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Donatella della Porta  
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## Clandestine Political Violence

This volume compares four types of clandestine political violence: left-wing (in Italy and Germany), right-wing (in Italy), ethnonationalist (in Spain), and religious fundamentalist (in Islamist clandestine organizations). Donatella della Porta develops her own definition of clandestine political violence that is oriented toward theory building. Building on the most recent developments in social movement studies, della Porta proposes an original interpretative model. Using a unique research design, she singles out some common causal mechanisms at the onset, during the persistence, and at the demise of clandestine political violence. The development of the phenomenon is located within the interactions among social movements, countermovements, and the state. She pays particular attention to the ways in which the different actors cognitively construct the reality they act on. The internal dynamics of the clandestine political organizations are given special attention. Based on original empirical research as well as existing research in many languages, this book is rich in empirical evidence on some of the most crucial cases of clandestine political violence.

**Donatella della Porta** is a professor of sociology at the European University Institute (EUI) and a professor of political science at the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane. She was the 2011 recipient of the Mattei Dogan Prize for distinguished achievements in the field of political sociology. She directs both the Centre on Social Movement Studies at the EUI and the Mobilizing for Democracy project with funding from the European Research Council. She is coeditor of *European Political Science Review*. Her previous publications with Cambridge University Press include *Meeting Democracy* (edited with Dieter Rucht, 2012); *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences* (edited with Michael Keating, 2008); and *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State* (1995).

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DONATELLA DELLA PORTA

*European University Institute*



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*To Herbert*

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## Acknowledgments

If every book is a journey, this voyage started a long, long time ago. I first became interested in political violence before starting my PhD, back in the early 1980s. That interest was driven by social and scientific concerns. As regards the social domain, in the 1970s in Italy and other countries of the world, very high levels of political violence had challenged not only the state but also social movements' capacity to mobilize. In the scientific domain, although much had been written on terrorism, it had been mainly treated as an isolated pathology, whereas political violence had rarely been addressed within social movement studies. My work on Italy, carried out during my PhD studies at the European University Institute, indicated that left-wing political violence could instead be better understood if located within the escalation of social conflicts, during long-lasting interactions among movements, countermovements, and the state. If that case study provided "thick" knowledge and theoretical suggestions, it also challenged me to consult further works to assess my analyses' capacity to travel beyond the Italian case.

A first step in this process was a binary comparison of Italy and Germany, two cases similar in several respects. The Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für soziale Forschung, the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, and the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung offered me material and intellectual support during this period. My work continued in the same direction through a broader comparison of the same type of political violence in the form of a coauthored work (with Pat Steinhoff and Gilda Zwerman) comparing left-wing violence in Italy, Germany, Japan, and the United States.

As social movements became more peaceful, I shifted attention away from radical forms of collective action, until, especially after the events of September 11, 2001, I was stimulated again to look at political violence by a social concern that soon brought about a scientific puzzle. In the beginning of this new wave of attention to radical politics, I tended to decline invitations to comment on

religiously inspired violence, which I considered very different from the left-wing phenomenon I had studied in the past. I am grateful, however, to the colleagues who insisted on calling on me, as it was particularly other scholars' references to my work on social movements, in attempts to understand its most recent forms, that convinced me of the potential comparability of these different cases.

Over the last decade, I had several welcome occasions to explore broader comparisons. First, at EUI, in 2007–8, the Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies asked my historian colleague Gerhard Haupt and me to lead a yearlong European forum, hosting postdoctoral Fellows from various disciplines. Many highly stimulating debates have thereby nurtured my work. For those, I am grateful to Gerhard and our fellow researchers, Giulia Albanese, Lorenzo Bosi, Chares Demetriou, Julia Eckert, Daniel Monterescu, Mate Tokic, and Claudia Verhoven, as well as to the dozens of PhD students who have participated in seminars and conferences. So successful was that year's experience that we continued to offer cross-disciplinary courses on political violence for several years thereafter.

Another occasion to reflect on cross-type comparison came from a research project on the radical Right (VETO, or violent, extremist, terrorist organizations) that I directed within the START consortium at the University of Maryland. For this opportunity, I am grateful to Gary Lafree and Clark McCauley, who trusted my work, and to Manuela Caiani and Claudius Wagemann, who collaborated on it.

Other stimuli came from opportunities to organize conferences, edit special journal issues, and cooperate on various writing projects. In 2011, the ZIF-Center for Interdisciplinary Research at Bielefeld University asked me to collaborate on the organization of a large international conference on radicalization and de-radicalization, based on which I coedited a special issue of the *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*. At the same time, with Lasse Lindekilde, I coedited a special issue on de-radicalization policies for the *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*. I also continued to learn from the several articles I wrote with Lorenzo Bosi on political violence, with Bernard Gbikpi on riots, and with Herbert Reiter on the policing of protest. Although the list of colleagues who offered comments during conferences, seminars, and lectures is too long to be recorded here, I want to express my gratitude to three friends and colleagues – Lorenzo Bosi, Stefan Malthaner, and Sidney Tarrow – who had the loyalty to read and comment on the penultimate draft of this work. Even though the responsibility for errors or omissions remains mine, the final result was much improved by their suggestions.

The same can be said for the constructive comments I have received from the anonymous referees for Cambridge University Press. At the Press, I am also grateful to Lew Bateman, who has supported this project since its very early stages. For this volume, as for many others, Sarah Tarrow has been much more than an editor-in-chief, contributing her high level of commitment and her skills to make my English more readable.



## Acknowledgments

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For the last ten years, the Department of Sociology and Political Science at the European University Institute has been a most wonderful place to be. I have enjoyed innumerable stimuli and much support from colleagues, PhD students, and postdoctoral mentees. In the last year of preparation of this manuscript, I had the privilege to be given by the European Research Council (ERC) an advanced grant, entitled “Mobilizing for Democracy,” that has helped me in reflecting on the interaction among violence, social movements, and quality of democracy. I also worked on part of the research while a visiting scholar at the Wissenschaftszentrum fuer soziale Forschung in Berlin and at Humboldt University. I thank my colleagues Dieter Rucht, Michael Zürn, and Klaus Eder for their support there. Although neither the ERC nor the European Commission of the European Union is responsible for what I report in this volume, their contribution to the research is gratefully acknowledged.

Some ideas presented here have been developed from my previous work, which is reported in the following publications: “Unwanted Children: Political Violence and the Cycle of Protest in Italy, 1966–1973” (coauthored with Sidney Tarrow), in *European Journal of Political Research* 14 (1986); *Il terrorismo di sinistra* (Il Mulino, 1990); *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State* (Cambridge University Press, 1995); *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies* (edited with Herbert Reiter; University of Minnesota Press, 1998); *Social Movements: An Introduction* (coauthored with Mario Diani; Blackwell, 2006); “Research on Social Movements and Political Violence,” in *Qualitative Sociology* 31 (2008); “Leaving Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy: A Sociological Analysis,” in Tore Bjørgo and John Horgan, eds., *Leaving Terrorism Behind* (Routledge, 2008); and “Micro-Mobilization into Armed Groups: The Ideological, Instrumental and Solidaristic Paths” (coauthored with Lorenzo Bosi), in *Qualitative Sociology* 35 (2012).

To Herbert Reiter, who has patiently *sopportato* and *supportato* me for more than twenty-five years now, I dedicate what he has humorously called my “opus magnum.”

## Acronyms

AI	Amnesty International
AN	Avanguardia Nazionale (National Vanguard)
AQ	al-Qaeda
AQAP	al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
B2J	Bewegung 2 Juni (June 2nd Movement)
BR	Brigate Rosse
CCOOs	<i>comisiones obreras</i>
CPO	Collettivo Politico Operaio
EE	Euskadiko Ezkerra (Patriotic Left)
EIA	Euskal Iraultzarako Alderia (Basque Revolutionary Party)
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basquen-land and Freedom)
ETA-M	ETA military
ETA-PM	ETA politico-military
FCC	Formazioni Comuniste Combattenti (Fighting Communist Formations)
FGCI	Federazione Giovani Comunisti Italiani (Italian Communist Youth Federation)
FIS	Front Islamic de Salut
FLNQ	Front de Libération National du Quebec
GAL	Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberacion
GIA	Groupe Islamique Armé
HB	Herri Batasuna
KAS	Koordinadora Abertzale Sozializta (Socialist Patriotic Coordinator Committee)
LAB	Langile Abertzale Batzordeak (Patriotic Workers' Committee)
LC	Lotta Continua (Continuous Struggle)
MB(s)	Muslim Brotherhood, or Muslim Brothers
MNLV	Movimento de Liberacion Nacional Vasco (Basque Movement of National Liberation)
MSI	Movimento Sociale Italiano
MWL	Muslim World League
NAP	Nuclei Armati Proletari

NAR	Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Armed Nuclei)
ON	Ordine Nuovo (New Order)
P <sub>2</sub>	Masonic Lodge Propaganda 2
PAC	Proletari Armati per il Comunismo
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano (Communist Italian Party)
PCIml	Partito Comunista Italiano Marxista Leninista
PL	Prima Linea (Front Line)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PNV	National Basque Party
PO	Potere Operaio (Worker's Power)
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)
RAF	Rote Armee Fraktion (Red Army Fraction)
RZ	Rote Zellen (Red Cells)
SDS	Social Democratic Students
SID	Servizio Informazioni Difesa (secret services)
SIFAR	Servizio Informazioni Forze Armate (military intelligence)
SMOs	social movement organizations
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
UCC	Unità Comuniste Combattenti (Communist Fighting Units)
UGT	Union General de Trabajadores (General Workers' Union)