Drivers of Extremism: Global Political Antagonisms reproduced in Cypriot and Italian Insurgencies

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Abstract:

To analyse the external and structural drivers of 'extremism', this paper applies the insights of Social Movement Theory to David Rapoport's thesis on 'waves of terrorism' (from historically situated Terrorism Studies research), then applies the combined model to empirical cases of insurgent mobilisation in Cyprus and Italy.

David Rapoport's 'waves of terrorism' thesis (2002) broke new ground in Terrorism Studies by noting historical epochs of political violence. Rapoport explored how militant organisations (and their supporters) appear in ideological clusters, dating from the 'anarchist wave' of 1880-1920s, to the 'anti-colonial wave' of the 1920s-1960s, to the 'leftist wave' of the 1960s-1980s, to the current 'religious wave', which began in the late 1980s. Critics have raised concerns about the strict boundaries between Rapoport's waves and his terminology (the 'religious wave' might be better described as an 'anti-globalisation wave', to encompass both right-wing and jihadist mobilisation). However Rapoport enabled researchers to conceptualise epochs of political violence around ideological commonalities.

To update Rapoport's theory, and render it useful for the study of structural drivers of 'extremism', I will combine it with techniques from Social Movement Studies, suited to exploring meso-level dynamics. The paper explores the growth of radical dissent during the Cyprus Emergency (1955-60) and the Italian 'years of lead' (1969-88). It shows how global political antagonisms (decolonisation; the Cold War) shaped each mobilisation. Social Movement Theory helps us to understand how global contentions (decolonisation; bipolarity; globalisation) aided the diffusion of ideological frames between unconnected actors, via 'frame entrepreneurs' who translated global ideas for the local context. Movement leaders embedded local struggles in global clashes to increase their salience. As such, the paper points to global politics as one driver of contentious politics locally.

Introduction

Militant groups emerge in historical clusters. The contribution of David Rapoport's 'four waves' thesis to Terrorism Studies is that it highlights the salience of particular ideologies, at particular points in history. As he shows in the article, the history of modern terrorism can

be divided into four epochs: the 'anarchist wave' of 1880-1920s, to the 'anti-colonial wave' of the 1920s-1960s, to the 'leftist wave' of the 1960s-1980s, to the current 'religious wave', which began in the late 1980s (Rapoport 2002).[1]

What are we to make of these ideological life spans, where a belief system dominates militancy for twenty to forty years but then loses its popularity? Rapoport offers little explanation of the 'waves' he identifies – noting only that the duration of each wave corresponds roughly with a human lifetime, and that the ideas which inspired parents rarely retain that capacity for their children (Ibid). Rapoport's imprecision about the mechanics of ideological transmission leaves the impression that ideologies are 'contagious', somehow motivating struggle by themselves.

But as Soule points out, the allusion to 'contagion' as a vague mechanism for the transfer of aggressive impulses is outdated and pathologizes collective action (Soule 2004). References to 'contagion' in early studies of collective action have been replaced by studies of diffusion – most commonly the mechanisms by which social practices or innovations flow between actors in a larger system (Ibid: 295). This paper speaks to *indirect* mechanisms of diffusion, where actors in Cyprus and Italy had little, or no, direct interaction with similarly motivated organisations in other nations. International media is usually understood as a mechanism of indirect diffusion – but such media was less developed during the Cypriot insurgency (and even controlled by the colonial administration to restrict the flow of news), so it is unlikely to have played a significant role in the diffusion of anti-colonial mobilising frames[2]. That leaves 'shared identification' (McAdam & Rucht 1993) between international resistance movements to explain the indirect diffusion which leads to Rapoport's 'waves'.

While 'mutual admiration' between movements enabled the diffusion of similar motivational frames, this paper argues that global political antagonisms also structured rebellious mobilisation. Underneath each of Rapoport's 'waves' is a particular global fissure – including decolonisation struggles against the hegemony of European empires; Cold War bipolarity; or struggles of cultural and national 'purity' against globalisation. These contexts – and the burning injustices endured by populations on the wrong end of them – contribute strongly to the diffusion of diagnostic/prognostic frames (Oliver & Johnston 2000; Tilly & Tarrow 2007; Snow & Benford 1998), their adaptation to the local context, and mobilisation.

The diffusion of diagnostic and prognostic frames between movements in each wave was not a simple matter of transference and adoption. Rather, significant alignment work was undertaken in both cases to embed frames within local contexts. The Cypriot enosis movement adapted decolonisation frames (which highlighted the necessity of national

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[1] Mockaitis provides a useful critique of the neatness of Rapoport's waves, pointing to groups which exceed his classifications (Mockaitis 2008: 37-8).

[2] The concept of frames is drawn from linguistic studies of interaction, and points to the way that shared assumptions and meanings shape the interpretation of events (Oliver & Johnston 2000). Framing theory can be understood as a social-psychological take on ideological transmission in social struggles, but is an incomplete reckoning with the complexity of ideology itself.

independence) for their demand *to accede into* the Greek nation – rather than being independent. And the Italian leftist movement adapted Marxist ideology around the example of the partisan resistance to fascism during WW2, narrating it within a pre-existing frame of movement identity. Of course, state repression also had an important triggering effect on mobilisation (Tarrow 1998).

So, while direct and indirect mechanisms of diffusion are important to mobilisation, we must not underestimate the adaption work needed to convincingly situate diagnostic frames in the local context. The noted ideological commonality of violent movements in each 'wave' is a product of this frame-alignment work[3], where similar explanations for unjust situations (frames) revolved around the shared global context. Through this process, global political fault-lines left their mark on local struggles for justice – while also providing much affective stimulus.

Methodology

The empirical data used within this paper is drawn from two periods of fieldwork in the Republic of Cyprus and Italy, between 2009 and 2010. During this time, the researcher interviewed ex-militants from *EOKA* (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) who undertook a militant campaign against British colonial rule between 1955-59, and Italian leftist militants who participated in the 'years of lead' mobilisation (1969-1988). Sixteen *EOKA* fighters and twelve Italian militants were interviewed, using semi-structured interview methodology – which enables a more free-flowing discussion, where the interviewer can respond to topics raised by the interviewee. The Italian militants belonged to the organisations *Brigatte Rosse* (the Red Brigades); *Prima Linea* (the Front Line); and *Proletari Armati per il Comunismo* (Armed Proletarians for Communism).

The interviewer used local graduate students in Italy and Cyprus as translators for the interviews, and tried to ensure the greatest possible balance between first-generation and later generation members of longstanding Italian organisations. Financial constraints placed limits on the duration of the fieldwork and thus the numbers of ex-militants interviewed.

Finally, interviewees were located through *EOKA* veteran's associations in Cyprus alongside snowballing techniques used to obtain access to non-affiliated ex-fighters. Italian ex-militants were located by using internet search engines to cross-reference the names of fighters (found in secondary literature and primary source material) with the names of local co-operatives (social initiatives which provide employment to ex-convicts, including ex-militants).

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[3] Frame-alignment is the process by which interpretative schema are brought together in harmony, effecting mobilisation (Snow *et al.* 1986).

The data obtained from extended conversations with these twenty-eight protagonists has been analysed through the application of Social Movement Theory categories of diagnostic and prognostic framing, diffusion, as well as situated in historical literature to identify the broader political dynamics upon which these movements drew.

Drivers of Insurgency – Cyprus

Overview

The Greek-Cypriot insurgency of 1955-59 occurred while Cyprus was a colony of the British Empire. An estimated 371 British servicemen were killed by *EOKA* fighters, and vice-versa, while hundreds of Greek-Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot civilians also lost their lives. *EOKA* was involved in more than one thousand incidents – including military style ambushes, throwing bombs, and assassinations (Alimi *et al.* 2015: 100). The leadership role played by the Cypriot Orthodox Church in the insurgency, and the failure of political methods to achieve independence, led to widespread support for *EOKA* in Greek-Cypriot communities – ensuring their survival against the British Army.

The Westminster Government responded to the 'Cyprus Emergency' with draconian measures which included capital punishment (including nine executions for the possession of firearms) and the mass detention of over 3,000 Greek-Cypriots in camps. The insurgency provoked consternation from political actors including the United Nations, the Greek state, the Turkish state and the British Parliamentary opposition. It was resolved in 1959 through the London and Zurich agreements, which created a power-sharing constitution for Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots on the island (with the British, Greek and Turkish states acting as 'guarantors'). The *EOKA* insurgency increased the costs of British colonial possession of the island to such an extent that Britain withdrew, and Cyprus became an independent state in August 1960. However, inter-communal violence and strife led to a Greek-sponsored coup d'état in 1974 (which ultimately failed) and the invasion of the island by Turkey (which led to the division of the island into the Republic of Cyprus and the unrecognised 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus).

Drivers of Insurgency: Aligning Decolonisation Struggle with Accession to Greece

To begin this analysis of the *EOKA* insurgency, we must first note how deeply uncomfortable the language of 'extremism' would be in this context. British politicians and journalists of the era spoke of the insurgency as a terrorist campaign driven by Greek fanaticism, a tone which carries over even into today's journalistic reflection on the Cyprus conflict (Rayner 2009). Such discourse does not distinguish between the unsavoury acts perpetrated by *EOKA* against civilians and the internationally recognised legitimacy of struggle against colonial occupation (United Nations 1960), castigating all with broad brush-stroke remarks about fanaticism. As such, the terminology of 'extremism' will be dropped from this analysis

of anti-colonial subversion and rebellion (while noting that the rights of civilians executed by *EOKA*, and interned by the British administration, were brutally disregarded).

A fundamental driver of the Greek-Cypriot rebellion was the ability of the movement's leaders to bring the global context of decolonisation struggle together with historical Hellenic narratives of identity. The leaders of the Cypriot rebellion did not frame British intransigence towards Cypriot independence as a contemporary obstacle, but the continuation of a long historical path towards 'enosis' (national union with Greece). This path began many centuries ago and navigated many periods of occupation.

This alignment of the decolonisation struggle with historical epochs of subjection still framed the thoughts of many interviewees from the *EOKA* organisation. When asked the individualised question 'why did you join *EOKA?*' they responded by situating their personal experience within events of previous centuries – long before they were born:

> "You must remember that Cyprus is an island which, since the beginning of the world, has always been Greek. When there was the effort to liberate Hellenism from the Turkish yoke, Cyprus was excluded. The British took over from the Turks […] I had this model as a paradigm: the 1821 Greek liberation struggle, and I believed at some point we were going to do something like that" (Interview with Sophoulis Karlettides 2009)[4]

> "It was a centuries old situation; people were ready for this revolution […] In all my books, I have all the revolts that took place from 1191 until 2004 – against the first British rule (Richard the Lionheart), against the Franks, against the Ottomans, and against the British. 800 years of resistance! (Interview with Yannis Spanos 2009)

The global political environment of decolonisation struggles was framed through a historical reading of Greek-Cypriot identity politics and destiny. This frame-alignment happened under conditions where movement leaders felt threatened by the expansion of British governance. The Cypriot Orthodox Church had for many centuries steered their communities as Greek-thinking, Greek-feeling denizens, in opposition to their Ottoman occupiers (1571-1878), as a way to maintain status under Ottoman rule. The Ottoman Empire took a fairly laissez-faire attitude towards the religious education of its subject communities. But when Cyprus was transferred to the British Empire as a protectorate (1878-1923) the religious leaders of the Greek-Cypriot community began to face new challenges to their authority. British rule brought with it many techniques of modern governance, including educational and secular political apparatuses which attempted to remould citizens as 'productive' members of the Empire. The appointment of an Englishman in a position of control over educational policy on the island provoked heated concern about 'De-Hellenisation' under the British mandate (Heath-Kelly 2013: 29). The island's Governor, Stubbs, referred to the British effort as

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[4] Interviewees were often insistent that I use their real names, when writing about their stories, to ensure authenticity. However in the wider project from which this paper is drawn, some participants are anonymised at their own request (Heath-Kelly 2013).

providing 'training in Western civilization' which would begin from 'the introduction of an English atmosphere' into secondary education (Rappas 2008: 367).

Fearing dispossession of their educational tools to create Hellenic subjects, the Cypriot Orthodox Church began its own efforts to secure the education of the Greek Cypriot community as Hellenists (Loizos 1975; Markides 1977; Vanezis 1974: 68). They fostered the 'enosis' ('union with Greece') movement which promoted the Hellenic narrative of Cyprus' rightful place within the Greek polity (through ethnicity), to counter British claims to, and administration of, the island.

Political and legislative mechanisms on the island proved incapable of bringing change, or responding adequately to the demands of the population. The semi-democratic 'Legislative Council' during the Protectorate period was balanced between representatives of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities (with British appointees also service on the council) (Alimi *et al.* 2015: 99). Despite Greek-Cypriots making up around 80% of the island's population, they were unable to use political mechanisms to drive change towards an enosist-goal.

This frustration erupted in the enosis riots of 1931 – when a Church-led rally for political union with Greece led to riotous insurrection. The British government responded by implementing direct rule from London and introducing draconian bans on free association and freedom of speech[5]. This heavy-handed approach temporarily stalled the mobilisation of enosis demands on Cyprus. But as Alimi *et al* (2015) show, the Second World War and the formation of the United Nations brought global recognition to liberal standards of independent, free politics. The era of decolonisation began. The enosis movement was able to re-group, reinvigorated by the success of de-colonisation movements in the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Iran and Egypt. Its leaders were able to successfully combine three mobilising frames – combining the diagnostic interpretation of the problem (British intransigence); the prognostic frame of the solution (participation in global decolonisation struggles to attain enosis); and the motivational trigger for violence (the betrayal of promises to liberate Cyprus after WW2).[6]

In Social Movement Theory, the motivational frame is a device used by leaders to encourage immediate action. If accepted by the audience, the narrative conveys the urgent need to pursue solutions to the political problem – often through armed struggle (Snow & Benford 1988). The motivational frame often revolves around a political event, interpreted to represent a significant betrayal or breach of the rules by the state (della Porta 1995). In Cyprus, 15 of my 16 *EOKA* interviewees told me that one moment made them determined

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[5] Any personal advocacy in favour of enosis, whether written or spoken, constituted sedition and was punishable by up to five years imprisonment. Newspapers carrying such advocacy could be, and were, suspended for up to three years (Alastos 1960: 43).

[6] In Social Movement Theory, a diagnostic frame involves identifying a problem and apportioning blame; a prognostic frame identifies strategies and tactics to resolve the injustice; and a motivational frame provides activists with compelling reasons for the immediate necessity of action (Snow and Benford 1988).

to take up arms: the moment the British Parliament said, in 1954, that Cyprus would 'never' become independent:

> "In their country, the minister of colonial affairs said – this was very important – said 'never, *never,* would the situation of Cyprus change'. That 'never', it was like 'BOOM' – an explosion […] the only way was to fight. We'll fight demanding our aim and we'll see. I believe the British are responsible for the revolution. They led us to it" (Interview with Thassos Sophocleous 2009).

> "It was not only myself who was swept towards [the air of freedom] – all the Cypriots and also all the counties all over the world were swept towards. The believed that the British, the Americans, the Russians and the French would give freedom after the Second World War. Because after the Second World War, you don't belong to the British, the French. All the people all over the world, they want their freedom after the Second World War, because they see the time has come to be free [… But] If they tell you that *never* you will have your freedom, you have lost everything." (Interview with Andreas Angelopoulos 2009).

Once movement leaders had aligned the global decolonisation movement with the Greek-Cypriot cause, this 'never' was the spark which triggered the armed struggle. It convinced leaders and activists alike that no amount of peaceful demonstrations and referenda would bring independence to Cyprus.

The Anti-Colonial Wave, Frame Alignment and Cycles of Contention

The Cypriot Orthodox Church was able to combine the historical Hellenic narrative of Cypriot identity with the contemporary decolonisation wave and the international endorsement of independent national politics (United Nations 1960). While the two may seem at odds with each other (the use of independence rhetoric to secure the subjection of Cyprus to the Greek state), the enosis movement's leaders aligned the narratives of ethnic origin, decolonisation and a democratically chosen future for Cyprus (meaning: accession to Greece).

All the insurgencies within Rapaport's anti-colonial wave made global politics manifest locally: the post-war delegitimisation of empires clashed visibly with the maintenance of colonies by the victorious powers, inspiring social movements worldwide to challenge the victors for their freedom. The most fascinating aspect of the enosis movement was that Greek-Cypriots did not simply adopt the ideological frame of national independence used in other anti-struggles. Rather, the movement's leaders integrated this powerful independence narrative within pre-existing (and juxtaposed) ethnic identification with Greece. *Instead of agitating for independence, the enosis social movement agitated for national self-determination which would manifest in political union with the Greek state*. To be blunt, they advocated the replacement of one international master with another.

This idiosyncratic campaign helps us to reflect on the external, and meso-level, drivers of the mobilisation. The leaders of the enosis movement in Cyprus harnessed the global

contention surrounding decolonisation, tying its normative salience and force to their pre-existing Hellenist campaign. The religious leaders of the movement became 'frame entrepreneurs' – who aligned the global decolonisation movement with the local context of a social movement, who thought of themselves as ethnic descendants of the Greek state.

Frame-alignment is the process by which interpretative schema are brought together in harmony, effecting mobilisation (Snow et al. 1986). Grievances don't exist without interpretation – so movement leaders work to harmonise the portrayal of grievances, producing a compelling diagnostic and prognostic framing of the causes of strife, which then results in the mobilisation of followers. The leaders of the enosis movement skilfully aligned the post-war decolonisation narrative with their prior frames of 'Greek belonging', providing a compelling – and apparently internationally evidenced – account of the injustices suffered by the Cypriot people.

This local manifestation of the anti-colonial wave was the work of frame entrepreneurs, but it also relied upon the heavy-handed repression of peaceful activism by the British state. 'Cycles of contention' refer to the dynamic interactions between protest movements, other social organisations and states, where activism affects the political opportunities available to other social organisations but can also increase repression by states (McAdam *et al.* 2001: 65-66). Competition for political space between organisations, and between the social movement and the state, leads movements to either radicalize or moderate (Ibid). The contentious cycle of politics will only end once movements are exhausted, sectarianized or co-opted.

To conclude, the structural drivers of the Cyprus insurgency include the repression of peaceful activism by the British administration, and the skilful alignment of the enosis campaign with the global decolonisation movement.

Drivers of Insurgency – Italy

<u>Overview</u>

After the conclusion of the anti-colonial wave of militancy, leftist groups became the most prominent source of rebel violence. The late sixties saw leftist violence emerge in Italy, West Germany, Spain, the USA and Japan. In Italy, a particularly intense struggle between leftist organisations and the state occurred between the late 1960s and late 1980s – known as the 'anni di piombo' (years of lead) because of the number of shootings which took place. However, some scholars object that this term silences the right-wing, state sponsored violence of the era which predominantly used explosives rather than bullets (Hajek 2010). Indeed, the fraught period saw intense escalation between left-wing social movements (who used small arms and kidnapping methods) and right-wing paramilitary groups used by the state to bomb banks and train stations, presumably to discredit the left-wing agitators in

the public's view (Cento Bull 2007; Silj 1979). By the years 1977-79, over 2,000 terrorist incidents were recorded per year in Italy (Pisano 1987: 37). That equates to seven per day.

The anni di piombo are remarkable due to the extreme popularity of extra-parliamentary leftist politics during this time. This popularity of socialist and communist agitation must be understood through the prism of modern Italian history. Italy emerged from World War Two with an array of political factions vying for its future: Marxist, Catholic, radical interventionist and liberal (Lamberton Harper 1986: 4). However realpolitik in the post-war era saw the implementation of the vast Marshall Plan in Europe[7], where the United States provided funds to restore the destroyed continent and immunise it against the charms of Soviet influence. Italy was particularly targeted for U.S. assistance, given that it perched precariously on the border between the Soviet and American spheres of influence. The United States made an alliance with the centre-right in Italian politics, ensuring that they maintained electoral power – even when Communist candidates appeared to out-poll them in 1948[8] (Pedaliu 2003: 58-9).

The Cold War context saw Italy maintain centre-right governing coalitions and remain in the U.S. sphere of influence, despite possessing the largest communist party in Western Europe throughout the 1950s. Italy remained perched on the fault line dividing their respective empires, pulled in both directions simultaneously. As one interviewee, Maurice Bignami (a leader of *Prima Linea,* an organisation responsible for more than twenty assassinations during the anni di piombo) explained:

> "Italy in those years was considered as a state without a nation, in the sense that was a state without a flag – on the borders of the two blocs. The Soviets would like Italy to be destabilised, to threaten the other bloc, as well as the NATO side wanting Italy to be destabilised because Italy had the biggest communist party of the Western world" (Interview with Bignami, 2010).

Sociologically, the rapid industrialisation of post-war Italy resulted in the mass migration of southern populations to the industrial centres of the north – creating a climate of frustrated ambition for those working in the giant auto plants of the 'northern triangle' (Milan, Turin and Genoa) and within the massively underfunded university system (della Porta 1995; della Porta & Tarrow 1986).

Mirroring events in other European nations, the summer of 1969 boiled over in the 'hot autumn': where students and industrial workers organised massive strikes which paralysed Italian commerce and provoked widespread anxiety about leftist extremism (Ginsborg 1990: 307). The strength of this extra-parliamentary activism only increased when, owing to

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[7] The European Recovery Program ('Marshall Plan') saw the United States provide $12 billion in economic assistance to Western Europe in 1948, equating to roughly $100 billion in today's money.
[8] In 1948, the U.S. responded to the likely election victory of the Cominform-linked Italian communist party with a barrage of covert and overt interventions (Pedaliu 2003: 58-9). Socialist and Communist parties were removed from electoral coalitions.

longstanding U.S. financial inducements for political moderation, the Italian Communist Party accepted democratic principles in exchange for participation in government coalitions. Alienated from traditional political representation, the mass movements of the extra-parliamentary left intensified their demonstrations – receiving heavy-handed policing which killed seven demonstrators between 1970-75 (della Porta 1995: 60). Sergio Segio – a leading militant in the *Prima Linea* organisation – viscerally demonstrated this point to me when we spoke. He pulled a newspaper clipping out from a desk drawer, showing how his friends brain had been partially beaten out of his skull by police at one such demonstration (Heath-Kelly 2013: 84).

Within this powder keg, the Italian state began its 'strategy of tension' – a series of mass casualty bombings on trains and in public spaces, designed to disrupt public support for the extra-parliamentary left (who, it was thought, would be blamed for the outrages) (Cento Bull 2007). The arrest of Giuseppe Pinelli for supposedly bombing a bank in Milan in 1969 quickly resulted in his suspicious death, 'falling' from a window in the police station.

In response to these aggressions from the state, and the generalised climate of political repression of leftist struggle, the extra-parliamentary left split into public and clandestine factions. The underground organisations, such as *Brigate Rosse* and *Prima Linea,* began using assassinations and kidnappings to take revenge on the establishment (including Police Commissioner Calabresi, who they held responsible for Pinelli's murder) and to foment revolution.

Frame Alignment in Italy: Mobilising Workers and Students against Capitalism

How did Italy's position on the fault-line between the U.S.' and USSR's spheres of influence translate into widespread mobilisation against capitalism? To answer this question, we first need to recognise that several generations of leftist organisations existed. The near-twenty year length of the mobilisation, and the efficiency with which insurgents were arrested and imprisoned, meant that different dynamics of contention apply between the early, mid and late stages of the struggle (Alimi *et al.* 2015; della Porta 1995).

The early stages of the struggle show the framing work undertaken by movement leaders, to situate the need for extra-parliamentary struggle in both international politics and the post-war history of Italy. However later in the struggle, organisations adopted violent methods for more pragmatic reasons – such as competition with other groups, and inter-personal ties at the micro-level.

The original turn to militancy was underwritten by decades of framing work, where ideologues of the extra-parliamentary left resuscitated the legacy of Italian resistance to fascism during WW2. The legacy of resistance to Nazi occupation remains the cornerstone in Italian self-narration. The story of partisans taking up arms to avenge the crimes of the Nazi regime was a narrative with which the state could counteract the shame of its complicity in

the Mussolini era (Ginsborg 1990: 70-1). The legacy is the centrepiece in hegemonic narrations of modern Italian statehood. Frustrated by Italy's 'blocked democracy' in the 1960s, activist movements began contesting how the state sanitised and appropriated the partisan resistance.

In 1968, the student movements began prominently attacking this sanitised appropriation of the partisan struggle. In massive demonstrations, they reclaimed the 'red' legacy of the Resistance struggle – arguing that the partisan fight for socialist government had been betrayed by post-war institutions (Foot 2009: 153-4). This framing captured the feelings of a generation, encapsulating their dissatisfaction with post-war politics in Italy and their feelings of betrayal. A Brigate Rosse militant, Anna Cotone, explained to me that:

> "When I was a teenager, I was at school and I thought that in Italy the Resistance movement against fascists during the Second World War had been betrayed [...] I had a teacher, an old woman, during the last year of Middle School: Anna Nitti. She was the sister of Fausto Nitti – who was a figure, an old militant, of an important organisation of the anti-fascist Resistance in Italy, called 'Justice and Freedom' [...] She was teaching me about how all the things in Italian society were gained, like votes for women, rights of prisoners, the freedom of unions, popular schooling and university. All of these things were gained by Italian society thanks to the anti-fascist movement [...] In the book *Senza Tregua* [Without Truce] [...] I found the figure of Dante Di Nanni, who gave his life to avoid the German fascists getting a Resistance safe house. In my mind now, I am not sure if the history is quite so [...] The most important thing, then and now, was the myth. A myth is something in which you believed, even if you are not sure if the stories about this person are true [...] in this kind of faith, I thought I could do the same thing." (Interview with Anna Cotone 2010, shortened from Heath-Kelly 2013: 33)

Fostering a myth about Italian heritage and the red Resistance provided a place of convergence for leftist persons, ideas and groups. In an unprecedented era of referendums and struggles over social change[9], the 'betrayed Resistance' narrative provided diagnostic and prognostic frames which shaped activists' understandings of the era. In Social Movement Theory, a diagnostic frame involves identifying a problem and apportioning blame; a prognostic frame identifies strategies and tactics to resolve the injustice; and a motivational frame provides activists with compelling reasons for the immediate necessity of action (Snow and Benford 1988).

The 'betrayed Resistance' narrative clearly identified the persons responsible for sanitising Italy's radical heritage for their own ends. It also provided 'prognostic' framings of the appropriate response: reclaiming the legacy of the Resistance as Red, and re-awakening Italian struggles for justice so that the radical potential of the Resistance could be achieved.

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[9] The period saw intense social struggle between progressive and conservative forces on issues of divorce law and abortion (Ginsborg 1990: 366-9; Passerini 1992: 182-7).

So threatened was the state by widespread demonstrations which promoted different understandings of Italian political destiny and legacy, that it authorised the bombing of a bank in Milan by neo-fascist proxies – to stain the reputation of the leftist activists. Inadvertently, the Italian state proved to the leftist movements that their diagnostic and prognostic understandings were correct (many persons within the state were directly connected to the fascist era and continued its legacy). The bombing of the bank in Piazza Fontana also provided a motivational frame for the movements, underlining the immediate need for stronger, militant action to defend the mobilisation against state violence (della Porta 1995: 163; Heath-Kelly 2013: 74-81).

Sergio Segio, a leader of the *Prima Linea* organisation, explained to me how these diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames aligned in the decision to adopt armed struggle:

> "Three main reasons led to the choice of using arms: as a defence against authority – because the state, through bomb attacks was trying to establish a [fascist] regime here […] then it was because of ideology – we wanted to make a revolution, we were against dictatorship. We saw ourselves as a Resistance and we wanted to continue the Resistance that was stopped in 1945; then also the third element was that we considered ourselves as a vanguard of the worker movements […] the aim of the Resistance should have been not only against fascism or the regime, but also a process towards transformation." (Interview with Sergio Segio 2010; shortened from Heath-Kelly 2013: 89)

For the founders of the main militant organisations of the anni di piombo, the 'betrayed Resistance' frame situated international political clashes and Italy's domestic political turmoil in an understanding of their radical heritage. These international clashes were fierce at the time, with U.S. organisation of a coup d'état against Allende's democratically elected socialist government reaffirming the conviction that the Italian movements couldn't rely on democratic methods alone, they must prepare to fight (Interviews with Nicolotti and Solimano 2010, see: Heath-Kelly 2013: 109-10). Their diagnosis was that the political and social ills of Italy were caused by the betrayal of the Resistance struggle, consolidated by the sponsorship of the U.S., and that the only solution was to reclaim and reassert the radical progressive trajectory of the Resistance with force.

Drivers of 'Extremism' – Then, and Now

Empirical analysis of insurgencies from the anti-colonial and leftist waves demonstrates the significance of global political antagonisms as a context through which diffusion occurs. Rapoport's theory inadvertently points to a crucial structural dynamic in international mobilisation: the existence of global contentions in which local struggles can productively situate themselves.

This relationship is not purely one of frame diffusion; the cases explored here demonstrate the intense work needed to align those frames within local political cultures and demands – sometimes drastically adapting their meaning. The *shared experience* of a global political antagonism (bipolarity; decolonisation) was equally important to diffusion. Such shared experience lent incomparable weight to the claims made about justice in a movement's diagnostic and prognostic frames. If these narratives were not true, why would other movements around the world be mobilising for the same cause?

In Cyprus and Italy, social movements responded to profound social and political injustices – both identifying powerful international actors' interference in their domestic politics, propping up the states which acted violently towards them. Their struggles were *provoked by local injustices,* but movement leaders then profited from *aligning global political antagonisms with local struggles and cultures*. In Cyprus, ethnic narratives about the continually colonised, but originally Greek, island fighting for freedom were positioned within the global decolonisation frame. Movement leaders were able to align diagnostic and prognostic frames of ethnic identity and imperial dispossession, relying on provocative moments of British intransigence to motivate participants towards armed struggle.

In Italy, similar frame-alignment was evident between the narrative of the 'betrayed Resistance' and global political struggles between the USSR and U.S. during the Cold War. The overturning of democratically elected socialist governments, and the maintenance of European client states, by the U.S. was framed as the problem which would continue to thwart the destiny of Italian socialism. The frame-alignment conducted by the extra-parliamentary movements was so successful in mobilising protestors that the state felt compelled to use violence against them. The bombing of Piazza Fontana confirmed the beliefs of many activists that the Italian government was infested with rogue fascist elements and that armed methods were needed to rectify the political situation.

Without these alignments of global and local frames, it is doubtful that the insurgencies would ever have recruited successfully. But what lessons does the past hold for the present? Do we see similar frame-alignment processes used by the leaders of jihadist and right-wing movements to link local struggles to global antagonisms?

To answer this question, we must first correct the titling of Rapaport's fourth wave of modern terror. Many scholars have objected to the naming of the fourth wave as the 'religious wave' on the grounds that it inappropriately stigmatises religious doctrine and practice (Gunning & Jackson 2011). The rise of right-wing terrorism also casts significant doubt on the identity of the 'wave' as religious.

But if we reflect on the global antagonism which situates contemporary politics, we can identify that both jihadist and right-wing movements often frame their struggles as responses to globalisation (Barber 2001; Fukuyama 1992). ISIS may have been influenced by the Western intervention in Iraq, but they also owe much to Al Qaeda's doctrinal

innovations. Al Qaeda made a doctrinal leap from identifying the near enemy (local rulers in the Middle East) as the threat, to realising the significance of the 'far enemy' – the superpowers which sponsor and protect local rulers in exchange for oil and regional influence (Gerges 2009). After participating in the insurgency against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the mujahedeen returned to their home nations expecting to be treated as liberating heroes, and to be integrated into politics. Their exclusion from the corridors of power was linked to longstanding U.S. dominance within the region, and frame-entrepreneurs like Bin Laden began castigating the U.S. (who once aided the mujahedeen in Afghanistan) as a satanic influence (Ibid). The prognostic response to the globalisation of American power was framed as international violence, designed to trigger the intervention of Western forces in another long Afghan battle, defeat them like the Soviets, and establish a caliphate in the aftermath.

Like the anti-colonial and leftist waves before them, Al Qaeda identified the maintenance of client states by global powers as the root of local injustices – situating local grievances within a global antagonism.

Globalisation is also central to contemporary right-wing frames of political threat (Mammone *et al.* 2013; Sommer 2008). Frame-entrepreneurs connect the local grievances of activists to the enablement of migration by liberal elites, who are supported by legions of 'globalists'. The international consensus on liberal values comes under attack by these movements who, like supporters of jihadism, promote (exclusionary readings of) their own cultures as a response to 'globalism'.

Given the success of Trump's 'America First' rhetoric in the U.S., and the Leave campaign's 'take back control' rhetoric in the UK's referendum on EU membership, we might agree that contemporary political struggles articulate their diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames around an identification of pervasive, globalised liberalism. Our politics is situated in this global antagonism and so is, for now, our experience of contestation – both within and outside political institutions.

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