Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche e Sociali

Dottorato di Ricerca in Scienze Politiche
XXXIII Ciclo

Antonino Scalia

LEFTIST INTERNATIONALISMS IN ITALY (1965-1993)

TESI DI DOTTORATO

Coordinatore
Chiar.mo Prof. Fabrizio Sciacca

Tutor
Chiar.ma Prof. Giuseppa Di Gregorio

A.A. 2021/2022

Introduction

The multifaceted world of leftist internationalisms

In July 2016, I travelled from St Andrews to Naples to conduct an interview with Emanuele, the principal driving force in a Marxist publishing house[1]. Emanuele was a member of the small Partito Comunista d'Italia (Marxista-Leninista) (Communist Party of Italy (Marxist–Leninist), PCDI (M-L), and between the 1960s and the 1970s, he was in charge of dealing with the Greek militants of its sister organization Agonistiko Metopo Ellenon Exoterikou (Militant Front of Greeks Abroad, AMEE) in Naples. Emanuele had deep emotional ties to AMEE and the memory of its activism. For Emanuele, solidarity with Greece outlasted the fall of the dictatorship and continued throughout his life via his strong personal ties with Hellenic militants. I planned our interview with the original goal of substantiating my dissertation regarding the relations between Italian and Greek leftist militants but – as so often happens with oral history – Emanuele tended to widen the scope of our conversation, and to talk widely about the relevance of his internationalist practices for his own life. A salient moment of the interview was one in which Emanuele recalled what he defined as the most moving experience of his political life. It was in the 1970s, when he sang the Internationale together with Maoist representatives from all over the world, each one singing in their own language:

> The most beautiful experience of my life [Emanuele started to cry whilst talking] [...] a communist who lets himself be guided only by his emotivity is a menace to society, but a communist who does not have any feelings is someone to avoid [...] Since I come from a professional petit-bourgeois family [...] I remain a romantic [...] I know by heart Rostand's Cyrano de Bergerac, where he talks about the divine beauty of tears.[2]

[1] The used names do not correspond to the real ones of the interviewees. The quoted passages from interviews and other primary sources in Italian language are my own translations.
[2] Interview with Emanuele.

Emanuele's deeply emotional recalling of this experience shows both the past emotional stakes of leftist internationalism in the 1970s and the ongoing relevance of being an internationalist for his present life as a communist publisher. Moreover, singing the Internationale was a powerful symbolic metonym for a large array of internationalist practices that Emanuele shared with a community far larger than the Maoist party to which he belonged. Indeed, leftist internationalisms in Italy between the 1960s and the 1980s were a potent reality for various sectors of Italian society. Even if we restrict ourselves to formal political actors, left internationalism was a powerful identity for many, including the Italian Communist Party (whose electorate oscillated between a low of 7,767,601 voters in 1963 and a high of 12, 616, 650 voters in 1976; and a membership between 1,792,974 in 1960 and 1,264,790 in 1990), *Democrazia Proletaria* (557,025 votes in 1976, 641,901 in 1987), relevant sectors of the *Partito Socialista Italiano* (Italian Socialist Party, PSI) and some minority sections of the *Democrazia Cristiana* (Christian Democratic Party). Nonetheless whereas the historiography of the last 15 years has widened our knowledge of leftist internationalism, it still lacks a systematic recognition of the rise and decline of leftist internationalism that takes into account how it intersected with a vast array of social and political issues in both Italian and transnational history across the second half of the 20th century.

This doctoral thesis studies and describes the characteristics of left-wing internationalism in Italy between the early 1960s and the early 1990s. In addition, this study highlights the continuities and discontinuities between the international solidarity mobilisations of these decades and the internationalist tradition of the 19th and 20th century on the one hand, and more recent internationalist mobilisations on the other. The chosen periodization serves the latter analytic goals. On the one hand, studying these decades allows us to consider older legacies and the changes inscribed at what I define as the high point of Italian internationalism during the long 1960s: the years of 1965-1973. On the other hand, studying the second half of the 1970s and the 1980s allows us to analyse important processes of change in internationalist activism that are still of impact today in the 21st century.

This research investigates the internationalist political practices implemented by Italian and foreign leftist organizations through a variety of mobilizations that were driven by solidarity with national liberation movements, anti-dictatorial struggles or states born from revolutionary processes. First, the thesis highlights the particular characteristics of Italian internationalisms. Secondly, the thesis reconstructs the complexity of this internationalism, exploring the multifaceted world of the leading protagonists within it: political parties and organisations; local authorities governed by the Italian Communist Party (PCI); foreign students and exiles; former anti-fascist fighters; the young generations; women's and feminist organisations; theatre companies. Thirdly, the thesis studies the dialectical relationship between internationalism in the second half of the 20th century, and both previous and contemporary political traditions, through some thematic nuclei of special relevance for the history of the left, social movements and Italian society: the political weight of the PCI and the 'red regions'; the passage of Italy from a country of emigration to a country of immigration; the legacy of the anti-fascist tradition; generational dynamics; gender representations and feminism; the relationship between culture and politics, revolutionary violence and humanitarianism.

Through the study of these actors and thematic nuclei, this doctoral thesis pursues two objectives. First of all, it fills an historiographical gap since it constitutes the first monographic study on international solidarity mobilizations in Italy between the 1960s and early 1990s. Secondly, the thesis rereads the political history of the Italian left and its transformations in the light of its multiple transnational connections.

This thesis does not aim to be an encyclopaedic summary of all the internationalist campaigns carried out by the Italian left throughout these decades. This work aims to be an interpretative history of Italian internationalism throughout the selected decades. Consequently, more space is accorded to some campaigns rather than others, for a number of different reasons. First, some solidarity mobilizations had been more important than others because of the resources the internationalist actors put in it, the mobilizations they fostered, and the place they occupied in the internationalist imagination. Accordingly, this thesis gives over a considerable amount of space to the anti-Vietnam

war campaign, because of its relevance in all these areas. Secondly, some campaigns offer a vantage point of observation since they lasted for the entirety of the period under consideration, and beyond: this is certainly the case with Italian-Palestinian solidarity, which began in Italy between 1967 and 1969, and endures today as unfinished business. Thirdly, these campaigns have been selected precisely because they throw into relief some general features of Italian internationalism: for instance, the solidarity with Mozambique guerrillas is a pertinent and valuable example of local Italian institutions operating as internationalist actors. Finally, the small space accorded to some campaigns does not only reflect the need for selection and the limitations of space in a thesis, but also the hidden hierarchies in Italian leftist internationalist imaginations and their silences.

The research consists of an introduction, six chapters and a conclusion. The introduction presents the historiographical debate on internationalism in Italy, as well as the concepts and methodologies adopted in the thesis. The first chapter aims to reconstruct a general history of left-wing internationalism in Italy from the beginning of the solidarity campaign with Vietnam (1965) to the end of the solidarity mobilisation with the Palestinian Intifada (1993). This chapter, structured diachronically, first of all analyses the legacies of the Italian internationalist tradition from the unification of the country (1861) to the 1960s. It then progresses to a close focus on the main features of internationalism between the 1960s and the 1990s. Chapter One specifically details the relevance of factors such as the role of the PCI and the Italian revolutionary left, the most entrenched revolutionary left in Europe. In addition, the chapter highlights the importance of internationalism in the 'red regions', a characteristically Italian political constituency linked in a complex way to the legacy of 19th century socialist municipalism.

The second chapter then examines the ways in which the PCI and extra-parliamentary left-wing organisations linked the Italian tradition of antifascism and the memory of the Second World War on the one hand, and leftist internationalism on the other hand. This chapter documents how, depending on historical circumstances and different internationalist campaigns, different political forces combined anti-fascism and internationalism on the basis of their multiple relations with anti-

fascist traditions. Furthermore, the chapter explores how the hybridisation of these political languages was influenced by the practices of actors such as international political organisations, foreign students and exiles, anti-fascist veterans and neo-fascist militants.

The third chapter investigates the relationship between different generations and internationalism. The chapter argues that internationalist campaigns were interlinked with questions of intergenerational and intragenerational conflict and cooperation. It also demonstrates that youth internationalism involved a complex set of relations between, on the one hand, humanitarian discourse, human rights imaginary, tropes of victimization and Third-Worldist heroic narratives, and on the other hand, humanitarian solidarity and radical practices.

The fourth chapter explores the political role played by the communities of foreign students in Italy in the context of the state's transformation from a land of emigrants to a destination for immigrants. This chapter describes the evolution of the foreign student population, its territorial distribution, the hospitality of the 'red regions' and the social construction of the fear of foreigners following the 1972 Munich attacks. Finally, the chapter closes with a survey – drawing specifically on oral sources – of the transnational solidarity between Italian and Greek activists, the latter comprising the largest national faction of foreign students in Italian universities.

The fifth chapter deals with the gender dimension of internationalist mobilizations through the study of the discourses used in the representation of international struggles and through the examination of the specific roles assumed by women's organizations in solidarity campaigns with Vietnam and Palestine. This chapter first of all illustrates the maternal internationalism that characterized the Union of Italian Women (UDI) up to the time of the solidarity campaign with the Vietnamese cause, a campaign that combined this tradition with the exaltation of Indochinese women as proletarian, anti-fascist models of revolutionary femininity. This section focuses on the UDI, since before 1968 and the proliferation of feminist groups in the 1970s, it had the quasi-monopoly of leftist women's activism. Secondly, this chapter works through the 1970s and presents an account of feminist solidarity with Palestine, progressing from the initial silence of the UDI

through to the birth of a distinctly pacifist and humanitarian feminist solidarity in response to the massacre of Sabra and Chatila in 1982.

The sixth chapter analyses internationalist cultural practices, and in particular theatre, through the study of the internationalist performances of the *Collettivo Teatrale La Comune* based in Milan.The focus is on theatre since, despite it being a prominent leftist cultural practice, it is still insufficiently studied in conjunction with the history of the left. This chapter illustrates the centrality of cultural production in internationalist mobilizations and details how dramatic works were able to produce real political effects. One case study presented in detail is the theatrical performance *Fedayn* (1972) by the *Collettivo Teatrale La Comune* that created discord and mutual disappointment between the Italian left and Palestinian student organizations.

Finally, the conclusion discusses some of the themes common to the various chapters and illustrates some of the afterlives of Italian internationalisms in the 21st Century.

Historiography

Scholarship about the internationalist solidarity campaigns between the 1960s and the 1980s has been one of the most populated and active fields in the study of the history of global social movements and leftist politics during the last 15 years. A detailed review of such an impressive body of scholarship would deserve a PhD thesis on its own. This section therefore will first present a panoramic overview of the areas covered by the relevant literature, and then it will discuss some of this work within an interpretative framework. The selected reviewed works are mostly related to leftist solidarity originating from France, West Germany, and Italy. Nonetheless, works with a European/global scope or related to other countries will be presented as well.

The global and transnational turns in historiography have been deeply influential in the historiography of leftist politics and social movements. In particular, scholarship about internationalisms between the 1960s and the 1980s is tightly linked with the boom in studies focusing

on the long 1968 that adopt global, transnational and connected histories methods.[3] As written by Kim Christiaens, the first generation of studies on international solidarity boomed around the mid-1990s when the field was dominated by political and social scientists.[4] Historians followed suit in the 2000s, and in even greater numbers in the 2010s. The years 2006 to 2011 saw the publication of some of the first contributions by some of the most influential scholars in the field.[5]

Much of this literature concerns single internationalist campaigns which are approached through global, European, or national lenses. The majority of the scholarship relates to solidarities with the "Third World", but some studies also deal with intra-European entanglements. For studies devoted to North-South interactions it is worth mentioning works concerning Algeria[6], Vietnam[7],

[3] To quote just few titles among tens of valuable works see M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds.), *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); R. Gildea, J. Mark, and A. Warring (eds.), *Europe's 1968 Voices of Revolt* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2013); J. Chen, M. Klimke, M. Kirasirova, M. Nolan, M. Young, and J. Waley-Cohen (eds.).*The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building.* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2018).
; L. Bantigny, B. Gobille, E. Palieraki (eds.), *Les « années 1968 »: circulations révolutionnaires*. Monde(s), no. 11 (June 2017);

[4] I. Juchler, *Die Studentenbewegungen in den Vereinigten Staaten und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland der sechziger Jahre. Eine Untersuchung hinsichtlich ihrer Beeinflussung durch Befreiungsbewegungen und -theorien aus der Dritten Welt.* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2021); D. Rucht, 'Distant issue movements in Germany: Empirical description and theoretical reflections' In John A. Guidry, M. D. Kennedy and M. N. Zald (eds.), *Globalizations and Social Movements Culture, Power and the Transnational Public Sphere* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000):76-105.

[5] C.Kalter, 'Die 'Entdeckung' des 'Tiers Monde' und die radikale Linke zwischen Nachkriegskapitalismus, Dekolonisierung und Kaltem Krieg in Frankreich (1958-1975) ', in *Potsdamer Bulletin für Zeithistorische Studien* 38/39 (2006/07), 33-38; K. Christiaens, 'Een verdedigingslinie van de revolutie. Nicaraguacomités in *België en politieke solidariteit in een transnationaal netwerk (1977-1990)'. Brood en Rozen: Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis van Sociale Bewegingen*, no.4, 2009: 28 - 49; R. Gildea, J. Mark, and N. Pas, 'European Radicals and the "Third World"', *Cultural and Social History* 8, no. 4 (January 2011): 449–7.

[6] C. Kalter, 'Das Eigene Im Fremden. Der Algerienkrieg Und Die Anfänge Der Neuen Linken Der Bundesrepublik', *Zeitschrift Für Geschichtswissenschaft* (ZfG) 55 (2007), 142-161; A. Brazzoduro, 'Algeria, Antifascism, and Third Worldism: An Anticolonial Genealogy of the Western European New Left (Algeria, France, Italy, 1957–1975)', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 5 (2 September 2020): 958–78.

[7] For Vietnam see at least: A. W Daum, L. C Gardner, and W. Mausbach (eds.), *America, the Vietnam War, and the World: Comparative and International Perspectives* (Washington, D.C.; New York: German Historical Institute ; Cambridge University Press, 2003); C. E. Goscha, M. Vaïsse (eds.), *La guerre du Vietnam et l'Europe: 1963 - 1973*, Collection Histoires (Bruxelles: Bruylant 2003); C. Dixon and J. Piccini, 'The Anti-Vietnam War Movement: International Activism and the Search for World Peace', in C. Philip Peterson, W. M. Knoblauch, M. Loadenthal (eds.), *The Routledge History of World Peace Since 1750* (Routledge, 2018); M. B. Young and S. Quinn-Judge, 'The Vietnam War as a World Event', in J. Fürst, M. Selden, and S. Pons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Communism: Volume 3: Endgames? Late Communism in Global Perspective, 1968 to the Present*, *The Cambridge History of Communism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 50–71; Alexander Sedlmaier (ed.) *Protest in the Vietnam Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

Palestine[8],Portuguese colonies[9], Chile[10], Nicaragua[11] and South Africa[12]. As far as the intra-European solidarities are concerned it is worth mentioning studies concerning Greece[13], Germany[14], and East-West entanglements.[15]

[8] For solidarity with Palestine see at least P. T. Chamberlin, *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); A. Reimann, 'Letters from Amman', in Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey (ed.), *A Revolution of Perception?: Consequences and Echoes of 1968* (New York: Berghahn: 2014):69-88; J. Herf, *Undeclared Wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German Far Left, 1967-1989* (Cambridge University Press, 2016); Joseph Ben Prestel, 'Palästina-Solidarität', *MERKUR* 73, no. 839 (2019): 61–67; A synthesis of Kraushaar's works in Kraushaar, 'Antisemitismus in Der Radikalen Linken (1967 - 1976)', *Polis*, n.d; Hajjat, Abdellali. 'Les comités Palestine (1970-1972). Aux origines du soutien de la cause palestinienne en France.' *Revue d'études palestiniennes* hiver, no. 98 (2006): 74–92; M. Hecker, 'Un demi-siècle de militantisme pro-palestinien en France : évolution, bilan et perspectives', *Confluences Mediterranee* N° 86, no. 3 (7 October 2013): 197–208.; T. Maineult, 'La Ligue des droits de l'homme et la défense de la cause palestinienne (années 1960 – années 1980)', *Materiaux pour lhistoire de notre temps* N° 137-138, no. 3 (2020): 97–101; T. Maineult, 'The French Radical Left and the Jews: The Influence of the Arab-Israeli Conflict on Anti-Zionism Within the French Radical Left Between 1967 and the Early 1980s', in A. Tarquini (ed.), *The European Left and the Jewish Question, 1848-1992: Between Zionism and Antisemitism*, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 283–99; Y. Di-Capua, 'Palestine Comes to Paris: The Global Sixties and the Making of a Universal Cause', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 50, no. 1 (2 January 2021): 19–50;

[9] A. Almada Santos, A. B. Capamba; C. Tornimbeni, I. Vasile (eds.), 'International Solidarities and the Liberation of the Portuguese Colonies', *Afriche e Orienti*, 3, 2017; A. Almada Santos, C. Tornimbeni, I. Vasile (eds.), Dossier 'What Solidarity? Networks of Cooperation with the Liberation Movements from Portuguese Colonies', *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 118 (1 May 2019).

[10] K. Christiaens, I. Goddeeris, and M. R. Garcia (eds.), *European Solidarity with Chile 1970s - 1980s* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2014); C. Moine, '« Votre combat est le nôtre »', *Monde(s)* N° 8, no. 2 (28 December 2015): 83–104; K. Christiaens, 'European Reconfigurations of Transnational Activism: Solidarity and Human Rights Campaigns on Behalf of Chile during the 1970s and 1980s', *International Review of Social History* 63, no. 3 (December 2018): 413–48; F. A Jiménez Botta, 'From Antifascism to Human Rights. Politics of Memory in the West German Campaigns Against the Chilean and Argentinean Military Regimes, 1973–1990', *Zeithistorische Forschungen – Studies in Contemporary History* 17, no. 1 (3 July 2020): 63–90.

[11] On Nicaragua: K. Christiaens, 'Between Diplomacy and Solidarity: Western European Support Networks for Sandinista Nicaragua', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 21, no. 4 (4 July 2014): 617–34; J. Hansen, C. Helm, and F. Reichherzer, *Making Sense of the Americas: How Protest Related to America in the 1980s and Beyond* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2015); Christian Helm, *Botschafter der Revolution* (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018); Jean-François Vitrac, "La vision française de la révolution sandiniste au Nicaragua," *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, 17 (2003): 161-174.

[12] On South Africa see at least A. Konieczna and R. Skinner (eds.), *A Global History of Anti-Apartheid: 'Forward to Freedom' in South Africa* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019); K. Andresen and D. Siegfried, 'Apartheid und westeuropäische Reaktionen. Eine Einführung', *Zeithistorische Forschungen - Studies in Contemporary History* 13, no. 2 (6 June 2016): 195–209; K. Andresen, S. Justke, and D. Siegfried (eds.), *Apartheid and Anti-Apartheid in Western Europe*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); Anna Konieczna, 'L'Afrique Du Sud et Les Solidarités Transnationales: L'histoire Du Premier Mouvement Anti-Apartheid Français (1960-74) Na Nouvelles Formes de Contestation', E. Bell (ed.)*, Nouvelles Formes de Contestation : Du National Au Transnational* (*Chambéry: Les Presses de l'Université Savoie Mont Blanc,* 2017):127-146; M. Torrent, 'Les circulations militantes entre Paris et Londres : antiracisme et anti-apartheid', *Hommes Migrations* n° 1325, no. 2 (9 August 2019): 35–45; J. Bacia and D. Leidig, *» Kauft keine Früchte aus Südafrika! «: Geschichte der Anti-Apartheid-Bewegung*, (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2008); H. Hartmann and S- Lewerenz, 'Campaigning against Apartheid in East and West Germany', *Radical History Review* 2014, no. 119 (1 May 2014): 191–204.

[13] On Greece see N. Papadogiannis, 'A (Trans)National Emotional Community? Greek Political Songs and the Politicisation of Greek Migrants in West Germany in the 1960s and Early 1970s', *Contemporary European History* 23, no. 4 (November 2014): 589–614; K. Christiaens, '"Communists Are No Beasts": European Solidarity Campaigns on Behalf of Democracy and Human Rights in Greece and East–West Détente in the 1960s and Early 1970s', *Contemporary European History* 26, no. 4 (November 2017): 621–46.

[14] P. Terhoeven, *Deutscher Herbst in Europa: Der Linksterrorismus der siebziger Jahre als transnationales Phänomen*, *Deutscher Herbst in Europa* (Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2013).

A small number of studies are devoted to an examination of multiple campaigns. Some of these works investigate the entanglements of a single country with the Third World across a number of decades.[16] Other studies are devoted to investigating internationalism during 1968.[17] Finally, a few other works examine Third-Worldism and its transformations on a European scale or propose to generalize the findings from one country to the whole of Europe.[18]

Such a vast array of studies of course exhibits many differences concerning timespans, studied actors, methodological approaches, and interpretations. Nonetheless some common threads do exist. First, new left and civil society actors (such as associations and NGOs) tend to be studied more than the 'old left'. Whereas the literature gap regarding the role of real existing socialism in internationalist

[15] J. Mark and A. von der Goltz, 'Encounters', in *Europe's 1968*, ed. Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Anette Warring (Oxford University Press, 2013), 131–63; K. Christiaens, I. Goddeeris, 'Competing Solidarities? Solidarność and the Global South during the 1980s' in J. Mark, A. M Kalinovsky, and S. Marung (eds), *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World* (Indiana University Press; Bloomington, 2020): 288 - 310; M. A. Bracke, 'French responses to the Prague Spring: connections, (mis)perception and appropriation', *Europe-Asia Studies* 60/10 (2008), 1735–47; B. Boel, 'French Support for Eastern European Dissidence, 1968-1989: Approaches and Controversies', *Perforating the Iron Curtain: European Détente, Transatlantic Relations, and the Cold War, 1965-1985*, 2010, 215–41; B. Boel, 'Western Trotskyists and Subversive Travelling in Soviet Bloc Countries, 1956–1989', *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* 25, no. 2 (4 May 2017): 237–54.

[16] C. Olejniczak: 'Dritte-Welt-Bewegung', in: Roland Roth and Dieter Rucht (eds.): Die sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland seit 1945. Ein Handbuch, (Frankfurt/Main, 2008): 319-345; C. Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World: Decolonization and the Rise of the New Left in France, c .1950–1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016; or. ed 2011); W. Mausbach, 'Von der »zweiten Front« in die friedliche Etappe? Internationale Solidaritätsbewegungen in der Bundesrepublik 1968–1983', in: S. Reichardt and D. Siegfried (eds.) *Das Alternative Milieu. Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968–1983,* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2010); F. Bösch, Internationale Solidarität im geteilten Deutschland. Konzepte und Praktiken, in: F. Bösch, C. Moine and S. Senger (eds.), *Internationale Solidarität. Globales Engagement in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR,* (Göttingen, Wallstein Verlag, 2018): 7-34.

[17] D. Weitbrecht, *Aufbruch in die Dritte Welt Der Internationalismus der Studentenbewegung von 1968 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2012); R. Bertrand, « Mai 68 et l'anticolonialisme », in D. Damamme, B. Gobille, F. Matonti, B. Pudal (eds.), *Mai-juin 68*. (Paris: Les Editions de l'atelier, 2008): 89-101; L. Bantigny, *1968: de grands soirs en petits matins* (Paris: Seuil, 2018), kindle edition, loc 2639-2983.

[18] R. Gildea, J. Mark, and N. Pas, 'European Radicals and the "Third World"'; K. Christiaens, 'Europe at the Crossroads of Three Worlds: Alternative Histories and Connections of European Solidarity with the Third World, 1950s–80s', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 24, no. 6 (2 November 2017): 932–54; Influential interpretative works sketching the afterlives of Third-Worldism by covering France are: K. Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 2002); S. Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); E. Davey, *Idealism beyond Borders: The French Revolutionary Left and the Rise of Humanitarianism, 1954–1988* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). A recent work rereading the whole history of French and US leftist internationalist activism centred around the anti-Vietnam war campaign is Salar Mohandesi, *From Anti-Imperialism to Human Rights: The Vietnam War and Radical Internationalism in the 1960s and 1970s'*, PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2017; see also Salar Mohandesi, 'Bringing Vietnam HomeThe Vietnam War, Internationalism, and May '68', *French Historical Studies* 41, no. 2 (1 April 2018): 219–51.

solidarity has started to be filled, European communist parties are still under researched.[19] As a result, international solidarity mobilizations from the 1960s onwards are read more in terms of their discontinuity with the old left tradition. Second, North-South solidarities tend to be studied more than intra-European solidarities. The few works concerning solidarity with European nationalism are more traditional surveys of foreign relations of organizations[20]. Framing internationalisms in such a way entails a reading of the era between the 1960s and the 1980s as formed by the appeal and subsequent decline of Third-Worldism, as well as the rise of humanitarianism and the human rights discourse on a global scale.[21]

Scholarship concerning Italy underwent a similar development, albeit the balance between studies devoted to the old and new left appear to weighted in the opposite direction, given the vast field of works devoted to the international relations of the Italian Communist Party (PCI). Although some interpretative works, dating from between the late 1980s and the early 1990s, mentioned the relevance of internationalism for the 1968 movement, the first systematic exploration of internationalist solidarity campaigns date from the 2000s.[22] The studies of solidarities with the Global

[19] As for the studies addressing the socialist countries see for instance James Mark et al., '"We Are with You, Vietnam": Transnational Solidarities in Socialist Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia', *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 3 (1 July 2015): 439–64. One exception to the marginalization of the 'old left' is constituted by the studies authored by Kim Christiaens.

[20] See for instance on the Basque countries J. Valencia, *La ternura de los pueblos: Euskal Herria internacionalista* (Txalaparta, 2011. On Ireland see M. Frampton, '"Squaring the Circle": The Foreign Policy of Sinn Féin, 1983–1989', *Irish Political Studies* 19, no. 2 (1 June 2004): 43–63. On Western and Eastern German solidarity with Irish nationalism see J. aan de Wiel, *East German Intelligence and Ireland, 1949–90: Espionage, Terrorism and Diplomacy* (Manchester University Press, 2015).

[21] S. Moyn, *The Last Utopia.* E. Davey, *Idealism beyond*.

[22] P. Ortoleva, *Saggio sui movimenti del 1968 in Europa e in America: con un'antologia di materiali e documenti* (Roma: Editori riuniti, 1988); M. Revelli, 'Movimenti sociali e spazio politico', in F. Barbagallo (ed.), *Storia dell'Italia repubblicana*, *Vol. II, La trasformazione dell'Italia: sviluppo e squilibri, tomo II, Istituzioni, movimenti, culture*, (Torino, Einaudi 1995): 385-476.

South include works about Algeria[23], Vietnam[24], Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict[25], Portuguese colonies[26], Chile[27], Argentina[28], and South Africa[29]. As far as the intra-European solidarities are

[23] A. Brazzoduro, 'Voir/ne pas voir l'Algérie. La gauche italienne et la lutte des Algériens', in M. Bouaziz, A. Kadri and T. Quemeneur, eds., *La guerre d'Algérie revisitée.Nouvelles générations, nouveaux regards*, Karthala, Paris, 2015, pp. 331-338; T. Ottolini, *Dal soutien alla cooperazione. Il terzomondismo in Italia fra il Centro di Documentazione Frantz Fanon e il Movimento Liberazione e Sviluppo*, Phd Thesis, University of Bologna, 2018; M. Scotti, *Vita Di Giovanni Pirelli: Tra Cultura e Impegno Militante*, (Roma: Donzelli editore, 2018).

[24] F. Montessoro, 'Il mito del Vietnam nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', *Trimestre* 37, no. 13–14 (2004): 273–97; E. Taviani, 'L'anti-americanismo nella sinistra italiana al tempo del Vietnam', *Annali della facoltà di Scienze della formazione Università degli studi di Catania* 6 (2011): 165–85; Valentine Lomellini, 'Prove Di Pacifismo All'italiana. La Critica Alla Guerra Del Vietnam e La Genesi Dell'«altra America». Un Punto Di Incontro Tra Pci e Dc?', *Ricerche Di Storia Politica*, no. 1/2019 (2019).

[25] General overviews of leftist politics and the Arab-Israeli conflict are: Matteo Di Figlia, *Israele e la sinistra: gli ebrei nel dibattito pubblico italiano dal 1945 a oggi* (Roma: Donzelli, 2012); Arturo Marzano and Guri Schwarz, *Attentato alla sinagoga: Roma, 9 ottobre 1982 : il conflitto israelo-palestinese e l'Italia* (Roma: Viella, 2013); Claudio Brillanti, *Le sinistre italiane e il conflitto arabo-israelo-palestinese: 1948-1973* (Sapienza Università Editrice, 2018); Alessandra Tarquini, *La sinistra italiana e gli ebrei socialismo, sionismo, antisemitismo 1892-1992* (Mulino:Bologna, 2020). Specific works on the Italian Communist Party are: Luca Riccardi, *Il problema Israele: diplomazia italiana e PCI di fronte allo stato ebraico (1948-1973)* (Milano: Guerini studio, 2006) and Luca Riccardi, *Internazionalismo difficile: la diplomazia del PCI e il Medio Oriente dalla crisi petrolifera alla caduta del muro di Berlino (1973-1989)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2013). About the Italian revolutionary left see: Arturo Marzano, 'Il "Mito" Della Palestina Nell'immaginario Della Sinistra Extraparlamentare Italiana Degli Anni Settanta', *Italia Contemporanea*, no. 280 (May 2016): 15–39; L. Falciola, 'Transnational Relationships between the Italian Revolutionary Left and Palestinian Militants during the Cold War', *Journal of Cold War Studies* 22, no. 4 (1 December 2020): 31–70; Gregorio Sorgonà, 'The Italian Radical Left and the Arab-Israeli Question (1969–1977)', in Alessandra Tarquini (ed.), *The European Left and the Jewish Question, 1848-1992: Between Zionism and Antisemitism*.

[26] C. M. Lanzafame and C. Podaliri, *La Stagione Della Solidarietà Sanitaria a Reggio Emilia: Mozambico 1963-1977* (Torino: L'Harmattan Italia, 2004); C. Tornimbeni, 'Nationalism and Internationalism in the Liberation Struggle in Mozambique: The Role of the FRELIMO's Solidarity Network in Italy', *South African Historical Journal* 70, no. 1 (2 January 2018): 194–214; V. Russo, *La Resistenza continua: il colonialismo portoghese, le lotte di liberazione e gli intellettuali italiani* (Milano: Meltemi, 2020).

[27] A. Mulas, *Allende e Berlinguer: il Cile dell'Unidad Popular e il compRomesso storico italiano* (Manni Editori, 2005); R. Nocera, *Settantatré. Cile e Italia, destini incrociati* (Think Thanks edizioni, 2010); Alessandro Santoni, *Il PCI e i giorni del Cile: alle origini di un mito politico* (Roma: Carocci, 2008); Alessandro Santoni, 'El Partido Comunista Italiano y El Otro "Compromesso Storico": Los Significados Políticos De La Solidaridad Con Chile (1973-1977)', *Historia (Santiago)* 43, no. 2 (December 2010): 523–46; A. Santoni, 'Comunistas y Socialistas Italianos Frente a La Causa Chilena: Solidaridad y Renovación (1973-1989), Revista www.izquierdas.cl, N° 19, Agosto 2014, ISSN 0718-5049, pp. 112-130; V. Lomellini, 'Italy : The "Chilean Lesson" between the Legacy of the Struggle against Fascism and the Threat of New Authoritarian Shifts' in K. Christiaens, I. Goddeeris, and M. R. Garcia, *European Solidarity with Chile 1970s - 1980s*: 239-256; A. Mignini, 'Dalla Moneda a Modena. Per una storia orale dell'esilio cileno e dell'accoglienza in Emilia Romagna', *E-Review. Rivista degli Istituti Storici dell'Emilia-Romagna in Rete*, 12 September 2018; Erminio Fonzo, 'Chilean Refugees in Italy: A Forgotten Story', in Erminio Fonzo and Hilary A Haakenson (eds.), *Mediterranean mosaic history and art* (Fisciano: ICSR Mediterranean Knowledge, 2019): 187–211.

[28] G. Calderoni, 'Exilio Y Militancia:: El Caso De Los Exiliados Argentinos En Italia En Los Años Setenta', in *Miradas a Las Migraciones, Las Fronteras y Los Exilios*, ed. Enrique Coraza de los Santos and Soledad Lastra (CLACSO, 2020), 149–74.

[29] A. Pezzano, and A. Lissoni, (eds.), *The ANC between Home and Exile Reflections on the Anti-Apartheid Struggle in Italy and Southern Africa* (Napoli : Università degli studi di Napoli L'Orientale, 2015).

concerned, it is worth mentioning studies concerning Greece[30], Francoist Spain[31], Portugal[32], Germany[33], France[34], and East-West entanglements.[35]

A handful of studies are devoted to an examination of multiple campaigns. Some works trace a first recognition of the entanglements of Italy with the Third World.[36] One single work examines solidarity with European national movements.[37] A number of works engage with a set of case studies

[30] An overview of Italy and Greece with a relevant section committed to the Italian left is P. Soave, *La Democrazia Allo Specchio: L'Italia e Il Regime Militare Ellenico (1967-1974)*, Saggi 339 (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2014). For a study on Greek students drawing specifically on oral sources see K. Kornetis, 'Una diaspora adriatica: La migrazione degli studenti universitari greci in Italia', in E. Cocco and E. Minardi, *Immaginare l'Adriatico: contributi alla riscoperta sociale di uno spazio di frontiera* (Milano: F. Angeli, 2007): 151-168; Finally, among the many contributions by R. Raftopoulos worth mentioning are: R. Raftopoulos, *La dittatura dei colonnelli in Grecia (1967-1974): tra Grecia e Italia: resistenza, dittatura e la guerra fredda che si scongela.* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Teramo: 2010); R. Raftopoulos, 'La storia della diaspora ellenica in Italia nel secondo Novecento' in A. Pelliccia and R. Raftopoulos, *Terra ancestrale. La diaspora ellenica contemporanea in Italia tra prima e seconda generazione* (IRPPS, 2016), 11-92; R. Raftopoulos, 'The reaction of the communist party of Italy to the colonel's dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974)' in https://www.eens.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/periexomena.pdf.

[31] E. Treglia, 'Por La Libertad de España : La Solidaridad Italiana Con El Antifranquismo (1962-1977)', E. Treglia, J. M. Soro (eds.). *Patria, pan... amore e fantasia: la España franquista y sus relaciones con Italia (1945-1975*) (Granada: Comares, 2017):163–91.

[32] F. Frangioni, 'Fra europeismo e terzomondismo: il Portogallo e la rivoluzione dei garofani nella sinistra italiana', *Memoria e ricerca* 44, no. 3 (2013): 143-159; G. Strippoli, 'Lotta Continua e il processo rivoluzionario portoghese', *Estudos Italianos em Portugal*, no. 9 (2014): 47–61.

[33] Terhoeven, *Deutscher.*

[34] A. Benci, *Immaginazione senza potere: il lungo viaggio del maggio francese in Italia* (Milano; Bologna: Punto rosso, 2011); Manus McGrogan, 'Vive La Révolution and the Example of Lotta Continua: The Circulation of Ideas and Practices Between the Left Militant Worlds of France and Italy Following May '68', *Modern & Contemporary France* 18, no. 3 (1 August 2010): 309–28, Alessandro Giacone and Philippe Artières (eds), *Il '68 in Italia e in Francia: sguardi incrociati = 1968 en France et en Italie : regards croisés* (Canterano: Aracne, 2019);

[35] Valentine Lomellini, *L'appuntamento Mancato: La Sinistra Italiana e Il Dissenso Nei Regimi Comunisti, 1968-1989* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2010); S. Cavalucci and N. de Amicis, "Italy. Diversity within United Solidarity", in Idesbald Goddeeris (ed.), *Solidarity with Solidarity: Western European Trade Unions and the Polish Crisis, 1980-1982* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), 75-100; Guido Crainz (ed.), *Il sessantotto sequestrato: Cecoslovacchia, Polonia, Jugoslavia e dintorni* (Donzelli Editore, 2018); E. Serventi Longhi, 'Solidarity and Italian Labor Movement Culture: CGIL Intellectuals and Revision of the CGIL's International Relations (1980–1982)', in A. Tarquini and A. Guiso (eds.), *Italian Intellectuals and International Politics, 1945–1992*, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 235–54.

[36] M. De Giuseppe, 'Il "Terzo Mondo" in Italia. Trasformazioni Di Un Concetto Tra Opinione Pubblica, Azione Politica e Mobilitazione Civile (1955-1980)', *Ricerche Di Storia Politica*, no. 1/2011 (2011); E. Calandri, 'Italia e Terzo Mondo. Un Rapporto Irrisolto, Un Campo Di Studi in Costruzione', *Rivista Italiana Di Storia Internazionale*, no. 2/2018 (2018), 299-328; G. Panvini "Third Worldism in Italy." In *Marxist Historical Cultures and Social Movements during the Cold War: Case Studies from Germany, Italy, and Other Western European States*, edited by Stefan Berger and Christoph Cornelissen, 289–308. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

[37] P. Perri, 'Nazionalità e lotta di classe. La Nuova Sinistra e i nazionalismi periferici', *Diacronie. Studi di Storia Contemporanea*, no. N° 9, 1 (29 January 2012).

from one continent.[38] One single monography studies the PCI's relations with the nonaligned countries.[39] Some studies are devoted to investigating internationalism during 1968.[40]

This impressive body of literature has widened the knowledge of leftist internationalism between the 1960s and the 1980s. We consequently have a clear picture of the party diplomacy and the internal debate of the PCI on international matters, and several works also compare different leftist internationalisms in single campaigns. Furthermore, whereas imagined solidarities still enjoy the bulk of the scholarly attention, a growing body of literature focuses on actual contacts involving Greek and Palestinian students, South American exiles, and transnational networks forged by socialist, communist, and Christian actors. Nonetheless, existing scholarship about internationalisms remains limited in terms of the actors, the campaigns and the chronological boundaries. First, studies addressing the PCI are much more plentiful than ones focused on other leftist actors. Secondly, most of the studies relate to three internationalist campaigns: the campaign against the Greek Junta (1967-1974), Italian Palestinian solidarity, and the campaign against the Chilean coup in 1973. Thirdly, it is rare for any of the studies to progress beyond the early 1980s. This means a focus on the high moments of internationalist mobilisation between the 1960s and the 1970s, which neglects the decline and transformation occurring from the late 1970s onwards. To be sure, the scholarship mentions the soul-searching provoked by the internecine conflicts in Indochina, the rise of pragmatic international solidarity and the decline of politicised approaches.[41] Nonetheless, there is a lack of a systematic analysis accounting for the continuities and the discontinuities affecting internationalism.

[38] P. Borruso, *Il PCI e l'Africa indipendente: apogeo e crisi di un'utopia socialista: (1956-1989)* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2009). M. De Giuseppe, *L'altra America: i cattolici italiani e l'America Latina: da Medellín a Francesco*, (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2017); O. Pappagallo, *Verso Il Nuovo Mondo: Il PCI e l'America Latina (1945-1973)*, (Milano, Italy: FrancoAngeli, 2017).
[39] Marco Galeazzi, *Il PCI e il movimento dei paesi non allineati: 1955-1975* (Milano, Italy: FrancoAngeli, 2011).
[40] S. Paoli, "La geografia mentale del Sessantotto italiano 1967–1969," in (2007) 22 *Annali della Fondazione Ugo La Malfa* 73, pp. 85–6; F. Pizzuti, *Le "suggestioni del mondo" e il Sessantotto*, in Benedetto Coccia (ed), *40 anni dopo: il Sessantotto in Italia fra storia, società e cultura*, (Roma: Editrice Apes, 2008) 9-58; A. Martellini, *All'ombra delle altrui rivoluzioni: parole e icone del Sessantotto* (Milano; Torino: Bruno Mondadori, 2012).
[41] G. Crainz, *Il Paese Mancato: Dal Miracolo Economico Agli Anni Ottanta*, (Roma: Donzelli, 2003), 561-2; Calandri, "Italia e Terzo", 319.

Furthermore, existing scholarship by and large fails in interrelating internationalism with the relevant Italian political and social issues. The role played by the Italian local institutions governed by the political left is often mentioned, but only for single campaigns, and an overarching reading does not currently exist. Similarly, the existing scholarship studies the interlinkage between internationalism and antifascism single campaigns only within a limited time frame. The interrelation between generation dynamics and internationalism is studied only with respect to the early phase of the anti-Vietnam war campaign and the genesis of a new left.[42] As for gender and women's activism, there is only one study that deals briefly with UDI activism and the pro-Vietnamese campaign. Most of the studies of left feminism address intra-European solidarity, whereas the entanglements with the Global South are largely neglected.[43]. Reflections on internationalism and culture in a relevant domain such as theatre are studied by theatre scholars, producing research that often does not analyse internationalist plays in their political and historical contexts. Finally, most of the studies considering the role of foreign students focus on a single nationality without reading foreign politicised activists as a part of a larger foreign minority community living in Italy.

This thesis aims to contribute to the international scholarship about leftist internationalism in two main ways. First, by contributing to the scholarship emphasizing the complex relations between the 'old left' and the post-1968 left, and critically questioning the category of Third-Worldism. [44] Secondly, this study aims to question critically the narrative envisaging an uncomplicated path from

[42] F. Socrate. *Sessantotto: Due Generazioni* (Bari: Laterza, 2018).
[43] W. A. Pojmann, *Italian women and international Cold War politics, 1944-1968* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); L. Passerini, 'Corpi e corpo collettivo : rapporti internazionali del primo femminismo radicale italiano', in A. Scattigno e T. Bertilotti, *Il femminismo degli anni Settanta* (Roma: Viella, 2010), 181–98; M. A. Bracke, 'Between the Transnational and the Local: mapping the trajectories and contexts of the Wages for Housework campaign in 1970s Italian feminism', *Women's History Review* 22, n. 4 (2013), 625–42; M. A. Bracke, 'Our Bodies, Ourselves: The Transnational Connections of 1970s Italian and Roman Feminism', *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, n. 3 (2015), 560–80. One recent exception with some references to Italian-African connections is G. Strippoli, 'Images beyond Borders. The Production of Knowledge about Women's Activism against the Colonial Wars', *Revista de Comunicação e Linguagens*, no. 54 (30 June 2021).
[44] The thesis refer defines the left strengthened around 1968 as 'revolutionary left' and not as 'new left' since -as claimed by Eros Francescangeli-this area included 'cultural currents that were certainly not 'new', such as the anarchists, the Bordighists, the Trockists, the workerists and the Stalinomaoists'. E. Francescangeli, 'Le parole e le cose. Sul nesso sinistra rivoluzionaria, violenza politica e sociale, lotta armata', in G. Battelli and A. Vinci (eds.), *Parole e Violenza Politica: Gli Anni Settanta Nel Novecento Italiano*, (Roma: Carocci editore, 2013): 63.

Third-Worldism to humanitarianism and the human rights discourse by stressing the peculiarities of the Italian case.

Thirdly, this thesis aims to contribute to the Italian debate by offering a complex picture of internationalism through looking at the very heterogenous set of actors mobilised for the internationalist campaigns during these decades, and the way such mobilisations intersected with Italian political and social history. As such, internationalism will be read as something more than a ritual component of marginal leftist culture but instead as a very impactful component of leftist practices and activists' subjectivities.

Concepts

This thesis defines the Italian leftist internationalist solidarity mobilizations between the 1960s and the 1980s under the umbrella term of internationalisms. This terminological choice is shared by a small number of studies addressing European mobilizations during the same time period. This current section first defines what this thesis precisely means by leftist internationalisms, and then elucidates some conceptual questions such as the role of nations and the state within internationalisms, and finally positions the choice of internationalisms over Third-Worldism as the overarching concept of this thesis.

Defining leftist internationalisms requires a preliminary definition of the 'left'. This thesis defines the 'left' as a large spectrum of forces 'that struggled to change the world by putting the principle of equality at the centre of their agenda.'[45] This work considers leftist internationalisms as the projections of this struggle on a global scale. Consequently, leftist internationalisms can be considered as a heterogenous body of theories and practices grounded on the following beliefs: a) inequality constitutes a world-system; b) the world-system of inequality can be reformed or overthrown only through the solidarity of a transnational collective entity. Such features represent

[45] E. Traverso, *Left-Wing Melancholia: Marxism, History, and Memory*. New Directions in Critical Theory (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016): 13; De Giuseppe, 'Il "Terzo Mondo".

merely the lowest common denominator of a panoply of discourses and actions performed by a variegated set of actors including individuals, foreign students and exiles, parties, informal collectives, local authorities, states and 'internationals'. Indeed, leftist internationalism – at least since the dissolution of the International Workingmen's Association in 1876 that originated separate traditions of socialist and anarchist internationalism – has long existed in the plural form. In turn, each leftist internationalism had conflictual or cooperative relations with the others, but remained part of an interconnected world. In fact, the leftist internationalist sphere at the very least shared a common inspiration, and the entities that participated in it engaged very often in common internationalist campaigns. Nonetheless, leftist internationalisms differed as to: 1) the political goal of the global struggle; 2) the actors included in the internationalist front; 3) the forms of solidarity. The political goals of the global struggle depended on the political identity of the leftist internationalist, so they could range from the global communist revolution imagined by the Bolsheviks between 1917 and 1923, to the building of a neutral Europe and the reform of the inequalities between the Global North and the Global South as aimed at by the Eurocommunists in the 1970s.[46] Different scholars offer different perspectives. For example, Perry Anderson defines any internationalism (including the leftist ones) as sharing the goal of transcending the nation-state, aspiring 'towards a wider community, of which nations continue to form the principal units,' whereas Mark Mazower defines the aim of leftist internationalism as a 'post political mingling of people'.[47] The former is a supranational model; the latter, a postnational one. Whereas the internationalist practices of solidarity that precisely constitute the subject of this thesis will be discussed in the following section, the following lines analyse the composition of the leftist internationalist front and specifically the role of crucial actors such as national communities and states.

[46] S. Pons and M. Di Donato, 'Reform communism', in J. Fürst, M. Selden, and S. Pons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Communism:* 188-9.
[47] P. Anderson, 'Internationalism: A Breviary', *New Left Review*, II, no. 14 (2002): 5; M. Mazower, *Governing the World: The Rise and Fall of an Idea* (London: Allen Lane, 2012): XIII and XIV. Historian Iriye describes 'socialist internationalism' as 'promoted by those who believed that world peace must be built upon the solidarity of workers everywhere'. See A. Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997): 3.

As for the national issues, it must be noticed that even if the original rallying cry of socialist internationalisms was about working-class transnational solidarity ("Workers of the world, unite!") most internationalist activism between the 1960s and the 1980s in Italy, as on the global level, was about national liberation struggles because of the impact of decolonization on the different lefts. Such internationalist solidarity with national liberation fronts was grounded in a complex history of interrelations between nationalism, internationalism, and the colonial question.[48] Whereas scholars still debate whether Marxism includes a cosmopolitan perspective or not, there is sufficient agreement about the principal tenets of Marxism on nations and nationalism. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels made a distinction between oppressors' nationalism and oppressed nations; they argued in favour of national causes to the extent it helped the progressive forces (i.e. the Polish national movements). They were in favour of national causes, such as the Irish national movement, because 'any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains.'[49] Finally, the classic socialist thinkers admitted only the national rights of the 'historical nations' and considered national minorities as destined for assimilation.

This ambiguous legacy was inherited by a set of authors claiming the necessity of rooting internationalism in national differences (Otto Bauer) until the right to self-determination (Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin) or refusing any nationalism such as Rosa Luxemburg. Nonetheless, after the Bolshevik revolution, the national liberation movements of the colonial countries started to be framed as the major partners of the working classes of the capitalist countries, brought together in the shared project of a global revolution. Whereas Bolshevik anti-colonial activism was significant for the start of the Third-World movement, especially in transnational hubs such as the interwar Paris, Stalin considered 'the revolutionary prospects of national liberation movements outside Europe to be

[48] Erica Benner claims that Karl Marx refused an 'an abstract cosmopolitan model of working-class unity', whereas Michel Lowy and Gilbert Achar claimed that cosmopolitism is an integral part of the Marxist approach. E. Benner, *Really Existing Nationalisms: A Post-Communist View from Marx and Engels* (New York : Verso, 2018); M. Löwy. *Comunismo e questione nazionale: madrepatria o madre Terra?* (Milano: Meltemi, 2021); G. Achcar. *Marxism, Orientalism, Cosmopolitanism* (London: Saqi, 2013).

[49] K. Marx, *Confidential Communication on Bakunin*, 28 March 1870 in https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1870/03/28.htm

peripheral, and of little significance in terms of the Soviet's union interests'.[50] This changed after Stalin's death, when the fate of the cold war 'was now linked to the "war of movement" that was starting in the Third World.[51] Similarly, the national issue turned into a relevant question in the Western world because of the Popular Front doctrine that underpinned the united antifascism movements of the mid-1930s, and again with the antifascist doctrine following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. Antifascism 'nationalised' the communist parties.

In the case of Italy, according to Emilio Gentile, this was only a short parenthesis since with the start of the cold war, the Italian Communist Party tended to identify the national myth with their own ideology.[52]National liberation enjoyed a renewed life with decolonization. Starting with the Algerian war, internationalist campaigns coincided with support for anticolonial national liberation wars. This entailed many contradictions, since the antinationalist culture shared by the PCI and Italian revolutionary left translated into them supporting national liberation wars in colonised nations, albeit often infusing them with socialist political meaning. As for states coming together as potential components of a global revolutionary front, the turning points for this were the Bolshevik revolution, the birth of real existing socialism in Central and Eastern Europe after 1945, the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and, finally, the anti-imperialist states born alongside decolonization among which sprang up Algeria as 'Mecca of revolution'.[53]

1917 relaunched revolutionary internationalism. The characteristics of the latter were again very influential in the 1960s and 1970s. Gleb Albert summarised these characteristics as manifested in the Bolshevik revolution as follows: the rejection of the imperialist war; the idea – based on Marx but still peculiar to the Bolsheviks – that the workers struggle has to be global because communism had to be global, for the reason that a communist economy could not exist on its own and therefore

[50] S. Pons, *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism, 1917-1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), kindle edition: loc. 7295.
[51] S. Pons, *The Global Revolution*: loc. 315.
[52] E. Gentile. *La grande Italia: il mito della nazione nel XX secolo*. (Roma Bari: Laterza, 2011): 378.
[53] J. Byrne. *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016).

communism could only function as a global system; a rejection of xenophobia, anti-Semitism and all forms of 'scientific racism' and ethnic supremacy.[54] These combined principles fostered the creation of Comintern as a party for world revolution that until 1943 existed in an ambiguous relation with the Soviet State. This changed from the '1920s onward' when 'the connection between the interests of the Soviet state and the prospect of world revolution proved to be controversial.'[55] 1956 marked a fragmentation of the movement that multiplied leftist internationalisms. Nonetheless, the role of 'states' as internationalist beacons continued at least until the late 1970s. Indeed, even if the USSR was criticised because of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, its anti-imperialist credentials were still considered as strong and sincere, because of the increasing Soviet activism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where it agitated in order to 'make the world safe for revolution and thereby to assist in the progress of humankind.'[56]

Similarly, another crucial state player was the People's Republic of China (PRC) which, especially after the split with the Soviet Union, promoted an aggressive foreign policy characterising what Julia Lovell defines as the politics of 'high Maoism.' This combined the Cultural Revolution on the domestic level with the presentation of Mao as the genius of world revolution' whilst sowing 'the seeds of insurrection across Africa, Asia and Latin America, and sink[ing] billions of dollars of Chinese aid into these regions.'[57]

In addition to these two big state actors – the PRC and the USSR – these decades saw significant action by smaller states such as Cuba that through organisations such as the Tricontinental, *Ospaal* (Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America)and the *Dipartimento America* supported national liberation and revolutionary movements around the world in both political and military terms.[58] Smaller state actors included the Eastern bloc states giving

[54] G. Albert. *Das Charisma Der Weltrevolution: Revolutionärer Internationalismus in Der Frühen Sowjetgesellschaft 1917-1927*. (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2017): 24.
[55] S. Pons, *The Global Revolution*: loc 221.
[56] O. A. Westad. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 72.
[57] J. Lovell. *Maoism: A Global History* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019), kindle edition, locs. 2611-2618.
[58] D. Krujit, The Departamento America and the Latin American Revolutions, in: A. M. Álvarez and E. R. Tristán (eds.) *Revolutionary Violence and the New Left: Transnational Perspectives.* (New York: Routledge, 2017); R. J. C. Young,

military assistance or organizing international schools for the world revolution.[59] Italian internationalism interacted with states in multiple ways: as actors to criticize or to exalt for the good or the harm they made for world revolution. The role of the state was crucial also because PCI internationalism impacted on Italian foreign policy. Finally, sub-statal entities, such as regional powers or towns, engaged in world revolution with multiple actions that ranged from giving work to exiles to collect funding for revolutionary states or movements.

A final conceptual issue regards the preference of this thesis for the definition of internationalism over Thirdworldism, even if most of the internationalist activism in Italy concerned the countries of the so-called Third World. The first reason for this relates to essentially normative questions. Indeed, whereas most Italian scholarship on international solidarity makes a descriptive use of Thirdwordism, defined closely as campaigning for the interests of Africa, Asia and Latin America, a number of scholarly works identify it as an ideology, dependent on the integration of the western working class and an exclusive reliance on the peoples of the Global South for projects of global revolution. As put by Mausbach, Thirdworldists believed that the Third World would prove able to overturn social relations on a global scale.[60] Most of the individual and collective actors treated in this thesis would have refused Thirdworldism defined as such: the PCI relied on an inter-class base of which the working class was the bulk; its alliance with Asian, African and Latin American parties and organizations had many motivations, including gaining symbolic capital, autonomy from Moscow and so on, but they did not have any sense of Italian inferiority in the context of world revolution.

As for the Italian revolutionary left, the internationalist alliance was an inspiration, a bold symbol, and a mirror for speaking of Italy, but they conceived the revolutionary process as revolving around the indigenous working class. Similarly, the armed clandestine organizations thought along

---

'Disseminating the Tricontinental'. J. Chen, M. Klimke, M. Kirasirova, M. Nolan, M. Young, and J. Waley-Cohen (eds.).*The Routledge Handbook.*

[59] D. Siegfried. Bogensee: Weltrevolution in der DDR 1961-1989 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2021).
; J. Herf, *Undeclared.*

[60]Mausbach, 'Von der »zweiten Front« in die friedliche Etappe?, 423.

the same lines, and until the 1980's none of them engaged in any internationalist deadly attack. Some other armed groups such as the *Nuclei Armati Proletari* (Proletarian Armed Nuclei, NAP) took from Franz Fanon and the Black Panther Party (BPP) the extension of the domestic revolutionary front to the lumpen-proletariat, but this did not necessarily preclude any alliance with the working class. Indeed, when these armed groups ceased to exist, many of their members moved directly into the *Brigate Rosse* (Red Brigades, BR). Some of Italian internationalists considered the term Thirdwordist to be derogatory and the workerist component denounced the imperialist role of Thirdworldism in dividing the working class of 'developed and underdeveloped countries.'[61] In the Italian case specifically, perhaps Thirdwordism might be attached to some strands of leftist Catholicism but there is no parallel to this in, for example, the German Thirdworldism.

Another reason for choosing internationalism as a term is because international solidarity extended beyond the so-called Third World to the struggle of the Afro-Americans in the United States, the European national liberation struggles, anti-dictatorial campaigns and revolutionary processes (e.g. the Carnation Revolution in Portugal), and to collaboration between communists organizations (e.g. Eurocommunism). At times, this was very complicated since some European actors defined national struggles in Europe in specifically colonial terms.[62] Moreover, some strands of the left defined the US military presence on Italian soil as a colonial domination. Finally, there were, especially in Sardinia, leftist factions framing their region as oppressed by the Italian state. Notwithstanding such complexities, internationalism is a larger term that can effectively encompass all these nuances.

Last but not least, the choice of internationalism is also because I would like to address an image of internationalist solidarity not in total discontinuity with previous socialist and communist traditions. David Mayer in his contribution to the debate about an important book on the Third World

[61] Potere Operaio, *Alle avanguardie per il partito*, (Milano:Edizioni Politiche):42. Interview with Nadia.
[62] K. Kornetis, '"Cuban Europe"? Greek and Iberian Tiersmondisme in the "Long 1960s"', *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 3 (1 July 2015): 486–515; T. Kernalegenn, J. Belliveau, and J. Roy, *La vague nationale des années 1968: une comparaison internationale* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2020).

in the Global 1960s lamented the absence of a genealogy of anti-imperialism that went back at least to Comintern.[63] Similarly, Brigitte Studer claimed that the far-left organizations and the new social movements that emerged in the wake of 1968 all drew on 'certain political practices [and] cultural references produced within the Comintern.' .[64] Salahar Mohandesi also claims that the 1968 movements, by supporting self-determination, 'understood anti-imperialism within not just a Marxist problematic, but a specifically Leninist one.'.[65] As claimed by Maud Bracke 'communist ideology' in the 1960s still inspired 'individuals and groups around the world where it resonated with calls for liberation and liberty' and provided 'otherwise diverse revolutionary movements with a shared language and set of organizational principles'.[66]

Methodologies and sources

This thesis analyses leftist internationalisms as a set of practices immersed in multiple spatial dimensions and relevant for the subjectivities of leftist actors. Indeed, this work joins the field of a small number of works advocating a praxeological turn in leftist internationalist studies.[67] Indeed, as anticipated above, internationalism lacks a systematic theory so this thesis espouses and adheres to the Dorothee Weitbrecht inclination to avoid studying internationalism as mere dissemination of theoretical literature, given its strong foundation in morality and empathy.[68] A very recent important 581-page-long work about Marxist and post-Marxist theory mentions the word 'internationalism'

[63] B. Hendrickson'Débat autour de The Third World in the Global 1960s de Samantha Christiansen et Zachary A. Scarlett', *Monde(s)* N° 11, no. 1 (20 June 2017): 217.
[64] B. Studer. *The Transnational World of the Cominternians*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 3.
[65] S. Mohandesi, *From Anti-Imperialism*:101.
[66] M. A. Bracke, *1968* in Stephen A. Smith (ed). Stephen A Smith, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017): 157-8.
[67] Patrizia Dogliani in a survey about internationalism between the second half of the 19th century and the second half of the 20th century claims that 'Workers' internationalism was not only an idea and an organisation. It was a practice that could be found in daily activity and in periodic participation in major international events' P. Dogliani. 'The Fate of Socialist Internationalism. '. In G. Sluga, P. Clavin, and S. Amrith (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 38-60; Gleb Albert studies practices in the context of Bolshevik internationalism between 1917 and 1927, G. Albert. *Das Charisma*; Dorothee Weitbrecht defines West German internationalism as 'practical-revolutionary empathetic and voluntary solidarity of the stronger with the weaker without the impetus of self-interest', D. Weitbrecht, *Aufbruch* ,41.
[68] D. Weitbrecht, *Aufbruch* , 36-7.

only ten times and the adjective 'internationalist' only two times.[69] Furthermore, the concept 'internationalism' does not figure in the index. Such an omission is highly significant since internationalism is overall about praxis.

Therefore, this thesis privileges a 'perspective from below' whilst at the same time not ignoring the convergence, divergence and the less polarised relations between party/organization leadership and internationalist practice amongst the grassroots. Moreover, leftist internationalism as a part of leftist culture is both performatively constructed and enacted in performance. Therefore, this thesis considers leftist internationalisms 'as culture as/in performance.'[70]

Consequently, this thesis analyses overall internationalism as a set of international solidarity practices definable as 'community-building forms of cross-border support and cooperation that are based on voluntary social commitment.'[71] Defined in such terms, internationalist practices include: political actions, such as dissemination of information and demonstrations; acts of humanitarian solidarity, such as collections of funds and hospitality; cultural activism, such as concerts and theatre; and violent actions, such as mass clashes or clandestine activities. Focusing on practices does not exclude the study of discourse and the way internationalism is framed. Indeed, this thesis– following the example of historian Thomas Welskopp – will not 'distinguish between practices and language' but rather 'differentiate practices (including purely verbal practices) according to the share of verbal elements they entail.'[72]

As for the relevance that violent practices will have throughout this study, it might be worth clarifying what this thesis defines as 'political violence'. This work relies on the definition of political

[69] A. Callinicos, S. Kouvélakis, and L. Pradella (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Marxism and Post-Marxism* (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis, 2021).
[70] L. Karakatsanis and N. Papadogiannis. 'Introduction: Performing the Left in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus'. In L. Karakatsanis and N. Papadogiannis (eds.) *The Politics of Culture in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017).
[71] F. Bösch, 'Internationale Solidarität im geteilten Deutschland. Konzepte und Praktiken', in: F. Bösch, C. Moine and S. Senger (eds.), *Internationale Solidarität. Globales Engagement in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR*, Göttingen 2018, 10.
[72] T. Welskopp, 'Irritating Flirtations. Reflections on the Relationship between History and Sociology since the 1970s', *InterDisciplines. Journal of History and Sociology* 1, no. 1 (11 October 2010), 24.

violence recently formulated by Lorenzo Bosi and Stefan Malthaner that derives from the scholarly tradition of Social Movements Studies:

> Political violence involves a heterogeneous repertoire of actions oriented at inflicting physical, psychological and symbolic damage to individuals and/or property with the intention of influencing various audiences for affecting or resisting political, social, and/or cultural change. It is used by actors across the political spectrum and includes actions such as attacks on property, bodily assaults, the planting of explosive devices, shooting attacks, kidnappings, hostage taking and the seizure of aircraft or ships, high profile assassinations, public self-immolation, to mention only a few.[73]

One of the main qualities of internationalism is to connect people, languages and places. Studying this phenomenon as the product of aggregated praxes means studying practices contributing both to what Timothy Scott Brown defines as 'radicalizing global imagination' and concrete 'transnational exchanges'. Brown conceptualizes the former as acts 'by which activists inserted themselves into various global communities.'[74] 'Transnational exchanges' entailed face-to-face interaction including travel, collaboration with students, workers and refugees, as well as formal alliances between organizations. This categorisation should be understood as purely indicative, since the reality of Italian Internationalist activism encompassed many hybrid typologies. Nonetheless, this distinction might be of use since it makes the point that internationalism can exist without actual contacts with the 'recipients' of solidarity but only through practices fostering the creation of a radical imagination. This was the case in peripheral areas where Vietnam was an issue but many never saw a Vietnamese in their entire life. Moreover the radical imagination implied a meta-geography of foreign struggles and often formed a geopolitical hierarchical system marked by 'asymmetric relations of power'.[75] For instance, the

[73] L. Bosi and S. Maltaner, 'Political violence', in Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (New York: Oxford: 2015): 429-442.
[74] T. S. Brown. *Sixties Europe* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
[75] M. A. Bracke and J. Mark, 'Between decolonization and the Cold War: Transnational activism and its limits in Europe, 1950s–90s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50, 3 (2015), 403–17

Italian Communist Party's notions of 'Italian exceptionalism' encouraged the conceptualization of an Italian-centric global imagined community.[76] 'The interplay between global imagining and concrete transnational exchange could produce mutual transformative changes but also a stereotypical representation in which the struggles of others served as a screen onto which activists projected their own political objectives.[77]

This thesis addresses internationalist practices by following their trajectories according to a multi-scalar perspective. The methodology of the study is inspired by *histoire croisée* as it focuses on the intersections between different scales of activism (translocal, transnational, global) and points of view (authorities, journalists, political groups, activists). Nonetheless, the thesis is concerned with the essentializing risks that are connected with the *jeux d'échelles*. In particular, the risk suggested by Christian De Vito and consisting in conflating 'the type of analysis (micro/macro) and its spatial scope (local/global), and assigns different heuristic potentials to the micro and the macro, in a way that prevents the study of the relationships among sites across space'.[78] In order to overcome this potential shortcoming, this work considers spatial scales only as specific constellations. For instance, the 'global' will be read as the plurilocal connectivities between discourses and practices (for instance the global impact of the Sino-Soviet split); the national will be read as institutions or actors operating at a national level (i.e. the Italian Communist Party as a national organization) and the local as a plurality of local factors (i.e. cultural traditions, peculiar economies).

Finally, the thesis considers internationalist practices to from a core part of the subjectivation of leftist activists, and they allowed them to consider themselves as revolutionaries.[79] Such a process of subjectivation also implies intersubjective relations. Indeed, it is overall at a level of subjectivity that solidarity can be read – following David Featherstone – as a 'a relation forged through political

[76] S. Pons, *I comunisti* loc. 135-6.
[77] C. Kalter, 'A shared space of jmagination, communication, and action: Perspectives on the history of the "Third World"', in S. Christiansen and Z. A. Scarlett (eds), *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York, 2012), 37.
[78] C. G. De Vito. 'History Without Scale: The Micro-Spatial Perspective*'. *Past & Present* 242, no. Supplement_14 (1 November 2019): 348.
[79] G. Albert. *Das Charisma* 52-3.

struggle which seeks to challenge forms of oppression' .[80]This thesis copes with the intersubjective dimension of internationalism by looking at the memory of the inter-subjective encounters between Italian and Greek activists during the years of the junta dictatorship. This portion of my work uses oral history methodologies and considers 'oral testimonies […] as the activists' narrative expression of their radical identity.'[81] The memory of these intersubjective encounters – mediated of course by the intersubjective processes created by the interviewer-interviewee relation – bring to the fore a memory marked by multiple layers of inequalities in terms of material and symbolic resources.

This thesis uses the following resources: 1) police files from the Italian Ministry of the Interior, and the national and the local daily press to map local practices and protagonists, understand state constrains on them, and collect local background information; 2) leftist organizations' archival and printed sources including leaflets, books, and magazine to compare internationalist discourses and practices; a peculiar source used in this work is the theatre script both read for its artistic quality with the help of theatre studies methodologies, and as a source for political history; 3) semi-structured focused and in-depth oral history interviews with Italian/foreign activists to understand the intersubjective dynamics of internationalism.

[80] D. Featherstone. *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed, 2012). loc. 201.
[81] R. Gildea, J. Mark, and Anette Warring. *Europe's 1968*: 11.

Chapter 1

A long history of leftist internationalism in Italy

1.1 Leftist internationalism in Italy from 1861 to 1964 (1)

This chapter has a twofold goal. First, it describes the characteristics of Italian leftist internationalism between the 1960s and the 1980s. Secondly, the chapter links up such internationalism with developments before and after the above-mentioned timespan. In particular, this chapter on the one hand explores the continuities and ruptures of internationalist practices with a longer tradition dating from the 1860s; on the other, it describes how such praxes prefigurated transformations beyond the 1980s.

In order to achieve these goals, the chapter is structured around three chronological sections. Each of these considers multiple factors as relevant to the physiognomy of leftist internationalism in Italy covering a variety of both actors (i.e. political parties, international organization, states) and practices (armed volunteering, collection of funds, strikes, meetings), in local and transnational contexts.

Leftist internationalism was part of a broader trend in European political internationalism that encompassed the rise of socialism, anarchism, feminism, and pacifism, starting from the second half of the 19th century. [82] The proliferation of leftist international organizations such as the Bund der Kommunisten (1847-1852), the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) (1864-1876), the Second International (1889-1916) and the Communist International (1919-1943) marked an era. According to the historians Frits van Holthoon and Marcel van der Linden, the 110 years between 1830 and 1940 can be understood as 'the classical age of working-class internationalism'. [83]

[82] For political internationalism see: Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton : Princeton University Press):506-12.
[83] F. L. van Holthoon and Marcel van der Linden, 'Introduction', in F. L. van Holthoon and Marcel van der Linden (eds.), *Internationalism in the Labour Movement, 1830-1940* (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1988): VII-XIII.

Nicolas Delalande has recently delineated the course of leftist internationalism between the 1860s and the 1920s, sketching its legacy until the 1980s.[84] He describes a first era – sitting between the foundation of the First and the Second Internationals (including an era of internationalism without an international) – as period of experimentation that included both working class solidarity (e.g. funding foreign strikes) and humanitarian/political solidarity (e.g. the support to victims of the repression following the Paris Commune). This first era was followed by a better-structured internationalism from the 1880s onwards as influenced by the Second Industrial Revolution, mass trade unionization, and the rise of socialism through the co-construction of unions, parties and cooperatives. Finally, the First World War was first marked by a breakage of socialist internationalism – when many national socialist parties voted for war credits – and by its subsequent rebirth in the following years. Such rebirth, both in social democratic and in communist internationalism tended to blend working class solidarity, humanitarian aid and political conflicts. Moreover, this rebirth included, especially in the communist case, a strategic alliance with anticolonial struggles, a connection never really pursued by the preceding internationals.

Delineating a short history of the Italian role in this transnational history from the 1860s to the 1940s is not an easy task. Indeed, analysing this in detail would include not only studying the changing international conflicts and the multiple transnational experiences (such as the relations with the 'internationals' but also with Italian exiles and migration) shaping its path, but also the multiple political regimes characterising the Italian unitarian experience. Internationalist practices were of course influenced by the constraints of a political system where the (male) franchise covered only 1.9% of the population in 1870, 6.9% in 1882, 8.3% in 1909, 23.2% in 1912 and – after the establishment of universal male suffrage – 28.7% in 1921. [85] Also, fascism turned international activism into something happening abroad and that existed only marginally as a clandestine activity in Italy. Internationalism, finally, was very much transformed during the anti-Nazi-fascist resistance

[84] Nicolas Delalande, *La lutte et l'entraide. L'âge des solidarités ouvrières.* (Paris: Editions Seuil, 2019).
[85] Pier Luigi Ballini, 'Le elezioni politiche del Regno d 'Italia. Appunti di bibliografia, legislazione e statistiche', *Quaderni dell'Osservatorio elettorale*" no. 15 (1985): 166,169,173, 175.

fought between 1943 and 1945, inspiring a national sentiment of 'feeling tied to the partisans of the whole world'.[86] Without making the pretence of analysing in depth such a deep history, the following lines will first provide a very synthetic and simplified history of the Italian left from the 1860s to the 1940s that will address mostly the actors (socialists and communists) whose legacy is relevant for internationalisms between the1960s and 1980s. Second, this section explores the local entrenchment of such actors, their repertoire of action and their attitude towards the issue of colonialism, which was one of great relevance for internationalist mobilizations throughout the second half of the 20th century.

During the 1860s, the Italian left consisted of a diverse archipelago of forces including: the *Risorgimento* democratic, republican and radical movement dominated by the personalities of Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi; portions of the freemasonry; and by some isolated socialist thinkers. From 1869 onwards, thanks to the political work of Mikhail Bakunin, the IWA spread through various regions and grew to 32,750 formal members by 1874.[87] The 1870s proved the apex of the anarchist socialist Bakunian influence in Italy – Bakunin himself left the IWA in 1872 – culminating in a series of failed insurrections. The 1880s saw the rise of the first labour and socialist parties such as the *Partito Operaio* (1882-1892; Italian Workers' Party, POI) and the *Partito socialista rivoluzionario di Romagna* (1881-1893; Revolutionary Socialist Party of Romagna, PSRR). The *Partito Socialista Italiano* (Italian Socialist Party, PSI) was founded in 1892, originally under the name of the *Partito dei lavoratori Italiani* until 1895.[88] Besides the socialist component, the anarchist movement was divided between individualist and collectivists trends: the former committed to attacks ('propaganda of the deed'), the other one to coalescence into organizations such as the Socialist Revolutionary Anarchist Party (1891).[89]

[86] C. Pavone, *A Civil War: A History of the Italian Resistance* (London: Verso, 2014): 492.
[87] C. Levy, 'The Italians and the Iwma', F. Bensimon, Q. Deluermoz, and J. Moisand (eds.), *Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth': The First International in a Global Perspective* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2018):209.
[88] M. G. Meriggi, *Il Partito Operaio Italiano: attività rivendicativa, formazione e cultura dei militanti in Lombardia (1880-1890)* (Milano: Angeli, 1985); V. Evangelisti and E. Zucchini, *Storia del Partito socialista rivoluzionario: 1881-1893* (Bologna: Odoya, 2013).
[89] P. C. Masini, *Storia degli anarchici italiani: da Bakunin a Malatesta: (1862-1892)* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1974).

The PSI enjoyed a significant expansion from the early 20th century onwards. It maintained a neutralist position in the First World War, became the largest Italian Party in the elections of 1919, and was at the forefront of the agitations that spread across Italy between 1919 and 1920, including peasant land occupations and the occupation of factories. In 1921, the PSI refused the conditions for adhering to Comintern, and a little more than a quarter of the delegates of the party congress split and created the *Partito Comunista D'Italia* (Communist Party of Italy, PCd'I).[90] In October 1922, after three years of violence against the Italian left and the trade unions, the fascist regime took power. In 1926, the ultra-fascist laws finally illegalized both PSI and PCd'I, whose activists were arrested, confined or exiled. Beside some limited conspiratorial work, socialist and communist politics between 1926 and 1943 were directed mostly from abroad, particularly from Moscow and Paris, and relied heavily on a grassroots base of migrant workers. Another important strand of this exiled antifascist left was the liberal socialist organization *Giustizia e Libertà* established in 1929 (Justice and Freedom, GL). The most prominent factions of the left engaged in the antifascist resistance following the Nazi occupation of Italy at in the North of Salerno and the establishment there of the puppet regime *Repubblica di Salò* in 1943. Communists, socialist and GL activists, albeit united in National Liberation Committees with other forces, were key components in the armed struggle and social protests contributing to the liberation of the country in April 1945.

Throughout their history, these strands of the left were rooted in peculiar local areas. This localism will impact on the internationalism studied in this thesis, since the role of local institutions in internationalist endeavours have developed over time and are informed by such long-lasting traditions. From the mid-19th century, central Italy and especially the Romagna region developed as one of the strongholds of the republican movement, as part of a number of regional spaces in southern Europe.[91] The First international was, at least partially, forged in central Italy. Although the first

[90] A. Agosti, *Storia del Partito comunista italiano: 1921-1991* (Editori Laterza, 2012), kindle edition.
[91] M. Ridolfi. 'Terre repubblicane: tradizioni e culture politiche nell'Europa meridionale' In S. Salmi (ed.), *Repubblica, repubblicanesimo e repubblicani. Italia, Portogallo, Brasile in prospettiva comparata* (Bologna: Archetipolibri, 2011): 109-126.

Italian chapter of the International Workingmen Association (IWA) was established in Naples, the association spread predominantly and pervasively during the 1870s in Tuscany, Emilia Romagna, the Marches, Lazio and Liguria.[92] This expansion of the movement was due mostly to the industrialization processes in Northern cities and social movements in the Po Valley. As mentioned, the PSRR was based, as per its name, in Romagna whereas the POI had grassroots in and between Milan and Turin. This territorial entrenchment was furthered by the experience of socialist municipalism that started around 1889 when the Romagna town of Imola elected the first socialist local administration.[93] Later on, the Italian Socialist Party confirmed this trend, with booming support from 1901. The 'socialist universe' became a 'state within the state' with its 'rules […] institution […] [and] its political subculture'.[94]

The post-war social conflicts were another incubator of local entrenchment. For instance, the rural agitations in the Tuscan countryside firmly established the 'red subculture' in this region.[95] This territorial expansion was confirmed by significant electoral victories in the local elections of 1920, in which 2,100 out of 8,300 towns, and 25 out of 68 provinces, all elected PSI administrations.[96]The PCd'I reaped the benefit of only a small fraction of this local entrenchment, with only six socialist mayors joining the new party. Nonetheless, Italian communists, as the main clandestine force under fascism, built up a presence that gradually allowed them to inherit the socialist legacy. Indeed, the communist party geography had already changed by the early 1930s: half of its members were in Northern regions in 1927; from 1932, Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany became the main party strongholds.[97] However, clandestine work came at price: the fascist repression entailed a shrinking

[92] Carl Levy, 'The Italians and the Iwma'.
[93] P. Dogliani and O. Gaspari, *L'Europa dei comuni. Dalla fine dell'Ottocento al secondo dopoguerra* (Roma: Donzelli, 2003).
[94] Zeffiro Ciuffoletti, *Storia del PSI. Le origini e l'Età giolittiana* (Roma: Laterza, 1992).194.
[95] Cfr. F. Andreucci e A. Pescarolo, La formazione delle regioni «rosse» in Italia: il caso della Toscana, pp. 127-135 in F. Andreucci e A. Pescarolo (eds.), Gli spazi del potere. Aree, regioni, Stati: le coordinate territoriali della storia contemporanea, Usher, Firenze, 1989.
[96] M. Ridolfi, Maurizio, *Storia Dei Partiti Politici: L'Italia Dal Risorgimento Alla Repubblica* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2008): 75.
[97] Aldo Agosti, *Storia* loc 379-389.

of party membership from 6,000 in 1932 to only 2,000 by 1934.[98] In spite of this slight progress the turning point for the PCI's local entrenchment was its hegemony over the partisan struggle and its decision to became a mass party after the liberation.[99]

The internationalist practices over the 19th and into the 20th century deployed a multifarious repertoire of action. The archipelago of leftist internationalist actors that since the 1860s included the IWA participated in the expansion of 'campaign-based' internationalism that included 'the wars for Italian unity, the American Civil War, the crushed Polish national upheaval, the Irish national struggle and the first Cuban war of independence'.[100] One of the defining characteristics of the Italian internationalist campaigns was their pluralism. International campaigns after the Italian unification – with the exception of the one against the Italo-Turkish war (1911-1912) and the agitation against Italian intervention in the First World War – united diverse combinations of multiple actors from what in Liberal Italy was called the 'extreme left' consisting of 'democrats, republicans, radicals, "bourgeoise" pacifists' as well as the anarchists.[101] This was the case in diverse mobilizations ranging from the campaign against Italian colonialism in the 1880s to the campaign started in 1906 against the execution of the Catalan anarchist and educator Francisco Ferrer.[102] What is perhaps considered as the most famous example of Italian internationalism had a distinctly plural composition: the Garibaldi Battalion within the International brigades that collected over 4,000 volunteers, including a majority of communists but also 'republicans, socialists, anarchists, *giellisti* (members of the *Giustizia e Libertà* movement), and antifascists'.[103]

Internationalist campaigns entailed a diverse repertoire of action that included political and military elements. This was the case with the campaign in solidarity with the Polish uprising of 1863,

[98] Albertina Vittoria, *Storia del PCI 1921-1991* (Roma: Carocci, 2006): 29-30.
[99] Donald Sassoon, *Togliatti e il partito di massa*, (Roma, Castelvecchi, 2014): 948,
[100] F. Bensimon, Q. Deluermoz, and J. Moisand. 'Introduction', F. Bensimon, Q. Deluermoz, and J. Moisand (eds.), *'Arise*': 8.
[101] A. Geuna, *Aspetti Dell'antimilitarismo Socialista in Italia Dagli Anni '80 Del XIX Secolo Alla Prima Guerra Mondiale* (These de doctorat, Paris, EHESS, 2021): 9 and 23.
[102] J. Avilés Farré et al., *Contro la chiesa: i moti pro Ferrer del 1909 in Italia* (Pisa: BFS, 2009).
[103] E. Acciai, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2021), 6.

that despite the mostly irrelevant socialist presence combined many factors characterizing internationalist campaigns later on. The Italian radical, democratic and republican world raised funds, brought together specific societies, organised public gatherings and presented petitions. In addition, a small armed expedition spearheaded by the Garibaldian Francesco Nullo joined the insurrection.[104] This was one of the first instances of post-Unification embodiment of international armed volunteering that had previously been closely connected with the long-lasting tradition of Garibaldinism. This international armed volunteering practice endured at least until the antifascist resistance of 1943-1945, and has been recently defined as a 'political and cultural phenomenon aimed at encouraging a broad mobilisation strictly linked to the tradition of war voluntarism […] [which]was perpetuated, within what might be called the radical political families (e.g. socialists, anarchists, republicans, and communists), by consecutive generations of volunteers'.[105]

Garibaldinism is one of the main traditions in Italian leftist internationalism, and one that encompassed and inflected internationalist campaigns more straightforwardly interlinked with a long-lasting political imagination of the left. These included the Garibaldinians who fought alongside the French in the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 and supported the Paris Commune in 1870, as well as the volunteers of the International Garibaldi Battalion in the Spanish Civil War.[106] Finally, the communist fighting formation, the Garibaldi Brigades, brought together the Italian resistance with this tradition but further served to inscribe the Italian communists in a wider national tradition. Besides armed volunteerism, street fights and attempts to attack foreign consulates characterized internationalist campaigns, such as the one in response to the execution of the Spanish anarchist and educator Francisco Ferrer in 1909. This campaign had some peculiar characteristics such as the explicit targeting of Catholic symbols. In addition, internationalist practices included the strike: one can quote the 1919 general strike, which was organized in Rome in solidarity with the victims of the Spartacist

[104] E. Bacchin, 'Oppressed Nationalities: Italian Responses to the Polish Uprising of January 1863', *Nations and Nationalism* 23, no. 1 (2017): 151–72.
[105] E. Acciai, *Garibaldi's*, 146-7.
[106] L. P. D'Alessandro, *Guadalajara 1937: I volontari italiani fascisti e antifascisti nella guerra di Spagna* (Roma: Carocci, 2017).

uprising in Berlin.[107] Besides such campaign-based internationalist practices, another highly relevant sign of internationalism that was also fundamental in the identity building of Italian leftists was the marking of May Day, the International workers day, chosen as an annual celebration by the Second International in 1889. May Day became a ritual event that celebrated working-class identity and its international unity. The first Italian May Day celebrations were repressed. Nonetheless, the tension of those days would come to define a symbolic conflict that would remain emblazoned on Italian working-class memory.[108]

A final point here regards the peculiar Italian leftist anticolonialism that would be core to the internationalist mobilizations addressed in this thesis. The forerunners to the PSI, both the POI and the PSRR, opposed Italian colonialism in Eritrea from the 1880s. Andrea Geuna has recently summarised some of the main characters of Italian socialist anticolonialism[109]: consistent with the majority of parties within the Second International, the Italian socialists opposed colonialism for domestic reasons without paying much attention towards colonized peoples. The matrix of PSI anticolonial thinking was that of Andrea Costa's though further marked both by anti-militarism and Eurocentrism. It consisted in a constant denouncement of colonialism because it hindered Italian reform and bluntly wasted money. Further by, claiming the African people's right to independence, the Italian left framed them as the same as the Italian people during the *Risorgimento*. Nonetheless, Costa and socialists in general thought that African and colonial people were backward and they had to be helped by European 'soft power' on their way to progress. All in all, Italian socialist anti-colonialists, according to Geuna, recognized an equal right to independence for both 'European' and 'barbaric peoples'. Yet their 'progressive' vision of history did not entail equality, since Western and European people were at different stages on the journey towards socialism.

---

[107] F. Loreto, 'Ottobre rosso. Letture italiane della rivoluzione bolscevica, «Zapruder» n. 44/2017', *StorieInMovimento.org* (blog), 21 December 2017, https://storieinmovimento.org/2017/12/21/quarantaquattresimo-numero/.

[108] M. Fincardi, 'Il Primo Maggio', in M. Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Personaggi e date dell'Italia unita*, (Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1997).

[109] Geuna, *Aspetti*.

The birth of the Comintern – albeit without radically contesting such progressive thinking – envisaged an anti-imperialist revolutionary alliance without precedents in the socialist thought. The PCI incorporated the Comintern approach when the party adopted the Theses of Lyons (1926) that drew a parallel between the alliance of the peasantry and the working class and 'the alliance of colonized peoples with the revolutionary proletariat'.[110] Nonetheless, the first PCI anti-colonialist campaign was after the fascist aggression against Abyssinia (1935-6) in the context of a transnational political movement, and consisted in a call to the Italian population to 'rise up against the regime' followed by a 1938 mission to Ethiopia involving three party members.[111] The mission included Ilio Barontini, a veteran of the Garibaldi Battalion in Spain who later fought also in the French and in the Italian resistance. The mission (1938-1940), in cooperation with French and British intelligence, aimed to train Ethiopian fighters as well as to reconcile and consolidate rivals rebel fighters into a coherent force, and produce antifascist propaganda.[112] This campaign has faded from memory, as the history of socialist and communist anticolonial struggle has not featured prominently in Italian leftist discourse, consistent with the prevalent wider silence surrounding colonialism in post-war Italy.

1.2 Leftist internationalism in Italy from 1861 to 1964 (2)

The timespan between 1947 and 1964, as far as internationalism is concerned, can be divided in two subperiods: the first (1947-1955) mainly marked by a pro-Soviet internationalism hegemonized by the Italian Communist Party and by the Italian Socialist Party; the second (1956-1964) marked by the breakage of this unity fostered by the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary and further characterised by the increasing pluralization of leftist internationalist actors. Throughout the second phase, a wave of internationalist mobilizations fostered by the decolonization process

[110] Neelam Srivastava, *Italian Colonialism and Resistances to Empire, 1930-1970* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): loc. 807.
[111] Joseph Fronczak, 'Local People's Global Politics: A Transnational History of the Hands Off Ethiopia Movement of 1935', *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 2 (2015): 245–74.
[112] Matteo Dominioni, *Lo sfascio dell'impero: gli italiani in Etiopia, 1936-1941*, (Bari, Laterza: 2019), kindle edition: 8613-8750.

anticipated the high point of international solidarity, commencing around 1965. These two subperiods cross two political cycles: the years of centrism, when the Christian Democrats governed the country by relying on the votes of minor parties (1947-1959); the centre-left (from 1960s onwards), namely the coalition between PSI and the Christian Democratic Party.[113] Whereas centrism and pro-Soviet internationalism were two faces of the same coin forged by the cold war, internationalist mobilisations from the late 1950s onwards were also fuelled by dissatisfaction with the PSI and PCI.

In 1947, the PCI and the PSI were excluded from the Italian government. The ousting of the left from the government entailed a permanent exclusion of communists from the government itself, creating a peculiar political system that has been defined as an 'imperfect two-party system' or 'polarized pluralism' or – according to a more sympathetic reading – a system revolving around the Christian Democrat 'party pivot'.[114] The fate of the two parties were different. The PCI was permanently excluded from direct participation in government until its dissolution, whereas the PSI re-entered national government politics around 1960. The PCI nonetheless was able to exercise power on a local level because of its long-lasting territorial entrenchment. Its national influence grown in the mid-1970s until its support to the government of 'national solidarity' (1976-1979).

Indeed, the PCI, led by its leader Palmiro Togliatti, became a mass party and inserted itself into a national tradition by 'emphasizing the role of the workers movement in the rebirth of the democratic nation' and by fusing together an international element (the myth of the Soviet Union) and a key national element (the myth of Italian resistance). [115] The election results of the Constituent Assembly on 2 June 1946 already show the entrenchment of the party in both the northern and central parts of Italy: the PCI won 37.6% and 33.6% percent in Emilia Romagna and Tuscany respectively; 20.8% and 20.1% percent in Piemonte and Lombardy; 14.1% in Lazio; 8.1% in Trentino; 7.9% in

[113] Historian Paolo Gentiloni Silveri defines centrism after 1953 just as a formula "for survival". Umberto Gentiloni Silveri, *Storia dell'Italia contemporanea, 1943-2019* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2019): 56.
[114] A. Giovagnoli, *La Repubblica degli italiani. 1946-2016*, (Roma: Laterza, 2016): 40-2.
[115] Silvio Pons, *I Comunisti Italiani e Gli Altri: Visioni e Legami Internazionali Nel Mondo Del Novecento*, (Torino: Einaudi, 2021), kindle edition: loc. 2409-16.

Sicily.[116] This inaugurated a long trend, lasting from 1946 to 1991, whereby half of PCI members would be constituted by inhabitants of the central regions (Emilia, Tuscany and Umbria) and this same region provided the party with one quarter of their electorate.[117]

During the years of centrism, the most important PCI international campaigns were connected to the wider pro-Soviet peace movement, consisting specifically in the campaign against Italy joining NATO and the campaign supporting North Korea during the Korean war (1950-3). These campaigns had an ambiguous framing. As we will see in the next chapter, they were presented essentially in antifascist terms, following the official Cominform two-camps doctrine. The use of this language might have created some dissonance between theory and practice: the antifascist framing recalled the memory of the European civil war, but the actual practices did not involve armed resistance. Indeed, the tone used by the PCI secretary Palmiro Togliatti when he defined the western bourgeoise as regressing to 'Hitlerian and fascist' models contrasted with the party's actual political strategy, which consisted in avoiding a second civil war after the one fought between 1943 and 1945.[118] Such international campaigns were promoted by Partisans of Peace but involved all the parallel organizations linked with the Communist party including local authorities, the cooperatives, the trade unions and the *Unione Donne Italiane* (Union of Italian Women, UDI). The Korean solidarity campaign entailed also an initiative to hinder and prevent the arrival of US weapons in Italian ports.[119] Alongside such internationalist campaigns, the PCI and the PSI promoted the myth of the Soviet Union, presented as the workers fatherland and even as 'real existing Christianism'.[120] This effort implied the founding of a particular association (the Association Italia-Urss) and required the blending of the Soviet myth with local traditions and its subsequent deployment to forge a political-

[116] A. Vittoria, *Storia*:59.
[117]M. Almagisti, 'Subculture politiche territoriali e capitale sociale' in http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/subculture-politiche-territoriali-e-capitale sociale_%28L%27It alia-e-le-sue-Regioni%29/.
[118] S. Pons, *I Comunisti*, loc. 2744; Andrea Guiso, *La colomba e la spada: 'lotta per la pace' e antiamericanismo nella politica del Partito comunista italiano (1949-1954)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006).
[119] A. Guiso, *La colomba*: 219-251.
[120] G. Formigoni, *Storia d'Italia nella guerra fredda (1943-1978)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2017), kindle edition: loc. 6022.

cultural universe whereby to promote mass politicization.[121] Indeed, overall in 'red Italy', this pro-Soviety approach interacted with a web of 'mythopoeic elements, ethical suggestions and edifying images' already produced by 'proletarian culture' from the late 19th century onwards.[122]

Finally, in the first postwar years, both the PCI and PSI did not assign special significance to anticolonialism. In 1947, Palmiro Togliatti declared in a party reunion that colonial countries were not important in determining the party line.[123] More notably, the PCI and the PSI adopted a position on the Italian colonial issue that contrasted with all their other traditions. Indeed, when the 1947 Paris treaty officialised the loss of the Italian colonies, both communists and socialists denounced the Democratic Christian acquiescence as contrary to the interests of the Italian nation, arguing these interests aligned with those of Italian workers living in the colonies. Roman H Rainero read the communist position as deriving from the exigency of self-representation as a national party and not just a Soviet emanation.[124] Shortly afterwards, the PCI policy took another twist by opposing the entrustment of Somalia to Italy in fiduciary administration by the United Nations (1949). During the parliamentary discussion, the communists recalled the fascist crimes in Somalia and significantly the Christian Democrat Foreign Minister replied that Italians and Somalis were persecuted by the same people. Historian Antonio Morone describes this as a deliberate forgetting of an Italian prefascist colonialism.[125]

Italian leftist internationalism experienced a deep transformation from 1956 onwards due to a complex interplay between national and transnational factors. The transnational factors included the consequences of the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, the increased visibility of anticolonial

[121] M. Di Maggio, (ed.), *Sfumature Di Rosso: La Rivoluzione Russa Nella Politica Italiana Del Novecento*, Prima edizione, (Torino: Accademia University Press, 2017): XIV; S. Pisu, 'L'associazione "Italia-Urss" dal dopoguerra alla Guerra Fredda: diplomazia culturale ufficiosa e propaganda sovietica (1944-1960)', *Mondo Contemporaneo*, 2020.
[122] M. Fincardi, *C'era una volta il mondo nuovo: la metafora sovietica nello sviluppo emiliano* (Roma: Carocci, 2007): 40.
[123] Galeazzi, *Il PCI*, 33.
[124] Romain H Rainero, 'The Italian Communist Party and the Italian Imperial Problem. A Forgotten "Colonial" Position', in Josef Becker and Franz Knipping (eds.), *Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany in a Postwar World, 1945-1950*, (Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986): 209–12.
[125] Antonio M. Morone, «La fine del colonialismo italiano tra storia e memoria», *Storicamente* 12 (11 luglio 2016), https://doi.org/10.12977/stor623.

struggles and the Sino-Soviet split, whereas the national factors included the end of centrism and the birth of the centre-left coalitions that characterized the subsequent, almost seamless, Italian governments between 1962 and 1972.

First of all, after the start of de-Stalinization in the USSR, the 1956 Soviet repression of the Polish and the Hungarian movements fostered in Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, a crisis of the Soviet myth. This was dubbed by Geoff Eley as the 'Communism's big trauma'.[126] The PCI advocacy of the Soviet invasion led directly to the loss of 264,664 PCI party members between 1956 and 1957, including prominent intellectuals such as Natalino Sapegno, Carlo Muscetta and Italo Calvino.[127] It also had a relevant immediate consequence for Italian internationalism: it broke the pro-Soviet internationalist front by pushing the PSI into a neutralist position.[128] This shift contributed to the realization of the centre-left political coalition between Christian Democrats and Socialists, a clear outcome of the debate within the Italian political class about going beyond centrism.[129] 1956 also opened up the way to the Togliatti polycentric approach that implied firstly the creation of an autonomous web of contact between Italian communists and the global anti-imperialist movement acting without coordination from Moscow, and secondly the importance of solidarity with anticolonial struggles for PCI grassroots mobilization.[130] Dissent within the PSI pushed the creation of autonomous intellectual poles, such as the ones rallying behind journals like *Quaderni Piacentini* (1962) and *Quaderni Rossi* (1961). These intellectual movements in turn fostered the birth of a peculiar Italian tradition called *operaismo* (workerism) whose essential propositions have been summarised as follows: 'the centrality of the working class in the revolutionary process […] [and] the reversal of the relationship between class and party'. Indeed, according to *operaisti*, in political

[126] Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 333.
[127] Vittoria, *Storia*: 86 and 89.
[128] Giovanni Scirocco, *Politique d'abord: il PSI, la guerra fredda e la politica internazionale (1948-1957)* (Milano: Unicopli, 2010).
[129] Gentiloni Silveri, Storia: loc. 80.
[130] Pons, *I comunisti*: loc. 3869.

action the class is 'the subject' whereas 'the party is the predicate'.[131] The PSI turned to neutralism in the Cold War in 1956, contributing to the radical internationalist splinter of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP) in 1964.[132]

Alongside this heretical intellectual development, other leftist intellectuals such as the socialist Giovanni Pirelli centred their attention on anticolonial struggles considering them as the most important front for world revolutionary processes.[133] Another development in the global communist movement sent shockwaves across Italy. This was the Sino-Soviet split, whose first steps were traced in November 1956 when Mao for the first time declared that 'de-Stalinization" was 'revisionism'. This developed into a formal rift in 1960 when the Great Chairman publicly 'denounced the Soviet project of public coexistence with the USA'.[134] This confrontation fostered the small splintering process of the PCI and the formation of the first Maoist groups centred around the periodical *Viva il Leninismo* in 1962.[135] Besides the later proliferation of Maoist parties and groups within Italy, whose number pointedly rose around 1968, the Maoist influence was far stronger on internationalist imaginary of the Italian revolutionary left. The revolutionary left here shared the Maoist relaunch of 'the doctrine of the inevitability of war' and its definition of 'militant anti-imperialism as the compass of international communism' whereas the claim that of 'the revolutionary primacy now attained by the non-Western world' would have more debated.[136] It is important here to make a final point regarding the turmoil that started to affect the Catholic world, encapsulated by the revolution of the Second Vatican Council (1962-5) and Pope John XXIII's earlier encyclic *Mater et Magistra* (1961), which explicitly condemned neo-colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America.[137]

---

[131] S. Corasaniti, *Volsci: i comitati autonomi operai romani negli anni Settanta (1971-1980)* (Firenze: Lemonier: 2021), kindle edition loc: 275-81.
[132] A. Agosti, *Il partito provvisorio: storia del Psiup nel lungo Sessantotto italiano* (Roma: Laterza, 2013).
[133] M. Scotti, *Vita Di Giovanni Pirelli*.
[134] J. Lovell, *Maoism: A Global History* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019): 2706 and 2793.
[135] R. Niccolai, *Quando la Cina era vicina: la rivoluzione culturale e la sinistra extraparlamentare italiana negli anni '60 e '70* (Pisa; Pistoia: BFS ; Associazione centro di documentazione di Pistoia, 1998): 23.
[136] S. Pons, *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism, 1917-1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 7113.
[137] G. Panvini, *Cattolici e violenza politica: l'altro album di famiglia del terrorismo italiano* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2014): 146. On the larger context see G. R. Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

The early 1960s in Italy saw an outburst of internationalist mobilizations that somehow anticipated the high point of Italian leftist internationalism which was to take place from the intensification of the anti-Vietnam war campaign in 1964. Previously there was a wave of pacifist mobilizations echoing the contemporary global movement fostered by the Bikini atoll nuclear incident in 1954. The Italian pacifist movement culminated in Perugia-Assisi march of 1961, but it was soon overshadowed by the relevance of solidarity with national liberation struggles.[138] Most of these mobilizations related to anticolonial struggles and/or territories beyond Europe (Cuba, Algeria, the Portuguese colonies). Yet in 1962, internationalist mobilizations focussed on one of the most significant European targets of international solidarity campaigns, namely Francoist Spain. These mobilizations overlapped with the rebirth of anti-fascism fostered by the Tambroni government's reliance on neofascist votes, on a new young generation's activism and on the start of a new social conflict that mirrored the contradictions and the social inequalities behind the 'Italian economic miracle'. In 1958, the PCI, consistent with its new anticolonial commitment. fostered the creation of the *Comitato Anticoloniale Italiano* (Italian Anticolonial Committee, CAI) that supported solidarity with: the peoples of Portuguese colonies; the Algerian national liberation war (also with a specific committee denominated *Comitato d'amicizia ed aiuto con il popolo algerino*, established in 1961); and with Greek political prisoners such as the iconic antifascist veteran Manolis Glezos.[139] The CAI, mostly formed by antifascist veterans from all strands of the left, was perhaps the most institutional part of a larger anticolonial front that animated the campaigns of the early 1960s. One of the key figures of anticolonial activism was Giovanni Pirelli – heir to Pirelli, one of the most powerful Italian industries – who fought as a partisan during in the 1940s and later on dedicated his life to cultural and internationalist activism. In particular, Pirelli supported the Algerian National Liberation in two ways: by participating in a clandestine web of Italian support that both helped logistically the French

[138] A. Martellini, *Fiori Nei Cannoni: Nonviolenza e Antimilitarismo Nell'Italia Del Novecento*, Saggi (Roma: Donzelli, 2006).
[139] See the records inventory of the *Comitato* in http://www.metarchivi.it/biografie/e_bio_vis.asp?id=47; for a local document see 'Risoluzione costitutiva del comitato anticolonialista napoletano' in Archivio Lombardi, Grizzuti Fond folder 6, series V, volantini e stampe.

draft evaders and contributed to funnelling the money of Algerian migrants for funding the resistance; by animating a vast cultural operation aimed to present the Algerian cause to the Italian public through various publications including first-hand testimonies and the works of Franz Fanon.[140] The Algeria campaign involved also leftist students that organized public debates, with Algerian representatives proposing scholarships for Algerian students.[141]

1.3 The high point of Italian internationalism from 1965 to 1973 (1)

The high point of Italian internationalism can be divided into two subperiods: a first one characterized by the eruption of the anti-Vietnam war campaign with a revolutionary left in formation; a second one when the revolutionary left capitalised on the moderate turn of the PCI in internationalism and found a mass following amongst the young generations who drove the anti-Vietnam protest. The second subperiod (from 1967 to 1973) is characterized by the sharing between the PCI and revolutionary left groups of the same mobilization, albeit with a different set of practices and discourse: the PCI kept prioritizing the discourse of détente and embraced a moderate repertoire of action; the revolutionary and more radical organizations elsewhere supporting any threat to peaceful coexistence. This account however can be contested since some organization like the *Movimento Studentesco Milanese*, albeit of a Stalinist-Maoist inspiration, prioritized bilateral relations with those they considered as the most significant foreign groups. For instance, they had relations with the Al-Fatah group in the Palestinian National Liberation movement and not with the Marxist groups. Similarly, as far as the anti-Greek dictatorship was concerned, they were tied to the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK) of Andreas Papandreou rather than with the Greek Communist parties or with the Greek Maoists.[142]

---

[140] M. Scotti, *Vita Di Giovanni Pirelli*: 3890-4601. T. Ottolini, *Dal soutien*: 39-60.
[141] 'Calorosa manifestazione unitaria della gioventù italiana in appoggio all'eroica lotta che l'Algeria conduce da 6 anni', *L'Unità* 2 November 1960.
[142] See for instance 'Intervista ad Arafat al Movimento Studentesco' in *Movimento Studentesco* 2, April 1971. For a quarrell between the Movimento Studentesco and the Arab supporter of Palestinian Marxist group see 'Per il compagni del M.S. della Statale di Milano' in '*Al-Sharara: Bollettino della resistenza palestinese a cura dei compagni sostenitori del F.P.D.L.P*, 1972, p. 13, in Archivi Fondazione Basso

The PCI during these years undertook a deep reformulation of its internationalism that was accelerated by the Warsaw Pact repression of the Prague spring in 1968, a repression that the party publicly criticised. [143] Even if a particular hierarchical dimension of internationalism was diminished by the decline of pro-Soviet activism, new forms of hierarchy emerged. For instance, Maoist parties and groups envisaged their internationalism as revolving around Maoist China. And thinking extended beyond orthodox Maoist groupings. The revolutionary internationalist role of the People's Republic of China and the philosophy at the heart of the Cultural Revolution – a reinvigoration of the concept of uninterrupted revolutionary processes as the key to success – were appreciated even by heterodox groupings.[144] Furthermore, in Italy as elsewhere in Europe, the Cultural Revolution with its slogan 'Bombard the Headquarters' was read in tune with the anti-authoritarian ethos that pervaded the movements around 1968. Beyond China, the Vietnam War played a formative role in the development of the internationalist imagination. The experience of Vietnam, more than any previous examples, demonstrated to those on the left the remarkable power of the human will against the military and financial clout of American capitalist imperialism. As put by Salahar Mohandesi: 'If Vietnamese peasants could defeat the most powerful military machine in human history, then anything was possible'.[145]

As we will see in this chapter, but again throughout this whole thesis, Vietnam in Italy – as elsewhere – was key in renewing leftist internationalism. The campaign would both bridge and divide generations, relaunch anti-fascist and also Nazi tropes, and present a new model of revolutionary femininity. However, the Vietnam myth, when deployed in leftist international discourse propped up at least different hierarchical distinctions. The most obvious of these was embodied by PCI, who

(AFB), Collection "Diritti dei popoli," Section 446 "Questione palestinese," pt. 1, Ser. 2 "Organizzazioni, 1965–1991," Folder 1. As for the Greek case, one of the interviewees belonging to the *Movimento Studentesco* remembered that they privileged the 'more representative forces of Greek resistance' 'so our main relationship was with Andreas Papandreu'. Interview with Sebastiano.

[143] Maud Bracke, *Which Socialism, Whose Détente ? West European Communism and the Czechoslovak Crisis, 1968* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013).

[144] For a global overview see Q. Slobodian, 'The Meanings of Western Maoism in the Global 1960s' in J. Chen, M. Klimke, M. Kirasirova, M. Nolan, M. Young, and J. Waley-Cohen (eds.).*The Routledge Handbook.*

[145] Salar Mohandesi, 'Bringing Vietnam': 238.

deliberately conflated the Vietnam myth with the Italian Communist myth, and projected an internationalist, leftist imagination based on this conflation. This meant that just as the Vietnamese guerrilla was a yardstick for Third World guerrillas, the Italian Communist model (with its mass following) was a yardstick for struggles within the 'First World'. From this hierarchy followed condescending attitudes, on the part of Italian leftists, towards struggles or contexts that did not resemble these two models. By contrast, the revolutionary left internationalist imagination used the Vietnam War as a yardstick for revolutionary struggle both in the Third and in the Second World. Even this model created a hierarchic distinction between the armed and unarmed elements, and this hierarchy was at play on two levels, both within any given struggle and between different struggles. At this juncture, for the revolutionary left, the armed component was given primacy: Irish or Palestinian struggles were seen as more advanced 'because they have an armed component'. As put by *Lotta Continua*, Palestine was 'another Vietnam' and Ireland was 'a Vietnam in Europe'.[146]

This phase was definitely one of internationalism without a formal Internationale.[147] The PCI kept attending the International Conference of Communist Parties and Organizations. It cultivated autonomous bilateral meetings with liberation movements and at times organized conferences by itself. The Eurocommunist moment, from the early 1970s to the end of the decade, saw the attempted creation of an autonomous European communist pole, bringing together the French, Spanish and Italian Communist parties with smaller entities (i.e. the Communist Party of Greece, Interior), but it enjoyed only a brief life.[148] Revolutionary groups were now in informal transnational webs. They had bilateral and multilateral relations. These were often inherited through the multiple links brought into their organizations by the more seasoned former members of the old left: personalities like Lisa

[146] Lotta Continua, *Palestina:l'altro Vietnam* (1970) in Archive of the Campanian Institute for the History of the Italian Resistance, Antifascism, and the Contemporary Age "Vera Lombardi" (hereafter Archivio Lombardi), Naples, Fond Casaburi-Chianese, folder 2, file 5, Attività pacifista e antimperialista; On the Irish case see Gabriele Donato, *'La lotta è armata': sinistra rivoluzionaria e violenza politica in Italia, 1969-1972* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2014).
[147] The point was raised by Student movement leaflet about the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia: 'it is the international of the exploited that does not exist at all'. ACS (Central Archive of the State), Rome, Ministry of the Interior (hereafter: MI), Cabinet (hereafter: GAB), 67-70, folder 47, file 11020/16/35 Genova, Movimento studentesco (Gruppo di Lettere), Le assemblee di scuole e fabbriche si pronuncino sui fatti cecoslovacchi, Genova 23 January 1969.
[148] G. Balampanidēs, *Eurocommunism: From the Communist to the Radical European Left* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2019).

Foa.[149]Salar Mohandesi has spoken of informal internationalism in relation to a number of European gatherings about Vietnam, such as the ones that took place in Lieges, Bruxelles, and Berlin from 1966 to 1968.[150] Figures like Giovanni Pirelli or the Milan publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli with their wealth and their symbolic resources were also key players in connecting the emerging Italian revolutionary left to the wider world. [151]

Internationalism worked in a number of different organisations, such as the foreign departments in traditional parties like the PCI, whose local federation had a '*commissione esteri*' mirrored by analogous commissions within revolutionary organizations. Moreover international solidarity worked through *ad hoc* solidarity committees like the *Comitato Nazionale Pace e Giustizia* in Vietnam, the *Comitato in Solidarietà con la Palestina* or the *Associazione Nazionale Italia Chile*.[152] Moreover, there were a number of organisations that specialised in internationalism like the *Centro di Documentazione Fanon* (1962-1968) in Milan, or IPALMO that worked as a common space of discussion for the DC and PCI parties, or the organizations linked to PSIUP prominent exponent Lelio Basso such as the Vietnam Committees.[153] Speaking of Lelio Basso allows us to mention a crucial issue. Internationalism functioned as a core identity for rank-and-file militants, as part of the political activity of any organization, but nonetheless any of these might have had a specialised sector of activists that could be labelled as 'the internationalists'. These militants could have academic specialisms in certain regions of the world, or pertaining to the foreign departments of their organization. Some of them enjoyed a rich cosmopolitan background, like Vera Pegna coming from

[149] L. Foa, *È andata così: conversazioni a ruota libera in via Aurelia* (Palermo, Sellerio: 2004).
[150] S. Mohandesi, *From antimperialism*: 61-67; 141-146
[151] C. Feltrinelli, *Senior service* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2014); E. Rey Tristán and G. Gracia Santos, 'The Role of the Left-Wing Editors on the Diffusion of the New Left Wave: The Case of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli', Alberto Martín Álvarez and Eduardo Rey Tristán, (eds.) *Revolutionary Violence and the New Left: Transnational Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
[152] For Vietnam and Palestine see the documents in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967–70, folder 52, file 11020/81/48 Milano e Provincia Manifestazioni relative agli avvenimenti nel Vietnam and 11020/94 sf. 69 Roma e provincia. Medio Oriente. Avvenimenti vari; For Chile see ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-75, folder 55, file 11020/21 Cile avvenimenti in Italia
[153] On the *Centro Fanon* see T. Ottolini, *Dal soutien*; on the Vietnam Committees the only contribution is Barbara Tellini, *Mobilitarsi per il Vietnam. L'esperienza italiana tra Tribunale Russell e Comitati locali*, Undergraduate dissertation, University of Florence, 2003-2004; On IPALMO see E. Calandri, 'Italy, the developing world, and aid policy, 1969–1979: The "Historic Compromise" and Italian foreign policy', *Cold War History* 19, 3 (2019): 363–81.

a family with Jewish heritage, and having grown up in Alessandria D'Egitto, which was a key area for the alternative solidarity with Vietnam and Palestine pursued by the Vietnam Committee and the actors close to the PSIUP exponent Lelio Basso. Lelio Basso himself was one of the most important 'Italian internationalists', and a real 'global leader' as in the title of his recent biography[154]. Indeed, Basso had a great reach in foreign relations, spanning from Middle East, South-East Asia and Latin America organizations, and with his activism within the Russell Tribunal was an interlinking figure able to connect all the three worlds through his internationalist network. Besides socialists and communist exponents, another prominent strand of internationalist actors included the former GL partisans, such as Carlo Enriques Agnoletti and Ferruccio Parri who were almost omnipresent across the international solidarity committees of the 1960s and the 1970s.

Internationalism throughout this period of peak activity was marked by a considerable degree of actual international connections this included: the permanent residence of leftist students and exiles in Italy, who then served as living testimonies of their national causes; the increasingly more frequent visits of foreign delegations and personalities in the country who then interacted with the Italian national leftist scene by speaking at rallies, visiting Italian factories and establishing emotional ties; the circulation of Italian militants in a number of settings. These visiting foreign delegations included Vietnamese delegations, like the one composed of Vietnamese women who visited Italy in 1968, and we will explore in more detail in chapter six, but also other nationalities like Irish leftist nationalists. For instance, the prominent Irish Republican Socialist activist Bernadette Devlin (IRSP) was hosted in a 1973 leftist Catholic congress about 'Christians and working-class internationalism' that took place in Milan organized by the Christian Associations of Italian Workers (ACLI) trade unions.[155] Such actual transnational contact might also include the religious connections that brought to Italy the testimonies of Latin America peasant struggles and guerrilla. To give some figures for this

[154] G. Monina, *Lelio Basso, Leader Globale: Un Socialista Nel Secondo Novecento*, (Roma: Carocci, 2016).
[155] G. Bianchi, *Vita Cooperativa*, (Sesto San Giovanni:Eremo e Metropoli Edizioni, 2016): 177-178.

phenomenon, it might be important to mention that between 1963 and 1977 the Italian Episcopal Committee for Latin America sent into the subcontinent 1,694 lay and religious missionaries.[156]

Other transnational connections included those provided by revolutionary tourism. This could take various forms, for example a car trip, like the one undertaken by the *Potere Operaio Pisano* delegation to the 1968 Vietnam Congress in Berlin.[157] Or perhaps the multiple trips undertaken by correspondents of the PCI press (*L'Unità, Rinascita, Vie Nuove*) or the revolutionary left press that in the early 1970s had two dailies (*Il Manifesto* from 1971, *Lotta Continua* from 1972). To quote again the Irish example, a *Lotta Continua* correspondent, Fulvio Grimaldi, was the only Italian photojournalist to document the peaceful civil rights march in Derry on 30 January 1972, which culminated in the massacre known as 'Bloody Sunday'.[158] Or again, Luisa Passerini travelled to Africa, first in Kenya and then in Dar El Salaam ,where she put her 'sociohistorical knowledge and [...] ability to write in several languages at the disposition of Frelimo – the Mozambique Liberation Front – and they used it for informational and propaganda purposes both inside and outside the country'. [159] Another case in point is the example of the many individual and collective political visits to Jordan, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza undertaken by members of the Italian Communist Party, the Italian extra-parliamentary Left, to make alliances, and to compose print and video documents to introduce Palestinian issues to the Italian public, and also to undertake military training in the case of *Potere Operaio*. [160]

In this period, both the revolutionary left and the PCI confirmed a serious inattention towards the legacy of Italian colonialism and issues of race, confirming the prevalent silence in post-war Italy

---

[156] M. De Giuseppe, 'Siamo con i campesinos', M. Busani and M. Bocci (eds), *Towards 1968: Studenti cattolici nell'Europa occidentale degli anni Sessanta* (Edizioni Studium., 2020), kindle edition, loc. 1617-1625.
[157] P. Brogi, *'68: ce n'est qu'un début : storie di un mondo in rivolta* (Reggio Emilia: Imprimatur, 2018).
[158]"Bogside story" ritorno a Derry 45 anni dopo il Bloody Sunday' in https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2018/10/07/bogside-story-ritorno-a-derry-45-anni-dopo-il-bloody-sundayFirenze11.html; see also Aldo Cazzullo, *I ragazzi che volevano fare la rivoluzione* (Milano: Sperling & Kupfer, 2007).
[159] L. Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1996):
[160] For the PCI see L. Riccardi, *Il Problema Israele;* For Italian extra-parliamentary left see P. Sornaga and U. Adilardi, "La guerriglia in Palestina e il F.P.D.L.P.*"*, *in Quaderni Piacen*tini, no, 39 (1969), 150 and 151. For *Potere Operaio* see L. Falciola, 'Transnational': 54.

of the fascist colonial experience.[161] An exception might be the contestation by Somali students and Italian revolutionary leftists against the Mondo Movie *Africa Addio* – a film containing many racist tropes – in a Bologna cinema in October 1971: as a result of this protest, five Somali students were arrested, put on trial and eventually acquitted.[162] As for the issue of race, anti-racism focused on the 'racism of others', especially the US, in the context of civil rights, Black militancy and Third-Worldism.[163]

1.4 The high point of Italian internationalism from 1965 to 1973 (2)

The high moment of Italian internationalism is characterised by the unfolding of the anti-Vietnam war campaign and the campaign against the Chilean Coup in 1973. This period of activity almost exactly coincides with the duration of the anti-Vietnam war campaign, which then set the tone for all the others campaigns, including solidarity with the anti-Greek-junta campaign, Palestinian solidarity, support to the national movements of Portuguese colonies, and protests against Francoist Spain. The anti-Vietnam war campaign between 1965 and 1966 looked like a massification of the preceding internationalist mobilization of the early 1960s. Between 1967 and 1969, Vietnam stimulated (especially in 1967) and interacted with a larger process of mobilization, including students and workers movements, that resulted in the birth of a revolutionary left after 1969.[164] Afterwards, internationalist mobilizations became the scene of confrontations between the PCI and this small but influential group of organizations until 1973; this period marked the apex of the relevance of international issues in defining Italian domestic strategies.

[161] A. Triulzi, 'Ritorni di memoria nell'Italia postcoloniale' in R. Bottoni (ed.), *L'Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia, 1935–1941* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2008), 573–98.
[162] ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-75, folder 25, file 1101/14 Bologna, from Prefetto Cerutti to MI (Ministry of the Interior), 10 and 17 October 1971; 'Assolti I manifestanti contro Addio Zio Tom', *La Stampa*, 15 December 1971. For the contestation of another Mondo Movie in Western Germany see Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front.*
[163] S. Patriarca, '"Vorrei la pelle nera": Youth culture and anti-racist sensibilities in 1960s–1970s Italy', Modern Italy paper presented at the IHR Modern Italian History Seminar, 16 November 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3stj7gbT5SA.
[164] Among a very large body of literature see Marica Tolomelli, *L'Italia Dei Movimenti: Politica e Società Nella Prima Repubblica*, (Roma: Carocci editore, 2015).

Therefore, this cycle of internationalist mobilizations resulted in a pluralization of the internationalist actors, in a multiplication of internationalist initiatives that involved a varied set of actors including trade unions, women organizations and local institutions. The following lines will first describe the pro-Vietnamese campaign and then will explore the relevance of two single set of actors, the revolutionary left and the 'red institutions', for the development of this internationalist cycle. Italian leftist solidarity with Vietnam was favoured by the interplay between 'the presence of a strong communist party, a "new left" in the process of formation and a strong Third Worldist currents in the Italian Socialist Party'.[165] In addition, further fertile ground for such mobilization was provided by the Catholic world, which having been shaken by the turmoil caused by the Second Vatican Council, paid increasing attention to pacifism and to the Third world.[166]

The mobilisation started following the Gulf of Tonkin incident, in August 1964, when the US president Lyndon B Johnson 'used inaccurate reports of North Vietnamese vessels firing on a US naval ship in international waters as an excuse to get Congressional authority for widening the war.[167] The Italian mobilisation started pretty much like many other internationalist mobilisation in the first half of the 1960s, with the organized web of leftist organizations ranging from the students of the *Unione Goliardica Italiana* to the local administrations.[168] The leftist mobilization then gained momentum from 1965, and especially from March in that year, when the marines landed in Southern Vietnam. Throughout the year, many Italian cities were host to massive demonstrations including a 30,000-strong demonstration in Bologna and a 70,000-strong one in Milan during March.[169] The campaign also included a diverse repertoire of action comprising rallies, vigils, and mobilizations of many intellectuals and artists. The burgeoning events, such as a vigil in Rome during November – according to the secretary of the Roma solidarity committee – continually 'exceeded all the

[165] E. Taviani, 'L'anti-americanismo: 169.
[166] Alessandro Santagata, *La contestazione cattolica: movimenti, cultura e politica dal Vaticano II al '68* (Roma: Viella, 2016); 141-44.
[167] Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History*, (Penguin, 2017), kindle edition loc, 5086.
[168] 'Manifestazioni e odg di protesta contro l'aggressione e per la pace', *L'Unità* 7 August 1964; Manifestazioni unitarie a Napoli per la pace, *L'Unità* 9 August 9 1964,
[169] R. Barbieri, '30.000 a Bologna contro l'aggressione Americana', *L'Unità* 16 March 1965; '70.000 a Milano per il Vietnam', *L'Unità,* 29 March 1965.

expectations'.[170] Relevant scholarship considers the PCI framing of this campaign according to the double goal of weakening the centre-left coalition by denouncing its complicity in the Vietnamese massacre given its pro-Atlantic position.[171] Consistently, the PCI deployed an explicit discourse of peace without any discernible communist accent, so us to win support from the Catholic and socialist grassroots.[172] Whereas this is certainly true from 1966, when the Italian Communist Party adopted the 'unitarian policy' in its XIth congress, the initial framing of the anti-Vietnam campaign was quite different. As we will see in the following chapters, opposition to the US intervention was mainly positioned in antifascist terms, because of the campaign's coincidence with the twentieth anniversary of Italian liberation in 1945, but this was only one side of the coin.

Indeed, opposition to the Vietnam war in 1965 was framed according to quite radical internationalist arguments and some of the debate both within the party and beyond revived the old internationalist of tradition of armed volunteering, albeit only through verbal and symbolic acts. Some of the internationalist tropes used by the PCI in 1965 recalled that 'mirror game of alter egos' that it has been particularly associated with the 1968 uprising and the new left.[173] One quite explicit line from *L'Unità* defined the Vietnam resistance as it follows

The partisans of the FLN, the 'Vietcong' […] are simply very young sons of peasants, with the traces of an age-old hunger stamped on their fragile and delicate limbs. They are the spiritual brothers, the classmates of all the sans-culottes, and communards, of all the 'peasant scoundrels', of all the 'proletarians on horseback', 'moujahid', 'insurgentes', 'milicianos', 'rebeldes', 'banditen', partisans of all the national and social revolutions of history.[174]

Such a roundup of internationalist identification resounds with the partisan internationalism which involved communist fighters in the 1940s, and resembles the 1920s revolutionary

[170] Andrea Gaggero to Presidenza UDI, 1 December 1965 in Archivio Centrale UDI (Central Archive UDI), Donne nel Mondo (women in the world), folder. 38.
[171] E. Taviani, 'L'anti-americanismo' 34–45
[172] F. Montessoro, 'Il mito': 288.
[173] K. Kornetis, '" Everything Links"? Temporality, Territoriality and Cultural Transfer in the'68 Protest Movements', *Historein* 9 (2010): 34–45.
[174] 'La resistenza è nel Vietnam', *L'Unità*, 11 March 1965

internationalism, whilst simultaneously invoking the European social revolutionary tradition (i.e. the communards), the anticolonial national liberations (i.e. the Algerian moujahid) and European antifascist fighters (the 'partisans'). The description of such a revolutionary pantheon, and one that resonated for the communist audience, was not only restricted to the communist newspapers, but crossed over into the actual mobilizations. For instance, the Bologna demonstration against the Vietnam War displayed additional solidarity with the Venezuelan, Guatemalan, Brazilian, Congolese and Mozambican people.[175] Consequently, with this internationalist framing and this exaltation of guerrilla wars, the Italian Communists engaged in ongoing debate about the possibility of engaging in armed volunteering, and, at least in public, did not rule out the possibility of engaging in a such endeavour.

The issue came out for the first time in March 1965, when some members of the Maoist organization the Communist Youth League of Italy (Marxist-Leninist of Italy) distributed a leaflet and argued in a public debate about Vietnam in Rome.[176] The League claimed that they were ready to send a first contingent of fighters to Vietnam since – echoing the Spanish civil war slogans – fighting in Asia and Vietnam would be a prelude to fighting in Europe and Italy.[177] It can be argued that the ruffle between the Maoist and the Italian communists might have stemmed from this deliberate analogising between Italy and Vietnam. Indeed, the PCI, albeit only verbally, declared itself ready to send armed volunteers to Vietnam. This position came out when a PCI delegation departed for Vietnam in April 1965. The secretary of the Party, Luigi Longo, who had been the Inspector General of the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War, referred to the 'garibaldine traditions'. Giancarlo Pajetta was asked by a conservative journalist whether engaging in armed volunteering was against the Criminal Code. The communist representatives replied by mocking the PSI leader Pietro Nenni, noting 'that penal code existed also when into Spain rushed three thousand

[175] Remigio Barbieri, '30.000 a Bologna'.
[176] 'Roma: scontri fra comunisti e «cinesi»' *L'Avanti* 17 March 1965.
[177] Lega della Gioventù Comunista. (m-l) d'Italia, 'Oggi in Asia e in Vietnam, domani in Italia e in Europa', in Archivio Lombardi, Fond Grizzuti, folder 6, series V, volantini e stampe, file 35 volantini e opuscoli antifascisti.

garibaldini volunteers, among which there was even Nenni'.[178] The issue was a hot topic within the communist base and the editor of *L'Unità* Mario Alicata wrote that if the Vietnamese called for International Brigades, the Italian Communists not desert them. However, in response to questions from readership, Alicata reiterated that making the call was matter solely for the Vietnamese.[179]

Just as police investigations proved that the *Lega Comunista*'s call to arms was an empty project, so too did the PCI's sabre-rattling about new international brigades remain just talk.[180] This mirrored the International brigades planned in France, which were refused by the Vietnamese because of their 'military impracticability', yet the talk was appreciated for its propaganda value.[181] The debate enjoyed a form of afterlife in the 1970 movie *Open Letter to an Evening Daily* by the Director Francesco Maselli. The plot featured a bored group of Italian leftist intellectuals who wrote a letter putting themselves at disposition to mobilize to fight for Vietnam. In the movie, the letter had unexpected support from the Vietnamese and even the PCI was forced to support the initiative. The movie ended with the group of intellectuals feeling relieved when the Vietnamese finally withdrew their support for the international brigade project. The movie reflected a moment of considerable controversy and tension between the left revolutionary groups and the PCI, and one that was rooted in charges of incoherence between discourse and actions. *Open Letter* indeed featured prominently, albeit with minor mistakes regarding the plot, in the memory of one of the historical witnesses interviewed for this thesis. Marco was a PCI militant until 1969, when he joined the *Manifesto* splinter group and afterwards became one of the founders of the *autonomia operaia* in Rome. He recollected the movie as a symbol of the PCI's incoherence:

It has always seemed to me quite ... crocodile tears what the institutional left has done on the problem of international solidarity. After all, the Italian film industry also made that wonderful film

[178] Mario Alicata, 'Ancora del Vietnam dell'URSS e della Cina', *L'Unità* 28 March 1965; 'Pajetta promette aiuti e volontari ai ribelli', *Il Corriere della Sera* 23 April 1965.
[179] Mario Alicata, 'Il Vietnam e noi' and 'Comitato centrale Il dibattito e le conclusioni di Longo', in *L'Unità* 24 *April* 1965.
[180] 'Inchiesta della polizia sugli arruolamenti per il Vietnam', *Il Corriere della Sera*, 19 March 1965.
[181] Salar Mohandesi, *From Anti-Imperialism*: 88-82. On the Vietnamese rhetorical endorsement of international volunteering see 'Un movimento mondiale di volontari rivestirebbe una grande importanza' in *Il Corriere del Vietnam* 16 May 1968 in Emeroteca Matilde Serao, Fond Andriello.

about intellectuals gathered in a living room where 'I leave, I leave for Vietnam, I leave, I leave...'. Three months passed in discussion, etc., when the news finally arrived that in '75 the Vietnamese were freeing themselves and so [the intellectuals] breathed a sigh of relief.[182]

Indeed, the PCI projection of radicalism in the international sphere was already perceived as inconsistent as early as 1965. This can be seen in the instance of the radical singer Ivan Della Mea, who denounced the moderate approach carried forward by the PCI's celebration of resistance as patriotic and not as class war, as denounced by him in the song 'Ninth of May'. Della Mea regretted that the partisans in the official celebration agreed to wear the 'tricolour handkerchief' since 'in the days of the struggle [their colour was] red".[183]

The PCI in 1966 re-established a greater consonance between its domestic and international discourses. Two PCI internal documents trace the increasing success of the anti-Vietnam war movement between February and October in that year.[184] The numbers are impressive: between June and October alone, 1,500 unitary initiatives unfolded. These exhibited a diverse repertoire of action such as peace marches, demonstrations at NATO bases, peace caravans, debates, round tables, tents of peace, appeals-petitions, exhibitions, films, records, and the mobilization of cultural personalities. The adjective 'unitarian' seems to summarize the party objectives, praising a 'movement that has taken on an increasingly precise and authoritative autonomous character and that has seen the realization of real and ample convergences of a new kind with forces ideologically distant from us but in agreement for common action'.[185] The documents also stress the effects fostered by the Pope's condemnation of the war: 'the new positions taken by Paul VI […] allowing our organizations to carry out more penetrating and effective action, in an anti-imperialistic sense, in the direction of the great masses of Catholics'.[186] These developments, by consequently leading the PCI to undertake a

[182] Interview with Marco.
[183] https://www.ildeposito.org/canti/nove-maggio; on Ivan Della Mea see Alessio Lega, *La Nave Dei Folli: Vita e Canti Di Ivan Della Mea.* (Milano : Agenzia X, 2019).
[184] 'Lo sviluppo della campagna per la pace e la libertà del Vietnam nei mesi di Febbraio e Marzo del 1966' and 'Nota sul movimento per la pace e la libertà nel Vietnam nei mesi giugno-ottobre 1966' in Archive of the Italian Communist Party (Archivio Partito Comunista Italiano, hereafter: APCI), MF 0537, Estero 1966, Vietnam, 0925-0960.
[185] 'Lo sviluppo'.
[186] 'Nota'.

more moderate framing and repertoire of action, opened up the way to increasing internal disagreement, resulting in the growth of revolutionary groups.

1967 marked a watershed. As persuasively illustrated by Sidney Tarrow, this was the year when the small revolutionary groups both within and without the PCI, the PSIUP and the student organizations, found a mass following in the mobilizations organized by the PCI.[187] They broke with the unitarian organizational frame both through slogans and their repertoire of action. Whereas the issue of the repertoire of action will be explored in chapter three in connection with generational dynamics, it is worth delineating the broad political disagreement between the revolutionary groups and the PCI, and this centred predominantly on precisely how to connect international struggles with the domestic political struggle in Italy. Amoreno Martellini claimed that that the PCI detested extremist slogans, but there was an even greater distance between the PCI and the revolutionary groups in practice: the revolutionary left started to bridge the gap between revolutionary words and practice, and this won them the support of young people.[188] Nonetheless, radical practices such as the continuous attempted assaults on US institutions served a prefigurative function, since they anticipated radical practices as a way to conduct political and social struggles in Italy. For instance, the *Potere Operaio Pisano*, the revolutionary group that was one of the founding elements of *Lotta Continua*, wrote that the best way to do international solidarity was to prepare for anti-capitalist war against the bosses in Italy.[189] A workerist periodical based in Rome – *Classe e partito* (Class and Party) – wrote that it was impossible to be simultaneously revolutionaries abroad and reformists at home.[190] Internationalism served domestic purposes as illustrated by an article published in 1976 in a magazine associated with *Lotta Continua*. The article claimed that revolutionary left solidarity with Palestine from the late 1960s served domestic purposes: primarily, that it was useful to stress the

[187] S. G. Tarrow, *Democrazia e disordine: movimenti di protesta e politica in Italia, 1965-1975* (Roma: Laterza, 1990): 139-41.
[188] A. Martellini, *All'ombra*: 55-8.
[189] A. Sofri, 'Editoriale del n.3 del 3-7 1967', pp.86-90, in R. Massari (ed.), *Adriano Sofri, il '68 e il Potere operaio pisano* (Bolsena (VT): Massari editore, 1998).
[190] Classe e Partito, *Il Vietnam a Roma* quoted in Domenico Guzzo, 'Rome, l'inscription Des Violences Politiques Dans La Ville Au Cours Des Années de Plomb : (1966-1982)' (These de doctorat, Université Grenoble Alpes (ComUE), 2017), 402.

necessity of violence as a tool for revolutionary goals in contradistinction to the peaceful line of the PCI, and afterwards to discuss the utility of exemplary armed actions by speaking of Palestinian attacks while intending Italian armed struggle.[191]

The 1967 radical challenge to the PCI's monopoly of anti-imperialisism and internationalism soon combined with the student movement of 1968 and with the workers movement in 1969. Marica Tolomelli claimed that anti-imperialism was part of the cognitive orientation of the 1968 movement, but it later came to be overshadowed by anti-capitalism, which was connected with the work'rs' unrest that mostly marked 1969.[192] This might be a too-neat separation. Indeed, internationalist mobilizations unfolded throughout these three years, including the mobilization against the death sentence given to Alexandros Panagulis, who had tried to kill the chief of the Greek Junta, Giorgos Papadopoulos, in August 1968,[193] or the violent and widespread movement that contested Nixon's February 1969 visit to Rome.[194]

The 1968 student movement, internationalism and anti-imperialism were interlinked in complex ways. First, the student movement had been key to the anti-Vietnam war movement in 1967. For instance, in Trento the leftist students during March 1967 organized a Vietnam week in collaboration with the local solidarity committee and occupied the university premises. As argued by Ben Mercer, the Vietnam issue entailed a protest escalation, harsher confrontations with the university and eviction by the police. This 'meant the dispute focused ever less on curricular or academic questions and more on the question of power'.[195] A second element is that internationalist issues were also at the centre of discussions during the 1968 university occupations. This was certainly the case with the occupation of the Palazzo Campana – a building at the University of Turin

[191] C. Moffa, 'La Palestina e noi', *Ombre Rosse*, 14 (1976), 43–53.
[192] M. Tolomelli, *L'Italia dei movimenti*.
[193] See for instance ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-70, folder 49, fil 11020/35/48 Milano, Pel Prefetto Boselli, 19 and 20 November 1968 e Provincia and 11020/35/3 Bari e Provincia Prefetto Alberto Novello, Bari-Manifestazione di protesta contro la condanna a morte dell'ufficiale Greco Panagulis 20 November 1968.
[194] ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-70, folder 53, 11020/81/69 Roma, Il Questore G. Parlato, Roma-Manifestazioni per la "giornata internazionale per porre fine alla Guerra nel Vietnam", 15 November 1969.
[195] B. Mercer, *Student Revolt in 1968 France, Italy and West Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020): 208-213.

– home to a research commission in charge of studying Vietnam and the US- Black Power movement.[196] A third, perhaps more obvious, element was the perception fostered by the simultaneity of protest across the world in 196: that of being part of a global movement of resistance. This global movement included the global south and its guerrillas, as well as France and the student and workers uprising of May 1968. For instance, the assembly of the Naples student movement defined the French rebellion as proving the baselessness of those positions which took for granted the integration of the working class in advanced capitalist countries.[197] Indeed, the Naples students countered the opinion that colonial people were the sole revolutionary agents and reproposed the old Third International motto claiming that the link between the European working class and anticolonial struggle was the 'only guarantee' to building socialism.[198]

This last point allows us to discuss how the Italian revolutionary left conceptualized the relationship between struggles in Europe and the Global South, since their position coincided by and large with that of the Naples students. First of all, it is worth illustrating some of the commonalities between different revolutionary groups such as *Lotta* Continua, *Avanguardia Operaia,* and *Potere Operaio*, and then turning to their framing of international solidarity. The Italian revolutionary left largely attracted students but included young workers as well. It comprised a multiform set of groups mostly founded after 1969. They differed in terms of their political orientation and organizational structure but shared some key characteristics: a common hostility to the governing centre-left coalition, and to the PCI considered as a betrayer of the working class; a common approach of radicalizing conflicts (in factories and with the police) and professionalizing political violence (either in clandestine or mass forms).[199] These organizations enjoyed a rising status until the end of 1972

[196] Documenti della rivolta universitaria (Bari: Laterza, 1968): 251.
[197] Movimento Studentesco Napoletano, 'General Assembly of the Ateneo Napoletano' November 7, 1968 in Emeroteca Matilde Serao, Naples, Dini Fond, folder 1-200, file 146.
[198] Movimento Studentesco Napoletano.
[199] G. Panvini, 'La nuova sinistra', in M. Gervasoni (ed.) *Storia delle sinistre nell'Italia repubblicana* (Cosenza, 2010), 213–40. On Italian revolutionary left see at least D. Giachetti, *Oltre il Sessantotto: prima, durante e dopo il movimento* (Pisa: BFS, 1998); A. Lenzi, *Gli opposti estremismi. Organizzazione e linea politica in Lotta continua e ne il Manifesto-Pdup* (Reggio Calabria: Città del Sole Edizioni, 2016); M. Scavino, *Potere operaio: la storia, la teoria*, (Roma : DeriveApprodi; 2018).

when they experienced an 'extreme fragmentation of objectives and alliances, the danger of isolation'. This was followed by a difficult period in which the left veered between radical practices and an acceptance of the electoral game.[200] As for internationalism and anti-imperialism, it is quite hard to find a relevant revolutionary left group that would have supported the idea of playing a subordinate role in the context of the global revolutionary movement. In 1968, Giovanni Pirelli – perhaps one of the few and most genuine Italian Thirdworldist in the normative sense described in the introduction to this thesis – harshly criticized the political vision of *Potere Operaio Pisano* for being Eurocentric and frankly wrong-headed. Pirelli thought that the group still considered the 'the proletariat of the highly developed countries […] [as] the fundamental subject of history'. Since the anticolonial struggles were the most advanced, he thought that the western working class should accept 'a subordinate role' in the global struggle. Finally, Pirelli claimed that 'perhaps' the working class was not integrated in countries with 'a relative backwardness of the capitalist organization' (France, Italy, Greece, Spain) but neglecting the 'immense negative weight' of the integrated working class elsewhere was a serious error.[201]

Pirelli's critical remarks aptly define most of the revolutionary left internationalism throughout the 1970s. Indeed, revolutionary groups, probably because of the mass insubordination of workers (for instance, there were 230 million hours of strikes in 1969 alone) had mostly traditional internationalist imaginations, and in some cases (e.g., the workerist groups) explicitly theorized the primacy of the Western European working class.[202] *Lotta continua* imagined imperialism as an integrated system where the success of any struggle was the necessary condition for the success of another one. This excerpt from the group newspaper illustrates this point by correlating workers strikes and armed struggle both in Italy and in the Palestinian occupied territories:

[200] M. Monicelli, *L'ultrasinistra in Italia: 1968–1978* (Rome: Laterza 1978), 43.
[201] M. Scotti, *Vita Di Giovanni Pirelli:* 6638-6661
[202] For the strikes' figures G. Crainz, *Il Paese Mancato: Dal Miracolo Economico Agli Anni Ottanta*, (Roma: Donzelli, 2003), 325.

> We learned a new word: fedayeen. We know that if we produce less, the fedayeen will be able to shoot more and more. We want to produce less. That's the way we can get to go shooting together.[203]

Whereas *Lotta Continua* considered Global South struggles on an equal level with the fight of European workers, *Potere Operaio* was explicitly anti-Thirdworldist claiming that 'the lesson of revolutionary armed struggle practised in the third world has to be put in practice where the chances of winning are greater, where one does not yet have to go through the purgatory of development as a condition of survival, where all the wealth has been produced and remains to be taken'.[204]

Even Italian Maoists, who imagined themselves as subordinated to an extra-European centre of global revolution, in the form of the People's Republic of China, did not consider the Italian working class as subordinate, but rather imagined itself as vanguard that would have led the masses towards a popular uprising for the establishment of a 'revolutionary government'.[205] Finally, the Italian armed groups were also far away from Third-Worldism. The prominent exponent of the *Brigate Rosse* (Red Brigades, BR) Barbara Balzerani has recently talked of their 'provincialism' stating:

> The scenario that opened up with the revolutionary ruptures of the 'zones of influence' after the Second World War was one of the elements that also favoured the insurgency of the 1970s. But it is as if the implication was that [we were] internationalists, yes, but 'each one at home'. Our history is closely tied to that of the revolutionary subject from which the BR were born, that is, the workers of the industrial pole of the North, whose fate they also followed.[206]

---

[203] 'Nixon boia ti aspettiamo alle presse' in *Lotta Continua* 1 October 1970.
[204] 'La questione di un nuovo internazionalismo è all'ordine del giorno. Rivoluzione comunista e Sistema mondiale' in *Potere Operaio* n. 43 September-October 1971.
[205] Servire Il Popolo, 'A morte l'Imperialismo', Naples 25 May 1970, in Emeroteca Matilde Serao, Naples, Lepore Fond, folder 401-551.
[206] 'Conversando con Barbara Balzerani su "Brigate rosse, un diario politico. Riflessioni sull'assalto al cielo' in https://insorgenze.net/2021/04/01/conversando-con-barbara-balzerani-su-brigate-rosse-un-diario-politico-riflessioni-sullassalto-al-cielo/. On Italian armed groups see M. Lazar and M. A. Matard-Bonucci (eds.), *Il libro degli anni di piombo: storia e memoria del terrorismo italiano* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2010); S- Neri Serneri (ed.) Violenza politica e lotta armata nella sinistra italiana degli anni Settanta (eds.) *Verso la lotta armata: la politica della violenza nella sinistra radicale degli anni Settanta* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2012); M. Clementi, E. Santalena, and P. Persichetti, *Brigate rosse, I: dalle*

Besides the local internationalism practiced by the *Brigate Rosse*, the most significant armed action of internationalist solidarity was the attack on the US Embassy in Athens, organised by the Aris Group of *Rigas Feraios*, in which PCI member Elena Angeloni and Cypriot student Giorgios Tsikouris had lost their lives. Despite the fact that Angeloni is the only Italian activist to have died in internationalist action abroad in the 1970s, she had been mostly forgotten until 2012, when her story was narrated in a book collecting the biographies of several internationalist women.[207] This forgetting was due to the interplay of two main factors. First, Angeloni, in spite of her recognition as an antifascist martyr by the Greek resistance, was represented very differently by the PCI at the time. The tragic deaths of Angeloni and Tsikouris were reported by the PCI's newspaper as an 'erroneous [...] act of isolated protest' to which it contrasted the 'preparation of a great and unitary mass movement' as the right strategy for showing solidarity with the Greek people.[208] Secondly, according to some sources – and this would need to be verified with further study – Angeloni was a member of *Superclan* , a splinter group from the *Sinistra Proletaria*, the organization from which the *Brigate Rosse* were born.[209] Several influential conspiracy theories identify the *Superclan* as the *deus ex machina* of armed struggle in Italy, variously enjoying shadowy connections with the US, the Israeli and the Soviet intelligences, depending on the theory.[210] As a result, it is likely that the alleged connection of Angeloni with *Superclan*, discouraged even the Italian revolutionary groupings until very recently to recognise Maria Elena Angeloni within their pantheon of celebrated internationalist actors.

fabbriche alla campagna di primavera (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2017); Andrea Tanturli, *Prima linea: l'altra lotta armata (1974-1981)* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2018).

[207] P. Staccioli and H. Gaggio Giuliani, *Non per odio ma per amore: storie di donne internazionaliste* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2012).

[208] Scatenata una dura repressione contro gli antifascisti greci, in *L'Unità* 5 September 1970.

[209] S. De Prospo and R. Priore, *Chi manovrava le Brigate rosse?: storia e misteri dell'Hyperion di Parigi, scuola di lingue e centrale del terrorismo internazionale* (Milano: Ponte alle Grazie, 2011).

[210] S. Flamigni, *La tela del ragno: il delitto Moro* (Milano: Kaos, 2003).

1.5 The high point of Italian internationalism from 1965 to 1973 (3)

Beside the revolutionary left and Italian Communist Party, a frequently overlooked but prominent actor in Italian internationalism was the network created by the city councils, and the provincial and the regional governments ruled by the Italian Communist Party. Indeed, such institutions provided formal recognition, as well as material and symbolic resources for liberation movements and states born from revolutionary processes without any formal recognition from the Italian central state. The internationalist role of the Italian red institutions consisted also in providing hospitality and work opportunities in an age where the Italian rules concerning asylum were particularly tight. The local entrenchment of leftist organizations played a decisive role in internationalism beside the nation state.

As described by the legal scholar Francesca Palermo, the Italian constitution 'specifically reserves foreign policy for the state'. Nonetheless regional foreign policy has been as 'the emperor's new clothes' creating a dynamic where 'regions carried out foreign activities on their own initiative and these were gradually acknowledged by the Constitutional court'.[211] Regional foreign ties were at times tolerated and at other times even explicitly formalised. Two principles were established. First, the regions should inform the states of their foreign relations. Second, the state was entitled to stop 'regional actions if they are found to breach the state guidelines for national foreign policy'.[212] As we will see in the case of red regions, the lack of precise constitutional or legal rules fostered many conflicts between central and peripherical authorities.

Local institutional internationalism gathered momentum, particularly when the introduction of regional government in 1970 fostered 'the creation of a Red Belt in central Italy, comprising Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria'.[213] This red belt, according to Elena Calandri, in the context

[211] F. Palermo, 'The Foreign Policy of Italian Regions: Not Much Ado About Something?', *The International Spectator* 42, no. 2 (1 June 2007): 198-199.
[212] F. Palermo, 'The Foreign'.
[213] P. Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988* (London, England; New York, N.Y., USA: Penguin Books, 1990): 327.

of the increasing dialogue with the progressive sector of the DC, 'reinforced the institutionalisation of the Party diplomacy' and turned the PCI into a 'parallel Italian political leadership'.[214] The institutions of the future red belt solidarity began also with independent Algeria. In January 1964, the *Comitato d'amicizia ed aiuto con il popolo algerino* proposed to the Province of Florence that they jointly promote a solidarity initiative with Algeria by collecting medicine, school equipment, and clothing for war orphans. The committee also proposed hosting these orphans in summer camps in the region and establishing scholarship schemes.[215] Initiated by the Christian Democrat pacifist Mayor of Florence, Giorgio La Pira, a coordination committee was swiftly constituted among the Tuscan provinces and it quicky announced it would collect medical supplies and consumer goods, scientific equipment for the University of Algiers, funded subscriptions to journals and books for the university library, and also, as far as possible, host Algerian children.[216] This can be considered the extension of the common support for the Algerian cause broadly adopted across the Italian left and some of the Christian Democrat factions including Enrico Mattei the president of the Italian National Hydrocarbon Authority, an institution that it has been dubbed as a 'special agent of decolonization'.[217] In addition, Algeria had been officially recognized by Italy as soon as it gained independence.

Another paradigmatic and already partially analysed case study of the internationalism of local institutions is the one represented by the interlinkage between the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Liberation Front of Mozambique, FRELIMO) and the town of Reggio Emilia. This connection, albeit rooted in personal contacts between some PCI representatives and the FRELIMO leadership, was formalized after the 'International Conference of Solidarity with the People of the Portuguese Colonies' (Rome 27-29 June 1970). Indeed, one of the outcomes of the conference – whose chief notable result was the audience given by Pope Paul VI to the leader of the liberation

[214] E. Calandri, 'Italy, the Developing World, and Aid Policy, 1969–1979: The "Historic Compromise" and Italian Foreign Policy', *Cold War History* 19, no. 3 (3 July 2019): 11.
[215] 'Solidarietà con L'Algeria', *L'Unità* 9 January 1964
[216] 'Costituito un comitato pro-Algeria', *L'Unità* 14 April 1964.
[217] B. Bagnato, *L'Italia e la guerra d'Algeria (1954-1962)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2012); P. Di Gregorio, 'Eni: Agente Speciale Della Decolonizzazione', *Meridiana*, no. 83 (2015): 195–214.

movements of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique – was the twinning 'of the public hospital *Arcispedale Santa Maria Nuova* of Reggio Emilia […] with the *Hospital Central de Cabo Delgado*, a health centre built by FRELIMO in a liberated area of northern Mozambique'.[218] The cooperation consisted in 'hosting FRELIMO guerrillas and providing them with healthcare or medical training, and by sending medical equipment.' This also served to provide an essential source of legitimation for the Mozambique liberation movement.[219] Furthermore, this healthcare assistance to FRELIMO was not an isolated case, since the *Arcispedale* envisaged a similar approach to solidarity with Palestine in conjunction with the national committee.[220] The medical cooperation with the Liberation Front fostered tight and long-lasting links between the town and Mozambique, and between Reggio Emilia communist and African liberation movements, and also entailed diplomatic tensions between Italy and Portugal. Indeed, the Portuguese state was an Italian ally and member of the NATO. The Reggio Emilia twinning pushed the Portuguese ambassador Joao Hall Themido to write directly to Giuseppe Soncini, the head of the *Arcispedale*. The ambassador suggested to Soncini that he was probably deceived since 'Portugal exercises full sovereignty over the whole territory of Mozambique' and therefore there was no liberated area and hence no hospital.[221] Whereas this epistolary exchange is already known and published, it might be interesting to read what happened behind the scenes amongst state officers not sympathetic to anticolonial struggles.

The Prefect of Reggio Emilia commented on the episode, saying that it was the confirmation of a long trend resulting from 'the extreme left-wing orientation that prevails locally, in almost all organisations, bodies, associations, etc., operating in the province'. He argued that this has led to 'initiatives that are completely at odds with the government's international policy guidelines', 'and such initiatives took the form of solidarity in favour of movements and countries in conflict with

[218] C. Tornimbeni, 'Nationalism and Internationalism in the Liberation Struggle in Mozambique: The Role of the FRELIMO's Solidarity Network in Italy', *South African Historical Journal* 70, no. 1 (2 January 2018): 210.
[219] Ibid.
[220] The chief of the cabinet to the Ministry of the Interior and to the Prime Minister Office, Fronte di liberazione del Mozambico-Aiuti sanitari da Reggio Emilia, 1971 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-75, folder 72, file 11020/90 sott. 2, Mozambico. All the following document quoted come from this folder and file.
[221] Joao Hall Themido (Ambassador of Portugal), to Giuseppe Soncini, (President of the Arcispedale "S Maria Nuova" of Reggio Emilia.

nations with which the Italian state is linked by agreements, alliances or other ties'. The most obvious example for the Prefect was in 'aid collections for Vietnam and so on'.[222] The Prefect was by no means a lone voice, since central and local authorities commented that the epistolary exchange was not in 'accordance with normal diplomatic practice' and the sanitary twinning was, they argued, a provable case of the misappropriation of funds.[223] Nonetheless, repressing these activities proved particularly hard for the authorities due to the autonomy accorded to local institutions. Notwithstanding the repeated requests by the Prime Minister's office to intervene against this medical internationalism, in the light of the evidence collected, no repressive measure ever took place.[224]

A final point to make about the material solidarity offered is that, in truth, it often had much greater value as propaganda compared to a relatively meagre practical impact. This can be seen by the following quotation from a Vietnamese representative speaking to a PCI delegation in North Vietnam in 1966: 'You sent medicines (perhaps collected from the population) which were few and some have expired and therefore cannot be used at least in part. Other times you have sent good stuff. We advise you to put some money aside so that when we want something we will ask for it'. [225]

1.6 The transformation of Italian leftist internationalism from 1974 to 1993 (1)

This long phase of leftist internationalism from 1974 to 1993 can be spilt into two subperiods: a first one (1974-1982) was marked by the relative inward turn of Italian leftist movements, by the decline of Third World myths and the rise of trade unions as internationalist actors; the second period

[222] Il Prefetto U. Grieco, Fronte di liberazione del Mozambico – Aiuti sanitari da Reggio Emilia, 25 March 1971.
[223] Il capo di Gabinetto to Mi est gabinetto and PCM, Fronte di liberazione del Mozambico-Aiuti sanitari da Reggio Emilia, 1971; Il Prefetto U Grieco, Fronte di liberazione del Mozambico – Aiuti sanitari da Reggio Emilia, 6 April 1971; Marcelino Dos Santos a Giuseppe Soncini, Dar Es Salaam, 14 March 1971; Il Prefetto U Grieco, Fronte di liberazione del Mozambico –Aiuti sanitari da Reggio Emilia, 30 April 1971; Il commissario del governo (dott. Mario Cerutti, Fronte di Liberazione del Mozambico-Aiuti sanitari dell'Arcispedale "Santa Maria Nuova" di Reggio Emilia, Bologna 8 June 1971.
[224] Il Sottosegretario di Stato Antoniozzi, Aiuti sanitari inviati dall'Arcispedale Santa Maria Nuova di Reggio Emilia al Fronte di Liberazione del Mozambico, 2 July 1971; Il Sottosegretario di Stato Antoniozzi, Aiuti sanitari inviati dall'Arcispedale Santa Maria Nuova di Reggio Emilia al Fronte di Liberazione del Mozambico. Gemellaggio dello stesso Arcispedale con lo l'ospedale di Capo Delgado, 29 July 1971.
[225] Relazione del Compagno Xuan Thug (responsabile della sezione esteri del movimento di lotta per Viet del 9/12/1966 del C.C. (0985-0988, pp. 15- 18) APCI MF 0537, Estero 1966, Vietnam.

(1982-1993) was marked by a strong affirmation of the peace discourse, an increase in internationalist volunteering and a minoritarian preservation of radical options. Whereas the fall of real existing socialism between 1989 and 1991 was undoubtedly a watershed moment, its impact on Italian internationalism would be somewhat belated. As it transpired, the collapse of the Soviet bloc would prove to affect Italian internationalist mobilizations later on in the 1990s. This was mostly because Italian leftist internationalism had not been orientated around the Eastern bloc as a reference point from a long time, and the internationalist mobilizations of the early 1990s, such as the solidarity campaign with the First Intifada (1987-1993), were already deeply shaped by the transformations that had occurred throughout the 1970s.

The first of these two subperiods also comprises the rise and decline of the PCI's historical compromise strategy on the domestic level, and Eurocommunism on the international level. According to Simona Colarizi, this period marked a significant moment in Italian political and social history. In the mid-1970s, there was a general decline in the Italian political system that coincided with the economic crisis, with the outbreak of the radical movement (from 1977) and with the rise of leftist clandestine violence.[226] The second of these subperiods saw the significant isolation of the PCI on both the domestic and international levels due to the challenge of the Italian Socialist Party, which tried to undermine hitherto communist predominance on the Italian left, and the ebb of the liberation movements on a global scale. In particular, the 'erosion of the traditional subjects of the workers' movement, globalization, and the crisis of bipolarity' hindered the PCI in playing its traditional role as 'bridge between East and West and between North and South'.[227] At the same time, Italian post-1968 revolutionary groups descended into a deep crisis due to the multiple challenges produced by feminism, youth movements, and armed groups. Those who remained active took a moderate path and engaged in electoral politics by coalescing in the new political entity named after *Democrazia Proletaria* (Proletarian Democracy). Their internationalism was immersed in the contemporary

[226] S. Colarizi, *Un paese in movimento: l'Italia negli anni Sessanta e Settanta* (Bari: Laterza, 2019): loc 145-8.
[227] M. Di Maggio, *The Rise and Fall of Communist Parties in France and Italy: Entangled Historical Approaches* (Cham: Palgrave, 2020): 253.

discussions of the conceptual fallacies of Marxism and the flaws in real existing socialism.[228] If real existing socialism was already suffering from the waning of its myth, the more recent guerrilla models so popular for the 1968ers was proving very delusionary. In particular, guerrilla myths declined following the chain of events that included the fall of Saigon in April 1975, the flight of the Vietnamese boatpeople from liberated socialist Vietnam shortly afterwards, and the outbreak of the Cambodian-Vietnam war in 1977–1978, which 'signalled a final collapse of the global communist vision.'[229] Lisa Foa, one of the revolutionary left's 'godmothers' from the antifascist generation of the 1940s asked directly: 'what went wrong with our internationalism?'[230] She answered that international solidarity entailed excessive simplification, the privileging of politics as a lens to understand complex processes and a parallel forgetting of societies and cultures.

The then-hegemonic revolutionary groups linked to the *autonomia operaia* were either seasoned critics of Third-Worldist illusions (as was the case mostly with the *autonomi* located in the North or the North-East Italy) or had emerged as the most important post-1969 revolutionary groups following the decline of liberation movements, and remained ready to challenge other groups on their moderation in their internationalist practices. This was the case with the Rome-based *Comitati Autonomi Operai* who criticised *Lotta Continua* and *Avanguardia Operaia* both for their (new) moderation in their internationalist repertoire of action, and their assumption of the position of privileged interlocutors in international struggle. For instance, the Rome-based *autonomia operaia* denounced what they defined as former revolutionary groups for not supporting the attempted assault against the Spanish Embassy attempted by the *autonomi* in the context of an antifrancoist demonstration against the execution of two militants of the Basque independentist organization ETA and three members of the Revolutionary Antifascist Patriotic Front (FRAP). [231] The same group was linked to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and criticised the others revolutionary

[228] L. Falciola, *Il movimento del 1977 in Italia*, (Roma: Carocci, 2015): 85.
[229] B. Kiernan, 'Cambodia: Detonator of communism's implosion', in in J. Fürst, M. Selden, and S. Pons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Communism:* 121.
[230] L. Foa, 'Che cosa è andato storto nel nostro internazionalismo?*'*, in *Ombre rosse 26*, December 1978.
[231] Comitati Autonomi Operai di Roma, *Autonomia Operaia* (Rome: Savelli, 1976), 348-9.

groups on the Italian left because they chose the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as an interlocutor, given the fact that the PLO was involved in peace talks for the constitution of a state of Palestine that would be so small as to constitute, in the opinion of *Comitati*, a betrayal of the Palestinian cause. Supporting the PLO according to the *Comitati* 'does not mean supporting the Palestinian resistance, but its suppression'.[232]

These disagreements within the left groups occurred against the backdrop of the first oil crisis in 1973 that, according to Arturo Marzano, fostered from 1974 an inward turn of the Italian left movements now more focused on domestic social and economic struggles.[233] An examination of the relevant sources suggests we can safely characterise this era as exhibiting only a relative rather than absolute inward turn, since it also saw the staging of at least three significant rounds of mobilization, including: the 1976 Palestinian solidarity campaign fostered by the dramatic events of the Lebanese civil war; the start of Italian support for Nicaragua governed by the Sandinistas; and a further wave of the Palestinian solidarity in response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Furthermore, material solidarity carried out by red institutions and other actors continued throughout this period, including important support to Chilean exiles. A change over the period was a disengagement by the PCI from the internationalist street demonstrations that, in the mid-1970s, were mostly dominated by the revolutionary leftist groups. What also happened is that some international solidarity campaigns unfolded without expressing themselves in demonstrations as had been commonplace before. Towards the end of the 1970s, a new trend would become even more apparent: the new prominent internationalist actor both in terms of material solidarity and in street demonstrations became the trade unions.[234]

---

[232] Ibid., 331.

[233] Arturo Marzano, 'Il mito della Palestina', 34-7.

[234] Some demonstrations against the Vietnam war promoted by the Vietnam Committees linked to Lelio Basso around were already monopolised by revolutionary left groups such as a Bologna interregional demonstration in 1972 whose figures ranged from 40,000 (*Lotta Continua)* and 7,000 participants (police sources). See Comitato Vietnam, Napoli; Unione Sindacale-Comitati di Lotta; Centro di Coordinamento Campano; Centro del Manifesto, Napoli; Potere Operaio, Napoli, Adesione alla manifestazione interregionale antimperialista "Con il Vietnam, fino alla vittoria, oltre la vittoria', Bologna 11 Novembre 1972 in Archivio di Stato di Perugia Archivio del Circolo Karl Marx di Perugia, Manifesto PDUP, PDUP per il Comunismo, Commissioni di Lavoro, folder. 4, File 2, Settore internazionale 1969-1976; 'Col Vietnam fino

Chilean solidarity is probably the best example of an internationalist campaign that continued throughout the 1970s and beyond while broadly stepping from the spotlight. Indeed, it continued, especially in the red regions, in the form of a molecular solidarity with the Chilean exiles, this contributed to feeling that the Chilean experience had left 'its mark on a whole generation of Italian activists'.[235] Whereas the 1973 anti-coup campaign and the relevant mobilization will be explored in the following chapter, what matters here is how Chilean solidarity unfolded afterwards. Indeed, the last mass demonstrations in support of Chile documented by police sources until 1983 were held on the anniversary of the coup in 1974.[236] The campaign against the Pinochet coup was centralized by the *Association Italia-Chile*, which coordinated Italian solidarity, and by *Chile Democratico* that gathered together all the Chilean organizations. [237] The red regions had a conspicuous role in such solidarity, and in particular Emilia Romagna, which by April 1974 already hosted 50 exiles.[238] Chileans were also hired with the intercession of Communist authorities in municipal companies, in the third sector and in the cabinets of local administrations both in the Emilia Romagna city of Parma and Reggio Emilia.[239] Despite the shared solidarity with Chileans across the broad spectrum of the left factions and the Christian Democrats at a national level, local representatives of the state showed clear signs of annoyance.[240] Whereas the Bologna Communist mayor Renato Zangheri claimed that hospitality for Chileans was entirely consistent with what has 'always been done towards all oppressed comrades', the Prefect noticed that this violated the 'Italian laws against foreigners'. [241] Something similar was seen in Tuscany in 1976, where the President of the Region promoted a

alla vittoria', *Lotta Continua* November 14 1972 Viceprefetto reggente Calvani November 12 1972, ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-75, folder 73, file 11020/15, Bologna e Provincia Manifestazioni pro-Vietnam.

[235] Valentine Lomellini, 'Italy: The "Chilean Lesson, 253.

[236] Prefetto Petriccione, 15 September 1974 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-1975, folder 72, file 11020/21 Cile Avvenimenti vari ripercussioni Incidenti). The next demo was perhaps in 1983. See file 11020/21 Cile ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1981-1985, folder 94 . All the following quoted documents come from this folder and file, unless otherwise indicated.

[237] Santoni, *Il PCI*.

[238] Prefect Padalino, 'Meeting between Chilean refugees hosted in Emilia-Romagna and representatives of the municipality of Bologna promoted by the Italy-Chile Committee' "Salvador Allende", Bologna 24 April 1974 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-1975, folder 72, file 11020/21 Cile Avvenimenti vari ripercussioni Incidenti.

[239] Prefect of Reggio Emilia U. Godano, 29 March 1974 and Prefect of Parma 28 October 1974 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-1975, folder 72, file 11020/21 Cile Avvenimenti vari ripercussioni Incidenti.

[240] See Erminio Fonzo, 'Chilean Refugees'.

[241] Prefect Padalino, Meeting between.

collection of funds for Chile, and the Prefect of Florence commented by stressing the national policy of persisting in solidarity with 'non-communist dictatorships'.[242]

The pro-Palestinian campaign prompted by the massacres of the Lebanese civil war revealed the PCI's disengagement from internationalist demonstrations. This was noted by *Lotta Continua* who commented 'the revisionist party does not consider going beyond pure solidarity mobilisation'.[243] Police and press sources document that the 1976 pro-Palestinian demonstrations became the monopoly of revolutionary left groups, and included two demonstrations in Milan and one national demonstration in Rome that gathered together 30,000 participants.[244] By contrast, the mass organizations connected with the PCI were mostly oriented towards material solidarity including the provision of medical personnel to assist the Palestinian refugees. [245] Material solidarity could also be a battleground between the lefts. For example, in September 1976, *Democrazia Proletaria* of Perugia accused the hospital administration of Perugia (governed by the PCI and the PSI) of having denied at the last moment the extraordinary leave to go to Lebanon to three health workers.[246] In Palestine solidarity the internationalist commitment of the trade union connected with the PCI – the *Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro* (Italian General Confederation of Labour, *CGIL*)- started to be prominent, especially in connection with the Unitarian Union Federation with the other most important trade unions, the socialist aligned *Unione Italiana del Lavoro* (Italian Labour Union, UIL) and the Catholic *Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori* (Confederation of Trade Unions in Italy, CISL).

Italian working-class internationalism was not born in the mid-1970s. Without going back to the already mentioned older traditions such as internationalist strikes or the 1950 campaign against

[242] 'La direzione generale dell'amministrazione civile "solleva "l'illegittimità". ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1976-1980, folder 109, file 11020/21 Cile.
[243] Per l'indipendenza nazionale, per il potere popolare, in *Lotta Continua*, 25 September 1976.
[244] See 11020/64 Libano in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1976-1980, folder 110 and 'Grande manifestazione internazionalista a Roma', *Lotta Continua*, 27 September 1976; 'L'obiettivo principale dei palestinesi: creare uno Stato indipendente', L'Unità, 26 September; 'In trentamila per la causa Palestinese' *Corriere della Sera,* 26 September 1976.
[245] 'Medici e infermieri italiani a Beirut', *L'Unità* 16 September 1976.
[246] Democrazia Proletaria, 'L'internazionalismo non è reato' (1976) in Archivio di Stato di Perugia Archivio del Circolo Karl Marx di Perugia, Manifesto PDUP, PDUP per il Comunismo, Commissioni di Lavoro, folder. 4, File 2, Settore internazionale 1969-1976.

the arrival of US weapons in Italian ports, here we briefly examine the moment when the unions' influence reached its peak in Italian society since the late 1960s.[247] CGIL workers were a key component of the anti-Vietnam war movement. In 1966, 150 internal commissions – trade union representative organs at a factory level – called for working-class solidarity with Vietnam.[248] According to some testimonies, solidarity with Vietnam brought together students and workers in 1969: one prominent Turin working-class activist claimed that 'he and his workmates had borrowed slogans from the students such as, "HO-HO-HO CHI MINH" and "AGNELLI YOU HAVE A WORKSHOP IN INDOCHINA" during the Fiat strikes of 1968 and 1969'.[249] The Catholic mechanical engineering trade union FIM-CISL, in memory of one of its prominent exponents Alberto Tridente, 'openly supported the Vietnamese resistance'.[250] Tridente, according to police sources, was at the centre of a conflict within the Turin Democratic Christian party in 1967: the provincial DC committee referred 20 party members to the college of arbitrators because they had joined the local unitarian committee *Città Europee per Il Vietnam* (European Cities for Vietnam). When the left of the DC threatened to withdraw its representatives from the 'governing bodies of the party and from the municipal and provincial councils of Turin', the party committee renounced the earlier decision to invoke disciplinary sanctions. In the end, the pro-Vietnamese Catholics were only reported to the national party.[251] Besides Vietnam solidarity, Italian trade unions boycotted Greek navies in solidarity with the struggle against the dictatorship in 1969, and again in 1970 in Genova and Naples.[252]

---

[247] G. Crainz, *Storia della Repubblica: L'Italia dalla Liberazione ad oggi (Donzelli Editore, 2016).*
[248] 'Iniziativa europea degli operai per la pace', L'Unità 18 April 1966.
[249] S. J Hilwig, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 71.
[250] Alberto Tridente quoted in F. Loreto ' "*Si sabes, enseña. Si no sabes, aprende". L'impegno internazionale dei sindacati torinesi*', D. Marucco and C. Accornero (eds), *Orizzonti internazionali a Torino: indagini per una storia della sua classe dirigente nel tardo Novecento*, Saggi. Storia e scienze sociali (Roma: Donzelli editore, 2016): 61 note 32.
[251] Prefect of Turin, 23 February 1967;1 March 1967;7 March 1967; 21 April 1967 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 53, file 11020/81/81 Torino.
[252] R. Raftopoulos, *International labour solidarity under military rule. The case of the Greek trade unions exiled in Italy during the colonels' dictatorship and the Italian trade unions support (1967–74)* in A. Simões do Paço, R. Varela and S. van der Velden, eds, Strikes and Social Conflicts. Towards a global history. (Lisbon : International Association Strikes and Social Conflict, 2012): 336-7.

Notwithstanding these antecedents, it can be argued that from the mid-1970s, but more prominently from the early 1980s, the CGIL and in turn the Unitarian Union Federation became prominent internationalist actors. This was the case of the 1976 campaign for the boycott of Chilean copper that involved over 10,000 metalworkers, chemical workers and dockers.[253] The Federation had a key role also in the campaign in support of the progressive forces of El Salvador in the context of the civil war that raged across the Central American country. The campaign on the Salvadorian civil war was animated by many Catholic actors, ranging from the Milan Archbishop Carlo Maria Martini to the various Catholic groups organizing prayer vigils.[254] Their shared symbol was the bishop Oscar Romero, a fierce critic of right-wing military and paramilitary violence, who was killed in March 1980 while he was celebrating mass.[255] It was, however, the Federation who proved to be the major organizer of the national demonstration that took place in March 1982 in Bologna, where the police calculated the size of the final rally as being 40,000 participants.[256] Unions played a similar leading role in the Palestinian solidarity campaign in response to the Israeli invasion that same year: the trade unions organized a national demonstration in Rome with tens of thousands of participants.[257]

In spite of the proliferation of leftist armed groups throughout the 1970s, as anticipated in the third section of this chapter, the actual use of violence to further internationalist aims, was not a top priority for any of these groups during this decade. Donatella Della Porta has calculated that from a total of 1,147 violent actions by leftist clandestine groups only five actions (0.4%) targeted diplomatic missions.[258] Whilst this figure may well be blind to the 'internationalist' factor at play with other targets not counted as internationalist action (i.e. targeting the economic interests of 'oppressive states'), the relative smallness of these acts as a proportion of the total is surely indicative of the main

[253] A. Ciampani and G. Rosati, 'La Federazione Cgil, Cisl, Uil : la dimensione internazionale ed europea', in Franco Lotito (ed.) *L'unità Possibile: La Federazione Cgil, Cisl, Uil: 1972-1984* (Roma: Viella, 2021): 123.
[254] Massimo De Giuseppe, *L'altra America: i cattolici italiani e l'America Latina: da Medellín a Francesco*, (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2017): 189-227.
[255] Jeffrey L. Gould, *Solidarity Under Siege* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 2019): 161.
[256] Prefect of Bologna, 13 March 1982 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1981-1985, folder 94, file 11020/33 'Salvador; Lama e Benvenuto chiedono il ritiro del nostro ambasciatore dal Salvador', *Il Corriere della Sera*, 14 March 1982.
[257] 'Decine di migliaia in piazza con l'OLP e con i sindacati', *L'Unità* 22 September 1982.
[258] Donatella Della Porta, *Il terrorismo di sinistra* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1990).

national priorities of Italian armed groups. Italian internationalist violent actions were mostly small attacks, often carried out with Molotov cocktails against foreign economic interests or diplomatic targets.[259] The most significant armed groups (*Brigate Rosse* and *Prima Linea*) throughout the 1970s did not have anti-imperialism or internationalism as a priority. As for transnational contacts with other groups, there is evidence of these groups being involved in the supply of weapons. *Brigate Rosse* and the *Comitati Comunisti Rivoluzionari* both were furnished Palestinians groups, including a faction of Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) with weapons.[260] There is also at least one documented example of a common military training camp, shared by *Prima Linea* and ETA.[261] Yet, as claimed by Luca Falciola, such relations were not very significant: the Italian armed groups, compared to their German peers, avoided transnational action, since they were able to rely on a relatively large domestic radical *milieux.*[262]

Excluding the actions of large armed groups, some of the most impactful and significant instances of internationalist violence by Italian actors in the 1970s were the following: an arson attack in 1974 that destroyed a warehouse of Face-Standard – a subsidiary of the multinational telecommunications company ITT – in response to ITT's involvement with Pinochet's regime in Chile; the wave of anti-German attacks connected with the controversial death of the *Rote Armee Fraktion* prisoners in 1977, which will be analysed further in chapter 3.[263]

Nevertheless, it can be argued that the most impactful violent events connected with internationalist causes derived from direct confrontations between foreign actors on Italian soil. Tensions in the Middle East in general and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in particular illustrate this point. Indeed, Italy was struck several times by indiscriminate acts of violence against civilians. This was in spite of the 1972-1973 secret agreements between the Italian state and the Palestinian

[259] Chief of police to Ministry of Interior, 5 October 1973. ACS, Rome, MI, GAB 1971-1975, folder 72, file 11020/21 Cile Avvenimenti vari ripercussioni Incidenti.
[260] Luca Falciola, 'Transnational. On the official ties between the PLO and the Italian state see also ACS,Rome, MI, GAB. 76-80, folder 111 file 11020/118 Israele.
[261] Andrea Tanturli, *Prima linea.*
[262] L. Falciola, 'Transnational.
[263] Chicco Funaro, "Il comunismo è giovane e nuovo": Rosso e l'Autonomia operaia milanese, in Sergio Bianchi Caminiti *Lanfranco (eds), Gli autonomi: Le storie, le lotte, le teorie* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2007).175-6.

Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine 'that allowed Palestinian militants free circulation in Italy of people and weapons, along with impunity', in exchange for a promise from the Palestinians to 'exclude Italian targets and citizens' from their attacks.[264] In fact, the 1970s and 1980s saw a clear recrudescence of attacks in Italy in response to the tensions in the Middle-East, most probably by dissident factions, as well as a number of Israeli undercover operations aimed at murdering Palestinian representatives. Without attempting to list all of the examples of such indiscriminate acts of violence, it is worth noting: the 1973 attack at the Roman Fiumicino airport, where there were 34 casualties and 15 injured; the 1982 attack on the Rome Synagogue, which saw 37 injured and the death of a two-year-old victim, Stefano Gaj Taché; the 1985 attack in Fiumicino, with 13 casualties. Anti-Palestinian violence included the murders of the following PLO members: Wael Zwaiter (1972), Majed Abu Sharar (1981), Hussein Kamal and Matar Nazih (1982), and Ismail Darwish (1984). As we will see in chapter three, such violence had a noticeable impact on the experiences of foreign students in Italian universities.

1.7 The transformation of Italian leftist internationalism from 1974 to 1993 (2)

The second subperiod delineated in the introduction, covering the years 1982 to 1993, it is a quite heterogeneous and contradictory period and one that resists any easy simplification. First, in this period the eclipse of the Third-Worldist myths merged with the movements that were shaking the Eastern bloc: the PCI, the trade unions, some sectors of the post-1969 revolutionary left and even various groups of *autonomia operaia* campaigned in different ways in support of the Polish trade union *Solidarnosc*. Secondly, the peace and anti-nuclear movement constituted the most important international campaign of those years. This campaign transformed existing political cultures, and birthed new ones, as well as relaunching a radically non-violent political trend. Thirdly, the number of active political left radicals declined markedly throughout these years, but those remained were

[264] L. Falciola, 'Transnational.: 46

able to preserve their forces through the use of innovative political instruments, such as the Social Centres which served to propagate further radical internationalist ideas and actions.

The 1980s were defined, on national level, by the 'gradual disappearance of a central element of the republican history, the long predominance of the DC and PCI'.[265] This gradual crumbling, as far as the PCI was concerned, was connected to deep changes in the political climate. After General Jaruzelski declared martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981, Enrico Berlinguer, then leader of the PCI, opened a rift with the USSR, by claiming that the 'propulsive thrust of the October revolution is definitively exhausted'. [266] Although this shift in political orientation was grounded in earlier tensions between the Italian communists and the USSR, it contributed very significantly to making the Italian communist one an 'increasingly fragile identity.'[267] In the context of the ultimate, but still gradual, detachment of the Italian communist party from the global communist movement, traditional internationalist campaigns were deeply reformulated.

The early 1980s marked a kind of watershed moment for Italian internationalism, which was also keenly felt by Italy's leading communist exponents. For instance, the communist Ennio Polito, during a debate about the Middle East taking place within the communist-led think-tank the Centre for Politics and International Studies in 1981 noted that public opinion broadly opposed mobilisation on international issues 'if not for the social and human side'. [268] These years as mentioned above, and as will be stressed in chapter 3, were years during which humanitarianism became deeply interwoven with internationalism. At times, this resulted in the NGO-ization of internationalism commitments: this was the case of CGIL and CISL, whose support for Chilean dissidents took the form of cooperative development projects, delivered through the NGOs they controlled.[269]

[265] Guido Crainz, *Storia della Repubblica: L'Italia dalla Liberazione ad oggi* (Donzelli Editore, 2016): 6798
[266] F. Benvenuti and S. Pons, 'The end of Soviet communism : a review' in S. Pons and F. Romero, *Reinterpreting the End of the Cold War: Issues, Interpretations, Periodizations* (London: Taylor and Francis 2014): 216.
[267] M. Di Maggio, *The Rise and Fall* :227.
[268] L. Riccardi, *Internazionalismo difficile: la diplomazia del PCI e il Medio Oriente dalla crisi petrolifera alla caduta del muro di Berlino (1973-1989)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2013): 436.
[269] Santoni, 'Comunistas'

Institutional solidarity, albeit transformed, endured in certain areas in the face of the more general decline of red political subcultures; a decline that had become very apparent with the 1987 electoral results, in which the PCI saw a drop in its share of the vote, as the party was struck by traditional regional feuds, and the double-whammy of broad socioeconomic transformation and the twilight of the Soviet myth.[270] Indeed, despite the fact that in electoral terms these traditional red areas were only wiped from the map between 2013 and 2018, the longstanding support for the left there had been gradually waning for decades.[271] Yet, in municipal territories such as Reggio Emilia, where the mayor had been until now a clear exponent of the political left, institutional solidarity has endured albeit under a less overtly leftist ideological guise. An example of this is the so-called decentred cooperation through which Reggio expressed solidarity with Mozambican and South African towns well into the 21st century.[272]

Returning to the 1980s, the campaign of support to the Nicaraguan Sandinistas relaunched the Italian tradition of international volunteering, both armed and unarmed. Indeed, the Sandinistas – as claimed by Christian Helm in relation to the German solidarity mobilisation – established a leftist and humanitarian frame able to appeal to groups across a multifarious leftist world.[273] Major actors ranged from workers' priests like Ubaldo Gervasoni, who was involved in preaching and voluntary work in Nicaragua throughout the 1980s, to Italian armed fugitive groups that – according to some controversial accounts – played a direct military role in the Sandinista war against the *Contras*, the paramilitary armed groups who fought the Managua government with the support of the United States' government.[274]

[270] M. Caciagli, 'Tra Internazionalismo e Localismo: L'area Rossa', *Meridiana*, no. 16 (1993): 81–98,
[271] B. Bracalente, D. Pellegrino, and A. Forcina, 'Italy's Disappearing "Red Regions": A Longitudinal Analysis', *Modern Italy* 25, no. 3 (August 2020): 279–97.
[272] Comune di Reggio Emilia, Reggio Africa. Storia di un'amicizia https://www.slideshare.net/comunereggioemilia/kitabu-1-english-version
[273] C. Helm, *Botschafter*.
[274] U. Gervasoni, *Fecero appassire i nostri fiori* (Sulmona (AQ): Qualevita, 1993).

Another seminal campaign of the decade was the one in solidarity with Polish dissidents. Italian trade unions were among the main protagonists of the solidarity campaign with the Polish trade union *Solidarnosc*. But this unity was only on the surface. Only one testimony makes the claim that the leftist CGIL union supported *Solidarnosc* without any internal tension.[275] Other scholars claim that whilst the union leadership supported the Polish workers wholeheartedly and with conviction, the grassroots within CGIL were largely indifferent.[276] Finally, some other research studies claim that the bulk of the Polish solidarity came from the Catholic trade union (the CISL) but that CGIL, weathering some internal disagreements, still contributed to the campaign by supporting solidarity committees and funding livestock that was sent to Poland.[277] The high point of mass mobilization in support of *Solidarnosc* was probably the demonstration of 50,000 people organized by the Unitarian Federation in Milan in 1982.[278]

Another strand of the left that supported the Polish dissidence was a faction of the former *Lotta Continua* leadership that had morphed into the editorial committee of the newspaper of the same name in the wake of the organisation's dissolution in 1976. The relationship between the newspaper and Polish dissidents was grounded in its historic ties with exiles from the Polish anti-Semitic purges in 1968. Such interest was further developed when Adriano Sofri was sent by the newspaper to document the impact on Poland of the election of the Polish Pope John Paul in 1978.[279] This evolved into open support for Polish dissidence, with the clandestine shipment of materials such as mimeographs, paper and printing machines sent by truck with the complicity of the drivers.[280] In 1988, this reached the point were by Sofri went as part of an official delegation, along with prominent

[275] F. Bertinotti, R. Armeni, and R. Gagliardi, *Devi augurarti che la strada sia lunga* (Milano: Ponte alle Grazie, 2009): 67-70.
[276] E. Serventi Longhi, 'Solidarity and Italian Labor Movement Culture: CGIL Intellectuals and Revision of the CGIL's International Relations (1980–1982)', in *, in A. Tarquini and A. Guiso (eds.), Italian Intellectuals:*235–54.
[277] A. Ciampani and G. Rosati, 'La Federazione Cgil, Cisl, Uil : la dimensione internazionale ed europea'; S. Cavallucci and N. de Amicis, "Italy. Diversity within United Solidarity,".
[278] 50 mila a Milano in Piazza per la Polonia, Corriere della Sera; besides the quoted litearure see also K. Jaworska and C. Simiand, (eds.), *Solidali Con Solidarność: Torino e Il Sindacato Libero Polacco* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011).
[279] L. Foa, *È andata così*:159-160.
[280] Ibid. 161.

PSI member Claudio Martelli, to argue the case for the Polish dissidents before Jaruzelski in person.[281]

Finally, even some segments of *autonomia operaia* openly supported the Polish dissidents, although perhaps without any direct connection with *Solidarnosc*, since it was not possible to collect any corroborating documentation. However, a poster by the *Comitati Autonomi Operai* displayed two symmetrical pictures, one portraying Italian riot police with batons and shields on which was written the Italian name 'polizia' (police) and the other showing the Polish equivalent with the word 'milicja'.[282] This poster directly compared the 'social-imperialist' repression of the Polish state with the wave of repression unleashed against Italian radical leftists in the same time period.[283]

The eclipse of the Soviet myth was coupled with a renewal of the peace movement. Leftist internationalism during the 1980s was shaped by transnational peace campaigns in response to the Soviet development of the SS-20 and the US announcement of the stationing of Pershing II and Cruise Missiles. The climax of this global movement came in the autumn of 1983, when around five million people demonstrated against the gathering threat of war and nuclear catastrophe.[284] The Italian movement that unfolded from 1981 to 1983 was multifaceted and comprised a mosaic of political positions and practices: nonviolence and calls for multilateral disarmament; balanced disarmament (PCI); anti-Soviet Union and pacifistic unilateral disarmament (DP); a traditional radical activism supporting political violence and national liberation wars (the heirs of *autonomia operaia*).[285] An

[281] C. Martelli, *Ricordati di vivere* (Milano: Bompiani, 2013).
[282] Comitati Autonomi Operai, Polonia '82/Italia /82: Qual è la differenza? (1982, poster kept by the author).
[283] For the repression following the harsher phase of Italian leftist armed groups see M. Galfré, *La guerra è finita: l'Italia e l'uscita dal terrorismo 1980-1987* (Roma: Laterza, 2014).
[284] E. Conze, M. Klimke, and J. Varon, 'Between accidental armageddons and winnable wars: Nuclear threats and nuclear fears in the 1980s' in E. Conze, M. Klimke and J. Varon (eds), *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War of the 1980s* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2017): 1 and 5.
[285] R. Moro, 'Against Euromissiles: Anti-nuclear movements in 1980s Italy (1979–1984)' in E. Bini and I. Londero, *Nuclear Italy: an international history of Italian nuclear policies during the Cold War* (Trieste, 2017), 199–211; Valentine Lomellini, 'Under Attack? The PCI and the Italian Peace Movement in the 1980s', *Journal of Contemporary History* 56, no. 3 (1 July 2021): 579–94..

antimilitarist option was endorsed by the *Partito Radicale* (Radical Party) that in these eroded a part of leftist consent.[286]

Paradoxically, the only political murders by Brigate Rosse offshoots linked directly to internationalist and anti-imperialist causes took place in a context marked by peaceful movements. These were the cases of Leamon Ray Hunt, the American head of the multinational force in the Sinai, and of Lando Conti, former mayor of Florence and shareholder of an arms-producing company, both killed by Brigate Rosse Partito Comunista Combattente in 1984 and 1986 respectively; and the case of General Licio Giorgieri, killed in 1987 for involvement in the Reagan Strategic Defense Initiative by the *Brigate Rosse – Unione dei Comunisti Combattenti*.[287]

The peace movement operated well beyond the early 1980s, and overlapped with the anti-nuclear movement that culminated with the nuclear power abrogative referendums of 1987. In 1986, *L'Unità* praised a demonstration in Rome, in which hundreds of thousands of demonstrators participated, as a day of peace: 'On the streets of Rome parades a dream. Indeed, something more: a palpable, concrete hope. Hundreds of thousands yesterday touched that hope, embracing the same project, that of a different future, without missiles, no more shields, no more nuclear threats. An unarmed world'.[288] Similarly, the following year, a wave of peace mobilizations supported disarmament and condemned the deployment of the Italian military navies in the Persian Gulf. This included both a peace march from Perugia to Assisi, and the formation of a human peace chain in Rome. [289]

The Italian Communist Party was furthering the revision of its political culture. This reached a climax with a document prepared by the Sixteenth Party Congress in 1986, which established the new characteristics of PCI internationalism, officially parting ways with the world communist

[286] L. Bonfreschi, '"Against Any Army": Italian Radical Party's Antimilitarism from the 1960s to the Early 1980s', *Journal of Contemporary History* 56, no. 3 (July 2021): 595–616;
[287] G. Galli, *Piombo rosso: la storia completa della lotta armata in Italia dal 1970 a oggi* (Milano: Baldini&Castoldi, 2013).
[288] 'La giornata del popolo della pace', *L'Unità 26* October 1986.
[289] 'La catena della pace', *L'Unità* 18 October 1987.

movement and elevating human rights as a core component.[290] When in 1987 the Palestinian rebellion in the occupied territories unfolded, the PCI campaign was framed as a relaunch of the struggle for peace for 'a new and more modern internationalist consciousness' revolving around 'respect for peoples' and 'peaceful conflict resolution'.[291] Italian communist party solidarity with Palestine displayed both a rethinking of the Israeli and Jewish question that was going on inside the party from mid-1985 onwards through increasing contact with the Israeli left, as well as an example of the party's new approach to internationalism.[292] Indeed, the PCI blended its commitment to the peace movement with its traditional internationalist culture. As a result, one of the key elements of the 500 solidarity events organized by the Communists in 1988 involved close relationships with the Italian Jewish communities in order to promote the peace process and to affirm simultaneously the Israeli right to security and the Palestinian right to self-determination. [293] The dissolution of the Party in 1991 and the birth of the *Partito Democratico Della Sinistra* (Democratic Party of the Left, PDS), whilst it might have pushed out of the party some of the activists more resistant to the idea of supporting the peace process rather than unambiguously supporting only the rights of the Palestinian people, did not change the party line in any significant way. In 1993, Piero Fassino wrote in *L'Unità* in support of the Oslo Accords, which established a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In so doing, he explicitly presented this as both a vindication and culmination of the PCI's approach of parallel diplomacy. The Accords also marked a milestone on 'The long road that led first to the PCI and then the PDS to free itself from Manichean positions and to actively promote dialogue between the two warring parties'. [294]

The radical heirs of 1977 were on the other side of the barricade. They survived the 1980s by turning upside down 'the consumerist individualism in youth cultures', and by articulating it 'in a

[290] 'Proposta di tesi per il congresso del PCI', Partito Comunista Italiano XVII congresso nazionale (Florence, 9–13 April 1986), supplement to *L'Unità*, 8 December 1985.
[291] L. Riccardi, *Internazionalismo difficile: 709.*
[292] A. Tarquini, *La sinistra:*271-280.
[293] P. La Segreteria Piero Fassino, 11 May 1988 in Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Archivio della Fed Provinciale di Perugia del PCI, Commissione problemi internazionali e pace, folder. 111, 1952-1990, 11/5/1988 in sf. 3, problemi internazionali e pace lettere in arrivo.
[294] P. Fassino, «Due popoli, due Stati», una conquista anche per la sinistra, *L'Unità* 14 September 1993.

new cultural resistance' through musical practices, independent publishing and squatting social centres.[295]

Many collectives practiced internationalism by participating in the peace movement through the anti-imperialist and anti-nuclear committees. The Padova Committee described the Second Cold War as a pacification process aiming at 'preserving the current status quo and allowing the capitalist recovery'. Consequently, real internationalists were supposed to agitate for 'banning the presence of the NATO bases and work to 'dismantle the network of solidarity and support that Zionist terrorists find in Italy in order to target Palestinian Liberation Organization representatives'.[296] Another complementary approach was to practice internationalist solidarity by realizing initiatives such as debates or collections of funds through *Centri Sociali* (social centres) that have been defined as 'the practice of occupying an abandoned place to organise social, political and cultural activities self-managed by an open assembly'.[297] Whereas the birth of the *Centri Sociali* can be traced back to the Italian revolutionary left from the mid-1970s onwards, from the 1980 to the 2000s there have been four distinct waves of occupations.[298] *Centri Sociali* proved important venues for the continuation of radical internationalist campaigns including those in solidarity with Nicaragua, Northern Ireland, the Basque Countries, Chiapas and Kurdistan. When in 1989 the squatters resisted the eviction of the Milan *Centro Sociale Leoncavallo*, occupied from 1975, by throwing empty bottles, Molotov cocktails, stones and tiles, they also waved the Palestinian flag.[299] This was used as a symbol of their will to resist, referring not only to the Palestinian struggle but functioning as the 'metonym of the struggle of oppressed people everywhere'.[300]

---

[295] B. De Sario, 'Cambiamento sociale e attivismo giovanile nell'italia degli anni Ottanta: il caso dei centri sociali occupati e autogestiti', *Cahiers d'études italiennes* 14 (2012), 129 and 133.
[296] *Bollettino del Coordinamento Antinucleare-Antiimperialista veneto*, 2 (1982).
[297] P. Mudu, 'I Centri Sociali italiani: verso tre decadi di occupazioni e di spazi autogestiti', *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, no. 1, 2012, 69-92.
[298] Ibid.
[299] 'Ore 7, scoppia la guerriglia a Lambrate', *Corriere della Sera*, Agust 17, 1989. For a picture of the Palestinian flag see Guidi, Flavia, 'Che cosa è rimasto del Leoncavallo?', accessed 12 October 2021, https://www.vice.com/it/article/exje5z/leoncavallo-spa-quarantanni-a11n6-287.
[300] T. H. Eriksen quoted in Gianluca Fantoni, 'The Jewish Brigade Group and Italy: A Political and Historiographical Quarrel', *The Journal of Modern History* 93, no. 1 (1 March 2021): 174.

A final point can be made about the solidarity campaigns with Italian former colonies. We will take the case of the Eritrean National Liberation struggle against the Ethiopian state and especially the solidarity campaign with the Marxist formation of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), established in 1970. This formation received support from the Italian revolutionary left throughout the 1970s and beyond.[301] The PCI was far more ambiguous in its position, since it pursued a policy of 'double support' by both endorsing the pro-Soviet Ethiopian regime led by Mènghistu Hailé Mariàm and the EPLF.[302] Nonetheless, the Italian trade unions and the red regions took an independent stance, as evidenced by the fact that the Bologna trade council sponsored the European congresses of EPLF, which had regularly been hosted in Bologna throughout the 1980s. In addition, the Unitarian trade union federation together with other forces supported the solidarity committee with the Eritrean people and contributed to material solidarity. However, in spite of the increasing presence of Eritrean migrants in Italy – 40,000 was the figure claimed by the PFLE congress in 1980 – leftist internationalist solidarity did not open up debate about the legacies of Italian colonialism at this time. However, leftist internationalists like the historian and antifascist veteran Angelo Del Boca were the first to discuss publicly 'the consequences for Italy of not debating colonialism'.[303]

Studying the 1990s in detail exceeds the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, we can conclude this chapter by claiming that Italian internationalisms around the early 1990s displayed both continuities and discontinuities with the high point of leftist internationalism. One remarkable discontinuity was the prevalence of the peace discourse and the marginalization in relevant sectors of the left (by and large the ones hegemonized by the PCI and afterwards by the PDS) of the traditional internationalist discourse that interpretated conflicts according to binary divisions (oppressive states/national liberation movements) and dichotomic classifications (oppressors/oppressed). Yet this

[301] 'L'Eritrea non è terra di nessuno, non e un pascolo coloniale. È la patria di un popolo in lotta dal 1961 con le armi in pugno', *Lotta Continua* 21 February 1975. Prefetto Padalino, 21 and 22 August 1975, in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-1975, folder 71, file 11020/36 Etiopia.
[302] A. Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa orientale. 4* (Roma: Laterza, 1984).
[303] A. Del Boca, 'Le conseguenze per l'Italia del mancato dibattito sul colonialismo'. in Studi piacentini 5, 1989: 115 - 128.

political tradition survived both in the radical leftist scene that animated the anti-imperialist and anti-nuclear committees, and the *Centri Sociali*, as well as in some sectors of the *Rifondazione Comunista* (Communist Refoundation Party), that was founded in 1991 by the confluence of *Democrazia Proletaria* and those factions of the disbanded PIC who refused to join the DS . Further to this point can be noted some other developments both exhibiting continuity and discontinuity: for instance, the Nicaragua campaign deployed both armed and unarmed repertoires of leftist internationalism that reinvented the epic myth of the International Brigades, but at the same time employed a politicized form of missionary activism. The following chapter will explore how the dialectic between old and new was embodied in the interlinkage between internationalism and the memory and mythology of the Second World War.

Chapter 2

The Manifold Partisan and the Manifold Nazi: Antifascism, Anti-imperialism, and Leftist Internationalisms

The legendary commander Giap . . . wanted to honour the Italian Resistance with words of grateful admiration when we entrusted him with the trumpet banners dedicated by the General Command of the Garibaldi Brigades to 'the heroic fighters of Vietnam'.

—Pompeo Colajanni

Thank you for coming to this event to honour a great partisan . . . and sorry . . . I call him a partisan because he was a partisan like me.

—Leandro Agresti

There is indeed an unburied corpse in the history of the last few decades, and it is Hitler's corpse.

—G.L

2.1 Bridging the gaps between antifascism and anti-imperialism

In April 1965, the former partisan commander Pompeo Colajanni met the Defence Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Võ Nguyên Giáp.[304] This encounter aimed to symbolically unite the Italian resistance, which fought against the Nazis and Italian fascists between 1943 and 1945, with the Vietnamese communist resistance against the US invasion and the South Vietnam state. Fifty-four years later, Leandro Agresti, the last surviving partisan who participated in the

[304] P. Colajanni, "Vo Nguyen Giap il leggendario comandante." *Vie Nuove*, no. 21, (27 May 1965).

liberation of Florence, mourned another Florentine fighter, thirty-three-year-old Lorenzo Orsetti, a volunteer in the ranks of the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG) in northern Syria. Agresti defined Orsetti's armed volunteering and death in the war against the Salafi jihadi group Daesh as a form of resistance that he deemed to be essentially similar to the one in which the Italian partisans were involved in the 1940s.[305] In 1976, *Noi Donne*, the magazine of the left-leaning Unione Donne Italiane (Union of Italian Women, UDI) published a series of articles that compared the Christian Maronite violence against Palestinian refugees during the Lebanese civil war to Nazi violence during the Second World War. The evocative image created in the third epigraph above widened the analogy by identifying the spectre of Adolf Hitler as the unifying culprit in any imperialist, colonial or counter-revolutionary act of violence perpetrated from 1945 onwards.[306]

These three examples show a lasting interconnection between the Italian tradition of antifascism and the memory of the Second World War on the one hand, and leftist internationalism on the other hand, and its survival across borders and political traditions. This chapter studies such interlinkage by focusing on the internationalist practices carried out by multiple leftist actors between the 1960s and the 1980s and considers to what extent this tradition is still relevant today. This chapter further argues that this interconnection is rooted in additional, specific close relationships between antifascism and anti-imperialism. At various moments in time, and depending on the internationalist campaign, multiple leftist actors bridged the gaps between antifascism and anti-imperialism by relying on their particular relationships with the antifascist tradition. Furthermore, the actions of international and foreign individuals and organizations, including antifascist veterans and neofascists, as well as the context of the Italian and international political conjunctures, influenced the nature of such 'bridging' and the resonance between these frames ('more or less established ideological constructs [which] are used strategically to frame a particular topic') of antifascism and anti-

[305] 'L'ultimo saluto dei Partigiani a Lorenzo Orsetti - Firenze, 23.06.2019' YouTube video, 1:41, June 24, 2019. www.youtube.com/watch?v=5DwxcFeVeb8.
[306] G.L., 'Guerra di sterminio', *Noi Donne* n.22 August 1976, 42.

imperialism.[307] Such discursive association resulted in the formulation of two tropes: the trope of the manifold partisan, which consisted in the equating of any national liberation or anti-dictatorial movement with the antifascist struggle fought in the 1940s; the trope of the manifold Nazi, which compared the violence exerted by imperialist and colonial powers to Nazi violence. Exploring the concrete historicity of such tropes and their multiple incarnations across different campaigns and actors is the goal of this chapter.

The first section of this chapter explores the origins of the 'long 1968' interlinkage between antifascism and anti-imperialism by focusing on developments in the early stages of the Cold War and the shift that occurred in this relationship from the mid-1950s. The following section examines the overlap between the rise of leftist internationalism and the apogee of Italian antifascism between the 1960s and the 1970s, and their subsequent decline and transformations from the mid-1970s onwards. The following sections examine three campaigns during the high point of Italian leftist internationalism (Vietnam, Greece and Chile) and one campaign that crosses over from the high point of leftist internationalism into its period of transformation and decline (Palestine). This chapter cannot aim to cover all the internationalist campaigns marked by the intersection between antifascism and internationalism, which would include important case studies not addressed in this work such as solidarity with the Portuguese colonies. The chosen campaigns were selected because their examination serves to display both the crucial features of and general developments within the relationship between antifascism and internationalism in this period.

Most of the scholarship on the tradition of Italian antifascism after 1945 neglects the internationalist campaigns and generally considers the antifascist framing of anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles as a rhetorical device.[308] The only relevant exception is Guido Panvini's

[307] L. Lindekilde, 'Discourse and Frame Analysis: In-Depth Analysis of Qualitative Data in Social Movement Research' in Donatella Della Porta (ed.), *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[308] A. Rapini, *Antifascismo e cittadinanza: Giovani, identità e memorie nell'Italia repubblicana*. (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2005); A. De Bernardi, Fascismo e antifascismo: Storia, memoria e culture politiche. Rome: Donzelli, 2018; A. De Bernardi, and P. Ferrari, (eds.) Antifascismo e identità europea (Rome: Carocci, 2004).

seminal work Ordine nero, guerriglia rossa, which considers the international background to the fight between antifascists and neofascists and how both groups felt on the verge of a global conflict. However, Panvini does not provide a systematic exploration of this international element.[309] As far as the literature on the Italian revolutionary left is concerned, there is no systematic study of their internationalist endeavours.[310] Literature focusing on the foreign policy of Italian communists devotes little attention to the role of antifascism after 1954.[311]

Studies of internationalist movements in Italy often discuss antifascism, but all focus on single campaigns in a limited time frame.[312]The few contributions concerning the role of foreign students in Italian mobilizations demonstrate a similar trend.[313] No scholarship by professional historians focuses on antifascist veterans' associations.[314] By contrast, internationally focused scholarship stresses combinations of anti-imperialism and antifascism as sources of inspiration for European '1968er' and for the birth of a new revolutionary Left.[315]Furthermore, memories of the Second World War feature prominently in histories of European Thirdworldism and its legacies.[316] However, the emphasis put on the 'new left' by scholarship concerning internationalist solidarity has somewhat

[309] Guido Panvini, *Ordine nero, guerriglia rossa: La violenza politica nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta e Settanta (1966–1975)* (Torino: Einaudi, 2009).
[310] , Diego Giachetti, *Oltre il Sessantotto: Prima, durante e dopo il movimento* (Pisa: BFS, 1998).
Ventrone, *Vogliamo tutto. Ventrone, Angelo. Vogliamo tutto: Perché due generazioni hanno creduto nella rivoluzione, 1960–1988* (Roma: Laterza, 2012).
[311] Two scholars focus on the interlinkage between anti-fascism and anti-imperialism during the 1940s and the 1950s: Andrea Guiso, *La colomba e la spada: "Lotta per la pace" e antiamericanismo nella politica del Partito comunista italiano (1949–1954)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006) Andrea Mariuzzo, 'Stalin and the Dove: Left Pacifist Language and Choices of Expression between the Popular Front and the Korean War (1948–1953) ' *Modern Italy* 15, no. 1 (2010): 21–35.
[312] F. Montessoro, 'Il mito del Vietnam'; E. Taviani, 'L'anti-americanismo nella sinistra italiana al tempo del Vietnam'; P. Soave, *La democrazia allo specchio*; A. Marzano, 'Il 'mito' della Palestina'; A. Santoni, *Il PCI e i giorni del Cile*; M. Quirico and V. Lomellini, 'Italy: The 'Chilean Lesson'.
[313] K. Kornetis, 'Una diaspora adriatica'; R. Raftopoulos, *La dittatura dei colonnelli in Grecia*; L. Falciola, 'Transnational relationships'
[314] E. Taviani, 'PCI, estremismo di sinistra e terrorismo' In Gabriele De Rosa and Giancarlo Monina (eds.), *L'Italia repubblicana nella crisi degli anni settanta. Sistema politico e istituzioni*, vol. 4, (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2003): 235-75; V. Casini,'La sinistra extraparlamentare nel dibattito interno al Partito comunista italiano: Il Seminario sull'estremismo del gennaio 1975' *Ricerche di Storia Politica* 20, no. 1 (2017): 23–42; Lucio Cecchini, *Per la libertà d'Italia, per l'Italia delle libertà: Profilo storico dell'Associazione nazionale partigiani d'Italia*. Rome: Jasilio, 1998.
[315] J. Mark, N. Townson, and P. Voglis, 'Inspirations', in R. Gildea, J. Mark, and A. Warring (eds.), *Europe's 1968* :72–103.
[316] K. Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World*; Wilfried Mausbach, 'Auschwitz and Vietnam: West German Protest against America's War during the 1960s.', in A. W Daum, L. C Gardner, and W. Mausbach (eds.), *America, the Vietnam War, and the World:* 279–98; E. Davey, *Idealism beyond Borders*.

prevented the study of the role of the 'old left' in disseminating the interlinkages between antifascism and internationalism.

Leftist internationalism, as a heterogenous body of practices, required the construction of a common identity across national borders that expressed itself in a number of campaigns of internationalist solidarity. This process further required the use of common frames which, particularly from the 1920s onward, coincided with anti-imperialism and antifascism. Italian Leftist actors often used these frames by following a 'political logic – provocation, mobilization, demonization – not a historically or intellectually sophisticated one.'[317] As a result, this chapter privileges leaflets and daily newspapers and does not systematically examine the parallel intellectual debate that flourished in leftist magazines and journals. This is because these periodicals avoided the popular antifascist and anti-imperialist tropes and deployed analytical rather than analogical approaches. For instance, the PCI's theoretical magazines, when addressing the Vietnam War, examined peaceful coexistence and US strategy rather than comparing Italian and Vietnamese resistance as was common practice in Communist dailies.[318]

This chapter draws on the influential description of anti-imperialism found in Lenin's Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1917), wherein imperialism is in turn defined as a world capitalist system.[319] The Bolshevik leader's diagnostic framework provided both a powerful ideological tool for non-European anticolonial activists and a common language for internationalists all around the world. Similarly, this chapter adheres to the school of thought that antifascism constitutes 'an ambivalent and multifaceted paradigm that was employed for different ends and

[317] Ben Mercer "Specters of Fascism: The Rhetoric of Historical Analogy in 1968." *Journal of Modern History* 88, no. 1 (2016): 96–129.
[318] G. C. Pajetta, "La contro-rivoluzione non si Esporta." *Rinascita*, no. 7 (13 February 1965).
[319] "Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed" (Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/index.htm#ch07).

purposes.'[320] Italian leftist internationalist actors relied on two distinct communist historical conceptions of the political tradition of antifascism.[321] The first historical conception (1922–33) frames fascism as another face of bourgeois dictatorship, and antifascist struggle as based on the struggle of all the working class; in other words, antifascism is conceptualized as a united front from below. The second conception (1934–39 and 1941–45) defines fascism as the emanation 'of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.'[322] This understanding implies a defence of democracy against fascism and alliances with democratic parties to fight fascism; therefore, antifascism is here conceptualized as a popular front from above. Italian leftist internationalists practiced solidarity with foreign struggles through an antifascism that was in turn both a popular front from above and a united front from below, and that conceived of fascism in accordance with one or both of these frames.

2.2 The Origins of the Interlinkage between Antifascism and Anti-imperialism (1947–1963)

The interlinkage between antifascism and anti-imperialism stems from the early Cold War conflict and the specific ways in which it reverberated in the Italian context. The fracturing of the leftist world in 1956 allowed the emergence of multiple ways of interlinking internationalism and antifascism. The fundamental interconnections between Italian antifascism and anti-imperialism, as Neelam Srivastava (2018) argued, dated back to the PCI's Lyons Theses (1926) and the Italian fascist aggression of the Abyssinian War.[323] Notwithstanding these antecedents – which also included the Italian volunteer forces in the Spanish Civil War International Brigades between 1936 and 1939 – the

[320] A. Bauerkämper, "Marxist Historical Cultures, 'Antifascism' and the Legacy of the Past: Western Europe, 1945–1990." In S. Berger and C. Cornelissen (eds.), *Marxist Historical Cultures and Social Movements during the Cold War: Case Studies from Germany, Italy and Other Western European States*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 33–64.

[321] B. Groppo, 'Fascismes, antifascismes et communismes' in B. Pudal, M. Dreyfus, B. Groppo, C. S. Ingerflom, R. Lew, C. Pennetier, and S. Wolikow (ed.) *Le siècle des communismes*, (Paris: L'Atelier, 2000): 499–511.
[322] G. Dimitrov, "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism." www.marxists.org/reference/archive/dimitrov/works/1935/08_02.htm.
[323] N. Srivastava, *Italian Colonialism and Resistances to Empire, 1930–1970* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

global, national, and transnational early Cold War developments deeply influenced the Italian postwar antifascist/anti-imperialist interlinkage.

Significantly, the breakage in the early Cold War of global antifascist unity fostered a narrative of antifascism as unfinished business on the international level. The ideological conflict between the USSR and the US entailed that each player defined the other as similar in nature to Nazi Germany.[324] As far as internationalism is concerned, the 'two camps doctrine' of 1947 was influential. This Soviet doctrine divided the world between 'anti-Fascist forces' (the USSR and its allies) and an imperialist camp championed by the US that supported 'reactionary and anti-democratic pro-fascist regimes and movements.'[325]31

This global split was echoed at the national level within Italy. Antifascist unity dissolved when the PCI and the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) were excluded from the Italian government in 1947. This put an end to a period of antifascist cooperation that had started with the partisan war. At this time, in a context marked by national liberation struggle, civil and class war, the leftists joined an unitarian National Liberation Committee (CLN).[326] In 1944, with the so-called Salerno turn (*la svolta di Salerno*), the PCI secretary Palmiro Togliatti accepted entering the government led by the former fascist Marshal Pietro Badoglio, temporarily renouncing an anti-monarchist prejudice. After 1944, the PCI – and the PSI, more erratically – participated in the CLN and unitarian governments until 1947.[327]

The exclusion of the leftists from the government transformed antifascism into a culture of opposition since, until the early 1960s, there was no national official 'memory' of partisan resistance to fascism.[328] This exclusion and deliberate forgetting fostered a leftist reading of Italian history as a

[324] D. C Engerman, 'Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917–1962' In M. P. Leffler and O. A. Westad (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 20–43.
[325] 'Zhdanov and the Cominform on the Imperialist and Anti-Imperialist Camps, 1947' In E. H. Judge and J. W. Langdon (eds.) *The Cold War through Documents: A Global History*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017): 50–51.
[326] C. Pavone, *A Civil War: A History of the Italian Resistance* (London: Verso, 2014).
[327] F. Barbagallo, 'La formazione dell'Italia democratica' In F. Barbagallo (ed.) *Storia dell'Italia repubblicana*, (Torino: Einaudi, 1994): 5–128.
[328] M. Ridolfi, 'Rituali della memoria e linguaggi dell'antifascismo' in A. De Bernardi and P. Ferrari (eds.): *Antifascismo* 35–51.

narrative of 'betrayed resistance' which the Italian revolutionary Left reconceptualized and transformed in the 1960s. According to the PCI and PSI reading, the 1947 removal of the leftists from government was a 'coup' supported by the same forces that promoted fascism in 1922. In accordance with this interpretation, these above-mentioned forces founded the post-war state on 'monopoly profit and speculation.'[329]

These global and national narratives of fascism as unfinished business overlapped with other transnational flows such as those coming from France, where the start of the Indochina War led to a widespread use of comparisons between Nazism and French colonial politics.[330]As a result, the Italian pro-Soviet internationalist front between the PCI and PSI started to define anti-Americanism as the logical consequence of the anti-Nazi-Fascist resistance. These narratives characterized the protests against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949.[331] Afterwards, the campaign against the Korean War (1950–53) established a set of parallels between Nazi-Fascists and the US Army on the one hand, and Italian partisans and North Korean popular troops on the other.[332] Leftist internationalists represented all subsequent national liberation wars and anti-dictatorial struggles, from Algeria to Spain, in a similar fashion. In particular, the leftist internationalists compared any anti-dictatorial struggle to the antifascist struggle since any dictatorial regime was, in their eyes, analogous with fascism. Consequently, any national liberation struggle was held to be equally analogous with the Italian one, since any foreign occupation was compared with the Nazi occupation of Italy and its war crimes. Extending the analogical thinking, Italian leftists viewed any 'puppet state' (such as the South Vietnam state) through the prism of the *Repubblica Sociale Italiana* installed by the Nazi occupation in northern Italy in 1943.[333]

As a result of these analogies, Italian leftists used to stage international solidarity and pro-Soviet peace mobilizations on Italian sites of memory linked to the experiences of war and resistance.

[329] A. De Bernardi*, Fascismo e antifascismo*.
[330] C. Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World*: 31.
[331] A. Guiso, *La colomba e la spada*.
[332] A. Mariuzzo, 'Stalin and the Dove'
[333] E. Taviani, 'L'anti-americanismo':169.

One notable example was the village of Marzabotto, where Nazis and fascists killed 770 civilians as part of the larger slaughter of Monte Sole, which claimed 1,676 lives in 1944.[334] At Marzabotto in 1951, a rally issued an appeal against 'the imperialists attempting to rearm Germany and Japan . . . a tinderbox for the war against the free countries of socialism and peace.'[335] The Cold War antagonisms had already divided Italian veterans' organizations by this time. The leftist antifascist Italian veterans cohered in the National Association of Italy's Partisans (ANPI) which was established in 1944 and operated at the forefront of the pro-Soviet peace mobilizations, which were directed by an organization known by the evocative name of Partisans of Peace.[336] On the other side of the divide, Italian neofascists organized in a party called *Movimento Sociale Italiano* (MSI), established in 1946, and were split between a pro-Atlantic and a nonaligned position.[337] At this stage, in the late 1940s, the veterans of *the Repubblica Sociale Italiana* were not yet the perfect embodiment of the identification between fascism and imperialism.

The decade between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s formed a caesura. The changes within this break included considerable growth in the Italian internationalist leftist groups and activity mentioned in chapter one, and several significant shifts concerning the public discourse on antifascism. At this time, antifascism become politically and socially relevant once more, as a phenomenon both in mass movements and in official discourse. Indeed, the significant mobilization of July 1960 in response to Ferdinando Tambroni's Christian Democratic (DC) government's reliance on neofascist votes implied the rebirth of grassroots antifascism. The combination of two main factors provoked this wave of violent and widespread antifascist mass mobilizations. On the one hand, this first instance in post-war Italy of neofascists playing a significant role in the formation of a government triggered general public indignation. On the other hand, the MSI's specific provocation

[334] B. Magni, "La strage di Marzabotto nel cinquantennio repubblicano." *Storia e problemi contemporanei* 11, no. 21 (1998): 175–82.
[335] 'I sopravvissuti di Marzabotto chiamano alla difesa della pace' *L'Unità* 3 1951.
[336] Á. Alcalde and X. M. Núñez Seixas (eds.), *War Veterans and the World after 1945: Cold War Politics, Decolonization, Memory*, (London; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2018); L. Cecchini, *Per la libertà d'Italia*, 21; 'I partigiani si batteranno alla testa del popolo per la pace' 22 March 1949.
[337] D. Conti, *L'anima nera della Repubblica: Storia del MSI* (Roma: Laterza, 2013: 4–5 and 7.

of hosting its congress in the strongly antifascist city of Genova also contributed to generating a widespread sense of anger. As a result, urban guerrilla warfare erupted within the city itself, and repression of the antifascists prompted a chain of mobilizations throughout Italy. The police severely repressed these protests with a final death toll of 11 casualties.[338]

The failure of the Tambroni experiment brought about the centre-left coalition between the PSI and the Christian Democratic Party. The coalition led to the celebration of an official memory of antifascist resistance.[339] This, according to Andrea Rapini (2005) caused a polarization of the discourse around resistance between a focus on its celebration and a focus on its betrayal.[340] Indeed, the emergent revolutionary Left, primarily the Marxist-Leninist factions and some other socialist groupings, revived and rewrote the myth of betrayed resistance. According to their reading, the real betrayers were the leaders of the PCI, since the aforementioned *svolta di Salerno* entailed a renunciation of revolution and the abandonment of the partisans' aspirations for a socialist Italy. At the same time, a significant section of the new left started to challenge the alleged revolutionary character of the Italian resistance. These groups claimed that this antifascist tradition, with its acceptance of a united front from above, was one of compromise rather than rebellion.[341]

These developments were interlinked with the eruption of anticolonial struggles that were simultaneously supported by antifascist political environments, read through antifascist paradigms, and marked by the emergence of a multidirectional memory that combined contemporary phenomena with the memory of the world war.[342] This framing was shared also by Catholic former partisans such as Enrico Mattei, the president of the Italian National Hydrocarbon Authority (ENI).[343] This convergence between the left and the Catholic world would grow stronger during the anti–Vietnam

[338] P. Cooke, *Luglio 1960: Tambroni e la repressione fallita* (Milan: Teti, 2000).
[339] Paul Ginsborg, *A History*: 254–96.
[340] Rapini, *Antifascismo e cittadinanza*, 79.
[341] S. Marano, "La cultura politica dell'antifascismo e della resistenza nelle riviste della nuova sinistra (1960–67)." *Asti Contemporanea*, no. 15 (2016): 99–127.
[342] M. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford University Press, 2009). Already in 1950 the Martinican intellectual Aimé Césaire traced Nazi crimes back to European colonialism. Cf. Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme: suivi du, Discours sur la négritude* (Paris: Présence africaine, 2004).
[343] G. Panvini, 'Third Worldism in Italy': 292–93.

War campaign and undoubtedly contributed some degree of shared ideological foundation to the 'Historic Compromise.'[344]

Surprisingly such anticolonial activism did not bring about a critical examination of Italian colonialism. According to many historians, the Italian lefts, including the PCI, exhibited serious inattention towards the legacy of Italian colonialism and issues of race, confirming the prevalent 'repression' in post-war Italy of the fascist colonial experience.[345] Gabriele Proglio (2020) has recently problematized the various interpretations of this repressed memory by claiming that 'forgetting' might mean saving an archive 'of otherness and extracted representations and biopolitical practices of discrimination deployed in the subjectivation of the new not-white'.[346] Paradoxically, as Silvana Patriarca (2021) has recently suggested, the fact that the Italian left's solidarity with the civil rights movement and with anticolonial struggle revolved exclusively around class prevented any specific reflection on any 'indigenous racism towards black people'[347] Moreover, the PCI participated in cultivating the stereotype of '*Italiani brava gente*' (Italians, good people) by which logic, Italians cannot be racist. This was the case when in 1959 one Sudanese and eight Somali students had a scuffle with two young neofascists because they tried to make them sing the fascist racist song 'Faccetta nera'. *L'Unità* commented that in spite of such fascist aggression 'we live in a city and a country where racism has not taken, not even when the fascists wanted to impose it on the common conscience by force of law'.[348]

The PCI cultivated the interlinkage between anticolonialism and antifascism by comparing their martyrdoms. For example, in 1963 some communist demonstrators dressed the commemorative plaque honouring the antifascist martyr Giacomo Matteotti with a laurel crown on which was written 'yesterday Matteotti, today Lumumba.'[349] The strength of this analogy provoked a rearticulating of

[344] V. Lomellini, 'Prove di pacifismo'.
[345] A. Triulzi, 'Ritorni di memoria'.
[346] G. Proglio, *The Horn of Africa Diasporas in Italy: An Oral History*, (Cham, Switzerland : Palgrave Macmillan. 2020):7.
[347] S. Patriarca, *Il colore della Repubblica: 'figli della guerra' e razzismo nell'Italia postfascista* (Torino: Einaudi, 2021)
[348]V. De Plano, ' L'impero colpisce ancora? Gli studenti somali nell'Italia degli anni Cinquanta', in V. Deplano, A. Pes (ed.), *Quel che resta dell'impero. La cultura coloniale degli italiani,* (Milano, Mimesis, 2014): 331-350
[349] 'Migliaia di cittadini hanno manifestato contro l'assassinio di Patrice Lumumba', 20 January 1961.

temporalities: an article in the communist children's magazine Il Pioniere claimed that the Algerian 19th century anticolonial Emir Abdelkader was a precursor of European antifascist resistance.[350] Across Italy, leftist students organized several events supporting the Algerian people.[351] Moreover, Italian neofascists, after an initial fascination with Algerian nationalism, chose to support the French colonizers. This created a perfect identification between fascism and colonialism, and became the occasion for physical fights between antifascist and neofascist students driven by internationalist ideals.[352]

2.3 The manifold partisan and the manifold Nazi from the high point of internationalism to its transformation and decline

The high point of Italian leftist internationalism (1965-1973) partly coincided with what Rapini (2005) has dubbed 'the apogee of antifascism'.[353] This renewed attention to antifascism derived to a great extent from the '*strategia della tensione'* (strategy of tension) that aimed to combine the 'anonymous use of violence' through a series of bomb attacks with a political project of conservative and reactionary 'political stabilization'.[354] Antifascism became a terrain of cooperation and conflict for different strands of the left, ranging from the PCI to the revolutionary groups born after 1969. Whilst there was bitter debate about the meaning of antifascism and about the right way to go about fighting it, antifascism at the centre of Italian leftism, both in discourse and in daily physical confrontations with neofascists. Indeed, the PCI retained its support for the restoration of antifascist unity. What has been dubbed as 'Historic Compromise' was theorized as a renewal of CLN unity, primarily against the threat of an authoritarian turn in Italy.[355] The multiform revolutionary left maintained a complex relationship with this antifascist tradition. A prominent faction of the

[350] M. Galletti, 'Algeria Eroica'' *Il Pioniere*, no. 24 (12 June 1960).
[351] *'Calorosa manifestazione unitaria della gioventù italiana in appoggio all'eroica lotta che l'Algeria conduce da 6 anni', November 2, 1960.*
[352] 'Scontri fra studenti dopo un convegno a Milano' 12 December 1960. 'Tafferugli tra estremisti all'Università di Bologna' 7 December 1960.
[353] A. Rapini, *Antifascismo e cittadinanza:*153-199.
[354] D. Conti, *L'Italia Di Piazza Fontana: Alle Origini Della Crisi Repubblicana*, (Torino: Einaudi, 2019).
[355] S. Pons, *Berlinguer e la fine del comunismo* (Torino: Einaudi, 2006).

revolutionary groups – for example, the Marxist-Leninists and the Milan-based *Movimento Studentesco* – propagated the narrative of a red resistance betrayed by the reformists. On the other hand, the workerist (*operaisti)* groups such as *Potere Operaio* refused the 1940s antifascist tradition, since it entailed unity between capitalist and working-class reformism.[356] As for the possibility of a fascist coup taking place in Italy, a part of the revolutionary archipelago argued that the return of fascism was still a viable option for the Italian bourgeoisie, whereas other groups disregarded it as an obsolete weapon. Rather, groups such as *Potere Operaio* asserted that reformism was the principal tool of control chosen by Italian capitalists.[357]

The mid-1970s constituted a watershed. Antifascism ceased to be a common terrain because of the growing tensions between the PCI and revolutionary groups caused by the former's strategic line of an agreement with the Democratic Christian Party. Antifascism was further weakened in the 1980s because of the strategy carried forward by the then hegemonic PSI of delegitimizing the PCI. An event symbolic of the zenith of this steady delegitimising was the 1998 interview by former communist journalist Giuliano Ferrara of Renzo De Felice, an historian of fascism, on *Il Corriere dell Sera* . On that occasion, De Felice proposed that since fascism was not no longer a threat, it might be better to abandon official antifascism in order to favour a democratic evolution of the Italian communists. [358] This proposal was not uncontroversial since De Felice's lectures were at the time being contested on the grounds that – as one leaflet argued – he was legitimising fascism by trying to undermine and erode the antifascist foundations of post-World War Two Italian political culture.[359]

These shifts in antifascist discourse intersected with the reframing of internationalist campaigns. Indeed, the apogee of antifascism coincided with a strong and diffused antifascist framing of foreign struggles, albeit interpreted in diverging ways by the different groups. From the mid-1970s onwards this interlinkage gets transformed because of the interplay between the just mentioned

[356] Sergio Bologna, 'Fascismo in Europa', *Compagni*, no. 2–3 (5 June 1970).
[357] A. Ventrone, *Vogliamo Tutto: Perché Due Generazioni Hanno Creduto Nella Rivoluzione, 1960-1988* (Roma: Laterza, 2012).
[358] A. De Bernardi *Fascismo e antifascismo*: loc. 1984.
[359] 'Lotta Continua: "bloccheremo la lezione di De Felice', Corriere della Sera, 11 March 1988.

domestic factors affecting antifascism, and the reverberations of the internecine Indochinese conflicts that obfuscated the myth of Third World guerrillas. This development fostered a crisis in the heroizing tropes used in portraying foreign struggles and a concomitant decline in the portrayal of national liberation fighters, anti-dictatorial activists or people resisting foreign invasions as 'partisans'.

Such developments in the discourse brought to the fore some crucial issues with regards to a triple function of the antifascist internationalist tropes during the high point of leftist internationalism and their reformulation from the mid-1970s. The first of these functions relates to the specific identity of Italian internationalist, the second and the third pertain to the strategy to foster empathy towards international causes. First, antifascist tropes served the function of self-representation and representation. This means that Italian internationalists grounded their internationalist commitment in their antifascist identity and in the broader Italian antifascist tradition. Such self-representation was mirrored by the recipients of solidarity who in turn represented Italian internationalists in a similar fashion. Secondly, comparing 'foreign resistances' to the Italian antifascist resistance heroized foreign struggles through their translation into the terms of the Italian antifascist mythology, thereby winning popular Italian empathetic approval through their legitimation within the Italian leftist symbolic system. Thirdly, comparing colonial powers, oppressive states, and foreign invasions to fascist Italy and Nazi Germany served the goal of inscribing foreign struggles into a global symbolic order that recognized fascism and Nazism as absolute evils. Throughout the high point of leftist internationalism, these three discursive strategies were often employed at once. After the mid-1970s, the trope of the manifold partisan appeared to be on the wane as a by-product of the widespread disillusionment with the Vietcong heroes. This shift – as noticed by Kristin Ross (2008) – produced a rise in a victimizing tendency marking a movement from internationalism to humanitarianism. Whereas this development in the specifically Italian context will be treated with in a separate chapter it is worth noticing here that the victimizing tendency entailed the decline of the comparison between foreign and Italian resistances, and the rise of the comparison between various forms of oppression and Nazism.

The two following sections will explore these developments in more detail. The first focuses on three case studies pertaining to the peak of leftist internationalist in Italy: the anti-Vietnam war campaign, the campaign against the Greek dictatorship established in April 1967, and the protests against the Chilean coup in 1973. The following section studies the transformation of Italian-Palestinian solidarity from the high point of leftist internationalism to the years of decline and change that occurred from the 1970s until the early 1990s.

2.4 Three campaigns during the high point of leftist internationalism: Vietnam, Greece and Chile

The anti–Vietnam War campaign demonstrated a strong antifascist/anti-imperialist commitment by PCI, which was reinforced by the actions of Vietnamese representatives, antifascist veterans, and neofascists. At the same time, the campaign displayed a weaker use of the antifascist trope by the revolutionary left. The PCI's use of the European cultural memory of the Second World War was mirrored by the contemporary experience of the Russell Tribunal, which was led by Jean-Paul Sartre and by the same Vietnamese communists. The guerrilla diplomacy of the latter began in 1962 with a visit to 'several WW2 sites, including former Nazi death camps' in order to denounce the threat of a new Vietnamese holocaust.[360] The Vietnamese communists used antifascism as a cultural code more suitable to facilitating communication on the international plane rather than the domestic one, since the memory of the Second World War in Indochina 'produced no resistance heroes, no collaborators with the Japanese and no outright villains.'[361] Nonetheless, the Vietnamese communists explicitly acknowledged the Vietnamese-Italian resistance comparison: a Vietnamese

[360]B. Molden, 'Vietnam, the New Left and the Holocaust: How the Cold War Changed Discourse on Genocide' In A. Assmann and S. Conrad (eds.), *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 79–96; R. K Brigham, *Guerrilla Diplomacy: The NLF's Foreign Relations and the Viet Nam War.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999): 23.

[361] D. Chandler 'Legacies of World War II in Indochina' In Legacies of World War II in D. Koh Wee Hock (ed), *South and East Asia* (Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2007): 23–35.

representative in Milan claimed that the Italian antifascist resistance had taught the Vietnamese how no organized war machine is capable of stopping people who are fighting for freedom.[362]

On the one hand, the PCI antifascist framing of Vietnamese solidarity was inspired by the urgent need to vernacularize and to legitimize an unfamiliar struggle.[363] On the other hand, it was inspired by the temporal coinciding of the start of the Vietnam campaign and the 20th anniversary of Italy's liberation from Nazi occupation and the Italian fascist regime. The PCI attacked both Nazism and the United States on the same grounds and in the same terms – labelling them as 'aggressive imperialisms' – and simultaneously drew positive comparisons between Vietnamese and Italian resistance movements.[364] The linkage through analogy of the Nazi occupiers and the American imperialist forces in Vietnam was achieved primarily by a comparison of war crimes, such as the use of poison gas in deathcamps like Auschwitz and Dachau, and the use of chemical weapons by the US in Vietnam.

Conversely, Vietnamese and Italian resistances were positively paralleled through the active work of living, breathing human symbols of Italian resistance and their encounters with their Vietnamese counterparts.[365] For example, Alcide Cervi, the father of the Cervi brothers – seven antifascist martyrs executed in 1943 – was interviewed in 1965 about Vietnam, and declared that there were 'many Cervi brothers all over the world.'[366] Similarly, the PCI delegation that left Italy for Vietnam in April 1965 aimed to consecrate the identification between the Italian and the Vietnamese resistance. Beyond the medals brought by Colajanni to Giap, the delegation brought as a gift the flag of the 144 Garibaldi Brigade 'Antonio Gramsci'. This was then donated to the soldiers of the Tenth Vietnamese Anti-Aircraft Brigade, which was personally chosen for this honour by Ho Chi Minh.[367] This comparison was confirmed by an Italian neofascist newspaper that claimed the

[362] From Questore Allitto to the Italian Ministry of the Interior, Milan, 18 January 1972 Central Archive of the State (Rome), Interior Ministry, Cabinet, 1971–75, folder 73, file 11020/115, Milano e provincia manifestazioni pro-Vietnam.
[363] C. Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World*, 166.
[364] *'*Crimini di guerra: Ieri e oggi (risponde Aldo de Jaco) *'*, 20 May 1966; G. C. Pajetta, *'Il coraggio di dire di no'* Rinascita*,* no. 13 (27 March 1965).
[365] 'Se questo è l'uomo' *Vie Nuove* November,12, 1964.
[366] K. Marzullo, 'Papà Cervi' *L'Unità*, 6 May 1965.
[367] A. Occhetto, 'Ho ci Minh ci grida 'tornate interi' *Vie Nuove*, 27 May 1965.

Viet Cong were cowards similar to the Italian partisans, as they would shoot their opponents in the back.[368] Indeed, during these years the MSI started to conjugate its fascist doctrine as 'Atlantic anticommunism', recalling and strengthening the old Cold War discourse that already conflated fascism and United States imperialism.[369] Clear confirmation of this is found in the fact that, in October 1968, two young neofascists burnt a paper puppet holding a sign that read 'Vietcong bandit = communist partisan.' This language recalled the 'bandit' label used by Nazis against Italian partisans during the Second World War.[370]

In contrast, the Italian revolutionary left compared US aggression and Nazism but tended to avoid drawing any direct parallel comparison between the Vietnamese and Italian resistances.[371] This was likely because the latter was conceptualized as a defeated resistance in essence, either because it was 'betrayed' in its socialist aspirations or because it was insufficiently revolutionary due to its cross-class character. Conversely, revolutionary groups such as *Avanguardia Operaia* considered the Vietnamese struggle as the principal front of the global war against imperialism, and believed a Vietnamese victory would pave the way to global revolution.[372] In this light, the Italian resistance, even if now being rediscovered in its true red character, still paled in comparison with such a significant potential watershed in human history.

The anti-dictatorial solidarity campaign with the Greek dissidents entailed a similar but different combination of antifascist and anti-imperialist framings. In particular, the divisions within the Greek student community living in Italy held considerable significance for the Italian left. Moreover, the PCI and the revolutionary left somehow both managed to frame the campaign in different ways while also proving capable of acting together, especially against the Greek neofascists. Nonetheless, it was a minor campaign, and had much less myth-making power when compared to the

[368] La Mangusta. 'Pajetta: Mille bugie, una verità (cattiva)' *Secolo d'Italia*, 20 May 1965.
[369] D. Conti, *L'anima nera della Repubblica*: 35; G. Sorgonà, *La scoperta della destra: Il Movimento sociale italiano e gli Stati Uniti* (Rome: Viella, 2019).
[370] A. Martellini, *All'ombra*: 26–27.
[371] 'Hitler vive a Washington', *Lotta Continua* 23 April 1971.
[372] Avanguardia Operaia. "La guerra di popolo in Indocina prepara il crollo dell'imperialismo." No. 14–15 (3 April 1971): 1–4.

contemporaneous Vietnam and Chile solidarity campaigns. Finally, the Greek leftists themselves framed their anti-dictatorial struggle in antifascist terms, since Greek antifascist and anti-Nazi resistance had been rediscovered in Greece in the late 1950s generally and even more specifically during the Junta years.[373]

From April 1967 onwards, the Italian communists, together with many antifascist forces including the PSI, instigated an antifascist revival that drew upon a great number of antifascist veterans.[374] This included the former prominent *Giustizia e Libertà* partisans such as Ferruccio Parri who led the interparty Solidarity Committee with Greece, and former partisans also played a vital role in assisting Greek students.[375] In March 1969, Paolo Castagnino, a partisan in the Greek and Italian resistances, saved the Greek actress Melina Mercouri, a potent symbol of opposition to the Colonels, from a bomb threat at a venue in Genoa where she was expected to speak in a public meeting.[376] The fascist 'strategy of tension' which 'tried to use bombs and other acts of violence to undermine democracy and the left' led both the PCI and a part of the revolutionary left in Italy to include the Greek question in their 'black intrigues narrative.'[377] This narrative envisioned Italian and Greek neofascists, the Greek junta, and the Italian secret service all cooperating to pave the way for an authoritarian turn in Italy.[378] However, the PCI and the revolutionary left differed in terms of a solution: the PCI called for a united front from above, whereas the revolutionary left claimed that the front needed to be organized from below, because – so they argued – every boss is a colonel and bourgeois democracy does not differ significantly from dictatorship.[379]

As for the Greek campaign, one of the most important factors shaping its antifascist nature was the significant Greek student presence discussed in the fourth chapter and the fight between pro-

[373] J. Mark, N. Townson, and P. Voglis, 'Inspirations':82.
[374] P. Soave, *La democrazia allo specchio*: 11.
[375] P. Soave, *La democrazia allo specchio*: 97–107.
[376] From Prefect of Bologna to the Italian Ministry of the Interior, Bologna, 7 March 1969, in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967–70, folder 49, file 11010/107; 'Con lo sciopero anti-fascista Genova risponde all'attentato', *L'Unità* 8 March 1969.
[377] J. Foot, *The Archipelago: Italy Since 1945* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018).
[378] A. Giannuli, *La strategia della tensione: Servizi segreti, partiti, golpe falliti, terrore fascista, politica internazionale: un bilancio definitive* (Milano: Ponte alle Grazie, 2018).
[379] G. Panvini, *Ordine nero, guerriglia rossa*: 39.

and anti-Greek junta activists, each one supported by their Italian peers. The Greek far right presence in Italy was linked to a network of control and intimidation through which the dictatorship installed in Greece in 1967 attempted to silence antifascist students. The Greek far righters in Italy were naturally supported by Italian neofascists, who welcomed the Greek coup as a 'healthy and essential' last resort.[380] The Greek junta acted against antifascist Greek students in Italy through threats of revoking the postponement of military service, cancelling passports, or blocking cheques sent to students by their parents. This climate of threat and tension reached its height with the self-immolation of Kostas Georgakis, a Greek student who had been recalled for the draft as a retaliation for an anonymous interview in which he had denounced two of the Colonels' agents.[381]

The thin and porous line between the Colonels' agents and Greek far right actors operated in tandem with the escalation of violence carried out by Italian neofascists in 'the most serious offensive ever attempted in Republican Italy.'[382] This violence and the close relationships between the agents of the Junta, the Greek far-right in Italy and local neofascist, illustrates why the Greek question had to be articulated within Italian militant antifascism and similarly motivated the extension of Italian antifascism on a global scale, confirming its close link with internationalist movements. This resulted in a minor civil war on Italian soil produced by the clash between right- and left-wing Greeks, each backed by their Italian counterparts. This clash in turn contributed to the 'militarization of political struggle' that fuelled more political violence during the 1970s in Italy.9 The violence peaked after 1970 when a deliberate strategy shared by Greek and Italian leftist organizations, reaching across the cleavages between the reformist and revolutionary lefts, forced most of the Colonels' followers living in northern and central Italy to relocate. In response, these pro-junta neofascists settled in cities in which the Greek antifascists were few and disorganized, such as Messina and Perugia.[383]

[380] 'Estremo rimedio', *Secolo d'Italia* 23 April 1967.
[381] C.Paputsis, *Il grande sì: Il caso Kostas Georgakis*. (Genova: Erga, 2000).
[382] G. Crainz, *Il paese mancato*: 452.
[383] For instance: From Prefetto De Vito to the Italian Ministry of the Interior, Florence, 26 March, in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971–75, folder 425, file 15121, Studenti greci in Italia.

Similar to Greek solidarity, Italian solidarity with Chile was deeply embedded in Italy's own internal questions, and therefore triggered what might be described as a mirror game between the representation of foreign struggles, forms of solidarity, and domestic political strategies. Here, we will focus on the first phase of the Chilean solidarity campaign, where the centrality of the struggle over the meaning of antifascism was paramount.

The Chilean political system was perceived as fundamentally similar to the Italian one, comprising a dominant Christian Democratic (DC) party, a left-wing party excluded from power for a significant period of time, and reactionary forces ready to prevent the possibility of any such return.[384] As a result, internationalist campaigns against Augusto Pinochet's regime became simultaneously and analogously campaigns about Italy and the best ways to fight the internal threat of fascism. The PCI and the LC, one of the revolutionary left's largest organizations, propagated two divergent understandings of internationalism and antifascism, both claiming to be the intellectually and politically correct conclusion to be drawn from the Chilean lesson. The PCI claimed that the Pinochet coup illustrated the necessity of unifying all popular forces and realizing a united front from above capable of crushing any authoritarian attempts at gaining power, backed by foreign imperialist interests. This was the theory adopted by the 'Historic Compromise' between the PCI and the DC that, in the 1970s, reconstituted the lost antifascist unity that had broken up in 1947.[385] PCI internationalism consequently supported the unity of all the components of Chilean opposition, successfully welcoming Chilean exiles to Italy, while internalizing the Chilean question as an Italian question.[386] Whereas most of the Italian revolutionary left supported Chilean armed resistance, Lotta Continua proposed an heterodox position.[387] Its assertion was that the only way to prevent fascism and defeat imperialism was to arm the masses, and the only way to overthrow Pinochet was through armed struggle. As a result, the LC started the campaign for armi al MIR (weapons to MIR), in support

[384] A Santoni, *Il PCI e i giorni del Cile*: 115.
[385] S. Pons, *Berlinguer e la fine.*
[386] M. Quirico and V. Lomellini, 'Italy: The 'Chilean Lesson'; A. Mignini, 'Dalla Moneda a Modena'.
[387] For the position of Avanguardia Operaia see Avanguardia Operaia, 'Grande Mobilitazione a fianco della resistenza armata cilena' 3 October 1973 in Emeroteca Matilde Serao, Naples, Lepore Fond, folder 401-551.

of *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR), an armed Chilean Guevarist organization. The LC's argumentation presented a novel understanding as to how to prevent a fascist coup, according to which moderate governmental forces (Unidad Popular/PCI) represented the best terrain in which to accumulate armed forces for the proletariat and the vanguard (LC/MIR).[388] As a result, the antifascist internationalist motto in this struggle became 'weapons to the MIR'; by contrast, the slogan for Italy was 'the PCI for government'.

The antifascist frame of the pro-Chilean campaign was essential. A mass demonstration took place in Turin on November 21, 1973. Attendance estimates varied from the conservative police figure of 60,000 to the organizers' own tally of 150,000.[389] One of the day's official speakers was the socialist antifascist veteran and future president of the Italian republic Sandro Pertini, who claimed to intervene as an 'old antifascist militant and friend of freedom.'[390] The LC campaign was strong, raising more than 80m lire in two months (approximately £5,471,945 in today's money) and received a testimonial from the famous antifascist personality Franco Antonicelli.[391] Conversely, MSI neofascists regarded Pinochet as a positive model, just as they had viewed the Greek coup in 1973.[392] The primary neofascist criticism was directed at the Italian Christian Democratic party for reaching its 'Historic Compromise' with the PCI. The neofascists argued that the communists were determined to follow the path laid out by Salvador Allende: whereas once they had wanted revolution in order to take power, now the communists wanted to take power in order to bring about the revolution.[393]

[388] From Torino Chief of Police to the Italian Ministry of the Interior, Turin, November 18, 1973, in ACS, ROME, MI, GAB, 1971–75, folder 72, file 11021, Cile avvenimenti vari; *Lotta Continua*, "La manifestazione di oggi a Torino".
[389] Ibidem.
[390] 'Manifestano in 60 mila la solidarietà per il Cile' *La Stampa sera*, November 19, 1973.
[391] Lotta Continua–Pistoia, *Armi al MIR!*, in ACS, ROME, MI, GAB, 1971–75, folder 72, file 11021, Cile avvenimenti vari; *Lotta Continua*, "Armi al MIR!".
[392] G. Panvini, *Ordine nero, guerriglia rossa*: 187 and 273.
[393] N. Tripodi, 'Impareranno la lezione ', *Secolo d'Italia*, 21 September 1973.

2.5 Palestine solidarity from the high Point of Italian Leftist Internationalism to its transformation and decline (1967-1993)

Italian-Palestinian solidarity intersected with internationalism and the memory of the Second World War in peculiar ways overall because of the symbolic link between Israel and the European antifascist memory. Until the Lebanese civil war, the PCI and the antifascist veterans avoid using antifascist tropes to solidarize with Palestinians. By contrast, the revolutionary left and the Arab and Palestinians students made a much more frequent use of them. Relevant scholarship has emphasized the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon as a turning point for the widespread use of the comparison between Israeli and Nazi violence. [394]This section contends that such literature underestimates the impact of the 1976 Tall El Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp siege and massacre by Christian Maronite militias as the real watershed, both in participation in Palestinian solidarity and in the widespread use of the categories rooted in the antifascist 'memory' of the Second World War. In the early 1970s, PCI member Umberto Cardia claimed that Palestinian solidarity had not 'reached the deepest layers of the workers' movement'.[395] By contrast, after the violence against the Lebanese camp in 1976 an article in L'Unità argued that there had not been 'since Vietnam […] such a spontaneous movement of participation and sympathy for a people threatened with extermination'.[396] 1982 proved to be a moment when such participation and framing climaxed and Nazi tropes came to be deployed by the relevant sections of the Italian cultural and political world, both encompassing and going beyond the PCI and revolutionary left. In the following years, a complex rethinking of the PCI's relationship with Israel and the Jewish world led to the rejection of the Nazi-Zionist comparison. Nevertheless, the Italian far leftists and Palestinian actors kept using it.

Although most of the Italian left had not supported Israel since 1949, the 1967 Six-Day War marked a crisis within the antifascist world. The PCI, in line with the Soviet Union, chose to support

[394] A. Marzano and G. Schwarz. *Attentato alla sinagoga: Roma, 9 ottobre 1982 : il conflitto israelo-palestinese e l'Italia*. (Roma: Viella, 2013).
[395] 'Il secondo convegno nazionale di solidarietà con il popolo palestinese', *Palestina*, 12 (1970), 77–121.
[396] A. Savioli, 'Prima che sia troppo Tardi', *L'Unità* August 13, 1987.

the Palestinians, despite bitter divisions within Italian left-wing movements caused by symbolic links between antifascism and Israel.[397] As mentioned, the PCI press avoided any language that might recall the antifascist experience of the 1940s when framing Palestinian solidarity until 1976. The PCI leadership – following the news coming from war-torn Lebanon – then presented the Maronite violence against Palestinian refugees sharply in terms of genocide. More explicitly, the former partisan Arminio Savioli wrote in an editorial in the official communist daily that the Palestinians were at risk of suffering 'a final solution', in a clear echo of Nazism.[398] 1976 saw the inauguration of the PCI comparison of Palestinians to Jews; the 1982 campaign following the Lebanese civil war further combined this with a comparison between Israel and Nazis. The 1982 comparison was rooted in the dramatic downturn experienced by the 'image and the self-image of Israel and Hebraism' after the invasion of Lebanon. Indeed, the combination of the rise of the Israeli right-wing and Israel's involvement in the Lebanese civil war marked the birth of 'a new Zionist man' opposed to myth of the Jew as victim, on which was founded an important part of the post-war symbolic order.[399]

The Nazi-Zionist comparison, far from being restricted to the communist party press was shared by large segments of the left, ranging from the city council of a large town like Bologna to the district council of Livorno that framed the massacres of Sabra and Chatila as 'the most barbaric ferocity the world can remember since the Second World War'.[400] The Israeli invasion of Lebanon fostered a widespread set of protests unparalleled in the pro-Palestinian protests of the 1960s and the 1970s, and these new protests at times resulted in clearly antisemitic acts. The most serious act of violence – the attack on the Great Synagogue in Rome that led to 37 injured and to the death of a 2-year-old toddler presumably perpetrated by the Abu Nidal organization – even if not linked in any way with the concurrent protest contributed to a deep rethinking of the PCI's politics towards

[397] M. Molinari, *La sinistra e gli ebrei in Italia, 1967–1993* (Milano: Corbaccio, 1995): 28–45; Di Figlia, *Israele e la sinistra*.
[398] A. Savioli, Prima.
[399] A. Marzano and G. Schwarz*, Attentato*, loc. 3040 and 3216-3217.
[400] ACS, Rome, MI, GAB,1981-1985, folder 94, file 11020/64 Libano.

Israel.[401] Indeed, the PCI campaign on the first Intifada revolved around the idea of a peaceful solution to the conflict, thereby avoiding any reference to the Nazi-Israel comparison.[402] This Nazi framing however resurfaced, since it was entrenched within the left, but was more contested than in the past as can be seen by the debate provoked by an article by the writer Natalia Ginzburg in 1988 that compared Israel and fascist Italy.[403]

Some sectors of the former Italian partisans were very much troubled by the PCI's choice of supporting the Palestinians, and until 1976, the Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d'Italia opted for a neutral official position in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict. After the outbreak of the Six-Day War, the ANPI issued a statement that explicitly stated the impossibility of adopting an antifascist frame in relation to Israel-Palestine. Their stated position was that this conflict was neither comparable to the Vietnam War nor to the internal oppression under fascist regimes such as Portugal and Spain.[404] Even if individual partisans and even the ANPI embraced the Palestinian cause at times, consistent support from former partisans began only after the siege and massacre at the Tel al-Zaatar refugee camp in 1976. At this moment, the ANPI magazine presented an empathetic connection between the Italian antifascist resistance and the Palestinians on the basis that both were groups who had fought for the freedom to have their own country.[405]

Despite this, the ANPI only reached the further point of comparing the Israeli state to Nazis after the massacres of Sabra and Chatila.[406]An important document in this respect is the one signed by the Emilia-Romagna ANPI together with the regional chapters of the most important leftist and Catholic federations of antifascist veterans, and also by the Associazione Nazionale Ex Deportati nei Campi Nazisti (National Association of ex-deportees into the Nazi camps). The document protested

[401] A. Tarquini. *La sinistra italiana*.
[402] Luca Riccardi, *Internazionalismo difficile:* 709.
[403] N.G, 'I miei occhi ebrei e la Palestina', in *L'Unità*, 2 February 1988; E. Sarzi Amadé, 'No, cara Ginzburg, lo Stato d'Israele non è l'Italia fascista' in *L'Unità* 9 February 1988. 'Lettera a Natalia Ginzburg sullo Stato di Israele e i ragazzi della Palestina', *L'Unità* 13 February 1988.
[404] Segreteria Nazionale dell'ANPI, Roma, 9 June 1967, in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967–70, folder 82, file 11080/93, Partigiani affari generali
[405] 'Troppi i focolai di tensione in un mondo che ha bisogno di pace ' *Patria Indipendente*, no. 19 (November 11, 1977).
[406] Bonfiglioli, "La tragedia del Medio Oriente."

Sabra and Chatila defining the event as a 'barbaric massacre' like the one 'perpetrated in our Marzabotto'.[407] By the end of the 1980s the 'Nazi-Zionist' comparison looked on the wane across the antifascist veteran world. The former partisan Emilio Sarzi Amadè was one of the main critics of the 1988 Natalia Ginzburg article mentioned above. According to Sarzi Amadè such comparisons had proved more damaging to the Palestinian cause than bomb attacks.[408] Nonetheless, the Nazi-Zionist comparison might yet have survived among the antifascist veterans. A chronicle of a 1988 demonstration, promoted by the PCI, calling 'for the Palestinian people's rights […] [and] for the peace in the Middle East' is quite telling: Stella, a 50-year-old Venetian demonstrator, told a journalist that events in the occupied territories recalled the 'Nazi horrors' and she was comforted when an antifascist veteran demonstrator openly agreed with this comparison.[409]

Whereas the PCI and the ANPI were cautious in evoking the memory of the Second World War antifascist resistance movements in framing the Palestinian cause, the revolutionary left was much more prone to using such discursive strategies. For example, LC claimed that Israel was a fascist state that used Nazi instruments of oppression and extermination, specifically concentration camps, gas, and torture.[410]The events of 1976 strengthened this trend, which at that moment resonated also with the PCI's discourse. For instance, the unsigned preface (but probably authored by the militant publisher Giorgio Bertani) to a collection of documents by Palestinian organizations written shortly after the Lebanese massacre asserted that the Palestinians were the new Jewish people i.e. an oppressed and displaced people.[411] The organizations that originated from the post-1969 revolutionary groups used the same language again in 1982. For instance, the Turin chapter of *Democrazia Proletaria* compared the bombing of Beirut to the Nazi bombings of Guernica (1937) and Coventry (1940) and the stacks of dead bodies of Sabra and Chatila to the those following the

[407] ANPPIA, AICVAS, ANPI, ANED, FIAP, FIVL, Bologna, Bologna, 20 September 1982, in A 1981–85, folder 94, file 11020/6, Libano.
[408] E. Sarzi Amadè, 'No cara Ginzburg '.
[409] 'In piazza per la Palestina con l'OLP e la sinistra Israeliana ', *L'Unità* 14 February 1988.
[410] 'Israele avamposto fascista dell'imperialismo'. *Lotta Continua*, 3 June 1972.
[411] 'Nota editoriale' in N. Khader and B. Khader, (eds) *Testi della rivoluzione palestinese: 1968-1969* (Verona: Bertani, 1976): 19.

Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1943).[412] Similarly, the far more militant revolutionary factions within the mutable and diffuse groupings of *autonomia operaia* commented on the Intifada of 1988 by denouncing the indifference of the Western world towards a new Nazism.[413]

Another similar strategy was the one undertaken by Palestinian and Arab activists in Italy and beyond. The mobilization of the European memory of the Second World War was a decisive legitimizing tool for Palestinians, who deployed this approach from October 1968 onwards. This was the moment when the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) composed a series of letters to the United Nations, drawing explicit parallels between its struggle against Israel and the Second World War European resistance movements. [414]Similarly, Palestinian students in Italy compared Zionist Jews to Nazis on the basis that Zionists justified the extermination of Palestinian Arabs as a price due for the crimes perpetrated by the Western world against European diasporic Jewry.[415] As far as the Palestinian students in Italy were concerned, their relationships with fascism and antifascism were more complex and controversial. In particular, recent scholarship relying on oral sources claims for the Palestinian organization the 'tacit approval of the Italian extreme-right's solidarity.'[416] However, contemporary police documents seem to provide a complex and alternative, although still complementary, account. Just as the Palestinian Fatah drew a parallel between Palestinian guerrillas and the European resistance movements of the Second World War, a brochure by the Padova based '*Unione degli studenti arabi'* composed by 60 mostly Syrian students compared Zionism with Hitler's race-infused theory of lebensraum. [417] As for extreme right solidarity, an example from Perugia illustrates both the cooperation and conflict between Arab students and neofascists.

[412] Democrazia Proletaria (Torino), 'Solo degli assassini', September 1982 in Central Archive of the State (Rome), Interior Ministry, Cabinet, 1981–85, folder 94, file 11020/6, Libano.
[413] 'Appunti di viaggio nei territori occupati', in *Autonomia* no.4 , March 1989.
[414] P. T. Chamberlin, *The Global Offensive.*
[415] Unione Generale degli Studenti Palestinesi in Italia, 15 maggio 1948 – 15 maggio 1967 19 anni di vergogna, in ACS, ROME, MI, GAB, 1967–70, folder 327, file 15583/41, Studenti palestinesi in Italia
[416] L. Falciola, 'Transnational Relationships'.
[417] From the Padova Chief of Police to the Italian Ministry of the Interior (Padua, 23 April 1968) in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967–70, folder 327.

Perugia, seat of the University for Foreigners, had a conspicuous share of Arab students and hosted the national office of the Italian chapter of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS). Perugia's Italian neofascist university association – the University Front of National Action (FUAN) – in contradiction with the avowed pro-Israeli stance of their party (the *Movimento Sociale Italiano*) had a filo-Arab position because – according to the *Prefetto* – most of the local Arab students also participated in FUAN. At the same time, the Italian chapter of the General Union of Palestinian Students denied any collaboration with neofascists by declaring that Palestinians fought against fascists in occupied Palestine and whoever collaborated with fascists did not represent the Arab People or the Palestinians.[418] This appears partially confirmed by police documents illustrating the involvement of some Palestinians in the practice of militant antifascism and in multinational political feuds encompassing Italians, Greeks, and Arabs.[419]In 1982, Palestinian students, consistent with their stated political line, supported the Italian left 'Nazi-Zionist' comparison. In that same year, a leaflet signed by the Italian chapter of the General Union of Palestinian Students together with the FGCI and many other student and Palestinian exile organizations denounced the 'extermination' undertaken by the 'Israeli Nazi-fascists'.[420] The comparison between the Palestinian cause and the European antifascist resistance endured beyond the 1980s. In 1990, when the PLO leader Yasser Arafat visited Perugia during the course of a visit in which he also met with the Pope in Rome, he was asked by an Israeli journalist whether he was repentant for so-called Palestinian 'terrorism'. Arafat replied that 'if you considers resistance to foreign occupation as terrorism, then all the Europeans are terrorists'.[421]

[418] Unione Generale Studenti Palestinesi-Italia, Corrispondenza arrivi 1972 in Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Archivio del Circolo Karl Marx di Perugia, Manifesto PDUP, PDUP per il Comunismo, Corrispondenza B.3,
[419] Telegrams from the Prefect of Perugia to the Italian Ministry of the Interior, Perugia 22, 23, 24, and 25 June, 1971, in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971–75, folder 32; file 110158, Perugia ordine pubblico e incidenti.
[420] GUPS, FGCI, Unione dei Vietnamiti in Italia, Gioventù Comunista del Cile, Gioventù Tudeh dell'Iran, Org studenti sost. Dell'org fedai del popolo iraniano (magg), Gioventù socialista di Grecia (PASOK); Gioventù Comunista di Grecia (KNE), Condanniamo il nuovo massacro del Libano in Central Archive of the State (Rome), Interior Ministry, Cabinet, 1981–85, folder 94, file, 11020/6, Libano.
[421] G. Lannutti, 'Grazie Wojtyla, grazie Italia ', in *L'Unità* 7 April 1990.

Finally, as a partial strengthening of this complex object for antifascist framing, the MSI took a pro-Israeli stance, in contrast to other, smaller far right extra-parliamentary groups.[422] In 1967, the Roman provincial secretary of the MSI offered the protection of neofascist activists to the Jewish community against potential communist attacks.[423]In this context, one of the sons of Benito Mussolini praised the Israeli military performance during the Six-Day War as a perfect example of the blitzkrieg practiced by Nazi generals Heinz Guderian and Gerd von Rundstedt.[424]Later on, at the time of the Lebanese civil war, the neofascist constellation of organisations ranging from the MSI to the armed group *Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari* (Armed Revolutionary Nuclei, NAR) supported the Maronite Phalangists. Members of the NAR even abetted the Phalangists as fugitives and trained within the Christian militias in 1980.[425] Similarly, the MSI supported Catholic groups – which were perhaps just MSI emanations anyway – demanding that the Western world should not become an accomplice 'of the Christian genocide in Lebanon'.[426] It was only at the end of the 1980s that a significant faction of the MSI would adopt filo-Palestinian positions.[427]

The interlinkage between antifascism and international solidarity has never ceased because fundamental antifascist rituals such as the celebration of Italian liberation have continued to be used to support the staging of internationalist campaigns such as the anti-Apartheid protests or Palestinian solidarity. Nevertheless, the trope of the manifold partisan had been almost forgotten until the last 15 years. The re-emergence of the comparison between the Italian antifascist resistance and other resistances first originated in some Italian far leftist sectors following the September 11 attacks in 2001 in the United States. Indeed, Al-Qaeda's murderous actions led to a widespread labelling of any national liberation movement as 'terrorism'. As a consequence, some sections of the Italian far left

[422] E. D'Annibale, V. De Sanctis, and B. Donati. *Il filoarabismo nero: Note su neofascismo italiano e mondo arabo* (Rome: Nuova Cultura, 2019).
[423] G. Rossi, *La destra e gli ebrei: una storia italiana* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2003): 110.
[424] V. Mussolini, 'Gerusalemme ieri e oggi', *Secolo d'Italia*, 25 June 1967.
[425] N. Rao, *Trilogia della celtica: [la fiamma e la celtica, il sangue e la celtica, il piombo e la celtica : la vera storia del neofascismo italiano* (Milano: Sperling & Kupfer, 2014), kindle edition, locs: 1238 and 1241.
[426] Comitato per la libertà dei cristiani libanesi and Alleanza Cattolica, 11/02/1984, Di fronte alla tragedia libanese in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1981-85, 94 11020/64 Libano.
[427] G. Rossi, *La destra e gli ebrei:* 263-6.

in this period used the antifascist analogy to legitimise national liberation struggles, and especially the Palestinian movement during the second Intifada (2000-2005), and further refused to condemn Palestinian suicide attacks. For instance, in 2002 a representative of the Florence *Comitato Palestina* (Palestine Committee) stressed in a public gathering the many similarities between 'the resistance to the Nazi-fascist occupation in Italy and the resistance of the Palestinian people to the Israeli occupation' and rejected the labelling of Palestinians as terrorists by arguing that this was just as a tactic to hide 'the real terrorism which is the terrorism of the state, of the Israeli state'.[428]

A more recent example of the interlinkage between antifascism and internationalism, including the trope framing the fighter as legitimised 'resistance', is the support for volunteering in northern Syria. The global resurgence of the far right and the existence of a transnational hub in northern Syria to oppose what its fighters conceive of as fascism, specifically in the form of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Turkish government and the Salafi organization Daesh, has sparked a rediscovery, through its engagements and affinities with Italian political movements, of the interconnections between antifascism and internationalism. The contemporary legacy of this lengthy story of interlinkages suggests the long-lasting impact of the early Cold War communist discourses. Indeed, the antifascist and anti-imperialist frames adopted by the internationalist fighters in Syria are composed of elements similar to those employed during the internationalist campaigns in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, Kurdish actors mobilize the memory of global and Italian antifascism to frame their own armed struggle. One Kurdish representative has recently compared the Yekîneyên Parastina Gel (YPG) alliance with the US against Daesh with the 'tactical' antifascist unity between the US and the USSR during the Second World War.[429] In Italy, the Kurdistan Information Office actively promoted celebration of the anniversary of the Italian liberation from fascism and Nazism

[428] Comitato Palestina Firenze, Libertà Per Tutti I Prigionieri Palestinesi E Per Marwan Barghouti, 9 October 2002 in https://italy.indymedia.org/news/2002/10/91994.php.
[429] Ufficio di Informazione del Kurdistan in Italia, 'UIKI: Per le resistenze di ieri e di oggi, celebriamo il 25 aprile!' www.uikionlus.com/uiki-per-le-resistenze-di-ieri-e-di-oggi-celebriamo-il-25-aprile/.

on April 25, implicitly connecting that past fight with their own.[430]Finally, Italian antifascist veterans – such as Leandro Agresti – have publicly consecrated the Kurdish resistance as a continuation of the resistance movement they engaged in during the years of Italian and European fascism.

Nonetheless, this chapter, while detailing an history of similarities, also aims to offer a history of difference. Demonstrably, the interlinkage between antifascism and internationalism varied depending on each campaign and according to different leftist political actors within the same campaign. It could be argued that the PCI's Vietnam solidarity campaign resembles a sort of 'pure model' of the bridging between these struggles, exhibiting some key features: the Italian communist use of the memory of fascism and antifascism to frame their struggles was reciprocated by Vietnamese actors who used such tropes to communicate on the international scale; Italian leftist antifascist veterans almost unanimously supported the campaign; and Italian neofascists strengthened the interlinkage since they cheered on US military action against communist 'subversion.' In contrast, the PCI's Palestinian solidarity campaign represents a more complex embodiment of this antifascist/anti-imperialist interconnection, in large part because it divided the antifascist world and lacked the official support of key antifascist veterans' organizations until the late 1970s. Finally, the communist pro-Greek and pro-Chilean campaigns were marked by distinctive overarching dimensions, as they were both framed as campaigns that were primarily about Italy and the danger of a domestic fascist coup backed by imperialism. The proximity, at least in affective terms, of the threat, was made all the more striking by the connections between the Italian neofascists, their Greek peers, and the Colonels' regime, on the one hand, and the perceived similarities between the Italian and Chilean political situations, on the other hand.

Most pertinently, this chapter has shown how the highly heterogenous revolutionary left differed from the PCI in articulating and deploying the interlinkage between the antifascist tradition and the internationalist campaigns. These differences were grounded in profoundly different relations

[430] Komun Academy, 'La lotta per la libertà dei curdi e l'(anti) imperialismo nel XXI secolo ' www.uikionlus.com/la-lotta-per-la-liberta-dei-curdi-e-lanti-imperialismo-nel-xxi-secolo/.

with the history of partisan resistance, considered variously as a betrayed promise to turn Italy into a social progressive state (in the eyes of the PCI), a betrayed revolutionary epic (according to the Marxist-Leninist groups), or a cross-class waste of revolutionary energies (in the opinion of *Potere Operaio*). As a result, most of the revolutionary groups avoided comparing the victorious Vietnamese resistance to their own national memory of defeat. LC proposed, during the Chilean campaign, an antifascist united front that included the PCI as well as the revolutionary left but excluded the DC, constituting a distinct moment of rupture with the CLN antifascist unity rhetorically evoked by the 'Historic Compromise'. Finally, the revolutionary left groups were much more prone to using the antifascist discourse as a frame for the Arab-Israeli conflict, perhaps because of their relative indifference to the breakup of the broader antifascist unity vis-à-vis leftist support for the Palestinians.

Ultimately, as for the examination of the long history of the Italian-Palestinian solidarity campaign, the interlinkage between internationalism and antifascism changed across time because of the interrelation between transnational and domestic factors. The contemporaneous weakening of the myths of the antifascist fighter and the Third World guerrilla fighter had a powerful effect on the framing of Palestinian solidarity. Indeed, from the late 1970s onwards, Palestinian solidarity tended to be framed according to the trope of the manifold Nazi rather than according to the trope of the manifold partisan, following the growing relevance and application of victimizing images when framing internationalist campaigns.

Chapter 3

Young generations and leftist internationalism in Italy: Generational dynamics and transnational actors between radical practices and humanitarianism

3.1 Generations and internationalisms

This chapter examines how leftist youth in Italy practised internationalism between the 1960s and the 1980s. The period under consideration encompasses three generations of young Italian activists and their different approaches to internationalism. These include the '1968ers', namely the protagonists of the era of collective action that shook Italy from the late 1960s until the mid-1970s; the '1977ers', the youth that promoted a movement that 'opposed all powers, all institutions, all affiliations, and all delegations'; and the activist generation of the 1980s, recently described as a young generation marked by the feeling of 'being born too late'.[431] The latter sentiment has been ascribed to an apparent disconnect between these young subjects on the one side and the revolutionary myths of the 1968ers and 1977ers on the other.

Most of the scholarship on youth and activism concerns the 1968ers. It revolves around Karl Mannheim's concept of 'the generation unit', which is exposed to the same 'historical problems' and reacts to these experiences 'in different specific ways'.[432] As a result, 1968ers are often considered as a generation with no memory of scarcity but only of post-war material progress, and as being at the centre of structural changes in capitalism that required a 'dramatic growth in higher education'.[433] Anna Von Der Goltz (2011) argues that the concept of an all-encompassing global generation risks ignoring the simultaneous existence of different generational units in the same country.[434] Maud

[431] F. Socrate, *Sessantotto: Due Generazioni* (Bari:Laterza, 2018); L. Falciola, *Il movimento del 1977 in Italia* (Roma:Carocci, 2015), 19; A. Scotto di Luzio, *Nel groviglio degli anni Ottanta: politica e illusioni di una generazione nata troppo tardi* (Torino:Einaudi, 2020).
[432] K. Mannheim, 'The problem of generation', in Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge & K.Paul, 1952), 304.
[433] R. Fraser, *1968: A student generation in revolt* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).
[434] A. Von der Goltz, 'Introduction: Generational belonging and the "68ers" in Europe' in A. Von der Goltz (ed.), *'Talkin' 'Bout My Generation': Conflicts of generation building and Europe's '1968'* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2011), 17.

Bracke (1998) has contended that the 'generational narrative', which is often coupled with an exclusive focus on the cultural dimension of 1968, is the result of an appropriation made by 'witnesses-historians' whose selective reading is filtrated through their present identity as disengaged scholars. According to Bracke these reading favours one particular sphere of the mobilization over others (for example, the political over the cultural one); it limits its focus to only one arena of the 1968 conflict (student generation vs. gender and class); and marginalizes other actors (such as migrants)[435]. A seminal study by Luisa Passerini positions the choice 'to be orphans' as central to youth activism around 1968.[436] Notwithstanding the relevance of intergenerational conflict for the subjective framing of activists' biographies, recent scholarship has argued that an overemphasis on the clash of generations risks obscuring important phenomena of inter-generational solidarity, which sometimes involved children, parents and/or elective godparents.[437]

Italian scholarship has also reflected on leftist political generations. Historian Giuseppe Carlo Marino sees the Italian 1968 as the result of the interplay between three generations: the sons of war (born between the late 1930s and the early 1940s), the sons of the post-war period (born after 1945) and the baby boomers born in the late 1950s. In this context, anti-imperialism was synonymous with anti-authoritarianism, and the Vietnamese struggle appealed because it demonstrated the supremacy of human actors – such as guerrilla fighters – over technology.[438] Francesca Socrate (2018) offers an interpretation that stresses overall generational discontinuities. She defines the protagonists of 1968 as two different social generations: 'the first generation' born between 1940 and 1945; the 'second generation', between 1945 and 1950.[439] The former generation was socialised in the traditional form of political participation; the latter broke with traditional repertoires of action and traditional political aggregations. This was because the second generation's socialization occurred during the economic

435 M. A. Bracke, 'One-Dimensional Conflict? Recent Scholarship on 1968 and the Limitations of the Generation Concept', *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, no. 3 (1 July 2012): 638–46.
436 L. Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968* (Middletown, CT: University Press of New England, 2004).
437 R. Gildea, '"La hantise de devenir vieux cons comme ses parents": activist definition of the 1968 generation in France'in A. Von der Goltz (ed.), *'Talkin' 'Bout*:31–50.
438 G. C. Marino, *Biografia del Sessantotto: utopie, conquiste, sbandamenti* (Milano: Bompiani, 2004).
439 F. Socrate, *Sessantotto: Due Generazioni*.

boom and this at once freed these young subjects from bourgeois decency and pushed them towards a refusal to delegate. The second generation experienced the internationalist mobilization at a very young age in the early 1960s, and reached a point of maturity when it broke with the traditional left in the radical pro-Vietnamese mobilizations of 1967.

Two additional political generations have recently been subject to historical scrutiny: the generation born between 1955 and 1960 (the 1977ers) and the young activists' generation of the 1980s, born between 1960 and 1965. The historian Barbara Armani (2018) has recently defined the generation involved in the Italian upheaval of 1977 as deeply marked by disenchantment with politics and by the relevance of subjectivity.[440] As for the activists of the 1980s, the historian Scoto di Luzio (2020) has described this generation as a young generation marked by the feeling of 'being born too late'.[441] This was the result of the lack of any productive relationship between these young subjects, the previous generations of 1968ers and 1977ers, and their revolutionary myths.

This chapter studies the intersection between intergenerational and intragenerational solidarities and conflicts. It specifically does so by analysing the role played by generational dynamics in some general developments affecting Italian leftist internationalism between the 1960s and the 1980s: the discourse of humanitarianism, the human rights imaginary, tropes of victimization and Third-Worldist heroic narratives, humanitarian solidarity and radical practices.

The chapter is divided into three major sections. The first part briefly explores the period from the early 1960s to the early 1970s, examining the rise of youth activism in connection with the anti-Vietnam War campaign and the effervescent climate of mobilization that characterized the 'long 1968'. The second section examines how leftist youth was affected by the changes in leftist internationalism from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, noting the eclipse of Third-Worldist myths and the rise and decline of violent internationalist repertoires of action. The final part accounts for

[440] B. Armani, 'Il lungo '77. L'esperienza del movimento come anticipazione del "nuovo"' in M. Galfré and S. Neri Serneri (eds.), *Il movimento del '77: radici, snodi, luoghi* (Roma:Viella, 2018).
[441] A. Scotto di Luzio, *Nel groviglio degli anni Ottanta: politica e illusioni di una generazione nata troppo tardi* (Torino:Einaudi, 2020).

the interlinkage between internationalism and youth during the 1980s in the context of decline and transformation of leftist youth activism.

3.2 Young generations discovering internationalism (1962–1973)

Young generations were at the forefront during the golden age of mass involvement in leftist internationalism in Italy. This mass involvement of youth started with protests in solidarity with anti-Francoist struggles in Spain, and in support for Cuba against the United States, both in 1962.[442] Leftist internationalist campaigns during this period tended to be framed by conjoining victimizing tropes and heroic images as a common ground for moderate and radical leftists. Whereas the politics of humanitarian relief was common to all segments of the left, the organized use of internationalist violence became a peculiar, defining characteristic of the emerging revolutionary groups.

The rise of youth internationalism in Italy was grounded in social upheavals fostered by the country's development from a rural economy to an industrial one. These upheavals were the hotbed of a 'conspicuous, active and influential' minority of young activists born between 1945 and 1950 who lacked any significant experience of political socialization in traditional organizations and had an unruly mode of protest.[443] These new generations tended to oppose the *Federazione Giovanile Comunista Italiana* (Italian Communist Youth Federation, FGCI) – the youth wing of the *Partito Comunista Italiano* (Italian Communist Party, PCI) – and instead supported alternative revolutionary groups. This new revolutionary left largely attracted students but included young workers as well. Mirroring this lack of appeal towards the young generations, the FGCI experienced a fall in membership: the federation lost 70.9% of its members between 1954 and 1968, dropping from 430,000 to 125,000.[444]

[442] A. Brazzoduro, 'Algeria, antifascism, and Third Worldism: An anticolonial genealogy of the Western European New Left (Algeria, France, Italy, 1957–1975)', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 48, 5 (2020): 958–78.
[443] L. Ricolfi, 'Associazionismo e partecipazione politica' in A. Cavalli (ed.), *Giovani oggi: indagine Iard sulla condizione giovanile in Italia* (Bologna:Il Mulino, 1989), 82–3; F. Socrate, *Sessantotto*.
[444] Paolo Giovannini, 'Generazioni e Mutamento Politico in Italia', *Italian Political Science Review / Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica* 18, no. 3 (December 1988): 496.

The FGCI's internationalist imagination for most of the period under consideration depended on the PCI's orientation. The young communists for a short interlude between 1962 and 1966 expressed heterodox positions on international matters, but the PCI reacted with an attack on the autonomy of its youth wing that culminated in the closure of the FGCI magazine La Città Futura in 1966.[445] Especially from 1967, the FGCI echoed the PCI's international views under the leadership of its general secretaries.

Youth engagement became visible from the early 1960s as a prodromic phase of the widespread internationalist mobilization that started in 1965 after the escalation of the US intervention in South Vietnam.[446] The year 1962 marked a watershed for youth involvement in internationalist practices. This became apparent both in clandestine acts as well as in mass mobilizations. The former included the kidnapping of the Spanish vice-consul in Milan in September 1962 in protest against the death sentence of three Spanish antifascists. The kidnappers were four anarchists aged between 21 and 22 years, who were helped by radical socialists.[447] The mass mobilizations included the pro-Cuban protests, where the 21-year-old-communist student Giovanni Ardizzone was killed, and the wave of protests that shook Italy after the visit of Moise Tshombe in December 1964.[448] This protest saw the emergence of young female protesters symbolized by the 23-year-old Laura Gonzales, who threw rotten eggs at the Congolese Prime Minister.[449] Youth internationalism boomed with the anti-Vietnam war movement. A 1966 PCI internal document defined youths from all across the political parties – as well as from 'goliard organizations, youth circles, youth newspapers' – as vanguards in 'creating unitarian committees for peace and freedom for Vietnam […] [in] making appeals […] [and in] promoting initiatives, manifestations, debate, peace marches, torchlight walks, demonstrations, peace caravans'. [450]

[445] C. Capelli, *Propaganda Addio: La Fgci a Modena Negli Anni Ottanta* (Roma: BraDypUS, 2018), 29.
[446] E. Taviani, 'L'anti-americanismo'.
[447] C. Bermani, *Il nemico interno: guerra civile e lotte di classe in Italia (1943-1976)* (Roma:Odradek, 2003), XVII-XXV.
[448] F. Prattico, 'Tre giorni di protesta', in *Vie nuove* 51, 17 December 1964.
[449] F. Socrate, *Sessantotto*.
[450] 'Lo sviluppo della campagna per la pace e la libertà del Vietnam nei mesi di Febbraio e Marzo del 1966', in APCI (ARCHIVIO PARTITO COMUNISTA ITALIANO), MF 0537, Estero 1966, Vietnam, 0938.

The years between 1967 and 1969 marked a turning point in Italian leftist youth activism. These years are commonly characterised respectively as being the year of a strong anti-Vietnam movement (1967), the year of the student mobilisation (1968), and the year of the working class insubordination (1969). Whilst each year can reasonably be characterised by the predominance of these particular events or groups, there was also considerable commonality and fluidity across the three years: all three years were marked clearly by high levels of both student and worker activism, and the Vietnam war was ubiquitous throughout. Furthermore, these three inter-related characterising elements – radical internationalism as embodied in the anti-Vietnam campaigns, the student movement, and the workers mass strikes – resulted in the birth or strengthening of revolutionary left organizations. Such groups brought together three political generations: the sons of war and Socrate's first and second generations. Notwithstanding this intergenerational dimension, according to contemporary sociological research, most of the revolutionary left activists were between 17 and 23 years old.[451] Anti-imperialism and internationalism were common elements of identification between students and workers, and eased their coalescing within shared organizations.[452]

1967 marked was marked by a radicalization of the repertoires of actions which affected both the anti-Vietnam war mobilisation and the anti-Greek junta campaign. The second generation (in Socrate's typology) connected with the revolutionary microcosm, and from this encounter came numerous attempted assaults on US and Greek embassies and consulates. This radicalism was at odds with the PCI strategy to hegemonize a vast mass front of opposition to the Vietnam war. In a first phase, radical repertoires of action and humanitarian solidarity characterized a united internationalist leftist front, including – in embryotic form – future revolutionary groups and the FGCI. From 1967 onwards, the Italian leftist youth engaged in internationalist radical practices. The PCI's youth wing was involved in such repertoires of action at least until the birth and growth of revolutionary groups

[451] D. Giachetti, 'L'area della rivoluzione nell'Italia degli anni Settanta', in https://www.sinistrainrete.info/sinistra-radicale/3225-diego-giachetti-larea-della-rivoluzione-nellitalia-degli-anni-settanta.html.
[452] S. J Hilwig, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 2009). 70-71.

such as *Lotta Continua*, *Avanguardia Operaia* and *Potere Operaio* between 1969 and 1970.[453] Afterwards, the FGCI tended to focus on peaceful demonstrations and humanitarian solidarity. One instance of FGCI material solidarity is the blood collection made for the Vietnamese fighters that was organized in Capodistria in 1967 together with the Lega della Gioventù slovena and the strongest federations of Northern Italy.[454] According to a police informant, this initiative was less successful than expected since it gathered just 1,000 donors (including Yugoslavian donors).[455] In 1969, the Young Communists also collected funds to build a school in a free zone of South Vietnam. The campaign raised 12m Lire and was subscribed to by 50,000 young people.[456]

By contrast, the revolutionary groups combined humanitarian solidarity (for example, by campaigning to send quinine to Vietnam) with a professionalized version of the radical repertoire of action that had emerged in 1967: organized violence against diplomatic, cultural or economic organizations considered to be linked with dictatorial and/or imperialist states.[457] An example of this young revolutionary left radical activism is the December 1970 demonstration in Rome against the death sentence of six members of the Basque armed organization Euskadi Ta Askatasuna ('Basque Country and Freedom'). This protest ended in Molotov cocktails being thrown, clashes with the police, various arrests, and an attack on a Spanish car dealership. Of the six people arrested, three were aged 22, and the other three were 29, 24 and 18.[458] Similarly, after a revolutionary left organization in Turin demonstrated against the invasion of Cambodia, the police arrested five students aged between 17 and 25, and one 23-year-old clerk.[459] This radical repertoire of action in one episode

[453] For instance, the FGCI's Palermo secretary was arrested and imprisoned for more than one year for several incidents following an anti-Vietnam war campaign. See ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-70, folder 52, file 11020/81/55 Palermo, from Prefetto Ravalli to MI, 7 March, l 10 and 15 Apri 1967.
[454] FGCI, A Capodistria per donare il sangue ai partigiani vietnamiti, FGCI Torino, September 1967, in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 52, file 11020/81/81 Torino.
[455] Appunto (September 1968). In ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 54, file 11020/81/93 Vietnam, Varie.
[456] p. la sgreteria nazionale della FGCI Alfredo Guidi alla Rai-TV, 9-10-1969, p. 2734 and Gian Franco Borgini alla Sgreteria della Direzione del PCI, Roma, 11-11-1969, 2739-2749 in APCI, MF 0307, FGCI 1969, pp. 2729-2741.
[457] For the campaign "Quinine to Vietnam" see Comitato Vietnam, 'Mille chili di chinino per il Vietnam' in Comitato Vietnam, Chinino al Vietnam. Bolettino di informazione no. 1 February 1973 in Archivio Lombardi, Fond Domenico De Lucia, folder 1.
[458]From Questore to MI, 8 December 1970, Roma, in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 67-70, folder 51, file 11020/71 Spagna.
[459] From prefetto Torino to MI, Torino 9 May 1970 in ACS, Rome MI, GAB 67-70, 53, 11020/81/81 Torino.

met with a deadly retaliation by Italian riot police. This was the case of Piero Bruno, a *Lotta Continua* 18-year-old activist, who was shot in the back by the police while he was trying, with a group of young militants, to throw a Molotov cocktail at the embassy of Zaire during a 1975 demonstration in Rome calling for the recognition of Angola.[460]

The divisions between the FGCI and the revolutionary left on internationalist repertoires of action contributed to foster an outburst of intragenerational conflict between radical and moderate leftists. Yet, there is evidence also of cooperation, at least on a local level.[461] This intragenerational conflict – which has been less explored in the secondary literature – was complemented by a much better-known intergenerational one. For instance, a local newspaper reported a memorable phrase supposedly shouted by former partisans at the young rebels fighting against police in the context of a demonstration against the Greek dictatorship: 'Down with the stones, we will tell you when it will be the time to make the revolution.'[462] Sergio Staino, a well-known leftist cartoonist, recently remembered an enlightening episode about the interaction between his group – that was part of the Florentine FGCI – and Mario Fabiani, a working class antifascist veteran who became the first elected mayor of Florence after the liberation from the Nazi occupation. Fabiani asked the group of young communists writing a leaflet about Vietnam their opinion about the goal of the Vietnamese struggle and they replied 'the socialist revolution'. Fabiani then commented, 'Wrong, very wrong. The Vietnamese want their independence, think about it.' Staino, who shortly afterwards joined a Maoist group, remembered the disillusionment he felt upon hearing those words uttered by an iconic figure such as the 'great Michele Fabiani'. [463]

[460] Massimiliano Coccia and Susanna Fontana, *Gli occhi di Piero. Storia di Piero Bruno, un ragazzo degli anni Settanta* (Edizioni Alegre: Roma, 2006).
[461] Comitato antimperialista (I comunisti Greci-Eda di Napoli - FGCI- Movimento Studentesco-Unione dei Comunisti Italiani Marxisti-Leninisti), 'Abbattere l'Imperialismo U.S.A. e i suoi alleati', Naples (without date) in Emeroteca Matilde Serao, Naples, Lepore Fond, folder 401-551.
[462] 'Scioperi contro le violenze mentre I "maoisti" rivendicano la paternità dei gravi disordini', *La Stampa*, 11 March 1969.
[463] S. Staino, *Storia sentimentale del P.C.I.: anche i comunisti avevano un cuore* (Milano: Piemme, 2021), kindle edition, loc. 234.

Internationalism fostered intergenerational conflicts along political lines that might contribute to a young activist's decision to leave the FGCI and pursue more radical approaches and repertoires of action. This might be the case with a 1969 demonstration against an American base in Miramare (Rimini) recalled by Prospero Gallinari, a then militant of the Reggio Emilia FGCI and later on a prominent member of the armed group *Brigate Rosse* (Red Brigades, BR). Gallinari remembers that the young demonstrators provoked a fight with the riot police attempting to get close to the entrance of the base. In response, the PCI officials tried to identify the troublemakers, suggesting they were infiltrators. Gallinari remembers the demonstrators' reaction as follows: 'One of the comrades on the front line of the demonstrations decides to pull out his Party card, furiously showing it to the leaders, to make it clear which family the troublemakers belong to [...] In an instant, dozens of cards are pulled out, raised and brandished as if they were Mao's little red books, waved to the rhythm of the anti-NATO slogans.'[464]

Nonetheless, intergenerational solidarities are exemplified by the many antifascist veterans arrested in internationalist demonstrations and in the existence of 'godfathers' of young radicals in the ranks of the older generation. Sometimes, the involvement of older antifascists resulted from the interplay between the anti-Vietnam war campaign and local traditions of radicalism. This was the case in Livorno where, in January 1967, a manhunt for American soldiers involved 'one hundred very young people between 15 and 20 years old' as well as the local vice-secretary of the National Association of Politically Persecuted Anti-Fascist Italians (ANPPIA).[465] The latter was a 50-year-old dockworker who was reportedly punching and kicking policemen.[466]

Young internationalists also had elective 'godfathers' from the previous generations. One prominent example was the 50-year-old poet Franco Fortini, who actively advocated 'divisions' against the 'coexistence fairy tale' and PCI unitarian strategy, during a student rally in Florence

[464] P. Gallinari, Un contadino nella metropoli: ricordi di un militante delle brigate rosse (Milano: Bompiani, 2013).
[465] From Prefetto Puglisi to MI, Livorno, 1 January 1967, in ACS (Central Archive of the State), MI (Ministry of the Interior), GAB (Cabinet), 1967–70, folder 52, file 11020/81/41 Livorno.
[466] 'Deplorevoli episodi nel centro di Livorno Il Telegrafo', 1 January, 1967.

against the Vietnam war.[467] An important component among the godfathers from the partisan generation were the resistance commanders that featured prominently among the ranks of Maoist organizations such as the Partito Comunista d'Italia (Marxista-Leninista) (Communist Party of Italy (Marxist–Leninist), PCDI (M-L)). An instructive example is that of Angiolo Gracci, one of the leaders of the partisan brigade *Brigata Sinigaglia* in Florence and among the founders of the PCDI (M-L). On internationalist matters – but not only on such matters – Gracci was much more in tune with the young radicals than with the antifascists of his own generation among the ranks of PCI. For instance, during a 1967 public debate in Florence, Gracci claimed that one of the major goals of the Italian anti-imperialist movement should be the expulsion of NATO bases from Italian soil. The PCI speaker, Antonello Trombadori, another antifascist veteran, labelled Gracci's opinion as utopian. Nevertheless, such utopian stream of thought – inscribed within an additional intragenerational conflict among former antifascist veterans – resonated strongly with the radicalism of the young leftists.

Such intergenerational cooperation became more structured during the early 1970s. Turin was a case in point, since according to Giovanni de Luna – an historian and former Lotta Continua militant – many prominent antifascist veterans proposed to bridge the gap between the antifascist generations. This led to the constitution of a unitarian antifascist committee that between 1973 and 1976 managed all the demonstrations and rallies in Turin.[468] Such cooperation was reflected also in internationalist mobilizations, as can be seen in the campaign against the 1973 Chilean coup. It is important to add, however, that in this case any intergenerational (dis)harmony was on political grounds: the revolutionary left screamed and booed the former partisan and future president of the Italian republic Sandro Pertini when he spoke in Turin; at the same time, the famous antifascist veteran Franco Antonicelli – as mentioned in the second chapter – gave a testimonial for the revolutionary left

[467] Fondazione, 'Fortini e il '68', Fondazione per la critica sociale (blog), 9 January 2018, https://www.fondazionecriticasociale.org/2018/01/09/fortini-e-il-68/.
[468] Giovanni De Luna, *Le ragioni di un decennio: 1969-1979, militanza, violenza, sconfitta, memoria* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2009).

campaign to collect weapons for the Chilean guerrilla organization *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria.*

3.3 The transformation of youth leftist internationalism (1974–1981)

The second half of the 1970s saw the inward turn of Italian movements caused by the economic crisis, and an obfuscation of the Third World myths triggered by the internecine conflicts in Indochina. During this phase, the youth forces aligned with the PCI started to practise humanitarian solidarity as an increasingly exclusive form of practical internationalism. This development was influenced by the tight cooperation between the Italian communists and the Christian Democratic Party on international matters and aid policy, dubbed by Elena Calandri (2019) as the 'Historic Compromise' ante litteram.[469] In turn, this went hand in hand with the PCI's embrace in 1976 of a human rights language in relation to the repression of dissidents in the Soviet Union.[470]

Young leftist internationalist activism was impacted by the interplay between the economic crisis, the parallel crises within both the FGCI and the post-1969 revolutionary groups, and the shift in the PCI's domestic and internationalist stance. Italy suffered greatly from the oil crisis of 1973. By 1977, 2,200,000 young people between the ages of 14 and 29 years were either unemployed or underemployed.[471] The generation of young leftist activists that emerged in the mid-1970s was multifaceted. It included: the young subjects that, without joining the FGCI, voted for the PCI to secure guarantees and protection from the economic crisis; those who practised 'a revolution of desires' aiming for a 'personal revolution'; the supporters of clandestine armed groups such as the

[469] E. Calandri, 'Italy, the developing world, and aid policy, 1969–1979: The "Historic Compromise" and Italian foreign policy', *Cold War History* 19, 3 (2019): 363–81. Simultaneously, the issue of NGO-ization shattered the unity of prominent internationalist groupings. This was the case with the Movement for Liberation and Development, a crucial actor in the campaign against Portuguese colonialism and apartheid in South Africa: see T. Ottolini, *Il terzomondismo in Italia fra il Centro di Documentazione 'Frantz Fanon' e il Movimento Liberazione e Sviluppo* (PhD thesis, University of Bologna, 2018), 216–20.

[470] M. P. Bradley, 'Human rights and communism', in in J. Fürst, M. Selden and S. Pons, *The Cambridge History of Communism: Volume 3: Endgames? Late communism in global Perspective, 1968 to the present* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2017), 162.

[471] L. Falciola, *Il movimento*: 77 and 25.

Brigate Rosse; and those who agitated for spontaneous mass revolt.[472] Such developments caused membership crises both for the FGCI and the post-1969 revolutionary groups. In 1976, 60% of the youth vote went to left-wing parties including the PCI, but from 1976 to 1980 the FGCI's membership almost halved, falling to 73,874 members.[473] Simultaneously, the interplay between feminist challenges, accusations of moderation and electoral defeat fostered 'a period of discouragement, retreat and political lethargy' for groups such as Lotta Continua and *Avanguardia Operaia*.[474] These crises favoured the growth of the revolutionary *autonomia operaia* groups, 'a myriad of spontaneous collectives, arising out of the disintegration of groups and firmly anchored in grassroots conflicts', and the flourishing of a multiform leftist countercultural and political scene, stemming from the Metropolitan Indian to the Proletarian Youth Circles.[475]

The shift in the PCI's domestic and international agendas contributed to an embitterment of the intragenerational and intergenerational conflicts. The *Federazione Giovanile Comunista* supported the PCI's collaboration with the ruling Christian Democratic party on the domestic side and Eurocommunism on the international side. The latter implied a vision of détente as a source of political change and stressed the 'role of Europe as a global player' supporting 'multipolarity', and emphasized the 'virtues of pluralism and reform'.[476] In 1975, the FGCI-affiliated Italian president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Pietro La Piccirella, claimed that détente and peaceful coexistence were allowing the world youth to realise transversal and unitarian internationalism as evidenced by the mobilizations for Chile.[477] The following year, the FGCI made a contribution to the development of a form of Eurocommunism for the young generations by organizing a six-day event

[472] C. Papa, 'Giovani anni Settanta: attori, movimenti', in F. Balestracci and C. Papa (eds.), *L'Italia degli anni Settanta: narrazioni e interpretazioni a confronto*, (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2019): 137.
[473] C. Capelli, *Propaganda Addio.*
43 A. Girometti and E. Lello, 'Dalla contestazione alla gestione dello status quo: Cinquant;anni di giovani e politica in Italia (1968–2018)' in L. Gorgolini and L. Gobbi (eds), *I giovani tra XX e XXI secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2020): 97.
[474] M. Monicelli, *L'ultrasinistra*: 60.
[475] M. Galfré, 'Per una storia del movimento del '77: introduzione' in M. Galfré and S. Neri Serneri (eds), *Il movimento del '77: radici, snodi, luoghi* (Rome: Viella, 2018), 7–12.
[476] S. Pons, 'The rise and fall of Eurocommunism' in M. P. Leffler and O. A. Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2010), 45–65.
[477] P. Lapiccirella, 'Unità e internazionalismo', *L'Unità* 11 February 1975.

in Rome. This opened with a debate about the role of young communists in building socialism in the western world hosted by the FGCI together with the Spanish, Portuguese and French youth communist organizations.[478]

Such international visions created permanent tensions between the FGCI and the revolutionary left, both in discourse and practice. A case in point was the Carnation Revolution in Portugal. The FGCI adopted the Berlinguer line, publicly accusing the Portuguese Communist Party of following the same path Eastern European communists had after the Second World War.[479] By contrast, *Lotta Continua* (LC), *Avanguardia Operaia* and the *autonomia operaia* collectives invested a great deal in the Portuguese revolution. For LC, the Portuguese case turned into an internationalist beacon as it dealt a blow to NATO and weakened imperialist domination in the Mediterranean.[480] LC established in Lisbon a Portugal-Italy Revolutionary Friendship Association and, in the summer of 1975, rented four Boeing 727s to bring more than a thousand militants and sympathizers to visit the country. [481]

The intergenerational cooperation between the post-1969 revolutionary organizations and the former partisans continued in the mid-1970s, also on internationalist grounds. We see this in the example of the pro-Palestinian campaign that grew in response to the Lebanese civil war in 1976. Indeed, among the members of the 'National Committee in support of the struggle of Palestinian and Lebanese peoples' featured a large number of members who had fought fascism with or without arms in the 1940s and before, including: Giuseppe Alberganti; Walter Binni; Raffaele De Grada; Lisa Foa; Antonio Ghirelli; Riccardo Lombardi, and Giulio Maccararo. Nonetheless, such intergenerational cooperation might have been read by a number of activists as proof of the moderate line adopted now by organizations such as Lotta Continua and therefore served as an incentive to leave the group and move to *autonomia operaia* collectives or armed groups. This was the experience of Chicco

[478] 'Sei «giornate della gioventù» da martedì al parco del Pincio', *L'Unità* 16 September 1976.
[479] S. Pons and M. Di Donato, 'Reform communism': 189.
[480] 'Portogallo. Viva la classe operaia', *Lotta Continua*, 13 April 1975.
[481] A. Cazzullo, *I ragazzi che volevano fare la rivoluzione* (Sperling & Kupfer: Milan, 2007), kindle edition, loc. 4321.

Galmozzi, a former member of Lotta Continua and among the founders of the armed organization Prima Linea (First Line, PL) in 1976. He has recently claimed those 'who had been part of the Resistance put us in jail…but let's be honest…those who were part of '77 should tell us if they ever heard *Bella Ciao* being sung in a demonstration'.[482]

As it was, intergenerational and intragenerational conflict climaxed in 1977 when a new mass movement contested the 'Historic Compromise'. Until 1976, PCI-FGCI had interacted with revolutionary left activists in many contexts – even if in conflictual terms – including the anti-imperialist and internationalist ones.[483] Such interactions ended because of the increasing influence of the *autonomia operaia* groups on the one hand, and the PCI-FGCI's official acceptance of the Italian collocation within NATO in 1976 on the other.

In comparison with 1968, 1977 is often viewed as not being a very internationalist moment. However, October 1977 saw the rise of a campaign of violence that was shaped by transnational allegiances. The movement's more radical elements – mostly linked with *autonomia operaia* – attacked 147 German targets following the controversial death of four members of the armed underground organization *Rote Armee Fraktion* (RAF) in a high-security prison in West Germany.[484] In the context of rising leftist political violence, the autonomous magazine Rosso defined this wave of attacks as a 'real proletarian internationalism again on the move'.[485] By contrast, the FGCI criticized the 'irrational and aberrant logic' of the RAF's actions while calling for a full investigation into the death of the RAF prisoners, as many activists challenged the official accounts (which treated those deaths as suicides).[486] The growing distance between the antifascist veterans' generation and the young radicals is exemplified by the only article published about the 'German Autumn' in the magazine of the leftist antifascist partisans. It commented on the role of women within the *Rote Armee*

[482] C. Galmozzi: 'Noi mica cantavamo Bella ciao' in https://www.ugomariatassinari.it/bella-ciao/.
[483] E. Taviani, 'PCI, estremismo di sinistra e terrorismo', in G. De Rosa and G. Monina (eds), *L'Italia repubblicana nellacrisi degli anni settanta, 4: Sistema politico e istituzioni* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2003): 241.
[484] R Smith and André Moncourt, *The Red Army Faction: A documentary history* (Montreal: PM Press : 2009): 150.
[485] 'Stammheim e noi' in *Rosso*, 21–2 (1977): 10.
[486] 'La FGCI sui tragici avvenimenti nella RFT', *L'Unità*, 20 October 1977.

Fraktion, expressing the hope that they would be able to 'become women again' despite the fact that 'their very irrational nature drives them to sublimate themselves into everything and the opposite of everything'.[487]

Whereas radical leftist elements cultivated new internationalist myths, the radical 1968 generation now assisted in the fall of their own guerrilla myths, especially from 1975 onwards as mentioned in chapter one. This decline overlapped with the reinvigoration of humanitarian solidarity as a hegemonic internationalist practice. The FGCI underlined the 'fragility of an internationalist sentiment based on a mythical vision of the struggle of peoples and on the search for models to imitate' and proposed a new internationalism revolving around pacifism and international aid to address North–South inequalities.[488] The Lotta Continua paper hosted a debate which, starting with the Kurdish question, articulated internationalist solidarity with struggles in the Middle East. One of the qualifying points of this debate was the ambition to be more than a 'megaphone' of revolutionary and national liberation struggles: criticism was now conceived as an internationalist duty.[489] In the long run, such debate led some prominent members of the revolutionary groups to push for adopting the language and campaigning praxis of human rights. For instance, as a newspaper, Lotta Continua survived the dissolution of its homonymous organization in 1980, and worked to support the human rights group Amnesty International.[490]

Such questioning of internationalist discourse intersected with the rise of humanitarian practices as a dominant form of internationalism. This went beyond the revolutionary left/FGCI divide. The PCI, the FGCI, PCI-led local authorities and the trade unions started to practise humanitarian solidarity on a large scale. As we have already seen, this was not new, but in the mid-1970s, it took on a new dimension symbolized by the phenomenon of ships or airplanes carrying food and medical supplies to the Vietnamese in 1973, the Lebanese population and Palestinian refugees in

[487] E. Maizza, 'La donna guerrigliera', *Patria Indipendente*, 21–2 (1977), 4.
[488] 'Il documento politico per il XXI Congresso della FGCI', *La Città Futura*, 8 December 1978.
[489] 'I Kurdi: un popolo dimenticato', *Lotta Continua*, 13 April 1977: 14.
[490] B. Natale, 'Gli Estremisti dei diritti umani', *Lotta Continua*, 13 May 1980.

1976, and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas in 1979.[491] On a more limited scale, another form of material solidarity performed by the FGCI activists entailed their participation in the voluntary work brigades in Cuba organized by the Italian section of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP). A 1977 publication recalling the one-month experience of 30 Italian volunteers in the European Brigade 'José Martí' the previous year praised this as an 'example of practical solidarity'.[492] The involvement of young internationalists is confirmed by a document authored by the Italian security services speaking of 35 volunteers to Cuba between October and November 1979, aged between 20 and 25 years old.[493] Nonetheless, we must not assume that humanitarian internationalism and political violence were mutually exclusive. One good example is the affair involving three *autonomia operaia* militants transporting two SAM-7 Strela surface-to-air missile launchers in a van as an internationalist solidarity operation on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.[494] This 'military solidarity' was one part of their wider commitment which, as militants of the Roma Policlinico Hospital, consisted in collecting medical equipment and medicines for the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.[495]

3.4 A pragmatic internationalist youth? (1982–1987)

The 1980s may at first appear as being marked by a general decrease in protests and by the decline of the young generations as autonomous or at least significant actors. In Italy, the decade coincided with the PCI's inability to 'recover a convincing oppositional profile' and with the rise of single-issue, pragmatic and non-violent social movements.[496] The FGCI, however, renewed itself by

[491] For the Vietnamese case, see D. Bonometti and L. Sossai, *Rotta: 17. parallelo: dal porto di Genova una nave carica di pace: destinazione Viet Nam* (Genoa: Erga, 2008).
[492] V. Zacconi, *Cuba va! un mese nella brigata di lavoro europea 'Jose Marti'* (Firenze: Manzuoli, 1977), 16.
[493] A. Mantica, V. Fragalà, La dimensione sovranazionale del fenomeno eversivo in Italia. Studio sui collegamenti tecnico---operativi fra le organizzazioni terroristiche internazionali (Senato della Repubblica, Camera dei Deputati, XIII Legislatura, Disegni di legge e relazioni, 31 luglio 2000), 101-102.
[494] L. Falciola, 'Transnational relationships': 46.
[495] Recording of the trial of the Via dei Volsci Collective, Rome, 12 March 1991. https://www.radioradicale.it/scheda/38865/processo-al-collettivo-di-via-dei-volsci.
[496] S. Gundle, *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian communists and the challenge of mass culture, 1943–1991* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 165; D. Della Porta, *Movimenti collettivi e sistema politico in Italia: 1960–1995* (Roma:Laterza, 1996), 107.

decentring its organization and betting on the relevance of a specific generational identity.[497] What remained of the post-1969 revolutionary groups was *Democrazia Proletaria* (DP), which attracted 2.3% of the youth vote in 1983.[498] Finally, the heir to the *autonomia operaia*'s constellation of revolutionaries, in spite of the incarceration of its leadership, resisted decline by articulating its activity as cultural activism. In this period, humanitarian discourse overtook the traditional coupling of the 'heroic icon and the injured body' shared by the revolutionary and reformist lefts during the 1960s and the 1970s.[499] As Kristin Ross (2008) argued with regards to France, 'the colonial or third-world other of the 1960s' was 'refigured and transformed from militant and articulate fighter and thinker to victim'.[500]

The intragenerational conflicts amongst leftist youth groups continued because of the polarization between the *autonomi* on the one hand, and the FGCI and DP on the other. The old intergenerational conflict against the antifascist veteran generations had new offshoots, but the new intergenerational conflict was one that set the former 1968ers (and sometimes the 1977ers) against the generation of the 1980s. Some sections of the former generational units accused the latter of political apathy in the international realm, whereas other sections cooperated in the new international endeavours with the youth of the 1980s.

Whereas narratives of the 1980s as the years of *riflusso* (ebb) are reductive, the primacy of politics certainly waned, and engagement was generally limited and pragmatic.[501] Sociological research registered a decline in activism, but this was paradoxically linked with a growth in participation in protest events. This might mean that politics was being confined to just one dimension – the political protest event – and therefore as sporadic rather than enduring involvement.[502] Youth internationalism in this decade was shaped by the Second Cold War, which triggered the most

[497] C. Capelli, *Propaganda Addio*: 70.
[498] 'Appendice prima: La costruzione del campione', in Cavalli (ed.), *op.cit.*, 199.
[499] Q. Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2012): 168.
[500] K. Ross, *May '68 and its afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 167.
[501] A. Girometti and E. Lello, 'Dalla contestazione': 99.
[502] L. Ricolfi, 'Associazionismo', *op. cit.*, 84-5.

important internationally oriented movement of the decade as we have seen in chapter one: one that conflated pacifism and anti-nuclear activism. The peace movement, with the marginal presence of radical repertoires, seemed to illustrate the new pragmatic attitudes of the youth of the 1980s.

Aware of its detachment from the world of the younger generations, the FGCI embarked on several reforms. The Federation had only 46,796 members by 1986, down from 142,200 in 1976.[503] From 1982 onwards, it started the process to gain autonomy from the PCI, culminating in 1985 with its decentralization and the recognition of a specific generational identity.[504] The communist youth followed the PCI evolution which, in tune with the movement against the Euromissiles, established the 'primacy of pacifism' over 'anti-imperialism and class struggle'.[505] *Democrazia Proletaria* followed the same course of combining internationalism and nonviolent methods of struggle.[506] By contrast, the radical heirs of *autonomia operaia* kept on combining praise for guerrilla war, with material solidarity and direct action. A bulletin published by their anti-imperialist and anti-nuclear committees praised the work brigades but claimed that 'material solidarity must be combined with direct initiative, with the concrete practice of proletarian internationalism'. [507]

As in the preceding decade, the intragenerational conflict among leftist youth revolved around the distinction between violent and non-violent repertoires of action. Nonetheless, such conflict was very infrequent when compared to the 1970s because of the much lower numbers of radical youths. Despite this, small episodes of violence during internationalist demonstrations occurred throughout the decade.[508] As we noted in the first chapter, during this decade, leftist clandestine groups carried out deadly action predominantly if not exclusively on internationalist grounds, probably because of the depletion of their traditional radical domestic milieux.

---

[503] P Giovannini, 'Generazioni e mutamento politico in Italia', *Italian Political Science Review / Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica* 18, 3 (1988), 506.
[504] C. Capelli, *Propaganda Addio*: 70.
[505] Pons*, I comunisti*: loc. 6076.
[506] 'La forza del progetto, il realismo dell'utopia', *Notiziario DP,* 10 March 1988, 8–9.
[507] 'Nicaragua: una rivoluzione da difendere con cui solidarizzare e cooperare', *Bollettino del Coordinamento Antinucleare Antimilitarista Veneto* n.9, March 1985, 41.
[508] 'Il centro sconvolto dagli scontri', *Corriere della Sera*, 6 June 1982; and 'Gli autonomi lanciano uova, il carabiniere spara', *Corriere della Sera* , 9 October 1988.

The intergenerational conflict between revolutionary and moderate leftists continued throughout the 1980s and intersected with internationalist campaigns. Tensions with the older generations also hit iconic antifascist veterans such as the president of the Italian Republic Sandro Pertini, whose presidency has been considered 'the most successful presidency in the history of the Republic' and whose election has been defined as the 'highest moment of institutional recognition' of Italian antifascist memory.[509] The Roma based *autonomia operaia* collectives protested the president during a rally that closed a demonstration against South African apartheid. The collectives managed to park a truck with a loudspeaker under the stage where the president was speaking. The autonomi rallied around a banner of the university struggle committee, a sign of the times as the year 1985 was marked by a wave of student mobilisation, and disrupted the president's speech by singing '*Bandiera Rossa'*, by whistling and by shouting slogans about proletarian internationalism. Pertini responded several times by interrupting his speech with phrases such 'Let me speak…you are just provocateurs'.[510] Finally, riot police charged the protesters and removed them from the square. *L'unità* commented on the episode by noting that such a protest had never previously occurred in an Italian square.[511]

The 1982–1987 era, however, was not solely characterized by intra- and intergenerational conflict within the Italian communist left and its internationalist endeavours. Humanitarian internationalism linked up 1968ers, 1977ers and the young leftist generations of the 1980s. This kind of activism was just a small part of the Italian Socialist Party-dominated state aid and NGOs network that was marked by 'organisational debacle' and 'corruption'.[512] The historian Barbara Armani (2018) suggested that the politicization of daily life, so indicative of the culture of 1977, may have

[509] Philip E Cooke, *The Legacy of the Italian Resistance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 127.
[510] 'A Roma ricompare «Autonomia» e contesta Pertini', *Il Corriere della Sera,* 22 December 1985.
[511] 'In Migliaia a Roma contro l'apartheid', L'Unità, 22/12/1985, 2. On the leftist youth anti-apartheid movement see also Lega studenti medi FGCI, La lotta è la nostra vita in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1981-1985, folder 95 file 11020/ 102 Sud Africa.
[512] E. Calandri, 'Development cooperation, 1958–1992: Party politics and a foreign policy debacle', in A. Varsori and B. Zaccaria (eds), *Italy in the International System from Détente to the End of the Cold War: The underrated ally* (Cham:Palgrave, 2018), 297.

played a significant role in the subsequent growth of the voluntary sector.[513] This line of reasoning can be extended by considering the internationalist practice that combined humanitarian volunteering with support for revolutionary and national liberation struggles. It might be tempting to view this development as an evolution from radical leftist violence, but such an explanation would overlook the involvement of radical actors in acts of material solidarity during the 1980s.

The Nicaragua campaign exemplifies these developments. From the outset, it had humanitarian features as activists supported the country's reconstruction after the victory of the Sandinista revolution in 1979. It progressed along such lines throughout the 1980s, adding to its repertoire through the organization of work brigades. Luisa Morgantini – a leftist trade unionist and president of the Association Italia-Nicaragua – noted that the campaign, and others like it, was marked by 'flexibility […] mediation [and] pragmatism'.[514] Nonetheless, the brigades were also sustained by far-left actors who managed to maintain their presence, however increasingly minoritarian that proved to be. This was the case with the Cooperativa 25 Aprile, a radical construction workers' cooperative, formed mostly by activists of the 1977ers generation that travelled to Nicaragua in 1983 to build a school in the town of Matiguás.[515] A 1968er worker such as Ines Arciuolo left for Nicaragua as a voluntary worker but then engaged also in military volunteering.[516]The involvement of younger subjects cooperating with older activists in such internationalist endeavours challenges the picture of intergenerational conflict proposed by the historian Adolfo Scotto di Luzio with regards to the 1980s.[517]

Whereas humanitarian/material solidarity was in clear continuity with the 1960s–1970s, what changed – especially in relation to more moderate forces – was the way it was justified, as well as an increasing trend to use victimizing tropes to represent foreign struggles. For instance, when in 1987

[513] B. Armani, 'Il lungo '77: l'esperienza del movimento come anticipazione del nuovo', in M. Galfré and S. Neri Serneri (eds), *Il movimento*, 65–78.
[514] Associazione di amicizia e solidarietà Italia Nicaragua, *Que linda Nicaragua!* (Genoa: Fratelli Frilli, 2005), 78.
[515] D. Cacchione, *Memorie di un operaio internazionalista* (Roma: Hellnation libri, 2019).
[516] I. Arciuolo, *A casa non ci torno: [autobiografia di una comunista eretica* (Viterbo: Stampa Alternativa/ Nuovi Equilibri, 2007).
[517] A. Scotto di Luzio, *Nel groviglio*.

the FGCI started collecting funds for the construction of a school in Nicaragua, L'Unità identified such initiatives as giving international solidarity a less ideological and more concrete meaning.[518] This discourse starkly contrasted with the way a 1966 internal PCI document commented on the success of a campaign for sanitary products for the Vietnamese. The document stated that 'the campaign' allowed debate 'on the responsibilities of the USA' despite its focus 'on feelings of human solidarity'.[519] Twenty-one years later, pragmatism won over idealism, and humanitarian ideology triumphed over traditional anti-imperialism. This also resonated with the trend of privileging victims over fighters. A glimpse of this perspective comes from a document issued by a Varese assembly of secondary school students, who were presumably influenced by FGCI. The document supported the internationalist campaign after the massacre of the Palestinian refugees by Lebanese Christian militias in the refugee camps of Sabra and Chatila in 1982. The document expresses 'profound disdain' for Israeli actions in Lebanon. The students declare themselves as part of a peace movement (comprising both Italians and Israelis) and call for a 'democratic mobilization' of intellectuals, universities and schools, and all institutions that might provide political statements and material solidarity.[520]

Towards the end of the decade, solidarity with the first Intifada renewed the intragenerational divide across political lines. The FGCI launched the campaign '*Con la Palestina nel cuore'*, and its 1988 congress repeatedly praised the nonviolent character of the Intifada.[521] By contrast, the radical youth that would later animate the movement of the 1990s launched a campaign that emphasized armed struggle and direct action. It included material solidarities such as concerts in squatted social centres to collect money and sanitary products for Palestinian political prisoners but also material and symbolic violence such as 'a firebomb against a firm that imported Israeli grapefruit in Padova' or the throwing of worms among Israeli-imported grapefruits accompanied with a message saying that

[518] 'Un appello della Fgci: "Costruiamo una scuola ai ragazzi del Nicaragua"', *L'Unità*, 30 January 1987.
[519] APCI, Rome, MF 0537, Estero 1966, Vietnam, 0949.
[520] ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 81-85, folder 94, 11020/64 Avvenimenti in Libano, 'L'assemblea degli studenti medi di Varese del 23-9-1982'.
[521] Recording of the XXIV national congress of the FGCI, Bologna, 10 December 1988, available via https://www.radioradicale.it/scheda/30214/xxiv-congresso-nazionale-della-fgci (last accessed 7 June 2021).

'whoever buys and sells Israeli products is a worm'.[522] Such radical leftist currents openly rejected the exclusive use of victimizing tropes as employed by the FGCI. This rejection was epitomized by the images featured in a two-page brochure dedicated to the Intifada where pictures of barbed wires representing the Palestinian oppression were juxtaposed with those of fighters carrying rifles.[523]

The history of young leftists' internationalisms in Italy hardly amounts to a unilinear path from Third-Worldism to humanitarianism and human rights discourse. This chapter acknowledges the relevance of the old left in European leftist internationalism, but also stresses the commonalities between the FGCI and the revolutionary left, particularly in relation to the use of heroic narratives and victimizing tropes, as well as the adoption of humanitarian practices. From the late 1970s onwards, the more moderate segments of leftist youth dropped the heroic rhetoric and slowly began to converge with factions of the post-1969 revolutionary organizations in a new internationalism revolving around the primacy of victims and humanitarian practices. This dynamic did not go uncontested: in the 1970s and 1980s new revolutionary segments of the youth continued the tradition that combined the exaltation of guerrillas with humanitarianism. This might appear a minority commitment in contradistinction to the general transformation affecting the dominant form of cultural memory of the 20th century where 'it seems as if the memory of the victims cannot coexist with that of their struggles, their achievements and their defeats'.[524]

Such general transformations happened against the backdrop of generational dynamics. Generational change was fundamental to the development of Italian revolutionary left internationalism, which from the anti-Vietnam War campaign onwards adopted radical repertoires of action in opposition to the moderation of older generations. Yet the relations between young activists and the antifascist veterans of the 1940s were certainly not limited to misunderstandings and conflict. Indeed, radical youth and former partisans cooperated both on political and on practical grounds.

[522] '*Intifada*, foglio di collegamento sulle lotte in solidarietà alla resistenza del popolo palestinese' (1988, brochure kept by the author).
[523] *Ibidem.*
[524] E. Traverso, *Il secolo armato* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2012), kindle edition, loc. 1673.

Moreover, intragenerational conflicts were just as significant as intergenerational ones: the declining FGCI was engaged in a long, hard conflict with more radical revolutionary groups.

It can be argued that young leftist activists throughout the 1960s and the 1970s were divided into generational units. One was the generation linked with the traditional left that engaged in material solidarity supporting the 'red institutions' (as seen in the example from 1969 of the FGCI fundraising for a school in a South Vietnamese liberated zone); a second generational unit was the youth that joined the revolutionary left organizations that combined material solidarity and mass mobilizations (e.g. sending quinine to Vietnam or donating 'blood for Palestinians') with violent internationalist practices like assaulting consulates, and political and economic institutions. Similarly, the tensions between 1968ers, 1977ers and the generation of the 1980s coexisted with various forms of internationalist cooperation, and even in this time period more radicalized young segments opposed their moderate counterparts. Such generational cleavages were essentially political since internationalist cooperation and conflict followed along political rather than generational lines. As in the case of the Greek leftist youth between the 1970s and the 1980s, Italian activists 'did not depict their collective action in the mid-to-late 1970s in terms of generation, but, rather, in terms of affiliation to a particular political group'.[525]

[525] N. Papadogiannis, *Militant around the Clock? Left-wing youth politics, leisure, and sexuality in post-dictatorship Greece, 1974–1981* (New York : Berghahn Books, 2019).

Chapter 4

Italian leftist Internationalism and foreign students

4.1 Politicised foreign students and Italian politics

This chapter is divided in two parts. The first part provides an essential history of the political activism of foreign politicised students in Italy between the 1960s and the 1980s. The second part analyses the specific case of the interaction between Italian and Greek students within that period. This analysis is grounded in the use of oral sources in particular.

Italian policies on asylum essentially limited those who would be received to exiles from eastern Europe who had arrived prior to 1951. Prior to 1990, there was no national law on asylum and hence entering as a student was one of the few permitted ways for both European and non-European exiles to enter the country.[526] There were, however, two notable exceptions made. The first was in 1973 'to a group of almost one thousand Chileans requesting protection from the Italian Embassy in Santiago de Chile.' The second waiver was afforded in 1979 to the 'so-called "boat people", approximately 3,500 citizens of South-East Asia (Cambodians, Laotians and South Vietnamese)'.[527]

Overseas students formed a significant part of the small population of foreigners of (mostly) European origin living in Italy between the early 1960s and the early 1970s.[528] In Italy the resident immigrant population in 1961 was 62,780, accounting for only 0.12% of the population. A decade later, this had roughly doubled to reach 121,715 in 1971 (0.22% of the population), and from there it reached 287,672 in 1981.[529] This contrasts with the immigration situation in France where 'the events

[526] M. Colucci, *Storia dell'immigrazione straniera in Italia* (Roma: Carocci, 2019): 22 and 23.
[527] N. Petrovic, *Rifugiati, profughi, sfollati. Breve storia del diritto d'asilo in Italia* (Franco Angeli Edizioni, 2016); on the 'boat people' rescued by the Italian state see: Andrea Possieri, *Rifugiati. La vicenda storica dei profughi indocinesi in Italia* (Perugia: Morlacchi, 2019).
[528] M. Colucci, *Storia :*22 and 29.
[529] Ibid.

of May [1968] came at the height of the largest wave of immigration in post-war France.'[530] Similarly, foreign students, even whilst growing in both absolute and relative terms, remained a small part of the total student population in Italy, as we can gauge from sometimes inconsistent sources: they comprised 4,383 or 1.4% of the total student population in 1962; 5,986 or 0.17 % in 1967, and 22,014 or 0.6 % in 1972.[531] Greeks formed the majority of foreign students in Italy: 21.4 % in 1962, 33.8% in 1967 and 54.9 % in 1972.[532] Iranian, US nationals and Arab students formed other robust minorities. The territorial distribution was particularly unbalanced. In 1969, an estimate evaluating all foreign nationals in Italian education (i.e., not only foreign students) claimed that four Italian cities hosted half of all Italy's overseas students: Bologna, Florence, Milan, and Rome. Perugia was treated as a special case, as the city is host to the Italian University for Foreigners (*Unistra*), which accounted 5,000 foreign nationals.[533]

Many prefects and academic authorities believed that foreign students ought not to be allowed to exercise political rights according to a strict interpretation of the Italian constitution, which guaranteed political freedoms only to Italian citizens. Yet, some traces of political activism by foreign students can be traced back to at least the early 1960s, predominantly in connection with anticolonial struggles and the Algerian war. For instance, after the Sharpeville massacre when the South African police killed 70 anti-apartheid demonstrators in March 1960, the Anticolonial Committee quoted in chapter one organized a debate in Rome. At this debate, there was an important intervention by the Somali student Alì Gurrà who read a testimony from South Africa.[534] Gurrà was one of 700 Somali students who, between the 1950s and the 1960s, attended either university or some other technical,

[530] D. A. Gordon, *Immigrants & Intellectuals: May '68 & the Rise of Anti-Racism in France* (Pontypool: Merlin Press, 2012).
[531] For the basis of these calculations, see ISTAT, *Iscritti a scuola o all'università per livello di istruzione, sesso e anno scolastico o accademico – Anni 1861/62–2013/14,* in http://seriestoriche.istat.it/fileadmin/documenti/Tavola_7.3.xls and ISTAT, *Stranieri iscritti all'università per sesso, ripartizione geografica dell'ateneo e area geografica di cittadinanza – Anni accademici 1955/56–2013/14*, in http://seriestoriche.istat.it/fileadmin/documenti/Tavola_7.19.xls. (last accessed 7 June 2021).
[532] Istituto Centrale di Statistica (ISTAT), *Annuario statistico dell'istruzione italiana 1963–4* (Rome, 1965), 26–7 and 503; ISTAT, *Annuario statistico dell'istruzione italiana 1969* (Rome, 1969), 28 and 323; ISTAT, *Annuario statistico dell'istruzione italiana 1972* (Rome, 1973), 277–8.
[533] Indagine statistica sulla presenza in *Amicizia* no. 11 November 1970, 7.
[534] 'Giovani di tutte le tendenze manifestano contro i massacri razzisti nel Sudafrica', *L'Unità* 31 March 1960.

specialist course in Italy, all on scholarships funded by the Italian government, that administered the Trust Territory of Somaliland during the same period.[535]

Until around 1967, foreign students were politically organized in national associations according to their geographic area of origin, be it national (e.g. the Federation of Hellenic Student Associations in Italy or FASEI created in 1964) or continental (e.g. the Association of Latin America Students).[536] From 1967 onwards, such associations experienced a double process of radicalization and crisis that mirrored the one official Italian student associations, from the left-leaning *Unione Goliardica Italiana* to the Catholic-aligned *Intesa Universitaria*, were going through. This double process resulted, on the one hand, in foreign students in Italy being increasingly politicised, due to the anti-Vietnam war campaign and the political climate on Italian campuses and amongst the student body. At the same time, these foreign students were also responding to political events simultaneously unfolding in their area or country of origin, such as the coup in Greece of April 1967 and the Arab-Israeli conflict of the same year. Politicised foreign students were emboldened to participate in the Italian anti-imperialist and student movements in those cities where their presence was more conspicuous, such as Florence. For instance, an Iranian student was arrested after the clashes following the Vice President of the United States Hubert Humphrey's visit to Florence in April 1967.[537] On another occasion, six foreigners (two Iranians, one Syrian, one German, and two US nationals, all aged between 20 and 24 years old) were arrested among 43 demonstrators after a protest in front of the Florentine penitentiary against the evictions of occupied schools and universities.[538]

Nonetheless, foreign student participation was not always easy, and not all foreign students were politically active or appreciated the atmosphere of Italian student movements and their politicised student associations. This can be seen from an interview with a group of foreign students published by the magazine *Amicizia* in 1967, in which the students claimed that 'it is well known that

[535] V. Deplano, *L'impero colpisce ancora? Gli studenti somali nell'Italia degli anni Cinquanta,* in V. Deplano, A. Pes (eds. *Quel che resta dell'impero. La cultura coloniale degli italiani,* Milano, Mimesis, 2014: 334.
[536] 'Lettera aperta all'UCSEI sul I convegno internazionale', *Amicizia* no.5 May 1972, 5.
[537] 'II centro di Firenze bloccato da migliaia di manifestanti', *L'Unità* 2 April 1967.
[538] 'Cinque arresti a Firenze per l'assalto alle Murate', *Il Corriere della Sera* 18 November, 1968.

we, by law, cannot carry out any activity of a political nature during our stay in Italy'.[539] This view was clearly matched in a statement by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1969 concerning the political activism of Arab students in Italy: '[it is] appropriate to remind the promoters that, in accordance with current provisions in Italy, foreigners are required to refrain from carrying out political activities'.[540] Yet political activism was not labelled as desirable for everyone, even among students from abroad. For instance, a 1967 survey at the University of Rome, revealed multiple differing opinions on the foreign students' associations. Some respondents considered them constitute 'grounds for ideological contrast'.[541] Similarly a letter to *Amicizia* from a group of foreign students that claimed 'we have everything to lose by the protests of our Italian friends', served to provoke a roundtable hosted by the magazine. In the roundtable, some foreign students mentioned that joining the Italian protests meant for them risking expulsion, and others explained that they were not interested in getting involved, as the protest pertained only to Italian politics.[542] Notwithstanding this nuanced situation, police sources document that there was a significant mobilisation of foreign students in cooperation with antifascist veterans and young leftist activists in response to the Greek Coup and the Six-Day War, both in 1967.

Let's look at these in more detail. The 1967 Greek colonels' coup entailed the political activation of Greek students in Italy. Politicized students from abroad adhered to multiple political groups, which then coalesced into national associations. The coup d'état in Greece splintered the Greek student association into pro-Junta and anti-Junta factions. The anti-dictatorial campaign provided for a firm common ground with Italian antifascist veterans.[543] Cooperation between Italian and Greek political student associations followed well-established political lines: for instance, the Eurocommunist organization *Rigas Feraios* was inclined to collaborate with the FGCI, whereas the

[539] A. Foti (a cura di), 'La verifica di una situazione' Amicizia no.6. September-October 1967,14-15.
[540] Il capo della Polizia, Circolo ARABO Islamico -Sede in Torino, 15/5/1968 in ACS, 67-70, 327 15383/4/3 Studenti arabi in genere in Italia.
[541] I. Contesso, 'Presentazione di un'indagine sociale', *Amicizia* no.3. March 1967, 16-19.
[542] Studenti stranieri e contestazione, Amicizia, n.3, March 1969, 14-17.
[543] Paolo Soave*, La Democrazia.*

Greek Maoist *Agonistiko Metopo Ellenon Exoterikou* (Militant Front of Greeks Abroad, AMEE) tended to be connected to Italian revolutionary left groups such as *Lotta Continua* (Continuous Struggle, LC).[544] Another mobilized segment of the foreign student youth was composed of Arab students whose activism grew in prominence around the time of the Six-Day War that same year. The intergenerational cooperation between Arab students and the Italian antifascist veterans proved more difficult here than in the Greek case. Indeed, even though most of the Italian left had not supported Israel since 1949, the Six-Day War marked a crisis within the anti-fascist world.[545] Whereas former partisans such as the communist Ennio Polito featured as founding members of the Palestine Solidarity Committee, others – including the iconic communist partisan Rosario Bentivegna – sided with Israel.[546] Similar to the Greek students, Palestinian young activists cooperated with their Italian counterparts according to their variegated political positions. For instance, Fatah cooperated with the FGCI whereas the Marxist Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) maintained links with revolutionary groups such as *Lotta Continua* and *Avanguardia Operaia*.

In the 1970s, there were major transformations experienced by both Italian left-wing internationalists and also politicised foreign students in Italy. The number of foreign students in Italian universities rose from 28,390 and 2.8% of the total population in 1976 to 30,493 and 2.9% in 1981.[547] In these years, there was an inaccurate perception that the country was turning from a country of emigrants to a destination for immigrants, based on a fundamental misunderstanding of a complex situation made of 'expatriations, returns, internal migration'.[548] Nonetheless, the presence of foreign migrants after 1975 was considered to have significantly increased, causing concern among some segments of the Italian population. This perceived development overlapped with a wave of attacks

[544] Ibid. See also ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 67–70, folder 49, file 11020/35 sf. 31: Florence Prefetto de Bernart to MI, 5 December 1968. *Rigas Feraios* was affiliated with the Communist Party of Greece (Interior), which originated from a group expelled from the Communist Party of Greece in 1968. By blending socialism and democracy, and by supporting autonomy from the USSR, this party ultimately coalesced into the Eurocommunist current led by the PCI.
[545] A. Tarquini, *La sinistra italiana e gli ebrei* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2019), 107.
[546] ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 67–70, folder 55, file 11020/94 sf. 69 Rome, Chief of police to MI, Rome, 27 March 1969; M. Avagliano, 'Addio al partigiano Bentivegna partigiano di via Rasella', *Il Messaggero*, 3 April 2012.
[547] "ISTAT, *Iscritti a scuola*, *op.cit*.; ISTAT, *Stranieri iscritti*, *op. cit.*; *Amicizia*, 7–9 (July–September 1983), 13.
[548] M. Colucci, *Storia :*76 and 81.

relating to the Palestinian cause, both in Italy and elsewhere. 1972 marked a watershed year of violence, in which there was a pipeline attack in Trieste (4 August), the Munich massacre (5-6 September), and the subsequent Mossad revenge which involved the assassination of the Al Fatah representative in Rome, Wael Zwaiter (16 October).[549] Such events started a process that, according to the leader of the Christian Association Central Office for Foreign Students in Italy, led conservative newspapers and state authorities to label 'intellectual emigrants…as terrorists or delinquents'.[550] From 1973, the Italian authorities launched several measures to limit the number of permitted foreign students.[551] In this context, after the fall of the Greek dictatorship, Greek nationals in Italy lost their status as antifascist refugees in the eyes of the Italian left, and increasingly socialized amongst themselves. Conversely, Palestinians and Iranians, especially from the mid-1970s onwards, continued to campaign for their domestic battles.[552] At the same time, a great deal of foreign students' political activity consisted in resisting all attempts by Italian authorities to expel them and/or limit their numbers.

The tensions worsened throughout 1977. Authorities started to frame foreign students as part of a generally unruly youth and specifically as ungrateful in relation to the hospitality of Italian cities and universities. Some Greek students were accused of participating in violent clashes in Bologna in March 1977, and the Minister of the Interior, Francesco Cossiga, echoed these accusations.[553] Cossiga denounced the presence of foreign students and put forward a proposal for formally capping the numbers that could be enrolled using *numerus clausus*. Cossiga's specific criticisms included the overcrowding of universities, radicalization on the far left and far right and growing potential for

[549] Q. Slobodian, 'The Borders of the Rechtsstaat in the Arab Autumn: Deportation and Law in West Germany, 1972/73*', *German History* 31, no. 2 (1 June 2013): 204–24; A. Vowinckel, 'Sports, Terrorism and the Media : The Munich Hostage Crisis of 1972', *Esporte e Sociedade*, no. 06, accessed 9 October 2021. On some repercussions on Italy see ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-1975, folder 74, file 11020/118 sott. 3 Monaco di Baviera Germania Villaggio Olimpico Attentato terroristico contro israeliani. Ripercussioni in Italia .
[550] 'In ansia gli immigrati della cultura', *Corriere della Sera*, 30 June 1977.
[551] P. Mori (ed.), *La legge Reale: come la borghesia si difende: nascita e contenuto della nuova legislazione sull'ordine pubblico* (Rome, 1975).
[552] K. Kornetis, 'Una diaspora adriatica: La migrazione degli studenti universitari greci in Italia', in E. Cocco and E. Minardi (eds), *Immaginare l'Adriatico: Contributi alla riscoperta sociale di uno spazio di frontiera* (Milan, 2007), 151–68.
[553] ACS, Rome, MI, GAB,76–80, folder 310, 15121 sf. 3, Studenti Greci, Chief of Police to MI, Rome 19 July 1979.

terrorism, the devaluation of Italian degrees as the foreign graduates were considered less academically proficient, and the presence of hidden economic migrants within the ranks of students.[554] As a result, in June 1977, the Ministry of Education announced a two-year pause to enrolments of all the foreign students. This measure generated protests by foreign students, including hunger strikes in Perugia and Rome, and prompted international coverage.[555] Eventually, in July, Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti announced the suspension of these measures. The FGCI condemned the ministry's initiative as 'rough' and 'paradoxical' since it favoured the 'xenophobic tendencies' that 'although minoritarian, exist in some moderate areas of the country'. The communist statement, however, acknowledged issues raised by the presence of foreign students and proposed their a more rational and balanced allocation of foreign students across the different higher education institutions. It described cities such as Bologna as being ill-equipped to handle the situation: 'Bologna, in addition to being the Italian university with the highest number of foreign students, is the second largest university in Greece'.[556] *Lotta Continua* accused the PCI and FGCI of hypocrisy, alleging that they disagreed with the government just for a matter of form rather than substance. It argued that the PCI had 'shown its real nature', acting as informers against the Greek students involved in the Bologna disorders, whom the PCI was accused of having defined as 'provocateurs and fascists'.[557]

As a matter of fact, there were very few links between Italian armed leftist groups, and refugees and migrants, and their criminalization may have been a sign of the rising xenophobic climate. Many foreign political organizations in Italy – including youth groups – condemned the murder of the Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro as an act undermining Italian solidarity with

[554] ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 76–80, 310, 15121 sf 8 domande iscrizione, Studenti stranieri iscritti alle Università ed Istituti Universitari Italiani, 28 February 1977.
[555] 'Italy closing its Universities to foreign students', *New York Times*, 28 June 1977. https://www.nytimes.com/1977/06/28/archives/italy-closing-its-universities-to-foreign-students.html;
Unione Generale Studenti Palestinesi, Associazione Studenti Greci e Greco-Ciprioti, Organizzazione della Gioventù e degli Studenti Democratici Iraniani, Unione dei Vietnamiti in Italia, Unione Nazionale Studenti Libanesi, Unione Nazionale Studenti Irakeni, Studenti Democratici Cileni, Unione Nazionale Studenti Somali in Italia, 'Appello' (1977) in Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Archivio Federazione Provinciale di Perugia del PCI, Commissione problemi internazionali e pace, folder 110 file 1 Problemi internazionali e pace (1950-1980).
[556] Circolo F.G.C.I. Università, 'Revocare subito la circolare Malfatti' in *Amicizia*, 9–11 (1978), 12.
[557] G. Sassaroli, 'Va fuori lo straniero', *Lotta Continua*, 17–18 July 1977.

struggles abroad.[558] The only Italian armed organization counting foreign exiles amongst its membership was the anarchist *Azione Rivoluzionaria*, which included two Chilean exiles and one Spanish national.[559] Nonetheless, the xenophobic climate fostered by the authorities affected some middle-class citizens who were willing to hire migrants for domestic work but still feared extremism. This must have been the case for a Neapolitan woman who employed an Eritrean maid. The zealous citizen brought to the police the revolutionary material she found in the room of her young employee, who was an adherent of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, including one thousand badges, thirty brochures and twenty magnetic tapes of revolutionary hymns.[560] Eritrean women, simultaneously both supporters of a national liberation struggle and immigrant workers, are an apt representation of this political phase during which foreign nationals were, to Italian eyes, transmuted from symbols of guerrilla war to workers suffering discrimination, as would be increasingly common in the 1980s.

Both radical and moderate leftists had to cope with the growing racism that emerged in tandem with the rising presence of immigrants on Italian soil. The late 1970s to early 1980s established some of the key characteristics of immigration in Italy: political and economic reasons often overlapped; none of the ethnic groups clearly predominated; migratory fluxes affected the whole country and not just its affluent areas; the migrants included a significant female component and had on average a high level of education.[561] The numbers of foreign students declined over the decade. There were 30,493 in absolute numbers, representing 2.9% of the total student population, in 1981; these figures were respectively 26,268 and 2.3% by 1986.[562] Despite the aforementioned victory of 1977, the 1980s were marked by several measures aiming to curb student migration. This approach reached its zenith in 1985 when the Ministry of Education established a suppressive set of criteria for foreign students:

[558] 'Uniti contro il terrorismo e in difesa della Repubblica', *L'Unità*, 14 May 1978.
[559] J. Cristóbal Guarello, *Aldo Marín: Carne de cañon* (Chile, 2018).
[560] ACS, Rome, MI, Divisione Affari Riservati, f. 311 Fronte Liberazione Eritrea, Il vice questore (DR. N Ciocia), Naples, 28 November 1977.
[561] M. Colucci, *Storia :*60–70.
[562] ISTAT, *Iscritti a scuola*, *op. cit.*; ISTAT, *Stranieri iscritti*, *op. cit.*

quota numbers, the prohibition of work and a demonstrable economic readiness of 800,000 Lire per month which equated to 'three times the per capita income of many third world countries'.[563]

Politicized foreign students were increasingly divided, and this further exacerbated their political weakness. This was particularly the case with the frequent and very violent fights between Palestinian leftist students and Arab adherents of the Muslim Brotherhood, or between young Iranian leftists and the supporters of the Khomeini regime. In 1981, 50 Khomeini supporters tried to evict 30 anti-regime students who occupied the Iranian embassy in Milan as part of a coordinated transnational wave of protests.[564] The same year, Remigio Musaragno spoke of the impossibility of a coordinated protest against *numerus clausus* because of multiple fractures within the student and leftist communities: the Italian students were not supportive of their foreign colleagues; the Iraqis deserted the protests because of the Iranian presence; the Jordanians were absent because of Palestinian hostility; the African associations were excluded because they were of Christian orientation.[565]

Finally, the interplay between the intolerance towards the migrant workforce and indiscriminate acts of violence such as the Fiumicino attack in 1985 – when an Arab commando killed 16 and wounded 99 people in front of the ticket counter for Israel's El Al Airlines – fostered a climate of racism.[566] In response to such developments, the FGCI named its national festival in 1986 'Africa', connecting internationalism to the themes of racism within Italy and Europe more broadly.[567] The condition of migrants, according to the FGCI secretary Pietro Folena, was a signal of the 'little bit of apartheid' within us.[568] Foreign students started to speak as representatives of an oppressed minority of migrants rather than as representative of their domestic struggles. This was the case with the young Senegalese student and Florence delegate Falù Faye who at the 1988 FCGI congress briefly mentioned traditional international solidarities – including self-determination for Namibia and

[563] Idisu, 'Intervento del Ministro Ruberti', in *Amicizia* 2, February 1988, 5.
[564] 'Occupazione del consolato Iran' in *Corriere Della Sera*, 20 May 1981.
[565] R.M., 'Battaglie giuste -strategia sbagliata' in *Amicizia* 3, March 1981, 6.
[566] ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-1975, folder 106, File 11066 Aeroporto di Fiumicino, Attentato di un commando arabo del 17/12/1973
[567] Capelli, *op.cit.*, 75.
[568] P. Folena, 'Perché Africa, la festa dei giovani comunisti'*, L'Unità*, 3 July 1986.

Palestine – but also addressed increasing racism in Italy, the lack of rights of citizenship for migrants, and the existence of a plan to expel the foreigners. Shortly afterwards, the outrage following the killing of the South African refugee Jerry Masslo in Rome turned migration into 'a fixed presence in the public debate: a subject that fascinates and divides.'[569]

4.2 Encounters across the borders: Italian and Greek students during the Junta years (1967-1974)

This section analyses the encounter between Italian and Greek activists by looking at the way in which these 'individuals express their sense of themselves' in the process of remembering these histories of activism.[570] The analysis is based on a selection of 30 semi-structured oral history interviews I conducted with Italian and Greek leftist activists. A preliminary remark is needed: any time the expression 'Italian activists' or 'Greek activists' is used in this section, it refers specifically and solely to the sample investigated though the interviews. Indeed, this section does not claim to cover all the possible subjective approaches to Italo-Greek encounters and collaboration during the years of the Greek dictatorship. More modestly, as with any qualitative investigation, this section aims to delineate some key significant patterns among many, by covering some of the most representative Italian and Greek political groups from amongst the wide-ranging interactions between Italian and Greek students during this period.

The analysis is arranged thematically into five sub-sections. The first sub-section aims to present the subjective positioning of the testimonies by looking at the different ways those interviewed remembered their reaction to the coup and how they made sense of it. Some basic differences will emerge, specifically between Greeks and Italian activists. A second sub-section is focussed on the different memories of solidarity between the 'givers' of solidarity (the Italians) as compared to the 'recipients' (the Greeks). The third sub-section is dedicated to what is perhaps the

[569] M. Colucci, *Storia* :79.
[570] A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1991): 9.

best-remembered and liveliest moment of the Greek experience in Italy: the small civil war fought between the Greek right wingers and antifascists on Italian soil, each one backed by their Italian peers. This part examines how the violence is remembered and framed. As we will see, in contrast with other accounts of political violence, there is neither difficulty nor recalcitrancy in remembering this violence, which is still morally justified by the interviewed activists. Nevertheless, some excesses are regretted even if they are normalized through their context. Militant antifascism was also ground were the Greek activists felt they gave a useful contribution to overturning the balance of power between right-wing and leftist Italian activists. The fourth sub-section addresses the misunderstandings, the blind spots and the long-lasting bitterness inscribed in the memory of some Greek activists after their encounters with Italians during the period. The final sub-section accounts for the panoply of very different evaluations, presented by the various interviewees, of the Italo-Greek experience during the Junta years.

The coup deeply marks the memory of the Greek interviews. Every single one of my Greek interviewees knows where they were and what they were doing at the time. Angelikì, who was then 18 years old, had just come to Rome from Athens to study architecture. She was linked with the *Dimokratiki Neolaia Lambraki* (Democratic Youth Lambrakis), the youth wing of the EDA (United Democratic Left), itself the legal expression of the outlawed Greek Communist Party. Angelikì remembers how the news of the coup inspired her political activation in Italy and how this activism had an almost immediate first cost for her.

> I was staying at the CIVIS, the international student hall at the *Foro Italico* [...] very well organised, I was privileged […] At five in the morning, my mother's father called me and told me about the colonels' coup. We took the sheets from the students' home and made huge banners [...] after which I was expelled from the students' hall […] there were people inside who were alarmed [...] For a few months I went to stay with friends, three days here, a week there, without a fixed place, until the student movement could convince the hall where I was staying to take me back [...] I still spoke very little Italian [...] I could not defend myself; I

> could not express myself with the managers of the student hall [...] After twenty days I came back [...] this was the first effect of the coup d'état[571]

Similarly, Evie, a then 22-year-old student of architecture living in Milan and, as with Angeliki, having links to EDA, experienced the coup as a transformative moment. She had already been active in the Italian student movement, but the 21st April 1967 was a complete watershed:

> In '64 there was the second occupation of the Faculty of Architecture in Milan – the first one was in '63 – and it was very important, so I immediately participated, I went to all the assemblies. When the coup came, it changed my role there too. So, I started talking for Greece in the assemblies, I called the Italian comrades to demonstrate, I was also among those who participated on the front line […][572]

The testimonies of the Italians I interviewed differ deeply. They tend to assimilate the memory of the Greek coup into the context of a larger moment of mobilization on international issues that was dominated by the anti-Vietnam war movement. The general absence of any specific memories of the prominence of mobilisations in response to the Greek coup, common across testimonies from PCI, Maoist and *Potere Operaio Pisano* activists based in Rome, Naples, Pisa, Milan, Turin is striking, especially when compared with the magnitude of the protest events connected with the Greek coup documented by printed and police sources from the time. These included marches, protests in front of the Greek and/or the US consulates sometimes ending in clashes with the police and/or against Greek and/or Italian far right elements, street bonfires, vigils, sit-ins and debates, and in one case a hunger-strike, involving Greek students in Bologna.[573] For instance, Marco, who was a 24-year-old communist activist in Rome, remembers that they experienced the Greek coup in a 'just sufficient

[571] Interview with Angeliki.
[572] Interview with Evie.
[573]From Prefect of Bari to MI, 27 April 1967; From Prefect of Bologna to MI, 22 April 1967; From Prefect of Genova to MI, 21 April and 2 May 1967; From Prefect of Milano to MI, 28 April 1967, 2 and 5 May 1967; From Prefect of Modena to MI, 24 April 1967; From Prefect of Napoli to MI, 25, 26 and 28 April, 21 May 1967. All in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 49; From Prefect of Palermo to MI, 24 a and 26 April 1967 in ACS, Rome, MI, Gabinetto, 1967-1970, folder 50.

way' because all their energies were focused on Vietnam.[574] This opinion was paradoxically confirmed by Angelikì in another moment of her interview, demonstrating that even from a Greek perspective there was a hierarchical dimension to the prevalent internationalist imagination: 'Vietnam was something we were more interested in than Greece; Greece was secondary to the importance of Vietnam at that time.'[575] This might also resonate with an Italian-centred internationalist narrative which emphasized the strength of the Italian left vis-à-vis its Greek counterpart: the communist daily *L'Unità* maintained that 'Italy is not Greece, as is shown by the strength expressed by its working classes and youth'.[576] Notwithstanding the apparent lack of a precise memory of the Greek coup, both Italian and Greek interviewees confirmed the relevance of Italian internationalist solidarity, revealing how it involved not just all the strands of the left, but also a wider spectrum of common people with strong antifascist feelings.

As for the Greek interviewees, one significant example is that provided by Panos. Panos was a 30-year-old mature student in Bologna, with links to the EDA. Around 1968, he joined the AAME (Militant Front of Greeks Abroad), which was aligned with OMLE (Organization of Marxists-Leninists of Greece) that was based in France, and whose members had left the EDA accusing it of wanting to return to the status quo instead of opting for a revolutionary struggle. Panos remembers a considerable amount of solidarity, ranging from support to clandestine anti-Junta operations in Greece to open sympathy from university professors:

> If we needed an Italian document to use in order to come to Greece, etc., we had our contacts, they were available and not only people of the extra-parliamentary left, many others, even simple anti-fascists, sympathisers of the left, university professors, teachers, librarians for example, university staff [...] they were of great help […] We had many professors close to us who looked at these young Greeks [...] with a certain sympathy [...]if one was not so good in

[574] Interview with Marco.
[575] Interview with Angeliki.
[576] G. Napolitano, 'Meno Intrighi più luce', *L'Unità*, 14 May 1967.

> the language, it's not as if they would kick him out. We were there [...] what do you want to do, send him back to the colonels?[577]

Such solidarity was particularly strong in the red regions, so confirming their unique role as examined in previous chapters of this thesis, and was specifically targeted at supporting Greek dissidents. This solidarity involved the provision of jobs, financial assistance and also special treatment generally, as in the case of Dimitris, who was linked to the anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorship organization, the Pan-Hellenic Resistance Movement (PAK). Dimitris remembers how he was treated by the Bologna communist authorities and compared this with the treatment of refugees in the current political climate:

> Zangheri [the Mayor of Bologna] married us, if you said this at this moment to someone from Germany, England, or I don't know Italy itself of a refugee who goes to get married and the mayor brings him the red carpet, you understand how different the situation was then.[578]

This widespread solidarity is confirmed by both the testimony of PCI activists as well as by that of revolutionary left militants. This was the case with Marco who in 1969 left the PCI to join the Manifesto Group, which had been expelled from the party, and later founded the *Comitati Autonomi Operai* in 1972. Marco praised the targeted work of the *Comitati* internationalist solidarity with Greece, which consisting in smuggling small arms into Greece on behalf of the October 20th Movement and the armed resistance group *Aris-Rigas Feraios*, as well bringing in piece-by-piece a 'clandestine radio'. Marco claims that many internationalists 'always tried to reach a certain limit but then we always exceeded that limit […] they trusted us and everything always went well'.[579]

A major case of collaboration that we already mentioned in the second chapter concerns the incorporation of the Greek cause into the Italian antifascist struggle and vice-versa. This dimension remains very prominent in the recollections of the interviewed individual, and their accounts are

[577] Interview with Panos. The 'militant control' on language exams is also confirmed by police sources. See the many documents in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 327, file 15383/4/7 Studenti greci 5785-5888.
[578] Interview with Dimitris, Antonis and Ioannis.
[579] Interview with Marco.

composed for the most part of the tropes of heroic narrative and continue to exalt the collective action of the Greek and Italian antifascists. The only reflection and re-evaluation we will see evidenced in the interviews relates to some of violent excesses that now appear morally untenable even to their authors, even if somehow simultaneously justified by the context.

The encapsulation of the Greek cause in Italian militant antifascism was already apparent from the events in Pisa 1967 and 1969. A key event occurred on 15th November 1967, when the neofascist Pino Rauti was invited by the FUAN to the university canteen to talk on the theme 'Greece today,' and met with an attack by a group of antifascists.[580] Giorgio, one of the interviewees, a FGCI activist had just met with a future Prime Minister for the first time, when they quickly left that meeting to reach the 'scene of conflict'.[581] Two years later, in October 1969, the conflict between fascists and antifascists was again unleashed by presence on campus of a group of the Colonels' spies. In this instance, the Greek students had been working to prevent a Greek far-right activist from taking language lesson at the university with the objective of recruiting freshers into far-right support of the Junta. The broader student movement swung behind the Greek students and their anti-fascist position. This resulted in an open battle with sticks and rocks, that continued across several days, and escalated into repeated attacks on the neofascist party *Movimento Sociale Italiano*'s office with Molotov cocktails and skirmishes with the police attempting to protect the office. The violent charges by the police transformed this situation from a protest into a riot in which a student named Cesare Pardini was killed by on 27th October by a teargas grenade that hit him in the chest and stopped his heart.[582] This tragic death clearly reverberates in the account given by one of the interviewees, Giorgos, adorned with heroic overtones:

> They were having a meeting between Greek and Italian fascists and one fine day they arrived outside the university canteen at midday, and when I came out other Greeks started to beat me

[580] Prefect of Pisa to MI, November 16, 1967 in ACS, Rome MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 50, file Pisa.
[581] Interview with Giorgio.
[582] Questura di Pisa, Divisione Polizia Giudiziaria, Rapporto Giudiziario, 4-11-1969 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 50.

> up. Of course, other Italians came too [...] it was a huge fight. We took the decision to organise a demonstration the next day, a very crowded one. We were closed in on both sides [by the police] and the only way to get out was through the streets. We started to put up barricades in all the little streets […] So from the windows above the narrow street […] old flats, old towns [people shouted] 'comrades, we are with you' [...] they threw down old chairs to reinforce the barricades [...] it was a participation that every time I remember it, I am moved. And at about two o'clock in the morning we approached the bridge [...] in the middle, there the police had occupied the whole bridge and began with tear gas [...] trying to chase us away [...[a tear gas grenade hit a young Italian in the heart [...] he fell in front of me and another comrade, and he was then taken by Italian doctors, Italian comrades, then he died. After learning about the death of this young man the battle became even more bitter [...]

Beside these singular episodes uniting militant antifascism, specific municipal traditions and the transnational struggle connecting Italy to Greece, the ongoing confrontation between right and left had a daily and violent dimension that could be seen in many large cities and towns. As mentioned in chapter two, this fight by and large resulted in the moving south of the Greek right-wingers. Nonetheless, what matter here is rather how fighting against a dictatorship or against a dictatorship's agents as the Greek right wingers were conceptualized, is still considered by Italian and Greek antifascists as totally morally justifiable. This partially contrasts with the results of a remarkable study of activism around 1968, based on oral testimonies, that revealed a 'great deal of soul-searching about the legitimacy of violence' including a significant number of discursive strategies deployed to frame violence in acceptable ways for activists in the present day.[583] One remarkable example is connected with an episode happened after the end of the Greek dictatorship, but that well exemplifies the continuity in the framing of the righteousness of militant antifascism in some oral testimonies. The episode in question is the death of Mikis Mantakas, a young Greek right-winger activists killed in

[583] R. Gildea, G. Johannesson, C. Reynolds and P. Voglis 'Violence', in R. Gildea, J. Mark, and A. Warring (eds.), *Europe's 1968* : 259.

1975 Rome during the fights between Italian neofascists and antifascists. Marco remembers the episode as it follows:

> 'Who ever saw him, we learned later that he was a Greek, coming to beat us he was beaten, then ciccia (...) by virtue of the fact that we have always undertaken militant anti-fascism (...) we have too many scars on our skin'.[584]

By contrast, in the oral testimonies collected for this work only one experience has left "a legacy of guilt".[585] The only exception to this is represented by the recollection of a specific act of violence against the Greek military by Afroditi and Vassilis, both pro-Soviet Greek communist students in Rome. Both remember two separate occasions when one of the regime's spies was recognized: once in Rome, during a concert by a prominent Greek artist, and the other time in Naples.[586] On the first occasion, the identification of the spy ended only with them being beaten up, whereas on the second occasion, the consequences were quite close to torture. The infiltrator was taken to the beach and had their head repeatedly immersed in the water

> 'Are you going to do it again?' 'No!' he said. [And I replied,] 'I am not convinced'. It was a very shit thing. I regretted, by the way, that my hate for Colonels took me so far; you did these very shit things, shit things, because they were inhuman. A left-wing person cannot be inhuman. You cannot do the same things the others did to you.[587]

Although both interviewees regret their violent action against the Junta informant, they also markedly justify this by the context in which the violence occurred. In their interviews, Vassilis and Aphroditi implicitly referred to the systematic practice of torture against political opponents, which led to the dismissal of Greece from the Council of Europe in 1969.[588] This was the context where

[584] Interview with Marco. 'Ciccia' is an untranslatable expression in the Roman dialect. Literally means 'Slaughtered animal meat or flesh alone' but in can be used -as in this context- as an exclamation meaning "Oh well"!
[585] R. Gildea, G. Johannesson, C. Reynolds and P. Voglis 'Violence': 259.
[586] Interview with Afroditis; Interview with Vassilis. The two interviews took place in the same place and in the same day, but they were not simultaneous.
[587] Interview with Afroditi and Vassilis
[588] V. F. Soriano, 'Facing the Greek Junta: The European Community, the Council of Europe and the Rise of Human-Rights Politics in Europe', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 24, no. 3 (4 May 2017): 358–76.

they insert the violence into a moral framework, mentioning that they then experienced something akin to retribution. For example, Vassilis was arrested not long afterwards by the Greek police in the course of a clandestine trip to Greece.

Finally, one of the testimonies, Antonis, who was a Greek Maoist living in Bologna remember the "political cleansing" of university canteens from neofascists as a consequence of the Greek dissident determination: 'Think that in Bologna, a red city the fascists controlled the canteen. When there was this clash in the canteen, the Italians understood what it was about. Why were the Greeks fighting? and immediately they mobilised, we threw them out and they couldn't get in anymore'.[589] This interviewee visibly reverses the asymmetry between the Greeks as 'receivers' and the Italian as 'givers' of solidarity by establishing a primacy of the Greek activism in the fight for the control of space.[590] The University canteens both in oral and in printed sources looks like central spot of this struggle for territory: the 1967 Pisa episode is quite telling, but police records document similar events in Bari in the same year, in Perugia in 1973, in Florence in 1973 and 1974 .[591]

Whether militant antifascism is a unifying element bringing together all the accounts by the interviewees, the transnational experience of Greek activists was certainly constructed around certain blind spots. These blind spots might be around paternalism, political control of 'improper behaviour' and even gender issues. As for paternalist habits, the then Greek Eurocommunist activist Mikis remembers 'PCI cadres behaving at times as the strong father and us the little children who want to be helped but cuddled'.[592] Similarly, Angeliki who left the EDA to join the EKKE (Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece) in 1968, thinks that: '[t]he Italians were a bit snobbish towards us [...] maybe that's not the right word [...] they were paternal, they weren't friends, they were a bit

[589] Interview with Dimitris, Antonis and Ioannis.
[590] On social space and political protest see the overview in K. Lawson, R. Bavaj and B. Struck, *A Guide to Spatial History: Areas, Aspects, and Avenues of Research*, June 2021 in spatialhistory.net/guide.
[591] Prefect Pignataro, Bari, 14 May 1967 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 67-70, folder 26, file 1101/10, Bari and prov, Ordine Pubblici-incidenti, Questore Giusti, Perugia 25 September 1973 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-1975, folder 32, file 1101/58 Perugia e provincia ordine pubblico. Incidenti; Prefetto De Vito to Mi, 26 March and 8 October 1973 and Prefetto Buoncristiano to Mi, 6 October 1974 both in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1971-1975, folder 425, file 15121, SF. 3 Studenti Greci in Italia.
[592] Interview with Mikis.

paternal [and they were] helping, not being united [with us]'.[593] Another issue that emerged in the interviews was the tendency by Greek Maoists to reproach the improper behaviour of fellow cadres who used to hang out in the counter-cultural Bologna environment. Giacomo, a leftist musician remembers as follows: 'we got a reprimand from a Greek politburo because we were having too much fun […[these Marxist-Leninist things'.[594] A final point relates to a Greek Maoist and Parma-based student who testifies to his uneasiness with the emerging feminist and homosexual movements:

> After the Polytechnical School uprising we shouted in Rome 'Death to fascism and imperialism' and the feminist movement screamed 'Women of Athens, break the chains. They were telling our comrades to free themselves from 'our chains'. This left us a bit puzzled. [595]

Spiros notes a similar discomfort when remembering his first contact with the gay movement: 'When we are at an anti-imperialist demonstration organised by *Avanguardia Operaia* Turin we have at our back the gay movement. It is not that we are very enthusiastic about history'. [596]

A final point that it is important to mention in this chapter are the very different evaluations of the transformative value of the Italo-Greek experience that can be seen when comparing the testimonies of the Greek and Italian activists. This includes personal and political watersheds like that described by Agnese, a Maoist student in Parma who married Spiros. She says:

> It was very important [...] this direct experience contributed a lot to my growth. Because I didn't live it like the others as an act of solidarity only, but I lived it because I was in love with a Greek also. [597]

Marriage was not the only way that strong personal relations fostered by internationalist solidarity might grow. Emanuele, another Maoist activist based in Naples remembers his lifelong friendship with a Greek activist called Panagiotis, which was born from their internationalist

[593] Interview with Angeliki.
[594] Interview with Giacomo.
[595] Interview with Spiros.
[596] Ibid.
[597] Interview with Agnese.

solidarity: 'We shared the last piece of bread, the last cigarette'.[598] Similarly, Alberto, a *Potere Operaio Pisano* activist, remembers 'an experience of great friendship […] of daily relations'. [599]

Other Italian testimonies privilege political readings, very close to the ones that can be found in the Italian left press of the 1970s. Sebastiano, a *Movimento Studentesco Milanese* activist, claimed that the Greek coup opened up again the threat of fascism in the heart of Europe. Finally, some testimonies offer an evaluation of the Greek experience that resonates with that lack of a particular memory of the coup in some of the Italian interviewees. Luciano, a then student activist based in Turin, and afterwards a member of *Lotta* Continua, responded to my questions by saying that:

> I don't feel that the coup in Greece has entered into our narrative – by the way, it is you who are pushing me to think about it – of the time. Our narrative was linked to democratic democracy the discourse of grassroots power, subjectivity, student power, class schools, we had other themes in mind.[600]

On the Greek side the appraisals are fundamentally different. Some testimonies describe a strong political transformation. Others stress the transformative effects of their presence on Greek society after they came back to the country after the fall of the dictatorship.[601] As for any political transformation, the communist activists are a case in point. Mikis, a Milan-based Eurocommunist Greek activist remembers that 'the history and theoretical production of Gramsci, Togliatti, Berlinguer and the others formed me a lot […] from this point of view I am Greek-Italian'.[602] We see something similar in the case of the Greek activist Vassilis, who acted as a militant in the orthodox KKE. He remarks: 'I am inspired by Marxist-Leninism, but we were very much influenced by the Italian political culture of the old PCI, even though we were always in a love/hate relationship with

[598] Interview with Emanuele.
[599] Interview with Alberto.
[600] Interview with Luciano.
[601] Interview with Dimitris, Antonis and Ioannis.
[602] Interview with Mikis.

it.' He also added that he was 'a slightly strange communist because I was in Italy and that's why they call me the Italian. When the PCI was dissolved, I cried'.[603]

These differences in memory reveal clearly the 'asymmetric relations of powers shaped by geopolitics' in which the 'connections and transfers' that mark internationalism are 'inscribed'.[604] Indeed, Greek students were deeply immersed in an international solidarity movement that required the solidarity of the stronger with the weaker.[605] Strengths and weakness here do not only allude to the obvious gap in power between a community of dissidents fleeing a dictatorship, and the PCI as the strongest communist party of the Western World, coupled to an Italian revolutionary left that – despite having much smaller numbers – enjoyed an influence proportional to the one exerted by the PCI. The weakness of the Greek experience was also grounded in their small symbolic potency and potential when measured against the yardstick of the Vietnamese guerrilla or the Italian mass movements. The study of these oral sources contrasts with the Quinn Slobodian's argument about the impact of foreign students in West German, where they were key in shaping the political agenda, priorities and the cognitive orientation of the West German movement.[606] The 1973 Polytechnical School uprising in Athens might have caused a reversal of this perception, but it was overshadowed by the much higher profile of the Chilean event of the same year. All in all, the Greek experience might constitute a good example of what David Featherstone defines as the 'spatial logics of internationalism' where even explicit 'claims to "horizontality" can actually lead to a silencing or marginalizing of actually existing inequalities.'[607]

[603] Interview with Vassilis.
[604] M. A. Bracke and J. Mark, 'Between decolonization and the Cold War'.
[605] D. Weitbrecht, *Aufbruch*, 40
[606] Q. Slobodian*, Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC, Press, 2012), 17-18.
[607] D. Featherstone. *Solidarity:* loc.1095

Chapter 5

Leftist internationalism and feminism: gender tropes and women's engagement in Italian-Palestinian solidarity (1967-1988)

'The bravery, the discipline, the heroism of the *fedayn* are superior to the deadly war machine of imperialism'.[608]

'Why don't we create as soon as possible a very concrete action, such as the establishment of an international women's peace camp in Beirut, to work against the war in this moment, right there where the death is daily?'[609]

5.1 From maternal internationalism to the critique of masculinity

Italian post-war leftist internationalism was gendered as a discourse and as a practice. Expressing solidarity meant representing foreign struggles – often with tropes of militarised masculinity – as in the first quote above. Secondly, leftist and feminist women assumed particular roles in internationalist endeavours. Feminists, especially from the 1980s, transformed and shaped a traditional form of leftist maternal internationalism in innovative and anti-militarist directions, as suggested by the second quote. In fact, the ostensibly irenic shared intentions of traditional maternal internationalism and new feminist internationalism belie the articulation of concepts of masculinity and violence within the latter.

The present chapter studies individual and collective leftist and feminist international solidarity practices and discourses between the 1960s and the 1980s. This chapter should be considered as an initial exploration of this topic, as few studies exist on the subject of gender and the

[608] 'La resistenza Palestinese avanguardia delle masse arabe', *Movimento Studentesco* (11 April 1972): 3.
[609] E. Donini, 'Le donne a Beirut', *Il Manifesto* 22 April 1987.

internationalist movements that originated around 1968.[610] Scholarship about the *Unione Donne Italiane* (UDI), affiliated with the Italian Communist Party (PCI), only mentions briefly anti-imperialist engagements, whereas studies about Italian feminism focus predominantly on European and transatlantic connections and cultural cross-fertilisations. Indeed, most of the secondary literature attends to the relations established between Turin- and Milan-based feminist groups focusing on consciousness-raising and small group organising, and their counterparts in the US, as well as with the *Psychanalyse et Politique* in France during the 1970s.[611] Other works examine the same decade by focusing on contributions about the cross-fertilization between Italian and US Marxist feminism with regards to the International Wages for Housework Campaign, by a close analysis of the local case studies of Padova, Modena and Ferrara.[612] Finally, literature on the PCI and revolutionary left-wing international solidarity does not discuss gender.[613] Only one recent contribution studies the gendered dimension of solidarity with Portuguese colonies.[614]

Feminist thought characterised leftist internationalism as being blind to gender, contrasting it with the notion of a 'global sisterhood' that idealised a common experience of oppression shared by women across borders.[615] Postcolonial and black feminists criticised this concept of global sisterhood

[610] J. Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2013); Q. Slobodian, 'Guerrilla Mothers and Distant Doubles: West German Feminists Look at China and Vietnam, 1968–1982', *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History*, no. 12.1 (2015), 39–65.

[611] W. A. Pojmann, *Italian women and international Cold War politics, 1944-1968* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); L. Passerini, 'Corpi e corpo collettivo : rapporti internazionali del primo femminismo radicale italiano', in A. Scattigno e T. Bertilotti (eds.), *Il femminismo degli anni Settanta* (Roma: Viella, 2010), 181–98; M. Anne Bracke, 'Our Bodies, Ourselves: The Transnational Connections of 1970s Italian and Roman Feminism', *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, n. 3 (2015), 560–80.

[612] M. Anne Bracke, 'Between the Transnational and the Local: mapping the trajectories and contexts of the Wages for Housework campaign in 1970s Italian feminism', *Women's History Review* 22, n. 4 (2013), 625–42; A. Picchio and G. Pincelli, *Una lotta femminista globale: l'esperienza dei gruppi per il Salario al lavoro domestico di Ferrara e Modena* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2019); Tommaso Rebora, 'From Turin to Boston (and Back): A Transatlantic Feminist Network', *USAbroad – Journal of American History and Politics*, 4 March 2021, 13-24 Pages, https://doi.org/10.6092/ISSN.2611-2752/12159.

[613] L. Riccardi, *Il problema Israele*; A. Marzano, 'Il "mito"; L. Falciola, 'Transnational relationships'.

[614] G. Strippoli, Giulia. "Images beyond Borders. The Production of Knowledge about Women's Activism against the Colonial Wars." *Revista de Comunicação e Linguagens*, no. 54 (June 30, 2021). https://rcl.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/rcl/article/view/122)

[615] S. Mrinalini, D. J. Guy, and A. Woollacott. 'Introduction: Why Feminisms and Internationalism?', *Gender & History* 10, no. 3 (1998), 345–57.

by emphasizing racial and spatial asymmetries of power between women.[616] The final sections of this chapter accounts for the different degrees of awareness Italian feminists had of these critical issues. This chapter uses as its sources daily newspapers to track international solidarity practices as well as the printed sources and theatre scripts of the PCI and other revolutionary left and feminist groups and individuals, and offers a close discourse reading of these texts.

This chapter argues that the gendered discourses and practices of Italian-Palestinian solidarity resulted from a complex interplay between legacies of Italian anti-fascism, Palestinian agency, and shifts in Italian women's activism influenced by global and national events and conditions. In order to explore these topics, this chapter first examines Italian leftist internationalist mobilisation from 1945 to 1967. Secondly, the chapter concentrates on the case study of Palestinian solidarity and investigates the Italian reformist and revolutionary left, focusing on the case of the drama company *La Comune*. A final section then explores the engagement of leftist and feminist women in Palestinian solidarity movements, focusing on the combinations of and shifts between anti-imperialism and feminist pacifism.

5.2. From maternal internationalism and solidarity with the 'long haired-army' (1947-1967)

The PCI's framing of its post-1947 anti-imperialism explored in chapter two had a long-lasting influence on leftist mobilizations and on the gender tropes used in them. The framing of foreign struggles in anti-fascist terms also implied the adoption of anti-fascist gender tropes, which, starting after the Second World War, revolved around the 'maternal and nurturing woman' and the

[616] C. Talpade Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', *Boundary* 2 (1984), 333–58; A. K. Wing, ed., *Global Critical Race Feminism an International Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

'militarized male revolutionary'.[617] Since anti-fascism turned into a 'temple for virility', foreign peoples in struggle were represented as communities of soldier heroes.[618]

UDI internationalist practices reinforced traditional gender roles.[619] Its activism in the pro-Soviet peace movement relied on a representation of war as a threat to 'the family, marriage and motherhood'.[620] Similarly, UDI solidarity for foreign people was understood as a form of maternal care, as in the campaign for 'a can of milk for a Korean child'.[621] Pro-Vietnamese communist mobilisation in Italy started in 1964, and this entailed a shift both in discourse and in women's practices. *L'Unità* portrayed Vietnamese women both as political leaders and as guerrilla fighters.[622] The visibility of Algerian women as fighters had already marked a turning point in gender tropes. Nonetheless, the female fighters were still represented as playing a subordinated role as in an article in *L'Unità* titled 'Men in Algeria have understood that you cannot win without women)'.[623] By contrast, the Vietnamese experience offered a model for women's engagement both in armed struggle and political leadership. This was exemplified by the Vietnamese popularisation of their so-called 'long-haired army' of female fighters and the figure of the 'tiny and charismatic' female Vietcong Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyễn Thị Bình.[624]

The UDI fascination with the Vietnamese struggles at least in part grew out of the Union's transnational relations. This included participation in the Women's Democratic International Federation (WIDF), which was a hotbed of support for the Vietnamese national liberation war.[625] The UDI ended its full membership of the WIDF in 1964, and became an associate member, because it

[617] E. Weitz, 'The Heroic Man and the Ever-Changing Woman: Gender and Politics in European Communism, 1917–1950' in L. Frader and S. Rose, eds., *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*, (Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1996), 311–52.
[618] P. Gabrielli, *Tempio Di Virilità: L'antifascismo, Il Genere, La Storia* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2008); G. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities.* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013).
[619] M. Rodano, *Memorie Di Una Che c'era: Una Storia Dell'Udi*, (Milano: Il saggiatore, 2010), 60.
[620] A. Guiso, *La colomba,* 174.
[621] W. A. Pojmann, *Italian women*, 82.
[622] 'L'Udi solidale con le donne vietnamite', *L'Unità* 12 August 1964; M. Mura, 'Donne come te', *L'Unità* 24 Aprol 1966.
[623] R. Tedeschi, 'Gli uomini in Algeria hanno capito che non si può vincere senza le donne', *L'Unità* 13 December 1960.
[624] M. A. Tétreault, 'Women and Revolution in Vietnam', in Kathleen Barry (ed.), *Vietnam's Women in Transition*, (London: Palgrave, 1996), 38–57; L. T. Nguyen, *Hanoi's War. An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 182-6.
[625] K. McGregor, 'Opposing Colonialism: The Women's International Democratic Federation and Decolonisation Struggles in Vietnam and Algeria 1945–1965', *Women's History Review* 25, no. 6 (2016), 925–44.

wanted to distance itself from the exclusive pro-Soviet orientation of the World Federation.[626] Despite this, the UDI maintained a strong link with the WIDF on international solidarity issues, evidenced by its involvement in the Vietnamese cause. Furthermore, the UDI had a strong direct tie with the Vietnam Women's Union of Northern Vietnam as it is shown by the correspondence in the UDI archive.

The UDI's exaltation of Vietnamese women was coupled with intense activism, which culminated in the twenty-day visit of a Vietnamese women's delegation to Italy in 1968.[627] Vietnamese women were praised as proletarians, as antifascists and more generally as models for revolutionary womanhood. The sisterhood between them and Italian working-women was symbolised by a visit by the latter to an occupied factory where the Vietcong brought them a piece of a downed American aircraft.[628] This shared antifascism was reiterated by the actual, in-person encounter between the Vietnamese and Carla Capponi, who had participated in the armed struggle against the Nazi-Fascists.[629]The 1960s marked a significant change in the left's imaginary and rhetoric when describing women, but this did not wholly wipe out the old paradigm of maternal internationalism. For instance, a UDI leaflet about giving gifts to Vietnamese children started with the phrase 'Mamma, you will not abandon them!'.[630]

5.3. Gender and Italian leftist Palestine solidarity (1967-1972)

Leftist gendered representation of the Palestinian cause tended to be more conventional than in case of the Vietnam war. The Palestinian sources published in the PCI and Italian revolutionary

[626] W. A. Pojmann, *Italian women*, 147-8
[627] M. Michetti, M. Repetto-Alaia, and L. Viviani, *UDI, Laboratorio Di Politica Delle Donne : Idee e Materiali per Una Storia*, (Soveria Mannelli : Rubbettino, 1998), 177-8; M. Rodano, *Memorie,* 191-193; W. A. Pojmann, *Italian women,* 164-165; 'Delegazione Vietnamita ospite dell'UDI in Italia 3/25 luglio 1968 in Archivio Centrale UDI, Donne nel Mondo, folder 47, DmM 68.3./47 Vietnam.
[628] L' incontro ton il PCI e con le giovani operaie di Manziana', in *L'Unità* 3 July 1968.
[629] 'Con voi sempre ', in *L'Unità* 20 July 1968.
[630] UDI Livorno, Un dono per i bambini del Viet Nam, Livorno 4 January 1968, in ACS, ROME, MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 52, file 11020/81/41 Livorno.

left press would depict resistance as a 'masculinizing act'[631] and the occupation of Palestine as a 'symbolic rape.'[632]. In the first Italian printed book about the Palestinian National Movement, Fatah consciously adopted the old-fashioned gendered mother/fighter dyad: the photographic appendix contained only pictures of women with babies in refugee camps and men training in military camps.[633] This also resonated with the Italian revolutionary left's attitudes towards gender issues. As elaborated by Maud Bracke by drawing on the work of Lessie Jo Frazier and Deborah Cohen on Mexican students around 1968, Italian revolutionary groups inclined towards models of 'heroic masculinity'.[634] Revolutionary activism was consistently framed as a masculine 'rebellion against the father', that inspired 'sacrifice for the greater good' and aimed to exert 'leadership over the movement' and over a society considered as 'feminine and passive'.[635] In addition, until the mid-1970s, neither the UDI nor the revolutionary left's women promoted any significant Palestinian solidarity events. The UDI is an interesting case. Indeed, its archive does not contain any important solidarity initiative with Palestine before 1976. To be sure, as in the case of the ANPI analysed in chapter 2, the UDI at times used to express solidarity on a local level. Furthermore, its official magazine *Noi Donne* throughout between 1970 and 1972 published a significant number of articles on Palestinian solidarity, including some expressing positions openly dissonant with that of the PCI. This included an article praising the figure of Leila Khaled, a Popular Front for The Liberation of Palestine activist famous for her programme of hijacking. The article compared Khaled to Italian partisans and her actions were defined as 'in defence of the children of yesterday and tomorrow [...] Leila Khaled took the license to kill the fathers of violence.'[636]

---

[631] J. Massad, 'Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism', *Middle East Journal* 49, no. 3 (1995): 467–83.
[632] Stephanie Latte, 'Notes sur quelques figures récurrentes du corps et du genre dans les guerres de Palestine', *Quasimodo*, April 2005.
[633] C.Vogel and V. Pegna, *Al Fatah* (Milano: Vangelista, 1969).
[634] 'Guerra di popolo contro i nazi-israeliani', *Servire il Popolo* 16 January 1969; 'Il terrorismo israeliano. L'eroismo palestinese', *Lotta continua* 19 September 1972: 3; 'Dalla lotta nazionale palestinese verso la guerra di classe per il socialismo nel mondo arabo in un processo di rivoluzione ininterrotta', *Avanguardia Operaia* October 1970. Maud Anne Bracke, *Women* 46 and 50.
[635] Bracke, Ibidem
[636] Il guardafacce, 'La gappista del cielo', Noi Donne n. 38, 26 September 1970: 11; M. Ferrara, 'Tattica e strategia nella lotta antimperialista', *L'Unità* 13 September 1970.

The theatrical works *I Would Rather Die Tonight If I Had To Think It Had All Been In Vain* (1970) and *Fedayn* (1972), represent a major deviation from the hitherto largely masculine tenor of internationalist discourse and action.[637] Both plays challenge conventional gender representations, through the collaboration between Franca Rame and the Democratic Front for The Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), one of the Palestinian groups more 'receptive to women's demands'.[638] Rame, a provocative revolutionary left personality and spokesperson of Red Aid, declared in the 1970s that she was not a feminist.[639] Although her position in relation to feminism is debated by theatre scholars, this chapter argues that while *I Would Rather* reflects a Maoist belief in the power of violence for women's liberation, *Fedayn* both maintains this belief while challenging its gender politics.[640]

I Would Rather, performed after the 1970 Black September, compared Italian and Palestinian wars of national liberation and raised the argument of the betrayal of the Italian antifascist struggle.[641]The script both reproduces and challenges the conventional masculine image of the partisan man. In this play, the disciplined and heroic working-class fighter also feels fear.[642] The Palestinian *fedayn*, by contrast, resembles more traditional Marxist and Palestinian gender norms: a brave proletarian guerrilla who achieves his masculinity 'through endurance of severe physical and mental pain'.[643] Female partisans and Palestinian women both rebel against the patriarchal authority

[637] *Fedayn* is an Arab word that literally translates as 'those who sacrifice themselves' and by extension refers to guerrilla fighters.
[638] The DFLP was the first Palestinian group to include a woman in its Political Office. F. S. Hasso, *Resistance, Repression, and Gender Politics in Occupied Palestine and Jordan* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 37-8.
[639] Red Aid was an Italian revolutionary left organisation that supported workers' and students' struggles. against 'police and legal repression'. G. Guidon, *De la défense révolutionnaire. Une lecture transversale des années 1970 italiennes à travers le prisme du Soccorso Rosso (1969-1980)*, Thèse de doctorat, (École Doctorale SHPT de Grenoble: 2016), 73; J. Farrell, *Joseph Farrell, Dario Fo and Franca Rame: Harlequins of the Revolution (London: Methuen, 2001):* 197-8.
[640] L. D'Arcangeli, *I personaggi femminili nel teatro di Dario Fo e Franca Rame* (Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 2009); D. Gavrilovich, M. T. Pizza, and D. Santeramo (eds.), *Franca Rame: one life, a thousand adventures* (Roma: UniversItalia, 2016).
[641] Black September is the name given to the massacre through which the Jordanian King Hussein put an end to the dualism of power imposed by Palestinian guerrillas on his kingdom's soil. Y. Ṣāyigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State the Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 262-281; P. Cooke, 'The Resistance Continues: A Social Movement in the 1970s', *Modern Italy* 5, no. 2 (1 November 2000), 161–73.
[642] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Vorrei morire anche stasera se dovessi pensare che non è servito a niente, in Dario Fo e Vittorio Franceschi (eds.), *Compagni senza censura* (Milano: Mazotta, 1970), 239 and 248; G. L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 127.
[643] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Vorrei', exp.: 255-258; A Sa'ar and T. Yahia-Younis, 'Masculinity in Crisis: The Case of Palestinians in Israel', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 35, no. 3 (2008), 310.

to engage in the liberation fight.[644] Their main difference concerns their relation to violence. Where Italian antifascists use violence only as part of a lynching crowd, the Palestinians shoot and kill and they are more lethal, precisely because they are Arab and women.[645]

Fedayn originated from a stricter collaboration between the company and the DFLP and focused on Palestinian popular culture, on criticisms of the largest nationalist Palestinian group Fatah, and on gender issues in Palestinian society. In this play too, fear, as felt by revolutionaries, challenges assumptions of heroic masculinity, claiming in fact that men who do not experience fear are not communists.[646] The question of women is one its central themes: gender oppression is defined as the 'biggest hurdle' for Palestinians and is portrayed in popular traditions, everyday life, and revolutionary organisations.[647] As in *I Would Rather* , the liberation tool *par excellence* in *Fedayn* is violence, against the oppressive bridegroom as much as against a political enemy, both embodied in the figure of the Captain of the Jordanian army.[648]

These two plays, therefore, are atypically gendered expressions of solidarity with Palestine, which question the conventional virile image of the fearless fighter and exalt the liberatory power of violence, lauding instead a model of 'guerrilla women' as popularised by the figure of the Vietnamese female fighter. *Fedayn* denounced gender oppression both in the private and in the public sphere. In a moment where Italian feminism was still underground, and the revolutionary left was reluctant to engage in contesting patriarchy, *La Comune* began to pronounce the personal as political in internationalist discourse.[649] Notwithstanding this rare gendered dimension of internationalism in the play, there is scarce evidence of its contemporary reception. Indeed, all the debates and issues relating to *Fedayn* at the time concerned the political confrontation between the DFLP, and Fatah and its supporters on the Italian left. Scant attention seems to have been paid to the theme of gender, despite

[644] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Vorrei', 245 and 257.
[645] Ibidem, 241 and 257
[646] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Fedayn' in D. Fo e V. Franceschi, (eds.), Compagni senza censura, 326.
[647] Ibidem, 336, 337 and 338.
[648] Ibidem, 337 and 339.
[649] F. Lussana, *Il Movimento Femminista in Italia: Esperienze, Storie, Memorie (1965-1980)*, (Roma: Carocci, 2012), 17-18; P. Stelliferi, '"Una Originaria, Irriducibile Asimmetria". Il Rapporto Della Nuova Sinistra Con i Femminismi in Italia (1972-1976)', *Italia Contemporanea* 287, no. 2 (2018), 15–43.

its prominence in the play. Without any certainty that the theme had any significant contemporary impact, we can however infer that it was not felt as vital or central by both many supporters of *La Comune* and its detractors.

5.4. Leftist and feminist women Palestine solidarity (1976-1988)

Compared to *La Comune*, Italian feminism was a silent or hostile voice on the issue of traditional left-wing internationalist mobilisation in general, and Palestinian solidarity in particular. To give just one example, only four articles out of seventy-four issues of the important feminist periodical *Effe* deal with the Middle East and none address the Palestinians.[650] A possible reason for this absence might be feminist unease with an internationalist tradition that was based on a shared sense of masculine victimhood and the exaltation of male heroism. The prominent Marxist feminist Maria Rosa Dalla Costa in one of the few contributions on the topic wrote in 1974 that women in national liberation struggles beyond a double burden. They were used for the 'riskiest political work', and yet they had no executive, decision-making power. Further, the liberation war, as every war, staged the 'celebration of male sadism' and highlighted 'in a less mystified manner the relationship of men with women'.[651] One line from a diary published by a feminist magazine aptly illustrates the refusal of a political tradition based on the exaltation of male heroism: the author, after having listened to the songs 'of glorious Chile', felt her 'otherness to this way of doing politics and this way of feeling like revolutionaries'.[652] One of only a few exceptions, is represented by the *Fronte italiano di liberazione femminile* (Italian Women's Liberation Front, FILF) which was a non-separatist feminist organization that published a periodical named *Quarto Mondo* (Fourth World). FILF supported

[650] L. Deonna, 'Gheddafi: se quattro mogli vi sembran poche', *Effe Rivista Femminista (*11-1973), in http://efferivistafemminista.it/2014/07/gheddafi-se-quattro-mogli-vi-sembran-poche/ (accessed 16-02-2019); M. Grazia Mostra, 'Le donne iraniane e l'islam', in Effe, (01-1979), in http://efferivistafemminista.it/20 14/08/le-donne-iraniane-e-lislam/ (accessed 16-02-2019); C. Pallotta, 'Una feluca sul Nilo', *Effe Rivista Femminista* (04-1981), in http://efferivistafemminista.it/2014/11/una-feluca-sul-nilo/ (accessed 16-02-2019).
[651] H. Cleaver and C. Barbagallo (eds), *Women and the Subversion of the Community: A Mariarosa Dalla Costa Reader*, Illustrated edizione (PM Press, 2019), 80 e 103 note 25.
[652] Piera, 'Una dalle pagine del mio quaderno giallo', *Sottosopra* 2 (1974), 55.

anticolonial liberation struggles, one of its exponents participated in the national Palestinian solidarity committee, and it was inspired by the political, anticolonial thought of Franz Fanon.[653]

The outbreak of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 marked a watershed moment in Italian women's solidarity with the Palestinians. After the Phalangist siege and massacre of the Palestinian refugee camp of Tel al-Zaatar (January-August 1976), the UDI issued an official statement against the genocide, stating that it consisted in the murdering of 'defenceless populations, women and children'. The statement argued that this constituted 'a real genocide', which was being carried out to the detriment of the Palestinian people, condemned first to be without land and without a homeland, and now to perish. The UDI argued that it was now essential to tend to the 'civil and human needs of those populations; and therefore called upon women to mobilise 'for the salvation of the Palestinian people', and demanded that the Italian political class act.[654] According to *Lotta Continua*, a Palestinian solidarity demonstration in Rome was participated in by 'three hundred feminist comrades' without banners, chanting slogans such as '*A Tell al Zaatar ammazzano le donne/col calcio del fucile fregiato di madonne*' ('In Tall Zaatar, they kill women with rifle butts emblazoned with Virgin Mary icons'). Here feminist solidarity with Palestinians blended with the widespread conviction, shared by all Roman feminist collectives, that the 'Catholic Church was women's greatest enemy'. [655]

A seminal theoretical contribution came from Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, a prominent Italian Middle Eastern studies scholar. Scarcia Amoretti combined her anti-imperialist political commitment with feminist engagement whilst serving on the board of the DWF, during which time she wove together her 'craft', her 'militancy', and her 'self'.[656] In 1976, Scarcia Amoretti

[653] L. Ellena. 'L'invisibile linea del colore nel femminismo italiano : viaggi, traduzioni, slittamenti'. *Genesis* X, no. 2 (2011): 25-6; B. Pisa, *Il Movimento liberazione della donna nel femminismo italiano: la politica, i vissuti, le esperienze (1970-1983)*, (Roma Aracne 2017): 18-19.
[654] 'La Segreteria Nazionale dell'UDI, L'U.D.I. e la tragedia del Libano', Roma 18 July 1976 in Unione Donne Italiane, *Posta della Settimana*, Roma 30 August 1976, n.4.
[655] M. A. Bracke, *Women:* 99.
[656] R. De Longis, 'Tra femminismo e storiografia: i primi anni di «DWF»', in M. Palazzi and I. Porciani (eds.), *Storiche di ieri e di oggi: dalle autrici dell'Ottocento alle riviste di storia delle donne* (Roma: Viella, 2004): 223-240; B. Scarcia Amoretti, 'Entro i confini, lungo i margini', 1986, *DWF* no. 4 (1976), 59.

reformulated the Palestinian question as a woman's question: she challenged the primacy of armed struggle and stressed the relevance of the 'private sphere, alas, everyday life and everyday activity'.[657] This overlapped with increasing pressure, from the mid-1970s onwards, placed by Palestinian women on their male leadership.[658] Furthermore, Scarcia Amoretti's argument mirrored contemporary feminist discourse on the importance of Italian women to the 'civil resistance' against Nazi-fascists.[659]

Any analysis of the gendered component of Italian internationalism during the 1980s would need to focus on the International League for People's Rights and Liberation founded by Lelio Basso in 1976, to which Scarcia Amoretti was also linked. The League printed an edited collection that brought together an heterogenous group of essays, whose themes ranged from the Argentinian experience of Mothers of the *Plaza de Mayo* to the Italian resistance.[660] As far as the Italian perspective on women's internationalism was concerned two contributions stood out: one by Giancarla Codrignani a leftist feminist MP elected to the Italian parliament as an independent, and Scarcia Amoretti. Codrignani oscillated between a feminism of difference and a feminism of equality, since she claimed that 'women's oppression' concerned 'a half of humanity and is therefore second only to the struggle of the working class, within which, moreover, women find themselves with their own specificity'.[661] Nonetheless, she highlighted the critical points in the national liberation struggle since women were accepted 'as equal only when they die'.[662] Finally, she concluded by claiming that a new internationalism needed to be founded on a right to equality that overlaps with the right to difference. By contrast, Scarcia Amoretti was much more overtly conscious of the complexities of postcolonial and transcultural relations. Given this, she defined internationalism as a practice that necessarily rejected cultural imperialism, recognised difference and expressed itself in 'effective

[657] B. Scarcia Amoretti, 'Assunzione politica del ruolo privato. La donna palestinese', DWF no. 4 (1976), 75.
[658] This reached its culmination in 1981 when the head of the General Union of Palestinian Women Mai Sayigh defined Palestinian female oppression as consisting of 'the enslavement of women to men, to society, and to the Occupation'. I. Jad, 'Modernizing Palestinian Women: Between Colonialism and Nationalism-Reflections on the 1960s and 1970s', in in . J. Chen, M. Klimke, M. Kirasirova, M. Nolan, M. Young, and J. Waley-Cohen (eds.).*The Routledge Handbook:*265.
[659] A. Maria Bruzzone and R. Farina, *La Resistenza taciuta* (Milano: La Pietra, 1976).
[660] G. Codrignani et al., *Donne e internazionalismo* (Rocca San Casciano: Lega Internazionale per i Diritti e la Liberazione dei Popoli, 1980).
[661] Ibid. 7-8.
[662] Ibid. 9-10.

solidarity'. She claimed that waiting for eastern women to become westerners was imperialism and the only possible internationalism had to be rooted in a decoding of difference.`[663]

A closer political and intellectual encounter between Italian feminism and the Palestinian question followed the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and especially the Sabra and Shatila massacre (16-18 September 1982) by Christian Lebanese militias. 1982 was a turning point for the perception of the Arab-Israeli conflict in Italian society and also for many women activists.[664] The first reason for this shift was that the Lebanese massacres portrayed Palestinians as refugees with women at the forefront. Scarcia Amoretti, in an article in 1982, claimed the centrality of 'body and sexuality' for the Palestinian cause, contending that women were the main targets of the massacre precisely because of their reproductive role.[665] Secondly, feminist engagement in the peace movement against the installation of Euromissiles in Comiso (1981-1983) opened up for the first time an international agenda for Italian women's movements.[666]

Indeed, Palestinian solidarity was merely part of a larger, wider internationalist commitment made by Italian feminists since at least the early 1980s. A case in point was the collaboration between the Bologna feminist activists of the *Centro di Documentazione* and the Latin American exiles living in the same city gathered around the *Comitato Donne Latinoamericane* (Latin American Women Collective), who had participated in the anti-war movement.[667] The *Centro di Documentazione* and the *Comitato* published in 1985 a booklet presenting the testimonies of Chilean women political prisoners, collected during an 11-day visit to Chile. The volume was presented as 'the combativeness

[663] Ibid. 189.
[664] A. Marzano and G. Schwarz, *Attentato alla sinagoga: Roma, 9 ottobre 1982 : il conflitto israelo-palestinese e l'Italia* (Roma: Viella, 2013). The then trade unionist Luisa Morgantini remembers that on those days 'the Palestinians began to exist for her' and the Roman feminist Governo Vecchio also 'for the first time' demonstrated in solidarity with Palestinian women. 'Quel giorno a Sabra e Chatila' (16-09-2013) in https://www.ilfarosulmondo.it/quel-giorno-a-sabra-e-chatila/ (accessed 16-02-2019); 'La lotta palestinese è di tutti i popoli liberi', *L'Unità (*17-06-1982), 11.
[665] B. Scarcia Amoretti, 'Di fronte al problema palestinese: una questione di metodo'*, DWF* no. 22 (1982), 55-6.
[666] E. Baeri, 'Violenza, conflitto, disarmo: pratiche e riletture femministe', in A Scattigno and T. Bertilotti (eds.), *Il femminismo*:119-168.
[667] 'Fiaccolata coi marciatori a Bologna, «città di pace»', *L'Unità* 5 December 1982.

and strength of other women in other conditions increase our motivation and strength, but once again unfortunately this strength must be committed to the survival of women who risk death.'[668]

The rising interest in the gendered dimension of the Palestinian issue led the International League for People's Rights and Liberation to publish a volume about the Palestinian women's role in the national struggle.[669]Nonetheless, not all the principal actors in this were committed feminists and some remember the instrumental value of framing the Palestinian struggle as woman struggle. Nadia claims that 'I put together this book [...] collaborating in initiatives that I thought were useful, but I didn't do it as a woman, but as someone who was involved in the Palestinian cause. But it was necessary to do something about women? Very well, it's done'. This approach grew out of her more general thinking about the women movement: I'm a person, I don't want to be considered a woman. Not that I criticise the women's movement, on the contrary, it was a very positive thing [...] My life path does not lead me to this, so I want to stand out".[670]

These shifts in discourse and activism paved the way for the birth of an international feminist practice in the late 1980s that started from an appeal for the creation of an international peace camp in Lebanon where Palestinian, Lebanese, Israeli, and international women might meet. The language of peace was arguably also the fruit of a long debate that followed the escalation of Italian leftist political violence from the late 1970s.[671] The campaign started in 1987 (*Visitare luoghi diffcili*) was supported by *La Casa delle Donne di Torino and by the Centro di Documentazione di Bologna*. This campaign overlapped with the December 1987 Palestinian uprisings in Gaza and in the West Bank known as the first Intifada, which last from 1987 until 1991, and was very strongly marked by the leading role played by Palestinian women. The campaign therefore eventually merged with the Israeli and Palestinian pacifist movement 'Women in Black'.[672]

---

[668] Comitato delle Donne Latinoamericane and Centro di Documentazione Delle Donne, *Libertad : donne carcere dittatura . Testimonianze delle prigioniere politiche del carcere di Coronel (Chile*), 1985. Bologna, 3 in Archivio Centrale UDI, Donne nel Mondo, folder 72, DmM 1984.3/72 America.
[669] Fondazione internazionale Lelio Basso per il diritto e la liberazione dei popoli., *Fatima, Leila e altre: incontri con donne palestinesi* (Roma: Fondazione internazionale Lelio Basso per il diritto e la liberazione dei popoli, 1985).
[670] Interview with Nadia.
[671] M. A. Bracke, *Women,* 187.
[672] C. Cockburn, *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (London: Zed Books, 2013).

This new campaign spoke the language of the *Comiso* movement and borrowed its techniques and tactics, such as the establishment of peace camps. Scarcia Amoretti's argument became hegemonic: *Visitare Luoghi Difficili* portrayed Palestinian women at the core of the Palestinian struggle since they 'represented the power of reproduction and the survival of the people itself'.[673] Nonetheless there were differences: whereas Scarcia Amoretti argued for a mixture of leftist internationalism and feminism, in a combination that refused cultural imperialism and recognised difference, *Visitare luoghi difficili* was inspired by a concept of global sisterhood that equated women's liberation with peace.[674] These contradictions came to the fore in a collective visit in 1988 to Jerusalem, embarked on with the objective of realising a female diplomatic approach to overcoming conflict, and the results of which were disseminated in a what the many authors labelled as a mosaic diary. However, whereas Italian feminists aimed to establish a mode of diplomacy from below, that would promote dialogue, Palestinian women's organizations refused to do so, resulting in two official separate encounters between Israeli and Palestinian women organizations and one mixed informal meeting involving independent Palestinian and Israeli women.

The travelogue of the 1988 meeting conveys the uneasiness of many Italian feminists to speak with women who openly represented themselves as mothers of martyrs. Samia Khalil, on behalf of the General Union of Palestinian Women, refused to participate in a common meeting with the Israeli delegates because it considered them 'a small [and] irrelevant' minority of good Israeli women.[675] This refusal in turn opened up contradictions within the 68 Italian women themselves. Luisa Corbetta described tensions and disagreements over whether:

> to privilege feminism, our/their liberation as women, or the struggle of people for the Palestinians and nation identity for the Israelis? Is there a real space for feminism where the oppression of one people over another is so fierce and is the decisive issue in people's hearts?[676]

[673] Casa delle Donne di Torino, *Visitare luoghi difficili*, 1987: 9.
[674] B. Maria Scarcia Amoretti G. Codrignani et al., *Donne e internazionalismo* :181.
[675] G. Calciati (ed.), *Donne a Gerusalemme: incontri tra italiane, palestinesi, israeliane* (Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1989), 25.
[676] Ibid, 12.

Such issues led some in the collective to question the shared notion of global sisterhood in order to reach a deeper recognition of cultural difference. One such member was Alessandra Mecozzi who wrote:

> We learned, and we taught, we wanted to be neither strangers nor accomplices. We have succeeded, at least in part. I see this in our idea of peace, rather than a pacification that is impossible and artificial because it is taken out of the hands of those who are the protagonists of those real processes, the product of a previous history.[677]

The goal of this chapter has been to assess the transformation that occurred in the Italian Palestinian solidarity movement, from its outset in 1967 to the establishment of a feminist practice and discourse by the mid-1980s. Anti-fascism was an influential factor in framing foreign struggles: it provided a gender-blind set of tropes for the PCI and revolutionary left press; it provided a point of comparison for the play *I Would Rather* , and for the *Visitare Luoghi Difficili* activist Giancarla Codrignani, who in 1988 compared the betrayal of Italian female partisans' hopes for gender equality with the condition of Palestinian women.[678]

Foreign agency was also a factor. Palestinian nationalists, Palestinian Marxists, and Palestinian women all influenced different conceptions of the Palestinian cause and different interpretations by Italian groups. These translations were also shaped by global and national contingencies. Violence is a case in point, since Palestinian solidarity shifted from the popularity of anti-imperialist counter-violence in the international climate of 1968, to its reformulation after the escalation of Italian leftist violence in the mid-1970s. Furthermore, discourses were performative: a post-war emphasis on maternal women overlapped with the UDI's representation of women acting as internationalist caregivers. Ultimately, the reconsideration of violence following the so-called 'years of lead' coincided with the birth of feminist Palestinian solidarity.

[677] Ibid., 111.
[678] G. Codrignani, 'Considerazioni sull'aereo' in Ibidem, 105.

A final point can be made on masculinities. While the PCI and related revolutionary left-wing discourse made prominent the image of revolutionary soldiers, Italian feminist depictions minimise this image by identifying them as part of a larger form of structural violence. The only real questioning of masculinity – as far the consulted sources of this chapter are concerned – is in *La Comune*'s plays and in their praise for anti-heroic heroism: ‘our stories should be true stories about men who trip up, who have constant doubts, who are afraid, but who don't run away’.[679]

[679] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Fedayn', 327.

Chapter 6

Theatre as an internationalist practice

We believe that the only serious way to celebrate and honour our Resistance is raising awareness and support by all means the struggles that other peoples are waging: the resistance that continues is our resistance[680]

The play *Fedayn* by Dario Fo [...] is a stab in the back to all the fighting Arab masses[681]

6.1 The impact of internationalist theatre on actual protest politics

The first of this chapter's two opening quotes introduces the first play by *La Comune* – the theatre company led by Franca Rame and Dario Fo, the winner of the 1997 Nobel Prize for literature – dedicated to the Palestinian cause: 'I would Rather Die Tonight If I Had To Think It Had All Been In Vain' (1970). The chosen quotation makes explicit the Internationalist purpose of the play and frames the Palestinian struggle according to the manifold partisan trope that this thesis explores in chapter two. The second opening quotation comes from a leaflet issued in response to the second play *La Comune* staged in support of the Palestinian people: *Fedayn* (1972). This production involved Palestinian workers and members of the Democratic Liberation Front for the Liberation of Palestine performing as the actors. The critical leaflet from which the quotation is taken was produced by the pro-Al Fatah General Union of Palestinian Students.

To put it in a nutshell, these two quotes show how Italian militant theatre intended its plays to function as internationalist cultural practices, which both reproduced shared cultural perspectives, and also provoked criticism that had tangible repercussions in the real world of social movements, primarily amongst the community of Palestinian students living in Italy. Militant theatre had a

[680] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Vorrei'.
[681] Unione Generale Degli Studenti Palestinesi in Italia, A Dario Fo AL F.P.D.L.P. In http://www.archivio.francarame.it/scheda.aspx?IDScheda=1876&IDImmagine=1&IDOpera=66.

productive relationship with actual protest politics: it was simultaneously both produced by and also a producer of change in internationalist movements. In order to analyse the impact and efficacy of theatre as internationalist cultural practices, this chapter first investigates who *La Comune* was and what political and artistic context shaped its identity. Secondly, the chapter assesses how *La Comune* expressed its internationalist solidarity with Palestine. To achieve this goal, the chapter studies the above-mentioned plays considering the three processes of elaboration-production (who collaborated and how?), performance-distribution (content analysis and actual mise en scene), and consumption (what reactions/debates they stirred?).

6.2 Italy and the theatre of global revolution

The Drama company *La Comune* was deeply grounded in the 'moment of radicalism' of the long 1968 when 'student protests and worker strikes, new ideologies and countercultures emerged in countries around the world'[682]. Indeed, *La Comune* was the heir of *Nuova Scena* an umbrella organisation encompassing the *Teatro d'Ottobre* group and the renowned leftist theatre practitioners Dario Fo and Franca Rame. *Nuova Scena* made the political artistic choice to become 'the jesters of the proletariat' and began making theatre for an alternative circuit of playhouses managed by the Italian Recreational Association (ARCI), which had close ties to the Italian Communist Party (PCI).[683]

This choice made by *Nuova Scena* was part of the global radical change affecting theatre. 'Culture' was a 'defining component' of what it meant to be on the left during the Global Sixties and performance was the essence of this leftist culture. [684] In particular, theatre – the performative art *par excellence* – as Gerd-Rainer Horn claims, is crucial to the 'history' and the 'prehistory' of 1968, given

[682] R. Gildea, J. Mark, and A. Warring (eds.), *Europe's 1968*; J. Chen, M. Klimke, M. Kirasirova, M. Nolan, M. Young, and J. Waley-Cohen (eds.).*The Routledge Handbook.*
[683] Joseph Farrell, *Dario Fo and Franca Rame: Harlequins of the Revolution* (London: Methuen, 2001):77.
[684] L. Karakatsanis and N. Papadogiannis. 'Introduction: Performing the Left in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus' : 8.

its nature of existing 'at the literal point of contact between art and audience'.[685] From 1960s onwards, a considerable number of drama companies produced work in unconventional venues and embraced radical politics, as symbolized by the occupation of the Odeon theatre in France in May 1968[686]. New expressive techniques developed that were deeply concerned with the role of theatre in activating and mobilizing the audience, and this endeavour took multiple forms ,often inspired by authors such as Erwin Piscator, Bertolt Brecht and Antonine Artaud. As claimed by the theatre historian Oscar Brockett, '[t]he old conception of art as detached contemplation (or as the pursuit of some superior beauty and order) was challenged by those who wished to use it to provoke thought and action about pressing social and political issues'.[687] Theatre historians claim that this highly heterogenous and multiform movement still shared some common characters: a commitment to change the world often inspired by left-leaning ideologies; 'new modes of staging and directing […] more democratic methodologies such as collective creations, and more democratic spaces, outside conventional theatres'; 'direct involvement of the public'; the use of theatre as a 'cultural weapon'; the quest to establish a working-class audience; the use of 'folk and popular culture'.[688]

This theatrical revolution was not limited to Europe and the United States, and it affected Palestinian performers as well, whose cultural production proved seminal for the plays we are going to examine in this chapter. Indeed , even if the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) theatre troupes were already active in 1966, after the 1967 defeat in the Six-Day War there was a flourishing of theatre both in the occupied territories and in the refugee camps in the Arab countries.[689] Even

[685] G. R. Horn, *The Spirit of '68 Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* (Oxford: New York : Oxford University Press, 2007), 19.
[686] K .Bredeson, 'L'Entrée Libre à L'Ex-théâtre de France: The Occupation of the Odéon and the Revolutionary Culture of the French Stage', in Julian Jackson, *May 68: rethinking France's last revolution* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
[687] Oscar G Brockett, *History of the Theatre* (Harlow: Pearson, 2014): 489.
[688] M. Carlson,'Theatre' in J. M Merriman and J, M Winter, *Europe since 1914* (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2006): 2532; P. B. Zarrilli et al., 'Rich and Poor Theatres of Globalization', in *Theatre Histories*, (Routledge, 2010)., pp. 482-511, exp. 489-492.
[689] R. Snir, *Palestinian Theatre* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2005).; Rania Jawad argues that Also the PLO Syrian theatre was the 'most successful professional troupe of Palestinian theatre outside the land of Palestine'. R. Jawad, *Theatre Encounters: A Politics of Performance in Palest*ine, (Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 2013); S. Al-Saber, 'Surviving Censorship: El-Hakawati's Mahjoob Mahjoob and the Struggle for the Permission to Perform', in P. Duggan and L. Peschel, *'Surviving Censorship: El-Hakawati's Mahjoob Mahjoob and the Struggle for the Permission to Perform'*, ed (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), 141–59.

though taking place in a very specific context marked by occupation and censorship, some shared threads united Palestinian theatre with what was going on in Europe and elsewhere. These included: the diffusion of Marxist theatre concerned with class-related issues and whose authors were linked with leftist political groups; the courting of a mass popular public through the use of vernacular language and folkloric repertoire, as well as by performing in spaces outside traditional theatres (e.g. cafès and markets); 'collective creation techniques'; and actual transnational linkages like the 'brief stint' that one of the most important figures in Palestinian theatre at the time – the French-Palestinian François Gaspar of the Jerusalem-based troupe *al-Balālīn* – had with Arianne Mnouchkine's *Théâtre de Soleil*.[690] These types of transnational linkages also connected the theatre scene in Italy with other national cultures: Gaspar –also known as François Abu Salim – staged an Arab language version of some excerpts from Dario Fo's play *Mistero Buffo* in 1975.[691]

The Italian case stands comparison with Horn's argument about the history and prehistory of 1968. Indeed, the Italian neo-vanguard took its first steps in the late 1950s, and it went through an underground phase with the so-called '*movimento delle cantine*' before it finally become a mass movement after 1968.[692] One watershed moment in this development was a conference held in Ivrea in 1967 with the purpose of creating a new theatre beyond the official mainstream where the publicly financed *Teatri Stabili* were hegemonic.[693] At this meeting of Ivrea, the so-called 'formal theatre vanguards' and 'political theatre vanguards' came to the brink of a physical fight, and so diverged from this time onwards.[694] This meant on the one hand a reinvention of 'agit-prop theatre' (*Teatro D'Ottobre*, under the direction of Dario Fo) and on the other hand a different definition of political theatre as theatre open to the needs of a popular audience through the tools of collective creation and research.[695]

---

[690] Ibid.
[691] M. Carlson, 'Avant-Garde Drama in the Middle East', in J. M. Harding and J. Rouse, *Not the Other Avant-Garde: The Transnational Foundations of Avant-Garde Performance* (University of Michigan Press, 2010). p. 140.
[692] D. Visone, *La nascita del nuovo teatro in Italia, 1959-1967*, Altre visioni 84 (Corazzano (Pisa): Titivillus, 2010).
[693] F. Quadri, *L'avanguardia teatrale italiana: materiali 1960-1976* (Torino: Einaudi, 1977).
[694] D. Visone, *La nascita*: 248-251.
[695] Ibid, 175-177.

1968 was a turning point marked by the memorable and symbolic resignation of Giorgio Strehler as artistic director of the Milan *Piccolo Teatro* after the protesters called him a bourgeois doing bourgeois theatre.[696] Regarding the significance of 1968 in the history of theatre, scholars are divided: Lorenzo Mango claims that it marked 'widespread experimental practice' revolving around the denial of literary centrality, a revived focus on the spectacle as a performance event, and the centrality of the body.[697] On the other hand, the historian Silvia Casilio argues that the 'revolution in theatre' gave way to the 'theatre of revolution'.[698] Nevertheless there is a wide consensus about the character of the Italian theatrical revolution when it comes to: its content and priorities (a strong emphasis on connecting theatre and societies; the rebirth of political theatre); a change in the membership of the companies (not only professionals but also students, workers, and women); the primacy of the political debate after the end of the performance; alternative circuits and cooperative forms of organization, and policies of 'decentring from below' at an institutional and non-institutional level; theatre taking place outside of theatres (in front of factories, schools, on the streets); theatricalization of other arts.[699] As claimed by historian Margherita Becchetti, theatre during the Italian long 1968 become 'one of the main places in which communities gathered to celebrate the representation of their identities or of their conflicts'.[700]

Italian left revolutionary groups and the PCI both had an organized presence in the cultural realm. As a result, the PCI and the extra-parliamentary left made considerable use of theatre as a political tool: the PCI had the ARCI as a cultural instrument whereas the revolutionary left relied on specific organisations such as the *Circoli Ottobre* linked to *Lotta Continua* or the *Lega del Vento Rosso* linked to the Maoist organisation *Servire il Popolo*. A different, but crucial organization was the *Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano*, that since the early 1960s had developed a sophisticated reflection of

[696] J. Farrell, and P. Puppa, *A History of Italian Theatre* (Cambridge University Press, 2006): 276.
[697] L. Mango in Salvatore Margiotta, *Il Nuovo Teatro in Italia, 1968-1975*, (Corrazzano (Pisa): Titivillus, 2013): 12.
[698] S. Casilio, Una generazione d'emergenza: l'Italia della controcultura, 1965-1969 (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2013), p. 210.
[699] S. Margiotta, *Il Nuovo:* 69-174. and M. Becchetti, 'Fuori scena: il lungo Sessantotto teatrale', S. Casilio and L. Guerrieri (eds), *Il '68 diffuso. Contestazione e linguaggi in movimento* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2009).
[700] Margherita Becchetti, 'Fuori scena': 84

working class and popular culture, by contributing to the Italian folk revival and to the dissemination of traditional social repertoires and new political songs.[701]

6.3 *La Comune* and Italian political theatre

Dario Fo and Franca Rame's theatre company *La Comune* was the most successful of these left-leaning experiments, and the culmination of their journey from official theatre, through ARCI, and onto an independent theatre circuit with very close ties to the revolutionary left. After two years of notable success – 240,000 audience members for their first season; 300,000 for their second – the Fo and Rame left *Nuova Scena* to form the *Collettivo Teatrale La Comune* as a result of political conflict with the PCI, whom they considered to have abandoned its revolutionary identity.[702] Indeed, in January 1970 ARCI state that *La Comune*'s work would not be welcome unless changes were made to the scripts.[703]

La Comune was an immediate success story, and the company swiftly established 150 national branches sustained by the groups of the extra-parliamentary left, gaining an average audience of 700,000 people per year (1970-1975). In Milan alone, where the company was based, it boasted 27,000 members.[704] *La Comune* at an organisational level was a web of private clubs, and this structure allowed them to exclude 'fascists and the police'.[705] *La Comune*, compared to European alternative drama of the period, had a particular mode of elaborating popular culture, distinctive theatrical preferences and a very particular relationship with its public reflecting its strong political orientation.

In terms of political identity, throughout this period, Fo and Rame embraced Maoism both as a guide for revolutionary action and as a theory of culture, and *La Comune* declared that it followed

[701] C. Bermani, *Una storia cantata, 1962-1997: trentacinque anni di attività del Nuovo canzoniere italiano-Istituto Ernesto De Martino* (Milano Jaca Book, 1997).
[702] C. Valentini, La storia di Dario Fo (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1997):17.
[703] Ibid.
[704] J. Farrell, *Dario Fo and Franca Rame: Passion Unspent*, (Milano : Ledizioni, 2015): 111.
[705] L. Binni, *Dario Fo* (Firenze: La nuova Italia, 1977): 59.

Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought.[706] In an interview published in 1998, Fo remembered that his interest in Maoism stemmed from its concept of refusing 'art for art's sake' in favour of art 'inside a community' to pursue the improvement of mankind and human life.[707] The way in which the *Circolo La Comune* approached the relationship between the intellectual and society derived from a combination of the philosophy of Mao Tse-Tung and Antonio Gramsci. Essentially, stimulus from Mao was related to his ideas concerning the richness of popular culture, the necessity of cultural work and the idea of learning culture *from* the people.[708] Gramsci's influence can be read, instead, in *La Comune*'s desire to counter the hegemonic bourgeois culture, its belief in the existence of an alternative popular culture that has been expropriated by the ruling classes, and the necessity for the intellectual to act as a 'mediator' by giving form to the unstructured material still hidden in the vaults of popular expressivity. From this elaboration of the political social purpose of theatre – also influenced *by La Comune*'s collaboration with the *Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano* – and due also to the more general contemporary Italian debate about popular culture, there grew a clear identification of the figure of theatre-maker with the 'giullare' (jester) as the intellectual capable of collecting and expressing popular culture, in order to trigger the reaction of laughter-anger-action-hope.[709]

The particular theatrical preferences of *La Comune* stemmed from its revolutionary political stances. In fact, *La Comune* distanced itself from experimental theatre, preferring the old genre of farce over tragedy, not least because it aimed to get a mass audience.[710] Fo's theory of 'laughter with anger', based on the idea that tragedy stimulated catharsis, was highly influential.[711] He framed farce 'as a popular invention to develop the most dramatic discourses'.[712] As far as internationalist theatre

[706] E. Van Erven, *Radical People's Theatre* (Indiana University Press, 1988), 22. L. Dumont-Lewi, *Portraits de l'histrion En Auteur : Dario Fo Ou Les Représentations d'un Homme-Théâtre* (These de doctorat, Universitè de Paris 10, 2014): 510.
[707] R. Niccolai, *Quando la Cina era vicina: la rivoluzione culturale e la sinistra extraparlamentare italiana negli anni '60 e '70*. (Pisa; Pistoia: BFS ; Associazione centro di documentazione di Pistoia, 1998): 37.
[708] J. Farrell and A. Scuderi, *Dario Fo: Stage, Text, and Tradition* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000).
[709] Ibidem.
[710] J. Farrell, *Franca e Dario*, p. 101.
[711] Tony Mitchell, *Dario Fo: People's Court Jester*:77. Laetitia Dumont-Lewi, 'Des clous dans la tête. Critique de la raison comique chez Dario Fo', in *Cahiers d'Artes*, n°13, 2016, p. 37-61.
[712] J. Farrell, Franca e Dario, p. 133).

is concerned, farce was overshadowed by both documentary theatre and a sort of 'secular oratorio' inspired by Erwin Piscator.[713]

Another important point to contextualise *La Comune* is that it had a specific intended relationship with its audience that reflected its political stance. Indeed, *La Comune* aimed to be a political theatre whose art was always in service of the revolution. From this position, there developed an exclusive political relationship with the extra-parliamentary left. *La Comune* can be considered a political-artistic extra-parliamentary organisation that aimed to contribute to the class movement without accepting a predefined political line.[714] Fo (1926-2016) and Rame (1929-2013) can be considered as two activists belonging to an older generation, who had a very large number of close and productive relationships with younger activists. Also, it was the centre of an archipelago of venues organised by the various groups of the revolutionary left who both staged their shows and also hosted various other cultural activities (music performances, film screenings etc.). Finally, *La Comune* made a considerable contribution to the creation and the funding of *Soccorso Rosso* (Red Aid) with the purpose of supporting workers and militants against police and judicial repression.[715]

La Comune's complex interrelation with the revolutionary left was linked to its the very precise ways of considering theatre and the relationship with the audience. The goal of *La Comune*'s militant theatre was to awaken political awareness within the audience, and, from there, to push it to take real political action in the material world afterwards.[716] Indeed, the relationship with the audience was crucial to political theatre and this was a concern common to both *Nuova Scena* and *La Comune* since it fundamentally affected what theatre was created. Dumont-Lewi individuated the following ways in which the audience contributed to the plays: a) collection of materials; b) troupe collective reflection before and after the process of writing; c) debates with the audience, as well as also

[713] L. Dumont-Lewi, *Portraits :* 524 and P. Puppa, *Il teatro di Dario Fo: dalla scena alla piazza* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1978). 184-189).
[714] J. Farrell, *Franca e Dario*, 128.
[715] G. Guidon, 'De La Défense Révolutionnaire':55-58.
[716] Laetitia Dumont-Lewi, 'Portraits 510.

meetings concerning the next plays.[717] The problem here concerns who this audience was. Paolo Puppa complained that the *La Comune*'s audience overlapped with sympathizers with the Italian revolutionary left, and from this developed a relationship with the audience definable as a 'specular-consolatory' relation, which actually excluded any process of political activation of the public.[718] On the same note, a former collaborator of *La Comune*, Lanfranco Binni wrote that one of the problems with Dario Fo's theatre lay in its relation with the revolutionary left as audience-consignor.[719] Dario Fo in one television documentary claimed that the large audience numbers enjoyed by *La Comune*, could not be comprised solely of an Italian revolutionary leftist, but must represent a larger slice of left-leaning spectators, including many politically aligned with and supportive of the PCI.[720] Recent studies have progressed the debate on this topic. For example, Beatrice Tavecchio Blake argued against Puppa's thesis that Fo's theatre used quotation, parody and negativity, as tools to activate the public.[721] Dumont-Lewi recently argued that Fo addresses the audience both as a group of comrades and as a group of students (*allievi*, or disciples) and this entails that even if the theatre made intends for there to be an equality between the theatre-makers and the audience, the inherently asymmetrical relation between Fo and the public is still strongly tilted in the favour of the theatre-maker, and the public is consequently 'tamed to be equal' (*addomesticato*).[722]

6.4 *La Comune*'s internationalist theatre : *I Would Rather Die Tonight If I Had To Think It Had All Been In Vain* (1970)

Consistent with their political engagement, *La Comune*, in tune with the political priorities of the Italian revolutionary left, engaged with international themes. In particular, during the high point

[717] Ibid. 73-79.
[718] P. Puppa, *Il teatro*: 18-30.
[719] L. Binni, *Dario Fo*, 82.
[720] Dario Fo e Franca Rame - La nostra storia. Ep. 13, "La Comune" e il teatro nelle fabbriche, in https://www.raiplay.it/video/2017/09/DARIO-FO-E-FRANCA-RAME---LA-NOSTRA-STORIA-aa1a6c6f-7eec-4937-b108-0831f0d94f2c.html
[721] B. Tavecchio Blake, *Dario Fo: teatro di attivazione e comunicazione, 1950-1973*, (Milano, Udine Mimesis, 2016).
[722] L. Dumont-Lewi, 'Le Spectateur Apprivoisé. Les Paradoxes de Dario Fo, Entre Animal Politique et Bête de Scène', *Théâtre/Public N°208*, accessed 17 October 2021.

of Italian internationalism, the company staged three plays: *I Would Rather Die Tonight If I Had To Think It Had All Been In Vain* (1970) and *Fedayn* (1971) both about the Palestinian struggle, and *People's War in Chile* (1973) that was positioned against the Pinochet coup. Nonetheless, for two main reasons, this chapter analyses only the works concerning the Palestinian national liberation struggle. First, both plays had distinctive characteristics concerning their creation, which included transnational collaboration with Arab politicised students living in Italy, and Palestinian organizations. Secondly, *Fedayn* in particular had a striking reception, since it stirred a harsh debate within the Palestinian and the Italian left. Finally, during the so-called inward turn of leftist internationalism *La Comune* staged two other short monologues concerning international themes: *It Happened Tomorrow* (1976) and *Ulrike Meinhof* (1976). I contend that these monologues represent a completely different era, politically and artistically, since the two plays analysed in this chapter belong to an earlier and more optimistic era marked by a strong belief in the liberatory power of revolutionary violence, in step with the Third-Worldist guerrilla myths of the same time. By contrast, the monologues – concerning repression against the *Rotee Armee Fraktion* inside the West German penitentiary system – strike a much darker note. Indeed, they both criticised the conditions of the detention of the RAF prisoners, considering them so bad as to constitute 'physical and psychophysical torture' while openly declaring *La Comune* in disagreement with the armed organization's ideology and praxis.[723]

I Would Rather is a play resulting from careful research on the Italian resistance that at the very last moment of its development integrated materials connected with the Palestinian resistance. It can be then labelled as what Dario Fo called the 'theatre of intervention' or 'throw-away theatre' that was meant to be 'useful like a newspaper's article.'[724] The play's genesis was the urgent response of the newly-established *Collettivo Teatrale* to the massacre known as Black September with which the Jordanian King Hussein put an end to the dualism of power imposed by the Palestinian guerrillas

[723] 'Testo per la presentazione di "Ulrike Meinhof", in una versione dattiloscritta con correzioni a mano di Dario Fo' (1977) in http://www.archivio.francarame.it/scheda.aspx?IDScheda=1320&IDOpera=182
[724] T. Mitchell, *Dario Fo*:101.

on his kingdom's soil.[725] This prompted the dynamic decision by the group of theatre-makers who had been working on collecting oral sources about the Italian resistance to expand their scope and to produce a play encompassing both these liberation struggles. This was an ideologically coherent move as it was in typical in the far-left discourse influenced by Maoism to frame both the Italian antifascist resistance and the Palestinian resistance collectively as 'people's wars''

The development of the play grew out of *La Comune*'s collaboration with the Milan Vietnam Committee, the Italian section of the Russell Tribunal. The tribunal was a transnational organization founded by the British philosopher Bertrand Russell in 1966 whose goal was to prove the war crimes perpetrated by the United States and the South Vietnam state in the ongoing Vietnam war.[726] The Vietnam Committee aimed to propagate the Russell Tribunal results in order to 'promote the awareness of the broader working masses of the profoundly ideal value of the struggle for the freedom of the Vietnamese people from imperialist oppression'.[727] In 1970, the Committee also embraced the Palestinian cause, considering it 'an integral and leading part of the fight against the imperialist system'.[728] Among the participants of the Vietnam Committee, which included various strands of the left but was hegemonized by those factions close to Lelio Basso, there were many Arab students. These included not only Palestinians but also those Arab students affiliated with the General Union of Libyan Student (GULS), and organisation that had a strong pro-Palestinian orientation supported by the Libyan Arab Republic born after the deposition of King Idris in September 1969. Shortly after the Free Officers Movement's coup, the Italian chapter of the GULS celebrated its congress in Florence and advocated in support of the Palestinian struggle for a binational state.[729] Ahmed, at the time a 23-year-old student of the University of Pavia, was once a member of GULS and close to the

[725] Y. Ṣāyigh, *Armed*: 262-281.
[726] R. Colozza, 'Il Tribunale Russell : intellettuali contro la guerra in Vietnam', *Ventunesimo Secolo* 34, no. 2 (2014): 49–75.
[727] Barbara Tellini, *Mobilitarsi*, 82.
[728] E. Collotti Pischel, 'Il Comitato Vietnam Per La Resistenza Palestinese', Belfagor 25, no. 6 (1970): 724–26.
[729] Prefect of Florence, 22 December 1969 in ACS, Rome, MI, GAB, 1967-1970, folder 327, file 15383/4/ sf. 6 Studenti arabi in genere in Italia.

Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and collaborated as a translator for *I Would Rather.* He comments:

> I arrived in Italy in 1966 on a scholarship from the Libyan state, and I was enrolled in engineering. From Milan I moved to Pavia [...] at that time we had formed a group of solidarity with the Palestinians and had organised a meeting with Dario Fo [...] and then in the 1970s when the idea of doing a show on the relationship between the Palestinian issue and the Italian resistance matured, Dario and Franca contacted us because they needed above all documents, some to be translated from Arabic [...] My role was limited to providing the translations but I did not participate in the working group together with the actors, together with the director.[730]

Thanks to the collaboration between transnational subjects, Italian activists and *La Comune*, the play was pieced together in only 15 days, and had only one day of stage rehearsal.[731] The play was staged in an old Milan factory, called the *capannone*, in *via Colletta*. This was the headquarters of *La Comune* in the Porta Romana neighbourhood, which was part of a zone with a high density of spaces linked to the revolutionary left.[732] The *capannone* was converted into 'a rudimentary theatre' and one regular attendee remember that it 'was full of draughts, and the acoustics were terrible'.[733]

The stage for *I Would Rather…* included only fixed spotlights and microphones, with the actors simply reading the script and animating it solely with voice modulation and mime. According to a commentator, the goal was to avoid any emotional involvement but rather, on the contrary, to stimulate rational support for class struggle.[734] The performers sat in the proscenium and would stand up when it was their turn, and would read their parts in front of lecterns. The specific section relating to Palestine reminded the theatre critic Paolo Puppa of assemblies and roundtables.[735] The script was a combination of two separate parts which were linked by two speeches justifying the reason for this

[730] Interview with Ahmed.
[731] Chiara Valentini, *La storia* 131-3
[732] Consorzio AASTER, *Centri sociali: geografie del desiderio: dati, statistiche, progetti, mappe, divenire.* (Milano: Shake, 1996).
[733] Tom Behan, *Dario Fo:* 40.
[734] Piero Perona ,'Fo è ritornato col Teatro Off', *La Stampa* 25 November 1970 .
[735] P. Puppa, *Il teatro*: 184)

juxtaposition. The expressed rationale was quite straightforward: the only serious way to celebrate the Italian resistance was by supporting the Palestinian struggle which was, like the former, a collective people's war conducted 'against the bourgeoisie and imperialism.'[736] Simultaneously, the play challenged the Italian Communist Party and the USSR. The narrative that the reformist choices of the PCI were a betrayal of the resistance were paralleled to the critique of the Soviet Union's behaviour in Middle East politics. Black September was read as proof that the USSR supported the Arab States (specifically, Egypt and Syria) rather than the Palestinian freedom fighters.

At a practical level, the play was composed of an alternation between monologues and songs. The final texts were not always faithful to the Arabic originals. For instance, Ahmed remembers that the song *Fedayn* was an adaptation of a DFLP song, but the original did not include any reference to Mao Tse Tung.[737] In terms of content, the accented proletarian and socialist nature of the Italian and Palestinian resistance is worth noting, as well as the particular way in which the attack on the Soviet Union is expressed. Regarding the former, both liberation struggles are presented as choral expressions of an entire people: the Italian partisans 'brought the rifle as a spade', just as the Palestinian *Fedayn* 'descends from the family of the plow'.[738]

The play emphasizes the class nature of the Palestinian struggle, by refusing any charge of antisemitism and by stressing the commonalities of interest between the Israeli and Arab proletariat. The proletarian nature of Palestinian struggle was expressed by Mahmud Darwish's poem 'Identity Card' whose first version (1964) was incorporated into the play and included the line 'men in the quarries and fields / Love communism'.[739] Arab-Israeli working class solidarity is directly addressed with a song representing the dialogue between a Palestinian and an Israeli worker imprisoned after a strike ('Worker of Israel'). In the song, the hyperbole of the dialogue reaches the point of a call by

[736] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Vorrei': 252.
[737] Interview with Ahmed.
[738] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, *'Vorrei'*: 242,255.
[739] H. Hamzah, ' Final Versions and Meaning Transformation: The Example of Maḥmud Darwīsh' in *International Journal of Asian History, Culture and Tradition* Vol.2, No.1, (September 2015): .8-25.

the Fedayn to 'shoot with us' against the class enemy that is common to both people.[740] Ahmed remembers that this song was inspired by a poem by Tawfiq Zayyad, one of the most important Palestinian poets and communist militants. Whereas it was not possible to track the original source, 'Worker of Israel' resonates with various poems and writings by Zayyad including 'My Brothers in Struggle' (1957), a poem dedicated to a strike that occurred in a factory that employed mostly workers of Jewish origin and where Zayyad wrote that '[h[e who stole your bread stole my bread/We are both the victims of the oppressors'.[741]As Fo's manuscript note shows, the notion of class solidarity between Arab and Jewish workers was particularly emphasized, perhaps from the serious need to avoid any potential accusation of anti-Semitism. In an unpublished passage, the Arab worker excuses himself to the Israeli worker for his lack of embrace, offering the explanation that 'in each white man I see a boss.'[742]

In terms of genre, the critics noted that *I Would Rather* more closely resembled an epic than a farce. The piece was mostly composed and presented in both the Brechtian and Piscatorian sense of a metonymic theatre that represented revolution in a microcosm, even if some elements like the zoomorphic stories indicated a wider generic range.[743] Certain key sections were discernibly epic register, such as the description of the battle of Karameh, the armed confrontation between the Palestinian guerrillas and Jordanian army, and the Israeli forces in 1968, that was a highly significant founding myth of the Palestinian national movement.[744] By contrast, the way in which the polemic against the USSR was framed is a typical manifestation of Fo's expressive technique: zoomorphic symbolism. This expedient technique, according to Antonio Scuderi, aimed at what Mikhail Bakhtin defined as 'grotesque realism' in order 'to drag down pompous and authoritative figures of official

[740] *Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Vorrei'*: 242,255.
[741] T. Sorek, *The Optimist: A Social Biography of Tawfiq Zayyad*, Stanford Studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic Societies and Cultures (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2020): 53-4.
[742] Undated manuscript note in http://www.archivio.francarame.it/elenco.aspx?IDOpera=194&IDTipologia=1&IDPagina=1
[743] M. Cappa and R. Nepoti, *Dario Fo* (Gremese Editore, 1997): 90-1
[744] W. A. Terrill, 'The Political Mythology of the Battle of Karameh', Middle East Journal 55, no. 1 (2001): 91–111.

power'.[745] The zoomorphic tale in question is an allegory in which the Western powers are beasts, slaughtering and banqueting with Middle-Eastern people represented as gazelles, goatlings and spring camels (*cammelli da latte*). The USSR is represented by a bear who empowers some of the states symbolized by other beasts (for example ,the Egyptian camel) to protect the helpless other, and yet its true purpose is not solidarity but drawing milk (i.e. oil) from them. Israel is a monkey with a 'shaved bottom', and Palestine is an unruly gazelle that does not want to be milked by anyone.[746]

The play was quite successful. It had about 800 spectators in the 650-seater venue every night and so around 6,000 people saw the play over the course of a week.[747] The reception of the Palestinian part of the play included very harsh criticism from Edoardo Faldini, writing in the PCI-aligned weekly *Rinascita.* The reviewer labelled the representation of the Palestinian struggle and the role of the USSR as simplistic and dogmatic. He concluded by claiming that Fo's break with the ARCI circuit risked pulling his company and their work further away from the working classes they wished to reach. Faldini thought that the anti-USSR intervention in the after-play debate proved this point, implying that *La Comune's* audience was mostly from the petty bourgeoise class he believed formed the bulk of the revolutionary left. By contrast, whereas most of the after-play debate published by *La Comune* related to the Italian sections of the play and with the themes of betrayed resistance, a small part addressed Palestinian solidarity. As it was, most of the debate interventions were in agreement with the anti-USSR spirit of the play. Nonetheless, and significantly, a former partisan moderately praised the role of the USSR in contemporary geopolitics by claiming that

> [I]f there were no socialist countries in the world today, there would be no Third World, no struggle for the freedom of peoples from one continent to another, without the great country of socialism, with all its of socialism, with all its faults, deficiencies, errors, and all its horrors.'[748]

[745] A. Scuderi, «The Cooked and the Raw: Zoomorphic Symbolism in Dario Fo's "Giullarate"», *The Modern Language Review* 99, n. 1 (2004):70.
[746] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Vorrei': 253-4.
[747] E. Fadini, Con chi vuole discutere Dario Fo, Rinascita no. 45 - novembre 1970, 20; C. Valentini, *La Storia* 132.
[748] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Vorrei': 147.

6.5 *La Comune*'s internationalist theatre: *Fedayn* (1972)

Fedayn (1972) was the result of a collaboration between *La Comune* and the supporters of the Palestinian Democratic Front both in Italy and in Lebanon. The play represents at the same time a continuation of, and a profound change from, the themes of *I Would Rather* Though it too represents a Marxist reading of the Palestinian cause, this time *La Comune* pushes itself to the point of intervention in the Palestinian political debate. In addition, whilst previously the comparison between the Palestinian and the Italian resistance resonated as 'the Palestinian people speaking', this time the production had Palestinians on the stage. Finally, the gender and women's question has a primary role in this play, connecting to the discussion of gender in chapter five.

The play, according to *La Comune*, was born from an investigation carried out by the *Collettivo Comunista di San Frediano* (a Florence-based collective linked to *Avanguardia Operaia*). This investigation was afterwards published in a book, and this book formed the political text upon which *Fedayn* was based.[749] Rame had a key role in the play: perhaps for the first time, Fo did not write the scenes but helped only through direction and by collaborating in the creative process.[750] The play had two main goals: first spreading knowledge of the revolutionary experience of the Palestinian people; second, providing material support to the DFPLP. [751]

In 1971, Rame travelled to Beirut to recruit some *Fedayn* to stage a new play after the production of *I Would Rather* . In an interview, Rame remembered that she was in contact with an Italian nucleus established in Lebanon supporting the Palestinian cause and linked to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. After some initial difficulty, Rame recruited for the production eleven Palestinians fighters affiliated with the Democratic Front, who were able to sing and dance. This guerrilla fighter troupe including a ten-year-old child.[752] Here the testimonies differ. Whilst

[749] Collettivo comunista di San Frediano, *Dopo il luglio '71: la rivoluzione palestinese oggi.* (Verona: Bertani, 1972).
[750] L. Dumont-Lewi, *Portraits*:78.
[751] Ibid.
[752] Franca Rame and Joseph Farrell, *Non è tempo di nostalgia* (Pisa: Della Porta Ed., 2013), kindle edition: loc 655-677.

Rame's recalling presented the performers as 'actual *Fedayn*, Ahmed – who was a key figure in the production – put things differently:

> Franca Rame and another of her collaborators went to Lebanon to [...] the refugee camps and there they recruited a group of young Palestinians who had some artistic qualities, in dance, music, both the sound of the flute and the sound of the darabouka an Arab drum instrument [...] She selected about seven elements and their trip was organised with a tourist visa for Italy, with a guarantee from Dario Fo and Franca Rame for their accommodation and the expenses of their stay […] These young people who came here to Italy, some were workers, there was even a boy of sixteen, so they were not fighters, even if the Palestinians, when it comes to attacks by the Israelis, all turn into fighters, but the main participants of this group were people who lived and worked in the fields.[753]

Irrespective of the factual truth, these conflicting memories have in common a shared reference to the steadfastness of the Palestinians, which was at the very core of the play.

Once the Palestinian performers managed to get into Italy, the creative process started. Ahmed recollects this as being two-months long, and consisting in a great deal of improvisation and interplay between Fo, Rame, the musician Paolo Ciarchi, and the Palestinian performers assisted by the daily help of one Palestinian or Arab student living in Milan, since none of the Fedayn were able to speak Italian, and only one spoke any English.[754] This play, like *I Would Rather* , was first presented in the *Capannone*, but this time the company went on tour as well. The first staging was with a bare stage in the old factory. The spectacle consisted of a collage of monologues, dialogues, storytelling and songs which, according to the critic Aldo Paladini, recalled the techniques of Erwin Piscator and channelled the 'sense of the storm over Palestinian people' and its 'desperate epic'.[755] As with the previous production, the scenery of this play also was minimal and was created by the actors; the only props were rifles and a sheet under which a mannequin simulated a dead guerrilla fighter.[756] The most

[753] Interview with Ahmed.
[754] Ibid.
[755]A. Paladini, 'Dario Fo nipotino politco di Piscator', *Il dramma*, October 1972.
[756]M. Cappa and R. Nepoti, *Dario Fo:* 99.

striking effect, according to Paladini, was created by the projection of slides behind the actors which portrayed the refugee camps and the general environment of their daily lives. A great deal of the material pieced together was in Arabic and an Italian translation was simultaneously provided during the play or projected on a screen.

According to the bulletin published by *La Comune*, the play was a political reaction to the definitive defeat of the Palestinian forces in Jordan and its aims were to contribute to public political awareness of the Palestinian situation, to shape Italian revolutionary practice and define 'a clear internationalist line'.[757] These words allude to one of the most important motivations for producing the play: the presentation, to an Italian public, of the minority Marxist-Leninist Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), a 1968 splinter group from the better-known Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The DFLP made a wise political investment in sending six of its fighters to perform with *La Comune*: fictional or not, the line of the play in which a fighter states that the European masses would perhaps 'understand better with a song rather than with a hundred propaganda articles'[758] was confirmed by the success of the play, which played to 40,000 spectators over the run.[759]

The play, according to critic Paolo Puppa, combined an epic celebratory discourse with a fascination with southern peasant cultures. The epic theatre elements of the play consisted of the narration of battles, the staging of the funeral of a fighter, and the recurring theme of consciousness-raising and political conversion. The latter related to a thief turned into a revolutionary fighter of the DFLP and, similarly, a Fatah cadre becoming aware of the bourgeoise character of his movement. A great deal of the play, according to Ahmed, was made up of Palestinian popular songs turned into political revolutionary songs by the DFLP and further re-worked to fit the performance.[760] During the play, Rame narrated that while in Lebanon she was deeply struck by such songs, noting they were

[757]Bozza di presentazione di "Fedayn" di Dario Fo in http://www.archivio.francarame.it/scheda.aspx?IDScheda=2097&IDOpera=66
[758] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Fedayn'*:* 303.
[759] A. Marzano and G. Schwarz, *Attentato alla sinagoga.*
[760] Interview with Ahmed.

very different from the 'powerful and exciting rhythm of the marches of Al Fatah' since they were 'peasant songs, melancholic songs, full of anger and irony'. [761] By contrasting the martial music of Fatah with the folk music of the DFLP, *La Comune* stressed the class nature of both organizations. Indeed, the play presented the DFLP as the only genuine Palestinian revolutionary vanguard with an ideology rooted in the class struggle. Fatah, the largest organisation of the resistance in terms of membership, was labelled by *La Comune* as an expression of the bourgeoisie. One of the strongest accusations levelled against Farah was that of having sent the *Fedayn* to repress striking workers because their boss was 'patriotic'. [762]

The abundance of Arab folk songs in the play recalled one technique very familiar to the Italian audience with regards with Italian folk culture, established by *Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano* with whom Fo and Rame had previously collaborated.[763] In addition, the centrality of peasants in the play communicated their relevance in Palestinian culture as national signifiers of the struggle against Israel.[764] Folk traditions were framed as having been expropriated by the ruling classes (sheiks and landowners) and were identified as important to rescue and reclaim for the masses. However, this folk repertoire was blended with other traditions such as references to Bertolt Brecht. An example of this is the 'Pharoah's song' that overtly recalled the famous Brecht poem 'A Worker Reads History' (1935) with lines such as 'the pharaoh crosses the desert on his chariot/ but whoever made the wheels for him/is a poor blacksmith from the Euphrates'. [765]

The play was staged in other towns beyond Milan. As part of the overload of fake information regarding Arab and Palestinian attacks, one informant defined the Palestinian performers recruited by Rame as a 'group of hijackers of PDFLP […] in Italy in the guise of a theatre troupe'.[766] As a result, the tour was heavily guarded by the Italian police, and this police presence strongly marked

[761] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Fedayn': 322.
[762] Ibidem.
[763] Ibid.:323.
[764] T. Swedenburg, 'The Palestinian Peasant as National Signifier', *Anthropological Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (1990): 18–30.
[765] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Fedayn' 331.
[766] Secret document 24 February 1972, ACS, Rome MI, Office for Reserved Affairs (hereafter AA. RR) folder 297, file 29.

the performances in Genova, Rome, Padova, Udine, Cividale del Friuli, Bolzano and Parma between February and June 1972.[767] Umberto, an activist of the Mestre (Venezia) local branch of *La Comune*, remembered the organization of the play in his town. His most vivid memory was however not related to the play in itself, but rather to the hosting of the Palestinian performers in his family home and how this upset his mother:

> Obviously my mother was not politicised [...] [She had] six people in the family, she was running the show […] I remember very well my mother was shocked to see these young Palestinians all covered in scars. She was shocked, because it is one thing to have things explained to you, and another that you touch them with your hands.[768]

Umberto's recollection brings to the surface unconventional effects of the transnational and intergenerational encounters fostered by internationalist practices. *La Comune* brought the Fedayn experience not only onto the Italian stage but also into private houses.

A final point needs to be made in relation to the reception of this play. The play's strong polemic against Fatah stirred up a harsh debate within the Palestinian movement and the Italian left. *La Comune* claimed that the play was preventively boycotted by the PCI and that *L'Unità* refused to publish a paid advertisement for it.[769] Once the play started to be staged, harsh comments were made by various strands of the left. *L'Unità* wrote that *La Comune*'s plays were just 'noisy and blatant rallies against the Italian Communist Party and against the popular and democratic forces of other countries' and Fedayn specifically presented 'a distorted and facetious view of the fedayeen's struggle'.[770] The Bolzano police also reported FGCI students distributing leaflets to 'challenge the political approach of the show' outside the Bolzano palace where the play had been staged.[771] Other

[767] Ibid.
[768] Interview with Umberto, December 12 2018.
[769] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Rapporto su *Fedayn*' in Al *Al-Sharara: Bollettino della resistenza palestinese a cura dei compagni sostenitori del F.P.D.L.P*, 1972, p. 13, in Archivi Fondazione Basso (AFB), Collection "Diritti dei popoli," Section 446 "Questione palestinese," pt. 1, Ser. 2 "Organizzazioni, 1965–1991," Folder 1.
[770] Ibid.
[771] Questore Giabbanelli, Bolzano 3 May 1972 in ACS, Rome MI, AA. RR, folder 297, file 29.

forces in the revolutionary left raised criticism about the company. This was the case when *Il Manifesto* criticised the play on the grounds that Palestinian resistance had to be supported as a whole, arguing that the play was simplistic and neglected other groups such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.[772]

The bulk of the attacks against the play, however, came from some factions of Arab and Palestinian students in Italy. These groups contested *Fedayn* through writing letters to *L'Unità*, distributing leaflets in front of the venues where the play was staged, and arguing about the play during the 'after play debates'. A letter from Arab and Palestinians student in Padova denounced the production, claiming that Fo had totally distorted the Palestinian struggle and risked dividing the Palestinian and Italian progressive forces by giving wrong information about Al-Fatah's position.[773] A similar letter came from Bologna: the signatories claimed that the company repeated the political line pushed by the Jordanian King Hussein in dividing the Palestinians between 'good and bad guerrillas'. The signatories were particularly worried by a claim made by one of the Fedayn in the play that favourable treatment was reserved for the Fatah prisoners by the Jordanian authorities and asserted: 'This is a lie. Many of them have been tortured and killed'. Finally, they closed the letter with a note of appreciation towards the old left and 'second world solidarities':

> We have appreciated the support provided by the Soviet Union, by the socialist camp and the European workers' movement, among which the communist and socialist left supported our cause. Dario Fo's slander will not change our minds.[774]

Finally, the reaction against the play took place both directly outside and even inside the venues where the play was stage. *La Comune* accused of right-wing Arab students and henchmen of the Arab embassies of being behind these disruptions. Yet, apart from a statement by the PDFLP supporters in Italy, the leadership of the Italian chapter of the General Union of Palestinian Students

[772] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Rapporto su *Fedayn*'.
[773] Un gruppo di studenti palestinesi e arabi (Padova), 'Falsificata la realta della lotta del popolo palestinese', *L'Unità* 2 March 1972.
[774] Studenti palestinesi e arabi riuniti in assemblea (Bologna), 'Sembra propaganda del piccolo Hussein', *L'Unità* 2 March 1972

in Italy (GUPS) backed the criticisms of the play.[775] A leaflet signed by the GUPS accused the spectacle of being a 'stab in the back' of the Arab masses because it stirred up division, rather than promoted unity.[776] The DFLP supporters claimed that one of the protests turned into active aggression, with the aim of provoking a police intervention in order to disrupt the play.[777] During the third act, the time devoted to debates after the play, angry debates between Palestinians in Italy were staged. The DFLP members accused Fatah of having refused to link the Palestinian struggle to that of the Jordanian masses and of being merely another element of the Arab bourgeoisie. The Fatah adherents replied that no liberation struggle had ever made public its internal division, and accused the Palestinian left, with their adventurism, of provoking Black September.[778] An Italian activist – presumably aligned with a revolutionary left group – that it was an internationalist duty to raise awareness of the contradictions within liberation movements.[779]

[775] 'Sul GUPS', in '*Al-Sharara: Bollettino della resistenza palestinese a cura dei compagni sostenitori del F.P.D.L.P*, 1972, p. 13, in Archivi Fondazione Basso (AFB), Collection "Diritti dei popoli," Section 446 "Questione palestinese," pt. 1, Ser. 2 "Organizzazioni, 1965–1991," Folder 1.

[776] Unione Generale Degli Studenti Palestinesi in Italia, A Dario Fo AL F.P.D.L.P. In http://www.archivio.francarame.it/scheda.aspx?IDScheda=1876&IDImmagine=1&IDOpera=66

[777] 'Sul Gups'.

[778] Collettivo Teatrale La Comune, 'Fedayn' :341-351.

[779] Ibidem: 347.

Conclusions

Afterlives

In 1994, the war surgeon Gino Strada (1948-2021) founded an NGO named Emergency whose mission was to help 'civilian victims of war and poverty'. Since 1994, Emergency has worked in eighteen countries 'building hospitals, surgical centres, rehabilitation centres, paediatric centres, first-aid posts, health centres, clinics and mobile clinics, a maternity centre and a cardiac surgery centre'.[780] Between 2008 and 2009, Vittorio Arrigoni (1975-2011) travelled on ambulances as a human shield in Gaza and wrote reports for the leftist Italian newspaper *Il Manifesto.*[781] In March 2020, Maria Edgarda Marcucci (b. 1991), known as Eddi, who had fought with the Kurdish YPJ in 2018, was sentenced by a court in Turin to special surveillance for two years.[782]

It can be argued that Strada, Arrigoni and Marcucci, three activists from different generations, continued and reinvented Italian leftist internationalism in diverse ways. Strada, a 1968er, was part of the majority of the Catholic association *Gioventù Studentesca* (Student Youth) which, inspired by liberation theology, joined the revolutionary left organization *Movimento Studentesco* between 1967 and 1968. Emergency supports radical pacifism, advocates the abolition of war, refuses to discriminate between patients and embraces a strong leftist political identity. Shortly after the commencement of military operations against Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) by two coalitions led by the United States, Strada (repurposing and deploying the trope of the manifold Nazi) claimed that the tens of thousands of civil casualties in these conflicts were victims of a 'racist and neo-Nazi madness' that divided world population between 'first-class citizens, to whom rights are due' and 'endless masses of people' not considered as 'human beings'.[783] Strada was a strenuous opponent of

[780]Emergency, *Who we are*, in https://en.emergency.it/who-we-are/. (accessed 4 March 2019).
[781] V. Arrigoni, *Gaza: Stay Human* (Markfield, England : Kube Publishing, 2016).
[782] 'Italian Woman Who Joined the YPJ Put under Special Surveillance', ANF News, accessed 13 October 2021, https://anfenglish.com/news/italian-woman-who-joined-the-ypj-put-under-special-surveillance-42372.
[783] G. Strada, 'Intervento XXXIII Congresso Nazionale Fiom-CGIL' 4 June 2003 in https://www.fiom-cgil.it/net/images/EVENTI/XXIII-CONGRESSO/04_06_03-intervento_strada.pdf

the theory of humanitarian intervention. In a sense, Strada is heir to and product of the pervasiveness of the peace discourse within the ranks of the Italian left from the 1980s onwards, yet the year 1999 might also be considered a turning point. This was the year when the government led by Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema, of the *Democratici Di Sinistra* (Democrats of the Left, the new name for what had been known, prior to 1998 as, *Partito Democratico della Sinistra*) allowed NATO the use of Italian military bases for a bombing campaign over Serbia, ostensibly to stop the persecution of the Albanian population of Kosovo.[784]

This created a rift within the Italian left. Some groups on left reacted against the war campaign by engaging in a peace movement, whereas some left fringe groups unleashed a wave of 50 attacks against the branches of the DS.[785] Strada, who was on the nonviolent side of this divide, labelled the 'humanitarian war' as an 'infamous theory' and denounced the 'humanitarian organisations' that had to a 'large extent been incorporated into the project of war'.[786] Historian Anna Bravo wrote that it would be pointless establishing who are 'legitimate children of 1968', if Gino Strada or Bernard Kouchner, a co-founder of *Médecins sans frontiers*, supported the NATO intervention in Kosovo.[787] Yet, comparing what has been dubbed as '*sansfrontierisme*' and Emergency might illuminate some of the different trajectories taken by different factions in the evolution of leftist internationalism, and the relationship between that internationalism and the discourses of humanitarianism and peace in France and Italy. Despite the lack of studies that might suggest a cautious approach, a first hypothesis accounting for the differences among these humanitarian perspectives might depend on the specific historical conjunctures in which they originated. Indeed, the French humanitarianism was born out of an early dissatisfaction with anti-imperialist internationalism in 1968, which developed over the course of the 1970s into the belief that all human suffering deserved equal solidarity. Such an

[784] P. Ignazi, G. Giacomello, and F. Coticchia, *Italian Military Operations Abroad: Just Don't Call It War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 116.
[785] F. Mussi in Resoconto stenografico dell'Assemblea Seduta n. 538 del 20/5/1999 http://documenti.camera.it/_dati/leg13/lavori/stenografici/sed538/s140.htm.
[786] G. Strada, 'Intervento'.
[787] A. Bravo, *A colpi di cuore: storie del sessantotto* (Roma: Laterza, 2008):24-5.

evolution, in the context of the Indochinese internecine wars, morphed into the position that 'humanitarians, as well as states, had a right to intervene in the internal affairs of a nation-state'. [788] By contrast, Emergency was established in a context where the soul-searching fostered by the debacle of Third-Worldist myths had evolved into the hegemony of the peace discourse throughout the 1980s. Massimo D'Alema claimed that the opposition to the NATO intervention was solely on anti-American grounds, because the Italian left 'never had a pacifist DNA' due to the historical fact that it 'grew up with the myth of the partisan resistance' and had consequently exalted 'the anti-imperialist war of liberation of the Vietcong comrades.' Yet, in making this claim, D'Alema overlooked the PCI's longstanding political investment in pacifism and in the pacifist culture, and its long-lasting effects.[789]

This cultural climate was also the one where Vittorio Arrigoni came out of age. Arrigoni 'did not call himself a communist, but liked to say that he was happy to be born into a left-wing family'.[790] After being involved into a number of international volunteering projects in Central-Eastern Europe, in Belgium, Austria and Africa, he finally ended up in Gaza. He supported nonviolence but still refused neutrality and impartiality by supporting the international campaign Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel: 'Like myself, the vast majority of Palestinians don't think the answer to the Israeli occupation and the ongoing massacre is suicide bombings, 'kamikazes' and 'rockets' against Sderot. Boycotting is peaceful and non-violent, the most humanly acceptable answer to a conflict so depraved it has turned every gesture into something inhuman'. Arrigoni was murdered in Gaza by a Salafi group in 2011, but his legacy still inspires global pro-Palestinian activism.

[788] S. Mohandesi, *From Anti-Imperialism*: 263.
[789] M. D'Alema and F. Rampini, Kosovo: gli italiani e la guerra (Mondadori, 1999): 105. For a meaningful example of the blending between comunism and pacifism during the anti-euromissiles movement see 'Testo del discorso pronunciato il 9 ottobre 1983 dal Segretario Generale del PCI On Enrico Berlinguer' in Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Archivio Federazione Provinciale di Perugia del PCI, Commissione problemi internazionali e pace, folder 111 file 1 Problemi internazionali e pace (1981-1985).
[790] E. Beretta Arrigoni, *Il viaggio di Vittorio* (Baldini e Castoldi, 2013).

By contrast with the other two examples, Eddi interprets her internationalism through the practice of armed volunteering, as was the case with Lorenzo Orsetti and a number of the other Italian activists quoted in chapter three. Eddi's background is in the radical environment of the Italian Social Centre movement, specifically the Turin based *Centro Sociale Askatasuna* occupied in 1996, and in the Italian feminist organization *Non Una di Meno* (Not one less).[791] Eddi's case blends the old political tradition of armed volunteering with the gendered dimension of the Kurdish struggle against Daesh. The latter, has been noted, reinterpreted the original antifascist model by validating the feminist component and by diminishing its 'its original androcentrism'.[792] The reframing of gender oppression by Kurdistan Workers' Party casts a new light on the long-standing comparison between the anti-fascist models of the Vietnamese and Palestinian fighters, explored in chapter five.

These three individual trajectories are but some of the recent afterlives of Italian internationalist traditions. One case of interest might be the revamping of the memory of the Chilean repression in the context of the mobilization of the global justice movement against the G8 summit in Genova in 2001. On this occasion – as has been confirmed by Italian courts and by the European Court of Human Rights – Italian security forces perpetrated multiple unmotivated acts of violence, including torture, and caused the death of a 23-year-old demonstrator, Carlo Giuliani.[793] Recent research based on oral testimonies of demonstrators shows the very frequent use of the Chilean experience as a cultural filter to frame the violence suffered, as evidenced by expressions such as 'the perception I had is: it ends up like in Chile, we go to the stadium and they massacre us'.[794] In some testimonies, this filter is explicitly linked to histories heard by Chilean exiles in Italy. In addition, this framing was shared also by some of the policemen that detained the demonstrators; in one barrack, these policemen sang the following song: '*Un due tre, viva Pinochet; quattro cinque sei, morte agli*

[791] D. Chironi, 'Generations in the Feminist and LGBT Movements in Italy: The Case of Non Una Di Meno', *American Behavioral Scientist* 63, no. 10 (1 September 2019): 1469–96..
[792] É. Sill, 'Présences, Revenances et Rejeux Espagnols Dans l'internationalisme Combattant Féminin Au Rojava (2014-2018)', *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire Critique*, no. 141 (1 May 2019): 97–117.
[793] V. Agnoletto and L. Guadagnucci, *L'eclisse della democrazia: dal G8 di Genova a oggi: un altro mondo è necessario* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2021).
[794] G. Proglio, *I fatti di Genova: una storia orale del G8* (Roma: Donzelli editore, 2021). 154, but also 186,243, 264, 272.

ebrei; sette otto nove, il negretto non commuove' ('One, two, three, long live Pinochet; four, five, six, death to the Jews; seven, eight, nine, the little nigger does not move us').[795]

Another interesting example of the afterlives of Italian internationalisms can be seen in the leftist Italo-Greek encounters of the 21st century. This serves as something of a litmus test for the relatively scant myth-making power of the Greek experience as a role model. Notably, there is almost a total lack of any meaningful memory of the Italo-Greek encounter both in the memoirs and accounts of Italian 1968ers, and in historical scholarship. Tellingly, such encounters resurfaced only through scholarly works by professional historians (Kostis Kornetis, Rigas Raftopoulos) and amateur historians-witnesses (Kleitskikas, Paputsis) of Greek nationality. Italian historians rediscovered the Greek student presence in Italy only after later transnational and global historical turns established a trend in looking for connections across the borders (Soave, Tomelli). Similarly, Italian social movements and the left generally appear oblivious of any significant Italo-Greek connections. More radical forces rediscovered Greece only in the context of the social unrest and the anti-austerity protests that raged across the country from 2008 onwards. In particular, the Italian student movement of 2008 stood in solidarity with the contemporary Greek riots following the murder of 15-year-old Alexandros Grigoropoulos by a police officer in Athens. This fostered the occupation of several Greek consular offices in Italy.[796] Another trace of this connection is in a chant invented by the Locally Unwanted Land Use social movement against the construction of a high speed rail line between Turin and Lyon (*Movimento No Tav*)[797]:

> *Si parte, si torna, insieme/Chiomonte come Atene /Siam tutti Black Block/ Lo sbirro nel cantiere/dovrà tremare /se arrivano i NoTAV /* (We leave, we return together/Chiomonte is like Athens /We're all Black Block/ The cop in the construction site will have to tremble /if the NoTAVs come /)[798]

[795] D. Di Cesare, *Torture* (Cambridge : Polity Press, 2018).
[796] https://www.repubblica.it/2008/11/sezioni/economia/scioperi/sigilli-e-occupazioni/sigilli-e-occupazioni.html
[797] D. Della Porta and G. Piazza, *Voices of the Valley, Voices of the Straits: How Protest Creates Communities* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).
[798] https://www.rivistailcantastorie.it/la-musica-e-il-canto-nel-corteo/.

This protest song, spontaneously springing up totally oblivious to any antecedent connection between Greek and Italian leftist protests, established an internationalist identification between the radical practices of the Greek anti-austerity movement and the Italian environmentalist campaign against the construction of the TAV. Chiomonte – one of the sites marked out for the construction of the railways – is compared to Athens . At the same time, the movement's refusal to distinguish between moderates and radicals is expressed by the phrase 'we are all Black Block'.[799] Finally, the Greek example is used as a metaphor for the activists' determination in attacking the railway construction sites.

By contrast, a resurfacing memory of the historic Italo-Greek solidarity, one that is conscious of its antecedents, was deliberately fostered by the then-ascendent electoral force of Syriza, a coalition party that had inherited the tradition of Greek Eurocommunism, and won 26.5% of the vote in the 2014 Greek election. The momentum behind Syriza at that time not only propelled the party to victory in the Greek elections of 2015, but it also contributed to smaller factions on the Italian left (predominantly the Left Ecology Freedom party that gained the 3.2% in Italian general election) supporting the electoral alliance 'The Other Europe with Tsipras' in the 2014 European elections. Whilst the electoral and activist strength this time at least appeared to be on the Greek rather than the Italian side, Alexis Tzipras, the leader of Syriza, spoke in Rome in February 2014 at the Occupied Valle Theatre about what the Italian experience had meant for the Greek left, claiming that the Italian communist leaders Gramsci, Togliatti and Berlinguer were objects of worship within the Greek left.[800]

[799] The Cambridge dictionary defines as Black Bloc 'a group of people who take part in protests wearing black clothes and with their faces covered with scarves, masks, dark glasses, etc., and who are sometimes violent'. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/black-bloc

[800] Alexis Tsipras at the Teatro Valle Occupato, 7 February 2014 in https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MJ5iGyWtDXk.

Characteristics of Italian internationalisms

This thesis, by exploring the long history of Italian internationalist practices emphasizes some of its key features. One first characteristic to stress is that Italian internationalisms existed in a plural form. This was a long-time characteristic, that can be traced back to the 19th century internationalist campaigns that involved all the so-called extreme left, until the bitter dialectic between the revolutionary and institutional lefts that marked internationalist mobilizations between the 1960s and the 1980s. Whether or not this plurality of positions was a specifically Italian characteristic, it might be argued that the existence of many levels of collaboration between left factions on internationalist grounds, as well as the tradition of intergenerational cooperation, might both comprise something peculiar to the Italian experience. Indeed, until the mid-1970s the confrontation between these two poles of the left was bitter, and there were even physical confrontations, although nothing comparable to fighting that occurred in France during the same period. An episode like the armed confrontation between the Communist French Party and Maoist militants in 1967, would have been very unlikely in Italy, at least at that time.[801]

Such pluralism, however, was marked by a prevalence of the PCI that confirms the assumption of Geoff Eley that if 'Italian Communism' was substituted with socialism: 'socialism was always the core of the Left; and the Left was always larger than socialism'.[802] Indeed, the organizational web, the local entrenchment, and the subcultural force of the Italian communists were all key to the significance and efficacy of leftist internationalist practices in the decades studied by this thesis. As we saw in chapter two, the antifascist framing of national liberation struggles was rooted in the Italian communist discourse. What the Italian revolutionary left did was not merely to reactivate the language of the European civil war, transposing it on a global scale, as has been recently claimed.[803]

[801] Philippe Buton, 'Le PCF et Le Gauchisme. Acte I. La Rencontre (1963-1968)', *Revue Historique*, no. 684 (2017): 855–73. Young-Sun Hong, *Cold War Germany, the Third World, and the Global Humanitarian Regime*, 2017.
[802] G. Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 8.
[803] A. Brazzoduro, '"Se un giorno tornasse quell'ora". La nuova sinistra tra eredità antifascista e terzomondismo', Italia Contemporanea - Sezione Open Access, no. 296 (23 September 2021), https://doi.org/10.3280/ic296-oa3.

Rather, the revolutionary left established and advanced the distinct role of the Italian front in the global civil war, reconnecting the language of civil war to the practice of civil war that some radical sectors interpreted in the literal sense of carrying on armed struggle.

This thesis has also given much space to material and humanitarian solidarity as a tradition that intersected with the internationalist role assumed often by the red regions and at times by the Italian state (i.e. in the case of the Chilean exiles). This can be also considered as a subnational incarnation of the role assumed by socialist countries such as the German Democratic Republic in the global humanitarian regime.[804] This approach clearly resonated with what happened after the formation in 1985 of the first red-green alliance, between the Social Democrats and the Green Party, in the Landtag of Hesse in the Federal Republic of Germany. Following on from this alliance, there were a number of town-twinning and cooperation projects with the Sandinista's Nicaragua.[805]

Internationalist pluralism, revolutionary violence and material solidarity are just three of the many interrelated dimensions constituting leftist internationalism. Whilst delineating a complete synoptic table might be too much, we can instead use the example of theatre: internationalist plays entailed both intergenerational cooperation (Fo and Rame were two members of an older generation cooperating with the 1968ers), and a fundamental role for foreign students (both for the production as well as the reception of the plays), as well as a clear use of the trope of the manifold partisan (in both *I Would Rather* and *Fedayn*) and a pioneering gendered framing of national liberation struggle (*Fedayn).*

This research has attempted to respond to some specific questions, but at the same time, it opens up the ground for a number of others that might be worthy of further investigation. For instance, more oral-sources-based research might unveil whether the paternalism felt by Greek students was shared or not by other foreign student communities. Were the communities encapsulated in narratives closer to the Vietnamese role model (i.e. the Palestinian community) less affected by the asymmetries

[804] Y. Hong, *Cold War Germany, the Third World, and the Global Humanitarian Regime*, 2017.
[805] F. Bösch, Internationale, 30-2.

analysed in the Greek case? Another terrain that might be explored in more depth is that of internationalist art, and its relationship to internationalist activism. It would be valuable to consider the connections between political action, and contemporary music and film, for instance. Moreover, there might be an interesting comparison to make between Dario Fo's theatre and the work of the Bologna-based *Gruppo Teatrale Viaggiante*, who produced a play on Palestine (*Vi racconto di un popolo*, 1972) and another one about the Vietnamese national struggle (*I pioli di Bach-Dang*, 1973) which involved collaborating with Vietnamese representatives with lived experience of the war.[806] A final question regards Italian armed groups, and exact dynamics behind their transnational turn in the 1980s. One interesting path to follow might be researching the increasing transnational contacts they gained through their experiences as fugitives in Europe and beyond. Whereas they had been very selective in their relationships during the 1970s, this approach radically changed during the 1980s as demonstrated by some scattered evidence of close contact with groups such as *Abu Nidal*. Of course, more research will be needed. [807]

At the more general level this thesis aimed to give a glimpse of the multiform set of actors that composed the leftist internationalist sphere between the 1960s and the early 1990s, a common ground for diverse actors such as Greek Maoist students, communist mayors, members of clandestine armed groups, and many others who would no doubt reject being lumped together under the same broad categorization. Yet the eminently practical dimension of internationalism allows us to find commonalities among these groups of sworn enemies. Vladimir Lenin remarked in 1917: 'internationalism consists of deeds and not phrases, not expressions of solidarity, not resolutions'.[808]

[806] P. Ferrarini and C. Meldolesi, *Luciano Leonesi: maestro di teatro a Bologna* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2008).
[807] L. Falciola, 'Transnational relationships': 58.
[808] V. Lenin,'The crisis is mature' (1917) in *Collected Works.* Vol. 26 Vol. 26 (Moskau: Progress Publ., 1972). Quoted in a different translation in Gleb J. Albert, '"To Help the Republicans Not Just by Donations and Rallies, but with the Rifle": Militant Solidarity with the Spanish Republic in the Soviet Union, 1936–1937', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 21, no. 4 (4 July 2014): 501.

Archival sources

Archivio di Stato di Perugia
Fondi Federazione Provinciale di Perugia del Partito Comunista Italiano; Fondo Archivio del Circolo Karl Marx di Perugia, Manifesto PDUP, PDUP per il Comunismo, Avanguardia operaia, Democrazia proletaria.

Archivio Udi-nazionale di Roma
Fondo dell'Unione delle Donne Italiane

Archivio dell'Istituto Campano per la Storia della Resistenza, dell'Antifascismo e dell'Età Contemporanea "Vera Lombardi" di Napoli
Fondi Salvatore Casaburi-Chianese, Domenico De Lucia, Giuseppe Grizzuti

Emeroteca "Matilde Serao" di Napoli
Fondi Barbara Andriello, Ugo Lepore.

Fondazione Gramsci di Roma
Fondo "Archivio del Partito Comunista Italiano"

Fondazione Lelio e Lisli Basso di Roma
Fondazione Internazionale Lelio Basso Per il Diritto e la Liberazione dei Popoli

Central Archive of the State (Rome)
Interior Ministry, Cabinet, 1967-1970, folders 26,33, 47, 49, 50, 51,52,53,54, 82, 327
Interior Ministry, Cabinet, 1971-1975, folders 32, 71, 72, 73, 74, 106, 425.
Interior Ministry, Cabinet, 1976-1980, folders, 109, 110, 111, 310,
Interior Ministry, Cabinet, 1981, folders 94 and 95.

Interviews

Phone interview with Alberto, 21 July 2016.
Phone interview with Agnese, 21 June 2016.
Interview with Angeliki, Athens, 27 June 2016.
Interview with Dimitris, Antonis and Ioannis, Athens, 24 June 2016.
Interview with Emanuele, Naples 19 June 2016.
Interview with Evie, Athens, 27 June 2016.
Phone interview with Giacomo, 18 July 2016
Phone interview with Giorgio, 5 July 2016.
Phone interview with Luciano, 12 July 2016.
Interview with Mikis, Athens, 2 July 2016.
Phone Interview with Nadia, 5 January 2018.
Interview with Panos, Athens 26 June 2016.
Phone interview with Sebastiano, 15 July 2016.
Phone interview with Spiros, 20 June 2016.
Phone interview with Umberto, 12 December 2018.
Phone interview with Ahmed, 10 July 2018.

References

"Bogside story" ritorno a Derry 45 anni dopo il Bloody Sunday' in https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2018/10/07/bogside-story-ritorno-a-derry-45-anni-dopo-il-bloody-sundayFirenze11.html; see also Aldo Cazzullo, *I ragazzi che volevano fare la rivoluzione* (Milano: Sperling & Kupfer, 2007).
'Conversando con Barbara Balzerani su "Brigate rosse, un diario politico. Riflessioni sull'assalto al cielo' in https://insorgenze.net/2021/04/01/conversando-con-barbara-balzerani-su-brigate-rosse-un-diario-politico-riflessioni-sullassalto-al-cielo/.
'Fortini e il '68', Fondazione per la critica sociale (blog), 9 January 2018, https://www.fondazionecriticasociale.org/2018/01/09/fortini-e-il-68/.
'Intervista ad Arafat al Movimento Studentesco' in *Movimento Studentesco*, 2, April 1971.
'Italian Woman Who Joined the YPJ Put under Special Surveillance', ANF News, accessed 13 October 2021, https://anfenglish.com/news/italian-woman-who-joined-the-ypj-put-under-special-surveillance-42372.
'Italy closing its Universities to foreign students', *New York Times*, 28 June 1977. https://www.nytimes.com/1977/06/28/archives/italy-closing-its-universities-to-foreign-students.html;
'L'ultimo saluto dei Partigiani a Lorenzo Orsetti - Firenze, 23.06.2019', YouTube video, 1:41, 24 June 2019. www.youtube.com/watch?v=5DwxcFeVeb8.
'Lettera a Natalia Ginzburg sullo Stato di Israele e i ragazzi della Palestina', l'Unità 13 February 1988.
'Lettera aperta all'UCSEI sul I convegno internazionale', *Amicizia* no.5 May 1972.
'Zhdanov and the Cominform on the Imperialist and Anti-Imperialist Camps, 1947', in Edward H. Judge and John W. Langdon (eds), *The Cold War through Documents: A Global History*, edited by, 50–51. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017.
Abdellali, Hajjat. 'Les comités Palestine (1970-1972). Aux origines du soutien de la cause palestinienne en France', *Revue d'études palestiniennes* hiver, no. 98 (2006): 74–92.
Acciai, Enrico. *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)*, Routledge Studies in Modern European History (London ; New York: Routledge, 2021).
Achcar, Gilbert. *Marxism, Orientalism, Cosmopolitanism*. London: Saqi, 2013.
Agnoletto, Vittorio and Lorenzo Guadagnucci, *L'eclisse della democrazia: dal G8 di Genova a oggi : un altro mondo è necessario* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2021).
Agosti, Aldo. *Il partito provvisorio: storia del Psiup nel lungo Sessantotto italiano* (Roma: Laterza, 2013).
Agosti, Aldo. *Storia del Partito comunista italiano: 1921-1991* (Editori Laterza, 2012), kindle edition.
Albert, Gleb J. '"To Help the Republicans Not Just by Donations and Rallies, but with the Rifle": Militant Solidarity with the Spanish Republic in the Soviet Union, 1936–1937'. *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 21, no. 4 (4 July 2014): 501–18.
Alcalde, Ángel, and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas(eds.), *War Veterans and the World after 1945: Cold War Politics, Decolonization, Memory*, (London ; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2018).
Alicata, Mario. 'Il Vietnam e noi' and 'Comitato centrale Il dibattito e le conclusioni di Longo', in *L'Unità,* 24 *April* 1965.
Alicata, Mario.'Ancora del Vietnam dell'URSS e della Cina', *L'Unità*, 28 March 1965.
Almagisti, Marco. 'Subculture politiche territoriali e capitale sociale' in http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/subculture-politiche-territoriali-e-capitale sociale_%28L%27Italia-e-le-sue-Regioni%29/.
Amicizia, 'Indagine statistica sulla presenza' in no. 11 November 1970.
Amicizia, Studenti stranieri e contestazione, no. 3, March 1969.
Anderson, Perry. 'Internationalism: A Breviary.' *New Left Review* 2, no. 14 (2002): 5–25.

Andresen, Knud Sebastian Justke, and Detlef Siegfried (eds.). *Apartheid and Anti-Apartheid in Western Europe*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).
Andresen, Knud, and Detlef Siegfried. 'Apartheid und westeuropäische Reaktionen. Eine Einführung'. *Zeithistorische Forschungen - Studies in Contemporary History* 13, no. 2 (6 June 2016): 195–209..
Andreucci, Franco, and Alessandra Pescarolo, La formazione delle regioni«rosse» in Italia: il caso della Toscana, pp. 127-135 in Andreucci, Franco, and Alessandra Pescarolo. (eds.), Gli spazi del potere. Aree, regioni, Stati: le coordinate territoriali della storia contemporanea, Usher, Firenze, 1989.
Arciuolo, Ines. *A casa non ci torno: [autobiografia di una comunista eretica* (Viterbo: Stampa Alternativa/ Nuovi Equilibri, 2007).
Armani, Barbara. 'Il lungo '77. L'esperienza del movimento come anticipazione del "nuovo"' in M. Galfré Monica, and Neri Serneri, Simone (eds.). *Il movimento del '77: radici, snodi, luoghi* (Roma; Viella, 2018).
Arrigoni, Vittorio. *Gaza: Stay Human (Markfield, England : Kube Publishing, 2016).*
Associazione di amicizia e solidarietà Italia Nicaragua. *Que linda Nicaragua!* (Genoa: Fratelli Frilli, 2005).
Avagliano, Mario. 'Addio al partigiano Bentivegna partigiano di via Rasella', *Il Messaggero*, 3 April 2012.
Avanguardia Operaia. 'La guerra di popolo in Indocina prepara il crollo dell'imperialismo', No. 14–15 (3 April 1971): 1–4.
Avilés, Farré, Juan et al. *Contro la chiesa: i moti pro Ferrer del 1909 in Italia* (Pisa: BFS, 2009).
Bacchin, Eleonora.'Oppressed Nationalities: Italian Responses to the Polish Uprising of January 1863', *Nations and Nationalism* 23, no. 1 (2017).
Bacia, Jürgen, and Dorothée Leidig. *Kauft keine Früchte aus Südafrika! «: Geschichte der Anti-Apartheid-Bewegung* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2008).
Baeri, Emma. 'Violenza, conflitto, disarmo: pratiche e riletture femministe', in Anna Scattigno and Teresa Bertilotti, eds., *Il femminismo degli anni Settanta* (Roma: Viella, 2010), 119-168.
Bagnato Bruna. *L'Italia e la guerra d'Algeria (1954-1962)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2012).
Balampanadis, Ioannis. *Eurocommunism: From the Communist to the Radical European Left*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019.
Ballini, Pierluigi. 'Le elezioni politiche del Regno d 'Italia. Appunti di bibliografia, legislazione e statistiche', in "Quaderni dell'Osservatorio elettorale", 1985, n. 15:141-219.
Bantigny Ludivine, B. Gobille, E. Palieraki (eds.). *Les « années 1968 » : circulations révolutionnaires*. Monde(s), no. 11 (20 June 2017).
Bantigny, Ludivine. *1968: de grands soirs en petits matins* (Paris: Seuil, 2018).
Barbagallo, Francesco. 'La formazione dell'Italia democratica' In F. Barbagallo (ed.) *Storia dell'Italia repubblicana*, (Torino: Einaudi, 1994): 5–128.
Barbieri Remigio, '30.000 a Bologna contro l'aggressione Americana', *L'Unità,* 16 March 1965.
Bauerkämper, Arnd. 'Marxist Historical Cultures, 'Antifascism' and the Legacy of the Past: Western Europe, 1945–1990', in S. Berger and C. Cornelissen (eds.), *Marxist Historical Cultures and Social Movements during the Cold War: Case Studies from Germany, Italy and Other Western European States*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 33–64.
Becchetti, Margherita. 'Fuori scena : il lungo Sessantotto teatrale', Silvia Casilio and Loredana Guerrieri (eds), *Il '68 diffuso. Contestazione e linguaggi in movimento* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2009): 73-86.
Behan, Tom. *Dario Fo: Revolutionary Theatre* (London :Pluto Press, 2000).
Benci, Antonio. *Immaginazione senza potere: il lungo viaggio del maggio francese in Italia* (Milano; Bologna: Punto rosso, 2011).
Benner, Erika. *Really Existing Nationalisms: A Post-Communist View from Marx and Engels* (New York : Verso, 2018).

Bensimon, Fabrice, Quentin Deluermoz, and Jeanne Moisand. *Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth': The First International in a Global Perspective* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2018).
Benvenuti, Francesco and Silvio Pons. 'The end of Soviet communism : a review' in Silvio Pons and Federico Romero, *Reinterpreting the End of the Cold War: Issues, Interpretations* (London:Taylor and Francis 2014)
Beretta Arrigoni, Egidia. *Il viaggio di Vittorio* (Milano: Baldini+Castoldi, 2013).
Bermani, Cesare. *Il nemico interno: guerra civile e lotte di classe in Italia (1943-1976)* (Roma: Odradek, 2003),
Bermani, Cesare. *Una storia cantata, 1962-1997: trentacinque anni di attività del Nuovo canzoniere italiano-Istituto Ernesto De Martino* (Milano Jaca Book, 1997).
Bertinotti Fausto, Ritanna Armeni, and Rina Gagliardi. *Devi augurarti che la strada sia lunga* (Milano: Ponte alle Grazie, 2009).
Bertrand, Romain. 'Mai 68 et l'anticolonialisme', in Dominique Damamme, Boris Gobille, Frédérique Matonti, Bernard Pudal (eds.), *Mai-juin 68*. (Paris: Les Editions de l'atelier, 2008.): 89-101.
Bianchi, Giovanni. *Vita Cooperativa*, (Sesto San Giovanni:Eremo e Metropoli Edizioni, 2016).
Binni, Lanfranco. *Dario Fo* (Firenze: La nuova Italia, 1977).
Boel, Bent. 'French Support for Eastern European Dissidence, 1968-1989: Approaches and Controversies', *Perforating the Iron Curtain: European Détente, Transatlantic Relations, and the Cold War, 1965-1985*, 2010, 215–41.
Boel, Bent. 'Western Trotskyists and Subversive Travelling in Soviet Bloc Countries, 1956–1989', *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* 25, no. 2 (4 May 2017): 237–54.
Bollettino del Coordinamento Antinucleare Antimilitarista Veneto 'Nicaragua: una rivoluzione da difendere con cui solidarizzare e cooperare*'*, no.9, March 1985.
Bologna, Sergio. 'Fascismo in Europa', *Compagni*, no. 2–3 (5 June 1970).
Bonfiglioli, Roberto. 'La tragedia del Medio Oriente', *Patria Indipendente*, no. 11 (27 June 1982).
Bonfreschi, Lucia '"Against Any Army": Italian Radical Party's Antimilitarism from the 1960s to the Early 1980s', *Journal of Contemporary History* 56, no. 3 (July 2021): 595–616;
Bonometti, Donata, and Luciano Sossai. *Rotta: 17. parallelo: dal porto di Genova una nave carica di pace: destinazione Viet Nam* (Genoa: Erga, 2008).
Borruso, Paolo. *Il PCI e l'Africa indipendente: apogeo e crisi di un'utopia socialista: (1956-1989)* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2009).
Bösch, Frank. Internationale Solidarität im geteilten Deutschland. Konzepte und Praktiken, in: Bösch, Frank Caroline Moine and Stefanie Senger (eds.), *Internationale Solidarität. Globales Engagement in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR*, (Göttingen, Wallstein Verlag, 2018): 7-34.
Bosi, Lorenzo and Stefan Maltaner. 'Political violence', in Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (New York: Oxford: 2015): 429-442.
Bracalente, Davide Pellegrino, and Antonio Forcina. 'Italy's Disappearing "Red Regions": A Longitudinal Analysis', *Modern Italy* 25, no. 3 (August 2020): 279–97.
Bracke Maud Anne and James Mark. 'Between decolonization and the Cold War: Transnational activism and its limits in Europe, 1950s–90s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50, 3 (2015), 403–17
Bracke Maud Anne. *Women and the Reinvention of the Political: Feminism in Italy, 1968-1983,* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 46 and 50.
Bracke, Maud Anne. 'French responses to the Prague Spring: connections, (mis)perception and appropriation', *Europe-Asia Studies* 60/10 (2008), 1735–47.
Bracke, Maud Anne. 'One-Dimensional Conflict? Recent Scholarship on 1968 and the Limitations of the Generation Concept'. *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, no. 3 (1 July 2012): 638–46..
Bracke, Maud Anne. *1968* in Stephen A. Smith (ed). Stephen A Smith, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017): 157-8.

Bracke, Maud Anne. 'Between the Transnational and the Local: mapping the trajectories and contexts of the Wages for Housework campaign in 1970s Italian feminism', *Women's History Review* 22, n. 4 (2013), 625–42.
Bracke, Maud Anne. *Which Socialism? Whose Détente? West European Communism and the Czechoslovak Crisis, 1968*. New York: Central European University Press, 2007.
Bracke, Maud Anne., 'Our Bodies, Ourselves: The Transnational Connections of 1970s Italian and Roman Feminism', *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, n. 3 (2015), 560–80.
Bradley, Mark Philip. 'Human Rights and Communism'. in J. Fürst, M. Selden and S. Pons, *The Cambridge History of Communism: Volume 3: Endgames? Late communism in global Perspective, 1968 to the present* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2017).
Bravo, Anna. *A colpi di cuore: storie del sessantotto* (Roma: Laterza, 2008)
Brazzoduro, Andrea. '"Se un giorno tornasse quell'ora". La nuova sinistra tra eredità antifascista e terzomondismo', Italia Contemporanea - Sezione Open Access, no. 296 (23 September 2021), https://doi.org/10.3280/ic296-oa3.
Brazzoduro, Andrea. 'Algeria, Antifascism, and Third Worldism: An Anticolonial Genealogy of the Western European New Left (Algeria, France, Italy, 1957–1975)', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 5 (2 September 2020): 958–78.
Brazzoduro, Andrea. 'Voir/ne pas voir l'Algérie. La gauche italienne et la lutte des Algériens', in Moula Bouaziz, Aïssa Kadri and Tramor Quemeneur, eds., *La guerre d'Algérie revisitée. Nouvelles générations, nouveaux regards*, Karthala, Paris, 2015, pp. 331-338.
Bredeson, Kate. 'L'Entrée Libre à L'Ex-théâtre deFrance: The Occupation of the Odéon and the Revolutionary Culture of the French Stage', in Julian Jackson (ed.), *May 68: rethinking France's last revolution* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
Brigham, Robert K. *Guerrilla Diplomacy: The NLF's Foreign Relations and the Viet Nam War*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).
Brillanti, Claudio. *Le sinistre italiane e il conflitto arabo-israelo-palestinese: 1948-1973* (Sapienza Università Editrice, 2018).
Brockett, Oscar G. *History of the Theatre* (Harlow: Pearson, 2014)
Brogi, Paolo. *'68: ce n'est qu'un début : storie di un mondo in rivolta* (Reggio Emilia: Imprimatur, 2018).
Brown, Timothy Scott. Sixties Europe (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
Bruzzone Anna Maria and Rachele Farina. *La Resistenza taciuta* (Milano: La Pietra, 1976).
Buton, Philippe. 'Le PCF et Le Gauchisme. Acte I. La Rencontre (1963-1968)', *Revue Historique*, no. 684 (2017): 855–73. Young-Sun Hong, *Cold War Germany, the Third World, and the Global Humanitarian Regime*, 2017.
Byrne, Jeffrey James. *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order*. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016).
Cacchione, David. *Memorie di un operaio internazionalista* (Roma: Hellnation libri, 2019).
Caciagli, Mario. 'Tra Internazionalismo e Localismo: L'area Rossa', *Meridiana*, no. 16 (1993): 81–98,
Caciagli, Mario. *Addio alla provincia rossa: origini, apogeo e declino di una cultura politica*. (Roma: Carocci, 2017).
Calandri, Elena. 'Development cooperation, 1958–1992: Party politics and a foreign policy debacle', in Antonio Varsori and Benedetto Zaccaria (eds), *Italy in the International System from Détente to the End of the Cold War: The underrated ally* (Cham, 2018.
Calandri, Elena. 'Italia e Terzo Mondo. Un Rapporto Irrisolto, Un Campo Di Studi in Costruzione', *Rivista Italiana Di Storia Internazionale*, no. 2/2018 (2018), 299-328.
Calandri, Elena. 'Italy, the developing world, and aid policy, 1969–1979: The "Historic Compromise" and Italian foreign policy', *Cold War History* 19, 3 (2019): 363–81.
Calciati, Giovanna (ed.). *Donne a Gerusalemme: incontri tra italiane, palestinesi, israeliane* (Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1989).

Calderoni, Giulia. 'Exilio Y Militancia: El Caso De Los Exiliados Argentinos En Italia En Los Años Setenta', in Enrique Coraza de los Santos and Soledad Lastra (eds.) *Miradas a Las Migraciones, Las Fronteras y Los Exilios*, (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2020), 149–74.
Callinicos, Alex, Eustache Kouvélakis, and Lucia Pradella (eds). *Routledge Handbook of Marxism and Post-Marxism*, (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis, 2021)
Capelli, Claudia. *Propaganda Addio: La Fgci a Modena Negli Anni Ottanta* (Roma: BraDypUS, 2018),
Cappa, Marina e Roberto Nepoti. *Dario Fo* (Roma: Gremese Editore, 1997).
Carlson, Marvin. 'Theatre' in John M Merriman and Jay M Winter, *Europe since 1914* (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2006).
Carlson, Marvin. Avant-Garde Drama in the Middle East, in James M. Harding and John Rouse, *Not the Other Avant-Garde: The Transnational Foundations of Avant-Garde Performance* (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 2010).
Casa delle Donne di Torino, *Visitare luoghi difficili*, 1987.
Casilio, Silvia. *Una generazione d'emergenza: l'Italia della controcultura*, 1965-1969 (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2013)
Casini, Valentina. 'La sinistra extraparlamentare nel dibattito interno al Partito comunista italiano: Il Seminario sull'estremismo del gennaio 1975', *Ricerche di Storia Politica* 20, no. 1 (2017): 23–42.
Cavalucci, Sandra and Nino de Amicis, 'Italy. Diversity within United Solidarity', in Idesbald Goddeeris (ed.), *Solidarity with Solidarity: Western European Trade Unions and the Polish Crisis, 1980-1982* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), 75-100.
Cazzullo, Aldo. *I ragazzi che volevano fare la rivoluzione* (Milano: Sperling & Kupfer, 2007), kindle edition.
Cecchini, Lucio. *Per la libertà d'Italia, per l'Italia delle libertà: Profilo storico dell'Associazione nazionale partigiani d'Italia* (Roma: Jasilio, 1998).
Césaire, Aimé. *Discours sur le colonialisme: Suivi du, Discours sur la négritude*. (Paris: Présence africaine, 2004).
Chamberlin, Paul Thomas. *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Order*. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)
Chen, Jian, Martin Klimke, Masha Kirasirova, Mary Nolan, Marilyn Young, and Joanna Waley-Cohen (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2018).
Chiarotto Francesca (ed.). *Aspettando il Sessantotto: Continuità e fratture nelle culture politiche italiane dal 1956 al 1968*. (Torino: Accademia University Press, 2017).
Chironi, Daniela. 'Generations in the Feminist and LGBT Movements in Italy: The Case of Non Una Di Meno', *American Behavioral Scientist* 63, no. 10 (1 September 2019): 1469–96,
Christiaens Kim, Idesbald Goddeeris, and Magaly Rodriguez Garcia (eds.). *European Solidarity with Chile 1970s - 1980s* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2014.
Christiaens Kim. Een verdedigingslinie van de revolutie. Nicaraguacomités in *België en politieke solidariteit in een transnationaal netwerk (1977-1990)*. *Brood en Rozen: Tijdschrift voor de Geschiedenis van Sociale Bewegingen*; 2009; Vol. 14; no. 4; pp. 28 – 49.
Christiaens, Kim, Goddeeris, Idesbald. 'Competing Solidarities? Solidarność and the Global South during the 1980s' in J. Mark, A. M Kalinovsky, and S. Marung (eds), *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World* (Indiana University Press; Bloomington, 2020): 288 – 310.
Christiaens, Kim. '"Communists Are No Beasts": European Solidarity Campaigns on Behalf of Democracy and Human Rights in Greece and East–West Détente in the 1960s and Early 1970s', *Contemporary European History* 26, no. 4 (November 2017): 621–46.

Christiaens, Kim. 'Between Diplomacy and Solidarity: Western European Support Networks for Sandinista Nicaragua', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 21, no. 4 (4 July 2014): 617–34.
Christiaens, Kim. 'European Reconfigurations of Transnational Activism: Solidarity and Human Rights Campaigns on Behalf of Chile during the 1970s and 1980s', *International Review of Social History* 63, no. 3 (December 2018): 413–48.
Christiaens, Kim.'Europe at the Crossroads of Three Worlds: Alternative Histories and Connections of European Solidarity with the Third World, 1950s–80s', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 24, no. 6 (2 November 2017): 932–54.
Ciampani, Andrea and Rosati, Generoso. 'La Federazione Cgil, Cisl, Uil : la dimensione internazionale ed europea' in Franco Lotito (ed.) *L'unità Possibile: La Federazione Cgil, Cisl, Uil: 1972-1984*, (Roma: Viella, 2021).
Ciuffoletti, Zeffiro. *Storia del PSI. Le origini e l'Età giolittiana* (Roma: Laterza, 1992).
Cleaver Harry and Camille Barbagallo (eds). *Women and the Subversion of the Community: A Mariarosa Dalla Costa Reader*, Illustrated edizione (PM Press, 2019).
Clementi, Marco, Elisa Santalena, and Paolo Persichetti. *Brigate rosse, I: dalle fabbriche alla campagna di primavera* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2017).
Coccia Massimilano and Susanna Fontana. *Gli occhi di Piero. Storia di Piero Bruno, un ragazzo degli anni Settanta* (Roma: Edizioni Alegre, 2006).
Cockburn, Cynthia. *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (London: Zed Books, 2013).
Codrignani, Giancarla et al. *Donne e internazionalismo* (Rocca San Casciano: Lega Internazionale per i Diritti e la Liberazione dei Popoli, 1980).
Colajanni, Pompeo. 'Vo Nguyen Giap il leggendario comandante', *Vie Nuove*, no. 21, (27 May 1965).
Colarizi, Simona. *Un paese in movimento: l'Italia negli anni Sessanta e Settanta* (Bari: Laterza, 2019).
Collettivo comunista di San Frediano, *Dopo il luglio '71: la rivoluzione palestinese oggi.* (Verona: Bertani, 1972).
Collotti Pischel, Enrica 'Il Comitato Vietnam per la Resistenza Palestinese', Belfagor 25, no. 6 (1970): 724–26.
Colozza, Roberto, 'Il Tribunale Russell : intellettuali contro la guerra in Vietnam', *Ventunesimo Secolo* 34, no. 2 (2014): 49–75..
Colucci, Michele. *Storia dell'immigrazione straniera in Italia* (Carocci: Roma, 2019).
Comitati Autonomi Operai di Roma, ed., *Autonomia Operaia* (Roma: Savelli, 1976).
Comitato Palestina Firenze, Libertà Per Tutti I Prigionieri Palestinesi E Per Marwan Barghouti, 9 October 2002 in https://italy.indymedia.org/news/2002/10/91994.php.
Comune di Reggio Emilia, Reggio Africa. Storia di un'amicizia https://www.slideshare.net/comunereggioemilia/kitabu-1-english-version
Consorzio AASTER, *Centri sociali: geografie del desiderio: dati, statistiche, progetti, mappe, divenire.* (Milano: Shake, 1996).
Contesso, Ines 'Presentazione di un'indagine sociale', *Amicizia* no.3. March 1967, 16-19.
Conti, Davide. *L'anima nera della Repubblica: Storia del MSI* (Roma: Laterza, 2013).
Conze, Eckart, M. Klimke and J. Varon (eds), *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War of the 1980s* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2017).
Cooke Philip. 'The Resistance Continues: A Social Movement in the 1970s', *Modern Italy* 5, no. 2 (1 November 2000), 161–73.
Cooke, Philip. *Luglio 1960: Tambroni e la repressione fallita* (Milano: Teti, 2000).
Cooke, Philip. *The Legacy of the Italian Resistance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
Corasaniti, Salvatore. *Volsci: i comitati autonomi operai romani negli anni Settanta (1971-1980)*, (Firenze: Lemonier: 2021), kindle edition.

Crainz, Guido (ed.), *Il sessantotto sequestrato: Cecoslovacchia, Polonia, Jugoslavia e dintorni* (Roma: Donzelli, 2018).
Crainz, Guido. *Il paese mancato: Dal miracolo economico agli anni ottanta* (Roma: Donzelli, 2003).
Crainz, Guido. *Storia del miracolo italiano: Culture, identità, trasformazioni fra anni cinquanta e sessanta* (Roma: Donzelli, 1996).
Crainz, Guido. *Storia della Repubblica: L'Italia dalla Liberazione ad oggi* (Roma: Donzelli, 2016).
D'Alema, Massimo and Federico Rampini, Kosovo: gli italiani e la guerra (Milano: Mondadori, 1999).
D'Alessandro, Leonardo Pompeo. *Guadalajara 1937: I volontari italiani fascisti e antifascisti nella guerra di Spagna* (Roma: Carocci, 2017).
D'Annibale, Elisa, Veronica De Sanctis, and Beatrice Donati. *Il filoarabismo nero: Note su neofascismo italiano e mondo arabo*. (Roma: Nuova Cultura, 2019).
D'Arcangeli, Luciana. *I personaggi femminili nel teatro di Dario Fo e Franca Rame* (Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 2009).
Daum Andreas, L. C Gardner, and W. Mausbach, *America, the Vietnam War, and the World: Comparative and International Perspectives* (Washington, D.C.; New York: German Historical Institute; Cambridge University Press, 2003).
Davey, Eleanor. *Idealism beyond Borders: The French Revolutionary Left and the Rise of Humanitarianism, 1954–1988* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).
Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities.* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013).
De Bernardi, Alberto, and Paolo Ferrari (eds.). *Antifascismo e identità europea*. (Roma: Carocci, 2004).
De Giuseppe, Massimo. 'Il "Terzo Mondo" in Italia. Trasformazioni Di Un Concetto Tra Opinione Pubblica, Azione Politica e Mobilitazione Civile (1955-1980)', *Ricerche Di Storia Politica*, no. 1/2011 (2011).
De Giuseppe, Massimo. 'Siamo con i campesinos', M. Busani and M. Bocci (eds), *Towards 1968: Studenti cattolici nell'Europa occidentale degli anni Sessanta (*Edizioni Studium., 2020), kindle edition.
De Giuseppe, Massimo. *L'altra America: i cattolici italiani e l'America Latina : da Medellín a Francesco* (Brescia : Morcelliana, 2017).
De Longis, Rosanna. 'Tra femminismo e storiografia: i primi anni di «DWF»', in Maura Palazzi and Porciani, Ilaria (eds.). *Storiche di ieri e di oggi: dalle autrici dell'Ottocento alle riviste di storia delle donne* (Roma: Viella, 2004): 223-240;
De Luna, Giovanni. *Le ragioni di un decennio: 1969-1979, militanza, violenza, sconfitta, memoria* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2009).
De Prospo, Silvano and Rosario Priore. *Chi manovrava le Brigate rosse? storia e misteri dell'Hyperion di Parigi, scuola di lingue e centrale del terrorismo internazionale* (Milano: Ponte alle Grazie, 2011).
De Sario, Beppe. 'Cambiamento sociale e attivismo giovanile nell'italia degli anni Ottanta: il caso dei centri sociali occupati e autogestiti'. *Cahiers d'études italiennes*, no. 14 (15 March 2012): 117–38.
De Vito, Christian G. 'History Without Scale: The Micro-Spatial Perspective*'. *Past & Present* 242, no. Supplement_14 (1 November 2019): 348–72.
De Wiel, Jérôme aan. *East German Intelligence and Ireland, 1949–90: Espionage, Terrorism and Diplomacy* (Manchester University Press, 2015).
Del Boca, Angelo 'Le conseguenze per l'Italia del mancato dibattito sul colonialismo'. in Studi piacentini 5, 1989: 115 -128.
Del Boca, Angelo. *Gli italiani in Africa orientale. 4* (Roma: Laterza, 1984).
Delalande, Nicolas. *La lutte et l'entraide. L'âge des solidarités ouvrières.* (Paris: Editions Seuil, 2019).

Della Porta, Donatella and Gianni Piazza. *Voices of the Valley, Voices of the Straits: How Protest Creates Communities* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).
Della Porta, Donatella. *Il terrorismo di sinistra* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1990).
Della Porta, Donatella. *Movimenti collettivi e sistema politico in Italia: 1960–1995* (Roma: Laterza, 1996).
Deonna, Laurence.'Gheddafi: se quattro mogli vi sembran poche', *Effe Rivista Femminista (*11-1973), in http://efferivistafemminista.it/2014/07/gheddafi-se-quattro-mogli-vi-sembran-poche/ (accessed 16-02-2019)
Deplano, Valeria. *L'impero colpisce ancora? Gli studenti somali nell'Italia degli anni Cinquanta,* in Deplano, Valeria, Pes, Alessandro (eds.). *Quel che resta dell'impero. La cultura coloniale degli italiani,* Milano, Mimesis, 2014.
Di Cesare, Donatella. *Torture (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018).*
Di Figlia, Matteo. *Israele e la sinistra: gli ebrei nel dibattito pubblico italiano dal 1945 a oggi* (Roma: Donzelli, 2012).
Di Gregorio, Pinella. 'Eni: Agente Speciale Della Decolonizzazione', *Meridiana*, no. 83 (2015): 195–214.
Di Maggio, Marco (ed.). *Sfumature Di Rosso: La Rivoluzione Russa Nella Politica Italiana Del Novecento*, Prima edizione, (Torino: Accademia University Press, 2017).
Di Maggio, Marco. *The Rise and Fall of Communist Parties in France and Italy: Entangled Historical Approaches* (Cham (Suisse): Springer International Publishing AG, 2020).
Di-Capua, Yoav. 'Palestine Comes to Paris: The Global Sixties and the Making of a Universal Cause', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 50, no. 1 (2 January 2021): 19–50;
Dimitrov, Georgi. 'The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism.' www.marxists.org/reference/archive/dimitrov/works/1935/08_02.htm.
Dixon John and J. Piccini. 'The Anti-Vietnam War Movement: International Activism and the Search for World Peace', in C. Philip Peterson, W. M. Knoblauch, M. Loadenthal (eds), *The Routledge History of World Peace Since 1750* (Routledge, 2018).
Dogliani, Patrizia and O. Gaspari (eds.). *L'Europa dei comuni. Dalla fine dell'Ottocento al secondo dopoguerra* (Roma: Donzelli, 2003).
Dogliani, Patrizia. 'The Fate of Socialist Internationalism. '. In G. Sluga, P. Clavin, and S. Amrith (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 38-60.
Dominioni, Matteo. *Lo sfascio dell'impero: gli italiani in Etiopia 1936-1941* (Roma: Editori Laterza, 2008).
Donato, Gabriele. *'La lotta è armata': sinistra rivoluzionaria e violenza politica in Italia, 1969-1972* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2014).
Donini, Elisabetta 'Le donne a Beirut', *Il Manifesto* 22 April 1987.
Dumont-Lewi, Laetitia. 'Le Spectateur Apprivoisé. Les Paradoxes de Dario Fo, Entre Animal Politique et Bête de Scène', *Théâtre/Public N°208*, accessed 17 October 2021.
Dumont-Lewi, Laetitia. *Dario Fo Ou Les Représentations d'un Homme-Théâtre* (These de doctorat, Universitè de Paris 10, 2014).
Eley, Geoff. *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Ellena, Liliana. 'L'invisibile linea del colore nel femminismo italiano: viaggi, traduzioni, slittamenti'. *Genesis* X, no. 2 (2011): 17–39. .
Emergency, '*Who we are'*, in https://en.emergency.it/who-we-are/. (Accessed 4-03-2019).
Engerman, David C. 'Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917–1962', In Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 20–43.
Erll, Astrid. 'Travelling Memory', *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 4–18.

Evangelisti Valerio and Emanuela Zucchini. *Storia del Partito socialista rivoluzionario: 1881-1893* (Bologna: Odoya, 2013).
Fadini, Edoardo. *Con chi vuole discutere Dario Fo*, Rinascita no. 45 – November 1970.
Falciola, Luca. 'Transnational Relationships between the Italian Revolutionary Left and Palestinian Militants during the Cold War', *Journal of Cold War Studies* 22, no. 4 (1 December 2020): 31–70.
Falciola, Luca. *Il movimento del 1977 in Italia* (Carocci:Roma, 2015).
Fantoni, Gianluca. 'The Jewish Brigade Group and Italy: A Political and Historiographical Quarrel'. *The Journal of Modern History* 93, no. 1 (1 March 2021): 150–77.
Farrell, Joseph and Paolo Puppa. *A History of Italian Theatre* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).
Farrell, Joseph e Antonio Scuderi. *Dario Fo: Stage, Text, and Tradition* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000).
Farrell, Joseph, *Dario Fo and Franca Rame: Passion Unspent,* (Milano : Ledizioni, May 2015).
Farrell, Joseph. *Dario Fo and Franca Rame: Harlequins of the Revolution* (London: Methuen, 2001).
Featherstone, David. *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed, 2012).
Feltrinelli, Carlo. *Senior service* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2014).
Ferrara, Maurizio. 'Tattica e strategia nella lotta antimperialista', *L'Unità* 13 September 1970.
FGCI. 'Il documento politico per il XXI Congresso della FGCI', *La Città Futura* 8 December 1978.
Fincardi, Marco. 'Il Primo Maggio', in M. Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Personaggi e date dell'Italia unita*, (Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1997).
Fincardi, Marco. *C'era una volta il mondo nuovo: la metafora sovietica nello sviluppo emiliano* (Roma: Carocci, 2007).
Flamigni, Sergio. *La tela del ragno: il delitto Moro* (Milano: Kaos, 2003).
Fo, Dario and Vittorio Franceschi (eds). *Compagni senza censura* (Milano: Mazotta, 1970).
Foa, Lisa. *È andata così: conversazioni a ruota libera in via Aurelia* (Palermo: Sellerio, 2004).
Foa, Lisa. 'Che cosa è andato storto nel nostro internazionalismo?*'*, in *Ombre rosse 26*, December 1978.
Focardi, Filippo. *La guerra della memoria: La Resistenza nel dibattito politico italiano dal 1945 a oggi*. (Roma: Laterza, 2005.)
Folena, Pietro. 'Perché Africa, la festa dei giovani comunisti'*, L'Unità*, 3 July 1986.
Fondazione internazionale Lelio Basso per il diritto e la liberazione dei popoli, ed., *Fatima, Leila e altre: incontri con donne palestinesi* (Roma: Fondazione internazionale Lelio Basso per il diritto e la liberazione dei popoli, 1985).
Fonzo, Erminio. 'Chilean Refugees in Italy: A Forgotten Story', in Erminio Fonzo and Hilary A Haakenson, *Mediterranean mosaic history and art* (Fisciano: ICSR Mediterranean Knowledge, 2019): 187–211.
Formigoni, Guido. *Storia d'Italia nella guerra fredda (1943-1978)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2017), kindle edition.
Foti, Adriana (ed), 'La verifica di una situazione' Amicizia no.6. September-October 1967,14-15.
Frampton, Martyn '"Squaring the Circle": The Foreign Policy of Sinn Féin, 1983–1989', *Irish Political Studies* 19, no. 2 (1 June 2004): 43–63.
Francescangeli, Eros. 'Le parole e le cose. Sul nesso sinistra rivoluzionaria, violenza politica e sociale, lotta armata', in G. Battelli and A. Vinci, eds., *Parole e Violenza Politica: Gli Anni Settanta Nel Novecento Italiano*, (Roma: Carocci editore, 2013): 63-75.
Franco, Ottaviano. *La rivoluzione nel labirinto.* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1993).
Frangioni, Filippo. 'Fra europeismo e terzomondismo: il Portogallo e la rivoluzione dei garofani nella sinistra italiana'. In *Memoria e ricerca* 44, no. 3 (2013): 143-159.
Fraser, Ronald. *1968: A student generation in revolt* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).
Fronczak, Joseph. 'Local People's Global Politics: A Transnational History of the Hands Off Ethiopia Movement of 1935', *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 2 (2015): 245–74.

Funaro, Chicco. “Il comunismo è giovane e nuovo”: Rosso e l'Autonomia operaia milanese, in Sergio Bianchi, Sergio, Caminiti Lanfranco (eds). *Gli autonomi: Le storie, le lotte, le teorie*. vol.1 vol.1 (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2007).
Gabrielli, Patrizia *Tempio Di Virilità: L’antifascismo, Il Genere, La Storia* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2008).
Galeazzi, Marco. *Il PCI e il movimento dei paesi non allineati: 1955-1975* (Milano, Italy: FrancoAngeli, 2011).
Galfré, Monica, and Simone Neri Serneri (eds). *Il movimento del ’77: radici, snodi, luoghi*. Roma: Viella, 2018.
Galfré, Monica. *La guerra è finita: l’Italia e l’uscita dal terrorismo 1980-1987* (Roma: Laterza, 2014).
Galletti, Mario. ‘Algeria Eroica’, *Il Pioniere*, no. 24 (12 June 1960).
Galli, Giorgio. *Piombo rosso: la storia completa della lotta armata in Italia dal 1970 a oggi* (Milano: Baldini&Castoldi, 2013).
Gallinari, Prospero. Un contadino nella metropoli: ricordi di un militante delle brigate rosse (Milano: Bompiani, 2013).
Galmozzi, Chicco. ‘Noi mica cantavamo Bella ciao …’ in https://www.ugomariatassinari.it/bella-ciao/.
García, Hugo. ‘Transnational History: A New Paradigm for Anti-Fascist Studies?’ *Contemporary European History* 25, no. 4 (2016): 563–72.
Gavrilovich Donatella, Maria Teresa Pizza, and Donato Santeramo. *Franca Rame: one life, a thousand adventures* (Roma: UniversItalia, 2016).
Gentile, Emilio. *La grande Italia: il mito della nazione nel XX secolo*(Bari: Laterza, 2011).
Gentiloni Silveri, Ugo. *Storia dell’Italia contemporanea, 1943-2019*, Le vie della civiltà (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2019).
Geuna, Andrea. ‘Aspetti Dell’antimilitarismo Socialista in Italia Dagli Anni ’80 Del XIX Secolo Alla Prima Guerra Mondiale’ (These de doctorat, Paris, EHESS, 2021).
Giachetti, Diego. ‘L’area della rivoluzione nell’Italia degli anni Settanta’, in https://www.sinistrainrete.info/sinistra-radicale/3225-diego-giachetti-larea-della-rivoluzione-nellitalia-degli-anni-settanta.html.
Giachetti, Diego. *Oltre il Sessantotto: prima, durante e dopo il movimento* (Pisa: BFS, 1998).
Giacon, Alessandro and Philippe Artières (eds). *Il ’68 in Italia e in Francia: sguardi incrociati = 1968 en France et en Italie : regards croisés* (Canterano: Aracne, 2019);
Giannuli, Aldo. *La strategia della tensione: Servizi segreti, partiti, golpe falliti, terrore fascista, politica internazionale: un bilancio definitive*. (Milano: Ponte alle Grazie, 2018).
Gildea, Robert James Mark, and Niek Pas. ‘European Radicals and the “Third World”’, *Cultural and Social History* 8, no. 4 (January 2011): 449–71.
Gildea, Robert, James Mark, and Anette Warring. *Europe’s 1968 Voices of Revolt* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2013).
Gildea, Robert. ‘“La hantise de devenir vieux cons comme ses parents”: activist definition of the 1968 generation in France’in A. Von der Goltz (ed.), *‘Talkin’ ‘Bout My Generation’: Conflicts of generation building and Europe’s ‘1968’* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2011).
Ginsborg, Paul. *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988* (London, England; New York, N.Y., USA: Penguin Books, 1990).
Giovagnoli, Agostino. *La Repubblica degli italiani. 1946-2016*, (Roma: Laterza, 2016).
Giovannini Paolo. ‘Generazioni e Mutamento Politico in Italia’, *Italian Political Science Review / Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica* 18, no. 3 (December 1988).
Girometti Andrea and Elisa Lello. ‘Dalla contestazione alla gestione dello status quo: Cinquant;anni di giovani e politica in Italia (1968–2018)’ in L. Gorgolini and L. Gobbi (eds), *I giovani tra XX e XXI secolo* (Bologna 2020).

Gordon, Daniel A. *Immigrants & Intellectuals: May '68 & the Rise of Anti-Racism in France* (Pontypool: Merlin Press, 2012).
Goscha, Christopher E., Maurice Vaïsse, eds. *La guerre du Vietnam et l'Europe: 1963 - 1973*. (Bruxelles: Bruylant , 2003).
Gould, Jeffrey L. *Solidarity Under Siege* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).
Groppo, Bruno. 'Fascismes, antifascismes et communismes', In *Le siècle des communismes*, edited by Michel Dreyfus et al., 499–511. Paris: L'Atelier, 2000.
Guarello J. Cristóbal. *Aldo Marín: Carne de cañon* (Chile, 2018).
Guidi, Flavia. 'Che cosa è rimasto del Leoncavallo?', accessed 12 October 2021, https://www.vice.com/it/article/exje5z/leoncavallo-spa-quarantanni-a11n6-287.
Guidon, Guillame. *De la défense révolutionnaire. Une lecture transversale des années 1970 italiennes à travers le prisme du Soccorso Rosso (1969-1980)*, Thèse de doctorat, (École Doctorale SHPT de Grenoble: 2016),
Guiso, Andrea. *La colomba e la spada: "Lotta per la pace" e antiamericanismo nella politica del Partito comunista italiano (1949–1954)*. (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006)
Gundle, Stephen. *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian communists and the challenge of mass culture, 1943–1991* (Durham, NC, 2000)
Guzzo, Domenico. 'Rome, l'inscription Des Violences Politiques Dans La Ville Au Cours Des Années de Plomb : (1966-1982)' (These de doctorat, Université Grenoble Alpes (ComUE), 2017).
Hamzah, Hussain ' Final Versions and Meaning Transformation: The Example of Maḥmud Darwīsh'in *International Journal of Asian History, Culture and Tradition* Vol.2, No.1, (September 2015): .8-25.
Hansen, Jan Christian Helm, and Frank Reichherzer. *Making Sense of the Americas: How Protest Related to America in the 1980s and Beyond* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2015).
Hartmann Heike and Susann Lewerenz, 'Campaigning against Apartheid in East and West Germany', *Radical History Review* 2014, no. 119 (1 May 2014): 191–204.
Hasso, Frances Susan *Resistance, Repression, and Gender Politics in Occupied Palestine and Jordan* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005).
Hecker, Marc 'Un demi-siècle de militantisme pro-palestinien en France : évolution, bilan et perspectives', *Confluences Mediterranee* N° 86, no. 3 (7 October 2013): 197–208.
Helm, Christian. *Botschafter der Revolution* (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018).
Hendrickson, Burleigh. 'Débat autour de The Third World in the Global 1960s de Samantha Christiansen et Zachary A. Scarlett', *Monde(s)* N° 11, no. 1 (20 June 2017).
Herf, Jeffrey. *Undeclared Wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German Far Left, 1967-1989* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).
Hilwig, Stuart. *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
Hong ,Young-Sun, *Cold War Germany, the Third World, and the Global Humanitarian Regime* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2017).
Horn, Gerd-Rainer.*The Spirit of '68 Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* (Oxford: New York : Oxford University Press, 2007).
Idisu, 'Intervento del Ministro Ruberti', in *Amicizia* no. 2, February 1988.
Ignazi, Piero. Giampiero Giacomello, and Fabrizio Coticchia, Italian Military Operations Abroad: Just Don't Call It War (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
Il Corriere della Sera 'Salvador; Lama e Benvenuto chiedono il ritiro del nostro ambasciatore dal Salvador', 14 March 1982.
Il Corriere della Sera, 'A Roma ricompare «Autonomia» e contesta Pertini', 22 December 1985.
Il Corriere della Sera, 'Cinque arresti a Firenze per l'assalto alle Murate', 18 November 1968.
Il Corriere della Sera, 'Gli autonomi lanciano uova, il carabiniere spara', 9 October 1988.
Il Corriere della Sera, 'Il centro sconvolto dagli scontri', 6 June 1982.
Il Corriere della Sera, 'In ansia gli immigrati della cultura', 30 June 1977.

Il Corriere della Sera, 'In trentamila per la causa Palestinese' 26 September 1976.
Il Corriere della Sera, 'Inchiesta della polizia sugli arruolamenti per il Vietnam', 19 March 1965.
Il Corriere Della Sera, 'Occupazione del consolato Iran' in 20 May 1981.
Il Corriere della Sera, 'Ore 7, scoppia la guerriglia a Lambrate', 17 Agust 1989.
Il Corriere della Sera, Lotta Continua: "bloccheremo la lezione di De Felice", 11 March 1988.
Il Corriere della Sera,'Pajetta promette aiuti e volontari ai ribelli', 23 April 1965.
Il Corriere della Sera. 'Tafferugli tra estremisti all'Università di Bologna', 7 December 1960.
Il guardafacce, 'La gappista del cielo' *Noi Donne* n. 38, 26 September 1970.
Il Telegrafo', 'Deplorevoli episodi nel centro di Livorno' 1 January 1967.
Iriye, Akira. *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
ISTAT. *Annuario statistico dell'istruzione italiana* 1968.
ISTAT. *Annuario statistico dell'istruzione italiana* 1976.
Jacoviello, Alberto. 'Dal Vietnam alla Grecia', *L'Unità*, 22 April 1967.
Jad, Islah. 'Modernizing Palestinian Women: Between Colonialism and Nationalism-Reflections on the 1960s and 1970s', in Chen, Jian, Martin Klimke, Masha Kirasirova, Mary Nolan, Marilyn Young, and Joanna Waley-Cohen (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2018): 257-272.
Jawad, Rania. *Theatre Encounters: A Politics of Performance in Palest*ine, (Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 2013).
Jaworska, Krystyna and Caterina Simiand (eds). *Solidali Con Solidarność: Torino e Il Sindacato Libero Polacco* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011).
Jiménez Botta, Felix A. 'From Antifascism to Human Rights. Politics of Memory in the West German Campaigns Against the Chilean and Argentinean Military Regimes, 1973–1990', *Zeithistorische Forschungen – Studies in Contemporary History* 17, no. 1 (3 July 2020): 63–90.
Juchler Ingo, *Die Studentenbewegungen in den Vereinigten Staaten und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland der sechziger Jahre. Eine Untersuchung hinsichtlich ihrer Beeinflussung durch Befreiungsbewegungen und -theorien aus der Dritten Welt.* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2021).
Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2013).
Kalter Cristoph, 'Die 'Entdeckung' des 'Tiers Monde' und die radikale Linke zwischen Nachkriegskapitalismus, Dekolonisierung und Kaltem Krieg in Frankreich (1958-1975),' in *Potsdamer Bulletin für Zeithistorische Studien* 38/39 (2006/07), 33-38.
Kalter, Christoph. *The Discovery of the Third World: Decolonization and the Rise of the New Left in France, c .1950–1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016; or.ed 2011.).
Kalter, Christoph. *The Discovery of the Third World: Decolonization and the Rise of the New Left in France, c. 1950–1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
Kalter, Christoph'A shared space of imagination, communication, and action: Perspectives on the history of the "Third World"', in S. Christiansen and Z. A. Scarlett (eds), *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York, 2012): 23-38.
Kalter, Cristoph, 'Das Eigene Im Fremden. Der Algerienkrieg Und Die Anfänge Der Neuen Linken Der Bundesrepublik, in: *Zeitschrift Für Geschichtswissenschaft* (ZfG) 55 (2007), no. 2: 142-161.
Karakatsanis, Leonidas and N. Papadogiannis. 'Introduction : Performing the Left in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus'. In L. Karakatsanis and N. Papadogiannis (eds.) *The Politics of Culture in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017.
Kernalegenn, Tudi, Joel Belliveau, and Jean-Olivier Roy (eds.), *La vague nationale des années 1968: une comparaison internationale* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2020).
Khader, Naïm and Bichara Khader, (eds). *Testi della rivoluzione palestinese: 1968-1969* (Verona: Bertani, 1976).
Klimke, Martin, and Joachim Scharloth. (eds.), *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Komun Academy. ‘La lotta per la libertà dei curdi e l’(anti) imperialismo nel XXI secolo’, www.uikionlus.com/la-lotta-per-la-liberta-dei-curdi-e-lanti-imperialismo-nel-xxi-secolo/.
Konieczna, Anna and Rob Skinner (eds.). *A Global History of Anti-Apartheid: ‘Forward to Freedom’ in South Africa* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019).
Konieczna, Anna. ‘L’Afrique Du Sud et Les Solidarités Transnationales: L’histoire Du Premier Mouvement Anti-Apartheid Français (1960-74) Na Nouvelles Formes de Contestation’, Emma Bell (ed.)*, Nouvelles Formes de Contestation : Du National Au Transnational* (*Chambéry: Les Presses de l’Université Savoie Mont Blanc,* 2017):127-146
Kornetis, Kostis. ‘‘Everything Links’? Temporality, Territoriality and Cultural Transfer in the ’68 Protest Movements’, *Historein* 9 (2010): 34–45.
Kornetis, Kostis. ‘Cuban Europe”? Greek and Iberian Tiersmondisme in the “Long 1960s’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 3 (1 July 2015): 486–515.
Kornetis, Kostis. ‘Una diaspora adriatica: La migrazione degli studenti universitari greci in Italia’, in Emilio Cocco and Everardo Minardi, *Immaginare l’Adriatico: contributi alla riscoperta sociale di uno spazio di frontiera* (Milano: F. Angeli, 2007): 151-168.
Kraushaar, Wolfgang. ‘Antisemitismus in Der Radikalen Linken (1967 - 1976)’, *Polis*, n.d;
Krujit, Dirik. The Departamento America and the Latin American Revolutions, in Alberto Martín Álvarez and Eduardo Rey Tristán, (eds.) *Revolutionary Violence and the New Left: Transnational Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
L’Avanti. ‘Roma: scontri fra comunisti e «cinesi»’ 17 March 1965.
L’Unità ‘Giovani di tutte le tendenze manifestano contro i massacri razzisti nel Sudafrica’ 31 March 1960.
L’Unità 'L' incontro ton il PCI e con le giovani operaie di Manziana'. 3 July 1968.
L’Unità. ‘Unità e internazionalismo’, 11 February 1975.
L’Unità. Iniziativa europea degli operai per la pace, 18 April 1966.
L’Unità. Manifestazioni unitarie a Napoli per la pace, 9 August 1964,
L’Unità. Medici e infermièri italiani a Beirut, 16 September 1976.
L’Unità. Piero Fassino, «Due popoli, due Stati», una conquista anche per la sinistra, 14 September 1993.
L’Unità. ‘Calorosa manifestazione unitaria della gioventù italiana in appoggio all’eroica lotta che l’Algeria conduce da 6 anni’, 11 November 1960.
L’Unità. ‘Con lo sciopero anti-fascista Genova risponde all’attentato’, 8 March 1969.
L’Unità. ‘Crimini di guerra: Ieri e oggi (risponde Aldo de Jaco)’, 20 May 20 1966.
L’Unità. ‘I partigiani si batteranno alla testa del popolo per la pace’, 22 March 1949.
L’Unità. ‘I sopravvissuti di Marzabotto chiamano alla difesa della pace’, 3 March 1951.
L’Unità. ‘II centro di Firenze bloccato da migliaia di manifestanti’, 2 April 1967.
L’Unità. ‘Imponente la marcia della pace a Milano’ 14 March 1965.
L’Unità. ‘In Migliaia a Roma contro l’apartheid’, 21 December 1985.
L’Unità. ‘La FGCI sui tragici avvenimenti nella RFT’, 20 October 1977.
L’Unità. ‘La resistenza è nel Vietnam’, 11 March 1965
L’Unità. ‘L'obiettivo principale dei palestinesi: creare uno Stato indipendente’, 26 September 1976.
L’Unità. ‘Manifestazioni e odg di protesta contro l'aggressione e per la pace’, 7 August 1964.
L’Unità. ‘Migliaia di cittadini hanno manifestato contro l’assassinio di Patrice Lumumba’ *20* January 1961.
L’Unità. ‘Solidarietà con L'Algeria’, 9 January 1964.
L’Unità. ‘Un appello della Fgci: “Costruiamo una scuola ai ragazzi del Nicaragua”’, 30 January 1987.
L’Unità. ‘Uniti contro il terrorismo e in difesa della Repubblica’14 May 1978.
L’Unità. 70.000 a Milano per il Vietnam, 29 March 1965.
L’Unità. 'Con voi sempre', 20 July 1968.
L’Unità. Costituito un comitato pro-Algeria, 14 April 1964.
L’Unità. Decine di migliaia in piazza con l'OLP e con i sindacati, 22 September 1982.

L'Unità. Fiaccolata coi marciatori a Bologna, «città di pace», L'Unità 5 December 1982.
L'Unità. La catena della pace 18 October 1987.
L'Unità. La giornata del popolo della pace, 26 October 1986.
L'Unità. 'La lotta palestinese è di tutti i popoli liberi', 17 June 1982.
L'Unità. 'L'Udi solidale con le donne vietnamite', 12 August 1964.
L'Unità. Scatenata una dura repressione contro gli antifascisti greci, in 5 September 1970.
L'Unità. Sei «giornate della gioventù» da martedì al parco del Pincio, 16 September 1976.
La Mangusta. 'Pajetta: Mille bugie, una verità (cattiva)' *Secolo d'Italia*, 20 May 1965.
La Stampa Sera. 'Manifestano in 60 mila la solidarietà per il Cile' 19 November 1973.
La Stampa Sera. 'Scontri fra studenti dopo un convegno a Milano', 7 December 1960.
La Stampa, 'Scioperi contro le violenze mentre I "maoisti" rivendicano la paternità dei gravi disordini', 11 March 1969.
Lanzafame, Carmelo Mario and Carlo Podaliri, *La Stagione Della Solidarietà Sanitaria a Reggio Emilia: Mozambico 1963-1977*, Collana Logiche Sociali (Torino: L'Harmattan Italia, 2004).
Latte Stephanie, 'Notes sur quelques figures récurrentes du corps et du genre dans les guerres de Palestine', *Quasimodo*, April 2005.
Lazar, Marc and Marie Anne Matard-Bonucci (eds.). *Il libro degli anni di piombo: storia e memoria del terrorismo italiano* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2010).
Lega, Alessio. *La Nave Dei Folli: Vita e Canti Di Ivan Della Mea. (Milano : Agenzia X, 2019).*
Lenin, Vladimir. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/index.htm#ch07.
Lenin, Vladimir.'The crisis is mature' (1917) in *Collected Works. Vol. 26 Vol. 26* (Moskau: Progress Publ., 1972).
Lenzi, Antonio. *Gli opposti estremismi. Organizzazione e linea politica in Lotta continua e ne il Manifesto-Pdup* (Reggio Calabria: Città del Sole Edizioni, 2016).
Levy, Carl 'The Italians and the Iwma', in Bensimon, Fabrice, Quentin Deluermoz, and Jeanne Moisand. *Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth': The First International in a Global Perspective* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2018): 207-220.
Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, *Hanoi's War. An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016),
Lindekilde, Lasse. 'Discourse and Frame Analysis: In-Depth Analysis of Qualitative Data in Social Movement Research' in Donatella Della Porta (ed.), *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
Lomellini, Valentine. 'Prove Di Pacifismo All'italiana. La Critica Alla Guerra Del Vietnam e La Genesi Dell'«altra America». Un Punto Di Incontro Tra Pci e Dc?', *Ricerche Di Storia Politica*, no. 1/2019 (2019).
Lomellini, Valentine. 'Under Attack? The PCI and the Italian Peace Movement in the 1980s', *Journal of Contemporary History* 56, no. 3 (1 July 2021): 579–94.
Lomellini, Valentine. *L'appuntamento Mancato: La Sinistra Italiana e Il Dissenso Nei Regimi Comunisti, 1968-1989* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2010).
Loreto, Fabrizio. ''*Si sabes, enseña. Si no sabes, aprende'. L'impegno internazionale dei sindacati torinesi*', Dora Marucco and Cristina Accornero (eds.). *Orizzonti internazionali a Torino: indagini per una storia della sua classe dirigente nel tardo Novecento*, Saggi. Storia e scienze sociali (Roma: Donzelli editore, 2016).
Loreto, Fabrizio. 'Ottobre rosso. Letture italiane della rivoluzione bolscevica, «Zapruder» n. 44/2017'.
Lotta Continua, 'L'Eritrea non è terra di nessuno, non e un pascolo coloniale. È la patria di un popolo in lotta dal 1961 con le armi in pugno', *Lotta Continua* 21 February 1975.
Lotta Continua. 'Armi al MIR!' December 1, 1973.
Lotta Continua. 'Gli Estremisti dei diritti umani', 13 May 1980.
Lotta Continua. 'Grande manifestazione internazionalista a Roma', 27 September, 1976.

Lotta Continua. 'Hitler vive a Washington', 23 April 1971.
Lotta Continua. 'I Kurdi: un popolo dimenticato', 13 April 1977.
Lotta Continua. 'Israele avamposto fascista dell'imperialismo', 3 June 1972.
Lotta Continua. 'La manifestazione di oggi a Torino: Un punto di arrivo, un punto di partenza', 18 November 1973.
Lotta Continua. 'Nixon boia ti aspettiamo alle presse' in 1 October 1970.
Lotta Continua. 'Per l'indipendenza nazionale, per il potere popolare', in 25 September, 1976.
Lotta Continua. 'Portogallo. Viva la classe operaia', 13 April 1975.
Lovell. *Maoism: A Global History* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019), kindle edition.
Löwy, Michael. *Comunismo e questione nazionale: madrepatria o madre Terra?* (Milano: Meltemi, 2021).
Lussana, Fiamma *Il Movimento Femminista in Italia: Esperienze, Storie, Memorie (1965-1980)*, (Roma: Carocci, 2012).
Magni, Beatrice. "La strage di Marzabotto nel cinquantennio repubblicano." *Storia e problemi contemporanei* 11, no. 21 (1998): 175–82.
Maineult, Thomas. 'La Ligue des droits de l'homme et la défense de la cause palestinienne (années 1960 – années 1980)', *Materiaux pour lhistoire de notre temps* N° 137-138, no. 3 (2020): 97–101.
Maineult, Thomas. 'The French Radical Left and the Jews: The Influence of the Arab-Israeli Conflict on Anti-Zionism Within the French Radical Left Between 1967 and the Early 1980s', in Alessandra Tarquini (ed.), *The European Left and the Jewish Question, 1848-1992: Between Zionism and Antisemitism*, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021): 283–99.
Maizza, Enzo. 'La donna guerrigliera', *Patria Indipendente*, 21–2 (1977).
Malvezzi, Pietro, and Giovanni Pirelli, eds. *Lettere di condannati a morte della Resistenza italiana*. (Torino:Einaudi, 1952.).
Mammone, Andrea. *Transnational Neofascism in France and Italy*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
Mannheim, Karl. 'The problem of generation', K. Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge & K.Paul, 1952).
Mantica, Alfredo and Vincenzo Fragalà, *La dimensione sovranazionale del fenomeno eversivo in Italia. Studio sui collegamenti tecnico---operativi fra le organizzazioni terroristiche internazionali* (Senato della Repubblica, Camera dei Deputati, XIII Legislatura, Disegni di legge e relazioni, 31 luglio 2000).
Marano, Sara. "La cultura politica dell'antifascismo e della resistenza nelle riviste della nuova sinistra (1960–67)." *Asti Contemporanea*, no. 15 (2016): 99–127.
Margiotta, Salvatore. *Il Nuovo Teatro in Italia, 1968-1975*, (Corrazzano (Pisa): Titivillus, 2013).
Marino, Giuseppe Carlo. *Biografia del Sessantotto: utopie, conquiste, sbandamenti* (Milano: Bompiani, 2004).
Mariuzzo, Andrea. "Stalin and the Dove: Left Pacifist Language and Choices of Expression between the Popular Front and the Korean War (1948–1953)', *Modern Italy* 15, no. 1 (2010): 21–35.
Mark and Anna von der Goltz, 'Encounters', in Gildea, Robert, James Mark, and Anette Warring. *Europe's 1968 Voices of Revolt* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2013). 131–63.
Mark et al., '"We Are with You, Vietnam": Transnational Solidarities in Socialist Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia', *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 3 (1 July 2015): 439–64.
Mark, James, Nigel Townson, and Polymeris Voglis. "Inspirations.", in Gildea, Robert, James Mark, and Anette Warring. *Europe's 1968 Voices of Revolt* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2013):72–103.
Martellini, Amoreno. *All'ombra delle altrui rivoluzioni: parole e icone del Sessantotto* (Milano ; Torino: Bruno Mondadori, 2012).
Martellini, Amoreno. *Fiori Nei Cannoni: Nonviolenza e Antimilitarismo Nell'Italia Del Novecento*. (Roma: Donzelli, 2006).

Marx, Karl. *Confidential Communication on Bakunin*, March 28, 1870 in https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1870/03/28.htm
Marzano Arturo and Guri Schwarz. *Attentato alla sinagoga: Roma, 9 ottobre 1982 : il conflitto israelo-palestinese e l'Italia* (Roma: Viella, 2013).
Marzano, 'Il "Mito" Della Palestina Nell'immaginario Della Sinistra Extraparlamentare Italiana Degli Anni Settanta', *Italia Contemporanea*, no. 280 (May 2016): 15–39.
Marzullo, Kino. 'Papà Cervi', *L'Unità*, 6 May 1965.
Masini, Pier Carlo. *Storia degli anarchici italiani: da Bakunin a Malatesta : (1862-1892)* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1974).
Massad, Joseph. 'Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism', *Middle East Journal* 49, no. 3 (1995): 467–83.
Mausbach, Wilfried. "Auschwitz and Vietnam: West German Protest against America's War during the 1960s." Daum Andreas, L. C Gardner, and W. Mausbach, *America, the Vietnam War, and the World: Comparative and International Perspectives* (Washington, D.C.; New York: German Historical Institute; Cambridge University Press, 2003): 279–98.
Mausbach, Wilifried. Von der »zweiten Front« in die friedliche Etappe? Internationale Solidaritätsbewegungen in der Bundesrepublik 1968–1983, in: Sven Reichardt and Detlev Siegfried (eds) *Das Alternative Milieu. Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968–1983,* (Göttingen 2010).
Mazower, Mark .*Governing the World: The Rise and Fall of an Idea* (London: Allen Lane, 2012).
McGregor Katharine, 'Opposing Colonialism: The Women's International Democratic Federation and Decolonisation Struggles in Vietnam and Algeria 1945–1965', *Women's History Review* 25, no. 6 (2016), 925–44.
McGrogan, Manus. 'Vive La Révolution and the Example of Lotta Continua: The Circulation of Ideas and Practices Between the Left Militant Worlds of France and Italy Following May '68', *Modern & Contemporary France* 18, no. 3 (1 August 2010): 309–28.
Mercer, Ben *Student Revolt in 1968 France, Italy and West Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
Mercer, Ben. 'Specters of Fascism: The Rhetoric of Historical Analogy in 1968', *Journal of Modern History* 88, no. 1 (2016): 96–129.
Meriggi, Mariagrazia. *Il Partito Operaio Italiano: attività rivendicativa, formazione e cultura dei militanti in Lombardia (1880-1890)* (Milano: Angeli, 1985).
Michetti Maria, Margherita Repetto-Alaia, and Luciana Viviani, *UDI, Laboratorio Di Politica Delle Donne : Idee e Materiali per Una Storia*, (Soveria Mannelli : Rubbettino, 1998).
Mignini, Alfredo. 'Dalla Moneda a Modena. Per una storia orale dell'esilio cileno e dell'accoglienza in Emilia Romagna', *E-Review. Rivista degli Istituti Storici dell'Emilia-Romagna in Rete*, 12 September 2018.
Mitchell, Tony. *Dario Fo: People's Court Jester* (A&C Black, 2014)
Moffa, Claudio. 'La Palestina e noi', *Ombre Rosse*, 14 (1976), 43–53.
Mohandesi, Salahar. 'Bringing Vietnam HomeThe Vietnam War, Internationalism, and May '68', *French Historical Studies* 41, no. 2 (1 April 2018): 219–51.
Mohandesi, Salahar. *From Anti-Imperialism to Human Rights: The Vietnam War and Radical Internationalism in the 1960s and 1970s'*, PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2017.
Mohanty Chandra Talpade, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', *Boundary* 2 (1984), 333–58; Adrien Katherine Wing, ed., *Global Critical Race Feminism an International Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
Moine, Caroline. '« Votre combat est le nôtre »', *Monde(s)* N° 8, no. 2 (28 December 2015): 83–104.
Molden, Berthold. "Vietnam, the New Left and the Holocaust: How the Cold War Changed Discourse on Genocide." In Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (eds.), *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 79–96; Molinari, Molinari, Maurizio. *La sinistra e gli ebrei in Italia, 1967–1993* (Milano: Corbaccio, 1995).

Monicelli, Mario. *L'ultrasinistra in Italia: 1968–1978* (Roma: Laterza, 1978).
Monina, Giancarlo. *Lelio Basso, Leader Globale: Un Socialista Nel Secondo Novecento*, (Roma: Carocci editore, 2016).
Montessoro, Francesco. 'Il mito del Vietnam nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta', *Trimestre* 37, no. 13–14 (2004): 273–297.
Mori, Paolo. *La legge Reale: come la borghesia si difende: nascita e contenuto della nuova legislazione sull'ordine pubblico* (Rome, 1975).
Moro, Renato, 'Against Euromissiles: Anti-nuclear movements in 1980s Italy (1979–1984)' in E. Bini and I. Londero, *Nuclear Italy: an international history of Italian nuclear policies during the Cold War* (Trieste, 2017), 199–211.
Morone, Antonio. «La fine del colonialismo italiano tra storia e memoria», *Storicamente* 12 (11 luglio 2016), https://doi.org/10.12977/stor623.
Mosse, George L. *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
Mostra, Maria Grazia 'Le donne iraniane e l'islam', in Effe, (01-1979), in http://efferivistafemminista.it/20 14/08/le-donne-iraniane-e-lislam/ (accessed 16-02-2019).
Movimento Studentesco, 'La resistenza Palestinese avanguardia delle masse arabe', (11-04- 1972), 3.
Moyn, Samuel. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).
Mrinalini, Sinha, Donna J. Guy, and Angela Woollacott. 'Introduction: Why Feminisms and Internationalism?', *Gender & History* 10, no. 3 (1998), 345–57.
Mudu, Pierpaolo.,'I Centri Sociali italiani: verso tre decadi di occupazioni e di spazi autogestiti', *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, no. 1, 2012, 69-92.
Mulas, Andrea. *Allende e Berlinguer: il Cile dell'Unidad Popular e il compromesso storico italiano* (Manni Editori, 2005).
Mura, Maresa. 'Donne come te', *L'Unità* (24-04-1966), 15.
Mussi, Fabio. in Resoconto stenografico dell'Assemblea Seduta n. 538 del 20/5/1999 http://documenti.camera.it/_dati/leg13/lavori/stenografici/sed538/s140.htm.
Mussolini, Vittorio. 'Gerusalemme ieri e oggi', *Secolo d'Italia*, June 25, 1967.
N.G. «I miei occhi ebrei e la Palestina», in *L'Unità*, 7 February1988.
Naccarato, Alessandro. *Difendere la democrazia: Il PCI contro la lotta armata*. Rome: Carocci, 2015.
Napolitano, Giorgio. 'Meno Intrighi più luce', *L'Unità*, 14 May 1967.
Nencioni, Tommaso. 'Tra neutralismo e atlantismo: La politica internazionale del Partito socialista italiano 1956–1966.' *Italia Contemporanea*, no. 3 (2010): 1000–1033.
Neri Serneri, Simone (ed.). *Verso la lotta armata: la politica della violenza nella sinistra radicale degli anni Settanta* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2012).
Niccolai, Roberto. *Quando la Cina era vicina: la rivoluzione culturale e la sinistra extraparlamentare italiana negli anni '60 e '70* (Pisa; Pistoia: BFS ; Associazione centro di documentazione di Pistoia, 1998).
Nocera, Raffaele. *Settantatré. Cile e Italia, destini incrociati* (Think Thanks edizioni, 2010).
Noi Donne, G.L., 'Guerra di sterminio', no.22 August 1976, 42.
Notiziario DP, 'La forza del progetto, il realismo dell'utopia', 10 March 1988, 8–9.
Occhetto, Achille. 'Ho ci Minh ci grida 'tornate interi',' *Vie Nuove*, 27 1965.
Olejniczak, Claudia. 'Dritte-Welt-Bewegung', in: Roland Roth and Dieter Rucht (eds.): Die sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland seit 1945. Ein Handbuch, (Frankfurt/Main, 2008): 319-345.
Ortoleva, Peppino. *Saggio sui movimenti del 1968 in Europa e in America: con un'antologia di materiali e documenti* (Roma: Editori riuniti, 1988).
Osterhammel, Jürgen. *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton : Princeton University Press).

Ottolini, Tullio. *Dal soutien alla cooperazione. Il terzomondismo in Italia fra il Centro di Documentazione Frantz Fanon e il Movimento Liberazione e Sviluppo*, Phd Thesis, University of Bologna, 2018.
Pajetta, Gian Carlo. 'Il coraggio di dire di no', *Rinascita*, no. 13 (27 March 1965).
Pajetta, Gian Carlo. 'La contro-rivoluzione non si Esporta', *Rinascita*, no. 7 (13 February 1965).
Paladini, Aldo. 'Dario Fo nipotino politco di Piscator', *Il dramma*, october 1972.
Palermo, Francesco. 'The Foreign Policy of Italian Regions: Not Much Ado About Something?', *The International Spectator* 42, no. 2 (1 June 2007).
Palestina, 'Il secondo convegno nazionale di solidarietà con il popolo palestinese',12 (1970), 77–121.
Pallotta, Clelia. 'Una feluca sul Nilo', *Effe Rivista Femminista* (04-1981), in http://efferivistafemminista.it/2014/11/una-feluca-sul-nilo/ (accessed 16-02-2019).
Panvini Guido. 'Third Worldism in Italy', In Stefan Berger and Christoph Cornelissen (eds.) *Marxist Historical Cultures and Social Movements during the Cold War: Case Studies from Germany, Italy, and Other Western European States* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 289–308.
Panvini, Guido. 'La nuova sinistra', in M. Gervasoni (ed.) *Storia delle sinistre nell'Italia repubblicana* (Cosenza, 2010), 213–40.
Panvini, Guido. *Cattolici e violenza politica: l'altro album di famiglia del terrorismo italiano* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2014).
Panvini, Guido. *Ordine nero, guerriglia rossa: La violenza politica nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta e Settanta (1966–1975)*. Turin: Einaudi, 2009.
Paoli, Simone. 'La geografia mentale del Sessantotto italiano 1967–1969,' in (2007) 22 *Annali della Fondazione Ugo La Malfa* 73, pp. 85–6
Papadogiannis, Nikolaos. *Militant around the Clock? Left-wing youth politics, leisure, and sexuality in post-dictatorship Greece, 1974–1981* (New York: Berghahn, 2019).
Papadogiannis, Nikolaos.'A (Trans)National Emotional Community? Greek Political Songs and the Politicisation of Greek Migrants in West Germany in the 1960s and Early 1970s', *Contemporary European History* 23, no. 4
Pappagallo, Onofrio. *Verso il nuovo mondo: Il PCI e l'America Latina (1945–1973)* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2017)..
Partito Comunista Italiano. Proposta di tesi per il congresso del PCI', supplement to *L'Unità*, 8 December 1985.
Passerini, Luisa. *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1996).
Passerini, Luisa. 'Corpi e corpo collettivo : rapporti internazionali del primo femminismo radicale italiano', in Anna Scattigno e Teresa Bertilotti (eds.) *Il femminismo degli anni Settanta* (Roma: Viella, 2010), 181–98.
Patriarca, Silvana. '"Vorrei la pelle nera": Youth culture and anti-racist sensibilities in 1960s–1970s Italy', Modern Italy paper presented at the IHR Modern Italian History Seminar, 16 November 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3stj7gbT5SA.
Patriarca, Silvana. *Il colore della Repubblica: 'figli della guerra' e razzismo nell'Italia postfascista*. (Torino: Einaudi, 2021).
Pavone, Claudio. *A Civil War: A History of the Italian Resistance* (London: Verso, 2014).
Perona, Pietro. 'Fo è ritornato col Teatro Off', *La Stampa* 25 November 1970 .
Perri, Paolo 'Nazionalità e lotta di classe. La Nuova Sinistra e i nazionalismi periferici', *Diacronie. Studi di Storia Contemporanea*, no. N° 9, 1 (29 January 2012).
Petrovic Nadan, *Rifugiati, profughi, sfollati. Breve storia del diritto d'asilo in Italia* (Franco Angeli Edizioni, 2016).
Pezzano, Angelo. and Arianna Lissoni (eds.). *The ANC between Home and Exile Reflections on the Anti-Apartheid Struggle in Italy and Southern Africa*, Napoli : Università degli studi di Napoli L'Orientale, 2015).

Picchio Antonella and Giuliana Pincelli. *Una lotta femminista globale: l'esperienza dei gruppi per il Salario al lavoro domestico di Ferrara e Modena* (Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2019).
Piera, 'Una dalle pagine del mio quaderno giallo', *Sottosopra* 2 (1974), 55.
Pisa, Beatrice. *Il Movimento liberazione della donna nel femminismo italiano: la politica, i vissuti, le esperienze (1970-1983), (Roma Aracne 2017).*
Pizzuti, Francesca. *Le "suggestioni del mondo" e il Sessantotto*, in Benedetto Coccia (ed), *40 anni dopo: il Sessantotto in Italia fra storia, società e cultura*, (Roma : Editrice Apes, 2008) 9-58.
Pojmann Wendy A., *Italian women and international Cold War politics, 1944-1968* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013).
Pons Silvio and Di Donato, Michele. 'Reform communism', in J. Fürst, M. Selden and S. Pons, *The Cambridge History of Communism: Volume 3: Endgames? Late communism in global Perspective, 1968 to the present* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2017).
Pons, Silvio. 'The rise and fall of Eurocommunism' in M. P. Leffler and O. A. Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 3* (Cambridge 2010), 45–65.
Pons, Silvio. *Berlinguer e la fine del comunismo*. (Torino:Einaudi, 2006)
Pons, Silvio. *I Comunisti Italiani e Gli Altri: Visioni e Legami Internazionali Nel Mondo Del Novecento* (Torino: Einaudi, 2021), kindle edition.
Pons, Silvio. *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism, 1917-1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), kindle edition.
Portelli, Alessandro. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1991)
Possieri, Andrea. *Rifugiati. La vicenda storica dei profughi indocinesi in Italia* (Perugia: Morlacchi, 2019).
Potere Operaio 'La questione di un nuovo internazionalismo è all'ordine del giorno. Rivoluzione comunista e Sistema mondiale' in no. 43 September-October 1971.
Potere Operaio, *Alle avanguardie per il partito*, (Milano:Edizioni Politiche).
Prattico, Franco. 'Tre giorni di protesta', in *Vie nuove* 51 17 December 1964.
Prestel, Joseph Ben. 'Palästina-Solidarität'. *MERKUR* 73, no. 839 (2019): 61–67.
Proglio, Gabriele. *I fatti di Genova: una storia orale del G8* (Roma: Donzelli editore, 2021).
Proglio, Gabriele. *The Horn of Africa Diasporas in Italy: An Oral History,* (Cham, Switzerland : Palgrave Macmillan. 2020).
Puppa, Paolo. *Il teatro di Dario Fo: dalla scena alla piazza* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1978).
'Quel giorno a Sabra e Chatila' (16-09-2013) in https://www.ilfarosulmondo.it/quel-giorno-a-sabra-e-chatila/ (accessed 16-02-2019);
Quirico, Monica, and Lomellini, Valentine. 'Italy: The 'Chilean Lesson' between the Legacy of the Struggle against Fascism and the Threat of New Authoritarian Shift', In Kim Christiaens, Idesbald Goddeeris, and Magaly Rodriguez Garcia (eds.). *European Solidarity with Chile 1970s–1980s* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014): 239–56.
R.M., 'Battaglie giuste -strategia sbagliata' in *Amicizia* 3, March 1981.
Raftopoulos, Rigas. *International labour solidarity under military rule. The case of the Greek trade unions exiled in Italy during the colonels' dictatorship and the Italian trade unions support (1967–74)* in António Simões do Paço, Raquel Varela and Sjaak van der Velden (eds.), Strikes and Social Conflicts. Towards a global history. (Lisbon : International Association Strikes and Social Conflict, 2012).
Raftopoulos, Rigas. *La dittatura dei colonnelli in Grecia (1967-1974): tra Grecia e Italia: resistenza, dittatura e la guerra fredda che si scongela.* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Teramo: 2010).
Raftopoulos, Rigas. 'La storia della diaspora ellenica in Italia nel secondo Novecento' in Andrea Pelliccia and Rigas Raftopoulos, *Terra ancestrale. La diaspora ellenica contemporanea in Italia tra prima e seconda generazione* (IRPPS, 2016), 11-92.

Raftopoulos, Rigas. *The reaction of the communist party of Italy to the colonel's dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974)* in https://www.eens.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/periexomena.pdf.
Rainero, Roman H. 'The Italian Communist Party and the Italian Imperial Problem. A Forgotten "Colonial" Position', in Josef Becker and Franz Knipping (eds.), *Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany in a Postwar World, 1945-1950*, (Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986): 209–12.
Rame Franca and Joseph Farrell. *Non è tempo di nostalgia* (Pisa: Della Porta, 2013).
Rao, Nicola *Trilogia della celtica: [la fiamma e la celtica, il sangue e la celtica, il piombo e la celtica : la vera storia del neofascismo italiano* (Milano: Sperling & Kupfer, 2014): 1238 and 1241.
Rapini, Andrea. *Antifascismo e cittadinanza: Giovani, identità e memorie nell'Italia repubblicana*. (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2005).
Rebora Tommaso. 'From Turin to Boston (and Back): A Transatlantic Feminist Network', *USAbroad – Journal of American History and Politics*, 4 March 2021, 13-24
Reimann Aribert, 'Letters from Amman', in Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey (ed.), *A Revolution of Perception?: Consequences and Echoes of 1968* (New York: Berghahn: 2014).
Revelli, Marco. 'Movimenti sociali e spazio politico', Barbagallo (ed.), *Storia dell'Italia repubblicana*, *Vol. II, La trasformazione dell'Italia: sviluppo e squilibri, tomo II, Istituzioni, movimenti, culture*, (Torino, Einaudi 1995): 385-476.
Rey Tristán and Guillermo Gracia Santos. 'The Role of the Left-Wing Editors on the Diffusion of the New Left Wave: The Case of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli', in *Alberto Martín Álvarez and Eduardo Rey Tristán, (eds.) Revolutionary Violence and the New Left: Transnational Perspectives (New York: Routledge, 2017).*
Riccardi, Luca. *Il problema Israele: diplomazia italiana e PCI di fronte allo stato ebraico (1948-1973)* (Milano: Guerini studio, 2006).
Riccardi, Luca. *Internazionalismo difficile: la diplomazia del PCI e il Medio Oriente dalla crisi petrolifera alla caduta del muro di Berlino (1973-1989)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2013).
Ricolfi, Luca. 'Associazionismo e partecipazione politica' in A. Cavalli (ed.), *Giovani oggi: indagine Iard sulla condizione giovanile in Italia* (Il Mulino, Bologna, 1989).
Ridolfi, Maurizio. 'Rituali della memoria e linguaggi dell'antifascismo', In Alberto De Bernardi and Paolo Ferrari (eds.), *Antifascismo e identità europea*, (Roma Carocci, 2004): 35–51.
Ridolfi, Maurizio. 'Terre repubblicane: tradizioni e culture politiche nell'Europa meridionale' In Stefano Salmi (ed.), *Repubblica, repubblicanesimo e repubblicani. Italia, Portogallo, Brasile in prospettiva comparata* (Bologna: Archetipolibri, 2011): 109-126.
Ridolfi, Maurizio. Storia Dei Partiti Politici: L'Italia Dal Risorgimento Alla Repubblica. Campus. Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2008.
Rodano, Marisa. *Memorie Di Una Che c'era: Una Storia Dell'Udi*, (Milano: Il saggiatore, 2010).
Ross, Kristin. *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago, : University of Chicago Press, 2002).
Rosso, 'Stammheim e noi' in 21–2 (1977).
Rothberg, Michael. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. (Stanford University Press, 2009)
Rucht Dieter. 'Distant issue movements in Germany: Empirical description and theoretical reflections', In John A. Guidry, Michael D. Kennedy and Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Globalizations and Social Movements Culture, Power and the Transnational Public Sphere* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000):76-105.
Russo, Vincenzo. *La Resistenza continua: il colonialismo portoghese, le lotte di liberazione e gli intellettuali italiani* (Milano: Meltemi, 2020).
Sa'ar Amalia and Taghreed Yahia-Younis, 'Masculinity in Crisis: The Case of Palestinians in Israel', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 35, no. 3 (2008), 310.
Samer Al-Saber, 'Surviving Censorship: El-Hakawati's Mahjoob Mahjoob and the Struggle for the Permission to Perform', 2016, 141–59.

Santagata, Alessandro. *La contestazione cattolica: movimenti, cultura e politica dal Vaticano II al '68* (Roma: Viella, 2016).
Santoni Alessandro. 'Comunistas y Socialistas Italianos Frente a La Causa Chilena: Solidaridad y Renovación (1973-1989), Revista www.izquierdas.cl, N° 19, Agosto 2014, ISSN 0718-5049, pp. 112-130.
Santoni Alessandro. 'El Partido Comunista Italiano y El Otro "Compromesso Storico": Los Significados Políticos De La Solidaridad Con Chile (1973-1977)', *Historia (Santiago)* 43, no. 2 (December 2010): 523–46.
Santoni Alessandro. *Il PCI e i giorni del Cile: alle origini di un mito politico* (Roma: Carocci, 2008).
Santos, Aurora Almada Bernardo Capamba; Corrado Tornimbeni, Iolanda Vasile (eds.).'International Solidarities and the Liberation of the Portuguese Colonies', *Afriche e Orienti*, 3, 2017.
Santos, Aurora Almada Corrado Tornimbeni, Iolanda Vasile (eds.). Dossier 'What Solidarity? Networks of Cooperation with the Liberation Movements from Portuguese Colonies', *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 118 (1 May 2019).
Sarzi Amadé, Emilio. 'No, cara Ginzburg, lo Stato d'Israele non è l'Italia fascista' in L'Unità, 9 February 1988.
Sassaroli Gianni, 'Va fuori lo straniero', *Lotta Continua*, 17–18 July 1977.
Sassoon, Donald. *Togliatti e il partito di massa*, (Roma: Castelvecchi, 2014).
Savioli, Arminio. 'Prima che sia troppo Tardi', *L'Unità* 13 August 1976.
Ṣāyigh, Donald. Yazīd .*Armed Struggle and the Search for State the Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
Scarcia Amoretti, Biancamaria 'Di fronte al problema palestinese: una questione di metodo', *DWF* no. 22 (1982), 55-6.
Scarcia Amoretti, Biancamaria. 'Assunzione politica del ruolo privato. La donna palestinese', DWF no. 4 (1976), 75.
Scarcia Amoretti, Biancamaria. 'Entro i confini, lungo i margini', 1986, *DWF* no. 4 (1976).
Scavino, Marco. *Scavino, Potere operaio: la storia, la teoria*, (Roma : DeriveApprodi; 2018).
Schwarzmantel, J. J. *Socialism and the Idea of the Nation* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).
Scirocco, Giovanni. *Politique d'abord: il PSI, la guerra fredda e la politica internazionale (1948-1957)* (Milano: Unicopli, 2010).
Scotti, Mariamargherita. *Vita Di Giovanni Pirelli: Tra Cultura e Impegno Militante* (Roma: Donzelli editore, 2018).
Scotto di Luzio, Adolfo. *Nel groviglio degli anni Ottanta: politica e illusioni di una generazione nata troppo tardi* (Torino:Einaudi, 2020).
Scuderi, Antonio. «The Cooked and the Raw: Zoomorphic Symbolism in Dario Fo's "Giullarate"», *The Modern Language Review* 99, n. 1 (2004).
Secolo d'Italia. 'Estremo rimedio', 23 April 1967.
Sedlmaier, Alexander (ed.). *Protest in the Vietnam Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).
Serventi Longhi, Enrico. 'Solidarity and Italian Labor Movement Culture: CGIL Intellectuals and Revision of the CGIL's International Relations (1980–1982)', in Alessandra Tarquini and Andrea Guiso (eds.). *Italian Intellectuals and International Politics, 1945–1992* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 235–54.
Siegfried, Detlef. *Bogensee: Weltrevolution in der DDR 1961-1989* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2021).
Sill, Édouard. 'Présences, Revenances et Rejeux Espagnols Dans l'internationalisme Combattant Féminin Au Rojava (2014-2018)', *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire Critique*, no. 141 (1 May 2019): 97–117, https://doi.org/10.4000/chrhc.9870.
Slobodian, Quinn 'Guerrilla Mothers and Distant Doubles: West German Feminists Look at China and Vietnam, 1968–1982', *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History*, no. 12.1 (2015), 39–65.

Slobodian, Quinn. 'The Borders of the Rechtsstaat in the Arab Autumn: Deportation and Law in West Germany, 1972/73*', *German History* 31, no. 2 (1 June 2013): 204–24.
Slobodian, Quinn. *Foreign Front: Third World politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC 2012), 168.
Slobodian, Quinn. *The Meanings of Western Maoism in the Global 1960s* in . J. Chen, M. Klimke, M. Kirasirova, M. Nolan, M. Young, and J. Waley-Cohen (eds.).*The Routledge.*
Smith and André Moncourt. *The Red Army Faction: A documentary history* (Montreal 2009),150.
Snir, Reuven. *Palestinian Theatre* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2005).
Soave, Paolo. *La Democrazia Allo Specchio: L'Italia e Il Regime Militare Ellenico (1967-1974)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2014).
Socrate, Francesca. *Sessantotto: Due Generazioni*. Prima edizione. Quadrante Laterza 215. Bari: GLF editori Laterza, 2018, kindle edition.
Sofri, Adriano. 'Editoriale del n.3 del 3-7 1967', pp.86-90, in Roberto Massari, *Adriano Sofri, il '68 e il Potere operaio pisano* (Bolsena (VT): Massari editore, 1998).
Sorek, Tamir. *The Optimist: A Social Biography of Tawfiq Zayyad*, Stanford Studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic Societies and Cultures (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2020).
Sorgonà, Gregorio. 'The Italian Radical Left and the Arab-Israeli Question (1969–1977)', in *The European Left and the Jewish Question, 1848-1992: Between Zionism and Antisemitism*, ed. Alessandra Tarquini (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 301–18.
Sorgonà, Gregorio. *La scoperta della destra: Il Movimento sociale italiano e gli Stati Uniti*. Rome: Viella, 2019.
Sornaga, Paolo and Ugo. Adilardi, '*La guerriglia in Palestina e il F.P.D.L.P', in Quaderni Piacen*tini, no, 39 (1969).
Srivastava, Neelam. *Italian Colonialism and Resistances to Empire, 1930-1970* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
Staccioli, Paola and Haidi Gaggio Giuliani, *Non per odio ma per amore: storie di donne internazionaliste* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2012).
Staino, Sergio. *Storia sentimentale del P.C.I.: anche i comunisti avevano un cuore* (Milano: Piemme, 2021), kindle edition.
Stelliferi, Paola.''Una Originaria, Irriducibile Asimmetria'. Il Rapporto Della Nuova Sinistra Con i Femminismi in Italia (1972-1976)', *Italia Contemporanea* 287, no. 2 (2018), 15–43.
Strada,Gino. Intervento XXXIII Congresso Nazionale Fiom-CGIL (04-06-2003) in https://www.fiom-cgil.it/net/images/EVENTI/XXIII-CONGRESSO/04_06_03-intervento_strada.pdf
Strippoli, Giulia. 'Images beyond Borders. The Production of Knowledge about Women's Activism against the Colonial Wars', *Revista de Comunicação e Linguagens*, no. 54 (30 June 2021).
Studenti palestinesi e arabi riuniti in assemblea (Bologna), Sembra propaganda del piccolo Hussein, *L'Unità* March 2 1972
Studer, Brigitte. *The Transnational World of the Cominternians*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 3.
Swedenburg, Ted. 'The Palestinian Peasant as National Signifier', *Anthropological Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (1990): 18–30, https://doi.org/10.2307/3317957.
Tanturli, Andrea. *Prima linea: l'altra lotta armata (1974-1981)* (Roma: DeriveApprodi, 2018).
Tarquini, Alessandra. *La sinistra italiana e gli ebrei socialismo, sionismo, antisemitismo 1892-1992*, 2020.
Tarrow, Sidney. *Democrazia e disordine: movimenti di protesta e politica in Italia, 1965-1975* (Roma: Laterza, 1990): 139-41.
Tartaro, Gianni. 'Troppi i focolai di tensione in un mondo che ha bisogno di pace', *Patria Indipendente*, no. 19 (November 11, 1977).
Tavecchio Blake, Beatrice. *Dario Fo: teatro di attivazione e comunicazione, 1950-1973*, 2016.

Taviani, Ermanno. 'L'anti-americanismo nella sinistra italiana al tempo del Vietnam', *Annali della facoltà di Scienze della formazione Università degli studi di Catania* 6, no. 0 (2011): 165–85.
Taviani, Ermanno. '*PCI, estremismo di sinistra e terrorismo',* In *L'Italia repubblicana nella crisi degli anni settanta. Sistema politico e istituzioni*, vol. 4, edited by Gabriele De Rosa and Giancarlo Monina, 235–75. Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino.
Tedeschi, Rubens Gli uomini in Algeria hanno capito che non si può vincere senza le donne
Tellini, Barbara. *Mobilitarsi per il Vietnam. L'esperienza italiana tra Tribunale Russell e Comitati locali*, Undergraduate dissertation, University of Florence, 2003-2004.
Terhoeven, Petra. *Deutscher Herbst in Europa: Der Linksterrorismus der siebziger Jahre als transnationales Phänomen*, *Deutscher Herbst in Europa* (Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2013).
Terrill, W. Andrew, 'The Political Mythology of the Battle of Karameh', Middle East Journal 55, no. 1 (2001): 91–111.
Tétreault, Mary Ann 'Women and Revolution in Vietnam', in Kathleen Barry, ed., *Vietnam's Women in Transition*, (London: Palgrave, 1996), 38–57;
Tolomelli, *L'Italia Dei Movimenti: Politica e Società Nella Prima Repubblica*, (Roma: Carocci editore, 2015).
Tornimbeni, Corrado. 'Nationalism and Internationalism in the Liberation Struggle in Mozambique: The Role of the FRELIMO's Solidarity Network in Italy', *South African Historical Journal* 70, no. 1 (2 January 2018): 194–214.
Torrent, Mélanie. 'Les circulations militantes entre Paris et Londres : antiracisme et anti-apartheid', *Hommes Migrations* n° 1325, no. 2 (9 August 2019): 35–45.
Traverso, Enzo. *Il secolo armato* (Milan, 2012), kindle edition.
Traverso, Enzo. *Left-Wing Melancholia: Marxism, History, and Memory*. New Directions in Critical Theory (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016) 13; De Giuseppe, 'Il "Terzo Mondo".
Treglia, Emanuele. 'Por La Libertad de España : La Solidaridad Italiana Con El Antifranquismo (1962-1977)', in Treglia, Emanuele, and Javier Muñoz Soro (eds.). *Patria, pan... amore e fantasia: la España franquista y sus relaciones con Italia (1945-1975)* (Granada: Comares, 2017):163–91.
Tripodi, Nino. 'Impareranno la lezione', *Secolo d'Italia*, September 21, 1973.
Triulzi, Alessandro. 'Ritorni di memoria nell'Italia postcoloniale' in R. Bottoni (ed.), *L'Impero fascista: Italia ed Etiopia, 1935–1941* (Bologna, 2008), 573–98.
Ufficio di Informazione del Kurdistan in Italia. 'UIKI: Per le resistenze di ieri e di oggi, celebriamo il 25 aprile!' www.uikionlus.com/uiki-per-le-resistenze-di-ieri-e-di-oggi-celebriamo-il-25-aprile/.
Un gruppo di studenti palestinesi e arabi (Padova), Falsificata la realta della lotta del popolo palestinese, *L'Unità* March 2 1972.
Valencia, Jesús. *La ternura de los pueblos: Euskal Herria internacionalista* (Txalaparta, 2011.
Valentini, Chiara. La storia di Dario Fo (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1997).
Valli, Wanda. 'Bella Ciao per cinquemila: Scalfaro attacca Berlusconi', *La Repubblica*, April 26, 2002.
Van Erven, Eugène. Radical People's Theatre (Indiana University Press, 1988).
van Holthoon and Marcel van der Linden, 'Introduction', in F. L. van Holthoon and Marcel van der Linden, eds., *Internationalism in the Labour Movement, 1830-1940*, Contributions to the History of Labour and Society, v. 1 (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1988)..
Vasile, Aurora Almada e Santos, and Corrado Tornimbeni, Dossier 'What Solidarity? Networks of Cooperation with the Liberation Movements from Portuguese Colonies', *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 118 (1 May 2019): 127–30.
Ventrone, Angelo. *Vogliamo tutto: Perché due generazioni hanno creduto nella rivoluzione, 1960–1988*. Rome: Laterza, 2012.
Vie Nuove. 'Se questo è l'uomo', November 12, 1964.
Visone, Daniela. *La nascita del nuovo teatro in Italia, 1959-1967*, Altre visioni 84 (Corazzano (Pisa): Titivillus, 2010).

Vitrac, Jean-François Vitrac, ‘La vision française de la révolution sandiniste au Nicaragua,’ *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, 17 (2003): 161-174.
Vittoria, *Storia del PCI 1921-1991* (Roma: Carocci, 2006).
Vogel Carlo and Vera Pegna, *Al Fatah* (Milano: Vangelista, 1969).
Von der Goltz, Anna (ed.), *‘Talkin’ ‘Bout My Generation’: Conflicts of generation building and Europe’s ‘1968’* (Göttingen, 2011).
Vowinckel, Annette. ‘Sports, Terrorism and the Media : The Munich Hostage Crisis of 1972’, *Esporte e Sociedade*, no. 06, accessed 9 October 2021,.
Weitbrecht, *Aufbruch in die Dritte Welt Der Internationalismus der Studentenbewegung von 1968 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2012).
Weitz, Eric 'The Heroic Man and the Ever-Changing Woman: Gender and Politics in European Communism, 1917–1950' in Laura Frader and Sonya Rose, eds., *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*, (Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1996), 311–52.
Welskopp, Thomas. ‘Irritating Flirtations. Reflections on the Relationship between History and Sociology since the 1970s’, *InterDisciplines. Journal of History and Sociology* 1, no. 1 (11 October 2010).
Westad, Odd Arne. *The Cold War: A World History*, (London: Penguin, 2017), kindle edition.
Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
Wu, Judy Tzu-Chun. *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).
Young Marilyn B. and S. Quinn-Judge, ‘The Vietnam War as a World Event’, in *The Cambridge History of Communism: Volume 3: Endgames? Late Communism in Global Perspective, 1968 to the Present*, ed. J. Fürst, M. Selden, and S. Pons, vol. 3, *The Cambridge History of Communism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 50–71.
Zacconi, Valeria. *Cuba va! un mese nella brigata di lavoro europea ‘Jose Marti’* (Firenze: Manzuoli, 1977).
Zarrilli Phillip B. et al. ‘Rich and Poor Theatres of Globalization’, in *Theatre Histories*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, 2010): 482-511.

Table of Contents