

Cambridge University Press

0521473969 - Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany

Donatella Della Porta

Index

[More information](#)

Index

- Adenauer administration, Germany, 63–4
 affective dynamics, 13, 177–9, 183–4
 Alberoni, Francesco, 202
 antinuclear movement, 31–3, 67
 anti-Shah demonstrations, xv–xvi
 antiterrorist laws
 See also legislation, emergency
 Germany, 42, 104
 Italy, 32, 62
 AO. *see* Workers' Vanguard (Avanguardia Operaia, AO)
 Armed Fighting Formations (Formazioni Armate Combattenti, FAC), 95
 Armed Proletarian Nuclei (Nuclei Armati Proletari, NAP), 95
 Armed Proletarians for Communism (Proletari Armati per il Comunismo, PAC), 95
 armed struggle as ideological theme, 129–30, 133, 144–5, 147, 173–5, 183
 Ash Garner, Roberta, 84
 assassinations, 127–8
 Assheuer, Thomas, 157
 AStA. *See* General Committee of Students (Allgemeiner Studenten Ausschuss, AStA)
 Aust, Stefan, 98, 138, 139, 140
 autonomous groups
 Autonomen, Germany, 44–6, 68, 96, 103–4, 108
 Autonomia, Italy, 49, 62, 92–4, 107
 Backes, Uwe, 113, 140, 141
 Bandura, Albert, 202
 Bartolini, Stefano, 15
 Battle of Valle Giulia (1968), Rome, xvi–xvii
 Baum, Gerhard, 138, 139–40, 142
 Baumann, Michael, 100, 102, 118, 150, 157, 159–60, 168, 176
 Bauss, Gerhard, 105–6
 BC. *See* Communist Brigades (Brigate Comuniste, BC)
 Becker, Howard, 18
 Bedford, Robert D., 186
 Berger, Peter, 13, 162, 165, 184
 Bianconi, Giovanni, 155
 B2J. *See* Movement of the Second of June (Bewegung 2. Juni, B2J)
 Black Help (Schwarze Hilfe, SH), 100, 102, 109
 Black Panthers, 216
 Blumer, Herbert, 5
 Bobbio, Luigi, 87, 88, 92
 Bock, Hans-Manfred, 97, 105
 Böll, Heinrich, 66
 Böllinger, Lorenz, 151, 171, 172, 173, 177, 182
 bombings, 124–8, 163, 176
 Boock, Peter, 178, 180, 181
 Boucher, David, 200
 Bowman, H. Miller, 7
 Boyte, Harry C., 13
 BR. *See* Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse, BR)
 Brand, Karl-Werner, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 56, 57
 Brandt administration, Germany
 deradicalization during, 49, 190
 police strategies during, 65–6, 75
 tenor of protest during, 103
 Braungart, Margaret M., 185, 213
 Braungart, Richard G., 185, 213
Bürgerinitiativen, 38–9, 41, 43
 Burns, Rob, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44
 Busch, Heiner, 46, 64, 65, 67, 72, 78
 Büsser, Detlef, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 56
 Canosa, Romano, 58, 59, 60, 152–3
 Caselli, Giancarlo, 115, 170
 Casey, R. D., 180
 Castellano, Lucio, 93
 CC. *See* Communist Committees (Comitati Comunisti, CC)

Cambridge University Press

0521473969 - Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany

Donatella Della Porta

Index

[More information](#)

262

Index

- CCPO. *See* Communist Committees for the Workers' Power (Comitati Comunisti per il Potere Operaio, CCPO)
- CDU. *See* Christian Democratic Union (Christlich-Demokratische Union, CDU)
- Chaussy, Ulrich, 96, 157
- Child, John, 12
- Christian Democracy (Democrazia Cristiana, DC), 60, 62
- Christian Democratic Union (Christlich-Demokratische Union, CDU), 65–6, 69, 75
- Christian Social Union (Christlich-Soziale Union, CSU), 65–6, 75
- Cilip*, 75
- Claessens, Dieter, 40
- clandestinity
 - choices for, 111
 - group dynamics with, 177–82
 - of Weathermen, 213
- Cloward, Richard A., 8, 9
- coalition building, Italy (1984–90), 34–5
- cognitive dynamics, 13, 179–82
- cognitive restructuring, 129
- Cohen, Jean L., 25
- collective action
 - associated with political violence, 2–4
 - conditions for, 8
 - of social movements, 11–12
- collective identity, 205–6
- commitment, individual, 182–6, 191, 203, 205
- Communist Brigades (Brigate Comuniste, BC), 91, 94
- Communist Committees (Comitati Comunisti, CC), 91
- Communist Committees for the Workers' Power (Comitati Comunisti per il Potere Operaio, CCPO), 91, 93–4
- Communist Fighting Formations (Formazioni Comuniste Combattenti, FCC), 32, 91
 - emergence, 94–5
 - ideology, 130–1
 - organizational structure, 117
- Communist Fighting Units (Unità Comuniste Combattenti, UCC), 95
- Communist Party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD), 96
- community polarization concept, 152, 154
- compartmentalization, 186
- competition
 - See also* mobilization
 - among and within left-libertarian families, 196
 - between German Old and New Left, 105
 - between Italian Old and New Left, 28
 - within social movements, 12, 110
- conflict resolution, 193
- Continuous Struggle (Lotta Continua, LC), 86–8, 90–3, 109, 145
- conversion
 - phases of, 182
 - to violence, 136
- Corso, Guido, 62
- Coser, Lewis A., 133, 185
- countercultures, political
 - acceptance of violence, 152–8, 162
 - escalation of violence, 213–14
 - factors in creation of, 149–52
 - in Germany, 95, 107
 - influence of, 149–52, 161
- countermovements
 - influence of, 162–3
 - stimulation of, 191–2
- CPM. *See* Political Metropolitan Collective (Collettivo Politico Metropolitan, CPM)
- CPO. *See* Workers' Political Collective (Collettivo Politico Operaio, CPO)
- CPOS. *See* Workers' and Students' Political Collective (Collettivo Politico Operai e Studenti, CPOS)
- Crenshaw, Martha, 7, 13, 114, 129, 166, 174, 176, 183
- CSU. *See* Christian Social Union (Christlich-Soziale Union, CSU)
- culture
 - See also* countercultures, political
 - influence on violence, 51–2
 - polarization in political, 189–90
 - radicalization of behaviors and beliefs, 137
 - relation of protest policing to, 72–3
 - of solidarities, 162
- Davies, James C., 6
- DC. *See* Christian Democracy (Democrazia Cristiana, DC)
- de Ahna, Karin, 40
- DeBenedetti, Charles, 211
- Debray, Lois, 116, 141
- decision making
 - related to protest policing, 77–8
 - in underground organizations, 114–15, 134–5, 199
- della Porta, Donatella, 2, 3, 4, 9, 12, 16, 19, 24, 25, 29–30, 52, 53, 60, 62, 68, 115, 121, 123, 124, 127, 166, 167–8, 170
- demobilization, political, 79–80
- democracy
 - development of Italian, 207
 - in Germany, 193
- Diani, Mario, 34, 35
- Diggins, John Patrick, 212
- Dini, Vittorio, 130

- DKP. *See* German Communist Party (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei, DKP)
- Eckland-Olson, Sheldon, 166
- Edelmann, Murray, 133
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N., 15
- Eisinger, Peter K., 55
- elitism, 173, 200
- encapsulation, 212
- enemy
 - dehumanizing, 173-4
 - opposition as, 154
 - the state as, 194
- entrepreneurs
 - political, 108
 - of violence, 12, 195-201
- environmental movement
 - emergence in Italy (1977-80), 32, 34-5
 - the Greens in Germany, 43-5
- environmental resources, 108-11
- Ergas, Yasmine, 31
- Erikson, Bonnie H., 184
- Evans, Sara M., 13
- Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (Außerparlamentarische Opposition, APO), 139
- FAC. *See* Armed Fighting Formations (Formazioni Armate Combattenti, FAC)
- Fantasia, Rick, 11, 162
- Farin, Klaus, 157
- FCC. *See* Communist Fighting Formations (Formazioni Comuniste Combattenti, FCC)
- FDP. *See* Liberal Democratic Party (Freie Demokratische Partei, FDP)
- Fedeli, Franco, 78
- Ferree, Myra Marx, 162
- Fetscher, Irving, 122, 132, 191
- Fiasco, Maurizio, 155, 156
- Fichter, Tillman, 96
- Finn, John E., 73
- Fireman, Bruce, 79
- Fogt, Helmut, 36
- frame amplification, 129, 133
- frames
 - collective action, 13
 - of injustice, 163, 191
 - of meaning, 33, 193-4
- Fraser, Ronald, 28, 37, 40
- “freedom fighter” identity, 170-2, 177, 180, 183, 201, 205
- Freeman, John, 112
- Front Line (Prima Linea, PL), 32, 94, 114, 145-7
 - actions against people, 125-6
 - ideology, 130
 - organizational structure, 117
- Fuchs, Dieter, 45
- Funk, Albrecht, 74
- Furlong, Paul, 73
- Galante, Severino, 196
- Galleni, Mauro, 16
- Gamson, William, 9, 11, 79, 162, 163, 191, 206
- Garner, Roberta, 24, 191
- General Committee of Students (Allgemeiner Studenten Ausschuss, AStA), 96
- Gerhards, Jürgen, 45
- Gerlach, Luther, 11, 12, 200
- German Communist Party (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei, DKP), 43, 97, 142
- Geronimo, 46
- Ginsborg, Paul, 26
- Gitlin, Todd, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215
- Goffman, Erwing, 181
- Goldstein, Robert J., 74, 79
- government. *See* antiterrorist laws; legislation, emergency; protest policing; state, the; state repression
- government composition, 74-7
- Graham, Hugh, 2
- Green Party, Germany, 43-4
- Grevi, Vittorio, 62
- group dynamics
 - affective and cognitive, 177-82
 - to enforce alternative value system, 183
 - in underground organizations, 198-9
- guerrilla war concept, 116, 132, 141
- Gurr, Ted R., 2, 6, 15, 216
- Gusfield, Joseph R., 5
- Hall, Richard, 83
- Hannan, Michael T., 112
- hatred, 154-5
- Hayden, Tom, 214
- heroes, 178
- Hine, Virginia, 11, 200
- Hirschman, Albert O., 181
- Hoffer, Eric, 6
- Horn, Michael, 141, 175-6
- Hübner, Klaus, 66
- identity
 - freedom fighter, 170-2, 177, 180, 183, 201, 205
 - radical, 202-4
- ideology
 - armed struggle, 129-30, 133, 144-5, 147, 173-5, 183
 - of German *Autonomen*, 44-6
 - justification for violence, 50
 - messages within underground groups, 129-33

Cambridge University Press

0521473969 - Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany

Donatella Della Porta

Index

[More information](#)

264

Index

- ideology (*continued*)
 radicalization in Italy (1974–6), 31
 rhetoric as enforcement of, 171
 of social movement family and small radical organizations, 200
 of student movement in Italy, 26–7
 of underground terrorist organizations, 129–33, 171
- incentives
 of social movement organizations, 13
 in underground organizations, 170–3
- information sources (data), 18–21
- institutions
 influence of social movements on, 74
 influence on political systems, 56–8
 influence on protest policing, 61–2, 73
- intelligence activities, Italy, 63
- isolation
 of clandestine organization, 179–86
 effect of elitism concept on, 200
 underground groups decisions related to, 116, 134–5, 199
- Italian Communist Marxist-Leninist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano marxista leninista, PCIml), 90
- Italian Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano, PCI), 26, 28, 60, 62–3, 75, 207
- Italian Goliardic Union (Unione Goliardica Italiana, UGI), 86
- Italian National Universitarian Representative Union (Unione Nazionale Universitaria Rappresentativa Italiana, UNURI), 86
- Italian Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI), 60
- Italian Social Movement (Movimento Sociale Italiano, MSI), 90, 153
- Ivianski, Ze'ev, 7
- Jackson, J. H., 135
- Jäger, Herbert, 138, 141, 168, 171, 173, 176, 182
- Jenkins, J. Craig, 3
- Jünschke, Klaus, 150, 152, 160, 173
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss, 170, 172, 179
- Karstedt-Henke, Susanne, 57
- Katzenstein, Peter, 73
- Kerbo, H. R., 12
- kidnappings, 125–6, 128
- Killian, Louis M., 5, 13
- Kitschelt, Herbert, 10, 24, 56, 57, 71, 79
- Klandermans, Bert G., 12, 13
- Klein, Hans-Joachim, 132, 150, 151, 158, 167, 169
- Knafla, Leonore, 41
- Knutson, J. N., 7
- Koopmans, Ruud, 45, 52, 53, 56
- Kornhauser, Arthur, 6
- KPD. *See* Communist Party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD)
- Krebs, Mario, 38, 170
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, 10, 18, 56, 57, 72, 193, 201
- Kukuck, M., 98, 103
- Kulke, Christine, 41
- Kursbuch*, 65
- languages of terrorist groups, 133
- Laqueur, Walter, 7
- Lasswell, H. D., 180
- LC. *See* Continuous Struggle (Lotta Continua, LC)
- LeBon, Gustave, 6
- left-libertarian family
 differences in German and Italian, 190
 influence of New Left in Italy, 85
 violence in Germany and Italy, 193
- left-libertarian movement
 defined, 24
 evolution of behavior in Germany and Italy, 50–2
- left-libertarian movement, Germany, 40, 45–7, 50–2,
 influence of radical SMOs on, 103
 influence on B2J and RZ ideologies, 132
 organizational structure, 104
 pragmatism of, 157
 radicalization, 43
- left-libertarian movement, Italy
 changes in, 34–5
 influence of New Left on, 50–2, 85
- legislation, emergency, 183
- Leif, Thomas, 43
- Liberal Democratic Party (Freie Demokratische Partei, FDP), 42, 66–9
- Lijphart, Arend, 15
- Livingstone, N. C., 7
- Lodi, Giovanni, 33
- Lofland, John, 162, 182, 184, 201
- Lönnendonker, Siegwald, 96
- loyalty to group, 177–8, 184–5, 204
- Luckmann, Thomas, 13, 162, 165, 184
- Ludwig, Hannelore, 122, 132
- McAdam, Doug, 10, 14, 55, 57, 79, 161, 184, 190
- McCarthy, John D., 11, 12, 14, 24, 110
- McClurg Mueller, Carol, 8, 162
- McPhail, Clark, 180
- Mahler, Horst, 137, 138, 139–42, 175–6
- Malpricht, Günter, 66
- Manconi, Luigi, 130, 176, 191
- March, James G., 56
- Marx, Gary, 57, 77

Cambridge University Press

0521473969 - Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany

Donatella Della Porta

Index

[More information](#)

Index

265

- Marxism-Leninism, 133
- mass mobilization
 in Italy, 30–1
 peace movement in Germany, 43–5
 peace movement in Italy, 33
 relation to violence and collective action, 53
- Matza, David, 183
- Medici, Sandro, 78
- Meinhof, Ulrike, 131, 167, 172, 173
- Meins, Holger, 169
- Melucci, Alberto, 200
- Merkel, Peter, 162–3
- Messinger, Sheldon L., 134
- Michels, Robert, 84
- militancy
 of German *Spontis*, 103–4, 109
 as unifying principle, 107
- militants
See also autonomous groups
 alternative value systems of, 171
 devotion to friends, 167–9, 204
 in FCC and PL organizations, 117
 fights with police, 158–9
 frame amplification, 129, 133
 justification for use of violence, 173–7
 life histories of two, 137–49
 New Left in Italy, 121
 perception of political reality, 13, 136, 185–6
 perception of victims, 173–4
 perceptions and behavior, 166–70
 previous experience with violence, 167, 170, 198
 in Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse, BR), 115
 second-generation, 155–6
 in underground organizations, 117–18, 133
- military skills, 124–5
- Miller, David, 180
- Miller, Frederick D., 162
- Miller, James, 212, 213–14
- mobilization
See also mass mobilization
 effect of police tactics on social movement, 80
 German and Italian student movements, 37, 85–8, 105–6
 potential within social movement organizations, 12
 relation to violence, 52–3
 SMO actions in declining phase of, 110
- Monjardet, Dominique, 77–8
- Morgan, C. P., 135
- Morgan, Edward P., 211
- Moro, Aldo, 32
- Morris, Aldon, 14
- Movement of the Second of June (Bewegung 2. Juni, B2J)
 attacks against people, 125
 defensive actions, 123
 ideology, 132
 organizational structure, 114, 117–18
 origins, 99–103
 propaganda actions, 122
 as underground terrorist organization, 114
- Moyano, Maria J., 133
- MS. *See* Student Movement (Movimento Studentesco, MS)
- MSI. *See* Italian Social Movement (Movimento Sociale Italiano, MSI)
- Münkler, Herfried, 122, 132
- murder, 124–5
- Nahimi, Vladimir C., 185
- NAP. *See* Armed Proletarian Nuclei (Nuclei Armati Proletari, NAP)
- National Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, NPD), 156
- Neidhardt, Friedhelm, 3, 14, 79, 98, 111, 163, 167, 168, 172, 175
- Nelkin, Dorothy, 43
- neofascists, Italy, 153–6, 159, 161, 163, 191
- neo-Nazis, 156–7, 192, 194
- New Left, 24
 activists' involvement in, 166–7
 comparison of German and Italian organizations, 48, 50
 effect of women's issues on, 31
 left-libertarian movements of, 24
 in student movement mobilization, 106
 world views, 50
- New Left, Germany
 counterculture balancing of, 95
 radical groups, 41
 radicalization of ideology, 105
- New Left, Italy
 "class struggle" concept, 190
 coordination with Old Left, 28–31, 61
 decline (1984–90), 34
 emergence and consolidation, 27–8
 influence on left-libertarian family, 50–2, 85
 main organizations of, 86–93
 political entrepreneurs of, 108
 radicalization of, 158–9
 turning point (1973), 92–3
- New Social Movements, 24
- Novelli, Diego, 154, 156, 158, 159
- NPD. *See* National Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, NPD)
- Oberschall, Anthony, 12
- Ohlemacher, Thomas, 18
- Ohnesorg, Benno, xv, 64–5, 159, 191

Cambridge University Press

0521473969 - Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany

Donatella Della Porta

Index

[More information](#)

266

Index

- Old Left, Germany, 17
 coalition (1960s), 35–6
 competition from New Left, 105
 new social movement dissociation from, 190
 relations with student movement, 65
- Old Left, Italy, 17
 coordination with New Left, 28–31
 militants, 106
 relation to social movements, 61, 74
- Olsen, Johan P., 56
- Olson, Mancur, 202
- Oppeln, Sabine von, 43
- organizational dynamics, 11, 109–12
- organizational resources, 108–11
- Ortoleva, Giuseppe, 26, 27
- Osella, Bruno, 154
- O'Toole, Roger, 134, 200
- Otto, Karl O., 36
- PAC. *See* Armed Proletarians for Communism (Proletari Armati per il Comunismo, PAC)
- Palestinian organizations, 109
- Palombarini, Giovanni, 93
- Panebianco, Angelo, 83
- para-military groups
 Neo-Nazis in Germany, 157
 violence in Italian, 153
- Pasquino, Gianfranco, 61
- Passerini, Luisa, 26, 27, 185
- PCI. *See* Italian Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano, PCI)
- PCIml. *See* Italian Communist Marxist-Leninist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano marxista leninista, PCIml)
- PdUP. *See* Proletarian Unity Party (Partito di Unità Proletaria, PdUP)
- peace movement
 comparison of German and Italian, 48
 effect of, 190
 1981–3 in Germany, 43–5
 1981–3 in Italy, 33
 tolerance in Italy of, 62–3
- Perrow, Charles, 134
- Pisetta, Enrico, 153, 154, 155, 156
- Piven, Frances Fox, 8, 9
- Pizzorno, Alessandro, 17, 196, 205, 206
- PL. *See* Front Line (Prima Linea, PL)
- PO. *See* Workers' Power (Potere Operaio, PO)
- police
See also protest policing
 actions at Battle of Valle Giulia (1968), Rome, xvi–xvii
 actions during Shah of Iran's visit to Berlin (1967), xv–xvi
 decision making related to protest policing, 77–8
 different perceptions in Germany and Italy of, 73
 handling of protest events, 55–6
 intelligence activities in Italy, 63
 interaction between protestors and, 57
 militants' fights with, 158–9
 repressive style of Italian protest policing, 58–9
 role of institutional features, 55–7
 policing of protest. *See* protest policing
 political activism, 201–2
 political careers, 13
 political culture, Italy, 207
 political entrepreneurs, Italy, 108
 Political Metropolitan Collective (Collettivo Politico Metropolitanano, CPM), 89–90
 political movements, 3
 political opportunity structure (POS), 10–11
See also protest policing
 influence of, 56–7
 influence on protest policing, 71–8
 political rights, Germany and Italy, 193
 political system
 differences in German and Italian, 16–17
 German police system as reflection of, 64–9
 influence of process in, 10
 Italian police system as reflection of, 59–63
 political opportunity structure in, 10
 political violence
 conditions for, 51, 189
 defined, 2–4
 differences in German and Italian, 16–17, 47–9, 167
 factors in justification for, 158–9
 influences on, 10
 justification for use of, 173–7
 1970–3 period in Italy, 29
 within social movement studies, 8
 terrorism and social movement studies of, 4–9
 variables influencing, 9–14
 politics, militants' perception, 185–6
- Pollack, Michael, 43
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 123
- Prisoners of Stammheim, 131
- Proletarian Unity Party (Partito di Unità Proletaria, PdUP), 88
- Prolli, Astrid, 177, 180
- protest cycles
 emergence of left-libertarian movement families during, 3
 emergence of social movement families during, 3
 political violence relation to, 25
 semimilitary violence in Italy, 29–31
 violence during, 52
- protest policing
 alternatives in, 61–3

- antinuclear protests in Germany, 42–43, 67
 comparison of German and Italian, 69–71, 190
 constraints on, 193
 with decline of terrorism in Italy, 62–3
 defined, 11
 effect on social movements, 78–80
 era of tolerance in Germany, 65–6
 influences on, 55–8, 71–7
 during peace movement era in Germany, 68–9
 repressive period in Italy, 58–9
 response in Italy to radicalized left-wing, 60–1
 during student movement in Germany, 64–5
 during student movement in Italy, 59–60
- protests
 effect of expanded, 109
 effect of protest policing on strategies in, 78–80
 emergence of, 191
 frames of meaning to define, 193–4
 German antinuclear movement, 67
 German peace movement, 44
 German student movement, 96–7
 German women's movement, 39
 Germany (1960–90), 35–47
 Italian antinuclear, 31–3
 Italian expansion of, 27
 Italian student movement, 26–7, 207
 Italian women's movement, 30
 Italy (1967–90), 26–35, 36
 moderation (1980s), 1
 nonviolent (1960s), 1
 opportunities for, 193
 police action favoring diffusion of, 82
 in social movement studies, 8
 source and distribution of, 190
 state criminalization of, 163
 of students in Rome (1968), xvi–xvii
 United States, 214
- PSI. *See* Italian Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI)
- Rabehl, Bernd, 37
- radical identity, 202–4
- radicalization
 effect of police tactics on, 80
 effect of state repression on, 163
 factors influencing, 149–50
 to heighten competition, 196–8
 life histories of two militants, 137–49
 organizational, 83–5
 political violence related to, 108
 in United States, 210–15
- radicalization, Germany
Autonomen, 44–6
 Horst Mahler, 137–42
 of left-libertarian movement, 43
 networks of activists, 100–103
 of semi-anarchist groups, 102
- radicalization, Italy
 of industrial conflict, 28–31, 109
 in Marcol's political activism, 142–9
 of New Left groups, 85
- RAF. *See* Red Army Fraction (Rote Armee Fraktion, RAF)
- Ragin, Charles C., 15
- Rapoport, Anatol, 191
- Rasch, Wilfried, 166–7, 183
- rational choice theory, 134, 198, 202
- reality
 loss of sense of, 185–6
 political violence effect on perception of, 10
- recruitment
 base in marginalized social groups, 109
 Communist Fighting Formations (Formazioni Comuniste Combattenti, FCC), 117
 Front Line (Prima Linea, PL), 117
 mobilization potential for, 12
 Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse, BR), 115, 124
 in underground, 166–70
- Red Army Fraction (Rote Armee Fraktion, RAF)
 attacks against people, 69, 125–26, 129
 defensive actions, 123
 emergence and actions, 38, 42, 98–9, 113
 ideology, 131
 organizational structure, 116
 propaganda actions, 122
- Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse, BR)
 attacks against people, 125–6, 129
 emergence and actions, 30–2, 88–90, 94
 ideology, 129–30
 organizational structure, 114–16
 propaganda actions, 121
- Red Cells (Rote Zellen), 97–8
- Red Help (Rote Hilfe, RH), 100, 102–3, 109
- Republican Club (Republikanischer Club, RC), 138
- resources
See also mobilization
 allocation, 114
 environmental and organizational, 108–11
 internal, 25
 mobilization, 84–5, 104–11
 responsibility of militants, 178–9
 revenge, 155
- Revolutionary Cells (Revolutionäre Zellen, RZ)
 defensive actions, 123
 ideology, 132
 organizational structure, 118

Cambridge University Press

0521473969 - Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany

Donatella Della Porta

Index

[More information](#)

268

Index

Revolutionary Cells (*continued*)

- origins, 100–103
- propaganda actions, 122–3
- terrorist attacks of, 128
- Reynaud, Emmanuèle, 13
- RH. *See* Red Help (Rote Hilfe, RH)
- robberies, 125–6
- Rochon, Thomas, 43
- Rogers, Kim L., 201
- Rohrmoser, Günter, 196
- Rolke, Lothar, 37
- Rootes, Chriss A., 47
- Rossi, Maurizio, 16, 124
- Roth, Roland, 37, 41, 45
- Rucht, Dieter, 3, 10, 14, 18, 24, 25, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 56, 193
- Rule, James R., 210
- Russell, Charles A., 7
- Rytina, Steven, 79

- Sack, Fritz, 37, 65, 78
- Sarcowicz, Hans, 157
- Sartori, Giovanni, 133
- Scheerer, Sebastian, 188
- Schmidt administration, Germany, 67–8, 75
- Schmidtchen, Gerhard, 167
- Schmitt, Rüdiger, 43
- Scott, W. Richard, 83
- SDS. *See* Socialist German Student League (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund, SDS); Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
- Seidel-Pielen, Eberhard, 157
- Servier, Jean, 7
- Seufert, Michael, 119
- SH. *See* Black Help (Schwarze Hilfe, SH)
- shootouts, 125–6, 128
- Skocpol, Theda, 78–9
- Skonovd, Norman, 182
- Smelser, Neil, 5
- Smith, B. L., 180
- SMOs. *See* social movement organizations (SMOs)
- Snow, David A., 13, 14, 129, 133, 166, 186
- Social Democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD), 36, 64–9, 96–7
- Socialist Collective of Patients (Sozialistisches Patientenkollektiv, SPK), 99, 109
- Socialist German Student League (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund, SDS), 36, 37–40, 96–7, 106
- social movement behavior, 25
- social movement family
 - critique of violence, 129
 - effect of internal competition, 110

- left-libertarian, 3, 24, 85
- Marxist-Leninist terminology in, 133
- organizations within, 11–12
- response to increased violent acts, 129
- social movement organizations (SMOs)
 - design of, 201
 - differentiation in Italy, 30
 - growth of Italian, 85
 - influence of radical German, 103
 - orientation and resources of, 199–200
 - resource mobilization approach to, 84–5, 104–11
 - within social movement family, 11–12
 - underground wings of, 95
- social movements
 - See also* environmental movement; left-libertarian movement; peace movement; political opportunity structure (POS); social movement family; student movement; women's movement
 - defined, 3
 - influence on protest policing, 57
 - internal conflicts and competition, 12
 - partial institutionalization in Italy (1974–6), 30
 - reliance on tactical innovation, 190–1
 - role of networks, 203
 - segmented structure of, 11–12
- Sorlini, Claudia, 32
- SPD. *See* Social Democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD)
- Speitel, Volker, 103, 148, 149, 150, 169, 175, 178
- SPK. *See* Socialist Collective of Patients (Sozialistisches Patientenkollektiv, SPK)
- Spontis*, Germany, 103–4, 109
- Stark, Ronald, 182
- state, the
 - actions as justification for violence, 159–61
 - actions delegitimizing, 191
 - attitude of revolutionary front in Italy toward, 28
 - delegitimization of, 160, 163
 - effect of different concepts of, 73
 - perception in Germany of, 42
 - perception in Italy of, 163
 - student movement reaction to authoritarian, 140
 - as unfair and violent, 158–61
 - use of military metaphor in actions against, 174–7
- Statera, Gianni, 86
- state repression
 - creation of myths and martyrs, 169, 191
 - effect of, 78–80, 111, 163, 170, 182–3

Cambridge University Press

0521473969 - Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany

Donatella Della Porta

Index

[More information](#)

- effect of alternative strategies, 78–80
 factors in use of, 111–12
 student movement in Germany, 139, 160
 terrorist acts against, 120, 123–33
 of violence in Italy (mid–1970s), 61
 Stefanizzi, Sonia, 61
 Steiner, Anne, 116, 141
 Steinert, Heinz, 188
 Stöss, Richard, 156–7
 student movement
 American, 210–12
 comparison of Italian and German, 105–6
 protests of, 190
 threat to German and Italian democracies, 193
 student movement, Germany
 mobilization, 106
 (1967–9), 37–8
 police repression, 139, 160
 reasons for rise of, 140
 student movement, Italy
 coalition building, 35
 enlisting of workers, 108–9
 ideology, mobilization, and radicalization, 86–8
 (1967–9), 26–7
 ties to workers, 27–8
 Student Movement (Movimento Studentesco, MS), 86–7, 143–4
 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 212
 tactical interaction, 190–1
 Targ, H. R., 6
 Tarrow, Sidney, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 18, 25, 26, 29–30, 52, 53, 55, 60, 61, 74, 86, 87, 192, 210
 terrorism
See also assassinations; bombings; kidnappings; murder; robberies; shootouts
 comparison of German and Italian, 48
 international, 5
 terrorism, Germany, 42
 government response to, 66–8
 policy response to, 67–8
 terrorism, Italy
 effect of decline, 62
 police response, 61–2
 rise and effect of, 31–3, 107–8
 terrorist organizations
See also clandestinity; communist Fighting Formations; Front Line; militants; Movement of the Second of June; Red Army Fraction; Red Brigades; Revolutionary Cells; underground organizations
 antirepression actions, 120, 123–4, 129–33
 characteristics of, 113–14
 defensive actions, 120, 123–4
 differences in German and Italian, 113–14
 factors influencing demise, 115–19
 ideology, 129–33
 international, 109
 motivations, 166
 propaganda of German and Italian groups, 120–2
 repertoires and targets of, 124–9
 role in radicalization of SMOs, 107–8
 underground operation of German and Italian, 113–14
 terrorist personality, 7
 Tilly, Charles, 2, 8, 55, 56, 57, 79
 Tololyan, Khachig, 129
 Touraine, Alain, 47
 Tranfaglia, Nicola, 154, 156, 158, 159
 Turner, Ralph H., 13
 UCC. *See* Communist Fighting Units (Unità Comuniste Combattenti, UCC)
 UCImI. *See* Union of the Italian Marxist-Leninist Communists (Unione dei Comunisti Italiani marxisti leninisti, UCImI)
 UGI. *See* Italian Goliardic Union (Unione Goliardica Italiana, UGI)
 underground organizations
See also clandestinity; terrorist organizations
 alternative reality of, 133, 171
 decision making in, 114–15, 134–5
 factors in move to, 107, 110–11, 115–19
 forms of terrorist attacks, 124–9
 individual commitment in, 182–6
 intrinsic dynamics in evolution of, 134–5
 militants' commitment to, 170–7
 organizational structures, 115–19
 precipitating factors in joining, 168–70
 “war analogy” justification, 174–7
 Weathermen or Weather Underground in United States, 212
 underground organizations, Germany
 origins, 98–103
 source of recruits, 40
 underground organizations, Italy
 PL, CCPO, and FCC as, 91, 94
 Red Brigades, 30–1
 Union of the Italian Marxist-Leninist Communists (Unione dei Comunisti Italiani marxisti leninisti, UCImI), 86
 UNURI. *See* Italian National Universitarian Representative Union (Unione Nazionale Universitaria Rappresentativa Italiana, UNURI)
 Useem, Bert, 152, 162

Cambridge University Press

0521473969 - Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany

Donatella Della Porta

Index

[More information](#)

270

Index

- value systems
 changes in, 10
 in countercultures, 149
 enforcement mechanism of group dynamics, 183
 radical, cultural critique of, 148
 with radical forms of action, 136
 of social movements, 162
 of terrorist organizations, 170–1
- van der Will, Winfried, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44
- Ventura, Angelo, 196
- violence
See also political violence
 autonomous, 4, 51–2
 clandestine, 4, 51
 conversion to, 136
 definitions, 2–3
 development in social movements, 25
 development of organized, 198
 differences in German and Italian, 48, 52–4, 167
 environmental resources for, 108–9
 factors in terrorist organizations use of, 129
 justification for, 50, 152–8, 205
 organizational and environmental resources for, 110
 organization of, 154
 origins of, 5–7
 of radicalized countercultures, 152–8
 as resource, 107–9
 semimilitary, 4, 51
 within social movements, 25
 in social movements of sixties and seventies, 1
 of terrorist organizations, 123–9
 unspecialized or spontaneous, 4, 51
- violence, Germany
 escalation, 43
 in social movement (1960–90), 35–47
 student movement, 37
- violence, Italy
 changes in forms of, 29–30
 debate, 90–3
 in social movement (1967–90), 26–35, 36
 student movement, 27
 violence, United States, 213–14
- “War analogy” concept, 174–7
- Wasmund, Klaus, 168, 171, 174
- Wasmuth, Ulrike C., 43
- weapons, 154, 176
- Weathermen (Weather Underground), 212–13, 216
- Wellmer, A., 6
- Wilkinson, Paul, 2, 6, 7
- Wiley, Kenda, 140
- Wilson, John, 79
- women’s movement
 comparison of German and Italian, 48
 Germany, 38–42
 Italy, 28–33, 35
- Workers’ and Students’ Political Collective (Collettivo Politico Operai e Studenti, CPOS), 90
- Workers’ Political Collective (Collettivo Politico Operaio, CPO), 89–90
- Workers’ Power (Potere Operaio, PO), 86–7, 90–2, 93, 144
- Workers’ Vanguard (Avanguardia Operaia, AO), 86, 87, 88
- youth groups, Italy, 32
- Zald, Mayer N., 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 24, 76, 84, 110, 152, 191
- Zaret, David, 15
- Zurcher, Louis A., 166
- Zwerman, Gilda, 7