

1967: The Year that Created '68
Media Perspectives and Student Outcries

by

Ryan Strong, B.A

A Thesis

In

History

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Texas Tech University in
Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Approved

Aliza Wong, Ph.D.
Chair of Committee

Stefano D'Amico, Ph.D.

Lynne Fallwell, Ph.D.

Peggy Gordon Miller, Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

May 2011

Copyright © 2011, Ryan Strong

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank those individuals who made the completion of this project possible. First, to my advisor and mentor Dr. Aliza Wong, I convey my sincere thanks. Without her help and tutelage, I would have never survived the depths of this project or the challenges of the master's program. Over the course of three years there have been many ups and downs and Dr. Wong was able to keep everything in perspective for me. She challenged me to pursue a project that many graduate student would not. Dr. Wong truly is a treasure in the field of history. She is a wonder as a teacher and a person. I cannot articulate the amount of gratitude and appreciation that I have for Dr. Wong.

Second, the readers on my committee must receive their due praise. Dr. Fallwell challenged me at every turn. Even though I was not successful at every aspect during my master's career, she was able to find efforts worthy of commendation. Dr. Fallwell's approvals and criticisms helped me develop into a stronger researcher and writer. She reminded me at times that 1968 affected places other than Italy. Which brought me back to reality when I was immersed in my project. Immense thanks goes to Dr. Stefano D'Amico. Since he was born and lived much of his life in Milan, Italy, his knowledge of the subject and culture of Italy were invaluable. I spent many hours in his office taking advantage of the wealth of knowledge he possesses. I am truly indebted.

I need to thank all the people throughout Italy in classrooms, libraries, archives and coffee shops that made my research a fun and truly life altering experience. Without experiencing the country with their help I would have never grown a found appreciation for their culture, I might have given up on the entire project. On the same note, thanks goes out to the department of History at Texas Tech, who gave me the funding and opportunity to go to Italy not once, but twice for research and cultural exploration.

Finally, my family and friends have been a safety net filled with love and support. Your kind words of encouragement have made everything attainable and worthwhile. A special thanks goes out to my fiancée and soon to be wife. Your ideas, editing, patience, knowledge of deadlines, perseverance, and constant support will never be forgotten. Thank you for sticking by my side through thick and thin.

I would like to acknowledge some downfalls of this project now that I have reached its near completion. As with most undertakings of this depth, the conclusion brings a sense of clarity that cannot be achieved from the start. *1967: The Year that Made 1968* was the first major historical research project of my young academic career. Looking back on it now, there are many things I would have done differently. Primarily, the scope of my project was too large and all encompassing. Trying to describe in depth the press coverage of three cities in Italy over a one-year span was too much to cover in a master's thesis. A better project, and one that will hopefully be my next undertaking, will cover the city of Milan. This would allow for more specificity and accurate theorizing on the student movement in Milan.

On this project, however, there are a number of pitfalls that are best addressed at before any analysis. First, there is a lack of sources, both secondary and primary. The lack of primary sources is due in large part to the inability to research in Italian institutions with any frequency. The lack of secondary sources was a result of not having thorough knowledge of the Italian language. Therefore I was not able to dive into all the possible Italian language sources. Second, since the project revolves around the perspective the media gave to the Italian public during 1967, the newspapers are the true focus of the project and their compliment to each was a rather odd one. In hindsight, a stronger argument could have been made if I would have either used the top three papers in Italy, *Il Giorno*, *La Stampa* and *Corriere Della Sera*. I could have then hypothesized more accurately about the influence the print media had over the entire country. *L'Unita* was always the odd mad out. Not to take anything away from the influence and persuasiveness that *L'Unita* had over their readership, but it was a political journal and therefore was not in the same category as the three aforementioned papers. Lastly, as my project evolved, so to did the theories and theorists that I sampled to explain and justify my arguments. Therefore, by the end, there are clearly large holes in my theories that will be filled as this research continues to grow and solidify into a more well round manuscript.

In spite of the many tribulations, it is my hope that this research can still serve to inform and inspire scholarly debates about a time that has become increasingly more researched by the academic community. It is my hope that

readers will be left with a sense of the difference that each city's student movement had from every other city. Among all the similarities, each university had unique causes from revolt and voiced them loudly to their community. Revolt may appear similar from afar, but is always rooted in difference.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	ii
Chapter	
I. Introduction.....	1
Gramsci and 1968.....	4
Italian History: Partigiani a studenti.....	5
Italian Students.....	9
1968: Western Europe and the United States.....	12
Historiography.....	15
Theoretical Approach.....	18
Chapter Breakdown.....	23
II. <i>La Stampa</i>	24
Introducing <i>La Stampa</i>	24
Spring 1967.....	27
Summer 1967.....	35
Fall 1967.....	37
Analysis.....	42
III. <i>Il Giorno</i>	45
Introducing <i>Il Giorno</i>	45
Spring 1967.....	47
Summer 1967.....	53
Fall 1967.....	56
Spring 1968.....	62
Analysis.....	64

IV. <i>L'Unita</i>	67
Introducing <i>L'Unita</i>	67
Spring 1967.....	68
Summer 1967.....	73
Fall 1967.....	77
Analysis.....	82
V. Conclusion.....	85
Bibliography.....	88
Appendix	
A. Chronology.....	101

Chapter I

Introduction

On a cool night in November 1967, Italians witnessed history in the making. Police were ordered to enter and evacuate students from inside L'Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore.¹ Students, faculty, parents, and press all surrounded the school grounds while police blocked off every exit. Law enforcement officers were made up of working class Italians from all over the country. Young men who had flooded to Milan to escape the economic hardships that consumed much of the south were now forced to evacuate their kinsmen during this tumultuous event.² There were numerous uniformed men who had once desired to step inside the university classrooms.³ Now they would empty the establishment's inhabitants onto the

¹ Michael David-Fox, "Italian Universities under Fascism." *Universities under Dictatorship*. Edited by John Connelly and Michael Gruttner (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005). Michael David-Fox has an informative article on the role of Italian universities during fascism. From this article it is possible to draw some conclusions on why universities were slow in moving towards progress after the fall of fascism.

² I am trying to convey the idea of the class struggle that was completely entwined in the student movement of the 60s. Many of the southerners could not afford higher education. They worked many of the jobs that university students were trying to avoid. Further reading: Giorgio Amendola, *Lotta di classe e sviluppo economica dopo la liberazione* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1962).

³ The failure of the agrarian reforms on the 1950s and 60s left nearly half of Southern Italians unemployed and many saw the north half of the peninsula, as well as, the northern countries of Europe and place to restart their lives and find work and education. Following the end of the Second World War, Italy witnessed a mass exodus that spawned from the south. The tensions caused by the migration fueled an already volatile relationship between Northern Italians and Southern Italians. For more information on the migration during the economic miracle and the tensions those migrations caused between northerners and southerners refer to: John Foot, *Milan Since the Miracle: City, Culture, and Identity* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001); Donald Sassoon, *Contemporary Italy: Economy, Society, and Politics since 1945* (New York: Longman, 1997); Andrea Nemiz, *Italia Repubblicana*:

streets. Newsmen from all over the country waited with baited breath in anticipation of events that would unfold. The next day the country would read about the forced flight of the protestors. This event and many others just like it clearly showed the dichotomy of the Italian student movement. Not only were students rebelling against two important structures of society, law enforcement and university administration, but also the Italian student movement brought to heart issues of class and privilege that had plagued the country for ages.⁴

Student representatives from every university in Milan came to this complex in the center of the city. L'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore is nestled next to the Abbey of St. Ambrose and only minutes from the heart of the city, the Duomo.⁵

Milanese students made a historic stand. It would be one of the defining moments in the movimenti studenteschi.⁶ After much anticipation and rising tensions, Rector

1945-1967(Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1998); Fausto Colombo, *Boom: Storia di Quelli che non Hanno Fatto il '68* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2008).

⁴ It is important to note that students didn't see the university administration and law enforcement as their only opponents in the struggle for academic liberation and freedom from capitalistic society. I just highlight these two because they were most often directly referenced in conflict in the press coverage of the events. A more in depth coverage of the students and their motivations for the movement refer to: Stuart J. Hilwig, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Franco Catalano, *I Movimenti Studenteschi e la scuola in Italia: 1938-1968* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1969); , Alessandro Orsi, *Il Nostro Sessantotto: 1968-1973, I Movimenti Studenteschi e operai in Valsesia e Valsessera* (Varallo, Vercelli: Istituto per la storia della Resistenza e della società contemporanea nelle province di Biella e Vercelli Cino Moscatelli, 2008); *I Movimenti Politici degli Studenti*. Torino, 1969.

⁵ Life in Milan, like most cities in Europe, revolved around the original center of the city. The Duomo, along with the Galleria and the Castillo, are generally considered the center. Therefore, the location of Sacro Cuore would have made the occupation clearly visible to the public.

⁶ The occupation that started in November of 1967 has been described in every scholarly publication that discussed movimenti studenteschi: Stuart J. Hilwig, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 36; *I Movimenti Studenteschi e la scuola in Italia: 1938-1968* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1969); Robert

Ezio Franceschini ordered the police into the campus to clear the trespassers. Lines of uniformed policemen rushed through the gates and quickly stormed the door, finding less resistance than had been predicted. L'universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore had never allowed the state's law enforcement to set foot on its grounds previously. The students they had promised to mold and educate were forcibly removed by the order of the rector. The university was on unfamiliar ground. They had taken a step that could not be taken back. The nation was captivated.

The Italian student movement of 1968 was not a spontaneous explosion of youth and angst. Nor was it a profound gesture of solidarity with students and new leftists of the world. Italian students developed a complex platform of issues that originated from local, regional, national, and international issues. Many of the issues had troubled young intellectuals for some time and crossed generational boundaries. These issues ranged from problems with overcrowding, the lack of effort produced by their professors, increased American consumer capitalist tendencies, and the War in Vietnam.⁷ Students wanted a fundamental change starting from the grassroots up to the aristocratic administration. They felt they

Lumley, *Dal '68 agli Anni di Piombo: Studenti e Operai nella Crisi Italiana* (Firenze: Giunti, 1998). I have named only a few of the numerous publications that cover the occupation at Sacro Cuore.

⁷ Since the scope of this project revolves around the perception of the press, the issues behind the student movement are discussed in their full breadth. For further readings on the issues and motivations refer to: *I Movimenti Politici degli Studenti* (Torino, 1969); Gianni Stater, *Storia di una Utopia: Ascesa e Declino dei Movimenti Studenteschi Europei* (Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1973); *Documenti delle lotte Studentesche, Universita: L'Ipotesi Rivoluzionaria* (Marsilio: Editori Padova, 1968); Anna Bravo, *A Colpi di Cuore: Storie del Sessantotto* (Roma: GLF Editori Laterza, 2008).

were the spearhead that would topple a corrupt society. They felt it was finally time to fulfill the fantasies of leftist theorists before them.

Gramsci and 1968

The origins of the *movimenti studenteschi italiani* were firmly grounded in the early twentieth century philosophies of Gramsci.⁸ In particular, Gramsci's philosophy of cultural hegemony found appeal amongst Italian students of the new left. Students believed the ruling class of Italy, the business tycoons and politicians, used American consumer habits as a means to control and promote economic growth in the late 1950's and 1960's.⁹ According to Gramsci's theory, intellectuals would wage the first war against capitalism. Once they won the intellectual crusade, the physical war could begin. Students believed they were part of the intellectual campaign. Their goal was to win over the hearts and minds of the populace by preaching revolutionary ideology in their occupations. This was their platform for educating the nation. The young scholars admired Che Guevera and other revolutionaries in Africa and South America.¹⁰ They had grown tired of the Italian communist party, who chose to reform within the government instead of fighting to take it down. In the opinion of these young adults revolution needed to be

⁸ Gramsci, like many other leftist philosophers of the time, found great appeal for university students in the 1960s. Gramsci and other philosophers exemplified a departure from classical education and the structures that plague the modern university in the 1960s. Beyond the theories, publication was an act of rebellion in it of themselves, which added to the allure.

⁹ This is an idea that has been developed by many intellectuals studying this period. Gerd-Rainer Horn, John Foot, Stuart Hilwig, Mark Kurlansky, Andre Raphael Clucksmann in Sessantotto, Enzo Peserico in Gli anni dei desiderio e del piombo, and many others all contribute the tumultuous times to the growing consumer habits of the western world and university students awareness of this growth in consumerism.

¹⁰

uncompromising and brash. The students though did not always live the life of a leftist revolutionary. Many had grown accustomed to the luxuries the new economic growth in Italy had provided.

A counter-argument that was often voiced was that the students were mostly from well-to-do backgrounds, which afforded them the opportunity for a liberal education.¹¹ There were also many contradictions within the student movement itself. While numerous students preached anti-capitalist ideals, many were hard pressed to relinquish their capitalistic practices. Their life of luxury afforded them the privilege of a college education. Despite their flaws and hypercriticisms, students read and believed the teachings of Gramsci, Marcuse, Marx and others. Many students saw inspiration in the life of Gramsci and the hardships he encountered. Gramsci became part of history of the Italian resistance. Although he never had the chance to fight alongside the partigiani against the fascists, Gramsci remained steadfast to the end.

Italian History: Partigiani a studenti

After the fascists took control of the country, Gramsci and many other leftist intellectuals went underground or were imprisoned. Many of the works of Gramsci and others were not printed and were not largely read until after the fascists were defeated and removed from office. This only furthered the majestic nature surrounding Gramsci to students in the 1960s. His *Prison Notebooks* were an act of

¹¹ This is clearly shown in the articles from La Stampa, in which, reporters interviewed academic authority figures. This was a fact of the time, that generally youth from middle and upper middle class backgrounds were afforded the luxury of an university education.

defiance and resistance to the bitter end. His spirit survived during the Second World War through the Partigiani, who bravely fought against the fascists.¹² By the end of the war, Italian activists were familiar with both the intellectual and physical resistance to the established order.

On January 1, 1948, the Italian republic approved the new constitution and elections were scheduled for that spring. The communist party had great support since many of them had served in the resistance. The United States, however, was gearing up for a confrontation with the Soviet Union and was afraid of the consequences of having a western European country turn into a communist power. The United States instituted a vast propaganda campaign aimed at installing the DC, Democrazia Cristiana, the ruling party in the newly established Italian republic.¹³ This would mark the beginning of numerous American interventions in Italian politics to ensure that communists never assumed full control over the country. The Christian Democrats, under the leadership of Alcide De Gasperi, won the election and immediately expelled the communists and socialists. They then formed a coalition with the centrists and rightists.¹⁴ The DC quickly aligned Italy with the rest

¹² For more on the Partigiani refer to: Beppe Fenoglio and Lorenzo Mondo, *Appunti Partigiani: 1944-1945* (Torino: Einaudi, 1994); Ugo Moretti, *La Ragazza con la Bicicletta: Racconti Partigiani* (Roma: Carucci, 1982); Mauro Galleni, *I Partigiani Sovietici nella Resistenza Italiana* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1967).

¹³ Wendy L. Wall, "America's 'Best Propagandists': Italian Americans and the 1948 'Letters to Italy' Campaign" *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945-1966*, Edited by Christian G. Appy (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), p. 89.

¹⁴ Jan Kurz and Marica Tolomelli, "Italy." *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*, Edited by Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 84.

of the west, joining NATO, and taking aid from the Marshall Plan.¹⁵ By the late 1950s, the backward Italian economy started to turn itself around and industry in the North began to pick up. The South, however, did not benefit from the newfound prosperity the north enjoyed. *Il boom*, or the economic miracle of the late 1950s, brought new comforts to the Italian society.¹⁶ The struggles of day-to-day survival were passing and new economic stability ushered in new social attitudes. A newfound love for consumerism, especially American consumerism, took-off as families were able to afford luxury items that seemed unattainable before.¹⁷ The DC was able to retain their dominance over the government throughout this period since the socialist and communist were still not allowed an official role in the government. But a hushed political undercurrent was growing amongst the youth, intellectuals and artists.

The large industrial cities of the North were hotbeds for the new 'counter-culture'. Massive amounts of migrants left the south in order to find jobs and economic security in the north. Milan, especially, was the destination for 'upper' and 'upper-middle' class dropouts, as well as a safe haven for runaways from the dissolute south.¹⁸ The vast and diverse city offered an especially attractive appeal

¹⁵ Antonio Varsori, "Italy's Policy towards European Integration" *Italy in the Cold War: Politics, Culture, and Society, 1948-58*, Edited by Christopher Duggan and Christopher Wagstaf. (Oxford, UK: Berg, 1995), pp. 48-60.

¹⁶ John Foot, *Milan Since the Miracle: City, Culture, and Identity* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001).

¹⁷ Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005).

¹⁸ John Foot, *Milan Since the Miracle: City, Culture, and Identity*, 37-70. The descriptions used here are actually from Horn's *Spirit of '68*, but I felt it was more appropriate to cite foot, because that is where I first read of the mass migration to Milan.

for young people just trying to blend in and escape the 'burden' of a newly thriving Italian society.¹⁹ The Northern half of the Italian boot witnessed rapid diversification among its population. A swelling number of youth was coming into contact with radical ideologies within the institutions of society.

Two areas of society that were impacted heavily by the new economic prosperity and growing youth culture were education and industry. With the increase in the number of youth going to universities, the population of the universities quickly increased past the point of capacity.²⁰ Professors who had not dispensed with the duties of educating upperclassmen were rapidly overwhelmed by the surplus of incoming students. Much of the excess was due to the fact that there were many students who were unable to find employment in the workforce and therefore decided to stay in school. Factories also saw a rapid increase in employment.²¹ With the Italian economy thriving, jobs in the north became hot commodities for residents in the poor south. Universities and factories were soon bursting at the seams with young impressionable Italians who were surrounded by a highly electrified political climate.

Italians were becoming more familiar with the cold war. They read about the Soviets' invasion of Hungary in 1957 and watched television reports of America's continuous conflicts with first Korea, then Cuba, and finally Vietnam and their

¹⁹ Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976*, p. 36.

²⁰ Valdo Spinni, "The New Left in Italy." *Journal of Contemporary History*. (Jan.- Apr. 1972): 51-71.

²¹ John Foot, *Milan Since the Miracle*, 47.

“noble” goal of spreading democracy throughout the world. The youth began to view the United States as an imperial power, similar to the European colonial advances in Asia and Africa. The United States was not only using direct military force in places like Vietnam. They were dominating the economic, political, and cultural thought of Western Europe.²² The youth disapproved of the growing consumer habits that Italians were beginning to adopt.²³ Many were influenced by the Utopian ideologies of writers like Marcuse, who argued that capitalism and communism, represented by the two superpowers, the United States and USSR, created one-dimensional men unwilling to oppose the regime and unable to think critically for themselves.²⁴

Then in the early 1960s, the DC made a bold move and joined the government with the PSI, Italian Socialist Party, who had split from the communist ideology in the late 1950s.²⁵ The socialists, who had not functioned officially in government since the elections of 1948, welcomed the new friendly gesture from the DC and created the center-left coalition that would last through most of the 1960s. The left, socialist and communist, who had long given up on revolutionary ideas of Marxism wanted desperately to be involved in parliament. The communists, however, were left out of the government, but were able to maintain strikingly high membership, the largest in a western government. Many of the youth saw this as an

²² Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-century Europe*.

²³ Valdo Spini, “The New Left in Italy”, 51-71.

²⁴ Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press Books, 1964).

²⁵ Patrick McCarthy. *Italy Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 73.

active betrayal of Marxist ideology, which called for the revolutionary toppling of the industrial capitalist state.

Italian Students

With the political climate at a near boiling point, the universities were breeding grounds for radical ideology. Students believed that only violence could solve the present issues and many began to advocate the take-over of the university system.²⁶ One of the first occupations of a university faculty occurred in Trento on January 24, 1966.²⁷ The University was founded in 1962 and was the only university that provided courses in sociology. However, the Italian parliament, by 1966, had not yet approved of a diploma in sociology. As the end of the final semester approached for the first class at the university, the Italian parliament decided that there would not be a sociology degree but instead a degree would be given in political and social science with an emphasis in sociology.²⁸ Students were outraged by the decision, which led to the occupation on January 24, 1966.

Only a few months later, the death of Paolo Rossi at the hands of fascists sparked national uproar among university students. Students in Rome openly protested the death, while students in Trento violently lashed out against the authorities. Officially, fascists murdered Rossi, but the students interpreted the event as a repressive tactic from the existing social order that he was protesting

²⁶ Sidney Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

²⁷ Gerd-Rainer Horn, *Spirit of '68*, 75.

²⁸ Gerd-Raider Horn, *Spirit of '68*, p. 76.

against.²⁹ Paolo Rossi's death helped unify the movement throughout the nation, even though each university kept their own unique ideology.

One of the major causes of student unrest during this period was the reform proposed by Luigi Gui, the Minister of Education during Moro's center-left government. The reform called for restricted entry, a practice that universities had used in previous decades, which allowed only a predetermined population of students to be accepted into the university. The reform would also provide for three different degree types: a one-year diploma, a two-year diploma, and the full degree.³⁰ Both the one-year and the two-year diplomas angered the students. They rejected the administration's use of rigid hierarchies to repress the wills of the students. Students wanted equality and this reform diversified the levels of university education amongst the students.³¹

By 1967, the foundations for the Italian student movement had been laid and many students were primed to demonstrate their frustration. A string of peaceful occupations took off in Milan, Trento, Turin, and Rome. Students found that occupying universities made possible a number of tasks that were critical to their organization.³² First, it gathered all the support into one geographical space showing

²⁹ Kurz and Tolomelli, "Italy," 88.

³⁰ Paul Ginsborg, *The History of Contemporary Italy: 1943-1980* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 303.

³¹ Paul Ginsborg, *The History of Contemporary Italy: 1943-1980*, 303.

³² Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*. Translated by Lisa Erdberg (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), p. 69.

strength in numbers. Second, it provided an arena for speech.³³ Students could assemble in the buildings and discuss issues as one collective group and practice direct democracy, which was heavily advocated as the true form of democracy. Students would then be able to break into smaller committees to discuss more specific issues. This also allowed them to conduct research on many issues and to “create culture”.³⁴ 1967 was the year for local student movements in Italy. In 1966, all eyes had been on Trento and the beginning of the movement by students there. By 1968, the attention of all of Rome was on the violence that had broken out at the Faculty of Architecture. The Battle of Valle Giulia put the Italian student movement on an international spotlight in ways that it had never been before. Therefore, local university movements lost much of the focus from the public. Reports never stopped on local events, but as the national and international attention had been brought to Italy the movement began to be lumped together in more general ways.

1967 was the year that every university’s movement, some with varying demands, found their own voice. At the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan, students were concerned about the rise in tuition.³⁵ Since it was a private school and students paid a far larger sum to attend classes, tuition increases directly affected the student body. This differed greatly from the State University in

³³ Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*, 69.

³⁴ Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*, 69.

³⁵ Students here were concerned with far more than just tuition increases, but since it was one of the few private schools that received press coverage on a national scale, tuition increases were among some of the stronger concerns for students.

Milan where students were concerned with control over what they were studying.³⁶ Students were also concerned with professors' lack of concern when it came to their studies. They wanted their teachers to not be tied to patronage.³⁷ Within the same city, two very different movements were occurring simultaneously. The students from each university did have many commonalities. They often supported and attended each other's occupations. Even within a universities movement itself, there were many different factions all selfishly wanting their demands met.³⁸ Often times this led to fights amongst groups over who had the best objectives.

1968: Western Europe and the United States

1968 became a phenomenal year for various reasons across the globe. The western world, especially, was turned on its side by the events performed by students, activists, police and bystanders. There was a general feeling of contempt that rose from the political situation left after World War II. After the first half of the century of bloodshed, youth were in great numbers. The overall improvement in standard of living throughout much of Western Europe and the United States led to

³⁶ Students at Sacro Cuore were also concerned with what was taught in the classroom and may have had a far more convincing argument, given that they paid a great deal more for their education.

³⁷ Many historians have noted that Italian professors used their positions in universities to promote their political aspirations. Refer to: Roberto Moscati, "Italian University Professors in Transition." *Higher Education* (Spinger: New York, Vol. 41, No. ½, Changing Academic Workplace: Comparative Perspectives, Jan. – Mar., 2001), pp. 103-129; Stuart J. Hilwig *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture*; Gianni Statera "Student Politics in Italy: From Utopia to Terrorism." 657-667.

³⁸ The political factions that were formed within each university were a great example of Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony. Students, almost unknowingly, formed political parties in much the same way as their counterparts in the Italian parliament. The stronger parties dominated debates and often times forced their platforms to the forefront of the occupations. The students had already been so assimilated into the political structure in Italy that they unwittingly formed bands like parliament.

higher enrollment in schools.³⁹ Great numbers of youth continued their education to higher levels in places such as universities and graduate schools. Universities quickly became hotbeds for creativity and unconventional thinking.

In the United States, universities played a vital part in the tensions that tore at the heart of the country. Vietnam was in full swing by December of 1965 with over 200,000 troops put into action. The counter-culture in America had become popular since its start-up in the 1950s with the Beat culture.⁴⁰ Anti-Vietnam ideology and underground rebellion blended almost unknowingly and spread throughout college campuses. The University of California at Berkeley was at the forefront of the student protests during this time. Unhappy with the university administration's attempted ending of political criticism by its students, rebellious youth held sit-ins, and large debates. These events led to some students taking part in a siege of the Oakland military induction center.⁴¹ The academic year of 1967-1968 saw a spreading of student unrest to universities like Wisconsin where students held and massive sit-in to protest DOW chemicals and the use of chemical weapons in Vietnam.⁴² In this instance, the police violently broke up the sit-in, which led to a great uproar on the campus. The event had been captured first hand

³⁹ Gianni Statera made a great observation about the high numbers of youth attending universities. He noticed that Italian society had not yet adjusted its economic structure to accommodate for the increased size of the generation following World War II and therefore used the Italian university system as a "parking lot" for the youth to relieve the burden of not enough jobs for the amount of bodies in the workforce. Statera, Gianni. "Student Politics in Italy: From Utopia to Terrorism."

⁴⁰ Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (Random House: New York), 2004.

⁴¹ Irwin Unger and Debi Unger, eds, *The Times were a changin': The Sixties Reader* (Three Rivers Press: New York, 1998), pp.74-76

⁴² David Farber, ed, *The Sixties: From Memory to History* (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1994), pp.180-181.

by papers and television and quickly erupted into a national issue. On April 23, 1968, Columbia saw a massive demonstration by students and non-students over civil rights and anti-war issues.⁴³ The crisis in the American universities came to a climax in May of 1970 at Kent State. National guardsmen killed four students after an anti-war protest broke out on the campus. These events only fueled counterculture artists and radicals in other parts of the world.

In France, student activism often blended with worker protest. Between November 1967 and March 1968, students protested many times at the University of Nanterre in Paris. Students at Nanterre were upset with the location and beauty of their university. Built only a few years before in the middle of an industrial area and slum, the campus had no places for the students to convene and debate.⁴⁴ Paris witnessed the climax of the 1968 movement in France in May. The Night of Barricades has long been seen as one of the key moments in 1968 for the entire globe. Students and youth, after a demonstration against the government, barricaded themselves into an area of the Latin quarter of the city.⁴⁵ They wanted the Sorbonne reopened, the university in the heart of Paris, and police to leave the Latin Quarter. On the morning of the 11th, police brutality removed students from the Latin Quarter and forced an end to the demonstration. The police intervention

⁴³Tariq Ali and Susan Watkins, *1968: Marching in the Streets* (The Free Press: New York, 1998), pp. 81-83.

⁴⁴Mohammad Bennis "France: A Journey to Freedom". *1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt*. Edited by Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke (German Historical Institute: Washington D.C., Supplement 6, 2009), p. 199.

⁴⁵Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, "France." *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Edited by Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2008, p. 112.

backfired. Two days later on the 13th, unions in support of the students called a 24-hour general strike for the students. After only a few days, over 7 million workers were on strike in France.⁴⁶ May 1968 was a defining moment in the student movement in France, but also in the workers' movement as they joined together in protest against the French government. 1968 has become an increasingly popular topic for scholars. As the rebellious generation has come to maturity, the research on this time has expanded and sparked numerous debates.

Historiography

While the student movement in Italy has not been as well researched as movements in other countries, such as France and Germany. There is ample research on the events of the period. While the movement was still fresh in the minds of countless Italians, Gianna Statera wrote about the problems university students faced. Statera felt that the universities were a parking lot, which functioned as a means to alleviate some of the burden of Italian society by freeing jobs for non-students.⁴⁷ Statera's focus was on why the students had rebelled and the continuation of the movement by high school students a decade later. By the 1980's, conservative speculations about the student movement were made. These scholars lumped 1968 into one bag and presented generalized theories on why 1968 failed globally. Scholars like Ronald Fraser believed that the youth had been raised in a

⁴⁶Andre Raphael Clucksman, *Sessantotto: Dialogo tra un padre e un figlio su una stagione mai finita* (Eduzioni Piemme: Milano), 2008.

⁴⁷Gianni Statera, "Student Politics in Italy: From Utopia to Terrorism." *Higher Education*, Vol. 8, No. 6, Student Activism, Nov., (1979), pp. 657-667.

consumer luxury society that had led to an increase in individuality and disillusionment.⁴⁸ As movements grew more and more radical, followers began to fade away and divert back to their normal lives. Some scholars, however, like Sidney Tarrow did studies specifically on countries, like Italy. Tarrow felt that utopianism was not the cause of the movement, but rather a lack of representation in decision-making structures.⁴⁹ Being a sociologist, Tarrow attributed the protest of the late 60's and early 70's to a product of a cycle that repeats itself when the advantages for protest outweigh the possible risks.

By the early 1990s, scholars were taking transnational approaches to 1968. Transnational approaches found appeal from many of the leading scholars on 1968 and rebellion. As the cold war ended, new research institutions and archives were opening up in Eastern Europe, which were formally closed to the public. Scholars discovered intellectual highways that not only crossed western boundaries, but also found their ways back and forth between Eastern and Western Europe. Scholars, like Carole Fink and Philip Gassert, used the media to justify a transnational explanation to 1968.⁵⁰ Students and workers were able to communicate, indirectly, through headlines and news broadcast. These works rehashed the way 1968 was presented. Instead of generalizing 1968 into one large pot, these scholars connected events and individuals transnationally. They were not trying to rewrite the

⁴⁸ Ronald Fraser, ed., *1968: Student Generation in Revolt* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

⁴⁹ Sidney Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy 1965-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1989).

⁵⁰ Carole Fink, Philip Gassert, & Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Washington, D.C: German Historical Institute, 1998).

generally understood history of 1968, but instead were trying to find connections between movements across national boundaries. Transnational trends continued into the 21st century with scholars like Gerd-Rainer Horn, Martin Klimke, Joachim Scharloth and Padraic Kenney.⁵¹ These more recent transnational approaches provided more in-depth looks at the specific movements from each country, while still linking all the movements together with a magical commonality of dissatisfaction with contemporary society and the cold war. But what these transnational approaches fail to grasp are the individual uniqueness that can be found in every single movement within countries, cities, and even the universities themselves. Stuart Hilwig's most recent publication, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* grasped how unique every movement was from city to city in Italy.⁵² Less concerned with find a commonality amongst all students of 1968, Hilwig was able to find differences amongst Italians themselves. While students in Turin were completely aware of events and motivations for students in Milan and undoubtedly communicated with them, they were most concerned with the social, economic, and educational situation in Turin. I have taken a vastly different approach than many of my predecessors. Instead of focusing my study around students and their reasons for action, I have focused on the Italian populace. The

⁵¹Gerd-Rainer Horn. *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976*. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2008). Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*. (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers: New York, 2004).

⁵² Stuart J. Hilwig, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture*.

students were, in the end, trying to win over the hearts and minds of the Italian people. The students' efforts created a battle with the power structure of the time and this can clearly be seen through the Italian press. Often times, newspapers were the first to inform the populace of conflicts between students and authorities. For this reason, a study on newspapers and their projection of the students to the public can give a glimmer into the legacy and memory of the *movimenti studenteschi*.

Theoretical Approach

This project revolves around the way the Italian press framed the events of the *movimenti studenteschi* in just a few of the hotbed cities, Milan, Rome, Turin, Pisa, and Naples.⁵³ It is important to identify the ownership and affiliation of each press during the late 1960s and therefore the political alignment that accompanied these affiliations.⁵⁴ This will help in understanding the possible influence each paper could have had. Each press had a very different readership and a very different client base. *La Stampa* for example was the second largest newspaper in Italy, behind *Corriere Della Sere*. It had a large national clientele and could be found in many of Italy's neighboring countries. *Il Giorno*, while printed for a national base, was largely a regional paper with most of its patrons in Milan, the surrounding areas, and a few in the surrounding regions. *L'Unita*, being the official paper of the communist party, had a national consumer base, but to only a specific political sect

⁵³ Every city with a university witnessed at one point or another a student demonstration, but these five cities were chosen because in 1967 the activity was more frequent and received better coverage. It is important to note that Torino could have easily been covered in this paper, but was left out because by 1967 the universities activities had taken a back seat to the larger cities mentioned above.

⁵⁴ At the head of each chapter, I discuss the ownership and editors for each paper.

of the Italian population, those literate stacht communists.⁵⁵ There would have also been less room for influence of *L'Unita*, since their readers would have already made a clear decision to support the left and followed relatively close in line with the official party platform. Those readers would have consulted more than just *L'Unita* for the local news and issues outside of politics, especially since *L'Unita* rarely covered sports and local non-political issues. Therefore, it is safe to say that *La Stampa* and to some extent *L'Unita* would have had some influence over the public opinion nationally. This would be true with *La Stampa* more so than *L'Unita*. In contrast, *Il Giorno* would have had only a marginal influence over residents of Lombardy.⁵⁶ This also reflected in the scope of topics that each paper covered. *L'Unita* generally covered national news and reported on student protests from most every major city center, but lacked any extensive local coverage of a particular city's student movement. *Il Giorno*, on the other hand, featured extensive coverage of the events in Milan, reporting on daily occupations, marches, demonstrations, and police interventions. *Il Giorno* did on occasion report on the events of other cities. This was done only if it was a leading story, but often student movements in other cities received merely a few lines worth of print. *La Stampa*, with its large readership and widespread resources, was able to cover both national and local

⁵⁵ Each paper was chosen to represent a specific niche within the Italian press. *La Stampa* represents the large nationally produced paper. It is read throughout the country and can be found in Sicily, as well as, Piedmont. *Il Giorno*, represents the small regional paper that had a small concentrated readership. *L'Unita* represents the politicized press that was closely affiliated with official political parties. I chose not to include sections from the sports presses and the economic presses, largely because their lack of coverage of daily and political news.

⁵⁶ These are broad generalizations that I am using to establish a point. Without further research and oral testimony it is impossible to point the exact influence that each paper had over its readership.

movements extensively. The local section of the news, "Cronaca Cittadina," covered weekly, if not daily, happenings of the Turinese student movement, while events in Rome, Milan, and other cities were reported on either front page or back pages depending on the national headline significance.⁵⁷

Over the course of my research I analyzed the language used in the three newspapers. The language that was used was very important in the way the students were framed to the public. The majority of Italians were not directly involved in the movement or the events of 1967. For many Italians, newspapers were the windows into the student movement. Print media not only connected the readers to the events and participants, but also to the subscribers of the same newspaper. Supporters of *La Stampa* were receiving the same news with projected opinions about the news covered. While every reader would have formed unique conclusions based on what and how much they read of the articles, all the readers' conclusions would have been shaped similarly by *La Stampa*. The readers of the *La Stampa* would have formed an unspoken *La Stampa* community.⁵⁸ The same would have been created for *L'Unita* and *Il Giorno*. *L'Unita's* community of readers would have had close ties to the community of communists and therefore would have had similar conclusions based on the articles in *L'Unita*.

⁵⁷ These are general observations that I gathered as I progressed through each paper. These observations should be much clearer in later chapters.

⁵⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Verso: London, 1983). This idea stems from Anderson's idea that print media forms an imagined community amongst its readers much like a nation.

To begin with, let's look at the very groundwork of how a newspaper is structured. The writers and reporters complete their stories and submit them to their editors. From there, the editors choose which stories to publish and which to discard. Once the stories are chosen, the editor will choose a placement within the allotted number of pages of the magazine based on what he finds interesting, what will sell the most amount of papers, and the socio-political message that is in line with the ownerships' socio-political ideology.⁵⁹ The size and placement of articles is crucial to the effectiveness and potential readability of the article. If an article gets one paragraph on the 17th page beneath the fold, it is unlikely to get read. Conversely, an article that receives half the allotted space on the second page above the fold has a far better chance of being examined. Therefore, only the most compelling articles will receive good placement. For example, *La Stampa* would give articles that featured violent encounters between students and police better location than articles that reported only minor non-violent protests. The article would receive even better rank if students damaged industrial or public spaces. These articles would be deemed a high priority to illustrate the destructive and unlawful nature of the students and their movement. Once all these decisions are made the paper goes to print and then is distributed to every area that has possible clientele.

⁵⁹Edward S.Herman and Naom Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: Political Economy of the Mass Media* (Pantheon Books: New York, 1988). This idea stems from Herman and Chomsky's idea that mass media must cater to the financial and political interest of their owners, especially following the Second World War and the increase in consumer advertising. They contend that newspapers after the Second World War, put the interest of sales above the interest of unbiased reporting of the news.

While newspapers claim to report the real or true events to the public, each paper is carefully designed to tailor to its reader base. According to John Thompson, mass media is designed for niche markets and not the masses as a whole.⁶⁰ The niche markets will generally have similar socio-political views as the ownership of the paper. For example, L'Unita is the official paper of the communist party and therefore its readers mostly communists or communist sympathizers. Therefore the readers of each paper create a like community that generally votes and acts within society on similar paths.⁶¹ When the ideas of Gramsci and cultural hegemony are applied to this scenario, it is easy to see how mass media plays an active role in the creation and cultural of the ruling hegemonic power. The owners of a particular mass media outlet, like a newspaper, help to join a community of like-minded individuals that then receive the news from the media outlet. The media presents the news in a way that will appeal to the reader, but also influence the reader to join their side of the debate on the issue. A good example of this is Fox News here in the United States. It caters to a conservative right-wing political social group and presents its audience with conservative right-wing information from every event presented. Therefore, Fox News further entrenches its audience in the right-wing dogma that its owners and political associates believe in. The audience then votes

⁶⁰John B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA, 1995). Thompson concludes that mass media is not intended for the masses, but rather is structured to cater to a niche market. Therefore, the larger the niche market, the larger the sphere of influence. He also contends that mass media is a one-way dialogue. The reader rarely has a say in the discussion presented by the media outlet.

⁶¹ This harkens back to Anderson and Gramsci. The idea that the imagined community will form a hegemonic community that will follow a generally similar path of socio-political ideology.

on political and social issues within their communities and in the nation at large in accordance with the views of the owners of the Fox Network.

Students in 1968 understood this dynamic and therefore saw the mass media in their country as part of the established hegemonic order. They thought that it had to be taken down in order to truly create a new left socialist nation. My study is at the very heart of this battle. Students and the media were both fighting for the hearts and minds of the general public. Both were using the only outlets that they understood. The students used the university to showcase the wrongs of Italian society and the media used newspapers to persuade the general public not to listen to the students and their extremes.

Chapter Breakdown

Each chapter is a chronological look through one daily newspaper. I will start with *La Stampa* and end with *l'Unita*. Each chapter will follow a narrative based mostly around the city of publication. *Il Giorno* will mostly follow the story of the students in Milan. *La Stampa* will follow the events of Turin and *l'Unita*, Rome. As the story unfolds, I will analyze the language by each paper. Over the course of the narrative, the changes to used language will unveil unique patterns for each paper. At the end of the each chapter, I will discuss the patterns and draw some conclusions. I will be answering four questions. Did the newspaper uphold the idea of reform as a plausible solution? Did the paper support the students? And how? How did the attitude of the press change over time? Was the daily attempting to

maintain the “status quo”?⁶² Each one of the four questions will help postulate hypothesis about the impact the press had on the public’s opinion of the students and the movement. At short summarization will follow the three main body chapters. The last chapter will act as a resolution to the discuss and possibly leave the reader something to consider further.

⁶² “Status quo” here means was the newspaper attempting to work within the customs of the ruling society. The media may, at times, persuade the public to maintain the socio-political structures in use, even if it is not in the best interest of the public.

Chapter II

LA STAMPA

Introducing La Stampa

La Stampa operates out of Turin and is owned by the FIAT Group. *La Stampa* was founded in 1867 and was bought in 1924 by Giovanni Agnelli, son of the founder of FIAT.⁶³ In the sixties, *La Stampa* was the second largest circulating national newspaper in Italy.⁶⁴ It also carried a large international audience. Politically, *La Stampa*, was generally concerned with the morality of the Italian people, as well as the preservation of industry. They were strong supporters of the center-left coalition in the 1960s, not to mention, advocated a social welfare state. They always portrayed the police in a kind light and rarely spoke against the university administration. For this reason, *La Stampa* was one of the newspapers specifically targeted by students for embodying the opinions and practices of the existing social order.⁶⁵ Students targeted the offices of *La Stampa* on numerous occasions, resulting in costly damages to the main office in Turin. *La Stampa*, early on in the movement, positioned itself in opposition to the *movimento studentesche di Torino*. Often the root of many student complaints, *La Stampa's* ownership by Fiat

⁶³Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*.

⁶⁴Stuart J. Hilwig, "The Revolt Against the Establishment." *1968: The World Transformed*. Edited by Carole Fink, Philip Gassert, and Detlef Junker (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 1998), p. 339.

⁶⁵Stuart J. Hilwig, "The Revolt Against the Establishment.", 341.

was ever present in the depictions of students. *La Stampa* found many faults in the students' protest against the academic authority. They would sometimes accompany articles with pictures of students blocking traffic for marches through the city or pictures of violent student outbursts such as attacking the police.

I used *La Stampa* because I wanted to get a look at the local student movement in Turin. It was a large scale, international, daily newspaper. The movement there was different than the movement in many of the Italian cities because of the large industrial factory Fiat. Fiat cast a shadow of influence upon the city of Turin. The factory offered thousands of the jobs to the city and owned a number of key information depots, like *La Stampa*. Fiat, therefore, had a considerable influence on the way readers in Turin interpreted the events of the student movement.⁶⁶ The movement was different because of its focus on the university system and the Gui Reform Bill that was proposed to solve the many issues of the Italian University System.⁶⁷ Students in Turin were very aware of the proceedings of the bill and often, as you will see, voiced their concerns publicly against the bill. Often times, the students in Turin wanted only to be represented in the formal discussions and debates about the bill, but often found their demands fell on deaf ears. At times, this would lead to altercations with the police and the

⁶⁶ *La Stampa* would have put the interest of FIAT and profit over the interest of accuracy in order to make sales. *La Stampa* would have acted as a propaganda tool for FIAT Group, Inc. Edward S. Hermn and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*.

⁶⁷ I was unable to track down any copy of the bill. It was never passed and to my knowledge there was never a public submission of the actual bill. All the conclusions I have drawn about the bill come from student and historians input on the bill. See: Stuart Hilwig, *Italy and 1968*.

students' forceful removal from the faculties that they occupied. In the beginning of 1967, the students were frequently joined by teaching assistants and young professors, who were concerned that the reform did not address all the problems of the university, namely overcrowding. By the end of spring 1967, the students seldom had support from their professors and voiced their opposition habitually.

For the duration of a month, November 27 through December 27, students occupied the faculties of law, education, and humanities at Palazzo Campana. The students were outraged by the rector's decision to move the science faculty into the suburbs in La Mandria.⁶⁸ This was continued in January of 1968 with sporadic occupation and interruptions of lectures. As the protest multiplied, faculties increasingly became battlegrounds between police and protesters. Violence became a normal end to occupation and demonstrations. Students' demands also began to grow in scope. By the middle of spring 1968, students had begun to protest at factories, especially the Fiat factory. *La Stampa* became a point of emphasis for the students, since they felt they were directly represented by the viewpoint of Fiat.⁶⁹ Students were upset because they felt that the press only interviewed and reported the points of teachers and the administration. After the Battle of Vaile Guilia in Rome on March 1st, students in Turin turned to violence. Vaile Guilia was a calling of arms and the students of Turin were not to be passed over. Only a few days later, on the 7th, students attacked the office of *La Stampa*. They broke windows and fought with

⁶⁸Stuart J. Hilwig, "The Revolt Against the Establishment: Students Versus the Press in West Germany and Italy", 339.

⁶⁹Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*, 72.

the police.⁷⁰ Maybe the final moment of the student movement in Turin occurred on June 1, 1968. Students, who wore motorcycle helmets to pay homage to the Japanese student protesters, marched through the streets of Turin to support the workers and students of France.⁷¹

Spring 1967

La Stampa covered all these events and often reported on the protest in other major city centers, such as Milan and Rome. Student protests from other cities, were often located towards the back of the paper. However, a couple key events, such as the Battle at Vaile Guilia, made front-page news. Typically, the articles were featured in the *Chronica Cittadina* sections of the paper that followed the leading headlines of the front page. Most articles were featured with a picture that often showed large gatherings of students parading down the streets with their fists towards the sky. In early 1967, *La Stampa* gave lower priority to the student movement. The articles were generally small and featured below the fold. As the movement progressed and encounters between the administration and police became more frequent, *La Stampa* gave more length and better placement to the articles covering the events.⁷² *La Stampa* clearly wanted to portray the students as violent and disorderly. The only time a reporter was featured was on an article about the violence and

⁷⁰Stuart J. Hilwig, "The Revolt Against the Establishment: Students Versus the Press in West Germany and Italy", 340.

⁷¹ Stuart J. Hilwig, "The Revolt Against the Establishment: Students Versus the Press in West Germany and Italy", 340.

⁷² Article length and placement was key to understanding the position *La Stampa* took towards the students and the student movement. Clear favoritism was shown for articles covering events with violent encounters between students and authority figures. The editor was clearly choosing articles that would create a public discourse around the negative actions of the students.

dismantling of the occupation. *La Stampa's* coverage of the student movement, both local and national, took the reader on a long journey of criticism and violent portrayal that covered the better part of a year and half.

January 1967, students of the Università di Stato di Torino occupied the faculty of mathematics at Palazzo Campana. Students, some professors, and many professor assistants went on strike against the reform plan proposed by the Minister of Education, Luigi Gui.⁷³ *La Stampa* neglected to present their readers with any of the students' demands. This shows that *La Stampa* was working to devalue the occupation in the eyes of their readers. In fact, they presented their readers with descriptions of lazy students who were merely trying to avoid the classroom and exams. *La Stampa* spoke with a number of the student's parents and reported: "The parents are protesting because their children for one reason or another, will always find ways not to study."⁷⁴ By using the parents, *La Stampa* was able to appeal to a great number of their mature readers who either had children or were aware of the separation between the young and old generations. Parents have always had pull at the hearts of Italians. This is a view that is shared by most people across racial, ethnic, and generational lines in Italy.⁷⁵ When *La Stampa* presented the parents' view of the student occupations, they were tapping into a long catholic tradition of

⁷³ "Studenti occupano l'Università, Sgombrati a braccia della polizia." *La Stampa*. February 10, 1967, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Translation: "I genitori protestano perché i figli, per una ragione o per l'altra, trovano sempre il modo di non studiare." *La Stampa*. February 10, 1967, p. 2.

⁷⁵ Italians are commonly known for the close family ties and the influence that family has upon Italian lives. This is evident in all avenues of cultural production, ranging from print media, television, cinema, and literature.

admiration and respect for parents.⁷⁶ *La Stampa* was presenting their readers with strong cultural evidence that the students did not have legitimate arguments against the university system. *La Stampa* also called the event “The school had a typical restless day yesterday because of the crisis that troubles...”⁷⁷ The article mentioned that it was a “typical” day of “restlessness”. That deemphasized the issue to the reader as well as presented the students as continual troublemakers. *La Stampa* called the event a “crisi” or crisis. *L’Unita* used “crisi” as well to describe the state of the university system, but *La Stampa* was using “crisi” to target the students and describe occupations and demonstrations. The article was littered with negative words to describe the students. *La Stampa* did not want to leave any room for interpretational error on the part of the reader. They wanted to make sure that the reader understood that there was a crisis caused only by the rebellious youth. Restless students caused the crisis and their parents would not have been happy with their actions.⁷⁸

La Stampa further delegitimized the students by referring to them as “occupanti abusivi” or “squatters”. Squatting was a serious issue for many northern

⁷⁶ A good reference to this is David Kertzer and Richard P. Saller, *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 1991).

⁷⁷ Translation: “la scuola e inquieta e ieri e stata una giornata tipica della crisi che la travaglia...” *La Stampa*. February 10, 1967, p. 2.

⁷⁸ In a battle for the hearts and minds, calling on the structures of the established order was an excellent strategic move on the part of *La Stampa*. Readers would have been able to relate to the concerns *La Stampa* was raising. Most people tend to not want to travel outside the established order of society.

Italian cities during the late 1960s.⁷⁹ Since the economic miracle of the late 1950s, many southern Italians left their homes to find work in the industrialized north, especially in towns such as Milan and Turin where large plants like Fiat based their operations. *La Stampa* was making a strong appeal to the native people of Piedmont that had witnessed thousands of southerners come to their region and overcrowd Turin. *La Stampa* went so far as to call the students' occupation a "all these disturbances are a symptom of the deep unease pervading one of the most sensitive areas of national life"⁸⁰ First, the article called the occupations "disturbances". This would have led the reader to believe, just as before when the events were called a "crisi", that the students were interrupting the normal pattern of university life and being a nuisance. Secondly, *La Stampa* refers to the occupations as a "deep unease" that was "pervading one of the most sensitive areas of national life." "Deep unease" inferred that the problems of the Turinese student movement were much more rooted in a generational change in society. It was not just a problem with the student unrest, but instead a problem with Italian youth. Also, *La Stampa* conveyed a sense of urgency to the reader because the movement threatened "the most sensitive areas of national life".⁸¹ This line in particular was noteworthy. *La Stampa* was making this a point of national interest. They argued

⁷⁹ John Foot describes how the mass migration to Milan created a swell in population that led to less than ideal living conditions on the periphery of the city for those new workers to the city. Foot, *Milan Since the Miracle*, 53.

⁸⁰ Translation: "tutte queste agitazioni sono sintomo del profondo disagio che pervade uno dei settori più delicati della vita nazionale." *La Stampa*. February 10, 1967, p. 2.

⁸¹ These areas would have most likely been family and religion to name two. Students were asking many questions of the traditional structure of Italian life that had not been questioned in such a public direct manner before.

that students were attempting to break apart the very fabric of the “nation.” They were destroying what so many had long struggled to achieve. *La Stampa* was placing students outside the “nation.” They were creating an “other.”⁸² *La Stampa* was appealing to all Italian’s national pride to resolve a serious matter. Student menace.

Only a day later on January 11th, *La Stampa* followed up on the demonstrations at Palazzo Campana.⁸³ Again, *La Stampa* tried to show how the students had disrupted the everyday workings of the Turinese people. First, *La Stampa* reported that the protesters upset the lives of e citizens of the city of Turin. The students “blocked traffic on Via Po, cars could not pass, citizens complained about all the precious time lost.”⁸⁴ *La Stampa* was appealing to the workingman and businessman with this passage. Students were interfering with the livelihood of the people in Turin. Many people could have been late to work because of the march through Via Po. The line was especially gripping because of the word “precious”. “Precious” referred to the sayings, make every moment count and time is the only thing you cannot have back. Students were forcibly intervening in the lives of the working people of Turin. Second, *La Stampa* deplored the actions of the protesters because it alienated students that wanted to study. “As reported <La Stampa> yesterday, the occupation of the university by dell’Ugo (left) had been deplored by

⁸² This is a direct reference to Said’s theories of the other used in *Orientalism*. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

⁸³ “Giornata di tafferugli all’Universita.” *La Stampa*. February 11, 1967, p.2.

⁸⁴ Translation: “traffico bloccato in via Po, auto che non riuscivano a passare, rimostranze di cittadini per nulla rassegnati a perdere tempo prezioso.” *La Stampa*. February 11, 1967, p.2.

all other groups of students.”⁸⁵ *La Stampa* did two things with this line. First, it singled out the group that was protesting, the left specifically l’Ugi and *Intesa*, mentioned earlier. L’Ugi, *Union Goliardica Italiana*, and *Intesa*, the Catholic student association, were part of the larger UNURI, National Union of Italian University Students, and were two of the main protest groups who opposed the Gui Bill.⁸⁶ Secondly, it showed that the two groups had acted alone and that the other student groups were not in favor of the protest. Once again, *La Stampa* was creating a rift between students and society. *La Stampa* had first created students as the “other.” Now *La Stampa* was further dividing the “other.” Only protesting students were outside the norm now. They had been isolated and were now a specific target for the public. In fact, by using the word “deplored”, *La Stampa* was able to show how strongly the other groups were opposition to the protest. “Deplored” showed the strong distaste that the “other” groups had for the protest by the left. *La Stampa* was able to avoid the fact that the two protesting groups made up a large portion of the students that were unhappy with the Gui Bill. *La Stampa* had chosen their information carefully. They wanted to convey to the reader that the protestors were

⁸⁵ Translation: “Come ha segnalato <La Stampa> di ieri, l’occupazione della sede universitaria da parte dell’Ugi (sinistre) era stata deplorata da tutti gli altri gruppo di studenti.” *La Stampa*. February 11, 1967, p.2.

⁸⁶Stuart J. Hilwig, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture*, 15.

in the minority, whether true or not. They also sought to prove that the students had no concern for the lives of the workingman.⁸⁷

This article had major differences from the article on the 10th. The article printed the chants that the students voiced as they marched through the streets: “We are not criminals” and “ You have no right to prevent entry”.⁸⁸ But, *La Stampa* was able to degrade the protest by prefacing the quotes with two words “inflammate proteste,” “Inflammatory protest”.⁸⁹ The students were not only blocking traffic and going about voicing their opposition in the wrong way, but they were using protest without any validity. *La Stampa* had successfully tarnished the entire event. The readers of *La Stampa* would have undoubtedly been angered by the lack of respect that the students had shown for civility and proper democratic order. At this very early stage in the movement, *La Stampa* had clearly picked their side in strong opposition to the student movement in Turin.

At the end of January, *La Stampa* ran a small article that featured a brief explanation of the Academic Senate’s response to the student occupation of the faculties at Palazzo Campana.⁹⁰ The article was located at the bottom, left hand corner of the second page, Cronaca Cittadina. Cronaca Cittadina was *La Stampa’s*

⁸⁷ It is important to keep in mind that the actual protestors were in the minority. Occupations generally bolstered around 100-200 students. But the protestors always claimed that they were merely representatives of a strong student feeling of dissatisfaction with the university system.

⁸⁸ Translations: “non siamo delinquenti” and “non avete diritto di impedirci l'entrata”. *La Stampa*. February 11, 1967, p.2.

⁸⁹ This was an excellent example of propaganda on the part of *La Stampa*. Those two words, “Inflammatory protest,” created a negative feeling right before leading into the student demands. Instead of the reader interrupting the demands for themselves, *La Stampa* has created a scenario where only a negative understanding for the demands can be interrupted.

⁹⁰ “Gli studenti hanhno sgombrato la Facolta occupata da lunedì.” *La Stampa*. February 17, 1967, p.2.

local coverage of events in Turin and was most often the location of articles about the movimento studentesco turinese. This particular article on January 17th was featured below the fold and would not have received much attention. The article did not report on any of the latest events of the student movement. The article did however report on the Academic Senate's response to the occupation after several days of tension between students, professors and the university authorities.⁹¹ *La Stampa* reported that the Academic Senate had "reiterated, the illegality of the occupation, stating that the requests would be considered only after the evacuation of the University."⁹² *La Stampa* strategically left out any information that voiced the opinions of the protestors. Instead, *La Stampa* focused on the Academic Senate's condemnation of the students and their "illegittimita" occupation. As students were fighting for a more democratic system and negotiation of the reform, *La Stampa* was presenting the reader with a one-sided story of the Academic Senate's denunciation of the occupation as an undemocratic approach to negotiations. This was further emphasized at the end of the article, which stated that students had acknowledged the Senate's response and "have suspended the occupation for 48 hours."⁹³ *La Stampa* reported this story in a way that made students seem as though they had acknowledged legitimacy of the Academic Senate's claims about the student

⁹¹ For further readings on the senato accademico, refer to: R.C. Jr. Simonini, "The Universities of Italy." *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, Vol. 40, No. 4, (Winter 1954-1955), pp. 563-592; Federico Mancini, "Student Power in Italy." *The American Journal of Comparative Law*. Vol. 17, No.3 (Summer, 1969), pp. 371-377; John Agnew, *Place and Politics in Modern Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

⁹² Translation: "ribadito, l'illegittimita dell'occupazione, affermando che le richieste sarebbero state prese in esame solo dopo lo sgombero dell'Universita." *La Stampa*. February 17, 1967, p.2.

⁹³ Translation: "hanno sospeso la occupazione per 48 ore." *La Stampa*. February 17, 1967, p.2.

occupation of Palazzo Campana. It would have appeared that the students had caved to the pressures from the Academic Senate. *La Stampa* structured the article so that the students acknowledged the Academic Senate's decision. Once again *La Stampa* was creating a subversive group. Students realized that they were wrong and went ahead with the demonstrations anyway.

Students continued their occupation of the faculties of law, education and humanities at Palazzo Campana into the month of February. As the students' occupation grew in days, the articles from *La Stampa* became more and more slanderous towards the students.⁹⁴ *La Stampa* wrote this about the occupants: "To avoid the risk of accidents arising from disorders caused by a factious minority, which refuses any logical discourse, were forced to temporarily close the premises of Palazzo Campana."⁹⁵ In a short phrase from this article, *La Stampa* did more to criticize the students than they had in the entire previous month. Protestors would not participate in any "logical discourse." *La Stampa* conveyed an idea that the students had illegally occupied the university. *La Stampa* continually used the law to condemn the students. As long as readers understood the basic principles of the law, right and wrong, *La Stampa* was able to depict the students as evil and "illogical." *La Stampa* went on to report that the Academic Senate needed to call the police in order to physically remove the occupiers, who were unwilling to give up their

⁹⁴ "Chiuso Palazzo Campana dopo la nuova occupazione." *La Stampa*. February 19, 1967, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Translation: "Per evitare pericoli di incidenti dai disordini provocati da una minoranza faziosa, che si rifiuta ad ogni discorso logico, e costretto a chiudere temporaneamente I locali di Palazzo Campana." *La Stampa*. February 19, 1967, p. 2.

stance. *La Stampa* would continually use the minority arguments to counter the students' protest. They felt they were taking up the side of the majority of students, who wanted to finish their studies. Since *La Stampa* had already created a protagonist in the Academic Senate and an antagonist in the student protestors, the Academic Senate's decision to call in the police would have appeared only a logical conclusion after unsuccessful attempts at peaceful mediation.

Summer 1967

Protests and demonstrations continued throughout the spring in Turin and by May, students occupied the faculty of Architecture at Castello del Vallentino at the Polytechnic University.⁹⁶ The students were protesting "against the curriculum and serious inadequacy in professional training."⁹⁷ Usually, *La Stampa* did not care to mention the plight of the students, but in this particular article *La Stampa* found a fondness for the students and the abuses that they went through during their expulsion from the building. *La Stampa* appeared in this article to support the students in at least a partial way. The subtitle read: "Viewed in vain every negotiation of the policemen – They broke down the door, students are expelled at arms: two bruised."⁹⁸ The article mentioned that two students were bruised. This broke from the usual message from *La Stampa*. Students visited Professor Grosso, a professor at the Polytechnic University in Turin in the faculty of architecture, to ask

⁹⁶ "La Facolta di Architettura sgomberata con la forza." *La Stampa*. May 12, 1967, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Translation: "Contro i programmi di studio inadeguati a una seria preparazione professionale." *La Stampa*. May 12, 1967, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Translation: "Vista vana ogni trattativa dei carabinieri - Sfondata la porta, gli studenti sono allontanati a braccia: due contusi." *La Stampa*. May 12, 1967, p.2.

if they could be represented in the debates over the Gui Bill. Even though *La Stampa* reported on many of the activities of the students along with their demands, they found space to criticize the students, and the protesters in Turin: “circumstances consider the occupation unlawful...”⁹⁹ This one remark negated whatever accomplishments Grosso reported that the students had achieved. It showed that the Academic Senate had sympathy even though the students “unlawfully occupied” the faculties.¹⁰⁰

The universities of Turin were quiet during the summer of 1967. Many faculties closed their facilities, such as the facolta di architettura at the Politecnico di Torino, for the summer to ease the tension between academic authorities and the movimento studentesche turinese.¹⁰¹ The subtitle of an article published in June of 1967 read: “Faculty closed for two months.”¹⁰² The students were starting their tests on June 9 and a sense of finality and ease surrounded the university. *La Stampa* reported that “the Professor’s Council expects students’ agitation to cease.”¹⁰³ *La Stampa* showed that the professors, who in the beginning had shown some solidarity with the students, wanted a break from the confrontations and students’ unrest. Once again the protestors were losing support. Protestors were losing members from their group. As more and more protestors lost their will to fight, *La*

⁹⁹ Translation: “Premesso di ritenere illegittima l’occupazione...” *La Stampa*. May 12, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ *La Stampa* was attempting to show the kindness and benevolence of the Academic Senate in the face of outright disrespect. Even though the occupation was unlawful, the Academic Senate was understanding and considered the points of the students, however illogical and invalid they were.

¹⁰¹ “Fissato per Architettura il calendario degli esami.” *La Stampa*. June 9, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁰² Translation: “La Facolta chiusa dai due mesi.” *La Stampa*. June 9, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁰³ Translation: “Il Consiglio dei professori attende che gli studenti cessino l’agitazione.” *La Stampa*. June 9, 1967, p.2.

Stampa was able to report that the student movement was weakening. The Polytechnic University had seen the most action over the course of the spring of 1967. Violence between protesters and the police were a regular occurrence and many hoped that after a break, class could resume as normal.

Fall 1967

The beginning of the fall school year was just what the professors and Senato Accademico wanted, relative calm, but as the calendar year drew to an end, the students became agitated. All across Italy, tensions were on the rise and all that was needed was a spark to ignite a new string of occupations and demonstration.¹⁰⁴ Students at l'Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano set the spark. *La Stampa*, however, did not come out with their usual tone of opposition to the students at the University of Sacred Heart.¹⁰⁵ *La Stampa* took an unfamiliar stance. Students in Turin rarely received applause, but now students in Milan were seen with less critical eyes. *La Stampa* criticized the police and the administration at the university for the unfair treatment of the students. The biggest criticism on the university was the consequences expected to be enforced on the students. According to *La Stampa*, the university was penalizing the students with "...the threat of

¹⁰⁴ For a closer reading of the many occupations that occurred at the end of 1967 refer to: Marco Boato, *Il '68 e morto, viva il '68!: prima del '68, origini del movimento studentesco e della nuova sinistra: dopo il '68, abbiamo sbagliato tutto...?* (Verona: Bertani, 1979); Luisa Cortese, *Il Movimento Studentesco: storia e documenti 1968-1973* (Milano: Bompiani); Ingo Cornils and Sarah Waters, *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ "A Milano l'Universita Cattolica chiusa e presidiata dalla polizia." *La Stampa*. November 21, 1967, p. 19.

expulsion for two years under a decree of 1935, incredibly, still in force.”¹⁰⁶ The university authorities were planning implement a two-year expulsion on the twenty-five students who took part in the occupation. *La Stampa* was completely shocked that the university was using policies from the Fascist period. *La Stampa* found it “incredible” that the university could enforce punishment from a sanction over thirty years old. The article also featured a quote from one of the students who had participated in the occupation: “unique in the history of the Italian university, and all the more offensive because it occurred within a university that loves to assert freedom and Catholicism.”¹⁰⁷ *La Stampa* used the word offensive, not to describe the students, but the authorities for calling in the police. The entire article makes *La Stampa* appear shocked by the fact that a university known for “freedom” and Catholicism” would call in the police to break up a peaceful protest by students. As mentioned earlier, these events at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart started a whole new campaign of protest in the city of Turin. The first would be the month long occupation of Palazzo Campana.¹⁰⁸

La Stampa covered the occupation with many articles, but one in particular personified the attitude that the paper took towards the students during the month long occupation. On November 28, *La Stampa* ran an article that seemed to provide

¹⁰⁶ Translation: “...incombe la minaccia di espulsione per due anni in base a un decreto del 1935 e che, incredibilmente, e ancora in vigore.” *La Stampa*. November 21, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁰⁷ Translation: “Unica nella storia dell'Universita italiana e tanto piu offensiva in quanto avvenuto all'interno di un'universita che ama affermarsi libera e cattolica.” *La Stampa*. November 21, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁰⁸Liliana Lanzardo, *Cronaca della Commissione operaia del Movimento studentesco torinese: dicembre 1967-maggio 1968* (Pistoia: Centro di documentazione Pistoia, 1997). Lanzardo gave a more indepth perspective on the month long occupation.

a discourse between students and the administration, even though; in the end the students were shown in disfavor.¹⁰⁹ The title claimed that thirty students had occupied the university, but the body of the article said that fifty students had occupied Piazza Carlo Alberto in Palazzo Campana. *La Stampa* presented these meager numbers to show that the students were in the minority and that many of the students did not agree with the actions taken by the protesters. *La Stampa* depicted the students as a minority, rightfully so, and that the academic senate was not worried about the protestors as much as the students “who feel committed to seriousness...”¹¹⁰ and wanted to return to their studies. This was a direct attack on the platforms that the student movement stood for, true democracy where everyone got a vote. It was claiming that those students who were protesting were not serious and should not be taken as such. *La Stampa* was adding fuel to their argument that the “silent majority” should be the focus of the public, not the protesting minority. They were further isolating the protesters against the teachers, administration, public and, the majority of university students who just wanted to complete their education. The article went on to finish with a statement from the Senato Accademico: “Aware that problems are resolved through a fruitful dialogue, in accordance with the methods of solving civil problems and in the institutions of faculty who have established forms of dialogue and cooperation, the Academic

¹⁰⁹ “30 Studenti occupano l’Università: Un appello del Senato Accademico.” *La Stampa*. November 28, 1967, p.2.

¹¹⁰ Translation: “che sentono impegno di serietà...” *La Stampa*. November 28, 1967, p.2.

Senate noted that the agitation which repudiate the same student representative bodies, seriously disturbed the course of studies."¹¹¹

On December 6, *La Stampa* again attacked the movement's legitimacy for popular democracy. Students had occupied Palazzo Campana because lessons were not on time and classrooms were overcrowded and cold.¹¹² This had grown to be a popular theme among students, not enough faculty members for the amount of students at the university.¹¹³ *La Stampa* reported that a group of MSI students, Neo-Fascists, had gathered outside the faculty to protest against the occupation. The right had been excluded from the occupation, either willing or not, and opposed the protest outright. *La Stampa* was projecting an idea of mutiny within the student movement itself. The movement was not practicing the principles they had bolstered. There was fighting amongst political groups. Students were no better than the politicians in Roma.¹¹⁴

On February 17, 1968, *La Stampa* ran an article, written by Alberto Ronchey, about students in Rome that had occupied several faculties. Ronchey wrote that the student movement was a deep sickness in the University. He called the supporters

¹¹¹ Translation: "Conscio che i problemi dell'universita si risolvono attraverso un fecondo dialogo, nel rispetto dei metodi di civile soluzione dei problemi e nell'ambito delle istituzioni di facolta che hanno stabilito forme di dialogo e di collaborazione, il Senato accademico constata che le agitazione le quali ripudiano gli stessi organismi rappresentativi studenteschi, turbano il serio svolgimento degli studi." *La Stampa*. November 28, 1967, p.2.

¹¹² *L'Occupazione dell'Universita*. *La Stampa*. December 6, 1967, p. 2.

¹¹³ Lina Severino and Gabriele Licciardi, *Il Sessantotto in periferia: Catania fra il movimento studentesco e la svolta a destra degli anni Settanta: caratteri locali e tendenze nazionali* (Acireale: Bonanno, 2009).

¹¹⁴ Italian politics is made up of so many small parties that it is close to impossible to achieve any governance. The ruling parties make most of the decisions and let the small parties fight for patotoes. *La Stampa* was showing that the students were more closely related to the people they despised than they were willing to admit.

of the student movement “sympathizers.”¹¹⁵ He mocked the students’ so-called popular democracy, and said that the student body has chosen spokesmen that speak for “the entire student community”.¹¹⁶ This sarcastic tone that Ronchey displayed shows the distaste that *La Stampa* had for the entire movimento studenteschi. He claimed that the student community was made up of Catholics leftists and dissident communists. He even went so far as to call the students “anti-imperialists”.¹¹⁷ He discussed how the students denounced without reserve “a system that teaches obedience” and how the students wanted total protest. *La Stampa* continually showed the students as a divided group in the minority.¹¹⁸ They showed pictures of students fighting amongst themselves outside of the school. As shown in these articles, *La Stampa* was trying to depict the students as a divided front, they couldn’t work together, and that not the entire university actually wanted the process. They were trying to show that the majority of the population wanted to go to classes, wanted to take tests, and wanted to graduate. Their goal was to show that only a small minority of students protested.

¹¹⁵ Translation: “Simpatizzanti.” Ronchey, Alberto. “Incontri con gli studenti “rebelli” che occupavano l’universita di Roma.” *La Stampa*. February 17, 1967, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Translation: “Dell’intera comunita studentesca.” *La Stampa*. February 17, 1967, p.3.

¹¹⁷ Translation: “Antimperialisti.” *La Stampa*. February 17, 1967, p.3.

¹¹⁸ Acting as an agent of the hegemonic ruling elite, *La Stampa* created an idea of the weak, unorganized student protestor for their readers. *La Stampa*’s favorite propaganda tool was the idea of the overprivileged minority that cared less for the majority of students than for their “illogical” claims to legitimate complaints. *La Stampa* was further intrenching their community of readers against the violent, disorganized minority.

Analysis

1967, in Turin, was an incredible year for the student movement. Some of the inspirational leaders for the whole Italian student movement rose from universities in Turin, like Luigi Bobbio.¹¹⁹ It also differed from the movement in Milan because professors were divided on which side to join and some openly supported the movement, and even joined in on the occupations. For this reason, *La Stampa* not only criticized the students, but also some professors. *La Stampa's* political alignment was clearly shown in the many articles printed about occupations and demonstrations. Rarely did student demands or interviews make their way into the pages of the paper and if they did were generally shown as absurd. *La Stampa* printed opinions and interviews from the rector or professors in opposition to the students to contradict any student demands that found their place on the pages. *La Stampa* made it abundantly clear to their readers that the student protestors were a “fictitious minority.” They showed sympathy to the “silent majority,” who merely wanted to return to their studies. Student protestors were depicted as aggressors, seeking a violent encounter with the police when they were told to evacuate the buildings. *La Stampa* was clearly sided against the students. On several occasions, demonstrations ended in front of the offices of *La Stampa*. Students violently

¹¹⁹ For more on Luigi Bobbio refer to: Jean-Louis Briquet and Alfio Mastropaolo, *Italian Politics: the center-left's poisoned victory* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Luigi Bobbio, *Lotta Continua: storia di una organizzazione rivoluzionaria* (Roma: Savelli, 1979); Luigi Bobbio, *Le Politiche dei beni culturali in Europa* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992); Luigi Bobbio, *I governi locali nelle democrazie contemporanee* (Roma: Laterza, 2002). I chose to put more books written by Bobbio because I feel the reader get a good understanding of the author after reading their book(s).

attacked the offices twice, breaking windows and vandalizing the buildings.¹²⁰ *La Stampa* found many faults in the students and their movement and used every persuasive device to convince their readers of their wrongdoings.

To further emphasize their point, *La Stampa* praised the university officials and law enforcement agents for doing a tough, but necessary job to prevent hooligans from burning the city to the ground. Law enforcement, in particular, was seen as civic heroes for suppressing the violent youth. Academic councils, established to resolve the issues by the universities, were praised for creating arenas for the students to voice their concerns. It was the fault of the students, because they could not articulate their demands within a reasonable and civil manor established by the universities. *La Stampa* routinely interviewed professors and the heads of the occupied faculties. They agreed with professors, who criticized students for being lazy and just not wanting to work. *La Stampa* even appealed to parents and asked for their support in stopping the crimes against the public. *La Stampa* created a dichotomy where students could only be seen in the wrong. It was the rebellious minority of students against well-established laws, professors, law enforcement, parents and the silent majority. Regardless of any legitimacy that protestors might have had, their cries fell against the wall of legitimate opposition.

La Stampa clearly opposed the student movement and printed articles that discredited the protestors at every turn. For *La Stampa*, 1967 was a year of violent

¹²⁰ ¹²⁰ Stuart J. Hilwig, "The Revolt Against the Establishment: Students Versus the Press in West Germany and Italy," 229.

rebellion on the part of a spoiled and selfish youth, who turned to protest when they longer felt the need to study. The tumultuous clashes with the police and against the offices of *La Stampa* only further engrained *La Stampa's* opinion and drove home the point to outside spectators. *La Stampa's* large circulation added height to an already peaking mountain that the students were trying to top.

Chapter III

Il Giorno

Introducing Il Giorno

Il Giorno was created in 1956 and was well known for the innovative use of short headlines that grabbed the attention of the reader and placed the facts directly at the front of the article. *Il Giorno* was able to report more freely because of their liberal political stance and relative young age compared to that of other presses.¹²¹ *Il Giorno* enjoyed the freedom to cover events independent of major political philosophies. *Il Giorno* interviewed students who actively participated in the occupations, as well as the university officials, who opposed the protestors. They were able on a few occasions to get reporters inside occupied faculties to interview students while their demonstrations were ongoing.¹²²

The student movement in Milan grew, like most others in Italy, from the events of 1966 at the Trento.¹²³ In the early quarter of 1967, student activism was on the rise. The once sporadic student demonstrations and occupations began to

¹²¹Robert Lumley, *Italian Journalism: A Critical Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

¹²²Giorgio Bocca, "Un giornalista interroga l'assemblea degli occupanti." *Il Giorno*. March 10, 1968, p. 7.

¹²³ Many scholars had contributed to the literature on Trento, 1966: Gerd-Rainer Horn. *Spirit of '68*; Alberto Asor Rosa, *La rivolta studentesca in Italia, Stati Uniti, Germania Federale: documenti delle universita di Torino, Trento, Milano, Genova, Roma, Liceo Parini* (Milano: F. Angeli, 1988); Franco Ferraresi, *Threats to Democracy: the radical right in Italy after the war* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). There are many others. I have just named a few.

increase. On January 20th, 1967, *Il Giorno* reported that students had occupied the faculty of science and chemistry, at the State University of Milan.¹²⁴ *Il Giorno* reported that students had acquired the equipment needed for a lengthy occupation and a hundred people, students, assistants, and professors took the building and “declared war on the ministry of public instruction.”¹²⁵ “Declared war” was quoted in the paper as if said by a student protestor or by the group of protestors as a whole. There was no credit given to any one student, but the fact that it was quoted showed two important things. First, it demonstrated that the paper took time to understand some of the emotions of the students. Unlike *La Stampa*, *Il Giorno* was actively interviewing the students for opinions on the causes of the occupation. Secondly, it created a drama that magnetized the occupation to the reader.¹²⁶ “Declaring war” was not something to be taken lightly in Western Europe, with the cloud of the two great wars still looming over the country. The students felt that this issue was something serious enough to take drastic action against; the institution that was supposed to be facilitating the growth of young minds. The paper went on to show that the students could be perceived as being on the prevailing side of the argument. This was because the teachers were at this point in full support of the occupation. By telling the reader that the teachers supported the students, and to

¹²⁴ “Facolta occupata per protest da cento studenti.” *Il Giorno*. January 20, 1967, p. 17.

¹²⁵ Translation: “dichiaraiio Guerra al ministero della pubblica istruzioine” *Il Giorno*. January 20, 1967, p. 17.

¹²⁶ It should not be overlooked the significance of *Il Giorno* actively interviewing student protestors. As we noticed in the last chapter, *La Stampa* rarely interviewed students. The select few interviews that were chosen were often slandered as quickly as they appeared in text.

some extent had joined them, gave legitimacy to the occupation.¹²⁷ The reader would have undoubtedly seen the professors as an authority figure, but also an agent that was working within the institution. If there were internal strife, as well as, external, *Il Giorno* was able to show that the institution must have been faulted in at least some small part.

Spring 1967

The first occupation in late January would continue for numerous days and *Il Giorno* supported the actions of the students throughout the period. On one report *Il Giorno* noted that the students protested because, “Gli studenti protestano perche sono d’accordo con il ministero sulla riforma globale delle universita, ma non nei modi previsti”.¹²⁸ *Il Giorno* tried to represent the students as not completely adverse to the ideas of the Senato Accademico.¹²⁹ They understood that reform was necessary, but they disagreed with the manner in which the senate was trying to structure the reforms. *Il Giorno* moved some of the aggression towards the teachers, who the previous day they had shown in support of the students. *Il Giorno* found that teachers had separate motivations for supporting the occupation that were not completely selfless. *Il Giorno* stated: “The agitation of the students is not in

¹²⁷ *Il Giorno* was using many of the same propaganda techniques that *La Stampa* used, but from the reverse. *Il Giorno* was find more parties that could associate with the student protestors. They were building their membership to prove to the reader that the demonstrations carried some legitimacy.

¹²⁸ Translation: “The students protest because they agree with the ministry’s global reform of the university, but not in the manner provided. Mascardi Marco. “Scioperano per studiare di piu.” *Il Giorno*. January 21, 1967, p. 6.

¹²⁹ Once again, a similarity must be drawn to *La Stampa*. *Il Giorno* was showing that the students understood enough to take into thought the ideas of the Academic Senate. *Il Giorno* was presenting the students as logical and rational. *La Stampa* had done the same thing, but instead they had shown the Academic Senate as the understanding party.

agreement with that of the teachers, who – also- have their motives for announcing that because of the protest they will not have examinations for all of February (at least in the faculty of chemistry), a very comfortable session.”¹³⁰ The teachers were supporting the occupation for other motives; they would not have to give examinations for all of February. This uncovered the notion that the teachers were not concerned with the students and were more occupied with personal selfish goals, a complaint of many of the students.¹³¹ *Il Giorno* had fully galvanized their position in support of the students, unique among many of the newspapers in Italy. The students of the faculty of chemistry soon found support from other faculties in other universities in Milan, as the faculty of architecture witnessed a massive occupation and numerous demonstrations at the end of January and into February.

Mario Zoppelli covered the occupation at the faculty of architecture on January 24th.¹³² Zoppelli claimed that the students had been inspired by an occupation of the faculty that had occurred three years prior to occupation in January of '67.¹³³ According to Zoppelli, that occupation was later followed by occupations in other institutions and “rejuvenate the university system.”¹³⁴ The students were able to rejuvenate the university through a planned occupation in

¹³⁰ Translation: “L’agitazione delgi studenti non fa che affiancare quella dei docenti che – anche essi – hanno I loro motivi per annunciare che per protesta non faranno esami per tutto febbraio (almeno nelle facolta di chimica), una sessione molto comoda.” *Il Giorno*. January 21, 1967, p. 6.

¹³¹Gianni Statera, “Student Politics in Italy: From Utopia to Terrorism,” 657-667.

¹³²Mario Zoppelli, “Architecture torna a bollire.” *Il Giorno*. January 24, 1967, p. 6.

¹³³ The occupations of 1964 are sometimes overlooked by historians. Often times not lumped together with the movements in '68. I am still currently looking for a direct reference to these occupations in secondary sources.

¹³⁴ Translation: “lo svecchiamento delle strutture universitarie.” *Il Giorno*. January 24, 1967, p. 6.

1964 and fell back on familiar tactics when they felt that the university was in dire straits again. He found that students were angry because they were “absolutely unprepared to perform because of our professors.”¹³⁵ In the matter of only four days, *Il Giorno* had managed show the professors as sympathizers, selfish supporters, and unfit instructors. Mario Zoppelli created a couple of interesting perceptions with his article. First, he brought up past occupations at the same faculty that showed the inefficiencies of that institutions as well as the lack of commitment to reform by the academic senate. The university system had these problems for sometime. They were not new to the ‘68ers. He juxtaposed the students, who were fighting for true, democratic reform against those that either were unable to create successful reforms, the academic senate, or those that used the occupation for personal gains, i.e. the professors. This contrast would later be highlighted when the professors turned against the students and voiced opposition to later protesting.

In March, Milan witnessed the close of an occupation at the Faculty of Architecture at the Polytechnic University of Milan. The occupation had lasted fifty-four days and by the end, the students had won a small victory.¹³⁶ The article reported that “after fifty-four days of fighting students yesterday afternoon tore

¹³⁵ Translation: “impreparati nel modo piu assoluto a svolgere la nostra professore.” *Il Giorno*. January 24, 1967, p. 6.

¹³⁶ “Architettura: gli studenti ottengono la riforma.” *Il Giorno*. March 21, 1967, p. 14.

down signs with the words occupied faculty.”¹³⁷ *Il Giorno* proclaimed “the students get the reform.”¹³⁸ *Il Giorno* was clearly sided with the students. *Il Giorno* stated that the students had won the victory. They “got” the reform. *Il Giorno* sounded like they had been rooting for the students all along and once the decision had been made they joyously announced the victory to their readers. This article was among the first to list the accomplishments won by the students during the occupation.¹³⁹ The students wanted a periodic bulletin that reported on the “alto della vita della facolta” or “high life of the faculty. They wanted a complete program that explained all the requirements and courses available, which each student at the university should receive. They required the faculty to be full time so that they would focus on the students and not on their personal projects. Finally, the provisions of the reform required special examinations to be available for students outside the scheduled time for each course.¹⁴⁰ This was a victory for working students who had to hold a job in order to support their education. *Il Giorno* called the victory a “radicale reforma” or “radical reform” and “architecture has changed its face.”¹⁴¹ *Il Giorno* used some of the language that the students had used during their protest, i.e. “radical reform.” By adopting the language of the students. *Il Giorno* helped to create a community between its readers and the students. Readers were exposed to the

¹³⁷ Translation: “Dopo cinquantaquattro giorni di lotta gli studenti hanno strappato ieri pomeriggio I cartelli con le scritte facolta occupata.” *Il Giorno*. March 21, 1967, p. 14.

¹³⁸ Translation: “gli studenti ottengono la riforma.” *Il Giorno*. March 21, 1967, p. 14.

¹³⁹ *Il Giorno*. March 21, 1967, p. 14.

¹⁴⁰ The list of demands was among the first to show up in a daily newspaper not backed completely by new leftist.

¹⁴¹ Translation: “Architettura ha cambiato volto.” *Il Giorno*. March 21, 1967, p. 14.

language of the protestors. A common language was one of the strongest unifiers for building a community of like individuals.¹⁴² By late March, *Il Giorno* had firmly secured their political position during the tumultuous times. They were in strong support of the students and their new radical ideologies. Only a few days later the paper interviewed one of the key figures in the movement.

On March 24th, 1967, Mario Zoppelli wrote an article titled “Peana-shake in Facolta dopo l’occupazione.”¹⁴³ Mario strongly supported the students in their victory against the “consiglio dei professori.” He called it “la vittoria delgi studenti” and praised the students for pushing the council to pass “a series of resolutions aimed at radically reforming the faculty.”¹⁴⁴ He used the same language from the article published on the 21st. He also adopted a theory borrowed straight from the students. He stated that “the crisis of the Italian university is right here, in this state of passivity towards the productive world.”¹⁴⁵ He was commenting of the professors and the university’s lack of concern for preparing Italian university students for the world outside the university. Gianni Statera referred to this phenomenon in 1979 calling universities a “parking place for unemployed labor force. The more access and attendance to higher education, the more the institution is able to fulfill its role as a means of absorbing excess labor power. In addition, especially in the

¹⁴² This theory is developed from Anderson, Smith, and Gramsci. It is at the heart of community building, or more commonly know, nation building.

¹⁴³ Mario Zoppelli, “ Peana-shake in Facolta dopo l’occupazione.” *Il Giorno*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

¹⁴⁴ Translation: “una serie di delibere destinate a riformare radicalmente la facolta.” *Il Giorno*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

¹⁴⁵ Translation: “La crisi dell’universita italiana sta proprio qui, in questo suo stao di passivita rispetto al mondo produttivo.” *Il Giorno*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

humanities faculties, the amount of work expected from students is minimal.”¹⁴⁶

Zoppelli was making the same observation that Statera would make a dozen years later, professors knew their role was not to educate and prepare students, but instead to absorb extra bodies that could not be used in the Italian workforce. Outside observers were not the only people to realize this function of the universities. Mario interviewed Stefano Levi, a student leader at l’architettura del Politecnico di Milano, commented on the lack of practical courses in the university.¹⁴⁷ Levi stated that:

“We - says Stefano Levi - managed to draft legislative reform of the university to give some specific answers to: productivity studies, centralized body of the faculty and the department chair not tied to patronage, having obtained, among other things, a staff of internal students for research and relationships with educators, and the right to study in a practical sense.”¹⁴⁸

Levi comments on the need for productivity studies and a practical sense of study. These were the very same thing that Zoppelli and Statera mentioned from an outside perspective. The university did not have any practical preparation of the students it was instructing. Zoppelli and *Il Giorno* were finding many commonalities to criticize the Italian institution of education.

¹⁴⁶Gianni Statera, “Student Politics in Italy: From Utopia to Terrorism,” 664.

¹⁴⁷ Robert Lumley, *States of Emergency: Cultures of Revolt in Italy from 1968 to 1978*.

¹⁴⁸ Translation: “Noi siamo riusciti a dare alcune risposte precise ai progetti di riforma legislativa dell’universita: produttivita degli studi, organico centralizzato nella facolta e in seguito nel dipartimento, e non legato all cattedra di froma clientelare, diritto all studio in senso concreto, avendo ottenuto, tra le altre cose, un organico di studenti interni per la ricerca e i rapporti con la didattica.” *Il Giorno*. March 21, 1967, p. 14.

Stefano Levi went on to claim that students “need to push forward the political student movement, intervening and controlling the actualization of the deliberations of the Faculty Council.”¹⁴⁹ The fact that Mario Zoppelli choose to include this part of the interview showed that *Il Giorno* was prepared to support the movement in further actions. They were firmly cementing their future position. They were also commenting on the scale of the victory. While it was a victory, there was much more to be done in the movement and the students needed to press the action and build on their early successes. Mario Zoppelli and *Il Giorno’s* decision to interview Levi was also a statement by itself. There were very few papers, and even less owned by people other than new leftists or students, that chose to include interviews from leaders by themselves or without an equal interview from authority figures, such as professors and administrative personnel.¹⁵⁰

Summer 1967

Il Giorno did not unconditionally support the students’ movement, however. They continued to report on the movement throughout the month of April, increasingly presenting a more violent and restless opposition on behalf of both sides, the students and the university. They condemned both sides for resorting to violence to solve issues. Then on May 18th, *Il Giorno* reported on an assembly that

¹⁴⁹ Transation: “occorre spingere avanti il movimento politico studentesco, intervenendo e controllando la fase realizzativa delle delibere del consiglio di facolta.” *Il Giorno*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

¹⁵⁰ Once again, *Il Giorno* was bridging a gap between readers and students. It was almost as if, *Il Giorno* was acting on behest of the students to help win the hearts and minds of the public. As we will see later, *Il Giorno* support becomes less strident, but early on in 1967, *Il Giorno* found many things to congradulate amongst the student movement.

was attended by students from every university in Milan held at the State University on Via Festa del Perdono.¹⁵¹ This article was significant for a number of reasons. First, it showed the continued support that the paper generally gave to the movement and its overall goal. *Il Giorno* called it “un’occupazione simbolica” or “a symbolic occupation.” It was symbolic because it was the first meeting in Milan attended by student representatives from every university.¹⁵² The students showed cohesion, within the city and throughout the nation. The assembly was held in Milan, but was mainly concerned with events and problems in universities in Rome, Turin, and Naples. The article also presented the agenda of the students, which was constructed by the students of the faculty of architecture at the Polytechnic University of Milan. They had held their own meeting the day before to write a list of demands and reasons for the occupation, which was given an indefinite prolongation. They condemned the “anti-democratic authoritarian and repressive tactics, used in the faculties of Rome, Naples and Turin, behavior that has prevented the ongoing debate in the faculties themselves.”¹⁵³ Words such as, “Anti-democratic authoritarian and repressive tactics”, not only represented the views of the students, who gave the quote, but also showed to some considerable extent the

¹⁵¹ “Occupata l’Universita in forma simbolica.” *Il Giorno*. May 18, 1967, p. 19. For more on the occupation at Via Festa del Perdono see: Antonio Longo and Giommara Monti, *Dizionario del ’68: I luoghi, I fatti, I protagonisti, le parole e le idee*(Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1998).

¹⁵² Here again, *Il Giorno* presented the reader with the idea that students had at least a general solidarity amongst themselves. *Il Giorno* was attempting to build a strong united community amongst their readers and the students.

¹⁵³ Translation: “il compartamento antidemocratico autoritario e repressivo usato nelle facolta di Roma, Napoli e Torino comportamento che ha impedito il dibattito in corso nelle facolta stesse.” *Il Giorno*. May 18, 1967, p. 19.

views of the paper.¹⁵⁴ Again, *Il Giorno* was using the words of the students. They were building a commonality between students and the public. By printing this particular quote, *Il Giorno* was acknowledging that the universities' "tactics" were not in any way beneficial to the students they were protecting. The quote also showed that the students wanted to debate the issues with the university administration, but were unable to because the faculties prevented it. The quote attempted to draw considerable sympathy to the plight of the students, who were forced to take extreme measures towards an institution that refused to acknowledge its inadequacies. By showing the stubbornness of the university administration, *Il Giorno* was creating a dichotomy between the administration and the students. Students were projected as willing to negotiate, while the administration was stubborn and unwilling to come to the table to talk.¹⁵⁵

The article did not however show the students as angels completely devoid of fault. *Il Giorno* reported that during the debate held by students from all universities in Milan, a fight broke out between different political groups among the students. The report went as follows:

¹⁵⁴ This article truly brings to light why it is so important to study the language used within the body of the articles. *Il Giorno* was calling upon the readers nationalistic loyalties when they say "anti-democratic." Italy witnessed authoritarian government under Mussolini and the connotation for that held strong feelings for Italians. By linking the university administration to those feelings, *Il Giorno* was able to create a strong dissatisfaction for the administration.

¹⁵⁵ This is an idea I got from Said's *Orientalism*. In order to when over the public, you project yourself as willing to negotiate, even if both sides have no intention to talk. It is calling the bluff of your opponent. All the while the public is categorizing the two sides and deciding which side of the fence they wish to stand.

“The debate, held yesterday afternoon, was lively. It broke up at some point, around 18:15, by a violent scuffle, fortunately immediately sedated. The fight happened when Mr. Lelio Basso of PSIUP, present in classroom, was called to the bench of the Presidency. Students belonging to the right-wing organizations responded immediately by shouting. ‘Go, Go. We don’t want extremists. Other students countered and both groups faced off. Other meeting participants intervened, however, and prevented general fighting.”¹⁵⁶

This section of the article is important, because it shows that *Il Giorno* had not been completely sold on the student movement.¹⁵⁷ This passage would have been counter-productive in gaining sympathy for the students. *Il Giorno* was clearly against any violence, no matter whom it was from. They would continue to take this stand throughout 1967 and 1968.

Fall 1967

While most of the fall was relatively quiet in Milan, like the whole of Italy, a strong undercurrent was building off the momentum that the students had fostered in the first half of the year. Tensions were especially high for one campus in particular, L’Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore located in the heart of Milan.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Translation: “Il dibattito, svoltosi ieri pomeriggio, e stato vivace. E’ scoppiato a un certo punto, verso le 18:15, anche un violento tafferuglio, per fortuna immediatamente sedato. Il fatto e accaduto quando l’onorevole Lelio Basso del PSIUP, presente in aula, e stato chiamato al banco della presidenza. Studenti appartenenti a organizzazioni di destra hanno immediatamente reagito, gridano. Via, via; non vogliamo estremisti. Altri studenti hanno ribattuto, e i due gruppi si sono fronteggiati. L’intervento di altri partecipanti all’assemblea ha pero evitato che il pugliato divenisse generale.” *Il Giorno*. May 18, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁵⁷ Some of this may have been due to the fact that *Il Giorno* was still a young paper and wanted to be perceived a truly unbiased journal.

¹⁵⁸ For more on Sacro Cuore refer to: Ger-Rainer Horn, *Spirit of ’68*; Stuart J. Hilwig, *Italy and 1968*; Catalano. *I movimenti studenteschi e la scuola in Italia*; Nicola Matteucci, *Sul Sessanotto*.

Students at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart were from a more established economic demographic in Milan. Students paid their own tuition and when increases were announced, tensions rose past the boiling point.

By November, students had decided that direct action needed to be taken against the school to reinforce the original function of the university, to educate and advance the youth of Milan. *Il Giorno* reported that frustrations had been building for many weeks prior to the occupation and in an article printed on November 10th; *Il Giorno* reviewed some of the issues that concerned the students during this chaotic time. *Il Giorno* called the situation an “Aria di tempesta” or a “storm”.¹⁵⁹ *Il Giorno* was foreshadowing the upcoming occupation. Never before had students took over buildings in protest against the academic authorities. By calling it a storm, *Il Giorno* was pointing out that this problem had been on the rise for some time and was likely to worsen before anything was resolved.¹⁶⁰ *Il Giorno*, then, went on to list a few of the reasons why the students might protest. As they had done before, *Il Giorno* conveniently left out the issues raised by the university and academic senate. *Il Giorno* reported that the students wanted “internal democracy, control of administration and freedom of opinion, what students consider the instant solution

¹⁵⁹ “Ci sarà occupazione? Alla Cattolica si agitano gli studenti.” *Il Giorno*. November 10, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁶⁰ Here is one of the early points where *Il Giorno* viewed the student occupations as a problem. Even though *Il Giorno* gave support for the movement in Milan on numerous occasions, *Il Giorno* was still part of the media. The media was a mechanism that promoted the growth of consumer capitalism in Italian society.

is a return to activities.”¹⁶¹ *Il Giorno* reported direct student concerns to their readers. *Il Giorno* also mentioned “the problem of rising taxes.”¹⁶² *Il Giorno* was pointing out the issue of raising tuition, a problem that was particularly unique to the Sacro Cuore in Milan since it was one of the few private universities in the country and the best respected in the Lombardy region. Students strongly opposed the raise in tuition. Many sighted that the lack of control over their own education.¹⁶³

The students had decided to hold an assembly to vote on whether or not to occupy the university. After much heated debate, around 1,200 students voted, yes, to occupy and the university witnessed its first student occupation in its history.¹⁶⁴ This event by itself would have been enough to stamp its page in the history books, but the event was only to intensify. The president of the university, Ezio Franceschini, ordered the police to evacuate the university with force if necessary.¹⁶⁵ Never before had police stepped foot onto the grounds of this private institution. While the occupation lasted only a few short hours, it was galvanized into the folklore of the movimenti studenteschi. *Il Giorno* reported that the students

¹⁶¹ Translation: “democrazia interna, del controllo dell’amministrazione e della liberta d’opinione; che gli studenti ritengono di urgente soluzione per la ripresa dell’attivita.” *Il Giorno*. November 10, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁶² Translation: “il problema dell’aumento delle tasse.” *Il Giorno*. November 10, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁶³ Documenti delle lotte Studentesche. *Universita: L’Ipotesi Rivoluzionaria* (Marsilio: Editori Padova, 1968). Tuition hikes were discussed in many of the published journals and documents from the students. Students were angered by the lack of improvement in education that tuition hikes promised. *Il Giorno* did not directly support the movement here, but showed obvious signs of favoritism towards the students and their concerns.

¹⁶⁴ Gerd-Rainer Horn. *Spirit of ‘68*, 81.

¹⁶⁵ *Il Giorno*. November 18, 1967, p. 18.

were protesting against the Board of Directors, the decision making body of the university.¹⁶⁶ According to *Il Giorno*, an ultimatum was given to the students to leave and when they refused the police “penetrated the fence of the university.”¹⁶⁷ *Il Giorno* then went on to show how the police and the rector of the university doubly humiliated the students. *Il Giorno* reported that “the police had intervened to clear the university and promised to file a complaint for trespassing against the perpetrators denying any chance of compromise with the academic authorities.”¹⁶⁸ This statement reflects the bias *Il Giorno* showed against the academic authorities and the police. They claimed that by filing a complaint, after the occupation was forcibly disbanded, a compromise was not possible. Any continued aggression from either side would be the fault of the rector and the police, not the disgruntled students. *Il Giorno* went on to define the occupation. Their definition resembled closely what students had been voicing for many months in 1967: “An occupation is defined as the only democratic solution to the crisis of the university, because of the board’s inability to find a resolution, which accurately understands the positions of the other categories and the public’s opinion.”¹⁶⁹ They defined occupation as the

¹⁶⁶ The students wanted to continue the protest with more vigor against the Board of Directors. *Il Giorno*. November 18, 1967, p. 18.

¹⁶⁷ Translation: “sono penetrate nel recinto dell’universita.” *Il Giorno*. November 18, 1967, p. 18.

¹⁶⁸ Translation: “di far intervenire le forze dell’ordine per sgomberare l’ateneo e la promessa di una denuncia per violazione di domicilio contro i responsabili avevano precluso ogni spiraglio di compromesso con le autorità accademiche.” *Il Giorno*. November 18, 1967, p. 18

¹⁶⁹ “Una occupazione definita come l’unico strumento democratico per la soluzione della crisi dell’universita, di fronte all’incapacità del consiglio di amministrazione di risolverla e al fine di sollecitare precise prese di posizione delle altre categorie e dell’opinione pubblica.” *Il Giorno*. November 18, 1967, p. 18.

“only democratic solution” to the problems the university was having.¹⁷⁰ *Il Giorno*, unlike *La Stampa*, felt that the academic board was the ones who were not in touch with the public and the current platform of education. *Il Giorno* was clearly positioned against the academic authorities. After many months of coverage on the events in Milan, *Il Giorno*'s reports aired a faint resemblance to the voice of the students. They found the board as the incompetent participants in the drama. They used words such as inability, which painted a clear picture of distance and lack of reason to the issues at hand. *Il Giorno*, at the same time, understood the need for a quick resolution to the problems, whether it was from the students or the academic authorities.

The following page in the November 18th issue was a plea to both sides, especially the university system, to find a solution.¹⁷¹ *Il Giorno* saw the major problem of the university as one of overcrowding. They told of the troubling issue of increase to student body. “Since the first time Italian universities were created on a national scale by the Minister Casati, the number of students has increased by more than 70 times that of 6500 when the Italy unified, now at about 450 thousand for this academic year.”¹⁷² The article went then pleaded: “The university can not ignore the problems that this increase involves, if they do not want to see their social role

¹⁷⁰ *Il Giorno* was justifying the students' use of occupation. Over the course of the year, *Il Giorno* had shown that students were willing to compromise and hold discussions, but when push came to shove, occupation was the only option left. *Il Giorno* was explaining to the reader that occupation was the only way to force the issue upon the administration.

¹⁷¹ “L'Universita deve dare al Paese cio di cui ha bisogno.” *Il Giorno*, November 18, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁷² Translation: “Da Quando gli atenei italiani furono ordinati per la prima volta su scala nazionale dal ministro Casati, il numero degli studenti e aumentato di oltre 70 volte: dai 6500 al momento dell'unita d'Italia, al circa 450 mila di questo anno accademico.” *Il Giorno*, November 18, 1967, p. 19.

decline in the face all the needs of future society.”¹⁷³ While *Il Giorno* found the university at fault for occupations and demonstrations, they also believed that the solution would have to come from the university system to end the turmoil. *Il Giorno* believed the situation to be a grave one. They were claiming that the role of the university could dramatically decline in the future. That was a serious claim for a country that had a rich history of university education dating back to before the Renaissance. *Il Giorno* wrote more complaints against the academic administration in their issue a few days later.

On the 21st of November 1967, *Il Giorno* printed another article heavily criticizing the role the university, especially Rector Franceschini, played in the occupation that occurred at l’Universita del Sacro Cuore only a few days earlier.¹⁷⁴ According to *Il Giorno*, “The rector Franceschini refused yesterday to receive the protest committee.”¹⁷⁵ *Il Giorno* was highlighting the fact that it was the Rector’s decision to not hold debates. The article presented the latest actions of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart. A general theme of dissatisfaction with the academic authorities could be detected throughout the piece. *Il Giorno* did two things with this article. First, they placed a large portion of the blame on the university system.

¹⁷³ Translation: “L’universita non puo quindi ignorare i problemi che tale aumento comporta, se non vuoi vedere il proprio ruolo sociale declinare di fronte ale esigenze della societa futura.” *Il Giorno*, November 18, 1967, p. 19.

¹⁷⁴ “Cattolica: gli studenti sono sfiati in corteo.” *Il Giorno*. November 21, 1967, p. 17.

¹⁷⁵ Translation: “Il rettore Franceschini ha rifiutato ieri di ricevere il comitato di agitazione.” *Il Giorno*. November 21, 1967, p. 17.

Second, they realized that the solution most come from the university.¹⁷⁶ This was clearly evident in the following section: “Having highlighted the serious deterioration of internal relations and the inappropriateness of measures and countermeasure forces, the executive council has addressed an urgent appeal for a compromise through the planned meetings of the academic and administrative bodies that takes into account the demands of students.”¹⁷⁷ The line “the serious escalation of internal relations and the inappropriateness of measure and countermeasure force” exemplified *Il Giorno’s* distaste for the actions of the university and the seriousness of the issue that had occurred.¹⁷⁸ This was due in large part to the university’s lack of concern for students and their issues. *Il Giorno* was supporting the student rights without supporting the students directly.

The article from the 21st of November was interesting because of the way it showcased the students to the public. At the meeting held by the executive council, the professors were asked to take part in the decision of punishment for the recent occupation. This section that largely dealt with the students and their punishment used far less threatening language than the section on the executive council. They referred to the recent events as a “confusa situazione” compared to an “il grave

¹⁷⁶ This article truly showed the difference between the students and *Il Giorno*. Even though *Il Giorno* agreed with many of the grievances the students presented to the public, *Il Giorno* still supported a solution that would maintain the working order of society that was in place. They were striving for an internal fix, rather than an external overhaul.

¹⁷⁷ Translation: “Dopo aver messo in rilievo il grave inasprirsi dei rapporti interni e l'inopportunita di misure e contromisure di forza, la Giunta esecutiva ha rivolto un pressante appello perche attraverso le previste riunioni del corpo accademico e degli organismi amministrativi si renda possibile una mediazione che tenga conto delle richieste degli studenti.” *Il Giorno*. November 21, 1967, p. 17.

¹⁷⁸ Translation: “il grave inasprirsi dei rapporti interni e l'inopportunita di misure e contromisure di forza” November 21, 1967, p. 17.

inasprirsi.”¹⁷⁹ The article described the meeting as one to “discuss the disciplinary action threatened against the students who have occupied the university.”¹⁸⁰ *Il Giorno* explained the “disciplinary action” as “threatened against” the students. The students were made out to be the guiltless group even though they were the occupiers only a few days ago. *Il Giorno* went on to print the slogans of the students from a student demonstration: “Democracy within the university, the resignation of the rector of the Catholic University, and opposition to any increase of fees: these are the slogans shouted by students during the parade.”¹⁸¹ By this late date in November 1967, *Il Giorno* was regularly printing the demands and pleas of the students. If an Italian had read and followed the coverage of the student movement through *Il Giorno* with any regularity, they would have undoubtedly understood in some small part the motivation of the students.

Spring 1968

The holidays provided an ease in tension for both sides, although occupations and demonstrations did not cease. After the New Year, *Il Giorno* turned their attention to the escalating disturbances in Rome. Students had amped up their intolerance with the academic situation and were frequently aggressive towards authorities. *Il Giorno* painted the grim picture of the student movement in the early

¹⁷⁹ Translation: “Confused Situation” instead of a “serious deterioration.” *Il Giorno*. November 21, 1967, p. 17.

¹⁸⁰ Translation: “discutera sulle minacciate misure disciplinari contro gli studenti che hanno occupato l'ateneo.” *Il Giorno*. November 21, 1967, p. 17

¹⁸¹ Translation: “Democrazia all'interno dell'Universita, dimissioni del rettore della Cattolica, no all'aumento della tasse: questi i motivi che hanno alimentato gli slogan gridati dagli studenti durante la sfilata.” *Il Giorno*. November 21, 1967, p. 17

months of 1968. On February 24, the faculties of letters and philosophy at l'universita degli stato di Roma were a hotbed of confusion and tension. *Il Giorno* described as "a field of military operations: stairs leading to the Rector's office are crawling with agents and policemen, the square is jammed with trucks and buses of police..."¹⁸² By calling the situation a "field of military operations," *Il Giorno* portrayed the police as the aggressors who sought violence. But *Il Giorno* was not beyond describing the situation inside the occupation as unruly: "Hot assemblies are held in the occupied faculties, where they speak of everything: from the crisis of autonomy for the university, to the breach by the police, from demands for dialogue, to quarrels between students themselves about the rightness or the method chosen to protest."¹⁸³ In this article, *Il Giorno* was not only pointing out the chaos surrounding the university, but the disorder within. Students were fighting amongst themselves. *Il Giorno* was showing, once again, that even though the students may have had good points, they were not united on the best course of action to pursue their cause. This article was a good representation of *Il Giorno's* overall viewpoint of the student movement in Italy. They found many faults on behalf of the university. They gave some support to the students and credit the students at times with making valid criticisms of the system, but in the end were still critical of the

¹⁸² Translation: "la universita sembra un campo di manovre militari: la scalinata che conduce al Rettorato brulica di agenti e carabinieri..." Meucci, Paolo. "Tornano all'attacco gli studenti." *Il Giorno*. February 24, 1968, p. 1.

¹⁸³ Translation: "Nelle facolta occupate si tengono roventi assemblee dove si parla di tutto: dalla crisi dell'universita all'violazione dell'autonomia per l'intervento della polizia; dale richieste di dialogo alle liti, fra gli stessi studenti, sula bonta o meno del metodo scelto per la protesta." *Il Giorno*, February 24, 1968, p.1.

students. The newspaper wanted the solution to come from within the university. In the end, *Il Giorno* wanted to keep in place the working order of society. The working order just needed to be fine-tuned.

Analysis

1967 had been a turbulent year in Milan. Students occupied universities, sometimes for the first time in history. The rectors panicked and called on law enforcement to end occupations, sometimes with violence. *Il Giorno* actively pursued interviews with students and often printed their demands. They tried as often as possible to portray the students as peaceful protestors and the police as the aggressors during clashes. When a reform was passed after days of occupation in late March of 1967, *Il Giorno* reported “gli studenti ottengono la riforma.” The term used was that the students had won the reform, not that the university had given a reform to the students. *Il Giorno* printed that the “only democratic solution to the problem of the university was occupation.” Time and time again, *Il Giorno* presented their readers with a favorable view of the students. *Il Giorno* was not completely blinded by its favoritism for the students. They were quick to point out the factions with each occupation. They reported that students were rarely completely united behind a common goal and were sometimes fighting amongst themselves on the right course of action.

Il Giorno was most consistent in their treatment of forced evacuations. They saw the use of police to forcibly expel students from the faculties as uncalled for and overly violent. They were seen as an invading military force that surrounded the

building and brutishly cleared students from buildings. Along with the police, *Il Giorno* portrayed the university administrations in a negative light. *Il Giorno* went so far as to blame the entire student uprising on the *senato accademico* and the rectors, who in the beginning neglected to consider the students' demands when discussing possible solutions. *Il Giorno* claimed that the role of the university could have declined because of the lack of true reform on the part of the academic senate.

However, *Il Giorno* did not want to see the total overthrow of the university system, like the students. *Il Giorno* urged the universities to find solutions to the issues. They wanted to maintain the structures, established by previous generations and hardships. *Il Giorno* was quick to criticize the academic authorities, but was far from wanting the destruction of the university system. *Il Giorno* merely wanted a reevaluation of the contemporary issues and a fine-tuning of the established order. For this reason, *Il Giorno* maintained its position as a mechanism of the established society. *Il Giorno* may have pointed out a few of the university system downfalls, but it still wanted Italians to participate in the university system with the addition of reform.

Milan, much like Turin, saw its student movements overshadowed after the New Year by the increased tensions in Rome. 1967, however, that was not the end of the student occupations in Milan. Faculties at l'Universita di Stato di Milano and l'Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore were the scenes for heated debates, demonstrations, and occupations that only truly died out in the fall of 1968 when the Milanese workers movement built off the momentum of the students' cause. For

Il Giorno, the attention followed increased tensions to Rome and articles on the movimenti studenteschi milanesi were less frequent and given less glamorous placement in the paper. After the events of March 1, 1968, *Il Giorno* was more cautious, like most other presses, to support the students, having witnessed the violent side of the movement. *Il Giorno* covered the occupations, demonstrations, and debates with frequency and great vigor. It found reason to support a minority group that was clearly pointing out a weakness in the universities and in society, in Milan and Italian Society. The readership might not have been that of the great Italian presses like *La Stampa*, *Corriere Della Sera*, but *Il Giorno* was not afraid to voice their opinions of a turbulent situation that left many questioning what had gone so wrong after two decades of growth.

Chapter IV

L'Unita

Introducing L'Unita

L'Unita offered a different perspective that neither *La Stampa* or *Il Giorno* touched on. *L'Unita* was owned and operated by the PCI, the Italian Communists Party. Everyone involved in the production of *L'Unita* was communist. From 1966 to 1970, Maurizio Ferrara was the editor of *L'Unita*. Ferrara had participated in the resistance against the fascists where he developed many close relationships with powerful Italian communists like Palmiro Togliatti.¹⁸⁴ Ferrara later became the president of the Lazio region for the communist party.¹⁸⁵ During his control, *L'Unita* was quick to criticize the government and state institutions. This stance led to early support for the students and their cause, but the PCI quickly came under attack from new leftists. *L'Unita* veraciously defended the PCI. Over the course of 1967, *L'Unita* changed their position on the student movement. As the movement grew in strength and physical altercations, *L'Unita* increasingly separated itself with the students and new leftists.

¹⁸⁴ For more readings on Ferrara refer to: Giovanni Ferrara, *Il fratello comunista* (Milano: Garzanti, 2007); Marcella Ferrara and Maurizio Ferrara, *Conversando con Togliatti. Note biografiche a cura di Marcella e Maurizio Ferra* (Roma: Edizioni di cultura sociale, 1953); Maurizio Ferrara, *L'Unita. Così vive un giornale. 1948/1972: immagini di cronaca e storia, a cura di Maurizio Ferrara* (Roma: Federazione romana del P.C.I., 1972).

¹⁸⁵ Simon Serfaty and Lawrence Gray, eds., *The Italian Communist Party: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1980).

Spring 1967

In early February, *L'Unita* ran a number of articles that featured the Roman students, along with the professors, protesting against reforms proposed by the Gui Bill. The bill, which limited university admissions and put restrictions on degree programs, especially revolving around the issue of end of term examinations, was largely unwanted by the entire Italian student movement.¹⁸⁶ The picture that accompanied that article featured a large congregation of students and professors. The “manifestazione” or demonstration was organized in “una grande cinema di Trastevere” in Piazza Sonnino and then marched all the way to the Ministero della P.I.E. or Ministry of Public Instruction and Education.¹⁸⁷ Students, assistants and professors marched through the streets of Rome with signs proclaiming “no Gui Plan”.¹⁸⁸ After an hour of protest outside the ministry of Public Instruction, the ministry “has not agreed to receive a delegation of university students and teachers together.”¹⁸⁹ It marked one of the first instances of solidarity between Roman students and professors against the reforms of the Senato Accademico, the legislative body of the University system. *L'Unita* came off as apologetic and friendly to the early movement.

¹⁸⁶William Keach, ‘1969:Italy’s “Hot Autumn”: “What do we want? Everything!”’ *International Socialist Review: Online Edition*. Issue 67 (September-October 2009).

<http://www.isreview.org/issues/67/feat-italy.shtml>.

¹⁸⁷ “Universitari e professori manifestano uniti a Roma.” *L'Unita*. Feb. 9, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁸⁸ Translation: “No al Piano Gui.” *L'Unita*. Feb. 9, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ Translation: “non ha acconsentito a ricevere una delagazione di universtari e di professori insieme.” *L'Unita*. Feb. 9, 1967, p. 2.

The article explained that the students, assistants and professors felt the need to protest because the university administration was “...too often deaf or inattentive to the problems of the society’s schools.”¹⁹⁰ For *L’Unita*, the Senato Accademico was either unaware or uncaring of the concerns that troubled many students and professors. They implemented pointless reforms that only exacerbated the existing problems of the university system. *L’Unita* claimed the administration was “sorda” or “deaf”, which explained why early protest by the students had little success and the reform was still not addressing the actual problems. *L’Unita* reported that “to the violence, students and professors have responded with apologies for responsibility and quietly wished to speak about the bans.”¹⁹¹ *L’Unita* explained that the protestors had become frustrated with their present situation. Even though *L’Unita* ran an apology that showed the students and professors had taken responsibility for the violence, the article showed sympathy for the students because it demonstrated that they were able to recognize their faults and admit them to the public. The article used words like “calma” to describe the protestors’ desire to talk about the bans. This would imply that the protestors were not planning to become violent and wanted to debate the “divienti” or “bans” in a civilized manner. At this early stage, *L’Unita* found the students and their protest

¹⁹⁰ Translation: “...troppo spesso sorda o disattenta ai problemi che si agitano nel mondo della scuola.” *L’Unita*. Feb. 9, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁹¹ Translation: “alla violenza della polizia, studenti e professori hanno risposto con scuso di responsabilito e con calma: hanno voluto parlare discutere il perche dei divieti.” *L’Unita*. Feb. 9, 1967, p. 2.

comforting. They had support from young leftists against a major part of the government.

On the 11th, *L'Unita* reported on an occupation by students at l'universita di la Sapienza di Pisa. Students occupied the facolta di Italiani.¹⁹² The students had joined forces with the assistants to protest against the Gui Plan. *L'Unita* reported that for the student movement in Pisa it was "It reflects a time of difficulty in the student movement..."¹⁹³ The article featured reports on five different movements in five different cities: Pisa, Napoli, Roma, Milano, and Torino. Just by presenting the reader with so many different movements and their tactics, the reader would have mostly likely been confused on the course of action of the student movement as a whole. Also, the physical layout of the article was very choppy and disconnected. It jumped from one movement to the next presenting an idea of discontinuity through the layout. They reported "the division that has occurred does not help anyone and certainly is not conducive to the struggle for democratic reform of the university."¹⁹⁴ *L'Unita* was making it very clear to the reader that the movimento studentesco Italiani as a whole would not have any real results as long as each university had its own agenda. Words like "non giova" or "not conducive" gave the reader the impression that the movement was too divided to have any concrete results on the entire university system. They reported that many students felt that occupation

¹⁹² "Studenti e docenti occupano anche l'Universita di Napoli." *L'Unita*. February 11, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁹³ Translation: "Essa rispecchia comunque un momento di difficota in cui si trova il movimento studentesco..." *L'Unita*. February 11, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Translation: "la divisione che si e verificata non giova a nessuno e sporattutto non giova alla lotta per la riforma democratica dell'Universita." *L'Unita*. February 11, 1967, p. 2.

was not the correct course of action to protest against the reform proposed by the academic senate. According to *L'Unita*, the ORIUP, Organismo Rappresentativo Interfacolta dell' Università di Pisa, had “frequentemente” or “frequently” organized opposition to the occupation and deemed it an “illegale” course of action.¹⁹⁵ *L'Unita*, by the end of February, developed support for the student movement as a whole, but found that with divisions between each city's universities that a victory would have been a tough sell. This, however, did not hinder *L'Unita* from continually supporting the movement, as a whole, and within each city.¹⁹⁶

In March, *L'Unita* reported on the occupation of the Facolta di Architettura at the universita cattolica di Milano. The Catholic University of Milan, a private institution created by the Vatican, had reached the national spotlight.¹⁹⁷ By the 20th, the occupation was coming to an end and *L'Unita* proclaimed that the students had “ottenuta vittoria” in their battle against the administration.¹⁹⁸ *L'Unita* reported that after fifty-five days of occupation the administration had given in to the students and decided to hold hearings that were conditioned by the students and their demands. The students wanted to know where the university's money was being spent and where cuts were being made to the budget. After the occupation the administration gave in, explaining that they “...will be made public the financial

¹⁹⁵ ORIUP was the representative body of the faculty. Not all professors supported the decisions of the ORIUP, but it did represent the majority of professors. Students had one more enemy, the faculty.

¹⁹⁶ It is important to note that there are early signs that *l'Unita* was cautiously distancing themselves from the movement itself. They found faults early and presented them to their readers.

¹⁹⁷ Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976*, 81-82.

¹⁹⁸ Wladimire Greco, “Dalla lotta dei giovani il volto di un nuovo Ateneo.” *L'Unita*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

statements of individual faculties and the institution..."¹⁹⁹ *L'Unita* used language that was similar to the language seen in the student movement. *L'Unita* claimed that there was "no doubt about the crisis of the university system..."²⁰⁰ The article called the university regulations a "crisi" or "crisis". That was a strong word to use to describe the Gui Plan. Many students were calling the planned new regulations unsolving, as we saw earlier. *L'Unita* claimed that "the universities' hierachies essentially nestled on a line designed to mitigate the students issues with 'panacea'..."²⁰¹ "Panacee" or "panacea" comes from Latin and means "a remedy for all diseases, evils, or difficulties; a cure-all."²⁰² Panacea would have been understood to be negative. *L'Unita* was making the point that one bill could not cure the problems of the Italian University system and by attempting to use a "cure all" the Academic Senate was ignoring the students and their complaints. *L'Unita* commented on the universities' hierarchies. The students had long been complaining that the university was made up of hierarchies, which made it next to impossible to accomplish true, total democratic reform. *L'Unita* used the word "attenuare" or "to mitigate". That would imply that the Academic Senate was not truly interested in solving the problems of the students, but instead wanted ease the headache that the students were causing. *L'Unita's* presentation of the facts to their

¹⁹⁹ Translation: "...saranno resi pubblici i bilanci della facolta e dei singoli istituti..." *L'Unita*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

²⁰⁰ Translation: "nessun dubbio sulla crisi degli ordinamenti universitari..." *L'Unita*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

²⁰¹ Translation: "le gerarchie universitarie sostanzialmente arrocate su una linea volta ad attenuare gli aspetti piu studenti con 'panacee'..." *L'Unita*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

²⁰² <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/panaceas>

readers was most certainly sided towards that of the students. In the early movement, *L'Unita* welcomed the extra support for opposition to the ruling government.

Summer 1967

At the end of the semester, the movimento studentesco italiani saw a rise in activism. Students in Naples occupied the facolta di Architettura. The student movement at the State University in Naples was the largest of the student movements in what could be considered the southern half of Italy. *L'Unita* did not often cover occupations and demonstrations from the southern half of the Italian boot, when they did, they covered the students' struggles in Naples. *L'Unita* ran an article on an occupation that ended in violence and injury for many students. What was interesting about the article was not that the students' demands were presented to the public, but instead it was the clearly one-sided representations that *L'Unita* gave of the police that were called in to break up the occupation. On May 11th, *L'Unita's* story was one of seizure and violence at the facolta di Architettura at Universita di Stato di Napoli.²⁰³ Students had occupied a number of faculties throughout the university, but by mid-May, the faculty of architecture was the only occupation to withstand submission. The University administration called in the police to break up the occupation. The students did not resist the police since they knew that it would only worsen the problem. *L'Unita's* kind eye towards the

²⁰³ "La Polizia irrompe nella facolta di Architettura." *L'Unita*. May 11, 1967, p. 2.

students can be clearly seen in this commentary. The students are first presented as nonviolent protestors, who even at the hand of danger did not retaliate against their aggressors. *L'Unita* claimed that “no one has resisted, so as not to compromise further development of the struggle for the development of the University.”²⁰⁴ This line presented the idea of sophistication in the students demonstrated by the understanding that violence against the police would hurt their struggle in the long run. They were able to refrain from violent clashes and *L'Unita* pounced on the opportunity to depict the police as the violent offenders. The first four words of the entire article were “brutal police intervention.”²⁰⁵ *L'Unita* was created a strong contrast between the violent police and the serene students, who wanted democratic reform. In Addition, *L'Unita* reported that the students had wanted to meet with the university administration, but were denied by the administration. *L'Unita* called the action of the University authorities “...showed a staggering stupidity...”²⁰⁶ This further highlighted the contrast that *L'Unita* was trying to demonstrate by claiming that the academic authorities were unintelligent. The students were presented as possessing a wisdom that the academic authorities and police lacked. Instead of fighting, students promised to renew their struggle the following day in front of the administration building.

²⁰⁴ Translation: “nessuno ha opposto resistenza, per non compromettere l'ulteriore svolgimento della lotta per lo sviluppo dell'ateneo.” *L'Unita*. May 11, 1967, p. 2.

²⁰⁵ Translation: “brutale interverento della polizia.” *L'Unita*. May 11, 1967, p. 2.

²⁰⁶ Translation: “...hanno mostrato una sconcertante ottusita...” *L'Unita*. May 11, 1967, p. 2.

Rome witnessed a number of occupations in the month of May, most of which were covered by *L'Unita*. The paper ran two articles in middle May on the 16th and 17th that sympathized with the students' cause and portrayed them as victims to readers. The facolta di architettura at La Sapienza Universita di Roma witnessed tremendous turmoil as students and professors were upset with the problems of the university system. The students were angry because the faculty had decided to hold a lockout.²⁰⁷ The article explained that the students felt that the lockout was "absurd decision" which gave rise to the protest.²⁰⁸ By presenting the opinions of the students to the readers, *L'Unita* clearly favored the students' side. "Absurd" could only have been taken in one way, depicting the teachers' lockout as irrational. The article further featured the students favorably by explaining that the students had shown up to the faculty with the intention to "peacefully hold meetings to discuss the system with the faculty."²⁰⁹ This passage was interesting for a number of reasons. First, it presented the pupils, once again, as a peaceful group who only wanted to discuss the issues with the faculty. Second, it showed that the students had not intended to protest, but were forced to because the professors were holding a lockout and the youth were not allowed to enter the building with "absolute prohibition" by the police.²¹⁰ This prompted a large group of students to go to the head of the faculty, Professor Marconi. *L'Unita* wrote this about the students and

²⁰⁷ "La polizia contro gli universitari trenasei fermati." *L'Unita*. May 16, 1967, p. 2.

²⁰⁸ Translation: "l'assurda decisione." *L'Unita*. May 16, 1967, p. 2.

²⁰⁹ Translation: "tenere pacificamente la riunione per discutere il sistema con cui la facolta." *L'Unita*. May 16, 1967, p. 2.

²¹⁰ Translation: "la proibizione assoluta." *L'Unita*. May 16, 1967, p. 2.

their struggle: “...students who struggle and work to reform the University.”²¹¹ The students were presented as the ones who truly wanted to reform the university, while the professors were standing in the way of democratic discussions.

The article from May 17th was presented in nearly identical form. The entire piece painted the picture of students as victims. The students were demanding an end to the lockout of the faculty of architecture.²¹² As the protest grew stronger, the University Administration called the police to break up the demonstration. The administration claimed that graduate students needed to get back to their studies and that the protestors were interfering with graduate work. *L’Unita* quickly created a dichotomy between the police and the students. This passage from the article by *L’Unita* depicted the scene with vivid imagery:

“They found besieged by swarms of police and carabinieri. Take the police from the faculty!, Liberate the University!, This is our home!, Enough with the greenhouse! Under the slogan of graduate students who wanted to enter in institutions, officials have responded with violence. For three or four times, were hurled furiously against young people who were sitting in the wet rain, determined not to leave until the faculty was opened. The students were severely beaten, thrown down the steep descent in front of the building, while other trucks, with water cannons and teams in full battle armed even machine guns, were made to merge to the ward speedily. Students have endured for several hours, he even managed to release one of their companions who was

²¹¹ Translation: “...gli studenti che lottano e lavorano per la riforma dell’Universita.” *L’Unita*. May 16, 1967, p. 2.

²¹² “Scatenata la polizia contro gli studenti di Architettura.” *L’Unita*. May 17, 1968, p. 5.

taken at the beginning of the event. Of the seven young men arrested and released late at night, three have been reported at large, under the usual charges of outrage and violence to a public official.”²¹³

Students were said to be “they were besieged by swarms of police and carabinieri.”²¹⁴ This was an interesting depiction of the events. The “nugoli” or “swarms” of police created the impression of ravenous insects bearing down on their prey, the students. Furthermore, using the word “besieged” depicted the image of a helpless city about to be overcome by barbarians. Depicting the police as attacking “scagliati con furia contro I giovani” would have persuaded the reader that the police were feeding on helpless youth. They claimed that the students had “endured” for hours. *L’Unita* created a hero effect here by using the word “endured.” The protagonist always must endure before he/she is able to claim victory. That sounded like something that would have been written about a country’s own soldiers in battle. *L’Unita* was clearly favoring the students by printing their chants during the protest: Via la polizia dall facolta!, Universita libera!, Questa e casa nostra!, Basta con la serrata! .

²¹³ Translation: “L’hanno trovata assediata da nugoli di poliziotti e carabinieri. Via la polizia dall facolta!, Universita libera!, Questa e casa nostra!, Basta con la serrata! Alle parole d’ordine degli universitari che volevano entrare negli istituti, gli agenti hanno risposto con la violenza. Per tre, quattro volte, si sono scagliati con furia contro i giovani che si erano seduti sulla strada bagna ta di pioggia, decisi a non allontanarsi finche la facolta non fosse stata aperta. Gli studenti venivano duramente picchiati, scaraventati lungo la ripida discesa davanti all’edificio, mentre altre camionette, altri furgoni con idranti e squadre in pieno assetto di guerra armate perfino di fucili mitragliatori, venivano fatti confluire dal reparto celere. Gli studenti hanno resistito per diverse ore, riuscendo perfino a far liberare uno dei loro compagni fermato all’inizio della manifestazione. Dei sette giovani fermati e rilasciati a tarda sera, tre sono stati denunciati a piede libero, sotto la consueta accusa di oltraggio e violenza a pubblico ufficiale.” *L’Unita*. May 17, 1968, p. 5.

²¹⁴ Translation: “L’hanno trovata assediata da nugoli di poliziotti e carabinieri.” *L’Unita*. May 17, 1968, p. 5.

Fall 1967

Throughout the summer and into the fall semester of 1967, *L'Unita* turned its attention away from the students and occupations and directed it onto the reform policies in the national government and the crisis in Vietnam. Student demonstrations were few and far between during the summer and fall months, with many students waiting for the national government to make its move.²¹⁵ However, as the Christmas break closed in on the year, student occupations received a new string of attention from *L'Unita*. When the l'Universita cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano witnessed a string of demonstrations and occupations in the month of November, *L'Unita* reported the events to their readers. Students had occupied the university for a number of weeks. Students, numbering in the thousands, convened on the 18th to vote to occupy their university.²¹⁶ The university had decided to increase the student fees by fifty percent. As students occupied the university, university authorities were struck with fear and called in the police; the first time a policeman had set foot on the university grounds in its history.²¹⁷ On the 21th *L'Unita* ran an article featuring students, who had gathered and march through the streets of Milan in protest to the police intervention at the Catholic University.²¹⁸ Three thousand students paraded through the streets of Milan to protest against

²¹⁵ Nearly every secondary source on the Italian student movement has a large gap from the presiding in may to the events of late November at the Catholic University in Milan. There was undoubtedly occupations and protest, but scholars have not found them of interest enough to make note of them in any fashion in publication. This is further emphasized by the fact that no real articles of substance emerge in any newspaper article that I have encountered.

²¹⁶Gerd-Rainer Horn, *Spirit of '68*, 81.

²¹⁷ Gerd-Rainer Horn, *Spirit of '68*, 82.

²¹⁸ "Migliaia di Universitari in Corteo." *L'Unita*. November 21, 1967, p. 1.

“repressive measures taken by academic authorities...”²¹⁹ By the afternoon, students had made their way back to the faculty. *L'Unita* expressed their amazement that the students had been able to reorganize so quickly and hold a demonstration of that size in only a matter of days after the forced ending of the occupation. *L'Unita* called it a “...extraordinary collection is clear: a steadfast response to the measure...”²²⁰ *L'Unita* called the “manifestazione” “straordinaria” or “extraordinary.” That showed favoritism to the students. “Steadfast” showed an admiration in the youth, since they were so set in their beliefs that they were able to organize so quickly after such a monstrous event. The students were presented as having a new sense of solidarity. *L'Unita* wrote that “the students responded that if there must be responsibility, then they all must follow the same fate.”²²¹ *L'Unita* presented the students as a responsible group that was willing to take responsibility for their action, but would also not leave a man behind. That was and still is a quality that many found admirable in soldiers on the battlefield. It is a line used often in movies to show the brotherhood and compassion that men in battle can have for their fellow comrade.

L'Unita rarely presented the student movements of other smaller cities and universities during this time, but generally featured less information and more straight facts on the movements' progress. An article from December 2 titled “Gli

²¹⁹ Translation: “le misure repressive adottate dalle autorità accademiche...” *L'Unita*. November 21, 1967, p. 1.

²²⁰ Translation: “...straordinaria raccolta e chiaro: e una risposta fermissima al provvedimento...” *L'Unita*. November 21, 1967, p. 1.

²²¹ Translation: gli studenti rispondono che se vi devono essere dei responsabili, allora tutti loro lo sono, tutti devono seguire la stessa sorte.” *L'Unita*. November 21, 1967, p. 1.

studenti di Cagliari hanno occupato l'Università" presented the reader with a small body of text located at the very bottom of the page below the fold and would have been hard to notice if it wasn't for the large photo that accompanied the text. The text was divided amongst three universities and each featured approximately three sentences. Just enough information to report which faculties were occupied in each city. Three days later, *L'Unita* covered the occupation of the facolta di Agraria. Students there were protesting against the entrance exams that were required of Greek students who wanted to attend a university in Italy. In the same article, four other university occupations are mentioned. Each university occupation was described in brief. In Salerno at the University Magisterium, students wanted more seats in the classrooms and a democratic reform of higher education. In Cagliari, students' efforts were described as "un'energica protesta" against police intervention at the facolta di Lettere. The interesting thing about both of these brief articles was that both gave only the story of the students with little or no mention of police or university authorities. Even though *L'Unita* was only presenting basic details of the events, they were only presenting the demands of the students. *L'Unita* saw an ally or partner in opposition to the Academic Senate and the Italian government as a whole in the student movement.

By December, *L'Unita* had focused most of its attention on the Gui Reform that was proposed to the Italian government. *L'Unita* wrote this about the proposed bill: "Tuesday, the House will begin debate on the law 2314 (Gui-Codignola), which heralded the center-left to public opinion as a democratic reform; in reality it is

proposed to consolidate the existing laws and accentuates the conservative bureaucratic power over universities...”²²² *L’Unita* blamed the bill for an attempt to put in place “conservative bureaucratic power over universities...” For a communist reading this paper, this would be very strong language. Conservative power would have been unacceptable. The article then went on to explain that in Pavia, Cagliari, Turin, and Genoa students and workers were in solidarity against this bill.

The following day, the 4th of December, *L’Unita* ran another article that once again criticized the reform. “The so-called “reform” does not change anything about the current laws and the most significant sections are rejected by the university world.” “Universita occupate. La Legge alla Camera.”²²³ Here *L’Unita* was pointing out that the “reform” was not actually reforming anything, but instead keeping everything in order, just the same as it currently was. *L’Unita* was also emphasizing the fact that most people in the university system did not want the reform. *L’Unita* used the people from inside the system to reject the reform that was supposed to help the system. *L’Unita* brought to the attention the end of the occupation in Genoa at the Faculty of Letters. “...Genoa, the Faculty of Letters, occupied in the night between Thursday and Friday, was cleared today with force by the police.”²²⁴ This statement was interesting because it highlighted the use of force to clear the

²²² Translation: “Martedì, comincerà alla Camera il dibattito sulla legge 2314 (Gui-Codignola) che, sbandierata dal centro-sinistra verso la opinione pubblica democratica come una riforma; in realtà si propone di consolidare gli attuali ordinamenti conservatori ed accentua il potere burocratico sugli atenei...” “Quattro Atenei Occupati.” *L’Unita*. December 3, 1967, p. 2.

²²³ Translation: “La cosiddetta “riforma” non cambia niente degli ordinamenti attuali ed i più ampi settori del mondo universitario la respingono.” *L’Unita*. December 4, 1967, p.1.

²²⁴ Translation: “...Genova la facoltà di lettere, occupata nella notte tra giovedì e venerdì, è stata sgomberata oggi con la forza dalla polizia.” *L’Unita*, December, 1967, p.1.

students from the building. The police were shown here as the aggressors upon the students. The students, who were having a parliamentary debate during the occupation, were forced to evacuate by the police.

On December 5th, *L'Unita* printed another story about the occupation in Genoa. *L'Unita* criticized the police for using force. Students had reformed outside the walls of the faculty and protested against the use of force by the police. "A energetic protest against the police intervention, who chased the students from the Faculty of Letters, voted for by the representative organization of Genoa."²²⁵ First, *L'Unita* portrayed the protest as "energetic," not violent or disruptive. Secondly, after *L'Unita* established the aggressors and group in the wrong, they pinpointed the root of the problem, the representative organization of Genoa. They had called the police to evacuate the students and should have been the group to blame.

In Naples, an occupation had occurred at the Faculties of Architecture and Agriculture. After the students had successfully taken over the faculties, the police were called to break up the occupation. The police, however, were unsuccessful in the attempt to expel the students and resolved to leave without completing their task. *L'Unita* reported a great victory for the students: "Great new day of struggle against the Gui Plan at the Neapolitan Universities: the university was occupied, the police intervened violently, but in the end, were faced with strong resistance from

²²⁵ Translation: "Un'energica protesta contro l'intervento della polizia, che ha cacciato gli studenti dalla Facolta di Lettere, e stata votata dall'Organismo rappresentativo di Genova." "Universita: Occupazione anche a Salerno e a Sassari." *L'Unita*, December 5, 1967, p. 1.

students and had to leave.”²²⁶ *L’Unita* labeled the event a “great new day of struggle.” The students were made into heroes in this article. They had resisted a conquering force and remained firmly entrenched on their ground. The police had even resorted to violence, but to no avail. For *L’Unita*, the students had won a great victory, not only for themselves, but for the whole resistance to the Gui Plan, the reason for the occupation. The police had been reduced to “presidiare” or “garrison” the buildings after their unsuccessful attempt to take control. This article was the last of the article, of significance, printed by *L’Unita* in 1967. *L’Unita* chose to finalize their last big article of ’67 on the Italian student movement with a student victory.

Analysis

L’Unita was a different from both *La Stampa* and *Il Giorno* in many aspects. It was a political magazine of the PCI and therefore had a very specific readership. It was a general purpose or general reader magazine. Those that read *L’Unita* were most likely Italian communists and already supported the ideology of the party. Therefore, *L’Unita* was not trying to convince their readers of which side to support, but instead on how strongly to support it. *L’Unita* also differed because it was concerned with the local student movements like *La Stampa* and *Il Giorno*, who reported primarily on the movements in Turin and Milan, respectfully. This made *L’Unita* concerned with the larger picture and goals of the entire Italian student

²²⁶ Translation: “Nuova grande giornata di lotta contro il piano Gui degli universitari napoletani: l’Universita e stata occupata, la polizia e intervenuta con violenza, ma alla fine, di fronte alla decisa reazione degli studenti, ha dovuto allontanarsi.” “Napoli: occupata dagli studenti la sede centrale dell’Universita.” *L’Unita*, December 12, 1967, p. 2.

movement. While every article reported on specific events in specific cities, *L'Unita* tied them all together with their criticisms of the violence used by the police and the Gui Plan. The Gui Plan, in particular, received large amounts of attention from *L'Unita*, because it was a piece of legislature in a government that the PCI was not allowed to participate in. Therefore, *L'Unita* was always going to criticize any bill drafted by the government to reform the university, it just so happened that the bill was strongly disliked by students, as well as, many with the university system.

L'Unita was unique in the frequency with which they tied the workers to the student protests. Whether or not the workers actually played a key role in the actual occupations or debates held by the students. *L'Unita* portrayed the workers to be a significant factor in the plight of the students. *L'Unita* gave particularly detailed attention to occupations that were concerned with student workers and their rights within the university, like the occupations in late 1967 in Milan. They were undoubtedly catering to their demographic, the communist worker.

Where *L'Unita* found some similarities to *Il Giorno* in particular was its representation of the students. *L'Unita* did not always show the students in a favorable light, but generally sided with the students and their cause. This was especially true when the students had direct conflict with either the university administration or the police. *L'Unita* was particularly critical of the role of the police in the forced evacuations of occupations. This should not come to any surprise when considering the PCI's uneasy past with law enforcement in Italy and their direct connection to the ruling government. Many of the articles featured less about the

students and more about the violence conducted by law enforcement.

The police were represented as an opposing force that was hungry for violence and generally out to ruff up the protestors. *L'Unita* portrayed the student protestors more as an ally against a common foe, the Gui Bill and law enforcement, than a true friend. Since *L'Unita's* main goal was to draw negative attention to the Gui Bill and discredit the government, the fact that *L'Unita* ran stories on the occupations and protests throughout the country actually worked as a strength. While they did not create an intimate, daily story of a particular city's movements, like *Il Giorno* and *La Stampa*, *L'Unita* was able to show a general unrest that was brewing throughout the whole of the country for the social and political situation at the time. *L'Unita* was able to find strength in generality and numbers. After a year of incredible turmoil throughout the peninsula, *L'Unita* reported on student movements across the country and found a common thread amongst them all, a strong resistance to the reform bill proposed by Secretary Gui and total distaste for the police brutality.

Chapter V

Conclusion

1967 was a monumental year because it allowed students to find their own unique voices and gave newspapers the opportunity create a profile of the student movement as whole for Italy and for each individual university. Every university had its own unique student movement. Some found great solidarity with workers. Some wanted a significant voice for themselves. Some wanted more professors for the ever-growing number of students that enrolled every new academic year. Whatever the reason for the protest, Italian students came together and shed light on many issues that troubled the Italian state inside the university and out. But for many Italians, the student protest of 1967 was only a distant trouble that was seen through the pen of the Italian press. With every unique aspect that gave the students so many issues and reasons to rise up, newspapers had equal numbers of projected perceptions about the students. Some, like *La Stampa*, believed the students were at fault. Students had been raised in an era of prosperity and felt entitled to luxurious offerings that Italians of the previous generation would have only dreamed off. Rebellious students were the minority. They opposed an established hierarchy with years of practice at managing the education system. They upset parents and fought with law enforcement all because they did not want to study.

Il Giorno, on the other hand, found the students had some merit in their

complaints. They were not always united or peaceful, but brought up issues that truly plagued the university system and the Italian society as a whole. The students wanted a right to have some control over what they learned in the classroom. They did not want their tuition to increase every year, which made it harder for students to receive an education. Some students merely wanted the professors' first priority to be teaching and not earning money. *Il Giorno* was not utopian in their faithfulness to the students though. They saw many faults among the movement. Students were often selfishly concerned with their own individual or groups' issues and not those of fellow protestors. They fought, sometimes physically, amongst themselves. They did on occasion violently lash out against the police. *Il Giorno* understood that the problems of the university were not solely the cause of the students, but also that of the university administration: teachers, rectors, and government officials. They were often too proud or cocky to listen to the concerns of the students. They too often called in police when a simple open discussion between students and academic officials would have ended month long occupations. *Il Giorno* voiced their concern for the incredible force used by police to expel students, who had shown no inclination for violence. *Il Giorno* was often critical of both sides, the students and the academic authorities, but found more in common with youthful protestors trying to open the eyes of Italians.

L'Unita concerned themselves less with the daily events, instead focusing their attention to larger issues or police brutality and the Gui Bill. Student protest gave *L'Unita* an avenue to highlight the government's lack of successful governance.

The police were a symptom of a repressive government that often looked to physical force to quiet reasonable voices of criticism. The Italian parliament's proposed pathetic attempt to reform the university with the Gui Bill was opposed at all levels, not just by the students, but professors, as well. *L'Unita* supported workers, who tried to get an education after long hours in the factories, only to see their tuition increased or classes cut for the curriculum. For all three presses, the student protests of 1967 were a tool to project the agenda of the owners and editors of each newspaper. *La Stampa*, owned by Fiat, did not want the established order rocked too hard. *L'Unita*, owned by the Italian Communist Party, wanted government turned on its head and for communism to reign supreme. *Il Giorno*, founded by Cino Del Duca and later bought by the oil company Eni, supported reform and centre-leftist politics. Each were motivated by their own goals and aspirations, which influenced the perception that each gave their readers of the student movements they covered.

Today's press may function even more as an agent of propaganda for the ruling parts of society. With the increase in advertisement, newspapers have become a mirror to the corporate structure. They seek financial gains at the expense of their readers. Celebrities and athletes now litter the covers of every magazine and front page newspaper. Whether or not you agree with the philosophies of the 1968ers, they did understand that public opinion is where the power of society lies and the media has considerable influence on public opinion.

Bibliography

Primary

LA STAMPA

- “Studenti occupano l’Universita, Sgombrati a braccia della polizia.” *La Stampa*. February 10, 1967, p. 2.
- “Giornata di tafferugli all’Universita.” *La Stampa*. February 11, 1967, p.2.
- “Gli studenti hanhno sgombrato la Facolta occupata da lunedì.” *La Stampa*. February 17, 1967, p.2.
- Ronchey, Alberto. “Incontri con gli studenti “rebelli” che occupavano l’universita di Roma.” *La Stampa*. February 17,1967, p. 3.
- “Chiuso Palazzo Campana dopo la nuova occupazione.” *La Stampa*. February 19, 1967, p. 2.
- “La Facolta di Architettura sgomberata con la forza.” *La Stampa*. May 12, 1967, p. 2.
- “Fissato per Architettura il calendario degli esami.” *La Stampa*. June 9, 1967, p. 2.
- “A Milano l’Universita Cattolica chiusa e presidiata dalla polizia.” *La Stampa*. November 21, 1967, p. 19.
- “30 Studenti occupano l’Universita: Un apello del Senato Accademico.” *La Stampa*. November 28, *L’Occupazione dell’Universita*. *La Stampa*. December 6, 1967, p. 2.

IL GIORNO

- “Facolta occupata per protest da cento studenti.” *Il Giorno*. January 20, 1967, p. 17.
- Mascardi Marco. “Scioperano per studiare di piu.” *Il Giorno*. January 21, 1967, p. 6.
- Zoppelli, Mario. “Architecture torna a bollire.” *Il Giorno*. January 24, 1967, p. 6.
- Bocca, Giorgio. “Un giornalista interroga l’assemblea degli occupanti.” *Il Giorno*. March 10, 1968, p. 7.
- “Architettura: gli studenti ottengono la riforma.” *Il Giorno*. March 21, 1967, p. 14.

Zoppelli, Mario. "Peana-shake in Facolta dopo l'occupazione." *Il Giorno*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

"Occupata l'Universita in forma simbolica." *Il Giorno*. May 18, 1967, p. 19.

"Ci sara occupazione? Alla Cattolica si agitano gli studenti." *Il Giorno*. November 10, 1967, p. 19.

"L'Universita deve dare al Paese cio di cui ha bisogno." *Il Giorno*, November 18, 1967, p. 19.

"Cattolica: gli studenti sono sfiati in corteo." *Il Giorno*. November 21, 1967, p. 17.

Meucci, Paolo. "Tornano all'attacco gli studenti." *Il Giorno*. February 24, 1968, p. 1.

L'UNITA

"Universitari e professori manifestano uniti a Roma." *L'Unita*. Feb. 9, 1967, p. 2.

"Studenti e docenti occupano anche l'Universita di Napoli." *L'Unita*. February 11, 1967, p. 2.

Greco, Wladimire. "Dalla lotta dei giovani il volto di un nuovo Ateneo." *L'Unita*. March 24, 1967, p. 8.

"La Polizia irrompe nella facolta di Architettura." *L'Unita*. May 11, 1967, p. 2.

"La polizia contro gli universitari trenasei fermati." *L'Unita*. May 16, 1967, p. 2.

"Scatenata la polizia contro gli studenti di Architettura." *L'Unita*. May 17, 1968, p. 5.

"Migliaia di Universitari in Corteo." *L'Unita*. November 21, 1967, p. 1.

"Quattro Atenei Occupati." *L'Unita*. December 3, 1967, p. 2.

"Universita occupate. La Legge alla Camera." *L'Unita*. December 4, 1967, p.1.

"Universita: Occupazione anche a Salerno e a Sassari." *L'Unita*. December 5, 1967, p. 1.

"Napoli: occupata dagli studenti la sede centrale dell'Universita." *L'Unita*. December 12, 1967, p. 2.

PUBLISHED TEXTS

Barone, Massimo. *Libro bianco sul movimento studentesco*. Roma: Edizioni Galileo, 1968.

Catalano, Franco. *I movimenti studenteschi e la scuola in Italia, 1938-1968*. Milano: Il saggiatore, 1969.

Chiarante, Giuseppe. *La rivolta degli studenti*. Roma: Editori riuniti, 1968.

Documenti delle lotte studentesche. *Universita: L'ipotesi rivoluzionaria..* Trento, Torino, Napoli, Pisa, Milano, Roma. Padova: Marsilio, 1968.

Froio, Felice. *Universita e classe politica*. Milano: Edizioni di comunita, 1968.

Galleni, Mauro. *I Partigiani Sovietici nella Resistenza Italiana*. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1967.

Mancini, Federico. "Student Power in Italy." *The American Journal of Comparative Law*. Vol. 17, No.3, Summer 1969, pp. 371-377

Mercuri, Anita. *A morte lo studente*. Milano: S.E.A., 1968.

Viviani, Agostino. *Gli studenti: ieri, oggi, domani: Giustizia e legalita: Gli studenti e le strutture dello Stato, della scuola e della magistratura: un libro per chi non ha compreso il movimento studentesco*. Milano: Libreria Feltrinelli, 1968.

Secondary

Absalom, Roger Neil Lewis. *Italy since 1800: a nation in the balance?* London: Longman, 1995.

Agnew, John A. *Place and Politics in Modern Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Alano, Jomarie. *A life of resistance: Ada Prospero Marchesini Gobetti, 1902-1968*. Thesis: University of Rochester, 2002.

Aldo, Agosti, Luisa Passerini, Nicola Tranfaglia. *La cultura e i luoghi del '68*. Milan: F. Angeli, 1991.

- Ali, Tariq and Susan Watkins. *1968: Marching in the Streets*. The Free Press: New York, 1998.
- Altbach, Philip G. "The International Student Movement." *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2, oct. 1964. Pp. 131-137.
- Amendola, Giorgio. *Lotta di classe e sviluppo economica dopo la liberazione*. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1962.
- Amyot, Grant. *The Italian Communist Party: The Crisis of the Popular Front Strategy*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined communities*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Anderson, Terry H. *Rethinking 1968: The United States and Western Europe*. College Station, TX: South Central Modern Language Assn., 1999.
- Appy, Christian G. ed. *Cold War Constructions: Political Culture of the United States Imperialism, 1945-1966*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.
- Aresu, Massimo. *Rivelazioni e promesse del '68*. Cagliari: CUEC, 2002.
- Asor Rosa, Alberto. *La rivolta studentesca in Italia, Stati Uniti, Germania Federale: documenti delle universita di Torino, Trento, Milano, Genova, Roma, Liceo Parini*. Milano: F. Angeli, 1988.
- Baldoni, Adalberto. *Sessantotto: l'utopia della realta*. Italy: Istituto Luce, 2006.
- Beitter, Ursula E. ed. *Critical Essays on Contemporary European Culture and Society*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2003.
- Bennis, Mohammad. "France: A Journey to Freedom". *1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt*. Edited by Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke. German Historical Institute: Washington D.C., Supplement 6, 2009.
- Boato, Marco. *Il 68 è morto. Viva il 68!* Verona: Bertani, 1979.
- Bobbio, Luigi. *Lotta Continua: storia di una organizzazione rivoluzionaria*. Roma: Savelli, 1979.
- "" . *Le Politiche dei beni culturali in Europa*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992.
- "" . *I governi locali nelle democrazie contemporanee*. Roma: Laterza, 2002.

- Bobbio, Norberto. *Ideological Profile of Twentieth-Century Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Bonsaver, Guido and Robert S.C. Gordon, eds. *Culture, Censorship and the State in Twentieth-Century Italy*. Leeds, UK: Legenda, 2005.
- Bravo, Anna. *A Colpi di Cuore: Storie del Sessantotto*. Roma: GLF Editori Laterza, 2008.
- Briquet, Jean-Louis and Alfio Mastropaolo. *Italian Politics: the center-left's poisoned victory*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007.
- Caesar, Ann Hallamore and Michael Caesar. *Modern Italian Literature*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2007.
- Calleo, David. *The Atlantic Fantasy: The U.S., NATO, and Europe*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University, 1970.
- Camboni, Gianfranco. *PCI e movimento degli studenti, 1968-1973: ceti medi e strategie delle riforme*. Bari: De Donato, 1975.
- Capanna, Mario. *Formidabili Quegli Anni: Nuova edizione con un inserto di 55 fotografie*. Milano: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1994.
- Casella, Mario. *Giornali studenteschi in Italia prima del Sessantotto: il Centro italiano stamp studentesca, 1954-1968*. Lecce: Argo, 1999.
- Castellina, Luciana. *The delegates movement and socialist strategy in Italy*. Balmain, N.S.W.: International Publications, 1968.
- Catanzaro, Raimondo, ed. *The Red Brigades and Left-Wind Terrorism in Italy*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Celant, Germano. *The Italian metamorphosis, 1943-1968*. New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 1994.
- Chalet, Mario. *Formidabili quei Danni!: il '68 non muore mai*. Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 1996.
- Cicioni, Mirna and Nicole Prunster. *Visions and revisions: women in Italian culture*. Providence: BERG, 1993.
- Clark, Priscilla P. and Terry N. Clark. "Writers, Literature, and Student Movements in France." *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 342, No. 4, Autumn 1969. Pp. 293-314.

- Clark, Martin. *Modern Italy: 1871 to the Present*, 3rd ed. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2008.
- Clucksman, Andre Raphael. *Sessantotto: Dialogo tra un padre e un figlio su una stagione mai finita*. Edizioni Piemme: Milano, 2008.
- Colombo, Fausto. *Boom: Storia di Quelli che non Hanno Fatto il '68*. Milano: Rizzoli, 2008.
- Cornils, Ingo and Sarah Waters. *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives*. New York: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Cortese, Luisa. *Il Movimento studentesco: storia e documenti 1968-1973*. Milano: Bompiani, 1973.
- David-Fox, Michael. "Italian Universities under Fascism." *Universities under Dictatorship*. Edited by John Connelly and Michael Gruttner. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005.
- DeConde, Alexander, comp. *Student Activism; Town and Gown in Historical Perspective*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- De Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-century Europe*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Di Scala, Spencer M. *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the Present*, 4th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009.
- Di Scala, Spencer, ed. *Italian Socialism: Between Politics and History*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.
- Dickie, John. *Cosa Nostra*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Drake, Richard. *The Aldo Moro Murder Case*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- "" . "Italy in the 1960's: A Legacy of Terrorism and Liberation." *South Central Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4, Winter 1999- Spring 2000. Pp. 62-76.
- "" . "The Red and the Black: Terrorism in Contemporary Italy." *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3, Political Crises 1984. Pp. 279-298.

- "" . "Decadence, Decadentism and Decadent Romanticism in Italy: Toward a Theory of Decadence." *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 17, No.1, Decadence, Jan. 1982. Pp. 69-92.
- "" . *The Revolutionary Mystique and Terrorism in Contemporary Italy*. Indianapolis, In: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Duggan, Christopher and Christopher Wagstaff, eds. *Italy in the Cold War: Politics, Culture and Society 1948-1958*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1995.
- Farber, David, ed. *The Sixties: From Memory to History*. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1994.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Richard Pilcox, 2004. Originally published in 1963.
- Fasano, Nicoletta and Mario Renosio. *I giovani e la politica: il lungo '68*. Torino: EGA, 2002.
- Fenoglio, Beppe and Lorenzo Mondo. *Appunti Partigiani: 1944-1945*. Torino: Einaudi, 1994.
- Ferrara, Giovanni. *Il fratello comunista*. Milano: Garzanti, 2007.
- Ferrara, Marcella and Maurizio Ferrara. *Conversando con Togliatti. Note biografiche a cura di Marcella e Maurizio Ferra*. Roma: Edizioni di cultura sociale, 1953.
- Ferrara, Maurizio. *L'Unita. Così vive un giornale. 1948/1972: immagini di cronaca e storia, a cura di Maurizio Ferrara*. Roma: Federazione romana del P.C.I, 1972.
- Ferraresi, Franco. *Threats to Democracy: The Radical Right in Italy After the War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Filippelli, Ronald L. *American Labor and Postwar Italy, 1943-1953: A Study of Cold War Politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- Fink, Carole, Philipp Fassett, Detlef Junker. *1968, The World Transformed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Flacks, Richard. "Social and Cultural Meanings of Student Revolt: Some Informal Comparative Observations." *Social Problems*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Winter 1970. Pp. 340-357.

- Flores, Marcello and Alberto De Bernardi. *Il Sessantotto*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998.
- Foot, John. *Modern Italy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- "". *Milan Since the Miracle: City, Culture and Identity*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2001.
- Fouskas, Vassilis. *Italy, Europe, the Left: The Transformation of Italian Communism and the European Imperative*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 1998.
- Fraser, Ronald, eds. *1968: Student Generation in Revolt*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. USA: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gervasoni, Marco. *La penna e il movimento: intellettuali e socialismo tra Milano e Parigi*. Milano: M & B Publishers, 1998.
- Giachetti, Diego. *Oltre il Sessantotto: Prima, durante e dopo il movimento*. Pisa: BFS, 1998.
- Gilcher-Holtey, Ingrid. "France." *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Edited by Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2008.
- Ginsborg, Paul. *Italy and Its Discontents: Family, Civil Society, State 1980-2001*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Giochetti, Diego. *Anni Sessanta comincia la danza: Giovani, capelloni, studenti ed estremisti negli anni della contestazione*. Pisa: BFS, 2002.
- Glucksmann, Andre & Raphael. *Sessantotto: Dialogo tra un padre e un figlio su una stagione mai finita*. Piemme, 2008.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1971.
- Gunther, Richard, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Dimitri a Sotiropoulos, eds. *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Gundle, Stephen and Lucia Rinaldi, eds. *Assassinations and Murder in Modern Italy: Transformations in Society and Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

- Harper, John Lamberton. *America and the Reconstruction of Italy, 1945-1948*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Pantheon Books: New York, 1988.
- Hilwig, Stuart J. "Are You Calling Me a Fascist?: A Contribution to the Oral History of the 1968 Italian Student Rebellion." *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.36, No. 4 (Oct. 2001): 581-597.
- "" . *A Young Democracy under Siege: the Italian response to the student protests of 1968*. Thesis: Ohio State University, 2000.
- "" . "The Revolt Against the Establishment: Students Versus the Press in West Germany and Italy." 1968: The World Transformed. Fink, Carole, Philipp Fassert, Detlef Junker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. P. 339.
- "" . *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Horn, Gerd-Rainer and Padraic Kenney. *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.
- Horn, Gerd-Rainer. *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- I Movimenti Studenteschi e la scuola in Italia: 1938-1968*. Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1969.
- Iacona, Marco. *1968: le origini della contestazione globale*. Chieti: Solfanelli, 2008.
- Keach, William. '1969:Italy's "Hot Autumn": "What do we want? Everything!"' *International Socialist Review: Online Edition*. Issue 67, September-October 2009. <http://www.isreview.org/issues/67/feat-italy.shtml>.
- Kertzer, David and Richard P. Saller. *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*. New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Klimlke, Martin and Joachim Scharloth, eds. *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Killinger, Charles. *Culture and Customs of Italy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005.

- Kogan, Norman. *A Political History of Postwar Italy: From the Old to New Center Left*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981.
- Krishnamurti, J. *Talks in Europe 1968*. Berkeley: Shambala Publications, 1969.
- Kurz, Jan and Marica Tolomelli. "Italy." *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. Edited by Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 84.
- Kurlansky, Mark. *1968*. New York: Ballantine Book: Random House Publishing Group, 2004.
- Lange, Peter and Sidney Tarrow, eds. *Italy in Transition: Conflict and Consensus*. London: Frank Cass, 1980.
- Lanzardo, Liliana. *Cronaca della Commissione operaia del Movimento studentesco torinese: dicembre 1967 – maggio 1968*. Pistoia: Centro di documentazione Pistoia, 1997.
- Leonardi, Robert and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, eds. *Italy: Politics and Policy*. Brookfield, VT: Dartmouth Publishing Company, 1996.
- Levi, Primo. *The Sixth Day and Other Tales*. New York: Summit Books, 1966.
- Longo, Antonio and Giommara Monti. *Dizionario del '68: I luoghi, I fatti, I protagonisti, le parole e le idee*. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1998.
- Lumley, Robert. *States of Emergency: Cultures of Revolt in Italy from 1968 to 1978*. London: Verso, 1990.
- "". *Dal '68 agli anni di piombo: studenti e operai nella crisi italiana*. Firenze: Giunti, 1998.
- "". *Italian Journalism: A Critical Anthology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Mancini, Federico. "Student Power in Italy." *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Summer 1969. Pp. 371-377.
- Mangano, Attilio; Giorgio Lima and Antonio Schina. *Le culture del sessantotto: gli anni sessanta, le riviste, il movimento*. Pistoia: Centro di Documentazione did Pistoia Bolsena: Massari, 1998.
- "". *Le radici del presente: il '68 italiano*. Roma: Sapere, 2000.

- Marwick, Arthur. *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c. 1974*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Matteucci, Nicola. *Sul Sessantotto: Crisi del riformismo e insorgenza populistica nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta*. Roma: Rubbettino, 2008.
- McCarthy, Patrick. *The Crisis of the Italian State: From the Origins of the Cold War to the Fall of Berlusconi and Beyond*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- McCarthy, Patrick. *Italy Since 1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Merkel, Peter H. *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Miller, James Edward. *The United States and Italy, 1940-1950: The Politics and Diplomacy of Stabilization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Moretti, Ugo. *La Ragazza con la Bicicletta: Racconti Partigiani*. Roma: Carucci, 1982.
- Moscatti, Roberto. "Italian University Professors in Transition." *Higher Education*. Springer: New York, Vol. 41, No. ½, Changing Academic Workplace: Comparative Perspectives, Jan. – Mar., 2001, pp. 103-129.
- Nemiz, Andrea. *Italia Repubblicana: 1945-1967*. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1998.
- Orsi, Alessandro. *Il Nostro Sessantotto: 1968-1973, I Movimenti Studenteschi e operai in Valsesia e Valsessera*. Varallo, Vercelli: Istituto per la storia della Resistenza e della società contemporanea nelle province di Biella e Vercelli Cino Moscatelli, 2008.
- Pardo, Piegiorgio. *Il Sessantotto*. Milano: Xenia, 1998.
- Page, Michael von Taugen. *Prisons, Peace, and Terrorism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Passerini, Luisa. *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996.
- Peserico, Enzo. *Gli anni del desiderio e del piombo: Sessantotto terrorismo e Rivoluzione*. Milano: Sugarco edizioni, 2008.
- Quine, Maria Sophia. *Italy's Social Revolution: Charity and Welfare from Liberalism to Fascism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

- Rifkin, Jeremy. *The European Dream: How Europe's vision of the future vs Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/ Penguin, 2004.
- Roberts, David D. *Historicism and Fascism in Modern Italy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Rossanda, Rossana. *L'anno degli studenti*. Bari: Bari De Donato, 1968.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Santarelli, Enzo. *Fascismo e neofascismo: Studi e Problemi di Ricerca*. Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1974.
- Sassoon, Donald. *Contemporary Italy: Politics, Economy and Society since 1945*. New York: Longman Group, 1986.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Scott-Smith, Giles and Hans Krabbendam. *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*. London: Frank Cass, 2003.
- Serfaty, Simon and Lawrence Gray, eds., *The Italian Communist Party: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Simonini, R.C. Jr. "The Universities of Italy." *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, Vol. 40, No. 4, Winter 1954-1955, pp. 563-592
- Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.
- Smith, E. Timothy. *The United States, Italy, and NATO, 1947-52*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Spini, Valdo. "The New Left in Italy." *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 7, No. 1/2, Jan. - Apr. 1972. Pp. 51-71.
- Spotts, Frederic and Theodor Wieser. *Italy: A Difficult Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Statera, Gianni. "Student Politics in Italy: From Utopia to Terrorism." *Higher Education*, Vol. 8, No. 6, Student Activism, Nov. 1979. Pp. 657-667.
- "". *Storia di una Utopia: Ascesa e Declino dei Movimenti Studenteschi Europei*. Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1973.

- Suny, Ronald Grigor. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Suri, Jeremi, ed. *The Global Revolutions of 1968*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007.
- Tarrow, Sidney. *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy 1965-1975*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- "" . *Peasant Communism in Southern Italy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967.
- Travaglia, Sandro. *'68-'69: Materiali di controinformazione e fotografie*. Verona: Bertani editore, 1978.
- Tumminelli, Roberto. *Passate col rosso*. Milano: Baldini Castoldi Dalai, 2008.
- Wall, Wendy L. "America's 'Best Propagandists': Italian Americans and the 1948 'Letters to Italy' Campaign." *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945-1966*. Edited by Christian G. Appy. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 2000, p. 89.
- Welber, Wolff-Dietrich. "The Sixties and the Seventies: Aspects of Student Activism in West Germany." *Higher Education*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Mar. 1980. Pp. 155-168.
- Wollemborg, Leo J. *Stars, Stripes and Italian Tricolor: The United States and Italy, 1946-1989*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990.
- Woolf, S. J. ed. *The Rebirth of Italy 1943-50*. London: Longman Group, 1972.
- Varsori, Antonio. "Italy's Policy towards European Integration." *Italy in the Cold War: Politics, Culture, and Society, 1948-58*. Edited by Christopher Duggan and Christopher Wagstaff. Oxford, UK: Berg, 1995, pp. 48-60.
- Vicentini Orgnani, Ferdinando and Adalberto Baldoni. *Sessantotto l'utopia della realta (movie)*. Italy: Istituto Luce, 2006.
- Vitale, Francesca Luisa. *Maledetto Sessantotto*. Reggio Calabria: Laruffa, 2006.
- Voza, Pasquale. *Il sessantotto a un paso dal cielo*. Roma: Datanews, 1998.
- Unger, Irwin and Debi Unger, eds. *The Times were a changin': The Sixties Reader*. Three Rivers Press: New York, 1998.

Appendix A

Chronology

- **January, 1963 - December, 1963** - Education reforms of the Italian school system, from elementary school to upper secondary education (gymnasium). The gymnasium and technical schools were made more accessible to the masses of Italian society. The result was an increasing rush to the universities especially among people from the middle class.
- **January, 1965 - December, 1965** - Preliminary tests as admissions control to university studies are removed.
- **27.04.1966 - 30.04.1966** - Following student demonstrations during the election of student representatives at the University of Rome, a neo-fascist attack caused the death of Socialist student Paolo Rossi. One Faculty was occupied. In solidarity with their Roman colleagues the students of the new Faculty of Sociology in Trento organize an initial sit-in.
- **March, 1967** - The students of the Trento university organize a “Vietnam Week” which includes several activities such as a photo exhibition, lectures, workshops, and seminars to emphasize their protest against the war.
- **April, 1967** - Student demonstrations in Rome, Pisa, and Trento on the occasion of the visit of US Vice President Hubert Humphrey. At the State University of Milan, students hold their first teach-in against the Vietnam War.
- **June, 1967** - The magazine *Lavoro politico* publishes the “Manifesto for a negative university,” drawn up by the students of the Trento University. Drawing on the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and the “sociological imagination” of C. Wright Mills, they denounce the role of the academic system as an instrument of repression in capitalist societies.
- **01.11.1967** - In Trento students protest against the university reform bill proposed by the Christian Democrat Minister of Education Luigi Gui. Sociology students try to realize the “negative University”, a kind of alternative institution (counterseminars and counterlectures) similar to the experience of the *kritische Univerität* in West Berlin.
- **18.11.1967** - Students at the large Catholic university in Milan (La Cattolica) occupy the university in protest against a tuition increase and old-fashioned lecture methods and exams, and in support of social justice. Mario Capanna, a 23-year-old philosophy student, leads the protests. The working part-time students were the most active protestors. The police clear the buildings without use of extreme violence. The Dean closes the university.
- **19.11.1967** - Students at Cattolica University pass resolutions that condemn the police force used to clear the university campus the day before, and in protest against the decision to close the university.
- **27.11.1967** - In Turin students occupy Palazzo Campana, the main seat of the university. The students protest the university reform bill and want the university to work in favor of a new society. They protest against a decision to move a Faculty from the city to one of the suburbs without giving students a say. Clashes between students and the police result. The police press charges against 487 activists, among them 95 non-students.
- **27.11.1967 - 27.12.1967** - Students at the universities in Trento and Turin occupy their campuses through the end of January 1968. Student riots spread to Milan, Padoa, Genoa, Venice, Rome, Naples and universities in South Italy.
- **09.12.1967** - The students describe academia’s reactions to the occupations as hostile. The students point out structural problems in academia, e.g. professors more interested in research in obscure fields of science not applicable to lectures and syllabus; professors interested in furthering their own careers as writers rather than

- lecturers; and low-paid assistants lecturing, resulting in deficient quality.
- **13.12.1967** - The police are called against the student occupation at the university in Genoa.
 - **January, 1968** - Practically all Italian universities are on strike or have experienced one or another form of occupation before the start of the new year 1968.
 - **08.01.1968** - The first national meeting of representatives of the mobilized students takes place in Turin.
 - **11.01.1968** - The police remove students from the occupied Palazzo Campana at the university in Turin. In Padua the police halt a students assembly. Later that evening, students react by occupying five Faculties.
 - **15.02.1968** - A neo-fascist group throws a rudimentary bomb at the Faculty of Law at the university in Turin. The newspaper La Stampa in Turin starts to attack the student activists and frame them as "red fascist and Mao supporters." The coverage in La Stampa makes some of the same presumptions of the radical activists as the Springer Press in West Germany.
 - **17.02.1968** - The newspaper Corriere della Sera publishes a "Teachers' manifesto." They demand a return to normal and legitimate conditions at the university and an end to occupations by the political extremists. They demand a return to normalcy; this desire is shared by most of the students.
 - **25.02.1968** - In Rome three Faculties (Literature, Physic, Political Sciences) are occupied. The first counterseminars and counterlectures begin at the Literature Faculty on following subjects: the Chinese red guards, the Black Power, the European youth movements, and the relationship between authoritarianism and sexual repression.
 - **26.02.1968** - Demonstration by high school students at Liceo Parini in Milan. A National Coordination Committee for the gymnasiums under control by the militant students at the universities is established.
 - **29.02.1968** - The Dean at the university in Rome refuses to accept changes in the exam system passed by the Faculty of Humanities and Philosophy. When neofascist storm troops clash with movement members, the Dean calls in the police to put an end to occupations of the university. Fifteen hundred police officers participate in the action. Several students are injured.
 - **01.03.1968 - 12.03.1968** - The university in Rome closes because of student occupations.
 - **01.03.1968** - A new phase begins in the student revolt in Italy. There are widespread student riots in the streets of Rome in protest against the events of February 29. Students attack police barriers outside the Architecture Faculty at Valle Giulia. The students throw stones at the police, overturn cars and set them on fire. Official counts list 200 injured, among them 160 police officers. The students demand that the Parliament pass a new university reform plan, and that the Dean at the university in Rome be replaced. Both demands are repeated in the Parliament by the political Left.
 - **01.03.1968** - The Italian press acknowledges that the student unrest is entering a new phase. The conservative right-wing press emphasizes the chaos, while the left-wing press describes a "revolution from the Alps in the North to Sicily in the South." The conservative newspaper Epoca in Rome publishes an article that discusses the reasons for the student riots. The newspaper claims that the students do not want reforms, but a total upheaval of society. Italian neo-fascists provoke fear of new clashes at the universities. Bomb blast outside the American Consulate in Turin.
 - **06.03.1968** - The headmaster of the Parini Gymnasium (Milan) refuses a police intervention to stop the occupation. The following day, the Minister Gui suspends the headmaster of the Parini and lets the police enter the school and 14 other occupied Gymnasiums in the town.

- **07.03.1968** - Student demonstrations in Turin to protest the arrest of other students. Windows are broken in the headquarters of the Fiat-owned newspaper La Stampa. Violent and bloody clashes between students and police last several hours. On the same day there is a strike of the Fiat workers against the retirement system. Students and workers meet on the streets of the town and find common aims in their respective protests. The clashes in Turin, as in Rome, become more and more violent. As in West Germany, the Italian students define the press as their opponent.
- **10.03.1968** - National meeting of all mobilized students in the occupied State University of Milan. The students discuss the development of the protests and the legitimacy of violent action forms.
- **16.03.1968** - Extensive clashes between students and police in Rome. The police block the way of 5000 students in a march to the American Embassy in protest against the American War in Vietnam. The political right wing is mobilizing. Four hundred neo-fascists from North Italy join a similar group in Rome and together take over the occupation of the Faculty of Law at the university in Rome. Left radical students wearing plastic helmets try unsuccessfully to remove the neo-fascists from campus. The police are called. In clashes with different student groups one hundred are injured and among them thirty-four are hospitalized.
- **17.03.1968** - Four thousand students gather at Piazza di Spagna and march to the Faculty of Architecture. The police are waiting and they attack the students. The police brutality in the streets is profound and shocks independent observers. It looks like the police want not only to clear the street but intentionally want to injure and punish the demonstrators.
- **25.03.1968** - Widespread student strikes in Italy. Extensive clashes between students and police in Milan, where the occupants of the State University were driven out early in the morning. Sit-in of students in front of the Cattolica.
- **27.04.1968** - Student riots continue in Turin, Milan, Venice, Bologna and Bari. The students try to block the distribution of newspapers in Venice. The action is a copy of the SDS tactics against the Springer Press in West Germany.
- **28.04.1968** - Demonstration in Rome. Fights between police and students. Sixty are arrested. Lawyers protest against the brutal conduct of the Italian police and claim that the brutality leads to new riots and more student violence. The number of arrests and charges increases dramatically.
- **12.05.1968** - In Turin the relationship between students and workers becomes more organized through the creation of the "League of students and workers" (Lega studenti e operai). Its aim is to build a solid basis for the relationships between the students' and workers' movement in order to drive their protests and actions to one common goal: the fight against capitalism, the premise of all forms of oppression.²²⁷

²²⁷ For the complete Italian student movement chronology and other 1968 European chronologies please visit 1968 in Europe – Online Teaching and Research Guide.
<http://www.1968ineurope.com/index.php/chronologies/index/8>