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„Pubblica Sicurezza" in the European context – Italy and the internationalisation of counterterrorism policy (1972-1982)

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To Liliane & Sophie

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Vita

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Abstract

Politically motivated violence was a major problem of Western European states between 1972 and 1982. During this decade, groups of both political extremes, as well as transnational terrorists carried out attacks on Italian soil. Apart from claiming lives and damaging property, such assaults aimed at spreading insecurity and challenged the state as a whole. Therefore, the response to terrorism was a crucial, yet highly delicate policy field. The fact that other states were facing similar problems facilitated the first steps of collaboration at the bilateral and multilateral level. Yet, international cooperation in security questions raised problems, as it touched the core of national sovereignty.

This study is an analysis of Italian counterterrorism politics in the years 1972-1982, which in this decade evolved from a narrow national policy towards an internationally aligned policy. In contrast to former studies, this research project takes a new perspective by focusing on transfers of techniques and knowledge in this cooperation. Subsequently, the results of these mutual transfer processes are pointed out. The transfers influenced both the Italian fight against terrorism and the concept of *pubblica sicurezza*.

By combining a conceptual approach to history with a constructivist understanding of security, the study underlines the importance of the threat perceptions for the evolution of internal security and counterterrorism policy. In this context, securitisation theory is gainful to understand the evolution of counterterrorism policy.

Firstly, the study emphasises the meaning of a transnational threat perception in Italy as a precondition for international cooperation against terrorism. Secondly, it explores the bilateral cooperation with West Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Thirdly, it illuminates the multilateral cooperation among European states at the Ministerial and the practical level.

Concluding, the study underlines the existence and importance of international collaboration in questions of internal security already before March 1978. The fact that secret service collaboration was already established when terrorism in Europe was not yet existent, challenges the historical treatment of internal security cooperation in post-war Europe.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1.Outline and theoretical framework

"The key priority will remain to maintain a common understanding of the threat and of the need to confront it through a coordinated effort at the global level" wrote Antonio Armellini, former coordinator of Italian counterterrorism policy, in 2003, on the threat of global terrorism of the 21st century. [1] In the past, Italy's counterterrorism efforts have not always been that internationally aligned. My study aims at understanding better how they became so, tracing the confrontation with European terrorism three decades earlier. Analysing Italy's role in the evolution of an internationally aligned counterterrorism effort, being the country most affected by terrorism in the 1970s,[2] the following questions arise: How was Italy involved in the emerging European network of counterterrorism? What did the "common understanding of the threat" mean, and how was this related to counterterrorism policy in Italy? Counterterrorism policy thus was a part of internal security policy, and at the same time, it was important for Italy's international relations. In this way, the political actors' room for manoeuvre enlarged; they compared and interchanged political practices and concepts at a transnational level.

Terrorism has the inherent aim of making a state break its own constitutional limits. Thus, the dilemma of effectively protecting citizens from terrorism within the norms of the rule of law has been a crucial issue of national politics

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[1] Orig.: "è evidente che la ricucitura della comune percezione della minaccia – e della necessità assoluta di farvi fronte sulla base di uno sforzo coordinato a livello globale […] – si porrà come la prima delle priorità." Armellini was coordinator of Italian counterterrorism politics as a consultant of the Foreign Office in 2001/02. Armellini, Antonio / Trichilo, Paolo: Il Terrorismo Internazionale Dopo l'11 Settembre: L'azione dell'Italia, IAI Quaderni, 2003, p.8.

[2] With 4362 political motivated crimes between 1969 and 1982 that claimed 351 death and 768 injured, terrorism in Italy was more lethal than in any other European country in this time; cf. Graaf, Beatrice de: Evaluating Counterterrorism Performance: A Comparative Study, London 2011, p.95.

Europe – at least since the 1970s. The evolution of an international cooperation against terrorism was difficult, as national laws were far from standardised, not even regarding the same crimes as "terrorism".

1.1.1. Aim and research questions

My research aims at analysing Italy's role in the internationalisation of counterterrorism politics, focusing on what it gained and contributed in mutual transfers of techniques and knowledge. In contrast to former studies, which primarily focused on the role of West German politics, my research project takes a new perspective, analysing the transfer processes which involved Italian political actors. Subsequently, the results of these mutual transfer processes are pointed out. The transfers influenced both the Italian fight against terrorism and the concept of *pubblica sicurezza*. Within this concept, I aim at tracing the transition from a national combat of unrest and crime towards an internationally aligned strategy against terrorism.

The guiding questions in my research project are thus: Firstly, how did Italian efforts develop from a national combat of unrest and crime to a strategy against terrorism, which also included international cooperation, and which components of this policy transformed in detail? To analyse this process, secondly, I ask which concepts and techniques were transferred; what did Italy contribute to a common security policy with other countries, and who were the actors in these transfer processes? Thirdly, I study the consequences of these processes; how did the international fight against terrorism affect the Italian concept of internal security?

To answer my research questions, it is necessary to identify decisive actors in these transfer processes, as well as their motivations and backgrounds. In this respect, not only the international, but also the national level matters: to what extent have the Italian parliament and public been involved, and which role have they played? To contextualise the study further, I examine the consequences of the engagement in transnational working groups and agreements for Italian security policies. How far did internal security become a European issue from the Italian perspective, and which concrete overlaps occurred between *pubblica sicurezza* and foreign policy? My hypothesis was that Italian counterterrorism policy, in the framework of international cooperation, took over basic aspects from other states and that the concept of internal security changed significantly. Nevertheless, it was possible to suppose that

Italy missed the chance to cooperate more closely with its allies and so to contribute more actively to European security politics. As these changes did affect all components of political action, my study examines changes in politics, policies and polities – processes, programs and structures.

1.1.2. Studied time and area

Designed to explore the time when the fight on terrorism saw its climax in the investigated period begins in September 1972, with the debate in the Italian *Camera dei Deputati* on the attacks at the Munich Olympics. It ends in February 1982, after the freeing of NATO general James Dozier from captivity of the *Brigate Rosse*. Both dates are important caesurae in the Italian and European history of internal security. The Munich attack was the first terrorist assault happening on a "stage" of close media coverage from all over the Western world. As an immediate reaction, German Foreign Minister Scheel demanded the EC Ministers Conference in Frascati to face the "common threat" by a "common defence".[4] The kidnapping ten years later was significant for two reasons: it was the first time that an Italian terrorist group deliberately targeted a non-Italian victim, hence the Italian and American authorities stood in close contact during the case. Moreover, the liberation was the first ever successful rescue operation by an Italian counterterrorism special force. Additionally, the change of government in 1983 constituted a rupture in the national security policy.[5]

The years 1969-78 have been distinguished as the crucial period of political violence in Italy, when "the diffusion of violence triggered a cumulative mechanism of deflating politics which had its arrival point in the Moro assassination".[6] However, my study's focus on the political reaction to this

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[3] Stortoni-Wortmann, Luciana: The Police Response to Terrorism in Italy from 1969 to 1983, in: F. Reinares (ed.) European Democracies against terrorism. Governmental policies and intergovernmental cooperation, Aldershot 2000, p.147-171, here p.150.

[4] Quoted by Oberloskamp, Eva: Das Olympia-Attentat 1972. Politische Lernprozesse im Umgang mit dem transnationalen Terrorismus, in: VfZ 3 / 2012, P.321-352, here p.340.

[5] From 1983, a new phase of the Italian understanding of security was marked by the initiative of Interior Minister Scalfaro who in these years started an initiative called "security for Europe" (Sicurezza per l'Europa).

[6] Paggi, Leonardo: Violenza e democrazia nella storia della Repubblica, in: Studi Storici, 39 (4), Doppia lealtà e doppio Stato nella storia della Repubblica (Oct.-Dec. 1998), p.935-952, here p.948.

violence in Italy, and to other events in Europe, requires a shift of the for a few years. The two first studies on Italian counterterrorism politics subdivide the period 1969-82 into four [7] and five [8] stages of Italian counterterrorism politics, whereas a recent work on counterterrorism policy in Italy and West Germany regards the decade 1972-82.[9]

In this decade, a development towards an internationalisation of counterterrorism politics was evident already by the Italian engagement in diverse intergovernmental security councils. Apart from intergovernmental collaboration, state representatives also collaborated in international organisations (i.e. the United Nations) or in institutions based on supranationalism, such as the European Community institutions. Both forms of collaboration had their legitimacy, their distinctive strengths and their limitations.[10] The most important line, however, has to be drawn between regional and global assemblies. Western European and North American states had a relatively similar idea about what "terrorism" meant, and who was a terrorist. In meetings at a broader level, this common ground was not existent. Considering the problematic political charge of the term, this fact was fatal for some promising endeavours.

As a matter of fact, this is one reason why the states West Germany, United Kingdom, and the United States of America are the reference points for cooperation in this study. As the whole discussion had a common underlying base, among these states the most cooperation was realised. Italy, the UK and West Germany cooperated in European structures,[11] whereas the United States was a very important partner for Italy since the end of the Second World War.

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[7] Hof, Tobias: Staat und Terrorismus in Italien, Munich 2010; he identifies the following periods: 1969-75 ("Counterterrorism in the frame of general anti-crime policy"); 1976-77 ("The state gears up"); 1978-81 ("Politics in a state of siege"); 1982 ("Post terrorism").

[8] De Graaf, Performance, identifies the phases: 1969-74 ("Party political exploitation"); 1974-76 ("Public order policing and crime control"); 1977-78 ("Towards a national ct strategy"); 1978-79 ("A national state of emergency"); 1980-82 ("Towards integration and de-escalation").

[9] Di Fabio, Laura: Due democrazie, un nemico comune. Italia e Repubblica Federale Tedesca contro il terrorismo (1972-1982). Tesi di dottorato, Università di Tor Vergata, 2015, to be published.

[10] International organisations focus on discussing a commonly acknowledged solution to a problem. However, their decisions are not binding and they have no means to impose decisions over states who disagree. Supranational institutions, in contrast, have this power, but therefore it is harder to achieve a compromise between all member states.

[11] When EC cooperation began in 1975, the UK had joined the European Community. As

However, the analysis of this internationalisation can only be understood relational to the evolution of a national counterterrorism strategy in Italy. Internal politics thus serve as the reference horizon for the assessment of international political action. Accordingly, I understand counterterrorism as a policy area that was part of security policy, but at the same time, it interacts with issues of international relations, and hence was located at the interface of foreign and internal policy.

1.1.3. State of the art and contribution

In the same way counterterrorism interferes with other policy areas, the state of the research on it can be categorized into 1) studies on the history of counterterrorism politics at national or European level; 2) the link between counterterrorism policy and historical security studies; and 3) studies on security policy as European policy, coming from contemporary history, political science and neighbouring academic disciplines. Such an overview over the state of the art does not only help to underline the value added by my research project, but also to historicise the academic treatment of counterterrorism policy.

1) The historiography about Italy's "years of lead" was long dominated by sociological studies on extremist groups and their terrorist fringes, [12] considering the state reaction mostly as a factor in explaining their radicalisation. [13] Guido Panvini historicises the dynamics in the "armed struggle" between groups of both extreme political fringes[14] and contextualises

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explained below, the cooperation between Italy and France will be an interesting endeavour for further research, once the archival documentation will be available for study. For obvious reasons, I underline that the Federal Republic of Germany is the state in question. However, as I do not refer to the German Democratic Republic in any point of this study, I frequently write "Germany" for the sake of readability.

[12] Catanzaro, Raimondo: La politica della violenza, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1990; Weinberg, Leonard / Eubank, William: The rise and fall of Italian Terrorism, Westview Press, Boulder, 1987; Drake, Richard: The Red and the Black: Terrorism in Contemporary Italy, in: International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale De Science Politique, vol. 5, no. 3, 1984, pp.279–298.

[13] Della Porta, Donaltella: Social movements, political violence and the state. A comparative analysis of Italy and Germany, Cambridge UP, 1995.

[14] Panvini, Guido: Ordine nero, guerriglia rossa. La violenza politica nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta e Settanta (1966-1975), Torino, Einaudi, 2009; Idem: Alle origini del terrorismo

them in the Italian political climate of Catholicism and (Anti-)Communist influences.[15] Appreciating the importance of the political and societal discourse for the threat perception, Giovanni Mario Ceci wrote the first comprehensive study on the Italian terrorism debate.[16] Other studies on the peculiarities of the Italian political climate in the 1970s are crucial to understanding the threat perceptions that condition any counterterrorism policy.[17] Anna Cento Bull and Philip Cooke study Italian counterterrorism politics in the broad perspective of other factors that led to the vanishing of terrorism.[18]

The Italian role in the internationalisation of state reactions to terrorism is a hitherto barely considered topic in the analysis of European policies of the 1970s. Only Tobias Hof treats the issue on a few pages in his volume on state and terrorism in Italy[19] and in another essay explicitly studies the transfer processes in counterterrorism politics between Italy, the UK and West Germany.[20] However, he did not have insight into the files of the Italian Ministry of Interior, and thus does not delve into motivations and mechanisms on the Italian side of these transfers. Laura Di Fabio currently works from the Italian perspective on relations and transfer processes between Italy and the FRG, concentrating on the policing practices of counterterrorism.[21] My research project builds upon these results, and contextualises the change of Italian

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diffuso. La schedatura degli avversati politici negli anni della conflittualità (1969-1980). Tracce di una fonte, in «Mondo Contemporaneo», 3, 2006.

[15] In fact, many of the key figures of Italian left wing political violence had enjoyed a Catholic education, cf. Idem: Cattolici e violenza politica. L'altro album di famiglia del terrorismo italiano, Venezia, Marsilio, 2014; Idem: "The Legitimization of Latin American Guerrilla Warfare in the Italian Radical Catholicism.", in: Alvarez / Tristan: Revolutionary Violence and the New Left: Transnational Perspectives (2016),p.110.

[16] Ceci, Giovanni Mario: Il terrorismo italiano. Storia di un dibattito, Rome, Carocci, 2014.

[17] Among others, Venturoli, Cinzia: La storiografia e le stragi nell'Italia repubblicana. Un tentativo di bilancio, in: Storia e Futuro – N° 11 – giugno 2006, p.2 - 9; Biscione, Francesco Maria: Il sommerso della Repubblica. La democrazia italiana e la crisi dell'antifascismo, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2003, treat the difficult questions around the Italian strategy of tension during the 1960s and 1970s.

[18] Cento Bull, Anna / Cooke, Philipp: Ending terrorism in Italy, London, Routledge, 2013.

[19] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus.

[20] Idem: Anti-Terrorismus-Gesetze und Sicherheitskräfte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Großbritannien und Italien in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren, in: Hürter, Johannes (Ed): Terrorismusbekämpfung in Westeuropa. Demokratie und Sicherheit in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2015, p.7-34.

[21] Di Fabio, Due democrazie.

counterterrorism policy within the growing international collaboration in the field of internal security during the 1970s.

Focusing on the beginnings of an international policy against terrorism at the EC level, Eva Oberloskamp examines the origins and consequences of the West German statesmen's acting in the debate on European standards for domestic security.[22] Like Hof's book, this study evolved within the framework of the research centre "Democratic state and terrorist challenge" at *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* Munich, which aims at historicising counterterrorism efforts in Western Europe. Within the same project, Matthias Dahlke analyses the counterterrorism policies of West Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, comparing their way towards intransigence on transnational terrorism.[23] Bernhard Blumenau complements the field, studying cooperation in counterterrorism policies in the organisational frameworks of the European council, G7, UN, EC and CSCE.[24] Yet again, he focuses on the West German perspective and actors. Oldrich Bures gives an account of informal cooperation against terrorism at the European level, although rather focusing on the time after 1980.[25] From a legal viewpoint Maria Marchetti critically examines the European institutions' contribution to an international counterterrorism policy,[26] and Otto Lagodny points out the weaknesses of the 1976 European convention from a juridical perspective.[27]

For the purpose of analysing Italian relations with other states regarding the answer to political violence, my research project can furthermore lean on studies with a national approach to historiography. The struggle between state and terrorism has been analysed from many angles.[28] Other studies compare

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[22] Oberloskamp, Eva: Codename Trevi. Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Anfänge einer europäischen Innenpolitik in den 1970er Jahren, Munich 2016.

[23] Dahlke, Matthias: Demokratischer Staat und transnationaler Terrorismus: Drei Wege zur Unnachgiebigkeit in Westeuropa 1972-1975, Munich 2011.

[24] Bernhard Blumenau, The United Nations and Terrorism: Germany, Multilateralism, and Antiterrorism Efforts in the 1970s, London, Palgrave, 2014.

[25] Bures, Oldrich: Informal counterterrorism arrangements in Europe: Beauty by variety or duplicity by abundance?" Cooperation and Conflict 47.4 (2012): p.495-518; Idem.: EU counterterrorism policy: a paper tiger? Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013.

[26] Marchetti, Maria Riccarda: Istituzioni europee a lotta al terrorismo, Cedam, 1986.

[27] Lagodny, Otto: "European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism: A Substantial Step to Combat Terrorism, The University of Colorado Law Review 60 (1989), p.583.

[28] The Italian police reaction examined Baravelli, Andrea: Istituzioni e terrorismo negli anni Settanta. Dinamiche nazionali e contesto padovano, Viella, Rome 2016; Satta, Vladimiro: «Il contributo delle forze di Polizia alla repressione del terrorismo in Italia.

different national strategies in the history of European countries fighting terrorism. Wide-ranging anthologies[29] and extensive single-author studies[30] with this scope shed light on important aspects of my study and give insight into the framing conditions of the transfer processes I analyse. Moreover, they give precious information about the importance of terrorism in the coeval security policies.

2) The only explicit link between counterterrorism and the securitisation concept is demonstrated by Markus Lammert, applying the Copenhagen concept to study the fight of the French state against terrorism in the 1970s and '80s. In this case study, he observes the practice that alone by the definition of terrorism as an existential threat, political actors established a kind of emergency situation that justified the "depoliticisation" of the problem.[31]

Con particolare riferimento ai nuclei dei Carabinieri del generale Dalla Chiesa», in AA. VV., Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento-Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient, 34, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2008; Falciola, Luca: «Gli apparati di polizia di fronte al movimento del '77: organizzazione e dinamiche interne», in Ricerche di Storia Politica 16, n. 2, 2013; Examples regarding German counterterrorism policy are Kraushaar, Wolfgang: 'Der Nicht Erklärte Ausnahmezustand. Staatliches Handeln Während des sogenannten Deutschen Herbstes', in: Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus, 2, Hamburg 2006, p.1011–1025; Hürter, Johannes: 'Anti-Terrorismus-Politik. Ein Deutsch-Italienischer Vergleich 1969–1982 , in: VfZ 2009, 8, 329–48; Idem: ' Bis an die Grenzen dessen, was vom Rechtsstaat erlaubt und geboten ist'. Anti-Terrorismus-Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1969-1982, Bologna 2008.

[29] To mention the most important: Hürter, Terrorismusbekämpfung in Westeuropa; Hanhimäki, Jussi M. / Blumenau, Bernhard: An International History of Terrorism. Western and Non-Western Experiences, London 2013; Art, Robert J. / Richardson, Louise (Ed.): Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons from the Past, Washington, D.C. 2007; Lodge, Juliet (ed.): Terrorism: A challenge to the state. Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981.

[30] Most notable is the study by B. de Graaf, who assesses the counterterrorism policy of West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the US, analysing the performative power of the employed narratives: de Graaf, Performance; but also Oehmichen, Anna: Terrorism and anti-terror legislation. The terrorised legislator? A comparison of counter-terrorism legislation and its implications on human rights in the legal systems of the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, and France. Diss. Department of Criminal Law, Faculty of Law, Leiden University, 2009; Donohue, Laura K.: The Cost of Counterterrorism. Power, Politics, and Liberty, Cambridge 2008 gives an account of counterterrorism in the UK and the USA.

[31] Lammert, Markus: Staat und Terrorismus in Frankreich 1981-1988, to be published in Nov 2017; a first published account of securitisation applied on counterterrorism is to find in Idem: Ein neues Analysemodell für die historische Terrorismusforschung? Securitization-Prozesse in Frankreich und Deutschland in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren,

Originally, securitisation theory was thought as an analytical concept in political science, with a scope beyond counterterrorism policy. Other studies on the history of security and securitisation hence serve rather as the background for my study.

The first theoretical account of "security and protection" was brought into conceptual history in 1984. [32] As an analytical framework, it was first by political science, understanding security as a construct of speech. The Copenhagen School defined securitisation as the process of of a topic, which then in effect is taken away from democratic decision processes.[33] Departing from this understanding as a speech act, securitisation was then developed towards its understanding as a communication process, complemented by the role of an audience that accepts the securitisation of a problem.[34] Christopher Daase enlarges the meaning of the term *security* and its analytical function.[35] Eventually, Eckart Conze refines the concept *security* for historical research, emphasising the actors' behaviour and situational preconditions for a successful securitization process. [36] A crucial shift in understanding security in politics is the distinction between external and internal security. Achim Saupe does groundbreaking work to critically historicise the term *internal security*, analysing its political semantics, and comparing the narratives in the FRG with the discourse on domestic security and "law and order" in the UK.[37] Dominik Rigoll[38] and Stefan Scheiper[39]

in: Hürter, Terrorismusbekämpfung, p.201-281.

[32] Conze, Werner:'Sicherheit, Schutz', Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, Bd. 5 (1984).

[33] Buzan, Barry / Waever, Ole / De Wilde, Jaap: Security. A new framework for Analysis, Copenhagen 1998.

[34] Balzacq, Thierry: Securitization Theory: How Security Problems emerge and dissolve, London Routledge 2010.

[35]Daase, Christopher: 'Der Erweiterte Sicherheitsbegriff', Sicherheitskultur im Wandel, Working Paper 1/2010, online »www.sicherheitskultur.org/fileadmin/files/WorkingPapers/01-Daase.pdf«, last access 10/04/2015.

[36] Conze, Eckart: Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis in die Gegenwart, München 2009; Idem.: 'Securitization. Gegenwartsdiagnose oder historischer Analyseansatz?', Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 38 (2012), 453–467.

[37] Saupe, Achim: '„Innere Sicherheit" und „law and Order". Zur Politischen Semantik von Sicherheit und Ordnung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in Großbritannien seit der Mitte der 1960er Jahre', Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung (Ed.), Jahresbericht 2011, p.53–55; Idem., 'Von „Ruhe Und Ordnung" Zur „inneren Sicherheit"', in: Zeithistorische Forschungen, 2010, p.170–87.

the refining of internal security in the Federal Republic of Germany. Giuseppe Campesi approaches *pubblica sicurezza* in the Italian case with conceptual history, tracing different police conceptions of public security from the ancient regime up to the 19th century.[40] Enrico Gargiulo complements this approach, studying the concept of the "bravo poliziotto" between 1948 and 1981 in a current research on police manuals.[41] The state of exception or emergency as a special tool in the fight against a threatening and complex phenomenon has been object of studies with political science,[42] state philosophy[43] and judicial background.[44]

Furthermore, studies in political and social sciences trace the evolution of the policy area "internal security", analysing the European cooperation against terrorism and organised crime,[45] or comparing different recent concepts of internal security.[46]

3) Security policy in its function as European policy is hitherto mainly researched with an emphasis on possibilities and limits of a European police cooperation.[47] Additionally, some scholars raise the question in the framework

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[38] Rigoll, Dominik: Staatsschutz in Westdeutschland. Von der Entnazifizierung zur Extremistenabwehr, Göttingen 2013.

[39] Scheiper, Stefan: Innere Sicherheit. Politische Anti-Terror-Konzepte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland während der 1970er Jahre, Paderborn 2010.

[40] Campesi,Giuseppe: Genealogia della pubblica sicurezza. Teoria e storia del moderno dispositivo poliziesco, Verona 2009.

[41] Gargiulo, Enrico: Il bravo poliziotto, il cittadino onesto, il manifestante sedizioso: saperi professionali, categorizzazioni sociali e visioni dell'ordine pubblico nei manuali di polizia (1948-1981), unpublished talk given at Seminario "Violenza politica e democrazia nell'Italia repubblicana", Sezze, May 14, 2015.

[42] Pasquino, Gianfranco (ed.): La prova delle armi, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1984.

[43] Agamben, Giorgio: State of Exception, Chicago, Chicago University Press 2005.

[44] Bascherini, Gianluca / Erhard Denninger: Intervento al seminario su "I diritti fondamentali e le corti in Europa", Incontro del 29 ottobre 2004 sul tema "I diritti nell'emergenza", Resoconto redatto dal Dott. Andrea De Petris, Bollettino n 9/2004, p.8.

[45] Glaessner, Gert-Joachim / Lorenz, Astrid: Europäisierung der Inneren Sicherheit. Eine Vergleichende Untersuchung am Beispiel von Organisierter Kriminalität Und Terrorismus, Wiesbaden 2005.

[46] Würtenberger, Thomas / Gusy, Christoph / Lampe, Hans-Jürgen: Innere Sicherheit im europäischen Vergleich. Sicherheitsdenken, Sicherheitskonzepte und Sicherheitsarchitektur im Wandel, Berlin 2012.

[47] Mokros, Reinhard: 'Polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit in Europa', in: Lisken / Denninger (Ed.): Handbuch des Polizeirechts, München 1996, p.915–64; Wehner, Ruth: Europäische Zusammenarbeit bei der polizeilichen Terrorismusbekämpfung aus rechtlicher Sicht.

of the European integration process, focusing on the informal security collaboration, which was often veiled in secrecy. Wilhelm Knelangen examines the relationship of integration theory and collaboration in internal security issues.[48] As early as in the 1960s, Karl Deutsch conceived European security as result of interaction (instead of only structural relations); although focusing on international security in the sense of peace.[49] Thorsten Bonacker and Jan Bernhard refine this concept of the "security community", influenced by constructivist approaches to the "securitized community", and apply it for analysing the evolution of a European identity.[50] Lars-Erik Cederman traces how external influences facilitated the cohesion of the European Union, emphasising the creation of a European bureaucratic field by police collaboration.[51] Didier Bigo gives a critical account on how the internal security fields of European states merged to a pre-stage of a common European internal security, primarily driven by the fear of "foreigners".[52] Jef Huysmans argues similarly by connecting European security collaboration with migration and asylum policy.[53]

Aufgezeigt am Beispiel der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Baden-Baden 1993.

[48] Knelangen, Wilhelm: Das Politikfeld Innere Sicherheit Im Integrationsprozess. Die Entstehung einer Europäischen Politik der inneren Sicherheit, Forschungen Zur Europäischen Integration, Bd. 4, Opladen 2001.

[49] Deutsch, Karl W. et al.: Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience, Princeton 1957.

[50] Bonacker, Thorsten / Bernhardt, Jan: 'Von der security community zur securitized community: Zur Diskursanalyse von Versicherheitlichungsprozessen am Beispiel der Konstruktion einer europäischen Identität', in Siedschlag, Alexander: Methoden der sicherheitspolitischen Analyse, Wiesbaden 2006, p.219–242.

[51] Cederman, Lars-Erik: Constructing Europe's Identity. The External Dimension, Lynne Rienner Publishers 2001.

[52] Bigo, Didier: When two become one. Internal and external securitisations, in: M Kelstrup, M.C. Williams (Ed.): International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration. Power, Security and Community, London / New York, Routledge 2000; Idem: "The European internal security field: stakes and rivalries in a newly developing area of police intervention." Policing Across National Boundaries, London: Pinter 164 (1994). Idem: "The Möbius ribbon of internal and external security (ies)." Identities, borders, orders: Rethinking international relations theory 18 (2001): 91-116; Idem: Polices en réseaux: l'expérience européenne. Paris, Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1996.

[53] Huysmans, Jef: The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU, London 2006; Idem.: "The European Union and the securitization of migration." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 38.5 (2000): 751-777.

A historical analysis of Italy's counterterrorism policy regarding its transnational relations and transfer processes, and emphasising the meaning of the fight on terrorism for the evolution of the political conception "internal security", can hitherto be regarded as a research desiderate of historical security research. Nevertheless, my research project can tie up with a solid state of the art from related fields of study.

In this way, it contributes to the transnational-historical treatment of a decade that was crucial for the definition of "internal security" and path breaking for many related issues in European states between 1968 and 1989. It does so by shifting the focus to the Italian perspective.

Based on the ongoing academic debates in the related research fields, and on their theoretical-methodological tools, my study aims to contribute to historical security research and to the contextualisation of Italian counterterrorism policy of the 1970s within the evolution of an internationally aligned security policy of European states. This transnational counterterrorism policy was partly constituted by transfer processes. The in this way enlarged space of action offers a transnational perspective on the history of Italy's counterterrorism policy. This perspective allows my study to examine the interplay of concepts and practices in this policy, both theoretically and empirically.

In the 1970s like today, security policy at a national level is central to defining the relationship between state and citizens. Counterterrorism policy touches many fields of politics, such as migration, European integration and border policy, and international relations. Looking at counterterrorism politics in an interactive context between state and terrorism, my study emphasises the communicative function of terrorism[54] - and consequently counterterrorism – order to analyse the change in state politics and policies. On this basis, my shows how Italian counterterrorism politics changed the conception of internal security and, consequential, the perception of statehood.

Furthermore, my study contributes to a better understanding of how counterterrorism politics in European countries developed differently. In contrast to former studies, which predominantly focused on different constitutional preconditions,[55] an analysis of transfer processes can elucidate

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[54] The analytical view of terrorism as a communication strategy is the most widespread among scholars, introduced by P. Waldmann and B. Jenkins; B. De Graaf later adopted a performative approach to the analysis of counterterrorism politics.
[55] Cf. Hürter, Johannes: Regieren gegen Terrorismus. Die Beispiele Westminster, Bonn und Rom in den 1970er Jahren, in: Idem, Terrorismusbekämpfung in Westeuropa:

particularities in the genesis of Italian counterterrorism politics in another perspective.

Particularly two aspects of my study contribute to both the revision of contemporary history and to methodological and current political discussion: First, counterterrorism policy was and still is a field that requires high resources and concessions by all involved actors. Especially the field of tension between the safety of state and society from terrorism, with at the same time the security of individual liberties from state surveillance, is a fundamental problem. With the step to the transnational level, it persists, but has to be viewed from another angle: Actors behave beyond the validity area of national constitutions, transnational publics become the reference object of security policies, and – at least as an objective – authorities exchange personal information about citizens beyond the spatial limits of the state responsibility. Second, the study aims at analysing the transfer of an until then national policy area with its key conceptions at the transnational level. This analysis might be gainful already considering its theoretical aspects as a transfer history of knowledge and practices. At the content level, the study contributes to historicising the origins of a nowadays essential policy area – at the example of the state that had to fight the hardest struggle against terrorism in 1970s Europe.

Finally, yet importantly, my approach sheds light on how the cooperation in security policies contributed to the creation of a European field of internal security – and so contributed to the creation of a European identity.

1.1.4. Methodology and concepts

In this section, I sketch my study's theoretical-conceptual framework. I elaborate on two methodological key elements, namely on the relation between international politics and transnational thought, and on the constructivist approach to the concepts "terrorism" and "security".

The central focus of the study is the analysis of change in Italian counterterrorism politics as a result of its growing international alignment, examining modifications in both political practices and concepts. As *explanans* for this change serve transfer processes, which are understood as "mutual processes of interchange in both directions", driven by diverse actors, and

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Demokratie und Sicherheit in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren, Munich 2015.

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transmitted via diverse media.[56] The transfer historical approach is essential for this study, as it can understand political change as both the acquisition of successful models and as the result of mutual commitments.[57]

The objects of these transfers could be concepts, representations, and mentalities. Since I cannot simply assume transfers, they have to be precisely localised. For this purpose, documents from Italian policymakers and security services are evaluated regarding the question who interchanged information, in which framework, and whether agreements on political guidelines were made. Central actors were the Ministers for internal politics, for justice and for foreign policies and their staff,[58] as well as national security experts like the heads of Police agencies. Since change in transfer history is conceived as the assumption of practices and concepts due to learning processes, the study focuses on experience and change over time. Originating from cultural history, the approach here is combined with the political science concept of "policy transfer".[59] As transferred entities, we have to consider practices and concepts of counterterrorism politics, ranging from police investigation techniques over reforms to questions of the state under the rule of law. Hence, this approach

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[56]Hartmut Kaelble, 'Herausforderungen an die Transfergeschichte', Comparativ 16, Heft 3 (2006) p.7- 12, here p.7; Particularly M. Espagne advocated the transfer analysis as method of transnational history, since it focuses on change by experience and so emphasises time instead of structures.

[57] As Henk te Velde has shown, histories of political transfer often complement "incomplete" national histories of politics, which otherwise neglect the importance of foreign examples. Te Velde, Henk: Political Transfer. An Introduction, in: European Review of History, Vol. 12, 2 (2005), p.205-211.

[58] Since not less than 12 governments were in charge in the examined time, an enumeration of all involved actors (Ministers and state secretaries) exceeds the scope of this paper. However, the appointed ministers in short list: Ministero dell'Interno: Rumor (72-73), Taviani (73-74), Gui (74-76), Cossiga (76-78), Rognoni (78-83); Ministero della Giustizia: Gonella (72-73), Zagari (73-74), Reale (74-76), Bonifacio (76-79), Morlino (79-80), Sarti (80-81), Darida (81-83); Ministero degli Affari Esteri: Medici (72-73), Moro (73-74), Rumor (74-76), Forlani (76-79), Malfatti/ Ruffini (79-80), Colombo (80-83).

[59] Transfer history was first applied as research method of cultural change, cf. Osterhammel, Jürgen: Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats. Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich, Göttingen 2001. The same principle in a modified version is applied on political relations by Holzinger, Katharina / Jörgens, Helge / Knill, Christoph: Transfer, Diffusion und Konvergenz. Konzepte und Kausalmechanismen, in: Id. (Ed.), Transfer, Diffusion und Konvergenz von Politiken Wiesbaden 2007, p.11-35.

complements a perspective that concentrates on structural and internal causes of political change.

To write a history of Italian counterterrorism policy from a transnational angle, my aim is to evaluate the scope and the relevance of these cross-border exchanges and to describe the conditions that boosted or hampered the transfers. Thus, I investigate both the network between the actors and the flows of information, ideas, concepts and practices.[60]

International politics and transnational thought

Terrorism in the 1970s was a transnational security problem that required an approach beyond national politics. The transfer processes of knowledge and practices between the partners in cooperation are best examined in a transnational history since actors from politics and security authorities began to grasp counterterrorism as a common objective that exceeded the national state. "Transnational" in this case does neither mean regarding only non-state actors nor opposing the nation as the main determinant of security policy, but analysing "flows" of information and "networks" of agents across national borders and beyond national politics.

Thus, I depart from the term *transnational* but understand international political acting as a part of transnational thought. International cooperation was one of the reactions to tackle the perceived threat, but not the only one. [61] Internationalisation is then understood as the cooperation between states or their representatives, which entails both the extension of competences beyond the state territory and the restriction of certain national sovereignties.

Due to international agreements, it can be expected that the change in Italian counterterrorism policy eventually led to a convergence with other European counterterrorism efforts, which is an assumption to be verified in this study. Furthermore, it is important to understand international policy transfers and cross-border cooperation in counterterrorism also as actively created by Italian

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[60] Kirchhof, Astrid Mignon, / Jan-Henrik Meyer: "Global Protest Against Nuclear Power. Transfer and Transnational Exchange in the 1970s and 1980s." Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung (2014): 165-190, here p.170.

[61] Other examples for approaches in transnational thought are socio-political approaches to integrate minorities in South Tyrol, collaboration with the moderate left in information about the situation in West Germany, and informal cooperation of high police officers in the "Clubs".

policymakers in deliberation processes, and not only transferred by other countries. Conceived in such a way, the changes in Italian counterterrorism policy can be caused by several reasons. [62] My study aims at better understanding the process by emphasising the analysis of actors and their backgrounds. At this point, "human factors", such as personal preferences, language barriers or antipathies, rendered the process more complex: the transfers have been intended and enhanced, but certainly also been omitted, missed, interrupted or forbidden.[63] The quality of transfers often depended on the actors' motivations and prejudices.[64]

Closely connected to this fact, another important part of transfer relationships are images and debates on the "other side". [65] Therefore, the results of cultural-historical studies on contemporary perceptions of other countries[66] might have influenced the study's actors are taken into account. These entanglements at a cultural and personal level supplement the analysis of international transfer processes in European cooperation that shaped Italian counterterrorism policy. Since transfer processes can only take place based on different initial conditions in the respective countries,[67] at certain points I contrast Italy's counterterrorism policy to other countries.

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[62]A first explanation is the independent development of similar structures, as similar problems may generally cause similar processes of problem solving. More plausible however seems a change caused by processes of imitation and learning, taking over successful policies from other states, or in the framework of international networks. Another factor in the convergence of political practices are legal commitments that result from international or supranational policies, cf. Holzinger / Jörgens / Knill, p.12.

[63] Kaelble, Herausforderungen, p.10.

[64] An interview (16.05.2015) with Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, Italian ambassador in Bonn during 1980-1987, confirmed these communication problems, caused by cultural differences.

[65] Kaelble, Der historische Vergleich. Eine Einführung zu 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert, Frankfurt 1999, p.69.

[66] Tolomelli, Marica: Terrorismo E Società. Il Pubblico Dibattito in Italia E in Germania Negli Anni Settanta, Bologna 2006; Terhoeven, Petra: Deutscher Herbst in Europa. Der Linksterrorismus der Siebziger Jahre als transnationales Phänomen, Munich 2013.

[67] In fact, transfer and comparison are mutually dependent for the aim to take a transnational standpoint. Hence, only the combination of both the historical comparison and transfer history reveals a comprehensive view on the phenomenon: transfers often serve as explanations for convergences and divergences in history, whereas unequal situations are fundamental for transfer processes. Hartmut Kaelble, 'Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt', H-Soz-U-Kult, August, 2 (2005).; cf. additionally Heinz-Gerhard Haupt / Jürgen Kocka, 'Historischer Vergleich: Methoden, Aufgaben,

Concepts terrorism and security

In order to historically analyse the change of and discussion on abstract terms, conceptual approach to the core elements seems the best option to interpret and to contextualise them. Concepts construct normative orders and claim universality; consequently, most are highly challenged.[68] The combination of transfer history with a conceptual approach offers the possibility to trace the changes in Italian counterterrorism politics in a transnational perspective and along the central terms. For my study, the concepts of *terrorism* and *security* are pivotal. To analyse these concepts' roles and their change within their interactive use, I examine their origins and the semantic fields linked to them. From this, their (legitimating) function in politics become clear.

The concept of *terrorism* is both fundamental and harshly contested. It entered the European languages during the terror regime in 1973-94[69] and has never since been undisputed, as already its definition implies hostility. The of defining it characterise both the political debate and academic research on terrorism.[70] A meta-study identified "violence and compulsion" as the most consented characteristic, followed by the political motivation and the intention of scaring people. Another distinct feature seems to be the fact that the actual victim of a terrorist attack is not the main target.[71] Following this approach, defining terrorism by the characteristics that people ascribe to it, they took

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Probleme. Eine Einleitung', Geschichte und Vergleich. Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung, 1996.

[68] Koselleck, Reinhart Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte, Stuttgart 1979.

[69] Wilkinson, Paul: Terrorism, in Handbook of Security Studies, Ch. 11; p.129-138, here p.129.

[70] Although Walter Laqueur stated that "the search for a scientific, all-comprehensive definition is a futile enterprise", (Laqueur, Walter: No End to War. Terrorism in the twenty-first century, New York 2004, p.238.) other researchers argue for the need to "describe the concept with as much precision as possible" as the only way to counter it effectively (Golder, B. / Williams, G.: "What is terrorism – Problems of Legal Definition", University of South Wales Law Journal 27(2) (2004), p.272). Some even say that there is no such thing as a unitary history of terrorism, cf. Haupt-Heinz Gerhard / Weinhauer, Klaus: Terrorism and the state, in: Bloxham, Donald / Gerwarth, Robert (Ed.), *Political violence in twentieth-century Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.176.

[71] Schmid, Alex Peter / Jongman, Albert. J.: Political Terrorism. A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature. New Brunswick 2005, p.5-6.

seriously that "terrorism […] is ultimately a social construct, and so there is [...] something of a paradox in trying to be definitive about it".[72]

For the purpose of this study, a global definition of terrorism is not necessary.[73] My research scope is to analyse the political debate on terrorism in Italy in the 1970s and 1980s. Although examined in its relation to the international discussion, terrorism in my study was limited in time and place – to Italy and partners in the studied decade.

Moreover, I strictly understand terrorism in a constructivist approach – Terrorism is what a majority of actors define it is. Thus, I derive my working definition of terrorism from the academic debate on 1970s terrorism in Europe: Terrorism is politically motivated violence by non-state groups that aims at gaining maximum attention to convey a message. The victims of terrorist attacks are just a means, and the violence itself becomes a tactic in a political strategy. Aware of the fact that the definition is always a label and charged with meaning, the term is applied in this study according to the unspoken consent of the historical actors, which crystallised during the debate.

To understand terrorism strictly as a performative label, and to study the use of its label and the effects thereof is hence the only option to study terrorism and counterterrorism politics without being trapped by the instrumental use of the term. Consequential, also counterterrorism politics have to be understood in their close interaction with the terrorist threat.[74] Resulting from this performative conception of the studied policy area, any conveyed narratives have to be critically scrutinised. Alone the use of the term by political actors, public or legislation is a performative act that aims at discrediting or an issue.[75]

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[72] Richards, Anthony: Conceptualizing Terrorism, in: Studies of Conflict and Terrorism 37 (2014), p.213-236, p.218.

[73] The analytical category "terrorism", stretching from zealot assassinations up to cyberterrorism, is a toughly debated concept; finding an exact and global definition covers whole studies and therefore exceeds the scope of this paper. Two essays that well sketch the scholarly debate on a terrorism definition are Richards, Anthony: Conceptualizing Terrorism; and Silke, Andrew: The Devil you know. Continuing problems with Research on Terrorism, in: Terrorism and Political violence 13(4), (2001), p.2.

[74] A recent historical study that takes up the communicative approach, beside the mentioned study by De Graaf is: Riegler, Thomas: Terrorismus. Akteure, Strukturen, Entwicklungslinien, Innsbruck 2009.

[75] Due to the complex relation of terrorism as a tool in political debate, I elaborate in Ch.

Within the same semantic field of political violence, the second central concept is *security*, which is connected with the legitimacy of the state ever since the evolution of the modern nation.[76] Security in a broad understanding is freedom from danger or threat. Classical political theory understood the state as a warrant for individual security and so combined its internal and external notion. The importance of security for political conceptions can be traced back liberal state theorists of the 17th century.[77] My studied period in the 1970s coincided with a time when the political importance of security increased due newly perceived dangers in diverse policy fields.[78] The security of citizens was not only threatened by war with another state, but also by economic instability or environmental imbalance. The structure of the state was perceived from inside by crime or subversion.

Internal security can be defined as „bracket around the police and justice endeavours for prosecution and prevention of threat"[79]or more theoretical as „modern and de-territorialised concept or principle for the security of society individuals in the Western context."[80] Apart from the fight against terrorism, in my study, I regard police methods and the relation between authorities and society as characterising elements of the Italian internal security conception. In liberal democracy police action often restricts individual liberties with the aim to maintain security, but at the same time security is claimed to be the precondition for personal liberty. Therefore both values are linked in a strained relationship.[81] The reference object of "Internal security" is the stability of the

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2.1 again on its concrete use by political actors in Italy.

[76] Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.34f.

[77] Angela Marciniak shows how the concept of security carried weight in political theory, in the ideas from Thomas Hobbes to Jeremy Bentham and Hans Joachim Morgenthau, and on this base argues against the widespread conception of security as a counterbalance to liberty. Marciniak, Angela: Politische Sicherheit. Zur Geschichte eines umstrittenen Konzepts, Frankfurt 2015.

[78] Besides terrorism, also other existential discourses like the "limits of growth" and economic insecurity in the aftermath of the oil price crisis are to keep in mind. Conze, Suche nach Sicherheit, p.472. For the increasing importance of the concept security during the 1970s, focusing on further aspects cf. Daase, Christopher: Der Erweiterte Sicherheitsbegriff. Working Paper 1/2010.

[79] Bull, Hans Peter: "Visionen Und Wirklichkeit Einer Kriminalpolitik Für Europa." Kritische Vierteljahresschrift Für Gesetzgebung Und Rechtswissenschaft (KritV), vol. 78, no. 3, 1995, pp.313–334, here p.316.

[80] Scheiper, Innere Sicherheit, p.32.

[81] Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.38.

state, or the democratic political system. Critics of this conception refer to the guarantee of personal rights.

In this dual role, security creates both the declared aim and the legitimating of the studied political action.[82] In order to historicise the subjective perception *security*, a constructivist approach is essential. Assuming that only the discourse about a phenomenon, not the event itself, can constitute a menace,[83] I focus on the interaction between political actors.

Using an interactive conception of counterterrorism policy, the concept of *securitisation* is gainful. In this way, security is not understood as a neutral category, but as a performatively created construct. Going beyond the political science approach of the Copenhagen school, which defines securitisation of an object as "a further intensification of politicisation" and concentrates on the state as acting instance;[84] I conceive securitisation as the deliberate use of "security messages"[85] in politics by diverse actors. In a liberal democracy, already "the state" is constituted by representatives from diverse parties, and political debate emerges between government and opposition. Additional, even in a primarily political analysis, non-governmental actors, such as media, must be taken into account.

To make the process successful, an audience has to accept the securitisation of a topic.[86] However, in a constructivist understanding, more conditions have to

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[82] Conze, Securitization, p.460; Cf. Idem: 'Sicherheit Als Kultur. Überlegungen Zu Einer „modernen Politikgeschichte "der Bundesrepublik Deutschland'In: VfZ Vol.53, No. (2005), 357–380, p.360.

[83] Balzacq, Securitization Theory, p.1.

[84] When developed as analytical framework for political analysis, Waever et.al conceive securitisation of an object as its "depolitisation", which allows to apply extraordinary measures in the name of security, cf. Buzan/ Wæver / de Wilde, Security, p.23-25.

[85] I deliberately opted for "messages", as encompassing concept for rhetoric, metaphors, symbolic actions and practices. In a broader constructivist understanding of securitisation, inputs into a discourse can be language, physic actions, and practices. Influenced by all three kinds of input, the participants socially construct the idea and perception of security; cf. Balzacq, Thierry: 'The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, audience and context', European Journal of International Relations, 11 (2005), p.171-201, p.173; McDonald, Matt: "Securitization and the Construction of Security." European journal of international relations 14.4 (2008), p.563-587.

[86] Classical securitisation theory as an analytical frame for historical research suffers from the basic conflict that speech act theory can display the way how a spoken word can create reality (illocutionary sense of a speech act), but it does not take into account how the spoken word depends on further conditions to unfold its effect. On one hand, this

met for securitising a topic. In an illocutionary understanding of securitisation, can presume that actors pursue a (political) strategy, i.e. improving the own position or power. In such an emotionally charged debate as terrorism, the use of words can certainly be influenced by the dynamics of the discourse. A reading of the sources suggests that often political actors departed from an instrumental use of securitising language, but then changed their use of words, and probably their perception of the phenomenon. Apart from the actors and their backgrounds, I examine the conditions and consequences of securitisation processes in counterterrorism policy.[87] The conditions in my case are the contemporary status of the Italian political landscape, or the actual occurrence of political violence acts. The consequence can be amending the political approach to the securitised problem.

With this idea of securitisation as the attempt to control a communication process,[88] I am able to study the change in Italian counterterrorism policy towards cooperation with authorities from abroad. Then, I point out how the politics transformed by acquainted political practices, focusing on its and so linking it to the change of the concept of internal security.

As in every communication process, I believe that securitisation largely on the audience accepting the message.[89] Regarding the scope of my study,

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shows the limits of a certainly logical linguistic theory in explaining complex social and political developments. On the other hand, it offers starting points for further systematic thoughts that can support historical analysis. Thierry Balzacq therefore complemented the Copenhagen Theory by a perlocutionary perspective, saying that an audience is needed, which then securitises a topic after it is raised (the audience "accepts" the securitisation and carries it out). However, recent research considers both incomplete, as the receptive audience is only one of several preconditions. Balzacq, Three Faces, p. 173; McDonald, Securitization p. 573.

[87] My approach as described above is rather similar to the conception by the research centre "Dynamics of Security" (Gießen/Marburg University), which goes beyond the focus on the state as main actor; cf. http://www.sfb138.de/home/forschung/konzeptgruppen/versicherheitlichung-entsicherheitlichung/, acc. 20/01/15

[88] With this, I partly overstep Conze's conception, who supposed that securitisation is a "controlled communication process". I think that a political / societal communication process is too complex to be entirely controlled by one (group of) actor(s). Conze, Securitization, p.456.

[89] Although this assumption is not undisputed in securitisation theory (Cf. Huysmans, Jef. "Revisiting Copenhagen: Or, on the creative development of a security studies agenda in Europe." European journal of international relations 4.4 (1998): 479-505), I maintain the

different target audiences are involved. Hence, two processes of securitisation may occur: One took place within Italian national politics, as a reaction to the increase of domestic political violence, and aimed at developing a national strategy against terrorism. The other securitisation process might be observed the (not only) Italian discourse on terrorism as a transnational security Here, the eventual opening of the Italian security policy towards international cooperation can be regarded as its aim.

Notwithstanding the basic conflict and justified criticism at securitisation theory, I do not delve deeper into its limitations, neither develop a universally applicable solution. As my study is primarily based on the assessment of unpublished sources, I employ single aspects of the theory as analytical tools, in order to get a systematic approach to the intertwined strands of the debate.

1.1.5. Studied sources

The only very recent interest in European cooperation against terrorism came for two reasons. First, with its informal and intergovernmental character, which was not yet institutionalised in European structures, it was not yet in the focus of research on European integration. Secondly, the quite restrictive information policy about the cooperation made it hardly accessible. [90] Sources about international cooperation in security questions have been opened only very recently in Italy, where many files about terrorism are still in the process of being reviewed for opening.[91]

Also in other national archives, the situation is not at its best. Most of the files concerning the fight against transnational terrorism in the French National Archives are subject to restrictions, and documents treating the "Clubs" of security experts occur only occasionally in Italian State Archive. Frequently, studying documentation on cooperation in counterterrorism politics requires refraining from naming the involved actors. However, the source situation is not desperate either.

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importance of a critical audience.

[90] Both arguments by Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.16.

[91] The Prime Minister's decree of 22 April 2014, so-called "Direttiva Renzi" provided the declassification of the documentation concerning the events knows as stragi. Among others, the files regarding the attacks at Piazza Fontana (Milan 1969), Peteano (1972), Piazza della Loggia, Brescia (1974), the high-speed train Italicus (1974), and the Central station of Bologna (1980).

As a historical analysis of change in policy and politics, my study is based on the critical evaluation of primary sources that can give information on Italian counterterrorism politics and the Italian concept of internal security. Examining transfer processes between Italy and its partners in questions of counterterrorism, not only legislative proposals are worth considering, but also programs for investigation methods, the organisation of police units and secret services, or juridical practices. Hence, documents from the Ministries of the Interior, as well as of Foreign affairs and Justice, answer my research questions. Especially the former are of crucial importance since the ministry of the interior was the decisive actor regarding any development in the policy field internal security. Complementary, minutes from discussions within the parliamentary bodies (*Camera* and *Senato*) reveal information about how state measures and objectives in domestic security issues have been justified to the political opposition and in public.

Consequential, these Ministry findings are complemented with archive data from other fonts, mainly the archives of the two biggest parties in the political picture between 1972 and 1982, to trace further the backgrounds and decisions made by Italian political actors. These also reveal information about the discourse on security issues within the political elites. Furthermore, complementing documents from foreign countries' decision-makers help to assess the Italian role in a developing European counterterrorism policy. In this respect, I consider the sources from West German, British and American institutions most useful to supplement the perspective of the Italian sources. As a matter of course, contemporarily secret gatherings like the "Club of Berne" are more problematic to analyse than the generally well-documented official meetings of working groups within the European Community. However, at least the agendas – and hence the topics – of several unofficial conventions are recorded. The insight into these documents often depended on my investigative success, luck and the help of courteous archivists.

In the Italian *Archivio Centrale dello Stato*, the documents of the Ministry of the Interior dating back to 1970-1985 are open for consultation and contain the precious "Reports of international activities of the DGPS" for the years 1977-1982. These files summed up recent legislative structural changes in the security sector and gave an overview over all international cooperation security authorities. The files from the *Ufficio del Consigliere Diplomatico*[92] give a

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[92] Also these files had not yet been catalogued in 2015; hence I am very grateful to the archivist who nonetheless granted me a view into them.

welcome insight into Italy's international relations and a workaround for the 70 years protection period of documents by the Italian Foreign Ministry. Much insight into the bilateral cooperation between important European partners provided by documentation originating from the UK and West German Home Offices that is available in the respective national archives. The bilateral cooperation between Italy and France would have been a further very interesting case, but unfortunately, this part of the study fell victim to archive regulations.

Already published files such as the parliamentary minutes of both Italian chambers, or the correspondences of the West German Foreign Office, round off the archive findings. The online funds of the Digital National Security Archive, the NARA, the CIA Reading Room, the American Presidency Project, and the United Nations turned out to be valuable sources. All the files regarding international cooperation carry important information about political cultures and preconditions of transnational collaboration – partly more between the lines than in their words, and sometimes fairly entertaining.

These archive sources were illustrated by interaction with two witnesses of my studied processes. The information, which revealed one Italian diplomat and one former secret service agent in interviews and from their private archives, gave my study a degree propinquity to the 1970s that it otherwise would never reach.

Another part of my research was the assessment of contemporary published sources, such as annual reports of ministries, as well as contemporary social and political science studies treating counterterrorism policy in the national or international context. Apart from their role as precious sources, they can be interpreted as an actor in the political discourse.

So far, only a part of the documents that give information about international collaboration with foreign security and secret services in countering terrorism is available. However, the processes that can be reconstructed on the base of accessible sources and former studies, give an important insight into the Italian role in international cooperation in counterterrorism. Thus, they help to explain diverse changes in the Italian conception of internal security by transfer processes within this collaboration.

When examining the development of a political strategy, it is crucial to understand its historical and political context. Thus, in the next section, I briefly sketch out the Italian situation in the 1970s, regarding the political situation in the country, the conception and state of public security in Italy, and the

international developments that determined the point of departure for Italian international cooperation.

In Chapter 2, the first main chapter, I start my study with an analysis of the political discussion about terrorism in Italy. By giving a short account on how the term terrorism carries a heavy political weight, I trace the discussion about political violence, distinguishing between an internal Italian and a transnational dimension of this debate. The transnational dimension contains the perception of terrorism abroad, and of transnational terrorist groups attacking in Italy, as well as the potential link of Italian terrorism to foreign groups.

In Chapter 3, I focus on how the fight against terrorism was treated in bilateral cooperation between Italy and her three most important partners in security policy between 1972 and 1982. These partners were West Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States, who all had their own approaches to counterterrorism and thus had diverse impacts to the Italian scene.

In Chapter 4, I examine how a common response to terrorism was discussed in multilateral cooperation at the practical level. Therefore, I study three informal groups, which were founded in the 1970s to counter the common threat of terrorism. Italian delegates participated in the TREVI cooperation among European states, as well as in two "Clubs" of security experts. A short account of the NATO deliberations on counterterrorism complements the last main chapter.

Finally, I give a concluding overview, which answers my research questions, and at the same time raises other problems.

1.2   Historical context: Italy in the 1970s

1.2.1   Institutions and political culture

In the 1970s, a wave of political violence terrified Italy. In contrast to most other Western countries, subversives from both political extremes threatened the *Repubblica*. This was not the only peculiarity, which gave unique conditions the history of Italian counterterrorism.

In order to analyse the reaction of the Italian state to terrorism and Italy's role in the emerging international counterterrorism cooperation, it is fundamental to know the political system. Its possibilities and weaknesses result from a long tradition and thus are only intelligible in their historical context.

The constitution of the Italian Republic in 1946 was supported by the three biggest parties *Democrazia Cristiana* (DC), *Partito Socialista* (PSI), and *Partito Communista* (PCI), and based on antifascism as single common ground. Many other important questions were drafted broadly, due to the diverging attitudes of the parties.[93]

Thirty-nine government turnovers until 1982 left a myth of "ungovernability" observers from abroad, but eventually were often solved by simply Minister Chairs".[94] Hence, contrary to the first assumption, a strong personal and administrative continuity appears, with the Christian Democrats providing all Prime Ministers until 1981.[95] As the author of this study is a foreigner and therefore aware of the fact, that many things cannot be taken for granted, I will explain some general characteristics that condition Italian counterterrorism politics.

To understand this practice of governmental stability by governmental crises better, we need to consider two peculiarities of the Italian political culture: *lottizzazione* and *trasformismo*. The first term depicts the high art of political networking and the giving of favours according to personal ties, which had a long history but still was a sort of a "government principle" for the DC.[96] Consequential, party lines were somewhat subordinate to personal liabilities, and governing was often based on ad-hoc compromises. The second term means the continuous changeability of the own position, to avoid conflicts by arranging broadly phrased agreements.[97]

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[93] Baldoli hence spoke of an "awkward compromise", cf. Baldoli, History of Italy, p.268; Vecchio, Giorgio & Trionfini Paolo: Storia dell'Italia Repubblicana (1946-2014), Milano 2014, p.37.

[94] Wieser, Theodor / Spotts, Frederic: Der Fall Italien. Dauerkrise einer schwierigen Demokratie, Frankfurt 1983, p.9.

[95] The Italian government was led from 1947 to 1981 by the Democrazia Cristiana (DC), often in coalition with the Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI). During the 1960s and 1970s, the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI) outnumbered the PSI as the strongest opposition party. Other parliamentary parties mentioned in this study are the extreme right-wing Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) and the alternative left-wing Partito Radicale (PR). On 28 June 1981, the Republican Giovanni Spadolini became the first Prime Minister not belonging to the DC. His cabinet was the 36th and he was the 15th person to serve the head of Government.

[96] Some say that lottizzazione had been the „ruling principle of the DC"; cf. Jansen, Christian: Italien seit 1945, Göttingen 2007, p.129.

[97] More on the term trasformismo in Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.31; Hausmann, Geschichte Italiens, p.28, 70, 88 and 160. Friederike Hausmann depicts trasformismo as

Counterterrorism policy consists to a large part of legislation, such as creating new laws against certain sorts of crimes or modifying the existing Penal and Penal Procedure Code. Draft bills (disegni di legge) need to be approved by both chambers. With a strong Senate and in lack of any mediating committee[98] obstruction by the opposition frequently slowed down the legislation process. This inefficiency caused on one hand a very bad reputation of the "*classa politica*". On the other hand, the Prime Minister often employed law decrees (decreti legge) to avoid the cumbersome discussions in parliament. These decrees fell out of vigour if not ratified by the Parliament within 60 days, but could be reiterated. In effect, many legislative innovations were either blocked or watered down to broad compromises, leaving some key elements of the penal code unchanged since the 1930s.[99]

The political conditions on the Apennine Peninsula had changed drastically during the first 25 years of the Republic under pressure from inside and After turning away from De Gasperi's *centrismo*, reforming forces within the initiated an *apertura a sinistra* (opening towards the left).[100] The change focused on a progressive education system and increased economy intervention, and paved the way for the first government participation of the Socialist Party Prime Minister Aldo Moro in 1963.[101] In opposition to these centre-left governments, the PCI gained political weight in the following years. After 1968, the relations between the PCI and CPSU became tenser.[102] In turn, the new

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the political pendant of the old Italian saying "If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change." (Orig.: "Se vogliamo che tutto rimanga come è, bisogna che tutto cambi"), belonging to Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa' s classic Il Ggattopardo (The Leopard); Colquhoun translation, Pantheon edition, p.40.

[98] In some other parliamentary democracies (e.g. FRG), a mediating committee is in charge of finding a consensus for in the case that an act adopted in one chamber fails in the other; in order to prevent deadlock situations in legislation.

[99] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.107; Reiter, Herbert / Weinhauer, Klaus: "Police and Political Violence in the 1960s and 1970s: Germany and Italy in a Comparative Perspective." In: *European Review of History—Revue européenne d'Histoire* Vol.14, No.3 (2007), 373-395, p.388.

[100] Hess, Henner: Italien. Die ambivalente Revolte, in: Idem. et al. (Ed.), Angriff auf das Herz des Staates. Soziale Entwicklung und Terrorismus, 2. Band, Frankfurt a. M. 1988, p.9-166, p.18; Salvati, Mariuccia. "Behind the Cold War: rethinking the left, the state and civil society in Italy (1940s-1970s)." Journal of Modern Italian Studies 8.4 (2003): p.556-577.

[101] As a part of the Socialist Party was not willing to support the „bourgeois" Government, they founded the splinter party PSIUP. Cf. Stübler, Dietmar: Geschichte Italiens. 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Berlin 1987, p.239 und 243f.

[102] Pons, Silvio: "La formazione della politica internazionale di Berlinguer: Europa,

leadership intensified the dialogue with the political centre and in the early 1970s, a "historic compromise" between the DC and the Communists was discussed. The Architects of this approximation, PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer and DC President Moro, went beyond the party traditions in search for a strategy to overcome the "major emergencies" of the republican democracy.[103] The DC saw itself under the pressure of overdue reforms[104] and threatened by potential coalition of the left parties. Although the "historic compromise" was interpreted as a symptom of the PCI's programmatic contradictions,[105] many contemporary observers feared a soon takeover by the left parties in spring 1976, when the revelations of several scandals had brought the Christian Democrat leadership in a severe situation.[106] Yet again the elections proved predictions wrong, and in 1977 a DC minority government adopted a comprehensive reform bundle in July 1977, backed by the PCI. These reforms were a reaction to problems in several sectors of society, labour and education.

The late 1960s have been depicted as the "age of cultural revolution in the West",[107] when the "old secure framework of morality, authority and discipline disintegrated".[108] The Italian society of the 1970s was a very heterogeneous structure and contained a number of latent conflicts, which surfaced in diverse forms and there at times merged into mass movements.

In 1963, Pope Giovanni XXIII had recognised the need for workers to improve their social position and freed social explosive force that was contained by the

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NATO e URSS (1968-1976).", in: Cravieri, Piero / Quagliariello, Gaetano (Eds.): Atlantismo ed europeismo (2003), p.589-610, here p.593; cf. furthermore Taviani, Ermanno: PCI, estremismo di sinistra e terrorismo, in: De Rosa, Gabriele / Monina, Giancarlo (Ed.): L'Italia Repubblicana e la crisi degli anni settanta. Sistema politico e istituzioni, Roma 2001, p.235-276.

[103] Tranfaglia, Nicola. Parlamento, partiti e società nella crisi repubblicana degli anni Settanta, in: De Rosa, Gabriele / Monina, Giancarlo (Eds.): L'Italia repubblicana nella crisi degli anni settanta, Sistema Politico e istituzioni, Rubbettino 2003, p.315-325, p.319.

[104] The pressure for reforms and the decreasing support fort he DC was observable, among other examples, in their defeat in the referendum on legal divorce in 1974; Woller, Hans: Geschichte Itailens im 20. Jahrhundert, München 2010, p.302. Cf. Salvati, Behind the Cold War.

[105] Salvati, p.567.

[106] In fact, the PCI had gained 34, 4% of the votes, arriving second after the DC (38,7%). Ginsbourg, 1990, p.349, 372-3; on the scandals that stirred the Italian political life cf. Vecchi, p.221

[107] Marwick, Arthur: The Sixties, p.19

[108] Marwick, Sixties, p.12.

Church.[109] These influential words did not trail away unheared.[110] Workers who suffered from the slowdown of economic growth in the 1960s picked up socialist claims, and due to the enormous strength of the trade unions, strikes became mass movements in the "hot autumn" of 1969.[111] Backed by this the movement radicalised. Occasionally it came to the squatting of public buildings and encounters with the police.[112] Due to structural change in Universities, high numbers of students were dissatisfied and joined the in mass strikes.[113] Manifestations by those who were dissatisfied with the system became social movements. During the 1970s, the movement became "a politicisation of masses strongly characterised by the refusal of politics."[114] Their claims for profound change were perceived as a menace to the societal order, and their visible readiness to fight was seen as a problem of public order.

1.2.2. Italy in its international context

"I still think that the overall history of the country can not be understood abstracted from the international context in which the country has had to operate in those years",[115] stated Giovanni Pellegrini, President of a Parliamentary inquiry commission on terrorism in Italy. The same holds for my study. Three developments at the international level shaped Italian counterterrorism politics in the assessed period: First, the integration of the Western Bloc, second the so-called "third

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[109] The Encyclica "Pacem in Terris" of 1963, cf. Vecchi, p.158.

[110] Panvini, Legitimization, p.110.

[111] More than 90% of the workers were mobilised by the unions' call in 1969, cf. Petri, Rolf: L'immagine dell'economia italiano nella stampa economica tedesca, in: Stuart Woolf (Ed.), L'Italia Repubblicana vista da fuori (1945-2000), Bologna, Il Mulino, 2007, p.195-332, p.282.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Tolomelli, Marica: *„Repressiv getrennt "oder „organisch verbündet". Studenten und Arbeiter 1968 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in Italien*. Vol. 113, Berlin, Springer-Verlag, 2013, p.43.

[114] De Bernardi: Il Movimento Giovanile e il sistema politico, in: L'Italia repubblicana nella crisi degli anni Settanta. Atti del ciclo di Convegni, Roma, novembre e dicembre 2001, p.175-185, p.177.

[115] President Pellegrini during the enquiry of Taviani; Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sul terrorismo in Italia e sulle cause della mancata individuazione dei responsabili delle stragi, 24ª SEDUTA, MARTEDI' 1° LUGLIO 1997, Presidenza del Presidente   PELLEGRINO, http://www.parlamento.it/parlam/bicam/terror/stenografici/steno24.htm,   last   access 02.03.2017.

wave" of terrorism[116], and third a change in paradigm of liberal democracies responding to this menace.

As one of the six founding states of the European Community, Italy was a closely integrated member of the Western bloc since the end of WW2. Being the third largest economy, Italy was a heavyweight in the EC, but due to the low conjuncture after the post-war boom[117] it suffered from a deep economic crisis in 1970s. Also for that reason, ties to the Western countries were existential.

European Integration is an integral process in my study. Planned to go beyond its originally economic objectives during the integration optimism of the early 70s, the EC projects of a "border-free Europe" soon had to face serious security issues.[118] Like others, also Italian politicians regarded homeland security as a core element of national sovereignty, and were skeptical towards restrictions in national competences that generally coincide with international cooperation. For this reason, the persecution of political crime was a new challenge for the Community, and hitherto excluded from the tasks of international law enforcement authorities such as INTERPOL.

As NATO founding member and neighbour state of Warsaw Pact countries, Italy was moreover a very important point for military installations of the Alliance. For this very reason, the United States were particularly attentive to the political developments in Italy and had high interest in maintaining political stability.

One fact that made Italy's Western partners nervous was the existence of the largest Communist Party in Western Europe. However, again, the Italian case was particular: under the leadership of Berlinguer in the early 1970s, the Italian PCI had evolved towards a party within the parliamentary democracy.[119]

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[116] Cf. Rapoport, David: The four waves of Modern Terrorism, in: Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy, Georgetown 2004, p.56.

[117] The growth rate dropped from still 5,9% in 1969 to 1,5% in 9172; cf. Vecchi / Trionfani: Storia dell'Italia repubblicana, p.206.

[118] Blumenau, Bernhard: "The European Communities' Pyrrhic Victory: European Integration, Terrorism, and the Dublin Agreement of 1979.", in: Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 37.5 (2014), p.405-421, here p.405.

[119] Togliatti had still proclaimed "Unity in diversity", and was careful not to break with the Soviet Union. When Berlinguer became General Secretary in 1972, he claimed the right to disagree with the Soviet Party line and had a dynamic, more independent concept of Europe, which at many points overlapped with the Social Democrats. By 1975, the term was important, and Eurocommunists distinguished themselves by critique on

Backed by election gains, the party became more assertive in criticism of Moscow. Although the union in Eurocommunism, which the PCI pursued with its French and Spanish sister parties, was only a short-lived episode, the endeavour was misunderstood as a threat by Western States,[120] who then used their economic superiority to put pressure on the Italian political leaders. At times, being the "biggest of the small" countries led to diplomatic difficulties when interacting with the "big Four".[121]

Consequently, internal and external tensions in Italian politics were frequently intertwined, and the change of the Italian political landscape has to be assessed against the backdrop of the Cold War context: In the same way as the Eurocommunism project was only possible in the framework of détente, the preference of the historic compromise over a left coalition in 1973/4 is by referring to the CIA-backed putsch in Chile. With the discovery of failed coup attempts in 1964 and 1970, many saw their concerns of American secret interventions in Italy confirmed.[122]

The second crucial influence on Italian counterterrorism policy was constituted by the so-called "wave of terrorism". In addition to the raise of social revolutionary terrorism (in Italy, West Germany and France), and already

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Moscow after the Helsinki agreement. However, at the end of the 1970s the project had failed; partly due to the disagreements between the European communist leaders. Nevertheless, the deteriorating international climate and the fact that the containment of Eurocommunism and thus the control of the European Communist parties was of interest for both super powers, have to be considered as factors for its failure. Cf. Pons, Silvio: The Rise and fall of Eurocommunism, in: The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol 3; Cambridge University Press, p.45-65, here p.45, 47, 51.

[120] Ibid, p.47.

[121] Italian government representatives felt treated disparaging and denied cooperation at eye-level by the "Big Four" (US, UK, FRG and France) in occasion of the Camp David talks 1974, where Italy was initially not invited. Cf. AAPD, 1974, Bd I-II, Doc. 276, 25. Septemper 1974: van Well an Auswärtiges Amt, p.1215. This feeling of being treated as the biggest of the small countries by the "Big Four" and similarly not regarded by the European run-ups, by the Italians grew in the next years. Especially when France and the UK fobbed Italian government members by saying that the "Big four" meetings had happened rather coincidentally, understandably made the latter complained about disintegrating behaviour (Cf. AAPD, 1975, Bd I-II, Doc. 262, Aufzeichnung des Staatssekretärs Hermes, p.1228-9).

[122] Lepre, Aurelio: Storia della prima Repubblica: l'Italia dal 1942 al 2003, Il Mulino, Bologna 2004, p.206ff.

existing right wing and ethno-nationalistic terrorism (Basque Region, Northern Ireland) in Europe, in the 1970s the threat by transnational terrorism supervened. The PLO was the "first truly international terrorist organization", since it operated abroad and also against non-Israeli targets. Thus, it stood at centre of international media attention and probably served as a role model for later groups.[123] The European public became aware of this "new" form of political violence latest with the attack on the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. Further spectacular assaults were the hostage taking at an OPEC meeting in Vienna in 1975, as well as the abduction of airplanes to Entebbe (Uganda) in 1976 and Mogadishu (Somalia) in 1977. The 1970s were therefore also called "the age of terrorism".[124] Also Italy was scene of attacks by transnational terrorist groups. Armenian and Palestinian commandos mostly targeted foreigners, but coincidently also killed and wounded Italian citizens. More important, they created a threat to the security perception in the Italian public space. Whether the upcoming "political" terrorism in Italy was a chiefly domestic phenomenon of violence or was influenced by transnational forces is still debated,[125] and was far from clear at the time.

Besides the internationalization of terrorist threats, the third shift in paradigm was the change of the political guideline in reacting to terrorist blackmailing. From the mid-1970s on, most EC countries in negotiations insisted on intransigence of the rule of law principles. Before, governments had prioritized the saving of human lives over all arguments, which had made them somehow susceptible to blackmail.[126] Moreover, a general change in the practice of state rule was observable, towards both a more repressive approach and a new focus on prevention of terrorist acts.[127]

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[123] Hoffman, Bruce: Inside Terrorism, Columbia University Press, p.78-80.

[124] Laqueur, Walter: The age of terrorism. Boston, MA, Little, Brown, 1987, p.1.

[125] Besides perennial public discussion, scholars also disagree. See for an exponent of many who promote the theory of transnational involvement in Italian terrorism Bartali, Roberto: Red Brigades (1969-1974). An Italian Phenomenon and a Product of the Cold War, in: Modern Italy, Vol.12, No.3 (2007), pp.349-369. For one among many who dismiss most rumours as "conspiracy theories" see Satta, Vladimiro: Il caso Moro e I suoi falsi misteri, Bologna 2006.

[126] Cf. Oberloskamp, Olympia-Attentat, p.350ff; Dahlke, Unnachgiebigkeit; Clutterbuck, Richard: Negotiating with terrorists, in Schmidt / Crelisten: Western Responses to Terrorism, in: Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol 4 No 4, 1992, p.264-285, here p.270.

[127] Haupt / Weinhauer, Terrorism and the State, p.203.

The most paradigmatic event in this context was the stopover of a hijacked German plane in Rome Fiumicino. The conflict between the options of either keeping the plane in Europe for a rescue operation of the 91 hostages, or not taking the risk of such a delicate mission occurred immediately, and showed that European cooperation in security matters was badly prepared for such an event. Concluding, my research is located at the intersection of three crucial transnational developments that influenced the Italian political response to political violence.

1.2.3   Structure, understanding and legal base of "*pubblica sicurezza*"

To examine the security conceptions in Italy, in which counterterrorism played a tremendous part between 1972 and 1982, an overview on the constituting factors is essential. A dynamic was observable between the security problems of the time and the way of the state actors to confront these. The state reaction included both the actual behaviour of the public order forces and the underlying conception and aims. "Pubblica sicurezza" was used as a term to depict this dynamic throughout my studied decade. However, already a first close-up reveals a development within this conception.

The point of departure for my study is the situation in Italy related to public order issues in the early 1970s. Due to the unequal economic development, the country had just seen the biggest wave of strikes in its history in the so-called "hot autumn" of 1969, when more than five million workers united with student protest [128] often violently clashed with the police. The persisting political violence can be linked to a deficit of national identity, which was caused by a "disarticulation of the nexus between development and nation";[129] when the government failed to adopt reforms to integrate the workers movement in the governmental mechanisms. On the other side, the police operations against demonstrators were "shaped by military problem solutions, not excluding even the use of firearms."[130] Encouraged by the emoted climate of violence after 1968,

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[128] Tolomelli, Arbeiter und Studenten; Petri describes "Within one week, about three millions of workers and impiegati entered the agitations." Petri, economia, p.281.

[129] Paggi, Violenza, p.941.

[130] Reiter / Weinhauer, Police and political violence, p.388; Several deaths by police bullets in demonstrations were then again used as arguments for hate speech by extreme left-wing organisations. Cf. Pamphlets by the group "Lotta Continua" of 1977, in ACS,

including harsh fights between protesters and security forces with outdated public order conceptions, small groups saw themselves as the avant-garde in evoking a political overthrow. They responded to right-wing groups to planting bombs against public places and left-wing gatherings. The explosion at the *Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura* in Milan in December 1969 that killed 17 and injured 84 was later described as "the opening salvo that began an era of terrorist violence in Italian political life".[131] Bomb attacks against a union rally in Brescia and the high-speed train *Italicus* in 1974, as well as at Bologna main station in 1980 claimed numerous indiscriminate victims. Left-wing terrorist groups attacked targeted representatives from politics and economy. Initially limited to kidnapping key figures for short terms, in 1976 they gave up this "Tupamaro ethics"[132] and committed political murders. Most spectacular actions were the killing of judge Coco in 1976 and the kidnapping of DC leader Moro in 1978. Left and right wing terrorists diverged in strategies, yet had the similar aim of violently abolishing the state order.[133] Why terrorism occurred is discussed among academics,[134] but Italy was doubtless the European state that

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M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 72 Jugoslavia - Cooperazione con l'Italia in materia di terrorismo, fasc. 11001/114/15, "Costituzione parte civile e Ministero Interno dei procedimenti penali".

[131] Weinberg, Leonard: The violent life, in Peter H. Merkl (ed.): Political violence and terror. Motifs and motivations, 1986, p.145.

[132] In their initial years, the Brigate Rosse were mindful of being perceived as "acting for a just cause". Hence, in their initial actions, they usually did not physically harm their victims. Furthermore, when Macchiarini lost his watch during his kidnapping, the terrorist group sent it back, by parcel; and Sossi was given a train ticket to Genoa, where he had been kidnapped, after being released in Milan. Hess, Ambivalente, Revolte, p.73.

[133] From 1969, ultra-conservative and neo fascist forces tried to provoke the state with diffuse bombings to an authoritarian reaction. Left-wing-terrorists with their attacks on public leading figures planned one step further and calculated the consequential social revolution against the then "unmasked" authoritarian state. The violent dynamics that led to an escalation and even a "militarisation" of the fight between groups from the extreme right- and left-wing analysed Panvini in depth. Cf. Panvini, Guido: Ordine nero, p.6ff.

[134] For diverse theories on the emerging of terrorism in Italy see Rimanelli, Marco. "Foreign comrades in arms: Italian terrorism and international ties." European Terrorism. Today & Tomorrow. Brassey's, London, New York (1992): 127-180; or Della Porta, Donatella / Pasquino, Gianfranco: Interpretations of Italian Left-Wing Terrorism, in: Merkl, Peter H. (Hrsg.): Political Violence and Terror. Motifs and Motivations, Los Angeles / London 1986, p.169-191.; Some even say that in Italy, the BR's legitimacy was "surely attributable to the Italian government's corruption, general inefficiency, and inability to solve persistent social and economic problems". It highlighted the need for a

suffered most from political violence during the studied decade.[135] Italian security authorities hence had two big problems in the 1970s, which partly overlapped, but have to be analytically distinct: The maintenance of public order and the fight against terrorism.[136]

It seems that they initially concentrated very much on the first. Even if in the early 1970s the numbers of protesters were lower than in 1969, the level of street violence remained relatively high in Italy. The "crowd" was explicitly marked as the enemy by police instructors. [137] In a police manual from 1966, the concept of *public order* referred to the 'harmonic and pacific cohabitation of the citizens'. "To eliminate dangers to public order, the police were called to intervene not only preventively and by repressing all acts forbidden by penal law, but also by impeding all actions that were 'in contrast with the moral and social values considered essential for the very existence of the state, like, for instance, religion, public decency, the cult of the deceased'."[138]

The fight against terrorism gained weight as a separate task only when terrorism was already ongoing for years. In retrospective, I draw the line between public order violations and left terrorism at the first attack by the

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prison reform, improved conditions for workers, an end of poverty and underdevelopment in the South and of the government's incompetence. Cf. Crenshaw, Martha: Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power. The consequences of political violence, Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, p.32-33. An important account of the structure and emergence of Italian terrorist groups and their internal dynamics and motivations is given by Panvini, Cattolici, who draws attention to the relation of political terrorism and the deep-rooted catholic traditions in Italy.

[135] Between 69 and 82: 351 deaths and 786 injured; charted by the Global Terrorism Database (Univ of Maryland) https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?chart=country&casualties_type=b&c asualties_max=&start_yearonly=1972&end_yearonly=1982&criterion3=yes&dtp2=all&cou ntry=69,75,98,185,603,217, last access 02.02.1017.

[136] In this thesis, I treat the maintenance of public order and the fight against terrorism. Obviously, there have been more security problems in Italy in the 1970s, such as organised crime (a.k.a. the three biggest South Italian Mafias Ndrangheta, Cosa Nostra, and Camorra), or drug trafficking, which will be less considered in this study.

[137] Gargulo, bravo poliziotto cites a Police Manual from 1966; any gathering was considered a potentially dangerous and irrational mass, to be attentively controlled. 'When a mass arrives at a considerable numerical consistency it always becomes a dangerous mass', especially if infiltrated by 'disturbing elements and agitators or common criminals'. Reiter / Weinhauer, Police and political violence, p.382-3.

[138] Ibid., quoting the official police instruction manual by the Interior Ministry, 1966.

Brigate Rosse against an individual, in March 1972.[139] However, for the involved security authorities, this distinction may have been hard to individuate at the time. "Terrorism" had only been the label for single damages of Italian property by South Tyrol separatists.

The structure of Italian security authorities in the 1970s was not less complex, but equally essential for an analysis of the evolution of counterterrorism policy. At the central level, the *Direzione Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza* was in charge of public security. Its director was chief of the national police and contact man to INTERPOL,[140] and its vice director was head of the security services.[141] Counterterrorism was task of the *Affari Riservati* unit, responding to the Ministry of the Interior. When this unit was dissolved in 1974, the *Ispettorato Generale per l'Azione contro il terrorismo* united informative tasks of a secret service and operative police tasks in the fight against terrorism.[142] Twice, in 1974-75 and 1978-79, a special task-force against terrorism was deployed, which was practically acting as a "third secret service"[143] and guided by the prestigious *Carabinieri* General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa. After a short term of action and significant success, these *Nuclei* were dissolved. In 1978, the fight against terrorism was reinforced by the first official special antiterrorism task force, UCIGOS.[144]

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[139] The kidnapping of a Sit-Siemens plant manager on March 3, 1972 was the first BR attack against men, after numerous attacks that caused property damage.

[140] BArch, B 106/78842, 066 812-1/7 BMI, Synopse der AG II; Bd. 3; von 78 – 6.7.78, TREVI Internationale AG II, Teil A, Antworten auf die allgemeinen Fragen.

[141] The fight against terrorism was thus task of the centralised police. Furthermore, at the regional level police forces responded to the Questure and in major cities the mayor had an own police force to his disposal. BArch, B 106/78842, cited.

[142] BArch, B 106/106873, ÖS 9 – 626 535/4 Bundesministerium des Innern; Zusammenarbeit mit Italien, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976

[143] A German internal paper of the Ministry of the Interior stated in 1978 that "the so-called 'Nucleo Dalla Chiesa' took up, with 200 men, and informally counting as 3rd secret service"; BArch B106/106874, cited, Referat IS 1 an herrn Minister; Bonn 25.5.79 Betr.: die italienischen Sicherheitsdienste.

[144] On 31 January 1978, the Interior Minister by decree created the Direzione Centrale per la Polizia di Prevenzione, originally called UCIGOS (Ufficio centrale per le investigazioni generali e le operazioni special). In 1991, it was renamed into DIGOS (Direzione Centrale per la Polizia di Prevenzione), and now like then it consists of a general investigation service and an anti-terrorist service. Cf. De Lutiis, Giuseppe: Terrorism in Italy. Receding

This restructuring was part of a wider reform of the authorities at the end of the 1970s. The Italian security service SID, which was formally responsible only for counterespionage, but not for counterterrorism, had played a questionable role in a number of scandals and was dissolved in 1977.[145] In 1981 it was replaced by a military (SISMI) and a civil (SISDE) secret service.[146] In this new distribution of competences, counterterrorism was originally a SISDE task, but SISMI should support in international issues.[147] Both worked independently from the police, without the right to hold, interrogate or arrest people. A former senior officer yet testified that there were "many situations that were not clear", due to jealousies between the services.[148] The need for suitable personnel posed an additional challenge.[149]

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and emerging issues, in M. van Leuween (ed.): confronting terrorism, 2003, pp.95-109, p.102.

[145] SID had been a military service, but acting also internally. It had no central coordination and a very low level of parliamentary control. SISDe was later called a "most controversial structure" due to unclear responsibilities and the involvement of key persons in national scandals. cf. Stortoni-Wortmann, Police, p.153; Carucci states even that "until 1977 no laws existed that defined work of secret services"; Carucci, Paola. "I servizi di sicurezza civili prima della legge del 1977." Studi Storici 39.4 (1998): 1031-1042, here p.1033.

[146] Law no 801, 24 October 1977 reformed Italian Secret Services: the former SID was replaced by SISMi (responsible for Italy's military security at home and abroad) and SISDe (protecting the state's institutional and political interests from anyone acting against these interests, including political subversion). On the responsibilities of the Services cf. BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976 and BArch, B 106/78842, cited, TREVI Internationale AG II, "Teil A, Antworten auf die allgemeinen Fragen" on the reform.

[147] De Lutiis, Terrorism, p.103.

[148] Interview on 30.07.15, Amm. F. V.: "..in teoria il SISDE lavora solo dentro l'Italia, il SISMi solo fuori, ma ci sono tanti casi di situazioni non chiare; concorrenza, gelosie, spesso gestito male.."

[149] An internal FRG paper complained that the bilateral collaboration was hampered by the poor implementation of Italian reform of services: as in SISDE only 200-300 jobs of 1000 had been taken, counterterrorism had been transferred to UCIGOS in Jan 1978 (with executive rights), but as also these had been "ineffective". Furthermore, the demand for personnel brought danger of infiltration, as "Communists [were] hardly avoidable". BArch B106/106874, cited, Referat IS 1 an herrn Minister; Bonn 25.5.79 Betr.: die italienischen Sicherheitsdienste.

About ten different authorities were in charge of maintaining order and security by the time,[150] and even between the two most important, the *Corpo delle Guardie di Pubblica Sicurezza* (PS) and the *Arma dei Carabinieri* (CC) tasks and competences overlapped. Consequential, the two authorities traditionally rather competed than collaborated, and even hindered the others' investigations.[151]

In the second half of the 1970s, in the frame of coordinating a better European cooperation in internal security matters, all participating states had to compile a questionnaire, which should give an overview over the situation of internal security. The answers by the Italian Ministry of the Interior reveal further deficits in organisation and an ambiguous understanding of *pubblica sicurezza*. For the deployment of police officers per thousand citizens, they stated there was "no particular system to distribute" policemen.[152] Asked about the legal base of the police organisation, the Ministry of the Interior replied that the situation was "very complicated, as the relevant laws have been changed repeatedly due to political, social, judicial or technical considerations. Therefore it is not possible to give a short overview or attach any transcripts".[153]

PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer bitterly complained about the state of the law enforcement authorities in 1975.

> "*Si sa che l'Italia è il paese europeo che ha, in rapporto alla popolazione, il più alto numero di addetti alla polizia e, pare, anche,di giudici. Ma l'Italia è nello stesso tempo, il paese che ha un indice elevatissimo di delitti i cui autori sono rimasti ignoti, in cui i tempi di celebrazione dei processi 'sono estremamente lunghi, le procedure fra le più farraginose, eccezionali le possibilità di insabbiamenti e' di rinvii. Il nostro è il paese in cui si è verificata una grave recrudescenza dei crimini più odiosi e 'brutali (rapine, sequestri di persona), ma anche delle ramificazione mafiosi, dei traffici di armi e di stupefacenti.*"[154]

Historians generally agree to this rather chaotic picture of the Italian security authorities in the 1970s. Oftentimes, severe goofs at the meso- and micro-level of

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[150] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.21.

[151] Collin, Richard O.: "The blunt instruments: Italy and the police." Police and Public Order in Europe (1985): 185-214. p.187.

[152] BArch, B 106/78842, cited, TREVI Internationale AG II, Teil A, Antworten auf die allgemeinen Fragen.

[153] BArch, B 106/78842, ibid.

[154] Atti parlamentari: Camera dei Deputati, VI Leg., Discussioni, 5 Maggio 1975, Mattina, p.21841.

counterterrorism were in retrospect only explainable with the uncoordinated action of the polices.[155] High numbers of small crimes[156] challenged the chronically undermanned security authorities. Deficits in coordination are evident in the fact that although the average number of policemen per inhabitant was higher than in other European cities, Italy actually had the fewest patrolmen, as most of them were busy with administrative or observing tasks.[157] Police forces were highly militarised and little democratic,[158] and most recruits were from the poor South with not more than the five-year elementary school education.[159] As a by-product of inefficiency and dissatisfaction, the police had a disastrous image among the population, also caused by accusations of corruption and a harsh proceeding against suspects. Little surprisingly, police officers had a very low level of professional satisfaction.[160]

Contra strong emphasis on the political break with fascism, the security authorities carried a strong fascist legacy in terms of structural and personal continuities.[161] While proceeding often brutally against left-wing protest[162], the

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[155] Besides competition and mutual obstruction, also cases, in which civil officers of PS and Carabinieri shot each other, are reported. Hess, Henner: Italien. Die ambivalente Revolte, in: Idem et al (eds): Angriff auf das Herz des Staates. Soziale Entwicklung und Terrorismus, 2. Band, Frankfurt a. M. 1988, p.9-166, here p.46. Cf. Furthermore, Stortoni-Wortmann, Police; O'Collin, Richard: The blunt instrument.

[156] Schreiben d Deutschen Botschaft in Rom (Meyer-Lindenberg) an das Auswärtige Amt Bonn; Rom 16.5.77; Betr.: Krise der italienischen Strafrechtspflege und Situation der öffentlichen Ordnung in Italien, in BArch B 106/ 106873.

[157] Hess claims that in the early 1970s, only 50 patrol cars were present on Milan streets, whereas Paris had deployed about 500, despite not being a ten times bigger city. Hess, ibid., p.47.

[158] Reiter / Weinhauer: Police and political violence, p.388; Stortoni-Wortmann, Police, p.155.

[159] These grievances were rather aggrieved than ameliorated when in the following years lots of young men from the poorer south were recruited to stock up personnel. Many of those were rather motivated to escape from their home conditions than by their loyalty to the constitution. In the early 1970s, 30% of police officers had been unemployed before, of which 48% had only enjoyed elementary school education, in contrast to 49% who had graduated after 8 years from middle school. Hess, ibid., p.47.

[160] A police statement confirms this; Cf. "Presa di Posizione dei Magistrati del Piemonte e della Valle d'Aosta nei confronti del "Fenomeno terrorismo"", ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 72, cited; According to a survey in the police journal „Ordine Pubblico", in 1975, only 4% of police officers were satisfied with their job and only 3% felt adequately trained. Hess, ibid., p.49.

[161] Llike other parts of Italian law (e.g. the Penal and the Civil Code), the public security

security authorities could never dispel the suspicion to handle right-wing extremism more indulgently. In some cases, secret service officers even helped neo-fascist agitators to escape abroad.[163] The suspicion that the secret services were involved in a "strategy of tension" stirred the Italian society. Especially when the investigations of the bloodiest incidents had run into the void, many believed that certain parts of the state patronised terrorism. Several years later, they were proved right, although investigations are still ongoing.[164]

Caused by these structural and constitutional deficiencies, a general anti-statism, mistrust in security authorities and in politics as a whole were characteristic for the Italian society.[165] Until 1977, people were rather indifferent to the undisguised threats to the state, and in a survey only 4 out of 100 people said that they would report anyone to the police if they suspected him to be a terrorist.[166]

At the political level, the Communist Party approximated the "law and order"-attitude of the political centre and publicly condemned the demonstrations and agitations from the extreme left, which led to a further radicalisation. In its role as "disciplining instance" the PCI missed the opportunity to become leader of the New Left movements.[167] As a large part of the laws concerning public order was from the 1930s and thus quite "asymmetric", the left-wing parties had just achieved a liberalisation of the Penal Code in the early 1970s. [168] Upcoming terrorism thwarted these

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law was a fascist heritage. Only since 1956 had limited changes been introduced, against government resistance, by rulings of the constitutional court. A reform of the public security law was passed by the Senate in 1967, but failed to be approved by the Chamber before the end of the legislature and therefore did not become valid; Reiter / Weinhauer, Police and political violence, p.382.

[162] O'Collins, Blunt instrument, p.198.

[163] Stortoni-Wortmann, Police, p.165.

[164] In 1990, Judge Felice Casson discovered the "strategy of tension", Cf. «Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sul terrorismo in Italia e sulle cause della mancata individuazione dei responsabili delle stragi», XIII legislatura. In 2014, a decree by Prime Minister Renzi was meant to open the documentary for researchers.

[165]Cf. Salvati, Mariuccia. "Behind the Cold War: rethinking the left, the state and civil society in Italy (1940s-1970s)." Journal of Modern Italian Studies 8.4 (2003), p.556-577.

[166] Hess, Ambivalente Revolte, p.75.

[167] Della Porta, Social movements, p.31ff. About the precarious role of the PCI cf. Azzellini, Dario: Die Bleierne Zeit. Folge III: Der bewaffnete Kampf, Frankfurt a. M. 2007, p.2-3.

[168] After the scandalous cases of Pinelli, who died in police arrest (1969) and Valpreda,

endeavours, and led the long-discussed demilitarisation of the police forces ad absurdum. Therefore, in the second half of the 1970s, antiterrorism legislation was introduced, which strengthened the competences of public order authorities against both public order disturbances and political violence.[169]

Summing up, there are a few crucial elements to consider when assessing Italian counterterrorism politics. Firstly, legislation processes could be sluggish, if not supported unanimously. Secondly, the complicated structure of the security apparatus made the operational part of counterterrorism efforts inefficient and hard to coordinate. Additionally, due to the bad image of state representatives, public cooperation in investigation was difficult to achieve.[170]

In the beginning, the security authorities tried to combat terrorism under the umbrella "public order", since the beginning terrorism was perceived as an extension of the public order problem. Only later, a distinct conception of "internal security" was elaborated, which contained also counterterrorism policy. For developing a counterterrorism strategy, the line between public order violations by political extremists and terrorism had to be individuated first. Terrorism had to be understood as distinct phenomenon of political violence. And for developing an international cooperation strategy, the common international interest in cooperation had to be acknowledged.

How this situation developed during the decade from a quite narrow concentration on public order within the own country towards a security cooperation at eye-level with authorities from other states – that shall be investigated in this study.

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who was detained for three years without trial (1969-72), the CP had been liberalised under pressure of the left parties. Detention without trial was abolished and the rights of arrested suspects were strengthened. In 1976, a reform towards liberalisation had failed in 1967, due to insurmountable differences between the governing parties.

[169] Savona, Ernesto et.al: Italian Contribution to the NCTB Counterterrorism Project, Trento 2006, p.4; An example for critical assessment is to find in the US Human Rights report 1978, cf. Secretary of State (SecState WashDC) to Am Embassy Rome, Telegram 07657, Jan 30, 1979, 1979STATE025317, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Access to Archival Databases (AAD), (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[170] Until 1978, no posters with photos of wanted terrorists were exposed at public places, since security experts did not consider them effective; cf. ibid, p.102.

Chapter 2

The evolution of a multiple threat perception

2.1   Terrorism – a communication process

"Like pornography, we know terrorism when we see it. Or do we?"[171] Louise Richardson introduced one of her most cited books on terrorism. This initial phrase, apart from provoking a whole generation of mainly American researchers[172] who search for a definition of terrorism, shows the current state of the debate. Instead of chasing the chimaera of a commonly acknowledged definition of terrorism, many high-level scholars "agreed to disagree".

A study on counterterrorism policy needs to deal with the problem of a terrorism definition. Defining terrorism as such seems to be a nearly impossible task for both researchers and political actors.[173] As access point for analysing debate, I understand terrorism as defined above: A form of politically violence that serves as a tactic to gain maximal attention for a political message. Thus, it is a tactic in a political strategy. The victims of terrorist attacks are just means and either indiscriminate targets or chosen as symbols. Departing from this base, I show in this chapter how Italian political actors in the 1970s and 1980s used the term, and how they spoke about political violence that fulfilled these criteria. How did they discuss it, what could they agree on and how did

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[171] Richardson, Louise: What terrorists want. Understanding the Enemy, containing the threat, p.3.

[172] Two essays that well sketch the scholarly debate on a terrorism definition are Richards, Anthony: Conceptualizing Terrorism, in: Studies of Conflict and Terrorism 37 (2014), p.213-236; and Silke, Andrew: The Devil you know. Continuing problems with Research on Terrorism, in: Terrorism and Political violence 13(4), (2001), p.2.

[173] Cf. Eva Herschinger: Terrorism and the cessation of violence. What we gain when we define terrorism as a tactic. Research Blog Mobilizing Ideas https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2016/03/07/terr orismandthecessationofviolencewhatwegainwhenwedefineterrorismasatactic/, last access 10/12/2016.

they seek to define terrorism in legislation? Then, I will point out how this discussion was different in its national and international dimension, and how it was embedded in the respective political context.

Terrorism is not only difficult to define for nowadays' terrorism researchers security studies. It was at least as difficult for the contemporary political actors. The evaluation of a violent act as terrorism depends highly on its perception, and on the perspective of its observer. Virtually, the only description that could be agreed on seems to be "violence by whom we don't like".[174]

2.1.1   A performative grasp of counterterrorism policy

Understanding terrorism as a communication process suggests, as I anticipated in the previous chapter, a discursive approach also to counterterrorism politics. With security as one of the declared aims of counterterrorism policy, this concept becomes the counter-narrative to terrorist narratives. As terrorists seek to scare and unsettle a society, the counternarrative is security. That can be conveyed in diverse ways. If not downplaying the actual threat, state leaders usually have three options to react. First, repressive measures to demonstrate a strong state; second, preventive measures to appear keeping control; and third cooperative measures to offer reintegration and gain information for further investigation.

From these communicative characteristics, Beatrice de Graaf derived the *performative power* of counterterrorism. Performative Power is used to express "the extent to which a national government, by means of its official counterterrorism policy and corresponding discourse (in statements, enactments, measures and ministerial remarks), is successful in 'selling' its representations of events, its set of solutions to the terrorist problem, as well as being able to set the tone for the overall discourse regarding terrorism and counterterrorism – thereby mobilising (different) audiences for its purposes."

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[174] Meisels, Tamar: Handout on the definition of terrorism at the Olympia Summer Academy, Olympia 2014. (organised by Pantheon University Athens and The Yale MacMillan Center "Order – Conflict – Violence").

[175] De Graaf, Beatrice / De Graaff, Bob: Bringing Politics back in: the introduction of the "performative power" of counterterrorism, in: Critical Studies on Terrorism, Vol. 3, 2, 2010; B. de Graaf compared the counterterrorism politics of four European states according to their performative power and efficiency; cf. De Graaf, Performance. The conception is inspired by an extension of speech act theory (Cf. Austin, J. L.: How to do

Since the aim of this study is not to assess the effectiveness of Italian counterterrorism, my approach to the performative power of these politics is different. I use the communicative character of counterterrorism as an analytical tool for my purpose: The security rhetoric in counterterrorism politics can be interpreted as one drive, which pushed the Italian policy towards a stronger international alignment. Therefore, political violence has first to be individuated as *terrorism* and accepted as a threat to the state. Then, it gains importance at the political agenda, and the fight against it becomes a priority over other issues.

As the perception of a threat is crucial for the definition of terrorism and the answer to it, I trace the evolution of the threat perception for studying the evolution of Italian counterterrorism policy. It is probable that perceptions of terrorism changed after deliberation processes in the framework of cooperation, and that therefore the approach to counterterrorism did so.

However, political actors and terrorism experts didn't live in a hermetically closed space; they develop their knowledge and opinion in interaction with experts, with the public opinion, and in reaction to political and societal events. Apart from politicians, several other parts may have influenced the political discussion. The societal and political debates are intertwined, and the press coverage probably influenced both. The early academic discourse was shaped by sociologists and is called "hot reading"[176], as particularly these disciplines of the Italian academia was highly politicised. Nonetheless, in my consulted sources no evidence for a direct influence on the political debate, or on the attempts to find a legal definition occurred.

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things with words, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1962; Butler, Judith: Excitable speech: A politics of the performative, New York, Routledge 1997.) and serves to "to depict the importance of political choices made during the process of countering terrorism". The approach was first used in de Graaf, Beatrice. "Theater van de angst." De strijd tegen terrorisme in Nederland, Duitsland, Italië en Amerika [Theatre of Fear. The Fight against Terrorism in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and America]. Boom, Amsterdam 2010. However, when asking why the "selling" is successful, the theory is limited.

[176] Ceci, terrorismo, defines the first part of terrorism research (1977-1984) as "letture a caldo", since the remembrance of terrorist attacks still shaped the public threat perception and thus the Italian debate.

2.1.2 Security: a vehicle in political discourse

To better understand the discourse about terrorism within the Italian political elite, securitisation theory can help. As observable in the debate described above, the political discourse on security does not consist of only performative acts, but is always an "intersubjective construction of reality".[177] In other the actors agree on the situation they are in and so create it. Following this thought further, securitisation theory claims that security is not an unambiguous situation, but can be constructed by speech and practices. Once, a problem is identified as an existential threat to security, it gains importance on the political agenda. For the sake of preserving or re-establishing security, extraordinary measures can be taken that would not be accepted in a order under normal conditions. [178] A last process, desecuritisation, then potentially reinstates political practices back to the usual democratic order. This very constructivist notion of security directs attention to its legitimising function for governmental politics. Security and counterterrorism are such strong conceptions that it is hard to question any political action backed by them. Therefore, so did classical securitisation theory claim, "the state" has an inherent interest in the securitisation of diverse policy fields for extending its power over society.[179] This understanding of the state as a monolithic entity, however, is incompatible with the conception of diverse actors and tendencies that create politics in an interactive process.

Developing this state-centred model further, new approaches stress the importance of investigating the circumstances of a securitisation process. If taking the option into consideration that the proposed securitisation of a topic can also fail (i.e. because an audience does not feel the existential threat and therefore questions the exceptional measures), the following questions arise: Which actors within a state are interested in the securitisation of an issue? How do they raise the issue, towards a publicly acknowledged existential threat? And what happens when eventually the problem is perceived as less dangerous?[180]

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[177] Conze, Securitization, p.461.

[178] Buzan/Weaver/De Wilde, Security, p.21.

[179] Under "classical securitisation theory", I understand the approach of the Copenhagen School of International Relations, how it was first published by Buzan, Barry: People, States and Fear. The National Security Problem in International Relations, Wheatsheaf books, 1983. Their most cited work is Buzan / Weaver / De Wilde: Security; quote from ibid, p. 21.

[180] This development of securitisation theory is a central pillar of SFB/TRR 138

In my analysis, I distinguish two levels of the discourse, which are nonetheless intertwined and influence each other. At the inner Italian level, the actors in the discourse are politicians of diverse parties, who struggle for the power of interpreting political violence at the national level. Both extreme parliamentary fringes naturally have different objectives, mainly concerning the extent of executive power that the state should have. Furthermore, both sides try to accuse the other side of immoral "terrorism" to deny legitimacy as a political party. The debate was mirrored and certainly incited by Italian media, which represent all shades of the fragmented political landscape. [181] At the international level, the actors were politicians and security experts, delegated Western states. Since intergovernmental cooperation in security questions was largely hidden from the public, other actors such as the press or the civil society had only a marginal role in the transnational discourse. However, the transnational debate on terrorism certainly affected participants of the national Italian discourse.

Following this argumentation that actors can use securitisation strategically, critical securitisation theory explains the upcoming of dramatic threat perceptions in the 1970s by the instrumental use of security rhetoric. In this understanding, certain actors in the state used the fundamental transformations of the time to create new insecurities – which then legitimised the same actors' (or "the state's") demand for more power.[182] This problematic is crucial since it exactly matches the field of tension, where the reference object of security between "protection of the state" and "protection of society against the state". This was a fundamental issue in Italian counterterrorism policy of the 1970s, wherein narratives of a "terrorist threat to democracy" [183] and the

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Marburg/Gießen.

[181] The most cited journals in this study are: Corriere della Sera: moderate, Repubblica: (left-wing), La Stampa (centrist); Resto del Carlino (conservative); Epoca (conservative) L'Unità (Official PCI Paper), Il Paese Sera (left-wing); Avanti (Official journal of the PSI, since 76 Social Democrat); Avvenire (Paper of the Italian Episcopal Conference).

[182] Michel Foucault explained the security dispositif as the crucial instrument of modern governmentality – so, exercise of state power over the people. (Foucault, Analytik, p.171f.) Exploiting the security discourse, the state unavoidably creates a "culture of danger", which again leads to a gain of legitimacy and thus power for the state. (Sellenart (Ed.): Foucault, p.66f.) Since Foucault developed this theory contemporary to my studied time, it serves as a useful illustration of the zeitgeist in left-liberal political philosophy, but cannot be employed as analytical tool.

[183] For instance, in the government statement on the situation of public security by Minister of the Interior Cossiga, in 1977: Atti Parlamentari: Senato della Repubblica

germanizzazione of security politics[184] competed. On one hand, by accentuating the danger that terrorism posed to the democratic order, some political actors advocated extraordinary measures, such as the cooperation of security authorities across borders. On the other hand, by stressing that such an extraordinary measure, in turn, could jeopardise the Italian standards of rights, other actors argued contrariwise. The conceptions terrorism and security thus are prime examples for the use of language in politicisation and de-politicisation processes.

The effects of terrorism on democracy are hence interrelated with the state response and often subject to feedback effects. Consequently, the interplay between terrorism and counterterrorism policy can be analysed as an interaction.[185]

2.1.3   Label "Terrorism" – securitising political violence

In the "communication process terrorism", both sides claim legitimacy and deny it to the opponent. Labelling "terrorism" what previously was called "madness" is nothing else than securitizing violence. Politicisation raises the importance of a crime and thus is a step in the securitisation process.[186] In this section, I will explain how to adopt the securitisation concept on the analysis of counterterrorism politics. The dealing with terrorism is a special case, since it represents a threat to physical integrity and is by definition political. Therefore, defining it takes both steps in one: politicisation and securitisation.

Analysing the concepts *security* and t*errorism*, the original wordings are crucial. The change of perception often goes along with a change of phrasings and

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(henceforth Senato), VII Leg, Assemblea, 15.11.1977, p.8590; cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.85.

[184] The term "germanizzazione" had become the dictum to express worries about a too authoritarian reaction to political extremism by the Italian state. In November 1977, PCI deputy Pecchioli stated that counterterrorism policy was restricting democratic rights and freedom in the FRG; Senato, VII Leg., Assemblea, 15.11.77, p.8637-38; quoted by ibid., p.96.

[185] For this reason, counterterrorism can be more dangerous for democracy than terrorism itself, concludes Crenshaw, Martha: Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power, p.6.

[186] Emmers, Ralf: Securitization, in: Collins, Alan (Ed.): Contemporary security studies, Oxford 2007, p. 109-125, here p.110.

designations. And a phrasing of an act is a statement that can change reality[187] certain conditions are met. It made a difference, political actors of which party and rank used diverse terms for political violence, whether they redefined or adapted the term to their needs and political functions. In the early 1970s, political violence was largely seen as a problem of public order, even if it was directed against state institutions, and frequently carried an undisguised political message. In the second half of the decade, "internal security" superseded as the aim of counterterrorism policy. In the same way, also the term "terrorism" underwent change. Alone its frequency in political debates increased significantly, as political actors attributed it to attacks that had been categorised as "crime" before.

When attributing a political motivation to an act of violence, this act loses its ordinary criminal character and gains a function within the communication process that we call terrorism.[188] The act then serves as the carrier of a message and the violence shall ensure the addressee's attention. Amplified by its public effect and probably echoed by mass media, the message arrives at its – the public, and then the political elite of a country.[189] Moreover, we feel more scared by "terrorism" than by ordinary crime. "The strength of terrorism directly results from its perception",[190] many researchers therefore conclude. In this constructivist understanding, the perception of and the discourse on terrorism make the phenomenon what it is.

In a political discussion, it is important to consider the performative function of the term. Classifying a crime as "terrorism" can be a tactical step in order to defame the political opponent or its extreme fringe. The state response has to maintain its legitimacy and therefore applies the term, which carries a

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[187] Butler developed the thesis that in certain situations speech does immediately change reality, and therefore is known as "speech act". Speech act theory was the basis of classical securitisation theory, focusing on the illocutionary act. However, in recent models, conditions of securitisation matter. Cf. Butler, Judith. Excitable speech: A politics of the performative. Psychology Press, 1997.

[188] The discursive interpretation of terrorism comes from a sociologist understanding of communication processes (a sender conveys a message via an effective carrier to a recipient, who then interprets it). The best condition for a high effect of terrorism thus is a shock by the high degree of violence, in a usually peaceful environment. More on this in Waldmann, Terrorismus, p.12-14; idem, Extremism, p.8-20.

[189] In some cases, apart from the „declared emenies" of terrorist groups (usually the political elite), their message can also be directed to their potential supporters, or even competing terrorist groups. Waldmann, Terrorismus, p.10.

[190] Bock, Andreas: Terrorismus, Paderborn 2009, p.7.

judgement in its definition.[191] Otherwise, deliberately avoiding the predicate emphasises the violent aspect of a deed, and so denies any political motivation that would "legitimate" it. De-politicisation simply criminalises the perpetrator. Moreover, recognising a violent act as terrorism or not, requires different answers by the state. If the *terrorism* label is not applied, the objective of the is maintaining the public order against crime. If a deed is considered to be part of a terrorist tactic, the state has to respond with a narrative of political security in the sense of constitutional stability. Once a terrorist group succeeds to make up their own narrative, the state answer requires a counternarrative. Understood from a strictly discursive approach, a successful counterterrorism policy denies the terrorists attention and acknowledgement for their narrative.[192] Besides "terrorists" and state representatives, the third dimension in this communication process is the (public) audience.[193] Some scholars go as far as describing terrorism as the struggle for the public audience between the terrorist narrative and the state narrative.[194]

Applied on research on counterterrorism politics, four steps can be identified as a model to analyse processes of securitisation of terrorism: Firstly, the identification of a group as an existential threat to the state. Secondly, the prioritisation of the problem by the majority of political actors usually leads to an all-party agreement. Thirdly, this front takes extraordinary measures to save the democratic order from terrorism, possibly bypassing democratic mechanisms. Fourth and lastly, the process of desecuritisation re-limits counterterrorism measures into the "normal" political practice.[195] Regarding my study, I would additionally introduce the option that desecuritisation establishes the measures in the perception of "the normal". As a matter of fact, in a historical, study I consider the particularity of the Italian situation and its

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[191] Crenshaw, Martha: Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power, p.1-2.

[192] Ibid., p.32

[193] However, neither terrorists, nor politicians, nor the society can be understood as a monolithic bloc in this model. Critics demand for a further differentiation of these sociological categories; Terhoeven, Blicke, p.185.

[194] Cf. Metzler, Gabriele: Erzählen, Aufführen, Widerstehen: Westliche Terrorismusbekämpfung in

Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur der 1970er Jahre, in: Hürter, Terrorismusbekämpfung, p. 117-136; Metzler refers to Michael Bamberg, Considering Counter-Narratives, in: Michael Bamberg/Molly Andrews (Ed.), Considering Counter-Narratives. Narrating, resisting, making sense, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2004, p. 351–371 as a prime example for this interpretation.

[195] Lammert, Securitization, p.205.

social and historical context. However, analysing counterterrorism policy through a security lens thus brings several advantages, which will help to structure the findings in the conclusion.[196]

To problematise how terrorism and security were contemporarily perceived, it is useful to trace the debate on terrorism among Italian political actors. For this purpose, in the next section, I sketch out the discussion on terrorism in the Italian Parliament and Senate.[197]

In both discourses, we need to distinguish a national and a transnational level. To examine the transnational dimension of the terrorism discourse, the perception of the fight against terrorism abroad is one important facet. It is illuminating to compare the Italian political debate on terrorism in West Germany or the UK to the discussion on Italian terrorist groups. Furthermore, the perception of crimes by transnational groups on Italian soil is an additional

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[196] Firstly, applying securitisation theory on counterterrorism delivers a schematic model that allows comparing various discourses and differently successful political strategies. A comparison with the handling of other national security problems might be useful to understand the uniqueness of Italian counterterrorism policy. Secondly, the importance of actors and their motivations are emphasised. Thirdly, the tension between the reference objects "public order" and "personal liberties" becomes clearer. These argumentation lines were two facets of the same "saving democracy" narrative, and their exploitation by continuously changing factions made the political debate particularly complex. Fourthly, securitisation of a problem implies the generation of knowledge on the phenomenon. A new elite of terrorism experts and security experts crystallised, who gained importance throughout the studied period. Thus, the securitisation of terrorism can explain how and why the power ratio in internal security changed. Fifthly, securitisation helps to explain the consequences of evoking the emergency state. The declaredly extraordinary situation justifies legal and political means that otherwise were not tolerated. The implementation of concrete measures required a successful securitisation process. If the contrast between the "emergency" and the "normal" waters down (i.e. by continuous emergency rhetoric), political processes are likely to be taken away from their usual democratic practice and control. Some lawyers criticise that the extensive use of emergency legislation during the "years of lead" and in the early 1980s had a persistent negative impact on Italian legal practices and the constitution. Cf. Bascherini, emergenza; In Dec 1979 the Cossiga government adopted a series of emergency measures; after two months of debate and minor amendments, these measures were confined into the Italian legal system, cf. Baker, Mark B: "The Western European legal response to terrorism." Brook. Journal of International Law, 13 (1987), p.15.

[197] For the analysis of the debates, I refer back to Beatrice de Graaf and Tobias Hof, who detailedly traced the discussions in both chambers of the Italian parliament by the published minutes; Hof, Staat und Terrorismus; de Graaf, Performance.

backdrop regarding the national discussion. Paying particular attention to how the political discourse on terrorism influenced the political reality, I consider both legislative answers to terrorism and the performative strength of the speech acts. However, not only the usage of wording shaped the political realities. Also contrariwise, the discourse on terrorism was functional in its political context.

When international cooperation between authorities was achieved as one of the consequences of securitising political violence, the exchange of ideas and practices took place in this cooperation. A main point of the "experts meetings" was the exchange and new generation of knowledge about terrorism. In this way, both parts acquainted new counterterrorism practices, such as investigation techniques or surveillance strategies. Hence, the view on terrorism was also changed by these new practices. This could lead to a self-reinforcing institutional logic that created change in perception of the "threat" and the "terrorist". These internal logics of both the political and the experts' discourse constitute one of the difficulties in the analysis of the debate.

At this point, the theoretical discussion has to be complemented by a view into the sources. In the conclusion, I will judge whether the terrorism discourse in Italy was rather shaped by an instrumental use of the wording, or whether the term and the policy were the product of a deliberation process.

2.2 Terrorism as threat to order and security – the political debate in 1970s' Italy

Tracing the discourse on terrorism among Italian political actors is one way to analyse how was terrorism contemporarily perceived. During my investigated period, the political debate on terrorism in Italy was multi-faceted; very different wordings were applied to political violence. To study the discourse, I refer to written and oral utterances on terrorism by political actors, in archive sources and literature. In this chapter, I examine the discourse within the national political elite on a double-faced phenomenon: the Italian terrorism and its transnational counterpart. The shift from the national to the transnational level is also important when it comes to a political response. Since when the Italian idea of a successful anti-terrorism strategy involved international cooperation as an essential component is a secondary research question of my thesis. Beginning with the diffuse debate on the first perceptions of political

violence in the late 1960s, the term entered the parliamentary discussion but then rapidly gained importance. In 1980, an observer in Rome stated that terrorism "totally dominated" the media, as half of the headlines directly referred to violent acts or groups, and the other half of reports was influenced by the debate.[198] To simplify the analysis, I organise the political discourse on terrorism into four periods. Eventually, I will trace how the term occurs in Italian legislation, and later compare it to its use at the international level.

Recently, the Italian political discourse was object of historical studies from within the country. The two most important ones both underline how the labelling was for the perception of the threat.[199]

2.2.1 The political debate on Italian terrorism: 4 phases
Phase I: Prior to 1972 – A new phenomenon of violence

After the bombing at a bank at Piazza Fontana in Milan that killed 16 persons December 1969, the deputies found very different words for the event. and Communist Party members openly called it a terrorist act and demanded political consequences, whereas DC politicians avoided the term and called the attack "criminal" and "an act of violence"[200]. This diffuse perception and the different interpretative patterns of the 1970s' violence already loomed after a bombing at the Roman Senate in spring 1969. Senators of the political centre parties [201] solely condemned the "pervert", "dangerous", and "criminal" "attack", whereas President Saragat (PSI) called the bombing a "terrorist attack".[202] Also Senators from the extreme parties MSI and PCI condemned the attack as "terrorist", publicly suspecting the political opponent.

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[198] BArch, 106/106875, ÖS 9 – 626 535 /4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 7; 11.11.80-9.6.81; forts Bd 8, Botschaft der BRD Rom an AA Bonn; 10.6.80

[199] Ceci, Il terrorismo Italiano; Casilio, Silvia: Il peso delle parole. La violenza politica e il dibattito sugli anni Settanta , in «Storia e problemi contemporanei», n. 55, XXIII (settembre 2010); Urbino 2010, p. 1000-1018.

[200] DC deputies Restivo and Storchi used these terms not less than 22 times, in contrast to once labelling it „terrorism. Camera, V Leg., Discussioni, 13.12.1969, p.13905-13907 and p.13909-13910; cited by Hof: Staat und Terrorismus, p.74.

[201] The term "political centre" here refers to the parties: Democrazia Cristiana, Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano, Partito Repubblicano Italiano and Partito Liberale Italiano.

[202] Senato, V Leg., Assemblea, 3.3.1969, p.5332; cited by Hof: Staat und Terrorismus, p.73.

In 1960s' Italy, the term "terrorism" mainly referred to separatist movements in South Tyrol that protested against the "Italianisation" of their region by bombing power poles and Mussolini monuments. Even the 1969 annual report of the *Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza* referred mainly to such activities in the section "manifestazione terroristiche" ("terrorist events"). They did not yet mention any political connotation of crimes in Rome, Turin and Milan.[203]

In following government declarations, the DC Prime Ministers Emilio Colombo and Giulio Andreotti (1970-73) took note of the rising degree of extremist violence, but not yet of terrorism. Facing what was later called "diffuse terrorism",[204] they blamed both extremes for the escalation of violence (*opposti estremismi*). Until 1972, the DC avoided the term terrorism completely, opting for *strage* (bloodbath), "a concept that ignored their political background".[205] Until 1976, they referred neither to the motivation nor to the perpetrating groups in government statements.[206] In spite of neo fascist bombings and initial actions by left-wing terrorist groups, apparently, terrorism did not yet play a role in the political risk-awareness of the early 1970s. Rising violence at riots the increase of crime were considered actual problems of domestic security. A sociological analysis of the origins was not discussed, though.[207]

Other centre parties equivalently spoke about the threat to democracy by "hatred" and "outrage",[208] but did not yet distinguish between extremism and terrorism.[209] Likewise, Liberal Deputy Giomo equated the concept "public

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[203] Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale dell Pubblica Sicurezza: Relazione Trimestrale, 16.3.1969, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto., 1967-70, b.428, fasc..16998/3, p.3; relazione 13.8.1968, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto., 1967-70, b.428, fasc.16998/3; relazione 23.11.1968, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto., 1967-70, b.428, 16998/3; Cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.70.

[204] The term stems from Panvini, Guido: Alle origini del terrorismo diffuso. La schedatura degli avversati politici negli anni della conflittualità (1969-1980). Tracce di una fonte, in «Mondo Contemporaneo», 3, 2006.

[205] De Graaf, Performance, p.113.

[206] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.83.

[207] Ibid, p.83; Only the Partito Radicale and the Partito Repubblicano argued for an investigation of the reasons of the increasing violence, but could not convince a majority.

[208] Senato, V Leg., Assemblea, 16.12.1969, p.12292; cited by Hof: Staat und Terrorismus, p. 75.

[209] Ibid; Terrrorism is extremism that systematically applies violence in order to scare and unsettle society. So, extremism is a state of mind whereas terrorism is a violent tactic. Kai Hirschmann defines terrorism thus "the highest escalation of extremism". Hirschmann, Kai: Terrorismus, Hamburg 2003, p.7; more on the relation between terrorims and

order" with "saving lives".[210] Overall, *ordine pubblico* was used in a broad sense of security, safety, and tranquillity. The *opposti estremismi* thesis by the centre parties was hence functional in advertising their own position for security from the extremist violence. Otherwise, they deliberately linked the extreme parties to the political violence to discredit them. Single Deputies of the extreme right MSI labelled public order disturbances by left youths "terrorist deeds and gestures",[211] probably intentionally.

Even though traditional ideological foe images had lost much of their effect by the end of the 1960s, all parties tried to push the newly perceived violence phenomena of riots and terrorism into old friend-enemy schemes and to exploit them, interpreting them as side effects of fascism or extreme-leftism.[212] The fundamental problem within the terrorism debate between 1969 and 1975 has thus been pointed out to be the "accepted transfiguration", which allowed exploiting the problem for party purposes instead of analysing it.[213] The why political actors were so reluctant to recognise a new level of violence have often been subject to studies. Apart from the political benefit that I pointed out, most scholars suppose political path dependencies like a higher public acceptance of violence.[214]

Notably, in this early stage, the perception of terrorism as a transnational phenomenon was not yet very distinct from the discussion on political In the parliamentary debate which was scheduled to discuss the Munich attack (2 Oct 1972), the discussion among the Camera deputies frequently turned towards Italian events and distracted the focus from the just occurred transnational attack.[215]

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extremism in: Taviani, Ermanno: Terrorismus, Staat und öffentliche Meinung in Italien, in: Die bleiernen Jahre, p.83-94.

[210] Camera, VI Leg., Discussioni, 6.10.1972, p.1831.

[211] MSI deputy Santagati asked the Minister of the Interior to exhort the public order authorities of Catania not to be too negligent with young; Camera, VI Leg., Discussioni, 10.10.1972, p.1920.

[212] Senato, V Leg, Assemblea, 28.3.19669, p.6600f; cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p. 82.

[213] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.83.

[214] Cf. Geipel, Gary F: Urban Terrorists in Continental Europe after 1970, in Comparative Strategy, 26 (2007), p.439-467.

[215] Camera, VI Leg., Discussioni, 2.10.1972, all pages.

Phase II: 1973-1977 – Shift in perception: from "political crime" to "danger for democracy"

In 1973, the DC changed its attitude. Facing the increasing brutality of neo-fascist violence, Interior Minister Mariano Rumor declared right-wing violence to be the "fundamental problem of public order" in Italy.[216] The term "terrorism" during the next years stood for right-wing violence. In the same time, left-wing violence was not yet assessed as "political"[217] or "terrorist", probably due to their lower degree of brutality.

For the DC, the change in discourse was also functional for their approximation to the left-wing parties, which had gained votes in the 1972 elections.[218] away from the *opposti estremismi* narrative, they rehabilitated their prospective extreme left partner. Even actual left-wing violence sometimes was ascribed to right-wing provocations.[219] When the left-wing origins of violence were too evident, a few PCI deputies sought to legitimate it as the continuing *Resistenza*-fight against fascism.[220]

However, the change did not come over night. The bombing on a against neo-fascist terrorism in Brescia in May 1974 was still mainly described "crime" and "massacre", but the bombing of a fast train three months later was called "terrorism" also by DC members; referring to the unpredictability and the random choice of victims as characteristics.[221] In the same line, the attack PLO terrorists on Fiumicino Airport in December 1973 was strictly condemned, but not connected to somehow similar events by domestic political extremists. On the other hand, the only party that depoliticised the Brescia bombing as "crime" was the MSI.[222]

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[216] Camera , VI Leg., Discussioni, 16.7.1973, p.1974; quoted in Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.76.

[217] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.76.

[218] After continuously losing votes since the 1950s, the DC was at the historically low level of 38,7% in 1972 and threatened in its supremacy when PCI and PSI together had gained 37% of the votes in the same year. Election outcomes on Ministero dell'Interno: http://elezionistorico.interno.it/index.php?t
pel=C&dtel=07/05/1972&tpa=I&tpe=A&lev0=0& levsut0=0&es0=S&ms=S, access 22.11.12.

[219] Vgl. Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.86.

[220] Senato, V Leg., Assemblea, 26.2.1971, p.21445; cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p. 78.

[221] In August 1974, a fast train was bombed on its way from Rome to Munich, claiming 12 deaths; cf. Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.76f; Woller: Geschichte Italiens, p.308.

[222] MSI deputy Nencioni labelled the extreme right-wing group "Ordine Nuovo" that

In an even more powerful position after the 1972 elections, and closer than ever to the "*compromesso storico*", the PCI changed its discourse on terrorism: Even though they always had defended left-wing street violence as a necessary evil the struggle against fascism, now they admitted that violence by extreme left groups was a problem and publicly dissociated from it.[223] Vice versa, many left-wing movements felt abandoned by "their" party, which now was more looking for governmental power than for representing the left side of society. Consequently, left-wing violence indeed increased dramatically. Again, unfortunately, an analysis of the root causes of terrorism stood behind these party political objectives, only PR and PRI kept demanding such an

After the diffuse political debate on terrorism the first half of the 1970s, which was shaped by exploitation for party politics, in 1976 the discourse on terrorism changed again. The new political power structures shaped the perception of political violence, and the upcoming autonomous *movimento del 77* made the problem appear even more evident.[225]

Foreign diplomats diagnosed a new stage of the debate, when they observed that "all major political parties and unions have deplored this wave of violence immediately after it started", referring to arson attack against Fiat in May 1976.[226] When Moro presented the programme of his fourth government to the Camera, he dismissed the thesis of former Ministry of the Interior Taviani that terrorism came virtually exclusively from the right and warned that the government could not remain "inert" in the face of political violence from other sources.[227]

In July 1976, Prime Minister Andreotti used the term "terrorism" in a governmental declaration the first time for political violence from both

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was associated to the attack as "unpolitical"; Senato VI Leg., Assemblea, 28.5.1974, p.14076; cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.82.

[223] De Graaf, Performance, p.110.

[224] Hof, Anti-Terrorismus-Gesetze, p.22.

[225] At least, that is T. Hof's opinion; Cf. Ibid., Anti-Terrorismus-Gesetze, p.23.

[226] cf. Telegram Am Consul Turin to Am Embassy Rome and SecState WashDC, Telegram 00124, 7 May 1976, 1976TURIN00124, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[227] Report by US Ambassador Volpe on Moros inaugural address to the Camera to Washington; Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 16787, 3 Dec 1974, 1974ROME16787, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

extremes.[228] Apart from the decrease of neo-fascist attacks in the first half of 1976, now left-wing terrorism was more present in daily politics. The start of Turin trials against the *Brigate Rosse* core members, and the murder of prosecutor Francesco Coco by the same group made left-wing terrorism rise in the perception of political actors.[229] After the attack on Judge D'Occorsio, Camera President Ingrao spoke about "terrorist acts that upset the civil life of the nation" and called for an investigation of causes and terrorists' objectives.[230] Some deputies already demonstrated comprehension of the phenomenon, depicting a "subversive organisation of terrorist groups of various extremes, who tend to create a climate of insecurity and mistrust in the country by an escalation of criminal actions, and in the particular case intimidating the magistrates."[231]

In 1977, the debate on terrorism increased again in both chambers, regarding both frequency and pungency. In spring, PCI leader Ugo Pecchioli publicly demanded "that we, to set up a winning democratic strategy against the strategy of tension, first need to be clear about the nature, the scope and the aims of the new terrorist wave."[232] Faced with the escalating violence of autonomous movements, and with the murder of Fulvio Croce, another high-ranking lawyer, Prime Minister Andreotti warned against a "new threat", against which the state was not capable to guarantee security in its cities.[233] Later in the same year, Interior Minister Francesco Cossiga admitted that the past assessment of terrorism as ordinary crime had not been sufficient, since only its political aspect was the key to counter it effectively.[234] He declared terrorism to be the "state's biggest problem",[235] even more important than the

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[228] Camera VII Leg., Discussioni, 4.8.1976, p.228f.; cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p. 83.

[229] Ibid, p.84.

[230] Camera, VII Leg., Discussioni, 15.07.1976, p.50.

[231] DC Deputies Darida and Cazora; Camera, 15.07.1976, cited, p.68

[232] "Per contrapporte alla strategia della tensione una strategia democratica vincente, dobbiamo in primo luogo, avere ben chiari la natura, la portata e gli obiettivi della nuova fase dell'attacco eversivo e terroristico…" Sen. Ugo Pecchioli, discorso "Legalità costituzionale, problemi dell'ordine pubblico, riforma degli apparati di prevenzione e di sicurezza", Milano 27-29 Maggio, in: Archivio PCI, III Bimestre 1977, mf 0298, p.1223.

[233] State Secretary Nicola Lettieri even claimed that it was „impossible" to guarantee security for all citizens. Senato, VII Leg., Assemblea, 3.6.1977, p.6064 and Senato, VII Leg., Assemblea, 27.11.1979, p.2508; cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.85.

[234] Senato, VII Leg. Assemblea, 15.11.1977, p.8588, cited by ibid.

[235] Senato, VII Leg, Assemblea, 15.11.1977, p.8590, cited by ibid. Alone the fact that

struggling economy. The following debate was particularly suitable to demonstrate that the traditional clear rift between the parties concerning the handling of Italian political violence was blurring. Both PCI Senator Pechhioli[236] and MSI-DN Senator Nenchioni[237] claimed that terrorism was an international phenomenon and thus had to be addressed internationally. However, both depicted terrorism as a matter of "public order" and do not mention "internal security". Remarkably, Senators from the Indipendent Left (Branca[238], La Valle[239]) and the extreme right (Nenchioni[240]) both pointed to the need for social reforms to eradicate terrorism. However, neither of them elaborated on details.

Naturally, the extreme parties had also diverse opinions about potential remedies. While Lepre (PSI) called for democratisation and demilitarisation of the police forces,[241] Nenchioni urged to apply the penal code "adequately".[242] Extreme right Senators frequently pointed towards anti-terrorism measures in West Germany as a role model (Abbassessa, Crollanza, MSI-DN and Nenchioni),[243] which gives another facet to the explicit anti-German rhetoric by left wing Senators. Senator Ariosti (PSDI) shifted the focus on the role of the mass media and its use for terrorism, while rejecting any adoption of exceptional laws[244] - supported by Liberal Senator Balbo.

The only serene intervention came from Branca who preferred a calm state reaction to an escalation of violence. Two days later, German Ambassador Arnold reported about a "nearly hysteric" first reaction, which then could be subdued by DC party leaders, concluding that the "Italian government [was] in the same dilemma [..] as others"[245]

Minister of the Interior Cossiga gives a government statement on public security proves the increased importance of the topic.

[236] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.55, Fasc. 11001/110 (10) Ordine Pubblico: Dibattiti, Misure di Prevenzione, Appunti, e Varie, Sottofasc 2: Ordine e Sicurezza Pubblica - Dibattito al Senato; Discorso On. Cossiga.

[237] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.55, cited, Discorso On. Cossiga, p.6.

[238] Ibid., p.22.

[239] Ibid., p.12.

[240] Ibid., p.6.

[241] Ibid., p.15.

[242] Ibid., p.6.

[243] Ibid., p.10, 26.

[244] Ibid., p.16.

[245] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, ÖS9 -62635/4 Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 2 Fernschreiben (verschlüsselt) vom 17.11.77, aus: rom diplo (Arnold) an: Bonn aa; Betr.: Terrorismus und Terrorismusdebatte in Italien – zur Unterrichtung.

In the same year, the PCI admitted the political left-wing orientation of the Brigate Rosse terrorist group, but at the same time denied them any legitimation.[246] This, and the statement by Cossiga indicates a rupture in the terrorism discourse, in contrast to the statements by Taviani and Rumor, who still in 1974 called terrorists "insane people".[247] However, crucial political recognized terrorists as splinter groups and warned against labelling the whole left-wing extremist scene as criminals, as Andreotti emphasized to German chancellor Schmidt in December.[248] Consequently, solidarity was a big topic. Both civil and police victims of terrorism were mourned publicly. Another important turn was in the relation to security forces. It was the PCI's rapprochement towards the political centre that made many left-wing politicians change their rhetoric and demonstrate solidarity with the police forces.[249] DC deputies in contrast were more critical, as they feared a decrease police efficiency due to beginning unionisation.[250] The change in political rhetoric affected the Italian society and was also perceptible to foreign observers. In July 1977 the Milan Consul reported to the US that "it is worth noting, as a measure of the remarkable change of attitude by the working class toward police, that there have been recent instances of the public cheering the *Carabinieri*, which probably had not occurred since Italian unification."[251]

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[246] Hof, Anti-Terrorismus-Gesetze, p.23.

[247] Minister of the Interior Taviani had called the Brigate Rosse „insane social misfits" (asociali deliranti), in June 1974, and „hiding megalomaniacs". Senato VI, Leg., Assemblea, 25.6.1974, p.14554-14556; cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p. 77.

[248] Conversation between Andreotti and Schmidt, 1/12/1977 in: AAPD, 1977, Bd.II, Dok. 345, Gespräch zwischen Schmidt und Andreotti, p.1655.

[249] Ugo Pecchioli (PCI) declared in May 1979 that "..we consider the 39 fallen […] only in 1976 [..] our losses..."; speech given in Milan, 27-29 Maggio 1977: "Legalità costituzionale, problemi dell'ordine pubblico, riforma degli apparati di prevenzione e di sicurezza", in: Archivio PCI, III Bimestre 1977, mf 0298, p.1223.

[250] Costamagna (DC) complained that after a Sunday of terrorist violence three thousand "militari" had left their posts to gather at a Union event in Rome. There, Lama and others had menaced the state under the rule of law by invoking a constituent of a police union for November. Furthermore, in recent events of bombings and damage of property by left agitators in Rome (DC headquarters and bar), security forces had arrived only after 30 or 40 minutes. Camera, VII Leg., Discussioni, 22.10.1977, p.11603.

[251] Telegram Am Consul Milan to Am Embassy Rome and SecState WashDC, Telegram 01123, 5 Jul 1977, 1977MILAN01123, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

Even though political actors did not spend time on a legal definition, they now recognised the political motivation of terrorism. Acknowledging that terrorists sought to convey a message, the counter-narrative by the governing parties not just "public order" any more, but security in the broader sense of political stability. Regrettably again, an enquiry on the causes of terrorism did not gain a parliamentary majority. However, some of the measures taken were questioned regarding their constitutionality.[252]

   Again, also the national and the global political climate contributed to the shift in the Italian political discourse. When Communism as the traditional concept of the enemy was a less convincing antagonist in the mid-1970s, the new common foe "terrorism" was a welcome object for the Christian Democrats to distract from its many scandals.[253]

Phase III: 1978-1980 – "Public enemy no.1"

With the end of 1977, left-wing terrorism was widely perceived as a dangerous threat to the state order. The fear in the political discourse rose so far, that PCI deputy Pietro Ingrao called the murder of two neo-fascists by the *Brigate Rosse* "shots on the heart of democracy".[254]

This changed rhetoric in the third phase of the political debate on terrorism was most evident after the Aldo Moro abduction in March 1978. Prime Minister Andreotti diffusely linked the attributes "political" and "criminal" in his government declaration, and so sought to deny the terrorists legitimation. With all parties condemning the act, the discourse' emphasis now shifted away from political exploitation, towards the terrorist groups themselves.

The Aldo Moro kidnapping seemingly had the immediate effect of unifying fighting political forces. Feeling the need to urgently defend the Italian against terrorism, even the three major labour unions settled their hostile fight and called for a general strike from 11am to midnight, while condemning unitedly terrorism in Rome in front of hundreds of thousands of workers. "It

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[252] Ugo Pecchioli: "il generalie Della Chiesa è efficiente, anche se prende qualche iniziativa pericolosa.", in: Archivio PCI, VI Bimestre 1977, Direzione 11 nov 77, verbale n.16, odg: Situazione dell'ordine pubblico (Pecchioli) – dattiloscritto, mf. 0309, pag 0023 X.
[253] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.87.
[254] In a BR communiqué, the killing was declared a „work accident", since it was not planned. cf Rossi: Untergrund, p.88; Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.90; Hess: Ambivalente Revolte, p.75.

was estimated that more than 2 million persons were present at the televised demonstration in Rome to hear strong denunciations of terrorism and calls to rally around the defence of the Italian Republic by the three top labour leaders, Macario, Benvenuto and Lama."[255]

PCI leader Sergio Segre confirmed in April 1978 to an Official of the American Embassy that the PCI was opposing any deal with the BR in exchange for Aldo Moro. He took for granted that his political career was over regardless his survival and already hinted to Senate President Amintore Fanfani as a potential candidate for Presidency. Furthermore, he signalled readiness to support the Andreotti Government for a long time if it "proved itself capable of acting vigorously to deal with the nation's problems."[256]

 With the PCI's clear dissociation from terrorists and autonomous groups,[257] the whole scene was suspected to at least sympathise for terrorism. Political leaders evoked an "either for the state or for terrorism"-attitude.[258] The slogan *fermezza* (firmness) stood for intransigence towards the terrorists. Even letters Aldo Moro himself begging for deliberations with his abductors, have not been discussed seriously in parliament,[259] the only aim was to show the state's strength.

The Moro case was also the first time that Italian discourse on terrorism became intertwined with international issues. In contrast to Italy's outspoken neutrality in the case of not preventing a hijacked German plane from leaving Europe in October 1977, [260] now both cooperation with foreign authorities and non-governmental institutions was discussed.[261]

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[255] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 05055, 17 Mar 1978, 1978ROME05055, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[256] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 06582, 10 Apr 1978, 1978ROME06582, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[257] Vgl. Hess, Ambivalente Revolte, p.21f.

[258] Senator Nicola Mancino (DC) refers to an „immense support" of the terrorists from the whole left scene: Senato, VII Leg., Assemblea, 25.5.1978, cited by Hof: Staat und Terrorismus, p.91; Silvestro Anderlini (PCI) estimates the number of supporters in May 1978 up to10.000-20.000 persons. This very high assessment includes left-wing intellectuals and members of extreme left parties; Cf. ibid. p.93.

[259] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.216.

[260] Interior Minister Cossiga offered to use his "good connections to the PLO", suggesting the FRG to negotiate with the Palestinian hijackers; Geiger, Tim: Westliche

Hence, three characteristics marked the third, and most aggressive, phase of terrorism discourse in Italy. First, in the same way as the perceived lines between terrorism and the New Left blurred, these between New Left and the traditional Left became harder.[262] Second, the "quality shift"[263] of terrorism, which was already claimed after 1975 (and simultaneously countered the reproach of having neglected preventive measures), got its evidence with the Moro abduction. The third characteristic was the frequent use of war metaphors. Few politicians had talked in such terms before,[264] but latest after the Moro kidnapping, all parliamentary parties did.[265] This increase of aggressiveness in the discourse may also have originated from the strong effect of pictures that were used by terrorists to underline their messages. Even if had already published photos of former victims,[266] the photos of statesman Aldo Moro, personally known to all deputies, may have provoked higher emotions. Right-wing terrorists had counted on the shocking effect of their devastations earlier – and successfully raised public and political attention.

The perception of threat by Italian politicians reached its peak in 1978 and '79. Before the '79 parliamentary elections, they even discussed calling the army to secure the elections in the big cities. The effect in parliament was a "truce"; all parties supporting the constitution seemed to avoid too harsh discussions and hostilities, in order to represent a closed front against terrorism. Doubtlessly,

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Anti-Terrorismus Diplomatie im Nahen Osten, in: Hürter 2015, p.259-288, here p.269.

[261] During the 55 days of Moro's captivity, the Catholic Church, the UN, and Amnesty International tried to negotiate for the politician's life.

[262] Salvati, p.572.

[263] The „quality leap" was claimed by deputies from diverse parties; cf. Camera, VII Leg., Bollettino, 9.2.1979, p.10 and Camera VII Leg., Bollettino, 17.1.1980, p.14; cited by: Hof: Staat und Terrorismus, p. 93.

[264] Before 1978, mainly politicians from right-wing and conservative parties had described (left) terrorism as "war" or „civil war", demanding a tough state reaction; Hess: Ambivalente Revolte, p.54.

[265] Minister of the Interior Rogoni (DC) stated to be on „war" with terrorism in early 1979; cf Hof: Staat und Terrorismus, p.93/94; Saragat (PSI) called the Moro abduction an "act of war" („einen wahren Kriegsakt"); Der Spiegel 12/1978 (27.3.78.): „Terror nach deutscher Art", p.117.

[266] Since the early 1970s, left-wing terrorists used the practice of humiliating and photographing „convicts" at the "peoples' trial", but usually set them free afterwards. Terhoeven, Opferbilder – Täterbilder. Die Fotografie als Medium linksterroristischer Selbstermächtigung in Deutschland und Italien der 1970er Jahre, in: GWU 58 (2007), no 7/8, p.380-399.

also group dynamics in the face of a common threat contributed significantly.[267] The murder of Moro evoked rejection of the terrorists from all parts of politics and society. In this atmosphere, emergency measures and decreed laws were applied often and discussed less in parliament than in the years before.[268] Cossiga announced in August 1979 that the fight against political violence would be his government's first priority, and pledged to "guarantee internal security". Against terrorism, he said, "there can be no truce, no form of indulgent understanding". However, he preferred "a rigorous application of existing measures" over new or emergency legislation. Even if some progress had been made, Cossiga saw a long battle lying ahead.[269] The predominant aim of this rhetoric was to draw a picture of a strong and united state, even the left-wing criticism of an impending police state decreased.[270] The only critical voices in this phase were by the small oppositional parties *Partito Repubblicano Italiano* and *Partito Radicale,* who took their role as warning instance for limiting the emergency legislation within moral and constitutional values.[271]

"Terrorism" became the synonym for a difficult to grasp yet mighty threat. In a Camera statement in February 1980, deputies said that there were "profound reasons to believe that organic links existed between the mafia and common crime, but also to terrorist organisations" and demanded a governmental committee of inquiry.[272] In August 1980, President Pertini identified "the unmistakeable signs of terrorism" in the Bologna attack and compared it to the previous bombings in Piazza Fontana, in Brescia, and the *Italicus* train, which "aims at seeding exasperation and mistrust in democracy and republican institutions".[273] He urged the "magistrates and all other powers" to investigate

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[267] Social psychologist Muzafer Sherif proved in 1961 that superordinate goals reduce conflicts between conflicting groups (Realistic conflict theory), confirmed by several other studies.

[268] Bascherini, Gianluca: Invernento al seminario su „I diritti fondamentali e le corti in Europa", Incontro del 29 ottobre 2004 sul tema "I diritti nell'emergenza" (Introdotto da Prof. Erhard Denninger), Resoconto redatto dal Dott. Andrea De Petris, Bollettino n 9/2004, p.8.

[269] Report on government statement in Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 21792, 10 Aug 1979, 1979ROME21792, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[270] De Graaf, Performance, p.111.

[271] Taviani, Öffentliche Meinung, p.89.

[272] Camera, VIII Leg., Discussioni, 21.02.1980, p.10073.

[273] Camera, VIII Leg., Discussioni, 26.08.1980, p.17271.

the Bologna attack "and the other grave events of terrorism and mafia crime" with the maximal force "to really shed light, and finally with solicitude".[274]

At the same time, the perception of left-wing terrorism became more conspiratorial. In a conversation with US Ambassador Gardner, DC Secretary Piccoli affirmed his belief that there was "a single strategy directing political terrorism in Italy". The ideological leadership was provided by few professors, who used their "troops" of "disaffected students whose labels shift" according to places and time. As a recruiting technique, the leadership disaffected extreme left students, put a gun in the hand and once they have committed a violent act, they are hooked. Then they are moulded into more disciplined agents." Furthermore, they were supported from Eastern Europe and used the Mafia for operational support, according to Piccoli.[275]

When the DC office in Rome was bombed in May 1979, the public felt drawn back one year, since the attack was similar to the Aldo Moro kidnapping in terms of professionalism in operation and timing. The fact that one of the unmasked perpetrators, Franco Pinna, was identified as one of the Moro kidnappers, and the same little hope was to capture him as one year before, reinforced this feeling. However, even if terrorism was again the dominating topic of the new election campaign, and the possible use of the Italian Military forces to strengthen security measures during the election was discussed, Prime Minister Andreotti "flatly rejected any thought of Italy adopting the death penalty, insisting that the death penalty had never checked terrorism in any country where it was currently legalised".[276]

Concluding, the third phase of the discourse on terrorism (1978-80) was shaped by concentrating on left-wing terrorism as „state enemy no.1"[277] and all parties moving closer together in their stands about terrorism. The 1980 attack on Bologna central station by a neo-fascist group that killed 85 in the main travelling season violently revised this one-sided focus on left-wing violence. When afterwards the left parties blamed the DC to have neglected right-wing

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[274] Ibid, p.17272.

[275] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 25220, 22 Dec 1978, 1978ROME25220, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[276] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 12382, 7 May 1979, 1979ROME12382, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[277] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.99; Hausmann: Geschichte Italiens, p.118ff.

terrorism in the past years, the solidarity of all parliamentary parties got the cracks.

Phase IV: 1981-1982 – The desire to end the "anni di piombo"

With the quantitative decrease of attacks after 1980/81, the foe "terrorism" lost its integrating effect and again became an instrument in party political interests when discussing the success of the past counterterrorism-policy. The term increasingly became again a metaphor in the political bickering. Christian Democrat Carlo Casini used the comparison with the terrorism threat to underline that a government must not declare itself neutral "when the of humans is in discussion", however pointing towards the government's attitude about abortion.[278] Similarly, deputies discussed the complaint of a woman to the Parliament, who said that she had been exposed to terrorism" during interviews at the Italian Consulate in Paris.[279] The flattening parliamentary debate on Italian terrorism is on one hand explainable by the actual decrease of left-wing terrorist attacks in numbers. On the other hand, some historians say that the "fil rouge" was slowly replaced with a "fil verte" the main perception of international terrorism. Against the backdrop of the progressing European integration, Secret services and later politicians began to associate migrants from the Middle East with terrorism.[280]

Vanishing from the political agenda in the following years, political actors of diverse coleur demanded to end the discussion on the *anni di piombo* and to ban the issue from daily politics.[281] When electing Toni Negri out of prison into parliament in 1983, people were "tired of the terrorist witch hunt".[282] Not less were the politicians, it seemed. Had it been very few voices as early as 1978 that reminded not to forget that also the terrorists were "Italy's children", now these became more.[283] Some scholars ascribe this quick change of mind after the strongly perceived crisis to a deep socially rooted catholic culture of repentant and forgiving,[284] others trace it back to the *trasformismo* tradition, or say it was

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[278] Camera, VIII Leg, Discussioni,07.07.1980, p.15954.

[279] Camera, VIII Leg, Discussioni, 07.07.1980, p.16020.

[280] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.103.

[281] Cf. Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.102f.

[282] De Graaf, Performance, p.113.

[283] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.103; Senato, VII, Leg., Assemblea, 24.5.1978, p.11775.

[284] Hof, Success of Italian Counterterrorism, p.109.

rather a pragmatic idea of exploiting the inner crisis of left-wing terrorist groups, "playing out terrorists one against the other".[285]

Summing up, the crucial role of the Communist Party PCI becomes clear, in its double function as second biggest parliamentary faction and in its crucial relationship to the extreme left movements. Even though not before 1972 professing without reservations to the parliamentary democracy system,[286] the party turned away early from violent students' protest in order to appear as reliable instance of the political order.[287] Consequently, they rejected also the autonomous movimento del '77, and the whole New Left later in the 1970s. Since in this way they actually lost influence over many of the young protesters and alienated them further from the system, political scientist Henner Hess interprets the whole history of Italian terrorism as a crisis of PCI hegemony in the left-wing political spectrum.[288] Yet, the PCI's acting in the terrorism discourse seems understandable against the backdrop of the *historic compromise*: Opting for a "left-right coalition" instead of considering cooperation with the Socialist Party[289] seemed rational in the global political climate.

In the 1979 election campaigns, terrorism again became a topic of party positioning. Enrico Berlinguer blamed the past DC-led governments for the present political instability. The uncertainty had "opened the way to the black plots and torpid manoeuvres of the most reactionary Italian and foreign circles, and [..] dangerous initiatives by destabilising forces including terrorists cloaked in red." According to him, only the PCI in government could restore stability.[290]

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[285] Cronin, Audrey Kurth: How terrorism ends: Understanding the decline and demise of terrorist campaigns. Princeton University Press, 2009, p.27; De Graaf, Performance, p.120.

[286] Hess, Ambivalente Revolte, p.94.

[287] Already in 1969 the PCI issued the essay „The PCI to the youth", which condemned violent student protest. Jansen: Italien seit 1945, p.167; Taviani, PCI, estremismo di sinistra e terrorismo; Hausmann: Geschichte Italiens, p.79; Ventrone, Angelo: "Der "permanente Bürgerkrieg" und der Staatsbegriff der politischen Linken im Italien der 1970er Jahre.", in: Hürter, Johannes (Ed.): Die bleiernen Jahre. Staat und Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Italien 1969–1982, München: Oldenburg, 2010, 107-116, p.112ff.

[288] Hess, Ambivalente Revolte, p.18f.

[289] Even though a left-wing coalition was possible after the 1976 elections (Communists, Socialists and small parties together had 53,2%), Enrico Berlinguer dismissed this idea in a paper shortly after the coup d'etat against the left government in Chile. E. Berlinguer: Riflessioni sull'Italia dopo i fatti del Cile; oublished in three parts in the PCI weekly newspaper "Rinascita" (September 28, October 5 and 12, 1973).

[290] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 12847, 11 May 1979,

The PCI positioned itself clearly as a law-and-order party, whereas most other far-left groups "would prefer to avoid the problem of terrorism, insisting that it is largely irrelevant considering the other vital problems besetting Italy".[291] In the meanwhile, the dispute between Communist intellectuals and the Party leaders had become a serious threat to the PCI's unity.[292]

2.2.2 How did the debate precipitate in legislation

The trajectory of the political discussion on political violence was mirrored by the debate on how the state should react. Carrying the weight of public order conceptions from the 1940s, police forces had been involved in brutal street fights against demonstrators during the late 1960s and early 1970.[293] As a reaction to this, criminal legislation was "directed to increasing individual rights and contained some limitations regarding police powers"[294] between 1969 and 1974. After the discourse had become more aggressive in 1974, this tendency was reversed. The *Legge Reale* ("Reale Law", named after promoter and Minister of Justice O. Reale) significantly strengthened the penal code, introducing measures such as preventive custody for up to 96 hours, and liberalised the use of weapons by public order forces- with the aim to protect public order.[295]

1979ROME12847, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[291] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 14361, 31 May 1978, 1979ROME14361, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[292] In October 1979, the director of the left paper Rinascita admitted that the cases of Negri and Piperno an open letter on the "repressive anti-terrorism measures" had damaged the reputation and caused another scandal; Cf. Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 27922, 10 Oct 1979, 1979ROME27922, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015); Cf. Taviani, Ermanno: PCI, estremismo di sinistra, p.265.

[293] Weinhauer / Reiter, police and political violence, p.382ff.

[294] Stortoni-Wortmann, Police, p.152

[295] Official name of the Legge Reale was legge 22 maggio 1975 n. 152 (Disposizioni a tutela dell'ordine pubblico); Art. 3 extended the preventive arrest, whereas art. 14 allowed the authorities to use their weapons in the prevention of crimes.

Notably, besides the dramatic rhetoric depicted above, the political arguments were also based on European reasoning. Discussing the *Legge Reale* in 1975, Social Democrat Belluscio underlined that effective Italian legislation was desired by all European states since there was "certainty that international links exist between fascist violence, but we cannot exclude that such connections for every type of subversion." He added: "I recently read in a French journal that in Paris they believe the "warm bed" of European subversion is located in Italy. We don't know where this is exactly; but we know that here is a single that goes through Europe and leads to mutiny, to grave acts of indiscipline, to espionage, and to violent manifestations. We must get concerned about this: also to counter these threats, we must put out internal and international apparatus in working conditions – as we are convinced that liberty has to be defended in security and tranquillity for all."[296]

In Winter 1976/7, clashes between left- and right-wing activists returned increasingly violent. In February 1977, Undersecretary at the Ministry of the Interior, Nicola Lettieri, addressed the Italian Senate, saying that for the first time the Government believed the violence to be part of an organised plot. In the same week, several other attacks on public servants and political sites took place, including an attempt to bomb a train and a PCI venue. To counter these developments Lettieri called for better gun control, and all parties, including left, called for exceptional legislation that allowed the government to close meeting places of subversive groups.[297] In May 1977 the Government enforced ban on demonstrations in the city of Rome, which was a severe cut into the civil rights. When demonstrators disobeyed the ban, police reaction was harder than in the past. One woman was killed by gunfire, others were injured by gunfire and tear gas. Cossiga strongly defended the police forces against the "provocations".

One of the very symbolic parliamentary actions explicitly against extremism and political violence was the joint statement of all six constitutional parties in 1977. [298] Although broadly targeted to avoid the "crisis of tomorrow's

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[296] Camera, VI Leg., 05.05.1975, pomeriggio, p.21795.

[297] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 02075, 8 Feb 1977, 1977ROME02075, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[298] On 15 July 1977, after months of consultations, the Chamber of Deputies approved a joint motion signed by DC, PCI, PSI, PSDI, PRI and PLI on the Andreotti government program. It committed the Government to implement administrative and legislative measures to address the serious economic situation and the country's politics and was

society"[299], it contained the agreement for a set of laws to be adopted. Terrorism and political violence was the first time thought to be prevented by a combination of long-term reforms and repressive short-term measures. One year later, the strict *Legge Reale* was approved in a referendum, and Andreotti elaborated on the legislation not without satisfaction to German Chancellor Schmidt: polices and secret services were equipped with modern electronic devices, telephone tapping had become far easier without the consultation of a judge. Additionally, the laws were approved in a referendum by 70% of the Italians.[300]

Furthermore, the agreement included better coordination between polices and ministries for internal, defence and finance, and of security services SID and SDS. A reform of prisons and the judicial process was meant to relieve the overcrowded prisons, together with de-criminalisation of small-scale crimes and alternative punishment to prison sentences. Even though most of the measures dealt with symptoms of the Italian problems according to the CIA, "the measures add up to a more vigorous attack on the problem than any previous efforts and could enable the Italians to turn the corner on the violence question." Moreover, the Communists had successfully reinforced their growing public perception as a "force of order".[301] Observers from other states welcomed the reforms, but were rather critical to the increase of some investigative powers and preventive measures, such as telephone tapping, preventive custody and the use of weapons more freely.[302]

However, some parliamentarians were more cautious. Discussing a restriction on arms in October 1977, DC deputy Costamagna supposed that "it can be that in five years the spiral of violence, which our country sees now, will be only a memory".[303] Apart from being exaggerated, other deputies admonished that the measures would not have the desired effect. Corvisieri (Democrazia

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called "abstentions" program, since it was based on the PCI's abstention in the distrust vote.

[299] Camera, 15.05.1977, cited, p.9171.

[300] AAPD 1978, Bd. I-II, Doc. 190, Gespräch zwischen Schmidt und Andreotti, p.955

[301] CIA, Directorate of Intelligence (hereafter DI), Intelligence Memorandum: "Italy's New Program Agreement: How Significant?", 15 Jul 1977, CIA Reading Room (hereafter CIA RR).

[302] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Fernschreiben (verschluesselt) nr 999 vom 7.7.1977, 0815oz; aus: rom diplo (arnold); an bonn aa, auch für bmi, bmj; az.: rk 531.00 ita; betr.: problem der oeffentlichen ordnung und krise der strafrechtspflege in italien.

[303] Camera, VII Leg., 20.10.1977, p.11513.

Proletaria) harshly rejected both the ban on demonstrations in Rome and the plan to create special anti-terrorist forces, as "these squads are absolutely inefficient against terrorists, who move how and when they want clandestinely; but are extremely efficient in creating provocations, assassinations, instigations to disorder, to eventually make the crusade on public order possible."[304] Deputy Luciana Castellina (DP) invited the parliamentarians to finally terrorism by comprehensive structural reforms. Not studying youths and "smiling at them" as did the PCI, but "the problem is resolved by breaking the logic of the system and so blocking the drift towards marginalisation."[305]

In the heydays of demonstrating a united front against terrorism, counterterrorism was extraordinarily fast and pragmatic. Emergency that defined tougher sentences for crimes connected with terrorism and special treatment for suspects collaborating with the authorities was passed "with broad parliamentary support".[306] Especially three legislative initiatives can be assessed as definite counterterrorism laws: The 1978 *Legge Moro*, 1979 *Legge Cossiga*, and 1982 *Legge pentiti*.

The so-called *Legge Moro* (Moro Law) was decreed on 21 March 1978 (few days after Moro's kidnapping) and contained a strong tightening of the Penal Code.[307] It created the offence "kidnapping for subversive or terrorist objectives", allowed the detention of those who refused to give their personal details to public officials, and reinforced the polices' competencies in telephone tapping. Furthermore, the counterterrorism force was centralised under the commando of *Carabinieri* General Dalla Chiesa. Decidedly put in vigour to enable the authorities to act fast and uncompromising, it was converted to law by a broad majority shortly after Moro's corpse was found.

The anniversary of Moro's death was used to pick out the fight against as a central theme in Rome, as both the PCI and DC "plastered Rome with posters[..] emphasising their dedication to the fight against terrorism."[308] In the

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[304] Camera, VII Leg, 22.10.1977, p.11580.

[305] Ibid., p.11686.

[306] Haupt / Weinhauer: Terrorism and the State, p.204.

[307] Official name: decreto legge 21 March 1978 n. 59, converted in law n. 191 of 18 May 1978. Cf. Savona, report, p.8.

[308] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 12688, 10 May 1979, 1979ROME12688, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

same days, the inter-ministerial committee on security approved the use of military forces to protect sensitive points throughout Italy, with the aim to free ordinary police forces for the "more active work of investigating, tracking and arresting terrorists". Facing only little protest in parliament,[309] the government could implement the new measure. In this sense, the Italian Government used a charged date to implement a critical security measure.

The annual Human Rights Report of the US State Department was more stating that "violations of civil liberties are exceptional and rare but they occur. These violations are not normally illegal because the actions in most cases are taken in accordance with the law." Particularly the *Legge Reale* was at risk at infringing civil liberties since it had strengthened the Penal Procedure Code in response to terrorism, and needed amendments were recently postponed the fourth time. Furthermore, the arrest of several alleged terrorists who were "still in prison without any date fixed for the trial" had caused some national controversy and was criticised in the report.[310]

In December 1979, public rejection against the BR raised again, as the terrorist group claimed responsibility for killing policemen even when they were not in service. President Pertini called the fallen policemen "martyrs", while Minister of the Interior Rognoni promised to soon adopt new measures for supporting the fight against terrorism, while the frustration of the security forces grew due to the little-felt support and the frequent killings of their colleagues.[311]

The *Legge Cossiga* ("Cossiga Law", named after the Minister) were decreed in 1979 and converted to laws in 1980. It mainly reinforced investigative powers and gave the possibility to prolong preventive custody, deliberately targeted on terrorists and those who support them.

The new terrorism measures adopted in the special cabinet meeting on 14 December 1979 had been awaited with "major attention", and all parties except

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[309] In February 1979, PSI deputy Accame raised concerns that the "numerous corps of special armed forces for anti-terrorism tasks" contradicted the constitution, which exclusively reserved armed forces for the external defence of the country; especially if they were operating to substitute SISDE. Camera, VII Leg., 14.02.1979, p.27499.

[310] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 28691, 18 Oct 1979, 1979ROME28691, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[311] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 33624, 4 Dec 1979, 1979ROME3624, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

the Radicals were in favour of adopting harder laws for deterrence and to strengthen the investigative power of the police forces. A foreign diplomat observed that the government was "capitalising on this atmosphere", as the degree of "national agreement in favour of intensifying the fight against terrorism" was as high as never since the Moro murder.[312] The adopted measures included a life sentence for the murder of government employees (such as policemen), doubling the limit for holding prisoners for interrogation, reduced sentences for cooperating terrorists and a better coordination between the law enforcement authorities. The "maybe most immediate component" was appointing General Dalla Chiesa as Commander of the *Carabinieri* forces in Italy.[313] Nearly all political parties backed these new laws, which were enacted as decree and had to be ratified by the parliament. Notably, PCI leader Berlinguer stated that the war against terrorism made necessary "more severe measures, more effective initiatives, a (state of) emergency adequate to meet the gravity of the (present) dangers".[314]

After a number of targeted killings, which had stirred public anxiety, in July 1980, the Camera urged the Government to give priority to a law that was meant to enforce the security of magistrates, over any other problem.[315]

By the early 1980s, the wish for ending the *anni di piombo* precipitated in the discussion on cooperation with captured terrorists. In spite of its repressive character, also the 1978 *Legge Moro* already had a reconciliatory approach: it rewarded the break with an organisation and releasing a hostage. The *Legge Cossiga* as well gave incentives for terrorists cooperating with the authorities. In 1982, the *legge sui pentiti* went even further in accommodating former terrorists. They now could reduce their expected sentence by a significant rate, if providing the authorities with information about other terrorists.[316] However, the debate on the *Pentiti* legislation and its questionable

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[312] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 34717, 14 Dec 1979, 1979ROME34717, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[313] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 34841, 15 Dec 1979, 1979ROME34841, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[314] Telegram Am Embassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 35368, 21 Dec 1979, 1979ROME35368, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[315] Camera, VIII Leg, Discussioni 07.07.1980, p.16022.

[316] Law n.304 "Misure per la difesa dell'ordine costituzionale" (29/5/1982) was on

implications on the rule of law were discussed also in Italy. In April 1981, an association of catholic lawyers organised a convent on the topic.[317]

Particularly these "conciliatory approach"-laws are often called the most useful Italian counterterrorism-instrument.[318] A contemporary study estimated that about 45% of all imprisoned terrorists cooperated with the police in exchange for reduced prison sentences; causing a "flood" that eventually defeated terrorism.[319] Apart from some attacks by right-wing terrorists and few of transnational terrorism, Italy in the 1980s returned to a relatively calm political life, where political and economic issues prevailed again. Backed by this success, the definition of terrorism was a topic of secondary attention.

One effect of the difficulties to define terrorism was that a legal response and concrete measures could not be applied on "terrorism" as such. When the discourse on political violence became more aggressive and demanded a legal reaction, major parts of the existing legislation were still from Fascist times, and only recently liberalised by the Moro administration. In line with the political debate, the first new legislation was literally directed against "delinquency" aimed at maintaining "public order".[320] In fact, it served to counter terrorism and subversion, strengthening the rights of investigators in case of suspect. In other instances, it was easier to target clear definable crimes, such as hostage taking or kidnapping.

The *Legge Moro*[321] was the first that named terrorism, creating a new offence in "abduction for terrorist objectives", but not defining it. *Legge Cossiga* in 1979 introduced "terrorist offences" and "membership in a terrorist group" into the Italian penal code, additionally to the existing "subversion of the democratic order". Still lacking a further definition, it was up to prosecutors and judges to categorise a crime as "terrorism".[322] Notwithstanding this legal grey zone,

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condition that other terrorists could be caught on base of the pentito's information.

[317] Prefettura di Torino to Ministero dell'Interno, 6/4/81 "Convegno giuristi cattolici - Provvedimenti di legge sul terrorismo, ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22, Criminalità - Terrorismo: Cooperazione internazionale nella lotta al terrorismo.

[318] Stortoni-Wortmann, Police, p.163.

[319] Rimanelli, Comrades, p.137

[320] The so-called Legge Reale referred also to "radicalism", which until today is not taken into account by the Italian Criminal Code (CP); law n. 152 (22/5/75); cf. Savona, report, p.3.

[321] decreto Moro, law n.191 (18/5/78); decreed already in March, it was turned into a law in May.

[322] law n. 15 (6/2/80) "Legge Cossiga"; cf. De Graaf, Performance, p.107.

already in October 1976, Italy had concluded a bilateral treaty with West-Germany, setting rules for "cross-border observations in the fight against terrorism"[323].

When "terrorism" became an established term in the political discussion, the existing legal base was "subversion". Article 270 of the CP defined it by its aim to suppress parts of society or to "violently establish a dictatorship".[324] In other words, subversion was understood as undermining "the constitutional order and the pluralistic and democratic organisation" of the state, from within its borders.

Terrorism as an offence appeared first in the penal code within the *Legge* of 1980 complementing article 270 CP with 270bis: This article, as a reaction to the fight against terrorist organisations in the 1970s, introduced the offence of "associations with purposes of terrorism, including international terrorism, or purposes of subversion of the democratic order".[325]

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[323] Signed on October 22, 1976; BArch, B 106/106873, "Richtlinien für das Verfahren bei grenzüberschreitenden Observationen auf dem Gebiet der Bekämpfung des Terrorismus; cited by Oberloskamp, Eva: Die Europäisierung der Terrorismusbekämpfung. Bundesdeutsche Akteure und Positionen, in: Hürter, Terrorismusbekämpfung, p.233. In German legislation the offence for taking part in a terrorist association was defined in 1976, although still without mentioning the political character of terrorism.

[324] Codice Penale Italiano, art. 270.

[325] Orig.: "associazioni con finalità di terrorismo anche internazionale o di eversione dell'ordine democratico", quoted in Savona, report, p.3. The law stated that "1. Whoever who promotes, establishes, organises, or runs associations which aim at the commission of violent acts with purposes of subversion of the democratic order is sentenced to between seven and fifteen years imprisonment. 2. Whoever takes part in these associations is sentenced to between four and eight years imprisonment" (Original wording, before the amendments in 2001, in Savona, report, p.3) In October 2001, the definition was amended by including terrorism "targeting a foreign state", without delving further into its actual meaning. Therefore, it associated terrorism with the aim to undermine the state's democratic order and constitution. To solve this contradiction, the "first relevant source defining terrorism in the Italian context" was a Supreme Court decision from 1987 that defined terrorism (as in the title of art. 270bis from 1980) as "the purpose to strike terror in the community through indiscriminate criminal actions. These actions, which aim at undermining people's trust in the established order and in its structure, are not directed towards people, but rather towards what these people represent". (Corte di Cassazione, section 1, 5 November 1987, n. 11382, Savona, report, p.4.) This decision was seminal in defining terrorism, containing its three main features: the criminal character, the aim to undermine trust in the political order, and the difference between target and objective. The fact that the next Italian legal definition of

2.3   The transnational dimension of the Italian debate

2.3.1. Perception of terrorism and counterterrorism abroad

When Interior Minister Cossiga "placed the terrorism issue at the top of the political agenda for the first time"[326], he acknowledged that terrorism was a problem for many European states, but assessed its Italian manifestation particularly dangerous, since the BR's terrorism were "only the tip of the of leftist unease and violence".[327] Nevertheless, other countries' struggle with terrorism was discussed in Italy.

After the attack at the 1972 Munich Olympics, Italian deputies expressed their grief for the tragic events and were concerned with consequences for security in Italy. DC Deputy Giomo proposed a stricter surveillance of foreigners in Italy, to "control their activities and their means of subsistence".[328] MSI Deputy Menicacci demanded even tougher restrictions. He asked the Minister of the Interior whether investigations had shown that the Arabic student community of the town Perugia was indeed a "central of Palestine terrorism in Italy, if not Europe",[329] referring to press reports saying that the Israeli secret service had requested investigations against foreigners in Italy. His fellow Manco cited

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terrorism dates from 2005 can mean both the efficacy of this definition and the less interest in the topic. (On July 31 2005, law n. 155 introduced a further amendment of article 270, defining conducts with the purpose of terrorism (condotte con finalità di terrorismo), quoted in Savona, report, p.4.) It is worth noting that the same Supreme Court decision from 1987 also drew the line between the offences of art. 270 and 270bis: While subversion seeks to undermine the constitutional order, it may not spread terror among the society; and terrorism does not necessarily aim at subverting democracy. Social revolutionary terrorism as Italy faced it in the 1970s and 1980s forms the interface of both offences. Probably more relevant is the difference that subversion according to the law occurs only within the territory of a state, whilst terrorism includes violence against a foreign country or institution. (Corte di Cassazione, section I, 28 April 1983 (c.c. 3 Feb 1983, n. 302), Savona, report, p.5.)

[326] De Graaf, Evaluating Counterterrorism Performance, p.104.

[327] Ibid.

[328] Camera, VI Leg., 02.10.1972, p.1588.

[329] The university town Perugia was known for its large share of international students, among them "several thousand youths from Arabic countries"; Camera, 02.10.1972, cited, p.1608.

evidence "broadly published by the Italian and foreign press" that tapped telephone conversations confirmed a connection of the commando Black September in Munich to accomplices in Florence.[330] As a consequence of the supposed existence of terrorist training camps in Yugoslavia, the Camera discussed establishing additional guarding at the frontier to Yugoslavia.[331]

In the same occasion, DC Deputy Tozzi Condivi proposed the Foreign Minister "Whether he would not want to be the promoter, be it among the states of the European Community or at the United Nations, of a solemn accord which marks the solidarity in the attitude to adopt towards terrorists, to confront with the uselessness of their actions". Condivi admitted that taking such a decision carried the risk of not being the perfect solution, but that this would be "infinitely inferior" to the risk of the increase of terrorist acts, or even only kidnappings, facilitated by the weakness or the insecurities of the various governments and authorities"[332]. He proposed four points to agree on, which later reoccurred in other proposals, including not granting ransom payments or the liberation of prisoners (rather considering restrictions for those that are asked to be released), denying stopover or airport assistance to abducted and not conceding political asylum to terrorists. The fifth point exceeded the scope of any previous or later proposal and was therefore quashed: an agreement that security authorities should be allowed to shoot at sight.[333]

The next event of transnational terrorism that was discussed in the Italian Parliament was the abduction of a French plane to Uganda, and the following rescue mission of 102 hostages at Entebbe Airport by an Israeli squad. On 9 July 1976, a group of PSI Deputies (Pajetta, Cardia, Rubbi Ant, Segre) asked the Foreign Minister to express protest against the action, "which nevertheless represented a gravest violation of a state's sovereignty." to them, it was Italy's duty, while condemning terrorism, to dissociate from the chorus of laudatory voices that in other Western European states had the "raid", and join the severe condemnation of UN secretary Waldheim.[334]

Other Camera deputies demanded a government statement about the position for the upcoming UN session. They asked whether the Italian government would express deplore for the violation of French territory by the terrorists

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[330] Camera, VI Leg., 3.10.1972, p.1670.
[331] Camera,VI Leg., 4.10. 1972, p.1786.
[332] Camera, 2.10.1972, cited, p.1596.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Camera VI Leg., 09.07.1976, p.34.

when abducting the French plane; whether they condemned fully the terrorists' act and their forcing the legitimate government to illegal actions; and expressed their disdain of the odious fascist discrimination by the terrorists, targeting explicitly Hebrew passengers. As the nature of the events had stirred up international tensions, the Camera discussed also whether to employ their relations to Arabic capitals and to invite them "to join the occident pact of condemning international terrorism".[335]

Due to many similarities with the domestic events, politics and public seemed be more interested in the left-wing terrorism in Germany than in terrorism against France or the UK in the same time. Moreover, they watched very critically: When already dissociating from the extremist fringe of their own country, the PCI in mid-1973 wrote a "letter of solidarity" to their sister party, regarding Brandt's recent anti-extremism laws.[336] Left-wing activists fostered public sympathy for the arrested RAF leaders[337] so far, that even some German left-wing intellectuals tried to correct the distorted image of an authoritarian German state that toughly fought relatively harmless activists.[338] The day after the suicide of Baader, Meinhof and Ensslin, the PCI newspaper l'Unità regretted "the tragic events in the FRG".[339] For several reasons, the relationship between the two countries had already been rather fraught in 1977, and the term *germanizzazione* had become the dictum to express worries about a too authoritarian reaction to political extremism by the Italian state.[340] In October 1977, the parliament rejected a law to expand police

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[335] Camera, 15.07.1976, cited, p.67.

[336] 18 Giugnio 73: nostra lettera di solidarità nella lotta del PCT. contro il „berufsverbot", pag 404 X, in: Archivio del PCI, Istitutio Gramsci, I trimestre 1973, microfilm 041/042/043.

[337] Apart from an extensive press reporting, family members and advocates of the RAF leaders toured through Italy to gain sympathy for their cause. Left newspapers like "lotta continua" published writings by German extremists. As a reaction, a few Italian deputies planned a support trip to Germany. Terhoeven: Deutscher Herbst, p.205f.

[338] In October 1977, Günter Grass warned in a Milan public discussion against „the New Left Pharisees". When booed by his public, he shifted the attention to the Italian situation, comparing the neo fascists' crimes to his own childhood in 1920s Germany; ibid. p.207.

[339] L'Unità 20-10-77: La FGCI sui tragici avvenimenti nella RFT; "I tragici avvenimenti di questi giorni che hanno investito la Repubblica Federale Tedesca..", in: Archivio PCI, V Bimestre 1977, mf. 0304, p.1942/ 1943.

[340] In contrast to Andreotti who gingerly supported the German counterterrorism efforts in 1977, Peccioli (PCI) assessed that the measures „endanger democratic rights and liberties"; cf. Hof: Staat und Terrorismus, p.77.

authorities and preventive arrest by this argument.[341] However, after the "German Autumn", the "official" tone became more peaceful, and the government rather considered cooperation than referring negatively to West-German counterterrorism politics. In November 1977, Minister of the Interior Cossiga depicted "similarities in political analysis and motivation" between the *Brigate Rosse* and the *Baader-Meinhof-Bande*. The Schmidt Government according to him "had chosen the right way" and merited the "solidarity of the Italian state".[342] Due to this "real connection" of the groups, the Italian Government had taken up contacts to other states in the case.

On 13 October 1977, left-wing terrorism in the Federal Republic of Germany became an unexpectedly important political question in Italy. A Lufthansa plane directed to Frankfurt was abducted by a PLO commando and landed at Rome Fiumicino Airport. Despite an urgent plea by the Federal Government to keep the plane, it was refuelled and in the afternoon the hijackers departed for Cyprus.[343] On this very afternoon, the Camera held a secret vote to modify a law "concerning the united handling of the airport system of the Capital", and the integration of a law "for urgent interventions in airports open to civil traffic".[344] Remarkably, in the following days the topic was not discussed in Parliament (or at least did not appear in the parliamentary minutes). When discussing the role of the Italian government in the affair, the DC deputies left the interpretative authority to both political fringes.[345]

A group of MSI deputies labelled the Palestinian attackers "terrorists" and asked the Prime Minister why "the competent authorities refused to keep the Lufthansa plane", although the German Minister of the Interior had formally

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[341] De Graaf, Performance, p.105.

[342] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Italiens Innenminister: Verbindung zwischen „roten brigaden" und deutschen Terroristen, Rom, 16.11.1977 dpa

[343] Geiger, Tim.: Die Landshut in Mogadishu. Das außenpolitische Krisenmanagement der Bundesregierung angesichts der terroristischen Herausforderung 1977, in: VfZ 3/ 2009, p.413-456.

[344] The Camera held a secret vote to modify law 10 Nov 1973, n. 755 "concerning the united handling of the airport system of the Capital", and the integration of law 22 Dec 1973 n. 825 "for urgent interventions in airports open to civil traffic"; Camera, VII Leg., 13.10.1977, p.11215.

[345] Geiger states that Italian government members saw themselves in a conflict between diplomatic relations to European states and to the PLO. Geiger, Tim: Westliche Anti-Terrorismus Diplomatie im Nahen Osten, in: Hürter 2015, p.259-288. This might be one underlying reason, but the situation was more complex, due to the internal Italian struggle about intervention principles in this case.

invited his Italian counterpart to do everything avoiding the departure. Moreover, they inculpated the government of being responsible for the killing of the Flight Captain, saying that it could have been prevented if allowing the German special force to operate; and accused them for not joining the expressions of solidarity by the US, France and other states "in the dramatic moments of the decision".[346] Furthermore, they proposed that the Italian government should never again allow an abducted plane to land and to promote a corresponding agreement among governments.[347]

On 19 October, the MSI criticism at the government got more aggressive. Cossiga's "insensibility facing a human drama" had "trampled on civil behaviour norms and expressively violated international endeavours to combat terrorism", which he himself had exalted after the EC Ministers' meeting.[348] "irresponsible refuse for the petty calculus of political servility to the left had exposed the hostages to longer tribulations and disqualified the country in the eyes of the free world".[349]

The reaction by the political left was very different. Two deputies of the *Democrazia Proletaria* invited the Prime Minister to postpone the meeting with Chancellor Schmidt that was planned for early November, "because of the people's indignity for the violent dead that claimed victim three convicts of the German special prisons." They said that in any case the German government should be held responsible for their death, as the world's public opinion had raised the reasoned doubt that they had been murdered by German functionaries.[350]

Liberal Deputies called the death of the three terrorists "very preoccupying news", and raised the question about the effective consistence and the capacity of the Italian security services against terrorism. Facing the grave global situation, the group asked which solutions the Italian government had discussed with other states, "taking the urgent necessity to embank and possibly prevent terrorist actions."[351]

Notwithstanding, the successful rescue action led to comparisons with the Italian security forces. DC Deputy Morini asked which exceptional operative

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[346] Camera, VII Leg., 18.10.1977, p.11395-6.

[347] Ibid., p.11395.

[348] Camera, VII Leg., 19.10.1977, p.11469.

[349] Ibid.

[350] Ibid.

[351] Camera, VII Leg., 20.10.1977, p.11560.

instruments they had "for interventions analogue to those positively implemented by the German Police in Mogadishu", and whether the lack of a fast intervention of Italian security services at Fiumicino Airport depended on the fact that these did not yet have the necessary approval by the police unions.[352] The side swipe to the Communists was striking. The death of the Stammheim prisoners was a conflict point that divided the DC, too. Deputy Costamagna invited the government to strengthen the Italians' belief in the under the rule of law and to clarify that in Italy all terrorists had the right to a fair trial and that no government had the right to execute prisoners. Moreover, he asked about the extent of damage that anti-German manifestations had caused in Italian cities, provokingly asking why these manifestations had never taken place in reaction to events of killings in Ireland or other states.[353]

Deputies of the extreme right MSI demanded strong special legislation against terrorism and urged Cossiga to communicate to the German Government that "the large majority of Italians was interested in continuing and intensifying the relation of alliance, friendship and economic collaboration between Italy and the Federal Republic."[354] In the Senate debate on public order and security in November 1977, extreme right Senators proposed to take the example of a state "that does better cope with the problem", pointing to West Germany. [355] this backdrop, it is unsurprising that large parts of left-wing and centre politicians demurred against the looming cooperation between Italian and German authorities.

On a smaller scale, also actors close to the government labelled political diversely, according to their backgrounds. The German Autumn was rather by politicians called "eventi tedeschi" ("German events"); in contrast to senior security security officials, who throughout spoke about "terrorism".[356]

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[352] Camera 19 Oct 1977, cited, p.11466.

[353] Camera, VII Leg., 21.10.1977, p.11580.

[354] Camera, VII Leg., 26.10.1977, p.11726.

[355] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.55, cited, Discorso On. Cossiga, p.5-32.

[356]On October 25, 1977 the police chief refers to "Terrorismo Tedesco", whereas other documents mainly refer to "situazione tedesca" or "detenuti della RAF nei carceri della RFG"; Direzione Generale della P.S.: Collaborazione Italo-Tedesca, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, b.76, Criminalità e terrorismo, Atti attinenti a rapporti con rappresentati Esteri, 31.12.1977.

The fact that Italian politicians did not uniformly agree on "German terrorism", suggests that it was particularly difficult for them to label left-wing terrorism as such (and in the West-German context apparently even more difficult), probably due to both the own historical heritage and the current political situation. Facing transnational terrorism in contrast, also left-wing parties did not hesitate to blame "terrorists" for violence acts: The day after the Munich attack from 1972, PCI leaders decided to issue "a firm condemnation of the terrorist action"[357]. Also the attack by PLO gunmen on Rome airport in December 1973 was immediately labelled "the latest of a long series of bloody terrorist episodes, committed by Arab commandos, or alleged".[358] In the case the PLO-hijacked Air France plane that was abducted to Uganda in 1976, the PCI newspaper "L'Unità" was less determined. They harshly accused the counterterrorism commando to have caused a "massacre" among the kidnappers to liberate more than 100 hostages. Only once it said that the former were "terrorists".[359]

When discussing the reform of security agencies, particularly the political left argued for restructuring Italian security services according to the British role model,[360] perceiving their fight against the IRA as a worthwhile goal for Italian counterterrorism. Although the contrast with the political violence in Ulster, Foreign Ministry affirmed that "terrorism had diverse origins", the analysis of "British experts"[361] were taken as base for theoretical considerations of the phenomenon.

Even previous to any legal definition, in official documents "on international cooperation against terrorism"[362], the term appeared frequently. In a statement by a bilateral experts group between Italy and West Germany, they declared to be "convinced that international terrorism is a serious threat to the internal

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[357] PCI Riunione di Segretaria del 5 Settembre 1972 (55); in: Archivio Istituto Gramsci, 5. Settembre 1972: Verbale n. 55, Azione terroristica di Monaco; pag. 1270, ftg. 1268.
[358] "La strage di Fiumicino e l'ultimo di una lunga serie di cruenti episodi di terrorismo, compiuti da commando arabi o presunti tali,.."L'Unità, December 18, 1973, p.2.
[359] L'Unità, July 5, 1976, p.1; in fact, the Italian role in this incident leads to further questions: Supposed to be the protecting power of Israel in Uganda, no Italian was present in the crisis. Geiger, p.271.
[360] Hof, Anti-Terrorismus-Gesetze und Sicherheitskräfte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Großbritannien und Italien in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren, p.30.
[361] Ambasciata d'Italia Londra, 4.11.1977, ACS, M.I. Gab, B. 67, Fasc. 11001/114/3(1), Inghilterra – Strategia lotta al terrorismo.
[362] "Appunto per il Gabinetto dell'on Sig. Ministro", ibid.

security of both states and their citizens, and can be effectively proceeded against only by a common effort of all security authorities".[363] The label "terrorism" was applied in every case, even in interactions with Yugoslavia Romania, or with young democracies like Spain and Portugal.

Yet another international facet of the terrorism discourse occurred in February 1979, when the Italian Government expelled an US diplomat for "espionage" of their counterterrorism force. Deputies of the Socialists and the Radicals took the occasion to criticise the Italian counterterrorism as a whole. Deputy Accame (PSI) depicted the fact as bad sign that secret service officers had provided "precise information about the activity of our intelligence organisms, evidently violating the norms for protecting the own activity."[364] PR politicians invited the government to withdraw Italy's NATO membership, as those acts of espionage were "more than foreseeable".[365]

2.3.2. Attacks on Italian soil by foreign terrorist groups

When studying how the discourse among Italian political actors evolved towards a threat perception that was aware of terrorism as a transnational phenomenon, attacks by "transnational terrorists" are an essential factor. Acts of political violence on Italian soil by non-Italians were mainly carried out by three diverse groups of perpetrators between 1972 and 1982: South Tyrolean separatists, Palestinian commandos and Armenian Nationalists.

While the Armenian and Palestinians probably chose Italy to conduct their attacks due to "good conditions", and only harmed Italian citizens as a side effect; the South Tyrolean attacks were deliberately targeted against Italian representatives and infrastructure. For this reason, the political violence in Alto Adige was identified as terrorism and condemned quickly. Moreover, the "South Tyrolese Problem" was the only attacks referred to as "terrorism" by Italian security authorities prior to September 1972.[366] South Tyrolese separatist

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[363] BArch, B 106/106873, ÖS9 -62635/4 Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 2
Referat ÖS9 (Bochmann) an Herrn Minister; Bonn 19.10.1976; Betr.: Deutsch-italienische Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Inneren Sicherheit, Hier: Bekämpfung des Terrorismus.

[364] Camera, VII Leg., 14.02.1979, p.27500.

[365] Ibid, p.27501.

[366] DirezioneGenerale dell Pubblica Sicurezza: Relazione trimestrale, 16.3.1969, in: ACS,

terrorism has never been explicitly treated by Italian counterterrorism experts international cooperation; notwithstanding it carries two important considerations for this study. First, the incomprehensible aggression of a minority against property and persons was identified as politically motivated, and so became the measure for all that later was labelled "terrorism" – or deliberately was not. In the late 1960s, Camera President Bucciarelli Ducci exclaimed: "I feel the need to once again stigmatise the barbarous crimes perpetrated by the blind and heinous violence of terrorism in South Tyrol."[367] Second, the attempts to cooperate with the Austrian Republic in order to extradite perpetrators or prevent the preparation of attacks was not very successful. Prime Minister Moro stated that "doubtlessly, the terrorist violence puts at stake a just and stable solution to the open issues in South Tyrol and the friendly relations between Italy and Austria". [368] In lack of Austrian collaboration, Italian statesmen employed political pressure.[369] The impression that transnational terrorism problems are not easily to solve in international cooperation certainly had left a trace concerning scepticism in the 1970s. the backdrop of the grave inner-Italian terrorism problems in 1978, the choice words was milder. The government blamed an "austriaphile group" for bombing the Victory Monument in Bolzano.[370] However, this was temporary. 1980, after a resurrection of violence in South Tyrol, DC deputy Bressani talked about "The return of violence and terrorism." [371] MSI Secretary Giorgio Almirante called the events "neo-terrorism". [372] Only PR deputy Boato underlined the difference that in South Tyrol attacks had not harmed men and that the situation was much less grave and dramatic than in places such as the Basque region or Northern Ireland.[373]

M.I., Gabinetto., 1967-70, b.428, fasc.16998/3, p.3; (and 13.8., 23.11.68), cited by Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.70.

[367] Camera dei Deputati, Resoconto Sommario Lunedì 12 Settembre 1966, p.3.

[368] Ibid, p.6.

[369] In June 1967, Italy vetoed Austria to enter the European Coal and Steel Community; cf. La Nazione: "Veto italiano ai negoziati tra la "Ceca" e l'Austria – Il governo di Vienna deve prima dimostrare che il terrorismo della repubblica non sarà più utilizzato come base per attentati terroristici nei confronti dell'Italia"; ILSAA, Serie Trentino-Alto Adige, Sottoserie 1 Parlamento, Governo; B. 23; 2.1.8 "Rapporti, notizie, Corrispondenza".

[370] ILSAA, Serie Trentino-Alto Adige, Sottoserie 1 Parlamento, Governo; B. 23; 2.1.8; La Repubblica, 11/9/84, p.6: "Tornano ad esplodere i nazionalismi e la provincia di Bolzano riscopre il 'los von Rom'".

[371] Camera, VII Leg., 12.03.1980, p.10718.

[372] Camera VIII Leg Discussioni, 21.02.1980, p.9999.

[373] Ibid, p.9976-8.

The bloodiest incident caused by a transnational terrorist group in Italy happened on 17 December 1973. Five fighters of a PLO Commando set fire on a Pan Am flight ready to depart for Beirut and abducted a nearby Lufthansa including crew. The first carried-out attack by the PLO claimed 32 lives.[374] However, it did not come completely unpredictable.

Italy had probably avoided an attack by international terrorism in November 1972, when four Libyan citizens flew to Rome via four different routes, carrying sub-machine guns and hand grenades with them. When seeing that all passengers had to pass through a metal detector, they had abandoned their and left the weapons outside the airport, where Italian police found them only after the four had already left to Cairo.[375] Apparently, little importance was attributed to this event; it was not discussed in Parliament.

In the following March, two PLO members were arrested in Como, carrying a suitcase with detailed photographs of Milan airport, the main station and the El Al office with them.[376] On 4 April 1973, the Italian Police arrested two men at Fiumicino Airport because of their suspicious behaviour. Then a search revealed that each was armed with hand grenades and a pistol.[377] Later that month, a Lebanese man who claimed to be a *Black September*-operative killed an El Al office employee in Rome. After his arrest by the Italian police, American secret services believed that he was put on provisional liberty and left Italy quickly.[378] The report shows little hope to eventually judge the murder since all

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[374] Cf. Priore, R.: La strage dimenticata, p.6.

[375] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 29/11/72, Digital National Security Archives, George Washington University (hereafter DNSA), Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679136822?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[376] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 21/3/73, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679132773?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[377] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism, 11/4/73, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679136938?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[378] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism, supplement No. 4: Significant Fedayeen-Related international terrorist incidents, 1 January to 31 March, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679145685?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

Palestinians on provisional liberty before had left.[379] The title "BSO Terrorist released by Italian Government" underlined this. Similar cases occurred during the next months. In autumn 1973, five *Black September* members were arrested near Fiumicino Airport, carrying a Soviet-built SA-7 missile launcher. Italian authorities believed that they were to attack an Israeli plane, but set two of on provisional liberty already in October, and the others in the following February. [380] US services again criticised that they could leave Italy without problems.[381]

Eventually, the fatal incident in December was discussed polemically. MSI members claimed that Italian "guerrilla centrals" had to be destroyed, as their existence was confirmed by an act such as the attack in Fiumicino". [382] Right-wing deputies assaulted Minister of the Interior Taviani when he defended the security measures.[383] Particularly the fact that the attackers had been able to take five armed guards hostage led to scorn for the authorities by MSI politicians,[384] whereas left party deputies used their statements to criticise the security services' formation.

Remarkably, Camera President Pertini (PSI) did not use the word "terrorism" when giving an account of the facts. Instead, he used the words *strage*, crime violence. Socialists and Liberals called the events "terrorism". Another group of Socialists linked the attack to "a tragic chain of terrorist acts in the country".[385]

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[379] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 22/7/75, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679122527?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[380] An Italian court had convicted the Arabs each to 5 years 2 months for illegal possession of weapons after being caught shooting Israeli plane with missiles, but then released for 31$ each on provisional liberty. Press reports later said that the money had been provided "by a middle eastern embassy", or even by the Italian Foreign Ministry. The suspects were given back their passports and a stay permit of 10 days. Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 02801, 28 Feb 1974, 1974ROME02801, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[381] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism, supplement No.4, Cited; Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 02954, 2 Mar 1974, 1974ROME02954, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[382] Camera, VI Leg, 18.12.1973, p.11934.

[383] Ibid, p.11938.

[384] Ibid.

[385] Ibid, p.11934.

The international dimension of the incident was a matter of discussion, too. Taviani put the attack in one line with the assaults at Tel Aviv (1970) and (1972).[386] He assured that the security installations at the airport were at European standard and that a counterterrorism squad was "always prepared for any possible intervention, in Rome like in Munich or London". However, action had been too fast for the special squad, but the intervention of Firefighters and police forces had prevented a bigger and scarier disaster."[387] DC Deputy Piccoli stated that the attack had proved the measures of single countries were insufficient, and "underlined the need for a common initiative against air piracy at the European level." The fact that some of the terrorists come by plane with their weapons showed the need for a standardisation of luggage control. Therefore it was "indispensable that Italy should promote at the Community concrete measures to combat air piracy and to prevent terrorist acts. The existing European organs that combated crime were insufficient, as terrorism was a 'particular crime' that requested the creation of special organisms."[388] Piccoli supposed furthermore that this kind of terrorism had "connections in Europe".[389] Socialist Brandi supported him since the terrorists had "without doubt large means and a more than perfect organisation."[390]

Republican Reale called terrorism "a problem of foreign policy, which had raised the problem whether Italy was able to fight crime on the proper territory", and had shown the lack of European unity in other questions (referring to the oil crisis).[391] Galluzzi (PCI) picked this holistic view up, asking why the attack had occurred in Italy, which had urged other European to deal with the Middle Eastern conflict. He named many factors contributing the problem: efficiency of the secret services, the dilemma of authorities shooting at men, but "first and foremost a problem of internal security and international security".[392] MSI Deputy De Marzio blamed the decrease of the

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[386] Ibid, p.11937.

[387] Camera, 18 Dec 1973, cited, p.11938.

[388] Ibid, p.11942.

[389] Ibid, p.11943.

[390] Ibid, p.11949; In January 74, the TIMES released an article stating that Ghedafi was the mastermind behind the attack on Fiumicino airport. Eventually, parliamentarians discussed whether to cut diplomatic relations to Libya; Camera 16 Jan 1974, p.12222.

[391] Camera 18 Dec 1973, cited, p.11950.

[392] Ibid, p.11948.

public order under that government, as "Italy became a base of a sort of UN of violence and terrorism".[393]

The diverse argumentation lines were mirrored by the Italian press.[394]

In their condolence letters, foreign governments took the occasion to warn Prime Minister Rumor against being lenient with the perpetrators. Already in February 1973, the Italian Government had been criticised in a UN meeting for releasing men on bail, who were convicted of planting a bomb on board an El flight to Tel Aviv.[395] In a telegram to President Leone, Nixon underpinned his expectation that "Italy, the US, and the entire world community will draw from this brutal act renewed determination to cooperate in combating terrorism wherever it may occur".[396] This complied with the extreme Right-wing argument that Italy was perceived abroad as being too soft on terrorism and thus needed tougher legislation.[397] Reacting to all these reproaches, Rumor reiterated the independence of the Italian judiciary. However, he accepted the

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[393] Ibid, p.11945.

[394] Press reports in Avanti and Resto del Carlino chose rather aggressive words, stating that Arab Governments should held responsible for "protecting wild beasts". L'Unita ("not all Arabs responsible") clearly contradicted the Corriere della Sera (Violence as Arab reply to European understanding), whereas Il Paese Sera mediated between the journals (terrorism act as crime, not war act, therefore not to trial all Arabs) with the claim that Antiterrorism had to come from Geneva Peace conference and the attack was because terrorists fear the Geneva Conference; Cf. Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 14143, 19 Dec 1973, 1973ROME14143, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[395] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 21/2/73, DNSA, retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679132773?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[395] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 14265, 22 Dec 1973, 1973ROME14265, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[396] Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Rome, Telegram 249906, 24 Dec 1973, 1973STATE249906, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[397] Romoualdi (MSI) depicted that he had perceived in Brussels that abroad people had been shocked not only about the attack on Fiumicino Airport, but also because the Italian Government had not reacted with fast investigations but "ignored the facts"; Camera, VI Leg, 19.12.1973, p.12060.

proposal to reach out for advice on airport security by an American FAA team.[398]

The aftermath of the attack persisted the following year, occasionally dominating the political discussion on public order and internal security. Particularly the controversial press reaction to a speech of Foreign Minister Moro regarding the relations to Arabic countries demonstrated how much the label "terrorism" was a tool in Italy's internal politics.[399] Both left and right-wing student associations instrumentalised the facts for their accusations of the government.

Rumours that a SID General had warned the government three days before the attack in December stirred up the dispute about the authorities' effectiveness.[400] The fact that six armed police guards at the terminal could be taken hostage by five terrorists caused additional polemics about the capability of the police to protect sensitive sites against terrorist attacks, as well as on the general strategy to protect both airports of the capital.[401] In contrast, the Ministry of the Interior concentrated on the good work of the firefighters "who had demonstrated a spirit of initiative, contempt of danger, and professional capability in all actions with lightning promptness, when the airport was still under fire by the terrorists".[402]

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[398] The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) of the United States is a national authority with powers to regulate all aspects of civil aviation; Cf. Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 02346, 19 Feb 1974, 1974ROME02346, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[399] The Camera discussed press publications (e.g. Il Tempo 08/01; Epoca 13 /01; Europeo 17/01), which said that the causes were levity of the Italian secret services and the ambiguity of a policy that was more concerned about satisfying the Arabs than about security in Fiumicino. Il Tempo had even claimed that two terrorists had received provisional liberty without having asked for it, and afterwards had fled to Libya. Camera 16 Jan 1974, p.12275-80; on the Moro speech cf. Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 01108, 24 Jan 1974, 1974ROME01108, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[400] Cf. Il Paese Sera, 23/8/74 "Taviani smentisce il generale"; Il Paese Sera, 23/8/74, p.3 "Nessun rapporto a Taviani dal gen. Maletti su Fiumicino".

[401] "Attentato aeroporto Fiumicino – Articolo Paese Sera "Saranno processati pro forma i cinque agenti sequestrati"?", in ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1971-75, B. 106, Aeroporto di Fiumicino – attentato di un commando arabo – 17/12/1973.

[402] Direzione Generale della Protezione Civile, "Intervento per incendio di un Boeing 707

The press discussion about the Italian line towards the PLO calmed down only slowly. In May 1976, Il Giornale depicted Italy as "Paradise for Arabic terrorists", being "blackmailed with petrol".[403] Noticeably embarrassed, a high ranking Officer of the DGPS explained to his counterparts in international cooperation that both Italian politics and justice were scared back from hard measures against arrested Arabic terrorists because they feared vengeance and new hijackings by Arabic students in Italy, whom they suspected to have links to terrorists.[404]

Concluding, the political discourse on Palestinian fighters' attacks, on one did only partially lead to a broader threat perception of terrorism. Several attempts and one successful attack had vanished rather quickly from the political discussion on internal security but were object to internal political struggles for years. Historical studies therefore mention "a forgotten massacre".[405] On the other hand, Italian representatives had played an important role for progress in the Middle East peace process in the following years.[406]

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in Fiumicino il 17/12/1973", ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1971-75, B. 106.

[403] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976.

[404] BArch, B 106/106873, ibid.

[405] Priore, R.: La strage dimenticata, p.5.

[406] Italy was always engaged for the Palestinian cause and prepared an UN anti-Zionism resolution in Oct 1975; cf. Telegram USMission USUN NY to SecState WashDC, Telegram 05736, 7 Nov 1975, 1975USUN05736, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015). The Italian left press was traditionally close to the PLO, as showed a front page interview in Corriere della Sera with their no.2 man, where he announced terrorist attacks if concessions were not accepted; Cf. Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 14424, 2 Sept 1976, 1976ROME14424, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015). In 1979, PLO Official Kaddumi was received in Rome by the Foreign Minister and met leaders of PSI and PCI. An US diplomat commented that "Italy will continue to balance its Arab interests against its traditional ties with the US and others, and in an effort to not provoke our unhappiness, will move step by step, and as much as possible in the EC context, toward the PLO"; Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 31060, 9 Nov 1979, 1979ROME31060 Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

In 1977, a third group of political crimes occurred in Rome. In June, a member the Armenian *Justice Commando for the Genocide* killed the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican.[407] Between December 1979 and November 1980, the *Armenian Liberation Army* claimed responsibility for eleven bombs and arson attacks on public places, and the offices of Swiss and Turkish Airlines. Two persons were killed, and dozens were wounded, and the effect of indiscriminate bombings in the city centres of Rome and Milan evoked memories of the late 1960s. By the end of the 1980 Armenian terrorist organisations had superseded the PLO not only in terms of attacks carried out, but also in a SISDE report on "Foreign organizations operating in Italy". They were listed as most dangerous threat to security: "ASALA attacks and threatening in leaflets do not allow underestimating the danger of increasing violence in Italy, against Turkish representations, and also abroad against Italian institutions and offices, by Armenian Terrorists". [408] However, in the pathetic political discussion on terrorism during these years, the attacks by Armenian perpetrators found only marginal space.

2.3.3. Links between Italian and foreign terrorist groups

The fact that both foreign and Italian terrorist groups carried out attacks on Italian soil, raised the question whether the two collaborated in achieving their aims. Theories on terrorism depict the phenomenon as "contagious", as groups imitate each other and are often in contact. They can give mutual aid and training to members of the other groups. Martha Crenshaw stated that "transnational links do not mean that there is any central organisation, but transnational links can exist via single personal relations between militants. Even in lack of direct contact, terrorist groups could serve as role model. [..] Terrorists are usually strong models, as they are perceived very strongly and they are easy to imitate, with low costs."[409]

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[407] Telegram AmConsul Istanbul to SecState WashDC, Info AmEmbassy Ankara / Rome / Athens, AmConsul Adana / Izmir Telegram 03253, 27 Sept 1977, 1979ISTANB03253, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[408] SISDE reports on terrorism, file closed in 1981; Fasc. 3 "Organizzazioni straniere in Italia"; private Archive Amm. F. V.

[409] Crenshaw, Martha: Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power, p.17-8.

In Italy between 1972 and 1982, the option of transnational links between terrorist groups was discussed very controversially in the media and among political actors.

Especially left-wing terrorist groups were often thought to be internationally connected, as operations and organisation of the "red" terrorism shared many traits with Latin American or German counterparts. Structural differences, such as the much vaster social and intellectual support base of the *Brigate Rosse* were not as obviously visible for the contemporary observers.[410]

As early as in 1975, MSI Deputy Almirante suspected international links between left-wing terrorist organisations in a parliamentary debate: "Is there anybody who can negate that international ties exist? Maybe they are not much talked about, but in the light of grave indices, I say that the collaboration between our extra-parliamentary groups and the German group has recently caused the tragedy at the German Embassy in Sweden. And is there anybody who can contest (I remember Fiumicino) the links between our extra-parliamentary groups and Gheddafi?" [411] Unsurprisingly, a call for stronger measures against left groups followed suit.

Particularly on two occasions, the potential links between Italian and foreign terrorists were focus of the discussion: the two kidnapping cases of Moro and Dozier. In the first case, a participation of RAF terrorists seemed obvious, since they had conducted a very similar attack five months earlier. Due to the tension of the 55 days, the world was looking at Italy, fearing an escalation up to a civil war. The second was of international interest and raised speculation, because of the victim, NATO General James L. Dozier, a US citizen deployed in Verona.

One week after the abduction of Aldo Moro, the *Brigate Rosse* sought to these rumours by stating in a communiqué that they had acted alone,

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[410] A link between the RAF and the BR was often supposed since both "believed in being the new Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard, sharing a dogmatic misunderstanding of the proletariat's needs, the rejection of capitalist materialism, and the praise of a mythical anticolonial Third World." Rimanelli in Pluchinsky, p.134-5; However, the fact that Italian terrorism was essentially different from their German counterparts and based on a much stronger public support than the RAF was not totally unknown to contemporary political actors, confirmed L.V. Ferraris, former ambassador to Bonn in an Interview with the author (15.05.2015).

[411] Camera, 05.05.1975, Pomeriggio, cited, p.21768.

"according to the Maoist principle of counting only on one's own forces". [412] Nonetheless, the discussion was reheated several times.

The abduction of the US General was the BR's first attack on foreign military personnel and on Italy's role in NATO. Some researchers suppose that by "Internationalising their fight and imitating anti-NATO terrorist acts by the German RAF, the BR attempted to mask its weaknesses by ideologically revamping its Third World and "anti-imperialist" myths against US "neo-imperialist" presence abroad". [413] Rumours that the Bulgarian Secret Service, on behalf of the KGB had unsuccessfully tried to obtain NATO secrets from the BR holding Dozier flanked the entire affair. [414] After his liberation, the General testified that the commando was well organised and warned against further well-planned attacks. He described his kidnappers' sympathy to Libya and knowledge about the RAF, but underlined that all had insisted on being Italian Communists and nationalists. [415]

Also after particularly brutal attacks, Italian parliamentarians discussed the potential interference of foreign terrorist groups more intensely than usual. After the Bologna attack, Deputy Belluscio (PSDI) stated that "it is unthinkable [..] that the bloodbath of Bologna does not enter into a global plan of the and economical destabilisation of our country, led by foreign forces". [416] He emphasised the economic destabilisation, underlining it with the argument that the attack occurred in August, when "Italy is invaded by millions of foreign tourists", and proposed measures to monitor international financial transfers.

Apart from these outstanding events, speculations about a collaboration between Italian and foreign terrorist groups were always a background noise in the discussion. Politicians picked up investigative press reports or insider information, preventing the debate from calming down. President Sandro

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[412] Second Communiqué of the Brigate Rosse, quoted in Report by the US Embassy Rome; Subject: Kidnapping of DC President Moro; Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 05588, 27 Mar 1978, 1978ROME05588, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[413] Rimanelli, p.153.

[414] Rimanelli, p.153

[415] BArch, B136/31685, 123 – 21121 Te 8; 24.10.78 Bundeskanzleramt; Terrorismus; Bekämpfung des Internationalen Terrorismus, hier: Italien;30.6.1982: BND – 11 D an Bundeskanzleramt; betr.: Ergebnisse der Befragung des Generals DOZIER durch US-Behörden nach dessen Befreiung;

[416] Camera, VIII Leg., Discussioni, 26.08.1980, p. 17327.

Pertini repeatedly hinted towards a foreign involvement in Italian terrorism, in press interviews[417] and conversations with foreign diplomats.[418] He mainly referred to weapons supply by eastern secret services and training camps in the Czech Republic and South Yemen.

Studies on the potential and factual cooperation between left-wing terrorists mostly confirmed the assumption that the extremist milieus admired each expressed solidarity in shape of leaflet actions and vandalism. In some cases, they granted shelter for searched comrades abroad, and they probably shared the same sources of weapons in the Middle East [419] Whether Italian and terrorists ever attended a sort of common training camp in Eastern Europe or Lebanon is disputed.

In all available documentation, the Secret Service SISDE underlined that "the fact that foreign terrorist groups launch attacks in Italy does not give any evidence of links between these groups and Italian terrorists".[420] Although were indices for "logistic support between Italian and foreign groups in terms arms trade, *autofinanziamento* with robbery, trade with stolen identity documents, and hospitality for fleeing criminals",[421] personal relations could only be proved between Italian groups and the PLO. Contacts with extreme left groups from West Germany, France, Switzerland, or the IRA had been sought

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[417] In an Interview with "France Soir" on 1 Jan 81, Pertini claimed that the BR were controlled from abroad; cf. BArch, 106/106875, ÖS 9 – 626 535 /4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 7; 11.11.80-9.6.81; forts Bd 8¸ Botschaft der BRD Rom an AA Bonn; 10.6.80.

[418] In October 1979, Pertini confident Antonio Ghirelli told US Ambassador Gardner that "there was irrefutable evidence that red Brigade terrorists had been trained in Palestinian terrorist camps which had received Soviet assistance."; Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 27729, 9 Oct 1979, 1979ROME27729, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[419] Rimanelli, Marco. "Foreign comrades in arms: Italian terrorism and international ties." European Terrorism. Today & Tomorrow. Brassey's, London, New York (1992): 127-180, here p.135. Cf. furthermore Falciola, Luca: Wearing a Keffiyeh in Rome. The transnational relationship between the Italian Autonomy and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Unpublished paper, therefore not exactly cited); Cf furthermore Terhoeven, Deutscher Herbst in Europa, p.484.

[420] SISDE reports on terrorism , file closed in 1981; Fasc. 3 "Organizzazioni straniere in Italia"; private Archive Amm. F. V.; Fasc. 6: Mensile Ottobre 80; 3. Il terrorismo straniero

[421] SISDE reports on terrorism , file closed in 1981; Fasc. 3.1 "Relazioni con centrali straniere"; same source

but probably not established, according to SISDE.[422] The existence of training camps in Libya, Syria, Algeria, South Yemen and North Korea was known, but they had no evidence of any Italian terrorists (Leninist, 'indipendentist', or neo-fascist) participating in such camps.[423] Regarding right-wing terrorism, the Secret service supposed transnational connections "referring to common experiences, but not necessarily a sign for direct contacts". Nonetheless, they assumed a so-called *Eurodestra* as mediator; in contrast to left-wing terrorists had no superior organisation. Additionally, they had evidence for "right-wing extremists operating in states where the political climate seems more adapt Italy".[424]

Overall, there was "no evidence for aid at the 'operative' level". This meant "no direct participation of foreign terrorist commandos in actions on Italian or participation of foreigners in Italian commandos".[425]

Aware of the fact that most politicians at the time did not have insight into the secret service reports, there might have been several reasons that made them believe in – or at least assume – a transnational cooperation between Italian and foreign terrorist groups. The reasons why political actors expressed these assumptions were probably three. First, facing a transnational threat, they for a better international cooperation of authorities as reaction. Foreign Forlani addressing the Senate in October 1977 insisted that the events of Mogadishu had once again demonstrated transnational terrorist ties. He inferred that condemnation was not enough, it was "necessary to act in a coordinated manner to develop means of combating the plague of terrorism".[426] Secondly, by blaming particularly violent acts on a joint terrorist commando, the idea could be maintained that Italian terrorists were somewhat "less brutal" than their counterparts from other countries. A *La Repubblica* article stating that eight German terrorists had been involved in the Via Fani Assault (the Moro kidnapping), and only those had shot, certainly accommodated this wish.[427] As

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[422] Ibid.

[423] Ibid.

[424] Ibid.

[425] Ibid.

[426] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 17281, 21 Oct 1977, 1977ROME17281, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[427] Historian Claudia Baldoli stated that the national myth of the "good hearted soldier" did not fit to the atrocities by Italian terrorists. Cf. Baldoli, History of Italy, p.298.
The article of La Repubblica, 24/01/79, author Franco Coppola, is attached to BArch

a side effect, the assumption of international commandos distracted from the search for inner Italian reasons for terrorism. Thirdly, depicting a mighty transnational organisation gave additional reasons that justified the failure of security authorities. When DC deputy Costamagna brought a "supranational terrorist organisations that provided arms, bases, money and complicity in diverse EC countries and probably also in Switzerland"[428] into the Camera discussion, he countered reproaches by the left parties about insufficient police formation.

Similarly, denying international links of Italian terrorist organisations could be intentional in the political debate. By excluding such transnational activities of the closely observed group of suspects, security authorities demonstrated that they were in control of the events, as did SISDE and the BKA during tense periods.[429] Contrarily, PSI secretary Craxi accused the DC government of withholding proofs that BR terrorists had links to the East, in order to the calm down and falsely suggest security during the 1979 election campaign.[430]

The fact that also ex-terrorists in their avowals confirmed cooperation between Italian and West German terrorist groups suggests that they either simply more than the authorities had discovered by the time, or had an interest to their former groups appear potent. Moreover, the *pentiti* law system gave credit for the revelation of spectacular information. Former BR member Carlo Fioroni had affirmed the existence of a coordinating instance between groups in Italy and other countries in a confessional deposition.[431] Also RAF-dropout

B106/106874, cited, Italienische Botschaft (Arnold) an AA Bonn, 24.Januar1979; Betr. Italienische Presse zu angeblichen Verbindungen zwischen italienischen Roten Brigaden und RAF

[428] Camera, VII Leg., 21.10.1977, p.11580.

[429] Statements of autumn 1978 to find in: BArch, B106/106874, cited, BKA an PR im hause, Wiesbaden 24.10.1978

[430] In a conversation with US Ambassador Gardner, Craxi reiterated the accusations; Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 07159, 16 Mar 1979, 1979ROME07159, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[431]In December '79, Corriere della Sera published an apparently leaked manuscript in which the incarcerated terrorist Carlo Fioroni allegedly had written a confessional deposition revealing links between the Italian terrorist movement and German terrorist groups, the PLO and organised crime in Italy. According to the paper, some terrorist leaders, especially Antonio Negri, were concerned with linking Italian terrorists with

Hans-Joachim Klein confirmed direct contacts between left terrorist groups in a TV interview.[432]

2.3.4. Multiple tensions in the Cold War situation

Analysing the international dimension of the terrorism discourse in Italy between 1972 and 1982, a diffuse threat perception turns out, containing manifold hints to diverse directions. Not insinuating any spark of collective paranoia, in this section I attempt to grasp the multitude of threat perceptions existing in the common Italian awareness in the 1970s. A short sketch of their origins helps to understand most theories in retrospective, as they served to a narrative in the discourse.

Within the historiography on terrorism in Italy, authors are commonly divided into two groups, according to their view of official explanations. Those who mention and support conspiracy theories are often dismissed as "*dietrologi*" ("scientists of the behind") by those who base their analyses on mere documentary evidence. I do not aim at joining ranks with either side. Rather, and far more important, I aim at enlightening in which context certain threat perceptions and conspiracy theories could emerge and persist, by historicising the ambience in which they could spread, and the groups who perceived themselves threatened by them.

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foreign groups. The logistical bases for exchanges had been located in Switzerland and France, according to the Corriere article. He himself had allegedly refused Negris offer to act as a permanent coordinator between the German and Italian terrorist groups. Since the Italian government with recent legislation had offered a "plea bargaining" to confessing terrorists, US Ambassador Gardner suspected that Fioroni might have "at least exaggerated" the information he had; cf. Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 35721, 28 Dec 1979, 1979ROME35721, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[432] The TV interview with Klein broadcasted in Italian on 20/11/80, while K. was under warrant by the BKA, caused a middle-scale discord in the cooperation between the authorities. Though Klein apparently called for an end of terrorist acts, he described the ties between Italian and German extreme left groups and affirmed that both terrorist fringes were supplied with arms by the same Palestinian persons. Ambasciata d'Italia a Bonn, 20/11/1980, "Intervista terrorista tedesco alla televisione italiana", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Fasc. 11001/114/6 Germania, Criminalità e terrorismo, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania.

A historical study by definition analyses facts from a future and better knowing perspective, but historicising means analysing the discursive dynamics within their context. "At the time, the attacks occurred as mysterious growths of an insecure political climate, a constant threat and a source of dismay and fear that responded with violence to violence, precisely a strategy of tension".[433]

Being an integral part of the Italian discursive treatment of terrorism since the emerging of separatist groups in South Tyrol in the 1950s, conspiracy theories were particularly important in connection with the "strategy of tension" during the 1970s. Already after the bombing of Piazza Fontana in December 1969, causing 16 deaths and injuring more than 150, the left parties supposed a plot the secret services, which had at least tolerated the attack in order to justify a harsher proceeding against left activists. The security authorities pursued the "left track" and soon presented Giuseppe Pinelli, an anarchist, as the main suspect. When Pinelli shortly afterwards died by falling from the fourth-floor window of the Milan Police Headquarters while being interrogated, the thesis *stragi dello Stato* (massacres by the state) was burned into the public discussion of political violence in Italy. In May 1972 Luigi Calabresi, the investigating police officer and owner of the office in the fourth floor, was killed by a left-wing terrorist commando. From this point on, vengeance and war between the political fringes dominated the public debate about criminological investigations. Both the political left and the extreme right publicly doubted the independence and virtue of the authorities and challenged the official statements by government members. The suspicion that certain forces in the state would employ bloody massacres to spread insecurity and consequently accumulate authoritarian power was omnipresent and influenced intellectuals and Italian pop culture.[434]

Already after the attack at Fiumicino Airport, Anderlini (Sinistra indipendente) had raised the "cui bono" question, speculating about an advantage for the national right-wing from the attack, and contextualising the assault with conflicts of the time (Middle East, Libya and Saudi Arabia)[435]

The idea that not only Italian terrorist groups would cooperate with the PLO or the RAF, but a "mastermind" coordinated the escalation diffused.

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[433] Biscione, Strategia del terrore, p.20.

[434] The most notable example here is probably Dario Fo's satirical comedy "Morte accidentale di un anarcico", first performed in 1970.

[435] Camera, 18.12.1973, cited, p.11952.

With dozens of arson attacks, bombs, and targeted assaults on representatives politics, security services and economy, additional to countless damage of property between 1969 and 1982; Italy witnessed political violence on a daily basis.[436] The choice of victims often seemed indiscriminate, and the political motivation of the acts was far from obvious. The *stragi dello Stato* were henceforth considered as an option in case of an unexplainable violent attack. The cases of Pinelli and Calabresi illustrate the sandy bottom of the Italian debate on terrorism and counterterrorism, and how suspicions got their own dynamic that propelled the spiral of violence.

In this climate of tension and disorder, attempted coup d'états in 1964[437] and 1970[438] posed an additional threat to the Republic. Especially the fact that the former had become public only years later stirred up fears.[439] Hence, the Italian public opinion was sensitive to the subtle "sabre-rattling".[440] In the 1970s, an overthrow was perceived as a real possibility rather than only conspiracy

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[436] In the years that witnessed most political violence, the Italian Ministry gave the official numbers to their partners in multilateral cooperation as following: 1978: 25 death, 74 injured, 2395 attacks; 1979: 22 death, 149 injured, 2377 attacks; Referat PI2 /IS3, an Herrn Staatssekretär F; Bonn 22.4.1980; betr.: TREVI I-Sitzung vom 17/18.4.1980 in Rom; Bericht; BArch B 106 / 78834.

[437] In spring 1964 President Segni asked Giovanni De Lorenzo, ex-head of the Secret Service SIFAR and by the time chief of the Carabinieri, to predispose an emergency plan to counter a possible degeneration of the public order situation. The outcome, called "Piano Solo" was a detailed plan for a military putsch by the Carabinieri, including the occupation of the Quirinale and the deportation of PCI cadres to a Gladio base in Sardegna. Cf. Cento Bull, Anna: Italian neofascism. The strategy of tension and the politics of nonreconciliation, Berghahn Books 2007, p.4.

[438] In December 1970, a coup d'état by "Black Prince" Junio Borghese to overthrow the centre-left government allegedly was cancelled in the last minute, as large parts of the CIA denied their cooperation, favouring not to disturb the fragile political stability in Italy. Cf. Cento Bull, Neofascism, p.40; However, other historians hold the coup for "little credible", and suppose that it was meant to fail; Cf. Biscione; Il Sommerso della Repubblica, p.113.

[439] "In the moment when the coup d'etat was failing for little, only a military intimidation was perceived, which the few informed persons could interpret as an interference with the political debate, and which faded after the crisis was solved." All that had trickled down was the awareness of the existence of "some sort of power superior to the parliament"; Biscione, Strategia del terrore, p.23-4.

[440] Ibid., p.23.

theory. In 1974, PCI Deputy Flamigni presumed a "single terrorist plan aiming at creating a climate of tension".[441]

In 1990, Venetian judge Felice Casson discovered that this was not a leftists' anxiety, but indeed a *strategy of tension* existed, which was employed during the Cold War to weaken the left-wing parties by secret services, with "clear links to terrorist operations".[442] *"That's to say, to create tension within the country to promote conservative, reactionary social and political tendencies. While this strategy was being implemented, it was necessary to protect those behind it because evidence implicating them was being discovered. Witnesses withheld information to cover right-wing extremists".[443]*

Reacting to the murder of magistrate D'Occorsio in June 1976, MSI deputy Baghino supposed that "investigations could lead to contemporarily discover the assassinators of the Roman judge [D'Occorsio] and the bloody directors of the strategy of terror, inaugurated on 12 December '69 with the Piazza Fontana bloodbath."[444] DP deputy Corvisieri demanded to focus on the responsibility "ministers, generals and policemen of rank, in the strategy of terror which initiated in 1969 and, regrettably, is not yet concluded".[445] The two statements show that both political biases were similarly referring to "puppeteers" pulling the wires behind the terrorist groups. Where to find these origins was yet disputed.

Due to the high presence of American military personnel in Italian NATO bases since WW2, left-wing politicians and press surmised that the *strategy of tension* was supported by American secret services, in order to harm Italian left parties. In the early 1990s, a commission under Senator Giovanni Pellegrino and supported by Casson investigated the role of the CIA in Italy and confirmed the American Secret Service had "enjoyed maximum discretion"[446] during the Cold War.

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[441] Camera, VI Leg., 16.01.1974, p.12244.

[442] Ganser, Daniele: Terrorism in Western Europe: an approach to NATO's secret stay-behind armies; Whitehead J. Dipl. & Int'l Rel. 6 (2005), p.71.

[443] Casson, cited in ibid.

[444] Camera, VII Leg., 27.07.1976, p.119.

[445] Ibid, p.88.

[446] Senato della Repubblica. Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sul terrorismo in Italia e sulle cause della

mancata individuazione dei responsabiliy delle stragi: Il terrorismo, le stragi ed il contesto storico politico.

Redatta dal presidente della Commissione, Senatore Giovanni Pellegrino. Roma 1995,

When actors from the political centre or right wing publicly supposed a "puppeteer" behind Italian terrorism, naturally they hinted to the contrary direction, mentioning secret services from the Eastern bloc, above all the KGB. In spring 1981, President Pertini had indicated contacts between the *Brigate Rosse* and the Soviet Union, saying that not accidentally terrorism occurred also in Turkey, which had "more than 1000km of border to the Soviet Union".[447]

Even if most came to light only later,[448] many Italians saw themselves confirmed in their sceptical attitude towards the state and security authorities – and that things were most likely different from the official statements.

A number of scandals had already deeply shattered the confidence in the political leadership during the 1970s[449], and the discovery of the fact that all leaders of the national security authorities in 1978 belonged to the secret Masonic lodge P2 in the early 1980s did rather confirm the most obscure conspiracy theories than calming down the debate with the help of facts.

The years after the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro were the heydays of conspiracy theories: Immediately, the suspicion that foreign killers were involved in the Via Fani Operation spread.[450]

The fact that one of the Republic's biggest police actions did not succeed to localise Moro throughout the 55 days of his captivity was hard to explain by government, which had just conducted a police reform. Some politicians of the government argued this could only be explained by a stronger force behind.[451]

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p.20.

[447] BArch, B136/31685, B 136 / 31685; 123 – 21121 Te 8 ; 24.10.78 Bundeskanzleramt; Terrorismus; Bekämpfung des Internationalen Terrorismus , hier: Italien; BMI , Bonn 18.5.81; Betr. Gespräche von BK Schmidt mit dem italienischen MP, hier: Terrorismus in Italien – Stand der zusammenarbeit.

[448] A second parliamentary investigation into Gladio in 2000 concluded that the United States had supported the strategy of tension to "stop the PCI, and to a certain degree also the PSI, from reaching executive power" in Italy; Cf. Senato della Repubblica. Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sul terrorismo in Italia e sulle cause della mancata individuazione dei responsabiliy delle stragi: Stragi e terrorismo in Italia dal dopoguerra al 1974. Relazione del Gruppo Democratici di Sinistra l'Ulivo. Roma, June 2000, p.3.

[449] During the 1970s, many prominent figures of the DC elite were found guilty to be involved in scandals of corruption and bribery, such as the Lockheed bribe scandal that eventually even forced President Leone to step down in 1978.

[450] Petra Terhoeven, Deutscher Herbst in Europa, p.623.

[451] Satta, Il caso Moro, p.21.

More than Moro's wife Eleonora, who supposed the United States behind the killing, pointing to his tense relations with the US government back in 1974, Moro himself nourished these rumours.[452] In his letters from captivity of the he accused his former party friends of sacrificing him, since "he could not believe that his former colleagues had suddenly discovered a moral sense for some vague reason of state."[453]

In 1979 the dynamics of conspiracy theory turned due to internal and external political facts: in Italy, the PCI denied the Andreotti government its support, in the same time the Cold War started a new phase of tension. The political in Italy was linked to the international climate, and the friend/foe categories of the International Relations in Cold War were frequently transferred onto domestic politics. [454] The effect was that the PCI took up the conspiracy theories pointing towards the CIA behind Italian terrorism, partly to counter the attacks by conservative think tanks that promoted the "Soviet plot Theory" now more aggressively. The governing DC rarely participated in the promotion of conspiracy theories, but on the other hand, it did too little to dissipate such rumours. Alone the fact that the DC, along with the PCI, was initially unfavourable to an investigating parliamentary commission was a reason for further suspicions by the extreme left.[455]

These developments underline that the international dimension of the political debate on terrorism in Italy was an intertwining of Atlantic antagonism, traditional reactions of the political class and the option of neo-fascist subversion. Underlying there was the strategy of tension - a "complex knot of conflicting interests, one exploiting and mistrusting the other."[456]

The omnipresence of conspiracy theories was shaped by the Italian internal political situation, the world political situation in the Cold War, and the particular Italian experience with scandals and "political impossibilities". Several attempts have been done to historicise the dynamics of Italian conspiracy theories. [457] A detailed interpretation of each strand remains

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[452] Hof, Conspiracy, p.240.

[453] Hof, Conspiracy, p.237.

[454] Paggi, Violenza, p.941.

[455] Hof, Conspiracy, p.237-239.

[456] Biscione, Strategia del terrore, p.21.

[457] Hof, Tobias. "The Moro Affair-Left-Wing Terrorism and Conspiracy in Italy in the Late 1970s." Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung (2013): 232-256; Satta, Vladimiro. Il caso Moro ei suoi falsi misteri. Vol. 7. Rubbettino Editore, 2006.

discussed among historians. This short summary aimed merely at demonstrating the increasing complexity of the threat perception in the terrorism discourse. When analysing the trajectory of Italian endeavours in international cooperation against terrorism, the fact must be considered that perpetrators and masterminds of terrorism were suspected in an increasingly broader area.

2.4.Dynamics in the communicative field

Summarising the findings of the first main chapter, the perception of – and so the discourse on – terrorism in Italian politics was multifaceted and inconsistent. Moreover, it was closely intertwined with its political context. The pejorative label "terrorism" was often exploited for party political purposes. First, both extreme parties applied it to discriminate each other, while the centre avoided the term and instead profiled itself against the "*opposti estremismi*". When announcing the „historic compromise" in the summer of 1973, the DC depoliticised left-wing violence in the political discussion. Aggression by right-wing activists was labelled as *terrorism* but was not perceived as an existential threat to the state by the majority of political actors. Accordingly, still in 1975, all legislative reaction to the problem was meant to preserve the public order against delinquency and common crime, regardless of its political motivation.

The Communist Party was decisive, in its dual role as the biggest opposition party and the extreme political left. When its officials dissociated publicly from the extra-parliamentary opposition, they took a stand as "order party"; causing a cleavage between the "Old" and the "New" Left that exacerbated the conflictual situation.

After a series of fatal assaults on officials, left-wing terrorism rose again on the political agenda at the end of 1976. Although newspapers clashed about its interpretation, some parliamentarians evoked a "government of emergency".[458] The problems of public order and terrorism were perceived as such important that in July 1977 all parties supporting the constitution jointly launched an extensive counterstrategy.

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[458] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 20489, 17 Dec 1976, 1976ROME20489, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

Eventually, with the abduction of Aldo Moro in March 1978, the perception of all participants in the discourse converged. 812 out of 850 deputies in both chambers backed the DC minority government in order to act as a united front against terrorism.[459] The "national solidarity" did not exclusively originate in the confrontation with terrorism, but the simultaneity of several crises effectively led to a "special democracy", which then was functional in enacting comprehensive legislative measures to handle these crises.[460] Additionally, broad ranges of the public opinion supported the strict governmental policy against (left-wing) terrorism, disgusted by the brutality of the *Brigate Rosse*.[461] Although this "truce" in parliament already got the first cracks in the question whether to negotiate with the kidnappers led to open disputes,[462] at this point the securitisation of political violence was almost universally accepted.

After Moro's murder, the government "declared war" on terrorism.[463] Special legislation was enacted, which defined terrorism as a crime. Repeatedly, the legislation was first adopted by decree, so bypassing parliamentary discussion, and only subsequently approved by the Camera. In this sense, anti-terrorism-legislation was practically detached from the usual framework.

Certain "risk groups" were identified, and broad ranges of left-wing activists and intellectuals became "state enemies"; illustrated by the arrest of Antonio Negri and other intellectuals in 1979.[464] At times, the small parties drew the

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[459] In the Senate, 267 out of 272 votes were in favour of Andreotti, while in the Camera 545 out of 575 voting deputies backed the Andreotti minority government; Senato, VII Leg. 231a Seduta Pubblica, Resoconto Stenografico, 16.03.1978, p.10239; Camera 257a Seduta, 16.03.1978, p.14552.

[460] Tranfalgia, Nicola: Parlamento, partiti e società civile nella crisi repubblicana degli anni settanta, in: De Rosa / Monina (Ed.): L'Italia Repubblicana nella crisi degli anni settanta. Sistema politico e istituzioni, Roma 2001.

[461] Especially the photos of the kidnapped Moro became a metaphor of the terrorist threat to society; Locher, Jahre, p.545.

[462] Satta questioned "whether the fermezza and trattativa had been really inspired by ideal values that they respectively claimed [i.e. giving the priority to saving the state or to saving the individual], or whether they rather were used as arms serving a political struggle".; Cf. Satta, Il caso Moro, p.366.

[463] De Graf, p.115.

[464] In April 1979, Negri and other members of the Institute of Political Science at Padua University, as well as writers and journalists, were arrested for suspected relations to the extreme left group Autonomia Operaia. Although the charge of being involved in the Moro abduction was dropped soon, Negri was trailed for being part of a subversive

debate back to issues of moral and constitution when the emergency legislation came too close to ignore both.[465]

When terrorism became less present in public in the beginning 1980s, the picture appeared contradictory. On one hand, the discourse quickly shifted towards a more reconciling rhetoric. The cooperation between state and terrorists was promoted, with the aim to both reintegrate them and destroy their criminal networks. One might suppose that all involved parties desired an end of the "years of lead" in Italy.

On the other hand, the rhetoric of emergency reappeared continuously from that point on and so changed the Italian political culture sustainably.[466] Presumably, all sides accustomed to the dramatic rhetoric and integrated it into the "normal" political practice.[467]

The analysis of the transnational dimension of this discourse brings about a different picture since the threat perception was even more complex. The attack on the Munich Olympics 1972 was discussed among Italian political actors, but not yet perceived as an existential problem.

The perception of attacks of foreign terrorist groups in Italy seemed to depend on the group of perpetrators. Assaults by South Tyrol secessionists, mainly on property, was harshly condemned and rose to a topic of national importance. Anyway, the discussion seemed to focus rather on national identity than on security.

 Attempted attacks by Palestinian Commandos did not provoke an extensive discussion on internal security, so far that even other states and the UN urged Italian politicians to more severity. The first assault that claimed 32 lives at Fiumicino Airport in 1973 then caused a debate on airport security and the first calls for international counterterrorism. Moreover, the attack soon became the object of internal political quarrels on the state of the security forces and

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association (CP Art. 270); cf. De Graaf, Performance, p. 106-7.

[465] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.171.

[466] Bascherini, Emergenza, p.8.

[467] If confronting the Italian political discourse on terrorism with the scheme of a securitisation process, the first two stages appear obviously. The fact that step three and four only partly match the theoretical frame shows that securitisation theory might be limited when trying to grasp such a complex dynamic as a nationwide political discourse. This problem is picked up in the conclusion.

migration policy. Armenian attacks on Turkish diplomats and institutions yet seemed to vanish in the national alert because of regular attacks by left- and right-wing political extremists.

The possibility that Italian extremist and terrorist groups had contacts to other like-minded persons abroad drove the political debate towards louder calls for international cooperation. Additionally, the threat perception facing terrorism increased so far that single political actors publicly considered a foreign direction of Italian terrorism. Some interpreted the fact that both the DC government and the secret services always denied the existence of "any sort of secret organisation on any size"[468] as evidence for exactly the opposite. When investigating the causes of Italian terrorism, many historians dismissed these "conspiracy theories". For tracing the enlargement of the threat perception, I take them seriously, as they were serious in the minds of the political actors of my history.

This broadening in the perception of the terrorist threat can be interpreted as first step in enlarging the scope of Italian counterterrorism policy. Only when the historical actors came more or less to agree on a common understanding of what they called *terrorism* and then perceived it as a threat that had connections beyond the Italian borders, they could motivate and justify international cooperation between Ministries and authorities. Although being much focused on the potential harm that terrorist groups could do on Italian soil, cooperation against terrorism was brought into discussion already in 1972/3.[469] The initial academic discourse among sociologists and lawyers pointed in a similar direction, albeit its influence on the political debate is doubtful.[470]

Chapter 3

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[468] Andreotti 1974, cited in Ganser, Daniele: NATO's secret armies: Operation Gladio and terrorism in Western Europe. Routledge, 2005, p.36.

[469] One example is the statement of Deputy Piccoli, claiming an European approach to "prevent terrorist attacks"; Cf. Camera 18 Dec 1973, cited, p.11942.

[470] Vedovato, Giuseppe. "Il terrorismo europeo." Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali 45.2 (178 (1978): 283-285, hoped that Italy can cooperate with others and successfully fight terrorism, "once the Italians understood that terrorism is to be conceived within its International context; as a European problem and as a problem of the Occident", here p.285.

Bilateral Cooperation

3.1 Italian-German cooperation against terrorism

Italian international relations in counterterrorism politics are best examined when it comes to the cooperation with West Germany.[471] Although today's terrorism experts doubt that there was ever a coordinated and effective cooperation between German and Italian left-wing terrorist at the operational level, political actors perceived the phenomena of political violence in both countries as related.[472] Italian international relations in counterterrorism are best examined when it comes to the cooperation with West Germany. Recently, Laura di Fabio found out that also the authorities of both countries largely cooperated, "mirroring" the techniques of terrorists. She already corrected Tobias Hof, who supposed the authorities did "no more than closely observing each other".[473] By assessing more primary sources, the process reveals its complexity, dynamics and contradictions.

3.1.1 1972-77: Friendly relations and prejudices

After structurally diverse, yet evidently similar social conflicts between left protesters and public order forces in the late 1960s, both Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany in the early 1970s still struggled with the perception of their security authorities. In fact, analogue personal continuities from fascist times were a burden on the trust by own citizens and abroad. Additionally, security experts of both countries saw the state threatened by a similar subversive potential from the political left. These suspicions were the inducement to a relatively early close cooperation between the security authorities of both states. Similar problems in treating the threat from the

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[471] A recent study which focuses on the relations between both states on counterterrorism politics is: Di Fabio, Laura: Due democrazie, un nemico commune. L'Italia e la Repubblica Federale Tedesca nella lotta contro il terrorismo, to be published.

[472] Cf. Ch. 2.3

[473] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.266; He supposed furthermore that, if bilateral treaties were made, they were limited to international terrorism, which I prove wrong in this study.

political left, against the backdrop of a fascist past, provided the common ground for an early exchange of experiences.

As early as 1975, Interpol Wiesbaden suggested to take up a direct connection, since the contact with Italy was the second most frequent by the time,[474] but often information was delivered "late, partially, or not at all". It seems that particularly the German authorities urged a more systematic exchange of information at this stage,[475] as they were interested in obtaining information about the Italian extreme left groups *Lotta Continua* and *Brigate Rosse*.[476]

A meeting in Paris in November 1975 gave the occasion for the Ministers of the Interior Luigi Gui and Werner Maihofer to discuss security questions, where they decided to establish direct contacts at all levels for a more efficient cooperation between both authorities.[477] Under the chairmanship of the Heads of the national police authorities, the delegations met in January 1976 in Rome. To frame the new cooperation in security matters, they created four bilateral working groups: 1) "Internal Security: having the scope of realizing a total exchange of information concerning terrorist acts and to implement a mutual aid in concrete cases"; 2) "civil aviation security" to exchange information on piracy; 3) "border control" to exchange information and coordinate the collaboration of the respective police units; 4) "fight against crime" to exchange data on wanted persons, car thefts and arms bought by foreign citizens.[478]

The model of the four working groups was a conception borrowed from the cooperation between West Germany and France. It seems that the perception of problems related to terrorism, aircraft hijacking and the opening of European

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[474] BArch, B 106/106772, cited, EA – 6570; Wiesbaden, 8.12.1975 (Schramm); Betr. Polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bezug Schreiben vom 26.11.75; 11% of total contacts was to Italy

[475] BArch, B 106/106772, cited, TE 30 – 6570 (Boeden) An IP; Bonn 5.12.75; Betr.: Polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bezug: Dort. Schreiben vom 26.11.75l

[476] BArch, B 106/106772, cited, Abteilung Staatsschutz 6570 (Römelt) an IP Wiesbaden; Bonn 15.12.75; betr. Polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit mit Italien, Bezug: Schreiben vom 26.11.75

[477] BArch, B 106/106873, Referat ÖS 6 an Herrn Minister; Bonn 19.12.75; Betr. Verbesserung der deutsch-italienischen Zusammenarbeit bei der Verbrechensbekämpfung; hier: Vorbereitung von deutsch-italienischen Gesprächen auf Ministerebene.

[478] "Collaborazione bilaterale italo-tedesca", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited; However, the titles of working group four seem to have changed over the next five years.

borders gave the motivation to set the first written framework for bilateral security cooperation between Italy and Federal Germany. The emphasis on sharing expertise[479] underlined the importance given to these questions. The term *internal security* from this point on entered the Italian political vocabulary, and slowly refined the conception of *public order* during the next years' documentation on counterterrorism efforts. Although the tasks of the other working groups overlapped, the first working group is of main interest for my study. At their first working meeting in July 1976 in Bonn, the group "Internal Security" founded a subgroup "Terrorism", which agreed on five concrete points to facilitate the cooperation between the two countries:[480]

The first working group on "Internal security" met in October 1976 again in Rome, where they agreed on the practices of their cooperation: "comprehensive exchange of information, mutual support in concrete cases, consultations before multilateral treaties or conferences, exchange of officers and reciprocal special training courses". [481] More concretely, they agreed to exchange evidence material and to warn each other against potential attacks in the other country. Moreover, the observation of suspects across borders should be facilitated by common regulation. Finally, officers should participate in formation courses on antiterrorism, and officers should be exchanged, to install personal contacts to overcome linguistic barriers. Liaison offices were nominated, with the duty inform mutually.[482]

The report on this meeting depicted a highly dangerous threat that implied urgency and priority in acting: "The subgroup is convinced that the international terrorism is a serious threat to the internal security of the states

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[479] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Der BM des Innern an AA, mit Bitte um sofortige Weiterleitung an Botschaft in Rom und da zu Interpol, z.H. Fariello; Bonn, 15.1.1976; Betr.: Italienisch-deutsche Zusammenarbeit bei der Verbrechensbekämpfung; hier: Expertengespräche am 22/23. Januar 1976 in Rom.

[480] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976

[481] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali della DGPS, Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca nei seguenti settori di polizia: Sicurezza interna – sicurezza aviazione civile e impianti nucleari – controllo alle frontiere.

[482] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976

and their citizens, and can only be countered by the common effort of all security authorities."[483]

Apart from a closer cooperation against terrorism and common crime,[484] they agreed on points to be set on the agenda of the next European meeting of the Ministers of Interior. The fact that the German delegation later reported, the Italians had "agreed in all important points" suggests the impression that the German BKA "tried to promote their ways of investigation ever since".[485] Not only the label "internal security" and the format of cooperation were transferred. In general, the view of German representatives on Italian terrorism was slightly presumptuous. In May 1976, a diplomat had stated "Italy is ill; an efficient remedy must be long term. Italy's Western partners will play an essential part in this."[486] Facing the Italian governmental crisis in spring 1976, the Foreign office discussed how to "influence [the Italian Situation] positively regarding German and European interests".[487]

The first multilateral endeavours against terrorism were born at the same time and discussed in the bilateral meetings between Italy and Germany. At the meeting in January 1976, the Italian delegation agreed to the German proposal to join the so-called "Carlos" Group together with the UK and France, aiming arresting the homonymous terrorist. Moreover, Italy agreed that the "European Conference on Internal Security", planned for May, should deal mainly with fight on terrorism.[488] Reporting on the first meetings, German delegates the excellent hospitality of Italians.[489] However, the handwritten commentary

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[483] BArch, B 106/106873, ibid.

[484] BArch 106/146536, 616 050 - 1 /10 BMI Bekämpfung des internat. Terrorismus, hier: Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 1, vom 15.1.1976 bis 7.12.1979, Vorschläge der Delegationen der Innenministerien der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Italienischen Republik (Rom, 22./23. Januar 1976)

[485] The "BKA since their creation always tried to promote their police model abroad" Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.80; The internal papers from the German Ministry of the interior confirm this very ambitious attitude, Cf. BArch, B136/16648, cited, BMI, Bonn 20. Juli 1976; Ergebnisniederschrift über die Besprechung der deutsch-italienischen Arbeitsgruppe „Innere Sicherheit" am 13/14 Juli in Bonn

[486] AAPD 1976, Doc 135, 11 May 1976: Aufzeichnung Ministerialdirektor van Well, p.612.

[487] AAPD, 1976, Bd I-II, ebd., p.611

[488] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS 1 (MR Streicher) an Herrn Minister; Bonn 27.1.76; Betr.: Deutsch-italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit; Hier: Verbesserung der bilateralen Zusammenarbeit und Vorbereitung der Europäischen Konferenz für Innere Sicherheit

[489] BArch, B 106/106873, ibid.

"the French won't like this" on the agreement of bilateral consultations on the evening before every EC meeting on terrorism indicates that also diplomatic skilfulness was required, as too close relations with only one partner could cause misunderstandings among the others.[490]

To both governments, the bi- and multilateral international cooperation seemed essential to the fight against politically motivated crime and international terrorism. In addition to the already existing "exemplary well working" networks on both sides, the exchange of information should thus be further improved. Special "expert groups" on fields such as "international anarchism", and "modern terrorist techniques" should, therefore, be complemented by the most senior officers in charge to exchange experiences at all levels.[491] A paper January 1976 gave detailed plans about operative aspects of the cooperation; range of information exchanged, observation, investigation, technologies, knowledge about weapons and bombs.[492] Evidently, the new model of cooperation "going beyond the improved exchange of information but also operative collaboration"[493] changed the political debate. Among Italian political actors, counterterrorism policy had hitherto been frequently labelled "public order", as "internal security" was not yet in use. In September 1976, Ambassador Orlando Contucci still named legislation against terrorism "public order". [494]

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[490] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS9 (Bochmann) an Herrn Minister; Bonn 28.10.76; Betr. Deutsch-italienische Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Bekämpfung des Terrorismus

[491] Barch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976

[492] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Der BM des Innern an AA, mit Bitte um sofortige Weiterleitung an Botschaft in Rom und da zu Interpol, z.H. Fariello; Bonn, 15.1.1976; Betr.: Italienisch-deutsche Zusammenarbeit bei der Verbrechensbekämpfung; hier: Expertengespräche am 22/23. Januar 1976 in Rom

[493] BArch, B 106/106772, Brief BMI an Auswärtiges Amt, z Hd. Herrn VLR I von der Gablentz; Aktenzeichen ÖS 9-626531, Bonn 02.08.76; Betr. Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus im EG-Bereich, p.2

[494] Ambasciata d'Italia a Bonn, 2/9/1976 Telespresso to Min Est, "Approvazione legge su terrorismo", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited. In September 1976 Italian Capo di Gabinetto Verga ordered a copy of text approved by the German parliament shortly before. Ambassador Orlando Contucci replied that the law was a sign for the high importance of "public order" in the current legislation period.

In 1976 and initial 1977, the political relations between West Germany and Italy had grown continuously closer. In particular, German documents referred to the bilateral collaboration with Italy as a prime example for good relations, being an "engine" for the EC and better than the relations to France.[495] Despite the notable progress in the working groups, the cooperation between Italy and West Germany was not free from obstacles. First, the cooperation at the level was not unanimously welcomed by all security services: In an internal document, the German internal Secret Service BfV reported to the Ministry of the Interior that their contacts with Italian security authorities were good.[496] However, they remarked "P[resident] and V[ice]P[resident] do not believe in a further cooperation at the ministerial level. Experience has shown that contacts at [the] operational level are impaired. They fear the same in this case"[497]; frankly opposing the new working groups.

Second, notwithstanding a similar threat perception, reciprocal prejudices at some points hampered a good cooperation. Latest since the disastrous police operation in the 1972 "Munich massacre"[498], German police forces were as brutal. The subsequently created Antiterrorism Squad had contributed to the perception of German police forces as "Leatherheads" in large parts of the Italian society. In Italy, particularly in the political left, the perception prevailed that German "terrorism" was, if existing, justified by a too dominant and authoritarian state. Oppositely, FRG functionaries were inclined to attribute the increasing cases of terrorism and common crime to "systematic disorder" and internal political quarrels.

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[495] BArch, B 106/106873, cited; AAPD, 1977, Bd I-II, Doc. 7, Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Ministerpräsident Andreotti, p.29-36.

[496] Cf. Ch. 5.2 of 1st July 1976, the BfV assessed the bilateral collaboration with Italian secret services positively, having "good relationships" to following: DGPS – ispettorato generale per l'azione contro il terrorismo (reports to Min Int) and servizio informazioni difesa (reported to Min Dif), "smooth collaboration for years", especially exchange of information on left wing extremism, terrorism and counterespionage; furthermore exchange of information about arab and other terrorists in frame of agreement among Nine western European services; bilateral (BfV to both) connection via encrypted line.

[497] BArch, B136/16648, Telex 5.7.76 vs-nfd an bmi; betr.: italienisch-deutsche zusammenarbeit im bereich der inneren sicherheit; bezug: bmi-fs vom 1.7.76; Handwritten note on backside.

[498] Il Resto del Carlino, Edizione straordinaria, 05/09/1972 titled "Massacre at the Olympics", accusing the German police forces to have caused it.

In the following months, the relations between both countries deteriorated. Again, the reciprocal prejudices shaped the debate. Due to a broader political spectrum among parliamentarians,[499] in Italy, the discourse on terrorism was much more subject to internal political struggles than in Germany. The perception of political violence in West Germany was object of harsh discussions. The Italian left depicted an image of a neo-authoritarian German state, which overreacted against relatively harmless political protest.

It has been shown that the Federal Government was throughout interested in Italian legislation projects against terrorism.[500] To this correct observation has be added that also the Italian side was very interested in West German projects in order to get inspirations out of them. The interest in the other states' legislation was however often paired with dismissal of these measures.

The Italian Ministry of the Interior tracked closely the German political debate on every single law against terrorism and discussed whether the laws had been introduced as a legal base for the ongoing Baader-Meinhof process. Their documentation contained alone six bills in wording and translation, including the discussions in parliament.[501] The fact that press reports still put "terrorism" in quotation marks suggests that the general judgement was derogatory. The criticism about the state of the rule of law in Germany went thus far that Minister Cossiga saw himself forced to calm down the debate in a note to Head

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[499] In Federal Germany, the Communist Party was banned in 1956. The Farnesina explained this difference in a note "the Germans and Eurocommunism", which said that GDR shaped FRG perception of Communism and thus they detest Communism as antinational, whereas the PCI was founded on resistenza myth. ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Legge conto il terrorismo della RFG, "Appunto: I tedeschi e l'Eurocomunismo".

[500] Di Fabio, Due Democrazie, p.212.

[501] The Ministry was informed in detail about the following bills: Beschleunigung von Strafverfahren (4-10/77), Gesetz zur Änderung der Strafprozessordnung (4/78); Gesetz zur parlamentarischen Kontrolle nachrichtendienstlicher Tätigkeiten des Bundes (4/78); Gesetz zur Änderung des Strafgesetzbuches, der Strafprozessordnung, des Gerichtsverfahrensgesetzes, der Bundesrechtsanwaltsordnung und des Strafvollzugsgesetzes (18/8/76), Gesetzentwurf CDU zweites Gesetz zur Bekämpfung des Terrorismus und Gewaltkriminalität und zum Schutz des inneren Friedens (10/77), Gesetz zu dem europäischen Übereinkommen v 27/1/77 zur Bekämpfung des Terrorismus; always bills by Government, opposition and Bundesrat. Moreover, the stenographic report of Bundestag sittings 2/78 with discussion on bills. Cf discussion between Verga and Schmidtling on 5 May 1977; ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania.

of Cabinet Squillante on 12 May 1977: "let us remember that Germany actually is a state".[502]

In turn, the German government was interested in the agreement of 6 Italian parties in July 1977, and similarly admonishing. The extensive report on the content of the agreement and crisis of public security and order mentioned particularly questionable measures of "preventive" crime fighting, such as "arresto preventivo" for 48h (then to be confirmed by prosecutor), searches of "Covi eversivi" (subversive nests) without judge, and telephone tapping.[503] Moreover, German officials frankly mocked about the Italian internal security problems: Ambassador Meyer-Lindenberg wrote to Bonn about the "Crisis of Italian criminal justice and situation of public order", depicting a "catastrophic situation", and an always worsening crisis of rule of law. He reported that the Turin Process against *Brigate Rosse* core members was delayed to an unknown date after the murders of Coco and Croce, leading to the release of two BR members after remand, whereas others were only maintained by a new decree. He calls the situation "another spectacular declaration of bankruptcy" by criminal justice as certain prison arrests (these for a short term) were for a month to relieve overcrowded prisons. Moreover, nearly 600 prisoners were not returned from holidays or broke out. He blamed exclusively the failed political reforms while protecting the police as "good but overcharged and left alone by politicians", so that citizens would no more feel protected by the state. The only remaining governing tool according to Meyer-Lindberg were bills decreed in May, which then were long delayed because of public polemics against exceptional legislation.[504] This nearly satirical tone gives an insight in the arrogance with which some German officials were approaching the cooperation. The fobbing of Minister of the Interior Cossiga with public advertisement material when he kindly requested information on the German GSG9 elite counterterrorism group[505] confirms this impression of hierarchy mistrust in the collaboration.

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[502] In a side note to a document, Squillante wrote "teniamo sempre presente che la Germania è uno stato."; ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[503] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Fernschreiben (verschluesselt) nr 999 vom 7.7.1977, 0815oz; aus: rom diplo (arnold); an bonn aa, auch für bmi, bmj; az.: rk 531.00 ita; betr.: problem der oeffentlichen ordnung und krise der strafrechtspflege in italien.

[504] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Schreiben d Deutschen Botschaft in Rom (Meyer-Lindenberg) an das Auswärtige Amt Bonn; Rom 16.5.77; Betr.: Krise der italienischen Strafrechtspflege und Situation der öffentlichen Ordnung in Italien.

[505] On 9th August Ambassador Orlando Contucci informed Maihofer that Cossiga would

The publicist debate on German terrorism had intensified, too. In April 77, the usually rather moderate "La Stampa" reported about "terrorism" in Germany, using quotation marks for the term,[506] and so ridiculing the overreaction by the state. In summer 1977, it had escalated to a publicist mud fight between West German and Italian magazines. The German weekly Der Spiegel[507] portrayed a plate of Spaghetti with a revolver on the title page, depicting Italy as a horrific country that attracted German tourists who sought adventure in its chaos.[508] The Italian *Epoca* hit back with a picture of sauerkraut, topped with a truncheon and asking "Are the Germans better off?"[509] Although the photo was rather satirical, the article depicted a German state where unemployment, theft, pollution and police despotism made life unpleasant. This kind of reciprocal prejudice made Embassy staff Muehlen conclude that "much [was] to do" until the countries became "real partners".[510]

Two events contributed decisively to the bad relationship between the two countries: Firstly, when Helmut Schmidt as Italy's largest creditor at the Puerto Rico G7 Summit proposed to refuse to give further economic aid to Italy, he attracted not only the ire of Andreotti, but also the public and media perceived this as blackmailing and intrusion into domestic Italian policy.[511] Secondly, when ex-SS Lieutenant Herbert Kappler was smuggled out of a Rome hospital by his wife, the Federal Republic refused to extradite the 70-year old who suffered from final stage cancer. In response, German institutions in Rome, Turin and Milan were attacked and damaged by arson and vandalism.[512]

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like to visit BKA. Furthermore, Italian army attaché Viviani requested information about the German Special Forces GSG9 and Antiterrorgruppe T of BKA, but the German information should only contain publicly known material. BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Schreiben Orlandi-Contucci an IM Maihofer, 9.8.77

[506] Article of "La Stampa" 26/04/1977 "Schmidt senza aiuto dc contro il "terrorismo", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[507] Der Spiegel, Issue 31, 25/7/1977 cover image.

[508] Ibid, p. 101f.

[509] Epoca August 1977, Title: „In Germania stanno meglio?"

[510] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Fernschreiben (offfen)nr 1139 aus: rom diplo (Muehlen); an: bonn aa; 10.08.1977; Betr.: Italienische Presse zum Italienbild Deutschlands und zur Frage eines Vergleichs des Deutschen und italienischen Terrorismus.

[511] Katharina Spohr: The Global Chancellor: Helmut Schmidt and the Reshaping of the International Order, Oxford University Press, 2016, p.26.

[512] Felix Bohr: Flucht aus Rom. Der ‚Fall Kappler' im August 1977, in: VfZ 1 (2012), S. 111-141; In November 1976, the foreign Ministers had seemed close to resolving this case, AAPD, 1975, Bd I-II, Doc 246, Gespräch zwischen Genscher und Rumor, p.1155.

For the above-mentioned reasons, the relationship between the two countries was rather fraught in 1977, and the term "*germanizzazione*" had become the dictum to express worries about a too authoritarian reaction to political extremism by the Italian state.[513] In October 1977, the parliament rejected a law to expand police authorities and preventive arrest by this argument.[514] Doubtlessly, the public discourse has to be distinguished at an analytical level from the political discourse. Dramatic newspaper coverage cannot be interpreted as an immediate hampering for the process of cooperation closer. However, parliamentary debates did not happen in a vacuum and were at least partly dependent on the public political climate. In particular, against the backdrop of the unstable political situation in Italy, the parties were in a of continuous election campaign and thus used polarising rhetoric. Political violence was often highly securitised, in particular by security experts. Simultaneously to the problem rising on the political agenda, their work gained importance.

3.1.2   1977: Crisis and turning point

Mid-October 1977 was both the low and the turning point in the cooperation in counterterrorism between Italy and the Federal Republic. A Lufthansa flight directed to Frankfurt got abducted a PLO commando, claiming the release of imprisoned terrorists of the Red Army Faction. When the plane stopped over in Rome, Maihofer's urgent plea to keep the plane on European soil for a action was not accommodated.[515] The aircraft was refuelled, and the 91 were taken on an odyssey to Cyprus, the Middle East and eventually Mogadishu. Five days later, the German special force GSG9 stormed the plane at Mogadishu airport in a dramatic operation, saving the lives of all hostages, but killing 3 of 4 hijackers. This event and the failed cooperation were objects of dispute in politics and the press. While DC deputies barely raised the issue in

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[513]In contrast to Andreotti who gingerly supported the German counterterrorism efforts in 1977, Peccioli (PCI) assessed that the measures „endanger democratic rights and liberties"; cf. Hof: Staat und Terrorismus, p.77.

[514]De Graaf, Evaluating Counterterrorism Performance, p.105.

[515] On the afternoon of 13 October, when the abducted Lufthansa plane had just departed from Rome (17:45) towards Cyprus, the Camera held a secret vote to modify law 10 Nov 1973, n. 755 "concerning the united handling of the airport system of the Capital", and the integration of law 22 Dec 1973 n. 825 "for urgent interventions in airports open to civil traffic", Cf. Ch. 2.3.1

the chambers, both parliamentary fringes discussed it repeatedly. PCI Deputies saw the about the operation by the German GSG9 squad rather critically and questioned the scope and competences of the Italian police forces. In mainly extreme right deputies (MSI DN) accused the Italian government of not being cooperative to the German request of keeping the aeroplane in Fiumicino.[516]

The discussion aggravated when in the night of the GSG9 rescue operation, three imprisoned RAF terrorists were found dead in their cells. Doubting the official news of a suicide, the PCI newspaper l'Unità regretted "the tragic in the FRG".[517] Extreme left groups accused the German government of "Nazi state assassinations"[518] and declared to kill the ambassador in revenge.[519] Again, German institutions in Rome and Milan were targets of damage and arson bombs.

Large parts of the press mirrored the perception of an authoritarian state fighting relatively "innocent" left-wing activists. The Schmidt Government became now even more the outright foe. Emphasising the disagreements about the Mogadishu operation, press reported that Schmidt "thanked all but the Italians" for their aid in the hijacking case. The military connotation of the counterterrorist operation was emphasised by the subtitle "The Germans wanted to attack at Fiumicino".[520]

The government in contrast soon engaged in aligning with other Western governments backing Schmidt. In Home Ministry documents, security advisors spoke about "terrorism"[521] and urged for a better cooperation against

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[516] Camera, VII Leg, Seduta 18.10.1977, Interrogazione a risposta Orale 3/01853 presentata da Almirante (MSI DN), p.11395.

[517]L'Unità 20-10-77: La FGCI sui tragici avvenimenti nella RFT; "I tragici avvenimenti di questi giorni che hanno investito la Repubblica Federale Tedesca..", in: Archivio PCI, V Bimestre 1977, mf. 0304, p.1942/ 1943.

[518] Telegram of Minsitero dell'Interno, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 110, Fasc. 11020/42, Sottof. 2, Germania RDT - Avvenimenti all'Estero - Ripercussioni in Italia.

[519] Teleradio urgentissimo by Ministero dell'Interno, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 110, cited.

[520] Il Resto Del Carlino (19/10), "Schmidt ringrazia tutti tranne il governo italiano"; Cf. ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa.

[521]On October 25, 1977 the police chief refers to "Terrorismo Tedesco", whereas other documents mainly refer to "situazione tedesca" or "detenuti della RAF nei carceri della RFG"; Direzione Generale della P.S.: Collaborazione Italo-Tedesca, in: ACS, M.I.,

transnational terrorism. After the "German Autumn", the "official" tone more peaceful, and Andreotti affirmed in November 1977 publicly that the relations to the FRG were "without any shadow", neither caused by the case nor by anti-German violence in Italy.[522] In trying to fix the diplomatic damage, government politicians took a clear stand in the affair and condemned the aggression against German institutions.[523] On 21 October, Cossiga assured the parliament that the government wanted to keep the plane, but "concrete operative conditions" did not allow that. A high-risk attack would have required "psychological measures" that could not be adopted in the short time. Eventually, the plane had left without permission and put other flights at risk. Reassuring better future collaboration, he invited Italian politicians to not spread facts that might cause misunderstanding abroad and a bad reputation for Italy.[524]

When the Federal government thanked Cossiga for the protection of German institutions,[525] all political efforts pointed towards reconciliation.[526] Schmidt thanked for the support of three Italian doctors at Mogadishu airport and proposed to take up the recent crisis as motivation for an even closer cooperation.[527] Foreign Minister Genscher re-evaluated failure of cooperation, saying that 50 minutes had been too little time to react considering that the Italian government had to consult various "political forces". The "explosion of reactions" in contrary was evidence of a "tight network of connivances in various countries" that required an international action and close European collaboration against terrorism.[528] He underlined the universal threat of

Gabinetto, 1976-80, b.76, Criminalità e terrorismo, Atti attinenti a rapporti con rappresentati Esteri, 31.12.1977.

[522] Il Tempo, 24.11.1977, "Andreotti: nessun'ombra nelle relazioni con Bonn", in: ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa.

[523] On 25 October 1977, the Italian Foreign Ministry sent a telegram to Germany that condemned and dismissed the attacks against German institutions, ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa, Telegramma Urgentissimo 234 from ItalDiplo Bonn to POL 1°, 2.10.1977.

[524] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa, Servizio Resoconti Parlamentari, Cossiga, 54/2 Fanfani.

[525] Ibid, Note without date, Ambassador Arnold thanks Cossiga.

[526] Ibid, "ad integrazione della trasmissione formale della risposta di Schmidt…".

[527] Ibid, Telegramma N. 771029/0079 From Min Est to COOP, 29/10/77.

[528] Ibid, Telegramma 771028/0083, from Italdipl Bonn to Esteri Roma, 28/10/77.

terrorism. [529] As next step, Cossiga proposed to meet multilaterally with Switzerland, whereas Maihofer suggested involving also Austria, for problems of counterterrorism in the border region.[530] Both agreed that the "extremely important collaboration" must not be affected by the events in October and aimed at expanding the scope of the working groups.

Although the "cooperation, which had started so ambitiously, suffered from unpleasant delays in the second half of 1977, due to particular circumstances that didn't allow the realisation of the planned reunions", [531] it recovered quickly from the tense political climate. At the end of the year, the authorities reported daily contacts, particularly concerning subversion and terrorism, and the "informatics" sector. [532] Eventually, in 1977 the bilateral contacts at the operational level had been more intense than ever before.

The reciprocal interest in legislation against terrorism was now expressed by direct requests between the police chiefs. In November, documentation on repressive and preventive measures for the fight against terrorism was exchanged, with the explicit purpose of potentially inspiring the own approach.[533]

A new focus of the cooperation was now on air security, which had proved more the intertwining with counterterrorism. The 4th bilateral working group had agreed on collaboration in air security in July 1977.[534] The objective of the cooperation was a common strategy against air piracy and preventive measures for the protection of passengers. The agreement regulated the communication between the authorities, aimed at a harmonisation of measures in concrete

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[529] Ibid.

[530] Letter Cossiga to Maihofer, 1.12.1977, ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[531] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 671976-1980 Criminalità e terrorismo. Atti attinenti a rapporti con rappresentati Esteri, fasc. 110011143(4a) Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine Italo-Tedesca.

[532] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca.

[533] Capo Polizia to Squillante, 23.12.1977 "Repubblica Federale Tedesca. Nuovi Progetti di legge per la lotta conro il terrorismo", ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca.; ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania.

[534] Appunto (without date), in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

cases, and planned Ministerial consultations at least twice a year.[535] In late October, German authorities asked multiple times for a strengthening of security measures at Italian airports, such as the control of all persons and their carry-on luggage on flights directed to Germany. [536] Furthermore, they demanded the augmentation (at least double) of patrolling security officers at the airport and the end of the diplomats' exemption from control.[537] Otherwise, the planes would not be allowed to land in Germany.[538] Already after the by Palestinian Terrorists on Fiumicino Airport in December 1973, the security system at this airport had been revised and reinforced by *antisabotatori* cops in protected cabins.[539] This demand from the German side was an intrusion in Italian internal security issues, which demonstrates that the tasks of internal security were already going beyond national borders and internal security was becoming intertwined with international relations.[540] The fact that the German Home Ministry could request action by the Italian security authorities was justified by the continuous alert of new terrorist attacks.[541]

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[535] Ministero dell'Interno, "Misure di sicurezza negli aeroporti, richieste dal Governo Federale della Germania Occidentale", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, p.240; Italy had requested collaboration about airplane security in November 1977, cf. ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[536] Ministero dell'Interno, Dibattito al Bundestag sulle nuove misure anti-terrorismo, Marzo 1978; appunto 25/10/1977 in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[537] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa, Telescritto Urgentissimo N. 9673, 21/10/1977.

[538] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa, Telescritto N. 9708, 22/10/1977.

[539] "Direzione Generale della PS, L'Ispettore Generale per i Servizi di Polizia negli Aeroporti di Roma; Ogg.: Piano di sicurezza negli aeroporti di Fiumicino e Ciampino, 11.12.1975" and "Direzione Generale della PS, L'Ispettore Generale per i Servizi di Polizia negli Aeroporti di Roma; Ogg.:Dispositivo di sicurezza nell'Aeroporto di Fiumicino, 1.3.1975" in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania , cited.

[540] Cf. Bigo, When two become one, p.333.

[541] Telegram by Direttore Generale affari economici to DGPS, October 1977; Handwritten notes 28.10.1977; in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania; In late October 1977 the German government warned against persons traveling on false passports to Italy in order to carry out terrorist attacks against German institutions there.

Terrorism was the prevailing security problem for both states in Winter Consequently, the phenomenon was object of several personal conversations between the Heads of Government. In a secret confidential conversation, both Schmidt and Andreotti reaffirmed the endeavour to reverse the diplomatic damage from summer and autumn: Schmidt thanked Andreotti for his "courageous frankness" in publicly defending the Federal Republic in a time of controversial debate in Italy. Andreotti replied that many politicians had stood up against "small fires of hostility", which however were not consented by the Italian people, except the terrorists.[542] Schmidt affirmed that German people were "deeply sympathetic to Italy" and informed Andreotti about the Stammheim events, saying that he "deserved to hear the facts from a head of government". Andreotti ascribed the attacks against German property only to the suicide of the RAF terrorists, explained that doubts about the suicide in Italian press stem from the fact that they considered German prisons perfectly organised and the smuggling of weapons into the cells "could have happened only in Italy". However, according to him, this was only an "ideological problem and not anti-German".[543]

In their functions as heads of government, they also exchanged their views on efficient counterterrorism policies. Andreotti shared his plan to "regain" parts of the left sector, supported by PCI, by further strengthening of the Italian antiterrorism legislation and giving more operative means to police and Carabinieri. Andreotti explained the Italian crisis of secret services by the bad coincidence that its bosses had become deputies of the far-right party. At this point, he shared a problem in the Italian terrorism discourse and the governmental reaction with Schmidt: The UK had been very helpful in questions of equipment and special forces, but apparently the public opinion wanted harder means, such as the death penalty. If terrorism in Italy increased, so Andreotti, the government would "not be able to cope with it". [544] Concluding, both agreed to encourage their Ministers of the Interior in their Meeting 16/1/78 to "all forms of cooperation" and agreed on two high-ranking Ministry Officials as confidential liaison persons.[545] By establishing this "direct contact", this conversation can be assessed as the hitherto closest point in

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542 AAPD 1977, Bd I-II, Doc. 345, Gespräch zwischen Schmidt und Andreotti, p.1650.

543 AAPD 1977, Bd I-II, ibid., p.1651.

544 AAPD 1977, Bd I-II, ibid., p.1655

545 AAPD 1977, Bd I-II, ibid., p.1657

cooperation between the two governments. Also, the relations, as they were displayed in the press visibly ameliorated.[546]

After the two governments had settled their dispute, the meetings at the operational level continued at high intensity. One of the main objects in cooperation was the presentation of new investigation technologies. In January 1978 the bilateral working groups met in Rome. Group 1 (Internal Security) exchanged detailed reports on the situation, development and trends of terrorism in both countries, and studied potential links between groups.[547] In February, 30 Italian police officers visited the BKA. There, the participants attended lectures about the structure of the BKA, on the computer based classification of fingerprints, on EDV, and other technology. Further topics of discussion were firearms and observation cars, complemented by a cultural programme. The purpose of the visit was thus the establishment of personal relations, combined with a certain technological show-off by the Germans. Both police chiefs appreciated this sort of "instructed training without entering the complex frame of EC study visits".[548]

The fact that the working groups usually met on the same occasion altogether suggests that the delegations at least overlapped. A note by the Italian Home Office confirms that the "arguments cover all sectors in which the collaboration evolves and therefore the delegations comprised the most senior functionaries with these competences".[549] Probably, the delegations were composed of officers with diverse responsibilities.[550] As a side effect of the discourse, the term "security experts" crystallised for the participants of the working groups.

[546] Corriere della Sera 20.1.1978 "Schmidt elogia Andreotti nel discorso programmatico", ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa.

[547] DGPS, Appunto "Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca", 30/6/1978 in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, B. 67, Criminalità e terrorismo. Atti attinenti a rapporti con rappresentati Esteri, fasc 110011143(4°).

[548] BArch, B 106 / 78846, 600812-3/4 Bundesministerium des Innern – Austausch von Beamten mit Italien; Bd. 1; vom 9.12.1977 bis…; ÖS 6 Fernschreiben Capo della Polizia Parlato an Werner Smoydzin bezügl. Besuch von 30 italienischen Beamten in Deutschland.

[549] „Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca nei seguenti settori di polizia: sicurezza interna – sicurezza aviazione civile – controllo alle frontiere – lotta alla criminalitá comune", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca, cited.

[550] Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; letter Capo della Polizia to Gabinetto Ministero dell'Interno, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited.

One can conclude that the stereotypical "terrorism expert" was rather an "internal security expert", such as a senior police officer. At the operational level, the criminal aspect of terrorism might have supervened over the political aspect.[551]

3.1.3   1978: "Every kind of support"

Immediately after DC President Aldo Moro was kidnapped on the morning of 13th March, Cossiga informed Maihofer personally, "We ask you to give every possible cooperation to our investigation and we reserve the right to detailed news".[552] Maihofer assured that the German government would grant Italy "every kind of support" in the dramatic case. Nevertheless, when German representatives inquired what would be this "every kind", a Ministry spokesman said that this would be cooperation in police search if Italian would desire, not a mission of GSG9, reminding them of the agreement between Ministers of the Interior on operative cooperation in the fight against terrorism from January 78.[553]

In the following weeks, the West German press followed the Moro kidnapping, and its political consequences, closely: In the same way Italian journalists had given advice to the German government during autumn 1977, now German writers commented comprehensively on Italian counterterrorism. They drew parallels between the two dramatic kidnapping coups by left-wing terrorists[554] and called for closer European cooperation. [555] Now the "concrete case" materialised, about which terrorism experts had talked in their bilateral working groups. Few days after the kidnapping, Italian authorities asked the

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[551] DGPS, Il capo della Polizia, 23.10.1976, ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania.

[552] Orig. Message: "Vi preghiamo di voler dare ogni possibile collaborazione alle nostre indagini e facciamo riserva di dettagliate notizie" BArch, B 106/78840, report – Trevi 07/072, Verteiler nur 01; Rom 16.2.1978; Betr.: Roma – 16.3.1978 – rapimento del presidente della democrazia cristiana on. Aldo moro; all'attenzione del ministro federale dell'interno prof. Maihofer.

[553] BArch, B136/16648, cited, Reaktion / Presse, bonn 17. Maerz 78 dpa.

[554] Stuttgarter Nachrichten "Und jetzt Moro?" article (v Jürgen Offenbach), underlined the parallels between the two spectacular abductions, presuming an "obvious participation of German terrorists", and a case of "international terrorism".

[555] BArch, B136/16648, cited, Frankfurter Rundschau v 11.4.1978 „Europa ist gefordert" von Werner Holzer.

BKA for information about experience with the public search for terrorist suspects by posters. The prompt reply came with an extensive study on the success of the German measures, basically saying that the public campaigns were very useful in terms of sensitising the public, as the absolute number of hints increased sharply, but only 3 terrorists could be caught because of hints. That was ascribed to the fact that terrorist change their outward appearance in order to not look any more like their photos. However, although high rewards were promised, hints from the scene appeared to be rare. However, the German leading officer told his Italian colleague that particularly the "targeted" distribution of flyers to doctors and dentists and other points of "logistics" had been useful.[556] To explain the concept to his Italian colleagues, the latter noted: "The word [Öffentlichkeitsfahndung] means literally: research (of terrorists) by means of public announcement or to give publicity to research".[557]

The bilateral cooperation at the political and operational level during the months of the Moro kidnapping was generally very close. Several BKA officers had supported the local authorities in investigations. On 18th March, a BKA liaison office with 24h service was established in Rome, and a permanent landline to Wiesbaden assured consultations and the access to BKA To the Italian public, the German aid in the search for Moro was mostly to a transfer of their technology, since Italian public and press were still wary towards a "*germanizzazione*" of Italian counterterrorism politics. German police units in general, and the GSG9 squat in particular, were perceived as a brutal paramilitary "leatherheads" fighting unit.

The reciprocal interest in legislative measures against terrorism was unbroken. The implementation of new anti-terrorism laws and the harsh discussions in Parliament was analysed by the Italian Ministry of the Interior. The German Ministry tracked with most interest and satisfaction developments of legal and judicial measures in Italy and congratulated to the success in a referendum on the *Legge Reale* in June 1978 with 77% approval of voters.[559] The internal

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[556] Letter Bundesminister des Innern to Ministero dell'Interno, "Öffentlichkeitsfahndung nach terroristischen Gewalttätern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", 23/3/1978, ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[557] Handwritten note in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[558] BArch B106/106874, cited.

[559] BArch, B136/16648, cited, Bilaterale Fragen, hier: Terrorismus: italienische Gesetzgebung

assessment in the German Ministry was more critical.[560] Functionaries of both states were more niggling in pointing to dangers for the rule of law in the other country, whereas the own measures were less questioned.

After the tragic end of the Moro abduction, terrorism lost space in the direct conversations between the heads of government. Andreotti confessed that the Moro crisis had delayed the economy program, but the government was back normal work. Now the main problem was to find a DC candidate for after Moro's death. [561] They shortly exchanged their views on recent anti-terrorism legislation in both states, and on the potential entanglement of Libyan forces in both cases. Then, they delegated back further cooperation to their Ministries of the Interior.[562]

In another confidential conversation Andreotti-Schmidt in September 1978, terrorism occupied even less space. If not speaking of a slight de-securitisation, at least the problem was not further securitised. Andreotti reported that the last months in Italy had been without major acts of violence, hoping for more insights into the phenomenon as the lack of background information made it hard to counter. While Schmidt worried about future terrorist acts in Germany in autumn 1978, Andreotti mentioned satisfied the work of the Italian police during the papal election, when "public order was not disturbed".[563] The conversation between two heads of state seemed cordially and friendly, but at times slightly superficial.[564] That the relations between the governments were uncommonly informal when regarding counterterrorism politics can be illustrated by irritations which came up at times with other institutions. In October 1978, the German Embassy staff in Rome complained about not having been informed about the inter-Ministerial talks, which had caused an embarrassing situation for them when asked by the media.[565] The fact that terrorism and counterterrorism policy had always less space in their

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[560] BArch, B136/16648, cited, Referat 211 LR Dr Haas; Bonn 9.6.1978 an Bundeskanzler; Betr. Stand der Antiterrorismus-Gesetzgebung in Italien.

[561] ADDP 1978, Bd. I-II, p.946.

[562] AAPD 1978, Bd. I-II, Doc.190, cited, p.955.

[563] AAPD 1978, Bd. I-II, Doc 252, Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Ministerpräsident Andreotti in Rom, p.1282.

[564] Schmidt suggested Aandreotti to proofread the latter's future work on state philosophy; AAPD 1978, Bd. I-II, Doc 252, cited, p.1284.

[565] BArch, B106/106874, cited Fernschreiben aus rom diplo an bonn aa 13.10.1978.

conversations [566] can mean both that attacks were less and that practices lost their exceptionality and became part of "normal" politics.

For Italian politicians and public was important how their German reacted to the events. Ambassador Orlando Contucci reported that Schmidt expressed solidarity with the Italians and had praised Andreotti for his *fermezza* policy in the Bundestag. *La Nazione* titled "Warm expressions by Schmidt to Andreotti for the Moro vicissitude […] general applause by the parliamentarians for the Chancellor's words towards Italy." [567] The dimension of terrorism entered the focus of attention and was highly in Italian media. The visit of two magistrates to the BKA caused strong resonance, reported Ambassador Arnold. Newspapers from all political coleurs suspected a proof of the German involvement in Moro case. Although political figures who knew both countries' society and culture were convinced that both types of terrorist groups were very different,[568] in the public opinion and the press, the terrorist acts in both countries seemed very similar and probably connected. In October, the BKA tried to calm down these speculations, saying that ties between Italian and German terrorists were limited to publicist expressions of solidarity, but no direct support existed.[569] Remarkably, the critique at the close collaboration of security authorities was little, ascribing a "rather positive accent".[570] Moreover, politicians of both states were not tired emphasising the crucial importance of international cooperation for the fight against terrorism.

In June 1978, both governments underwent personal changes. Nearly contemporary, Maihofer and Cossiga took the responsibilities for police failure in the Schleyer and Moro murder cases. The new Ministers Gerhart Baum and Virginio Rognoni soon got in contact and did not miss an occasion to underline the "excellent cooperation" and "sincere friendship" between the ministry

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[566] In the next secret conversation between Schmidt and Andreotti on 1 Nov 1978 in Siena, they discussed only topics of community policy, global détente, the neutron bomb, and the Middle East.

[567] LA NAZIONE 2.6.1978; ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa.

[568] Former Italian Ambassador to West Germany L.V. Ferraris confirmed this point of view, interview with the author, May 2015.

[569] BArch, B106/106874, cited, BKA an PR im hause, Wiesbaden 24.10.1978.

[570] BArch, B106/106874, cited, Fernschreiben aus rom diplo and bonn aa, 12.8.1978; betr. Italienisches Presseecho zum besuch italienischer untersuchungsrichter beim bka in wiesbaden am 9.8.78 in sachen ermordung moro.

staff.[571] The new ministers now also officially announced that they prepared their participation in multilateral panels such as the Vienna Club and the meetings together. [572] In October, the German Ministry of the Interior to Schmidt that they had a good and concrete cooperation at the operational level, beyond the exchange of information concerning both states, and open practical solutions".[573] The meeting between the bilateral working groups, last effectuated in April 1978 in Wiesbaden was planned to encompass also the against common crime in the future.[574] Furthermore, an additional permanent German officer had been placed in Rome, already improving the flow of information.

Also between the heads of police, personal contacts were appreciated. The new DGPS chief officer in January 1979 expressed the wish to meet his BKA and BfV counterparts in person as soon as possible,[575] to continue the "climate of open and sincere friendship" [576] under his predecessor. Also, the cooperation the Secret Services of both countries was "excellent", as SISDE and BfV exchanged information on a daily base.[577] Even though no German terrorist hitherto been arrested in Italy, in many cases German officers were in Rome for investigations. Within the multilateral circles NATO, EC, and Club of Berne, cooperation between German and Italian representatives was good, too, including preliminary alignments.[578]

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[571] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania., fasc. 11001/114/6 Roma: Incontro Ministro Interno On. Rognoni con Ministro Tedesco Baum Gerhardt; Collaborazione Bilaterale.

[572] Communicato Stampa (ANSA), Incontro Rognoni – Ministro Tedesco Baum, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[573] BArch B106/106874, cited, Referat PI 2 (Siegele) an Herrn Minister, Bonn 30.10.1978; betr.: Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; hier: Informationen für ein Gespräch beim Herrn Bundeskanzler.

[574] DGPS, "Collaborazione Bilaterale Italo-Tedesca", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[575] BArch B106/106874, cited, Fernschreiben verschlüsselt, 31.1.79.

[576] BArch, B106/78848, 600 812 – 5/2 BMI Sitzungen der Minister (TREVI) 30/11.78 Bonn; Bd. 1 Vom 23.3.1978-9.11.1978; Forts. Bd 2; Trevi-Fernschreiben des Italienischen Verbindungsbüros: Trevi no. 07/131; 8 nov 1978: al ministero federale dell'interno, bonn.

[577] Already 196 messages had been sent to Cologne in 1978 alone regarding bilateral relations; Appunto 26 October 1978 in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania.

[578] Ibid.

Despite the good collaboration, at times some spitefulness between the security authorities was perceivable between the lines. In late August 1978, the Italian Foreign Ministry informed Ministry of the Interior and both Secret Services about the failure of the German police to capture three wanted terrorists from a limited and monitored location and the embarrassing aftermath.[579] Also, the German security authorities criticised international cooperation in internal papers. The BfV criticised foreign services in an internal paper: according to the writer, the UK was hesitant with information about own citizens, and France did not trust in the discretion of the BKA. Italian services were labelled as "partly impotent (due to internal organisation difficulties)". However, the numbers of international contacts suggest that Italian authorities avoided the contact with the BfV in favour of a direct collaboration with the BKA.[580] The causal relation between the bad opinion and the failure of cooperation remains subject to speculation. In April 1979 the BfV refused their participation in the bilateral working group "Internal Security", as to both Italian Services SISDE and SISMI good contacts already existed, and the "problems that existed due to the incapacity of the authorities could not be resolved there". Nonetheless, he wished to be informed about the meeting.[581]

However, also from BKA sources testify criticism at the political structures of the cooperation. In May 79, BKA chief Herold reported to the Ministry that Liaison Officers from both states had suggested reinforcing the bilateral working group rather at operational than political level.[582] In general, the old stereotypes about militarism in the German authorities and disorganisation in the Italian services reverted. In may 79, an internal FRG paper complained that the working groups were hampered by the poor implementation of Italian reform of services: as SISDE was strikingly understaffed (only 200-300 jobs of 1000 had been taken), counterterrorism had been transferred to the

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[579] Telespresso Ministro degli Affari Esteri to Min Int, "Ogg. Insuccesso della Polizia tedesca contro tre terroristi", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[580] BArch, B 106/106772, BMI 28.12.78; Betr. Zusammenarbeit mit den Staaten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft im Allgemeinen, hier: Verbindungsbüro; numbers for 1978:: from Italy to BKA 23 (of which 12 with order to do so (6 from SisDE, 6 DGPS), 11 without order (1 SID, 4DGPS, 2 SISMI, 4 SISDE), in comparison from France to BKA 61; from BKA to Italy 4 (DGPS), in comparison only 1 to TREVI mailing list.

[581] BArch B106/106874, cited, Gesprächsnotiz Schneider BKA mit BfV, Klusak, 26.4.79, betr. Dt-it Arbeitsgruppe Innere Sicherheit.

[582] BArch B106/106874, cited, Schnellbrief BKA (Herold) an BMI, Wiesbaden 4.5.79; Betr.: Deutsch-italienische Arbeitsgruppe „Innere Sicherheit".

UCIGOS. Furthermore, they were concerned that the demand for personnel the brought danger of infiltration, as "Communists [were] hardly avoidable".[583]

3.1.4 1979-82: Systematic exchange - technology vs data

Notwithstanding few points for improvement, the cooperation between Italy and Germany in questions of counterterrorism intensified during 1978. Particularly the weeks of the Moro kidnapping brought substantial progress in collaboration at the operational level, which the two new Ministers Rognoni and Baum fostered at the political level.

Subsequently, the close cooperation continued and included judicial questions, as the visit of two magistrates to the BKA in a question of evidence material testifies. Apart from the exchange of officers and common formation courses, another field augmented noticeably: The transfer of investigation technology. The German BKA had systematically employed "Commissar Computer" since Herold had become its leader in 1971,[584] and was perceptibly proud of the success of systematic data-based investigation, which had "delivered" a RAF terrorist in 1979.[585] During the search for Aldo Moro and his abductors, Italian authorities had asked for support in systematic, technology-based investigation. The BKA immediately provided access to their databases INPOL and PIOS, wherein practically all crimes committed in Germany since 1972 listed, including perpetrators, their descriptions and contingent imprisonment dates. In the Italian public and political discussion, this support was welcomed, as avoiding the direct contact with the infamous "leatherheads" intervention groups.[586]

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[583] BArch B106/106874, cited, Referat IS 1 an herrn Minister; Bonn 25.5.79 Betr.: die italienischen Sicherheitsdienste.

[584] Der Spiegel 28/06/1971 used the nickname when introducing the Horst Herold as new BKA Chief. Herold had become famous for his data-based criminology approach as Chief Constable of Nürnberg.

[585] In June 1979, the success in the search for RAF member Rolf Heißler had gained national attention, for being both innovative and at the same time resembling a dystopia of the surveillance state. Cf. Simon, Jürgen/ Taeger, J.: Rasterfahndung - Entwicklung, Inhalt und Grenzen einer kriminalpolizeilichen Fahndungsmethode, Baden-Baden 1981, p.12.

[586] IL TEMPO 20/03/78 reported on aid by British and West German forces. The article emphasised that Germans brought only technology and "not military action like in Mogadishu". Moreover, offers by other states had been dismissed, according to the paper.

To employ the new technology, the data of all potential suspects had first to be inserted and was then "leached". In practice, authorities took their raw data from registration offices and energy providers and filtered according to personal characteristics such as age and occupation. In Germany, these techniques had already sparked a public discussion about data safety, institutional consequences for the protection of privacy.[587] In theory, the exchange of personal information about suspects was nothing else than realising the projects of the bilateral working groups on internal security. In the following years, the BKA exchanged large sets of data with foreign institutions, such as lists of false identities to Milan hotels, and in return obtained large datasets about travellers at Milan Airport. Probably against the backdrop of the upcoming debate, the Ministry of the Interior suggested not informing the heads of government.[588]

Already in 1976, security officials in both states were dissatisfied with data safety measures that hindered the international exchange of data. Italian authorities had proposed to monitor the exchange of foreign banknotes to track ransom money easier. Their German counterparts refused this, not without regretting that "banks would not even cooperate in German cases".[589] In the following year, Italy had delivered comprehensive information about German citizens buying arms, and hoped that FRG would soon overcome their "judicial difficulties" and provide information.[590] The concerted fight against crime was already enhanced by the mutual access to data files about stolen cars, "dirty

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Interestingly, the article was translated by the British Embassy and sent to the London Foreign Office. The National Archives (TNA), Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), 33/3577 Terrorism in Italy 17/3 -10/5/78.

[587] In 1970, the state Hesse enacted the first law on data safety in Germany. A federal law followed in 1977.

[588] BArch B106/106874, cited, Referat PI 2 (Siegele) an Herrn Minister, Bonn 30.10.1978; betr.: Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; hier: Informationen für ein Gespräch beim Herrn Bundeskanzler; In a former draft of the paper, the plan to exchange data in a „Hotel program", a „Travel program" and a „Flight passenger programm", which provided extensive data gathering and exchnge. However, the note was striked out by pen and handwrittenly marked „not without problems. Should not be told to BK – without his knowledge of the background!"

[589] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976.

[590] "Collaborazione Bilaterale Italo-Tedesca", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

banknotes", and identity documents. Seemingly, Italy had provided more access to data than the Federal Republic.[591] These facts indicated that the generous German providing of technology at least had the side effect of adding information to these databases, such as the personal data of Italian extremists and Germans travelling to Italy. With the declared aim to combat terrorism, German authorities so enlarged their knowledge about terrorists, potential supporters, and common criminals, which was hard to obtain when working strictly inside German territory. In November 1979, the Italian Ministry agreed to the proposal of a general check on travelling documents at certain airports in case of a concrete suspicion.[592] Furthermore, large parts of the "LISA Italien" database, a list of comprehensive reports about terrorist suspects, extremists, and potential supporters were transferred to Italy between 1978 and 1980. The list contained activists in left-wing organisations and persons in contact with these, as well as documentation of their cross-border travels and potential company.[593]

Notably, at the same time when left-wing activists were extensively monitored, the Ministers Rognoni and Baum decided to include also the problem of right-wing violence in the cooperation on internal security, as "particularly the increasing threat, especially by extreme right-wing groups or persons… clearly the necessity of an intensive international cooperation between the security authorities."[594] Underlining the achievements, both Ministries "agreed that the good existing contacts at all levels have to continue and to be extended and intensified where possible. The challenge by terrorism, also from the right, can only be opposed efficiently together".[595] Directing attention to right-wing terrorism by the two governments did not only correct a formerly asymmetric discourse but enlarged also the field of problems on the bilateral international agenda. Thus, the cooperation encompassed both extreme fringes of the life, and large shares of citizens could be monitored in either of the suspect groups.

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[591] Ibid.

[592] BArch B106/106874, 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 4 Forts Bd 5, IP 1, Wiesbaden 20.11.79; betr.: detusch-italienische Zusammenarbeit bei der Verbrechensbekämpfung, hier: Ergebnisniederschrift

[593] BArch, B106/106874, Zusammenarbeit mit italien, 1978-1980, Bd. 4, Deutsch-italienische Zusammenarbeit bei der Verbrechensbekaempfung, Ergebnisniederschrift, Wiesbaden, 20/11/1979.

[594] BArch, 106/106875, cited, BMI, PI1 an BKA (z H Dr Boge); Komuniqué der Innenminister der Republik italien und der BRD (Rognoni u Baum).

[595] BArch, 106/106875, ibid.

By the end of 1979, the topics of consultation were further broadened and comprised also new standards for identity documents and car number plates, well as the protection of VIPs.[596] Under the umbrella "internal security" hence were combined diverse aspects of the fight against political and common crime. The term "public order" was scarcely ever used in documenting international cooperation. Internal documents of the German Ministry give evidence that they were grateful for Rognoni's generosity with data but slightly uncomfortable that they could not provide information to the same extent.[597] However, the BKA decided to grant their Italian counterpart another unprecedented gesture, which manifested the latest approximation in the bilateral cooperation. After the DGPS had repeatedly expressed interest in a meeting with the GSG9 squat (which enjoyed a certain glory in the scene after the successful operation in Mogadishu in October 1977), two leading officers were invited to visit.[598] Such an invitation was expressed the first time but seemed "imperative due to the special situation in Italy and the possibility that actions of Italian terrorists could touch German interests" to the German Ministry of the Interior. [599] In turn, the Italian delegation offered a visit to the *Celere* Unit and *Nucleo Operativo Centrale di Sicurezza*.[600] The mutual visits to the most specialised counterterrorism units indicate a new leap in trust and cooperation, as an exchange with the other state's elite forces had been the "goal" of collaboration efforts from both sides for a long time. Finally, in spring 1982, three Italian leading police officers paid a visit to GSG9. They attended presentations on the organisation of the group, demonstrations of training, fighting and shooting, and joint training with GSG flying commando.[601] The

[596] 6° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza, Periodo 1 Luglio – 31 Dicembre 1979, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, fasc. 11001/114/3(4a).

[597] BArch, B106/106875, 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 5; 12.12.1979-13.6.80; Fortst. Bd. 6, Abteilungsleiter P an herrrn Minister; Bonn 14.3.1980; betr.: Sitzung der dt-it AG am 10/11.3. 80 in Rom.

[598] BArch, B106/106875, cited, Deputy commander federal border guard, director special operations an den Leiter der Generaldirektion für innere sicherheit im Italienischen Innenministerium herrn Dr. Coronas.

[599] BArch, B106/106875, cited, Abteilungsleiter P an herrrn Minister; Bonn 14.3.1980; betr.: Sitzung der dt-it AG am 10/11.3. 80 in Rom.

[600] „Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca nei seguenti settori di polizia: Sicurezza Interna – Sicurezza aviazione civile e impianti nucleari – Controllo alle frontiere", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, fasc. 11001/114/3(4a), cited.

[601] BArch, 106/106876, 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien, Bd. 8; Juli 81 bis

BKA was most interested in meeting the Italian Carabinieri General Dalla Chiesa.[602] Due to the restructuring of the Italian authorities, however, such a meeting could not be organised before the General's murder by the mafia in 1982. The exchange of these two very prestigious "assets" in counterterrorism indicates a new stage of trust and approximation between the authorities.

After a short decrease in Winter 1978/79, terrorism again was a topic of conversation for the heads of government, although with a slightly different tendency. In July 1979 Andreotti complained to Schmidt that counterterrorism policy was again exploited for party political struggle in Italy, and asked Schmidt for "friendly pressure" [603] on the Italian socialists to cooperate with and PSDI. He needed the PSI's support for certain projects, such as special prisons for terrorists.[604] To underline the urgency of his plea (which coincided with his position as Prime Minister), Andreotti securitised the resurrection of political violence in Italy: "opportune to mention that in the context of the always closer collaboration between Italy and the Federal Republic, the intensification of contacts between competent German and Italian services in fight against political terrorism, the fresh outbreak of which has particularly recently made the joined efforts always more important".[605]

When Cossiga took Andreotti's place, he expressed his appreciation of Italo-German relations both bilaterally and in the common frameworks of NATO and EEC, and thanked for the German support during Moro's captivity.[606] Cossiga suggested the installation of direct secret telephone line between two offices, a proposal to which Schmidt agreed.[607] The fact that also

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15.9.82; Forts bd 9; Besuch von It Delegation (Coronas, Fracisci, Carlino) der AG innere Sciherheit in BRD 26.4.-1.5.82.

[602] BArch B106/106874, cited, Schreiben von BKA an Corona Capo della Polizia, Wiesbaden 7.6.79; betr. Deutsch-italienische Zusammenarbeit bei der Verbrechensbekämpfung; Letters by German Minister Baum to Italian Minister Rognoni, 29.11.1979 and 7.3.1980, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[603] AAPD 1979, Bd. I-II, Doc 206, Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Ministerpräsident Andreotti in Rom, p.1007.

[604] AAPD 1979, Bd. I-II, Doc 206, cited, p.1002.

[605] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc: Visita del Cancelliere Schmidt, Roma 8-10 Luglio 1979.

[606] AAPD 1979, Bd. I-II, Doc 288, Gespräch des Bundeskanzlers Schmidt mit Ministerpräsident Cossiga, p.1414.

[607] Cossiga suggested that in a telephone conversation on 29 Jan 80; Cf. AAPD 1980, Doc.31, Telefongespräch zwischen Schmidt und Cossiga, p.196.

German opposition leader Strauss visited Rome in December 1979 and emphasised the urgent need for a stronger collaboration in internal security matters indicates that the bilateral project was of interest for the German political debate. Strauss mentioned a "fresh outbreak of terrorism that had reached a dramatic and worrying level, and provoked the public opinion to press for urgent and adequate measures."[608]

The interest of both Ministries in the others' legislation against terrorism was still large. However, the reciprocal assessment was diverse. In December 1979, Ambassador Arnold informed Bonn on two recent decrees against terrorism, which strengthened the power of the police forces with and restricted the penal law and the penal procedure law. Remarking that criticism was little, particularly in contrast to the protest against less questionable laws in Germany beforehand, he judged the bills as last resort of government, which desperately needed to act.[609] Before 1978, this criticism had come only from Italian of German measures. Now, both sides were sceptical about the other state's legislation.

In general, both sides did not tire to underline the benefits of the "open and trustful atmosphere" in cooperation.[610] In 1980, the topics of the Working meetings were again enlarged to the organisation of the federal police, contents of GSG9 training, legal bases of operations, and equipment. After five years of collaboration in questions of "internal security" in terms of terrorism and now the Italian police held a seminar on operative police conceptions and tactical behaviour against public order disturbances.[611]

The only persisting complaint, particularly by German officers, was the existence of language problems. Since the only bilingual liaison officer in Rome had to be replaced, urgent messages could only be transmitted during office

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[608] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Visita di Franz Josef Strauss, Presidente della CSU della RFG 14-12-79.

[609] BArch, B136/16648, Fernschreiben (verschluesselt) von rom diplo an bonn aa, 21.12.1979; betr.: dekrete zur wahrung der oeffentlichen Sicherheit.

[610] BArch B106/106874, cited, Vermerk PI2 / IS 3 Bonn 7.12.79; Betr. D-i ag IS; hier: Ergebnisberich der Gespräche in Bonn in der Zeit 27-29. 11.79.

[611] BArch, 106/106875, 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 6; 1.8.80 bis; Forts. Bd. 7

Inspekteur BPdL Bonn 1.8.80; an Herrn Minister; betr. Europäische Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Inneren Sicherheit; hier: bilaterale Zusammenarbeit mit Italien.

hours of interpreters.[612] As a remedy, both Ministries fostered the exchange of officers. In the early 1980s, groups of up to 100 Carabinieri visited the BKA.[613]

After the bomb attack at Bologna main station in August 1980, the BKA assisted in analysing soil samples of explosives[614] and supplied the UCIGOS Director with information about a German right-wing group, and potential links to Italian terrorists via a training camp in Lebanon.[615] Furthermore, the Federal Republic provided judicial support to Italy in the extradition case of the condemned right-wing extremist Salvatore Francia, as Spain and Italy could agree on a procedure due to judicial difficulties and consideration of right-wingers at home. [616] In 1981 then, the discourse turned towards transnational terrorism, since left-wing terrorism had become less lethal in both states.

Despite many good points of collaboration, the discussion about diverse strategies in counterterrorism policy between the two states was vital. In October 1981, both Ministers of the Interior Baum and Rognoni gave a public debate about their diverse strategies. Baum was particularly critical about the Italian *Pentiti* legislation for reasons of the rule of law, which Rognoni for its effectiveness.[617] The diverging attitudes regarding this law have been subject to extensive discussion in contemporary analysis and research. While some attribute its success to the desire for reconciliation inherent in the catholic faith,[618] others enlist it as a proof for the Italian capacity to find a compromise even in the most complex situations. [619] Contemporary German security authorities always rejected the "information for benefits"-trade with terrorists

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[612] BArch, 106/106875, cited.

[613] BArch, 106/106875, cited, BMI PI2 , Bonn 12.1.81; Betr: Gespräch von BMA Genscher mit dem italienischen Außenminister am 21. Januar 81 in Rom; hier: Terrorismus: Lage in Italien, Stand der Zusammenarbeit.

[614] BArch, 106/106875, ibid.

[615] BArch, 106/106875, cited, BMI Bonn 18.5.81; Betr. Gespräche von BK Schmidt mit dem italienischen MP; Hier: Terrorismus, lage in italien, Stand der Zusammenarbeit.

[616] BArch, 106/106875, ibid.

[617] "Dibattito sull "Espresso". Rognoni difende la nuova legge", Il Paese Sera 18.10.1981; "Rognoni e il ministro Rft discutono di terrorismo", La Repubblica 18.10.1981; "Nono concordano sui pentiti Rognoni ed il suo collega tedesco", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1981-85, B. 22, Criminalità - Terrorismo: Cooperazione internazionale nella lotta al terrorismo, fasc. 11001/114/4, sottofasc. 1., Criminalità e terrorismo. Leggi, proposte e disegni di legge.

[618] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.345.

[619] Di Fabio, Due Democrazie, p.254.

always for concerns about the rule of law.[620] Nonetheless, the German interest in the *Legge Pentiti* continued for years. Their files contain many original texts with translations, as well as texts and remarks on their suspension.[621]

3.2 Italian-British cooperation against terrorism

Between 1972 and 1982, both Italy and the United Kingdom were confronted with terrorism. Overall, the fight against political left- and right-wing terrorism in Italy was perceived as largely different from the fight against nationalist terrorism in Northern Ireland. Nonetheless, the United Kingdom became one of the most important partners for Italy, when the Italian counterterrorism approach evolved from a rather narrow public order policing towards a proper strategy against terrorism, and cooperation with other states became increasingly important.

In this chapter, I will sketch the Italian-British relations regarding the common fight against terrorism during the decade 1972 - 1982. With a chronological approach, I trace the British perception of political violence in Italy and the correspondence between actors of both countries. Herein, I focus on concrete cooperation regarding problems of public order and terrorism. In the analysis, I concentrate on transfers of knowledge and techniques in counterterrorism, and on the relations between the involved actors.

A central part of British policy towards Italy played the UK Embassy in Rome, whose staff informed the Government about the events in Italy. Naturally, as security policy was concerned, the Home Ministries of both countries determined the political lines, and at times were in direct exchange. Although official communication occurs between offices and institutions, human characteristics of the signers must be considered in the analysis. The four British and twelve Italian governments included diverse personalities. Two cultures "clashed" at times over their diverse views on statehood and violence. Stereotypes shaped mutual estimations, and heritage from political history could have an impact on political representations.

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[620] BArch, 106/106876, cited.
[621] BArch, 106/106876, 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd.9 24.9.82-3.8.83; Forts Bd 10; Bericht über „Legge pentiti".

As the whole folder titled "Cooperazione con l'Inghilterra" is still closed in the Italian State archive, I mainly refer to primary sources by the British Foreign and Commonwealth office, supplemented with Home Office files. Only regarding certain bilateral aspects, other Italian files give insight.

3.2.1 1972-77: Slowly evolving collaboration

Terrorism became a topic of transnational European interest in September 1972, when a PLO splinter group attacked the Israeli Olympia team, more or less in front of the world's TV cameras. At this moment, the notion of *terrorism* was strikingly different in Italy and the UK: Italian political leaders ascribed the increasing violence in the big cities to "the opposite extremes"[622], without distinction between diverse motivations and methods. In London, a short period of left-wing terrorism had just ended, undertaken by about ten young anarchists who called themselves "The Angry Brigade". Furthermore, the "insurgency phase"[623] of the Northern Ireland Troubles had blurred the line between terrorism and warfare in the UK.

Italy and the United Kingdom had been important partners in foreign policy throughout the last decades. The Italians had supported the UK entry into the EEC, and Rome was a prestigious Embassy for UK diplomats.[624] Some British diplomats of an older school attributed this to the role the UK had played in the Italian Unification.[625] Her Majesty's Ambassador to Rome at this time was Patrick Hancock, who was convinced that Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti was only interested in foreign politics insofar as they could strengthen his position at home.[626] Nonetheless, four Ministerial visits in 1972 were a sign for the closest bilateral relations after the war. Yet Hancock recalled the increasing need to improve them further, as differences were to expect in European negotiations. Since the Italians would be very sensitive to the British backing, he recommended showing support as often as possible.[627] The Foreign

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[622] Cf. Ch.2.2

[623] Operation Banner – An analysis of military operations in Northern Ireland, p.6.

[624] Sir Patrick Hancock's Valedictry Despatch abtou her Majesty's Diplomatic Service, Rome, 14 June 1974, TNA, FCO, 33/2497, Valedictory Despatches on Italy.

[625] Fairwether, interview, p.5

[626] FCO, Diplomatic Report No 17/73, "Italy: Annual Review for 1972" 01/01/1973, TNA, FCO, 33/2196 Annual Reviews Italy for 1972.

[627] Ibid.

and Commonwealth Office agreed that the impression that the UK had closer relations with the French or Germans should, therefore, be avoided by any means.[628]

Hancock had witnessed the "hot autumn" riots of 1969 when student and workers protest had caused major unrest in Rome and Northern Italian cities. He informed the FCO about agitations in Italy due to economic pressure, but he held a repetition for unlikely.[629]

One of the advisory bodies for the UK government in questions of terrorism subversive movements abroad was the Institute for the Study of Conflict. Founded in 1970 by Brian Crozier, "a fanatical anti-communist with a long and shadowy history on the fringes of the CIA, MI5 and the Conservative Party",[630] some of its publications were internally criticised for their political bias.[631] Temporarily based in Whitehall, the ISC "assumed semi-academic veneer,"[632] but was no unproblematic issue for the Foreign and Commonwealth office. While some accounts were considered helpful in diplomatic or political work, other reports were considered partisan, wrong, or even embarrassing. [633] However, its journals remained an important source of information, for Conservative Governments. In the November 1970 issue, John Earle analysed "Italy's troubles". He concluded that "the degree of muddle, lack of authority, and underlying popular discontent reached in 1970 a point at which in many other countries there would already have been a coup or Only due to the Italian indifference towards authority, no such reaction had yet occurred. However, if things went on without a major change, Earle feared that a participation in government by the Communist Party (PCI) would soon end democracy in Italy.[635] Fifteen months later in the same journal, he observed Italy was "lucky in that there is no immediate sign of serious civil strife, urban

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[628] WED note on Annual Review of Italy for 1972, TNA, FCO, 33/2196, cited.

[629] Annual Review of Italy for 1972, TNA, FCO, 33/2196 cited.

[630] John Medhurst: That Option No Longer Exists: Britain 1974-76, John Hunt Publishing, 2014, p.50.

[631] Exchange of letters between FCO and ISC, TNA, FCO, 46/958 Institute for the Study of Conflict.

[632] Medhurst, Option, p.51.

[633] Wrong: 1972/3 Annual, to which several FCO, staff members express their concerns in terms of factual incorrectness, or the 1974 study on "Catholicism and the Church of Rome", which caused surprise within the FCO. Cf. TNA, FCO, 95/1742 Conflict Studies: Marxism and the Church of Rome.

[634] Conflict Studies, Vol. 9, p.13.

[635] Ibid.

warfare or a coup".[636] Also for 1972, Earle predicted the political and economic breakdown of "the problem child of the Common Market Six"; with the possibility of a neo-Fascist takeover, or the Communist Party "trying to worm their way towards participation in government".[637] Not surprisingly, Earle fails to preview the big share that right-wing terrorism and the Secret Services' negligence towards these groups eventually contributed to the Italian situation, although two years before a right-wing group had killed 17 by bombing the Agricultural Bank in the centre of Milan.

Accordingly, the main concern of the British Government was the growing impact of the Italian Communist Party that had gained a significant number of votes in the 1972 elections.[638] Especially the United States promoted this among Western countries. Nevertheless, in 1974, Hancock assessed the danger of a left-wing takeover or right-wing coup as relatively small, as the Italians generally relied more on family, the church, and themselves, than on the government.[639] Instead, he pointed to other problems, such as the economic situation and growing social tensions.[640] The Government believed Hancock's experienced views, albeit wondering why especially the Americans saw the situation in Italy so much worse.[641]

In December 1973, a terrorist attack by five PLO gunmen at Rome airport made British parliamentarians recall the threat of transnational terrorism, and discuss sharpening the security measures at Heathrow airport. In the view of some MPs, the rise of terrorism in the Western World had been due to "the way in which it has been nurtured and nourished by the habitual capitulations of Governments to terrorism". The argument that terrorism in European countries

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[636] CS, Vol. 19, p.14.

[637] CS, Vol. 19, p.15.

[638] The PCI had obtained 27% of the vote in the May 1972 Camera elections, thus becoming a strong runner-up and endangering the proven coalition of Christian Democrats and Socialists. (Official results cf. http://elezionistorico. interno.it/index.php?tpel=C&dtel=07/05/1972&tpa=I&tpe=A&lev0=0&levsut0=0&es0=S& ms=S) The FCO saw this development sceptically, although not as critical as the American Foreign Office, cf. TNA, FCO 33/2729, UK-Italy relations, "Italian Political Situation".

[639] Sir Partick Hancock's Valedictory Despatch on Italy, Rome, 14 June 1974, TNA, FCO, 33/2497 Valedictory Despatches on Italy.

[640] Ibid, TNA, FCO, 33/2497 cited.

[641] The Situation in Italy: Sir P Hancock's Valedictory Despatch, Rome, June 1974, TNA, FCO, 33/2497 Valedictory Despatches on Italy.

was partly due to Governmental weakness, should become a repeating pattern of UK governments regarding Italy in the following years. [642]

In June 1974 the ISC published a study on "Marxism and the Church of Rome". The anonymous Vatican Journalist accused the Pope of belittling the dangers of Communism and being thus responsible for the threat of subversion in Italy. Moreover, the author blamed the Catholic Church indirectly for the growing political violence in Italy and for having "hosted" an international gathering of terrorists in 1974.[643] The Foreign and Commonwealth Office called this issue "harmful", fearing that the personal offences could lead the pope to revise his friendly position regarding the Northern Ireland conflict.[644]

The perception of Italian terrorism by the FCO was certainly affected by terrorism in the UK. In September 1972, a PLO letter bomb killed an Israeli diplomat to London. In the following years, transnational terrorism was less present, but the Provisional Irish Republican Army undertook their most fatal offensive between 1974 and 1976. Also in Italy at the time, the political elite underwent a change in the perception of terrorism. When (parts of) the Christian Democrats approached the PCI as a potential governmental party, the thesis of "opposite extremes" was no more tenable, and the increase of violence was blamed on right-wing groups.[645]

The first concrete steps towards a cooperation against terrorism between Italy and the UK, however, were rather taken in a multilateral frame than bilaterally. A few days after the Munich attacks in September 1972, all European Foreign Misters agreed at a meeting in Rome that the German idea of a coordinated action against terrorism should be brought to the United Nations.[646] British diplomats were very active in this endeavour, and were respectively "highly disappointed"[647] when after months of negotiations no agreement was reached. After these fruitless efforts at a worldwide level, they focused on the regional level.

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[642] Commons Sitting of Monday 24th June 1974, (p.1139) http://parlip apers.proquest.com:80/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds5cv0875p0-0006?accountid=11862
[643] CS no.45 "Marxism and the Churchof Rome" in: TNA, FCO, 95/1742, cited.
[644] Ibid.
[645] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.76; Cf. also Ch.2.2.
[646] "Proposed German Draft UN General Assembly Resolution on the taking of hostages", TNA, FCO, 98/211 Political Cooperation, Terrorism; The Federal Republic of Germany was not yet a full member of the UN and so asked their European fellows for help.
[647] Draft Letter FCO to Genscher, TNA, FCO, 98/211 cited.

Thus, at the Minister of the Interior Meeting in December 1975, again in Rome, UK Home Secretary Roy Jenkins proposed to set up a set of informal working groups among the nine EEC Countries, which should be the basis for cooperation and the exchange of information in transnational problems related to crime, law and public order.[648] The first working group in this network was dedicated to the development of a common strategy against terrorism. It foster "intergovernmental links and cooperation in police matters", "administrative and technical aspects of measures against terrorism", and "technological assistance [..] and reciprocal access to databases".[649] Apart from this cooperation at the political level, the heads of the national polices had met secretly under the Pseudonym "Club of Berne" since 1968. Initially set up to discuss methods and practices of public order policing after the Students' protest, its was long thought to be an arrangement between the members West Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland and Austria.[650] However, a meeting planned in London for autumn 1977 gives evidence that the UK police was somehow involved. The "Club's" purpose was "the exchange of information about questions of common interest, such as obviously in the matters of and political terrorism", and to set up working groups that thoroughly studied particular cases of transnational terrorism.[651] These two were the most important multilateral groups in counterterrorism for decades.

By 1976, both Italy and the UK already had initiated cooperation in security issues with the geographically closer countries West Germany and France. Yet, due to their geographical distance and the difference in the shape and background of the social unrest they were confronted with, they only had few concrete touching points in cooperation. Presumably, the Italian Government did not yet have a strong interest in international cooperation against terrorism and did not expect advantages from police cooperation, since they considered the growing social unrest and public order problems a genuinely Italian problem. However, Italy was certainly interested in a cooperation in security issues with the United Kingdom, particularly after the request to extradite right wing extremist Sandro Saccucci had failed in 1970.[652] According to the Ministry

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[648] Note 13.01.1976 by Prefetto, ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-1980; B 67 1976-1980 Inghilterra, Strategia lotta al terrorismo, fasc. 11001/114/3(1).

[649] Appunto 15.01.1976 by Castelli, ibid.

[650] Cf. chapter 4.2 on the Club of Berne.

[651] Cooperazione in Campo Europeo (Club di Berna), in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[652] Saccucci was accused of murder at a young communist in the town of Sezze, cf

of the Interior, this was a "major problem in judicial cooperation" and closer collaboration and coordination was urgently needed.[653]

For UK policy towards Italy in 1976, the main issue was still the position of the Communist party to the government, and how a potential coalition would the NATO.[654] The Western European Department stated in spring 1976 that the Moro Government was "the weakest Italy has seen since the war" and "could brought down at any time".[655] Ambassador to Rome was Guy Millard in these years. He was a wise man, "a figure from history",[656] liked by the Italians and with very good contacts in Italy and the diplomatic scene.[657] Notwithstanding the widespread fear about a communist government in Italy, his assessment of the political situation in 1976 was much less dire.[658] He tended to downplay the internal tensions and was sure that Italy would "muddle through" without relying on the Communists, nor causing major trouble in Europe.[659] In the time, the PIRA offensive had bound the Government's attention to political violence at home. This sort of indifference towards Italy had made the bilateral relations cool down.

By October 1976, Alan Campbell had followed Guy Millard as Ambassador to Italy. He was an experienced diplomat who had served in Rome earlier, and back to end his career in a country he loved. Just after his appointment, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office directed their attention back to Rome. he recalled that no UK Prime Minister had visited Italy after 1972, the Western European Department agreed that the increasingly closer relations with France

http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/1985/02/24/saccucci-voleva-assassinare-sandro-pertini.html.

[653] Telespresso, ogg. "Approvazione al Bundestag della Convenzione Europea sulla repressione del terrorismo, fermata a Strasburg oil 27.1.1977, in: ACS, M.I. Gab., B. 69, Fasc. 1001/114/4 Convenzione Europa contro il Terrorismo. The Ministry of the Interior referred to the Saccucci case as an example when discussing problems of extradition for political offences.

[654] Interview of Mark Edward Pellew; UK Ambassadors Oral History Project, online https://www.chu.cam.ac.uk/media/uploads/files/Pellew.pdf, last access 20/04/2016, p.9.

[655] Call by the Italian Ambassador: 11 February 1976, TNA, FCO, 33/2955, Political relations between the UK and Italy.

[656] Interview Pellew, p.10.

[657] Ibid.

[658] Obituary Sir Guy Millard, in The Telegraph, 1 May 2013, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/10031242/Sir-Guy-Millard.html, last access 21/4/2016.

[659] Ibid; Cf. also FCO Telegram to UK Mission NY, TNA, FCO, 98/211 cited.

and Germany were fuelling "Italian fears of being relegated to a second-class status in Europe".[660] Consequently, they recommended the Government to resume the visits soon.

However, in December 1976 Italian Minister of the Interior Francesco Cossiga approached his British Colleague Merlyn Rees for bilateral meetings "to discuss common problems in the field of law and order"[661]. The latter replied promptly and sent Under Secretary of State in the Home Office Robert Armstrong to Rome in mid-January for this purpose. What they talked about exactly remains undisclosed, but the letters they exchanged after the mission testify that "this discussion will have laid the foundations for closer cooperation in the same friendly spirit between your Ministry and the Home Office, and between the police services of our respective countries." [662] The Italians had always emphasised the importance of personal contacts between the agencies in and described the meeting as "an important step in the collaboration between our Governments".[663] Consequently, in advance to the London Conference of EEC ministers of the Interior in May 1977, Whitehall and Viminale exchanged several letters in order to align their strategies regarding the cooperation with non-EC countries for the coming conference.[664]

In Italy itself, the perception of terrorism by the political leadership had changed again. The repressive and quite broad governmental strategy against political violence, public disorder and organised crime had rather enhanced the recruitment of extreme left groups than weakened them. Consequently, attacks on public property and persons had become more frequent, and the discussion focused on left-wing violence.[665] Now, also British observers shifted their perspective. Had hitherto the fear of a Communist participation in the government dominated the assessment of Italy, in July 1977 a "collapse of law

[660] "Possible Meeting between the Prime Minister and Signor Andreotti", TNA, FCO, 33/2955 cited.

[661] Letter by Rees to Min Int, 31.12.1976, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-1980; B 70 Criminalità e terrorismo. Conferenze di Londra e Lussemburgo, fasc. 11001/114/5, Riunione Ministri degli Interni Lussemburgo 28 Giugno 1976.

[662] Letter Armstrong to Cossiga, 27.01.1977, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-1980; B. 67 Inghilterra, Strategia lotta al terrorismo, cited.

[663] Response to Armstrong by Italian Min Int, 15/2/77, ibid.

[664] Exchange of letters between London and Rome, ogg. Conferenza dei Ministri dell'Interno della CEE, Riunione degli Alti Funzionari, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-1980 B. 70, fasc. 11001/114/5, Sottof. 2, Conferenza dei Ministri degli Interni Londra 31 Maggio 1977.

[665] Cf. Ch. 2.2

and order and/or the Italian economy and the dangers to [the] democratic government this would represent"[666] was considered a major threat by the Rome Embassy. Ambassador Campbell stated that law and order were the major worry concerning Italy, and if the situation did not improve soon, it would seriously affect the "already shaky economic and political situation".[667] Unfortunately, this prediction should realise.

In general, the bilateral relations improved again during these years, notwithstanding some conflicts in European Community matters. [668] The hitherto heaviest touchstone for the upcoming cooperation in security and counterterrorism between Britain and Italy materialised when security collided with free market priorities. This happened first in autumn 1977. After the Italian police had complained that kidnap ransom was paid in many cases without consulting the authorities, Italy had ruled out insurances against ransom demands in kidnappings. [669] Soon later, the British Assurance Lloyd's had expanded its business significantly in the country. As the Foreign and Commonwealth Office refused to ban Lloyds' business, Italy appealed to the European Council and found the support of France and Germany.[670] The Federal Republic for their part had just gone through a major terrorist hostage taking, in which the final operation was supported by the SAS. With respect to the just established "excellent relations" due to British support in a counterterrorist operation, the FCO deliberately procrastinated further negotiations at the European level until the Germans "had a bit recovered"[671] from the dramatic events. If usually security matters were a strong driver for cooperation with the European partners, in this case harmonising security policy was diametrical to national economy policy.

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[666] Country Assessment Sheet, Section 1: Summary of British interests and objectives, TNA, FCO, 33/3209 Italy – Country Assessment Sheet.
[667] FCO, Diplomatic Report No. 13/78, Italy: Annual Review for 1977, Rome 3 January 1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3565 Annual Review for Italy 1972.
[668] Ibid.
[669] Note of a meeting to discuss a Commission Working Paper on the Problems involved in providing insurance cover against the risk of kidnapping, TNA, FCO, 76/1753 EEC Cooperation against Terrorism - Kidnap Ransom Insurance.
[670] Inter-Departmental Meeting to discuss the Commission's Working Paper on the Problems involved in providing insurance cover against the risk of kidnapping, TNA, FCO, 76/1753 cited.
[671] Handwritten note, Richards, WED, 24/10/1977, TNA, FCO, 76/1753 cited.

In later 1977, the Italian interest in British counterterrorism policy increased. In October, Ludovico Inciso di Camerana, Minister-counsellor at the Italian Embassy in London wrote to his government. "Linking the analyses by British experts to the current international ones", he gave his superiors insight into cutting-edge theoretical reflections on terrorism. Eventually, he suggested an "international action".[672] In Italy at the time, the main approach to gain knowledge political violence were sporadic sociological surveys. Thus, the extensive paper on protagonists, facilitating facts, and possible measures to prevent transnational terrorism may well have influenced Italian theoretical approaches to the phenomenon. In December 1977 the Military Attaché at the Italian Embassy approached both the FCO and the London Office of Interpol about a course for Italian Carabinieri officers, which should encompass two weeks of English lessons and one week of "operational attachment to a Provincial Police Force in order to gain practical knowledge and experience in actions and techniques of intervention".[673] In parallel, the Italian State Police asked for an anti-terrorism training and equipment. Italian Foreign Minister Malfatti, who was more seriously concerned with law and order than with the bad economic situation, was delighted about the promptness and efficiency of the British reaction to both. "Nothing could have exceeded the spirit and collaboration and goodwill shown by the British authorities and this had created a most favourable impression", he told Ambassador Campbell in January 1978.[674]

The British Home Office themselves were faced with many enquiries for counterterrorism trainings after their involvement in the successful German operation. In February 1978, they bundled the requests from 18 countries by organising a three-day seminar on techniques and equipment in counterterrorism. Especially the used "flash-bang grenades" had proved very attractive to other states. Yet, the HO preferred to connect their transfer with seminars on planning and organisation of counterterrorism operations instead of "simply handing over the grenades".[675] The course encompassed administrative arrangements, police command and control, negotiating

[672] Telespresso Ambasciata d'Italia London to Min Est, Min Int, Min Dif, Dif-Sid, Ogg. "riflessioni sul terrorismo" 4/11/77 , in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-1980; B. 67, Inghilterra, Strategia lotta al terrorismo, cited.

[673] Letter by the Military Attaché at the Italian Embassy, TNA, FCO, 33/3586 Anglo-Italian Co-Operation in Matter concerning Crime and Law Enforcement.

[674] Letter by Rome Embassy to FCO 16/1/78, TNA, FCO, 33/3586 cited.

[675] Counter-Terrorism: Requests from Overseas for Advice, TNA, FCO, 33/3586 cited.

techniques, intelligence and communications, with the aim "to help other countries in developing their contingency plans". In that way, the UK aim was "to raise standards of counter-terrorist measures wherever we can". Yet, the invitation to the Italians should be extended, since "a strictly limited number of high-priority countries" needed a more intensive training in establishing an assault team.[676] It seems that the UK Home Office was aware of a moral imperative resulting from their newly acknowledged leading position in international counterterrorism. Spain was included only after consultations with the Western European Department, whereas Brazil and Argentina were not invited due to concerns about human rights.[677]

In the same time, the British anxiety about political instability in Italy increased further. By the end of January 1978, Ambassador Campbell and WED expert for Italy David Goodall recommended Prime Minister Jim Callaghan to encourage Giulio Andreotti in a private message to quickly re-build a government after third one had resigned. Callaghan refused, arguing that such a message could influence the Italian internal political situation.[678] Two months later Callaghan doubted that a letter of congratulation to Andreotti's new government would necessary since the appointment of Ministers had barely changed.[679] Here emerged a certain inclination to not taking Italy seriously anymore.

On one hand, the British understanding of left-wing terrorism was shaped by the events of 197-71, when the Police had tracked down the perpetrators after one year. Against this backdrop, the Italian fight against political extremism was seen as a problem among others that could well be solved by the Italians. On the other hand, in the light of the worrying Italian overall situation, the UK considered giving their historically important ally a particular training when teaching their abilities in counterterrorism to many other states. Partly due to the diplomatic efforts by Ambassador Campbell, British-Italian relations in security issues were just getting more tangible when one strike stressed their importance.

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[676] Counter-Terrorism: Requests from overseas for advice, equipment or training, TNA, FCO, 33/3586 cited.

[677] Ibid.

[678] Message from the Prime Minister to Signor Andreotti, TNA, FCO, 33/3570, UK / Italy relations.

[679] FCO to the Prime Minister's Office, TNA, FCO, 33/3570, cited.

3.2.2   1978 March-May: The Moro abduction

In the morning of 16 March 1978, Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro was kidnapped on his way to the Parliamentary meeting where the new Government should undergo a confidence vote. The Red Brigades commando killed his five bodyguards and abducted Moro to an unknown place. On the same day, all parties hastily agreed to put aside their conflicts and back Giulio Andreotti in his fourth term as Prime Minister.

Politicians and public from the whole Western world were shocked by this news, and the UK was no exception. Considering themselves as a most important ally to the Italians, both UK Prime Minister Callaghan and Home Secretary Rees offered their counterparts in the new Italian government "every support"[680] and reassured they would "stand ready to help in any way we can"[681]. The next day, Italian Minister of the Interior Francesco Cossiga thankfully replied, and asked for concrete support: an SAS instructor, preferably "with particular experience of dealing with a siege situation" and twenty stun bombs were considered helpful. An aeroplane would arrive at Heathrow in the evening to collect everything. The British Defence and Home Office immediately agreed to comply with the enquiry, providing even two instructors to assist the Italian forces with advice on training and techniques.[682]

Shortly before, Italy had become interested in international police cooperation, and approached London and Paris for participating in the international "Carlos group". Unfortunately, on 17 March the Head of Police had to confirm to the Government that the group had been closed one year ago.[683]

British print media echoed the emotional statements by Italian MPs' Ugo Spagnoli (PCI) and Ugo La Malfa (PRI), who said that the state was now "in war" against terrorism,[684] and some analyses suggested that Italy was "on the verge of a total breakdown".[685] In these weeks, a growing desire to succour the Italian friends occurred, exemplified in the letter of a concerned citizen to

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[680] Telegram Callaghan to Andreotti 16/3/78, TNA, FCO, 33/3577, Terrorism in Italy.

[681] Telegram Rees to Cossiga 16/3/78, Ibid.

[682] Response Cossiga to Rees 17/3/78, Ibid.

[683] Capo Polizia to Gabinetto del Ministro, ogg. Cooperazione bilaterale italo-tedesca, 4/3/1978, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-1980, B.71 Germania – Criminalità e terrorismo – Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited.

[684] Article "Declaration of war against the State", in Financial Times 17/3/78, TNA, FCO, 33/3577, cited.

[685] Ibid.

Foreign Minister David Owen, asking whether the UK was giving all possible support.[686] Internal governmental sources, in contrast, testify surprise but satisfaction with the Italian Government standing firm against the temptation employ emergency measures such as death penalty or a curfew in the newly decreed anti-terrorist measures.[687]

By the end of March 1978, Ambassador Campbell reported that the Italian public and press were still dominated by the affair, yet the tendency had changed. While Moros letters from the "people's prison" had increased the pressure on the DC,[688] the decision to not exchange prisoners had made the parties stand together in a previously unknown solidarity. Even the Communists, so Campbell, only punctually criticised the governmental policy and instead took advantage of the situation by presenting themselves as a "law and order party"[689] while being "of course embarrassed by the fact that the Red Brigades call themselves Communists". [690] A fortnight later, Campbell concluded that Moro was already seen as "politically finished",[691] as some Ministers started speaking in the past tense about their former colleague. Due the little progress achieved after the one-month search, the UK ambassador noticed a sort of defeatism[692] in the DC's handling of the affair. However, Campbell did not think at this time that Italy as a state was threatened in its existence.[693]

In the meanwhile, the topic had reached the United Nations. Both US Ambassador Young and Secretary General Waldheim had in anticipatory obedience tried to intervene in Moro's favour. Unfortunately, both initiatives were badly prepared and turned out to be disservices. Only eventual interventions by the UK deputy "rescued" the matter, which was much appreciated by Italian politicians and the press.[694] Campbell confirmed to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office that the Italians were very sensitive about what was said abroad, and reminded that the UK was one of the most

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[686] Letter by R. N. Williams Minister Owen, 21/4/78, TNA, FCO, 33/3577, cited.

[687] Restricted telegram from Rome 23/03/1978, Ibid.

[688] Confidential telegram from Rome, 14/04/1978, Ibid.

[689] To Immediate FCO Telno 224 of April 21, Ibid.

[690] Extract from Brigate Rosse Bulletin "Imperialist terrorism and proletariat internationalism", Ibid.

[691] Confidential telegram from Rome, 14/04/1978, Ibid.

[692] Telegram Telno 217 from Rome, 14/04/1978, Ibid.

[693] Confidential telegram from Rome, 14/04/1978, Ibid.

[694] To Immediate FCO Telno 231 of 26 April, Ibid.

important friends of Italy, together with the United States, France and West Germany.[695]

Some weeks later, the common impression among British observers was that Italian government was "bearing up rather better than expected".[696] A "notably weak link"[697], however, seemed Socialist Party Secretary Craxi, who argued for negotiations with the Red Brigades. According to Campbell, this was partly in order to take a different line than the Communist Party. Also, UK press correspondents confirmed "signs of growing impatience in Rome", and the danger that Craxi put to the Government, proposing to accommodate the Red Brigades.[698] The Financial Times went even further, supposing that many Christian Democrats personally supported a plan to buy Moro's life in to an annulation of prison sentences. However, the article subtly suggested that the affair had become a sort of pre-electoral gambling.[699]

It became obvious that political leaders from all countries were equally helpless when the Red Brigades worsened their cat-and-mouse game and repeatedly announced the killing of their hostage, only to make new demands the next At this point, the British support for the Italians was sadly complemented by readily drafted condolence messages to all important Italian addressees.[700] After the unhappy end of the kidnapping, Italian Prime Minister Andreotti was particularly thankful for the moral support.[701] The fact that the House of Commons had praised Moro a "brave and principled martyr of freedom"[702] gave the Italian Government some relief from the internal reproach of having sacrificed the DC leader. Foreign Minister Owen served the same purpose in assuring his Italian colleague Cossiga that the Italian policy had "performed a service not only for Italy but for all civilised countries at risk of a terrorist attack" [703] because they had not given in to the terrorists' demands.

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[695] UKMis New York Telno 944: Security Council: Aldo Moro; To Immediate FCO Telno 234 of 28 April; United Nations Press Release 17 April 1978; To Immediate Telno 248 of 10 May; all Ibid.

[696] Immediate FCO Telno 234 of 28 April, Ibid.

[697] Telno 224, Italian Political Situation: Kidnapping of Aldo Moro, 28 April 1978, Ibid.

[698] The Daily Telegraph, 3 May 1978: "Red Brigade eludes police", reporter Frank Taylor, Ibid.

[699] The Financial Times, 3 May 1978: „Support for concessions to save Moro's life", Ibid.

[700] All messages in TNA, FCO, 33/3577, cited.

[701] Answer by Andreotti to Callaghan after condolence message, Ibid.

[702] House of Commons: Notices of Questions and Motions, 9th May 1978, p.8211, Ibid.

[703] Letter Owen to Cossiga, 10/5/1978, Ibid.

Accordingly, British diplomats attended the Memorial Service that the Andreotti Government had organised in substitution of the actual funeral from where the Moro family had excluded any official representative.[704]

In the immediate aftermath of the Moro affair, the discussion focused on two questions: How professional and how dangerous were the *Brigate Rosse*, and was the Italian state strong enough to withstand the next attack. While Goodall emphasised the advantage that Italy was finally united against terrorism after the dramatic kidnapping, he predicted that the future of the whole state would "depend on the government's success on the law and order front".[705] In the following weeks, the Western European Department warned Italian travellers to Italy to respect the police and road stops by any account, since the nervous Italian police might otherwise shoot.[706]

Many Italian public figures expressed gratitude and appreciation for the support by the UK to Campbell, who then stressed to his Government that it had strengthened British-Italian relations. In political terms, the ambassador mourned the loss of Italy's "only long-term strategist"[707], and regretted that the "able and anglophile" Cossiga had resigned as Italian Minister of the Interior.[708] Both the Western European Department and the Rome Embassy agreed that also in the future Italy will need much aid by the UK.[709] Campbell's statement that the long-term effects of losing Moro were more dangerous than an actual right-wing takeover in the moment[710] might have caused a rather pessimistic view in the WED, saying that "there is very little which Italy's friends can do to help"[711] to improve the general political situation in Italy or the worrying state of the country's authorities.

The speculations on how professional the Red Brigades were and whether they had links to organisations abroad were fuelled by the British press, too. Apart from tracing the developments very closely,[712] the TIMES, as well as THE

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[704] Letter by British Embassy Rome to WED, 15/5/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, Terrorism in Italy.

[705] Speaking note Goodall about Moro Murder in Parliament 10/5/78, TNA, FCO, 33/3577, cited.

[706] FCO to Rome Embassy 23/5/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[707] British Embassy Rome to FCO, 26/05/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[708] Ibid.

[709] Ambassador Campbell to FCO, 06/08/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[710] "Summary of Rome despatch", 26/05/1978, ibid.

[711] Ambassador Campbell to FCO, 06/08/1978, ibid.

[712] Alone The Guardian had published 64 articles in 70 days following the kidnapping;

GUARDIAN, cited an interview that the Italian daily IL TEMPO allegedly had taken with a member of the Red Brigades. Although doubting the authenticity of the interview, both papers argued that the terrorist organisation's equipment and structure was very professional and that every member received at least one year of training abroad.[713] Also, a following governmental report on the Red Brigades' origins, ideology and activities, shows a huge official interest. However, in the light of what we know forty years later, we can say that they overestimated the group when they ascribed a "large network of international ties" to the Red Brigades.[714]

In the first meeting with the new Minister of the Interior Virginio Rognoni, Ambassador Campbell was impressed by his "air of efficiency without disorder", and gave him advice on the organisation of a security system for the future.[715] Soon after, British Home Secretary Rees came to Rome and confirmed that he was glad to offer training for the Italian counter-terrorism response force, but insisted that such a force would need a proper organisation to be effective.[716] Yet, when the Italian proposed a further Ministerial working group among the EEC Home Ministers, Rees hesitated. Since the threat of terrorism was so different in both countries, he did not expect any gain for the UK from that and suggested to increase the operational cooperation instead.

Summarising, one could say that the UK was a crucial supporter for their allies in the "most serious challenge to authority of the State in post-war Italy", at the operative and the diplomatic level. Both the WED and the Rome Embassy agreed on the political value of the fact "that British friendship could be on in a moment of national crisis",[717] and hoped that the Italians could use the training to combat terrorism better. All persons seem emotionally involved, the government were eager on showing a fast reaction and demonstrating support, even if that meant sending the first condolence message. This,

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http://search.proquest.com/hnpguardianobserver/results/EAE8C88D738245F2PQ/1?accountid=11862, last access 19/5/2016.

[713] The Times, 29 April 1978 „Moro kidnap 'was to signal all-out attack on state'"; The Guardian 29 April 1978, p.6: "Gunman reveals Red Brigades tactics".

[714] FCO Briefing Paper on "Italy: Red Brigades – Brigate Rosse", June 1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[715] Rome Embassy to WED "Call on Onorevole Rognoni, Minister of the Interior", 31/08/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3570, cited.

[716] Note of a meeting held at the Grand Hotel, Rome, on 12/08/1978, UK Home Secretary and Italian Minister of the Interior, ibid.

[717] Letter Italian Embassy London to FCO, TNA, FCO, 33/3586, cited.

combined with the certain surprise about the firm reaction by Italian politicians leads to the impression that the UK understood themselves as a "senior in this relationship. A historical analysis of the facts cannot blame them for that.

3.2.3 1978-82: British aid to Italy

When the Italian political picture was recovering a bit from the immediate effects of the Moro murder, the British efforts to support the Italian fight terrorism continued. The Carabinieri who had attended the courses on English language and police techniques reported enthusiastically about the lessons and the efficiency of the UK police forces.[718] Furthermore, Home Secretary Rees invited his colleague Rognoni to London for bilateral consultations to the forms of reciprocal collaboration and technical assistance".[719]

When the Home office made a list of topics to raise, they noted that the Italians' interest in UK police procedures fitted well "with what the SAS training team found to be the Italians weakest point – the command and control elements in their contingency plans."[720]

Even though the Italians now had named a coordinator for international consultations on hijacking, the UK Home Office saw still big problems in the coordination between political, intelligence and police cooperation. The "very rudimentary level on command and control matters" made it hard to decide to whom to talk on the Italian side.[721] Hence, the organisation of a security apparatus was the new focus of the cooperation. Two weeks after the last meeting, Rognoni had appointed General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa as leading counterterrorist in Italy, who finally showed some success. Nevertheless, Campbell insisted that Italy still needed assistance "in building up their overall anti-terrorist capacity" and attached greatest importance to the Anglo-Italian collaboration in this field.[722] In contrast to the Ambassador who continued underlining the positive effects of the British aid to Italy, at times British

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[718] Letter Military Attachée Italian Embassy London to FCO, Ibid.

[719] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc. Dirottamento Aereo della Lufthansa, "Notizia: Embargo Ore 17", 2/11/77.

[720] FCO to Rome Embassy "Assistance to Italy on counter-terrorism", 04/09/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[721] To Priority FCO Telno 417 "Assistance to Italy on counterterrorism", 14/09/1978, ibid.

[722] To Priority FCO Telno no. 449 of 10 October; "Assistance to Italy on counterterrorism", 10/10/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

criticised the beneficence of their authorities to the Italians, providing training for security services abroad at the expense of British taxpayers.[723]

Muted during the most dramatic days of the Moro abduction, the issue of a kidnap ransom insurance resurfaced at the political level in June 1978. "Control Risks" insurance agent Mr Cullen visited the UK Embassy in Rome and asked for governmental backing against harsh criticism from the Italian side.[724] Already in March 1978, the newspaper "Il Giorno" had reported that about one thousand million Lire had gone to Lloyd's in return for their kidnap and insurance, accentuating that the UK benefited from Italian money.[725] The paper argued further that the insurance would increase the risk of being kidnapped for the underwriters, and so finance crime. Hence, the subscription to such an insurance was illegal after the governmental bill against the export of capital in March 1976.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office was torn back and forth in its For diplomatic reasons in one case they even considered preventing an insurance agent from travelling to Italy to promote his insurance, arguing with the threat to the inexperienced agent's life.[726] When the Italians raised the matter to the international level, the FCO defended Lloyds' innovation,[727] most other Western countries stood behind Italy when they formally protested against the British agents offering their services in Italy.[728] The Kidnap Ransom Insurance was not only a contradictory issue for the FCO but also in British policy. On one hand, the British government had a strict policy that ransoms must not be paid, neither in cases of terrorism nor to organised criminals.[729] On

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[723] Letter FCO to Berfordshire Police HQ, TNA, FCO, 33/3586, cited.

[724] British Embassy Rome to FCO "Kidnap Ransom Insurance", 15/06/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, Terrorism in Italy, cited.

[725] Translation of "Il Giorno" article, 26 March 1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3586, cited.

[726] British Embassy Rome to FCO "Kidnap Insurance", 23/06/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[727] British Embassy Rome to FCO "Kidnap Ransom Insurance", 15/06/1978, and reply by FCO to Rome on 07/07/1978, ibid.

[728] British Embassy Rome to FCO "Kidnap Insurance", 23/06/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[729] In March 1981, Prime Minister Thatcher underlined that in her opinion there was however no difference between the two: "A crime is a crime". In contrast to this reiterative slogan, the written version of the speech in Belfast is archived in a more elaborate version: "There is no such thing as political murder, political bombing or political violence. There is only criminal murder, criminal bombing and criminal violence. We will not compromise on this. There will be no political status."; cf. Margaret Thatcher Foundation,

the other hand, they let Lloyds' officers take advantage of the market demand for security equipment in Italy, referring to the rules of a free market.

When in December 1978 Italy was not invited to the Guadeloupe Conference where the heads of Government of the US, FRG, France and UK discussed issues of global security, the always concerned Campbell reminded the FCO in confidential telegram that Andreotti "badly needs all the psychological support he can muster from whom he believes to be his closest friends abroad".[730] The occasion came in May 1979, when the British Home Office in cooperation with the Metropolitan Police, organised a conference for the Chief Police Officers of European capitals, to discuss questions in the prevention of crime and public order questions.[731] It is possible that special questions of counterterrorism were treated, and the Italian participants, Questor De Francesco and Vicequestor Sucato, may well have spoken about the unique public order problems in their country.

On the British side, a crucial change in political leadership had taken place in May 1979. The Tories came back to government, in person of Margaret While she and her leadership by nature were more interested in monetary politics than in terrorism and subversion,[732] since the mid-1970s a special committee (the "Shield Committee") had briefed the shadow government in security topics.[733] A key function in this committee had Brian Crozier, the director of the controversial Institute for the Study of Conflict, which had already informed the Heath Government about all possibilities of Soviet conspiracy. Nonetheless some in the Conservative leadership dismissed this kind of advice,[734] probably the Shield Committee is the key to better

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1981 Mar 5 Th, Margaret Thatcher, Speech in Belfast, online archive http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104589, last access 05.03.2017.

[730] Telegram no 639 of 19 December, "Italy and the Guadaloupe Summit", TNA, FCO, 33/3571, UK/Italy Relations.

[731] Min. Int. To Min Est, Ogg: Londra – Iniziativa per una conferenza dei capi delle polizie delle capitali dell'Europa Occidentale, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80 b. 67 Fasc 11001/114/3 - Sottofasc. 7B: Londra - 10/11 Maggio 1979: Conferenza dei Capi della Polizie delle Capitali dell'Europa Occidentale.

[732] Shield Committee: Making Thatchers Britain, Ben Jackson, Robert Saunders, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p.205.

[733] Medhurst, Option, p.48; Vinen, Richard: Thatcher's Britain, p.84.

[734] Already in 1978 Carrington had vetoed Crozier's proposal that an incoming Conservative government should establish a new 'Counter Subversion Executive' to oppose anti-British subversive activity around the world by 'all clandestine means'. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/9462513/Brian-Crozier.ht

understanding of the British policy in international cooperation against terrorism after 1979. In the opening speech of the Tory referendum campaign in April 1975, Margaret Thatcher had argued that the Community provided "peace and security".[735] However, the fact that European cooperation in questions of internal security between Italy and the UK came to a peak under her government cannot be ascribed to her merits. In 1975, she was probably referring to external security, and in the meanwhile much had changed in Italy.

At the end of the year, the reporting on Italian terrorism changed again. New Ambassador Ronald Arculus used to report the events related to Italian political violence in form of a "calendar of terrorist events" which was issued every month, plus one summary per year. One notices that the reporting from this point on was equally exact, but the tone was less empathic than before. The reasons for this might be manifold.

Firstly, it could be that in contrast to Campbell, who loved the country and had always sought to improve the relations to the UK, his successor Arculus was simply less compassionate about the Italian internal problems. He had been transferred to Italy without any Italian credentials than knowing some Italian from the war.[736] Younger and less experienced than his two predecessors, he did not have the same close relations with the embassy staff.[737] As a consequence, the reports on terrorism in Italy somehow lose their implied "responsibility" towards the friends. Secondly, this change can also be ascribed to the fact that Italian terrorism after the Moro affair had lost the major part of its public support and thus was less dangerous to the Italian state as such. A third possibility is that the bilateral cooperation between Italy and the UK was considered less important when multilateral cooperation in the European (TREVI groups of EEC countries, Council of Europe) had proved more

In 1980, the all overshadowing event in Italian terrorism was the Bologna Bombing on 2 August, killing 85. In an account to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office six days later, Ambassador Arculus analysed the background of the attack, drawing long historical lines of political violence "as

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[735] 1975 April 16, Speech to Conservative Group for Europe (opening Conservative referendum campaign), Thatcher Archive: CCOPR 314/75, online http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/102675, last access 20/5/16.

[736] Pellew, interview, p.10.

[737] Ibid.

reflecting Italy's inability to solve fundamental problems".[738] He blamed this incapacity to deal with terrorism from the political fringes on the unwillingness of the Italian society to cooperate with the authorities. Feeling uncertain which side in Italy would win the "battle", his report seems desperate when he calls terrorism a "destructive but understandable product" of Italian society. The letter ends urging that the UK "must take every opportunity" to help Italy.[739]

The fact that the Italian Minister of Defence spoke about terrorism at a meeting with his colleague in London in September[740] indicates that the issue was important in the bilateral relations and extended the tasks of the Home Ministry. According to Arculus, the main problem for international cooperation was to find in the structure of the Italian "security empires". He suggested to discuss the problem at the meeting in London, but "Italy's security services are unlikely ever to become as well coordinated as we wish", and were "unlikely to produce any substantial proposal for international cooperation soon".[741]

The hierarchy from 1978 seems to manifest in the following years. In October 1980, Italian Ambassador to London Cagiati reported about a speech Home Minister William Whitelaw had given at the international congress of Police Unions in Brighton, wherein he had presented a strategy against terrorism. Cagiati reported the four pillars that Whitelaw had based this strategy on – reforms against public discontent, the treatment of terrorism as a common crime, the importance of anti-terrorism measures being well targeted and temporary, and the reinforcement of the operative capacity of the police.[742] Alone the fact that the full speech is reported underlines the importance of the UK Strategy for the Italians. Furthermore, in the report on the same conference, Cagiati cited a senior police officer who argued for a further engagement of the police in crime prevention, hence for a better formation of police officers in social questions, implicating a constructive contact to the citizens.[743]

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[738] British Embassy Rome to FCO, "Terrorism in Italy", 08/08/1980, TNA, FCO, 33/4594, Terrorism in Italy.

[739] Ibid.

[740] Home Office to WED, 03/09/1980, TNA, FCO, 33/4594, cited.

[741] British Embassy Rome to WED "Terrorism in Italy", 27/10/1980, TNA, FCO, 33/4594, cited.

[742] Ambasciata d'Italia London to Min Int and Min Est, Ogg.: Strategia per combattere il terrorismo. Discorso del Ministro dell'Interno britannico Whiltelaw, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1967-80, B. 67 Inghilterra, cited.

[743] Ibid.

Yet, the aftermath of the Bologna bombing provided another consequence for the bilateral cooperation between Italy and the UK. When Italy requested the extradition of one of the perpetrators from France, based on a treaty dating to 1947, Embassy member Robert Culshaw warned the FCO that the same request would come up regarding right-wing extremists that had fled to London.[744] The problem had hitherto been that extradition on solely political charges was not possible by the British constitution, while the extradition for "standard charge" crimes had always failed due to poor legal presentation by the demanding authorities.[745] Hence, he suggested rethinking extradition to the Chancellor, to neither protect a Fascist nor violate the constitution.

By the end of 1980, Arculus' reports on terrorism had increased in frequency. His account of an explosion in the British Tourist Authority Office[746] followed only one day after a report on a governmental crisis, caused by Prime Minister Cossiga warning his party friend Donat-Cattin about a police raid against his son.[747] The somewhat desperate tone in accounts to the FCO[748] did not change much among members of the UK Rome Embassy. Reporting about the abduction of magistrate Giovanni D'Urso by the *Brigate Rosse*, Culshaw seemed concerned about the "voluntary blackout"[749] that prevented the press from publishing news issues by the Brigate Rosse about the case. After two that had objected this "voluntary blackout" were arrested, Culshaw concluded that Italy was a "besieged society".[750] When D'Urso was eventually released alive and Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani thanked the newspapers for the cooperation, Culshaw could hardly hide a little irony.[751]

In January 1981, a study on Italian terrorism reached the attention of Anthony Burton at the Foreign Affairs Research Institute. Its author, Vittofranco Pisano had already published with the Institute for the Study of Conflict, and not surprisingly focused on the threat of left-wing terrorism. In the same breath, he

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[744] British Embassy Rome to WED, "Extradition of Italian Terrorists", 09/10/1980, TNA, FCO, 33/4594, cited.

[745] WED, "Extradition of Italian Terrorists", 02/12/1980, ibid.

[746] British Embassy Rome, Telno no 689 of 24 Dec 1980, "Attack on BTA Office", ibid.

[747] British Embassy Rome to WED "Terrorism: The D'Urso kidnapping", 23/12/1980, ibid.

[748] Rome TL 235 "Attack on BTA Office", 31/12/1980, TNA, FCO, 33/4594, cited.

[749] British Embassy Rome to WED, "Terrorism: The D'Urso case", 12/01/1981, TNA, FCO, 33/4919, Terrorism in Italy.

[750] British Embassy Rome to WED, "Terrorism", 14/01/1981, ibid.

[751] Telegram no 14 of 15 January, "Terrorism: The D'Urso case", ibid.

dismissed the *strategy of tension* as a conspiracy by the leftist press.[752] Although the arguments resembled those of 1976, Burton shared Pisano's conclusion that Italy should be further supported by the NATO against the danger of a Pact takeover of the weak Italian democracy.[753] Coincidentally or not, at this time the British efforts to support the Italian fight against terrorism shift towards an intensification of multilateral counterterrorism policy. Discussing the question "What can Britain contribute to solve problems such as terrorism now confronting various European countries such as Italy?" by the News Department, the UK government argued for a further increase of multilateral cooperation referred to the recently drafted international conventions.[754]

The reporting on Italian terrorism by the Embassy staff was combined with an increasing attention to the general security of diplomats. After the occupation the Iran Embassy to the Vatican by Mojahedin Students on 2 September, the Holy See Mission suggested a revision of emergency instructions for embassies.[755] In October, Culshaw reports about four attacks on Embassy staff in Rome, the most striking being a Turkish Diplomat who could defend himself by shooting the attacker. This feeling that "Rome is not the safest place" surely contributed to the perspective on Italian terrorism.[756]

In December 1981, the Red Brigades kidnapped the first foreigner, NATO General James Dozier. Ambassador Arculus himself reported to the Foreign Commonwealth Office, probably because of the international importance of the issue, and because the Brigate Rosse had evoked the "possibility of renewed contact with other European revolutionary forces", such as the IRA, in a recent pamphlet.[757] Apart from the fact that the United States pressed Italy to find Dozier,[758] they caused surprise at the British Embassy the next day, as they apparently had received a concrete warning against a BR attack on a NATO

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[752] Foreign Affairs Research Institute, "The Terrorist Assault on Italian Democracy" by Anthony Burton, 23/1980, ibid.

[753] Ibid.

[754] News Dept, FCO, "What can Britain contribute to solve problems such as terrorism now confronting various European countries such as Italy?" 06/02/1981; FCO, "Venice Economic Summit: Declarations on Terrorism", 23/02/1981, TNA, FCO, 33/4919, cited.

[755] British Legation to the Holy See to WED, 04/09/1981, ibid.

[756] British Embassy Rome to WED, "Terrorism against Embassies", 30/10/1981, TNA, FCO, 33/4919, cited.

[757] Telno 453 of 22 Dec 81, "Washington Telno 3858, Brigadier Dozier", Communiquée 18/12/81, ibid.

[758] Telno 453 of 22 Dec 81, "Washington Telno 3858, Brigadier Dozier", ibid.

senior official – and not shared it with their closest ally.[759] On 7 January, Arculus reported on the little progress in the search for Dozier, despite efforts by Italian and US experts. He noticed that in contrast to the last abductions the public seemed less involved – probably due to the fact that Dozier was American.[760] On 15 January 1982, Culshaw described the sparsely attended parliamentary sitting on the kidnapping, where the Government had stressed the share of responsibility due to its international character.[761]

When an anti-terrorist squad liberated the NATO Brigadier from the *BR's* "People's Prison", Ambassador Arculus sounded uncommonly positive, saying that this success would "boost the morale of Italy's security forces, who had already in recent days arrested a number of prominent *BR* terrorists." Additionally, the first successful operation of security forces against the *BR* in a hostage taking would be a "severe blow" to the organisation and was likely to back Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini.[762]

Summarising, a clear cut appears in the reporting on Italian terrorism after the dramatic year 1978. The less emotional reporting most likely reflects the change of Embassy staff. Alan Campbell was possibly shocked by the unexpectedly sharp increase of violence around him. Ronald Arculus could observe the development in Italy first from abroad and was less surprised than resigned about the political violence. Additionally, the UK suffered from new terrorist attacks at home, which after relatively calm years 1976-78 might have drawn attention back to the UK, and away from left-wing terrorism which was taken less seriously. When Italian President Sandro Pertini claimed Italian terrorism was part of an international conspiracy, the Rome Embassy downplayed this due to the lack of "substantial evidence".[763] In this light, the little successfully fight of the Italian state was somewhat looked down at. Another example for this tendency towards Italian events is the opinion of a former Embassy staff member about the Italian crown-witness legislation.

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[759] British Embassy Rome to Defence Department, "Kidnapping of Brigadier Dozier", ibid.

[760] Confidential Saving Telegram from Rome Embassy to FCO, 07/01/1982, "My Telno 543: Brigadier Dozier", TNA, FCO, 33/5765, Terrorism in Italy.

[761] British Embassy Rome to WED, "Parliamentary Debate on Terrorism", 15/01/1982, ibid.

[762] Confidential Telegram Rome Embassy to FCO, "My Savingram no. 1: Brigadier Dozier", 28/01/1982, ibid.

[763] British Embassy Rome to WED, "Terrorism in Italy", 27/10/1980, TNA, FCO, 33/4594, cited; British Embassy Rome to WED " Terrorism", 11/08/1980, ibid.

While observers from within Italy or from Germany expressed doubts about constitutionality of the laws, Patrick Fairweather sees them as just another odd Italian characteristic: "They have this extraordinary ability to forgive, to overlook, to forget crimes. It's a great achievement! It's very Italian."[764]

3.3 Italian – American Relations

In this section, I describe how terrorism in Italy between 1972 and 1982 influenced the important transatlantic relationship between Italy and the USA. As sketched out above, the perception of terrorism as a threat was fundamental to how the partner from overseas reacted. This perception was very uneven over time, and depended on the political world view of the observer. Given Italy's geographical position and the political landscape, the Cold War was an important backdrop throughout the decade.

3.3.1   Early 1970s: The PCI as a threat to Italian democracy

The relations between Italy and the United States during the 1970s were both complex and important for each of the partners. The late Giulio Andreotti remembered the bilateral rapport as multi-layered: "When one refers to American diplomacy, one actually refers to a very complex reality. Sometimes, it was difficult to figure out what Washington wanted for there were in positions depending on whether you dealt with the State Department, the White House or the secret services. Yet they were all American."[765] From the other perspective, Richard Gardner, US Ambassador to Rome between 1977 1981, recalled that "Italy presented a particularly complex and difficult challenge for American diplomacy".[766] Gardner's memoirs on the "Mission

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[764] Interview of Patrick Stanislaus Fairweather; UK Ambassadors Oral History Project, online https://www.chu.cam.ac.uk/media/uploads/files/Fairweather.pdf, last access 20/04/2016, p.45.

[765] Giulio Andreotti in an interview with Frederic Heurtebize, 17/06/2009, cited in Frederic Heurtebize: Washington's Cold War diplomacy in Italy in the 1970s, in: Soc (2014) 51, pp.524–538, p.524.

[766] Gardner, Richard N. Mission Italy: on the front lines of the Cold War. Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, p.3.

Italy" became a best seller in 2005 and illustrate the multifaceted relationship in a strained period, albeit to treat with the appropriate source criticism.

The two most important studies on the bilateral relation between the two states agree with Gardner on one crucial point: the prominent figures of the United States had difficulties to understand Italian politics, in particular, the phenomena of the broadly supported PCI and the emergence of the *Brigate Rosse*.[767] Consequently, the relation was shaped by insecurities of the mutual perception.[768]

Located at the "frontline of the cold war", Italy was considered a highly important NATO bridgehead in the Mediterranean. For the same geopolitical reason, Italy's internal political stability was a declared aim of American policy. Apart from being connected to Rome under the NATO umbrella, the US had deployed a large diplomatic delegation to observe the internal political development in Italy, as depicted by a former British diplomat: "The large American embassy to Italy had a desk officer who worked full time on the Italian communist party and another who worked full time on the Christian Democrats, and another on the small parties, so politically they were very well covered."[769] Since the presence of the strong communist party was perceived as a threat to the political stability of the country, the American guideline throughout the early 1970s was to avoid a further strengthening of the PCI and participation of the Communists in the Italian government by any means.

Similarly, the United States had been an important reference point for Italian governments throughout the post-war era. Knowing the value of the United States as an advocate when negotiating for international aid in the economic crisis, in turn, the Italian DC governments generally showed loyalty to America.[770]

Particularly the private archive of Giulio Andreotti gives evidence that American security politics were also in the focus of Italian political leaders. In December 1969, he asked for two volumes "violence in America, Historical and comparative perspectives", which he received from a US Diplomat.[771] In the

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[767] Silveri, Umberto Gentiloni. "Gli anni Settanta nel giudizio degli Stati Uniti:" Un ponte verso l'ignoto"." Studi Storici 42.4 (2001): 989-1020, here p.1020.

[768] Gentiloni USA, p.990.

[769] Pellew, interview, p.11.

[770] When Moro visited Washington 11/10/71 he confirmed the loyalty to US arguing with economic aid and the prospect of less social unrest; Cf. Gentilloni, USA, p.998.

[771] ILSAA, Serie: Pratica nr. 323, Stati Uniti d'America, B. 652, fasc.23 Situazione interna.

files he used for writing his "*Gli USA visti da vicino"* ("The USA, Up Close") during the 1980s, he cut out newspaper articles about the American dealing with political violence, such as one, in which the paper *Corriere della Sera* depicted the US reaction to the bombing at the New York La Guardia Airport. The article emphasised how "after the initial emotions, America reacted to the attack with a generally calm attitude, this means with the same attitude with which they react to natural catastrophes, and the sense of inevitable horror today is unified with the acceptance of the inevitability of events beyond the understanding and control of men".[772] Whether Andreotti appreciated this attitude in the fight against terrorism is not clear from the document, but it shows an interest in the American calmness that was interpreted as deliberateness.

To analyse the US policy towards Italian counterterrorism questions, two dimensions have to be considered. Additional to the diplomatic relations and official conversations, the internal American assessment of the events was important. Evidence on this does not only give the reports of US diplomats to Washington, but also a number of declassified CIA documents.

During the early 1970s, the US perception of Italy was under the impression of three major insecurities. Firstly, the change of the political equilibrium worldwide and its impact on the power ratio in the Mediterranean made Italy an even more important stronghold of the Western military alliance. The whole Mediterranean scene changed with the Cyprus Conflict, the fall of the regimes in Greece and Portugal, the Yom Kippur war, and the oil price crisis. In light of this, the US re-evaluated Moro's contacts to the Middle East. Therefore, the US tried to reinforce Italy in the Mediterranean and Middle East geo-strategic play, preferably led by a "real centrist" government.[773] The gap between these expectations and the Italian reality with the centre-left government in 1973-74 was obvious.

Secondly, the internal divide within the ruling DC between the classical conservatives and those who favoured a dialogue with the communists made it difficult to choose addressees for the conversation with the political leadership of the country.[774] When the Andreotti government fell in 1973, the CIA was

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Movimenti pacifisti, violenza, questioni razziali, attentati terroristici etc. 1969-2002.

[772] ILSAA, Serie: Pratica nr. 323, Stati Uniti d'America, B. 652, Serie: "Scritti: Usa visti da vicino"; Corriere della Sera 31/12/75, p.1

[773] Gentiloni, USA, p.1000

[774] A CIA-memorandum in 76 described Italy in "transition" and the DC divided in

alarmed over the internal ruptures in the DC, but somehow resigned about "35 crises in 30 years of republic".[775] Moro sought US support in his mediating efforts during the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Italian politicians were aware that Mediterranean conflicts were now more important than the classical block *binomio* antagonism. In 1973, a US institution studied the Italian public opinion towards cooperation with America, realising that the general public preferred European integration. Like in other European countries, a "new anti-Americanism" and criticism of the American "leadership" came mainly from the educated elites.[776] "But most serious of all was the widespread perception in Italy that the US Embassy in Rome from 1969 to 1976 during the Nixon and Ford administrations had tried to fight Italian Communism by working with some of the most reactionary elements in Italian political life, sometimes helping them with covert financing."[777]

Thirdly, the leaking though of news about right-wing putsches in the early 1970s had strengthened the support for the PCI in large parts of society. Between 1971 and 1975, the Central Intelligence Agency issued several long reports on the PCI, containing analysis and prospects. Two particular questions were of interest to them: Firstly, how "serious" was the Communist program in the light of their strained relation to the Soviet Union? In June 1971, the CIA observed that the PCI youth organisation had been "outflanked on the left" by the Student movement and Pro-Chinese groups, while the party told their young adherents to stay out of the violent encounters with the police.[778] The second issue was the motivation for large parts of the Italian population to vote for the PCI in elections. In June 1975, the CIA observed that the Italian public and politicians feared a coup of Neo-Fascist elements, supported by right-wing DC members. Although estimating the chances of a successful right-wing coup in Italy as "almost nil", they attributed the growing support for the PCI to the public insecurity facing the indiscriminate bomb attacks that had occurred 1969 – especially since the secret service SID probably withheld evidence

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camps of Zaccagnini and Forlani (who were both against PCI in government, but had different emphases on theory and practical differences), Cf. Gentiloni in Pons / Agostino, Italia, p.113

[775] Gentiloni, USA, p.1002-3

[776] Gentiloni ,USA, p.1000-1001.

[777] Gardner, Mission Italy, p.4

[778] CIA, DI, Intelligence Report: "Red Power and Prospects in Italy", No. 1709/71, June 1971, CIA RR.

pointing to the right.[779] The CIA-backed coup in Chile led to further mistrust against the United States, not only in the Italian left.

In 1973, the US institutions became sensitive to the problematic public order situation in Italian cities, when in January four cars belonging to US military personnel were destroyed and lightened.[780] Moreover, the *Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism* reported on letter bombs as a recent Italian "trend" in Florence and Pistoia, even if they had only caused damage of property.[781]

The attack on Fiumicino Airport in December 1973 was considered strange", regarding the benevolent role of Italian officials towards the Palestinian cause.[782] US authorities had already criticised Italy for its lenient dealing with Arab terrorists in Feb 73, when two men were released on bail, who were convicted of planting a bomb on board an El Al flight to Tel Aviv.[783] Shortly after the December attack, Ambassador Volpe stated Italy in his view had been "extremely unfortunate" in its response and "gained nothing from being easy with terrorists". [784] In a conversation with Rumor, Volpe raised the concern of the US government that terrorist blackmailing can only be reacted to with firmness and hard punishment. Later he thought his warning had been effective: "I believe the leverage we have will at least insure a thorough review of Italian thinking on this issue, at the highest level, before the same terrorists' case comes again before the magistrate on December 28 [..] with an appropriate

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[779] CIA, Research Study "The Communist Party of Italy. An Analysis and Some Predictions", OPR 311, June 1975, CIA RR.

[780] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 24/1/73, DNSA, retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679122651?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[781] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 21/2/73 and 31/1/76 and 10/1/76, all DNSA, (accessed 15 Dec 2015), retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679136822?accountid=11862; from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679136701?accountid=11862, and from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679136938?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[782] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 14143, 19 Dec 1973, 1973ROME14143, cited.

[783] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 21/2/73, DNSA, retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679132773?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[784] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 14265, 22 Dec 1973, 1973ROME14265, cited.

firm push wherever possible".[785] In a telegram to President Leone, Nixon underpinned his expectation that "Italy, the US, and the entire world community will draw from this brutal act renewed determination to cooperate in combating terrorism wherever it may occur".[786] In confidential conversation, the Department shared Volpe's regret that the Italians released the Arab terrorist suspects and "unfortunately persist in dealing in short term fashion with a basic problem for which there is no easy solution". Ministry official Casey harshly criticised the Italian Government's line of "extreme unwisdom" in releasing terrorists who were caught in the act, and supposed that "perhaps of more direct interest to Italians, is continuing [to] send clear signals to terrorists that they can operate in Italy with impunity"[787]. Eventually, the Ambassador tried to arrange the visit of a FAA team to Italy, to provide advice on airport security.[788]

In turn, the USA used Italy as one of their sources of information about the In February 1975, they learned from the PCI paper *l'Unità* that the PLO had executed a perpetrator of the attack in December 73, considering terrorism harmful to the Palestinian cause.[789]

When the events of internal political violence increased in Italy, the US government did not yet call the bomb attacks by left-wing extremists in Rome and Turin in January 1974 "terrorism", although they were listed as such in the

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[785] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 14265, 22 Dec 1973, 1973ROME14265, cited.

[786] Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Rome, Telegram 249906, 24 Dec 1973, 1973STATE249906, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[787] Confidential Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Rome, Confidential Telegram 037250, 25 Feb 1974, 1974CONFIDENTIAL STATE037250, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[788] Cf. Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 02346, 19 Feb 1974, 1974ROME02346, cited.

[789] Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Beirut / Cairo / Damascus / Rome / Tripoli, Telegram 029915, 10 Feb 1975, 1975STATE029915, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015); and Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 02045, 11 Feb 1975, 1975ROME02045, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

CIA's terrorism report.[790] The same held for a bomb found in a gathering point for Jewish Migrants at Rome Termini Station.[791] Their inclination to downplay "terrorism" may be explicable by a report in June, in which DC deputies complained at the US embassy that terrorism was playing directly into the hands because the attacks were attributed to neo-fascists.[792] After the bombing of the *Italicus* train in summer, the embassy reported about a "shock wave" in Italy.[793]

In 1975, the American perspective on political violence in Italy changed. While CIA Bulletin in March still feared that the "Law-and-order-issue"[794] could jeopardise the Moro government, in May the Rome Embassy urged They asked for 15 additional guards from the US since Rome had reduced coverage drastically and "left-right-violence throughout Italy is cause for concern". To underline their request, they reported an increased number of demonstrations, common crime, bomb threats and terrorism activity.[795] On 3rd June, several firebombs hit American companies in Rome, only hours after President Ford had left.[796] In the same year, a report on terrorism in the NATO countries stated that "In Italy, terrorism has become particularly grave because of the violence of some action and the choice of targets".[797]

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[790] CIA Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 16/1/74, DNSA, retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679133722?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[791] CIA Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 23/1/74, DNSA, retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679145161?accountid=11862, (accessed 14 Dec 2015).

[792] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 07690, 5 Jun 1974, 1974ROME07690, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[793] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 10686, 5 Aug 1974, 1974ROME10686, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[794] CIA USIB, (United States Intelligence Board), National Intelligence Bulletin, No. 636, 11/3/75, CIA RR.

[795] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 06941, 13 May 1975, 1975ROME06941, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[796] CIA, Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism 10/6/75, DNSA, retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679122527?accountid=11862, (accessed 14 Dec 2015).

[797] Secret Telegram USMission NATO to SecState WashDC, Info All NATO Capitals, Telegram 00077, 10 Jan 1975, 1975SECRETUSNATO0077, Central Foreign Policy Files,

The American strategy towards Italy in these years was shaped by State Secretary Henry Kissinger, whose tough line on the PCI was a "policy determinant".[798] When talking to Foreign Minister Rumor about a possible coalition with the PCI in 1974, the latter tried to dissipate concerns of a direct or indirect government participation of the Communists and underlined his loyalty to the West.[799] The American warnings about the *compromesso storico* got louder in spring 1975. In the occasion of signing the Helsinki accord on 1st August, Ford expressed his dissatisfaction with the Italian looming historic compromise in an open argument with Moro: "shaking Brezhnev's hand is not wanting him for vice president". Although Moro tried to explain that the PCI was not comparable to the international picture, and "not all that vote PCI are communists"[800], Kissinger eventually threatened to exclude Italy from the NATO. During the next months, the tensions and misunderstandings continued, with the "Italian question" remaining important for the US.[801]

In February 1976, "revelations that the Lockheed Corporation had bribed Government Officials to sell aircraft to the Italian armed forces made matters worse". [802] However, the intensifying tension made American politicians re-assess the Italian internal political situation. In April, Ambassador Volpe reported about "increasing violence, and further clouds at the political and expressed concerns about frequent street shootings. Importantly, he underlined the change of perspective in the press, where even the left wing papers attacked the extreme left gangs and called for a better education of policemen. Also, the discourse had "degenerated" according to him, as "fires and explosions are routinely ascribed to political arson and terrorism unless proven otherwise". Moreover, Volpe harshly criticised the increasing police violence, such as an officer shooting a fleeing unarmed student in the neck few meters, as well as an innocent bystander, only days before.[803] In May, the Turin Consulate reported about "terrorist"[804] arson attacks against the Fiat

1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[798] Heurtebize, Cold War Diplomacy, p.538.

[799] Gentiloni USA, p.1006

[800] Gentiloni USA, p.1007

[801] Gentiloni USA, p.1008

[802] Gardner, Mission Italy, p.4

[803] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 05931, 11 Apr 1976, 1976ROME05931, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[804] Telegram AnConsul Turin to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram

Company, stating that the situation was already worse than in the hot autumn in 1969.[805] Alone this connection to the workers' movement in 1969 gives evidence that American officials had little doubt that terrorism was genuinely left-wing. In June, CIA Director Walters warned against an underestimation of the PCI and its danger for the US, the NATO and the free world.[806] In a on the Italian crisis with diplomats from West Germany, France and the UK at the NATO headquarters in Brussels Kissinger reiterated that the only solution was the support of democratic forces.[807] The four agreed on a declaration against potential government participation of both PCI and MSI, although FRG representative Van Wells reminded that the PCI was actually part of the *arco costituzionale*.[808]

The prevailing opinion among American policy makers was that Italy was "in transition".[809] After a trip to Italy in November 1976, Senator Clairborne Pell wrote in a report to the Congress that he saw Italy "at a dangerous crossroads her history, perhaps even as dangerous as the one she faced in the early 1920s before turning to Fascism".[810] The CIA seemed to prefer the "right way", a *centrodestra* government.

The growth of public support for the PCI in the mid-1970s then forced all involved parties to consider a new phase of the Repubblica: American press foretold gloom in the post-war stability, and the Times titled "Minaccia When in August 1976 leaders of both countries met in the White House, they tried to settle the issues. All emphasised the importance of Italy in Mediterranean issues and the good relations between Leone and Ford, which should not be risked by internal uncertainties.[812]

00124, 7 May 1976, 1976TURIN00124, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[805] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 07763, 12 May 1976, 1976ROME07763, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[806] CIA Memorandum for Director of Central Intelligence, from Vernon A. Walters, LTG, USA, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, Subject: NSSM 242 on Italy; 2/6/76; CIA RR.

[807] Gentiloni USA, p.1009

[808] Gentiloni USA, p.1010.

[809] Gentiloni in Pons / Agostino, Italia, p.113.

[810] ACS, UdcD, Busta n. i., Stati Uniti di America (15).

[811] The Times, June 1976, quoted in: Gentiloni in Pons / Agostino, Italia, p.114.

[812] Ibid, p.115.

Consequently, Minister of the Interior Cossiga assured Ambassador Volpe that close relations with the US were essential for the Italian social and economic development. Cossiga underlined the importance of "economic assistance" by the world community to remedy the problem of social unrest in Italy. Furthermore, Cossiga was very concerned about terrorism and subversion that troubled Italy. In his opinion "such activities [were] of international origin."[813] Therefore, "he cannot fight them alone, and is reliant upon the cooperation of other European intelligence and security services for help", so concluded Volpe.[814] The fact that in October, a correspondence about the "Status of projects for which counter-terrorism funds were allotted in FY-73"[815] was filed indicates that plans to financially engage against terrorism in Italy did exist at the time.

When Jimmy Carter took over the White House in January 1977, the US Government might have been "partially guided by the will to steer clear" from the Kissinger policy line.[816] Developing the "policy of non-indifference"[817], he sent Richard N. Gardner in mission to Rome. As a charismatic man with a for the particular Italian situation, he and his reports shaped the American perception of political violence during "a critical episode in the Cold War"[818]. He was known for his rather benign line to the distortions of Italian politics and to all parties, including the PCI. Having understood that the Communists were an important political power in Italy, "he sought the discussion with them, instead of antagonizing them".[819] At times, other senior US diplomats found line too soft on the PCI and its potential entry into the Italian Government and urged the Ambassador to take a clearer stand in the public. Only much later,

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[813] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 13414, 17 Aug 1976, 1976ROME13414, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[814] Ibid.

[815] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 16636, 12 Oct 1976, 1976ROME16636, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[816] Heurtebize, Cold War diplomacy, p.538.

[817] Ibid., p.537

[818] Zbigniew Bzrezinsky (US Government security advisor) on Gardner's book, cf. fold text.

[819] Quotation of Giulio Andreotti in Heurtebize, Cold War Diplomacy, p.537.

Gardner seemed to understand the "gravity" of the problem for Washington and showed concerns.[820]

Gardner's first conversation with Republican President La Malfa may have shaped the diplomat's attitude. La Malfa had reassured Gardner that the US should not worry about Euro-communism, as he knew the PCI leaders very in person, and they were "sincere democrats". Furthermore, he pointed out that a PCI participation in the Italian government was indeed a risk. However, there was no solution for Italy that was not full of risks according to him. La Malfa unfolded that he did not believe in a democratic solution for Italy, as the increasing terrorism and violence already had put Italy's institutions in danger and indicated the country was "on the verge of a civil war." He urged the American Embassy to get broader contacts with the Communist Party, as this was the "key to whether Italy can evolve democratically or must look to violent non-democratic solutions".[821] The observation of the parties' handling of the daily political violence seemed to have impressed Gardner: "At a time when public opinion is generally solidified against violence and terrorism" even *L'Unità* urged youths to "self-control and responsible discipline".[822] The impression that many Italians saw the current wave of political violence as a threat to the state characterised Gardner's first months in mission. Although coming "primarily from the alienated middle-class youth" many believed that they were "aided and stimulated by external organisations, probably the Czechs." However, his personal assessment was different: "While the problem is serious, it does not now appear likely to result in an imminent threat to democratic institutions, mainly because the public is overwhelmingly opposed to the present violence."[823] When in summer 1977 the number of incidents decreased, Ambassador Gardner attributed this partly due to the hot weather

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[820] Jock Shirly, interviewed by Frédéric Heurtebize in Heurtebize, Cold War Diplomacy, p.537.

[821] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 07280, 4 May 1977, 1977ROME07280, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[822] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 07881, 13 May 1977, 1977ROME07881, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[823] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 08174, 18 May 1976, 1977ROME08174, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

and the summer closure of universities, but also to the recent police successes against terrorist groups from both the left and the right.[824]

At the same time, the negotiations between the political leaders became PSI General Secretary Giuseppe Saragat urged the American Ambassador that the US "must find a way to help finance the democratic parties without corruption", saying that the PCI was "by far the wealthiest political party in Italy" due to soviet financing. He warned that the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia were behind the current far-left political terrorism in Italy. Securitising the Soviet involvement in terrorism, he openly asked for money to outweigh the SU's influence in Italy. [825] When the CIA briefed the US government that the PCI could take advantage of the DC crisis, they began to exercise more pressure on Italy. They predicted problems with the NATO membership and with US-travels of Italians in the event that the PCI would enter the government.[826]

The CIA assessment of the July Agreement of 1977 was bipartite. Although of the measures only dealt with symptoms of the Italian problems, they did "add up to a more vigorous attack on the problem than any previous efforts could enable the Italians to turn the corner on the violence question." the CIA noticed that the Communists had successfully reinforced their growing public perception as a "force of order".[827] Therefore, the PCI would in the long term gain weight in the Italian political equation, partly because their moderate policies would make them gain "more support in the centre than they are on the left".[828] This also suggests that the US Government's advisors came to conclusion that the PCI had to be accepted as a factor of power in the Italian political game.

In 1977, the reports by US Ambassador Gardner were characterised by their sober language, although depicting a worsening situation of insecurity in Rome and the whole country. Particularly in contrast to the reports of Milan Consul General Thomas W. Fina, the diverse styles are remarkable. Obviously, in

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[824] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 11288, 11 Jul 197, 1977ROME11288, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[825] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 10257, 22 Jun 1977, 1977ROME10257, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[826] Gentiloni in Pons / Agostino, Italia, p.116

[827] CIA, DI, Intelligence Memorandum 15/7/77, cited, CIA RR.

[828] CIA Memorandum, Subject: "The Italian Political Situation", 11/10/77, CIA RR.

the political climate was different, as a high number of armed raids were concentrated in a relatively small city centre. Fina reported that it was "difficult to the US reader to appreciate the extent of tension that terrorism and simple criminality have created". He depicted the deserted city after dark, and that diner guests carried revolvers in handbags to protect themselves. Adding that Milan's commanding *Carabinieri* General Palombi had told him in private that he "felt helpless to halt the progressive breakdown in law and order",[829] Fina demanded armoured cars for protecting the Consulate staff. In November, Fina reiterated that Milan was decisive for Italy since fascism had begun there. But the situation then had been "less grave", as the army was present. Fina called often on General Palombi to assess the public order situation. The General complained that the BR were about to take over the state. He had been asking for armoured vehicles and for the licence to kill demonstrators in order to control but had been disallowed by the parliament. He warned the American Consul against the Communists organising a "para-police force in the streets".[830] Against this backdrop, Fina's dramatic rhetoric and his perception that aggression came exclusively from the political left are little surprising.[831] A few weeks later, Fina represented the opinion of a Milan judge, who stated that any loss of time would have horrific consequences and pledged for "the and encouragement of the US" for keeping the PCI out of government.[832] The

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[829] Telegram AmConsul Milan to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 00782, 2 May 1977, 1977MILAN00782, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015); Cf. "General Edoardo Palombi, Commander of the Carabinieri for all Northern Italy, is the sound, scotch drinking, hard bitten head of the only italian police locally given much credit for mattering as far as state security is concerned. He is also the only local security official, since the departure of the ground corps commander in whose candor and judgement I have much confidence." Telegram AmConsul Milan to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 00644, 8 Apr 1977, 1977MILAN00644, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[830] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 18866, 18 Nov 1977, 1977ROME18866, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[831] Telegram AmConsul Milan to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 01856, 22 Nov 1977, 1977MILAN01856, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[832] Telegram AmConsul Milan to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 01979, 13 Dec 1977, 1977MILAN01979, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic

fact that Milan officials from judiciary and security authorities sought the support of the US Consulate indicates the importance of their bilateral relations with Italy in security questions.

Similar to the Milan Consulate, other cities of the industrial North also reported about the security situation employing a highly securitising rhetoric. While Milan insisted in its path-decisive role for Italy, Turin allegedly saw terrorism because it was the "most Prussian"[833] region of Italy. The Genoa Consul depicted the city as the "birthplace and/or headquarters of the BR and other organisations", where many techniques (such as maiming by shooting) "saw the light of the day in Genoa, later to be copied elsewhere in the country".[834] The reports suggest a sort of competition among the Consuls whose city was suffering most from political violence. In this context, the securitisation of political violence in the Northern cities probably characterised the competition between the missions in sharing the funds for armoured cars or security personnel.

In November 1977, DC President Moro addressed the US embassy to call for closer cooperation between the US and Italy to combat terrorism. Saying that Italian and German terrorism were "obscurely but surely linked" and that probably agitators from Eastern Europe were involved, he predicted that, if unchecked, terrorism "could make public demands irresistible for [an] of the PCI in government to restore public order".[835] With this argumentation, he raised national political violence as a problem for the NATO and the West, with the aim to get American support in counterterrorism. He succeeded with this securitisation in so far as shortly afterwards, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff delegate visited Italy to obtain information on hijacking and terrorism, concerned about US tourists to Italy. On request, the

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Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[833] Telegram AmCOnsul Turin to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 00499, 2 Dec 1977, 1977TURIN00499, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[834] Telegram AmConsul Genoa to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 00631, 2 Dec 1977, 1977GENOA00631, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[835] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 18056, 7 Nov 1977, 1977ROME18056, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

director of the Frontier police praised the security system operating at Italian airports. However, the US staffs delegate responded that the system might be very good, but nevertheless had worries about its implementation, since Italy was "frequently mentioned in Washington as one of several countries that do not maintain tight or preventive security". [836] In late 1977, the messages expressed by government and opposition converged. PSI leader Vincenzo Balzamo urged the Ambassador to support an "emergency government" including the Communists, remarking that "he was certain that developments in Italy were of interest to the American Government".[837] When in December left-wing activists gathered in the centre of Rome in defiance of a police ban, burning cars and damaging property Gardner spoke about "urban warfare".[838] Referring to economic problems, an "endless chain of scandals", and the public order, he assessed: "The country is beset with problems, which seem to go from bad to worse".[839] Moreover, "Politicians are held in increasing disrespect as they appear to be fiddling while Italy burns".

Nevertheless, some American files suggest that still in 1978 the gain of power the PCI was a perceived as a danger for Italian democracy at least as much as was terrorism. As the political crisis intensified in January 1978, Ambassador Gardner returned to Washington for consultations. After discussions at the highest political level, a policy statement was released, expressing American concern about the possibility that the Communists might enter the next Italian government. Judging that "the United States and Italy share profound democratic values and interests", the document said that the United States "would like to see Communist influence in any Western European country reduced," as this "rests with the efforts of democratic parties to meet the aspirations of their people for effective, just, and compassionate

[836] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 19920, 5 Dec 1977, 1977ROME19920, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[837] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 20975, 22 Dec 1977, 1977ROME20975, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[838] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 20879, 21 Dec 1977, 1977ROME20879, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[839] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 20997, 22 Dec 1977, 1977ROME20997, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[840] NY Times, Jan 13, 1978, p.1 and 4.

According to an internal paper, the main argument was that the PCI in government could decrease Italy's engagement in NATO and create problems for the strategic military points in the Mediterranean.[841]

Apparently uneasy with the reports on Italy, the National Security Council addressed the Rome Embassy on how to act in order to strengthen US-Italian ties and Italian democratic institutions. Ambassador Gardner replied on 8 Feb 1978, offering an extensive list of project proposals. At the beginning of the document he stated that the "*most effective way to strengthen the US-Italian ties and [the] Italian determination to preserve democratic freedoms and institutions is to offer clear explanation of US policy, persuasive representation of American society as humane, attractive and responsive to the needs of the people, and convincing evidence that [the]US is source of most advanced scientific and technological knowledge which it is ready to share with its friends. By showing a heightened interest in Italy and in Italo-American ties, we can bolster and give heart to those political forces and elements in Italian society, which are striving to preserve Italian democracy and which believe that Italy's future depends on continued integral associations with the Atlantic alliance and Western community.*" [842] Eventually, he proposed a list of programmes such as funding for book projects, dubbing films on American society for Italian TV, Exhibitions, and exchange of students and journalists. The exclusivity of this programme becomes clear in the comparison with a similar programme between the US and the Soviet Union. The aim was to know each other's problems and to demonstrate to Italian representatives how America coped with similar problems. Most exchanges were thought to treat topics such as society, technology, and journalism, but also seminars on waste disposal management and local economy policy were planned. All of these project proposals could be published on request according to Gardner, except one: an Italian-American working group on terrorism. This group should consist of "*20 US and Italian officials of national, regional, and local responsibility to meet alternatively and quarterly in the US and Italy to exchange information and to coordinate action on terrorism. The working group would regularly discuss names of individuals and organisations involved in terrorism directed against Italy and the US, consider means to exchange information on technical countermeasures, including protective clothing, weapons, surveillance and gathering of evidence: experience with the*

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[841] ACS UdcD, Busta n. i., Stati Uniti di America, (15).

[842] Confidential Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Confidential Telegram 02511, 8 Feb 1978, 1977ROME02511, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

custody of terrorist and exchange training aides. There should be a permanent full-time binational secretariat with offices in Rome to prepare meetings and to follow up on them. It could consist of one senior security official from the US and one from Italy with a shared secretary and office space." To realise this plan, Gardner estimated costs of about 78.000 Dollars annually.[843] Unfortunately, no documents are available that confirm how much of this plan was actually carried out. However, the request for an extensive programme already shows one hand how important the relations to Italy were to the US, and on the other hand that the US government believed to "save" Italian democracy by transferring their values and problem-solving approaches.

3.3.2   March 1978: "An unusually good opportunity"

Immediately after being informed by Gardner about Aldo Moro's kidnapping, President Carter drafted a message to President Leone, saying that "millions of Americans join [me] in praying for his quick and safe return". Furthermore, the department of State prepared an answer for the potential press question whether the US would assist the Italian government in the search, publicly demonstrating their support for "*the Italian government which is vigorously responding to the situation.*"[844] Moreover, they denied expecting any specific request for aid.

Contrary to this initial statement towards the American public, a few weeks later Ambassador Gardner wrote a secret request to Washington with the subject "Assistance to Italian Government in combating international terrorism". Therein he stated that from the Embassy's current "Moro-related liaison" with the Italian government, he knew about efforts to establish a modern and effective police and intelligence unit to deal with terrorism, both domestically and internationally. Being part of the recent reform and restructuring of the Italian intelligence services, it "*fitted with Italy's and other countries' efforts to expand international cooperation on this phenomenon, which is of increasing concern throughout Western Europe*". Gardner substantiated this by mentioning last weekend's EC heads of Government meeting in Copenhagen and the simultaneous "unpublicized meeting of Interior Ministers in

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[843] Ibid.

[844] Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Rome, Telegram 068274, 16 Mar 1978, 1978STATE068274, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

Switzerland". According to Gardner, the Italians were "starting virtually from scratch". Having already purchased many computers and communications equipment, he pointed out that they "need training in its use and organization" as well as "training in trend analysis, stress analysis, creation and use of information systems, the application of behavioural science to crime etc." Although the Embassy had not yet received an explicit request from the Italian Government for help, they anticipated one and believed "that [the Italian government] would prefer assistance from [the] US rather than from other Western European Countries." Particularly since the effort was to build a new system from the ground up, it appeared to the Embassy "to present an unusually good opportunity to establish, through some assistance, a solid basis for continuing close cooperation in the field of international terrorism." Therefore, the Embassy requested that the department of State identified which departments or agencies of the US Government could provide "some or all of the needed assistance and technical advice", and in case the US government not able to do so, could "any parts of it be adequately provided by private US sources?"[845]

The significance of this document cannot be overestimated when studying the Italo-American relationship in counterterrorism. Yet again, a confirmation of how much the US government actually agreed cannot be found in the released documents. However, since the Rome Embassy repeatedly had raised concerns that the PCI had done the "penultimate step" to government participation, and that the DC probably would not be able to deny the Communists the next step,[846] the request did not come out of the blue. Besides, the documents of the following years do give evidence that the US support for Italy in counterterrorism had concretely materialised.

On 22 April, the New York Times published a report about the US government expert for terrorism, Dr Steve R. Pieczenski, who was "called into the case" by the Italian government and attended the strategy sessions of the cabinet under Interior Minister Cossiga for some weeks. He described the government's handling of the crisis as "exemplary" to the US newspaper, as the government had immediately and rightly concluded that the action was aimed at

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[845] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 06810, 12 Apr 1978, 1978ROME06810, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[846] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 05498, 24 Mar 1978, 1978ROME05498, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

destabilising the Italian democracy, and had acted accordingly with its firm position. According to him, the government had demonstrated that it could "function effectively in the presence of this crisis" and that no man was indispensable. The Italian government had requested Pieczenki's aid as an expert for crisis management, who was trained at US top universities in Psychiatry and Political Science, additional to experts from the UK and West Germany. His experiences in Rome had convinced him that the Italians were the process of developing crisis-management techniques", so Pieczenski.[847]

In July, Gardner proposed to the Secretary of State that "savings from previously funded terrorism project" would be spent on safety measures at the Naples Consulate.[848] This suggests that a considerable amount of money had flowed from the US to Italy. A correspondence of May 1978 affirmed this supposition. Gardner requested approval from Washington to release information about US aid to the Italian government. Although the CIA had officially denied this to the Washington Post, the US Government did respond to the requests for Assistance from the Italian Government during the Moro kidnapping and was continuing to share information on international terrorism of use to the Italian Government.[849]

The CIA appreciated the *fermezza* policy of the Andreotti Government, but feared that the situation might "weaken Christian Democrats' effectiveness as a governing party".[850] Gardner replied that in opposite, a "greater support for candidates in form of a sympathy vote" was to be expected in the regional administrative elections in spring 1978; notwithstanding that the PCI had been in the forefront of the law-and-order advocates.[851] According to Gentiloni, the case became a watershed for the CIA: while prior documents had always

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[847] Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Rome, Telegram 103889, 23 Apr 1978, 1978STATE103889, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[848] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 12364, 5 Jul 1978, 1978ROME12364, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[849] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 09895, 30 May 1978, 1978ROME09895, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[850] CIA Memorandum, Subject: "The Moro Kidnapping and Italian Politics", 27/4/78, CIA RR.

[851] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 07381, 12 Apr 1978, 1978ROME07381, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

to prove ties between the traditional left and terrorism, after Moro's abduction they appreciated the PCI's firm stand and rather concentrated on the question how to govern Italy, as tensions between the big parties were predictable without Moro's mediation.[852]

Reacting to the sad news on May 9, President Carter appealed to the resilience of the Italian society by saying that "Aldo Moro stood for the principles that terrorists want to destroy",[853] and agreed with European leaders a few weeks later that civil liberties were "the best answer to terrorism".[854] Although most important voices in the United States agreed with the UK and West Germany in praising the Italian Government's firm refusal to deal with the terrorists, the tenor in the US press was more negative and more critical towards the Italian handling of terrorism. A strong sticking to civil rights and the rule of law was demanded in order to handle the "civil war".[855] A New York Times article put terrorism in Italy in the bigger picture of the world's problems, stating that radical minorities can threaten the world order, and the Moro case was only a "symbol of the problem".[856] America and the Soviet Union were the only forces to control terrorism, of course depending on the Soviet cooperation and their stop to finance the BR. Interestingly, the press across all countries was much more likely to suppose an international control of terrorism in Italy, despite unanimous denial by secret services. At this point, a certain public pressure on the US government to concern with the Italian situation was observable.

After Moro's death, Gardner strongly recommended his government to show symbolic support, such as a visit by high-ranking representatives, "in this critical moment for Italy, and in view of our strong commitment against terrorism".[857] Also, President Carter should pay Italy a visit, to encourage

[852] Gentiloni in Pons / Agostino, Italia, p.118/9 last quote to be confirmed

[853] Jimmy Carter: "Aldo Moro Statement on the Death of the Former Italian Prime Minister. ," May 9, 1978.Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=30769.

[854] Jimmy Carter: " Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany Toast at the State Dinner. ," July 14, 1978. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=31083

[855] Washington Telno 1928 of 10 May, TNA, FCO, 33/3577, cited.

[856] NYT Column 19/4/78 James Reston; Cf. Telegram SecState WashDC to USDEL Secretary Priority, Telegram 100543, 19 Apr 1978, 1978STATE100543, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[857] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 06801, 11 May 1978, 1978ROME06801, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59:

democratic forces in Italy, and a visit to the Pope would be good for internal American policy.[858] Eventually, the President's consultants vetoed this visit. They even rejected a direct trip to the Vatican by helicopter from Fiumicino airport, fearing that terrorists could strike the helicopter by a missile.[859] In contrast, the Ambassador downplayed the concerns of US institutions in Italy and sought to keep up the support by the American civil society. Stating that BR had succeeded in removing one of Italy's main political figures, but "not successfully struck a blow at the heart of the state, as they claimed"[860], he advocated in a letter to the President of Rotary International to continue their meetings in Rome. Despite perceived security problems, he assured that the Italian gracious hospitality was unsurpassed and that no violence against Americans had occurred. Furthermore, he reiterated that Italy needed the "visible solidarity of the Western Community".[861] Compliantly, Cossiga's decision to resign in responsibility for the failure to find Moro was a "surprise move" for Gardner.[862] However, he anticipated that another action by the terrorists might "result in demands for the formation of an emergency government".[863] It seems that the diplomat sought by all means to dissipate undue panic, but kept his sober and clear political assessment of the risk.

In Milan, the assessment was unalike. *Carabinieri* General Palombi called again on Consul Fina in May 1978, claiming a stronger government reaction to terrorism and more rights for the police in investigation and preserving of the public order. He linked public order and terrorism closely and blamed the political leaders for not having reacted early enough. The "denial of

General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[858] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 09350, 19 May 1978, 1978ROME09350, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[859] ACS, UdcD, Busta n.i., Stati Uniti di America, (15).

[860] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 08928, 15 May 1978, 1978ROME08928, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[861] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 07976, 3 May 1978, 1978ROME07976, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[862] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 08689, 11 May 1978, 1978ROME08689, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[863] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 08928, 15 May 1978, 1978ROME08928, cited.

interrogation authority to the police and the political sympathy of many judges for the far left"[864] had according to him caused the "negative trend", not because terrorism had grown more violent, but because the state always grew less capable of coping with it.

In June, Carter received Andreotti in Washington. The US President was optimistic about Italy's future since the economy had recovered better than expected in the first half of 1978. Italian press ascribed this to the "notable political stability in Italy".[865] Gardner welcomed this Presidential statement reported that with the Turin trails "an important step has been taken in Italy's efforts to combat terrorism".[866]

Under the impression of the tense situation in northern Italy, Gardner wrote in summer 1978 on behalf of all American diplomats in Italy to the state department. Facing a deteriorating security situation, he requested the permit purchase Italian cars for the personnel, since the big American cars were easy identify by protesters and potential terrorist kidnappers and so posed a risk. The official cars were too big to manoeuvre fast in the city centres in an emergency case, and they had already been painted in pastel colours to attract less attention than the official black cars. He depicted that the aggression was shifting towards multinationals and their countries of origin. Even though they were not in a siege situation or a revolutionary state of warfare, "this situation could change overnight. [..] We are at a point where we must seriously begin to take very reasonable precaution to protect our people."[867] Applying this unusually dramatic rhetoric, Gardner probably intended to raise the Department's attention and to obtain further security measures and funds.

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[864] Telegram AmConsul Milan to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 00754, 17 May 1978, 1978MILAN00754, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[865] Corriere della Sera, cited in: Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 12418, 6 Jul 1978, 1978ROME012418, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[866] Telegram AmConsul Turin to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 00259, 23 Jun 1978, 1978TURIN00259, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[867] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 12165, 30 Jun 1978, 1978ROME12165, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

Contemporarily, American news agencies and large firms in Italy were taking more precautions than before. Advertisement for bullet-proof windows in cars filled big pages in journals, and embassies had a high request for security briefings.[868] In December 1978, the perceived threat to American Diplomatic personnel reached unprecedented urgency. Ambassador Gardner invited all posts in Italy to adopt an emergency plan for the case of a hostage-taking or other terrorist attack. "Given the terrorist situation in Italy today, the existence and availability of such a plan at each post is a necessity".[869] In neither the British nor the West German (released) documents, such an emergency plan occurred. Overall, it seems that American diplomats were in closer and more frequent contact with Italian policy makers than representatives from the other two states and thus felt more involved with the Italian internal security problems.

In his annual review on terrorism in December 1978, Ambassador Gardner depicted a less dramatic situation. According to him, the successful Police and Carabinieri actions against the BR "permitted the government to project the image of a law enforcement gaining the upper hand, which it considers vital to dry up grass roots support for terrorists." The year 1978 had been the bloodiest in terms of terrorist attacks ever since, yet a turning point, as nearly half of the 29 dead were members of the BR, and the Italian public "was exposed to the idea that law and order was beginning to win out over terrorism".[870] He regretted that the security services were still in their organising phase after the reform and probably would be for another year, and thus very little was dependable on the terrorist groups. He feared that the current parliamentary struggle over police unions was another danger to the fight against terrorism and warned against underestimating the terrorist groups which might strike back after the highly-publicised police actions under Dalla Chiesa. The only long-term success was possible according to Gardner if the parliament recognised the importance of fighting the socio-economic root

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[868] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 12418, 6 Jul 1978, 1978ROME012418, cited.

[869] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to AmConsul Florence / Genoa / Milan / Naples / Palermo / Trieste / Turin, AmEmbassy Valetta, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 24341, 13 Dec 1978, 1978ROME24341, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[870] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 25522, 29 Dec 1978, 1978ROME25522, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

causes of discontent which nourished terrorism.[871] Also, the CIA attested that "despite a climate of mounting tension, many factors argue strongly against an Italian government collapse".[872]

In winter 1978, the concrete cooperation between the US and Italy against terrorism re-gained momentum. In a conversation with Prime Minister Andreotti, US Vice President Mondale asked what the US could do against Italian terrorism both in the present and future. Andreotti replied that wasn't a mere Italian problem and mentioned that together with Ambassador Gardner American counterterrorism experts were invited to Italy. Mondale introduced Ambassador Quentin as the new coordinator for these endeavours, who would explicitly aim at increasing the counterterrorism potential, reaffirming the US offer to cooperate with Italy. Andreotti's response was twofold. On one hand, he held the US offer for "opportune". On the other he expressed his displease: "I don't hide that sometimes the CIA creates problems for us because they write too much about the problem."[873] This concern was shared by leading Officials of the Italian authorities.[874]

In mid-December, the US foreign Ministry in cooperation with the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) and the American Society of International Law (ASIL) organised a conference on Legal Aspects of International Terrorism. Two legal consultants of the Italian government were invited, and key topics were international law and practical problems of its enforcement against international terrorism.[875] When by the end of January 1979 the PCI withdrew their support for the Andreotti minority government, the Rome embassy yet again raised concerns that this support was enough. As the fall of the government had been foreseen for some time, the US were "already engaged in economic, anti-terrorist, social and administrative reform programs, and high-level visitor exchanges to shore up the Italian situation and

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[871] Ibid.

[872] CIA Memorandum, Subject: "Italian Political Situation", 24 Nov 1978, CIA RR.

[873] ACS, UdcD, Busta n.i., USA.

[874] Interview with Ex-SISDE Officer F.V., July 2015: "Gli USA , i loro servizi, erano riconosciute per la loro forza, il potere e le informazioni, ma rompevano le scatole."

[875] On 14-15 Dec 1978, Director was the Department Office for Combatting Terrorism. From Italy, they invited Dr. Capace Minutolo, a Lawyer of State and Dr. Giuseppe Manzari, Legal Advisor at the Foreign Ministry; Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 261107, 14 Oct 1978, 1978STATE261107, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

to tie Italy more securely to the West" and to strengthen the relationship preventively. However, a coordination of support with other European states, which were sensitive to Italy's problems, was necessary. The goal was to "help Italy avoid falling behind in Europe – particularly economically – to the point where its interests no longer coincide with ours and those of the west."[876] Embassy official Vance reiterated the points where the Americans were active: Firstly, the "strategy of cooperation" initiated by Gardner more than a year earlier in the areas of economic, social and administrative reforms. The second focus was anti-terrorism, where the CIA and Gardner had worked together to offer the Italians security training programs, which were "targeted against the principal destabilising factor in Italy" and after several months highly appreciated by the Italians. Furthermore, the visits by political leaders were estimated as essential for the relations.[877] Vance was relieved that the European allies were also sensitive to the problems, and urged to cooperate further with all Western states in the case. However, expecting a new increase of terrorist activities during the government crisis,[878] the American Missions to Italy reacted to the withdrawal of police guards from their posts in front of their buildings by deploying more contract guards. Showing understanding that the chronically undermanned forces needed to concentrate more manpower on the fight against terrorism, the American diplomats urged their government to engage further (at least financially) against the terrorist threat in Italy.[879]

Indeed, American diplomats apparently were much deeper involved in Italian counterterrorism at the operational level than the released documents reveal. In February 1979, a highly sensitive document put strain on the official relations. US diplomat Dominic A. Perrone had authored a report that painted a very negative picture about Italian counterterrorism endeavours. Having interviewed "sources" from the highest levels of Italian security authorities, the report allegedly was full of intimate details, and Perrone heavily criticised the Italian authorities and their leadership (in particular SISDE and its Director

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[876] Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Rome, Telegram 024276, 29 Jan 1979, 1978STATE024276, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[877] Ibid.

[878] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 02721, 2 Mar 1979, 1978ROME02721, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[879] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 04612, 23 Feb 1979, 1978ROME04612, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

Giulio Grassi), as well as the hitherto conducted measures against terrorism.[880] The report demonstrated that the United States had a vast knowledge about the Italian security services. Originally classified as top secret, it was leaked and published by *La Republica* on February 13.[881] Accused of "espionage", Perrone was declared a persona non grata and had to leave Italy within 24 hours, the fact that he had bought property and planned to retire in the country.[882] Some investigative journalists conclude from the fact that Perrone knew many details that the Italian security services were fully infiltrated by the US[883] and that the Italian government was embarrassed about the leaking, fearing internal political quarrels. Independent from speculations about the Italian government's embarrassment, the mere existence of this report verifies that the United States ascribed a high importance to the fight against terrorism in Italy. Presumably, they held their own role therein for more active than official documents prove. Already in June 1978, Gardner had referred in conversation with Washington to a report written by Perrone, wherein the latter had given insider information about the structure of the SISMI counterterrorism section.[884]

At the same time, the usually pessimistic Milan Consul Fina shared positive impressions. The funeral of a relatively unknown public service agent in Milan, who was killed by terrorists, became the lieu for a broad public rejection of terrorism. He even drew parallels to the "defeat" of right-wing terrorism by public rejection some years ago and summarised that there was "a Hegelian aspect to the evolution of the terrorism which seems to say that,

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[880] Cf. Gerhard Wisniewski / Wolfgang Landgraeber / Ekkehard Sieker: Das RAF-Phantom. Neue Ermittlungen in Sachen Terror, p.364; however, these facts are not entirely evidenced with references by the authors and thus have to be treated carefully.

[881] Atti Parlamentari, VII Leg, Discussioni, Seduta 14 Feb 1979, p.27501.

[882] Online archive of Fondazione Luigi Ciprani, http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Archivio.php? DAANNO=1979&AANNO=1980&id=&start=120 13/2/79 Sul quotidiano "La Repubblica" appare l'intervista a Dominic Perrone, agente della Dia in Italia, che critica pesantemente i servizi segreti italiani e i loro responsabili (v. nota 31 gennaio 1979). Giulio Andreotti annota nel suo diario: "Riunione del Comitato di sicurezza…Vi è anche il caso di un certo americano, Dominic Perrone che ha redatto un rapporto sui nostri Servizi di sicurezza, pubblicato ora dalla Repubblica. Decidiamo l'espulsione dall'Italia entro 24 ore di questo indiscreto signore"; Cf. further Alan W Clarke: Rendition to Torture, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2012, p.113.

[883] Wisniewski, p.364; cf. fn 880.

[884] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 15673, 5 Apr 1979, 1978ROME15673, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

than threatening to explode Italian society, it is bearing the seeds of its own destruction."[885]

The events of 1978 and '79 led to a further important change in the US policy towards Italy. Since the end of World War II, the large and active Communist party had been perceived as the main problem. In April 1979, embassy official Holmes wrote to the State Department that the BR were indeed seen as "the offspring of the Communist revolutionary propaganda" by most Italians, but the PCI had "taken a publicly responsible position on terrorism in recent months."[886] In May, Milan Consul Fina wrote a long secret letter to the US Secretary of State, explaining that after 6 years of experience in Italy, he would recommend changing the US policy, which had the single aim of excluding the PCI from government and to isolate it in Europe. According to him, this policy would lead to a "dead end" and should be adapted to the "situation that we foresee for the Nineteen Eighties". The aim was to strengthen Italy's role as a Western Ally.[887] In previous years, Ambassador Gardner had been rather exceptional with his claim to accept the PCI as a political power in Italy and to seek the dialogue. Now, he was supported by the US government's most expert consultants in Italy.

The US concern for the internal security problem in Italy was persistent, as the US Secretary of State underlined to both Prime Minister Andreotti and Foreign Minister Forlani: "we are helping and want to continue to do so".[888] Italy was still seen as a dangerous place by American politicians, and due to the frequent requests, Ambassador Gardner, who had rather downplayed the concrete to Americans in the years before, saw himself forced to "clearly emphasise that Congress Delegates do not receive police protection during their visit", since Italian public order forces were fully engaged in their fight against widespread

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885 Telegram AmConsul Milan to AmEmbassy Rome, Info SecState WashDC, Telegram 00197, 1 Feb 1979, 1979MILAN00197, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
886 Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 09168, 5 Apr 1979, 1979ROME09168, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
887 Telegram AMCosul Milan to SecState WashDC, Telegram 00775, 23 May 1979, 1979MILAN00775, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
888 Telegram SecState WashDC to USDEL Secretary NIACT, Telegram 134409, 26 May 1979, 1979STATE134409, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

terrorism and their manpower was already "stretched to the limit".[889] The reporting on the security situation in general sounded sober and underlined that the most likely targets of a terrorist attack would be Italian DC This threat perception turned out as mistaken when in June the Italian police found a detailed list with the private residences of all US Embassy officials in a raided BR flat. Again, Gardner reported this event to Washington in a serious but factual tone, insisting that the list was apparently from a few months ago, and the attack had not been carried out.[891] Considering the dramatic threat perception, which this discovery must have caused, the explicitly unexcited reporting by Gardner might have been instrumental in keeping the situation under control.

Reporting a subsequent terrorist murder in Rome shortly later, Gardner sounded somewhat resigned about the continuing terrorists' capability to kill high-ranking security functionaries and politicians. He suggested understanding for the anti-government demonstrators gathering at the funerals of terrorist victims and "apparently reflect a general scepticism toward the official view that recent, highly publicized, arrests of some profound terrorists have appreciably damaged their capability for political subversion".[892] The continuous high level of alert had induced rather a habituation with those who observed Italian politics and political violence over the years.

However, the external view was different, and the American Secretary of State required all diplomatic missions to provide counter-terrorism plans until November.[893] In reply, the Rome Embassy requested Anti-terrorism funds to enhance the security measures at the entrances of all Italian missions and

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[889] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 18498, 11 Jun 1979, 1979ROME18498, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[890] Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Rome, Telegram 131239, 5 Apr 1979, 1979STATE131239, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[891] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 15673, 13 Jun 1979, 1979ROME15673, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[892] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 19212, 18 Jul 1979, 1979ROME19212, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[893] Telegram SecState WashDC to AmEmbassy Rome, Telegram 249420, 22 Sep 1979, 1979STATE249420, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

additionally place uniformed and armed guards in front of the doors, as they did not expect the security situation to ameliorate soon.[894] In December 1979, Gardner reported in his usual unexcited choice of words that terrorism had a quality leap since the latest attacks were "murders, not knee-cappings". Nonetheless, he was sure that "Italy will not fight fire with fire – essentially because terrorism is not perceived as threatening the foundations of the Italian republic."[895] Discussing the situation with Minister of the Interior Rognoni, the latter saw the key for fighting terrorism was successful investigation and information and hoped for the "maximum US cooperation and support", such as information on weapons captured with Italian terrorists. Gardner referred to the "ongoing cooperation between the US and Italy and said that the United States would continue to do all it could to be for help".[896] Gardner, in turn, welcomed the governmental aim to force the diverse internal security services to a closer cooperation, since Italy's antiterrorist capability was "badly hampered by the competitive rather than cooperative relationship between police and Carabinieri and among the fractionalised intelligence services".[897] The announced anti-terrorism measures and the appointment of General Dalla Chiesa as chief of the Carabinieri in Northern Italy called Gardner "appropriate".[898] He affirmed to be "impressed by these measures which show that Cossiga had exploited the current public unanimity on the need for anti-terrorist activities."[899]

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[894] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 30405, 2 Nov 1979, 1979ROME30405, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[895] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 33624, 4 Dec 1979, 1979ROME33624, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[896] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 34450, 12 Dec 1979, 1979ROME34450, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[897] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 34717, 14 Dec 1979, 1979ROME34717, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[898] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 34841, 15 Dec 1979, 1979ROME34841, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).
[899] Ibid.

3.3.3   1980s: "An enduring task"

When Prime Minister Cossiga visited the United States in January 1980, President Carter emphasised the friendship of the two countries during the recent problematic years and praised Italy's strength during the Moro kidnapping. Underlining "the pressure for friends to stand together",[900] he compared the situation to a hostage drama in the US when Italy had supported the US Government.[901] Nevertheless, the Human Rights Report by the US Department of State in February criticised some of the recent Italian measures against terrorism, such as the "arbitrary arrest and imprisonment", which was lengthened to a maximum of ten years and eight months previous to a trial. In reply, Cossiga wrote to Carter that the assessments of civil and human rights were provoking misperceptions, and saw Italian counterterrorism efforts undermined: "I tell you with great frankness that the publication of this document harms the international image of my country and certainly is of no help to the efforts by Parliament, Government, magistrates and police forces in combating terrorism."[902]

In agreement with the Department of State, the CIA reported in March 1980 Cossiga had enacted some emergency measures, but only one antiterrorism law was yet ratified by the parliament. According to the report, the government exploiting the public pressure for harsh legislation, as it "recently obtained parliamentary support for its decree-laws on extraordinary antiterrorist measures, but only by making the test a vote of confidence. Cossiga was certain that this particular issue enjoyed widespread popular support and that Communists and Socialists would vote in favour to avoid appearing soft on terrorism".[903] In contrast to the CIA reports of the 1970s, which had been rather one-sidedly critical to any approximation of the PCI towards the government, the focus had changed. In October 1980, the CIA emphasised the coincidence of periods in which the PCI had lent support to the government and an increase in terrorist violence. As the level of terrorist activity was regarded "a good

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[900] Jimmy Carter: "Visit of Prime Minister Francesco Cossiga of Italy Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony. ," January 24, 1980. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=33080.

[901] Jimmy Carter: "Visit of Prime Minister Cossiga of Italy Toasts at the State Dinner. ," January 24, 1980. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=32840

[902] ACS, UdcD, Busta n.i., USA.

[903] CIA National Foreign Assessment Center (hereafter NFAC), report: "Italy: Economic Outlook Fair Despite Political Turmoil. An Intelligence Assessment", 7 March 80; CIA RR

barometer of whether recent police successes against terrorists have seriously damaged their operational capabilities",[904] they indirectly admitted that the anti-terrorism legislation was justified, and that left terrorism was not (or at least not directly) linked to the Communist Party.

In the following months, the archive sources give little evidence of bilateral cooperation between the US and Italy against terrorism in judicial questions regarding terrorism. The report on international relations by the *Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza* reported a visit by a Congress delegation to Rome in December 1980. This suggests a less frequent exchange, but a direct contact between experts. Topics of the talks were the origins of Italian as well as potential legal and cultural responses. Moreover, the legislative impact on terrorism and political liberties was discussed.[905] About one year later law experts of both states met in Washington for defining new agreements on "judicial assistance in penal matters" and "Revision of extradition between Italy and the US".[906] Additionally, experts from the American think tank RAND Corporation were consulted by Italian law-makers and the media. Although Italian political actors and the public were literally more experienced with terrorism, the talks of Brian Jenkins were listened to at conferences[907] and in press interviews.[908] He emphasised the role of media coverage for the aims terrorists[909] and the need for a persistent governmental strategy. Being one of

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[904] CIA Memorandum, Subject: "Italy: Prospects for the New Government", 14/10/80, CIA RR.

[905] Altre Collaborazioni bilaterali, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22 Xa relazione sulle acttività internazionali svolte dal dipartimento della PS, Fasc. 11001/114/3(12) Cooperazione Europea in Materia di Lotta al Terrorismo - Risoluzioni del Parlamento Europeo.

[906] Collaborazioni bilaterali, cooperazione Italo-Americana, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22, Xa relazione sulle acttività internazionali svolte dal dipartimento della PS.

[907] Relazioni e interventi del giorno 3 aprile, Istituto Internazionali di Scienze Criminali – Sicracusa Seminario su "Terrorismo e mass-media", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, b. 21 Consiglio d'Europa. Conferenza sulla difesa della democrazia contro il terrorismo in Europa – Strasburgo 12-14 Novembre 1980.

[908] In Feb 81, an Interview with US terrorism expert Brian Michael Jenkins, titled "Terrorism. An enduring task", was first published in Il Messaggero, then European Newspapers and Washington Post. The interview is documented as RAND Corporation (1981): Fighting terrorism: An enduring task. DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679136515?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[909] An extended version of the talk was later published as article: Jenkins, Brian Michael. Fighting Terrorism: An Enduring Task. No. RAND/P-6585. RAND CORP Santa

the first academics to become a "terrorism expert", he may be seen as an exponent in the process of generating new knowledge by securitisation.

In 1981, the US government seemed to be much more preoccupied overall Italy's economic policy than about social unrest, law and order, or terrorism. Moreover, the public appreciation of the American aid in counterterrorism decreased. A CIA report saw "pervasive patronage and clientelism of [the] Italian society"[910] as the reason for government deficits. Italy's foreign policy was "determined by membership in NATO and EC but often constrained by domestic issues and under attack for allegedly acquiescing in US-dictated actions that threatened détente". Yet for the CIA, good bilateral relations with Italy were instrumental in larger European policy: "If Rome feels it is perceived as a major partner, the Italians probably will work to minimize the differences between Washington and Western Europe".[911] Italy's "dependence on Arab Oil makes Rome share the greater openness of other West Europeans in dealings with the Palestine Liberation Organization as well as their interest in involving the PLO in the Middle East peace process."

By the end of 1981, Italian terrorism came back to highest priority on the American political agenda. On 17 December Brigadier General James Dozier, Deputy Chief of Staff in the Verona NATO base, was kidnapped from his apartment by a group of left-wing terrorists dressed as plumbers.[912] Although the CIA ascribed a "growing terrorist danger for Americans" in Europe, particularly Italy, West Germany, the UK and the Near East, they saw no evidence of a central coordinating authority.[913] When two weeks later the *Brigate Rosse* had not yet made any demands to the authorities in return for Dozier, US government consultants believed that the aim was a protracted with the effect of maximum publicity for the Brigades. As a communiqué by

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Monica CA 1981.

[910] CIA, NFAC, Patterns of international terrorism In 1980, Report: "Italy: Continuing Political Immobility and Probable Economic Doldrums", 5/1/81, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679134733?accountid=11862.

[911] CIA, NFAC, Report cited, 5/1/81.

[912] United States, White House: Memorandum for the President. "U.S. general kidnapped in Italy", 17/12/81, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679122397?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[913] CIA, NFAC, Report: "Growing Terrorist Danger for Americans", 23/12/81, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679145761?accountid=11862, (accessed 14 Dec 2015).

kidnappers criticised issues such as the neutron bomb and Italy's role in the CIA suspected a "shift away from [the] focus on the class struggle within Italy and towards more international topics".[914] US security experts believed that "several factors now mitigating against" Dozier's safe return; notably, the possibility of a successful rescue action by Italian security forces was not even considered in their analysis. Being the first foreigner deliberately targeted by Italian terrorists, speculations in the Italian press about an international cooperation resurrected. During the kidnapping, which is listed as the second "significant terrorist incident in Italy" by US security agencies, President Regan was updated personally on every development. On 6 January an Italian press agency received a telephone call, which announced the killing of Dozier.[915] On January, a British diplomat reported on US experts supporting the search.[916] A secret service officer who witnessed the search, recalled later: "It was a huge mess, since nobody knew who was responsible. He was a foreign agent, but captured in Italy."[917] When the fourth communiqué by the BR did not yet set any conditions for the release of the NATO General, the Italian security authorities tightened up their anti-terrorism measures, deploying about 2000 security and police personnel to the Veneto area. Moreover, new secret measures aimed at cutting off communication between BR prisoners and outside contact persons, as well as "employing military units in the event of particularly serious circumstances, and encouraging cooperation from repentant terrorists."[918] In a press interview, US President Reagan stated that the only means against terrorism was "strict infiltration" in order to anticipate their plans. When asked whether there was enough international cooperation,

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[914] CIA, NFAC, Report: "General dozier's kidnapping: An update", 31/12/81, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679136804?accountid=11862, (accessed 14 Dec 2015).

[915] United States Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs: "General james dozier", 6 Jan 1981, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679122458?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[916] Confidential Saving Telegram from Rome Embassy to FCO, 07/01/1982, "My Telno 543: Brigadier Dozier", TNA, FCO, 33/5765, cited.

[917] Ex SISDE officer F.V in an interview with the author 30/07/2015: "Nel caso del Generale Dozier c'era un gran casino, chi doveva fare cosa, perché era un agente straniero, però catturato in Italia."

[918] CIA, NFAC, Report: "Dozier kidnapping update", 18/1/82, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679122983?accountid=11862, (accessed 14 Dec 2015).

he affirmed there was "the greatest cooperation" with Italy, notwithstanding Dozier's uncertain fate.[919]

On 28 January 1982, the Italian antiterrorist squad NOCS stormed the terrorists' hideout, rescued the US General and seized five of his captors.[920] The first ever successful counterterrorist operation where Italian security forces rescued a hostage cannot be underestimated in its meaning for the Italian self-esteem in counterterrorism. After the successful action, President Pertini honoured Dozier, who in turn strongly emphasised Italy's importance for the Alliance.[921]

A few days later, the US Senate released a Resolution that expressed "heartfelt congratulations and gratitude to the Government of Italy for its dedication and effective efforts to rescue General Dozier and for its success in dealing a major blow to terrorism", and resolved that the US should work closely with friends and allies to combat all forms of international terrorism.[922] Ronald Reagan reiterated his respect and gratitude for Italy "for its superb achievement in the conduct of the liberation operation".[923]

The CIA reported that the "government is boozed by its rescue of General Dozier", but it may soon face new challenges, both from the BR and from its coalition partners.[924] Although the bilateral relations had been strained during the abduction and the Italian authorities had been very sensitive about questions about their responsibility in guarding foreign personnel,[925] all parties underlined their common success afterwards. In meetings with President

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[919] Ronald Reagan: "Exchange With Reporters on Terrorism ," January 18, 1982. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=42387.

[920] The New York Times, 30/1/82.

[921] United States Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs: "Your meeting with general dozier", 4 Feb 1982, DNSA, Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/1679132854?accountid=11862, (accessed 15 Dec 2015).

[922] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, USA.

[923] United States Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs: "Your meeting with general dozier", DNSA, cited.

[924] CIA, Director of Central Intelligence, National Intelligence Daily, 29/1/82, CIA RR.

[925] Confidential Saving Telegram from Rome Embassy to FCO, 07/01/1982, "My Telno 543: Brigadier Dozier", TNA, FCO, 33/5765, cited; Furthermore, A reserved document by the Foreign Ministry to the diplomatic missions however invited to remind foreign personnel that their security could be better guaranteed if they stayed inside protected bases and commandos; Cf. ACS, UdcD, USA.

Alessandro Pertini, both heads of state underlined their "joint determination to defeat international terrorism"[926] and the deep bond between the countries. Reagan praised "Italy's integrity facing terrorism" and the "brilliant operation to free Dozier".[927] By the end of 1982, Reagan assured in a meeting with new Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini to continue the bilateral cooperation in all fields of economy and culture, as well as the fight against terrorism.[928] Assessing that the "Spadolini Government failed in economy policy but had success in foreign policy and counterterrorism", the CIA observed a new activism in foreign policy in contrast to the economy, presuming that the new Italian Government wished to play an important role in the world.[929] During the following years, the bilateral efforts against terrorism were broadened up towards other fields of internal security cooperation, partly due to the broader approach of the subsequent Italian government.[930]

3.4   More than "big words, which fade after the case is over"

The above is part of a *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* article, in which the author urged for a more sustainable cooperation among European states, regarding the dramatic kidnapping of Aldo Moro in Italy.[931] In this section, I delineate how

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[926] Ronald Reagan: "Remarks of President Reagan and President Alessandro Pertini of Italy Following Their Meetings ," March 25, 1982.Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=42323.

[927] Ronald Reagan: "Toast at a Luncheon Meeting With Italian President Alessandro Pertini in Rome ," June 7, 1982. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=42612.

[928] Ronald Reagan: "Remarks of the President and Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini of Italy Following Their Meetings," November 3, 1982.Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=41949.

[929] CIA, DI, Office of European Analysis (EURA), Memorandum "Italy: The Political and Economic Scene", 29/11/82, CIA RR.

[930] Several letters were exchanged on the topic, and meetings between Minister of the Interior Scalfaro and US Ambassador Oakley took place on a regular base; cf. ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1981-85, B. 22, Sottofasc. 11001/114/3(8) Cooperazione Italia - USA: Accordo amministrativo in via di formazione per l'attuazione di verifiche fiscali simultanee a soggetti economici nell'area della criminalità organizzata.

[931] Stuttgarter Nachrichten 19.4.1978; „Und jetzt Moro?", author Jürgen Offenbach, Orig.

the bilateral cooperation materialised apart from short-lived public statements. As a matter of fact, transfers of techniques and knowledge are difficult to if understood as exactly the moment when an idea entered the historical actors' minds. Therefore, I depict the opportunities, in which these ideas, techniques, and concepts occurred first on one, then on the other side. In these transfers, I include learning processes of both Italian and their three most important partners' officials.

3.4.1. Italian – German transfers

In the second half of the 1970s, the collaboration in internal security questions between Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany became increasingly important. The main platform for transfer of techniques and ideas was in the bilateral working group on terrorism, established in 1976. The principles of collaboration in the groups were inspired by a Franco-German agreement of 1975 and included mainly the exchange of information, the mutual assistance in concrete cases, and the exchange of experiences and analyses for a common evaluation. The visit of Minister of the Interior Cossiga to Bonn in January 1978 was the first of a series of contacts at a high level, in which the common fight against terrorism and organised crime had the highest priority. The closest collaboration, however, took place in the working group "terrorism", which was subordinated to "internal security".

Nearly all official assessments of the relations diagnosed that bilateral relations in the delicate sector of police cooperation between both states were more than sufficient, supported by the common conviction that the fight against terrorism and organised crime had to be countered in a joint international effort.[932]

In this cooperation, topics of common interest were discussed at both the political and the operational level. Consequently, in both sectors, ideas, concepts, and techniques were transferred, although not always successfully implemented by the counterpart. To sum up, it is useful to depict first

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quote: mehr als „großmächtigen Worten, die verrauschen, wenn ein Fall sein Ende findet"; BArch, B136/16648, B 136 / 16648; Band 197; Bundeskanzleramt, Politische Angelegenheiten der einzelnen Länder nach Ländern geordnet; 197 = 20.04.1976-13.06.1978, 211 – It 4, It 5 (I3), 3) Aldo Moro Entführung – Antiterrorismusgesetzgebung

[932] An Overview gives the summary "Collaborazione Bilaterale" in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, cited.

of common interest at the political level, followed by potential touch points at the operational level.

Political level / legislation

A main conclusion can be that both Ministries of the interior were very interested in legislative measures against terrorism. This finding confirms earlier research theses, which however considered only the parliamentary discussion and did not take into account that the Ministries literally asked for the respective bills, translated the original texts and commented on them for internal discussion. Frequently, the embassies were in charge of detailedly reporting about any legislative endeavours against terrorism. In spring 1978, extensive reports on six diverse bills for the modifications of the penal law were sent to the Italian Ministry of the Interior, ranging from the law on faster processes (*Beschleunigung von Strafverfahren, 4-10/77)*, to the law against terrorism and for the protection of internal peace (*Gesetz zur Bekämpfung des Terrorismus und Gewaltkriminalität und zum Schutz des inneren Friedens 10/77)* and the law on parliamentary control of the secret services *(Gesetz zur parlamentarischen Kontrolle nachrichtendienstlicher Tätigkeiten des Bundes (4/78)*.[933] The German Ministry was in possess of a booklet "Leggi e decreti. I nuovi Servizi di Sicurezza e il segreto di stato" that presented the diverse Italian services and their structure. [934] This mutual observing did not remain When "Il Tempo" reported that the Italian law on public order was approved 1978, the author referred directly to parallels in the anti-terrorism legislation in Germany in the same time.[935]

A difficult issue for authorities of both countries was the definition of Therefore the mutual interest in the approach of the other state's legislation indeed big. In September 1978, the Italian documents show a quite extensive reporting about the new anti-terrorism legislation that targeted also the sympathiser scene, namely "environments that support materially or morally terrorism".[936] A few months later, the Federal Republic's Ministry requested

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[933] Ambasciata d'Italia Bonn, Telespresso to Min. Int and Min. Est, Ogg. Progetto di legge sulle modifiche al diritto processuale penale? In: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, cited.; Cf discussion between Verga and Schmidtling on 5 May 1977, ibid; ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, Sottofasc.. Legge contro il terrorismo della RFG, Telegramma 349 Urgente, from ItalDipl Bonn to Esteri Roma Pol, 15/4/78.

[934] BArch B106/106874, cited, Broschüre in Italienisch (di Aldo Luzzi) „Leggi e deccreti"

[935] "Approvato il decreto sull'ordine pubblico", Il Tempo, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, cited.

[936] Literally "ambienti che appoggiano materialmente o moralmente il terrorismo"; ACS,

information about the Italian distinction between "extremism" and "terrorism". In the answer, the Italians referred to a law categorising crimes that threaten state order. At this point, the Italian Ministry could share their experience with special legislation, as the category was borrowed from an anti-mafia law.[937] When the issue was legally defined in Italy by a Cassation Court ruling in 1980, the text was studied with attention in the German Ministry.[938]

In 1980, two further aspects were of major interest. First, the Italian Ministry was very interested in the legislative base of German prisons and the questions of high-security parts. In turn, the German side observed very closely the legislative efforts of reintegrating dissociated terrorists. Furthermore, leaders of both states' polices were extremely interested in the organisation and competences of the special forces.[939]

Apart from mere legislation concerning the Penal Code and the Penal Code, also the structure of the security authorities was a topic of major interest for both sides. Not only Minister Maihofer was interested in the progress of the Italian reform. The Ministry in Rome, in turn, asked for information about numbers of police officers in service in the Federal Republic, particularly in the administration and technical departments,[940] when in Italy the restructuring of the security authorities was still ongoing. Shortly afterwards, an Italian delegation under the leadership of Ispettore Generale Capo PS paid a working

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UdcD, Busta non inventariata, Germania Federale, "Terrorismo".

[937] The Italian reply referred to law no. 152 of 22/5/75, art 18; BArch, B136/16648, B 106 / 146536

616 050 - 1 /10 BMI Bekämpfung des internat. Terrorismus, hier: Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 1, vom 15.1.1976 bis 7.12.1979; Botschaft BRD in Rom an AA Bonn, Rom 7.12.79, Betr. Bekämpfung des Ausländerterrorismus; Bezug: Bericht nr 1044 vom 6.6.1979;

[938] the German Ministry of the Interior was in possess of the original text of "Misure per la difesa dell'ordinamento cosituzionale", in which the Italian Court of Cassation first approached a definition of "terrorism" (18art with defined crime "terrorism" and amendments 270 and 270bis, motivation "eversione"); Cf. BArch, B 106 / 106876; 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien, Bd. 8; Juli 81 bis 15.9.82; Forts bd 9; Originaltext d „Misure per la difesa dell'ordinamento costituzionale"

[939] BArch, B106/106875, cited, Abteilungsleiter P an herrrn Minister; Bonn 14.3.1980; betr.: Sitzung der dt-it AG am 10/11.3. 80 in Rom

[940] BArch, B 106 / 106876; 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien, Bd. 8; Juli 81 bis 15.9.82; Forts bd 9; BMI Bonn 19.11.81; Vermerk: IM

visit to Bonn's *Bundesgrenzschutz* Commando, getting a presentation on organisation and tasks of Federal police, and particularly the frontier police. [941]

The correspondence between both Ministries gives evidence about another interesting transfer of a conception, which has not yet received much attention since it is located at the interface of the political and operational level. The informal "deal" with the media while handling an acute situation of terrorism. During the abduction of D'Urso in January 1981, Prime Minister Forlani asked the German Ministry about experiences in the Schleyer and Lorenz cases. The latter replied that in both in both cases no political statements from the kidnappers had been published, to not allow the terrorists a public demand for the release of comrades. Despite media communiqués by the Government, a of "silence agreement" was established between government and media (Presserat), which then was widely respected.[942] Shortly later, Ambassador Arnold reported to Bonn, that in contrast to the Moro case, where the press had contributed to the public drama by publishing the internal quarrels about the governmental strategy, now concluded "important for Italy is the increasing insight that terrorism is ineffective without representation in media".[943]

Operative level

Apart from mutual inspiration for the harmonisation of legislation, the outspoken aim of the cooperation in the "terrorism" group was the exchange of experiences. Hence the focus at the operational level was twofold, on the gathered data and successful techniques. The meetings took place every few months, alternately in West Germany and Italy. It seems that usually the delegation gave a presentation on topics to be discussed. During the first meetings, setting the structure of the cooperation occupied much space; however the encounters from the beginning on provided concrete exchange of knowledge. In the first meeting in January 1976, the following points were agreed on: a seminar on diverse types of explosives used in past attacks, and participation of police personnel in investigations in the other state. As a matter

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[941] Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca nei seguenti settori di polizia: sicurezza interna – sicurezza aviazione civile e impianit nucleari – controllo alle frontiere (agg. 31.12.1980), in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22, cited.

[942] In fact, during the Lorenz case, a newspaper had published the terrorists' demand for release of imprisoned comrades - but this had not been paid by the CDU faction, as demanded by the kidnappers.

[943] BArch, B136/31685, cited, Fernschreiben Rom Diplo an bonn aa 7.1.80; betr. Terrorismus in Italien, hier: Entfuehrungsfall d'Urso.

of course, police officers had no executive powers abroad but should enhance the possibility of cooperation in eventual cross-border investigations. Due to bad reputation of the German "leatherheads" in Italy, police intervention techniques only later became a topic of exchange. When left-wing terrorists in both countries had begun to target single persons, the protection of VIPs a major topic for seminars in 1977.[944] After 1978 then policing techniques were more present on the agendas, and both Ministries considered granting a visit to the own special forces. In 1980, an Italian delegation saw presentations on equipment of the BKA Wiesbaden and visited their training sites.[945] A German delegation in the same year had visited a *Carabinieri* unit and seen a demonstration of tactical behaviour against public disturbations.[946] In 1982, the invitations were extended to the hitherto most secret part, the special forces *Celere* and *GSG9*. It seems that cooperation at the operational level was overall less affected by political tensions. That may be because security experts had independent interests in giving importance to the problem, and so to their

A question that increasingly gained importance during the years of the bilateral working groups was investigation technology. After a working group meeting in 1980, the German delegation reported: "the Italian side was very interested detail information about instruments for the fight against terrorism, the systematic investigation programs". [947]

Frequently the German police forces brought their newest "hi-tech" tools to these meetings, such as video cameras hidden in the roofs of patrol cars.[948] Furthermore, connected to the presentation of new "systematic" investigation practices, also the new computer-based search for suspects was demonstrated.

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[944] Telespresso from Italdiplo Bonn tro Min Est, Min Int, and Min Dif Rome, ogg. Commissione parlamentare di controllo sui servizi segreti, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-1980, B. 71, cited.

[945] Cooperazione Italo-Tedesca nei seguenti settori di polizia: sicurezza interna – sicurezza aviazione civile e impianit nucleari – controllo alle frontiere (agg. 31.12.1980), in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22, cited.

[946] BArch, 106/106875, 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 6; 1.8.80 bis; Forts. Bd. 7; Inspekteur BPdL Bonn 1.8.80; an Herrn Minister; betr. Europäische Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Inneren Sicherheit; hier: bilaterale Zusammenarbeit mit Italien.

[947] BArch, B106/106875, cited, Abteilungsleiter P an herrrn Minister; Bonn 14.3.1980; betr.: Sitzung der dt-it AG am 10/11.3. 80 in Rom

[948] Telespresso from Italdiplo Bonn tro Min Est, Min Int, and Min Dif Rome, Ogg. Commissione parlamentare di controllo sui servizi segreti, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-1980, B. 71, cited.

The most obvious transfer of technology could be observed in spring 1978, when the BKA brought a computer to Rome, to access databases to support the search for the kidnapped Aldo Moro. However, this transfer was indeed two-sided: Due to fewer concerns about data safety in Italy than in Federal Germany by the time, Italian authorities delivered huge data sets about extremists and terrorist suspects, car theft, false identities, arms acquisitions German travellers in Italy. These data were most welcome to the BKA against the backdrop of the surging public debate at home. Previous to this large-scale exchange, in the first meeting in January 1976, the experts' delegations already agreed on exchange of photos, fingerprints, and names of terrorist suspects; furthermore of samples of handwriting and typewriting, and of explosives that had been used in past attacks. A former leading agent of the Italian security service SISDE summarised the operative cooperation in the words *"the Germans showed us how to uncover the hiding places of the terrorists. [..] They were a step ahead, asking themselves which was the 'archetype of the terrorist'. For sure, they were not seventy years old, so they could exclude some"*.[949]

Concluding, it can be said that in the operative collaboration, two types of objectives stand out. The first was the transfer of investigation technology from Wiesbaden to Rome, which in turn was stocked with data about attacks, potential perpetrators and their potential supporters. Closely linked to this exchange was the transfer of a "systematic" approach to counterterrorism. The second emphasis was on personal contact between the police officers, achieved by the participation in common formation courses, study travels, and the exchange of liaison officers. This probably had the aim to overcome personal stereotypes and language barriers. The "aces up the sleeves" of both sides was the exchange of visits at the highest level of counterterrorism special forces, which was only granted after several years of increasingly closer cooperation. In retrospective, one can say that the transfers of knowledge and techniques in spring 1978 had contributed to the change of the Italian approach to counterterrorism policy.

Considering briefly the conditions under which the bilateral cooperation between Italy and West Germany developed, on one hand, two reasons occur that facilitated the increasing importance. Doubtlessly, the cooperation was throughout shaped by mutual estimation at both the personal and the

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[949] Interview Ex-SISDE Officer A.V. 30.07.2016; "per fortuna i tedeschi ci hanno insegnato come scoprire i covi dei terroristi.[..] andavano un passo avanti, si chiedevano quale era il "archetipo del terrorista". Non erano gli settantenni, si poteva escludere alcuni."

professional level.[950] High-ranking officials of security authorities on both sides[951] succeeded to create a trustful climate for confidential consultations and frequently appraised each other publicly for their toughness, leadership qualities and strategic skills.[952] This mutual reassuring in both the of the problem and the evolution of a counter strategy probably expedited both sides in their converging ways. Moreover, when analysing the contents of the bilateral cooperation between Italy and Germany, the pattern of a "trade" occurs: The German BKA shared their technological know-how and the most recent investigation methods employing "Commisario Computer", such as digital fingerprints, data-based search, and observation technology. In return, the Italian authorities provided data on German travellers and residents in or other persons who were suspects in one or the other way. Overall, forms like special investigative police units and the collaboration with captured militant activists were more important in Italy than computer-based investigation. An earlier study gives a possible explanation: "unlike in investigative measures and data collection were hardly questioned in Italy, especially because they were applied against organised crime in the following years."[953]

On the other hand, three reasons occur that did rather hamper the bilateral collaboration between Italy and Germany and possibly prevented it from expanding earlier. The first was a problem of institutional culture. In comparison to German standards, the organisation of the Italian services seemed imperfect to the German functionaries. Notable delays in responding to concrete questions or in nominating a liaison officer made the daily cooperation a cumbersome process and caused displeasure.[954]

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[950] In 1980, the Italian delegation thanked for "long lasting heartly and personal contacts". BArch, B106/106875, cited, 12.3.1980 BMI Vermerk; betr: Deutsch-it AG „IS", hier: Arbeitstagung in Rom in der zeit 9-11.3.1980

[951] Actually, in about 10000 pages of archive material, the author did not come across any woman in a leading position.

[952] BArch, B 106/ 106873, cited, Italiens Innenminister: Verbindung zwischen „roten brigaden" und deutschen Terroristen, Rom, 16.11.1977 dpa, 16/11/77 Cossiga: „Richtigen Weg Schmidts, der Solidarität verdient"

[953] Reiter / Weinhauer: Police and political violence, p.388

[954] BArch, B 106 / 106873; EA – 6570; Wiesbaden, 8.12.1975 (Schramm); Betr. Polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bezug Schreiben vom 26.11.75

Second and closely related to the first problem, came the fact that despite all successful cooperation, the intercultural relations were still shaped by mutual stereotypes. Frequently, the internal communication among officers of the same authority gives evidence of a certain arrogance.[955] Particularly, the feeling of superiority among German officials towards seemingly unorganised and inefficient Italian authorities left traces in the cooperation. The reports by Ambassador Arnold, depicting the "chaos" in Rome and a "declaration of bankruptcy" concerning the rule of law in Italy, did certainly not help to establish a trustful climate as the base for political cooperation, even if he praised the work done by the Italian police.[956] Most visibly, this cultural bias hampered the cooperation, when the German Ministry of the Interior denied sharing information about the GSG9 squad to the Italian embassy.[957] The same holds for the Italian Ministry when they repeatedly agreed to a visit of *Carabinieri* General Dalla Chiesa to Germany, but then in the last moment always sent inferior officers, eventually procrastinating a visit until Dalla was delegated to Palermo in 1982.

A third, structural reason in both authorities that slowed cooperation down the lack of officers with advanced language skills in the other language or in English. When the only German speaking functionary in Rome had to be replaced, communications could only be received during the working hours of interpreters for several months.[958]

3.4.2. Italian-British transfers

During the whole time, the relations between Italy and the UK were "by and large pretty good".[959] The first occurrence of political violence in Italy was observed by the British political elite under the impression of new transnational

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[955] BArch B 106 / 106772; BMI 28.12.78; Betr. Zusammenarbeit mit den Staaten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft im Allgemeinen, hier: Verbindungsbüro; The paper called the Italian authorities "impotent", due to structural deficiencies.

[956] 16/5/77 BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Schreiben d Deutschen Botschaft in Rom (Meyer-Lindenberg) an das Auswärtige Amt Bonn; Rom 16.5.77; Betr.: Krise der italienischen Strafrechtspflege und Situation der öffentlichen Ordnung in Italien

[957] BArch, B 106/106873, cited.

[958] BArch B106/106874, cited, IP 1 Wiesbaden 13.8.80 Betr. Dt-it Zusammenarbeit bei der Verbrechensbekämpfung, hier: Ergebnisniederschrift

[959] Interview of Sir Robin MCLaren; UK Ambassadors Oral History Project, online https://www.chu.cam.ac.uk/media/uploads/files/McLaren.pdf, last access 20/04/2016, p.6.

terrorism and the violence linked to Northern Ireland. Regarding Italy, the concerns about a Communist participation in government supervened for a long time. First relations in security matters were taken up in a multilateral framework but then improved at the bilateral level. When terrorism in Italy caused a serious state crisis, the UK gave important assistance at both the political and the operational level. After the dramatic peak, the UK continued the support, although single voices expressed criticism and irony. At least after 1977, a clear hierarchy appeared between the UK security experts and the junior partner, precipitating at times in sarcasm or despair from the British

In every cooperation, many opinions and attitudes are transferred, but for the analysis I will focus on three: Firstly, on operational knowledge in terms of SAS practices taught to Italian policemen; secondly, on advice regarding the structure of a counterterrorist force and a security apparatus given by UK politicians to Italian Ministry of the Interior; and thirdly, on the governmental handling of crises and the role of the media

Regarding the first point, the most obvious transfer of knowledge about handling an operation against a terrorist action took place immediately after the kidnapping of Aldo Moro. Two SAS instructors went to Italy to teach police techniques to Italian police officers, with a particular focus on methods to solve a siege situation. In their luggage, they brought the special equipment necessary for the training. Italian Minister of the Interior Cossiga had explicitly asked for this instruction. However, this was not the only case of a direct transfer of police knowledge and techniques against terrorism.

Although the cooperation between the UK and Italy in police matters, institutionalised visits, is officially listed in Italian documents as beginning in 1984,[960] several training sessions were organised in 1978, including a *Special Branch* training in Italy[961] and the course on English language and Police techniques. Both the State Police and the Military Police were included at each side. In 1978, the organisation of the courses was clearly that the Italians from the UK Police units. When these meetings were continued on a basis, the Italian representatives played a more active role and gave teaching talks to the other participants, too.

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[960] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85; B. 129, Collaborazione Polizie Estere, F. 11070/133; Forze di Polizia, Scambi di Visite, (Inghilterra).

[961] Handwritten letter by FCO to HO, TNA, FCO, 33/3586, cited.

Secondly, in contrast to these transfers of measures and techniques that were applied mainly at the operational level and can be depicted relatively easily as "watching and learning", transfers occurred also at the political level. In 1978, the SAS instructors who had trained Italian police during the Moro kidnapping saw the main obstacle for cooperation in the insufficient organisation of the security forces. When after the affair Rognoni became Minister of the Interior, Ambassador Campbell gave explicit advice on the organisation of a security system. In case of another major terrorist incident, Italy would need a task force with the full authority of the Government, so the latter.[962] Both the fact that an Ambassador advised a Minister, and that he did this in the first meeting, indicate the importance of the message. In a meeting with Home Secretary Rees twelve days later, Rognoni announced the appointment of a special counterterrorism branch under General Dalla Chiesa. Furthermore, Rognoni seemed very interested in questions related to command structures and responsibilities, and how was dealt with the press during an ongoing event of terrorism.[963] As the Italian delegation expressed their interest in learning more "about the UK procedures in detail and in particular on the role of the police in terrorist incidents", Rees suggested a series of meetings to be arranged between members of the two polices to discuss these questions. A transfer of knowledge in managing security issues seems very likely in this case, although not limited to this field. Later in the same year, the Rome Embassy repeatedly sent newspaper articles to London in which the Italian press took British institutions as role models for Italy, such as the *Public Expenditure Committee*, the dialogue between Government and trade unions.[964]

When Italian parliamentarians discussed the overdue reform of security agencies during the 1970s, particularly the political left had already argued for restructuring Italian security services according to the British role model.[965] However, the persons in charge did not yet meet by the time.

Thirdly, when political violence came up in Italy, the Italian media landscape was highly politicised and rather contributed to the confuse labelling of

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[962] Rome Embassy to WED "Call on Onorevole Rognoni, Minister of the Interior", 31/08/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3570, cited.
[963] Note of a meeting held at the Grand Hotel, Rome, on 12/08/1978, UK Home Secretary and Italian Minister of the Interior, TNA, FCO, 33/3570, cited.
[964] British Embassy Rome to WED „Government and trade unions in Italy and the UK", 20/10/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3570, cited.
[965] Hof, Anti-Terrorismus-Gesetze und Sicherheitskräfte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Großbritannien und Italien in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren, p.30.

terrorism. In autumn 1975, Italian Ambassador to London Ducci witnessed a hostage taking of eight Italian citizens in a restaurant in London, about which reported thoroughly to the Foreign Ministry. Ducci was impressed by British authorities' handling of the situation, which "inspired him to some considerations […] that should be attentively considered by our public order authorities, to draw the relevant lessons".[966] Supported by psychologists, the Metropolitan Police had not given in to the demands of the hostage takers and dismissed their political motivation, but pursued negotiations and provided cigarettes. One press conference a day contributed to the aim to soothe the situation and prevent a public panic.[967]

In Italy, the Red Brigades mastered to exploit the media attention during the Moro kidnapping to mess around the authorities publicly. Four journalists had to face trials for publishing the *Brigate Rosse* communiqués.[968] In June 1978, the International Press Institute organised a congress on "Terrorism and the Media", in cooperation with the Italian Foreign Affairs quarterly. Apart from four case studies, one American and one British representative were invited to give talks on the relation between information and security interests.[969] MP Lord Harris admonished the Italian press not to adopt the language of Various participants underlined the responsibility of the media, and the UK cited as an example, where these politics worked particularly well.[970] The Italian Ministry of the Interior later on discussed a behaviour codex for the press, and the "voluntary blackout" during the abduction of Magistrate D'Urso in December 1980 was probably inspired by these reflections. Thus, I presume another transfer of knowledge and methods in the governmental dealing with terrorism in general.

Similar to the way how the Moro abduction was a turning point for the perception of left-wing terrorism by the Italian public opinion, it was a twofold

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[966] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventariata, (Israele m 34; Gran Bretagna m.35; Cile m.36); reports between 3/10 and 14/10/75.

[967] ACS, UdcD, Busta non inventarita, (Israele m 34; Gran Bretagna m.35; Cile m.36); report 12/10/75.

[968] British Embassy Rome to WED, "Conference on Terrorism and the Media 08/06/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[969] Programme of the Conference "Terrorism and the Media" and invitation letter by International Press Institute Zurich to Minister of State Lord Harris, Home Office, 08/05/1978, TNA, FCO, 33/3578, cited.

[970] List of retainer services for security consulting attached to report by Rome Embassy 23/06/1978, ibid.

turning point for the Italian-British relations in cooperation against terrorism. its drama, many UK representatives felt morally responsible for assisting a country that was shaken by a chain of crises, not regarding whether a fair share of these was caused by structural weaknesses. After this immediate aid, a lack basic in structure and organisation surfaced. Consequently, the advice that British gave their Italian colleagues got increasingly hierarchical for the next years.

It is conspicuous that the Italians deliberately chose the UK as role model for advancement of counterterrorism. On 16 May, German chancellor Schmidt had offered unlimited support to the Italian Government,[971] but aware of prejudices in the public, Cossiga had preferred advice by the UK. Indeed, the Italian press welcomed the arrival of the SAS men,[972] and remarked proudly that Italy had dismissed the aid by the German "leatherheads". [973] The history of counterterrorism cooperation with Germany focused on computerised investigation.

3.4.3. Italian-American relations and transfers

In retrospective, the relations between Italy and the United States in 1972-1982 were dominated by the question of how to deal with the Italian Communist Party. Terrorism was for a long time only seen as a by-product of their existence. Given the strategic importance of the country, US government institutions and security services were highly interested in internal Italian politics, and particularly in political stability. The CIA regularly issued extensive reports on the Italian political and economic scene, including the stability of the government, their relation to the Communist Party, and the state of the Economy and economy policy.

Until 1976, American observers sought evidence that the PCI was responsible for political violence to use as an additional argument for condemning any approximation of the Communist Party to governmental power. They compared the situation in Italy to the dramatic "crossroads" of the 1920s. Outspoken criticism naturally was perceived as patronising by Italian

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[971] To Immediate FCO Telno 234 of 28 April, TNA, FCO, 33/3577, cited.
[972] To Immedate FCO Telno 169 of 21 March, Ibid.
[973] Rome Embassy to FCO: IL TEMPO 20/03/78 "Moro Kidnapping. Appeal by Secretary Waldheim", Ibid.

politicians, and encounters between government actors were frequently on the brink of an altercation, such as the repartee between Moro and Ford in Helsinki in 1975. Likewise, the US was perceived as an important partner for Italian politics, as demonstrated by the fact that leaders of several political parties called on the embassy to express their views on the situation.

In 1977, the appointment of Richard Gardner as Ambassador broke with the tough American policy line shaped by Henry Kissinger. For many, Gardner even too eager in acknowledging the PCI as a political power in Italy.[974] However, in his communications to the Administration in Washington, he conveyed the message that the US policy had to distinguish between the Communist Party and the terrorist groups. To prevent that the Communists continued gaining power and to increase American prestige among Italian citizens, he proposed an extensive cooperation programme, encompassing exchange of knowledge and people in politics, schools and academia. By encouraging American values in shape of books, movies and cultural events, political stability in Italy should be consolidated. Against terrorism, he suggested an explicit programme of cooperation between the security authorities. As in 1978 the Italian authorities were confronted with their hardest challenge exactly in a time of restructuring, Gardner suggested to take this "extraordinary opportunity" to influence the emerging Italian security services "from scratch". To trace in detail how much of these plans were carried out, which traits of the Italian security apparatus occurred due to transfer processes by US aid, is yet to be studied when all archive documents will be released. Unfortunately, the major part of US statements on terrorism in Italy is still classified.[975]

In any case, the threat perception by American political actors was very depending on their geographical point of view. The Consul Generals in the Industrial northern Italian cities apparently felt more directly threatened by political violence and adopted a rather securitising language. Policy advisors in Washington were inclined to assume these dramatic portrayals. The fact that Gardner's accounts on political violence were generally rather unexcited, and downplaying the threat, was probably linked to his overall attitude. When terrorist aggression changed towards anti-Americanism and against multinational firms in the late 1970s, protection measures were adopted. The

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[974] Former Political Affairs Officers at the Rome Embassy, Jock Shirley and Martin Wenick testify their rejection of Gardner's attitude during his time as head of Mission; Cf. Heurtebize, Cold War, p. 528.

[975] Gentiloni, Anni Settanta, in Pons / Agostino, Italia, p.120.

securitisation of political violence in Italy was presumably both expression of a more concrete threat perception, and instrumental in demanding funds for security measures from the US Department of State.

In the 1980s, the bilateral cooperation against terrorism was less present in diplomatic channels. Alternatively, one can suppose that after the "Perrone Affair" in February 1979, the respective documents were more strictly Nonetheless, from 1980 meetings between terrorism experts in law and academia gained more weight. US institutions invited Italian security experts for holding seminars about terrorism, since no comparable expression of the phenomenon existed in the United States.[976] It was advantageous for the Italo-American relationship that the first foreign victim of a targeted terrorist attack in Italy – an American NATO General – represented the first successful rescue operation by an Italian anti-terrorist squad. The mutual appreciations after the successful action laid the basis for future cooperation.

When searching for reasons that enhanced the cooperation between Italy and the United States in counterterrorism, the first question has to point towards type of cooperation. As far as archive documents give evidence, the transfer of knowledge was shaped by the same hierarchies as the political relations were. The thin-skinned reaction by the Italian government after the revelations that US agencies had inside-status in the Italian security system can be explained with dismay. Yet, the expulsion of Perrone could be interpreted as a signal of simple embarrassment and the need for a symbolic action. However, the available documents suggest a different relationship than the UK or West German security authorities had to Italy: Although mocking about "obscure financing strategies, clientelism and *sottogoverno* that shaped Italian party politics",[977] American documents are lacking any trace of arrogant behaviour. When talking about the security system, the Rome Embassy told particular stories rather in an anecdotal shape,[978] avoiding spitefulness.

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[976] Ex-SISDE official A.V. confirmed in an interview with the author (30.07.2015) that he had been invited to a talk at a US research institute, which was received with huge interest.

[977] Gentiloni in Pons / Agostino, Italia, p.119.

[978] The US authorities sent two dogs to Fiumicino airport to support the security measures by sniffing explosives, but unfortunately the local security forces could not make C-4 explosives available to reinforce their trainings. Thus, Ambassador Gardner wrote to Washington to organise C-4 from a US military base; Cf. Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 19853, 2 Dec 1977, 1977ROME19853, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the

Another reason for the American interest in defeating terrorism in Italy was doubtlessly self-supporting. The US government needed political stability in Italy for their geopolitical interests. As the 1970s were shaped by breaking certainties and questioning loyalties of the Cold War, also the US was insecure about their relations to Italy. Terrorism was perceived as the most alarming sign among others, and most attention was paid to it when the "attack on the heart of the state" began.

This very uncertainty was at the same time a reason for misunderstandings and displeasure on both sides. The relation with the United States was not undisputed among Italian political actors and civil society. Also within Italy, and within the government coalitions, the antagonism between Western integration and cooperation with the PCI was omnipresent. In a confidential comment in 1977, Gardner identified Minister of the Interior Cossiga as a of distrust" of parliamentarians regarding counterterrorism policy, since he "too prone to cooperate with the PCI."[979]

As explained above, unfortunately, the exact transferred objects in Italian-American cooperation against terrorism are subject to presumptions until more archive sources are declassified. However, the reports of expert meetings on anti-terrorism legislation, origins of terrorism, and the role mass media has for terrorism suggest that at least an exchange of opinions on these topics has taken place. In 1979, the Rome Embassy reported that the visit of Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti to Rome had been "busy and successful", and the Italian press, as well as legal and judicial leaders, had been very interested in his answers on US security policy.[980]

Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[979] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 20538, 15 Dec 1977, 1977ROME20538, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[980] Telegram AmEmbassy Rome to SecState WashDC, Telegram 12505, 9 May 1979, 1979ROME12505, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

Chapter 4

Multilateral cooperation against terrorism

As a member of EC and UN, Italy was faced with the international reaction to the 1972 Munich Olympia attack in several international circles. At the political level, two major attempts have been done, striving for a common action against transnational terrorism. However, the endeavours at the United Nations and at the Council of Europe were rewarded with little success.

During their meeting in September 1972, the Foreign Ministers of the enlarged Community attributed the highest importance to a unified position of the European states in the subsequent UN General Assembly debate, when "the serious problem of these outrages" would be discussed."[981]

Urged by UN General Secretary Waldheim, the majority of the representatives agreed on the fact that the "highly international threat" required an international cooperative answer.[982] Soon, the General Assembly Resolution "On measures to prevent international terrorism" was drafted.[983] Yet, the main problem was the lack of a commonly agreed definition of what terrorism actually was. Particularly difficult was the discussion on terrorism with states from outside the Western hemisphere. On one hand, third world countries[984] saw political violence as a necessary means in the struggle for independence, so

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[981] Communiquee of the Foreign Ministers of the enlarged Community, issued at their Conference on 12th September 1972 in Frascati, in: Bulletin of the European Communities, Vol 5, No. 10 (1972), p.208.

[982] Blumenau, Bernhard. "The Other Battleground of the Cold War: The UN and the Struggle against International Terrorism in the 1970s." Journal of Cold War Studies 16.1 (2014): 61-84, p.72.

[983] United Nations, General Assembly Resolution 3034 (XXVII), http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/27/ares3034%28xxvii%29.pdf, last access 22/4/2015.

[984] The term „third world" in this context is broadly applied on all states not belonging to one of the superpowers' blocks – like it was freely used by most contemporary political actors in the sources.

they obstructed any joint condemnation of terrorism at the UN level. On the other hand, the Eastern block states regarded dissidents or defectors as terrorists. Consequently, while finding a compromise with the third world countries involved the danger of justifying terrorist acts, complying with Eastern Bloc states' ideas posed the danger of condemning refugees from communist countries.[985] Due to these different ideas of terrorism, the 1972 General Assembly Resolution was a total failure for European countries. In the end, it was so broadly phrased that it could be interpreted as justifying terrorism instead of condemning it.[986] To overcome this deadlock, the new UN strategy was to tackle the problem with a "sectoral approach"[987]. In 1973, a convention on the protection of Diplomats, and in '79 a convention against hostage taking was drafted. The Italian parliament ratified both texts in the mid-1980s.[988]

Consistently, although acknowledging the global dimension of the threat, European countries reoriented themselves back to regional cooperation. The most urgent project among European states struggling with terrorism was harmonising sanctions. Therefore, rules for the extradition of terrorists who to neighbour states were desperately needed. The then valid European Convention on Extradition from 1957 stipulated the obligation to extradite delinquents to demanding countries within the Council of Europe states, with the exception of suspects demanded because of political crimes.[989] Yet again, what actually was a political crime, which required asylum instead of extradition, was a question in which no state was ready to abstain. The CoE addressed this issue with the *European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism*, issued in 1976. Paradoxically, this document did not even attempt to define terrorism but stated a series of crime that required extradition in any case – the abduction of people that involved the use of dangerous weapons and the hijacking of aircrafts, among others. In other words, it denied certain crimes the "terrorism" label.[990] The approach to "pass by" the definition problem was so

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[985] Blumenau, Battlefield, p.68-9.

[986] Blumenau, Bernhard. The United Nations and West Germany's efforts against international terrorism in the 1970s. 2013, p.73.

[987] Idem, Battlefield, p. 76.

[988] The Agreement on the Protection of Diplomats was ratified on September 29, 1985; and the agreement against hostage taking on April 4, 1986.

[989] Lagodny, European Convention, p. 583.

[990] Council of Europe: European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, Strasbourg 27/01/1977, online http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?CL=ENG&NT=090,

the depoliticisation of certain terrorist acts in order to give CoE states a legal basis for extraditing perpetrators of terrorist acts.[991]

Moreover, with this CoE convention, European states had done their "homework" for bringing the topic back to the UN. Italy, together with Austria and Switzerland, was even argued for a further cooperation at the CoE level cooperation between the judiciary and police forces, but could not gain a majority for that.[992] However, the feeling of success already faded when national parliaments had to ratify the Convention. Italy and other states made reservations regarding their obligation to extradite.[993]

Against this backdrop, agreeing on a common convention on terrorism seemed to be easier among the EC member states. Already in 1972, the Foreign had laid the cornerstone: "Regarding their own internal security, the Ministers decided to delegate a Political Committee to work out proposals for concerted action between each country's responsible services."[994]

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access April 22 2015.

[991] Lagodny, Otto. "The European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism: A Substantial Step to Combat Terrorism." U. Colo. L. Rev. 60 (1989): 583, p.591

[992] Blumenau, Bernhard. "Taming the Beast: West Germany, the Political Offence Exception, and the Council of Europe Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism." Terrorism and Political Violence 27.2 (2015): 310-330, p.13.

[993] It could be argued that dropping the political offence exception in extradition treaties would be contrary to Italian constitutional provisions, since article 10, par.4 of the Italian constitution forbids extradition for political offences. Also concerning to the basic rights of the offender, Italy had reservations. The Constitutional Court had declared the extradition treaties between the US and Italy from 1973 and 83 did not satisfy the Constitution, because they lacked an exception for juvenile offenders, as required by art 27 and 31 of the Italian Constitution. The main objection, though, was against giving up national sovereignties in deciding. Consequently, some states added bilateral protocols, Italy set up further rules on extradition with West-Germany and Austria, before it signed the Convention in 1986. Cf. Marichetti, Convenzione Europea; Lagodny, Convention, p.593-598; Blumenau, Taming the Beast, p.11.

[994] Communiquee of the Foreign Ministers of the enlarged Community, issued at their Conference on 12th September 1972 in Frascati, in: Bulletin of the European Communities, Vol 5, No. 10 (1972), p.208.

4.1   The EC TREVI network

4.1.1.   Organising transfer processes

Particularly in the discussions on transnational terrorism in the early 1970s, politicians and security experts insisted that the existing European organs against crime were "insufficient, as terrorism was a 'particular crime' that requested the creation of special organisms." Concrete measures at the Community level "to combat air piracy and to prevent terrorist acts" were claimed as "indispensable" also by Italian parliamentarians.[995] During the 1970s, the perception of terrorism as a transnational threat prevailed, caused by both attacks of Palestinian terrorist commandos and the assumed transnational cooperation between diverse national left-wing terrorist groups.

Frustrated by the cumbersome negotiations on a definition of terrorism at the global level,[996] the European Ministers of the Interior decided at the European Council reunion in Rome on 1st and 2nd December 1975 to react with pragmatism. They set up an informal intergovernmental group as platform for multilateral discussion of European security policy, the so-called TREVI group. Why the name TREVI was chosen, is discussed among historians. Didier Bigo take the retrospective struggle about its inventor as evidence for the success of the project: "*English books ascribe paternity to Callaghan; the Italians remind the location of the first meeting (the Roman fountain) and note that their minister was called Fontana; the Netherlands remind that the functionary who had created the telex system between the capitals had the name Fonteijn; the Germans talked about a former project that they had brought to the panel and which had the French acronym 'Terrorisme Radicalisme, Extrémisme et Violence Internationale'. The French however refused the last point. They saw the wish to rationalise a posteriori what before was only informal, and insisted in the more than difficult beginnings of the organisation created in front of the Trevi Fountain.*"[997] On the founding date, the Ministers' reunion on 1st and December 1975, almost all sources agree. Only a document of the Italian Ministry of the Interior refers to a preliminary meeting of Foreign Ministers in the town Marlia in October 1975, where "the intent was manifested to search

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[995] Deputy Piccoli, Cf. Camera 18.12.1973, cited, p.11942.

[996] Juliet Lodge put it in a nutshell: "EC member states had become dissatisfied with the existing international policies and procedures which dealt with terrorism and felt that a regional approach would be more effective" Lodge, Juliet. Terrorism and the European community: towards 1992, in: Terrorism and Political Violence 1.1 (1989): 28-47, p.30, cited in Bures, Informal counterterrorism arrangements, p.498.

[997] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.86-7

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together for more modern techniques and methods in the fight against organised political crime".[998]

This aura of myth was certainly caused by the fact that very little information the TREVI group was available due to a restrictive information policy. Only short notices about the Minister meetings were communicated to the press, whereas all work at the practical levels below was kept secret.[999] As a consequence of the informal character of the TREVI working groups and their secrecy during their first years of existence, not much documentation and literature is yet available. The most comprehensive account of the TREVI cooperation is a very recent study by Eva Oberloskamp, who analysed the cooperation from the perspective of German officials, in parts complemented the British and French viewpoints.[1000] Her analytical key is the conception of accountability, thus she gives particular importance to the question to which extent the historical actors were subject to principles of democratic control.[1001]

Other studies on European internal security cooperation touched on the informal working groups,[1002] but suffered from the lack of available primary sources. To trace the entire history of the TREVI network is not the objective of this section. I rather aim at revealing the meaning of the TREVI network for the Italian counterterrorism policy by tracing certain sectors of collaboration. Often, the Italian Ministry or the heads of the authorities commented on single decisions or topics, expressed satisfaction or displeasure. From these internal evaluations, the impact of the TREVI cooperation on Italian politics appears. I analyse which topics of discussion considered the Italian delegation most relevant, who contributed to these topics and which were the relations between the protagonists. As far as information is available, I also aim at shedding light on the context. Why were the respective topics raised, how intense were they

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[998] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI.

[999] Lay, Friederike: Das Europäische Parlament in der Justiz-und Innenpolitik der Europäischen Union: Entscheidungsprozesse in ausgewählten Fallstudien. Vol. 594. Peter Lang, 2011, p.24; Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.89. Bigo knew only about 6 Reunions: Luxembourg 29 June 76, from 1977 til 85 only six reunions (London 77, Bonn78, Dublin 79, London 81, Bonn 83, Rome 85) Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.87.

[1000] Oberloskamp, Codename TREVI.

[1001] Ibid, p.7.

[1002] Hof, Staat und Terrorismus; Di Fabio, Due Democrazie.

discussed, how were certain proposals received, and who was satisfied with outcome?

The aim of the TREVI network was not entirely clear for a long time. Most studies in the 1990s and 2000s stated that they were established merely "to intensify efforts to combat international terrorism". [1003] Contemporary documentation suggests that the original purpose of the network went beyond. An internal note in the Italian Ministry of the Interior informed that in September 1976 Senior Officials of Polices and Security Services of the EC member states met in Den Hague and defined the forms of cooperation. These Senior Officials were the important "intermediate panel", which gave advice to the ministers' decisions and coordinated the work at the practical level. They created five "TREVI Working Groups", with the tasks *"to plan and realize the exchange of information and agreements of mutual assistance in the fight against terrorism (Group 1), to exchange information, techniques and working experiences regarding the training of police personnel (Group 2), constant cooperation in the civil aviation sector (Group 3), collaboration in security measures for nuclear material transports and nuclear plants (Group 4), collaboration in the fight against natural catastrophes and fire (Group 5)."* [1004]

With this structure, the TREVI working groups were thought to cover the areas of the biggest problems related to internal security and to organise the cooperation between the member states in these fields. However, the fact that terrorism was the very first task indicates that the newly perceived threat was one of the main drivers for a closer cooperation between the authorities.

For an analysis of the Italian participation in cooperation against terrorism, my main interest lies on the Working Groups 1 (terrorism) and 2 (Police Implemented on purpose to organise the transfer of techniques and knowledge between national polices, their meetings can be considered a "laboratory" for

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[1003] F. Korthals Altes: Towards a European Response to Terrorism: National Experiences and Lessons for 1993, in: Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol. 4 Nr 4, 1992, p.239. Bigo concluded that TREVI "were established with the aim of holding conferences among ministers and senior officials to mutually inform about the evolution of internal terrorism in each country and to discover potential connections"; Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.86-7.

[1004] Cooperazione nell'ambito della CEE – 1° Gruppo "Trevi" per l'aiuto reciproco nei seguenti settori: Lotta al terrorismo, tecnologia e scambio di personale, sicurezza dell'aviazione civile – Sicurezza dei trasporti di materiale nucleare – lotta contro le calamità naturali e gli incendi, 1/7- 31/12/1977 in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Fasc. 11001/114/6 Germania, Criminalità e terrorismo, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Sottofasc. 3 Lotta al Terrorismo - Cooperazione Internazionale.

advancing and harmonising European police work against terrorism. Although in most countries the first special investigation units and operational commandos against terrorism were developed in the second half of the 1970s, the largest part of police contact with terrorism was part of the daily "street work" in the context of ordinary tasks such as the preservation of public order, crime prevention and persecution. That a strict distinction between the Groups 1 and 2 was difficult or probably not even intended is underlined by fact that the Italian delegations for both Working Groups largely

Due to the already existing terrorism problem in Italy, and its changing perception as a distinct phenomenon of internal security that required a particular approach, the Italian government for sure was chiefly concerned this question. The growing awareness that terrorism was a transnational phenomenon, which could not be combated successfully with a merely national strategy, reinforced this concern. At the founding conference of the Working Groups, Italian Interior Minister Cossiga underlined that "especially the fight against terrorism required not only a cooperation of the nine polices, but also between the Secret Services", since terrorism "by attacking single objects aims the state as such and at unsettling the state." Furthermore, Cossiga pointed to the international "interweaving of certain terrorist circles and their notable material and personal resources".[1006]

In order to deepen the work on the above mentioned fields among experts, the Working Groups 1 and 2 met frequently in the following nine months. [1007] In first meetings, the Working Groups basically decided to establish standards on their multilateral cooperation, which were already successfully established in

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[1005] Due to restrictions for the protection of personal data given by ACS and BArch, the names of the single officials remain undisclosed. However, the Italian delegations in the diverse Working Groups consisted of persons in the rank of Vice Questor, who often attended the meetings of both Working Groups 1 and 2. Nevertheless, both delegations included also experts who attended only WG1 or WG2.

[1006] BArch, B106/78831, 600 812 / 2 BMI; Europ. Konferenz für Innere Sicherheit; Bd.7; 11.6.76-30.6.76; Forts Bd.8; Referat ÖS 1 Bonn 11.6.76 an Herrn Minister; betr: Vorbereitung einer Europäischen Konferenz für Innere Sicherheit; hier: Ergänzungs der auf Beamtenebene erarbeiteten Papiere durch eine politische Willenserklärung der Minister.

[1007] Meetings of WG 1: Den Haag 11-2 Oct, 8-9 Nov 76; London 10-11 Feb 77; WG 2 Den Haag on 13-4 Oct; 10-1 Nov, 15-6 Dec; London 19 Jan, 3-4 Mar, 24-5 Mar 77; cf. ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI.

bilateral cross-border cooperation, such as granting the principal right to also beyond the national territory and of cross-border cooperation between the various Security Services. Next aims to facilitate the cooperation were a common radio frequency; the establishment of a Liaison Office in every state's Ministry; as well as cooperation with the „privileged states" Switzerland, Austria and Norway, and on Italian proposal, Spain. The Italian delegation proposed a "general collaboration" between the Intelligence and Security Services.[1008]

In October 76, all participants assessed the exchange of knowledge as "satisfying".[1009] Notwithstanding first differences occurring in question of the implementation of the first decisions, in their second meeting few weeks later, the TREVI 1 group agreed on closer cooperation: information regarding the past, present and future of terrorism should be exchanged in regular symposia on experiences with terrorism; aid in concrete cases should be guaranteed by hoc groups for operative measures;[1010] and direct landlines were established between the Liaison Offices of each country to allow fast communication.[1011]

In their first year, Working Group 2 established four subgroups to organise exchange about the topics "Communication", "Equipment", "Scientific Police", and "Informatics", putting single delegations in charge of organising the seminars and so "teaching" their knowledge to the participants.[1012] In this

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[1008] 5° riunione del comitato degli "Alti Funzionari" – Bonn 31 Ottobre 1978, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67 a, cited.

[1009] BArch, B 106/78834, 600812 – 1/1 BMI Europ. Zusammenarbeit innere Sicherheit AG I Terrorismusbekämpfung; Bd. 1, 10.1976 bis 15.6.1978,; Forts. Bd. 2; Abdruck für ÖS 1; Europäische Zusammenarbeit für „Innere Sicherheit", Hier: Bekämpfung des Terrorismus; Ergebnisniederschrift über die erste Sitzung der EG-Arbeitsgruppe „Terrorismus" am 11/12.10.76 in Den Haag.

[1010] DK, Bel, F oppose cross border investigations; In November FRG representatives gave a presentation on the Stockholm Embassy siege of 1974, and in the next meeting (Feb 77) British representatives reported on an IRA hostage taking in London 75; BArch, B 106/78834, cited, 8./9.11.76 Arbeitsgruppe Terrorismus Treffen in Den Haag, zweite Sitzung.

[1011] The Italian Government adopted a decree that formally established the Ufficio Nazionale di Collegamento italiano, in seno al Servizio di Sicurezza, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI.

[1012] "Communication" (FRG), "equipment" (NL), "Scientific Police" (UK), "Informatics" (France); cf. Cooperazione nell'ambito della CEE – 1° Gruppo "Trevi" per l'aiuto reciproco nei seguenti settori: Lotta al terrorismo, tecnologia e scambio di personale, sicurezza dell'aviazione civile – Sicurezza dei trasporti di materiale nucleare – lotta contro le

phase, the Italian delegation was not yet considered for "teaching". A later paper by the Italian DGPS proposed courses for foreign police officers in the fields "Anti-terrorism; Anti-robbery and Anti-kidnapping"; as well as "Scientific police", and "road and air police services".[1013]

The Working Groups were supervised by Senior Officials, who approved this progress, and proposed that WG 2 should aim at standardising police in order to facilitate the exchange of personnel. Furthermore, they encouraged the "experts" to exchange views on their self-understanding as security authorities within their society, and talk about the qualities, which leaders of authorities were expected to have.[1014]

The Italian policy line in WG 1 was to urge for a common understanding of the terrorist threat by all member states, as the Chief of the Italian Police reported his government after the second Senior Officials Meeting: *"I therefore stated that, in the opinion of the Italian Government, [the always more concrete collaboration] must be accompanied by 'appropriate policies'. I clarified in particular that the occurrence of terrorist acts in single countries - characterised by a common democratic organisation - must always provoke immediate coordinated reactions in absolute solidarity, because every such fact, with the menace that it expresses it to the civil, social, and economical stability, supersedes the interest of each country to invest those of all other Members of Community".*[1015]

In the second half of 77 the TREVI Working Groups' activity increased significantly, especially in the framework of WG 1 and WG 2. Both created new subgroups, dealing with the fight against arms trafficking (WG 2), and the necessity of enhanced cross-border cooperation (WG 1), especially in the light plans to abandon border controls in the future. Furthermore, WG 1 was

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calamità naturali e gli incendi, 1/7- 31/12/1977 in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Fasc. 11001/114/6 Germania, Criminalità e terrorismo, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Sottofasc. 3 Lotta al Terrorismo - Cooperazione Internazionale.

[1013] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI.

[1014] BArch, B 106/78841, cited, TREVI Internationale AG II, Teil A, Antworten auf die allgemeinen Fragen.

[1015] ILSAA, Serie Europa, Sottoserie 15 Cooperazione in materia di polizia, 1977, B. 402, Lettera del ministro dell'Interno, Francesco Cossiga, al presidente del Consiglio dei ministri, Giulio Andreotti, con allegate relazione della Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza relativa alla riunione del comitato degli "Alti funzionari" tenutasi a Londra il 21 Aprile 1977 (con documenti allegati) e minuta di risposta di Andreotti; maggio 7-19 1977.

supposed to find practical measures that could be taken to assure the of Very Important Persons, who were particularly exposed to terrorism, especially during travels within the EC.[1016] Considering the "appreciable so far", the Italian Government wished to extend the TREVI cooperation terrorism also to contacts between the Secret Services of the belonging countries.[1017] This push seemed slightly inappropriate, considering the already existing cooperation of Secret Services in the "Club of Berne".[1018]

In the second half of 1977, as terrorist hijackings had become the main problem of civil aviation security, Working Group 3 gained importance in the of the Italian Interior Ministry.[1019] In the following debate, the delegations agreed on a series of reciprocal airport visits to improve further cooperation, planning an inspection of Fiumicino Airport in early April 1978.[1020] As no

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[1016] Cooperazione nell'ambito della CEE – 1° Gruppo "Trevi" per l'aiuto reciproco nei seguenti settori: Lotta al terrorismo, tecnologia e scambio di personale, sicurezza dell'aviazione civile – Sicurezza dei trasporti di materiale nucleare – lotta contro le calamità naturali e gli incendi, 1/7- 31/12/1977 in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Fasc. 11001/114/6 Germania, Criminalità e terrorismo, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Sottofasc. 3 Lotta al Terrorismo - Cooperazione Internazionale.
[1017] The ILSAA, Serie Europa, Sottoserie 15, Cooperazione in materia di polizia, 1977, B. 402; (1) Europa 1/A/15, cited
[1018] Cf. Ch. 4.2.
[1019] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Fasc. 11001/114/6 Germania, Criminalità e terrorismo, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Sottofasc. 3 Lotta al Terrorismo - Cooperazione Internazionale; Cooperazione nell'ambito della CEE – 1° Gruppo "Trevi" per l'aiuto reciproco nei seguenti settori: Lotta al terrorismo, tecnologia e scambio di personale, sicurezza dell'aviazione civile – Sicurezza dei trasporti di materiale nucleare – lotta contro le calamità naturali e gli incendi, 1/7- 31/12/1977. Flight abductions in 1977: 30/09/77 Air France from Paris Orly; 13/10/77 Lufthansa from Palma de Mallorca http://aviation-safety.net/database/record.php?id=1977030-0, last access 02/02/17; The importance of Civil Aviation Security for the Italian Ministry might also come from their own involvement in the case of the 13/10/77 hijacking and the close contact to the German Government in the aftermath. In a confidential conversation between the Schmidt and Andreotti on 1st December, Schmidt doubted that after this event another hijacking would occur and appreciated the advice by Giscard and Callaghan. Andreotti expressed "admiration" for Schmidt, confirming that he had more trust in European measures than in the UN. AAPD 1977, Bd I-II, Doc 345, cited, p.1653.
[1020] BArch, B 106/78840, B 106 / 78840, 600 812 – 1/3 BMI Europ. Zusammenarbeit innere Sicherheit AG: III Zusammenarbeit zum Schutz des zivilen Luftverkehrs; Bd. 1; vom 25.10.76 bis…; Fernschreiben (ÜS), Verteiler TREVI, von Fonteyn, Präsident der AG Rom3; Betr.: Trevi-Arbeitsgruppe Rom 3; Regelmäßige Besuche auf den Flughäfen der Europäischen Gemeinschaft durch Experten der Mitgliedsstaaten.

documentation is to find about this visit, it was probably cancelled due to the ongoing search for Aldo Moro at this time. The composition of WG 3 by experts and delegates of the Ministry of Transport turned out problematic, as the latter did not feel responsible for decisions of "judicial and political character", and thus refused a general agreement to deny departure permits for a kidnapped plane when landing at an EC airport. The security experts then proposed to include the topic "Aviation Security" into WG 1.[1021] This was a further reason for the concentration of the TREVI cooperation in Working Group 1 and 2. Multiple related problems were attributed to the umbrellas "crime" and "terrorism".

In the next WG 1 meeting in May 1978, the Italian delegation raised a topic, which was a major problem for the local authorities and had already earlier caused controversies between Italy and the UK: the existence of insurances against ransom payments in case of kidnapping. On this point the Italian delegation reiterated their "*firm stance against this type of insurance in all forms, which on one hand would create an obvious incentive to commit such grave crimes, and on the other hand would doubtlessly be counterproductive to the completion of the investigations of the competent police organs.*"[1022] Four states backed the Italian position, whereas the Netherlands and the UK had the opposite opinion, possibly because Lloyds was one of the major actors in this business. In an internal paper, the Italian Ministry gave the reason for their initiative: "*it is hardly necessary to point out that the phenomenon of kidnapping has assumed ever increasing proportions in Italy, and how the possibility insure this risk in question amounts to an incentive to the rise of the phenomenon that we want to fight*".[1023]

[1021] In a meeting on 16 December 1977 the police representatives, led by the Dutch and German delegations, insisted in the option that. The Ministries of Transports' representatives favoured to delegate this question to the High Functionaries, due to its judicial and political character. At the end of the meeting, however, the British delegation proposed to resolve WG 3. ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67 cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI (Agg. 30/06/1978).

[1022] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67 cited; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI (Agg. 30/06/1978)

[1023] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, Fasc. 11001/114/6 Germania, Criminalità e terrorismo, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Sottofasc. 6, Roma: Incontro Ministro Interno On. Rognoni con Ministro Tedesco Baum Gerhardt; Collaborazione "TREVI", in: Cooperazione nell'ambito della CEE – 1° Gruppo "Trevi" per l'aiuto reciproco nei seguenti settori: Lotta al terrorismo, tecnologia e scambio di personale, sicurezza dell'aviazione civile – Sicurezza dei trasporti di materiale nucleare – lotta contro le

For obvious reasons, the meeting was under the impression of the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro by the *Brigate Rosse*. The Italian Liaison Office had already in April given an exposé on the kidnapping and the BR, and thanked the foreign authorities for the good assistance.[1024] The practical cooperation between the German and Italian police in the search was regarded as a prime example for cooperation. Although no transnational cooperation among terrorists could be proved, the experts agreed that the presumed relations among groups gave reason to fear dangerous attacks in the future – hence, the TREVI network would even become more important.[1025] Against the backdrop of the Moro case, the Italian delegation was furthermore very interested in an exchange of experiences in VIP protection.[1026] The groups agreed on a Seminar guided by the FRG delegation, who had raised the topic in autumn 1977, and eventually offered bilateral coaching to the Italian delegates.[1027] When in 1979 the topic eventually appeared on the agenda of the prospective WG 1 meeting, the Italian DGPS emphasised that the exchange on VIP protection was "*one of most urgently awaited arguments, in the light of the necessity to reinforce the protection system of target objects and persons threatened by terrorist attacks. In this light, we hope for study visits, and continuous exchange of experiences would be extremely useful for the training of personnel.*"[1028]

Later in 1978, an Italian delegate underlined that harmonising the objects of formation was an important issue for WG 2 and proposed an exchange of

calamità naturali e gli incendi, 1/7- 31/12/1977.

[1024] BArch, B 106/78834, 600812 – 1/1 BMI Europ. Zusammenarbeit innere Sicherheit AG I Terrorismusbekämpfung; Bd. 1, 10.1976 bis 15.6.1978,; Forts. Bd. 2; Rapport de la Réunion des Chefs des B.d.L. à Copenhague le 12 Avril 1978 (Bureau de Liaison).

[1025] BArch, B106/78848, cited¸ Rede des Herrn Ministers für die EG Innen-/Justizministerkonferenz am 30. November 1978 in Bonn, hier: Entwicklung des internationalen Terrorismus seit der Ministerkonferenz am 31. Mai 1977 in London.

[1026] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67 cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI (Agg. 30/06/1978)

[1027] BArch, B 106 / 78834, 600 812 – 1/1 BMI, Europ. Zusammenarbeit TREVI AG I Terrorismusbekämpfung; Bd.2, vom 16.6.78 bis …; Referat ÖS 9, Bonn 16.6.78; betr.: Europäische Zusammenarbeit „Innere Sicherheit"; hier: Ergebnisse der Sitzung der Arbeitsgruppe TREVI I „Bekämpfung des Terrorismus" am 25/26 mai 1978 in Kopenhagen.

[1028] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Fasc. Compendio della Collaborazione "TREVI" - Le Risoluzioni adottate nelle recedenti conferenze dei Ministri: "Terrorismo e mass-media".

officers, even if language barriers were a difficult problem.[1029] For this reason, the Italian delegation promoted the idea of a police dictionary.[1030] The discussion on a reform of European IDs was one of many topics in which the competences of WG 1 and WG 2 overlapped. However, the approaches diverged. The officers in WG 2 (Fight against crime) discussed political and judicial problems regarding the safety of personal data, which forbid a European exchange, whereas WG 1 (fight against terrorism) insisted in the importance of data exchange. The Ministers' Conference backed WG 1, and planned to engage for a uniform ID with warranty against falsification.[1031] Apparently, the Italian delegation was interested in the advantages of these documents. Thus, little later, the director of the National Criminal Police Coordination Centre visited the French Ministry of the Interior, where these were in production. Containing all personal data as well as a photo and a signature of the owner, it was both not falsifiable and controllable by informatics. In this way, every citizen's identity was "easily and fast to check", which was praised as a precious advantage by the Director of the National Criminal Police Coordination Centre.[1032]

In 1979, the prospect of open borders between the EC countries was a topic of discussion. The TREVI Senior Officials communicated a list of "General drawbacks" to the Ministers of the Interior, which they expected, such as the free circulation of "terrorists, criminals and undesirables".[1033] Who these undesirables were, was not further defined. "Consequential difficulties" were mentioned concerning the "entry and residence of foreigners", the "enforcement of warrants" and "research of information".[1034] Furthermore, the "loss of particularly profitable contacts unofficially established between

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[1029] BArch, B106/78836, 600 812 – 1/2 BMI AG II Austausch von Beamten und Techniken und Erfahrungen; Bd. 4, vom 15.11.1976 bis… ; Forts. Bd. 5.

[1030] "Terrorismo e mass-media", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited; BArch, B106/78844, 600 812 – 2/4 BMI Unterarbeitsgruppe Ausrüstung; Bd. 1 01/1977 bis… Sitzung UAG Polizeiausrüstung 25-27.10.1977 Den Haag.

[1031] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI, Attività degli Alti Funzionari, Riunione di Bonn 3 Luglio 1978.

[1032] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Fasc. Compendio della Collaborazione "TREVI" - Le Risoluzioni adottate nelle recedenti conferenze dei Ministri, "Appunto per il signo Capo della Polizia".

[1033] Ibid, "Collaborazione Europea nella Lotta al Terrorismo."

[1034] "Possible abolition of Border Controls", Report to Ministers of meeting of Senior Officials in Dublin on 25th September 1979, ibid.

representatives of two countries having a common border, which generally constitute a very efficient form of cooperation" was regarded as a setback. It seemed that police officers in cross-border cooperation were distressed also about the importance of their own tasks.

The Dublin Conference was the first TREVI meeting on which the Italian Ministry of the Interior released a press statement, probably because the next meeting was planned to happen in Rome and it was questionable whether this would remain secret. However, the statement mentioned only the Ministers' Conference and underlined the already long lasting cooperation "with particular regard to the fight against terrorism". As the states had "confirmed their will to intensify the cooperation", the press release emphasised the achieved progress in the exchange of information about terrorist activities, and regarding police technology and equipment, "facing the needs of the fight against terrorism".[1035]

In the first semester of 1980, it was Italy's turn to preside the TREVI With notable satisfaction, the Italian documents underlined that the "important meeting[s] had broadly positive outcome, both under organizational aspect and regarding the contents", with unanimous thanks by all international Police Chiefs and appreciation "for the efforts of the Italian police doing anything that the Rome meeting would be a concrete and efficient contribution to the TREVI collaboration".[1036] In the light of the development of terrorism in Italy, in Working Group 1 the host delegation elaborated on two trends: First, terrorism had become more lethal, despite a stagnating number of attacks, and second, much ideological contact was observed in between terrorist groups in diverse states, but little operational cooperation.[1037] For the better protection of important persons, the terrorism experts agreed on seven points to guarantee a reciprocal protection of VIPs when travelling, and confirm their intent to exchange personnel to teach each other.[1038] They furthermore set political

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[1035] "Notizia Stampa", ibid.

[1036] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, Criminalità e Terrorismo, Fasc. 11001/114/3(4°) Atti attinenti a rapporti con rappresentanti esteri, cited: 7° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1 gennaio – 30 giugno 1980.

[1037] BArch, B 106/78834, cited, Referat PI2 /IS3, an Herrn staatssekretär F; Bonn 22.4.1980; betr.: TREVI I-Sitzung vom 17/18.4.1980 in Rom; Bericht.

[1038] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, cited: 7° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1 gennaio – 30 giugno 1980.

violence by Armenian groups on the agenda, which was welcomed by all participants.[1039]

In the next meeting in October, the Italian delegation was under the impression of the devastating bombing of Bologna main station in August 1980. The Italian delegate therefore stated that right-wing terrorism had taken the place of left-wing violence, and urged WG 1 to adjust their focus, paying special attention to right-wing and state sponsored terrorism. [1040] The German delegation agreed. The Italian delegation proposed to organise a seminar on illegal arms traffic. Moreover, they noted "particular interest" in their for the treatment of cooperative terrorists, so-called *pentiti*.[1041] WG 2 at the time decided to organise language courses for officials, which was very appreciated by the Italian delegation [1042], and contemplated introducing a common classification system of "digital fingerprints".[1043] Only the Luxembourgian delegation brought legal aspects of photos and finger prints, and the legitimacy of their reproduction, to discussion.

Probably due to the success of the *pentiti* legislation, the topic dominated also the next WG 1 meeting, where the Italian delegation elaborated on measures facilitating reintegration of terrorists in society, and existing laws were compared. WG 1 should furthermore extend its scope and in future examine "politically motivated violence, which although not constituting real terrorism, has the same origins". [1044] This was a step to extend the "fight against towards the sympathising or extremist milieus. Meanwhile, WG 2 could not overcome their disagreements on standardising IDs, and thus decided to

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[1039] BArch, B 106/78834, cited, Referat PI2 /IS3, an Herrn staatssekretär F; Bonn 22.4.1980; betr.: TREVI I-Sitzung vom 17/18.4.1980 in Rom; Bericht.

[1040] In this regard, the Italian delegate mentioned particularly Libya, Iran, Syria, and Iraq as sponsors. BArch, B 106/78834, ibid.

[1041] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22, cited: 8° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° Luglio – 13 Dicembre 1980.

[1042] Attività del Gruppo di Lavoro 2° - Formazione e tecnologia del personale di polizia, ibid.

[1043] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, cited 7° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giugno 1980.

[1044] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22, cited 10° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° Luglio – 31 Dicembre 1981.

outsource the collaboration in "communication" and "informatics" matters to bilateral agreements between the states.[1045]

The Senior Officials and Ministers in their conferences in 1981 fully focused on Middle Eastern and right-wing terrorism and its transnational connections, and not on extreme left groups. This indicated a fundamental change in the perception of terrorism.[1046] In the subsequent WG 1 meeting, the interest in the Italian *pentiti* law did not decrease, and the delegation again gave a on measures for the "return of terrorists to legality". Furthermore, they elaborated on international links of left and right-wing terrorism. It seems that the Italian delegations became more active participants of the whole TREVI network after the end of the 1970s.[1047] This evolution could originate from three sources: either the gain of experience in international cooperation after the search for Moro; or a higher self-esteem of the Italian authorities after the successful investigation in cooperation with *pentiti*, which was additionally boosted by the Dozier liberation.

4.1.2. Structure and coordination – searching for the right measure

The scope of the TREVI network was to organise the exchange of experience in five fields of internal security. Encompassing the work of several dozens of security authorities in the nine EC states, the cooperation was organised in levels. At the highest level, the Ministers in charge of internal security, namely the Ministers of the Interior and Justice,[1048] met annually to discuss problems and align policies.[1049] At the second level, Senior Officials organised the implementation of the inter-ministerial agreements to the work of the security authorities and supervised the Working Groups. These were usually the heads

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[1045] 9° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giugno 1981, ibid.

[1046] 10° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° Luglio – 31 Dicembre 1981, ibid.

[1047] 11° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giugno 1982, ibid.

[1048] Since some states (i.e. UK) did not have a Ministry of Justice by the time, all documents speak of "ministers of Justice and ministers with analogue tasks". I omit this addition for the sake of readability.

[1049] Lay, Das Europäische Parlament, p.24.

of the National Police Agencies, responsible to the Ministers.[1050] At the third level, the five Working Groups mainly consisting of police experts discussed actual realisation of the Senior Officials' decisions and the very important contact at the operational level between national police officers of diverse states.[1051] Before establishing a biannual routine, especially WGs 1 and 2 met more frequently, under the pressure of setting up a transnational cooperation, which they believed already existing "at the other side" among terrorist groups and organised crime. For direct communication, Liaison Offices were installed in every state, usually based at the Central National Criminal Police, and an encrypted telex system was developed.[1052]

The chairmanship of the TREVI meetings changed biannually, according to the EC Presidency, so evading any fixed institution apart from the Liaison Offices. This informality was on one hand appreciated by many participants. On the other hand, the discussion on its organisation constituted a red thread disturbing the cooperation throughout the first five years. The Italian Senior Official wished a permanent secretary that could institutionalise the meetings. In 1977, this was concretised as "an organism that allowed coordinating, controlling, giving impulses and guaranteeing the continuous working of the TREVI groups".[1053] However, the other member states were sceptical to this proposal, presuming further political work in establishing such a secretariat. As a compromise, a longer term for rotations of the chairmanship, up to five years,

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[1050] Ibid; Usually, from the Italian side, the participants in the TREVI 1 meeting were: the Chief of the National Police, Questor and UCIGOS director; and SISDE director; In some meetingg also the Vice Questore of UCIGOS, Vice Prefetto of the Ufficio Studi, and Commissario Capo of P.S. of SISDE were present.

[1051] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.88.

[1052] "Prior to the meeting of senior officials which was held in the Hague in September 1976, all communications between Member States concerning activities coming under the heading of meetings of Community Ministers of the Interior took place on the COREU network. This is a telegraphic cipher communication system, run py the Presidency of the Community, for the direct transmission of messages between the Foreign Ministry of the Presidency and the Foreign Ministries of the other Member States; it covers only political cooperation matters." ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 70, Conferenza dei Ministri degli Interni Londra 31 Maggio 1977, Fasc. 11001/114/5, "Meeting of Senior Officials, 21 April 1977, Note by the United Kingdom Presidency"; cf. furthermore Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.930.

[1053] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, cited: Cooperazoine nell'ambito della C.E.E., 1° Gruppo "Trevi" per l'aiuto reciproco nei seguenti settori: Lotta al terrorismo, tecnologia e scambio di personale, sicurezza dell'aviazione civile – sicurezza dei trasporti di materia nucleare – lotta contro le calamità naturali e gli incendi.

was discussed.[1054] An internal paper explained the motivation of the Italian proposal: They preferred an own TREVI Secretary distinct from the Brussels EC headquarters, as they feared difficulties with the Brussels personnel and interpreters.[1055]

The second proposal by the Italian Police Chief was extending the cooperation of WG 1 to an "institutional collaboration between the civil and military 'intelligence' services, and the 'European club of the security services' for the purpose of fighting terrorism and subversion with informative and defensive measures against possible occult action of any extra Community origin". By a "collaboration of the 'intelligence' services of security and police", all states should "ascertain the origin and nature of terrorist phenomena, subversive and guerrilla warfare in their own country", as they were prejudicial for all other member states. [1056] The Senior Officials of France, the FRG and the UK principally approved, but demanded further clarifications. In discussion all agreed that the only efficient way is a united preventive collaboration at every level of security services.[1057] This proposal by the Italian Police Chief perhaps anticipated the establishment of the second "Security Club". However, by complying with the second proposal, the Senior Officials possibly quashed the further institutionalisation of the TREVI network, as demanded by a permanent secretary.

A third Italian proposal was to include Spain into the TREVI collaboration against terrorism and subversion. In the light of the democratisation process in Spain, the Italian Government suggested that establishing links was of high importance for the Community, and therefore had already taken up contacts and "installed permanent collaboration rapports" with Spain.[1058] This pioneer

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[1054] The Senior officials formally accepted the proposal, but the Ministers eventually quashed it. ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, cited: "Cooperazione politica communitaria in materia di sicurezza pubblica e lotta al terrorismo – istituzione di un segretariato permanente. Brevi note sullo stato dei lavori"; ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited: Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI, Attività degli Alti Funzionari, Riunione di Bonn 3 Luglio 1978; Ibid, Cooperazione CEE, (Agg. 30/06/1977).

[1055] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, cited, "Appunto per l'On.le Ministro".

[1056] Police Chief Parlato on meeting London 21 April 77 (Senior Officials); ILSAA, Serie Europa, Sottoserie 15 Cooperazione in materia di polizia, 1977, B. 402, cited.

[1057] ILSAA, Serie Europa, Sottoserie 15 Cooperazione in materia di polizia, 1977, B. 402, cited.

[1058] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 70, Conferenza dei Ministri degli Interni Londra 31

role in integrating Spain in the cooperation might stem from the fact that they had several requests for extradition of fugitive right-wing terrorists in Spain. In this sense, Italian authorities could expect concrete gains from a closer cooperation with their Spanish counterparts.

The informal character of the meetings, basing on the personal cooperation of the participants, unfolded its strength in the personal agreements and fast communication between single delegates. Contrariwise, personal antipathies between them could hamper the cooperation. At some points the documentation suggests that unsolved problems originated in an intermingling of political and personal frustration.[1059] To surmount this kind of personal problems, the Italian delegates frequently underlined their wish to set the possibilities for personnel exchange on the top of the Working Groups' agenda.[1060]

The secret character of TREVI until the mid-1980s was not only regrettable for historians. It also led to a lack of public control of the working groups, either by interested individuals, or by national parliaments.[1061] All security cooperation previous to the Maastricht Treaty was intergovernmental, which meant the individual member states, and outside the framework of the Community. The European Court of Justice and European Parliament were excluded, "with occasional involvement of the Commission".[1062] The various groups operated on an ad hoc basis, so allowing little or no scrutiny by national parliaments. All

Maggio 1977, Fasc. 11001/114/5, cited, "Meeting of Senior Officials, 21 April 1977, Note by the United Kingdom Presidency".

[1059] Differences seemed to be more personal than political when a German delegate to TREVI III complained about the French obstructive attitude and Italian delegate who "permanently made uninformed or confusing contributions". Subsequently, the FRG delegate accused the Italian that he had supported the French obstruction, after having promised previously to support the FRG proposals in the meeting. BArch, B 106/78840, cited.

[1060] BArch, B 106/78845, 600 812 – 2/5 Unterarbeitsgruppe Ausbildung, Fortbildung u Beamtenaustausch; Bd. 2: 13.5.77 bis …WG 2 (77) 18; restricted; Working Group II (Police Technology and Training); Home Office London SW1, (John A Harwood, Secretary), 6.4.1977.

[1061] The TREVI work was only made public when assuming a coordinating role in the process of opening EC borders. However, the European Parliament was still not included, which led to repeated criticism because of "intransparency"; Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.89.

[1062] Bunyan, Tony (Ed.): Statewatch. Key texts on justice and home affairs in the European Union Volume 1 (1976-1993) From Trevi to Maastricht, London 1997, p.9.

participating officials were formally responsible only towards the next higher level.[1063] Possibly related to group dynamics,[1064] already some of their first decisions were morally questionable. In October 1976, WG 1 suggested a "preventive" exchange of data, "without the necessity of a direct threat", including judicial files.[1065]

The pitfalls of TREVI's modus operandi can well be explained at the example of the topic "terrorism and mass media". At the third Ministers' Conference in Bonn in November 1978, on proposal of the British delegation, the Ministers demanded the Senior Officials "to examine the role of mass media in the occasion of terrorist acts and to prepare a report to present to the next Ministers Conference." In their 6th Meeting in March 1979, the Senior Officials "declared be aware of the role that mass media plays in case that in a EC country a terrorist incident happens and ask the Working Group 1 to study the argument". The Working Group 1 then met in April 1979 and expressed doubts about the possibility to reach common attitudes in such a delicate sector". They proposed instead that every delegation elaborates an own document regarding the own perspective and an overview over experiences made. These documents should be illustrated in occasion of a proper seminar that the British delegation wanted to organise in London. In the following Senior Officials' meeting in September 1979, the British delegation communicated that two states did not yet send their preliminary papers, consequentially, the planned Seminar in London could not take place prior to Spring 1980. The Italian writer underlined that they had sent their paper to the UK in August 1979 and concluded "obvious perplexity" that the internal legislations and the relation between mass media and authorities were completely diverse among the nine community states. However, he fully supported the London seminar and looked forward to an "interesting exchange of experiences".[1066] Consequently, after treating the issue for more than a year, the only outcome was that the participants' opinions were diverse.

[1063] Lay, Das Europäische Parlament, p.24.

[1064] About the fact that close groups tend to take extreme decisions cf. Janis, I. L.: Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1982, p.5.

[1065] BArch, B 106/78834, 600812 – 1/1 BMI Europ. Zusammenarbeit innere Sicherheit AG I Terrorismusbekämpfung; Bd. 1, 10.1976 bis 15.6.1978,; Forts. Bd. 2; TREVI-AG I; Bericht der Sitzung vom 11/12.10.76.

[1066] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio della Collaborazione "TREVI" - Le Risoluzioni adottate nelle precedenti conferenze dei Ministri, "Terrorismo e mass-media".

A last but important problem of the TREVI organisation was that simply not all services were equally interested in cooperation in internal security matters. In contrast to the Italian and German Governments, which attributed a high importance to the fight against terrorism, the UK in an internal paper declared to be "uninterested" in the Ministers' working group, since the Anarchist threat was "minimal" in Britain.[1067] In 1979, the French delegation showed "not much interest in TREVI" and wanted to rather reinforce bilateral cooperation, according to German reports.[1068] In the same report, the German then delegate questioned the sense of the project, as the meetings parallel to the Council of Europe were "tremendously time consuming". [1069] In April 1981, WG 2 concluded to dissolve their subgroups on "Communications" and "Informatics", and to outsource these topics to agreements between single states.[1070]

4.1.3. Impact of TREVI

Considering the impact of seven years of cooperation in the TREVI framework until 1982, the obvious major achievement was the first multilateral cooperation of security authorities against terrorism after the Second World War. Perceiving an increasingly transnational threat of terrorism, the nine EC states formed groups to exchange information and provide mutual assistance on terrorism and related international crimes. As an informal body whose primary objective was to advance practical cooperation, the TREVI network had to be independent from EC institutional structure.[1071] Being dissatisfied with the existing international policies and procedures which dealt with terrorism and feeling that a regional approach would be more effective; [1072] the Nine established an informal network. It was kept secret until the mid-1980s, "when

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[1067] TNA, FCO, 33 3570, cited, Note of a meeting held at the Grand Hotel Rome on 12/08/1978, UK Home Secretary and Italian Minister of the Interior.

[1068] BArch, B 106/78834, cited, Unterabteilungseiter PI (RD Siegele) an Herrn Minister; Bonn 27.4.79; Betr.: TREVI-Zusammenarbeit, Hier: Sitzung der Arbeitsgruppe I am 11/12. 4. 1979.

[1069] BArch, B 106/78834, ibid.

[1070] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22, cited, 9° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giungo 1981.

[1071] Bures, Informal counterterrorism arrangements, p.498-9.

[1072] Cf. fn 996.

European governments wanted to prove that they were active against their internal terrorism" and obliged police services to cooperate.[1073] According to Bigo, the initial texts of the TREVI working groups, drafted in 1976, were "wishes, not realisations". Nonetheless, they served a very important purpose: for the first time, a structure at three levels was established.[1074] The network expanded quickly from discussing policies at the inter-ministerial level to practical cooperation between security agencies and ministries to improve and coordinate the fight against terrorism.[1075] Remarkably, the TREVI experts treated counterterrorism as task of the national polices, and did not exchange information about the special forces that states were creating in the very same years. Terrorism was seen explicitly as political violence and not reduced to the offence against laws. At the same time it was depicted as urgent and existential threat to the political system – in other words, securitised. Knowledge on terrorism and other problems was exchanged and produced in form of studies, reports and predictions. The term "terrorism expert" was applied to Senior Officials and Police delegates who reunited in Working Group 1. These experts again enhanced their prestige by participating in the TREVI deliberations. In first resolution released by the Ministers of the Interior in June 1976, "general security" was discussed as a declared aim of the collaboration,[1076] in the course of the next years the term "internal security" took over.[1077]

The probably most proactive contributor to the creation of an EC security cooperation was the Federal Republic of Germany. Related to their experience with political violence in the early 1970s, in particular the terrorist attack on the Munich Olympics of 1972, they had already initiated several bilateral agreements about mutual support in the case of a transnational terrorist event.[1078] (Understanding "transnational" in the sense of either perpetrators

[1073] Kauppi, Niilo / Madsen, Mikael Rask: Transnational power elites. The New Professionals of Governance, Law and Security, London 2013, p.160.

[1074] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.88.

[1075] Van Kray, F.: Review of Vercher, Antonio: Terrorism in Europe. An International Comparative legal analysis, 1992, in: NILR 1993, p.549-551, here p.550.

[1076] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 70, Fasc 11001/114/6 Riunione Ministri degli Interni Lussemburgo 29 Giugno 1976, "Risoluzione" (Italian draft).

[1077] One example for the new choice of words in ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, b 67, 1976-1980 Criminalità e terrorismo. Atti attinenti a rapporti con rappresentati Esteri, Fasc. 11001/114/3(4a). DGPS, "cooperazione Italo-tedesca, sicurezza interna".

[1078] Apart from the bilateral German-Italian Working Groups on Internal Security (Cf. ch. 3.1), the Federal Republic had set up similar arrangements (although not that far-reaching) with France, the UK and the Netherlands, cf. Oberloskamp, Codename TREVI, p.119-20.

coming from abroad, crimes taking place in border areas, or perpetrators absconding to another states after the crime.) After the endeavour to adopt a resolution at the United Nations had run dry, in 1974 the German government had proposed an extensive internal security cooperation among the authorities of the EC states, encompassing prevention, repression, search and training. While other participants of the conference had been rather "perplex" due to the complexity of the German proposal, the "Italian side was fully in favour of contributing to study the possibilities to increase the Interpol collaboration".[1079] In August 1976, the Federal Foreign Office recorded a positive note about the successful bilateral cooperation in the aftermath of the Entebbe attack and underlined the wish "to transfer the good cooperation to the multilateral level" to counter the phenomenon of "crime-tourism".[1080] The eventually approved proposal by British Foreign Minister Callaghan was often referred to as a "lighter" version of the previous German project.[1081]

When delegations of certain states raised a topic, their motivation was frequently related to the respective national context of counterterrorism. In the light of a high kidnapping rate – and the most significant case of Aldo Moro – the Italian Ministry of the interior had a big interest in VIP protection and the ban of ransom insurances. Similarly, the Irish refusal to unconditionally extradite citizens charged with "terrorism" has to be regarded against the backdrop of the Northern Ireland question. The French reservations against unquestioning extradition stem from a traditionally liberal understanding of political asylum and the unconditional priority on human rights. The German zeal for the exchange of large datasets probably originated in the looming restriction by privacy policy.

The available documentation gives evidence that the talks were held in a friendly atmosphere, but nevertheless cultural differences and diverse objectives raised difficulties in the collaboration. The Italian reports on the meetings offer only a few assessments of the discussion, but give evidence that the delegates were throughout generally satisfied with the achievements.[1082]

[1079] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, "Collaborazione Generale tra i Servizi di Polizia".

[1080] BArch, B 106/106772, Brief BMI an Auswärtiges Amt, z Hd. Herrn VLR I von der Gablentz; Aktenzeichen ÖS 9-626531, Bonn 02/08/76; Betr. Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung d internationalen Terrorismus im EG-Bereich, p.2.

[1081] Lay, Das Europäische Parlament, p.24; BArch, B106/78831, 600 812 / 2 BMI; Bd 9; 2.9.76-9/76; Forts. Bd. 10.

[1082] BArch, B106/78838, 600 812 – 1/2 BMI Arb. Gruppe II; Bd. 10, vom 14.10.1977 bis

The German internal papers, in contrast, at times reflect a more ambitious attitude. When the delegation was not able to "accomplish" their proposals, the Ministry often decided to follow up with the same issue at the next meeting.[1083]

Despite presumable good intentions of all participants, the TREVI cooperation suffered from more problems than finding the right measure of organisation. In the beginning, a major problem was the relation between TREVI and Interpol. The newly established TREVI Liaison Offices were simply not used by the authorities, as "short links" between personally known officers were faster. Within the existing ways of international police communication, Interpol was used the most in 1978.[1084] Particularly the French, the German and the Italian delegation raised concerns that the parallel existence of TREVI and Interpol primarily caused additional bureaucracy.[1085] Bigo even concludes that TREVI, due to fundamental disagreements regarding its structure and financing, was "far from the image of a group of 'high tech' policemen that hunted terrorists" and lived only from well realised police collaboration at the operational

Another substantial defect of the TREVI network was the missing of actors. "The various groups operated on an ad hoc basis, so allowing little or no scrutiny by national parliaments", criticised the organisation *statewatch*.[1087]

30.11.1977; forts. Bd. 11; Referat ÖS 1; Bon 30.11.77; Betr: Europäische Zusammenarbeit „innere Sicherheit", hier: Sitzung der AG II (Polizeitechnik und – ausbildung) am 24.11.77 in Brüssel, and ACS B.67 cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI, (Agg. 30/06/1977).

[1083] BArch, B 106 / 78833, IS1 – 600 812 / 2 BMI, Europ. Konferenz innere Sicherheit; Bd. 12 (LB oder 1, 2), Vom 1.3.77 bis … Verwandte Akten: Fortsetzung Bd. 3; 13 5/77 VS-Vertr.; Fortsetzung 600 812 – 4 Hohe Beamte, - 5 Minister; Referat ÖS 1 (RD Bracht) an Referate ÖS 8, 9, ZV 2; Bonn 9.3.77; Betr.: Europäische Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Vorbereitung der nächsten Sitzung der Hohen Beamten am 21 u 22. April 1976 in London, BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS9 (Bochmann) an Herrn Minister; Bonn 28.10.76; Betr. Deutsch-italienische Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Bekämpfung des Terrorismus.

[1084] Interpol counted about 160000 written cases per year, more than the TREVI Liaison Offices, or the direct landlines between Police Headquarters.

[1085] BArch, B106/78838, 600 / 812 -1/2 BMI Arbeitsgruppe II; Bd. 12; vom 1.1.1978 bis 19.5.1978; Forts. Bd 13; Planung u Zielvorstellung der AG II, and ACS b.67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine nell'ambito CEE – I Gruppi TREVI, (Agg. 31/12/1977).

[1086] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.87.

[1087] Bunyan, Statewatch, p.9; For a detailed critique about the lack of accountability of TREVI Officials cf. Oberloskamp, Codename TREVI, p.227-248.

Nonetheless, their secret modus operandi with little media attention made the governments appreciate the groups. In this cooperation, officers and officials, such as police, immigration, customs, internal security, and ministry representatives could "get to know each other" and establish informal contacts in other member states.

Although TREVI's actual effectiveness in the fight against terrorism is disputed and it was mainly a "functional response to the threat of terrorism"[1088], the network may well have affected the Europeanisation of internal security. Bures supposes that on the longer term, the major impact of TREVI laid exactly on the "gradual influencing of norms and perceptions of the participating national officials", which made the network a "prototype" for the later more formal intergovernmental structures instituted under the Schengen Agreement.[1089] And even though the meetings did not lead to a common approach or a common policy of internal security, TREVI probably had an "alerting function"[1090] that prepared a later, closer and more efficient cooperation. Considering this backdrop, it is justified to say that because of TREVI "police cooperation in Western Europe was taken to a level which surpasses anything that has been accomplished or pleaded for the past hundred years in this part the world."[1091]

Perhaps it were rather the "side effects" of the network, which brought crucial change. "Even if in the beginning the vertical communication was little, the between base and top, preoccupations of Policemen and Ministers, reinforced each other and eventually more or less merged into a discourse that legitimated all sorts of police cooperation". The Senior Officials probably had a key role, they saw the exchange of information as a proper opportunity that played in their favour in the national political game", hence they promoted the Europeanisation[1092] and were probably aware of their role.[1093] A British Senior Official summarised: "*TREVI developed the sort of practical working relationships, mutual understanding and commonality of approach between the Member States' police forces, security services and ministries that is important in its own right, and a*

[1088] Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.96.

[1089] Bures, Informal counterterrorism arrangements, p.505.

[1090] Chalk, Peter: West European Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1996, p.118, cited in Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit p.97.

[1091] Fijnaut, Cyrille. "Police co-operation within western Europe." Crime in Europe 109 (1991), p.103, cited in Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.98.

[1092] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.88.

[1093] Oberloskamp, Codename TREVI, p.27.

prerequisite for making legal instruments work effectively. TREVI ensured that people responsible for leading their countries' response to terrorism, for example, knew one another personally, had access to rapid secure communication system and came together to assess the threat jointly. The operational support that flows from the trust and understanding these contracts developed – and continue to develop – should not be underestimated".[1094]

Finally, yet importantly, TREVI was seen as a success story by the involved persons, who advanced the European internal security cooperation. In the 1990s, "it was said that some senior officials, now struggling with complex EU institutional structures and legal rules, were suffering from the 'TREVI blues' and looking back with nostalgia to the pragmatism and simplicity of those years."[1095]

For the Italian Ministry, the TREVI network was not only the first opportunity to discuss the terrorism problem at the international level, but also a source of new conceptions and techniques in internal security questions, particularly regarding the fight against terrorism. Concrete examples are the train seminars on VIP protection or the new sort of ID, which was electronically readable. Furthermore, the comparison with the structure of diverse European national authorities was useful in conceptualising the Italian police reform.

4.2　"Clubs" of internal security experts

Additional to the ("semi-institutional") informal cooperation among the EC countries in the TREVI networks, several other multilateral panels were established between subgroups of the "Nine".

Police cooperation regarding internal security did exist since the first conferences against the Anarchist threat in the 1890s.[1096] However, Interpol, which was rebuilt after World War Two, did not have the fight against

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[1094] Wrench, Peter: Intergovernmental Co-operation in The Areas of Police and Justice. A UK View, in: Hailbronner, Kay (Ed.): Zusammenarbeit der Polizei- und Justizverwaltungen in Europa. Die Situation nach Maastricht – Schengen und SIS, Heidelberg 1996, p.39-36, p. 40, cited in Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.99.

[1095] J. Monar: Common Threat and Common Response? The European Union's Counter-Terrorism Strategy and its Problems, in Government and Opposition, Vol. 42 (2007), No. 3, pp.292–313, p.292.

[1096] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.59; Kauppi/ Madsen: Transnational power elites, p.160.

on its agenda.[1097] The main reason was simply that an organisation comprising more than 70 states had to serve too diverse ideas of what a terrorist was in the view of their governments. By the mid-1970s, European States were dissatisfied with the existing structures and therefore set up new panels, which had the fight against terrorism as their declared aim.[1098] Some groups were not including Italian officials, such as *Quantico*[1099], the *Police Working Group on Terrorism* (PWGOT)[1100], and probably the *Kilowatt* Group.[1101] For the analysis of Italy's counterterrorism policy between 1972 and 1982, three groups are important: the so-called "*Club of Berne*", "*Club of Vienna*", and "*Club of the Five*".

These clubs worked differently from the intergovernmental TREVI cooperation, as they were only among certain members of the Nine and in turn added other partners. Unlike TREVI, which was official, but not institutionalised, the mere existence of these *Clubs* was probably acknowledged by the heads of the involved governments, but they were not official. They worked on ad hoc basis, discrete and mostly informal.[1102] Oldrich Bures assumed that most groups were formed after a major terrorist attack.[1103] It seems that they preferred horizontal hierarchies among officials of similar ranks and informal arrangements, of their flexibility and relative independence.[1104]

[1097] Art. 3 of the Interpol Consitution excluded the persecution of crimes with political or religious motivation.

[1098] Bures, Informal counterterrorism arrangements, p.504.

[1099] Funded in 1979, between US, FRG, Australia, Canada, UK, France and Sweden; concentrating on global diasporas that where thought to be dangerous, such as PLO or Croatian terrorists; Cf. on Quantico Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.89.

[1100] Established in 1979 by UK, Bel, NL, FRG; very informal and operational, new forms of cryptography in rivalry to Trevi; Cf on PWGOT Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.90; Practictioner-led nework Police Working Group on Terrorism set up in 1979 by NL, UK, G, Bel to facilitate the cooperation between members of anti-terrorism units, more operational level than TREVI, Bures, Informal counterterrorism agreements, p.501.

[1101] Founded in 1977 for exchange of information between the Intelligence services of European States, the US and Israel; Cf. on Kilowatt Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.91; Bures, Informal counterterrorism agreements, p.501.

[1102] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.97.

[1103] Bures, Informal counterterrorism agreements, p.504.

[1104] Ibid, p.501.

4.2.1. The Club of Berne

The *Club of Berne* was an informal meeting of the Heads of Secret Services from Western European states. Between 1976 and 1979 they met biannually[1105] and mainly exchanged information on terrorist activities, questions of domestic security, and practical matters of cooperation. Their exact way of working and Italy's role in these councils is still largely unknown due to minimal written evidence. Italian documents depict the *Club of Berne* as a "tight multilateral collaboration between the internal security services of the Community's member states".[1106] It was established in 1968, "the time when the phenomenon of youth contest started to occur in Europe, followed by the evolution of violence and political terrorism".[1107] This early foundation date contradicts all previous research, which usually dates it back to the beginning of the 1970s.[1108] It suggests that the Secret Services of the late 1960s insinuated a transnational subversive danger to the youth movements in 1968, which required a coordinated surveillance in form of "exchange of information on questions of common interest, obviously in the field of violence and political terrorism".[1109] Another document named the "first phenomena of violent contestation and political terrorism, in the national and international field" as the driver in 1968.[1110]

[1105] Archive files about the Club of Berne give evidence on the following meetings: 1968 (location not mentioned), May 1976 (Rome), autumn 1976 (Paris), 25-26 May 1977 (Rome), 4-5 Oct (Berne, Working Group), 12 Oct (Rome, Working Group), 9 Nov (Paris, Working Group), 23-24 Nov 1977 (Luxemburg); May 1978 (Paris); June 1978 (location not mentioned).

[1106] In the same document dated to 1968; "Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo (Club di Berna)", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Fasc. 11001/114/6, Sottofasc. All 3. Lotta al terrorismo – cooperazione internazionale.

[1107] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo, Club di Berna (Rel 30/06/1977).

[1108] Bigo dated the "Club of Berne" back to 1971, Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.351; Huismans and Cederman, and Müller-Wille agree with this; Bryden et al. date both the Club of Berne and the Club of Vienna to 1978; Bryden, Alan / Caparini, Marina and Otwin Marenin. Borders and Security Governance. Managing borders in a globalised World. Münster 2006, p.273.

[1109] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo, Club di Berna (Rel 30/06/1977).

[1110] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Fasc. 11001/114/6, Sottofasc. All 3, cited, "Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo (Club di Berna)".

On the participants information diverges as well. Most available and studies agree that only Italy, Austria, Switzerland, West Germany and France cooperated.[1111] One document released by the Italian *DGPS* contradicts this assumption, stating that all EEC member states' security services participated, except Ireland that was firmly opposed by some Services, because of its political situation. In turn, Switzerland complemented the panel, "which despite not being a Community member is equally interested in these common problems due to its geographic location."[1112]

The fact that in November 1976 the heads of Secret Services from West and Italy agreed on an "experts meeting" in the Brenner area for spring 1977 indicates that the *Club of Berne* was a narrower circle. Both then called their colleagues in Switzerland and Austria, to explain the just established agreements on cross-border observations. The aim was to gain the interest of these countries and to potentially make them join.[1113] However, this might been yet another, different meeting of the Secret Services and has probably confused historians thus far.

Yet, it seems certain that the participants met in turns in the members' capitals in spring and autumn. During the reunions, the exchange of information, the analysis, and the discussion of the phenomena "followed the principle of an intense, clear and active collaboration, open and to everybody's best disposition".[1114] According to Bigo, the meetings had "one implicit rule: the participants have to trust each other."[1115] The groups seemed to be constituted of one or two specialised functionaries from each country, which were considered to possess the most expertise; in most cases the Director and Vice

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[1111] Busch, Heiner: Von Interpol zu TREVI – Polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit in Europa, in: Bürgerrechte & Polizei CILIP 30, Nr. 2/1988; as well as all cited studies.

[1112] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Fasc. 11001/114/6, Sottofasc. All 3, cited, "Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo (Club di Berna)". In fact, Swiss security authorities suspected a collaboration of Swiss and German terrorists, and were interested in the FRG legislation on "creation of a terrorist group", as well as in instructions by the GSG 9 squat. BArch, B 106/106930; 626 551/23 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit der Schweiz; Bd. 1; vom 8.6.1977 bis 9.10.1980 (forts. Bd. 2); Bern, 16.8.78 (ddp).

[1113] BArch, B 106/106873, Schriftwechsel SISDE Chief Russomanno, BfV Abteilugnsleiter Grünewald; 9 Nov 1976.

[1114] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Fasc. 11001/114/6, Sottofasc. All 3, cited, "Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo (Club di Berna)".

[1115] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.84; quotes Robertson, Kenneth G. "Practical police cooperation in Europe: the intelligence dimension." Anderson, M. & Boer, M. den, Policing Across National Boundaries, London: Pinter Pubs 1994.

Director of each Service. Thus, the *Club of Berne* was "doubtless the venue the persons in charge of Western intelligence, confronting problems of classic espionage, started to investigate political violence in a different frame than the indirect subversion theories".[1116] From the Italian side, the Head of section D of SID took part. About structure of the cooperation little is known; only that "working groups were created to study particular questions more deeply", as Arabic terrorism or Croatian terrorism.[1117]

Due to the strictly reserved character of the meetings, only a short final synthesis of every discussion was drafted, and from 1979 on the *Club of Berne* was explicitly not mentioned in the reports of the *DGPS* to the Ministry of the Interior, as the meetings of the Secret Services were strictly confidential.[1118] A former participant explained that "results cannot always be described in full to the public by the nature of things".[1119]

A meeting in Rome in May 1976 was the first one mentioned in the Ministry of the Interior Documents in the 1970s.[1120] In this reunion, the participants determined three working groups on the topics counterespionage, encrypted communication, and terrorism. These working groups should meet whenever necessary and present their conclusions for ratification to the Chiefs of the Secret Services in their periodical conferences.[1121] The structural parallel to the few months later established TREVI network is striking.

[1116] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.86.

[1117] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, fasc 11001/114/3(4°), cited; Appunto Attività internazionali svolte dal Ministero dell'Interno nei settori e nei servizi di polizia, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, fasc. 11001/114/3(1), Inghilterra, Strategia lotta al terrorismo, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della P.S.

[1118] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, fasc 11001/114/3(4°) cited, 4° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della P.S.

[1119] Quote by a Klas Bergenstrand, former Swedish Director General of the Security Service in contribution on European security cooperation. Klas Bergenstrand: The European Intelligence and Security Community and the Fight against Terrorism, in: European Institute for Freedom, Security and Justice. European Cooperation against Terrorism, Brussels 2004, p.85.

[1120] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, fasc. 11001/114/3(1), cited, Appunto Attività internazionali svolte dal Ministero dell'Interno nei settori e nei servizi di polizia.

[1121] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Fasc. 11001/114/6, Sottofasc. All 3, cited, "Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo (Club di Berna)".

The second semester of 1977 was apparently shaped by a high degree of Club Berne activity. Four meetings in the months of October and November alone listed as external activities of the DGPS. The first, in early October, took place in Berne and treated classical "counterespionage". The second, one week later in Rome, discussed the security of the existing telex communication system. Two other meetings in November in Paris and Luxembourg had terrorism as their topic, presumably the just past attacks in Germany and Italy.[1122] Since the last meeting in Luxembourg was mentioned as "reunion of Secret Service Chiefs", the first three may well have been the working group meetings, which then presented their results to the most senior officers. These met regularly "to discuss and to inform each other of questions of importance to the Club and to the interests it is meant to protect". In other words, these "questions of importance" were deliberately left undefined, in order to adjust the topics flexibly according to the current interest of the Secret Services. The aim was a continuous exchange of information to counter upcoming threats, "but also to define and analyse long-term developments, which could be detrimental to national and international security".[1123]

For the sequent months, a meeting on terrorism was planned for February 1978 in Luxembourg. Furthermore a new working group on "threats brought to the Security Services" [1124] should meet in January 1978 in Den Haag. The venues indicate clearly, that the Secret Services of Luxembourg and the Netherlands were involved in the cooperation, and so support the assumption that the *Club* comprised the nine states as depicted above. The next conference of the whole *Club of Berne* was fixed for 10-11 May 78 in Paris.[1125]

A second focus of the *Club* framework were regularly courses with annual for *"quadri intermedi"* (functionaries of middle grade and age) of the diverse States' security Services. They served to get directly in touch with functionaries from other states, with the aim of immediately learning competencies from them, and getting familiar with the structures of each service. The third and

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[1122] Orig: "Minacce portate algli Servizi di Sicurezza"; ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67 cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo, Club di Berna (Rel 30/06/1977).

[1123] Bergenstrand, European Intelligence and Security Community, p.85.

[1124] "Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo (Club di Berna)", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Fasc. 11001/114/6, Sottofasc. All 3, cited.

[1125] Ibid; furthermore ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, 3° Relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalle DGPS, Periodo 1 Gennaio – 30 Giugno 1978.

fourth of these courses had taken place in Paris in autumn 1976 and in London in September 1977.[1126] The fifth was planned for Cologne in June 1978.[1127] So, most likely, these had started in the first half of the 1970s.

The last documented meeting of the Heads of Secret Services was in April 1978 in Berne.[1128] Unfortunately, from the second semester of 1978 on, the Italian *DGPS* did explicitly omit the secret *Club* meetings from their reporting to the Ministry of the Interior. In other archives, the *Club of Berne* appears only sporadically. However, in the preparation of the April 1978 gathering, an additional motivation for the meetings of the Secret Services became clear. According to a German paper, the Coordination of the Services was the main Problem of the contemporary TREVI cooperation, and the "most interesting questions regarding cross-border investigation and persecution, observation in neighbour states, practical issues of police work"[1129] were easier to solve if the involved officers were in personal contact. This statement indicates that the Secret Services were thought to participate also in tasks of internal security, which were very similar to police work. In internal papers, they furthermore complained that highly classified documents would increase the processing time even more, which was the reason why the Dutch and Italian colleagues would also prefer personal contacts over any Liaison Offices.[1130] Consequently, the personal cooperation in the Clubs may simply have been the easiest and fastest way, bypassing TREVI and so avoiding even the least informal bureaucracy. The exclusion of Ireland, which in other panels frequently European decisions about terrorism due to their own situation, was certainly instrumental in reaching common conclusions faster and in a less controversial manner.

[1126] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine in Campo Europeo, Club di Berna (Rel 30/06/1977).

[1127] Ibid.

[1128] BArch, B 106/106930, Referat PI2 an Referat PI5; Bonn 5.9.197; Betr.: Klub von Bern, Hier: Treffen der Innenminister Italiens, der Schweiz, Österreichs, Frankreichs und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland am 10. September 1978 in Wien.

[1129] BArch, B 106/106772, Alte Sig: 626 531/3; Einrichtung eines Verbindungsbüros (TREVI), 3/1978-7/1979, Bd.1, Referat ÖS 2 an Referenten ÖS 9; Bonn 6.3.1978.

[1130] BArch, B 106/106772, Alte Sig: 626 531/3, Referat IS 3 (Siegele) an SV/AL IS; Betr. Zusammenarbeit mit den Staaten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft im allgemeinen; hier: Verbindungsbüro, Dez 78.

For the same dates (8-9 April 1978) as the Heads of Secret Services met in the *Club of Berne* framework, Minister of the Interior Cossiga met with his from Germany, Switzerland and Austria in Berne. They decided to remain in permanent contact and to charge Ministry Functionaries with enhancing the collaboration among them. It seems that the Swiss Ministry had initiated this meeting among the four, considering the recent personal changes in both the Italian and the German Ministry, and to tie up with the emerging cooperation under the previous ministers. For the next meeting, they decided to also invite their French colleague. This meeting took place parallel to the *Club of Berne*, but was detached, since the Ministers usually did not participate in the *Club*. Moreover, they were only in four, considering questions of cross-border cooperation between the security services in the Alps Region – and not in nine as in the *Club*.[1131]

Regarding the little available information, interpretations of the *Club's* function in historiography and political science diverge. Some understand it acting as an "interface" between the EU and the heads of Member States' security and intelligence services on terrorist matters. However, Müller-Wille doubts that this has ever been its primary purpose, as it had rather focused on direct operational cooperation.[1132] Others oppose this institutional perspective and argue that cultural and psychological determinants, most of all trust, were and still are crucial for effective intelligence sharing in Europe. They see the lack of trust among national stakeholders as a critical factor undermining effective intelligence sharing in European structures.[1133]

What all studies about the *Clubs* agree on is the close and very exclusive cooperation, and the aura of secrecy and myth surrounding the meetings. This format was a British tradition and forged the sense of a "specific community". The atmosphere of an "old boys" network made the participants highly conscious of their own importance and responsibility. [1134] The "easy atmosphere" was one of the big advantages according to a former participant,

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[1131] "Appunto", Note on Meeting Switzerland 8-9/4/78 by Interior Minister Cossiga with colleagues from FRG, Switzerland, and Austria , ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, fasc. 11001/114/3, Sottofasc. 6, Vertice dei Ministri dell'Interno di Germania, Italia, Svizzera, Francia ed Austria.

[1132] Müller-Wille, Björn: 2008. The Effect of International Terrorism on EU Intelligence Co-operation. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 46(1), pp.49-73; p.55.

[1133] Walsh, James Ingo (2006). Intelligence-sharing in the European Union: Institutions are not enough. Journal of Common Market Studies, 44(3), p.625–643, p.628.

[1134] Kauppi/ Madsen, Transnational power elites, p.160.

and so the *Club* provided "a meeting point to enhance the personal knowledge among Club representatives". [1135] In other words, the *Club of Berne* was a "meeting in a top class hotel or resort where top-level civil servants in charge of intelligence services met and exchanged viewpoints" [1136]

The *Club of Berne* was the first circle of international security experts that shifted its own focus from classical intelligence to terrorism. It was the first panel that created working groups contemplating the common threat to Europeans, and appropriate response by European polices and Secret Services. In this group, idea came up to develop mechanisms for controlling false identity documents, and it was there, where the French, German and Italian youth contestations at the end of the sixties were labelled terrorism for the first time, "releasing the idea of a 'red threat' to certain journalists". [1137] According to the most comprehensive and also most critical study on the informal police networks by Bigo, the *Club of Berne* had furthermore a decisive role in the development of a European migration policy. Facing the threat of transnational terrorism and of foreign governments patronising terrorist groups, which circulated in the Occident, the notion of the "undesirable foreigner" was shaped there, too.[1138]

This double role was the *Club of Berne's* crux and deserves appreciation in further research. On the one hand, the persons of highest responsibilities discussed the common threat and the optimal response to eliminate it; on the other hand, they defined the same time what terrorism actually was. This circular connection can be considered its most critical aspect - apart from the political accountability of the Secret Services, which was and still is a problematic topic.

4.2.2. The Club of Vienna and the Club of the Five

Apart from the direct cooperation of the European Heads of Secret Services in the Club of Berne, two further meetings are mentioned in the documentation of the Italian Ministry of the Interior: The *Club of Vienna* and the *Club of the Five*. Political Science studies on European cooperation in security questions hitherto

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[1135] Bergenstrand, The European Intelligence and Security Community, p.85.

[1136] Kauppi / Madsen: Transnational power elites, p.160.

[1137] Quote by C. Sterling, Le réseau te la terreur. Enquête sur le terrorisme international, Paris 1981, cited by Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.86.

[1138] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.86.

considered only the *Club of Vienna,* apart from the Berne Club, whereas the *Club of the Five* appears only in primary sources.

Most likely, both panels originated in the same idea. In autumn 1977, big differences had occurred among Italy and Federal Germany regarding internal security questions. Particularly, the handling of the abducted German at Fiumicino Airport, and the following events had caused irritations at the political level. Italian Minister Cossiga had thus proposed a direct meeting to counterpart Maihofer, including also the Ministers from Austria and Switzerland, which were not present in the EC-wide TREVI network.[1139] In absence of a common border between Italy and Germany, a delegation of the bilateral Working Group on terrorism had already visited both governments in Berne and Vienna in May 1977, to discuss concrete questions of cross-border observations, such as the possibility of a pass through these states for observing agents, or armed officers with radio systems.[1140] Several of these observations were conducted in 1977, and always enjoying a good reciprocal assistance.[1141] Governments in both Austria and Switzerland agreed to intensify the collaboration, and all four Ministers met in the framework of the Club of Berne meeting April 1978 – deciding a separate meeting in September, and inviting also the French Minister. The Club of the Five, in contrast, comprised the Police Chiefs of the same five states West Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland and Austria. It was initiated in the second half of 1978 for the cooperation of the five polices against terrorism.[1142] Considering that a meeting of Senior Security Officials was on the agenda of the Vienna Group Ministers and was initiated a few weeks later, I suppose that the Club of Vienna appointed the Club of the Five.

[1139] Cossiga had proposed to include Switzerland, then Maihofer agreed and suggested to invite also the Austrian Minister, BArch, B136/31685, cited¸ BMI , Bonn 18.5.81; Betr. Gespräche von BK Schmidt mit dem italienischen MP, hier: Terrorismus in Italien – Stand der zusammenarbeit; other Studies suppose that the Club of Vienna was anticipated in the police cooperation during the search for RAF kidnapped industrial Schleyer in October 1977; cf. H-J. Lange, Innere Sicherheit im Politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Springer 2013, p.144; Busch, Interpol.

[1140] Reply Cossiga to Maihofer, 1.12.1977, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Sottofasc. All 6, CEE - Gruppi TREVI: Problema relativo ad una anticipata riunione della conferenza dei Ministri.

[1141] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Cooperazoine Italo-Tedesca.

[1142] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, fasc 11001/114/3(4°) cited, 4° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della P.S.

For a long time, the Club of Vienna was "mysterious and barely known"[1143] to researchers. Between 1978 and 1982 only four reunions were organised.[1144] Their second meeting in September 1978 offers the biggest contribution to my study, for two reasons. On the one hand, the Austrian journal *Kronenzeitung* discovered the reunion, which then was broadly cited in the Italian press. On the other hand, the Italian Ministry of the Interior did not classify the extensive preparation and documentation as highly as the following meetings. Consequently, I assume that the subsequent reunions followed a similar pattern.

The purpose of the "Vienna Vertex" was "analysing the situation concerning terrorism and the particular difficulties occurring in border collaboration".[1145] According to Bigo, the initial meetings were centered on anti-terrorism and exchange of information about individuals suspected to support the PLO, regarding the particularly liberal Austrian policy. The Club then turned towards discussing the effect of the free circulation of persons in Europe and problems that it might create.[1146] This discussion can be considered as quite parallel to the Berne Club, but with different participants.

In late August 1978, the Secretary General of the federal department of Justice and Police in Berne called the Ministry of the Interior and communicated the details of the Meeting in September. The participants should arrive in the early evening and prepare to discuss the following agenda points: 1) a report by Minister about the security situation in his country, especially on terrorism 2) particular difficulties in the frontier regions between two represented countries; 3) specifications of Senior Officials who should meet and tasks for meetings at operational level.[1147]

[1143] Rupprecht, Reinhard / Hellenthal, Markus "Programm für eine Europäische Gemeinschaft der Inneren Sicherheit." Innere Sicherheit im Europäischen Binnenmarkt, Gütersloh 1992, p.92, quoted in Lange, Innere Sicherheit, p.144.

[1144] The archive documentation gives evidence of the following meetings: of the Club of Vienna (Ministers of the Interior): 4-6 April 1978 (Berne), 10 Sept 1978 (Vienna), May 1980, Sept 1982. The Club of the Five (Chiefs of national polices) met on the following occasions: 6 Dec 1978 (Zurich), 6 April 1979(Bonn), 29 Nov 1979 (Wiesbaden), 31 Oct 1980 (Baden / Vienna), 9 March 1981 (Berne), 17 Dec 1981 (Paris), Jan 1982 (Vienna), April 1982 (Paris).

[1145] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Sottofasc. All 6, cited, Reply Cossiga to Maihofer, 1.12.1977.

[1146] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.88-9; For a more complex idea of the Motivations behind the Austrian policy, Cf. Kreisky, Bruno. Im Strom der Politik, München 1988.

[1147] BArch, B 106/106930, Internationale Zusammenarbeit in der Terrorismusbekämpfung; 626 551/23 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit der Schweiz; bd. 1; vom 8.6.1977 bis 9.10.1980 (forts.

The Italian contribution to the first point was a report on terrorism 1976 and 1977. It included an overview on the committed crimes and profiles of Italian terrorist organisations, furthermore information about their propaganda campaigns, and investigation results about their financing. For 1978, numbers were not yet available, but it was already clear that terrorism had "quantitatively and qualitatively increased", reaching its "most dramatic point with the Moro kidnapping".[1148] The *Brigate Rosse* were depicted as "diamond peak of Italian terrorism", due to their propaganda of "creating alarm and political contradictions inside the enemy's arrays". The account concluded that the BR financed themselves by robbery and kidnap ransom, and thus acted largely without links to other terrorist groups. Despite many rumours about international connections to German or Palestinian terrorists, no evidence was found. Nevertheless, the "insistent and constant" authorities had been successful in finding so far forty hideouts, containing very useful documents, enormous quantity of arms, and tools to falsify documents and car number plates. Other groups, such as the dangerous NAP were "definitely Right-wing terrorism had been most aggressive during 1969-76, but now police arrests had "reduced them to some tens in the underground".[1149] Also, international terrorism was regarded as "quite tranquil" in Italy, as no act had occurred since the murder of the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican by an Armenian terrorist in 1977.[1150] Probably, in the light of the dramatic events in spring and summer 1978, the Italian Minister placed the main focus on the *Brigate Rosse* and securitised them as the only existential problem, whereas he rather deemphasised the threat of other terrorist groups.

On the second point, the Italian Minister affirmed that there were "no difficulties in existing relations between Italian frontier authorities and neighbouring countries". According to Rognoni, a particular advantageous spirit shaped the collaboration with France and Switzerland, both regarding border controls and fight against common and political crime; but not even slowing down the flux of tourists. Difficulties occurred only with Austria, due

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Bd. 2); Referat PI2 (Siegele) an Herrn Minister; Bonn 7.9.1978; Betr.: Club von Bern, hier: Treffen der Innenminister Italiens, der Schweiz, Österreichs, Frankreichs und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland am 10. September 1978 in Wien.

[1148] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, cited, Fasc 11001/114/3, Sottofasc. 6 Vertice dei Ministri dell'Interno di Germania, Italia, Svizzera, Francia ed Austria – Vienna 10.9.1978, "Relazione N.1".

[1149] Ibid.

[1150] Ibid.

to their taxes on transit and petrol, but these did not harm police cooperation against terrorism.[1151]

For perfecting the cooperation among the polices, the Italian Minister proposed to establish a constant police connection for the confidential exchange of urgent messages of administrative and operative character, beyond the already intelligence cooperation between SISDE and their counterparts abroad. These ideas were similar to the Liaison Office system that already connected the Italian authorities with the German and French. The "collaboration on the largest scale possible between the polices" should be achieved by measures that had already been installed between FRG and Italy, such as reciprocal assistance in concrete grave crimes, namely terrorism, kidnapping, or arms smuggling. Furthermore, he proposed a comprehensive exchange of data regarding the acquisition of arms by citizens of one state on the other's territory; of stolen cars from citizens of one state in the other state; of the numbers of banknotes used kidnappings; as well as searched persons. The list was complemented by the proposal to exchange officers for assistance in cross-border investigation cases, and the idea to harmonise the existent surveillance technologies. Concretely, common frequencies or direct wire connections should be used for communication, and a common cryptography system for messages should be installed.[1152] Eventually, the Ministers agreed on the coordination of their communication systems and equipment for their counterterrorism departments.[1153]

This big list of proposals shows that the Italian Ministry of the Interior took a leading role in this Vertex. Although it had been his predecessor Cossiga who gave the impetus, Rognoni's proactive demeanour doubtlessly advanced the cooperation of the five authorities in security questions. Many proposals were inspired by former agreements with Federal Germany or France, but the fact that the Italian Minister suggested to extend them indicates the success of the former bilateral cooperation. German Minister Baum proposed the actual application of all agreements of TREVI Working Group 1 (Terrorism) to Austria and Switzerland, and expounded the idea of a "data federation" as a goal of the cooperation. Furthermore, he asked his colleagues to dissipate rumours about

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[1151] "Relazione N. 2", ibid.

[1152] "Relazione N. 3", ibid.

[1153] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, Sottofasc. All 6, cited, Reply Cossiga to Maihofer, 1.12.1977; Cf. also ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, Fasc 11001/114/3(1), cited, Telegramma Urgentissimo Minister Cossiga to Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

an involvement of German terrorists in the Moro murder, which had sparked after two Italian magistrates had visited the BKA in order to exchange evidence material.[1154]

On 10 September, the Vienna newspaper *Kronenzeitung* published information about a meeting of the Ministers of the Interior about the fight against Immediately, the Italian news agency ANSA picked up the news, as did a number of Italian papers on the same day. Initially, ANSA supposed that the Italian Ministry had not been informed since they had refused to confirm the reunion. However, hours later the information was widely published that Rognoni had participated in a "secret meeting" with other European Ministers, to "reinforce mutual cooperation in anti-terrorism".[1155] A touch of myth shaped the press coverage, when it trickled through that the Ministers had talked until 1am in an impenetrable castle, shielded by medieval walls and protected by the Austrian "anti-terrorist group '*Skorpion'*, equipped with most modern arms and most complex electronic apparatuses". [1156] Many papers interpreted the as the European governments' fear of a 'wave of terrorism'[1157] or a connection the latest terrorism incidents. Il Paese Sera assumed that "yesterday's meeting served to prepare a kind of international norm of counterterrorism that permits the permanent exchange of information between the polices of interested states, and the real and direct intervention in the case that terrorists have to be persecuted across borders".[1158] They explained the "ultra secret vertex" by the fact that "these encounters serve to put in place the instruments for a fight that necessarily cannot respect the usual limits and canons." Due to rumours that both *Carabinieri* General Dalla Chiesa and German *GSG9* leader Wegener had been seen in Vienna, the *Vita* journal supposed that the purpose of the meeting had been constituting a "unified commando of security" and a "super-coordination" of investigations against terrorist groups.[1159]

Most likely, the Ministers established the *Club of the Five* as the immediately lower panel, which met three months later in Zurich, namely the Heads of the

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[1154] BArch, B 106/106930, cited, Referat PI2 (Siegele) an Herrn Minister; Bonn 8.9.1978; Betr.: Club von Bern, hier: Treffen der Innenminister Italiens, der Schweiz, Österreichs, Frankreichs und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland am 10. September 1978 in Wien.

[1155] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, cited, Fasc 11001/114/3, Sottofasc. 6, cited, ANSA note, 10/09/1978.

[1156] Il Giorno 12.9.1978, "Una 'banca dei dati' antiterrorismo", ibid.

[1157] Il Mattino 11/09/1978 "Si teme un'ondata di terrorismo in Europa", ibid.

[1158] Il Paese Sera 12/09/1978, ibid.

[1159] Vita 12/09/1978, ibid.

five national polices. According to the Italian *DGPS*, the Police Chiefs had already been present at the Ministers' meeting in September, where the "discussion centred on profiles of main subversive organisations that act in the five states, on their internal and international links and on the measures of the states to fight these new and terrible shapes of organised crime".[1160] In Zurich, the Swiss General Procurator hosted the meeting, which was, for reasons of confidentiality, named "Public Administration Conference" and discussed the fight against terrorism in each country. Furthermore, connections between the five Authorities; the exchange of information; and cross-border surveillance were on the agenda. They agreed on an always central exchange of information "unless in cases of modest crimes with only local effects", and on periodical meetings.[1161] The purpose of the meeting was to identify opportunities for closer future cooperation between the five polices. In an internal paper, the Italian Ministry welcomed a closer collaboration at the borders.[1162] In the meeting, all Police Chiefs underlined the threat of terrorism in their countries. Although not as pressing as in Germany and Italy, both the Austrian and Swiss Officers warned against a future outbreak, considering finds of arms and suspected connections with terrorists in Italy or Germany.[1163] The French delegate reported about two autonomous-separatist terrorist groups.[1164] However, he reminded that in Paris various liaison offices between diverse authorities of police and security already existed, such as Interpol, the TREVI Groups, and the Club of Berne.[1165] When discussing potential improvements of the cooperation, the German delegate presented a database of explosives and urged his counterparts to consider granting the foreign authorities the right to

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[1160] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Club dei Cinque (Rel 31.12.1978).

[1161] Ibid.

[1162] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, Cooperazione tra l'Italia e la Germania, cited, Collaborazione frontaliera – Vertice di Vienna.

[1163] A spokesman of the Austrian Ministry declared that „the cooperation between the five states was established because Germany had become the central of terrorism, whereas Switzerland, France and Austria were increasingly used as transit states by German terrorists"; Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13.9.1978; cited in Busch, Interpol.

[1164] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, cited, Fasc. 11001/114/3, Sottofasc. 7 Cooperazione Internazionale Lotta al Terrorismo - Riunioni Capi della Polizia: DGPS Note 7/12/1978, Ogg.: Zurigo 6 dicembre 1978 – Incontro dei Capi della Polizia della Svizzera, Francia, Repubblica Federale di Germania, Austria ed Italia.

[1165] Ibid.

follow a suspicious car crossing a border.[1166] Concluding, the Italian delegation "hoped for periodical contacts between police organs interested in the fight against terrorism, for the exchange of information in this field" and exchanged direct contact data.[1167] The Italian *DGPS* in their reports underlined their appreciation of the reunions.

The *Club of Vienna* talks were continued in April 1979 in Bonn. Additionally to the improvements in cross-border investigations, this time the focus lay on the improvement and major intensification of information exchange and collaboration in concrete cases.[1168] The Ministers agreed that their direct exchange served to elaborate on the political dimensions of security related problems in the single countries.[1169] In this sense, they saw their own meeting a necessary precondition for the polices' reunion in the *Club of the Five*. A meeting of the Club of Five took place in November 1979 in Wiesbaden. "Covered by maximal confidentiality",[1170] the reporting also in internal documents became sparse at this time. In October 1980, the Club of the Five Police Chiefs reunited in Baden and Vienna. As usually, they exchanged on terrorism in every state, and then visited the new Special Anti-Terrorism Force of Austria. From Italy, the Director and Vice Director of UCIGOS participated in the periodical meetings.[1171] In the following year, the *Five* Police Chiefs met in March in Rome and June in Berne, discussing questions of cooperation, and assessed the already adopted measures against internal and international terrorism.[1172] In 1982, the *Five* met in January in Vienna and in April in Paris. Apart from an exchange about terrorism from the political

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[1166] Ibid.

[1167] Ibid.

[1168] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Fasc. 11001/114/3(4a), cited: 5° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giugno 1979.

[1169] BArch B106/106874, cited, BMI; betr: Zusmmenarbeit mit Italien auf dem Gebiet der IS, hier: Unterlagen für ein Gespräch des Herrn Bundeskanzlers mit dem italienischen Ministerpräsidenten Pro. Dr. F. Cossiga; Gesprächsführungsvorschlag:

[1170] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, 3a relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S., Periodo 1 luglio – 31 dicembre 1979; However, it is more likely that other documentation is higher classified and not available.

[1171] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, B. 22, cited, 8° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° luglio – 31 dicembre 1980.

[1172] 9° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S., Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giugno 1981, in: ibid.

extreme left and right and their international links, "problems related to foreigners" were the first time on the agenda.[1173] After the attacks against Jewish institutions in France, the Ministers of the Interior discussed a so-called *European Criminal Investigation Bureau* at their *Club of Vienna* Meeting in September 1982.[1174] Most probably, the idea became later known as *Europol*.

4.2.3. The impact of the "Clubs"

Very little is known about the "Clubs" of security experts and their to the evolution of a European counterterrorism policy. As the available archive documentation on them is very sparse, [1175] only a few studies hitherto investigated the function of the clubs further. Of many informal cooperation agreements of the 1970s, we know only the nicknames, such as *Tripartite*, *Kilowatt, Basque, Quantico, PWGOT, Pompidou,* and the Clubs of *Berne*, of *Vienna*, and of the *Five*; their confidentiality retains it from a deep analysis. [1176]

Despite the aura of secrecy and myth that still veils their work, some facts are certain: The *Club of Berne* united the Heads of national Secret Services in regular meetings with the aim to exchange information and experience. The *Vienna* Group produced anti-terrorist briefs and involved direct collaboration between the Interior Ministries of Austria, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland.[1177] The latter established the *Club of the Five*, a meeting of the Heads of the five national polices, with the aim to improve cross-border cooperation. Some take their mere existence as proof for good cooperation in Europe, notwithstanding that the intelligence and security structures of European states varied significantly.[1178]

[1173] 11° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S., Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giugno 1982, in: ibid.

[1174] BArch, B 106/106772, Referat PI2 (RD Siegele) an Herrn Minister; Bonn 23.8.1982; Betr.: Vorschläge von MdEP Bangemann über eine Vereinheitlichung der Terrorismusbekämpfung in Europa.

[1175] Requests for insight into the "Club" files were quashed at the German and French Ministries of the Interior due to security concerns, whereas the Italian and the British National Archives deny the existence of (more than the little in Rome available) files regarding the "Clubs".

[1176] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.84-5.

[1177] Bures, Informal counterterrorism agreements p.502, citing Doyle 1993.

[1178] EULEC (European Institute for Freedom, Security and Justice): European Cooperation against Terrorism, Brussels 2004, p.81.

Their initial main concern was controlling youth contestations in diverse European states, but then they soon focused on a coordinated fight against terrorism, eventually enlarged to other problems of crime, immigration or border controls.[1179] Contrary to the Interpol strategy of criminalising terrorism (and thus not regarding their political facet), the *Club of Berne*, like TREVI, politicised the phenomenon extremely. The security experts supposed a transnational activity of terrorists and subversive groups, and according to Bigo, they considered it the "result of an indirect strategy by the Soviets".[1180] Terrorism was thus understood as a by-product of the Cold War and as an undercover military action. Even though the available sources do not give any evidence for this grasp of political violence, the *Clubs* certainly shaped the perception of terrorism. They produced knowledge on terrorism and crime for their "customers" at the highest political level. At the same time, their findings made the problem become increasingly important, and when left-wing terrorism in the single states vanished in the early 1980s, they turned their attention towards other problems, such as foreign groups suspected of terrorism. Border control and data-based surveillance gained space throughout the collaboration. The special role of informal clubs was that they defined both the enemy they were combating and the strategy in the fight. So, they served as a hinge between the "criminal justice and detective behaviour" on one side and the "strategic intelligence ethos" on the other side.[1181] On the base of investigations about clandestine organisations, the Club of Berne became "one of the origins of a systematic visa policy of European states, producer of alarming documents on demographic differentials and the necessity of a restrictive immigration policy".[1182] Although the impact of such informal groups is difficult to measure, they probably had a key role in the Europeanisation of these questions.[1183]

An obvious question is why European governments and security authorities maintained the *Club of Berne* and founded the Clubs *of Vienna* and of the *Five*, notwithstanding the parallel existence of the TREVI network; especially as political actors and officials of the authorities often complained about bureaucratic obstacles linked to international cooperation, at times they rather

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[1179] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.84-5 and 351.

[1180] Ibid, p.86.

[1181] Kauppi / Madsen: Transnational power elites, p.160.

[1182] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.86.

[1183] Ibid.

opposed a "doubling of work"[1184] in parallel panels. One explanation why they created the *Clubs* nonetheless is the aim to extend the international cooperation to the non-EC member states Austria and Switzerland.[1185] Particularly for Italy, France, and Germany, all neighbouring, the improvement of cross-border cooperation might have been the main reason. Additionally, the contact to Austria was important for terrorism experts, since the Kreisky Government had a particularly close relationship with PLO leaders.[1186] However, also the wish avoid internal security becoming a topic of EC responsibility might have a role.[1187] Especially in the *Club of Vienna*, which contained the same topics and as the TREVI network – and thus largely the same participants, just limited to the five states – frequently met to pre-discuss TREVI decisions.[1188] The alignment in important questions, such as a "pragmatic way" to include Spain and Greece,[1189] was doubtlessly a strategic advantage for those states who gathered in several parallel Clubs.

Moreover, the number of meetings allowed the functionaries to see each other often so that personal relations emerged and could be maintained. "Most of the time when police officers went to the colloquia of terrorism experts, it was not learn something new, but rather to meet and weave links and meet friends' friends".[1190] The good collaboration and the "extension of the work of the national polices came primary from the fact that all the policemen were interested in working together, exchanging data, and collecting sensitive information".[1191]

The same elitist circle of security experts often participated in many parallel groups and at the same time constituted the delegations for bilateral cooperation. In this way, they created a stable network of alliances that served

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[1184] BArch, B 106 /78838; 600 / 812 -1/2 BMI Arbeitsgruppe II; Bd. 12; vom 1.1.1978 bis 19.5.1978; Betr. Beziehung zu INTERPOL.

[1185] Bryden, Caparini, Marenin: Borders and Security Governance. Managing borders in a globalised World, Münster 2006, p.273.

[1186] Kreisky, Strom, p.327; Kreisky met Arafat the first time in 1974 when he was still considered a terrorist by other European governments; later he describes the two "becoming friends", p.329.

[1187] Lange, Innere Sicherheit, p.144.

[1188] Kauppi/Madsen: Transnational power elites, p.160.

[1189] BArch, B106/78849, 600 812 – 5/ 2 Sitzungen der Minister (TREVI) 30/11.78 Bonn; Bd. 4; vom 28.11.1978 bis 2 /79; Internationale Zusammenarbeit auf de Gebiet der Inneren Sicherheit (TREVI); Ministerkonferenz am 30.11.1978 in Bonn; Ergebnisvermerk.

[1190] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.82-3.

[1191] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.98.

them also in national bureaucratic struggles. Due to the sometimes difficult and rivalling relationship between the national authorities within a state, international contact gave importance at the national level. This explains additionally why security experts were not tired of creating even the third slightly different informal collaboration group – and why diverse alliances between diverse branches of intelligence and police investigation emerged.[1192]

This pressure made the officials work fast and efficiently together and existing differences. "They shared […] the fundamental beliefs in the evolution of the crime and in their role".[1193] In this sense, the collaboration between officers contributed decisively to the merging of the internal and external security field and to the Europeanisation of internal security. "*This bureaucratic network, the knowledge it produces, and the field of struggle and domination in which it exists, play a key role in the Europeanization of Justice and Home Affairs and in the institutionalization of an internal security field in Europe.*"[1194]

4.3 Counterterrorism in the NATO framework

Italy's relationship with NATO overlapped in part with the bilateral relations between Italy and the United States of America. As a consequence, similar conditions put strain on this rapport. As a founding member of the Alliance, Italian Republic had never considered adopting its own heavy weapons after World War Two and consistently had one of the lowest defence budgets.[1195] However, Italy had provided territory for important installations of NATO, including the headquarters of the Allied Forces in Southern Europe in Naples and of the Allied Land Forces Southern Europe in Verona.[1196] Neighbouring Yugoslavia, a Warsaw Pact-Member, Italy was one of the countries located by the "iron curtain". These facts are suggestive of NATO and Italy's mutual importance during the 1970s, which was reinforced by Italy's strategically important position as a bridgehead in the Mediterranean. Against

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[1192] Bigo, When two become One. P.335; Idem, Polices en Réseaux, p.98.

[1193] Idem, Polices en Réseaux, p.98.

[1194] Huysmans, Politics of Insecurity, p.72.

[1195] ILSAA, Serie NATO, Busta 116, Fasc. 40 "1972": Ambasciata d'Italia Bonn-Bad Godesberg; Report to Min Est Giuseppe Medici on Difesa dell'Europa in avvenire.

[1196] Pisano, Vittorfranco S. The Dynamics of Subversion and Violence in Contemporary Italy. Hoover Press, 1987, p.28-29.

this backdrop, the presence of Western Europe's strongest Communist Party was a source of distress for the Alliance forces, and a reason to pay particular attention to the Italy's internal political stability. The primary aim of NATO regarding Italy was therefore to avert any strengthening of the PCI and to keep the Communists' influence as minimal as possible.

As discovered in 1990, the Alliances' plans went far beyond preserving political stability in Europe. They deployed a secret stay-behind army in almost every European state, which should assure support from "inside" in case of a Soviet invasion. *Gladio*, the Italian division of this secret army, was evidently involved in a bomb attack that killed two *Carabinieri* in 1972 and which had been to the *Brigate Rosse* until 1990.[1197] Against the backdrop of a high number of unsolved bomb attacks, which did not fit the pattern of left-wing or transnational terrorism, some spheres of the Italian public opinion had uncertain suspicions that the American or NATO presence in Italy was in what was later called the *strategy of tension.*

Although books focussing on this thesis are often not able to refer to evidence, the mere existence of these theories and suspicions plays a tremendous part in studying the threat perception of the Italian public and political actors. As depicted earlier, they therefore have to be considered when examining the trajectory of Italian counterterrorism policy towards increased international cooperation.

Considering this complex yet essential relationship between Italy and the Atlantic Alliance, in this section I analyse the connection between Italian counterterrorism policy and NATO endeavours against terrorism in single member states. Contrary to former research that ascribed to NATO a rather marginal interest in international terrorism prior to 2001,[1198] a few documents do in fact demonstrate that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had already discussed the terrorism problem in the 1970s.

As the NATO members were all liberal democracies of the Western they had largely similar ideas of what terrorism was. As a result, and certainly due to the fact that the high-ranking military deputies in the NATO councils

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[1197] In 1990, Venetian judge Felice Casson re-investigated the bomb attack on 31 May 1972 near Peteano. Concerned by his findings, Casson continued to review critical judicial cases of so-called stragi and eventually discovered the involvement of secret services in alleged right-wing attacks. Ganser, Secret armies, p.25.
[1198] Bird, Juliette: NATO's role in Counter-Terrorism, in: Perspectives on Terrorism, Vol.9, Issue 2, p.61-70 here 62.

shared a certain worldview, the Alliance did not spend time on discussing a definition of terrorism.

In 1972, a resolution on air piracy named all acts of aircraft hijacking as The Assembly recognised the global scope of the problem and underlined the necessity to act harmoniously at the international level. Therefore, they invited the governments of the Alliance to cooperate by evolving a common system of sanctions against terrorists and states that supported terrorists or granted them asylum. They encouraged the members to exchange information and provide mutual assistance with technology, with the aim of detecting weapons more easily and to arrest fugitive perpetrators. In light of the absence of a legally binding power, the resolution then urged the members to ratify as soon as possible the UN conventions against Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft and the Convention for the suppression of unlawful acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, issued in 1970 and 1971 respectively.[1199] Including the suspension of external aid and air traffic to this country as potential measures, the resolution was very similar to the declaration which the G7 member governments in 1978. The fact that a majority of G7 are NATO member states suggests a transfer from the military to the political level six years later.

Aside from a note that the council planned to renew the consultations on terrorism in 1973,[1200] NATO's next interference in the Italian *DGPS* regarding counterterrorism was documented in the report on external activities of December 1977. It depicts a "Cooperazione in sede NATO", which had taken place in April, June and November 1977. "As the profiles related to the regulatory acts are exploited, it is appropriate to highlight the activities by the DGPS which aim at realising an international collaboration in the fight against terrorism in a strictly operative perspective."[1201]

The panel during which terrorism and subversion were studied and discussed among the NATO members was named the *Special Committee*. Founded in 1953, the Committee brought together the heads of the security services (or their

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[1199] NATO resolution No. 7 of 1972 on air piracy; ILSAA, Serie NATO, Busta 116, Fasc. 43. "Bonn 19-24 Nov 1972" 18° sessione annuale dell'Assemblea dell'Atlantico del Nord / Textes adoptes par l'assemblee de l'atlantique nord.

[1200] Ambassador Rumsfeld's note in a NAA Council meeting 21/3/1973, released on wikileaks, https://www.wikileaks. org/plusd/cables/1973USNATO01498_b.html, last access 02.02.17.

[1201] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67 cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine in Sede NATO (Rel 30/06/1977).

substitutes) of its 15 member states. Aside from terrorism, the panel worked on espionage and "everything relevant under the aspect of security at the national or international level".[1202] They usually followed a permanent agenda relating to the "constant questions" of terrorism and security but added current issues on their biannual plenaries. From the Italian side, high-ranking security officers participated in the Committee, as did members of the secret service SID.[1203] The Italian documents illustrate that they gave talks on their special knowledge in counterespionage.[1204] This *Special Committee*, however, referred significant findings to the Atlantic Council for competence determinations.[1205] Usually, month prior to the plenary, a restricted circle of the Special Committee and prepared the decisions, which were meant to be adopted by the plenary.

"It is notable," wrote the *DGPS* in 1977 "that the Committee's activity, characterised originally by the breadth of contributions by the various delegations and by the vivacity of discussions during the meetings, is much reduced in the field where decisions are made. That, it is believed, depending the motives of crises that occurred within the Atlantic Organisation."[1207] The Italian security authorities were aware of the fact that some decisions were not taken openly and democratically, depending on the state of tensions between the NATO members. It was added in the report that in addition to the Committee's normal work, the NATO had also hosted two Atlantic Councils on terrorism, promoted by the US authorities. These councils, in which representatives of the security services, diplomats, various functionaries and experts participated, were an opportunity to exchange information and get to know each other in person because of the high number of contributions.[1208]

All these reunions took place at the NATO headquarters in Brussels. The autumn plenary session of the NATO *Special Committee* for the cooperation

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[1202] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, cited; ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine in Sede NATO (Rel 31/12/1977), "Comitato Speciale della N.A.T.O".

[1203] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, cited, "Comitato Speciale della N.A.T.O".

[1204] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, cited, fasc. 11001/114/3(1), cited, "Appunto. Attivitá internazionali svolte dal Ministero dell'Interno nei settori e nei servizi di polizia."

[1205] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, cited, "Comitato Speciale della N.A.T.O".

[1206] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S.; Cooperazoine in Sede NATO (Rel 30/06/1977).

[1207] Ibid.

[1208] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, cited, "Comitato Speciale della N.A.T.O".

against terrorism in November 1977[1209] was preceded by a restricted Working Group meeting in October on the "usual" arguments of subversion, terrorism, and espionage. [1210] As the latter meeting was not noted as being Italian activity", perhaps no Italian delegate participated in the restricted meeting. The fact that the Italian Ministry of the Interior nonetheless knew which topics were discussed suggests at least that all participants of the plenary were informed of this afterwards. In the *DGPS* report of June 1978, the modus operandi of the panels was explained in greater detail: all NATO members drafted reports on questions of terrorism and subversion, which were then studied by the restricted committee. Eventually, the conclusions of these reports were presented in a schematic synthesis and discussed in the plenary. [1211] The restricted group so determined the plenary debate.

Due to the uncertainty as to which panels included an Italian representative which decisions were taken without them, the Italian Government was interested in having a clear framework for the diverse panels on terrorism. Therefore, in 1977, Prime Minister Andreotti discussed with the Chief of the Italian Police whether to "officialise" the cooperation between the Secret Services, and to "study which should be the relationships between the EC member states, Interpol and NATO" in the cooperation against terrorism.[1212]

Furthermore a meeting among the Base Commandant, German NATO and *Carabinieri* representatives took place at the NATO base Decimomannu (Cagliari) on 27 October 1977. This concerned only actions in Italy. They discussed how to preserve German institutions and property from damage by left-wing activists in reaction to the anti-German riots in Italian cities. Eventually, they decided to increase security measures and personnel inside and outside the airbase and in the town.[1213] That the militaries took a clear

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[1209] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, ibid.

[1210] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, fasc. 11001/114/3(4a) cited, Compendio delle Relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione Generale della P.S., 2° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza, Periodo 1° luglio – 31 dicembre 1977, Cooperazoine in Sede NATO (Rel 30/06/1977).

[1211] 3° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza, Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giugno 1978, Cooperazoine in Sede NATO (Rel 30/06/1977), ibid.

[1212] ILSAA, Serie Europa, Sottoserie 15 Cooperazione in materia di Polizia, 1977; B. 402; (1) Europa 1/A/15.

[1213] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, cited, Prefetto Porpora to Ministero Interno, 27/10/1977.

position in their reaction against violations of the public order by left-wing activists[1214] is little surprising but notable.

A synthesis of the NATO Special Committee meeting in April 1978 is available in Andreotti's estate. The NATO document contains a statement on political violence and terrorism, which supposed that "acts of political violence and terrorism showed a continuation of international cooperation by the terrorists", and that Palestinian terrorists at the same time tried to establish operational infrastructure outside the Middle East.[1215] Further evidence for this presumed international cooperation was "clearly shown in the coordination of the Schleyer kidnapping and the hijacking of a Lufthansa aircraft", according to the report.[1216]

Under the bullet point *Italy*, the same report warned against the PCI, which considered itself the "spearhead of 'Euro-communism' among other European Communist Parties, some of which are enticed by the successes of the 'Italian Road to Socialism' to use it as a model for a similar advancement of Marxist ideology in their own countries."[1217] The actual danger that the PCI could threaten political stability, not only in Italy but also across Europe, still dominated the Alliance's view on Italian terrorism by 1978. When considering extreme right and left groups in Italy, the NATO *Special Committee* appeared most concerned about the Marxist-Leninist fringe of the PCI, as "links were detected between the PCIML and underground terrorist organizations." In the office of this Party's weekly magazine *la Voce Operaia* "some 2000 stolen documents, several of them made out in false identities, were found as well as a large number of documents of the Red Brigades." It concluded that the *Voce Operaia* could be "defined as the main voice of the extreme left underground groups."[1218] On the other side, the NATO *Special Committee* noted that the extreme right MSI had been "trying very actively to regain positions lost after

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[1214] "Following the suicides of the 4 hard-core RAF members 35 German diplomatic and commercial representations, mostly in France and Italy, were targets of bomb attacks while in many other countries revolutionary groups protested violently against what they called the "murder" of their German comrades."; ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc. 57, cited Doc §65.

[1215] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc.57, "1978", Appunto del SISMI relativo alla 69° riunione del Comitato di Sicurezza (Bruxelles 4-5 aprile 1978).

[1216] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc.57; cited, §62.

[1217] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc.57; cited.

[1218] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc.57; "1978",cited, § 39.

split", and that "clandestine groups of the extra-parliamentary right have resumed their violent activities."[1219]

The NATO *Special Committee* showed high concern about the *Brigate Rosse*, which "although totally isolated" had intensified their violent activities. The kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, as well as previous assassinations of public figures, demonstrated "mounting terrorist violence aimed at destroying democratic institutions by attacking their representatives at all levels". Additional worry was raised because the "most active terrorist organization in Europe" had "launched an appeal for the unification of all European terrorist groups". [1220]

At the NATO Summit in Washington on 30 May 78, Andreotti expressed Italy's gratitude to their allies for their "solid opposition to terrorism and particularly for support during the Moro Affair".[1221] This suggests that the Council was involved in the case at least by giving advice to the Government, which was hitherto not officially conceded. Andreotti stated that "throughout its history, the alliance had provided a factor of stability", and at the same time it had "demonstrated requisite flexibility to cope with changing environment". These characteristics had contributed to "making NATO a decisive factor in Italy's foreign policy."[1222] He therefore used the occasion to affirm Italy's loyalty to Alliance, even if the government was indirectly cooperating with the PCI in internal politics. German Chancellor Schmidt reacted by underlining that the Moro killing "showed how urgent it was to unite and curb terrorism."[1223] Nevertheless, when the discussion on the influence of Communist parties in single states escalated, the Council reminded its members that "it was not NATO policy to discuss internal affairs of Alliance countries."[1224]

[1219] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc.57; "1978", cited, § 57.

[1220] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc. 57; "1978", cited, §67.

[1221] Telegram SecState WashDC to USMission USNATO, Priority Telegram 141219, 3 Jun 1978, 1978STATE141219, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

[1222] Telegram SecState WashDC to USMission USNATO, Priority Telegram 141219, 3 Jun 1978, 1978STATE141219, cited.

[1223] Ibid.

[1224] Confidential Telegram USMission USNATO to SecState WashDC, Confidential Telegram 05698, 5 Jun 1978, 1978USNATO05698, Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-79/Electronic Telegrams, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, NARA, AAD (accessed 10 Dec 2015).

Despite these evident links between the Italian Government and NATO in respect of counterterrorism questions, the Italian political debate on NATO was in 1979 exclusively concerned with military security in the sense of defence against aggression from abroad.[1225]

In 1980, "facing increasing numbers of terrorist acts and their threat to democratic institutions and national and international stability" NATO issued second resolution on terrorism. This time, the often anti-Semitic background was the reason to explicitly urge member governments to "use the Alliance's mechanisms to cooperate and exchange information on terrorists". [1226] Moreover, the resolution promoted the UN Convention against hostage taking and invited its members to actively reinforce the Atlantic cooperation against terrorism.

In late 1982, the NATO activities regarding terrorism increased significantly. At a meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers in Canada in October, the Turkish and Italian Ministers brought terrorism to the agenda. The Spanish delegate warned against "distinguishing terrorist acts in more and less disgusting"[1227] when considering the diverse types of terrorism with political or ethno-nationalistic motivation. In November, the US Government organised a reunion in Washington with the aim of "study[ing] possibilities to reinforce the cooperation among the industrialised democracies" in the fight against terrorism. The Italian delegation comprised representatives from the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of the Interior and the Security Services. Although not organised by the Alliance, the Italian documents listed the meeting under the headline "NATO activities".[1228]

The biannual meetings and documents, including resolutions, prove that the NATO was – contrary to former studies – indeed concerned with terrorist activity. Apart from general worries about "mostly extreme left-wing indigenous terrorist groups" in most member countries, which were "small,

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[1225] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 169, Fasc. 60, Camera – Servizio studi "La politica di sicurezza dell'Italia. Problemi e prospettive, ottobre 1979".

[1226] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 169, Fasc. 63, "1979", "Assemblee de l'Atlantique Nord; Textes adoptes par l'assemblee de l'atlantique nord lors de sa vingt-sixieme Session Annuelle a Bruxelles, du 17 au 21 Novembre 1980 ».

[1227] AAPD 1982, Bd. I-II, Doc 253, Aufzeichnung des Staatssekretärs von Staaden, p.1329-30.

[1228] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1981-85, b. 22, cited, 12° relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza, Periodo 1° luglio – 31 dicembre 1982.

well equipped and highly mobile",[1229] the *Special Committee* was concerned also with terrorism in Italy. They were highly alerted in 1978 about the *Brigate Rosse* and most probably involved in some way in the search for Aldo Moro. However, the counterterrorism activities at NATO were also kept secret within the member states. It seems that only the governments and their delegates were informed. In the reports to the Ministry of the Interior, frequently the same general phrase depicted the Italian participation in NATO deliberation meetings. Unfortunately, most of the highly interesting documents are not yet accessible to researchers in the archives.[1230]

4.4   Italy`s takeaways from multilateral cooperation

In the 1970s, diverse panels for multilateral cooperation in questions of terrorism were founded in Europe, as the existing structures seemingly had proved themselves as insufficient. Interpol, the frame for police cooperation since 1946, had explicitly excluded the persecution of political violence from its scope. [1231] At the political level, the search for a global condemnation of terrorism at the United Nations was unsuccessful due to the incapacity of finding a common definition. Parallel negotiations at the Council of Europe regarding the harmonisation of extradition law were difficult. Dissatisfied with the cumbersome negotiations, the Ministers in charge of internal security of the EC states concentrated in their cooperation on the exchange of experiences, knowledge and techniques at the operational level.[1232]

[1229] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc. 57"1978", Appunto del SISMI relativo alla 69° riunione del Comitato di Sicurezza.

[1230] Frequently, only the title indicates in the files that there had been a classified document. One example is a note to Capo di Gabinetto: "Please prepare a comprehensive summary and report on: - Multilateral collaboration (NATO, "B-1), - negotiations CEE Antiterrorism", in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 70, cited, Fasc. 11001/114/5, Sottofasc. 2 Conferenza dei Ministri degli Interni Londra 31 Maggio 1977.

[1231] According to Article 3 of Interpol's Constitution, "It is strictly forbidden for the Organization to undertake any intervention or activities of a political, military, religious or   racial   character." https://www.interpol.int/About-INTERPOL/Legal-materials/Neutrality-Article-3-of-the-Constitution, last access 02.03.17.

[1232] Additionally, judicial cooperation between the Interior Ministries operated under the banner of "European Political cooperation" by the time. Cf. Bunyan, p.9.

Italy was involved in three multilateral panels, which dealt with terrorism at operational level: the TREVI network, the Club of Berne and the Club of Additionally, the latter established the Club of the Five as a sub-group. The panels were diverse in their composition and their modus operandi. Since none of them was institutionalised by an underlying contract, as was Interpol, all groups were informal meetings between officials who had similar tasks.[1233] The processes and practices of cooperation were different from the bilateral meetings, as attitudes and legal traditions diverged even within the European Community widely.[1234]

The TREVI network was established in 1976 as a collaborative panel at three levels. In the Working Groups on terrorism (WG 1) and on police cooperation (WG 2), officers of the national polices exchanged experiences and projects, and organised mutual police trainings. The council of Senior Officials, usually the Heads of the national Security authorities, coordinated the Working Groups. Not being an official organ of the EC, the TREVI network could not take decisions,[1235] but instead proposed solutions to the Ministers of the Interior, who sought to harmonise internal security policy of the member states.

In the Club of Berne, the Heads of European Secret Services from all EC states except Ireland but including Switzerland met twice a year. The council was already established in 1968 as a reaction to the beginning youth contestation in Europe.

The Club of Vienna was initiated as Meeting among the Ministers of the of Italy, West Germany, France, Switzerland and Austria to discuss questions regarding cross-border cooperation. With Austria, which was originally neither included in the Club of Berne nor in the TREVI network, also questions regarding political violence by the PLO were discussed. The Ministers then

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[1233] Lange, Innere Sicherheit, p.144.

[1234] The diverse attitudes and legal traditions are well illustrated with the repeated deadlocks in discussing the duty to extradite perpetrators of political crimes to other states within Europe; Cf. ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-1980, b 69, cited, fasc. 11001/114/4(1) Convenzione Europea contro il terrorismo; cf. furthermore Blumenau, Pyrrhic Victory, p.406.

[1235] The loose intergovernmental cooperation framework TREVI not involve EC competences or institutions and had no legal base, permanent structures, legislative powers or budget. Cf: J. Monar: Common Threat and Common Response? The European Union's Counter-Terrorism Strategy and its Problems, in Government and Opposition, Vol. 42 (2007), No. 3, pp.292–313, p.292.

delegated operative questions to the Club of Five, where their Heads of the national polices met biannually.

In contrast to the officially acknowledged TREVI Working Groups, where mainly operational know-how was exchanged, the Clubs allowed confidential discussions about suspects and strategies. Hitherto limited practices, such as exchange of information about by the policemen suspected persons, without any judicial evidence against them, or the creation of synthetic documents terrorism and organised crime from a strategic perspective were developed.[1236]

Being certainly an advantage for cooperation, the informality of the multilateral collaboration meetings led also to disagreements among the participants about its degree of organisation, and additionally to a very restrictive information policy. [1237]

4.4.1.   Italy's takeaways from TREVI

The "perhaps most important contribution to EC counterterrorism policy at the operational level"[1238] doubtlessly left its traces on the Italian fight against terrorism in the 1970s.

At the first meeting of the TREVI network, the ministers adopted a resolution, which set the objectives for the cooperation: to "make the exchange of information on terrorist acts most possibly systematic […] at the level of police services as well as among information and security services". [1239] Special focus

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[1236] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.84; Bures, Informal counterterrorism agreements, p.501.

[1237] The second semester 1978 report on international activities by the Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza explicitly stated that in future the collaboration against terrorism in the frame of NATO and the Club of Berne would "not be mentioned anymore, as they take place within the narrow area of responsibility of the military and civil Secret Services, who meet confidentially." Hence, SISDE was charge of their documentation. In turn, the just established Club of Five was included in the reports. As a consequence of disinformation, intransparency, and myth, at times the terms of the diverse cooperation panels seem to be confused even in Ministry documentation. Cf. ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 67, cited, 4a relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza, Periodo 1o luglio – 31 dicembre 1978. The same held for the German documentation, cf. BArch, B 106/106930, cited; handwritten note.

[1238] Bures, Informal counterterrorism arrangements, p.498.

[1239] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 70, cited, fasc. 11001/114/5 Conferenze di Londra e Lussemburgo, "Risoluzione" (Italian draft).

was meant to be "on technical, psychological and administrative aspects of intervention in case of terrorism", including measures to react to terrorist attacks and also concerning the attitude to take when facing demands by terrorists. A further purpose was "that this exchange of information should a means for evaluation of methods to the member states and the possibility to improve those".[1240] In other words, the objective was to align all sorts of responses to terrorism among the EC states.

During the first years of the collaboration, a clear tendency towards an always increasing engagement of the Italian authorities was observable. Possibly, the relatively smooth, although not successful cooperation with foreign authorities in the Aldo Moro case worked as a catalyst. In 1980, TREVI was "by far the important activity" for the Italian DGPS,[1241] as stated in the 1980 biannual on international police activities.

Tangible examples for techniques, which the Italian delegates gained from the Working Group meetings were the knowledge about new electronically readable identity documents and an improvement of VIP protection. In both cases, the multilateral Working Groups treated the topics first, and later the Italian delegates were invited bilaterally from their French and German colleagues to deepen their knowledge. Apart from these concrete transfers, the probably most important takeaway point was a cybernetic approach to counterterrorism and internal security. In October 1978, a seminar in Taormina covered a broad range of topics which indicate a more holistic view on internal security, such as "the role of the police in contemporary society", "international organisation", and "citizen and human rights in conflict with public order and policing".[1242]

One of the immediate outcomes from this meeting was the creation of a permanent committee consisting of officials of the Home and Foreign to elaborate on necessary policies. Concretely, the International Relations Office of the Home Ministry had to cooperate with the DGPS, the *DG Protezione Civile*, and the National Committee for Nuclear Energy for the first time, which required restructuration.[1243] Additionally, the *Ispettorato Antiterrorismo* had to renamed into "*Ispettorato Generale del Servizio di Sicurezza*" to be internationally

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[1240] Ibid.

[1241] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, b. 67, cited, 7° Relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla DGPS, Periodo 1 Gennaio – 30 Giugno 1980, p.3

[1242] TNA, FCO, 33/3586, cited, Letter Italian Embassy London to FCO.

[1243] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 70, cited, fasc. 11001/114/5, cited, "Premessa".

conformed. Moreover, the *Carabinieri* had to be formally involved in the counterterrorism units, and a *Comitato interno per la Gestione della crisi* (internal committee for the handling of a crisis) was created as a "ministerial and technical committee for the handling of 'crises' deriving from terrorist acts".[1244]

Against the backdrop that the whole Italian security apparatus was in restructuring between 1977 and 1981, the question of polity transfers is particularly interesting. Especially Working Group 2 often talked about the organisation of the authorities. In September 1978, the Italian delegate expressed the wish to standardise parts of the police formation. Arguing that the exchange of knowledge would come once the exchange of personnel was easier, he convinced the other participants that the authorities of all states should be similarly structured. All agreed that the current situation should be assessed by a questionnaire.[1245] For that reason, the Italian Ministry of the Interior was in possess of eight EC examples when restructuring their own police in 1978/80. The frequent wish of the Italian delegation for more personal contact between the involved officers, "to get to know each other was partly accommodated by the establishment of the Liaison Offices.[1247] However, one of the most often mentioned Italian proposals, the implementation of a permanent TREVI Secretary, failed to convince the other member states, as they feared an increased degree of bureaucracy.

When the Italian Ministry of the Interior conflicted with the UK Government about whether selling kidnap ransom insurances should be banned in Europe, they brought the issue to the TREVI network. Although the dispute could not be resolved, the Italian delegation received support from almost all other states and put the Lloyds business in a morally inferior position. Similarly, when in 1980 Armenian terrorist groups committed crimes in Italy, the DGPS delegation raised the problem and all TREVI members agreed to set the topic on the agenda of Working Group 1.

Summing up, the Italian delegations in the TREVI network could profit from a vast exchange of experiences regarding contents and organisation in the security field, in a time when the Italian apparatus was under reform.

[1244] "Mandato agli Alti Funzionari", ibid.

[1245] BArch, B 106/78845, cited, Königreich Belgien – Innenministerium; TREVI - vertraulich; UAG 26, Sitzung vom 19.9.1978.

[1246] BArch, B 106/78845, ibid.

[1247] BArch, B 106/78833, cited, Fernschreiben (offen) v Verbindungsbüro Italien (Rognoni) an IM, z.h. MR Lenz u Sekretariat Baum, 21.2.1979.

this exchange was reciprocal and learning processes took place on both sides. However, until 1979, the Italian Ministry of the Interior could count more takeaway points than topics that they successfully added to the agenda of European cooperation in internal security questions.

Apart from concrete new techniques, which the Italian delegates might have "brought home" from the Working Group meetings, such as VIP protection or the advantages of new IDs, the major gain for the Italian Ministry of the Interior from the TREVI cooperation was rather at the conceptual level. Related to the introduction of new passports was the idea to control the movements of a state's whole population. The restructuring of the security authorities was linked to a more integrative understanding of internal security. Perhaps most important was the general availability of an international experts' forum for discussing the terrorism problems – posed by national and transnational terrorism.

4.4.2. Italy's takeaways from the "Clubs"

Additional to their participation in the EC based TREVI network since 1976, a delegation of the Italian Ministry of the Interior participated in the *Club of Berne* since 1968, and in the *Club of Vienna* and the *Club of the Five* since 1978. At least the latter two originated in an initiative by the Italian Ministry of the Interior. these panels, the Italian delegations often played a very active role by concrete opportunities for the improvement of the existing collaboration. The multi-positioning of actors was an important factor in the dynamics since Officials who participated in several circles transferred the reasoning mode, the organisation techniques, and specific technologies to a repertoire of actions.[1248] The fact that the Italian proposals were often similar to the latest achievements from bilateral agreements shows the satisfaction of the Italian Interior Ministry with the latter.

Due to the confidentiality of the topics in the cooperation between the Secret Services, personal continuities mattered, too. As the Head of the Italian internal service SISDE had previously worked in South Tyrol, where secessionism was considered a major security problem,[1249] he probably enjoyed a reputation as terrorism expert among the international Secret Service officials. The German

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[1248] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.98.
[1249] Carucci, Paola. "I servizi di sicurezza civili prima della legge del 1977." Studi Storici 39.4 (1998): 1031-1042, p.1041.

BfV had confirmed a "smooth collaboration for years" to both Italian Secret Services already in 1976,[1250] which indicates that bilateral relations between the services existed for a longer time.

In any case, it can be said that the participation of Italian delegates in the *Clubs* meant for them a cooperation among experts at eye level, which had on earlier occasions been inhibited by intercultural differences or condescending behaviour. The (admittedly few) files about the cooperation do not reveal any sort of presumptuousness or spite. On the other side, all participants praised the pleasant atmosphere. Probably, the direct contact in the "old boys" circle was a respectful and thus productive cooperation, stimulated by the similar self-understanding of all participants.

As a second main outcome, with the participation in the Clubs, Italian authorities were finally integrated into informal and secret cooperation against terrorism as it already existed among other European states. This gain can be well illustrated by the Italian attempt to take part in the Carlos group, named after the homonymous terrorist.[1251] The group was run by France, Federal Germany and the UK, who in 1976 agreed that they had "no interest" in broadening the group.[1252] In the course of ameliorating cooperation within the bilateral working groups, in early 1978 the German Ministry considered including Italy into the Carlos Group and expand it to the fight against international terrorism in general.[1253] The Italian Ministry of the Interior then prepared reports about the opportunity to participate in the group, with the "to provoke an invitation".[1254] After getting in touch with the British and

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[1250] BArch, B136/16648, cited, Telex 5.7.76 vs-nfd an bmi; betr.: italienisch-deutsche zusammenarbeit im bereich der inneren sicherheit; bezug: bmi-fs vom 1.7.76.

[1251] "Carlos the Jackal" was byname of Venezuelan militant Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, who orchestrated some of the highest-profile terrorist attacks of the 1970s, for example the raid at the OPEC meeting in Vienna 1975.

[1252] BArch, B 106/78834, 600812 – 1/1 BMI Europ. Zusammenarbeit innere Sicherheit AG I Terrorismusbekämpfung; Bd. 1, 10.1976 bis 15.6.1978,; Forts. Bd. 2; Abdruck für ÖS 1; Europäische Zusammenarbeit für „Innere Sicherheit", Hier: Bekämpfung des Terrorismus; Ergebnisniederschrift über die erste Sitzung der EG-Arbeitsgruppe „Terrorismus" am 11/12.10.76 in Den Haag.

[1253] BArch, B106/106874, 626 535 / 4 BMI Zusammenarbeit mit Italien; Bd. 3 Forts Bd 4, Referat ÖS 1, MR Merk, Bonn 14.1.1978; Betr.: Internationale Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der inneren Sicherheit; hier: Sitzung der deutsch-italienischen Arbeitsgruppe „Innere Sicherheit" am 11/12. Januar 1978 in Rom; Ergebnisvermerk.

[1254] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, B. 71, cited, Squillante (Gabitnetto) to Capo della Polizia, Ogg.: Cooperatione bilaterale italo-tedesca; Appunto Russomanno 28 febbraio

Security Services shortly later, however, those confirmed that the group's activity had been suspended one year ago because they saw the Carlos as a form of "general international terrorism".[1255]

Concluding, the participation in the informal *Clubs* brought far-reaching to the international dimension of Italian counterterrorism policy, both in terms of generated knowledge and transferred techniques, as well as in terms of international acknowledgement among "people of the same world".[1256]

4.4.3. Italy's takeaways from the NATO Special Committee

Italy's relation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was complex. In particular, Italy's geographic location at the Eastern border of the Western bloc and the existence of the largest active Communist Party made the relationship both essential and problematic. Moreover, large parts of the Italian public, and also political actors suspected NATO agents to be involved in unresolved bombings, which had repeatedly occurred in Italy since 1969. Additionally, former studies stated that NATO's interest in terrorism prior to 2001 was marginal. Exactly for the three reasons mentioned above, the NATO's dealing with terrorism in Italy offers a new perspective to the historical study of Italian counterterrorism.

No active intervention of NATO personnel in Italian internal security questions is documented. Neither contains the report on seminars any concrete information on experiences, which were exchanged, or on measures, which were suggested to the Italian delegates.

However, the available reports on the *Special Committee* meetings give evidence that terrorism in Italy was highly securitised. Especially the *Brigate Rosse* were seen as a threat to the state since their actions "demonstrate[d] mounting terrorist violence aimed at destroying democratic institutions by attacking their representatives at all levels."[1257] As the BR were considered "the most active terrorist organization in Europe", their potential to unify "all European

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1978, ibid.

[1255] Appunto Russomanno 17 marzo 1978, ibid.

[1256] Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.84.

[1257] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc. 57"1978", Appunto del SISMI relativo alla 69° riunione del Comitato di Sicurezza.

groups" was perceived as a particular menace. European terrorism in general was seen as "systematically planned acts of political violence and terrorism" with "mostly extreme left-wing" motivation.[1258] As the NATO by nature was a council of mainly high-ranking militaries, they conveyed a chiefly operative conception of the fight against terrorism. The *Special Committee* seemed to be a hierarchical body, where decisions were made by few. Whether this archetype of a crisis centre influenced the Italian centralisation of decision-making in however, cannot be proven.

What seems clear from the documentation is that the Italian government definitely received some sort of advice or support by the NATO in the search Aldo Moro. Otherwise, Andreotti would not have thanked the Assembly in May 1978 "particularly for support during the Moro Affair".[1259] Since this "support" by the NATO is not mentioned in any former study, and was not discussed in the consulted parliamentary debates, presumably, it was top

Notably, the approach of collectively punishing a state that patronised by economic measures was developed in a NATO resolution of 1972. Six years later, the G7 employed this reasoning in a declaration issued at the summit in 1978, which later became known as the "Bonn declaration against Concluding, although no active operative interference of NATO with the fight of European states against terrorism can be verified, the impact of the Alliance should not be underestimated. Alone the fact that the secret *Special Committee* held biannual consultations on terrorism in the member states gives evidence that NATO was indeed concerned with the internal security questions of its participants.

4.4.4. The impact of the multilateral panels

Although most researchers agree that the main motivation for the of the multilateral cooperation groups was the increasingly perceived threat of terrorism,[1261] some studies contradict. Bigo stated that there was "little relation between terrorism and European reaction against terrorism". According to terrorism had rather given the occasion for the extension of European police

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[1258] ILSAA, Serie NATO, B. 168, Fasc. 57, cited.

[1259] Telegram SecState WashDC to USMission USNATO, Priority Telegram 141219, 3 Jun 1978, 1978STATE141219, cited.

[1260]Blumenau, Bernhard: "The Group of 7 and International Terrorism: The Snowball Effect That Never Materialized." Journal of Contemporary History 51.2 (2016): 316-334.

[1261] Monar, Knelangen, Lange, Busch, Lay among the consulted studies.

cooperation than provoked an immediate response by the authorities.[1262] Reacting to the Europe-wide perceived threat of transnational terrorism, officials of the security authorities and 'terrorism experts' had "helped each other in establishing a terminology which essentially serves the tactical of actors in a political game".[1263] Bigo points to the precarious circular logic the actors created categories, which were instrumental for their own interests. "The resultant interconnection of the various agencies involved has served to reinforce the power, status and influence of all."[1264]

If the original motivation of the TREVI network was the perceived threat by the perspective of free movement in Europe as some studies presume,[1265] the general passivity of the Italian delegations during the first years could be explained by the fact that the country had other fundaments of migration than most EC members, due to their geographical position. The main concern regarding free EC-movement were travels of left-wing extremists and terrorists between West Germany and Italy.[1266] This question was already discussed in the bilateral working groups and additionally covered by establishing the *Club of Vienna* collaboration in 1978.

In their role for the Europeanisation of internal security, the multilateral informal collaboration councils have been identified as the first security continuum since they "produced and distributed internal security knowledge that articulated a continuum between borders, terrorism, crime and migration".[1267] In other words, the establishment of TREVI and the Clubs indicated the point when internal security became a common concern of European countries for the first time.[1268] Jef Huysmans dismisses the concern of

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[1262] Bigo, Didier: The European Internal Security Field: Stakes and Rivalries in a Newly Developing Area of Police Intervention, in: M. Anderson and Monica Den Boer: Policing across national boundaries. London, Pinter publications 1994, pp.161-173, p.162.

[1263] Ibid.

[1264] Bigo, Didier. "Liaison officers in Europe: New officers in the European security field," in: Steptycki, Issues in transnational policing 67 (2000), p.67.

[1265] Oberloskamp, Codename TREVI; Bigo, Polices en Réseaux.

[1266] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.71, cited, Letter from London Home Office to Capo della Polizia Parlato 21/6/1977, Ogg.: Conferenza dei Ministri dell' Interno.

[1267] Huysmans, Politics of Insecurity, p.72.

[1268] The security continuum was introduced by Bigo in 1994 (Idem: Internal security field, p.164) as a figure for explaining the Europeanisation of internal security. As metaphor, he employs a Moebius Ribbon. On this figure, a surface with only one side and only one boundary, the internal side and the external side cannot be clearly distict, although never being the same. Non-mathematicians can find a Moebius Ribbon in the Appendix.

the internal logics that the same persons defined and countered terrorism: explanation does not have to draw on conspiracy theory or the rational calculation of interests. These actors are security professionals who are trained to identify and deal with challenges to public order and the rule of law. Their training predisposes them to defining security questions while their professional status gives these definitions authority". [1269] Erik Cedermann underlines this dynamic but emphasises that the "bureaucratic field" – the network in which functionaries and experts act and which had "definitely played a key role in the internationalisation of an internal security field" – was created unintended.[1270]

Whether unintended or not, the indirect or secondary impact of the informal collaboration in internal security was surely the most sustainable. Although very little was known about the meetings, the Italian press hit the point: "The long night of the counterterrorism Ministers"[1271] was seen as a quality leap in the fight against terrorism. In the very exclusive reunions of the security sometimes depicted as "wining and dining",[1272] the guidelines for a European policy of internal security were laid. Reporting on the same reunion, another newspaper summarised "The fight against terrorism becomes international."[1273]

[1269] Huysmans, Politics of Insecurity, p.72.

[1270] Cederman, Constructing Europe's Identity, p.196.

[1271] The Corriere titled "La lunga notte dei Ministri dell'antiterrorismo" when reporting about the Meeting of the Club of Vienna on 10 September 1979. Press review in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, fasc. 11001/114/3, cited.

[1272] Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p 98.

[1273] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B.67, fasc. 11001/114/3, cited, Press review.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1   Transfer processes in politics, policy and polity

Terrorism and counterterrorism in Italy between 1972 and 1982 constituted a multifaceted and complex dynamic. Encouraged by the emotionally charged climate of violence after 1968, including harsh clashes between protesters and security forces with outdated public order conceptions, small groups saw themselves as the avant-garde in evoking a political overthrow. The democratic order was challenged by left-wing and right wing terrorists. Terrorist attacks followed diverse strategies but both contributed to an increasing climate of violence. Trapped between those two threats, political reactions were rather reluctant and not very expedient in the beginning. Italian political actors were not yet aware of the danger – due to party disputes, they could not agree before 1974 on whether they were facing terrorism or not, hence it was hard to counter it appropriately. The strategy consequently developed against terrorism combined repressive, preventive, and cooperative approaches. The perception of transnational terrorism in Italy was less subject to discussion. All parties harshly condemned the attack by PLO gunmen on Fiumicino Airport in December 1973,[1274] although at the international level, Italian officials often showed understanding for the Palestinian cause and rather criticised counterterrorist operations of Western countries for being too violent.[1275]

[1274] Both the Munich attack in 1972 and the attack by PLO gunmen at Fiumicino airport in December 1973 were immediately labelled "the latest of a long series of bloody terrorist episodes, committed by Arab commandos, or alleged…". (Orig. "La strage di Fiumicino e l'ultimo di una lunga serie di cruenti episodi di terrorismo, compiuti da commando arabi o presunti tali,.."), L'Unità, December 18, 1973, p.2.

[1275]The PCI journal "L'Unità" often criticised the counterterrorist operations as too violent, especially the Israeli security services after the liberation of a hijacked airplane in Entebbe in 1976. They harshly accused the Israeli counterterrorism commando to have caused a "massacre" among the kidnappers when liberating more than 100 hostages; L'Unità, July 5, 1976, p.1.

The trajectory of Italian counterterrorism policy towards increased cooperation in the 1970s and '80s became visible in both bilateral cooperation with foreign security authorities,[1276] and in the creation of new multilateral councils for security issues among European states.

My analysis was guided by three research questions: Firstly, how did Italian efforts develop from a national combat of unrest and crime to an internationally aligned strategy against terrorism, and which components of this policy transformed in detail? Secondly, which concepts and techniques were transferred, who were the actors in these transfer processes, and what did Italy contribute to a common security policy with other countries? Thirdly, how did the international fight against terrorism influence the Italian concept of security?

Regarding my first research question, I can conclude that the Italian Republic during the decade 1972-82 established multiple relationships on the base of common questions regarding internal security. Italian delegates represented the government in the multilateral panels *Club of Berne*, *Club of Vienna, Club of the Five*, and the *TREVI network*. Additionally, the bilateral relations with West Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America were shaped by questions of internal security during the studied period.

In 1975, the German and Italian Ministries of the Interior established the first bilateral working groups regarding terrorism and other internal security problems. In the same year, the Ministries of all nine EC states initiated the TREVI network, a multilateral police cooperation with an emphasis on the fight against terrorism and organised crime. The national secret services had already established the *Club of Berne* in 1968 as an informal and secret collaboration against youth contestations. Both committees met biannually and mainly exchanged information on terrorist activities, questions of internal security, and practical matters of cooperation.

The motivations for the collaboration were manifold. For the Italian Government, the increasingly perceived threat of terrorism by left- and right-wing extremists in Italy was the first drive. Secondly, the occurrence of spectacular transnational terrorist attacks such as in Munich in 1972, at Fiumicino Airport in 1973, and in Vienna in 1975 pressurised European governments. Thirdly, the prospect that European Integration would soon lead

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[1276] Apart from the studied states, archive sources give evidence of bilateral Italian collaboration also with Switzerland, France, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Albania, Romania and Yugoslavia.

to the abolition of border controls concerned the Ministries in charge of internal security. At least for the Italian partners USA and West Germany, apparently, the perspective to influence Italian security policy and to become an important partner in security questions was a major motivation as well.

In autumn 1977, international cooperation in counterterrorism policy gained importance on the political agenda in the course of hours, when a kidnapped German aeroplane was refuelled in Rome before heading to the Middle East. After a few days of political discord among Western European governments over the principles of rescue interventions in such cases, all sides sought conciliation. As soon as the hijacking was luckily solved, the Italian government assured their partners that they were highly interested in facilitating international cooperation against terrorism in any regard.

Five months later, in the search for the abducted statesman Aldo Moro, foreign security services sent delegations to Rome for aid and Italian authorities showed an increased interest in the international exchange of experiences and knowledge. The focus of this interest was twofold: the first was on cooperation in structural issues, such as the creation of an Italian *special force* based on West German or British role models. The second was on concrete techniques of investigation and policing, particularly the employment of the most advanced surveillance technology.

Regarding my second research question, I can conclude that in both the and multilateral cooperation, the transfer processes concentrated on the application of new technology to the fight against terrorism. The main topics in joint workshops of Italian and West German security expert groups were investigation technology as well as the creation of databases of explosives, car numbers, and personal data such as fingerprints and photos. In the Italian-British cooperation, the dealing with siege situations and negotiating were major subjects, as well as special equipment, such as stun grenades. In multilateral working groups, common trainings of techniques were conducted, including the application of the newest surveillance technology and the protection of very important persons. Those techniques and technologies were often closely linked to new ideas and conceptions of counterterrorism, such as the idea that systematic investigation was possible, or a higher awareness for the importance of media for terrorism. Furthermore, the structure of security authorities was an important matter, especially against the backdrop of the Italian reforms at the end of the 1970s. The mere idea that terrorism as a phenomenon was better countered with a centralised structure and highly specialised commandos, instead of the common police, had an important

on the Italian conception of counterterrorism. Whether the American approach of "strengthening democracy by cultural exchange" did eventually lead to a of societal resilience against terrorism cannot be proved or refuted in this Nonetheless, the US approach of tackling the terrorism problem also via international exchange of experts in law and other academic fields was promising at first sight. Summing up, the concrete change in techniques was closely interrelated with a change of the overall approach to counterterrorism and of the internal security conception.

Very often, the documentation on this cooperation gave evidence that the delegations were rather receptive to learning new techniques and conceptions, as underlined by the DGPS in February 1976: "The Italian side is always open the best European cooperation for a more intense and efficient fight against terrorism and crime".[1277] However, at the end of the 1970s, the Italian officials became more active, took the initiative and also proposed topics, which they contributed to the discussions.

The historical actors of my study, who pushed the internationalisation process of Italian counterterrorism policy, were government employees and internal security experts both in Italy and in the partner states. Depending on the frame in which they came together, many functionaries in diverse roles were represented; from the Ministers of the Interior to upper-rank police officers. An emphasis laid on the so-called Senior Officials, usually the Presidents of the national polices or secret services, who bridged the gap between legal and operational collaboration. Archive privacy policies do not allow naming them, but it can be said that the diverse circles of persons were largely overlapping. It seems that high-profile police functionaries were usually at the same time the states' best terrorism experts. Considering that terrorism as such was still in the process of being perceived distinct from common crime, this seems only rational. From the Italian side, high-ranking security officers participated in the panels, as well as members of the Secret Services SID and SISDE. For a successful transfer of techniques and knowledge in counterterrorism, the horizontal cooperation at the same level between persons sharing similar worldviews was beneficial.[1278]

[1277] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto 1976-80, B. 70, fasc. 11001/114/6, Sottofasc. 1, cited, Appunto per l'On. Sig. Ministro, Ogg.: riunione preparatoria al Lussemburgo dell'incontro dei Ministri dell'Interno dei Paesi membri della CEE.

[1278] Many participants in the various panels gave evidence of the "productive and pleasant atmosphere"; a theoretical account of the underlying mechanisms give: Kirchhof / Meyer, Transnational networks.

Referring back to the question which components of counterterrorism policy in Italy changed in detail, the differentiation between politics, policy, and polity is useful. Regarding politics – in other words, processes – the obvious innovation was that decisions regarding national security politics were taken at the international level. Furthermore, inputs for the national internal security programs came from partners from abroad – and, importantly, were accepted. Previously, internal security had been excluded from harmonising European policies and was still regarded as an integral part of national sovereignty. Thus, this step was crucial for the development of Italian counterterrorism politics. Finally, the growing importance of experts' committees over the democratic bodies influenced the processes of policy making.

In the policy field – in other words, aims and contents – the changes were most obvious. Apart from concrete techniques of policing, which were transferred in many bi- and multilateral trainings between experts at the operational level, primarily the idea of *terrorism* and counterterrorism changed. Acknowledging that terrorism was a tactic in a political strategy was accompanied by the need of a strategic state response. In the collaboration with other states which faced similar problems, new inputs affected this emerging state strategy. The ideas that a systematic investigation was possible, or that tip-offs could come from within the society, was discussed in the Italian Ministry of the Interior only after the cooperation with international partners.

Regarding polity – in other words, the structural frame – of counterterrorism, the most manifest changes in Italian counterterrorism consisted of new laws. Although they were never fully harmonised at the European level or between single states, considerable progress was achieved in the legal framework of cross-border police work. Special legislation regarding terrorism was often compared to other states' laws before enacted. After the first TREVI meeting, structural changes in the Italian institutions were necessary. The Interior and Foreign Ministry created a central permanent committee on internal security. Interior Minister Cossiga listed several institutions, which were meant to cooperate, uniting the polices, the *Counterterrorism Inspectorate* and the *Nuclear Energy Committee.*[1279] These new councils were complemented by the Internal Committee for the handling of a crisis. The increasing significance of security experts as consultants changed not only the processed but also the political

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[1279] To avoid misunderstanding, I underline that these entities were only brought together in the new overarching panels. The authorities, as well as the Nuclear Energy Committee persisted as organisations, apart from the new cooperation.

decision structures at the national and international level. Overall, the trend observable that non-politicians made important policy decisions. Simultaneously, exactly the fact that they were not politicians made the experts little accountable to democratic institutions. Any sort of democratic control was basically not possible.

Concluding, I can confirm my hypothesis that Italian counterterrorism policy, in the framework of international cooperation, took over basic aspects from other states and that the concept of internal security changed significantly. Nevertheless, at certain points the transfer processes were limited.

A big obstacle constituted the diverse standards of police infrastructure, resulting from political and professional traditions. Much of the effort taken by both sides eventually got stuck in organisational issues, or even language problems. Not everything that was meant to be "taught" could be brought into practice. Moreover, security politics proved not to be exactly transferable between different states. In particular, the instruction by foreign police forces was harshly criticised by the Italian political left in the beginning, which feared a decay of the Italian authorities and human rights. In addition, a very human factor determined the quality of the transfer processes in bilateral cooperation. Due to the structural weaknesses of the Italian security apparatus, at times officers from allegedly "superior" countries denied a cooperation at eye level and instead ridiculed the Italian endeavours.

Considering that transfer processes work in both directions, also the Italian contributions to a common counterterrorism policy among European states have to be underlined. The cross-border cooperation in the Alps Region was an initiative of the Italian Ministry of the Interior, as well as several practical features of collaboration, such as harmonising the digital radio encryptions.[1280] Furthermore, Italian delegates repeatedly proposed the inclusion of Spain and Portugal into the European collaboration, which were eventually integrated in the early 1980s. In 1992, Della Porta identified three "lessons", which the Italian fight against terrorism had provided for European states: the possible implication of secret services in right-wing terrorism; the inefficacy of emergency legislation that treated terrorism like organised crime; and the importance of reintegrating former terrorists into society.[1281] Particularly the

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[1280] BArch, B 106 / 78843, 600 812 -2/2 BMI; Unterarbeitsgruppe Kommunikation SWG 21; Bd. 2; vom 1.10.1978 bis…; 5. Sitzung UAG 21 am 24/25.10.1978.
[1281] Donatella Della Porta: Institutional Responses to Terrorism. The Italian Case, in: Schmidt / Crelisten: Western Responses to Terrorism, in: Terrorism and Political Violence,

latter had caused interest among the European partners, although most governments were sceptical.[1282] Regarding major programmes, however, it seems that first and foremost the Italian approach to counterterrorism changed significantly.

As a major conclusion apart from my research questions I can revise the thesis that international cooperation against terrorism was barely considered the Italian Ministry of the Interior until October 1977.[1283] Cooperation at the EC level and with third countries[1284] was already brought on the political agenda 1975, though on an informal basis. The regular and EC-wide cooperation in the TREVI groups is to be classified as a "quality leap".[1285] The fact that secret service collaboration in the Club of Berne was established even earlier, when terrorism in Europe was not yet existent, challenges the historical treatment of internal security cooperation in post-war Europe.[1286]

Vol. 4 Nr, 4, 1992, p.151.

[1282] At the TREVI meeting in Oct. '80, the Italian delegate reported about success in fight against terrorism due to pentiti laws. They had damaged the reputation of invincibility of the BR. However, at a meeting in March '82 the other delegations agreed "about the fact that not the harmonisation of reintegration of terrorists was the aim, but the gain of knowledge from single counties' experiences with it"; Cf. BArch, B 106/78834, cited, BMI an Herren Referenten – oViA – PI1, PI3, IS 1, IS 2; Bonn 14.1.1981; Betr.: Eurpäische Zusammenarbeit bei der Terrorismusbekämpfung, hier: Protokoll der TREVI I-Sitzung am 24.10.1980 in Luxemburg; Rohübersetzung des Luxemburgischen Protokolls.

[1283] One of the most exact studies on Italian counterterrorism policy ascribes "only a marginal role" to international cooperation within the Italian considerations; cf. Hof, Staat und Terrorismus, p.276.

[1284] One example is the bilateral cooperation with the Romanian Republic, where a delegation of Italian security experts went in September 1977, in order to establish collaboration in counterterrorism and security issues. ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, b.67, Compendio delle relazioni semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla direzione generale della P.S., p.43.

[1285] Oberloskamp, Olympia-Attentat, p.341.

[1286] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80 b. 67, Relazione, 30.6.1977, states that the "Club di Berna" was established as a multilateral exchange of Secret Services already in 1968, reacting to the perceived threat by youth movements. Other researchers date it back to 1978: Bryden/ Caparini: Borders and Security, p.273f; Lange, Innere Sicherheit, p.145.

5.2   The conception of internal security

As my third research question, I studied the consequences of these processes; the effects of the international fight against terrorism on the Italian conception of internal security. In the last section, I depicted the change by transfer processes. Now I contrast the aggregate of these innovations with the concept of *ordine pubblico* as it prevailed before the international cooperation.

The point of departure for my analysis was the situation in Italy in the early 1970s. About ten diverse security authorities competed for supremacy, and reaction to upcoming terrorism in Italy was initially not different from the disturbances of the public order.[1287] Even if the mass protests of the "hot autumn" of 1969 were over, demonstrations were in general relatively violent Italy, partly due to the brutal intervention of public order forces. The "crowd" was the explicit enemy for the authorities.[1288] In general, police forces were highly militarised, little democratic, and policemen were neither educated nor well trained for their tasks. Especially in the metropolises Rome and Milan, the authorities were chronically undermanned, and struggled with a bunch of organisational issues.[1289] Consequently, the police had a devastating image and officers were unsatisfied. Caused by these structural and constitutional deficiencies, cooperation between society and authorities was practically not existent in the early 1970s.[1290]

To grasp the complex dynamic in which the fight against terrorism influenced the conception of internal security in Italy, I single out five factors. The change within the conception can be traced exemplary at the change of 1) the idea of terrorism, 2) the idea of counterterrorism, 3) the modernisation of investigation methods, 4) the structural reform of the security authorities, 5) (the conception of) the role of the authorities in society.

[1287] Stortoni-Wortmann, Police, p.148.

[1288] "La folla quando assume una notevole consistenza numerica diviene una massa sempre pericolosa"; "la folla è vista come un aggregato mosso da pulsioni irrazionali, come un'entità sempre e comunque minacciosa" concludes Gargiulo, quoting the official Police Manual from 1966/1973 (Ministero dell'interno-Direzione generale della P.S-Servizio arruolamento e scuole di polizia-Divisione scuole di polizia, 1973, Manuale di istruzione professionale: per allievi sottufficiali del corpo delle guardie di P.S., Roma, Fratelli Palombi, Vol. 3).; Gargiulo, Presentazione, p.18-9.

[1289] Stortoni-Wortmann, Police, p. 155.

[1290] Hess, Ambivalente Revolte, p.47.

1) A necessary precondition was a changed understanding of *terrorism*. In the first half of the 1970s, the term was mainly used to discredit the political opponent. After 1974[1291], the leading political figures started to agree on the use of the word terrorism for felonies with a political motivation and the aim to spread fear among the public. In 1977, Minister of the Interior Cossiga urged parliament to take terrorism seriously by calling it the "state's biggest problem".[1292]

The perception of other states' struggle with political violence and of the parallels to Italy was path breaking. In Italy as well as in several European states, the Interior Ministries started to perceive terrorism as a transnational threat and considered international cooperation fruitful. Furthermore, as a by-product of cooperation in international expert groups, the distinction between the terms "terrorism", "transnational terrorism" and "state-sponsored terrorism" was sharpened. Although operative links between subversive groups turned out to be overestimated, the mutual learning processes in international authority collaboration were increasingly appreciated during the 1970s. Repeatedly, the Italian authorities asked for instruction or trainings, and eventually also offered sharing experience regarding their strong points.

2) Following the conception of *terrorism*, the idea of counterterrorism changed. Taking terrorism seriously as a politically motivated crime, and not as mere disturbances of public order, a proper strategy against the origins, and not only against the symptoms, was necessary. The focus shifted to the analysis of terrorist organisations and their motivations, instead of only combating the effects of their action with the aim of public order. Realising that terrorism carried a message, a coherent state narrative was needed, which guaranteed security in the broader sense of the stability of the democratic order. A more cybernetic approach was developed, which contained a threefold answer to terrorism, including repressive, preventive and reconciliatory messages. Under the influence of international cooperation, the idea was transferred that systematic investigation against terrorists and criminals was possible.[1293]

[1291] The first time that politicians of all parties unanimously spoke about terrorism was after the bombing of the train Italicus in summer 1974.

[1292] Senato, VII Leg, Assemblea, 15.11.1977, p.8590, Discorso del On. Cossiga, cited.

[1293] In the questionnaire of the TREVI Working Group 2 in 1977, the Italian DGPS stated that they did not yet consider the value of systematic data exchange. Their data concentrated on registers of arms and vehicles Cf. BArch, B 106 / 78835; 00812 – 1/2 BMI Europäische Zusammenarbeit Innere Sicherheit AG II, Austausch von Beamten, Techniken + Erfahrungen zur Verbesserung der polizeilichen Zusammenarbeit: Bd. 1;

3) Closely related to this idea, new police techniques and new investigation technology entered the daily work of the authorities and superseded the traditional, rather military, police techniques. The value of surveillance technology derived from the vision of systematic investigation. As soon as security experts had understood the influence of mass media on terrorism, also the authorities slowly started to include this variable in their strategy.

4) In interrelation to the ideas of a general police modernisation, structural changes took place within the Italian security authorities. As an immediate reaction, counterterrorism efforts were centralised, and small special task forces were set up.[1294] In this way, fast successes in arresting terrorists could be and counterterrorism was separated from the structural problems and inefficiency of general police forces. Crucially influenced by a unionisation movement from within the police forces, the police forces were demilitarised and received more democratic structures in the comprehensive reform which was completed in 1981.

5) Included in the restructuring of the authorities, their role within the Italian society was rethought. Traditionally, a large gap was perceived between the police that was responsible for "state matters", and the public.[1295] The quick success of the special task forces against terrorism improved the public image the security forces.

For the first time, attention was paid to the public relations, and the public was encouraged to collaborate with the authorities. Investigation strategies which involved the public were considered, which called for eyewitnesses and tip-offs.[1296] The changing public opinion towards the increasingly violent terrorist attacks mirrored this dynamic, and large parts of the society with police officers who fell victim of terrorist attacks. The change of tactics and conceptions in policing left wing protests and later terrorism thus also a change in the relationship between state institutions and society.[1297]

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vom 8.10.1976 bis 26.10.1976; Forts. Bd. 2.

[1294] BArch, B 106/106873, cited, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976.

[1295] Reiter / Weinhauer, Police and political violence, p.388.

[1296] At this point, the Italian Ministry of the Interior even went further than other European countries. Cooperation with the authorities was also offered to terrorist suspects, in exchange for a significant reduction of their prison sentences.

[1297] Reiter / Weinhauer, Police and political violence, p.388.

Particularly the last point was facilitated by a crucial change in the public opinion, which was influenced by the increasing violence of terrorism in Italy. Culminating in the cold-blooded killing of five bodyguards to kidnap the Aldo Moro in March 1978, the hitherto rather indifferent Italians protested in thousands against terrorism, and even trade unions proclaimed a general strike to protest the killing of police officers. Simultaneously, a union movement within the police demanded "greater autonomy from political pressure and a closer relationship with civil society". The new civil status of the police which was granted in the Reform of the Police Act in 1981 was meant to address this issue.[1298]

Summarising, the Italian conception of *pubblica sicurezza* as the aim of counterterrorism policy changed significantly in the second half of the 1970s. The traditional concept of *ordine pubblico* with a quite narrow police scope was successively complemented by an internationally aligned policy of *sicurezza interna*. Even though the innovation did not come as one piece, I would locate it in the years 1976 to '77. Apart from the fact that many of the innovations appeared first in those years, the police reform of 1982 was drafted at the time, and the term *sicurezza interna* itself appeared the first time in a document by the Ministry of the Interior in 1976, after a cooperative working group with West Germany was given the title.[1299] Furthermore, the central agency for the fight against terrorism was meant to be renamed as "Direzione della Sicurezza Interna".[1300]

The immediate effects of this change in thinking counterterrorism policy were twofold. First, finally, some success could be presented against terrorism. The counterterrorism task force could arrest a considerable number of terrorists, which led to an immediate decrease in attacks, even though not yet getting of all key figures.[1301] Secondly, this success and the significant support by

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[1298] Stortoni-Wortmann, Police, p.156.

[1299] ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80 b. 70, cited, Fasc. 11001/114/5, Sottofasc. 1 Riunione Ministri degli Interni Lussemburgo 26 Giugno 1976, "Appunto per il Sig. Werner Smoydzin, Direttore Generale presso il Ministero Federale dell'Interno della Repubblica di Germania", 24.04.1976.

[1300] However, in the frame of the general restructuring, only informative tasks were attributed to this entity. BArch, B 106/106873, Referat ÖS 9 (Bochmann) an Referat ÖS 1; Bonn 7.7.76; Betr. Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Inneren Sicherheit, hier: Sitzung am 13/14. Juli 1976.

[1301] The fact that many captured members of terrorist groups took the opportunity to

foreign police forces led to an increased Italian engagement in the bilateral and multilateral international endeavours.[1302] However, the strike that eventually defeated terrorism in Italy was the investigative innovation, which did not from a transfer process. Once special legislation against terrorism was in many terrorists took the option to reduce their sentences by dissociating from their former groups or delivering information. By doing so, they allowed the authorities to exploit the erosion of the extreme left groups.[1303] After 1982 terrorist groups only sporadically managed to appear in the media.[1304]

Historians have pointed out that the Italian security system in the 1970s was characterised by its need for reforms,[1305] but not yet studied it from the perspective of conceptual history. Furthermore, the international influence in this innovation has hitherto been understudied. My thesis aimed at filling this gap.

5.3   Concluding remarks

Referring back to the initial statement by a senior advisor of the Italian Government,[1306] it seems obvious that the "*common understanding of the threat and of the need to confront it*" was indeed the key factor for the development of Italian counterterrorism policy towards an international alignment. However, the chronological approach to write the history of Italian counterterrorism policy from a transnational angle owes to the aim of tracing a trajectory. It

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cooperate with the authorities led to a wave of arrests in the years 1979 and 1980. However, the remaining members of (especially) the BR were still strong enough to conduct single attacks. The most notable assaults were the killing of Roberto Peci in revenge for his brother Patrizio's "treachery", and the abduction of James L. Dozier. By 1983, the number of arrested persons charged with terrorism was about 1800. De Graaf, Performance, p. 108-9.

[1302] In the 1980s, Italian Minister of the Interior Scalfaro promoted an even further cooperative program titled "Security for Europe", but eventually failed to gain attention as terrorism was vanishing from the headlines in nearly all European countries.

[1303] Hof, The success of Italian Counterterrorism, p.107.

[1304] However, the last attack that the BR accounted for was in 2002 on Government counsellor Marco Biagi.

[1305] Stortoni-Wortmann, Police; O'Collin, Blunt Instrument; De Lutiis, Terrorism.

[1306] "The key priority will remain to maintain a common understanding of the threat and of the need to confront it through a coordinated effort at the global level", A. Armellini, 2003, Cf. Ch. 1.1.

should not be misunderstood as suggesting a teleology. When Italian policy makers and senior security officers started their first cooperation with representatives from other states, they may have had the broad plan to open up the national strategy. Nonetheless, many decisions were made ad hoc, as reaction to terrorist incidents or to developments in other policy fields.

The common understanding of terrorism was crucial as basis for any discussion or agreement on countermeasures. The difficulty in defining it points to its use as a pejorative label for political violence. As an administrative label, it carries a judicial weight and furthermore implies a serious threat to a whole population or the political order. In cooperation among security officers at the practical level this label was applied more easily than in cooperation at the legal level.

Understanding this labelling as the securitisation of political violence is the analytical key of my study. Securitisation theory describes discursive processes, which make a topic rise on the political agenda by employing threat semantics. The change of labelling for political violence in Italy from "crime" (1973) to "the biggest threat to democracy" (1977) led to a growing importance of terrorism on the political agenda and changed the term from an insult in party political quarrel to a commonly accepted existential threat. In such a constructivist understanding of terrorism, the use of securitisation theory brings several advantages in understanding the complexity of the development in Italian counterterrorism policy.

Firstly, it creates a schematic model, which allows comparing various discourses. In this way, a contrast between the discussion on terrorism at the internal Italian and at the international level can show how and why these topics have been treated diversely. In the Italian debate on Italian political violence, a securitisation process is observable. The identification of terrorism made the problem rise on the political agenda during the first half of the 1970s. The diffuse perceptions of left-wing and right-wing terrorism developed towards acknowledging both as having similar tactics. The then occurring agreement of almost all parties to tackle the problem from a united front shows that the priority was accepted by a majority of actors. Extraordinary measures were taken, such as special anti-terrorism legislation and partly also the international cooperation with authorities from other states.

At the European level, terrorism was depicted as an existential threat to the security of the member states. Initially, transnational groups embodied the common threat; eventually, also political terrorist groups constituted the perception of a common menace. However, only among the security experts at

the operational level, the securitisation was accepted, leading to an agreement over labelling and to a unified approach. In all examined cases of bilateral cooperation, Italy's partners became increasingly active after terrorism in Italy was securitised by government members or diplomats who knew the Italian situation.[1307]

Secondly, the attempt by political actors to influence the political discourse often revealed the underlying motivations of actors. Their stakes and shares in the securitisation process influenced how they 'sold' a problem, (and perhaps also how they perceived it). Exemplary are the statements on the incidents related to the German Autumn 1977. Actors of the security services whose statuses probably profit from a stronger collaboration between the authorities wrote "terrorismo tedesco" in their reports, whereas other politicians tendentially named the crimes "eventi tedeschi". [1308] The acting at the transnational level was often explicable by the competition at the national level for importance, influence and budgets. In this case, securitisation of political violence served to the legitimation and to the strengthening of the own

Thirdly, the tension between the diverse reference objects of security can be exemplified. On the one hand, when the preserving of civil liberties or human rights were at the centre of an argument, international cooperation against terrorism was difficult. A securitisation of terrorism at the United Nations was impossible because of the undeniable legitimacy of post-colonial liberation movements. Even among European states, the harmonisation of counterterrorism laws failed with the absolute right to grant asylum to who was persecuted for political reasons. On the other hand, when the preserving of the political order was in the focus, the problem was securitised and set as the highest priority. In 1980, Italian Prime Minister Cossiga dismissed the criticism by the Human Rights Report as "harming the counterterrorism policy".

[1307] The cooperation with West Germany was an exception, as left-wing terrorism was also a problem for the German Interior Ministry, and therefore had already priority on their political agenda.

[1308] On October 25, 1977 the police chief refers to "Terrorismo Tedesco"; Direzione Generale della P.S.: Collaborazione Italo-Tedesca, in: ACS, M.I., Gabinetto, 1976-80, b.76, Criminalità e terrorismo, Atti attinenti a rapporti con rappresentati Esteri, 31.12.1977.

Fourthly, the securitisation of a problem implies the generation of knowledge on the phenomenon. The securitisation of political violence explains how the new elite of security experts crystallised, and so illustrates how the power ratio in the internal security field changed. Usually, these experts were high-ranking security agents (heads of the national polices or of the secret services), distinct by their long-term experience. Since the police experts of a state were often at the same time the terrorism experts, a high personal continuity characterised international cooperation on internal security questions.[1309] Their gathering in secret "Clubs" indicated a self-understanding as a distinct circle of "established men" who shape political guidelines; equalising political relations with friendships. These experts then defined the "archetype of the terrorist" and at the same time decided how to fight it. Shortly thereafter, a scientification process of terrorism by sociology and law studies took place. Epistemic transformations created a broader and different form of expertise, separate the security experts at the operational level.

Fifthly, securitisation theory helps to contextualise the frequent use of extraordinary measures in Italy. The occurrence of declaredly extraordinary situations, labelled as "emergency", justified legal and political means, which otherwise were not tolerated. On the one hand, the implementation of concrete measures such as preventive arrest or other critical issues required a successful securitisation process of terrorism. On the other hand, the governmental practice of "decreeing laws", which gained importance during the fight against terrorism, points to an inherent problem. During the following decades, legislation was in increasing extent first adopted and then posed to parliamentary scrutiny. The continuous use of emergency rhetoric had blurred the lines between "emergency" and "normalcy" and semantically institutionalised the emergency. Although the de-securitisation of Italian terrorism was necessary for cooperative approaches included in the *pentiti* legislation, related political practices remained taken away from their usual democratic practices.

Examining an international reaction to a transnationally perceived threat leads to the question which the consequences of the transnational securitisation process were. When terrorism in Italy was perceived as an existential threat, political leaders accepted aid from foreign states in the field of police Considering that internal security was a core component of national

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[1309] My finding for the Italian delegations is confirmed for the French and German delegations in the international collaboration panels by Bigo, Polices en Réseaux, p.88-9.

sovereignty, this was already an exceptional measure. Additionally, the perception of terrorism as a problem that exceeded the national state made political actors strive for common solutions. The international collaboration against terrorism influenced the national counterterrorism policy towards a more holistic conception of internal security. In turn, the addition of elements that implied surveillance and the control of larger extremist milieus made counterterrorism policy more dependent on the international exchange of data. This self-reinforcing circular logic shows that the securitisation processes at the national and at the transnational level were closely interrelated.

The reference object of the transnational securitisation process was the European identity. A common approach against terrorism and the extension of *internal security* towards a perception of the European community as "the internal" indicated this shift. Since common threat perceptions generally weaken the feeling of diversity, terrorism became the "other", the "'absolute enemy' according to Schmitt's account."[1310]

On one side, this securitisation process was very limited. Most likely, the security experts at of polices and secret services did feel responsible for some sort of European identity, which they sought to protect from harmful *terrorism*. Nonetheless, assuming the creation of a common idea of Europe from a joint fight against terrorism would be too simple. Already the legal dimension of counterterrorism policy was a complex and cumbersome process, which proved big divergences regarding judicial principles among European states.

On the other side, particularly the informal, practical cooperation against terrorism had many secondary effects. "*The better knowledge of other member states, their police systems, their law systems and traditions gave the precondition for common projects such as [..] the relocation of border controls to the outer borders of the Community. In this sense, learning processes occurred at both the political and the personal level among the leading officers. Considering that a common policy of internal security depends mainly on the common understanding of its necessity, the development of personal relations [..] contributed significantly to the 'cultural' fundament of such endeavours.*"[1311] In this sense, the emerging European counterterrorism policy

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[1310] Herschinger, Eva: A battlefield of meanings: The struggle for identity in the UN debates on a definition of international terrorism." Terrorism and Political Violence 25.2 (2013): 183-201, p.191.

[1311] Knelangen, Innere Sicherheit, p.99.

can be considered the beginning of the "extremely fragmented process"[1312] of Europeanisation of internal security. The transnational securitisation process of terrorism created the semantic preconditions for it.

Italian counterterrorism in the 1970s was at the interface between internal security and foreign policy. The interrelation between both fields, which are never the same, yet impossible to be distinguished can be illustrated with a Moebius Strip. [1313] In this sense, also European security policy became inseparable from internal security in the member states. The category persisted but had to be extended in its meaning. Contrary to the popular account that security stopped working according to an internal-external because of the changing notions of state, sovereignty, identity, and border,[1314] it is possible to suppose the opposite effect: due to common threat perceptions, notion of the state and its relation to other entities changed.

Regarding the counterterrorism policy of Italy and its partners between 1972 and 1982, however, the term "Europeanisation" alone is not adequate. European Integration was important for the political context, in the 1970s the term meant "Western European Integration". The Italian cooperation with Romania, Albania and Turkey exceeded this scope. [1315] Furthermore, the

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[1312] Huismans, The Politics of Insecurity, p.152.

[1313] Didier Bigo introduced the security continuum in 1994 to illustrate the phenomenon that seemingly "distinct" security problems could be perceived and were increasingly policed as one broad 'security continuum', which could encompass fields of both internal and external security problems. Idem, The European internal security field, p.164. In 2001, he elaborated on the Möbius strip as metaphor for the indistinguability of internal and external security in a security continuum, cf. Idem. 'Internal and External Security(ies): The Möbius Ribbon' in M. Jacobson, D. Albert, Y. Lapid (eds) Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relations Theory, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2001, p.160-184.

[1314] Idem, Border regimes and security, p.28.

[1315] Italy established police collaborations with all these states in the studied decade. Although not comparable to the bilateral cooperation with the three studied states, they must be mentioned at this point. Cf. ACS, M.I. Gab. 1981-1985, b. 22, cited, fasc. 11001/113/3 (13) Relazioni sulle attività internazionali svolte dal dipartimento della P.S. "9a relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° gennaio – 30 giugno 1981", "10a relazione sulle attività internazionali svolte dalla Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza. Periodo 1° luglio – 31 dicembre 1981"; ACS, M.I. Gab. 1976-1980, B. 67, Fasc 11001/114/3(4°) cited, Sottofasc. 11001/114/3(3) Compendio delle Relazioni Semestrali sulle attività internazionali svolte

cooperation with the United States of America in questions of foreign and security policy was too important to limit the process to "Europeanisation".

The internationalisation of counterterrorism policy by nature included the loss of national competences and therefore a loss of state power. As far as the transnational securitisation process was successful, this means the changed notion of the state as a cooperative entity in a superior system of regional internal security. However, this was exactly the crux why many attempts to harmonise other facets of counterterrorism policy failed – in the field of judicial cooperation de-nationalisation processes were not accepted. The problematic term *terrorism* was not strong enough to overcome national jealousies in all policy areas.

The dynamics of securitisation rather produced flexible notions of "the internal", according to the maximal group which agreed to an interpretation of counterterrorism. This "agreeing group" was one of the diverse informal panels of cooperation – the Club of Vienna, the Club of Berne, or the TREVI network.

A common securitisation process was one aspect that fostered cooperation among states. However, as a theory of political discourse, it is not an entirely satisfactory explanation for the evolution of Italian and European counterterrorism policy. Many conditions have to be met to render a securitisation process successful. To not lose the focus of the study, I mention only one additional factor: the role of actors. They are essential even in political history since not institutions but persons interact with each other. Apart from their motivations, their backgrounds mattered for the success or failure of the internationalisation of counterterrorism policy. One of the Italian security agents, who was decisive for the international alignment of counterterrorism policy, was depicted as "obsessed with power" and "craving for recognition" his colleagues.[1316] Language skills and openness towards new communication technology were requirements, which frequently limited a close cooperation.

At the political level, the mentalities of the actors had a high impact on the securitisation of political violence. When in 1979 the new British Ambassador to Italy was not equally committed as his predecessor, the intonation of the reporting on Italy's terrorism problem changed. Instead of the formerly very concerned reporting that urged the government to support the Italian ally and may have been one fundament for the successful collaboration, now the pleas

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dalla Direzione Generale della P.S., "Rapporti bilaterali con la Romania (agg.31.12.1977)".

[1316] Interview with Ex-SISDE agent F.V., 30. 07.2015.

support Italy were more cynical and rather justified with the argument that a stable Italy was in the political interest of the UK.[1317]

This example does not deny the analytic gain of securitisation theory for studying the internationalisation of counterterrorism policy. Particularly the five insights explained above remain indispensable for understanding the dynamics.

Nevertheless, despite those benefits, the study revealed two limitations of securitisation theory. Firstly, by reducing the complexity of a national or even transnational discourse to a scheme, a satisfactory account of the manifold actors and conditions in such a process is impossible. Secondly, in some points, securitisation theory reveals circular logics. One example is the crystallisation of experts who define a threat, decide the appropriate strategy against it, declare the strategy as successful, and eventually gain expertise and status. While the mere revealing of this circular logic is an asset of the theory, at the same time, as a linear theory it does not provide any analytical vocabulary for extraordinary cases.

Finally, apart from analysing how the Italian fight against terrorism developed from a narrow public order policy towards an internationally aligned counterterrorism policy under the umbrella of internal security, my study implies three broader theses.

Firstly, a main hypothesis in historiography is that the kidnapping of Aldo Moro by the Brigate Rosse in 1978 was a "turning point in the history of the Repubblica".[1318] This assumption has influenced nearly all studies on Italian counterterrorism policy. I do not negate the importance of this event, but on the base of my findings, I advocate for softening this caesura. The dynamic of the national and international security discourse began already in 1976 and got unprecedented momentum in autumn 1978. These continuities must not be neglected.

Secondly, I underline that counterterrorism policy cannot be taken for granted as a by-product of terrorism in the analysis of internal security. The process of acknowledging its political meaning and negotiating for the appropriate implications was difficult and cumbersome, due to the high cost of both the success and the failure of counterterrorism policy.

[1317] TNA, FCO 33/4549, "Terrorism in Italy".
[1318] Paggi, Violenza, p 948.

Thirdly, my findings contradict the assumption that security experts simply reacted to the terrorist threat or in their modus operandi "mirrored" the techniques in crossing borders.[1319] A constructivist notion of terrorism and security reveals the complexity of the processes and the diverse motivations for political action.

Eventually, the limitations of my study point to open questions and further research opportunities. Although aware of the plurality of actors in the political debate, I focused much on parliamentarians, government members, and security experts advising the Ministries. An analysis of other historical actors, such as the press, societal groups, or the political extremist groups themselves, will highlight more facets of the discourse. The same holds for the audience(s). It will be illuminating to study whether the international cooperation in Italian counterterrorism policy led to a change in the perception of statehood, or even in the perception of Europe, also within the Italian society. Furthermore, the question how security policy was interwoven with European Integration in other policy fields has not yet been regarded from the Italian perspective. Finally, the meaning of counterterrorism for Italian security politics, and for the changing concept of internal security, can be highlighted, or relativised, when comparing it to the fight against other national security problems, such as organised crime.

[1319] The thesis is represented by Lay and DiFabio, among others.

Appendix

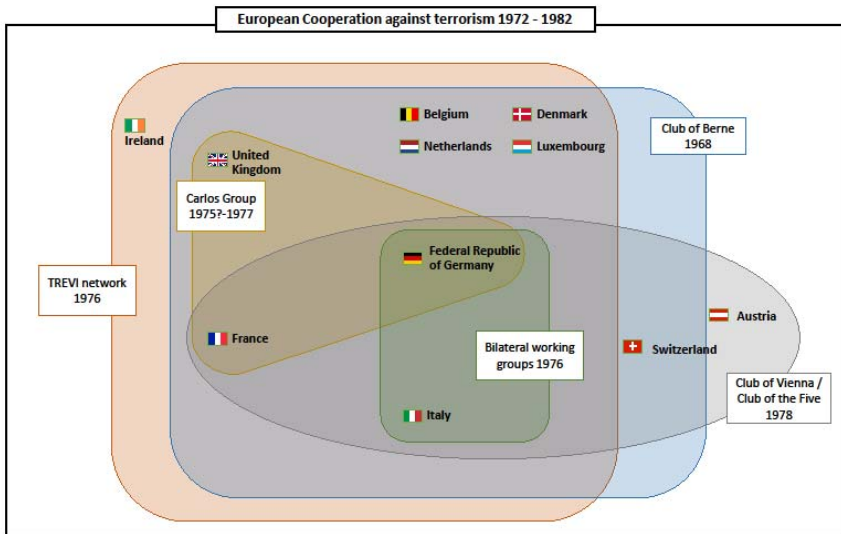## A.1 European Cooperation against Terrorism 1972-1982

Figure 1: Euler Diagram, Own graphic

A.2 Moebius Strip

A Moebius strip (or Moebius Ribbon) made with a piece of paper and tape. It only has got one side and one edge, despite seemingly having two sides.

Figure 2 Moebius Strip; source: Wikimedia Commons, Author: David Benbennick

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