victimhood and trauma, to the detriment of a reassessment of historical facts. The chapter thus identifies strategies of selection and omission in the creation of a national history of the 1970s in Italy, and assesses the consequences of the specific use that Italian historians, journalists and politicians have made of this politically loaded term for the way the decade is remembered and narrated in the public sphere.

The chapter begins with an assessment of the protests of 1968 in Western Europe, generally seen as the starting point of a decade marked – albeit to varying degrees in each of the four countries discussed here (Italy, Germany, France and Great Britain) – by political violence, civil rights and women's movements, and a new cultural climate. All three of these components contributed to the overall transformation of Western societies from the late 1960s on, although the chapter focuses on the origins of, and reactions to, political violence, its role in the construction of a negative memory of the 1970s and the impact of the protests of 1968 on the development of a new political subject in Western Europe, in the following decade. The case of Italy will be compared to that of Germany: the connection lies not just in the presence of left-wing terrorist groups in both countries throughout the 1970s but also in the alliance between the two countries during the Second World War, and its traumatic legacy.[4] The controversial memory of Fascism and Nazism played a significant role in the motivations and identity of left-wing terrorist organizations in Italy and Germany, as it did in France.[5] As such, it reflects a generational issue, especially in West Germany, where the Nazi legacy – Anna von der Goltz explains – 'lent greater urgency to generational discourses' (2011b, p. 13), which continues to inform the political activism of young left-wing activists today. Finally, the fact that the very notion of 'years of lead' was derived from the title of a German movie on terrorism suggests a relation between the two case studies.

The examples of Italy and Germany will be contrasted with those of France and Great Britain, where the reverberations of the events of 1968 had a far more limited duration and did not, for example, debouch into terrorism in the subsequent decade – at least, not on the same level. Nor have these two countries witnessed any significant re-emergence of social movements in more recent times, as is the case for Italy

and – to a lesser degree – Germany. What does connect the four coun-tries, however, is the persistence of a myth of 1968 in which the idea of generational conflict and youth rebellion dominates. As Von der Goltz notes, the latter was associated with the 1960s and 1970s 'like perhaps no cultural product from this period' (ibid., p. 7). The idea of generation 'as a subjective and imagined category' (Nienass, 2013, p. 113) will be further explored in Chapter 2.

The '1968 years' in Italy[6]

If the protest movement that evolved around 1968 in Italy was first and foremost composed of students who mobilized against educational reforms, the protests themselves soon took on a broader significance, directed against capitalism and drawing inspiration from universal icons and martyrs of resistance, from Che Guevara and the Cuban Revo-lution to the urban *guerriglia* of the Tupamaros in Uruguay and the Palestinian liberation movement (Tolomelli, 2006, p. 94; p. 84; Kurz and Tolomelli, 2008). As Rainer Horn has observed, 'Italy's student movement evolved in the course of two years from a reform-minded constituency clamouring for improvements in course content and deliv-ery into a frontal challenge to all forms of hierarchies and the powers of the state' (2007, p. 112). Thus the Italian movement shifted its focus to class struggle, which resulted in an alliance with the work-ers' movement that culminated in the period of the so-called hot autumn, when a number of strikes in factories and industrial cen-tres of northern Italy – motivated by demands for better pay and working conditions – paralysed the country (Lumley, 1994; Ginsborg, 2006).

   If it is true that solidarity was an inherent feature of the Italian movement of 1968, expressed, for example, in its ideological alliance with the working class and – on a transnational level – its criticism of the Vietnam War, nevertheless the substantial differences between two socially heterogeneous groups soon led to the decline of the stu-dent movement. In Marica Tolomelli's words, there were irreconcilable differences between those 'groups increasingly orientated towards the creation of an "organic connection" with the workers' movement, and student groups that identified themselves less and less with these "worker's instances", which progressively moved back towards the universities' (2002, p. 34).[7]

   Nevertheless, contentious politics in Italy persisted throughout the 1970s, unlike in France, where the events of 1968 had created a momen-tum that was stronger than in Italy but did not last very long: 'In Italy,

it never came to such a climax, but the social conflagrations [...]
ultimately undermined the status quo far more deeply' (Horn, 2007,
pp. 111–112).[8] This was due, above all, to changing attitudes to the use
of violence in reaction to the growing repression of the Italian student
and workers' protests in 1968 and 1969. This repression pushed left-
wing militants more and more towards armed resistance and the idea
of violence as a legitimate instrument in the battle against a corrupt
and repressive state. The final straw in this process was a dramatic bomb
attack on a bank in Milan in December 1969, which killed 17 people
and wounded 88. The Piazza Fontana massacre is generally considered
as the first in a series of attacks carried out as part of a 'strategy of ten-
sion': that is, the deliberate creation of a political climate of fear and
alarm by a variety of right-wing organizations, aimed at provoking –
through the illusion of a threat of political subversion coming from the
left – 'an atmosphere of terror in the country so as to promote a turn
to an authoritarian type of government' (Cento Bull, 2007, p. 7; p. 19).[9]
These attacks included two more bombings in 1974, in the northern
city of Brescia (8 dead, 103 wounded) and on the Italicus train travel-
ling from Florence to Bologna (12 dead, 44 wounded), and another on
2 August 1980, in the waiting room at Bologna railway station (85 dead,
200 wounded).

There were strong suspicions that neo-Fascist terrorist organizations
were behind the Piazza Fontana massacre, and that these organizations
were somehow connected to the Italian secret service, although this
has never been proved. Moreover, an anarchist suspected of having
been involved in the massacre – Giuseppe Pinelli – himself died under
mysterious circumstances after three days of interrogation (Foot, 2007,
pp. 59–61; Lanza, 2009). If violent resistance to the state had until this
time remained merely theoretical, then, this incident led many people
to consider other, more radical solutions, such as terrorism and armed
struggle.[10] To quote Tolomelli again, there was a sense that 'the exist-
ing social order could not be transformed but only overturned through
practices which did not exclude recourse to violence' (2006, p. 65).
In short, the Piazza Fontana massacre gave a new impetus to various
autonomous, militant groups that organized themselves in northern fac-
tories in 1969. This was in fact the context in which the Red Brigades,
the most notorious terrorist group of the left, came into being.[11]

A second factor that contributed to the continuation of contentious
politics in Italy in the 1970s was the economic crisis of 1973. The rise of
oil prices and increasing unemployment affected young people in par-
ticular. The new generation faced a much more bleak situation than the
generation of 1968, which had to some extent continued to enjoy the

benefits of the economic boom of the 1950s: 'The *movement of '77* lacked the profound optimism, "the psychological tensions of omnipotence" of the previous generation: a generation which still felt part of a "society of affluence", even if marked by injustice and falsifications' (Crainz, 2005, p. 572). On top of these material problems, the Italian Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano, PCI) imposed a policy of austerity and self-sacrifice, which affected the lower classes in particular and was out of step with the growing consumerist attitudes of younger people and the new lifestyles imported from Anglophone countries. Consequently, they increasingly moved away from a traditional work ethic, the cornerstone of the historical left, and came to reject completely the concept of work itself.

Hence, the economic crisis and its consequences pushed young people away from the classical left-wing ideals of work and sacrifice and towards a focus on more private problems and desires. As a result, new forms of collective action evolved, aiming at the appropriation of a certain lifestyle and the satisfaction of personal needs. Think of the so-called *autoriduzioni* or auto-reductions, which originated in late 1976: these involved crowds of people visiting, for example, a cinema or a restaurant and refusing to pay the full price. This was not a new form of action, though: in the late 1960s auto-reductions – or what were called, at the time, 'proletarian expropriations' – had also taken place, but they had been restricted to basic household expenses such as gas and electricity. By the mid-1970s attention had shifted more towards consumer goods and luxuries (Moroni and Balestrini, 2005, p. 523), as young people laid claim to a more prosperous, more cultured lifestyle, consisting of more than just work, which was also illustrated by the very change of definition, from the more ideologically connotated 'proletarian expropriations' to the more individualistic 'auto-reductions'.[12]

Finally, the enduring legacy of the '1968 years' in Italy was also an outcome of the political void left by the PCI. As well as being a consequence of the Communists' dwindling authority over a generation anxious to participate in new cultural developments, this void was due to the PCI's move towards the political centre, through the so-called historical compromise. Launched by the PCI's secretary, Enrico Berlinguer, in 1972, this project envisaged an alliance between the PCI, the Italian Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI) and the PCI's main opponent, Christian Democracy (Democrazia Cristiana, DC), led by Giulio Andreotti.[13] This development was prompted, above all, by the need for a strong, stable government, in view of the rising threat of terrorism and of an authoritarian coup d'état, as had happened in Chile.[14] It also

became increasingly difficult for the PCI to present itself as both a Communist party and a democratic one, especially after the Soviet military invasion of Prague in 1968.

The alternative left-wing milieu did not respond favourably to the idea of such an alliance, though, and were particularly hostile to any form of submission to the hated Christian Democrats.[15] So the disappointment was enormous when the PCI, after coming second in the elections of 1976 (with 34.4 per cent of the vote, against the DC's 38.7 per cent), decided to support, indirectly, the centre-right government of the Christian Democrats, which led to the so-called government of 'non distrust' (Ginsborg, 2006, p. 501). This was perceived by many younger voters on the alternative left as a betrayal, and thus the feeling that the PCI no longer represented them was strong.

At this period the most notorious terrorist group of the time, the Red Brigades, decided to raise the stakes: after a series of mostly symbolic actions, such as the burning of company directors' cars, from 1975 on the Red Brigades began killing representatives of the state and other public figures, such as journalists and judges. This reached its climax in 1978, when the statesman and leader of the Christian Democrat party, Aldo Moro, was abducted, held in captivity for 55 days and finally assassinated. The situation degenerated further, until a fierce anti-terrorist offensive and new laws on terrorism, in the early 1980s, dismantled the Red Brigades.[16] Other left-wing terrorist groups were also active during this time, but the Red Brigades dominate the collective memory of the 1970s because of the often 'spectacular' nature of their actions, the publication of various (auto)biographies and novels written by former terrorists and the proliferation of movies about left-wing terrorism.[17]

In short, throughout the 1970s a growing mistrust of the political establishment, a sense of disappointment at, and criticism of, its handling of various economic, social and political problems resulted in greater recourse to political violence within a part of the alternative left-wing milieu in Italy, and subsequently in its total dissociation from the historical left. In addition, the Communist Party's failure to offer youth a consistent political identity enhanced the fragmentation of the alternative left and allowed left-wing terrorism to escalate in the second half of the 1970s.

Germany's 'Red Decade'

The lack of belief in a central government and mistrust of state institutions were visible elsewhere in Europe too. In West Germany the shadow

of the Nazi past added an extra dimension to the anti-authoritarian protests of 1968 and, in particular, those of the terrorist groups that sprang up in the early 1970s: their aim was to unmask the alleged 'democratic semblances' of Western society and to demolish 'all legal and institutional devices behind which their substantial authoritarianism was believed to be hiding' (Tolomelli, 2006, p. 95). Much like in Italy, where terrorist groups drew on collective memories of Fascism and the anti-Fascist resistance battle fought out by partisans between 1943 and 1945, in Germany the perceived connection between Nazism and 'capitalist imperialism' served to legitimize the recourse to violence. A minor terrorist group which attacked a US army base in Heidelberg in 1971, for example, claimed to be protesting against the Vietnam War, which was seen as analogous to the Holocaust (ibid., p. 89). The 'traumatic experience of national socialism' (ibid., p. 91) therefore makes the German case different from other European countries, with the exception, of course, of Italy. Thus, if

> the 1968 movement in the Federal Republic of Germany shared numerous sociological and ideological traits with similar movements in other countries, it remains a unique phenomenon, and ultimately, the roots of this uniqueness must be sought in Germany's Nazi past, in World War II, and in the Holocaust.
>
> (Kraushaar, 2010, p. 80)

This reveals a generational component to the protests in Germany: 'the legacy of Nazism lent greater credence to the notion of generational conflict' (Von der Goltz, 2011a, p. 476).[18]

At the same time, the nature of the protest movement of 1968 in West Germany was shaped by the American counterculture and civil rights movements: the struggle of the American protest movement against the Vietnam War thus became 'one of the central mobilizing and radicalizing issues of the German SDS [the German Socialist Student League] in the years 1967–1968' (Klimke, 2008, p. 101).[19] This was due to the presence of many foreign students in West Germany, the impact of the Cold War and the strong international connections (ibid., p. 106). Unlike the movement of 1968 as it manifested itself in Italy, though, the West German movement did not manage to move away from the university context and engage the workers as well. This failure to evoke 'a decisive response from the working class' contributed to the demise of the SDS towards the end of the 1960s: '[T]he student movement was driven back not by the repressive forces of the bourgeois state but by the refusal

of the trade unions to break their post-war consensus with that state' (Fraser et al., 1988, pp. 233–234).

Martin Klimke sees another reason for the disintegration of the SDS in this period: after the killing of a student named Benno Ohnesorg by a policeman on 2 June 1967, the student movement grew rapidly and suddenly, but not without altering its organizational and social structure (2008, p. 99). Subsequently, it became ever more difficult to create a uni-fied national strategy: 'Ideological infighting, local idiosyncrasies, and the emerging women's movement contributed to the end of the SDS as a national organization' (ibid.). Indeed, in 1968 the SDS was shaken by an internal revolt by its women members, which was 'both a factor and a sign of the German student organization's disintegration' (Fraser et al., 1988, p. 242).[20] In the years that followed, the legacy of the 1960s was thus taken up mostly by the women's movement and by the local cit-izens' groups that had emerged throughout the 1960s, paving the way for the emergence of the German Green Party (Klimke, 2008, p. 107; Rootes, 2008, p. 298).

Other key events in the 1968 movement in West Germany, apart from the killing of Benno Ohnesorg, include the attempted assassina-tion of the student leader Rudi Dutschke on 11 April 1968. This resulted in the so-called Easter riots, when 45,000 demonstrators across the coun-try tried to block the delivery of newspapers published by the Springer media group, seen as morally responsible for the attack on Dutschke, who eventually died in 1979, as an outcome of the assault (Hauser, 2008, p. 104). It was not, however, until the 'Battle of the Tegeler Weg', on 30 May 1968, that the West German student movement reached a new level of confrontation with the establishment, and the country witnessed the development of armed struggle and terrorist groups, most notably the Red Army Faction (RAF).[21] Thus, the 1970s in both Italy and West Germany were dominated by left-wing terrorism, which reached its climax in the second half of the decade. Initially the (radical) left-wing milieus – moulded by the legacy of Germany's Nazi past and Fascism in Italy – supported or sympathized with the terrorists, although in Germany a much smaller number of people actually became involved in armed struggle or terrorism.[22] This can be explained by the rise, in Italy, of neo-Fascist terrorism, and the anti-Communist 'strategy of tension', from the 1960s onwards. As Dorothea Hauser observes, terrorist groups in Italy were 'much more socially enrooted' (2008, p. 272), owing also to the memory of the anti-Fascist resistance movement, which offered a positive role-model for left-wing terrorist groups as well as for other

protest movements: they saw it as their duty to continue the partisan battle, and the word 'resistance' became a rallying cry (ibid., p. 271).[23]

In Germany an even stronger 'aura of heroism' established itself around the RAF members, especially after their imprisonment in 1972 and then again in the 1990s, when the RAF experience was commodified and turned into a 'fashionable hype', in order to satisfy – according to Gerrit-Jan Berendse and Ingo Cornils – the 'demand for sublimated violence in a decade that can be classified as relatively uneventful in terms of politically motivated violence' (2008, p. 17). By taking on a symbolic role as victims of state oppression, they elicited sympathy from parts of the population, sensible as the Germans were to the idea of a repressive state (Tolomelli, 2006, p. 91; p. 93). However, more aggressive actions by a new generation of RAF terrorists in the second half of the 1970s, focused more on the liberation of imprisoned members than on the pursuit of ideological goals, quickly diminished the group's popularity (ibid., pp. 92–93). In Italy too the general public, and parts of the alternative left, became more critical of left-wing terrorism after Aldo Moro's abduction and assassination in 1978. Nevertheless, Italian terrorism continued well into the 1980s, leaving a more profound scar on society there than in Germany.

Another important difference between the two countries, which I briefly mentioned earlier, is the fact that Italy was struck by terrorism from both the political left and the right, whereas Germany only experienced terrorism from the left. Not surprisingly, an important German monograph about the period 1967–1977 was entitled *The Red Decade* (Pekelder, 2011, p. 76), and the very notion of 'years of lead', which – as we shall see – refers primarily to Italian left-wing terrorism, was derived from a famous German movie about the Red Army Faction, Margarethe von Trotta's *Die Bleierne Zeit*, first shown at the Venice Film Festival in 1981.[24] At the same time, though, the 1970s were a decade of significant cultural change for both Italy and Germany, giving rise to 'a social departure that was experienced by all parts of [. . .] society': the political actions of the generation of 1968, in both countries, 'challenged social conventions, generated new forms of cultural expression and alternative spaces, and created the impression of an accelerating cultural transformation' (Klimke, 2008, p. 107). And yet, memories of terrorism continue to provoke controversy about the legacy of 1968 in Germany. As Wolfgang Kraushaar points out: 'the German 1968 rebellion has become an important terrain for battles over cultural memory' (2010, p. 79).[25]

The French 'May 1968'

The memory of 1968 has been imbued with controversy in France as well, most obviously during the presidential election campaign of Nicolas Sarkozy in 2007, when Sarkozy declared that he wanted to 'liquidate' the heritage of 1968. Sarkozy's anti-1968 discourse captured the imagination of younger supporters of the French right, who on 1 May 2008 held an 'anti-'68 picnic' in a park in Paris (Gordon, 2010, p. 57).[26] Nevertheless, 1968 in France represents a more 'acceptable' chapter in the nation's history than it does in Germany or Italy, a 'part of the national and local heritage industries' (ibid., p. 56) in the country which contributed most to the now dominant 'codification' of 1968 as a generational phenomenon (Von der Goltz, 2011b, p. 19). In fact, Sarkozy's criticism notwithstanding, France has a far more positive memory of 1968 – as a period of individual and social liberation – than does Italy or Germany, even if this memory is also tainted by 'a demonizing [interpretation] of a descent into chaos, whether of private hedonism or political violence or complicity with totalitarianism' (Gildea, 2013, p. 47). Arthur Marwick, in his voluminous essay on *The Sixties*, describes a similar dichotomy in the interpretations that have been given of 1968, seeing it in ideological terms:

> In the eyes of the far left, it is the era when revolution was at hand, only to be betrayed by the feebleness of the faithful and the trickery of the enemy; to the radical right, an era of subversion and moral turpitude.
>
> (1998, p. 3)

Although 'May 1968' is seen as 'a quintessentially French phenomenon', it had a far more limited duration than the corresponding period in Italy and Germany: the key events can all be limited to the second week of May (Gordon, 2010, p. 49). This does not mean political activism did not take place in the following decade, as both Horn (2007) and Gildea (2013) have demonstrated in their analyses of French workers' strikes during and after 1968, but the momentum was definitely gone by then.[27] The French protest movement of 1968 also came into being relatively late in the day: whereas students in Italy and Germany were already politically active in 1967, in France the student movement only really took shape in May 1968, and the explosion of protests was therefore very sudden. Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey argues that 'the mobilization of the student movement in France happened spontaneously as the

result of an essentially self-generating process of action' (2008, p. 111). This was largely due to the rapid economic growth in post-war Western Europe, which had created expectations but which did not develop at the same pace as 'the actual and ideological authority structures', combined with an 'increasing awareness on the part of a new generation, conscious for the first time of its weight in society, that these structures were blocking its development' (Fraser et al., 1988, p. 316).

Ironically, the French protests were therefore anomalous and unusual 'in the suddenness of their eruption, the rapidity and extent of their spread from the metropolis to the provinces, and the precipitateness with which they declined' (Rootes, 2008, p. 17). Various reasons have been given for the short duration of the French protest movement. Gianni Statera attributes it to official repression, a failure on the part of students to establish enduring links with the working class and a failure of leadership (ibid., p. 22). Chris Rootes disputes this interpretation by claiming that repression alone is not sufficient to explain the decline of the student movement, and that Statera's other two explanations hold true for student movements elsewhere as well (ibid., p. 23). Rather, for Rootes the peculiarity of the French 1968 movement lies in its 'extraordinary compression': that is, the fact that 'in a matter of months it completed processes which in other societies took years', thanks mostly to the fact that it actually managed to produce a national political crisis (ibid.).

As a consequence, terrorism hardly took off in France. This is surprising, in my opinion, given that the French Vichy government collaborated with Germany during the Second World War and that the very word 'resistance' originated in France, thus placing it in a similar position to Italy and Germany in terms of (traumatic) memories of (resistance to) Fascism and Nazism. An exception was the Maoist group Proletarian Left (Gauche Prolétarienne, GP), which drew on the French anti-Nazi resistance movement of the 1940s. In 1969 it created the Popular New Resistance (Nouvelle Résistance Populaire, NRP) in order to fight an alleged 'fascization' in France (Hauser, 2008, pp. 269–270). As in Italy, terrorism was then considered as a renewed resistance or as a continuation of the resistance battle. However, the activities of the NRP were mostly symbolic, and in 1970 the GP was outlawed. Around this time a debate was going on within the GP about the choice between terrorism and a more local form of resistance in which people 'could act effectively themselves, locally, autonomously, and without violence' (Gildea, 2013, p. 44). Subsequently, the GP gave up on terrorism, and the only other major terrorist group that arose in France, in those years, was Direct

Action (Action Directe). However, the latter mostly comprised activists of Spanish origin, connected to campaigns in France against General Franco (Hauser, 2008, p. 270), and was therefore less visibly engaged in a battle against the French authorities and with regard to national issues, unlike the RAF in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy.

Memories of 1968 in Great Britain

Of the four countries analysed here, it is undoubtedly Great Britain for whom the events of 1968 were least memorable, and the subsequent decade saw no real history of terrorism (if we exclude the Troubles in Northern Ireland, which, however, were linked more to issues of nationalism and religion, quite different from the kind of terrorism that marked in Germany and Italy). This is related to the lack of the 'burden' of history which was so relevant for Germany and Italy, and to a lesser extent also France, and which played an important role in the motivations of young activists and terrorists. Put differently, Great Britain did not have the 'reputation' of being an undemocratic state, and it therefore 'did not create the conditions for major confrontations with the state' (Fraser et al., 1988, p. 244). It also had a more 'ideological authority amongst students than was the case on the Continent' (ibid.). In fact, much like in the Netherlands, another northern European country which witnessed only minor outbreaks of political violence in those years, perpetrated by an anti-imperialist minority with little popular support, there was no widespread political violence (De Graaf, 2010; Hauser, 2008). As Hauser notes:

> the birth of guerilla groups like the Angry Brigade in Great Britain and the Red Youth in the Netherlands was but the somewhat desperate endeavor of a very small number of militants anxious to perpetuate the dwindling dynamics of '1968'.
>
> (ibid., p. 269)

Nor did Britain witness any important turning points, symbolic flashpoints or traumatic events, such as the assassination of Ohnesorg in Germany or the 'Night of the Barricades' on 10–11 May, when protesters built barricades in an occupied area of the Latin Quarter in Paris (Gilcher-Holtey, 2008, p. 115). This may explain why the protest movement in Britain did not so much exist on a national level but was, rather, embedded in local contexts. More importantly, Great Britain had no casualties to mourn: the dead ideally represent a sacrifice, and help

reunite a community in the aftermath of a traumatic, collective experience. In other words, death unifies, and the cult of the dead has, in fact, been crucial in the construction of national identities. The 1970s in Italy, for example, were marked by a great number of victims of political violence – both on the right and on the left – which played a crucial role in the formation of collective identities and counter-memories, as we shall see throughout this book. Similarly, a former French activist who was interviewed in a recent oral history project on 1968 recalled his joining the GP after the deaths of two car factory workers and a student in 1968 (Gildea, 2013). None of this applies to the British case, prompting one former student at the London School of Economics – one of the epicentres of the British dissent – to draw the following conclusion: 'had there been fighting, with serious injuries, possibly even a killing, I'm quite sure a major student rising across the country would have taken place, and the thing would have exploded' (Fraser et al., 1988, p. 252).

On a whole, the British 1968 movement therefore centred on generic, mostly pacifist issues. The Vietnam War, for example, was an important point of reference, leading to the birth of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC) in 1966.[28] Nor was it truly a youth movement 'from below', in that most organizations were dominated by academics and students (Nehring, 2008, p. 128), and one former 68-er recalled how 'British students were still largely hostile to the left and largely ignorant of Marxism' (Fraser et al., 1988, p. 250). As Rainer Horn has observed, in countries such as Britain 'the new left remained mostly a student-based and thus a middle-class affair' (2007, p. 229), whereas in southern European countries such as Italy the new left included students from various social strata as well as workers. Indeed, there was no real connection between student and labour movements in Great Britain (ibid.). To quote Fraser again: the refusal of the VSC to go beyond the Vietnam War 'and place concrete demands on the Labour government left it unable to capitalize on the mass mobilization and led the demonstrators politically nowhere' (1988, p. 253).

The 1970s: 'years of lead'?

As we have seen, the notion of *anni di piombo* was adapted from the title of Von Trotta's movie *Die Bleierne Zeit*, initially translated as *Gli anni plumbei* ('oppressing times'). This was a less politically loaded title than *Anni di piombo* ('years of lead', or 'years of the bullet'), as the movie was subsequently called (O'Leary, 2011). It was not until the 1990s, however,

that the notion of 'years of lead' entered public debate. The first time the term appeared in print was in a book published in 1991, co-written by journalist Indro Montanelli, who had himself been wounded by the Red Brigades. The essay was the first of many successful, pseudo-academic essays on the 1970s which fixed the idea in the collective memory. The automatic reference to the 'years of lead' in the media reports of assault in May 2012 described at the beginning is just the most recent illustration of this process. The 'boom' in the notion of 'years of lead' in the 1990s can also be attributed to the collapse of Communism in 1989 and the end of the First Republic in Italy: traditional political parties went into crisis, and when the major political and financial 'Bribesville' scandal provoked a radical reorganization of the Italian political system, historians embarked on the task of writing a comprehensive history of the Italian Republic (Foot, 2003). In other words, the events of the early 1990s 'put researchers before the necessity of confronting themselves with a period of Italian history which was perceived as finished and closed off only in that moment' (D'Agnelli, 2005, p. 200).

The use of the term 'years of lead' in Italian historiography is problematic not just because it originated in a non-scientific, public debate: it also has specific connotations of left-wing terrorism, *piombo*, or 'lead', being a metaphor for bullets and therefore an explicit reference to the use of firearms. Indeed, Left-wing terrorism resorted more to firearms than to bombs, which were the exclusive province of the neo-Fascist right as it manifested itself in the first half of the decade in particular (O'Leary, 2011). However, the concept of 'years of lead' is often used, in a very generic way, to define the entire decade. Yet left-wing terrorism became dominant only after 1975, as we have seen, whereas the early 1970s were marked by the bomb massacres described previously (Piazza Fontana, Brescia, Italicus), which were perpetrated by neo-Fascist terrorist organizations, known also as *stragismo*. Derived from *strage* ('massacre'), *stragismo* implies a terrorist practice which 'recurs to massacres and acts of violence, with the aim of intimidating or destabilizing the political situation, used by extremist groups or deviated organs of the State', with possible support from the state's secret services.[29]

School textbooks offer a good example of this distortion of memory: an empirical analysis of some 30 Italian school textbooks published in the period from 1980 to 2008 reveals that the majority used the term 'years of lead' in reference to the entire 1970s (Hajek, 2010). Thus they contribute to the creation of an incomplete and false memory which ignores – or 'forgets' – the presence of *stragismo* in the 1970s or obscures the distinction that needs to be made between the two types of violence:

that is, between left-wing violence directed primarily against individuals representing the state or the 'capitalist system', and right-wing violence aimed at striking indiscriminately.

These omissions seem to represent what Paul Connerton has termed 'prescriptive forgetting', a type of forgetting that helps restore 'a minimum level of cohesion to civil society and [...] re-establish the legitimacy of the state', in this case by 'keeping quiet' about incidents that reveal an undemocratic, criminal side of the Italian state and which might therefore jeopardize its present legitimacy and authority (2008, p. 62). In other words, information about obscure connections between neo-Fascist terrorist groups and the Italian state is omitted in order to create a consistent narrative in which the willingness of the state to defend the nation from political violence cannot be questioned. The result is a narrative 'that avoids any information that might destabilize the image of a nation victimized by subversive acts of [left-wing] terrorism aimed at destroying democracy' (Hajek, 2010, p. 203).

It does so through a very specific and selective use of language. Anna Lisa Tota has observed that memory always 'necessitates a form, at least a narrative one, simply to exist' (2003, p. 33). It provides people with 'verbal labels' to shape their memory. Language, in contrast, can be considered as a memory system, since each individual utterance contains 'memory traces' of earlier usages (Olick, 2007, pp. 29–30; Echterhoff, 2008, p. 270). However, events that fall 'outside the range of ordinary human experiences' (Neal, 2005, p. 9) – that is, traumatic events such as terrorism and *stragismo* – often cannot be put into words. Those who have suffered trauma literally cannot find the words to express what they have experienced, so that trauma eventually reflects a situation of 'unspeakability' (Caruth, 1995, p. 10). At the basis of this problem lies the lack of a linguistic code or vocabulary shared by all members of the community (Olick, 2007, p. 32): the term 'years of lead' is applied in a way that encompasses an entire decade, but it does not reflect reality as it refers to only a part of the history of that decade. This results in the inability to narrate trauma, and subsequently in the victims' loss of a place in history and the continuation of that trauma. In Hayden White's words, 'with the weakening of narrativizing capacity, the group loses its power to locate itself in history.'[30] In the case of Italy in the 1970s the problem, then, lies in the recourse to a notion which is not only limited and selective, and which hence distorts the truth; it is also a concept that excludes the victims of neo-Fascist massacres, who have in a way been 'silenced'.

Trauma and reconciliation

The way the term 'years of lead' has been used by politicians, journalists and others in the public sphere is illustrative of the importance of language and narrative in discussions about the past. The lack of a common language may explain the value of culture in processes of healing and reconciliation, in forms such as theatre, cinema and literature (Misztal, 2004). Thus Tota observes that, in Italy, 'the public dimension of memory makes ever more use of artistic-esthetical codes to give shape to contents that need to be represented. It is as if memory increasingly speaks the languages of art and media' (2008, p. 11). Movies about the 1970s, for example, take advantage of the historical and legal void and try to fill in historical gaps, interpret incidents that were left unresolved or contest dominant narratives.[31] Nonetheless, they remain confined to the realm of fiction.

A different approach to the history and memory of terrorism is offered by the case of Germany, where the movie about the German RAF – *The Baader-Meinhof Complex* – is actually used in history courses at schools. The film distributor produced a booklet especially for high school students, with pictures of scenes from the movie, timelines, biographies of the terrorists (accompanied, though, by pictures of the actors playing the roles of the terrorists) and fragments of documentary material (Conrad, Steller and Wenger 2008). In Germany, then, *The Baader-Meinhof Complex* seems to have been accepted as a correct, historical version of the facts, which reflects a far more consensual perspective on this part of Germany's recent history.

Returning to the case of Italy, Carmela Lettieri has observed how, from 1997 onwards, the phrase 'years of lead' has become particularly popular in Italian essays and works of fiction, so that it seems that a 'linguistic inflation' has taken place (2008, p. 50). This is also evident in the way the concept is so readily applied, in the media, to present-day events – such as the incident in Genoa in May 2012 – that somehow recall terrorism, as if it were a kind of swear word, 'an outlet with which to put an end to a discussion without reasoning about it. A negation of something that provokes anxiety, which can only be conjured by sticking a label to it' (Hajek, 2012c).

Clearly the memory of left-wing terrorism is still too sensitive in the collective memory of Italians, and the 1970s therefore represent a 'collective' and a 'cultural' trauma where narratives of victimhood stand in the way of a reassessment of historical facts that might allow this wound to really heal. Instead, the nation fails to come to terms with it,

in spite of monuments and annuals commemorative rituals which perhaps only contribute to the silencing of memories. The 'Memory day for the victims of terrorism and *stragismo*', held on the day Aldo Moro was found dead, is one example of the attempt to create a shared memory of a past; but such a shared memory may never come about, given the lack of verdicts in many of the trials relating to the 1970s' bomb massacres, which often lasted decades (ibid.). After all, memorial days represent no more than a momentary sharing that temporarily unifies people (Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002, p. 37), masking any controversy or dissent and thus requiring negotiations and compromise. Ruth Glynn has spoken, in this context, of a 'defensive amnesia symptomatic of an experience of psychological trauma or wound' (2006, p. 318). In other words, the (conscious or unconscious) unwillingness and incapacity to come to terms with political violence in the 1970s through legal trials and impartial history education has kept the wound open and obstructed processes of reconciliation (Hajek, 2010).

Reconciliation implies that hostile groups 'do not see the past as defining the future, as simply a continuation of the past', but that they 'come to see the humanity of one another, accept each other, and see the possibility of a constructive relationship' (Staub, 2006, p. 868).[32] However, this approach to trauma may bring with it the risk of victims and perpetrators being placed on the same level, with only an artificial, forced peace being achieved, as happened with the memory of the anti-Fascist Resistance in Italy (Cooke, 2011). In fact, when there is a process of 'moving on' or 'bringing closure', crimes are often left unpunished and victims lose the opportunity to retell their stories in public, being forced to make 'further sacrifices in the interest of an amorphous "greater good", while governments "bargain" with perpetrators of violence': for example, by giving amnesty (Simpson, 2007, p. 94). In other words, reconciliation processes require negotiations, which, however, do not necessarily heal the wounds. I therefore believe that any real form of reconciliation can be achieved only through victim-centred truth recovery.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the historical and social context in which political violence originated in the 1970s, in four West European countries. The negative legacy of Nazism and Fascism, as well as a series of political, social, economic and cultural factors, contributed to the rise of the student and workers protests in the late 1960s and prepared the

ground for armed struggle and terrorism in Italy and Germany. This is in contrast to France and Great Britain, where the protests in and around 1968 remained more or less an isolated event. The presence of right-wing terrorism in addition to left-wing terrorism further complicated the situation in Italy, in comparison with Germany. Most importantly, many of the allegedly neo-Fascist terrorist attacks that struck Italy in those years have remained legally unresolved, thus enhancing the trauma of the 1970s. This may explain why specific strategies of selection and omission have been applied in the construction of a shared, public memory of the 1970s in Italian history education, for example, where only certain facts are made accessible to the public or events are presented in a partial manner. An additional problem in this regard is the difficulty of access to sources and archives in Italy. Commemorative rituals and attempts at reconciliation are meant to heal the wound, but they actually only silence the voices of minorities.

For the time being, the task of healing this wound has been taken on by a variety of memory communities, which demonstrates a certain social legitimacy granted to victims in processes of truth-finding and dealing with a difficult past. In fact, in view of a state which fails to do justice to the victims of terrorism and bring about a national process of reconciliation that distinguishes between left- and right-wing violence, the associations of victims' families have become the new promoters of a truth which has been denied to the Italian nation for much too long. Unfortunately, their power remains limited, as the case of Francesco Lorusso will demonstrate.

2
"Wonderful Years"? Myth, Nostalgia and Authority

Introduction

In 1988 former student leader Mario Capanna published *Formidabili quegli anni*, his personal account of the 1968 events in Italy.[1] The title of this book, which in translation reads 'Those Wonderful Years', reflects the highly celebrative and nostalgic memory of 1968 as this has dominated anniversaries and recollections of 1968 in Italy and, even more so, in France, contrary to the difficult memory of the 'years of lead' described in the previous chapter. In fact, in public opinion the student movement which originated some ten years later, the Movement of '77, is often considered as an extreme, radicalized version of 1968: 'to the international and periodical, "optimistic" and collective '68, '77 opposes the violence of the *anni di piombo* and the predominance of individualism, the pessimism connected to the crisis of '73 and a national closure' (Galfré, 2008, p. 123). Left unscathed by the traumatic memories of political violence which kicked off in late 1969, after the Piazza Fontana massacre in Milan, 1968 offers a more 'innocent' and positive part of a story Italians generally prefer to forget, even if it dominates in the public memory of those years.[2]

Since the 20th anniversary of 1968, in particular, attempts have been made to eliminate or downplay the negative aspects of the '1968 years' in Italy by overemphasizing its cultural and generational aspects. This is confirmed by Anna von der Goltz in her introduction to an edited volume on generation-building in 1968, when she observes how the cultural impact of the 1968 protests has become dominant in memorializations since the 1980s, allowing for 'a depoliticised and somewhat sanitised version of the events taking hold' (2011b, p. 9). Similarly, Timothy S. Brown argues that 'the focus on cultural change has

threatened to fully de-politicize – and thereby de-historicize – the 1960s' (2012, p. 3). John Foot, finally, has observed that the 1968 revolution is 're-evoked as a kind of nice dream, with its sound track, its familiar faces [...], its classical images (the clenched fist, good looking girls carried on men's shoulders, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin)' (2009, p. 385). The diffusion of a reading that limits 1968 to a process of cultural and moral modernization, thus stripping it of its political aspects, can then be motivated by the necessity to make it 'clameable' for different groups, including those who have thus far remained outside national and dominant accounts of 1968. An additional motivation behind this limited reading of 1968, in Italy, is that of separating 1968 from the difficult and traumatic memory of the 'years of lead'. Indeed, historian and former 77-er Marco Grispigni describes a tendency among journalists and intellectuals, in the late 1980s, to conceive of 1968 in terms not of an extended period that lasted well into the 1970s, which was expressed in the originally French definition '1968 years', but as an event in itself: 'A short sixty-eight made of creativity, innovation of languages and morals, of anti-authoritarianism and non-violence. Something to be proud of, even after several years have passed; something not contaminated by ideology, by Marxism-Leninism, by violence and terrorism' (2009, pp. 140–141).

This chapter focuses on the reception of 1968, its myth and the attempts that have been made to 'de-mystify' it.[3] We will thus look into the difficult relationship of former activists with traditional historiography, their 'possessive' memory of 1968 and the consequences of this attitude for contemporary researchers of 1960s' and 1970s' social movements.

Myth-making and myth-breaking

Collective identities strongly build on myths and invented traditions. In his seminal book *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991* (1994), the late Eric Hobsbawm observed that traditions once implied a certain immobility and continuity with the past, before industrialization and technological developments disrupted the natural continuity between past and present, as a result of which traditions – and hence, collective memory and identity – came to be ever more constructed or 'invented'. Similarly, Foot argues that 'myths influence and create history and memory, and act as ways of interpreting the past' (2009, p. 18). The most powerful myth in the history of 1968 is undoubtedly constituted by the French 'May '68', briefly discussed

in the previous chapter. Indeed, if the 1968 protests in France were of relatively short duration, when we think of 1968 we essentially think of Paris, the Latin Quarter and the barricades. Antonio Benci (2009) explains the mythical status of the French 1968 by the fact that it represents a site of memory, an 'other' place that fed the collective memory of the Italian activists. For them the Latin Quarter, the Sorbonne, the Père Lachaise cemetery 'where the "martyrs of the Commune" rested' represented continuity between 'dream and reality, between the imagined and the real image which reinforces the preexisting and accentuated sense of respect and debt for France and its history'. This search for a memory site was then perceived, by youth, as 'a confrontation with one's own interior self which makes one feel part of a history, which allows one to represent oneself as part of a movement and of a generation' (Benci, 2009).

The conceptualization of 1968 as a generational phenomenon is fundamental when trying to assess the impact – and hence the legacy – of the protests of 1968 on Western society. The idea of generational conflict and youth rebellion long nurtured interpretations of 1968, as we have also seen in the previous chapter, in that scholarly research frequently drew on the premise of generational chance in order to explain the protests (Von der Goltz, 2011b, p. 26). This is illustrated, for example, by the very existence of a linguistic formula – rarely applied to other generations in this way – that makes reference to participants in the events of 1968 ('68-er'), 'the single group against which all others are measured' (ibid., p. 10). However, the generation paradigm is more than just a biological denotation: Von der Goltz argues that it is 'as much a construction as based on fact' (ibid., p. 11).[4]

One of the driving forces of the generational paradigm is the sense of living in 'extraordinary times' and witnessing unique events, which was reinforced by the global media impact of the protests. Indeed, 1968 was the first global 'media event' which reached large groups of people across the world (Ortoleva, 1998, p. 147; p. 153). Who is not familiar with the blond 'Marianne de Mai', carried through the streets of Paris's Latin Quarter while proudly holding up a flag? Jean-Pierre Rey's famous photograph of the 'Marianne' was published first in an issue of *Life-Magazine,* and subsequently in the popular magazine *Paris Match* (Leblanc, 2010a). If the photograph was connected to a specific time (May 1968) and place (Paris), and evoked a powerful image of French national memory (i.e., the female icon of the French Revolution as depicted in Eugène Delacroix's celebrated painting of *Liberty Leading the People*), the image nevertheless became an international icon of the 1968

protests. This is because it represented not only a physical but also a symbolic space of collective protest. As Barbie Zelizer observes, photography has not only a denotative but also a connotative force, meaning that it does not merely show a specified and concrete reality but also refers to something that lies beyond the image, an ideal or a political message (2004, p. 159). Similarly, the Vietnamese National Liberation Front flag the 'Marianne' holds up in the photograph has a more abstract role than flags in other famous photographs, such as the iconic image of American soldiers raising a flag at Iwo Jima during the Second World War or the three firefighters at Ground Zero after 9/11 (Sturken, 2007, pp. 188–189). As Benci (n.d.) explains, in another article on the memory of the French May in the Italian context, the space that is occupied by the flag in Rey's photograph is not a specific, physical space but one of communication and presence.[5] This allowed for 'Marianne' to become a synthesis of the 1968 experience, part of a global memory of 1968 and a universal symbol of protest and youth rebellion.

This was illustrated, for example, by references to the French 'Marianne' in the Italian daily *La Repubblica*, during the 30th anniversary of the Movement of '77 in 2007: it reproduced a photograph by Enrico Scuro, who had documented the 1977 student movement in the city of Bologna, of a protest march in the city centre. Among the crowd is a girl, with her fist raised, being held up by a man.[6] Parallels were drawn between Rey's famous icon, as it was suggested that Scuro's image represents a re-enactment of the 'Marianne' photograph, which in its turn represents a re-enactment of the painting by Delacroix. As such, the journalist claimed a mythical status for the 1977 protests, comparable to that of the French 1968.

A second powerful image of the French May – which was again a re-evocation of an episode from French national history – was that of the 'Night of the Barricades' on 10–11 May, an obvious allusion to the barricades of the Paris Commune in 1871 (Gilcher-Holtey, 2008, p. 115; See also Chapter 1). The images of the 'Marianne' and of the barricades in Paris, in spite of their strong national connotations, both became global images of protest which recurred in subsequent protests, including the Italian student movement of 1977. The French May also determined the myth of 1968 in Italy through slogans, posters and graffiti, hence at both a linguistic and a visual level.[7]

The myth of the French May as transmitted through photographs but also commemorations of memorable events originated in a subsequent moment, sustained both by the 68-ers as they tried to 'guard' this

unique experience (Von der Goltz, 2011b, p. 11) and by new generations nostalgically yearning for a past they had not lived. Indeed, even those who cannot claim a direct memory of the event, by virtue of the simple fact that they had not yet been born, have tried to have their share in the debate (and in the commercial profits resulting from it) as well.[8] This is confirmed by Guido Viale, former protest leader and author of one of the first reconstructions of the 1968 events in Italy, entitled *Il sessantotto. Tra rivoluzione e restaurazione* ('1968. Between Revolution and Re-Establishment').[9] Viale opens his book by stating that the myth of 1968 arrived after the event itself, and was

> mostly the outcome of the nostalgic moves of those who 'were not there' and, 'if they were, they were sleeping'; those who would have liked time to stop, or to go back in history: in order to relive a situation from which they had been excluded.
>
> (1978, p. 7)

The mythological status of 1968 is particularly evident in the British case study, where the very idea of 1968 as a mythical event was evoked in a BBC radio series broadcast during the 40th anniversary of 1968, entitled *1968 – Myth or Reality?*[10] More importantly, the anniversary was celebrated on 10 May 2008, the anniversary of the notorious 'Night of the Barricades' in Paris. The French May 1968 was furthermore evoked in the title of the anniversary itself, which echoed the famous French slogan 'It is forbidden to forbid': '1968 and all that. Il est interdit d'interdire'. Clearly the French experience had 'an indefinably special quality' about it, as Daniel Gordon puts it (2010, p. 49). This appropriation of the French memory of 1968 is indicative both of the absence of a real public memory of 1968 in Great Britain and of the 'special quality' of France. It also shows that the memory of 1968 – as Martin Klimke has it – is very much a 'transnational' and cultural memory which can be appropriated by other social groups, located in different geographical settings and belonging to different generations.[11]

   The representation of this specific past is filtered through the lens not only of nostalgia and myth-making, though, but also of condemnation (Klimke and Scharloth, 2008, p. 7). Thus 1968 is celebrated, on the one hand, as 'a foundational date for a greater liberalization and democratization of society and for the enlargement of individual freedoms and as a forerunner for the fall of Communism in 1989' (ibid.); on the other hand, it is blamed for the disintegration of the family and connected to

the political violence of the following decade. Obviously this reduction of 1968 to two opposing, extreme interpretations implies a selection and simplification of facts, which leaves a wide grey area of activists and simple observers whose experiences do not necessarily fit these two narratives. In his description of the outcomes of a recent oral history project on 1968, for example, Robert Gildea describes a female Algerian immigrant who came to France in the early 1960s and who took part in an iconic strike at a watch-making factory in a provincial city in north-eastern France in the 1970s, thus representing 'a new narrative, the triumph of provincial, women-dominated and non-violent agitation over Paris-based, male and violent activism' (Gildea, 2013, p. 38). In her study *May 68 and Its Afterlives*, Kristin Ross sums up the manipulation of the public memory of 1968 in France as follows:

> The official story that has been encoded, celebrated publicly in any number of mass media spectacles or commentaries, and handed down to us today, is one of a family or generation drama, stripped of any violence, asperity, or overt political dimension – a benign transformation of customs and lifestyles that necessarily accompanied France's modernization from an authoritarian bourgeois state to a new liberal, modern financier bourgeoisie.
>
> (2002, pp. 5–6)

In the case of Germany, a celebrative interpretation dominated until the late 1980s, as 1968 was considered a 'foundational myth', in the sense that it represented a breaking point which allowed Germany finally to become 'a liberal and tolerant society'.[12] Ingo Cornils – citing Claus Leggewie – speaks of a 'happily failed refoundation' and a student protest which, in the long term, 'resulted in a "fundamental liberalization" of West German society' (1996, p. 47). Although the assassinations of Benno Ohnesorg and Rudi Dutschke – two traumatic experiences which 'took out the heart of an idealistic and optimistic movement and, in some extreme cases, turned it into the mindset of terrorists' – led to the end of the student movement in West Germany (Cornils, 2010, p. 283), the latter succeeded in the creation of 'new forms of cultural expression and alternative spaces' and of a grassroots network of citizens' initiatives. Focused mostly on the nuclear issue, these initiatives were at the basis of the Green political movement that emerged in the 1980s and, eventually, the Green Party. As Chris Rootes notes, '[i]n Germany, the ferment of the 1960s contributed directly and indirectly to the development of the environmental movement' (2008, pp. 298–299).

Interpretations of 1968 change after 1989, and Cornils has observed that

> [w]hile the importance of the cultural revolts of the 1960s is acknowledged in the USA, Great Britain and France, it is only in Germany [but we may also mention Italy in this context] that 1968 has come to be seen as a 'decisive caesura in its post-war development'.
>
> (1996, p. 37)

Cornils argues that, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, consensus about the achievements of the German student movement has decreased, in spite of continued media attention on the 1968 generation and, notably, its protagonists:

> With unification and the dismantling of socialism, a number of critics have begun to question the rosy picture of the peaceful cultural revolution, pointing instead to the considerable violence that was generated which, although far from posing a serious threat to West German democracy, in their view seriously disturbed the social peace of the country. Focusing on the effects the movement had on society, they point to terrorism, drug culture, the loss of the feeling of national identity, and a general weakening of the moral fibre.
>
> (ibid.)

Similarly, Klimke observes that the fall of Communism in 1989 considerably changed the way the 1960s were conceived in Germany (2010, p. 36). Indeed, the 'delicate consensus' on 1968 in Germany had started to falter in the 1990s, and was seriously challenged by former activists and historians during the 40th anniversary, in 2008 (Cornils, 2010, p. 282). The attacks on 1968 followed on the demise of the red–green coalition, led by former student activists Gerhard Schröder and Joschka Fischer, in the early 2000s.[13] The critics of the 1968 myth argued that it had guaranteed the 68-ers 'a political and cultural hegemony way past their sell-by-date' (Cornils, 2010, p. 282).

In the Italian case, finally, the public memory of 1968 has also changed throughout the years, torn as it has been between celebration, condemnation and a traumatic sense of (political) defeat (Foot, 2010, p. 121). In fact, Foot argues that there was a dialectical relationship between defeat and 'mourning', on the one hand, and self-celebration by the likes of Capanna, on the other, which for many years has

nurtured a series of silences which will be further explored in the following sections (ibid., pp. 103–104).

Studying protest: the value of oral history sources

In recent years scholarly research has been working towards a more complex understanding of the events of 1968, which may shed light on these silences. The year 1968 is thus demystified, for example, by questioning the idea of it as a caesura (Klimke, 2010, p. 38) and, more generally, by challenging the historical and dominant versions of 1968 that have held a 'monopoly' over its memory (Waters, 2010, p. 11). Oral history methodology is a particularly appropriate method to bring personal experiences and collective silences out in the open. One example is Ronald Fraser's previously mentioned *1968. A Student Generation in Revolt* (1988), a collective volume which consists of over 200 interviews from six countries, and which is one of the main references in (oral history) research on 1968. Nevertheless, Fraser's volume was criticized by one of its co-authors, the acclaimed (oral) historian Luisa Passerini, who wrote the section on Italy. Passerini was dissatisfied with the use of oral testimony in Fraser's book for the 'sole' purpose of discovering 'what happened': in her famous *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*,[14] where she intertwines accounts of her personal past and present subjectivity in relation to the memory of 1968 as narrated by former 68-ers she interviewed for Fraser's volume, Passerini prefers using oral history as 'the construction of memory in the present about past experiences, and as a constant navigation between external events and personal experiences' (Gildea, 2013, p. 39).

Passerini was among a number of (oral) historians who, in the 1970s, challenged the idea of oral history being unreliable and 'naïve'. In fact, oral history sources have for a long time been criticized for their alleged unreliability and subsequently marginalized, historians giving preference to written and documentary sources (Thomson, 2006, p. 53). As Lynn Abrams puts it, 'the historical profession kept oral history at arm's length for some time, not quite trusting it as a legitimate historical source' (2010, p. 5). It was only after the Second World War that oral history research started to be considered as a valuable research method (Thomson, 2006, p. 51). In the wake of 1968, when 'ordinary' people started to speak for themselves, developing 'new forms of commitment "starting from oneself" ' (Portelli, 1997, p. 183; Bonomo, 2013a and 2013b), scholars such as Passerini and Alessandro Portelli in Europe and Michael Frisch in the US argued that the subjective and narrative

qualities of oral history sources were actually their very strength.[15] Oral history provides clues 'about the relationships between past and present, between memory and personal identity, and between individual and collective memory' (Thomson, 2006, p. 54).[16] The protests of 1968 therefore revolutionized the practice of history and contributed to the boom of oral history in those years, as Bruno Bonomo argues:

> in Italy as in Western Europe at large, the development of oral history as a research methodology that aims at widening and enriching the historical account by foregrounding the experience and subjectivity of "ordinary" people and subaltern social groups owed much to the participatory and democratizing ethos of 1968.
>
> (2013a, p. 8)

He thus suggests an interpretation of May 1968 as a sort of 'capture of speech', a 'process of liberation and an exaltation of critical thought' (ibid.).[17]

Paradoxically, not much oral history research has been performed on 1968 itself, at least not until the late 1990s (Portelli, 1997, pp. 183–184). This is related to the problem of sources: social movements in the 1960s and 1970s had a difficult relation with the past, and activists 'lived in and for the present, and rejected – in the name of participation and direct democracy – the dominant narratives and modes of traditional historiography' (Hajek, 2012f, p. 278).[18] Portelli speaks of a 'focalization and intensification of certain forms of orality', due to the increased presence of printing and writing, which encouraged, in his view, 'alternative uses of the word' (1997, p. 185). Consequently, relatively few verbal sources were produced or archived, leading Portelli to conclude that the history of the 1960s 'is especially scattered and undocumented' (ibid., p. 184). Historian Giovanni de Luna adds to this the fact that, when the 1968 experience was about to enter that phase of 'memorialization' which had, for example, compensated for the absence of a history of the anti-Fascist resistance movement in the 1950s, the explosion of political violence in the second half of the 1970s interrupted this process (1989, p. 21).

The 68-ers were quite unconcerned about saving their words for future generations, and written sources that were produced in those years are not easily traceable, have not been adequately documented or simply do not suffice to help understand the impact of the transformations that occurred in those years. In addition, Peppino Ortoleva – in one of the first valuable histories of 1968 in Europe and in the US – observes

that the documents that *were* produced contain interpretations and therefore cannot function solely as testimonies of what happened: 'that movement of young intellectuals seemed intent, in every moment, to interpret, with the instruments of Marxism, of sociology, of anti-psychiatry, its own experience, and therefore many documents are, so to speak, both a source and an interpretation' (1998, p. 26).

Things have changed since the 30th anniversary of 1968, with the publication of Portelli's *The Battle of Valle Giulia. Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* and the reprinting of Ortoleva's essay, among other things. More recently, a number of oral history projects and works in progress have adopted innovative methodology produced also by younger generations of historians (Kurz and Tolomelli, 2008, p. 92).[19] The collaborative pan-European project 'Around 1968: Activism, Networks, Trajectories', for example, consisted of a team of 14 historians who interviewed some 500 former activists belonging to over 100 activist networks in 14 European countries,[20] whereas a special issue of the *Memory Studies* journal, 'Challenging Dominant Discourses of the Past: 1968 and the Value of Oral History' (2013), aimed at de-mystifying the 1968 experience by exploring accounts – using oral history methodology – that have thus far remained of the margins of history writing.[21] In these projects another important feature of oral history manifested itself: the fact that it allows for a multitude of points of view, and is therefore 'one of the few ways by which those who have traditionally been silenced in History may be heard' (Abrams, 2010, pp. 24–25). As Bonomo observes, the focus of research over the past decade has shifted from

> the student movement, the main cities and universities, the most important events and the activist leaders, to the 'other 1968s', i.e. less central localities, rank and file activists, and the individuals, social groups and institutions that were most directly hit by the protest.
>
> (2013a, p. 18)

Thus oral history has contributed to the unearthing of historical, individual and collective silences in the former 1968 movements.

Historical, individual and collective silences

Silences – whether historical, individual or collective – are primarily produced by a specific way of conceptualizing 1968. The problem lies, first of all, in the difficulty of determining what 1968 exactly was, when it started and how long it lasted and where it occurred:

> How then should we refer to 1968? As '1968', perhaps? Or should we use '1968s'? These are not merely academic questions, as they impact onto crucial issues such as the continuity or otherwise with terrorism and political violence, the legacy of 1968 in terms of society, politics and institutions, and the ways in which '1968' has been remembered, represented and forgotten.
>
> (Foot, 2010, p. 105)[22]

Theories on remembering are, in fact, closely connected to theories on forgetting. What we 'choose' to remember is as important as what we omit, and what is said is as significant as what is not said. Forgetting therefore has an active role in the formation of identities.

In Chapter 1 we saw that the presence of historical silences in representations of the 1960s and 1970s in Italy is due to the selective memory work performed by official memory agents, in the creation of dominant master narratives of those years, where narratives of state involvement in neo-Fascist terrorism were omitted or underrated. There have also been silences, however, within the (alternative) left-wing milieu itself, mostly with regard to the difficult memories of political violence: 'Italy's 1968 was difficult to remember. There had been too much violence, too many deaths, too much hatred. It produced collective silences' (Foot, 2010, p. 121). These are not only historical silences: the problematic and selective memory of 1968 also lies in the presence of individual silences that originated with the movements themselves, which are related to the impossibility of remembering or talking about 1968 and caused by changes in the individual and by the difficulty of expressing oneself (ibid., p. 110). Often this is related to the traumatic sense of defeat: '1968 changed the world, but it didn't overthrow the system. After the excitement of the revolution and hope of change, many participants were forced to deal with the harsh and mundane realities of everyday life' (ibid., p. 121).

A good example of individual and collective silences among former members of the 1968 protest movements is provided by Celia Hughes's article on left-wing activism in Britain, in the abovementioned special journal issue on 1968 and oral history. She analyses an interview with a former male member of the International Socialist Group (IS), a Trotskyist group of the left. Hughes points out how the interviewee's narrative was most fluent and coherent when he talked about his political activities: recruiting new members and establishing contacts with trade union representatives. When, however, Hughes asked him about his friendships and personal relationships during his years in the IS,

the interviewee became uneasy. He had never married and was clearly embarrassed to talk about this intimate area of his life. But it was also a collective silence Hughes trampled upon, in her interview, as becomes clear from the following extract:

> Part of the disappointment Norman expressed at the end of the inter-view may well have reflected his realization that I embodied the personal political discourse of modern culture that had informed the personal memoirs of feminist writers. In his eyes this culture had restricted the space available for his own political memories to be represented. Related to this culture was the new masculinity of the 1980s that had coincided with the demise of the old left. Norman had seen the rise of second-wave feminism accompanied by the construc-tion of a new masculinity rooted in a capacity for 'soft' feelings and behaviours. In the late 1970s, 'non-aligned' left men had embraced this new masculinity in the men's movement as a challenge to the heroic masculinity of the revolutionary organizational man. It may well have been the case that in my language of feeling Norman heard echoes of what for him had been an uncomfortable new male language of left politics whose advent was related to the erosion of the old industrial labour heartland and a working-class militant masculinity he and other IS activists had held up for emulation.
>
> (2013, p. 81)

Norman's account illustrates the point made by Foot, that people often choose not to remember certain things and that private mem-ories may fail 'to find expression in public or permanent forms of memorialisation', in the wake of 1968 (2010, p. 109). In this context Hughes speaks of 'discomposure', drawing on Graham Dawson's (1994) conceptualization of 'composure'.[23]

The accounts written by former protest leaders such as Capanna in Italy, Daniel Cohn-Bendit in France and Todd Gitlin in the US fur-ther illustrate how silences are produced in the (alternative) left-wing milieu itself. Written by those who participated directly in the events described, these texts are 'self-referential' and furthermore focus on memorable events and localities which have thus dominated the pub-lic memory of 1968.[24] The stories of ordinary rank-and-file activists and observers (especially those who lived in the provinces), on the other hand, are absent or marginalized (Foot, 2010, pp. 115–116). This is due also to the generational approach to 1968, which, as Von der Goltz has observed, places the emphasis on students and therefore 'excludes

other constituencies of protest, such as workers, peasants, and religious activists, who played significant roles in many countries' (2011b, p. 18).

Recent scholarship has begun filling in these gaps, as in an anthology on 1968, based on interviews with academic staff of the University of Rome (Bonomo, 2013b, p. 140), the late Stuart Hilwig's (2001) analysis of students' parents and Sofia Serenelli's (2013) research on the 1968 experience of a hippy community in the rural Macerata region of central Italy. Von der Goltz, in an article on East German activists' reactions to Soviet repression in 1968, explores the motivations of GDR activists who did not turn away from the GDR dictatorship, contrary to those activists who wrote themselves into 'unified Germany's officially sponsored memory culture that [...] often juxtaposes examples of opposition and resistance with the Party's political domination and Stasi repression' (2013, p. 55). Rather, the defeat of socialist reform in 1968 led the GDR activists to engage more closely with and often to 'endorse the existing system' (ibid., p. 56).[25] Finally, Foot has noted how groups at the opposite end of the Italian political spectrum, such as the Catholic Communion and Liberation (Comunione e Liberazione) and various neo-Fascist groups, were left out of the mainstream history and memory of 1968 as well (2009, pp. 385–386).[26]

Indeed, the marked ideological division Arthur Marwick presented in *The Sixties* – i.e., a failed revolution in the eyes of the left, as opposed to an era of subversion and moral turpitude for the right – is out of date.[27] Moreover, in more recent years the 'anti-1968' discourse Marwick attributed to the right-hand side of the political spectrum has made way for an appropriation and even nostalgia among the French and Italian right.

1968 seen from the right

In May 2008 the far-right French magazine *Le Choc du Mois* dedicated an issue to the 1968 experience as seen from the right (Gordon, 2010, p. 57). Although it maintained a critical stance towards 1968, the magazine nevertheless attempted to claim a place for the political right in the history of 1968, with accounts of the student days of right-wing politicians and activists. As Daniel Gordon has observed, clearly even those who reject 1968 'feel compelled to engage in commemorative activities of their own' (ibid.).

Similarly, a special issue of the Italian monthly magazine *Charta minuta* – sponsored by the former neo-Fascist party National Alliance (Alleanza Nazionale, AN) – set out to deconstruct the image of 1968 as an

exclusively 'left-wing' phenomenon. Until then, the Italian right mostly countered the left-wing (auto-)celebrative approach to 1968, arguing that the protests had been the origin of the crisis of institutions and of terrorism.[28] Yet in 2008 right-wing politician and AN leader Gianfranco Fini challenged this vision by offering a completely new interpretation of 1968. The January issue of *Charta minuta,* entitled 'Quel che resta del Sessantotto' ('What Remains of '68'), set out to demonstrate that 1968 did not have any ideological foundations,[29] building instead on the generational paradigm that has been challenged in Von der Goltz's edited volume about generation-building and 1968, discussed earlier on. Focus was thus shifted to an 'American 1968', for example through the picture of a girl in a miniskirt on the front cover, in order to demonstrate that 1968 was not an exclusively political, left-wing phenomenon.[30] Thus the authors of the special issue emphasized the fact that *in principio* 1968 was an existential and generational conflict, 'a phenomenon of generational rebellion declined in thousands of existential facets and chromatic nuances which had little or nothing ideological in them' (ibid.). For them, 1968 was only subsequently turned into an ideological phenomenon.[31] Hence, by 'liberating' 1968 of its ideological 'burden', its memory was 'sanitized' and became 'claimable' for other memory agents, which raises questions about 'ownership' that will be addressed in the next chapters.

In its attempt to counter the dominant memory of 1968 as a left-wing, political moment, AN also presented a series of alternative models or 'counter-memories' of 1968, including the Czechoslovakian rebellion against the Soviet invasion, a 'historical demonstration of an anti-ideological and anti-Communist Sixty-Eight'.[32] Thus Jan Palach – the Czechoslovakian student who set fire to himself out of protest against the invasion – is presented as a counter-hero and a symbol of freedom, a right-wing 'martyr' who could 'rival' with the left.[33] In doing so, the magazine made visible the divided memories that mark this period in Italian history. Divided memory relates to 'the tendency for divergent or contradictory narratives to emerge after events, and to be elaborated and interpreted in private stories as well as through forms of public commemoration and ritual' (Foot, 2009b, p. 10). These memories often exist simultaneously and in competition with one another, as we will see in Chapter 5.

Furthermore, existing heroes or models used in a typically left-wing interpretation of 1968 were fitted into the generational and existential reading proposed by the right, as in an interview with left-wing singer–songwriter Francesco Guccini: the interview is accompanied, for example, by a photograph of a young Guccini in an Elvis Presley-like

pose, with the caption 'Francesco "Elvis" Guccini' next to it.[34] Similar reductions of the protests to a mere generational and cultural conflict imply a severe simplification of the situation: the protests of 1968 were the outcome of a process that began in the late 1950s, received an impetus from several (inter)national, political and social issues and conflicts and revealed a growing solidarity with other social classes, not to mention revolutionary movements elsewhere in the world,[35] that would eventually result – at least in Italy – in the workers' movement of 1969.

Two public events that took place in early 2008 eventually 'detonated' a public debate about the right and its relationship to 1968, in particular Fini's intervention during an international meeting, where he sketched a decisively positive – though equally loaded with commonplaces – image of 1968.[36] This poses problems for a collective identity of a right-wing political class today, since 1968 has served – for almost 40 years – as one of the negative bases of the collective identity of the right, an identity that has opposed itself to all that 1968 embodies. Reactions from right-wing politicians were, in fact, severe, even within Fini's own party.[37] Daniela Santanché, for example, distanced herself from Fini's declarations: 'it will make it easier for the voter to understand that *our* right-wing is the only true one'.[38] Santanché was a former AN delegate who had shortly before moved to another right-wing party, and her critique may therefore be read as an attempt to win over right-wing voters, with the elections in sight. In fact, the timing of Fini's discourse on 1968, just before the elections in April 2008, does not seem coincidental, and different newspapers pointed out Fini's radical change in perspective on 1968.[39] Clearly Fini seized the occasion of the 40th anniversary of 1968 to adopt a new interpretation of 1968 as a cultural and generational phenomenon in order to present his party as a modern, democratic party which might appeal to a wider range of (young) people, though without renouncing to its right-wing political identity.

A similar thing had happened in the early 2000s, when AN – which originated from the Fascist party, the Italian Social Movement (Movimento Sociale Italiano) – distanced itself from the Fascist regime by seeking to reconnect with Jewish communities in Italy and Israel. The memory of Giorgio Perlasca, a Fascist diplomat who saved thousands of Jewish lives during the Second World War, played an important role in this process, in particular through the mini-series *Perlasca: un eroe italiano* ('Perlasca, an Italian Hero'), broadcast in 2002: from the birth of AN in the 1990s onwards, Perlasca's figure was appropriated by the party in order to 'strengthen and legitimize the party's political and cultural shift' (Perra, 2010, p. 102). Thus the Holocaust became 'a precondition for international respectability' of the party (ibid.).

In short, Fini made a clear public use of history and memory. The very fact that the memory (or memories) of 1968 have, for such a long time, outdone any serious historical interpretations indeed allows politicians to appropriate selective memories and to promote an identity that make them more 'presentable' to a wider public while maintaining their ideological foundations.

Possessive memory

Fini's intervention demonstrates that memories are not 'owned' by anyone, and that the public memory of 1968 does not belong solely to people such as Capanna, who have taken on the task of writing the history of social movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, debates about the legacy of 1968 have become more complex, reflecting what Michael Rothberg (2009) has coined 'multidirectional memory' – i.e., a memory which is 'subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing' (p. 3). Contrary to the US, where for several years now the 1970s have been generating interest among historians (Pekelder, 2011; Klimke, 2010, pp. 36–37), and despite younger generations of Italian historians engaging in the topic in more recent times, Tolomelli (2008) notes that the historical debate on social movements in Italy has not yet managed to go beyond the restricted field of militancy. Consequently we are dealing with memories rather than histories, 'monopolized' by those who experienced the events at first hand and who tend to see their personal involvement as a privilege. In other words, they seem to make a claim to authenticity on this part of Italy's recent history, which complicates its becoming part of national history, and subsequently its entering into the country's collective memory.

Indeed, the relationship between history and memory has been a tormented one in Italy. If the historical discipline was once separated from and contrasted with memory on the basis of its presumed objectivity and scientific nature, it now no longer represents a 'proper measure' of what people know about their past (Gillis, 1994, p. 17). Historiography increasingly has to 'compete' with other sources of (often pseudo-) information, such as the mass media, which tend to undermine the authority and exclusivity of historiography in the conservation and dissemination of knowledge of the past. Consequently anyone can produce history, and the historian's voice is only one of many voices that 'mingle in the vortex of the social discourse on the past' (Venturoli, 2007, p. 245).[40]

It is also the attitude of former activists in the present, though, that complicates a more historical approach to these events. The concept

of 'possessive memory' – introduced by Peter Braunstein (1997) in his essay on the protest movements of the 1960s in the US – proves highly useful here (Foot, 2010, p. 115). At least until the 1990s the public memory of 1968 was monopolized by former participants and protagonists, who attempted to communicate 'the "greatness" of that period' and whose interpretation – with time – had become the 'authorised narrative' or 'official memory' of 1968 (Tolomelli, 2008, p. 99; Grispigni, 2009, p. 133). The idea that 'only those who participated in these events have the right to talk' dominated discussions about this recent past (Grispigni, 2009, p. 134), excluding those who 'were not there': '[t]he tone of the veteran is that of using the experience as a means of exclusion of those who were not present and cannot understand how things happened' (De Luna, 2004, p. 14).

Other than the claim of uniqueness and authority, there are two more reasons behind this possessive use of memory by the 1968 generation and, as we will see throughout this book, the 1977 generation. First, there is the diffidence towards the discipline of historiography and towards academia in general, seen both then and now as a rigid, exclusive and hierarchical way of narrating the past, incapable of rendering adequately what the protest movements really were about. This is what Marco Grispigni refers to when he observes that the protests of 1977 can only really be studied by considering 'those sources which our classical historiography continues not to be able (or want) to use', and that the 1977 movement 'cannot be described with the flat language of classical, historical sources' (2007, p. 89). Second, the possessive memory of the 1968 and 1977 generation is related to the divided memory of the 'years of lead'. As we have seen in the previous chapter, strategies of selection and omission have been applied in the construction of a distorted and incomplete narrative of the 1970s. To ensure that the history that is transmitted to future generations is inclusive and 'correct', former protesters feel that they are the only people entitled or able to do that. These histories have, however, produced 'glorified and glamorized' versions of the past, which overlook important issues such as violence and gender (Hilwig, 2001, p. 581; Foot, 2010, p. 114).

Nostalgia, generation and the commodification of 1968

Nostalgia has played an important role in this process. If nostalgia originally referred to a medical condition, in the wake of industrialization and modernity it has come to identify not just a sense of loss in relation to a familiar place but also a more abstract longing for a lost time: in

Leo Spitzer's words, a 'yearning for a "lost childhood", for "irretrievable youth", for a "world of yesterday" from whose ideals and values one had become distanced and detached' (1999, p. 90).[41] As we have seen earlier on in this chapter, it is not only the 1968 generation that nurtures this nostalgia. Memories of 1968 and – as we will see – of 1977 have been 'transferred' to the present by 'medial frameworks of memory': 'With the help of various media and memorial forms later generations recall things other people experienced, and do so from the conviction that those past experiences have something to do with the sense of "our history" ' (Rigney, 2005, p. 25).[42] This is extremely relevant for 1968 in Italy, where a kind of 'cult' has nurtured more recent social movements, most notably the No Global movement in the early 2000s (Ortoleva, 1998, p. 11).[43]

This can again be brought back to the generational paradigm of 1968 (Klimke, 2010, p. 27), as Ortoleva has also observed, when he stated that 1968 'presents itself also in its nature (quite exceptional, in history) of a specifically generational movement' (1998, p. 13). Indeed, the generational label in the study of 1968 is a phenomenon in its own right, as we have seen throughout this chapter (Von der Goltz, 2011b, p. 11), and individual and personal memories of childhood and family relations can be situated 'in a framework of generational experience' (Von der Goltz, 2011a, p. 476).

Furthermore, we have seen that the 'anti-1968' discourse on the right-hand side of the political spectrum, both in France and in Italy, did not completely reject the nostalgic celebrations of 1968 and instead engaged in a nostalgia of its own. This is related to the fact that the memory of 1968 – and of the 1960s at large – has been shaped very much by commercialized representations of 1960s' counterculture, such as the miniskirt on the front cover of the *Charta* magazine mentioned earlier. Klimke speaks of a 'commodification of protest [which] not only kept "1968" alive in collective memory in the following decades but also turned it into a reference point that people could now connect to across national boundaries and political lines' (2010, p. 41). Thus the 40th anniversary in 2008 provided evidence of an appropriation of 1968 for commercial ends (Gordon, 2010, p. 55).

In Italy this was a highly 'audio-visual' appropriation, in the sense that audio and visual material, mostly photographs, dominated. Indeed, the vivid visual memory of 1960s' and 1970s' protests has been determined by the use of visual sources (Hajek, 2012f, p. 377). In 2008 the second most successful weekly magazine in Italy published two big supplementary volumes containing a selection of articles from the magazine's

archive, published in the years between 1965 and 1969, accompanied by a large number of impressive photographs. Furthermore, the two volumes were accessible through an online version on the magazine's website, where the reader could consult a chronology, listen to and watch video clips and participate in a forum and in opinion polls. Other publications that privileged (audio-)visual material included a supplement published by the Communist daily *Il Manifesto*, consisting of 13 so-called photo-stories which appeared on the last page of the newspaper, for three months. Each photograph represented a symbolic moment of 1968, a snapshot of a particular event that took place either in or outside Italy. This recourse to visual media reflects some of the very characteristics of 1968 and of the 1960s' counterculture, that is, orality and visual culture (graffiti, experimental theatre, street performances, etc.).[44]

Conclusion

These first two chapters have demonstrated that a process of selection and 'forgetting' takes place within official and vernacular memory communities with regard to the histories of 1968 and the 1970s in Western Europe. Mythical, nostalgic and celebratory memories of 1968, on the one end of the spectrum, and negative memories of 1970s' terrorism on the other end, nurtured in both the left- and right-wing political spheres, have produced silences and obstructed a more inclusive and 'correct' history of this decade. Thus 1968 has been de-politicized, leading to a representation of the facts which is not historically accurate, for 1968 *was* political; on the other hand, selective history education and media attention to incidents of political violence in the following years have created an equally distorted image of reality.

This is, however, the product not only of an excessively positive or, on the contrary, negative approach to the '1968 years' but also of the 'possessive memory' of former activists. In my opinion it is only by opening up to younger generations and by adopting a less idealized approach to methods of research that a more complete image can ultimately be drawn and the dichotomy between celebratory and condemnatory readings of 1968 and 1977 be reduced. This is even more relevant for the social movements that developed in the wake of the 1968 protests, and for coming to terms with the trauma of the 'years of lead'.

3
The Trauma of 1977

Introduction

Over the past few decades, research into the role of memory in processes of identity formation has flourished, and it is commonly accepted now that groups tend to base 'the consciousness of their unity and their peculiarity on past events' (Assmann, 1992, p. 132). Similarly, John Gillis maintains that '[t]he core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering: and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity' (1994, p. 3). In other words, we do not only remember as members of groups, but we also constitute those groups and their collective identities through the very act of remembering (Olick, 2007, p. 29).

When it comes to processes of shaping a collective or national identity, public commemorative rituals and monuments are particularly relevant. Since the nineteenth century, nation-building has been increasingly determined by the ritual representation of myths and symbols that drew on key moments of the nation's past: wars, in particular, have reinforced a sense of solidarity and loyalty to the nation (Ridolfi, 2004, p. 10). The importance of commemorative objects and practices in these occasions can furthermore be explained by the fact that they refer to forms of public suffering and collective trauma. In this chapter I will explore the concepts of 'collective' and 'cultural' trauma, applying them to the case study of Bologna and the student protests of 1977.[1] The first part of the chapter examines the origins and composition of the student movement of 1977 in Italy: what factors contributed to the rise of a new protest subject, to what extent can we speak of a social movement, and how did the student movement of 1977 differ from its 1968 counterpart? The second part gives a brief historical outline of the political and social situation of Bologna in the mid-1970s and an

analysis of the reaction of the local community to the incidents that occurred on and after 11 March 1977, when medical student Francesco Lorusso was shot dead by a police officer during riots in the city. A discursive and visual analysis of news reports on national television, finally, will provide an example of how the public memory of these incidents was shaped at the time. This will allow insight into the way collective traumas are engendered and into the role of media in these processes.

Defining social movements

A social movement is a complex of cultural expressions and lifestyles exhibited by a collective agent who is motivated by a common purpose or interest and connected by a sense of solidarity and collective identity, 'which enables single activists and/or organizations to regard themselves as inextricably linked to other actors' (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, p. 21). The common purpose of social movements usually reflects 'a conflictual collective action', aimed at promoting or opposing social change (ibid.). They are moved by 'deep-rooted feelings of solidarity or identity', which connect people who previously did not feel any such connection (Tarrow, 2006, p. 6).[2] According to Sidney Tarrow, this constructed sense of belonging is a typical characteristic of modern social movements, as opposed to traditional, more locally based forms of collective action. Indeed, the modern era has allowed for more 'cosmopolitan' or (trans)national social movements to develop, due to the rise and consolidation, among other things, of the nation state around the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. This allowed for 'scattered groups of people who did not know one another to combine in sustained challenges to authorities and create the modern social movement' (Tarrow, 2006, p. 37). In other words, it allowed for the creation of what Benedict Anderson (2006) has termed 'imagined communities'.

Social movements continuously mobilize themselves in order to achieve a goal through collective, public actions which constitute their primary form of resistance. In Tarrow's famous definition of social movements as a form of 'contentious politics' – i.e., the underlying social networks and collective action frames produced by social groups that mobilize themselves 'in the name of new or unaccepted claims' and 'in ways that fundamentally challenge others or authorities' – these groups revert to contentious collective action when it is the main and only recourse they possess 'against better-equipped opponents or powerful states' (2006, p. 2; p. 3).[3]

It is difficult to apply the notion of social movement – in terms of a uniform collective agent united by a common goal – to the movement that arose in Italy around 1968, even if the protests did take the form of collective, public activities (mostly public demonstrations, strikes and occupations of universities and factories or factory units) and against more powerful opponents: primarily, the state. As we have seen, the protests of the late 1960s in Italy did not conclude in 1968, as happened in France,[4] but culminated in the workers' movement and the 'hot autumn' protests of 1969.[5] Yet the irreconcilable differences between the various elements of the movement of 1968–1969 led to the permanent decline of the student movement as an autonomous collective agent capable of identifying itself in a representation of its own and, consequently, the end of the interaction between students and workers. Subsequently a highly heterogeneous, alternative left-wing milieu developed, which gave rise to a new student movement in 1977: the Movement of '77. In what follows I will outline the social, political and economic context in which this new movement developed and describe the various fragmented sections of which it was primarily composed.

The alternative left-wing milieu in the 1970s

In Chapter 1 we saw that the years between 1969 and 1977, in Italy, were marked by an increasing recourse to violence, economic crisis and the lack of political representation. As a result, the alternative left-wing milieu underwent fundamental changes. The new attitude towards the use of violence which developed after the Piazza Fontana massacre of 1969, for example, led to a first split, dividing strictly terrorist organizations from the less radical armed struggle groups as well as those who did not wish to get involved in any form of violence whatsoever.

This breach manifested itself for the first time in November 1969, at a conference of the Political and Metropolitan Collective (Collettivo Politico Metropolitano), a national network of students and workers founded a few months earlier (Casamassima, 2008, p. 38). The main theme of the conference was the legitimacy of political violence, which according to some groups needed to be adopted gradually, whereas others felt it was time to take on a more aggressive position. The more radical parts of the organization soon created their own collective, the Proletarian Left (Sinistra Proletaria), which dissolved in September 1970 only to reconstitute itself again under the name of the Red Brigades shortly thereafter (ibid., p. 40). Although the Red Brigades received

support from students and workers, their 'popularity' waned after the assassination of Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro in 1978, as we have seen. Political violence was, however, only one way of expressing dissent, and many left-wing militants chose to protest through cultural instruments such as underground magazines, street performances and graffiti, in particular during the protest year of 1977.

A second factor in the change in the development of the alternative left-wing milieu throughout the 1970s was the economic crisis of 1973, which produced a particularly desperate situation for Italian youth. School reforms of the early 1960s had extended the age of compulsory education, creating more leisure time, which was filled up with music, cinema and nights out. Consequently, young people increasingly moved away from a traditional work ethic, on which the historical left had based its collective identity, as we saw earlier.

The rejection of the concept of work links in with a final factor in the development of the alternative left-wing milieu in those years: the political void left by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) after its move towards the political centre through the 'historical compromise', perceived by many members of the alternative left-wing milieu as a betrayal. A large part had voted for the PCI in the hope of some political turnaround, and hence the disillusion was great when the PCI supported Giulio Andreotti's centre-right government (Giachetti, 2008, p. 31). In addition, many of the extra-parliamentary left-wing groups that had originated in the late 1960s went into crisis and dissolved as a result of internal conflicts, leaving many young militants without a political identity. This allowed the one extra-parliamentary group that had 'survived' the crisis of the alternative left, Autonomia Operaia (Workers' Autonomy, AO), along with the terrorist organizations, to 'recruit' young militants. It was, in fact, after the elections of 1976 that Italy entered the most violent phase of the 1970s.

In short, the eruption of neo-Fascist violence (supported by the state secret service) in 1969 as well as the disappointment with political methods resulted in an increased – even if disputed – recourse to political violence among members of the alternative left-wing milieu in Italy, and its dissociation from the historical left. In addition, the PCI's failure to offer young people a sense of belonging and the disappearance of alternative points of reference enhanced the fragmentation of the alternative left in the second half of the 1970s, eventually leading to its demise in 1977. As Diego Giachetti puts it, the 1970s' generation was marked by a sense of pessimism, 'due both to the economic and social crisis after the propulsive phase of the years of economic boom and progression, and

to the collapse of idealistic and collective tensions which had fomented youth protests only a few years earlier' (2008, p. 32).

The student movement of 1977: scopes, methods of action and composition[6]

As in the case of 1968, it is difficult to define the Movement of '77 as a 'social movement' in the terms set out earlier on: as a complex of cultural expressions and lifestyles, exhibited by a collective agent with a common interest and identity, through collective, public actions against a more powerful opponent. First, the fragmentation that had set in shortly after the protests of 1968–1969 – as a result of the different stances on political violence, the political void left by the historical left and partly also by the extra-parliamentary groups of the alternative left – continued well into the following decade. Second, the Movement of '77 focused more on the satisfaction of individual and cultural needs than on the accomplishment of commonly shared ideological goals, even if the protests did originate during national protests against an educational reform.[7] Nevertheless, tougher material and economic conditions as well as the falling away of international icons and 'alternative myths' (Crainz, 2005, p. 561) – such as the deaths of Che Guevara and Mao Tse-Tung – led the movement to focus more on personal needs and rights. The cultural mentality had changed as well; the alternative left-wing milieu in those years featured a completely new social group that created its own political identity in opposition to the institutionalized left, greatly influenced by youth cultures imported from abroad, such as the American beatniks and the British punk scene. Although this does not mean that the protests of 1977 were apolitical in nature, or that the movement did not share any common interests or goals, politics were nevertheless of secondary importance for many protesters[8] and no longer functioned as the main basis on which to construct a collective identity that was valid for the entire movement.

The need to appropriate a youthful lifestyle and to satisfy personal needs and rights produced new forms of collective action such as 'auto-reductions', applied to luxurious consumer items rather than basic essentials, which illustrates how the nature and mentality of the alternative left-wing milieu had changed.[9] Apart from this, resistance to the economic (and political) situation in Italy was expressed through the presence of the so-called Proletarian Youth Clubs, which originated around 1975 in Milan. In illegally occupied buildings groups of young people gathered, socialized, made or listened to music, organized

creative workshops and so on (Moroni and Balestrini, 2005). Thus, although a certain form of solidarity and sense of collective identity persisted, it was no longer focused on the attempt to realize some higher, abstract and ideological goal, such as a revolution or an end to war, but was more territorially determined and directed towards material and cultural needs, such as housing for students or immigrants and autonomous spaces of socialization and cultural expression.

In fact, the collective identity of the Movement of '77 was created – more than on the basis of a common ideological goal – through a 'feeling of belonging', or what sociologist Aldo Bonomi has called 'making society': meetings, public gatherings and other occasions where people simply spent time together.[10] Traditional forms of protest such as demonstrations and marches were turned into festive occasions for unity and socialization, complete with theatrical performances, mime displays and live bands, which allowed the movement to express itself publicly and visibly, and thus claim a public space of its own. This creative reappropriation of urban space was connected to the movement's self-stylization through music, dress codes, language, lifestyles and graffiti, another popular means of cultural expression with which the left-wing alternative milieu reinforced its group identity.[11]

This new way of conceiving and constructing a collective identity reflected the different social composition of the Movement of '77; whereas in 1968 many of the students involved belonged to the middle class, and the very first universities that were struck by the protests were among the most prestigious in the country, the generation of 1977 had to face the effects of the economic crisis, and the movement predominantly consisted of unemployed or 'precarious' young people, student workers, immigrants and other marginalized figures. Furthermore, the educational reforms of the early 1960s had made schools and universities accessible to every social class, as a result of which the student population in 1977 was much more heterogeneous than in previous years. Finally, the social composition of the movement was affected by political transformations; as we have seen, the breach with a traditional left that no longer managed to understand and represent younger generations, as well as the crisis of the extra-parliamentary groups, left the alternative left-wing milieu without a clear, universally shared political identity.

Tolomelli observes that the decline of the movements of 1968–1969 led not to 'a return to "normal" life, but on the contrary to a multiplication of collective action in various directions and with the most diverse scopes' (2002, p. 43). After 1973, in particular, a range of new

social actors began organizing themselves around new issues, with 'a particular tension towards social change' (ibid., p. 43). Renzo Ardiccioni identifies a variety of subgroups within the Movement of '77, each of which applied its own methods of action (2006, p. 498). This is also due to the fact that the Movement of '77 had a less national and global character than its 1968 counterpart: there was a multitude of subgroups or sub-movements within the movement, who conceived and stylized their (political) identity in different ways and in an increasingly decentralized, local or territorial environment.

A fragmented movement

Historians often distinguish between a 'militant side' and a 'creative side' within the Movement of '77, the former dominating in large cities such as Rome and Milan, whereas the creative side was more present in Bologna. This was partly due to the creation in Bologna of the country's very first DAMS department (Dance, Art, Music and Theatre), in 1970; the DAMS was a unique university course where the theory and practice of various artistic modes of expression merged, attracting young artists from all over the country. It thus created the conditions for a fertile context in which youth cultures could thrive (Hajek, 2007). In fact, throughout the 1970s student activists in Bologna expressed themselves through the creation of autonomous underground magazines and other means of counter-information, street performances, graffiti art and music. Creativity and politics thus merged in a unique manner, as demonstrations and public marches took on a festive and fun-loving character, expressing a desire to satisfy personal needs and to appropriate public space where people could speak out without mediation or hierarchy.[12]

The creative side of the Movement of '77 did not just criticize traditional politics but also rejected the hierarchical structure and the ideological insistence of the more politically inspired subgroups within the alternative left-wing milieu itself. Thus, groups such as the notorious Radio Alice pirate station or the so-called metropolitan Indians, with their explicit anti-political approach marked by irony and linguistic experiments, frequently clashed with more ideological subgroups such as Autonomia Operaia (AO).[13] Irony was also used in slogans and graffiti, which expressed – much like the public demonstrations and performances mentioned earlier – a new way of communicating visibly, publicly and freely. In addition, they reinforced the ties between the members of the group that created the graffiti, although at the same

time provoking a sense of exclusion among those who did not share the 'code' of the group that created these forms of expression.

In short, the creative components within the student movement searched for a different, more creative and less politicized way of protesting, which was not always appreciated by other components of the student movement. The figure that most strongly contrasted and clashed with the creative student was the *autonomo* (any member of AO), undoubtedly one of the most characteristic figures of the 1970s as a whole. In the media as well as in history writing, accounts of the protests of 1977 are generally reduced to violent clashes between police forces and *autonomi*. Not surprisingly, one of the most frequently used images in discussions about the 'years of lead' is that of a young *autonomo* firing at police during a demonstration in Milan, on 14 May 1977, killing a police officer.[14] However, the story of both AO and the Movement of '77 as a whole cannot be reduced to violent clashes alone. The latter involved a variety of social agents, not all of whom accepted the violent approach of the *autonomi*, as we have already seen.[15]

AO was founded in Bologna during a national conference in March 1973, by a variety of autonomous organizations active in factories and neighbourhoods throughout the country. Not long before, one of the major extra-parliamentary groups that had managed to give a political identity to a large part of the alternative left-wing milieu, Proletarian Power (Potere Operaio, PO), had been dissolved (Bianchi and Caminiti, 2007, p. 10). In the same period the second major extra-parliamentary group of the 1970s, Lotta Continua (LC), also broke up, and while some members continued their battle on a more 'institutional' level, the majority of the disappointed former members of Potere Operaio, Lotta Continua and other extra-parliamentary groups in need of a political identity joined AO. This was the only major autonomous and non-institutionalized organization that was left within the left-wing milieu (Mangano and Schina, 1998, p. 157).

AO drew on the legacy of the Italian labour movement of the 1960s, in particular the journals *Quaderni rossi* ('Red Notebooks') and its successor, *Classe operaia* ('Labour Class'), and the experience of Potere Operaio. However, other members of other subgroups within the alternative left-wing milieu – the countercultural, feminist and ecological movement but also more radical youth groups – flowed into the organization throughout the period. AO therefore functioned as a 'safety net' which caught up all the various elements of the alternative left-wing milieu (Bianchi and Caminiti, 2007, p. 11). Perhaps this also explains why the organization lacked a strong, central organization and varied from

region to region: in Bologna, for example, the local student movement as a whole remained relatively peaceful until the clashes of 11 March 1977, whereas in cities such as Rome and Turin the components of AO were notoriously aggressive.[16] This local emphasis reflects one of the characteristics of Italian social movements in the late 1970s: that of being governed more locally than nationally or globally. It therefore does not comply with the definition of a modern social movement as proposed by Sidney Tarrow, who emphasizes the 'cosmopolitan' nature of social movements (2006, p. 36).

Differences between AO and the rest of the student movement, as well as among members of AO themselves, were related mostly to diverging opinions about the recourse to violence. This, among other things, is what led to the dissolution of the Movement of '77 in the wake of an international conference 'against repression' held in Bologna in September 1977 as internal differences and conflicts reached a climax. The conference was organized by parts of the former student movement in collaboration with a number of French left-wing intellectuals, as internal differences and conflicts reached a climax.[17] Those pertaining to the more radical strands of AO increasingly turned to terrorism in a final, desperate attempt to bring down the Italian state.

Feminist elements within AO also played a role in the further fragmentation of the organization, and of the alternative left-wing milieu more generally. In fact, a final subgroup of the Movement of '77 was the women's movement.[18] Although the latter originated in the late 1960s, the years between 1975 and 1978 – when the debate on the legalization of abortion united the various strands within the women's movement – were fundamental for the construction of a new female identity in Italy and the establishment of women's rights. Women set themselves in opposition to traditional politics and the authority of institutional parties but also criticized and distanced themselves from the ideological, Marxist and equally undemocratic approach of their male political companions, who often reproduced the hierarchical structures of traditional political parties (Tolomelli, 2002, p. 47). Feminists in the 1970s thus fought on two fronts: a general battle alongside their male counterparts and a private battle against those same counterparts, in an attempt to gain not only a political but also a personal autonomy. This was reflected in one of the most famous slogans of the women's movement in the 1970s, which would eventually come to symbolize the social movements of the (late) 1970s more generally: 'the personal is political' (Cappellini, 2007, p. 85).

Among the practices that characterized the women's movement were the so-called consciousness-raising and self-help groups; imported from

the US at the end of the 1960s, these groups aimed at getting a better understanding of women's oppression by bringing them together to discuss and analyse their lives, without interference from men (Percovich, 2005). Here personal and private problems were placed on the same level as the political, which must, however, be understood not as a form of withdrawing from the socio-political scene into the private sphere but rather as giving preference to more local, decentralized, diversified and heterogeneous forms of organization. This once again contradicts Tarrow's definition of a social movement as a 'cosmopolitan' and modular, rather than particular, form of action.

Another important feature of the women's movement was the expression of and emphasis on sexual diversity through an explicit separation from men, who were actively excluded from reunions and demonstrations. The issue of diversity and separation was at the basis of the dissolution of LC in 1975, when male members physically attacked female members who had organized a demonstration march which men were not allowed to join (Tolomelli, 2002, p. 47). The collective identity of the women's movement was indeed nurtured by themes related to the psychological and physical exploitation of women, such as sexual violence and abortion. The battle for a law on abortion was the most important one in the construction of the women's movement and of a female subjectivity in those years (Hajek, in press). As Tolomelli observes, 'the theme of abortion revealed [a] mobilizing strength which favoured the consolidation of a sense of belonging within the most diverse women's groups' (2002, p. 50). This battle was fought out mainly through public demonstrations and national referendums, which illustrate – much like the various editorial activities of women's groups (women's magazines, handbooks, etc.) – the very different, non-violent approach of the women in the movement, as opposed to AO, for example. Thus this subgroup styled its political identity in yet another way.

This illustrates how difficult it is, once again, to speak of a social movement in the terms proposed at the beginning; although the members of the movement shared a common interest – for example, the denunciation of their material conditions – they did not really share a single collective identity and chose different means to give expression to those identities, mostly through the transformation of creativity and everyday activities into political engagement.

Bologna and 1977: a 'cultural' trauma?

Perhaps the only thing that really connected the members of the Movement of '77 was criticism of the PCI, whose attempts to gain more institutional prestige resulted in an increasingly repressive attitude

towards student movements in the second half of the 1970s. As we have seen, throughout the decade the alternative left-wing milieu became increasingly critical of the traditional left. The imminent breach between protesters and Communists was announced in Rome, February 1977, when Communist union leader Luciano Lama was ousted by an angry crowd and literally fled from the university during a speech directed at the student movement.[19] Bologna was next in line: the most successful Communist-governed city of the time, any flaw in this perfect example of Communist leadership was highly inappropriate in a period when the PCI was attempting to gain more political authority. In addition, Bologna was a popular university destination, with a large student population, and a magnet for young generations: at the time it was the musical capital of Italy, and the place to be when it came down to art, music and lifestyle. Bands proliferated, thanks to local record labels and popular underground clubs, but other art forms, such as theatre and the visual arts – legendary cartoonist Andrea Pazienza studied at the DAMS in those years – flourished as well (Ghedini, 2005). The conflict between local authorities and the student population, when it eventually erupted, was therefore intense. As a consequence, the Movement of '77 in Bologna was struck down in a particularly harsh manner, leading to the violent death of medicine student and Lotta Continua sympathizer Francesco Lorusso, on 11 March 1977, and numerous arrests in the following months.

The protests erupted in response to the proposal for university reform in late 1976, although in reality they were an indirect outcome of the social and political tensions that had originated with the economic crisis and the political manoeuvring of the PCI. A wave of demonstrations and university occupations swept through the country, reaching a climax after Lorusso was shot dead by a police officer during clashes in the university zone. These originated when left-wing students attempted to gain access to a meeting of the Catholic student organization Communion and Liberation in one of the university buildings. The left-wing students were denied access, after which the situation got out of hand and the university chancellor called the police. Lorusso's death, shot in the back during a direct confrontation with a group of police officers, provoked urban upheaval as outraged students devastated part of the city centre during a violent demonstration in the afternoon. Tension remained high for several weeks, due also to the intervention of the army two days later and the imprisonment of student activists. The police officer who shot Lorusso, on the other hand, remained unpunished.[20] There was another victim at a demonstration march

in Rome, about a month later, when 19-year-old Giorgiana Masi was shot dead. The hypothesis of armed undercover police officers firing at the crowd – and hence the strong possibility that one of these was responsible for Masi's death – was sparked by the publication of a photograph of one of the officers in a newspaper the next day (Cappellini, 2007, pp. 274–275). This incident caused even further dismay within the alternative left-wing milieu. The critical situation eventually led the movement – supported by a number of French left-wing intellectuals who sympathized with the students – to organize the 'conference against repression' mentioned earlier, perhaps also in a final, desperate attempt to unite the various subgroups.

The deaths of Lorusso, Masi and many other left-wing activists and sympathizers are often described in terms of an open wound and trauma. As I explained in the Introduction, 'trauma' originally referred to an individual physical or psychological injury, but we may nevertheless speak of a collective and a 'cultural' trauma in the case of Bologna. As we have seen, a cultural trauma can be considered 'a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality', which thus provokes 'a gradual realization that the community no longer exists as an effective source of support'.[21] Similarly, Jeffrey Alexander defines trauma as 'a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon [a collectivity's] group consciousness, [...] changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways' (ibid., p. 1). In other words, collective – or what Alexander coins 'cultural' – trauma disrupts continuity by provoking a negative form of change (Neal, 2005, p. 4).

The events of 1977 constituted a collectively shared trauma, above all, for the students in the Movement of '77, who not only lost a political companion and friend; they simply did not expect such a severe reaction from the authorities. After all, Bologna was a prosperous city as well as the showpiece of the PCI which had a highly positive reputation to uphold and therefore never really resorted to violent interventions as in Rome or Milan, at least not until March 1977. Given also the legacy of the partisan resistance struggle in the nearby Apennines, there was no serious competition between left and right among the youth of Bologna, as there frequently was in other cities.[22] Hence political violence had remained minimal until 1977, and the severe reaction on the part of the local authorities came as a shock to the students.[23]

Secondly, the incidents had a negative impact on the local PCI's reputation, as it had to face the harsh reality of a part of the local community explicitly challenging its authority, forcing it to renegotiate its role in

the incidents of March 1977 in subsequent years, as we shall see in Chapter 5. For the citizens of Bologna, finally, the shock was great when Lorusso was shot dead and the capital of 'Red Emilia' was transformed into a war zone. They were confronted with the violent outbursts of Lorusso's outraged companions and with intimidation by police forces – and eventually also the army – in the following days. The latter was extensively (and visually) reported on in the press, leading journalists to draw parallels with the Second World War.[24]

This demonstrates that a collective sense of trauma relates not simply to the traumatizing events themselves but also to their repercussions on society. It is, as we have seen, the impact of an event that constitutes trauma (Glynn, 2006, p. 319), the latter being experienced belatedly – i.e., after a 'temporal delay that carries the individual beyond the shock of the first moment'.[25] This very much depends on the way the events are interpreted in the media. As Alexander observes, the constitution of trauma depends on the way the event is subsequently represented in the media, for trauma – when it emerges 'at the level of the collectivity' – is not a social but a cultural crisis:

> Trauma is not the result of a group experiencing pain. It is the result of this acute discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity's sense of its own identity. Collective actors 'decide' to represent social pain as a fundamental threat to their sense of who they are, where they came from, and where they want to go.
>
> (2004, p. 10)

Trauma is, then, a 'socially mediated attribution' which is influenced by recurrent media images (ibid., p. 8). Building on Tarrow's concept of 'cycles of contention', Phil Edwards provides a detailed account of how radical protest groups in the 1970s are portrayed negatively in the Italian news: he identifies, for example, a theme of 'nihilist provocateurism' in reports of the Communist party organ *L'Unità*, with regard to the protests of March 1977 in Bologna (2009, p. 132). Although at first the newspaper seems to avoid taking a clear (ideological) stance against the student movement, denouncing the way the police handled the situation,[26] on 13 March the tone changes radically: the students are now described as 'armed hooligan groups', probably due to the assault on a weapons store the evening before, whereas any criticism of the police is put on hold. This corresponds to Edwards's findings about *L'Unità* 'taking the standpoint of the carabinieri [police officers]' (ibid., p. 139). Any occasion in which the PCI's role in the events could

be criticized or challenged – such as the intervention of the Italian army on 13 March – is omitted. Indeed, the presence of the army particularly damaged the local, collective identity of the Communist Party, as it implied that the PCI did not have control over the situation. Thus *L'Unità* becomes more concerned, in the days following Lorusso's death, with 'distracting' the reader from the embarrassing situation by putting across a highly democratic image of the PCI. This was an attempt to regain confidence and consensus among citizens and hence to deny or hide the trauma, in stark contrast to the local, centre-right daily *Il Resto del Carlino*, which instead tried to enhance the sense of trauma by creating a melodramatic, frightening image of the incidents.

In the last section of this chapter I will examine how a second medium contributed to the sense of trauma in relation to the clashes in Bologna: the state-owned TG1 national news bulletins on 11 and 12 March 1977.[27]

Screening trauma: the clashes of March 1977 on television

The TG1 evening news on Friday 11 March began not with the shooting of Lorusso but with a different topic: a government proposal to improve the working conditions and raise the salaries of police officers.[28] Thus the impact of the incidents was softened and the violent police intervention in the clashes minimized, as priority was given to the police. The report of the clashes consisted of four reconstructions of the events: one by TG1 itself; a brief statement by the police; and the versions of the two student organizations involved, the left-wing Lotta Continua (LC) and the Catholic Communion and Liberation.

When applying discourse analysis to the news reports, we find that TG1's reconstruction employs a rather muted vocabulary: it refers to 'tension' and 'disorders' instead of the more explicit 'clashes', while Lorusso's death is described as a 'painful event' and a 'tragic episode'. The absence of 'active' verbs (e.g., 'to shoot') as well as the use of the passive voice with regard to the behaviour of the police further enhances an interpretation in terms of a tragic and inevitable accident. Thus the presenter notes how Lorusso '*was struck by* a gunshot *fired by* police' (my italics). This may be explained as an attempt by TG1 to come across as objective and as maintaining a journalistic distance, although in my opinion it also reveals a specific interpretation of the facts. More importantly, Lorusso himself is presented not as a student but simply as a young person; only at the end of this first reconstruction does the

presenter mention his status as a student. In a similar fashion, the LC students are described as 'young autonomi' or simply as 'autonomi', whereas the word 'students' is used only when the presenter reports the number of wounded and when referring to the members of Communion and Liberation. Clearly TG1 wanted to avoid acknowledging that the protagonists of the clashes were not, say, terrorists or ordinary criminals, but simply students, which would have made it easier to denounce Lorusso's death.

Oppositions between the left-wing students, on the one hand, and the police on the other, were reinforced when TG1 disputed the account by LC, reminding the viewer of the violent behaviour of the 'autonomi' which was mentioned in the opening headlines. More importantly, TG1 omitted information, such as the not irrelevant accounts of eyewitnesses and of a journalist from *L'Unità* claiming that police officers attacked students without any provocation.[29] Moreover, there is an inconsistent use of tenses in the reconstruction of the incidents by TG1 and there is an inconsistent use of tenses: the presenter refers, for example, to the primary cause of the clashes – the 'autonomi' trying to gain access to the Communion and Liberation meeting – in the past tense ('had burst in'), whereas the rest of the account is almost entirely written in the more circumspect and objective conditional tense. As a result, the impression is given that the primary responsibility for the clashes lies with the 'autonomi'. By contrast, the use of the conditional tense in reference to the police officer shooting at Lorusso, as opposed to other actions by police officers, which are narrated in the past tense, also creates doubts as to the responsibility of the police for Lorusso's death.[30]

In the TG1 coverage of 12 March 1977 the focus is shifted to the positive, unified reaction of local political forces to the incidents: the broadcast opens with an account of an official union demonstration in Bologna on the morning of 12 March. The opposition between students and police forces of the previous broadcast is now replaced by an opposition between the violence of the students on 11 March and the democratic reaction by citizens and political forces the following day, illustrated visually by both the official demonstration in the morning and by two peaceful student demonstrations in the afternoon. The latter are described as having passed off without incident, and the report is accompanied by reassuring images of 'peaceful' students, even if the primarily external camera angle reveals a kind of ideological distance between the authorities and the left-wing groups.[31] The final part of this news item, on the other hand, reported on a violent student demonstration in Milan and was not accompanied by any images at all, so that the

only violent images in this edition relate directly to 11 March. It seems, then, that TG1 attempted to create visually an opposition between the violence of the previous day and the widespread support for an institutional – or at least, non-violent – solution the next day. In short, TG1 emphasized the united, democratic response of the authorities and general public (including the students who protested peacefully) during the demonstration on 12 March, in contrast to the violence of the 'autonomi' the previous day.[32]

Undoubtedly, the impact of these news reports on the collective local, as well as national, memory of the events of March 1977 among Italian viewers has been significant.[33] It is mostly the capacity of television to 'represent' incidents through moving images that allows the viewer to have a more immediate and dramatic experience of the events, and thus a more direct memory, than with the print media. Furthermore the way narrative techniques, camera angles, pictures and sound work together, as well as the simple selection and omission of information, help shape a memory which equates the student movement with terrorists, while the voices of the students themselves are silenced.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that the Movement of '77, as it evolved in the 1970s, was a fragmented one, bound less by abstract, ideological goals than by more personally felt needs, desires and local battles, and nurtured by a rapidly changing cultural, political and social environment. This may explain why the student movement didn't last long: there was no real unity. The various subgroups were too focused on their own battles to overcome the challenge of violence and death. In addition, many activists left the political path and ruined themselves with drugs throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, whereas others radicalized and joined terrorist organizations, fragmenting the student movement further. After a series of fatal and traumatic incidents involving left-wing activists and the police, the movement eventually dissolved.

The 'trauma' of 1977 in Bologna was therefore a collective trauma for the student movement, as it changed the parameters of protest for good. Collective traumas may, however, also reinforce an existing community or contribute to the creation of a new, different communality (e.g., therapy groups or victims' associations). In fact, past sufferings can help a group (re)construct its identity; and as processes of globalization increasingly destabilize communities and reinforce the need for collective identities, traumatic memories gain a new status: they are employed

as a means of group empowerment, 'a vehicle for reclaiming the past and as a means of readdressing past injustices' (Misztal, 2004, p. 75). In other words, traumatic memories not only help a community create a new collective identity but may also serve to claim collective rights, voice demands and contest dominant political powers and their interpretations of the past (ibid., pp. 79–80). The next chapter focuses on one such community: the family and friends of Francesco Lorusso.

4
Affective Labour: Between Mourning and Moral Duty

Introduction

> These are stories which, were it not for our perseverance, for the fact that we turned our anger into the courage to say 'I will not accept being denied the truth' – were it not for this the stories would just end, they would have ended on that day. And we realize that, as we go on, *we* are the only power that we have.

These are the words with which Ilaria Cucchi – the sister of 31-year-old Stefano Cucchi, who died under mysterious circumstances in an Italian prison in 2009 – described the situation of her family and, by extension, of other families of victims of police violence in Italy, during a TV presentation of a documentary about her late brother (Hajek, 2012d).[1] Remembering requires a memory agent or 'memory choreographer' (Conway, 2010) who will 'actualize' or 'activate' the memory in question, if it is to remain vivid.[2] The Cucchi case demonstrates once again that in Italy the role of such memory communities has proved particularly important, given the low commitment or unwillingness of the state to bring justice to the victims of political violence, from the bomb massacres discussed in the first part of this book to more recent incidents of political and police violence, and the partial interpretation of such traumatic incidents in history education and mainstream media.

Similar cases where state violence has been denied include the kidnapping, torture and execution of the so-called *desaparecidos* ('disappeared') in Argentina, during the military dictatorship (1976–1983), crimes that were covered up until a new government began prosecuting the dictatorial leaders in the mid-1980s. The role of the so-called Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, who since 1977 have paced around a

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monument in the Plaza de Mayo square in order to make their children's absence visible in a public space, thus transforming their private suffering into collective grief (Sosa, 2011), has been crucial in this development, and throughout the chapter references will be made to this form of memory work.

Any attempts by victims' family members to gain truth and justice in cases of political and police violence imply tensions between private and public memories, and subsequently negotiations. These are at the heart of the first of three chapters that explore three local groups and the way they have tried to negotiate a memory of the traumatic events of March 1977 in Bologna, in the 30 years following the incidents. The first chapter examines processes of 'affective labour' as it explores the relations between victims' family associations, focusing on Francesco Lorusso's family and the families of other victims of violence in Italy, many of whom created associations in an attempt to gain justice and come to terms with these traumatic events. This comparison will demonstrate how Lorusso's difficult victim status has complicated the family's task of attaining justice, affecting its authority and responsibility as a 'guarantor of truth' and forcing it to develop a variety of strategies to renegotiate his person in the public sphere. The chapter discusses, for example, the family's great efforts to gain public recognition for Lorusso and its strategic collaboration with a local association dedicated to Lorusso and run by a group of Communist dissident intellectuals who took up a position against the Communist Party in the wake of the incidents of March 1977. This association was therefore much more than simply a means through which to mourn and commemorate Lorusso. Secondly, the chapter analyses the role of the family in the annual commemoration on 11 March, and the involvement of relatives of other victims of (police) violence in the 1970s and in more recent times.

Post-Marxist philosophers Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri define 'affective labour' as an 'immaterial labour' (Hardt, 1999, p. 90), one that 'produces or manipulates affects such as feelings of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement or passion' (cited in Brown and Allen, 2011, p. 316). Steve Brown and Matthew Allen have applied this notion to the terrorist attacks on the London transport in July 2005, where they consider affective labour as the creation of a 'felt relation between the present and past wherein memories of violent events [...] can become part of an ongoing, living project' (ibid.). In other words, affective labour reflects a form of memory work that produces not a material object – for example, a monument – but an 'affective state

in another person' which involves both body and mind and which Brown and Allen describe as a 'living memorial': that is, memorials that commemorate victims 'through an assemblage of people, things and narratives that are arranged in complex networks of activities' (ibid., p. 313).[3]

One simple example of affective labour could be a (protest) march in commemoration of a deceased or murdered person, or any other public expression of collective mourning for that matter. Think, for example, of the annual gathering of the 'Mothers of Plaza de Mayo' (Sosa, 2011).[4] This need to make absence visible reflects what Giovanni De Luna has written about the various unresolved cases of political violence in Italy during the 1970s: 'The absence of legal certainties on those deaths amounts to the vanishing of the bodies, the absence of a tomb' (2008, p. 25). A different form of such 'embodied' memory work occurred in the wake of the train bombings in Madrid on 11 March 2004: an explicit sense of 'unity of the social body' was expressed in the so-called *dazibao* columns at one of the train stations, where passers-by left written messages which produced multiple narratives organized in both a dialogic and palimpsest-like structure (Sánchez-Carretero, 2011, pp. 247–248). Fabrics and clothes deposited at all four stations involved in the terrorist attacks reflected even more forcefully the embodied experience of commemoration (ibid., p. 245; p. 255). In a similar fashion, the 'urban altars' or 'street shrines' in Manhattan, which were created straight after the attacks on the World Trade Center in September 2001 (Fraenkel, 2011, p. 230), or the notes left on the railings in Piazza Alimonda in Genoa, where activist Carlo Giuliani was killed during the G8 summit a few months earlier, all represent a form of collective mourning and participation and a 'dialogue between faraway people almost chatting through the collective writing' (Caffarena and Stiaccini, 2011, p. 316). Affective labour, then, primarily refers to the body and the mind, to relations that are created when an event is embodied 'in a set of living activities' (Brown and Allen, 2011, p. 318). In other words, they originate in the performance of memory.

Victims' family associations

At the beginning of this book we saw that memory work is continuously performed by individuals who get involved in memorial activities. Thus the investigations which eventually led to the discovery of the truth behind the Ustica airplane crash in 1980, when an aeroplane heading towards Sicily mysteriously crashed near the island of Ustica, killing

all aboard (Armenio and Benedetti, 2005), were set in motion by the Ustica Victims' Families Association. It was their continuous pressure on the authorities that prevented the plane crash from remaining a mere technical failure. As crime novelist Carlo Lucarelli observed:

> [w]ithout relatives and victims constituting a sort of public opinion which puts the pressure on institutions and keeps people's attention on the matter high, episodes such as the massacre of Bologna or that of Ustica [...] would have remained even more mysterious than they already are.
>
> (2006, p. 12)

The very first association that gathered the family members of victims of terrorism in Italy was the Association for the Families of the Victims of the Bomb Massacre in Bologna on 2 August 1980, created in June 1981 after diversionary manoeuvres regarding the investigations on the bombing had come to light.[5] Shortly before, the Italian court had moreover acquitted the suspects in the trial for the Piazza Fontana massacre of 1969. During the same period associations were also set up for the victims of other neo-Fascist massacres, or *stragi*, which combined – in April 1983 – in the Union for Family Members of the Victims of *Stragismo*. More recently, the Ministry of Justice decreed a monitoring unit which focuses, among other things, on the definition of the status of the victim. The latter introduced, in 2007, the 'Memory day for the victims of terrorism and *stragismo*' (Venturoli, 2007, p. 81).

Memory communities generally have two main functions. First, they seek to uncover the legal and historical truth behind the massacres and promote a counter-memory of the events, if necessary. The trauma of victims' families is therefore not only of a personal nature but at the same time belongs to the public realm, so that the families have a moral duty to remember, something reflected in the annual performance of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Argentina: 'By iterating a loud but voiceless question, the Mothers have succeeded in showing how the wiped out lives were not merely a private loss but a matter of collective concern' (Sosa, 2011, p. 70). As a result, they have managed to keep the memory alive, even after the official approval of national grief, exemplified by the creation of a national day of commemoration (ibid.), an event which often actually contributes to the silencing of difficult memories.

This leads us to a second function of memory communities: to keep the memory of an event alive. Each year, for example, the Bologna association organizes events for the annual commemoration of the 1980

massacre, publishing a poster with a slightly provocative slogan that
denounces the continuing injustice whereas the president of the associ-
ation continually reminds the citizens of the lack of justice.[6] In addition,
the association has promoted a range of cultural activities: it thus rep-
resents a 'living memorial' where – through a network of activities –
the memory of the victims of the Bologna massacre is kept alive and
passed down to younger generations. In 1999, for example, it collabo-
rated with left-wing actor, playwright and Nobel prizewinner Dario Fo –
and his wife, Franca Rame – in the organization of a 'Memory Train',
which passed through various Italian cities that were struck by terrorism
in the 1970s (Tota, 2003). It also finances an annual international clas-
sical music competition, as well as painting and sculpture competitions
for young people.

Anna Lisa Tota has argued that the members of the Bologna asso-
ciation, in promoting these events, act as 'cultural entrepreneurs of
memory' who 'put themselves on the line and place themselves on the
marketplace of the citizens' imagination, in a perspective almost of a
marketing of memory' which is aimed at 'accumulating and conserving,
throughout the years, that attention and that visibility that is neces-
sary to finally obtain truth and justice' (2003, p. 157). Hence, while the
family members of the victims of the London bombings transformed
their memories into a living project which would help them 'come to
terms with their loss' but without necessarily seeking to reflect upon
the significance of the commemorative rituals (Brown and Allen, 2011,
p. 320; p. 318), the activities of the Bologna association – like those
of many other Italian victims' families associations that were created
in the 1980s – went further: theirs was a battle not just for the endur-
ing memory of the victims but also for truth and justice, which had
been denied in many of these cases. This takes us back to the primary
function of memory communities, that of uncovering the truth, which
often pushes these memory communities in the direction of political
activism.

In the case of the London bombings associations, on the contrary,
there is more emphasis on the person's life. Thus there were explicit
attempts at dissociating the victims from the way they had died, so that
their life could take on a new form and 'become materialized in a dif-
ferent way' (ibid., p. 318). This was in contrast to the actions of many
victims' associations in Italy: only think of the explicit reference to the
massacre of Bologna in the very name of the association. Also, these
associations frequently promote *visual* memories in order to enhance
public support for their case, as when photographs of the bleeding

corpses of Carlo Giuliani or Federico Aldrovandi – another victim of police violence, killed in 2005 in Ferrara – were used during protest demonstrations or circulated on the web. Aldrovandi's mother Patrizia Moretti, for example, was forced to exhibit a photograph of her son's corpse out of protest against members of a police trade union who were demonstrating – in front of the Commune of Ferrara, where Moretti is an employee – against the prison sentences of the four police officers responsible for Aldrovandi's death. Writing about the Giuliani case, on the other hand, Monica Jansen and Ingle Lanslots argue that the image of his corpse – which had been shown frequently in the media due to polemical debates about the way he had been killed, thus becoming part of the public memory of the G8 summit (McDonnel, 2007) – became a 'shared frame of reference' which led to the iconization of his death in different media. The cover of journalist Concita de Gregorio's book *Non lavate questo sangue* ('Don't Clean Up This Blood', 2006), for example, reproduces the profile of Giuliani's corpse, with his arms and legs spread and surrounded by blood (Jansen en Lanslots, 2011, pp. 173–174). Again we may call to mind the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, whose memory work revolves precisely around making the absent bodies of their children visible, using their own bodies instead (Sosa, 2011). This emphasis on the death – and the deceased bodies – of victims of violence in Italy was also relevant, finally, in the Cucchi case: it was only as a result of the shocking photographs the family took of the deceased Stefano, when they were finally allowed to see his mutilated and emaciated body, that they managed to have investigations into his suspicious death opened. The same photographs were deliberately shown to the viewers during the presentation of a documentary on the Cucchi case, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Clearly, in Italy, the only way to avoid that police repression is tolerated and victims are forgotten is to literally *show* the physical violence that has been afflicted on the victims.

The absence of legal truths and justice, in the Italian case, has brought other memory communities to engage themselves as well, including the so-called Houses of Memory. These collect and archive documents, eyewitness accounts and other material that may enhance research into the neo-Fascist *stragi* (Tobagi, 2009) and disseminate this knowledge by organizing teaching projects in schools and creating bridges between archives. The internet has proved highly useful in this respect, as it facilitates access to documents, enhances networking and makes associations more visible to younger generations. The media in general are important in the creation of connections and, subsequently, in the

expansion of 'the ways in which memorial frameworks are able to enact commemoration' (Brown and Allen, 2011, p. 319).[7] The Archival Network against Oblivion, for example, brings together all the victims' associations and documentary centres and archives in Italy that work on violence. Launched in 2006, its aim is that of 'registering the documentation that was present in both public and private archives, with the aim of creating a "culture of legality" on the basis of these documents and sources'.[8] It thus became a 'physical and virtual work place and exchange where information could be found and which could give visibility to the singular activities of those who adhere to the project'. A similar project that tries to render the activities of associations more visible to the public is that of the Invisible Networks, a network of grassroots associations who are engaged in the research into historical memory, truth and justice.

Mourning or moral duty?

The aim of these memory communities is, then, to construct a 'memory culture' that goes beyond traditional, official commemorative rituals in order to divulge information and 'contribute to the enrichment of an historical "common sense" building on scientifically correct foundations' (Tobagi, 2009, p. 5). In other words, they contribute to the creation of a network which may bring the 'dead memory' of these events back to life, turning them into living memorials and thus preventing them from becoming a sort of commonplace in the nation's history. The role of the body, both virtual and physical, is significant here, although the affective labour of these memory communities is motivated not so much by the creation of affective relations with other members of the society as by the desire to gain a truth and justice that have been systematically denied by the Italian state. The focus is therefore less on the grieving process or the expansion of 'affective capacity' than on the moral duty to create a more inclusive and 'correct' version of the past.

   This is in contrast to associations or groups that originate after traumatic incidents perceived as 'something that was to be expected', as Monika Rulfs observes in her discussion of the reactions of a local community to the death of a young girl in a road accident in Hamburg (2011, p. 161). These groups are driven more by mourning than by protest, and the incident discussed by Rulfs in fact provoked anger and grief directed not so much at individuals – with the exception of the girl's mother, who blamed the driver of the truck that killed her nine-year-old daughter: it

criticized the presence of cars and traffic policy more generally. Similarly, the ghost bike phenomenon that has spread over the past decade or so reflects a resistance to the 'modern automobile-dominated society' (Dobler, 2011, p. 169), rather than to individual drivers or local governments. Thus, road incidents often provoke protest against danger in general, and a need for the *recognition* of this danger (Rulfs, 2011, p. 162), aimed at raising more awareness and stimulating a change in culture, on the one hand, and creating a sense of shared community, on the other (Dobler, 2011, p. 176). In an article about the Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) association in the US, Inge Schmidt introduces the concept of 'perpetual trauma' to describe this sense of future danger, of trauma caused by the 'potential of events that might happen' (2014, forthcoming). Although protest groups may also be drawn to these incidents in order to appropriate them for their own political purposes, the main memory agents are predominantly mourners trying to express their grief, which Thomas Dobler interprets as a way of regaining control (p. 178).

In the following sections we will see what features the Lorusso family shares with the various types of memory agents discussed above, and whether it performed solely a function of mourning, being so close to the victim, or also one of political protest and moral duty.

The failed police investigations

Before we discuss the family's role in the process of remembering Lorusso and the events of March 1977, let us briefly consider the police investigations into Lorusso's death and try to establish what actually happened.[9] Although Massimo Tramontani – the police officer who shot Lorusso – handed himself in to the police on the evening of 11 March 1977, public prosecutor Romano Ricciotti eventually did not file a complaint against him (Cappellini, 2007, p. 188). He stated that there was insufficient evidence to prove, first of all, that it had in fact been Tramontani who shot Lorusso; secondly, that Tramontani had aimed at head height; and thirdly, that he had fired his gun without being in any immediate danger. Ricciotti thus ignored various eyewitness accounts as well as other indications that suggested Tramontani had not fired in the air, as he claimed, and that he had been in no real danger at the time of the shooting (Menneas, 2003, pp. 44–45; p. 37). Nor did Ricciotti consider the eyewitness account of one of the police officers who was by Tramontani's side when he shot Lorusso, and who claimed to have heard a police captain order Tramontani to fire (ibid., p. 40). On the basis

of the notorious Reale law, Ricciotti advised the examining magistrate, Bruno Catalanotti, not to prosecute Tramontani (ibid., p. 60).[10]

Nevertheless, Catalanotti had Tramontani arrested for manslaughter, and the investigations were reopened in early September 1977. Yet the latter was released after less than two months: the Court of Appeal overrode Catalanotti's decision to arrest Tramontani on the basis of his not being authorized to dismiss the decree of the public prosecutor, and the case was eventually closed on 22 October 1977 (ibid., pp. 62–63). In 1981 Lorusso's parents managed to have the investigations reopened, after a statement by left-wing terrorist Roberto Sandalo – claiming that Lorusso had been armed on 11 March – had been disproved.[11] Tramontani's lawyers blocked the case, and the Court of Appeal again countermanded the decision to reopen the case, declaring that Lorusso's parents were not authorized to make such a request (Menneas, 2003, p. 66).

Hence the Lorusso case has been dominated by discussions about technical issues of competency, and the question of who exactly shot him, as well as the circumstances in which the police officer fired, were never clarified. This created the conditions for a highly contested and 'divided' memory on which opinions continue to differ, making it difficult, if not impossible, to come to some form of consensus and thus reconciliation. It is precisely the desire to create a public consensus about Lorusso's death that has been at the heart of the family's 'memory work'.

The family: 'the personal is political'

The Lorusso family differs from the victims' families associations described earlier on, mainly because of Lorusso's difficult victim status, and the simple fact that it represented only one individual, which made it more difficult for it to gain public support. Consequently, the memory work performed by Lorusso's family was more dependent on the 'affect economy' that Brown and Allen attribute to the associations created in the wake of the London bombings.

Although not constituted in an association, the family shares with the associations dedicated to the victims of *stragismo* the aims of getting justice and ascertaining the (legal and historical) truth behind the traumatic event, on the one hand, and keeping the memory of the event alive, on the other. Thus Lorusso's family initially pleaded for a reopening of the investigations, promoting a counter-memory that clashed with the official interpretation, according to which Lorusso's

killer had acted out of self-defence. In the 1990s its primary concern turned instead to the creation and preservation of a publicly shared, collective memory of Lorusso in Bologna. What remained consistent, throughout the years, was the attempt to create relations with other (memory) communities, both at official and 'unofficial' levels.

A first reason for which the family sought to engage with other communities, in the public sphere, is a practical one: the family had to gain public consensus in order to request a reopening of the investigations, and considering both Lorusso's complex victim status (he was not an entirely innocent victim) and the generally negative public attitude to the student movement, this could be achieved only through affective labour. In other words, it was only by producing 'affective states' in local citizens, who would have no direct or 'automatic' sympathy for an alleged rioter such as Lorusso, that his family could counter the official memory of the events of March as promoted by the authorities and media. Indeed, Lorusso's death, as well as the incidents following his death, had a negative impact on the local community as a whole, and the trauma of his death was therefore not limited to the private sphere. In this perspective I have previously introduced the concept of 'cultural' trauma: the lack of a will and the capacity – on the part of the institutions – to clarify Lorusso's death revealed that the ('official') community indeed no longer existed 'as an effective source of support', not only for the family but also for Lorusso's friends and political comrades. Thus, if violent incidents during protests had been rare in Bologna prior to 11 March, the severe response of police officers came as a complete (and unpleasant) surprise to the student movement.[12] In addition, the already poor relationship between the student population and the rest of the community further deteriorated after the events of March.[13]

Obviously, this lost sense of community was even more palpable for the family, and the second driving force behind its affective labour was the need to overcome the trauma of Lorusso's death by sharing it with other people: a trauma caused, then, not only by a sense of injustice but also by the feeling that the community no longer existed for the family. In fact, the family was never listened to by the authorities, whereas the political nature of the incidents exposed the family's loss to (mis)interpretations and moral judgements by the entire community. In other words, the personal was not just personal but also political, to use a famous slogan of those years. As we saw in Chapter 1, trauma creates a situation of 'unspeakability', which reflects Cathy Caruth's

theories on the need for other people to listen to traumatic events in order to make them 'speakable' (1995, p. 10). The loss or inability to narrate one's traumatic story in public, on the other hand, results in the victim's loss of a place in history and, subsequently, the continuation of a sense of trauma. In this, as in other cases of political homicide in the 1970s, the family was excluded from society and remained trapped 'in predominantly private spaces' (De Luna, 2008, p. 11). This becomes particularly evident from an interview with Lorusso's father, Agostino, in which the former army colonel explains how his colleagues and friends radically excluded his family from the local community, as a result of the incidents:

> [W]hen I went back to work I was told to 'go back home'. They no longer wanted me around, do you see? I had become the father of a 'rebel', of an 'extremist'. I no longer received assignments. [...] They isolated me. Colleagues who had previously been good friends no longer spoke to me, they would say 'that one is a Communist'. And when I tried to have justice there was even one person who whispered in my ears: 'Don't set yourself against the cops, he who plays with fire dies'.[14]

Of course, traumatic experiences may also contribute to the creation of new communalities and stimulate the pursuit of social justice, resulting in a political and civil responsibility. As Tota observes, memory communities have a responsibility to recall traumas, with the aim of improving the 'civic texture of the community' (2003, p. 128). Yet a similar status has proved difficult to establish for Lorusso's family. Although Agostino Lorusso, a former employee of the state who clearly had to reconsider his ideological views as well as his personal identity, assumed a moral responsibility, explaining the attempt to get justice in terms of a desire that 'other families should not be struck by similar tragedies',[15] the struggle to reopen the investigations and to gain official recognition came up against various obstacles and was eventually abandoned.

In short, the family's affective labour was employed not only for the creation of a public consensus that would help the family gain truth and justice, as was the case for the victims' families associations; it was also crucial in the very process of coming to terms with Lorusso's death, due to the family's 'solitary' and silenced position in society as a result of Lorusso's portrayal in the media as a rioter and therefore not an easily 'shareable' victim.

The quest for truth and justice

The primary aim of the Lorusso family remained, nevertheless, the quest for truth and justice. After all, the formulation of a legal and historical truth is one of the primary conditions for a memory to become publicly shared and for it to lead to reconciliation. After the investigations were closed, the family attempted to have them reopened by addressing local and national representatives of the state. In 1978, for instance, the family wrote an open letter to the mayor of Bologna, arguing that Lorusso's 'homicide has weighed and continues to weigh heavily on an entire political generation of youth and students, on the entire social corpus of Bologna'.[16] A year later the family went a step further and addressed President Sandro Pertini, in the hope of receiving some 'sign of recognition on behalf of the democratic institutions of the Republic', which confirms once again that what was at stake here was not just the issue of justice but also the creation of a public consensus.[17] Ten years later a letter was sent to Pertini's successor, Francesco Cossiga,[18] asking that 'truth and justice' be given to Lorusso. A representative of the President responded that the Director of Public Prosecutions had said there were insufficient grounds to reopen the investigations, and that the matter was therefore closed.[19]

Communist Mayor Renato Zangheri and Deputy Mayor Gabriele Gherardi, for example, signed the document that was addressed to President Pertini in 1979, hence indirectly questioning the official version of the events. In the 1980s and early 1990s many members of the local official culture supported the family.[20] This solidarity might be explained by the persistent youth problems in Bologna as well as by the growing threat of left-wing terrorism and armed struggle, two issues that were often reconnected to the traumatic breach with youth groups in March 1977, as we will see in Chapter 5. The unions explained their support for the initiative by reference to the fact that the 'filing [of the case] had worsened the climate of suspicion and division' towards the unions and created 'mistrust in justice' among young people. Even the Communist Party called it the 'city's demand'.[21]

The case was eventually reopened but soon dismissed again, and in 1991 Lorusso's parents eventually abandoned the attempt.[22] Perhaps the only occasion on which the family received some form of legal recognition was in the court case of 1993 against journalist Indro Montanelli, who had described Lorusso as a terrorist in his book about the 1970s in Italy, *Italy in the Years of Lead (1965–1978)*, first published in 1991.[23] Here the events of March are described as follows: 'In Bologna there was

the death of Francesco Lorusso, leader of Front Line [Prima Linea, PL], and perhaps in retaliation, Sergeant Giuseppe Ciotti was killed in Turin' (Montanelli and Cervi, 2001, p. 258).[24] Montanelli – who had been wounded in 1977 by the Red Brigades and undoubtedly harboured a resentment towards the extreme left – clearly interpreted Lorusso's figure from his own personal point of view, one which apparently condemned all forms of radical left-wing activism (Murialdi and Tranfaglia, 2002, p. 17).[25] Probably on the basis of a (false) statement by terrorist Roberto Sandalo, that Lorusso had been armed on 11 March 1977, Montanelli made the latter out to be a leader of the PL terrorist organization and connected the incident to Ciotta's assassination the following day.

Montanelli's shaping of the narrative is determined by his interpretation, selection and organization of information: the juxtaposition of the two deaths is particularly important as it creates the impression that the cases are connected. Note, furthermore, the use of the impersonal description, which conceals any human responsibility for Lorusso's death, while the characterization of Lorusso as a PL leader makes it sound almost natural that he was killed. In short, Montanelli aims at creating a coherent and comprehensive historical narrative that fits into his personal vision of both the alternative and the extreme left as criminal and terrorist.

Eventually the family won the case, and Montanelli was forced to withdraw the first edition of his book and pay a fine.[26] No rehabilitation of Lorusso took place, though: in the revised edition of the book Lorusso's death was simply eliminated: We read of 'a tumultuous demonstration in Bologna' and 'a sort of student and youth insurrection, with lootings of weapon armouries and restaurants, proletarian expropriations' (Montanelli and Cervi, 2001, p. 258). Again information is carefully selected and arranged, focusing on incidents of aggression perpetrated solely by students, while omitting any information about the direct cause of the 'insurrection' and the role of the police in Lorusso's death.

A second case in which the family explicitly and actively defended the public memory of Francesco Lorusso relates to a brief press release, in 1990, by Christian Democracy: in the local daily *Il Resto del Carlino*, entitled 'No to the apology for the years of lead', Lorusso was described as a member of Autonomia Operaia.[27] The context was a polemical debate about a contested bill for an award for academic theses to be dedicated to Lorusso by local authorities. Previously financed by the family, the award represents a second typical feature of victims' families associations and of memory communities in general:

the attempt to keep the victim's memory alive by creating a living memorial.

'Should anything happen to me, you must continue my battle . . . '

This phrase is written on the door of the chapel in the cemetery where Roberto Franceschi – a left-wing militant killed by police during an occupation of the Bocconi University in Milan, in 1973 – is buried.[28] One of the 'living monuments' that has been dedicated to Franceschi is the Roberto Franceschi Foundation (Armati, 2008, p. 219). Living memorials, which often take the shape of charitable foundations, relate directly to 'an aspect of the commemorated person's embodied experience' and allow memory communities to transform death into 'something positive' (Brown and Allen, 2011, p. 313; p. 323; p. 317). Thus Franceschi's mother, Lydia – the main driving force behind the foundation – set it up not only as a means of remembering her son but principally as a way of continuing his 'values and projects' (Barilli and Sinigaglia, 2008, p. 69). This also applies to a thesis award in memory of Francesco Lorusso. In February 1978 his family approached the University of Bologna with the idea of awarding 1 million Italian Lire (*c.* €500/£400) to students in the Department of Medicine and Surgery who presented a thesis 'that was coherent with Francesco's ideals'.[29] More precisely, the thesis was required to contribute to topics related to the '[d]efence of health, primary prevention of illnesses, formation of a medical profession capable of identifying the links between illnesses and the actual, capitalist organization of work and society', and was motivated by the fact that Lorusso was a medical student himself.[30] The award was inaugurated a year later and existed until 2002,[31] when the family funds apparently ran dry.

  Interestingly, by 1994, the theme of 'health protection' – which the winning thesis was supposed to address in the original description of the award – was no longer seen merely in medical or physical terms but was viewed also as referring to a psychological state of being. In addition, environmental issues were included in the award rubric,[32] which may reflect the growth of environmental movements and the rising importance of ecological issues throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Most importantly, the highly ideological character of the description of 1979 had disappeared. This implies that the family aimed at making the competition accessible and interesting to a wider range of students, and at

making Lorusso's memory therefore more 'shareable'. This also became necessary as fewer students seemed to be entering the competition, or perhaps did not fulfil the conditions, judging from the various occasions when no award at all was granted.[33] In the academic year of 1997–1998, for example, the winning thesis was actually the only thesis to be presented. In a letter to the university's chancellor in 1996 the examination board – which included Lorusso's father – suggested stimulating participation in the award competition and 'extend[ing] the award to departmental faculties other than that of Medicine and Surgery'. This was motivated by the 'new cultural and scientific demands that currently feature in the curriculum of university students, which influence the choice of topics that are discussed in doctoral theses'.[34] Apparently, dwindling interest among students in issues related to medical and social engagement forced the family to renegotiate the public memory of Lorusso and extend the topic of the thesis award to a wider range of disciplines.

Similar public initiatives taken in Lorusso's memory include a donation of 1 million Lire that the family made, in 1985, to a 12-year-old boy needing a surgical operation,[35] giving proof once again of a need to turn Lorusso's memory to good purpose. In addition, in June 1977 the family made a symbolic donation of 150,000 Lire (*c*. €80/£70) to a Catholic nursing home in Bologna dedicated to St Francis (San Francesco), reflecting, perhaps, a more personal, religious motivation.[36] Undoubtedly the choice of this nursing home was also prompted by the symbolic connection between St Francis and Lorusso's first name.[37] Finally, the family appears to have made a donation to the Italian Association for the Assistance of Spastics, in March 1977. The most important and visible forms of 'memory work' and 'affective labour' performed by the family in order to keep Lorusso's memory alive were, however, the attempts to create memory sites in Bologna, which will be discussed in Chapter 7. For now, let us focus on the family's participation in the annual commemorative ceremony in via Mascarella, the street where Lorusso was shot dead.

Affective labour in the annual commemoration

The commemorative ceremony revolved around a memory site created shortly after the incidents, when Lorusso's friends and political comrades – with the family's support – had an unauthorized, marble plaque with a highly ideological message placed on the wall near the spot where he was shot dead.[38] From the beginning the ceremony

represented the primary and only occasion for the family to share its grief in public, and thus break out of the isolation it had found itself in shortly after the incidents. This was particularly evident in 1979 and 1987, when the mothers of Roberto Franceschi and Valerio Spisso – another victim of police violence – took part in the ceremony.[39] Lydia Franceschi seems to have been particularly close to the Lorusso family, as she has been to other families of 'victims of the system'.[40] As well as exchanging telegrams of condolence and inviting the Lorusso family, in 1990, to a commemorative event for her own son,[41] in 1979 she participated in the commemoration of the second anniversary of Lorusso's death. In her speech she stressed the political character of the affective labour she performed there, when she described her solidarity with the Lorusso family as not only a human one 'but mainly a political solidarity':

> From the continuous, most certainly unrewarding, labour which we will perform in neighbourhoods, schools, factories, [...], we will draw the strength to fight so as to transform the fear of death in a commitment for life, the private into the public, desperation into historical consciousness, sterile resignation into a will to fight.[42]

More recently, the ceremony has been used to attract attention to political current affairs, thus allowing for Lorusso's memory to maintain a meaning in the present (Rigney, 2005). A similar process marks the commemoration of the Bloody Sunday incident in Northern Ireland, which was linked – in the 1990s – 'to other examples of injustice and oppression in other times and places', as Brian Conway has observed (2010, p. 90). In 2003, for example, the Iraq War was used to connect anti-war sentiments to the values of Lorusso and the Movement of '77. Lorusso's father noted the importance of commemorating Lorusso 'in this period of renewed impulse of pacifist sentiments, for which Francesco too had fought'.[43] More importantly, since 2001 Lorusso's figure has been equated to that of Carlo Giuliani, killed under similar circumstances during the G8 summit in Genoa in 2001, thus attracting younger generations of sympathizers. Hence Lorusso's identity was adapted to the situation so as to serve as the basis for a collective identity for a new generation of left-wing activists.

The connection between Lorusso's case and that of Giuliani was particularly evident during the 25th anniversary of his death, in 2002, a year after Giuliani's death in Genoa. Giuliani's parents were present at the ceremony, which was attended by some 100 – mostly

young – people, and the following words by Giuliani's father, Giuliano, perhaps best illustrate the value of a direct, living memory of similar traumatic events: '[T]hose who have not experienced 1977 for themselves can perhaps only now appreciate the profound significance of an event which has marked an entire generation'.[44]

The deaths of Lorusso and Giuliani were reconnected to other collective traumas as well, both during the anniversaries of 11 March and during other commemorative events: at the annual commemoration of the Bologna massacre on 2 August 2003, for example, Lorusso's father and Giuliani's parents participated in the commemorative procession to the railway station. They wore paper signs hung around their necks with the names of each others' sons, which illustrates the power of 'naming' in claiming (counter-)memories of the past.[45] This once again demonstrates the responsibility – or the 'cultural authority' (Zelizer cited in Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002, p. 47) – of the parents of victims of this type of violence, their moral duty to keep the memory of their children alive and the affective labour that constitutes these commemorations. We have seen that the mothers of Roberto Franceschi and Valerio Spisso participated in the ceremony in previous years, which played a crucial part in helping Lorusso's parents deal with their own trauma.[46] The latter also appear to have approached the families of the victims of the Bologna massacre, in 1982, in a telegram in which they expressed their solidarity and asked them 'to consider FRANCESCO one of the dead to whom, until now, justice has been denied, in spite of knowing who killed him'.

The dissidence of the 'counter-intellectuals'

Yet, help soon arrived, from an unexpected source. The Pier Francesco Lorusso Association, founded on 28 February 1979, helped the family to raise consciousness about the injustice done to Lorusso and keep his memory alive. The PFL Association had a different status from the associations related to the *stragi* of the 1970s. First of all, the latter were generally composed of family members whose personal involvement in a collective, traumatic event that was remembered and shared publicly gave them a special status. The association dedicated to Francesco Lorusso was, by contrast, composed of intellectuals, lawyers, university professors, judges and magistrates: in short, people not related to Lorusso emotionally or by ideological conviction, but who held important positions within the local community and thus represented a different kind of authority. According to Mauro Collina, a former leader

of the student movement in Bologna and a personal friend of Lorusso, these intellectuals and professionals were not contacted by Lorusso's family but engaged with the association spontaneously:

> Let's say that it was a mixture of reasons that brought us together: the family's will, our will and – in an entirely autonomous way – the availability and the offer of a series of people who were not, so to speak, dumb heads, who had understood perfectly well what . . . what was happening, and therefore they were critical, luckily, of this process of criminalization, etcetera.[47]

There was no direct connection with Lorusso himself: the association seems to have wanted to '[forge] connections between different forms of life' (Brown and Allen, 2011, p. 318). But there was more to it: the intellectuals' decision to remember Lorusso in this way did represent a political position, many of them being former members of or sympathizers with the PCI who apparently felt the need to make a political statement against the severe repression of the student protests in March 1977 by the local, Communist government. Hence, although they had not been directly involved, emotionally or politically, in the dramatic events of March, these had created such a feeling of shock that the intellectuals decided to take a political stance against the PCI, a move they would probably not have made if the clashes of March 1977 had not escalated, in Collina's opinion. He has remarked that '[t]hey may have [. . .] had criticisms, but they wouldn't have had the – say intellectual, moral, political – courage to expose themselves this way'. A former university professor confirmed that, after March 1977, 'those who had until then remained confined, as a result of their dissidence from the official left, to the margins, hidden away, now come out in the open, on the field'.[48] Similarly, historian Sandro Bellassai has observed that '[v]arious intellectuals, in that moment not only close but internal to the very same PCI, express – at times also decisive – disapproval of the positions and the dominant readings of the party' (2009, p. 228).

   In other words, the collective trauma this part of the local community had suffered made it difficult to continue identifying with the PCI, forcing intellectuals to find a way of dealing – collectively – with this trauma. The *Cerchio di gesso* journal that some of them subsequently created is illustrative of this approach.[49] Founded shortly before the incidents of March 1977 (under a different title) by a number of local intellectuals, with the intention of producing a theoretical journal with a limited readership, it soon became an attempt to

give voice and interpretation to the events of March, and to gather
the support of those few intellectuals who in that moment [. . .] saw
in the modality of change of the political cadre, with the PCI's move
to the majority, a worrisome mortgage.

(Pullega, 2007, p. 18)

The first issue, for example, included a petition in which local authori-
ties were criticized for the way they had handled Radio Alice, the pirate
station accused of guiding the clashes of 11–12 March. The station was
closed down during a spectacular police intervention, on the evening of
12 March.[50]

More than a simple denunciation of the PCI, though, the journal
aimed at developing a serious reflection on what was happening in
Bologna, 'outside of the criminal and criminalizing logic' that was pro-
moted by the PCI, again as if to find a way of dealing with the trauma
and regain a sense of belonging by presenting a new community that
rejected this behaviour: 'We, from the *Cerchio di gesso,* tried to under-
stand, not so much for the others, but mainly for ourselves.'[51] The case
of the late Roberto Roversi, a local poet and librarian and one of the sup-
porters of the journal, is exemplary of the fact that the events of March
considerably worsened relations between the PCI and a select group
of local intellectuals who no longer identified with the party. Roversi
criticized and publicly denounced the way the PCI organ *L'Unità* had
reported the events, in particular the frequent references to the physical
damage the students had done to the city centre.[52]

The presence of intellectuals and public figures such as Roversi, and at
the same time the absence of family members and friends, gave the PFL
Association strength: as their 'dissidence' particularly embarrassed the
PCI, their presence in an association that explicitly rejected the official
interpretation of the facts weighed more than that of Lorusso's compan-
ions and even of the family itself. The latter were connected to Lorusso
more by ideological and emotional ties, and their presence would have
limited the authority of the PFL Association and hence its effectiveness
in reaching out to the community and creating a commonly shared and
public memory of Lorusso's death.

Not surprisingly, the PCI did not take the dissidence well, and the
intellectuals were defined as 'counter-intellectuals'.[53] It was the outcome
of a long-lasting discontent with the party's political line in those years.
A retired university professor, for example, recounted several visits to his
door by members of the PCI in an attempt to convince him to change
his mind, after his decision to leave the party on the basis of both the

events of March and a more general unhappiness with the party (i.e., with the historical compromise and the party's negative response to the student movement).[54] The hostile reaction to the intellectuals must be placed in the Gramscian reading of intellectuals as 'fundamentally tied to a particular class and functioning as an "organic" part of this class' (Hajek, 2011c, p. 85). For Antonio Gramsci, the 'organic intellectual' had a 'directive and organizational responsibility in producing knowledge', which became a historical force 'in the context of the political party' (Crehan, 2002, p. 150; Hajek, 2011c, p. 85). The intellectuals in Bologna, however, went against this concept of the intellectual by withdrawing from Gramsci's 'organic whole' and detaching themselves from the PCI's project of becoming a hegemonic party.

A second difference between the PFL Association and the victims' families' associations for *stragismo* was the aim of the association, which was not primarily that of finding truth and justice, although Lorusso's family did use the association to achieve this. Indeed, if the PFL Association originated fairly spontaneously and reflected a desire shared by members of the local community not connected to Lorusso himself, the family nevertheless seems to have used it as an instrument through which to gain public support for its legal battle and, subsequently, to promote a counter-memory. The official aim of the association, however, was to give Lorusso's death a meaning in the present and in the future. In the foundation statute it is thus ascribed the task of both remembering the ideals 'that animated, in life, Pier Francesco Lorusso and his ardent, civic and social engagement' and offering 'concrete solidarity to all young people who together with Francesco Lorusso fought for his ideals'.[55] Lorusso being a medical student, the association primarily aimed at 'continuing' his medical and social engagement by creating a living memorial that could be directly related to an aspect of Lorusso's embodied experience, much like the thesis award discussed earlier. Thus, this memory community too gave evidence of a duty to remember the traumatic memory of Lorusso's death and, by extension, the events of March 1977.

Nevertheless, I would again argue that there was more to it than just the honouring of Lorusso's medical and social engagement, and that this form of affective labour is imbued with a certain political weight, as the PFL Association contained hardly any members active in the medical or the social field. Its activities were therefore not the outcome of any personal or professional interests of its members but served to give a public and moral counter-voice to the hegemonic PCI and its vision of the incidents in Bologna. In other words, promoting projects with a moral and civic character, in the name of Francesco Lorusso, was a way

of deconstructing the official discourse, in which Lorusso was no more than a rebel and an extremist who had provoked his own death.

Continuing Lorusso's engagement in the present

The foundation statute says that the PFL Association should primarily continue Lorusso's engagement in the present by promoting 'studies, research, debates and discussions in the medical and social sciences, with particular attention to sanitary and legal problems and to the region of Bologna and Emilia Romagna'.[56] This comprised an involvement in the so-called Citizens' Court for the Right to Healthcare 'Pier Francesco Lorusso', inaugurated on the fourth anniversary of Lorusso's death.[57] In collaboration with another local association and sustained by a number of medical institutions, including the Centre for Alternative Medicine run by a former college friend of Lorusso, Vito Totire, the PFL Association created this 'instrument of protest and denunciation', with the intention of opening up an interactive 'channel of research' to investigate the malfunctioning of the sanitary system.[58] The decision to dedicate the Citizens' Court to Lorusso was motivated by the desire to commemorate

> the figure of the young and socially engaged graduate in medicine, along with a generation of students who together fought for his ideals and for the democratic transformation of society, starting from the specific nature of his being a medic.[59]

Although the Citizens' Court was not destined to last long, it again illustrates an attempt at creating a living memory by giving Lorusso's life a new, positive meaning in the present and for future purposes.[60]

The association also attempted to achieve this goal by promoting scientific research into the 1970s. In 2005 it applied for public funds to sponsor a research project and subsequent publication on 1977, which was intended to stimulate an analysis in historic and scientific terms. This attempt to create a more balanced, public memory of 1977 illustrates, however, the tendency of former participants in student protests to claim ownership' over memory which I described in terms of a 'possessive memory' in Chapter 2 (with reference to the 1968 movement). In doing so, they risk excluding 'outsiders'. Thus, the project was promoted by former student leader Valerio Monteventi, who wanted to reserve the funds for two young history students selected beforehand by Monteventi himself. The students were frequent visitors to the Vag61 social centre in Bologna, co-founded by Monteventi and home to the

Documentary Centre 'Francesco Lorusso – Carlo Giuliani', which contains newspapers material produced by the student movement of 1977 as well as documentation on the Giuliani case.[61] Hence the students – whose tasks would have consisted primarily of transcribing interviews with former 77-ers – clearly adhered to a left-wing ideology, which Monteventi apparently deemed necessary.[62]

   It also shows that younger generations are considered no more than instruments in the transmission of knowledge which remains the exclusive 'property' of the former participants in the Movement of '77. This became evident to me after I interviewed a former 1977 leader in Bologna, whose contact details I received from a member of the above-mentioned Documentary Centre I learned that my interviewee – to whom I had not mentioned my connection to the Documentary Centre – had apparently said that he would have been more open with me during the interview had he known about my affiliation to the Documentary Centre. Clearly there was a reluctance to allow me, as a young, foreign researcher, deep insight in and access to the collective memory of the 1977 generation in Bologna, unless I could claim any confidentiality or familiarity with the people who 'guarded' this memory. In fact, my volunteering at the Documentary Centre – where I filed documentary material for a few months – resulted in the members of the centre itself being more open and collaborative than other people. This demonstrates how important trust is when doing fieldwork, and how complex inter-subjective relationships in oral history research can be.

   In 2007 the PFL Association proposed a conference on 1977 at the University of Bologna, although financial issues eventually led it to withdraw from the project, as we will see in Chapter 5.[63] In addition, the association did not agree on the 'institutional' character the conference was increasingly taking on, and the lack of focus on the case of Bologna.[64] The association has been most active, however, in the organization of public debates on present issues relating both to the nation and, as the years passed by, to the city of Bologna, which could, however, be reconnected to the events of March. This once again demonstrates that memory is not fixed in the past but is continuously reconstructed in the present.

March 1977 in public debates

Between 1980 and 1987 the focus of the debates was mostly on terrorism and *stragismo*, still a hot topic as the last terrorist organizations were slowly being dismantled, and some of the trials related to the massacres

of the 1970s were being obstructed, as we have seen. The debates served primarily as pretexts and polemical requests for the reopening of the investigations, and often included guests from the political, legal and parliamentary arenas, thus giving a certain authority to the events. On the poster that announced a debate on 11 March 1980, for example, the association provocatively explained the lack of a verdict in the Lorusso case as the catalyst for political violence, and as a warning for the future:

> Three years after the killing of Pier Francesco Lorusso, justice has not been done. *From that day onwards, an increasing* use of fire arms and terrorism have covered the country with blood. The refusal of justice, in this case as in too many other cases, opens the road to violence.[65]

The association thus interpreted a problem that affected the whole of society as a consequence of the lack of justice in the case of a single individual, which once again illustrates the fact that we are dealing with a public and a political, rather than just a personal, trauma.

In 1982 the events of March were reconnected to the recent massacres that had occurred in and near Bologna, in particular the massacre at the railway station on 2 August 1980.[66] This debate had an even more institutional and legal character, as Deputy Mayor Gherardi participated in it, and the Bologna association supported the initiative by sending one of its lawyers. A connection was furthermore made with the recent legal outcomes in the Piazza Fontana and Brescia trials, two more cases of denied justice. The Lorusso incident was therefore put on the same level as the *stragi,* in particular those that had struck the local community. A similar 'convergence' of memories had occurred in 1979,[67] when Roberto Franceschi's mother Lydia participated in the debate organized by the association.[68] Here, however, the focus was on the problem of police violence rather than on that of failed justice, Franceschi too having been killed by a police officer and on university land.

The issue of political violence recurred in a debate of 1983 about the law on *pentitismo* and its functionality in the process of coming to terms with the 'years of lead' as opposed to the option of amnesty.[69] During this period many members of the former student movement were still in prison, and the issue of amnesty was much debated by the alternative left.[70] Thus, in 1984 a group of *autonomi* interrupted another debate organized by the PFL Association about the legal procedures for

'dissociated terrorists' (i.e., terrorists who have officially distanced them-selves from their terrorist past), contesting the fact that Lorusso's death was commemorated in this way.[71] This brings us back to the questions of how to remember Lorusso and who 'owns' memory: thus, if the PFL Association as well as part of what was left of the Movement of '77 viewed Lorusso as a victim of violence *tout court*, promoting reflections that rejected the use of violence (whether perpetrated by the state or by terrorists), the former AO, by contrast, considered Lorusso a victim of the state and used his death as a symbol of its anti-institutional battle, as we will see in Chapter 6.

During the tenth anniversary of 1987, a debate entitled '1977–1987. Youth, Politics, and the State' was organized in collaboration with the local authorities; again it focused on the theme of terrorism. The presence of Mayor Renzo Imbeni as well as the title of the debate, however, suggest that the focus was shifting more towards issues of youth discontent in a more local context.[72] Two years later, the asso-ciation again invited the local community to reflect on a disputed issue regarding youth problems in Bologna.[73] In 1993, finally, a local daily newspaper reported on a planned conference on the relation between young people, the university and Bologna, which, however, did not take place.[74]

In recent years the PFL Association has focused on the diffusion of a counter-memory of the incidents of March 1977, and on the cre-ation of a public consensus on Lorusso's death, as the attempts at a more historical approach in 2005 and 2007 have demonstrated. It seems, then, that the focus of the association has shifted from a national debate about the negative impact of terrorism to a more local discourse on the condition of students in Bologna, enhancing affective labour as it focused on the relations between a smaller group of people and stim-ulated a more 'direct connection with contemporary events and social needs' (Brown and Allen, 2011, p. 321).[75] In addition, there was a shift from debates about the traumatic incident itself towards debates about the way to *remember* the incident.

'Thickening' relations

The words of Ilaria Cucchi which opened this chapter, on the affective labour of memory agents, illustrate the abnormal situation in which families of victims of political and police violence in Italy frequently and sadly find themselves, and the subsequent need to forge connections with other memory communities.[76] Hers is only one of many cases of

silenced memories and justice denied, both in Italy and in other countries that were subject to political violence and state terrorism, which depend almost exclusively on the memory work of memory agents close to the victims.

Unlike with other, international cases of political violence, such as the London bombings of 2005 (though we may also include 9/11 and the Madrid bombings in March 2004), the form of memory work that most characterizes these memory agents is imbued, in Italy, with a high level of political protest. In these contexts the creation of a 'living memory' in terms of a 'self-subsisting affect economy in its own right, [...] whose forms of value are not immediately exchangeable beyond its own boundaries', does not apply. The level of implication of the state in these incidents is too high, as is the power of the state to silence difficult memories, leaving these communities with no alternative but to connect with each other in order to produce 'thickening' relations, 'defined by care and concern' (Brown and Allen, 2011, p. 324). This thickening of relations is not tied, as Cecilia Sosa puts it, 'to the fixed temporality of duty'; and much as the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo continue – in a sort of 'stubborn choreography' – their bodily performance of grief (2011, p. 70), so the struggle for truth and justice in the case of Francesco Lorusso continues today.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how the lack of any official and public recognition for Lorusso's death, as well as the negative perception of the student movement in the media, placed his family in an isolated position, from whence it could only escape by expanding its affective capacity and exchange relations with other memory communities.[77] Thus it sought connections with the relatives of other victims, such as Lydia Franceschi and Carlo Giuliani's parents, but also with Lorusso's companions and other members of the former student movement, during the annual commemoration.[78] The difficult victim status of Lorusso and the denial of justice required a transposition of the family's personal suffering to a public, collective level.

As such, its collaboration with the Pier Francesco Lorusso Association, whose political statement undoubtedly helped the family in its promotion of a counter-memory of Lorusso's figure, considering the intellectuals' public reputation as well as their criticism of the PCI, could be considered as slightly instrumental. Hence, the activities of the association were attuned to the family's quest for truth and justice, and to its

attempts to keep Lorusso's memory alive in the local community. Contrary to the associations for the families of victims of *stragismo*, the PFL Association was, then, a product of the experience of a collective trauma that mobilized a small part of the official culture previously unrelated to Lorusso and his political ideals, but which – in the wake of the shocking incidents of 11 March 1977 – was united by a commonly shared rejection of the PCI's violent dealings with social unrest, with the aim of re-establishing a collective identity.

The lack of any official and public recognition for Lorusso's death represents another significant difference between the PFL Association and the memory communities related to *stragismo*. These have managed to gain – on the basis of a general, moral and democratic rejection of this type of violence against innocent victims and against the nation as a whole – public recognition and authority, even if most of the trials have not resulted in prison sentences. Lorusso, on the other hand, was considered (in the public sphere) not an innocent victim but a rebel and an extremist, and his death could therefore not be interpreted as an injustice, in public opinion. In other words, Lorusso's death, as we will also see in the next chapter, was more controversial than that of the victims of *stragismo*, in the sense that there was no unanimity or consensus regarding his figure, or the circumstances of his death. Hence, the trauma of his death was much less shared by the community at large than in the case of the *stragi*.

Most importantly, no official culprits were publicly acknowledged in most of the *stragi* of the 1970s, again facilitating a general identification with the victims and their families, and a complete denunciation of the crimes. In Lorusso's case, on the other hand, the state had been more explicitly involved, which makes this incident more delicate. An official recognition of the injustice of Lorusso's death, as was requested by the family, would have implied that the investigations of 1977 – which had acquitted Tramontani almost instantly – were invalid, and Lorusso's death more than an unfortunate tragedy. After all, in the absence of justice 'the "citizens' agreement", on the basis of which the state guaranteed truth and justice in exchange for loyalty and confidence, was shattered' (De Luna, 2008, p. 16). This forced the authorities to 'cancel' this difficult past from the city's local history. In other words, Lorusso had to be forgotten in order for the authorities to maintain their legitimacy. In the next chapter we will see exactly how this form of 'prescriptive forgetting' was achieved.

5
Seeking Consensus: Political Uses of the Past

Introduction

The clashes of March 1977 and the death of Francesco Lorusso had an impact not only on Lorusso's family and close friends. They were also a significant blow to the public image of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in Bologna, who had been governing the 'red' region of Emilia Romagna successfully for many years when the events of March occurred.[1] During the following decade the PCI struggled to come to terms with this difficult past; local competing and opposition parties, on the other hand, used this memory to discredit the PCI.

In the second part of this triptych on local memory communities and their role in the negotiation of a public memory of March 1977 in Bologna, we will see exactly how the local official sphere tried to promote a public memory of 1977 that was consistent with its political ideals and necessities. At the beginning of this book we saw that public memory is the background against which official and alternative memory agents exchange and negotiate views (Phillips, 2004). This occurs through the application of specific 'appearances' of memory – i.e., commemorative processes (monuments, rituals, etc.) – and a large part of the chapter will centre on the involvement of the historical left, represented primarily by the PCI, in the commemorative process for 11 March. Drawing on Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi's distinction between 'multivocal' and 'fragmented' types of commemoration – i.e., commemorative practices that emerge in consensual, as opposed to conflictual, political cultures (2002, p. 32) – in this chapter I will examine the extent to which commemoration of Lorusso was shared – or, on the contrary, contested – by the various political agents in Bologna, and hence the degree of consent about the figure of Lorusso and the student movement of 1977 in general.

The first section deals with the Communists' reactions to the protests and their subsequent attempts to come to terms with this difficult past. This implied an increasing hollowing out of the past in order to bring others on board and make Lorusso's memory more resonant beyond left-wing groups, up to the party's dissolution in 1991. This is followed by a discussion of the way exponents of the PCI's political heirs of the 1990s and the 2000s – the Democratic Party of the Left (Partito Democratico della Sinistra, PDS, and later PD) and the Communist Refoundation Party (Partito di Rifondazione Comunista, PRC) – reinterpreted the protests of 1977. The second part of the chapter focuses on the engagement of other local parties in the promotion of a counter-memory – i.e., the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) and Proletarian Democracy (Democrazia Proletaria, DP), a small radical party to the left of the PCI, and the local centre-right, which obstructed initiatives in honour of Lorusso's memory and promoted its own counter-memories of victims among right-wing activists in the 1970s.

The chapter concludes with a brief analysis of the role played in the commemorative process by the University of Bologna, which only recently engaged itself with the public memory of 1977 in Bologna. In short, it explores the implications of the events of March 1977 for local politics and the level of negotiation required in order to achieve consensus, and demonstrates how difficult memories of political violence can be (re)used and manipulated by political parties in an attempt to restore the status quo and (re)gain a political electorate.

Denying responsibility

In a press release published in the PCI organ *L'Unità* on 12 March 1977, the day after the shooting of Lorusso, the PCI criticized the use of firearms by the police against the students, demanding that 'the culprits be promptly identified and punished'.[2] Hence, in its initial reaction, the party tried to keep a more or less neutral position on Lorusso's death and on the clashes. However, internal conflicts between the local and the national leadership suggest that there were divergences within the party about the interpretation to be given: a first draft of the national press release written by local and regional PCI representatives, which implied that Lorusso's death was not an accident and which summoned the city to protest against the student's death, was rejected by the national leadership.[3]

Pressure from above became even stronger after the assault on an armoury in the university zone, on the evening of 12 March 1977. Although the stolen weapons were abandoned not far from the armoury,

the incident prompted Minister of Internal Affairs Francesco Cossiga to send out the army to Bologna, where it managed to regain control of the university quarter, which had been transformed into a war zone complete with barricades. Following this incident, the local PCI became highly intolerant and suspicious of the student movement, and many students and student leaders were arrested and imprisoned. The PCI thus kept a tight rein on the city, making it impossible for youth groups to gather in public spaces, for example. This change of attitude can be explained by the project of the historical compromise, which foresaw Communist participation in government through an alliance between PCI, the Christian Democrats (CD) and the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) (Ginsborg, 2006; Amyot, 1981).[4] Concerned with maintaining its credibility as a party capable of governing, the PCI had to distance itself from the rebellious and anti-authoritarian student movement.

Towards the end of 1977 the position of the PCI changed again, though, beginning with the conference against repression that was held in Bologna in September 1977.[5] Surprisingly, the Communist authorities did not prohibit this unconventional and highly anti-PCI conference but actually contributed to the event by offering food, transport and lodging at modest prices. Later on that year, organizations close to the PCI participated in two more conferences where the party tried to enter into a more constructive dialogue with the student movement (Bellassai, 2009, p. 229).

In a similar attempt to compensate for the damage to its reputation and regain a more democratic identity, Mayor Renato Zangheri placed the PCI in a more positive light, in an interview published in 1978 (Mussi, 1978, pp. 24–25). Zangheri also tried to shrug off the PCI's responsibility for the events of March by interpreting the conference of September as an attack not just on the PCI but on 'democratic' society as a whole: 'the relationship at the time concerned the entire city as well as the national government' (ibid., p. 26).[6] The mayor said also that Bologna was no different from any other Italian city at the time, again relieving the PCI of any specific responsibility in the incidents, and made the relativist observation that repression has always occurred in societies divided into social classes.[7]

Hence, not long after the incidents of March 1977, the local PCI began renegotiating its role in the events by shifting focus to a general, national problem which involved other political parties as well, and which could not be attributed to any wrong decisions taken by the PCI administration alone. This position was reinforced by Zangheri during a public speech in the City Council a year later, where he underlined the fact that episodes of political violence called for a national

solution.[8] However, the party failed – or refused – to take any moral responsibility and performed what Paul Connerton calls 'prescriptive forgetting': as we have seen in Chapter 1, this aims at restoring cohesion and re-establishing 'the legitimacy of the state in societies where authority [...] had been obliterated' (2008, pp. 61–62). In other words, society moves on but without dealing with the wound that has been left behind, and in doing so it silences the voices of the victims. As we saw in the previous chapter, trauma creates a situation of 'unspeakability', where the inability to narrate one's traumatic story in public results in the victim's loss of a place in history and, subsequently, the continuation of a sense of trauma.

Making the trauma 'speakable'

The strategy of 'forgetting' the painful memory of 1977 and restoring the left-wing hegemony in 'Red Emilia' proved unsuccessful. The Communist Party's public image had been damaged too much, and in particular younger generations of the left had turned their backs on the party. In an attempt to make the trauma of March 1977 'speakable', in subsequent years the PCI became more self-critical. Thus, in 1980 Mayor Zangheri acknowledged for the first time the inability of the PCI to 'understand the feelings of many students with regard not only to their material condition, but also in relation to turmoil and fears that came from the depths of their consciousness'.[9] A year later Zangheri stressed the need to shed light on the incidents of March 1977, thus explicitly countering the official interpretation of Lorusso's death – i.e., in terms of a tragic accident – that had been given in October 1977.[10]

In the years immediately following the events, the local PCI's increasingly self-critical interpretation of March 1977 expressed itself through the emphasis placed on the need to open up a new dialogue with young people and to prevent the repetitions of incidents such as Lorusso's death. In other words, the events of March served as a lesson for the future, which confirms the thesis that social groups appropriate traumatic pasts not only in order to regain a collective identity but also to avoid repetition (Booth, 1999). Hence, March 1977 became a symbol of a breach between youth and society that – according to Zangheri – needed to be remembered 'so that Bologna and the Nation will be spared any further painful moments'.[11] The PCI thus expressed a moral duty to remember these events.

This new approach resulted from the growing threat of left-wing terrorism during the second half of the 1970s, which had also led the

Pier Francesco Lorusso Association to organize debates on the subject of terrorism, as we saw in the previous chapter.[12] Bologna was struck in particular on 13 March 1979, when a woman called Graziella Fava died during a bomb attack on a news agency, perpetrated by a minor left-wing terrorist group.[13] In a public declaration two months later Zangheri linked Fava's case to that of Lorusso, calling for a discussion with younger generations as a necessary step in the battle against terrorism.[14] This implies a manipulation of history and a distortion of memory, as Lorusso was killed not by left-wing terrorists but by a representative of the state: Zangheri's comparison of Lorusso's death to that of Fava therefore carries the risk of both cases becoming examples of (left-wing) terrorism.

Thus, contrary to Lorusso's family and the PFL Association, who connected Lorusso's case to that of other left-wing activists killed by police or by right-wing extremists, or with the victims of the neo-Fascist bomb massacres of the early 1970s, local institutions promoted a neutral and generic anti-violence discourse in which Lorusso was stripped of his ideological identity and became nothing more than an innocent victim of violence.[15] In other words, Lorusso's death was inserted into a wider discourse on political violence so as to allow the community as a whole to share memories of different forms of violence and hence to regain a united, collective identity and subsequently come to some form of reconciliation (Neal, 2005, p. 4).

This meant simplifying the memory of the events of 1977: eliminating, for example, the fact that Lorusso's killer was an employee of the state rather than a terrorist, who may have fired at Lorusso unnecessarily.[16] Indeed, attempts at reconciliation often bring with them the risk of victims and perpetrators being placed on the same level, as we saw in Chapter 1. In his famous speech of 1998, for example, the Communist politician Luciano Violante made an appeal to construct more shared values on the country's recent past by inviting the public to show more understanding for the neo-Fascist soldiers of Benito Mussolini's Social Republic (Pivato, 2007, p. 106; Cooke, 2011, p. 174).[17] In a similar way, in the Lorusso case reconciliation resulted in victims of very different perpetrators (the state in Lorusso's case, left-wing terrorists in Fava's case) being united under a single banner, reflecting a negotiation of memory which made it easier for people to 'forget' the role of the state in Lorusso's death.

The omission of the precise circumstances of Lorusso's death and of the behaviour of the police officer who shot him was necessary to make this trauma 'speakable' – i.e., to make its memory more easily 'shareable'

by the wider community. This form of selecting information or 'forgetting' is constitutive in the formation of a new identity (Connerton, 2008, p. 63) and indeed allowed the PCI to regain its political identity as a non-violent democratic party. This demonstrates that a shared memory, as Philip Cooke remarks in his essay on the legacy of the Italian Resistance, often simply means 'replacing one version of history for political ends with another' (2011, p. 193). This strategy was also applied by the PFL Association, as it connected Lorusso with the victims of neo-Fascist bomb massacres, although on the basis of a different point of convergence: the lack of justice that marked both the Lorusso case and that of the victims of the massacres, rather than the simple fact that they were victims of violence.[18]

The strategy of equating Lorusso with other victims of violence in the official sphere reached a climax in 1981, almost a year after the massacre at the Bologna railway station in August 1980. Zangheri made a more determined request for legal clarity on the incidents of March 1977, which might be explained by the traumatic impact of the bomb massacre on the local community. However, the massacre was almost certainly perpetrated by neo-Fascist terrorists, and hence could be attributed neither to police violence, as in Lorusso's case, nor to left-wing terrorism, as in the Fava case and many other violent incidents of the late 1970s. Thus an even broader reinterpretation of the events of 1977 was required, one which would allow for all these different, traumatic memories to converge into one. The Communist authorities therefore attempted to create a 'multivocal' commemoration, where heterogeneous groups – Vinitzky-Seroussi tells us – 'may share the same time and space', even if they are not able to share the same interpretation (2011, p. 32). What matters here is the overall rejection of violence, and the events of March 1977 then became a catch-all symbol for the loss of democratic values represented by victims of both left-wing and right-wing perpetrators, and the state.

In short, as local incidents of political violence with different ideological matrices increased and required the PCI to take a clear position, its interpretation of March 1977 moved towards an ever more general condemnation of violence. Lorusso's death was stripped of any ideological connotations, and the events of 1977 were turned into a generic symbol of the end of democracy and a lesson for the future. The trauma had now become 'speakable' for the PCI. Nevertheless, it left unresolved the problem of who was (morally) responsible for Lorusso's death and did not manage to regain a consensus among younger generations

of disappointed and angry activists. The 1977 events therefore remained an open wound.

Coming to terms with the past

In the 1980s the PCI took a further step in the process of coming to terms with the trauma of 1977, primarily by supporting the battle of Lorusso's family to have the investigations reopened. During a public meeting with the parents on 11 March 1982, Renzo Imbeni – at the time secretary of the PCI's provincial federation – gave a speech in which he observed that, apart from bringing the truth of Lorusso's death out into the open, it was equally important that 'this truth be *legally acknowledged* as well'.[19] In other words, emphasis was placed on an official recognition of Lorusso's death, in support of the family's request to have the investigations reopened. Moreover, Lorusso's death was again linked to a wider range of collective and traumatic memories in Italy, as Imbeni noted that the necessity of reaching a legal truth 'also counts for *all the other horrible crimes* that have been left unpunished, those of Milan, Brescia, the Italicus train and Bologna'. The verdict in the Piazza Fontana trial a year earlier, in which all the accused had been acquitted, undoubtedly played a role in Imbeni's decision to reconnect Lorusso's memory with the massacres in his speech.[20]

By taking sides with the Lorusso family and claiming ownership of the legal truth about the incidents of March 1977, the PCI further distanced itself from its own past, in an attempt to create a new – and more youthful – image for itself: this was a post-1977 PCI, which would not be held responsible for the degradation of society in those years. This may explain the fact that Imbeni took Mayor Zangheri's place at this commemoration: Zangheri had been in office since 1970 and represented the PCI in Bologna during the infamous protests of 1977. In other words, he provoked more negative connotations among younger generations than his younger colleague. Furthermore, Imbeni will have had a more flexible and tolerant attitude to the student population, given his previous role in the PCI's youth section, the Federation of Young Italian Communists (Federazione dei Giovani Comunisti Italiani, FGCI).

Similarly, shortly before Imbeni was elected mayor in 1983, the task of commemorating the events of March 1977 that year was taken up by the young councillor Walter Vitali, secretary of the PCI university section in the 1970s and recently appointed head of a local project to financially support and engage young people in community initiatives,

the 'Piano giovani' ('Youth Plan').[21] This explains why – during the commemoration of 1983 – Vitali was chosen to read out a statement in which emphasis was laid, among other things, on the development of a dialogue with younger generations.[22] So the early 1980s marked yet another phase in the PCI's process of dealing with the trauma of the events of 1977, in which the party supported the legal battle being fought by Lorusso's family so as to be able to use the Lorusso case in its 'campaign' to regain consensus, in particular among local youth.

This sense of rebuilding a community identity was most evident during the tenth anniversary of 1977, in 1987. At the local city cemetery Imbeni – now in his role as mayor – offered Lorusso's parents his own condolences as well as those of the entire community, which, 'ten years after the violent death of Francesco Lorusso, wishes to express its empathy with the family's suffering'.[23] Imbeni also attended the commemorative ceremony held annually in via Mascarella, the street where Lorusso was shot dead and his companions had placed a commemorative plaque in April 1977.[24] Here Imbeni invited the local community to reconsider the impact of the events of 1977 on the local community: 'It is precisely because post-77 weighs like a rock on the memory of '77 that we should rethink and reconsider it critically and self-critically.'[25] Indeed, Imbeni stressed the importance of analysing and understanding 1977 rather than judging it:

> To dispose of 1977 as a product of irrationality or to glorify it, to silence its limits of analysis or to deny the breaking away from democratic forms among some of its components, does not help to understand 1977, nor our current age.[26]

The year 1977 is thus presented as a symbol of 'a wound that has never really healed', and which is will only to heal if this collective suffering is publicly dealt with.[27]

Imbeni's appeal for a more profound understanding and coming to terms with this trauma was further reflected in his placing 1977 on the same level – as did Mayor Zangheri in 1981 – as a number of other recent incidents of violence in Bologna, such as the death of Fava in 1979 and the bomb massacre at the railway station in 1980. For the first time Imbeni also included the assassination of DC leader Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades in 1978 – a national trauma – in his list. More importantly, Imbeni brought to mind not merely these traumatic incidents but also the public demonstrations that had taken place against them, which illustrates that often the commemoration of a traumatic

incident itself may become part of its memory.[28] This decision seems to have been motivated, in the first place, by a temporal coincidence, since all the incidents – with the exception of the Bologna massacre – were the subject of public demonstrations on 16 March: thus there was a public demonstration against Lorusso's death on 16 March 1977, there were protests against the Moro kidnapping on 16 March 1978 and a demonstration against Fava's death on 16 March 1979.[29] Secondly, this reference to public demonstrations against political violence helped to underline the message of a collective and public working through of traumatic experiences, as opposed to oblivion and misunderstanding.[30]

In conclusion, it could be said that throughout the 1980s the local PCI – first under Zangheri's government but even more so under Imbeni – took an increasingly self-critical attitude to the incidents that had taken place in 1977, including giving moral support to the Lorusso family and its legal battle to unravel the truth and have justice done. This was not only so that the PCI could move beyond the situation of (un)speakability: the party was also seeking to find more concrete solutions to the negative impact that the 1970s – and the 1977 protests more specifically – had had on younger generations in particular. In the 1990s the dissolution of the PCI and the launch of a new centre-left democratic party in Italy made it even more desirable to leave the past behind and to rebuild a new political identity for the Italian left, further enhancing the need to reconnect with the local (youth) community.

Creating a dialogue with younger generations

In the late 1980s the impending demise of Communism in and outside Italy forced the PCI to reconsider its political identity once more. Again self-criticism marked Imbeni's introductory speech at the party's penultimate national conference, held in Bologna on 7 March 1990: he described the incidents of 1977 as the beginning of the end of the PCI in Bologna, a 'profound tear in the social fabric of Bologna'.[31] After the dissolution of the PCI in 1991 and the creation of the Democratic Party of the Left (PDS), it was, however, the personal involvement – albeit in an official capacity – of Walter Vitali, mayor from 1993 to 1999, that mostly allowed for Lorusso's memory to 'live on' within the institutional sphere. Vitali has indeed been the most actively engaged mayor in the commemorative process of March 1977, as opposed to his successor in the 2000s, for example, Sergio Cofferati of the Democratic Party (PD), in the 2000s.[32]

Although Vitali held various posts within the FGCI and the PCI during his college years, he nevertheless claims to have been critical of

the Communists' inability to understand the student movement at the time. He declared, for example, that a press release by the PCI's Youth Federation, written in March 1977, contradicted the declarations of the national and local leadership of the PCI, which condemned the violence that followed Lorusso's death (2009, p. 220; p. 217). From his election as mayor onwards, he therefore engaged himself in the process of saving Lorusso's memory – and that of 1977 – from oblivion and manipulation, primarily by negotiating an official memory site for Lorusso in the city. However, as we will see in Chapter 7, this memory site was contested both within the local administration and outside, both by the alternative left in Bologna and by the political right, and has therefore not played any significant role in the commemorative process of 11 March 1977.

Most importantly, Vitali tried to recreate a dialogue with younger generations: we have seen how he led the 'Piano Giovani' youth project in the early 1980s, one of the attempts by local authorities to re-establish a relationship with young people; in his commemorative speech on 11 March 1993, shortly after his election as mayor, Vitali spoke extensively about the need to develop a dialogue with the city's youth (Vitali, 2009, p. 222).[33] His concern with the involvement of younger generations in community life was most evident, though, during the 20th anniversary, in 1997. In a public speech given in the City Council, Vitali offered an analysis of the origins of the conflict between the local community and its student population, presenting the incidents of 1977 as a reminder of the need to involve young people more actively in community life:

> In my view, then, the lesson of 1977 is a continuous appeal, and indicates the necessity of identifying those mechanisms which provoke, in the political, economical and professional spheres as in cultural life and in the city, the marginalisation of young people, their political underrepresentation, the difficulty of having equal opportunities, open doors, permeability of organized society, with the risk of young people feeling estranged from our (civic) democracy, millions of students that come from every single part of the country sensing a distance between them and democracy.[34]

Vitali also remarked the fact that Lorusso's death was a 'defeat for the entire city, its democratic life, its capacity of resolving the conflicts she is faced with'.[35] He repeated this statement in a television interview shot during the commemorative ceremony in via Mascarella and broadcast on the local TV news.[36] Finally, Vitali received Lorusso's family and the

PFL Association in the prestigious Red Room at the town hall, where he defined the Movement of '77 as an expression of 'urban and human community life, which the city *must remember*' (ibid., my italics).[37] Hence, even more than his predecessors, Vitali interpreted the incident as a collective trauma and a lesson for the future which he made sure was remembered publicly and officially.

Contrary to Zangheri and Imbeni's interventions on behalf of the Communist administration, Vitali used his political position to promote a commonly shared, public memory of March 1977 but without explicitly representing a political party. Indeed, his speech in 1997 revealed an individual view of the issue: many sentences were written, for example, in the first person singular. The focus, moreover, was no longer on the past – i.e., on the necessity for truth recovery – but on the present and the future. This is due not only to the fact that 30 years had passed since the events of 1977 but also to the fact that the PCI no longer existed, which made it easier to express self-criticism and recall the events of March without having to take responsibility for the party's role in them. As William Booth observes, identity is 'laden with responsibility and remembrance, the legacy of the unmasterable past' (1999, p. 254), and the transformation of the PCI into the PDS in the early 1990s then allowed for its heirs to distance themselves from this controversial identity and try and re-establish a new political hegemony of the left in Bologna.

Vitali did not reach his goal, though: only two years later he lost the elections to the centre-right candidate, Giorgio Guazzaloca. Nor did his attempts to negotiate a public memory of the 1977 events through a memory site dedicated to Lorusso succeed: his proposal was much debated and criticized, and the commemorative text he had suggested was rejected by the Topographical Commission, as we will see in Chapter 7. Similarly, an earlier attempt by local Communist politicians to distance themselves from the recent past and regain a more democratic, left-wing identity also failed: in 1990 PCI members adhered to the Charta 89 association, created by former protest leader Diego Benecchi together with another key figure of the 1977 protests, Franco 'Bifo' Berardi. The aim was to promote a discussion on the crisis of Communism throughout the world.[38] The involvement of PCI politicians in the initiative led to criticism (directed, however, at Benecchi and Berardi) from the students of the so-called Pantera movement, a new student body that arose in 1990.[39] In a climate of radical political change the Pantera movement expressed a 'renewed sense of liberation which foresaw precisely in the dismantling of the authoritative Soviet regime a

stimulus for a criticism of the *status quo* in Italy as well' (Albanese, 2010, p. 56). The popularity of the dying PCI sank to an all-time low. On the last day of the party's national conference in Bologna that year, and one day before the annual commemoration of 11 March, a student demonstration in front of the conference building featured a cardboard army tank with a sign attached reading 'Emilia Romagna 77-style'.[40]

The desire and/or necessity to regain a political identity through a reconnection with local youth communities did not characterize the Communist Party alone: it was also at the heart of the attempts of local union federations – another important component of the historic left in Italy – to inscribe themselves into a more positive public memory of 1977. In the aftermath of the conflict the unions had opened up towards younger generations, participating, for example, in a debate in 1978 about the breach between the student movement and the traditional left; in 1979 it supported an appeal by Lorusso's family to reopen the investigations. However, the unions' engagement was directed mostly at the youth sections of the Socialist and Communist parties, who also tried to appropriate the memory of 1977.[41] No real attempts were made, on the other hand, to re-establish any relationship with the students of the former student movement, who were not represented by and did not belong to any official political groupings, and Nor did the latter want anything to do with the unions in their turn. In fact, the unions seem never to have attended the annual commemoration of 11 March, when they were often verbally attacked by the members of the former student movement as these passed in front of the union office in Bologna, during an annual commemorative march.[42]

A final element of the historic left of the 1970s and 1980s, the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), has also been much involved in the commemorative process of 1977. This was reflected, for example, in the involvement of some Socialists in the PFL Association, analysed previously. Moreover, the PSI was the only political party to take part in the funeral procession for Lorusso, on 14 March 1977, and it published a collection of critical documents raising issues about the way the public prosecutor had dealt with the incidents of March 1977 (Bellassai, 2009, p. 228).[43] Other initiatives in support of Lorusso and the Movement of '77 include an appeal from the leader of the local PSI faction, in 1987, to Mayor Imbeni, reminding him of the pending decision about a memorial project for Lorusso,[44] and parliamentarian Luigi Covatta's proposal of 10 March 1981 to install a truth commission to look into the events of March. Truth and reconciliation commissions (TRCs) are generally implemented for the purpose of transitional justice: i.e., as a remedy for

'the legacies of massive human rights abuses'.[45] TRCs are not necessarily about justice, though: often their main aim is public recognition, an approach which Jeffrey Olick has attributed to a 'politics of regret' that has resulted from the presence of multiple histories and plural perceptions in our modern times (2007, p. 137). The truth commission proposed by Covatta, however, did aim primarily at achieving justice: it was to create understanding of the exact course of events on 11 March 1977 and the responsibility for Lorusso's death, and to define the role of the judges in the investigations.[46] The proposal was also motivated by the need to demonstrate that terrorism, which continued well into the 1980s, was not the solution to the problem of failed justice. Thus the motivation for a reflection on the incidents of March 1977 was again connected to social problems at the time.[47] Nevertheless, the district council rejected the proposal, and a renewed proposal a few years later also failed.[48]

In large part, this positive attitude towards the Movement of '77 can be explained by the PSI's competitive relation with the Communists, rather than by any genuine sympathy for the student movement. One former protagonist observed, in fact, that the Socialists used the student movement to break the hegemony of the PCI, which may then explain the involvement of Socialist politicians in the PFL Association.[49] Indeed, the PSI, and in particular its youth section, kept its distance from the student movement: on 11 March 1978, for example, a group of Socialist (and Communist) student members organized a 'city meeting', motivated by the feeling that March 1977 'should not become private property of a single group or even of the entire "movement"'. According to them, it was not right that 'this annual recurrence should be the exclusive territory of a student movement whose political ideas we reject'.[50] Similarly, on 11 March 1981 Socialist students organized an alternative commemorative procession towards the law courts in Bologna, where they handed in an appeal for more clarity about the events of March 1977 as well as about the Bologna bomb massacre of 1980.[51] This demonstrates, again, that there was competition in the appropriation of a memory of 1977 among the various official memory agents.

In short, the efforts of the traditional left to create a dialogue with younger generations were either directed exclusively at youth sections within the official left or proved too difficult to achieve. Perhaps this emphasis on dialogue and reconnection with the local community also simply reflected a rhetorical strategy: the launch of a new democratic party, after the fall of Communism and the reconstruction of a new political elite during the Mani Pulite ('clean hands') investigations of

the mid-1990s,[52] allowed the heirs of the PCI to present themselves as a new democratic party which had learned from previous mistakes and which could reclaim the people's votes. The Communist Refoundation Party (PRC), on the other hand, seems to have made more genuine attempts to reconnect with younger generations, in particular through the engagement of a former protest leader of the 1977 movement, Valerio Monteventi. In vain, though, as physical clashes between former protest leaders and youth activists in 1997 created an abyss which has started to recede only in recent times.

Counter-memories and competition with the PCI's far left

Prior to the creation of the PRC, Proletarian Democracy (DP) was the first party to engage in the promotion of a counter-memory of 1977 in Bologna. As we saw at the beginning of this book, a counter-memory is a force 'from below', produced by marginalized communities who set themselves in opposition to hegemonic views of the past (Rigney, 2005). Counter-memories are, then, mostly locally based memories, often related to traumatic experiences:

> The core meaning of group identity, namely a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by counter-memory, which, as a source for continued confrontation with and reflection about the past, provides a unique representation and interpretation of traumatic events.
>
> (Misztal, 2004, p. 78)

Counter-memories also represent a moral duty to remember traumatic incidents that have been silenced by conformist master narratives, and which risk repetition (Irwin-Zarecka, 2009, p. 58). This duty is transmitted to future generations in a process called 'memory transfer', which will help understand the relation between Francesco Lorusso and more recent victims of police violence, such as Carlo Giuliani and Federico Aldrovandi.

The DP originated when a number of organizations of the more radical, extreme left presented themselves at the regional elections of 1975, and one year later at the national elections (Giachetti, 2001, pp. 97–98).[53] The DP never managed to gain much political power, but it represented an important counter-voice to the PCI within the left-wing political sphere. It was also particularly close to the student movement in Bologna (Gambetta, 2009, p. 312), and was deeply

involved – especially in the years immediately after the incidents of March 1977 – in the commemorative process promoted by the former student movement, as well as in the promotion of a memory site for Francesco Lorusso.[54]

In response to official accusations against the student movement regarding the incidents of March 1977, the DP primarily called for unity between students and workers, although it remained in opposition to the PCI and the project of the historic compromise.[55] It also strongly denounced the actions of terrorist groups, such as the bomb attack which killed Graziella Fava in 1979. After the assassination by the Red Brigades of lawyer Vittorio Bachelet a year later, the party even proposed using the commemorative procession of 11 March as a demonstration against both terrorism and the state.[56] On another occasion the DP drew a comparison between the events of 1977 and the massacres of Piazza Fontana, Brescia, Italicus and the Bologna railway massacre of 1980.[57] However, the comparison was not intended as a denunciation of political violence, as in Zangheri's and Imbeni's speeches cited earlier on, but as a criticism of the fact that the trials in all these cases had failed to bring justice.[58]

Apart from using the anniversary of 11 March for political statements against terrorism, the DP was mostly engaged in a rehabilitation of the public memory of 1977. It thus accused the PCI and the FGCI of exploiting and falsifying this memory and of removing it from the public sphere.[59] More precisely, the PCI was said to perform 'an operation of rehabilitation of F. Lorusso as a "poor dead student" ', falsely presenting him as an external element to the student movement.[60] Similarly, the initiatives of Socialist and Communist students, who organized their own meetings as well as an alternative procession during the first anniversaries, were interpreted as attempts to 'dishonour March 1977 as a brand of terrorism'.[61] These disparate events reflect that 'fragmented' commemoration that Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi mentions in her article on the commemorations for Yitzhak Rabin: she argues that commemorative rituals in Israel are divided between national rituals held on the (Hebrew) date of the assassination of the former Prime Minister, which is also the official Memorial Day, and more spontaneous political events (2002, p. 32). The various claims on the authority over the 1977 memory reveal a similar form of competition, which is a frequent feature in the commemoration of social movements of the late 1960s and 1970s. Throughout the 1980s, however, the DP increasingly turned its attention to the battle for an official memory site, which will be discussed in Chapter 7. Here, again, its concern was mostly with the

defence of a public memory of 1977 which could not be reduced to political violence.

A second political party that attempted to promote a counter-memory of 1977 was the PRC, founded in 1991 after the dissolution of the PCI, which included former 77-ers such as Valerio Monteventi. A councillor for the local PRC from 1993 to 2009, Monteventi used his influence on the City Council to defend the memory of 1977 from false interpretations.[62] Monteventi's attempts to promote a counter-memory of 1977 date back to the tenth anniversary, in 1987, when he proposed the organization of a 'human chain' in via Mascarella, as a metaphor for the ideals of equality and solidarity which, in his eyes, the 1977 experience represented and which he wanted to bring back to life. Thus he hoped to reconcile the various subgroups within the former student movement in Bologna as well as the community as a whole, and make the living memory of 1977 – i.e., the 'autobiographical' and 'fluid' memory of 1977 – resurface one last time.[63] The idea of a human chain is not uncommon in processes of community building and reconciliation: in her account of the commemoration of Yitzhak Rabin, Vinitzky-Seroussi describes an initiative involving a human chain which linked Rabin's gravesite to a location in Jerusalem where a peace activist had been killed by a right-wing activist during a demonstration in 1983 (2002, p. 39).[64]

During the 20th anniversary, in 1997, Monteventi made a second attempt to save the gradually fading memory of 1977 from oblivion. He organized a series of public commemorative events, including the 'exhibition' in the university zone of an old, pink army tank, 'in order to bring back the city's attention to a Movement [...] which has disappeared from historical memory'.[65] The proposal was, however, withdrawn after clashes between former protest leaders and younger generations of left-wing activists: Monteventi had tried to prevent the latter from raiding a bookstore during the annual protest march.[66] As in 1987, Monteventi's direct and indirect claiming authority over the collective memory of 1977, in the media and now also through his position in the PRC, was criticized by those members of the former movement – and their heirs in 1997 – who had chosen to remain outside the institutions. In other words, his political position had placed him on the other side of the 'barricades'.

Monteventi also attempted, again in 1997, to have the Lorusso case reopened, on the basis of recent information about Roberto Savi – an ex-police officer and leader of the notorious criminal gang the Uno Bianca – being on duty on 11 and 12 March 1977.[67] In reality this was no more than a pretext to draw attention to the failure to achieve justice

for Lorusso. After the proposal was rejected, Monteventi decided to abandon any attempt at reconciliation or justice, turning his attention instead to the reconstruction of a historical truth:

> justice cannot be obtained, and I would put it aside, but the quest for truth, if not legal than at least an historical one, should be an objective common to all those who speak of the necessity to heal a wound.[68]

In the years that followed, Monteventi engaged himself exclusively in historical initiatives. In 2004 he set up a documentary centre dedicated to Francesco Lorusso and Carlo Giuliani, and a year later he tried to gather public funds to sponsor a research project and subsequent publication about 1977, as we saw in Chapter 4. It was supposed to stimulate an analysis in historic and scientific terms. In 2007 he organized another commemorative event for the 30th anniversary of the protests, collaborating with a number of councillors with whom he had established an alternative political list entitled 'The Other Left'. The initiative was intended as a provocative reply to the creation – the previous year – of a stamp showing Luigi Calabresi, the police inspector held responsible by the Italian alternative left for the death of Giuseppe Pinelli, one of the suspects in the Piazza Fontana case of 1969. Pinelli was probably thrown out of the window of the police headquarters during interrogations led by Calabresi, who was killed – a few years after the massacre – by a left-wing terrorist organization.[69] Apparently a request for a similar sign of recognition in Lorusso's case had been rejected, and Monteventi's group of councillors bought an issue of postal franking marks to be applied to four postcards which they had designed, to be sold at the prize of €1 during the commemorative ceremony in via Mascarella that year. The attempt at competition with Calabresi's memory is evident.

The postcards depicted four key moments in or memories of the protests of 1977 in Bologna: the most popular postcard, I was told, was a reprint of a famous photograph of armoured vehicles in the university zone, with the phrase 'Greetings from Bologna' written at the top.[70] Despite the traumatic memory of the army intervention in Bologna, this incident clearly represented the most memorable – albeit unpleasant – public memory of 1977 in Bologna, and perhaps also a fascinating, almost fetishistic, memory at that.[71] Another postcard depicted the dramatic demonstration march following Lorusso's death on the afternoon of 11 March 1977, and was probably also chosen because of the banner

held up by the protesters, which bore the famous slogan 'Francesco is alive and fights along with us'.[72] The third postcard shows writer and actor Dario Fo on a stage in the city centre during the conference against repression in September 1977, the last occasion in which the student movement gathered together, and therefore another iconic moment in the history of 1977. The last postcard evokes memories of the notorious pirate radio station Radio Alice, violently shut down by police on the basis of its involvement – via radio messages – in the clashes of 11 and 12 March 1977.[73]

This highly unconventional way of 'creating the memory of those days' was not exempt from criticism: Enzo Raisi of the neo-Fascist National Alliance (AN) party noted some 'suspicious stars' on the franking, which depicted the location where Lorusso was killed.[74] The two black stars at the top of the franking apparently reminded Raisi of the iconic stars of the Red Brigades terrorist organization, but the post office replied that the stars were merely a graphic element present in *all* postal frankings.[75] Clearly Raisi was trying to evoke connotations of violence and terror by bringing out skeletons from the cupboard and reopening the wound of the 'years of lead', thus combatting Monteventi's attempt to 'integrate' Lorusso into the city's public memory in this manner.[76]

Besides promoting a counter-memory of the events of 1977, during his political career Monteventi also defended Lorusso more directly in the City Council. In 2001, for example, he verbally attacked another councillor who had tried to justify Lorusso's death,[77] and several times he requested the administration to repair and/or clean the commemorative site for Lorusso in via Mascarella, after damage inflicted by vandals.[78] Finally, in 2007 Monteventi used a public debate on Mayor Sergio Cofferati's policy against immigrants and illegal squatters to draw a line of continuity with the past, describing the events of 1977 as a lesson for the present.[79] More importantly, together with his colleagues in 'The Other Left', Monteventi published the minutes of a number of sessions of the City Council of 1977, in order to demonstrate that '[t]he incapacity of the then political class to understand the requests of the youth protests has not changed'.[80] This reflects, once again, the concept of fragmented commemoration, which generally emerges in a conflictual political culture and when there is a strong link between past and present debates (Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002, p. 32).

Hence, the engagement of the local PRC, via the figure of Monteventi, represents a more genuine attempt to deal with the difficult memory of March 1977 in Bologna than those of its Communist predecessor.

Monteventi's involvement included everything from initiatives, in 1987, to reconcile the former student movement in order to return to the 'good old days' to a desperate attempt, during the 20th anniversary in 1997, to have the legal truth made public and save the vanishing, 'living' memory of 1977. Eventually, he had to acknowledge that, in order to keep alive a counter-memory of 1977, younger generations needed to be involved. This realization was undoubtedly influenced by the incidents at the G8 summit in Genoa, in 2001, when Carlo Giuliani was shot dead by police under very similar circumstances to Lorusso in 1977. Indeed, as we shall see in the next chapter, the memory of the G8 sparked a new interest in the memory of the 1977 events among younger activists, and for several years the annual commemoration was attended by youth groups in their masses. Although in the 2000s Monteventi turned his attention to the promotion of a historical truth and the involvement of younger generations in the commemorations, he nevertheless maintained the claim of authority and exclusivity which are typical of former participants in social movements.

Who deserves to be remembered?

The example of Raisi illustrates the fact that competing (counter-) memories of 1977 also persisted at the opposite end of the political spectrum. Since the late 1980s right-wing parties and politicians have indeed started to promote their own counter-memories of 1977, in response to what they probably experienced as a dominant left-wing memory of 1977 at the expense of memories of violence perpetrated by left-wing aggressors. In other words, they started to counter existing memories of and debates about 1977 by proposing their own 'martyrs'. Speaking about the 1968 protests and the relatively small number of monuments in Italy that commemorate 1968, as opposed to other key moments, such as the anti-Fascist Resistance, John Foot argues that public commemorative practices related to 1968 are generally concentrated in one key area: the memory of martyrs. The same could be said for the 1970s, when political violence reached a climax and fierce competition between left-wing and right-wing youth groups resulted in several politically inspired assaults and assassinations.[81]

In 2007 a councillor from the local AN faction placed Lorusso on the same level as Sergio Ramelli, a young Milanese activist from the neo-Fascist Youth Front (Fronte della Gioventù) who died in 1975 after being assaulted by left-wing extremists (Baldoni and Provvisionato, 2009, p. 179; Telese, 2006). Another member of the AN recalled the

fate of Lorusso's killer, police officer Massimo Tramontani, who had been forced to emigrate to Belgium after the events of March 1977. The AN councillor argued that Tramontani should also be given some form of recognition by the authorities, hence again giving proof of that tendency to place victim and culprit on the same level.[82] The dispute over who 'should be' remembered dates back to 1990, when two local exponents of the conformist DC presented – together with members of the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) – no fewer than 90 amendments to a bill proposed in the Regional Council, which aimed at institutionalizing the thesis award named after Lorusso and financed by his family.[83] Most of the amendments were downright provocations: for example, that Lorusso's name simply be replaced by names of right-wing victims of political violence, including Sergio Ramelli.[84]

Brian Conway describes a not dissimilar debate about a proposal for a memorial commemorating the 13 Bloody Sunday victims, implicitly excluding the other victims of the Troubles in Northern Ireland (2010, p. 136). The victims of Bloody Sunday were working-class nationalists, so that any memorial dedicated to them alone could be read as denying the suffering of the Protestant community or any other victims in the conflict (ibid., p. 137). In a similar fashion, when a Socialist councillor and member of the PFL Association promoted a previous version of the bill in an adjacent commune, a member of the MSI countered that 'other youngsters have lost their lives in more tragic circumstances'.[85] These examples are proof of a fragmented type of commemoration and demonstrate the level of negotiation required when dealing with memories involving political (or religious) disputes.

The proposal to institutionalize the thesis award came from a former university companion of Lorusso, Vito Totire, also the first winner of the thesis award in 1979 and another former 77-er strongly engaged in the promotion of a counter-memory of 1977 in Bologna. Totire ran the Centre for Alternative Medicine which was dedicated to Lorusso in 1981, and a year later he dedicated an alternative health centre to Lorusso, an extension of an initiative that had previously involved Totire, Lorusso himself and Lorusso's brother Giovanni.[86] Totire was furthermore the spokesperson for a small environmental and social association which also organized initiatives related to the memory of Lorusso.[87] Finally, and most importantly, Totire became a regional councillor of the local Green Party in the late 1980s, and – much like Monteventi – used his political position to secure the Lorusso thesis award by bringing forward a bill that would relieve the family of its financial burden.

Totire's intention was not to get justice, an aim which would undoubtedly have hindered the passing of the bill, but he instead explained his request by declaring that Lorusso had become part of the history of the Italian 'social and youth movements of liberation'.[88] To forget this, Totire observed, 'would imply forgetting an entire generation' (ibid., p. 3), and Lorusso's death was therefore linked to his generation's collective identity. Totire also denounced the personal misrepresentations of Lorusso in the press, providing an ample description of his social engagement (ibid., p. 2). Yet Totire did not want to create a hero and stressed the need to '[t]ransmit the memory of Francesco Lorusso, [...] as a person with a richness, humanity, idealistic vision, a need for liberty, democracy and equality that should never be forgotten' (ibid., p. 3). The award was to be applied to research projects in the sociological and humanistic disciplines and relating to youth conditions and problems in the Emilia-Romagna region, to projects that dealt with physical or mental health problems, and 'in any case, [to] projects directed specifically to the more disadvantaged social classes' (ibid., p. 4).

Two first attempts to pass the bill, in 1986 and 1987, were ignored. In 1990 Totire tried to give the proposal a new momentum by connecting it to a second bill, dedicated to the recently deceased psychiatrist and former member of the Pier Francesco Lorusso Association, Gianfranco Minguzzi. Totire stated that both Lorusso and Minguzzi were 'historical' as well as 'emblematic figures within the two movements that have determined the social and political landscape of the 1970s most'.[89] Hence the focus was shifted away from Lorusso's merits as a person to his historical (and social) importance, in the past as well as in the present: in fact, Totire explains the need not only to fix the historical memory of certain events that have occurred in the region, but – more importantly – to give 'continuity to the line of social engagement and scientific research of which Lorusso and Minguzzi were protagonists'.[90]

In addition, Totire tried to renegotiate Lorusso's memory in the public sphere by claiming a similarity with a more 'acceptable' and less controversial public figure, in the hope that this might enhance the possibility of acceptance. A similar strategy – although for different reasons – had been applied by the PCI in the early 1980s and also by the PFL Association: i.e., one of placing Lorusso in the same context as other people (in this case, victims of violence) with a less dubious reputation,[91] in order to rehabilitate him as an individual.[92] Nevertheless, local representatives of the DC – which had been critical of official commemorations of Lorusso in the past – rejected the proposal as an 'apology' for the

violence of the 'years of lead' and as 'an insult to the hundreds of victims of political violence in Italy'.[93] In doing so, they explicitly placed the memory of the 1977 movement within a rhetoric of violence. Responding to this accusation, Totire said that the law was not a political apology 'but the fixation in memory of a young man who was certainly not responsible for the dramatic subsequent development of the events. This is an attempt to criminalize an entire generation'.[94]

Not surprisingly, the Socialist Party supported the proposal and stated that an indiscriminate connection between the Movement of '77 – through the figure of Lorusso – and terrorism was 'unjust, vulgar and anti-historical'. The situation degenerated to such an extent that a Socialist MP even called for the resignation of some members of DC.[95] The PCI, on the other hand, was divided: two members called the proposal one-sided and 'iniquitous' and claimed that 'other scholars deserved the same recognition', recalling the arguments made by the local right against an exclusive commemoration of 1977 cited earlier on. A similar tactic was used in a proposal by the local centre-right Italian Socio-Democratic Party (Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano, PSDI), in April 1988: it wanted to dedicate a street in Bologna to two police officers who had recently been killed by the criminal Uno Bianca gang. The proposal was prompted – among other things – by the fact that Mayor Imbeni had announced, during the previous commemoration of 11 March that a street and a student dormitory would be dedicated to Lorusso: the PSDI felt he should give a similar recognition to the victims of Uno Bianca.[96]

Eventually the amendments and the polemics about the bill slowed the entire procedure down. By the time Totire's mandate came to an end, no decision had been taken and the project was abandoned. What this incident demonstrates is that negotiations and compromises are crucial elements in the process of creating a public memory of a traumatic and controversial event. Contentious memories of anti-state violence, in particular, have little consensus in the public sphere and are therefore met with more resistance and public debate. Any attempt to insert such memories into the official culture received particular opposition from those groups that did not feel the public memorial culture should include these victims. This again recalls debates about the Bloody Sunday memorial in Derry, Northern Ireland, and whether this memorial should be inclusive of other victims during the Irish Troubles (Conway, 2010, p. 135). In such cases memories are necessarily renegotiated, and the suggestion of alternative memories of victims of opposed ideological convictions, who represent different political views, is a form of 'moral

bribery' that marks the presence of powerful memory agents involved in a highly fragmented commemoration.

Keeping an emotional distance: the university

One final, important agent in the incidents of March 1977 was the University of Bologna. A certain (moral) responsibility might be attributed to the latter, as the clashes between the student groups in the morning of 11 March originated in a university location, and it was the university chancellor who called for police intervention (Cappellini, 2007, p. 204). Yet, it was not until the 30th anniversary, in 2007, that the university officially participated in the commemorative process.

Until then, the university had always refused to take a stance on the legal and political issues regarding the absence of a trial against Lorusso's killer. In 1979, for example, the university was the only official institution that had been involved in the clashes but did not support the Lorusso family's public appeal to reopen the investigations. Newspapers reported arguments within the university administration resulting from the (rejected) proposal of four councillors to support the appeal.[97] The university did not give an opinion on the subject, despite its positive reaction to the family's proposal to establish a thesis award in 1978, which was judged 'of the highest civic and social value'. The university expressed the rather ridiculous hope that this 'noble initiative' might help 'pacify the situation' and regain a more harmonious civic cohabitation.[98]

This attitude may be explained by the fact that any adherence to the family's appeal would have implied an acknowledgement by the university of responsibility for the unrest, and criticism of the PCI. Clearly the university, with the exception of some individual teachers and faculties who expressed support to the family,[99] chose to support the local authorities and refused to take a position on the clashes. As Alberto Preti explains, there was a 'profound abyss' between those teachers who supported the students and those who remained close to the PCI, who were 'in favour of a return to order and determined not to interact with anyone who presented extremist and violent positions' (2009, p. 247).

This reluctance to acknowledge Lorusso's death also came to the fore in a controversy, two decades later, over a proposal to dedicate a lecture hall to Lorusso. The university section of the independent left-wing trade union organization Rappresentanze di Base (RdB) launched the proposal in an open letter to the chancellor in 2000.[100] The main advocate of the proposal, Virginio Pilò, had local politicians and

administrators sign a petition, which was presented in a letter to the university chancellor.[101] In it Lorusso's death was presented as a public trauma with an impact on the local community, which involved the university and thus implied a moral duty to remember the incident on behalf of the university.[102] Between 2001 and 2003 Pilò received support from former PCI activist Maurizio Cevenini and also from deputy mayor Giovanni Salizzoni, in a number of attempts to convince the new chancellor, Pier Ugo Calzolari, to dedicate a lecture hall to Lorusso.[103] Nonetheless, the university avoided the issue and eventually rejected the proposal in 2005.[104]

The 30th anniversary, in 2007, however, marked a turnaround, as for the very first time the university engaged publicly with the memory of 1977. Calzolari explained, in an interview with the national daily *Corriere della sera*, that the university wanted to make up for lost time, and that the anniversary offered 'an emblematic pretext, an occasion which the University should use to catch up with research and reflections on those years'.[105] Thus, in collaboration with the Istituto Parri, in September 2007 the History Department organized an international conference entitled 'Rethinking the 1970s', accompanied by a small exhibition in one of the university buildings. The latter consisted of a variety of documentary material gathered and exhibited by the university's Historical Archive Centre, including photographs and newspaper extracts from 1977; a famous piano painted by students during the protests of 1977, a sort of icon of the student movement in Bologna; a documentary made by a former 77-er, local university teacher and artist;[106] and audio recordings of the pirate station Radio Alice.[107] Interestingly, the material on show contrasted the points of view of the student movement with those of the university, the press and the political world (ibid.). Thus the exhibition did not try to hide the difficult relationship between the local official culture and the student population, but it almost 'embraced' the differences, illustrating an attempt at narrating an objective as possible history of 1977.

The conference itself was initially the brainchild of the PFL Association, but controversy eventually led the latter to withdraw from the project, as we saw in Chapter 4. This was due, in part, to the fact that the university did not want to limit its approach to 1977 and to the case of Lorusso alone. According to Calzolari, this was because the history of the 1970s in Italy is closely connected to issues not exclusively related to social movements and terrorism (ibid.). Hence the conference was approached from a transnational angle, and the interventions covered economic, social and cultural topics related to the 1970s and to Italy

more in general, rather than the specific case of 1977.[108] The university also feared that limiting the discussion to the case of 11 March alone would have moved the conference away from its scientific pretext, and might have impeded a reflection not dominated by political (and emotional) stances. In fact, Calzolari specified that the university did not aim at understanding 'who was right or wrong, [...], but [sought] to gather the *historical components* of that infamous period so as to make possible *a reconstruction*'. He observed that, without distance from the past, 'one tends to make political evaluations which *are not the task of academia*'.[109] By focusing on a purely historical reconstruction of the facts relating to the entire decade, the university then managed to keep an ideological, political and emotional distance from the events, and contribute to a multivocal commemoration. In fact, the definition of the latter as a form of commemoration that is 'more likely to emerge in a consensual political culture, when the commemorated past is no longer part of the present agenda' (Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002, p. 32), may explain why the university decided to confront the difficult memory of 1977 only 30 years later: 'The longer one waits, the better the chances of a multivocal (even a consensual) commemoration' (ibid., p. 45).

That same year the university also announced that a figurative wooden statue of Lorusso made by Walter Benecchi, the father of former protest leader Diego Benecchi, who had donated the statue to the university, would be erected near the department where the clashes had originated.[110] Again Calzolari kept his distance by justifying this decision in terms of the fact that 'reconciliation' for the university meant the promotion of both a historical reconstruction of the facts and the fixation of their memory through a public monument located in the university area. According to Calzolari, the latter was not so much a dedication to Lorusso's person as a symbol of the historical moment he represents: 'It does not represent poor Francesco Lorusso but two young people embracing each other, [...], so as to symbolize *the historical event* that led to the tragic death of Lorusso.'[111]

Finally, from 2000 onwards Calzolari eventually brought the university to the annual ceremony in via Mascarella. For the first three years a delegate and two vice-chancellors attended the ceremony, while Calzolari himself participated only in 2005. In 2007 he went as far as to express a sense of *mea culpa*, admitting that the university had failed to understand the situation at the time, thus echoing the words of many other members of local officialdom. At the same time, though, he exonerated the university from any responsibility, observing that Lorusso had been 'sacrificed by the ignorance of society'.[112] Thus the university tried

to inscribe itself into a public memory of 1977 only at a considerable distance of time and without taking any moral responsibility.

Conclusion

From late 1977 onwards the traditional left in Bologna initiated a process of reconciliation that aimed at regaining political ground, especially among youth. Since the PCI's indirect support of Giulio Andreotti's centre-right government, between 1976 and 1979, party membership and electoral support had rapidly declined (Foot, 2003, p. 182). The PCI had also lost control of many city administrations, and in the light of the success of Bettino Craxi's rising PSI throughout the 1980s, the Communists desperately needed to regain political consensus and re-establish a positive relationship with the local community (Clark, 2008, p. 496). This change of perspective was also prompted by the persisting terrorist climate in the country.

This attempt at reconnecting with the community was most evident in the 1980s, when the PCI accepted some degree of responsibility, although avoided facing the facts by converging Lorusso's memory with that of victims of terrorism and *stragismo*. It thus created a more generic narrative of the 1970s which made it possible to 'speak' publicly about this trauma. The attempt to appropriate a public memory of 1977 was contested by local right-wing political parties, who tried to counter this memory with alternative memories of political violence perpetrated by left-wing extremists against right-wing activists. Other sections of the local left who were in competition with or critical of the Communist Party also tried to delegitimize the PCI by taking sides with the (former) student movement, although this was more genuine in the case of DP and PRC than with the PSI.

After the fall of Communism, in the early 1990s, the local heirs of the PCI tried to build a new image by distancing themselves from the PCI and turning their attention to present and future issues that could somehow be related to 1977. It was during this period that political representatives began participating in the ceremony in via Mascarella, and so the change of political systems seems to have stimulated the traditional left to put the traumatic memory of this period aside in order to initiate a process of reconciliation and bring about a more multivocal form of commemoration. In reality, no actual reconciliation took place, though: I would rather speak of a 'silent pact' between memory communities, the politicians trying to regain consensus while the 77-ers needed to give continuity to their memory work, which was

becoming more complicated as the living memory of March 1977 was fading away. That there was no reconciliation is illustrated by a former member of the Movement of '77 who – in an interview with a local newspaper – dismissed the participation of local centre-left politician Maurizio Cevenini in the 33rd anniversary of 11 March off as purely opportunist: 'He was on the other side of the barricades, at the time. Certain presences are instrumental. It has been like this for 15 years. Reconciliation? Not in institutional ceremonies'.[113]

At the same time, former participants in the student movement who were pursuing a political career tried to reverse this process by defending the memory of March 1977 from ideological but also physical attacks, for example on the commemorative plaque in via Mascarella. Eventually they were forced to turn their attention away from the pursuit of justice and to the promotion of a counter-memory and historic truth.

For the university the memory of 1977 long proved too controversial to be acknowledged publicly. Although it began working through this memory in recent times, so far it has not managed truly to come to terms with this difficult past. Perhaps with the arrival of a new chancellor in 2009, the university will finally make new steps towards a more genuine reconciliation with the 1977 generation.

A final change that occurred in the local political sphere was that in the first years after the events, official culture operated collectively, whereas after 1990 memory work was performed more by individuals (e.g., Monteventi, Totire, Vitali). The focus was also more and more on the local rather than on the national situation, due in part to the absence during this period of pressing national matters such as terrorism. Towards the end of the decade, however, with the rise of the no global movement, a new generation of left-wing activists rediscovered and appropriated the memory of 1977, as we will see in the next chapter. The local memory of 1977 would thus be reintegrated into a national and global memory of protest.

6
Rebuilding Group Identities on the Far Left

Introduction

'Pagherete caro, pagherete tutto!'[1]

On 12 March 2011 this slogan reverberated through the streets of the city of Bologna, more than 30 years after Francesco Lorusso was shot dead. Clearly Lorusso's disputed and unresolved death, as well as the violent incidents that subsequently kept Bologna in a state of high tension over the following days and weeks, made a deep wound on the city, in particular among Lorusso's former companions and friends. During the 34th anniversary of the incident, the latter a protest march through the city centre, where the slogan above, one of the most popular and well-known slogans of the extra-parliamentary left in the 1970s, imbued the event with nostalgia for a lost political cause. This third and final chapter dealing with memory communities in Bologna thus looks at Lorusso's companions and the way they have commemorated Lorusso and negotiated his memory over the past 30 years. It analyses commemorative practices, the rhetoric of commemoration, tensions within the former student movement and the transference of this memory to other generations.

After a brief history of an annual protest march that was held in honour of Lorusso's memory (1977–1997), which explicitly rejected the official reading of the events of March and thus served as a counter-memory, not only of March 1977 but of other incidents of political violence in and beyond the 1970s as well, this chapter examines the role Lorusso has played in these alternative commemorations. Much like other victims of police violence, most notably Claudio Varalli and Giannino Zibecchi, killed in 1975 by neo-Fascists and police respectively, and who had a monument dedicated to them where the demonstrators were placed on the same level as the anti-Fascist partisans

who had helped liberate Italy (Cooke, 2006), Lorusso became a mythical figure for the alternative left. Yet he was not purely an object of commemoration. His death, rather, served as a means of unification for the former student movement, even if it was interpreted in different ways, leading to tensions and internal conflicts. This chapter, then, provides an insight into the relationship between death and identity formation, emotions and protest, and the tension between heroism and victimhood.

The analysis includes more recent examples of police violence in the European context, such as the death of Carlo Giuliani during the G8 summit in Genoa in 2001 and that of the Greek anarchist Alexandros Grigoropoulos during riots in December 2008.[2] The chapter then also examines generational memories of 1977. We will see that the public memory of Lorusso's death is not an exclusive memory of the 1977 generation. A number of young left-wing activists who draw on the mythology of the 1970s, in particular that of the Autonomia Operaia (AO) faction and the specific incidents of 11 March, also participated in the protest march in 2011, giving evidence of a similarly nostalgic appropriation of this memory. The chapter therefore also examines the extent to which the memories of Lorusso and of March 1977 serve as a model for younger generations of left-wing activists in Italy, and how 'transfers' of memory take shape in the present day, thus linking back to the analysis of 'possessive' memory and its effects on younger generations of historians.

Contentious commemoration: the annual protest march

In the years following the events of March, the remnants of the Movement of '77 split up into various groups, mostly Lotta Continua (LC), AO and the Workers' Movement for Socialism (Movimento Lavoratori per il Socialismo).[3] Thus, contrary to the Bloody Sunday case studied by Brian Conway, where the memory agents in the annual protest march changed, as did the symbols carried during the march and the political discourse brought forward on these occasions (2010, p. 74), in Bologna there was one single protest march which contrasted with the more traditional and (increasingly) institutional commemoration in via Mascarella, described by the students as a ' "legalistic" demonstration'.[4] The protest march set out from the heart of the university zone in the late afternoon and crossed the city centre before returning to the university zone. It thus passed in front of a number of symbolic places, including via Mascarella, the prison where many former participants

of the student movement had served or were serving prison sentences and the local union federation, one of the symbols of Communist government in Bologna.

Much like the annual mourning ritual of the Argentine 'Mothers' discussed previously, the march presents a performance of memory and an attempt to transform a personal loss ('personal' for the student movement as a whole) into a collective grief to be shared by the entire community. Indeed, the event allowed for the students, in the first place, to speak out – visibly and loudly – against the official interpretation of the events and to promote a counter-memory which rejected the hegemonic view according to which Tramontani had used a firearm legitimately against Lorusso. As such it represents a fragmented commemoration, which implies that 'homogeneous groups may gather and share the interpretation, but such consensus is limited to those groups alone' (Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002, p. 32). It is also an embodiment of remembrance (Conway, 2010, p. 71) and a performance, in that it reproduced the protest march that was held on the afternoon of 11 March 1977.[5] In other words, it was a re-enactment of the original march.

Secondly, it offered an occasion to request the liberation of those still in prison, and to address current political issues, as Virginio Pilò – the Rappresentanze di Base union activist we came across in the previous chapter, also a loyal participant in the annual commemorative march – recalled: 'During those anti-institutional demonstrations, we always tried to focus the meaning of the protest march around current political affairs at the time'.[6] In more recent times, this focus on current topics, such as the killing of Carlo Giuliani in 2001 or the Iraq War in 2003, also became necessary – another eyewitness explains – in order to rally enough people to make the march feasible. The memory of Lorusso alone no longer sufficed, as there was less and less living memory, and the protest march therefore represents a fundamental form of memory work through which to keep this memory alive.[7]

Finally, the march allowed the participants to reinforce their sense of belonging and group identity; it was therefore not simply an occasion to 'commemorate' the past but also served to define communities in the present and for the future. Much like memorial days, the march offered a moment of sharing in time 'that can unify disparate collectives' (Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002, p. 37). This confirms Rigney's thesis about remembrance not being merely shaped by 'social frames that pre-exist the acts of remembrance': these frames themselves are also constituted by public acts of remembrance (2008a, p. 95). In fact, the protest march strongly contributed to a sense of collective identity which shaped itself around the figure of Lorusso, and his death

therefore represented a 'unifying and shaping moment' in which there was 'a strong sense of sharing. And then we happily did things together, we collaborated'.[8] In other words, it represented a living memorial where Lorusso was commemorated through the assemblage of people, united by the collective denunciation of Lorusso's death. This demonstrates that commemorative rituals aren't always about commemorating, and may instead provoke a working relationship between participants. A good illustration of this approach is the Remembering Olive Collective, a project in memory of Olive Morris, a London-based black civil rights activist in the 1970s. Run by a group of women of various ages and ethnic backgrounds who meet up once a month, their main aim is not so much to remember Morris as to share memories and thoughts about 'the achievements, struggles and rebellions of Olive and her generation'. Similarly, a public archive was created so as to ensure that 'her memory [was] not erased from history' (Obi, 2009, p. 8).

The rhetoric of death

The slogan 'Francesco è vivo e lotta insieme a noi' ('Francesco is alive and fights along with us') was frequently chanted during demonstrations in 1977 and in the protest marches of the following years. It synthesizes the sense of belonging and group reinforcement, and illustrates how important the cult of the dead is in processes of collective identity building and the reunion of a community in the aftermath of a traumatic experience. Yet in this slogan the very idea of commemorating the dead is rejected, as this implies that everything is in the past and closed off. Given the unresolved issue of Lorusso's death, such a perception of the events of March was unacceptable for the alternative left.

Mauro Collina confirms the thesis that the former student movement rejected the idea of commemorating the dead. As we shall see in the next chapter, the 1970s in general were characterized by an anti-institutional, experimental and collective way of remembering:

> [T]here was a sort of sense of shame in this regard. Shame in the sense that nobody ever wanted to create a 'commemoration', because it doesn't belong to us, it's not about 'commemorating': it's keeping alive, so to speak, a memory, being present, but we don't like the idea of commemoration.[9]

Similarly, in an issue of the *Lotta Continua* newspaper, the mouthpiece of the student movement, a journalist stated the following: 'We don't want to turn this March 11th into a commemorative date, we intend

to go out into the square to display our opposition and our anger'.[10] Nor was the former Movement of '77 interested in reopening the investigations, a battle fought out mostly by Lorusso's family and by the association dedicated to him: apparently this too was considered a battle that was 'devoid of political content', which once again illustrates the anti-institutional nature of the former student movement.[11]

Most importantly, Lorusso was not considered a hero, and the protest march described above seems to been representative of an ideal that connected the members of the entire group, rather than the commemoration of an individual: a form of affective labour, once again, where the physical bodies of the students affectively connected with one another in the creation of a living memorial.[12] From this perspective we can speak of Lorusso as a martyr, since narratives of martyrdom often help communities that have suffered trauma to 'find or impose order and meaning on a world made unrecognizable' (Peterson, 1997, p. 137).[13] Nevertheless, the movement did not consider Lorusso's death a sacrifice or a tragedy, which marks a difference in rhetoric as well, but saw it as a lesson for the future. Thus, in a booklet published by former members of the local AO – 'Piccola città . . . ' ('Small City . . . ') – Lorusso offers a motivation for the continued, present battle fought by the entire student movement against the institutions:

> Francesco is not a myth for us. [. . .] We lay a claim to the movement of '77, its manifestations of antagonism and counter-power, of direct action and mass self-defense. In this perspective we intend to continue in the direction which Francesco – *together with tens of thousands of companions* – had also taken, before the bullets of the assassins of the state stopped him forever.[14]

In a supplement to the *Lotta Continua* newspaper, on the other hand, entitled 'Parliamo di Francesco' ('Let's talk about Francesco'), Lorusso's companions in LC equally stress the fact that they do not want to create the image of a faultless hero.[15] Lorusso's death represents a collective trauma that has enhanced the breach within the Movement of '77 and therefore offers an opportunity to reflect on the recent past, on other militants who have been killed, on the need to continue the battle in the present. In other words, it is an occasion to re-evaluate the movement's collective identity:

> With Francesco's death *a thin cord which held us all together broke*: the idea of a revolution that was yet to come completely collapsed, a

part of each one of us and of our story died with him. From that day onwards everyone has done very different things about which we think it is necessary to talk and confront ourselves, also so that what remains of Francesco in each one of us *is not just a memory* but the will to *continue to fight.*

(ibid., p. 7, my italics)

In this second supplement, Lorusso is often mentioned by his first name. The act of 'naming' is essential when claiming ownership over a memory, especially regarding the dead. Jan Assmann emphasized the importance of naming the dead in his statement that '[a] man lives when his name is mentioned' (1992, p. 63). In fact, naming implies a sense of possession, which can reinforce local group identities. Yet this happened in different ways in the two supplements cited above. The LC group, having been closer to Lorusso, obviously offered a more sentimental account. 'Parliamo di Francesco' thus consisted mostly of personal accounts and photographs of Lorusso, giving a highly per-sonal(ized) reading of Lorusso and of the events of March, beginning with the use of Lorusso's first name in the title of the booklet itself. Secondly, four out of six images printed in the booklet depict Lorusso smiling and fooling around during a hiking trip in the mountains. The emphasis on familiarity and humanity is also present in two more pho-tographs, where we see him in company of his brother and with a group of friends, and again – as far as one can see – not in a political context. The texts, finally, are mostly accounts by friends and political comrades either of past moments passed in Lorusso's company or their (emotional) reaction to his death. In short, the supplement attempts to create an image of Lorusso as an 'ordinary guy', with whom a wider pub-lic may identify, and hence to create a more 'shareable', public memory of Lorusso which is disconnected from his ideological ideals. This recalls the attempts in official culture to place Lorusso on the same level as vic-tims of terrorism in the early 1980s, although for completely different reasons.

AO, on the other hand, published what we could define a 'counter-history', where Lorusso's memory blended in with those of other victims of the state, especially an AO activist killed by a special police command in 1985.[16] As in Lorusso's case, the police was acquitted on the basis of the Reale law, and the booklet aimed at giving an impression of the nature and extent of what was perceived as state repression, as well as trying to launch a debate on the current political situation and on the 'emergency legislation' that institutions had introduced since 1977, in

their battle against political (primarily left-wing) violence.[17] In other words, the booklet was not simply an occasion to 'commemorate' Lorusso in the traditional sense of the word, or a historical reconstruction of the facts, but also had a political function as a reminder of the persistence of the problems and issues that had caused his death and the death or imprisonment of many other activists in those years, therefore contributing to a sense of belonging to this community:

> the tenth anniversary of the killing of Francesco *should not only be an occasion to remember*, with sadness and anger, a companion and a friend, but a new moment of debate, which is capable of elaborating on a series of problems that presented themselves at the time, and that *are now more essential than ever*.[18]

As such, it lacked the emotional touch of 'Parliamo di Francesco', which was also evident in the more generic title of the supplement ('Small City . . . '). This comparison, then, demonstrates that, if 11 March functioned as a symbolic date which reunited the former student movement, confirming the thesis that commemorative rituals provoke a substantial working relationship between participants, the latter were anything but united, and discord prior to and during the annual procession continued for several years.

Tensions, ruptures and instrumental uses of memory

Tensions were generally related to the level of conflict and violence that some groups introduced in the procession. Thus, if LC rejected – in the booklet discussed above – any accusations of violence by representing Lorusso as a normal, ordinary young man with whom anyone could identify, AO did not try to compromise and re-negotiate Lorusso's memory by selecting and emphasizing positive and commonly shared values or identity traits. On the contrary, continued its denunciation of the institutions. These different interpretations were also expressed in the groups' diverse approaches to the annual protest march, hence representing two ways of remembering death in which Lorusso's memory seemed to be used increasingly as a pretext for fighting out different battles.

In 1978, for example, the decision of a number of subgroups to organize a pacifist protest march in honour of Lorusso was strongly opposed by AO.[19] *Autonomi* were reported putting up signs in which they criticized this decision in the university zone, signed by the 'other

movement' and hence illustrating the identity crisis the former movement found itself in at the time.[20] In 1979 tensions rose even higher, when Proletarian Democracy (DP) criticized AO for having participated in a funeral procession in honour of Barbara Azzaroni, a local Front Line (Prima Linea, PL) terrorist killed by police forces a few days prior to the anniversary, and of turning the two occasions into pro-terrorist demonstrations.[21] There was indeed a fierce conflict between AO and DP, whose institutional position was fiercely criticized by the *autonomi* (Gambetta, 2009, p. 317). A climax was reached in 1980, when AO criticized the former Movement for linking Lorusso – on a banner for the annual procession on 11 March – with William Waccher, a PL *pentito* who had been the victim of a revenge killing by his former companions.[22] The fact that the issue of *pentitismo* was a delicate issue for the former Autonomia was proved again in March 1994, when AO commemorated the events of March in a conference entitled 'Who Has No Memory Has No Future', on anti-violence legislation in the 1970s, which resulted in a near-riot about the moral differences between *pentitismo* and dissociation from terrorism.[23]

In 1980 the local AO again clashed with other groups, this time over a proposal to organize a national conference on terrorism. We have also seen that AO interrupted a debate on dissociation organized by the Pier Francesco Lorusso Association four years later.[24] This illustrates how March 1977 had, by the 1980s, become an opportunity for different groups within the former student movement to promote their own, individual visions on delicate issues such as political violence. A similar situation developed in the Bloody Sunday commemorations in Derry, where

> each sought to seize the discursive field and exert control over the meaning of Bloody Sunday in a way that, in the early 1970s, created a fragmented commemoration with each memory choreographer organizing its own remembrance events competing for ideological allegiance of northern nationalists.
>
> (Conway, 2010, p. 55)

Eventually, though, AO and other elements of the more radical left managed to gain control and dominate the annual commemoration of the alternative left.

In short, whereas LC had a more personal bond with Lorusso and engaged in more 'traditional' activities to fix his memory in the urban space,[25] AO was concerned with the political memory of Lorusso, his

ideology and the injustice of his violent death. Over the years Lorusso's figure disappeared into the background, becoming no more than the pretext for a public demonstration against institutions and the capitalist system more generally. During the protest march of 1980, a journalist even defined Lorusso as 'the great forgotten one'.[26] These events often resulted in violent clashes and arrests. The procession of 1992, for example, led to a large number of arrests as demonstrators refused to take down a banner against Francesco Cossiga, the Minister of Internal Affairs who had so harshly put a stop to the student rebellion in 1977.[27] Clearly the young demonstrators had appropriated a memory they had not lived personally, which was used in their own, current battle against institutions, as we will see later. This was made possible by the transformation of Lorusso's memory into an ever more public and publicly shared memory.

Recomposing the 'human chain'

Throughout the 1980s modes of commemoration changed as the number of participants in the commemorative procession started to decline. Whereas newspapers reported some 20,000 participants in 1978, a year later this number had dropped to 7,000 or 8,000;[28] 2,000–3,000 in 1980, and in 1981 and 1983 no more than 3,000 people were present;[29] the number dropped down to 1,000 people in 1984, a couple of dozen in 1985, and no more than 200 (mostly young) people attended in 1986.[30] Hence, living memory started to decline, making way for discussions about the right way to remember the events. As Foot observes, '[w]ithout a mobilizing force, various collective experiences crumble away and die' (2001, p. 212).

In addition, various subgroups organized their own, separate events, and perhaps the last attempt to revive the living memory of 1977 occurred in 1987, when Valerio Monteventi along with a number of former 'leaders' of 1977 in Bologna tried to reconcile the local community through the organization of a 'human chain'. The proposal was signed by some 60 former participants of the local Movement of '77, and launched in a celebrative special issue of the left-wing alternative journal *Mongolfiera*. Monteventi and company proposed a counter-memory of the events, shaped by images of colourful graffiti and which emphasized the social and creative side of the Movement. In fact, the document highlighted the fact that 1977 'was not a violent, political event, of resentment by wasted and marginalized social forces', but represented a new ethical and social community which promoted ideals of equality

and solidarity.[31] These values had re-emerged shortly before in France, where a number of student protests and strikes against educational reforms had paralysed universities and high schools between November and December 1986, culminating in the death of a young man on 4 December, apparently kicked to death by the police.[32] Thus current events that bore similarities with the incidents of March 1977 were used to revive memories of the 1970s.

The authors of the document proposed a re-enactment of the symbolic chain of humanity on 11 March in via Mascarella, 'there where Power tried to break it'. This can be seen as an attempt at reconciliation with the local community, though at the same time it was 'also a chain of communication between ourselves'.[33] It thus represents a particularly bodily form of memory work, much like the gathering of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires. In her article on the Rabin commemorations in Israel, Vinitzky-Seroussi (2002) describes a similar initiative in which a 'human chain' was organized, linking a number of significant (memory) sites of the former Prime Minister during an annual commemoration, as we have seen previously. The initiative had not much to do, however, with the figure of Rabin. Rather, it aimed at reconnecting this traumatic memory with other incidents involving violence by the Israeli right-wing (ibid., p. 39), much like Monteventi's 'human chain' aimed at a more general reconciliation of the local community. The initiative was not much of a success, though: it was fiercely criticized by other parts of the local alternative left, who either didn't feel represented by the advocates of the proposal, criticized their use of the mainstream media to gain visibility or simply rejected the idea of reconciliation.[34]

One eyewitness explains this opposition within the former student movement by the fact that, for many 77-ers, the initiative of 1987 represented a media event more than a real attempt to reunite the various different strands, and was furthermore dominated by exponents of the 'creative side' of the former movement.[35] This position becomes evident in a brief interview, in *L'Unità,* with a young member of the local AO, who complained that the creative side of the movement had 'cancelled' AO out from history.[36] The journalist furthermore mentioned a flyer signed by 'The Communists' being distributed during an informal press conference, where the organizers of the initiative were criticized for the 'sordid performance of those who, just by doing press conferences and publicity posters, contend the "honour" of having been Francesco Lorusso's friends' (ibid.).

Thus, in spite of Monteventi's attempts to reconcile the local community and create a more public consensus about the events of March, the

divide was evident. The various separate initiatives promoted that year further demonstrate how different groups argued among themselves about who should represent and promote a public memory of 1977,[37] much like the competition between the various subsections of traditional and alternative left-wing political parties analysed in the previous chapter.

The generational crisis of the 1990s

The first signs of a generation gap became evident in the 1990s, when younger generations who had not directly experienced the events of 1977 began appropriating this memory, during the protests of the Pantera movement. These erupted in January 1990, during university occupations first in Palermo and then in Rome in protest against the educational reform of Antonio Ruberti, Minister for the Coordination of Scientific and Technological Research: the reform proposed more financial autonomy for university administrations, and hence an increased dependence on private funding (Albanese, 2010, p. 51).

The Pantera movement strongly distanced itself from the PCI, and during the PCI's 19th national conference, in Bologna on 10 March 1990, it openly opposed the Communist authorities, as we saw in the previous chapter.[38] In a flyer distributed during the protest, the students laid claim to the legacy 'of the battle against the strategy of those days', when 'Bologna was normalized by the Pci and by the State, using armoured vehicles'.[39] Hence, although the Pantera movement generally avoided comparisons with previous student movements of the late 1960s and 1970s, particularly with regard to the use of violence (De Angelis, 2010, p. 15; Albanese, 2010, p. 55), it nevertheless gave evidence of a cultural memory of 1977, at least on a local level.[40] At the same time, their criticism not only of the PCI but also of former student leaders such as Benecchi and Berardi – who had tried promoted debates about international Communism through the creation of the Charta 89 project – also revealed the beginning of a generational conflict which erupted during the 20th anniversary, in 1997.

Tensions were high from the beginning, when the former AO organized a demonstration (on 8 and 9 March 1997), which was connected to a national conference – later that month – by the Communist Refoundation Party (PRC) and the Green Party, about the debate on an amnesty for political prisoners of the 1970s and 1980s.[41] Next, even before the annual protest march on 11 March had left from the popular student square Piazza Verdi, where former student leaders

Benecchi, Berardi and Monteventi had organized a nostalgic gathering, a discussion between the latter and groups of students that were occupying a university canteen in that period got out of hand. The younger protesters accused the older generation of limiting their anti-institutional protest exclusively to the generation of the 1970s: one banner, for example, mentioned only the three members of the former LC group who had recently been sentenced for the homicide of Luigi Calabresi.[42] The younger demonstrators, on the other hand, wanted the protest to embrace all political prisoners, including those belonging to younger generations, thus extending the memory of 1977 to subsequent generations.[43]

The students eventually managed to take the lead in the protest march, but that was just the beginning of a long day of tension and confrontation.[44] In via Mascarella, for example, *L'Unità* reported a young man trying to remove a bouquet of flowers that the authorities had placed by the commemorative plaque for Lorusso, which I will discuss in the final chapter, and several other small incidents also took place during the march. When the protesters reached the beginning of the university zone, a group of young people began raiding a bookstore in an initiative reminiscent of the famous 'proletarian expropriations' or 'auto-reductions' of the 1960s and 1970s. In doing so, they physically clashed with members of the older generation – including Monteventi – who tried to stop them. Similarly, when the procession returned to the university zone, an open-air book stall was attacked.[45] Criticism from the former '77 leaders was severe. In the following days Benecchi complained to the press that the protagonists of the clashes in 1997 had adopted nothing more than 'the broken window panes, the incidents. Certainly not the contents that were behind everything, the proposals to improve working conditions, the demands of non-guaranteed workers'; Monteventi observed that the anniversary should have been the 'reconstruction, together with the city, of a bit of historical memory'. He bitterly concluded that the cultural and political climate was no longer there: 'the "true" March 11th was something completely different.'[46]

In short, the commemoration revealed a serious fracture, this time not between left-wing students and the authorities but between two generations of left-wing activists. Monteventi, who was equated with the Communist Party when students shouted a famous anti-PCI slogan of the 1970s against him, cancelled part of the commemorative initiatives. Thus, the 'rebels' of 1977 had become, in their turn, the enemy of the students, who seemed to identify themselves with the more radical factions of the late 1970s, in particular AO.[47] The issue of ownership came

to the fore particularly vividly during a press conference a few days later, when the students – who tried to justify their acts of 'expropriation' by referring to the high cost of books, food and student accommodation in Bologna – replied that the incidents of March 'are not an exclusive right of those who were there'.[48] Thus the memory of Lorusso was disconnected from the protagonists of the events of March, whose current political careers (Benecchi and Monteventi) and presence in the media (Berardi) led younger generations of militants to question their 'authority' and claim 'ownership' over the public memory of 1977.

This, then, also marked the end of the annual procession, 'the real "commemoration" [...] where we went out to demonstrate with companions who stayed WELL AWAY from any institutional representation'.[49] Indeed, after the conflict of 1997, the necessary conditions to organize a massive protest march disappeared completely as the number of participants had been reduced to just a few. Consequently, those who had rejected the ceremony in via Mascarella in previous years were forced to renegotiate their memory of 1977 and join the official commemoration:

> The companions dispersed and were ever smaller in number, definitely not enough in any case to have a demonstration with a procession as had always happened until then. It was therefore absolutely necessary to 'converge' with the event in the morning and to 'share' the memory with those same institutions (more precisely with the parties that constituted the institutions) who had been 'morally responsible' for those facts.
>
> (ibid.)

The commemoration of 1977 was thus 'forced' to change from a fragmented to a multivocal form of commemoration, as the convergence of the two memory agents implied the putting aside of differences. In reality, no reconciliation occurred on these occasions, as we also saw in the previous chapter.

Reconstructing protest identities in visual media, popular culture and on the internet

One of the reasons the former student leaders were so harsh in condemning the behaviour of the rioting youth, on 11 March 1997, was the fact that AO – the main inspiration for the younger generations of activists – evoked connotations of political violence, from which the

former 77-ers wanted to distance themselves. Discussions about justice and responsibility, on the one hand, and media images of the violent clashes and the devastated city centre, on the other, had dominated the local memory of March 1977 for two decades, and the 77-ers now wanted to shift the focus to the cultural legacy of the protests, to a far more positive memory which was 'shareable' by a wider public, hence creating greater consensus about this difficult memory.

This provoked a nostalgic approach to the memory of 1977 which should not, however, be understood in terms of a sense of longing for a lost time: that is, the yearning for a 'lost childhood' or a 'world of yesterday' (Spitzer, 1999, p. 90; Atia and Davies, 2010, p. 182).[50] Recently, scholars have argued that nostalgia selectively constructs the past so as to create a subjective contrast in the present, and therefore cannot be reduced to a yearning for what is no longer attainable (Pickering and Keightley, 2006; Davis, 1977, p. 417). The sense of a loss of historicity and of the meta-narratives described by Jean-François Lyotard in his *The Postmodern Condition* (1984) has enhanced the importance of nostalgia in maintaining, constructing or reconstructing identities in the present, so that it is 'implicated importantly in the continuities and discontinuities we experience in our sense of self' (Davis, 1977, p. 419). In other words, if the 'erosion of once secure collective identities' led to the increasing fragmentation of personal identities, nostalgia served, then, for the former 77-ers as an active and self-aware mechanism for reconstructing individual and collective memories on the basis of which to rebuild their collective identity (Strinati, 1995, pp. 238–239).[51]

This nostalgia was mediated primarily through photography, an important instrument in the process of rehabilitation of 1977, one which traditionally captures times and places lost in the past (Kuhn and McAllister, 2008, p. 1; p. 11). Similarly, Brian Conway has observed how, in the 1990s, the public memory of the Irish Troubles was increasingly performed through visual and interactive media of memory such as films and exhibitions (2010, p. 90). After all, the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s – most certainly in Italy – have been documented predominantly through photographic sources, not only by the press but also by photographers within those movements themselves. As we saw in Chapter 2, relatively little verbal material was produced and archived, leaving the documentary role to visual artefacts instead.

From the late 1990s onwards, photography became particularly important in the attempts of the former 77-ers to turn attention away from stereotypes of violence and towards the creative side of the local

protest movement, documented extensively by photographers Tano D'Amico and especially by Enrico Scuro. Pictures widely circulated during anniversaries, for example in photography exhibitions, books and documentaries. More recently, the collective sharing of photographs via Facebook photo albums – uploaded by Scuro – provoked a wave of nostalgic reactions from former participants in the movement, who tagged themselves in the photographs, left comments and queries and sent Scuro their own photographs to be uploaded in additional photo albums (Hajek, 2012f).

The Facebook experience illustrates how the individual and collective memories that are evoked through photography do not emerge from the photograph itself, as Annette Kuhn has also observed: 'memories evoked by a photo [...] are generated in a network, an intertext of discourses that shift between past and present' (1995, p. 14). In other words, the past is evoked through acts of recollection that are prompted by looking at photographs, which are then no more than prompts for recollection (ibid., 2010, p. 298). Scuro's online photo albums, then, demonstrate that it is not just images that allow for memories to enter our individual and collective identities: the latter take shape in the mediation of the past through images. Hence, the very act of selecting, storing and sharing visual data has an impact on the way the past is recalled and identities are reconstructed in the present; even more so when this activity takes place online. We may, then, again speak of a form of affective labour and a living memorial that is continuously updated as new photos are added and people tag themselves or leave new comments. Nevertheless, the photographs were eventually published in the volume *I ragazzi del '77* ('The Kids of '77'), also the title of the online series of photo albums.[52] This, then, implies an apparent desire on the part of the 77-ers for the digitized photographs to return to their original medium and materiality (Hajek, 2012f).

A range of nostalgic musical initiatives also accompanied the anniversaries in this period: in 1997 and 2002, some of the mythical left-wing groups and singers of the 1970s were brought back on stage. Michael Pickering and Emily Keightley stress the role of music in '[carrying] a powerful affective or sensuous charge', giving shape to that yearning for the world of yesterday from which one has become detached (2006, p. 935). This is also because music, in the 1970s, was consumed more collectively than in the present day: for example, during concerts or in music bars etc. Hence, reliving a musical experience often means reliving a social practice and experience and regaining a sense of belonging to a group. Experience of time, in the end, is associated

'with the construction and reconstruction of events by the mass media' (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 922): in other words, we increasingly experience time through the media. The sensuous nature of media that creates memories is produced 'by an experience of mass-mediated representations' (Landsberg, 2004, p. 20).

This applies not only to direct eyewitnesses of 1977 but also to younger generations. Media such as photography and music allow for different groups to share memories, as Marita Sturken has argued: 'we all have "personal" memories that come to us not from our individual experience but from our mediated experience of photographs, documentaries and popular culture' (2008, p. 75). Alison Landsberg coined the term 'prosthetic memory' to describe this process: i.e., a memory that emerges 'at the interface between a person and a historical narrative of the past', implying that mass media technologies 'open up a world of images outside a person's lived experience' (2004, p. 2; p. 18).

Progressive nostalgia: the case of Crash

Memories of 1977 may also become the memories of younger generations, who did not experience the events personally but who look to the past for models on which to base their own identity. In other words, nostalgic recollections of 1977 not only serve older generations, in their reaction to the threatened continuity of their collective identity, but are also appropriated by younger generations in search of a political, collective identity. The difference lies in the forward-looking perspective of the latter. This occurred from the early 2000s onwards, when the no global movement originated and the death of Carlo Giuliani at the G8 summit in Genoa provided a pretext for younger generations of left-wing activists to (re-)engage in politics.[53] In Bologna one particular youth group has since then laid claim to a memory of 1977: the Crash collective.

Memories of Autonomia Operaia have been reactivated primarily through the squatting activities of Crash, one of the main forms of activism of AO which, on the one hand, reflected the pursuit of solutions to and public attention for housing problems in a city coping with a huge student population and, on the other, represented a search for alternative spaces of socialization in which to 'make society'. As we have seen, this refers to the creation of a sense of belonging within an alternative, public and locally determined space, which led to the creation of the Proletarian Youth Clubs in the mid-1970s.[54] Building on this example, Crash's attempts to construct and promote a cultural youth centre

embody the ideal of 'making society' that characterized the ideology of the 1970s' *autonomi*.

The Crash collective originated in 2003,[55] when a group of left-leaning university students got in touch with members of the former AO. These had remained active throughout the 1980s and 1990s, primarily in organizing squats, anti-nuclear protests and solidarity campaigns for immigrants.[56] Apparently AO represented a sort of 'myth' and a model of resistance for these students, and memories of AO reverberated in public demonstrations and 'auto-reductions': for example, on bus fares.[57] How can we explain this identification, and where exactly does nostalgia fit in? Identification occurs, first of all, on an ideological level. Young people, in the 1970s, had to cope with the effects of the economic crisis of 1973 and the subsequent austerity measures, which clashed with new cultural models and subjectivities among Italian youth. This resulted in a complete rejection of the PCI's work ideology and the appropriation of a collective identity which exalted the precarious nature of the new worker. In the 2000s precariousness has become one of the major social problems and constitutive identities of younger generations of Italians. Contemporary youth, then, identifies with social strata that have remained absent from dominant, public narratives of the past, trying to re-enact or appropriate the battles and political identities of their 1970s' counterparts in the present. In other words, theirs is not a purely backward-looking nostalgia but one which engages with the present and the future, where the past becomes a 'locus of possibility and source of aspiration' (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 937).

Identification with the ideological themes of AO further comes to the fore in visual artefacts, such as banners and graffiti, in the reappropriation of a specific rhetoric, in the 'mythicization' of theoretical thinkers and philosophers, former AO leaders and key readings,[58] and in more practical attempts to face social issues such as lack of housing and migration.[59] Hence there is a nostalgia for the experience of the *autonomi* and their philosophy of 'making society', which implies an appropriation of their battles and their political and social identities, though not with the aim of returning to this past: the members of Crash seem to want to 'recognize aspects of the past as the basis for renewal and satisfaction in the future' (Pickering and Keightley, 2006, p. 921). As Leo Spitzer argues, nostalgia is a way of shaping and directing historical consciousness, an active and self-aware mechanism of creating memory and identity (1999, pp. 91–92). Crash's recourse to nostalgia therefore implies empowerment. This becomes particularly evident if we consider their identification with the radical side of AO, expressed in

their almost warlike behaviour during public demonstrations, in their dark and military-looking dress code and in slogans such as the one given at the beginning of this chapter.[60] This, however, reveals the level of performance which was also inherent in the protest marches of the 1970s.

Yet Crash does not limit its memory of 1977, and of the 1970s as a whole, to the legacy of AO but has borrowed a variety of elements from this decade. Thus, the group has been concerned with the creation of alternative social spaces that allow for the satisfaction of cultural and existential desires: for example, by organizing movie screenings, photographic workshops or creative writing classes.[61] A more direct appropriation of the memory of 1977 is exemplified by the afterword that members of the Crash collective wrote for the republication of one of the key texts of the Movement of '77, *Bologna marzo 1977...fatti nostri ...*. This 'counter-informative' publication first appeared in 1977, and the new edition – in honour of the 30th anniversary of in 2007 – was the joint venture of a left-wing publishing house and the Crash collective.[62] It was the first in a new series dedicated to important and out-of-print documents produced by social movements in the 1960s and 1970s, although it was Crash that first approached the publishing house. Two younger members invited one of the older members of the local AO group in the initiative to write a historical analysis, although they actually provided a comparison between March 1977 and the present situation (ibid.). Thus, Cofferati is described as continuing the 'tradition' of the PCI in 1977, as we read how '[o]nce again Mayor Cofferati has mobilized the police in order to deal with the student protests against high rents [...] Now as then, for the heirs of the pci nothing on its left-hand side is acceptable...'[63] The new edition was therefore intended not as a form of commemoration but as an instrument to help understand the origins of the present problems in society, and to learn from the choices that were made in the past in order to deal more adequately with future issues. It thus expresses, once again, the need to remember in the present and for present purposes which we also encountered in the 'Piccola città...' booklet published by AO in 1987:

[W]e are convinced that it is possible to believe that *fatti nostri* could be useful for companions and militants today, or simply for anyone who believes that it is fundamental to continue reinterpreting the history of a generation, that of '77, because it is alive, still speaks to us who live in a diverse reality. Because it can be of value to return to the origins of phenomena which are currently deployed [...] in

order to dialogue with the protagonists of a cycle of struggles and to understand and evaluate the choices that were made in the antagonist movement, and more generally in order to further refine our arms for a future cycle of battles.

(ibid., p. 274)

During the presentation of the volume, Crash also sold a CD which contained photographic and audio-visual material from 1977, put together by the Bologna Autonomous Zone media network.[64] The front and back cover of the CD included cartoon images depicting Autonomia-like youngsters, dressed in clothes with Crash symbolism and throwing Molotov cocktails at armoured vehicles in Bologna. The images therefore represent a strong visual identification with the former AO in Bologna, revealing the presence of what one former participant in the student movement defined a 'barricade myth'.[65]

Local, global and 'glocal' memories

Political and social identification for the young members of Crash takes place at different levels. At a local level, the pursuit of an alternative sociality – independently from local Communist authorities – in the 2000s was paralleled to the situation of the 1970s, as the group compared the PCI of the 1970s with its heir in the 2000s, the Democratic Party guided by Sergio Cofferati. In the afterword of *Bologna marzo 1977*, Crash wrote how the history of the 1977 generation should be a lesson for the future, speaking in terms of memory duties and 'militant memory'.[66] The close connection between past, present and future is also evident in a slogan taken from George Orwell and reproduced on the back cover of the supplementary CD: 'he who controls the past, also controls the future'. The collective memory of AO is also transposed visually to the local situation in the cartoon images: Bologna's characteristic porticoes make the urban area which is depicted in the images immediately recognizable, as does the depiction of a slogan with Lorusso's name in it on a wall.

In 2009 Crash also reopened an archive which the former AO had dedicated, in 1994, to Lorusso: the 'Centre for Antagonist Communication "Francesco Lorusso" '.[67] Crash changed the name of the archive into 'Dans la rue' ('In the street'), summoning up memories of the riots of 2005 by French youths of north African origin in the Parisian *banlieues*. This illustrates how the political identity of Crash is not limited to the legacy of the 1970s in Italy, or to the specific, local case of Bologna, but

Figure 6.1   Graffiti depicting the riots in the Parisian *banlieues*, in a building occupied by Crash. Photo by Andrea Hajek

relies on a variety of local, national and transnational forms of grassroots resistance to social injustice, dictatorships and authority. These include the Palestinian resistance in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, the struggle for independence in the Basque Country and the Occupy movement.[68] Transnational connections also become evident in graffiti images that often cover the walls of occupied buildings, perhaps also as a tribute to a series of famous graffiti paintings in the university zone of Bologna, in 1977.[69] In one of the buildings I visited, for example, I found graffiti of burning cars and silhouettes of what looked like the French rioters of 2005, accompanied by the slogan 'From the peripheries of the metropolis, let's take back the streets!' (figure 6.1). Thus the riots in Paris in 2005 offered an international model of resistance, in addition to the anti-Fascist paradigm which is at the root of the Italian left-wing identity in general.

The construction of national and international martyrs contributed to a sense of belonging and political identity: Crash frequently merged the memory of Francesco Lorusso with that of Carlo Giuliani or Alexandros Grigoropoulos (also known as 'Alexis'), the young student killed during riots in Athens, in December 2008. On these occasions it reproduced

slogans of the 1970s, as in graffiti written on the walls in via Mascarella during the anniversary of 11 March in 2009 ('Francesco and Alexis live on').

Hence the crisis of the traditional self that inhabits the postmodern age has promoted a form of 'making society' which reflects neither an exclusively local or territorial conflict nor a purely global one, but a 'glocal' one. Making society can, then, be achieved by creating networks where people 'simulate a community'.[70] As philosopher Paolo Virno observes, nothing unites these groups any more with respect to the productive process, although everything unites them with regard to processes of socialization: 'What is common are their emotional tonalities, their inclinations, their mentalities, and their expectations' (1996, p. 18). Making society is, then, not a belonging to a specific group – e.g., a political party – but a belonging as such.

In short, while appropriating local memories of the 1970s – a period most members of Crash did not experience personally – through an appeal to the 'tough' and violent image of the *autonomi*, on the one hand, and the reproduction of the cultural and creative legacy of the 'creative side' of the movement in Bologna, on the other, Crash also draws on national and global memories of protest in the construction of a political identity.

Generational memory

A second local youth community that has appropriated the memory of 1977 is the Rete Universitaria, a university network consisting of political collectives that originated in the wake of the G8 summit in Genoa and the mass protests against the Iraq War of 2003. It was most active during the national protests against an educational reform in 2005. Echoes of the 1970s resounded in a number of 'auto-reductions', but the Rete particularly aimed at the reappropriation of important public spaces where young people gathered and socialized, including the Piazza Verdi, in the heart of the university zone, which had held such an important place in the collective memory of 1977.[71] This was largely an outcome of the severe 'anti-degradation' measures taken by Mayor Cofferati in 2004, which obviously also affected university life, and so again we see how present issues forced memory communities to 'recuperate' past memories.

The idea of reclaiming public spaces was at the heart of the occupation – in the spring of 2005 – of a university lecture hall dedicated to Francesco Lorusso. A former member of Rete Universitaria explained

that all the students active in the network were relatively familiar with the story of Lorusso's death, as this incident was – in his judgement – well known among the local, left-wing antagonist groups, perhaps also due to the wide attention that was given to the protests of 1977 in special issues of *Zeroincondotta* or *Zic*, a popular magazine of the alternative left.[72] Although personal contacts between the Rete Universitaria and former 77-ers undoubtedly played a role in this appropriation of the memory of 1977,[73] Lorusso's name seems to have popped up somewhat 'automatically' during an internal discussion about the occupation, despite the fact that the death of Giuliani represented a more direct memory for this generation, some of whom had been in Genoa in 2001. Yet the incidents of March 1977 carried more weight in the discussion. This is due both to the important local memory that Lorusso's case represents for younger as well as older generations and to the similar context of the protests in 1977:

> Considering that the initiative was conducted in an *academic* context, the university being the political counterpart, we felt it was appropriate to link the memory of Francesco's story to the occupation: also in order to underline, [. . .], the (repressive) role of the university *also* in the days of March '77.[74]

The appropriation of the memory of 1977 by the Rete is furthermore reflected in the slightly rhetorical style of a flyer distributed during the inauguration, where Lorusso's memory is again conflated with that of Giuliani:

> The images of 1977, *like* the images of Genoa, had to be protected from that enemy which, [. . .], cannot claim the final victory for as long as there is *a present which recognizes its own significance in that past*, which sees, in that struggle, a chapter of its own fight.[75]

Clearly the memory of Lorusso's death continues to serve as a lesson for the present, which needed to be protected from oblivion so as to pursue the battle the two movements have in common, 'with the knowledge and the strength that result from being a part of a conflict which is older than many lives, the outcome of which is still uncertain'. The flyer continues:

> [I]t is not enough to preserve the memory: one must claim its currency. To return a memory to the present, to make it current, means

having the courage to trace and to claim lines of continuity which connect those battles with our battles, the homicide in Bologna with the homicide in Genoa, in the common horizon of a hope; a hope more pressing than ever.

(ibid.)

In 2006 the connection with the Giuliani case was again put under the spotlight in two banners that Rete Universitaria brought to the ceremony in via Mascarella on 11 March, one of which read 'Francesco and Carlo live on in our battles': the banner thus 'reactivated' the memory of Lorusso, recalling the famous slogan 'Francesco is alive and fights along with us'. The second banner, which employed a particularly rhetoric language, offers an even clearer example of a sense of commemorative duty: 'We must not forget the silence and the lies. We will not forget Carlo and we will not forget Genoa. We shout that Francesco and Carlo live on in our battles'.[76]

Conclusion

In this third and final chapter on memory communities we have seen that the former student movement – contrary to Lorusso's family and to political actors in Bologna, discussed in the previous two chapters – was concerned not with getting justice or legal truth but with the resolution of persistent social problems and injustices in the present. Lorusso's anniversary has thus been used, for many years, as an occasion to speak out against current affairs, and his person as well as the events of March 1977 have become a political symbol or metaphor through which these communities claimed a group identity and hence continuity in the present.

At the same time local youth groups of the left-wing milieu who had no direct memory of the events of 1977 began appropriating Lorusso's memory, using it as a model for their own battles and thus building their collective identities around this memory. In the late 1990s, when political activism had reached its lowest point and the living memory of Lorusso was on the verge of extinction, this resulted in a competitive relationship with the old guard. After the rise of the no global movement and the Giuliani killing at the G8 summit, however, a new generation of left-wing activists arose who engaged in a more harmonious interaction with the memory of 1977.

Yet the annual commemorative march also brought differences between the various subgroups to the fore, in particular with regard

to the use of violence. Disputes were particularly strong during the 10th and 20th anniversaries, in 1987 and 1997, when the incidents of March 1977 were appropriated by different groups within the alternative left itself, and for different purposes. Negotiation was necessarily an important element in these commemorative processes, and former 77-ers were eventually forced to join the annual commemoration in via Mascarella, centred on the commemorative plaque for Lorusso, which in the meantime had become an 'official' commemorative ceremony.

7
Memory Sites: Negotiating Protest in Urban Space

Introduction

In a recent volume on *Grassroots Memorials*, Peter Jan Magry and Cristina Sánchez-Carretero explore the phenomenon of grassroots memorials – i.e., the act of 'placing memorabilia, as a form of social action, in public spaces, usually at sites where traumatic deaths or events have taken place' (2011, p. 2). Building on Jack Santino's concept of 'spontaneous shrines', which he applied in an analysis of 'temporary monuments' to political assassinations in Northern Ireland, grassroots memorials reflect a process of participation which is to some extent 'disconnected from traditional classes, ethnicities, and other imagined communities' (ibid., p. 29). There are two types of grassroots memorial: monuments of mourning, on the one hand, and what Magry and Sánchez-Carretero define as 'foci of protest and resentment, instrumentalized to articulate social or political disaffection', on the other (ibid., p. 2). This reflects the dichotomy of mourning and moral duty we also came across in the analysis of Lorusso's family's memory work, in Chapter 4, which represents – when applied to 'memory sites' – a 'performative event in public space' and, in the second category, an attempt at social change and hence a duty to remember (ibid.). In this final chapter I will consider a number of memory sites that were proposed, debated and created in Bologna to commemorate Francesco Lorusso as a person and the incidents of March 1977 more generally, and explore the extent to which they represent a grassroots memorial in the terms suggested by Magry and Sánchez-Carretero.

A memory site can be defined as 'any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community' (Pentzold, 2009, p. 209).[1] It thus helps us to preserve and

store information that is too much to deal with. As such, it offers a communal reference point where memories converge and coalesce, reducing the 'proliferation of disparate memories' and providing 'common frameworks for appropriating the past' (Rigney, 2005, p. 18; 2008a, p. 93). With time, as the commemorated past ceases to be part of the present agenda (Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002, p. 32), it may also become a multivocal form of commemoration, although more often than not contentious commemoration remains fragmented. As well as looking at a number of proposals made by Lorusso's family, former companions and local politicians throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, this chapter centres on two contradictory memory sites: on the one hand, a commemorative plaque placed by Lorusso's friends and family shortly after the events of March 1977, which – despite its conventional form – represents a highly spontaneous and critical, fragmented form of commemoration which has, however, been pushed in the direction of a multivocal locus of commemoration with the convergence of different memory communities since the 1990s, as we have seen; on the other, a public garden dedicated to Lorusso in the 1990s, by the then mayor, Walter Vitali, intended as a multivocal memory site though provoking many debates and controversies, and therefore perhaps also a fragmented memorial.[2]

Among the other, minor, memory sites or attempts to create sites that are discussed in this chapter are a tomb at the city cemetery that the Lorusso family managed to negotiate and a wooden statue of Francesco Lorusso. After several years of negotiations by Lorusso's former companions, the statue is currently waiting to be positioned at a university site This chapter, therefore, again explores debates about how contentious memories are negotiated in the public sphere, and the extent to which official and vernacular memories intertwine. It also promotes a more general discussion about the role of memory sites in the creation of local and national shared memories and reconciliation processes.

The commemorative plaque: a grassroots memorial?

Historically speaking, it is only 'natural' that the Movement of '77 should have produced a grassroots memorial for Lorusso. As Magry and Sánchez-Carretero explain, from the mid-1960s onwards the civil rights and liberation movements increasingly contested and appropriated public space for social action: 'Protest demonstrations and marches became popular performances in public space and were often related to death, trauma and mourning' (2011, p. 8). In Italy the 1960s and 1970s were furthermore marked by a more critical approach to traditional

commemorative rituals: the monument was no longer conceived as a static object to be placed on a pedestal but as the 'location of an event to be discovered and to collectively relive the history that marked this event' (Dogliani et al., 2004, p. 87). The 1970s, in particular, were characterized by a more collective way of remembering (Nizza, 1986, pp. 467–468) and by a representation of the past as 'live' history (Dogliani et al., 2004, p. 8).

The first attempt to 'fix' Lorusso's death in the public sphere through a grassroots memorial consisted in the placement of a marble commemorative plaque in via Mascarella, the street where Lorusso was shot dead, during the 32nd celebration of the Liberation from Fascism and Nazism on 25 April 1977 (figure 7.3).[3] Although Mauro Collina denied that there was any symbolic meaning behind the 'inauguration' of this memory site on this specific date, during Lorusso's funerary
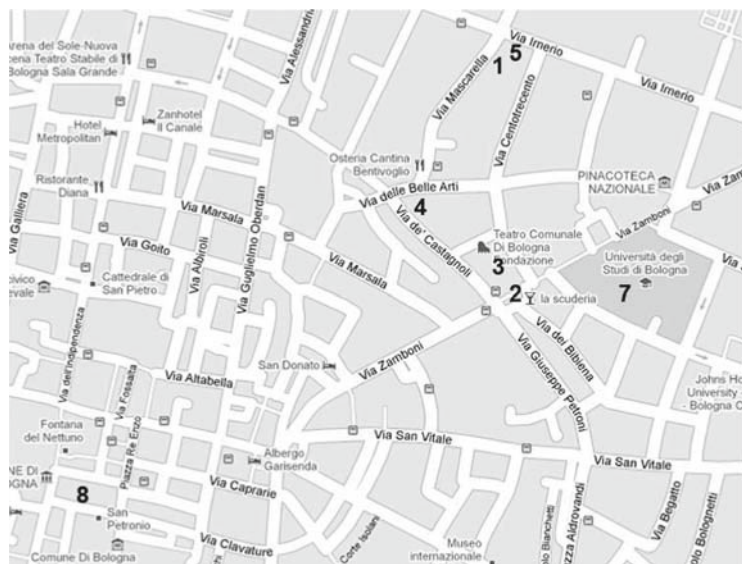
Figure 7.1 Proposed and realized memory sites in the historical centre of Bologna. 1 – Commemorative plaque in via Mascarella (1977); 2 – Proposed memory site in Piazza Verdi (1978 and 1981); 3 – Proposed memory site (1981–82); 4 – Proposed memory site (1988); 5 – Glass plate in via Mascarella (1990); 6 – Giardino Pier Francesco Lorusso (1993, see figure 7.2); 7 – University of Bologna; 8 – Piazza Maggiore (heart of the city centre)
Source: Googlemaps.
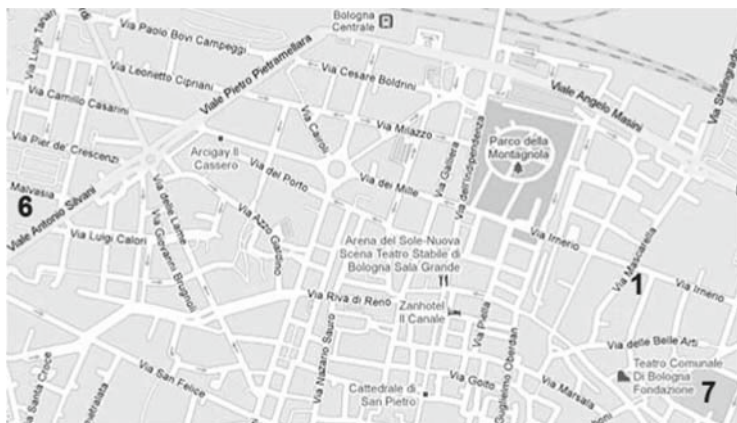
Figure 7.2   Proposed and realized memory sites in and near the historical centre of Bologna. 1 – Commemorative plaque in via Mascarella (1977); 6 – Giardino Pier Francesco Lorusso (1993); 7 – University of Bologna.
Source: Googlemaps.

procession members of the National Association of Italian Partisans (Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d'Italia, ANPI) covered his coffin – on their own initiative, according to Collina – with the ANPI flag, suggesting that the partisans themselves felt a connection with the Lorusso case.[4] Similarly, in a snapshot taken during a demonstration on 16 March 1977, a student is seen holding up a sign which reads 'Francesco died a partisan/killed by the lead of the Christian Democrats'.[5]

The commemorative plaque – created almost immediately after the incidents and placed without permission or intervention from the authorities – is a spontaneous and anti-institutional memory site, and in this sense perfectly meets Magry and Sánchez-Carretero's criterion of a grassroots memorial as the expression of 'individualized political participation and social action', provided we understand 'individualized' not in the literal sense of the word but as not represented by official culture (2011, p. 28). The memory site thus represents, first of all, an important visible counter-memory in opposition to the official interpretation of Lorusso's death as a 'tragic' incident, which was instead expressed in the public garden that will be discussed further on.

A second important feature of the site is the text on the plaque: it focuses not on Lorusso as a person – i.e., his life and achievements, or

Figure 7.3 The plaque commemorating Francesco Lorusso in via Mascarella, on 11 March 2008. Photo by Andrea Hajek

the circumstances of his death – but mostly on the persistence of the ideals he had died for, which he shared with the rest of the student movement. The grammatical subject, for example, is not Lorusso but his companions, and the commemorative plaque thus also reflects – as

well as being a denunciation of the events of 11 March – an attempt to reinforce a sense of belonging and collective identity within the Movement, which had suffered a considerable moral blow:

> THE COMPANIONS OF/FRANCESCO LORUSSO/HERE/ASSASSINATED BY THE FEROCIOUS REGIME'S ARMY/ON 11 MARCH 1977/KNOW/ THAT HIS IDEA/ OF EQUALITY LIBERTY AND LOVE/WILL SURVIVE ALL CRIMES/FRANCESCO IS ALIVE AND FIGHTS ALONG WITH US.

Thirdly, the plaque is a good example of the student movement's rejection of the concept of 'commemorating', as illustrated in the previous chapter, especially in the reproduction of the slogan 'Francesco is alive and fights along with us'. We may then define this plaque a 'martyr monument' – that is, a political gesture of public memory, created not just as a place of commemoration but in order to inspire future struggles (Foot, 2010). Hence it corresponds to the second category of grassroots memorials as theorized by Magry and Sánchez-Carretero, which aims at '[precipitating] new actions in the social or political sphere' (2011, p. 2).

Terms related to the concept of martyrdom – such as 'sacrifice', which implies an act of giving something up for the benefit of others – are absent from the movement's rhetoric. Indeed, the latter rejected and disputed definitions that presented Lorusso's death as the outcome of a deliberate renunciation of life or, on the other hand, as a tragedy, which refers to a situation 'in which human intention, motivation, responsibility, and guilt for the effects of a disaster cannot be identified and assigned' (White, 2000, p. 70). Human responsibility for Lorusso's death was explicit, and Lorusso was shot dead while trying to escape from death: it can therefore not be considered as a sacrifice. In the eyes of the alternative left he was not a martyr in the strict sense of the word.

In spite of this absence of a sense of heroism and martyrdom, the text as well as the very form of the monument recalls the memory sites created for other left-wing victims of violence discussed in previous chapters: a monument erected to Claudio Varalli and Giannino Zibecchi carried the words 'fallen partisans of the new resistance' (Cooke, 2006, p. 72), for example, whereas a marble plaque created for Roberto Franceschi read 'Here fell, on 23 January 1973, in front of his university, Roberto Franceschi, while fighting for democracy in schools and for socialism' (Barilli and Sinigaglia, 2008, p. 64). In this perspective the Lorusso plaque represents a transfer of contentious memory.

In similar fashion, Lorusso's plaque evokes memories of the local commemorative plaques dedicated to partisan heroes of the resistance

struggle in Bologna, which generally contain a reference to the ideological cause for which the partisans died, and to those responsible. Thus, the plaques describe how the partisans died 'for liberty', 'in the battle for liberation' or 'for the liberty and the independence of the fatherland', and how they fell 'under Fascist and Nazi lead'. The text on the Lorusso plaque also indicates who is to blame and mentions a cause of death, although it is less explicit than the partisan plaques: the lack of direct reference to the culprits ('ferocious regime's army'), for example, implies background knowledge on the part of the reader. Nor is the cause of death mentioned explicitly; again it is implied, by reference to the ideals Lorusso fought and died for. Perhaps there was an intention not to place the incident too much in a specific historical context, to conform to the idea of 'live' history as described above, which we also find in the commemorative plaques to Aldo Moro in Rome (Foot, 2009a, p. 431). In other words, the memory of Lorusso was to remain open for other, future interpretations as well as allowing for connections with previous key moments of repression in the city, such as during the Resistance. Finally, the vagueness of the text may also have been the result of a negotiation with Lorusso's parents, who may not have accepted too explicit a denunciation of the situation in such a public space.

Yet, if the text on the plaque and the context in which the plaque was placed (i.e., without permission from the local authorities) meet the criteria of grassroots memorials as being spontaneous and 'instrumentalized to articulate social or political disaffection', then the choice of a marble plaque as the medium through which to transmit this message reflects a highly traditional, 'official' form of commemoration. This may be explained, in the first place, by the need to 'materialize' memory, to give this counter-memory a visible and tangible form of expression, which would also explain the decision to unveil the plaque during a national bank holiday; secondly and more importantly, the lack of 'agreement' on the injustice of Lorusso's death required a more commonly shared, traditional form of remembering for the transmission of this memory to a wider public. In other words, it was necessary in order to avoid a fragmented form of commemoration, in which consensus would be limited to Lorusso's friends and family.

Consensus, 'dissensual' monuments and forgetting

The commemorative plaque in via Mascarella is, then, the result of a compromise. It served, on the one hand, for the promotion of a counter-memory of the events of March and the creation of public consensus on

Lorusso's disputed figure and – by extension – the student movement, which is reflected in the conventional, material form of the site; on the other hand, it seeks to re-construct a collective, political identity for the Movement of '77, which is reflected in the ideological message. So it is a 'dissensual' monument, in that it tries to come to terms with the past by 'integrating into the collective memory political divisions', as opposed to 'consensual' monuments, which primarily celebrate the past or – in the case of painful experiences – silence the victims in the pursuit of rec-onciliation (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz, 1991, p. 408).[6] A 'dissensual' monument, then, responds to the etymology of the word 'monument', which is derived from the Latin 'monere' ('to remind', 'to advise' and 'to warn'), hence serving to prevent traumatic events from happening again and as a reminder of the function of memory as a storehouse of lessons.

The fact that this memory site did not seek to achieve that consen-sus which will be at the basis of the official memory site for Lorusso, created in the 1990s, explains its 'success' as a memory site: since its installation in 1977 it has remained the main memorial for those who have wished to commemorate Lorusso. This is because, for a memory site to be able to save memories from oblivion and remain visible in the urban space, it must be accompanied by substantive memory work, which would not have occurred had the site promoted a consensual, 'multivocal' commemoration: in that case, Lorusso's friends and polit-ical companions would very likely have rejected the site, as happened with the official memory site I discuss below. Amnesia, paradoxically, presents itself exactly when processes of remembrance are brought to a conclusion, for example through the construction of a monument:

> To bring remembrance to a conclusion is de facto already to forget. While putting down a monument may seem like a way of ensuring long-term memory, it may in fact turn out to mark the beginning of amnesia unless the monument in question is continuously invested with new meaning.
>
> (Rigney, 2008b, p. 345)

Similarly, to choose a specific, annual date on which to commemorate collective traumatic events is to delegate the duty to remember atrocities or injustices to a limited time-span of one day per year, which may again lead to amnesia. As we have seen in Chapter 1, commemorative events unify people only temporarily.

In other words, if the fear of forgetting leads people to build mon-uments, once these are realized they actually allow people to start

forgetting. This is because memorials and monuments – as opposed to city streets, for example, which represent an unconscious, less focused and more 'natural' way of experiencing place – are motivated by the 'unavowed fear of forgetting'. Consequently, they tend to become 'invisible' (and are thus forgotten) as a result of their deliberate way of recalling the past (Connerton, 2009, p. 34).[7] In a similar fashion, Michael Rowlands argues that bringing the remembrance of traumatic events to a conclusion through a memorial is actually to forget the pain, whereas evoking questions and doubts about a cause, on the other hand, helps to keep their memory alive (2001, p. 131). In other words, monuments conceal the past rather than reveal it, and so undisputed monuments signify 'a kind of agreement on the meaning of history as well as on the values of the present' (Stråth, 2000, p. 42). In the bitter words of Lydia Franceschi, speaking about the monument that was erected in the memory of her son Roberto: 'often a monument is just an instrument that serves to "settle one's conscience", to try and pay off the priceless debts of blood' (Barilli and Sinigaglia, 2008, p. 65).[8] For her, a monument should primarily be a denunciation, not a consolation.

Disagreement and discord seem to be preconditions for the enduring memory of an event: 'consensus [. . .] is ultimately the road to amnesia and [. . .] it is ironically a lack of unanimity that keeps some memory sites alive', preventing them from becoming 'invisible' in the urban landscape (Rigney, 2008b, p. 346). This is exemplified by the glass plate which extended the memory site in via Mascarella, in 1990: it covers the bullet holes on another piece of wall near the location where Lorusso fell (figure 7.4).[9] The wall became a memory site almost immediately after the events of 11 March, perhaps even more spontaneously than the commemorative plaque: it was covered with messages, posters and graffiti dedicated to Lorusso. It too therefore represents a grassroots memorial in the sense of Santino's definition of 'spontaneous shrines' – i.e., 'temporary, improvised memorials'.[10] It was also a highly symbolic site, the bullet holes being the most visible remnant of the events, a symbolism which is also reflected in the title of the *Cerchio di gesso* journal analysed in Chapter 4.[11] However, people after a while seemed to forget about the bullet holes and about the significance of the wall in general, until the owner of the building decided to repaint the wall. The story goes that Mauro Collina was passing by via Mascarella by chance, and managed to block the renovations only just in time, after which the Pier Francesco Lorusso Association had the local authorities cover the bullet holes with a glass plate. The fact that the wall had been forgotten

Figure 7.4 The glass plate in via Mascarella shortly after the death – during clashes with police – of Alexandros 'Alexis' Grigoropoulos in Athens, on 6 December 2008. The graffiti text reads: 'Francesco and Alexis are alive!' Photo by Andrea Hajek

is demonstrated by the fact that it was merely by chance that the PFL Association found out about the renovations.[12]

This confirms the theory that it is the fear of forgetting that forces people to build monuments or to protect, all of a sudden, long-forgotten memory sites: Connerton has in fact observed that 'spatial landmarks' often become memory sites precisely when their memory is about to be cancelled out (2009, p. 28). Thus, the wall in via Mascarella became

an acknowledged memory site after it had actually already been forgotten. A similar thing happened with the broken clock outside the waiting room at Bologna railway station, the location of the bomb massacre of 2 August 1980. The clock, which was damaged in the explosion and remained set to the time of the blast, had initially been repaired and functioned normally for years, until it broke again in 1996. For economic reasons, the railway company decided not to repair the clock and to 'use' it for the annual commemoration of the massacre, setting it back to the time of the explosion. After receiving complaints from passengers who were unaware of the clock's historic significance, in 2001 the railway company decided to set it in motion once more.[13] Thus it was only then that discussions unfolded about its commemorative significance: perhaps as a result of seeing photographs of the broken clock in the media or during the one-minute silences at annual commemorations, in the collective memory of the inhabitants of Bologna the clock had *never* been set back in motion (Venturoli, 2007, p. 149; p. 150).

Hence, memory sites often originate only when they risk being 'eliminated', or when they are brought to the attention of the public. It was only when the spontaneous memory of the wall with the bullet holes in via Mascarella was on the verge of being deleted and traces of the past risked being erased from urban and public memory that Lorusso's memory community mobilized itself to preserve the wall. The graffiti and the messages were removed, however, and the grassroots memorial returned to being 'simply' a memorial site.

Memory wars: the 'battle of the plaques'

Street names can be more powerful carriers of place memory than monuments, and attempts to leave more visible memories of the incidents of March 1977 in the urban space through facsimiles of street signs were frequent in the first few years.[14] Via Mascarella – and also the popular university square Piazza Verdi – was covered with fake street signs and commemorative plaques reading '11 March square', 'peace square' and 'Francesco Lorusso (1952–1977) square, militant of Lotta Continua'. Surprisingly, the first *official* request for a memory site to Lorusso came from his companions in LC: shortly before the first anniversary of his death, in 1978, they asked for Piazza Verdi to be renamed Piazza Pierfrancesco Lorusso, which again illustrates the value of naming the dead in order to claim ownership over this memory, but also over (memory) space.[15] Piazza Verdi was Bologna's most popular university square, and functioned as an important meeting place for the movement.[16] So the choice

of the square instead of the actual, physical location where Lorusso was killed can be explained by its importance to a sense of belonging and to the collective identity of the movement.

The request also contained elements of negotiation, as the letter that was handed in to the local authorities included implicit allusions to the local Resistance myth. The letter was, moreover, written in a highly rhetorical style, in an apparent attempt to promote a more 'shareable' image of Lorusso's identity: 'We believe that, in this city, whose inhabitants *have always shown that they will not be subjugated to the injustice of regimes*, the democrats' memory of those who have fallen in the fight against injustice must be stimulated'.[17] Hence, whereas the plaque of April 1977 had been placed without any authorization and thus represents a clear act of speaking out against the authorities, this time Lorusso's companions apparently felt that a grassroots memorial alone would not suffice to achieve public consensus, and that it would gain in moral significance if the local government authorized the memory site, perhaps even helped finance it. The request was rejected, however, on the basis of a law which states that streets or squares may be renamed only after people who have been dead for at least ten years.[18]

A second official proposal to rename Piazza Verdi after Lorusso was made by Fabio Alberti, of Proletarian Democracy (DP), in 1981.[19] The proposal was made after Roberto Sandalo's declaration – that Lorusso had been armed on 11 March – was proved false.[20] According to Alberti, Sandalo's declaration suggested an interpretation of 1977 from a terrorist point of view, and to rename a street after Lorusso would then be a sign of 'the refusal of the falsities about him, as reported in the press'.[21] In other words, for DP a memory site would serve as a means of eliminating a historical 'falsity', in the sense that a public monument – since such monuments are generally dedicated to positive, historic figures about whom there is public consensus – would eliminate any doubts about Lorusso being a terrorist. This proposal too was rejected on the basis of the above-mentioned law, although a local Communist councillor did announce a proposal to name a green area in the university zone after Lorusso.[22]

Some time elapsed after this last proposal was made: apparently the district council wanted to make sure that the vacant area – if it were to be named after Lorusso – would eventually be used by students: for example, through the presence of a university canteen. This demonstrates that any reference to Lorusso in the urban area required this area to be in some way connected to his student identity and should not make reference to his ideological orientation, unlike the commemorative

plaque in via Mascarella.[23] In 1982 the district council accepted the decision on the basis that it was an intention to 'underline a constructive intervention towards the needs and requirements of university students', but the local faction of the centre-right Christian Democrats proposed to vote against the decision.[24] Tensions were in the air, due to a recent initiative taken by members of DP, who had placed an unauthorized commemorative plaque in via Mascarella. The plaque promoted a counter-memory as well as an explicit denunciation of the events, and was therefore again a 'dissensual' monument: 'Francesco Lorusso street, Communist student assassinated by the Christian Democrat regime'.[25] In a press release, DP justified the initiative mostly by reference to the fact that, since 1977, the situation of students and other youth groups in the city had not improved, arguing that the plaque was intended to remind the local community of this situation.[26] It thus gave proof, once again, of a moral duty to remember.

Mayor Zangheri left the decision about the removal of the plaque to the judiciary: apparently he did not want to 'hamper, [...] by interposing formal and legal obstacles, the course of the investigation'.[27] In reality, we may assume that the mayor's hesitancy about taking measures against DP was connected to the attempts of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in those years to regain political consensus and confidence by focusing on the remediation of its political identity, in the aftermath of the events of 1977. The plaque therefore had to be removed, eventually, on initiative of the local Christian Democrats themselves, an action which led to more debates in the City Council. Subsequently, members of the local DP placed a new plaque in via Mascarella: this time it was removed immediately, and the 'offenders' were arrested.[28] This incident illustrates, first of all, that the memory of 1977 was still very much alive in the local, political community, and secondly, that monuments to the dead can serve as weapons in the battle over past and present (political) identities.[29] Finally, it reconfirms the thesis that conflict rather than consensus contributes to keeping a memory alive.

Much like the polemics about appropriate memory sites for Giuseppe Pinelli – the anarchist accused of the Piazza Fontana massacre of 1969, who died during police interrogation – and the subsequent negotiations of these public memories, Lorusso's death continued to be contested and debated throughout the 1980s.[30] In the end, the proposal for a public area to be dedicated to him was not pursued. Nor did the proposal, in 1987, for a hospital area to be renamed after him receive any attention: Collina explained that this proposal had not been truly serious

but was more of an attempt to draw attention to the local authorities' failure to honour their promise to create a memory site for Lorusso.[31] In 1988 the Topographical Commission did, however, consider a new proposal, although it is not evident who it came from: in the commission's report it is only stated that a previous proposal – probably Alberti's one of 1981 – 'had not been made viable', and that the matter should now be re-examined in view of 'the debt the Communal Administration held towards the Lo Russo Family'.[32] The site chosen was a public garden just behind Piazza Verdi, the 'emblem of the difficulties in the relation between the city and the students'. Yet, some members of the commission observed that a public space dedicated to Lorusso might be interpreted as 'the glorification of the victim of a repression which never really was a repression', and as 'the city's support for a partial vision of the incidents of '77'.[33] Thus, dedicating a public memory site to Lorusso was interpreted not as the mere recollection of a dramatic, historical event with important consequences for the local community, but as the expression of a political statement.

Although the proposal was initially approved, provided that the plaque bore only Lorusso's name and, at the most, his date of birth and death, this project too was never realized. By the late 1980s Lorusso's memory therefore seems still to have been too controversial to include into the city's public and urban memory, confirming Andreas Huyssen's thesis that 'the changing monumental architecture of urban space serves as an index of memory politics, triggering debates about the meaning and relevance of versions of the past for the present and future'.[34]

The Giardino Pierfrancesco Lorusso: a multivocal monument?

It was not until after the newly elected mayor, Walter Vitali – who, we have already seen, was concerned with remembering the incidents of 1977 – became involved with the project for a memory site that things started to move forward.[35] In a letter to the president of the Topographical Commission in 1993, Vitali explained his request by recalling the personal trauma of Lorusso's death for his family and friends as well as the public trauma of this incident, and its impact on a 'vast, youthful component which attended the University of Bologna in those years and which today offers its own social and professional contribution to the City and to the Country'.[36]

The reason for Vitali's choice of site – a public garden just outside the city centre – was the presence of a student dormitory, which gave

the location an 'academic pertinence' and therefore again implied that any public act of honouring Lorusso needed to be connected to his status as a student in order to be acceptable. Yet contradictory positions came to the fore as some members of the Topographical Commission objected that the events of March 1977 still evoked 'a contraposition which would be accentuated by the inclusion of Lorusso's name into the urban space'. Again they interpreted the proposal as 'a political rather than a technical choice'.[37]

Nonetheless, the proposal was eventually accepted, and in 1995 the public garden was opened, much to the satisfaction of Lorusso's father, who considered the site a 'sign of recognition from the democratic institutions of the Republic'.[38] This was in spite of several difficulties in finding an appropriate caption for the commemorative plaque, one 'which would tune with the general sentiment of the inhabitants'.[39] Initially, Vitali had suggested the phrase 'Whose tragic death has marked the city and the student movements of 1977', but this was apparently considered still too controversial, and the commission replaced it with: 'university student who died tragically on 11 March 1977' (figure 7.5).[40]

Figure 7.5   The plaque commemorating Francesco Lorusso in the public garden – the Giardino Pierfrancesco Lorusso – dedicated to him in the 1990s. Photo by Andrea Hajek

The commemorative text gives a very different reading of the way Lorusso died from the plaque in via Mascarella: he is described not as having been killed, but simply as having died. Secondly, the use of the adverb 'tragically' changes the nature of the events, completely ignoring the responsibility of the police and instead attributing Lorusso's death to some sort of tragic fate. Members of the former student movement, in fact, contested the words 'died tragically' because of their implication of accidental death: Lorusso's a former college friend of spoke of 'a linguistic formula which removes the truth in an unacceptable way', and there are visible signs – on the two commemorative plaques that were placed at each of the two entrances to the garden – of a sticker that must have been placed, at some previous time, exactly over the words 'died tragically'.[41]

The very idea of a memory site in the form of a public garden may have been in line with the commemorative gardens that proliferated in the 1980s and 1990s, when the representation of past traumatic events shifted from a 'live' history towards a 'more abstract and universal dimension of the symbol, a sliding of the message towards a more prominently pacifist discourse' (Dogliani et al., 2004, p. 91). This coincides with the tendency of local political representatives in the early 1990s to start making amends for the difficult memory of 1977. Originally, though, the public garden had been a beef cattle market, and the decision to dedicate this location to Lorusso was justified, if at all, by the presence of a student dormitory. It is thus only symbolically connected to the event that is being commemorated. Given also the protests of former 77-ers against this monument and the ambiguous text on the commemorative plaque, the public garden has had a much weaker signification during the annual commemoration, and is therefore a good example of a 'consensual' monument and an attempt at multivocal commemoration. As we saw earlier, consensual monuments aim at promoting reconciliation and moving on, and multivocal types of commemoration are 'likely to emerge in a consensual political culture' (Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2002, p. 32). This was precisely what the former Communist Party was after in the early 1990s. The timing of this official memorial, shortly after the fall of Communism and the transformation of the PCI into the Democratic Party of the Left, was therefore no coincidence.

But the garden was not exempt from debate, as we saw above; in spite of the official recognition it represented for Lorusso's family, it still lacked consensus in the public sphere, and not only among the former 77-ers. Thus, when an addition was made to the garden, in 1999, local right-wing politicians spoke out against the monument. The new
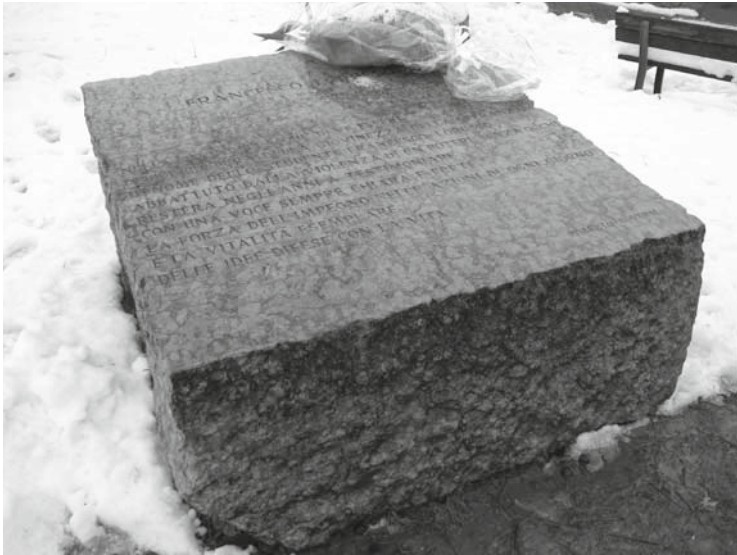
Figure 7.6 The marble stone with poem by Roberto Roversi in the Giardino Pierfrancesco Lorusso, added in 1999. Photo by Andrea Hajek

addition consisted of a poem written by Roberto Roversi, carved in a red marble rock and financed by the Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (figure 7.6). This embellishment was motivated by damage done recently to the commemorative plaque in via Mascarella: on the night of 10 March 1987 the plaque had been desecrated, with graffiti, by neo-Fascist youths. For Mayor Vitali another monument for Lorusso was to be considered as a 'sign which was necessary for the memory of the student Lorusso not to be left solely to the plaque in via Mascarella'.[42] Similarly, Lorusso's father denounced the attempts to 'shelve and cancel out' Lorusso's memory from 'historic memory' and stated that another monument would help reinforce this memory. So the feeling that a monument could 'fix' a memory in time was particularly strong among these memory agents.

Controversy arose when the president of the district in which the garden is located, Sergio Guidotti, of the National Alliance (AN), left the ceremony in protest.[43] Previously, other members of AN had rejected the 'political instrumentalization of that event', observing that Lorusso 'was killed in the course of very violent street fights triggered by his companions as they put the university and the entire city to fire and sword'.[44] They also described the addition to the garden as an insult to

the police force, clearly attributing responsibility for what had happened to the student movement.

Guidotti himself explained his action by stating, first of all, that Lorusso was not just a victim of the situation but also a protagonist. Secondly, he felt it was not correct to celebrate '*with a monument* to the *human* symbol, one of the darkest chapters in the city's history'. According to Guidotti, Lorusso should be remembered as a person, given the 'human mercy that is due, whatever the circumstances, to a deceased youth', but not as the 'breach for which we continue to pay the price today', referring to present-day public order problems in Bologna, which he traced back to 1977.[45] In other words, Lorusso did not 'deserve' to be remembered as a public, political figure, which contradicts Fabio Alberti's motivation for his proposal of a memory site in 1981. It therefore illustrates, once again, how different social groups value Lorusso's death differently, taking us back to the discussion about who should be remembered, and who 'owns' a memorial. Indeed, this seems to have been a constant element of memory debates in local politics since the early 1990s.[46]

The 'Lorusso lecture hall'

A final important memory site for Francesco Lorusso that was debated, but which did not come to fruition, was a university lecture hall or study area, which Virginio Pilò wanted to dedicate to Lorusso.[47] Pilò does not have a direct, personal memory of the events of March 1977, but claimed a position within this memory after his arrival in Bologna in 1980. When he became head of the university section of the independent Rappresentanze di Base (RdB) union, he made the official request for a lecture hall to be named after Lorusso.[48] Pilò first had local politicians and administrators sign a petition, which was presented in a letter to the university chancellor: surprisingly, local members of centre-right parties also signed it. Dedicating a space within the university was apparently not seen as a problem, unlike a more public and visible space in the urban landscape such as the (unsuccessful) green area proposal or the public garden discussed earlier.[49]

The letter stressed the importance of the incidents of 11 March 1977 for the entire community and criticized the local authorities for their feeble efforts to commemorate this date, leaving 'a dramatically open wound which has never healed'.[50] The university was not exempt from this criticism, and the letter called on the chancellor to 'give an embodiment to a necessary moment of memory, beyond any

ideological adherence and predetermined alignment, in order to enrich the humanity of the future generations with an appropriate occasion for reflection'. In brief, Lorusso's death is presented as a public trauma with an impact on the local community, which involved the university and thus implied a moral duty to remember the incident in a university location. Furthermore, the letter contains what I would call 'moral blackmail', as the authorities and official institutions are accused of having failed to do justice to Lorusso as requested by his father, who is described as a 'faithful and convinced servant of those same institutions who subsequently and paradoxically excluded him (ibid.)'.

Pilò did not achieve anything with the letter, but he did not give up hope. In 2001 he received support from the president of the Regional Council in Bologna, Maurizio Cevenini, in a letter to the new chancellor, Pier Ugo Calzolari. Cevenini had been a member of the PCI in the 1970s and for several years participated in the annual commemoration in via Mascarella, until his death in 2012.[51] As Cevenini himself explained in an article published in a local daily in March 2002, he supported the idea of a lecture hall. Perhaps in an attempt to make amends, he stated that '[t]he left, the entire left, has not reconsidered sufficiently those terrible months and a debate without prejudices would be useful to understand those years and in particular the current situation', as well as leading to a 'pacification for all'.[52] Cevenini also underlined the fact that 'no other location would have an equivalent effectiveness in making the kids of today reflect'.[53] Similarly, Lorusso's father had previously observed that the memory of his son must remain 'close to young people', and so the emphasis is not merely on the creation of a memory site but on its visibility and its closeness to younger generations of students in Bologna.[54]

Still unsuccessful, in 2002 Pilò reminded chancellor Calzolari of the proposal and of the wide support it had received, stressing the fact that Lorusso's death represented a commonly shared, public memory.[55] Pilò tried to support his statement by pointing out the fact that important local political agents – such as Cevenini and in 2003 the deputy mayor, Giovanni Salizzoni – had supported the proposal, which for him left no room for doubt about 'the genuine and impartial character and the relative significance which would be attributed to a similar initiative'.[56] Again there is an element of moral blackmail in Pilò's renewed request, as the chancellor is reminded of the family's financial sacrifice through a reference to the annual thesis award.[57] Moreover, Pilò observes that Lorusso's father is 'by now well on in years and any action [...] could be too late and therefore prejudicial to the memory of somebody who

today only disposes of the intellectual powers of their own memory'. Similarly, in an open letter in 2007 Pilò held Calzolari responsible for the sad fact that Agostino Lorusso – who had died the previous year – had not lived 'to see the hope that has carried him in the last years of his life realized': in other words, the lecture hall.[58]

Eventually, the proposal was officially rejected in 2006: according to Pilò, the fact that the university was going to organize a conference on the 1970s in 2007, which was announced back in 2006, was presented as a sort of compromise (ibid.). We can assume that the university felt it was too much to remember Lorusso in such a way, not so much because of his dubious victim status but simply because lecture halls in universities seem to be dedicated, in general, to important historical figures rather than students who had not achieved anything in particular. Out of protest, Pilò dedicated the RdB union's office in the university to Lorusso, shortly before the rejection,[59] whereas the student network discussed in the previous chapter – Rete Universitaria – dedicated an occupied lecture hall to Francesco Lorusso. Both these initiatives are expressions of a form of memory work 'from below' that gives evidence of a persistent, though still not publicly shared, collective memory of the events of March 1977 in Bologna.

Conclusion

The (proposed) memory sites that have been discussed in this final chapter all demonstrate the significance of memory work and negotiation in processes of remembering dissent. Both the memory sites that were proposed but rejected and those that have eventually been realized were negotiated by different memory communities and with different purposes: the commemorative plaque in via Mascarella originated as a spontaneous denunciation of the events by the memory community closest to Lorusso, hence representing a 'dissensual' and fragmented monument, although the conventional medium through which Lorusso was remembered there implies an attempt at gaining public consensus. The Giardino Pierfrancesco Lorusso, on the other hand, is a consensual monument which was erected when the former PCI tried to make amends for the past and start a new political life. It therefore placed the events in a tragic light and avoided any form of responsibility, being 'open' to interpretations and thus multivocal. This attempt at reconciliation has not been acknowledged as such by all memory communities. As one of the 77-ers observed during the annual commemoration in via Mascarella in 2010, when he

criticized the presence of Maurizio Cevenini: reconciliation will not happen through institutional ceremonies.

I have also discussed the various obstacles created by the traumatic impact of the events of March 1977 on the troubled process of creating memory sites for Lorusso in the urban area, the reluctance of the authorities and the local university administration to deal with this memory, and the problems they faced in dealing with it. Attempts to dedicate public spaces to the student were accompanied by heated debates in the official sphere about the public value of Lorusso, which perhaps best reveal the divided memory of this event. These were most evident in the creation of the Giardino Pierfrancesco Lorusso: Lorusso's memory was still too controversial to become a public memory of (and visible in) the city. Compromises have resulted in a memory site with no real commemorative power, which satisfied only Lorusso's family members, anxious finally to receive official recognition.

This was also what motivated them to negotiate a memory site at the local Certosa cemetery: after a number of rejections, in 1992 the request for an area where to place a tomb for Lorusso – free of charge – in the city's biggest and most eminent cemetery, was finally accepted. The District Council explained their decision to approve the project by the fact that Lorusso was to be considered the 'symbol of a generation which has expressed a strong moral and social engagement', and that the events of March 1977 had a 'vast resonance in the city and in the entire country'.[60] The contrast between this interpretation of Lorusso's figure and the interpretation put forward by members of the Topographical Commission in the same period, regarding the disputed proposal to dedicate a public garden to the student, could not be more stark. Apparently a positive, consensual memory of Lorusso's figure and his importance for the local community was allowed only outside the urban space, and in a completely different, religious context. This is also reflected in the text that was sculpted on the tomb, for which the Lorusso family commissioned an artist:

YOUTH/NEVER DIES/WHEN/IT IS A HOPE IN THE WORLD/WHEN/IT IS TRUE LIBERTY/WHEN/IT SEEKS THE FUTURE/TO MAKE IT MORE JUST/AND TO MAKE IT EVEN YOUNGER.

The desire for official recognition and reconciliation is also reflected in the reaction of Lorusso's brother Giovanni to the description of the commemorative plaque in the garden: he felt that the text ('died tragically') was too harsh, and he would have preferred something 'more mild, perhaps "gone", for this garden should speak of life'.[61] These two

Figure 7.7 Statue of Francesco Lorusso by Walter Benecchi (1977–1978). Photo by Andrea Hajek

memory sites, then, very clearly represent 'consensual' monuments in which the controversial facts about Lorusso's death are silenced or put aside, both in the ambiguous commemorative plaque in the garden and in the absence of any reference whatsoever to the incidents of March

1977 in the text on the Certosa tomb. Furthermore, both memory sites are located well outside the city centre, and do not have any physical connection with the events they commemorate.

Indeed, other than memory work, the physical location of an event is also crucial in the persistence of a living, collective memory: not surprisingly, only the commemorative plaque in via Mascarella has maintained a prime position in the annual commemorations, and the 'survival' of Lorusso's memory seems to depend entirely on this memory site (Foot, 2009, p. 406) and on the memory work performed at this site. This is also why, during the 33rd anniversary of the events of March 1977, in 2010, former LC members suggested once more the idea of dedicating via Mascarella to Lorusso, justifying the suggestion by observing that 'Francesco's memory must be a patrimony of the city'.[62] It is unlikely, though, that any local government will grant Lorusso such importance.

More recently, the PFL Association has been negotiating a publicly visible space in the university area for the placement of a wooden statue of Lorusso made by Walter Benecchi, the father of former student leader Diego Benecchi.[63] The statue depicts a wounded Lorusso being held up by a fellow student (figures 7.7 and 7.8). The proposal has now been

Figure 7.8 Statue of Francesco Lorusso by Walter Benecchi (1977–1978). Photo by Andrea Hajek

accepted, and it was decided that the statue was to be placed near the department where the clashes originated.[64] Could the statue finally turn Lorusso's memory into a commonly shared, public memory? After all, figurative memorials are better equipped to engage viewers with the likenesses of people, evoking 'an empathic link between viewer and monument that might then be marshalled into particular meaning' (Young, 1993, p. 10). In other words, they more easily give shape to a 'shareable' memory that may be acknowledged by a wider public. It does seem that, after more than 30 years, with truth and justice further away than ever, the only means to keep Lorusso's memory alive in the public sphere is to create yet another memory site.

Conclusion: Trapped in Private Spaces

Theodor Adorno once wrote that anything in the past that has been negated or distorted will weigh on the future as a mortgage (cited in Jedlowski, 2008, p. 41). This is what this book has mainly been about: the way memories of the past shape the present and the future. It is not concerned with establishing the truth behind Francesco Lorusso's death, nor does it aim at (re)telling the history of the Movement of '77. That is why I opened the book with an account of how I got involved in this project: that is, the assertion that a 30-year-old incident still mattered so much, even to people who weren't even born in 1977. That was what prompted me to embark on a project in which I tried to understand how contentious memories of political and police violence originate, develop over time and are (re)negotiated by different memory agents, and why. I have analysed how different parts of the local community in Bologna have negotiated, over the past 30 years, a publicly shared memory of the traumatic events of March 1977, in contrast to or – on the contrary – in keeping with the public image that has been conveyed in the media and in historiography.

I began by placing the events of 1977 in the context of the 'years of lead', a decade marked by political violence in both Germany and Italy. The case of Italy was central to the debate, due to the presence of neo-Fascist terrorism (*stragismo*) in addition to left-wing terrorism, and the lack of legal sentences and hence of a conclusion to this dramatic chapter in the history of contemporary Italy. Italian media and history education contributed – along with the lack of sentences and the greater public visibility and notoriety of former left-wing terrorists in society – to the creation of a public narrative in which left-wing extremism and terrorism are overemphasized, whereas neo-Fascist massacres remain blurred. Despite the lack of any explicit state control over

history education in Italy, I have argued that the latter selects information in such a way so as to marginalize the voices of victims of *stragismo* and other forms of violence not perpetrated by left-wing extremists in those years. This has produced historical silences which comply with a specific strategy of forgetting those compromising and traumatic past events that risk destabilizing the image of a democratic and legitimate state. In other words, there is a sort of publicly and socially mediated interpretation of the past, a whole set of presuppositions that reveal an explicit strategy of excluding problematic information that might hinder any formal reconciliation with this difficult past. This strategy is reinforced by the lack of a language with which to describe political violence and its perpetrators, as well as of a proper methodology which might enhance understanding. Without such clarity, the wound remains open and continues to resurface in public debates, whereas the task of asserting the truth and coping with the trauma is delegated to victims' families associations.

Another problem in the historicization of social movements of the late 1960s and, in particular, the 1970s is the dominance of personal accounts, mostly written by former leading figures. We have seen how this has contributed to a mythical interpretation of 1968, especially since the 1980s, and the subsequent de-politicization of a historical event which was in fact political in nature. In addition, the sense of 'unspeakability' or 'prejudice of "inexpressibleness"' that continues to weigh on the movements of both 1968 and 1977, 'the resistance to narrate it and study it as any other event' (Galfré, 2008, p. 121) is also caused by the dominance of photography and other visual memories and the lack or inaccessibility of written sources. Consequently, the media and the literature have indulged in negative, condemnatory readings, on the one hand, and celebratory, often nostalgic narratives of 1968 and 1977, on the other.

In the case of 1977, the negative legacy of terrorism has particularly favoured a damning interpretation which has been challenged, officially, only after 30 years (as opposed to the 20 years it 'took' 1968), and mostly at a local level. For now. Thus, the 30th anniversary of March 1977 in Bologna saw the involvement of a variety of local memory agents, not only from the alternative left-wing milieu but also among more institutional bodies in the city, such as the university and Bologna's public library, Sala Borsa. A small exhibition inside the library offered a selection of the most representative literary, cinematic and musical works on or from 1977, and the library also created an online catalogue entitled 'Seventy-Seven. 1977, 30 Years Later', where

the focus was primarily on the cultural, artistic and generational value of the Movement of '77 as it manifested itself in Bologna (Hajek, 2011a). A similar focus on the cultural aspects of 1977 dominated in a cinema retrospective at the local Cineteca film archive, which also and explicitly moved away from the violent image of the 1970s as 'years of lead', probably in an attempt to maintain a (political) distance and hence seek a less controversial approach that would make the memory of 1977 'presentable' to a wider range of people, including the sponsors of the retrospective (ibid.).

The task of producing a more complete narrative of the 1970s and of those events that are left out of 'official' histories, or which are narrated following a particular political agenda, has been taken on by small and often locally based memory communities. In addition to seeking justice and historical truths, their memory work mainly consists in the negotiation, in the public sphere, of memory sites and commemorative practices of different kinds. In the three chapters on memory communities we have, in fact, seen that Francesco Lorusso's family had to turn its attention to the creation of public consensus and recognition through publicly visible memories of him, after attempts to have the investigations reopened failed, in order to prevent similar incidents from being repeated. Hence they gave proof of a moral duty to remember which was shared with other families of victims of violence in those years, and more recently.

For the members of the former Movement of '77, the focus was less on justice for Lorusso than on the ideal he had come to represent: the battle against the authorities for a more equal and just society. Thus Lorusso's name became a metaphor for a situation and an identity that affected the entire student movement, and which unified the fragmented groups during the annual commemorations over the following two decades. With time, however, divergences between the groups increased, and the commemoration became an occasion to address current political issues and establish individual political identities in relation to other groups in the former student movement, as the case of Autonomia Operaia, in particular, has illustrated. Eventually, a generational conflict added to the situation, when younger militants of the local alternative left started to appropriate the memory of 1977 and dispute the authority of former leaders. By the end of the 1990s, the living memory of Francesco Lorusso was in danger of disappearing, and the former 77-ers were forced to renegotiate their memory and seek a compromise with representatives of the local official sphere, joining them in the annual commemoration in via Mascarella, on 11 March.

Local politicians also tried to come to terms with this difficult memory, for instrumentalist reasons and especially after the dissolution of the Italian Communist Party (PCI). Thus, the historical left in Bologna – primarily the PCI and some of its heirs – has attempted to regain political terrain, among young people in particular, by renegotiating a memory of 1977. This happened mostly in the promotion of commemorative discourses against terrorism, in which Lorusso was stripped of his political identity and made 'shareable' for the wider community. In the 1990s a public garden was dedicated to Lorusso, but important elements of the story of March 1977 were again silenced. The various public debates about the value and significance of a public memory of March 1977 – which raised the question of whether Lorusso deserves to be honoured with a public memory site – as well as the negotiations and compromises that have been made in the commemorative process demonstrate how divided this memory continues to be, and how each community remains trapped in its own, private 'memory space', even if the various official and vernacular memory agents interacted, initially, and their memories tended to intertwine, from time to time.

This separation is also reflected in the fact that nearly all the memory communities discussed here – with the exception of Lorusso's family and, to some extent, his close friends and companions of Lotta Continua – chose to commemorate Lorusso for specific, strategic reasons not always related to him as an individual. Thus, in an attempt to regain political consensus, local officialdom incorporated Lorusso's figure in a discourse of national reconciliation, in which Lorusso and the events of 1977 became a metaphor for the problem of political violence, justice and democracy; for the alternative left he was not simply a fallen companion to be honoured during the commemorative march but a symbol of repression and a political occasion – or vehicle – through which to reclaim the past and redress past injustices (Misztal, 2004, p. 75); for the dissident, Communist intellectuals of the Pier Francesco Lorusso Association, finally, he was a finger to be pointed at the PCI and its disappointing pro-government politics in those years.

Hence, if in recent years public discourses about 1977 have started to move away from stereotypical images of violence and towards a more cultural approach, the memory communities – or what is left of them – continue to work separately and in their 'own' spaces. This demonstrates that it does not suffice to have committed memory agents or strong memory sites, as Brian Conway suggests in his study of the Bloody Sunday commemorations in Northern Ireland (2010, p. 67), at least not when remembering contentious memories of violence.

Political authority and public consensus are equally important, and where trauma affects victims who are not considered as such by the entire community, negotiations are more demanding, and (true) reconciliation takes time. Thus, it was only in the 1990s that some concrete attempts at reconciliation were made, mainly through the creation of the Giardino Pierfrancesco Lorusso. The latter did not change the situation, though and actually contributed to a silencing of the facts. As in the case of 1968, the 'unspeakability' of these events after a while makes way for an approach that attempts to silence the traumatic aspects of this memory in order to make it more 'speakable' and somehow presentable to a wider public.

And so the wound of Lorusso's death has remained open. Unlike the Bloody Sunday memorial, the memory of March 1977 did not reach that 'controlled consensus' that allowed the Irish memorial to become a consensual commemoration (Conway, 2010, p. 42): at the most, a pact of silence was agreed, during the annual commemoration in via Mascarella, but without reaching any form of conciliation. The transformation of the annual commemoration from a dissensual and fragmented act of commemoration into a more consensual and multi-vocal one was, in fact, a failure: it did no more than allow left-minded politicians to symbolically reconnect with the local community, and the former 77-ers to save the 'living memory' of 1977, a memory they still claim authority over. In spite of attempts to engage younger generations, they remain more or less remote. The persistence of violence has also prevented the wound from healing; with every event that reminds people of the various incidents of political violence and police repression, such as the deaths of Carlo Giuliani and Federico Aldrovandi, to name but two, the wound inevitably reopens. Perhaps only the reappropriation of the memory of 1977 by younger generations of left-wing activists will represent a survival of the living memory of 1977. For them the clashes of 1977 continue to have significance in the present. Whether Lorusso's memory will ever become part of the city's patrimony is not important. For them Lorusso is alive.

Notes

Introduction: Negotiating Memories of Protest

1. 'Contentious' protests relate to collective actions performed by social groups that do not have 'regular access to institutions, [. . .] act in the name of new or unaccepted claims, and [. . .] behave in ways that fundamentally challenge others or authorities'. Tarrow (2006, p. 3).
2. See Melucci (1996); Goodwin et al. (2001); Polletta and Jasper (2001); Jasper (2010).
3. See Mason (2011).
4. This is opposed to social memory, 'an often not activated potentiality' of which collective memory only represents 'an activated practice'. Namer (1991, p. 93).
5. See Nowotny (1994); Adam (1995); Hoskins (2001); Brose cited in Hoskins (2004).
6. At present memory studies are, in fact, a disparate discipline which involves fields as diverse as history, sociology, literary and media studies and psychology, and its inter- or trans-disciplinary nature has produced a multitude of terminologies and definitions. Erll (2008).
7. 'Communicative memory' implies a living, autobiographical and 'fluid' memory based on everyday communication (Assmann, 2008, p. 111).
8. In this book I will predominantly apply the definition of 'cultural' memory in my analysis of the transference of memories of protest movements of the 1970s, whereas I reserve the concept of 'collective' memory to discussions about shared memories of groups more in generally (Erll, 2006, p. 5; Erll, 2008, p. 4).
9. The 'linguistic turn' was a development in Western philosophy which focused on the relation between philosophy and language. One of the strands within the movement acknowledges that language is not a transparent medium of thought, thus creating an awareness of the falseness of the claim that history can produce 'true' or 'authentic' accounts of the past. White (1978).
10. Cited in Alexander (2004, p. 4).
11. The concept of 'creeping May' reflects the long duration of the protests of 1968 in Italy, and the metaphor of 'May' refers to the famous French protests, which were mostly concentrated in the period of May 1968.
12. Throughout the book I will use the Italian name for both Lotta Continua and Autonomia Operaia (Workers' Autonomy), the two most important groups within the alternative left in the 1970s.
13. On the origins and reception of the term 'years of lead', see Chapter 1, pp. 29–31.
14. An exception is the volume which gathers the papers of a conference on the 1970s held at the University of Bologna during the 30th anniversary of 1977,

in 2007 (see Chapter 5). It must be noted that, if the incidents of 1977 have never been systematically analysed and debated from a critical and impartial, historical perspective, this is also due to the reluctance of former 77-ers to become an object of historical research, as we shall see (see Chapter 5, pp. 120–121).

15. By 'vernacular' memory agents James Bodnar means those 'ordinary people' who 'privilege the personal or vernacular dimension of patriotism over the public one'. They are 'less interested than cultural leaders in exerting influence or control over others, and are preoccupied, instead, with defending the interests and rights of their respective social segments' (1992, p. 16).

16. Where possible, references are provided, although some of the material from the Lorusso archive (box B5) – including correspondence with Lydia Franceschi, the mother of another victim of police violence in the 1970s – was neither dated nor signed.

17. This event contributed significantly to the overall 'condemnation' of these years as 'years of lead', where 'lead' is a metaphor for bullets.

18. The concept of 'memory sites' or 'sites of memory' was introduced by Pierre Nora (1989).

1   "Years of Lead"? Political Violence in Perspective

1. Kneecapping was a speciality of the Red Brigades.

2. The definition of the 1970s as *anni formidabili* was taken from the title of a famous book by the former 68-er and protest leader Mario Capanna, *Formidabili quegli anni*, first published in 1988 and reprinted in 1998 and 2007.

3. The group was named after its two main leaders, Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof.

4. On the politics of memories of the Second World War in Europe, see Ned Lebow, Kansteiner and Fogu (2006).

5. See Robert Gildea's chapter on French activists in the volume edited by Von der Goltz (2011b).

6. The expression '1968 years' refers to the enduring impact of the protests of 1968 in Italy. Bonomo (2013a, p. 8).

7. See also Lumley (1994) for an account of the students' and workers' movement in Italy.

8. See also Fraser et al. (1988, p. 221); Bonomo (2013a).

9. See also Venturoli (2007); Hajek (2010).

10. Armed struggle was closer to forms of guerrilla tactics as used in Latin American countries, and did not operate underground, as was the case of terrorism. It 'attempted to maintain a more open character and within the network of autonomous organisms'. Indeed, these groups 'wished to distinguish themselves from the experience of the Red Brigades'. Scavino (2001, p. 179).

11. See Casamassima (2008).

12. Another form of protest against the economic (and political) situation in Italy originated with so-called Proletarian Youth Clubs, in the mid-1970s, which will be discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 58–59.

13. For a more in-depth reading of the historical compromise (*compromesso storico*) and the context within which it developed itself, see Amyot (1981).
14. Italy too had suffered a number of attempted coups d'état in those years.
15. The concept of 'milieu' reflects a space of social communication and lifestyles, and will be applied throughout the book. Hajek (2011b, p. 112). See also Zinnecker (2003) and Rucht (2011).
16. See Crainz (2005) and Ginsborg (2006).
17. For more details on publications by former terrorists and their representation in cinema, see Glynn (2008), O'Leary (2011) and Glynn, Lombardi and O'Leary (2012).
18. On the issue of generation and memory, see Chapter 2. For another comparison between Italy and Germany, see Della Porta (1995).
19. See also Davis, Mausbach, Klimke and MacDougall (2010).
20. Nearly ten years later, a similar gender conflict led to the demise of the Italian left-wing extra-parliamentary group Lotta Continua (Continuous Battle, LC), as we will see in Chapter 3 (p. 63).
21. Other German terrorist groups include the Tupamaros, the 2nd June movement and the Revolutionary Cells. Hauser (2008, p. 271).
22. Nevertheless, polls revealed that, in 1971, 14 per cent of the West German population as a whole was willing to help or shelter RAF members. Hauser (2008, p. 272).
23. See also Cooke (2006, 2011).
24. The movie is known in English by two titles: *Marianne and Juliane* and *Two German Sisters.*
25. These battles over memory are at the heart of Hans Weingartner's film *The Edukators* (2004). See Homewood (2010).
26. The Italian case is not dissimilar: two publications of 2007 and 2008, written by young authors belonging to the right, try to 'blame' 1968 for the poor state of the Italian educational system and the dramatic working conditions faced by the country's youth. Surprisingly, a rejection of the legacy of 1968 in Italy also came from younger generations on the left, as in the provocative 'pamphlet' *Against '68. The Infinite Generation*, published in 2007 by author and journalist Alessandro Bertante.
27. Perhaps the movie *Après mai* ('After May', dir. Olivier Assayas), which was released shortly before the 45th anniversary of 1968 in 2013, reflects (or announces) a new approach to the memory of 1968: focusing on the story of a young activist in a 1970s' suburb as he slowly renounces to his political activism, it explicitly turns attention away from the Parisian 'May 1968'.
28. A second important pacifist network was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND).
29. De Mauro (n.d.). See Cento Bull (2007) for a complex analysis of Italian neo-Fascist terrorism.
30. Cited in Simpson (2007, p. 90).
31. There is a vast literature on terrorism and *stragismo* in Italian cinema, which, however, exceeds the scope of this book. For more information see in particular O'Leary (2011) and Glynn, Lombardi and O'Leary (2012).
32. This was the primary aim of the first Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRC) in South Africa, which allowed victims to break the silence and speak out in public. Flores (1999).

2   "Wonderful Years"? Myth, Nostalgia and Authority

1. The initial working title of the book in Italian – *Vent'anni. Una testimonianza* ('Twenty Years. An Account') – evoked the idea of an eyewitness account even more strongly.
2. In fact, an international conference held in Great Britain in September 2012, entitled 'A Multifaceted Decade of Protest in Italy: 1968–1978 between Myth and Reality', contained presentations which engaged mostly with the topics of 1968 and the women's movement, on the one hand, and terrorism on the other.
3. In this perspective it would also be interesting to examine the various movies and TV series that narrate those years, such as *The Dreamers* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 2003), *La meglio gioventù* ('The best of youth', Marco Tullio Giordano, 2003), *Il grande sogno* (Michele Placido, 2009) and *Après mai* ('After May', Olivier Assayas, 2012). However, such an analysis exceeds the scope of this book, which is focused on commemorative practices.
4. On 1968 and generation in the specific Italian case see Giachetti (2008).
5. See also Revelli (1995).
6. *La Repubblica Bologna.it*, 6 March 2007, http://bologna.repubblica.it/ dettaglio/chi-sei-marianna-del-77-bolognese/1278206 [accessed 30 May 2011].
7. The left-wing extra-parliamentary group Lotta Continua, for example, took its name from the French slogan 'la lutte continue' ('the battle continues'). Benci (2009).
8. This is best illustrated by Raul Montanari's collection of short stories by authors of younger generations of writers, *Il '68 di chi non c'era (ancora)* ('The 1968 of who was not there (yet)'), published during the 30th anniversary of 1968 in 1998.
9. It should be noted that the original 1978 cover contained the famous photograph of the French 'Marianne'.
10. The series was broadcast from March to August 2008.
11. Klimke attributes the transnational reading of 1968 to a paradigm shift that has taken place in historiography in recent times (2010, p. 27; p. 29–31).
12. Kraushaar, cited in Waters (2010, p. 9); Klimke (2008, p. 107).
13. In 2001 a 'media frenzy' put Foreign Minister Fischer's violent outbursts during his student years in the spotlight; in 2005 Fischer and Schröder lost their majority in a general election. Homewood (2010, p. 324); Cornils (2010, p. 282).
14. In the original Italian, *Autoritratto di gruppo* ('Group Self-Portrait'), published in 1988. The English translation dates back to 1996.
15. For an overview of strengths and weaknesses of oral history methodology, see also Hajek (forthcoming).
16. See also Portelli's article 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', published in 1981 in the *History Workshop Journal* and reprinted under the title 'What Makes Oral History Different' in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (1991); Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: the Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (1987).

17. See also Foot (1998).
18. 'What was important was the here and now, not the past and most certainly not the legacy for future generations'. Foot (2009a, p. 372).
19. See Bonomo (2013a) for an overview of recent developments in oral history literature on 1968 in Italy. On 1977 see *Una sparatoria tranquilla. Per una storia orale del '77* (2005).
20. The project ran from 2007 to 2011. See Gildea and Mark (2011).
21. On oral history and 1968 see also my own editorial for the special issue (Hajek, 2013).
22. See also Ortoleva (1998, pp. 17–18).
23. A discussion of the concepts of 'composure' and 'discomposure', which have been further explored by Alistair Thomson (1994) and Penny Summerfield (2004), lies outside the scope of this study and will therefore not be elaborated here. See also Hajek (2014, forthcoming).
24. For example, the protests of 10 and 11 May 1968 in Paris, or the 'Valle Giulia battle' in Rome, on 1 March 1968.
25. See also Von der Goltz's chapter on conservative students in West Germany, in 1968 (2011c).
26. Another underdeveloped field is that of the memories of the police, especially in those cases where activists – such as Francesco Lorusso in Bologna – were killed by police. A recent study of this area of research includes an analysis of student movements in Bologna via police records (Francescangeli, 2009).
27. See Chapter 1, p. 26.
28. In 2008, for example, right-wing journalist Marcello Veneziani blamed 1968 for many of the 'evils' of present-day Italian society, in his publication *Rovesciare il '68* ('Turning '68 Upside Down').
29. *Charta minuta*, 4, January 2008, pp. 0–1.
30. *Il Secolo d'Italia*, 10 January 2008, p. 8.
31. In a similar way, in 2008 the Italian daily *Corriere della sera* celebrated 1968 with a supplement that tended to emphasize its social, cultural and generational aspects. *Corriere della Sera,* 1 February 2008, p. 57.
32. *Il Secolo d'Italia*, 10 January 2008, p. 8.
33. *Charta minuta*, 4, January 2008, pp. 96–103. See Foot (2010, p. 123).
34. *Charta minuta*, 4, January 2008, p. 119.
35. Che Guevara, the Tupamaros etc. See Chapter 1, p. 19.
36. *La Stampa,* 3 February 2008, p.7; *Corriere della sera*, 3 February 2008, p. 1.
37. To a much lesser degree, criticism was also expressed by the Italian left. *L'Unità*, 9 January 2008, p. 26.
38. *La Stampa*, 3 February 2008, p. 7.
39. *La Repubblica,* 3 February 2008, p. 6; *Libero,* 5 February 2008, p. 8.
40. See also Pivato (2007) on the public use of history.
41. See also Hajek (2012f).
42. On 'medial frameworks' see Erll (2006).
43. See also *Vogliamo un altro mondo. Dal '68 al movimento no-global* ('We Want Another World. From '68 to the No Global Movement', 2008), by Piero Bernocchi, an activist in both the 1968 and the 1977 movements in Rome.
44. On the relation between orality and visual culture see Hajek (2012f).

3   The Trauma of 1977

1. By using the terms 'collective' and 'cultural' trauma together, I do not imply that they refer to one and the same thing, although I do believe that they are intertwined. Without rejecting the idea of 'collective' trauma, understood in terms not of a group experiencing pain but of a collectively *shared* trauma (or traumatic memory), I fall back on Jeffrey Alexander's conceptualization of 'cultural' trauma as a collectively shared trauma that is mediated 'culturally'.

2. On the conception of social movements see also Kriesi et al. (1995), Della Porta (1996), Tilly and Tarrow (2007) and the theoretical appendix in Edwards (2009). Recent scholarly research has increasingly shifted the focus to collective identity as the purpose of social movements, and to the importance of emotions. Melucci (1996); Goodwin et al. (2001); Polletta and Jasper (2001).

3. See also Neidhardt and Rucht (1991) and Tolomelli (2002, p. 17).

4. With the exception of minor protests and strikes in provincial cities, in the early 1970s. See Horn (2007) and Gildea (2013).

5. See Chapter 1, p. 19.

6. The following two sections were drawn from a chapter entitled 'Fragmented Identities: Transformations in the Italian Alternative Left-wing Milieu. 1968–1977'. Hajek (2011b).

7. Guido Crainz speaks in terms of a 'return to the private' in this respect (2005, p. 558).

8. With the exception, for example, of Autonomia Operaia, which – as we shall see – followed a more rigid, ideological line.

9. See Chapter 1, p. 21.

10. Cited in Henninger (2006, p. 190).

11. On graffiti as a means of expression of student movements in the 1970s, see La Fata (2009).

12. See in particular Salaris (1997), Berardi and Bridi (2002) and Cretella (2009).

13. The creative side of the movement drew on historical avant-garde movements such as Futurism and Dadaism. Salaris (1997).

14. See the publication *Storia di una foto* ('History of a Photograph'), edited by Sergio Bianchi (2011).

15. See Lumley (1994) and, in particular, Edwards (2009) for a critical and profound analysis of radical protest groups in the area of Autonomia Operaia in the 1970s.

16. Moreover, AO in Bologna focused on the contestation of the repression by local Communist authorities through the production and diffusion of counter-information, collaborating with independent, local underground magazines and the local radio station of the movement, Radio Alice.

17. *Piazza Maggiore era troppo piccola* (1977); Bellassai (2009, p. 229).

18. For a history of the women's movement in Italy see Bertilotti and Scattigno (2005) and especially Guerra (2008).

19. See Crainz (2005) and Cappellini (2007) for a historical account of the various political incidents of 1977.

20. See Chapter 4 (pp. 78–79) for an account of the police investigations.

21. Kai Erikson, cited in Alexander (2004, p. 4). See also the Introduction.

22. Victims of neo-Fascist violence in those years who have become 'martyrs' of the alternative left in Italy include Walter Rossi and Valerio Verbano, both killed in Rome. See Barilli and Sinigaglia (2008).
23. Historian Guido Crainz confirms that the management of public order in this period changed significantly (2005, p. 568).
24. *Resto del Carlino*, 13 March 1977, p. 1; *Resto del Carlino*, 14 March 1977, p. 16.
25. Freud's concept of 'latency' – i.e., the period between the event and the first appearance of traumatic symptoms – is crucial here. Caruth (1995, p. 8).
26. In an initial press release the PCI explicitly requested that 'full light [be shed] on the behaviour and the responsibilities of police forces and authorities', criticizing 'the recourse to weapons that have struck down a young life and [demanding] that those responsible will soon be identified and punished'. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1977, p. 1 and p. 5; Morisi (1992–1993, p. 90).
27. TG1 was the leading TV news programme in Italy. It followed a clear political direction, dominated – especially in the 1960s and 1970s – by the Christian Democrat Party. Grasso (1986, pp. 773–775).
28. However, it was the third topic mentioned in the opening headlines.
29. The reaction of police officers is even obscured: the TV presenter speaks of an 'intervention', but eyewitnesses have observed that it was more than just that. See Menneas (2003).
30. Images are also used to enhance empathy with the Catholic students: their account is juxtaposed, for example, with an image of a Catholic bookshop which was set on fire after Lorusso's death.
31. Images were taken from a physical distance as the camera was visibly separated from the demonstration: for example, from passing cars.
32. The democratic position against violence was underlined by the camera angle – from within the crowd and towards the stage, thus allowing the viewer to identify with the demonstrators – used for the footage shot during the demonstration, and through a specific relation between picture and sound. One image of the crowd was, for example, juxtaposed with audio of an appeal by official representatives for more clarity about the incidents, as if to underline the united reaction of both authorities and the population to the traumatic incidents.
33. This supposition is based on the fact that the TG1 evening edition attracted almost 20 million viewers in 1977. Grasso (1986, p. 773).

4 Affective Labour: Between Mourning and Moral Duty

1. The documentary, entitled '148 Stefano – mostri dell'inerzia', was presented and broadcast on the private channel La7, on 23 July 2012. The presentation can be downloaded at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fs02TcQQ4VA [accessed 13 October 2012].
2. Throughout the book I will also refer to memory agents as memory communities.
3. The term 'living memorial' was taken from Esther Hyman, who set up a foundation in memory of her sister Miriam Hyman, a victim of the London bombings of 2005 (Brown and Allen, 2011).

4. Sosa speaks of 'live architecture', in this respect (p. 64). On state terrorism in Latin America and the memory of the *desaparecidos*, see also the edited volume *The Memory of State Terrorism in the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay* (2011).

5. On the morning of 2 August 1980, at the beginning of the summer holiday, a bomb exploded in the packed waiting room of Bologna railway station, killing 85 and wounding over 200 people. The attack has been attributed to neo-Fascist terrorists. Tota (2003); Bolognese and Scardova (2012). See also Chapter 1, p. 20.

6. See the website of the Bologna association for a record of all past events: http://www.stragi.it/ [accessed 1 November 2012].

7. See also Hoskins (2011).

8. Archival Network against Oblivion, http://www.archivioflamigni.org/_dynmate/docpri/CARTA_DEI_VALORI_def.pdf [accessed 1 November 2012].

9. For a thorough examination of the incidents and of the course of investigations, see Menneas (2003) and Pastore (2013).

10. Named after the Minister of Justice, Oronzo Reale, the Reale law of 1975 legitimizes the use of arms by the police in situations of public disorder.

11. More precisely, Maurice Bignami – the leader of Front Line (Prima Linea, PL), the terrorist organization that Sandalo belonged to, who had allegedly given this information to Sandalo – claimed never to have spoken to him. *Resto del Carlino,* 1 March 1981, p. I.

12. One eyewitness observed that clashes between students of opposite ideologies had, until then, never caused the authorities any concern, and that 11 March marked 'a change of pace on behalf of the police because the police had always respected the student movements' territories'. Menneas (2003, p. 15).

13. Giorgini, B. Interview with author, 25 February 2009.

14. *La Repubblica*, 14 February 1997, p. V.

15. TGR evening news edition, 11 March 1987.

16. Letter, Lorusso family lawyers to mayor, published in the *Resto del Carlino,* 10 March 1978, p. 1.

17. *L'Unità*, 9 March 1979, p. II.

18. Cossiga was Minister of Internal Affairs at the time of the events of March and responsible for sending the army to Bologna, on 13 March.

19. Letter, Agostino and Virginia Lorusso to Cossiga, 10 March 1987.

20. With the exception of the university, which will be discussed in the next chapter. *Resto del Carlino,* 7 March 1979, p. II; *L'Unità*, 9 March 1979, p. II.

21. *L'Unità*, 8 March 1979, p. 5; *L'Unità*, 6 March 1979, p. II.

22. *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1991, p. II.

23. See also Chapter 1, p. 30.

24. The police officer's correct surname was Ciotta.

25. In a TV show broadcast on 9 September 1991 (*Trent'anni della nostra storia. Verso i nostri giorni: 1977*) Montanelli publicly expressed his condemnation of the Red Brigades.

26. *La Repubblica*, 2 March 1997, p. V; Fusco, B. Interview with author, 21 July 2009.

27. This time Lorusso's parents limited their reaction to writing a public letter in which they accused the Christian Dmocracy of sowing 'lies, hate and moral

lynching'. With the help of the Pier Francesco Lorusso Association, which will be discussed in the second part of this chapter, the family also organized a debate in which the bill was discussed in public. Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1990) [leaflet]; *La Repubblica*, 13 March 1990, p. V. I will refer to the association also as the PFL Association.

28. Franceschi used this phrase, according to his mother Lydia, one night before going out to a protest demonstration. Cited in Barilli and Sinigaglia (2008, p. 60).
29. *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1997, p. 2.
30. University of Bologna (1978–1979). Announcement of thesis awards, p. 50.
31. *Resto del Carlino*, 8 March 1978, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 8 March 1979; Anonymous. Communication via email, 30 March 2010.
32. University of Bologna (1994), Announcement of thesis awards, p. 31.
33. Anonymous. Communication to the examination board, 2 March 1998.
34. Letter, Agostino Lorusso to university chancellor, 11 March 1996. Suggestions included the departments of liberal arts, political sciences, law and economy, and statistical sciences.
35. *Resto del Carlino*, 10 March 1985, p. I; Collina, M. Interview with author, 27 March 2010.
36. According to Mauro Collina, Lorusso's parents were Christians.
37. In 'exchange', the family received a plaque in memory of Lorusso, on a wardrobe in the nursing home.
38. Collina, M. Interview with author, 20 March 2009. The plaque will be analysed in Chapter 7 (pp. 149–154).
39. As we have seen, Franceschi was killed in 1973 by police, while attempting to access a student meeting inside the Bocconi University in Milan. Spisso was close to the Proletarian Power group (PO) in Bologna, and was shot dead by police in 1983, during a robbery. Armati (2008, p. 213); Siri, W. Interview with author, 29 May 2010.
40. Lydia Franceschi herself explains, in an interview, how a personal interest in politics and social justice had led her to seek contact with families of 'all those who had died through the fault of the authorities' since the end of the Second World War. Barilli and Sinigaglia (2008, p. 65).
41. For example, in 1978 she and her husband sent a card which read: 'We remember you and we are close to you with friendship and with the awareness that united we will recreate life for those who have stayed behind.'
42. Commemorative speech by Lydia Franceschi, 11 March 1979, p. 2.
43. *L'Unità*, 11 March 2003, p. I.
44. *L'Unità*, 12 March 2002, p. II. The equation between Lorusso and Giuliani will be further explored in Chapter 6.
45. The paper sign related to Lorusso read: 'Pier Francesco Lorusso. Killed in the street'. *La Repubblica*, 3 August 2003, p. III.
46. One of my interviewees mentioned that the relatives of two other victims of political violence in the 1970s, Fausto Tinelli e Lorenzo 'Iaio' Iannucci, attended the commemoration between 1979 and 1981. Siri, W. Interview with author, 29 May 2010. For more information on this case see the volume edited by the Association for the Victims and Friends of Fausto and Iaio, *Fausto e Iaio. Trent'anni dopo. Raccolta di scritti, documenti, testimonianze per non dimenticare* (2008).

47. Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1979) Foundation statute, pp. 1–2; Collina, M. Interview with author, 19 June 2009.
48. *Resto del Carlino,* 11 March 2007, p. V.
49. The title is a reference to the chalk circles drawn around the bullet holes in a wall in via Mascarella, the only visible reminder of Lorusso's death in 1977. See Chapter 7 (pp. 156–158).
50. *La Repubblica*, 11 March 1997, pp. IV–V.
51. *La Repubblica*, 11 March 1997, p. IV; Ibid., 'La città in frantumi sotto le scarpe', *La Repubblica*, 10 March 2007, p. XIII.
52. *Cerchio di gesso*, 1, June 1977, pp. 30–31; *L'Unità*, 24 July 1977, p. 3.
53. *Cerchio di gesso*, 1, June 1977.
54. Saronne, T. Interview with author, 28 January 2009.
55. Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1979) Foundation statute, attachment A, p. 1.
56. Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1979) Foundation statute, p. 4.
57. Citizens' Court (1981) Foundation statute, p. 3.
58. Anonymous. Communication via email, 1 April 2010; *Resto del Carlino,* 9 March 1980, p. II; Press release, 14 March 1981.
59. Citizens' Court (n.d.) Draft of programme and foundation statute, p. 2.
60. Anonymous. Communication via email, 26 March 2010.
61. Its principal aim – the 'transmission of historical memory and of the values that have characterized cultural, political and social experiences of a recent past' – is considered as 'an important element for young generations, especially today, when direct and conscious participation is one of the distinctive principles of the new movements'. Documentary Centre 'Francesco Lorusso – Carlo Giuliani' (2007), Vag61.info, http://www.vag61.info/vag61/articles/art_109.html [accessed 1 November 2012].
62. *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 2005, p. IX; *La Repubblica*, 9 March 2006, p. 3; *L'Unità*, 12 March 2006, p. III; Monteventi, V. Interview with author, 30 June 2009.
63. *La Repubblica*, 12 March 2007, p. 1; *Corriere della sera*, 9 March 2007, p. 5.
64. Collina, M. Interview with author, 27 March 2010.
65. Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1980) [leaflet], my italics.
66. The debate was entitled 'Denied Justice Also in Bologna?' *L'Unità*, 11 March 1982, p. 10.
67. On 'convergence' see Rigney (2005).
68. *Resto del Carlino,* 9 March 1979, p. I; Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1979) 'Due anni dopo' [leaflet].
69. *Pentitismo* is the granting of reduced prison sentences to terrorists who collaborate with police forces. *La Repubblica*, 10 March 1983, p. 24.
70. *Resto del Carlino*, 13 March 1983, p. II; Evening news edition, 11 March 1983.
71. *L'Unità*, 11 March 1984, Emilia Romagna, p. 3; *Resto del Carlino*, 11 March 1984, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1984, p. 8.
72. Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1987) [leaflet].
73. The debate was about a disputed bill clamping down on drug addicts and was moderated by a local judge and university teacher. *L'Unità*, 11 March 1989, p. 3; Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1989) 'Un cappello pieno di droghe' [leaflet].
74. *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1993, p. II.

75. Only on two occasions did the PFL Association focus (almost) exclusively on the Lorusso case: during the very first and widely attended debate of 11 March 1979, and in a final initiative in 2002, where Lorusso's case was connected to the death of Giuliani in Genoa. Pier Francesco Lorusso Association (1979) 'Due anni dopo' [leaflet]; *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1979, p. I; *Lotta Continua,* 13 March 1979, p. 2; Press release, 8 March 2002.
76. Hence in the presentation of the documentary on her brother, Ilaria Cucchi mentions the strength she drew from other families who have had similar experiences, such as Federico Aldrovandi's mother Patrizia Moretti.
77. Clough, cited in Brown and Allen (2011, p. 320).
78. Virginio Pilò recalls Lorusso's father occasionally visiting a youth centre in Bologna during commemorative events organized by former members of the student movement. Interview with author, 30 March 2010.

5 Seeking Consensus. Political Uses of the Past

1. The intervention of the army on 13 March, for example, brought back traumatic memories of war.
2. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1977, p. 1.
3. *La Repubblica*, 11 March 1987, p. 40.
4. See Chapter 3, p. 57.
5. See Chapter 3, pp. 62 and 65.
6. *Proibito*, 24 July 1977; *Primo Piano*, 19 October 1977, 'Appuntamento a Bologna'.
7. *Primo Piano*, 19 October 1977, 'Appuntamento a Bologna'; *L'Unità*, 24 July 1977, p. 3.
8. City Council minutes n. 45, 10 March 1978, p. 439.
9. City Council minutes n. 44, 10 March 1980, p. 457.
10. City Council minutes n. 28, 11 March 1981, p. 341. See Chapter 4 (pp. 78–79) for an account of the police investigations.
11. *Resto del Carlino*, 11 March 1980, p. I; City Council minutes n. 44, 10 March 1980, p. 457.
12. Statistics confirm the forceful presence of the Red Brigades from the mid-1970s on: 29 victims in 1978, 22 in 1979 and 30 in 1980. Guido Crainz cited in Benigno (1998). See also Hajek (2010).
13. On terrorism in Bologna in the 1970s, see Pastore (2013).
14. City Council minutes n. 55, 14 May 1979, pp. 686–687.
15. *Resto del Carlino*, 11 March 1980, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1987, p. 1.
16. See Chapter 4 (pp. 78–79).
17. The Social Republic was a puppet state of Nazi Germany, led by Mussolini from 1943 – after the Allied forces invaded southern Italy – until 1945.
18. See Chapter 1 (p. 20 and p. 30) for information on the massacres of the 1970s.
19. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1982, p. 8, my italics.
20. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1982, p. 8, my italics; Lanza (2009, p. 125). A similar connection was made, as we have seen in the previous chapter, in the debate on 'Denied Justice Also in Bologna?' organized by the PFL Association that year.

21. Iperbole (n.d.) 'Vitali, Walter', http://www.comune.bologna.it/storiaammin istrativa/people/detail/36669/search [accessed 10 December 2010].
22. City Council minutes n. 23, 11 March 1983, p. 264.
23. *L'Unità*, 10 March 1987, p. 1.
24. See Chapter 7 (pp. 149–154) for an account of this memory site.
25. *L'Unità*, 10 March 1987, p. 1; *La Repubblica*, 11 March 1987, p. 35; *Resto del Carlino*, 10 March 1987, p. I. This focus on youth problems was also evident in a debate – attended by Imbeni – which was organized by the PFL Association that same year. See Chapter 4, p. 94.
26. *L'Unità*, 10 March 1987, p. 1; *La Repubblica*, 11 March 1987, p. 15.
27. *La Repubblica*, 11 March 1987, p. 15; *Resto del Carlino*, 10 March 1987, p. I.
28. Think of the demonstrations against the death of anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli, and how these have become part of the public memory of Piazza Fontana. Foot (2011, p. 185). See also Chapter 1, p. 20.
29. *Resto del Carlino*, 10 March 1987, p. I.
30. Moro may also have been mentioned because he represents one of the collective traumas which have had the strongest impact on the public memory of the 1970s, and was thus shared by all citizens. See Chapter 1, pp. 17–18.
31. *La Repubblica*, 8 March 1990, p. V; Anonymous. Interview with author, 13 April 2010.
32. *La Repubblica*, 13 March 2001, p. II; *L'Unità*, 12 March 2002, p. II; *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 2003, p. VII; *L'Unità*, 12 March 2004, p. I; *L'Unità*, 12 March 2005, p. III.
33. *La Repubblica*, 11 March 1993, p. I; *La Repubblica*, 12 March 1993, p. II.
34. City Council minutes n. 19, 10 March 1997, p. 1554; p. 1556.
35. City Council minutes n. 19, 10 March 1997, p. 1551; *L'Unità,* 11 March 2003, p. I.
36. TGR news edition, 11 March 1997.
37. Fragments of the meeting in the municipal building were also broadcast on the local TV news.
38. Anonymous. Interview with author, 13 April 2010.
39. See Albanese (2010) for a history and analysis of the Pantera movement.
40. *La Repubblica*, 11–12 March 1990, p. I and p. III. See also Chapter 6, p. 134.
41. *Resto del Carlino,* 10 March 1979, p. I.
42. Pilò, V. Communication via email, 17 March 2010; *L'Unità*, 12 March 1980, p. 2.
43. Collina, M. Interview with author, 27 March 2010.
44. Letter, De Angelis to Imbeni, 16 September 1987; *Resto del Carlino,* 10 March 1981, p. I.
45. 'What Is Transitional Justice?' (n.d.) *International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ)*, http://ictj.org/about/transitional-justice [accessed 4 October 2012].
46. Law proposal by Luigi Covatta, 2 March 1981.
47. *L'Unità*, 11 March 1981, p. 8.
48. *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1984, p. 8.
49. I giovani socialisti di Casalecchio (n.d.), 'Con Francesco Lorusso' [leaflet]; De March, P. Interview with author, 14 April 2010.

50. *L'Unità*, 9 March 1978, p. 10; *L'Unità*, 10 March 1978, p. 10; *Il Resto del Carlino*, 10 March 1978, p. 1.
51. *Resto del Carlino*, 11 March 1981, p. I.
52. The Mani Pulite investigations unveiled the so-called Bribesville corruption scandals of the early 1990s, which brought down the Italian government and brought an end to the political parties involved. See Foot (2003).
53. Anonymous. Interview with author, 13 April 2010.
54. See also Chapter 7 (pp. 149–154).
55. Sezioni bolognesi Partito di Unità Proletaria – Avanguardia Operaia, 12 March 1977, 'Il compagno LORUSSO assassinato: è la risposta della DC alle lotte studentesche e operaie al suo regime corrotto' [leaflet].
56. Democrazia Proletaria – Federazione di Bologna, 15 March 1979 [leaflet]; Democrazia Proletaria – Federazione di Bologna, 16 February 1980, 'Contro il terrorismo, contro le leggi speciali, per il rilancio della lotta di massa' [leaflet].
57. See Chapter 1 for information on the *stragi*.
58. Democrazia Proletaria – Federazione di Bologna, 13 March 1983, 'Ancora una volta la destra Bolognese vuole coprire gli assassini di stato non tollerando che si indichino esplicitamente le responsabilità politiche presenti nell'assassinio di via Mascarella, come per Piazza Fontana, Brescia, l'Italicus e la stazione di Bologna' [leaflet].
59. Democrazia Proletaria – Federazione di Bologna, 9 March 1981, p. 2 [press release].
60. Democrazia Proletaria – Federazione di Bologna, 9 March 1981, p. 1 [press release].
61. Ibid. *Resto del Carlino*, 11 March 1981, p. I.
62. Iperbole (2007) 'Monteventi, Valerio', http://www.iperbole.bologna.it/storiaamministrativa/people/detail/36478/search [accessed 10 December 2010]. Monteventi is generally considered as one of the leaders of the Movement of '77. Monteventi (2009, pp. 72–73).
63. Assmann opposed living memory to cultural memory, more fixed and manifested through the media, cultural formations and institutional communication. Assmann (2008, p. 111); Monteventi, V. Interview with author, 30 June 2009.
64. See also Chapter 6, pp. 132–134.
65. *Resto del Carlino,* 5 March 1997, p. 2; *Resto del Carlino,* 13 March 1997, p. 2.
66. The protest march will be analysed further in Chapter 6.
67. The Uno Bianca gang was composed of five corrupt police officers who terrorized Bologna from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, robbing banks and killing or wounding several citizens and police officers.
68. *Resto del Carlino*, 18 March 1997, p. 2; *L'Unità*, 10 March 1998, p. 9: Monteventi, V. Interview with author, 30 June 2009; City Council minutes, 'Monteventi', 12 March 2007.
69. See Chapter 1.
70. Monteventi, V. Interview with author, 30 June 2009; *L'Unità*, 9 March 2007, p. 1; *La Repubblica*, 9 March 2007, p. 3.
71. *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 2007, p. 25.

72. This is also written on the commemorative plaque that will be analysed in the next chapters.
73. The only movie about the Bologna events of 1977, *Lavorare con lentezza* (dir. Guido Chiesa, 2004), narrates the Radio Alice experience. This demonstrates how important the latter has been in the transference of a collective and cultural memory of the Movement of '77. See Fincardi (2005) on the reception of the movie.
74. On National Alliance see also Chapter 2. *Corriere della sera*, 9 March 2007, p. 4.
75. *Corriere della sera*, 9 March 2007, p. 4.
76. Later we will come across more strategies with which the right-wing tried to block the official 'appropriation' of a public memory of Lorusso and the 1977 movement.
77. *La Repubblica*, 13 March 2001, p. II.
78. City Council minutes, 'Monteventi', 4 March 2002 and 3 June 2003.
79. *Resto del Carlino,* 9 March 2007, p. III.
80. Ibid. Parallels between the two situations include the fact that in 1977, as in 2007, the historic left did not recognize 'the legitimacy of the questions posed by the movements, [declassifying] the requests not as real problems, or [claiming] that it was only a matter of violent movements'. *Il Domani,* 9 March 2007, p. 7.
81. On martyrdom see Chapter 6, p. 128.
82. City Council minutes, 'Bignami', 2 May 2007; City Council minutes, 'Sabbi', 9 April 2001, City Council minutes, 'Raisi', 12 March 2007.
83. See Chapter 4 (pp. 84–85) for a detailed description of the thesis award.
84. *La Repubblica*, 10 March 1990, p. V; *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1990, p. I; *Resto del Carlino,* 13 March 1990, p. II.
85. City Council of Casalecchio, minutes n. 128, 27 March 1986, p. 4.
86. In 2007 intentions were expressed of re-launching the centre, perhaps combining it with the PFL Association dedicated to Lorusso so as to give it a new impulse. *Resto del Carlino,* 11 March 1982, p. I and p. V; Anonymous. Communication via email, 1 April 2010.
87. Anonymous. Communication via email, 26 March and 1 April 2010.
88. Bill by Vito Totire, 11 March 1986, p. 1.
89. *Resto del Carlino,* 13 March 1990, p. II; Bill by Vito Totire, 21 February 1990, p. 1.
90. Bill by Vito Totire, 21 February 1990, p. 1.
91. Victims of terrorism in the case of the PCI, and victims of *stragismo* in the case of the PFL Association.
92. Bill by Vito Totire, 21 February 1990, p. 1.
93. Anonymous. Communication via email, 26 March 2010; *La Repubblica*, 1 March 1990, p. II; *Resto del Carlino*, 7 March 1990, p. 6; City Council minutes n. 44, 10 March 1990, p. 460.
94. *Resto del Carlino,* 15 March 1990, p. II.
95. TG afternoon edition, 1 March 1990; *Resto del Carlino*, 15 March 1990, p. II.
96. Letter, Preti to Imbeni, 23 April 1988.
97. *Resto del Carlino,* 8 March 1979, p. I; *L'Unità*, 9 March 1979, p. II.
98. *Resto del Carlino,* 8 March 1979, p. I.
99. The departmental head of Lorusso's Faculty of Medicine and Surgery, for example, sent a message of condolence in March 1977.

100. The RdB was founded in the late 1970s, but did not reach any significant public visibility and importance until the 1990s.

101. Pilò has been involved in commemorations for Lorusso since the 1980s.

102. Letter, Pilò to Roversi Monaco, 6 March 2000.

103. *L'Unità*, 12 March 2003, Bologna, p. I.

104. Pilò, V. Communication via email and interview with author, 15 March 2010 and 30 March 2010; *L'Unità*, 12 March 2005, p. III. See Chapter 7 (pp. 165–167) for a more extensive analysis of this proposal.

105. *Corriere della sera,* 9 March 2007, p. 5.

106. The documentary is a sort of 'video-poem' in which original super-8 recordings of the conference against repression, held in Bologna in September 1977, alternate with photographs, to the soundtrack of popular music bands of the time. IL RUMORE DEL TEMPO, Bologna settembre 1977 (n.d.). *Documentando*, http://www.documentando.com/opera.php?id=226 [accessed 29 October 2012].

107. Zannoni, P.P. Communication via email, 27 and 31 August 2010. Zannoni was one of the organizers of the exhibition.

108. University of Bologna (2007), 'Ripensare gli anni settanta' [conference programme].

109. *Corriere della sera*, 9 March 2007, p. 5, my italics.

110. Ibid. The statue will be further discussed in Chapter 7 (pp. 169–171).

111. Ibid., my italics.

112. *La Repubblica*, 12 March 2007, p. 1.

113. *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 2010, p. 8.

6   Rebuilding Group Identities on the Far Left

1. English translation: 'You will pay dearly, you will pay for everything.'

2. For more information about victims of political violence in Italy see: De Luna (2009); Baldoni and Sprovvisionato (2009); Barilli and Sinigaglia (2008) and Armati (2008) on victims of left-wing ideology; Telese (2006) on victims of right-wing ideology.

3. See the Introduction and Chapter 1 for information on Lotta Continua and Autonomia Operaia.

4. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1979, p. 4.

5. On embodied remembrance see also Connerton (1989).

6. Pilò, V. Communication via email, 17 March 2010.

7. Piccolo, R. Interview with author, 5 May 2010.

8. Pilò, V. Interview with author, 30 March 2010.

9. Collina, M. Interview with author, 20 March 2009.

10. *Lotta Continua,* 6 March 1979, p. 2.

11. *Lotta Continua,* 9 March 1978, p. 12; Morisi (1992–1993, p. 43).

12. On affective labour see Chapter 4.

13. On martyrs see also Chapter 5, p. 115.

14. GABBIA/NO (1987) 'Piccola città...' [booklet], p. 13, my italics. GABBIA/NO was the name of the local AO base in Bologna, an occupied building in the Piazza Verdi, a popular square in the heart of the university zone.

15. *Lotta Continua* (1978) 'Parliamo di Francesco' [booklet], p. 2.
16. GABBIA/NO (1987) 'Piccola città...' [booklet], p. 58–60.
17. GABBIA/NO (1987) 'Piccola città...' [booklet], p. 14; Piccolo, R. Interview with author, 15 April 2010.
18. GABBIA/NO (1987) 'Piccola città...' [booklet], p. 58, my italics.
19. Letter, Lorusso family lawyers to mayor, published in the *Resto del Carlino,* 10 March 1978, p. 1; *L'Unità,* 7 March 1978, p. 10; *Lotta Continua,* 10 March 1978, pp. 1–2.
20. *Lotta Continua* (1978) 'Parliamo di Francesco' [booklet], p. 24; *La Repubblica*, 12–13 March 1978, p. 5.
21. *Lotta Continua,* 8 March 1979, p. 3; *Lotta Continua,* 13 March 1979, p. 2; *Resto del Carlino*, 9 March 1979, p. I.
22. *Resto del Carlino,* 10 March 1980, p. 6; Baldoni and Provvisionato (2009, pp. 380–381).
23. On *pentitismo* and *dissociazione* see Chapter 4, pp. 93–94. N.a. (1995) 'Chi non ha memoria non ha futuro' [leaflet], p. 148; *L'Unità*, 12 March 1994, Bologna, p. I; De March, P. Interview with author, 14 April 2010.
24. *Resto del Carlino,* 10 March 1980, p. 6; *Lotta Continua*, 13 March 1980, p. 9. See Chapter 4, pp. 93–94.
25. As we will see in the next chapter, former LC members placed an (illegal) commemorative plaque in via Mascarella, made an official request to dedicate a square in the university zone to Lorusso and on various occasions placed facsimiles of a commemorative street sign in via Mascarella. *Resto del Carlino,* 11 March 1993, p. III; *La Repubblica,* 11 March 1993, p. I.
26. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1980, p. 2.
27. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1987, p. 6; *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1992, p. II.
28. *La Repubblica,* 12–13 March 1978, p. 1; *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1978, p. 1; *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1979, p. 8; *L'Unità,* 12 March 1979, p. 4.
29. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1980, p. 2; *La Repubblica,* 12 March 1980, p. 7; *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1980, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1981, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 13 March 1983, p. II; *L'Unità*, 12 March 1983, p. 17.
30. *Resto del Carlino,* 11 March 1984, p. I; *L'Unità*, 12 March 1985, p. 2; *Resto del Carlino,* 13 March 1986, p. 4.
31. *Mongolfiera*, 53 (1987), p. 3.
32. *L'Unità*, 7 March 1987, p. 3; *Mongolfiera*, 53, 1987, p. 5. For an analysis of the strikes in France, see Bryson (1987).
33. *L'Unità*, 11 March 1987, p. 2.
34. *L'Unità*, 11 March 1987, p. 2; Democrazia Proletaria (n.d.) 'La catena si è spezzata... eccome!' [leaflet].
35. Pilò, V. Interview with author, 30 March 2010. See Chapter 3, pp. 60–61.
36. *L'Unità*, 11 March 1987, p. 2.
37. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1987, p. 6; *Mongolfiera*, 53, 1987, 53, p. 4.
38. *La Repubblica*, 11–12 March 1990, p. I.
39. Ibid., p. III.
40. Thus, the movement as it manifested itself in Rome identified itself, instead, with some of the key events of the 1968 protests in Rome: e.g., the assassination of left-wing student Paolo Rossi in 1966 and the famous 'Valle Giulia' battle on 1 March 1968. Albanese (2010, p. 49).

41. *La Repubblica*, 2 March 1997, p. V; *La Repubblica*, 9 March 1997, p. VII; *Resto del Carlino,* 9 March 1997, pp. 1–2; *Resto del Carlino*, 5 March 1997, p. 2.

42. Ovidio Bompressi, Giorgio Pietrostefani and founding member Adriano Sofri. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1997, p. 14. On the Calabresi murder see Chapter 5 (p. 113).

43. *La Repubblica,* 12 March 1997, p. III.

44. *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1997, p. 1; *L'Unità,* 12 March 1997, p. 14.

45. *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1997, p. 1.

46. *Resto del Carlino,* 13 March 1997, p. 2; *Resto del Carlino,* 13 March 1997, p. 2.

47. *La Repubblica*, 12 March 1997, p. III.

48. *Resto del Carlino,* 16 March 1997, p. 5; *La Repubblica*, 13 March 1997, p. 22; *La Repubblica*, 13 March 1997, p. I.

49. Pilò, V. Communication via email, 17 March 2010.

50. See Chapter 2, pp. 51–52.

51. See also Hajek (2012f).

52. The choice of this title, which seems to assume that the reader knows what the '77 generation refers to, reflects the strong generational bond that also connected the 68-ers.

53. The so-called 'movement of movements' originated in 1999 in Seattle, before spreading across the globe. In Italy it was made up of a variety of groups, including Catholics, environmentalists, farmers, a few official left-wing parties including the PRC as well as representatives of the extra-parliamentary left and students. Unlike in the 1970s, when the various collective agents were still more or less rooted in a specific social condition, the various groups that participated in the no global movement differed both in social composition as well as from a generational point of view. Bernocchi (2008).

54. See Chapter 3, pp. 58–59.

55. The group did not gain public visibility, however, until after the election of Sergio Cofferati – who was adamantly opposed to the group and its squatting activities – as mayor of Bologna in 2004.

56. Piccolo, R. Interview with author, 5 May 2010. Piccolo participated in the AO faction in Bologna.

57. Laboratorio CRASH! (2007) 'Non ci fermerete mai! Frammenti della nostra storia e delle nostre lotte' [booklet], p. 12; p. 25.

58. Books on sale at Crash events, for example, generally include works by Marxist sociologist and political philosopher Toni Negri, and several other works on or related to (Italian) 'workerism'.

59. During previous occupations, for example, Crash promoted an information service on housing rights. Laboratorio CRASH! (2007) 'Non ci fermerete mai! Frammenti della nostra storia e delle nostre lotte' [booklet], pp. 5–6.

60. Violence is also exalted in the Crash symbol, a helmet, while other violent and anti-authoritarian logos such as monkey wrenches and the ACAB ('All Cops Are Bastards') acronym are printed on merchandise sold during concerts and cultural events.

61. Laboratorio CRASH! (2007) 'Non ci fermerete mai! Frammenti della nostra storia e delle nostre lotte' [booklet], pp. 4–8.

62. Piccolo, R. Interview with author, 5 May 2010.

63. *Bologna marzo 1977* (2007, p. 268).

64. Laboratorio CRASH! (2007) 'Non ci fermerete mai! Frammenti della nostra storia e delle nostre lotte' [booklet], p. 7; p. 17.
65. De March, P. Interview with author, 14 April 2010.
66. *Bologna marzo 1977* (2007, p. 274).
67. Piccolo, R. Interview with author, 15 April 2010; GABBIA/NO (1987) 'Piccola città . . . ' [booklet], p. 9.
68. Protest marches where Crash invited local youth to 'reclaim the street', for example, or the very fact of occupying buildings, illustrate the ideological connection with the occupy movements.
69. One piece of graffiti which covered a series of walls in the main university street, in particular, has become famous. It depicted a colourful train composed of carriages representing artistic crafts. Pictures of the graffiti have been reproduced in De Bernardi, Romitelli and Cretella (2009). See also Chapter 3, note 11.
70. Bonomi cited in Henninger (2006, p. 186).
71. Rete Universitaria, Winter 2004, 'Riprendiamoci la zona universitaria' [leaflet]; 'Mario Precario'. Communication via email, 22 March 2010.
72. Ibid. In an issue from 2002 a direct connection was made between 1977 and the recent incidents in Genoa, including police actions against the autonomous media network Indymedia, which recalled the closing down of the mythical Radio Alice pirate station in 1977. *Zic*, 144, 1 March 2002, p. 1.
73. The Rete collaborated, for example, with the Documentary Centre 'Francesco Lorusso – Carlo Giuliani', briefly discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 92). The collaboration led to the screening of a video produced by the Documentary Centre, during the 'inauguration' of the occupied lecture hall in May 2005.
74. 'Mario Precario'. Communication via email, 25 March 2010, my italics.
75. Rete Universitaria (n.d.) 'Lo sguardo aperto della rivolta' [leaflet], my italics.
76. From a photograph by 'Mario Precario'. Communication via email, 22 March 2010.

7   Memory Sites: Negotiating Protest in Urban Space

1. On memory sites see also Chapter 4 (p. 85) and Chapter 5 (pp. 106–107).
2. See figures 7.1 and 7.2 (pp. 150–151) for a map with references to proposed and realized memory sites in or near the centre of Bologna.
3. *Lotta Continua*, 21 April 1977, p. 12; *L'Unità*, 26 April 1977, p. 10.
4. Collina, M. Interview with author, 27 March 2010 and 3 April 2010. A partisan is a member of an armed, illegal group fighting against a more powerful enemy. In Italy, partisans adhering to both the Communist and the Christian Democrat political spheres contributed significantly to the liberation of the country from Fascism and Nazism between 1943 and 1945. See Behan (2009); Cooke (2011).
5. *Lotta Continua*, 21 April 1977, p. 12.
6. For an interesting and well researched case study on dissensual versus consensual monuments, see Robin Wagner-Pacifici and Barry Schwartz' (1991) article on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in the US.
7. Michael Schudson (2007) also speaks of 'non-commemorative' forms of public memory.

8. The Roberto Franceschi Foundation published an online booklet about the monument, *Che cos'è un monument?* ('What is a monument?'), http://www.fondfranceschi.it/pubblicazioni/book_monumento [accessed 29 October 2012].

9. Collina, M. Interview with author, 19 June 2009.

10. Cited in Magry and Sánchez-Carretero (2011, p. 5).

11. In addition, a picture of the bullet holes was used for the front cover of the first edition of the journal.

12. Collina, M. Interview with author, 19 June 2009.

13. For an analysis of memory debates about and memory sites for the Bologna massacre, see Tota (2003).

14. Raffaelli (1997, p. 241); *Resto del Carlino,* 8 March 1978, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 11 March 1993, p. III; *La Repubblica,* 11 March 1993, p. I.

15. Protocol 216, 15 February 1978.

16. Benecchi, Marrone and Pagnoncelli (2009, p. 25).

17. Protocol 216, 15 February 1978, my italics.

18. Law 1188, art. 2, 23 June 1927; *Advisory commission for the denomination of streets,* 24 February 1978, p. 2.

19. See Chapter 5 (pp. 110–112) for more details on DP.

20. See Chapter 4, p. 79.

21. City Council minutes n. 28, 11 March 1981, p. 341; p. 345.

22. City Council minutes n. 24, 6 March 1982, p. 311.

23. City Council minutes n. 24, 6 March 1982, p. 311.

24. *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1982, p. II; *Resto del Carlino*, 13 March 1982, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 14 March 1982, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 16 March 1982, p. I; City Council minutes n. 27, 15 March 1982, p. 365.

25. *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1982, p. II.

26. Democrazia Proletaria – Federazione di Bologna [press release].

27. City Council minutes n. 27, 15 March 1982, p. 366.

28. *Resto del Carlino*, 13 March 1982, p. I; *Resto del Carlino*, 16 March 1982, p. I.

29. *Resto del Carlino*, 17 March 1982, p. 1; *Resto del Carlino*, 18 March 1982, p. 1; Foot (2009, p. 410).

30. *L'Unità*, 16 March 1982, p. 8.

31. Collina, M. Interview with author, 27 March 2010.

32. Minutes n. 120, 17 March 1988.

33. Minutes n. 120, 17 March 1988.

34. Huyssen (2003) cited in Brown and Allen (2011, p. 312).

35. See Chapter 5, p. 106.

36. Letter, Vitali to Poli, 1 October 1993, p. 1.

37. Minutes n. 141, 7 October 1993.

38. *Resto del Carlino*, 11 March 1995, p. 3; *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 1996, p. 3; *L'Unità*, 12 March 1994, p. I; *L'Unità,* 9 March 1979, p. II.

39. Minutes n. 143, 8 March 1994.

40. Minutes n. 143, 8 March 1994. This led to some discussion in the City Council, mostly from Socialist councillor and former student leader Diego Benecchi. City Council minutes n. 23, 14 March 1994, pp. 1337–1338.

41. Anonymous. Communication via email, 26 March 2010; *L'Unità,* 12 March 1996, p. III.

42. *L'Unità*, 12 March 1987, p. 6; *L'Unità*, 12 March 1999, p. III.

43. *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1999, p. 5.
44. *Resto del Carlino*, 11 March 1999, p. 2.
45. *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1999, p. 5, my italics.
46. See Chapter 5.
47. See also Chapter 5, p. 119. A similar form of memory work was performed in relation to the Bologna massacre of 1980: lecture rooms or schools in different locations were dedicated to some of its youngest victims. Venturoli (2007, pp. 116–117).
48. Pilò, V. Communication via email, 15 March 2010.
49. Pilò, V. Interview with author, 30 March 2010.
50. Letter, Pilò to Roversi Monaco, 6 March 2000.
51. On Cevenini's role in the public memory of 1977, see also Chapter 5, p. 123.
52. *La Tribuna*, 18–19 March 2002, p. 19.
53. Ibid.
54. *Resto del Carlino,* 12 March 2000, p. 2.
55. Letter, Pilò to Calzolari, 12 March 2002.
56. Pilò also attached copies of newspaper articles which illustrate this wide support, and incorporated some of the declarations made by Salizzoni and Cevenini: Salizzoni, for example, is quoted as having said that remembering Lorusso in this way signified 'reconciliation and peace', and that the lecture hall was 'an act which was due to the memory of a young man who had fallen within the walls of our city'. Letter, Pilò to Calzolari, 12 March 2002; *L'Unità*, 12 March 2003, p. I.
57. See Chapter 4 (pp. 84–85) for information on the thesis award.
58. Letter, Pilò to Calzolari, 10 March 2007.
59. According to Pilò, the decision on this initiative had been unanimous, even if many members of the RdB had no personal memories of 11 March: nevertheless, 'many of the most active militants recognized themselves in this memory'. *L'Unità*, 12 March 2005, p. III; *L'Unità*, 12 March 2004, p. 1; Pilò, V. Communication via email, 15 March 2010.
60. District Council minutes n. 1276, 27 March 1992.
61. *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 1996, p. 3.
62. *Corriere della sera,* 12 March 2010, p. 8; *Resto del Carlino*, 12 March 2010, p. 8.
63. *La Repubblica,* 19 February 1997, p. V. See Chapter 5, p. 121.
64. Anonymous. Interview with author, 11 March 2010.

* All translations from Italian into English are done by the author.

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