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Title: Victim or Martyr?

The divergence of Italy and Germany's memory cultures post-WWII

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“È morto perché questa Repubblica viva” – “Moro died so that Italy could live”

Corriere della sera 10 May 1978

Great men, heroic acts of martyrdom, sacrifice for the nation; in Europe this monumental mode of remembering is reminiscent of a bygone era, of the First World War and beyond. The European cosmopolitan memory culture – self-reflexive, victim-centered, focused on regret – is hailed as a homogenous European mode of remembering that has replaced the monumental mode.

This research argues that this representation fails to pay attention to a country that remains fixated on its national martyrs: Italy. The opening quote features on an Italian broadsheet following the death of Italian president Aldo Moro; it reveals the enduring dominance of the martyr paradigm in Italy, with its heritage in the Catholic symbolism that is integral to Italian culture. In this research, a comparative discourse analysis of memory construction in Germany and Italy, chosen due to their shared history during WWII, contrasts the two countries’ modes of remembering from the 1970s to the present day. This paper asks the question: how did Italy and Germany’s memory cultures diverge following WWII? I argue that whilst Italy has continued to employ the monumental mode of remembering and the martyr paradigm, Germany has transformed into a nation of cosmopolitan memory centred on victimhood.

There has been much scholarly attention in recent years on both European collective memory and Italian secular martyrdom, the two areas of academia which this research builds on. However, the inherent contradictions in the outcomes of this research have been overlooked to date. Much of the research on European collective memory concurs that a homogenous cosmopolitan European mode of remembering exists. This neglects the enduring use of the martyr paradigm in some European countries. By contrasting Italy and Germany’s memory cultures, this paper calls into question claims of homogeneity. Given the scope of this research, it would be unrealistic for the paper to definitively refute existing European collective memory scholarship. Rather, the aim is to provide an exemplary case study that prompts more nuance in the field of European collective memory through further research on contemporary European secular martyrdom and the influence of religion on collective memory.



Figure 1: Collective memory case studies (Left: Aldo Moro held hostage (Scala Archives 2016), Right: Hanns Martin Schleyer held hostage (PE Author 2007))

The exemplary case study selected for this research compares the collective memory of the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro in 1978 during the *anni di piombo* (The Years of Lead) in Italy, and the collective memory of the kidnapping and murder of Hanns Martin Schleyer in 1977 during the *Deutscher Herbst* (The German Autumn) in Germany (Figure 1). These were violent periods of domestic terrorism in both countries' histories. Aldo Moro had served two terms as Prime Minister and was one of the most popular leaders in the history of the Italian Republic, the Father of the Italian Centre-Left. Hanns Martin Schleyer was also an influential figure as President of two powerful commercial organizations and a prominent member of the Christian Democrat Party (CDU), however he was well-known for having a Nazi past. The similar nature of their kidnapping provides a comparative case study: both men were kidnapped by left-wing terrorists in the late 1970s and held hostage for many days before being shot, and the motivation for their deaths stemmed from what they represented: the establishment. However, whilst Schleyer was memorialised as just one of the many victims of the period, Moro was glorified as a national martyr that brought unity to the Italian people. Externalized memory is a mediated phenomenon; thus, a discourse analysis is employed to examine the construction of martyrological and victimhood narratives. Due to the diverse mediums of memory construction, a wide range of data is analysed: speeches, media, photographs, commemorative memorials, and films. My lack of fluency in German is a limitation of the research; a native German speaker assisted me with understanding the nuances in the language used for my translations, whereas the Italian translations for the research are my own.

The next chapter situates and justifies the research question through a literature review, primarily using scholarship in the areas of European collective memory and martyrdom. Following this, Chapter 3 operationalises the research question: outlining the key concepts, theoretical framework, and analytical approach. Chapter 4 offers a historical overview of the legacy of WWII in Germany and Italy, and an outline of the period in question; the *anni di piombo* and the *Deutscher Herbst*. The following analysis is divided into two chapters: Chapter 5 deals with the immediate memory construction following the deaths, using the funerals and photographs in the media as its two data sources. Chapter 6's focus is how the national collective memory of the events has evolved since, through an analysis of memorials and film. The final chapter pulls together this broad analysis to draw conclusions on the mode of remembering employed in each case and the implications for future academia on European collective memory.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Europe experienced a major shift in memory culture post-WWII in response to the horrors of the Holocaust. This change in approach to memory was heightened in the 1960s, when Germany's collective memory of the war was tied to a "politics of regret" (Olick 2007) which developed into a "cosmopolitan memory culture" (Levy and Sznajder 2002) that spread across Europe. The literature demonstrates that the cosmopolitan approach to memory is perceived by many academics as being homogenous across all Western European nations (Nienass 2013, Rigney 2012). However, one nation does not fit into this narrative and has often been overlooked by the literature: Italy. Italy's memory culture has remained tied to its long history of Catholic symbolism; it privileges martyrs over victims, sacralisation over regret (King 2019). The aim of this literature review is to discuss the existing scholarship on European collective memory. This discussion demonstrates the necessity for a dialogue on the homogeneity of European memory culture. The second aim is to situate the research within the existing scholarship on secular martyrdom and within European cultural and memory studies. The literature is organised into four key themes: European collective memory; Martyrdom; the role of Catholicism in Italian culture; and the collective memory of The Years of Lead and The German Autumn.

European Collective Memory

Much has been written on the development of a so-called "European" mode of remembering. This memory culture has been intrinsically tied to a "politics of regret", a term coined by Jeffery K. Olick to describe a new framework that arose in Germany to confront its past misdeeds, commemorating their past through a victim centred approach (Olick 2007). The literature continually side-lines Italy's exceptionalism in this supposedly homogenous European mode of remembering.

Nienass uses memory theory to trace the shift in Europe away from a heroic national narrative to a cosmopolitan memory culture of (Nienass 2013). Whilst I agree with Nienass that there is a plurality of memory discourse regarding the *content* of what is remembered (Nienass 2013, 52), his contention that there is a shared *mode* of remembering, which he calls a "European ethics of memory" (Nienass 2013, 41) requires more nuance. Whilst Nienass identified an important pattern, he presents European memory culture as homogenous, overlooking the enduring monumental mode of remembering in Italy and some Eastern European nations.

Ryan has pursued how this cosmopolitan European mode of remembering is compatible with national memory cultures (Ryan 2014). I concur that the homogenous memory culture does not simply imprint on national collective memory, there is always some interaction between the two (Ryan 2014). Ryan investigates the complex nature of the symbiosis of cosmopolitan memory and the existing national memory (Ryan 2014, 511). This research builds on her work by exploring how cosmopolitan memory has interacted with the national memory cultures in Italy and Germany.

In contrast to Neinass, Rigney splits Europe into East and West and she argues that whilst the German “politics of regret” spread in Europe, this memory culture was adopted primarily in Western Europe (Rigney 2012). It is unclear whether Italy is included in Western Europe. Foot argues that scholars’ oversight in clearly categorising Italy reflects the enduring uncertainty of Italy’s identity: “Italy seems to be lumped in with southern Europe when the subject-matter is her economy, or her society, and with Western Europe when the political system is under discussion” (Foot 2014).

Wüstenberg has explored Germany’s memory culture, touching on the *Deutscher Herbst* (Wüstenberg 2019). She discusses the formation of a “professional” memory culture in Germany, that avoided emotional modes of collective memory (Wüstenberg 2019). However, Wüstenberg does not analyse how the figures of the German Autumn were remembered. Her research focusses on collective memory of WWII and the Cold War.

Winter also discusses memory regimes in Europe and the development of a European cultural memory, looking particularly at the concept of martyrdom within this shift in the mode of remembering (Winter 2017). He uses a discourse analysis of the memory culture of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust to analyse the rise or decline of martyrdom to frame trauma. Whilst his method is useful in terms of analysing how memory and martyrdom is constructed through discourse, he follows the same homogenisation of Western Europe, arguing that martyrdom has been in decline in Western Europe since WWII (Winter 2017). However, his data analysis only includes Germany, France and Britain, overlooking Italy entirely.

There has been an increasing amount of scholarly attention on Europe’s memory culture in recent years, with particular attention paid to the possible link between a shared memory culture and a strengthening of the European shared identity. The literature demonstrates that the focus has been primarily on Germany’s development of a cosmopolitan memory culture that has become homogenous across Europe, or at least Western Europe. How the “politics of regret” (Olick 2007) has interacted with Italy’s memory culture has yet to be addressed.

Martyrdom

The monumental mode of memory is a way of remembering that glorifies the past and focuses on the construction of a heroic national narrative through the martyr paradigm (King 2019). According to King, a monumental mode of memory has continued to dominate in Italy whereas a cosmopolitan, victim approach to memory has replaced it in Germany and other European countries (King 2019). Martyrdom is a common trope of the monumental mode of remembering, glorifying a heroic individual and their sacrifice for the nation. Whilst the study of martyrdom is typically located within Religious Studies, secular martyrdom is a topic that is gaining momentum in academia, particularly within Cultural Studies. Nevertheless, it remains side-lined in comparison to the discourse on religious martyrdom, as Mitchell's *Martyrdom: A Very Short Introduction* demonstrates (Mitchell 2012). This short book offers an informative descriptive historical overview, tracing martyrdom as a concept from its origins, through early Christian communities, to the present day. However, it does not discuss secular martyrdom in any great detail, with only José Rizal mentioned as an example (Mitchell 2012, 103).

In more recent years, Italy's secular martyrs have become the subject of a growing number of articles, such as *State Martyr. Representation and Performativity of Political Violence* by Scolari (2018) and *Italy's secular martyrs* by King (2019). As with this research, Scolari focuses on the case of Aldo Moro and analyses the way a sacrificial narrative emerged and how it was influenced by Christian martyrology (Scolari 2018). This research uses a similar methodology to Scolari, who uses a discourse analysis and situates his investigation "at the intersection of the disciplines of the study of religion and political philosophy" (Scolari 2018, 15).

King's research builds on Scolari's, using case studies of the murder of Giacomo Matteotti (1924) and the Primavalle Arson (1973) to examine the role of martyrdom in the construction of collective identity in Italy. King uses a range of methodologies including discourse analysis, iconography analysis, semiotics, and oral history interviews. Italy is unique in its prevailing monumental mode of remembering and in Italy the dead are "remembered as martyrs where elsewhere they may be victims" to compensate for a lack of justice in periods of Italian violence (King 2019, 12). This paper is strongly influenced by King's research outcomes and her methodological approach to defining and analysing martyrdom.

Scolari and King's articles focus on their case studies and do not consider the exceptional place of this monumental mode of remembering within the European context; they accept unquestioningly that Italy is different. Neither consider *how* a monumental memory culture has endured in Italy and

whether Italy's Catholic culture aided its survival. An answer to this could prompt further research into other European nations with comparable memory cultures and Catholic cultures. Moro's martyrological narrative must be placed in its wider context, in order to question why this narrative was constructed for him, and not for similar figures in other countries, such as Hanns Martin Schleyer during the German Autumn.

Italy's Catholic Culture

Italy's religious history is long, and religion and politics have frequently been conflated, meaning that the rhetoric and iconography of martyrdom are a familiar part of Italian culture (King 2019, 4-5). There is ample research that discusses Italy's Catholic culture within the broader context of its history or its politics, alongside analysis of the state of contemporary Italian Catholicism. For example, Garelli discusses how tied Catholicism is to Italian identity, culture, and tradition, which results in it playing a significant part in the nation's shared history and memory (Garelli 2007). Ferraris' research also follows similar themes, with a similar thesis, supported by in-depth statistical analysis of the role of the Catholic Church in Italian society (Ferrari and Ferrari 2014). Both authors argue that whilst the number of churchgoers in Italy is falling, the Catholic culture in Italy endures. These findings are important to this research, and the authors do place Italy's Catholicism within the broader European context to demonstrate that the potency of these symbols in Italy today does make it exceptional (Ferrari and Ferrari 2014, Garelli 2007). Foot also discusses Catholicism in his book *Modern Italy* (Foot 2014); he argues that the Church has often had to fill in for the state's failings, which has granted it continuing influence. He also discusses Italy's frequent use of civil religion and, like King, argues that civil religion, which includes martyrdom, has been employed by the state to deal with its divided memory (Foot 2014). From this literature, it is clear that Italy's dominant Catholic culture still influences many areas of society, yet the current literature does not discuss its influence on Italy's mode of remembering.

The *anni di piombo* and the *Deutscher Herbst*

The collective memory of the *anni di piombo* and the *Deutscher Herbst* has received some scholarly attention, particularly regarding the films that have dealt with these divisive national memories (Antonello and O'Leary 2009, Gilliom 2016, Berendse and Cornils 2008, Haynes 1999, Passmore 2009). The articles that focus on Moro generally frame this collective memory through a narrative of sacrifice, whereas the articles on the collective memory of the German Autumn focus more on the counter-culture nature of the films. This research contrast the periods to understand how in Italy, a

martyr figure emerged, yet in Germany, despite some efforts from the German government, the uniting force of a national martyr remained out of reach.

Conclusion

Whilst collective memory has been the topic of a wide range of scholarly research, the degree of homogeneity in European collective memory is not addressed. Europe has become increasingly focused on a mode of remembering that is secular, historically accurate and focussed on the victim; the enduring use of the martyr paradigm in Italy within this context should not be overlooked (King 2019, Nienass 2013). This research encourages nuance in these discussions and an acknowledgement of the enduring monumental mode of remembering in some European nations. The methodology employed to achieve this is outlined in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Intro

This paper analyses the collective memories of Aldo Moro and Hanns Martin Schleyer. A discourse analysis is employed to identify the construction of a martyrological narrative or a narrative of victimhood. Germany and Italy were selected for the analysis due to their shared history - both countries experienced fascist dictatorships during WWII and the Moro and Schleyer affairs were extremely similar. The research puzzle encompasses how two countries with such shared history now have such contrasting approaches to memory. Germany is the homogenizing force of cosmopolitan memory; Italy is the resister. The chapter begins by discussing the key concepts and how they will be employed in this research followed by a discussion of the theoretical framework. Finally, the chapter expands on the method of analysis and data collection.

Concepts

The “martyr” versus “victim” dichotomy is crucial to define, as both are charged and contested terms, with no objective divide. This research is based on the understanding that these labels are ascribed to the person after their death, therefore any categorization is dependent on the narrative that is constructed. One person’s victim can be another person’s martyr. This research operationalizes King’s definition of the difference between victims and martyrs (2019) for the framework of the analysis, summarized in Table 1. Whilst victimhood emphasizes the futility of death and the innocence of the victim, martyrs exert power from the grave and give the dead a posthumous purpose (King 2019, 4-5). This purpose can be a break in history, through a narrative of rebirth and renewal reminiscent of Jesus’ martyrdom. Martyrological narratives also often obscure difficult elements of the memory (King 2019, 5), privileging heroism over historical accuracy.

Table 1: Summary of the differences between Martyrdom and Victimhood

Martyrdom	Victimhood
Manipulation of memory	Focus on innocence
Narrative of renewal/rebirth/break in history	Narrative of the futility of death
Legacy assigned to the figure	No purpose assigned after death

Memory studies is a broad discipline; however, the principal foci here is on collective memory, cosmopolitan memory, and monumental memory. These concepts are employed to discuss the memory culture of Italy and Germany; the way that these countries “do” memory.

This research employs Antonello’s definition of collective memory as “the understanding of how groups of people, with a shared historical and cultural identity, create ways of perceiving themselves, gathering narratives and values, leaders and heroes into an account that helps them in self-understanding” (Antonello 2017, 24). This understanding of collective memory is appropriate due to the lack of consensus over an official account of the events. This division over which narratives to believe made Moro and Schleyer’s narratives open to powerful memory construction through political and cultural top-down memory.

To reaffirm, the two other key concepts to this research are “cosmopolitan memory” and “monumental memory”. Cosmopolitan memory privileges the victim and contains an important self-reflexive element, linked to the “politics of regret” (Olick 2007). In contrast to the critical approach to history that is fundamental in cosmopolitan memory, monumental memory is inspirational and aspirational (King 2019, 13). Monumental history emphasizes the great past victories of the nation and uses these victories as a glorious foundation for the future (Nietzsche 1980). Whilst cosmopolitan memory is closely tied to narratives of victimhood, monumental memory glorifies martyrological narratives. This connection that makes these two concepts valuable for this research: a conclusion on the martyrdom-victimhood binary provides a conclusion on the monumental-cosmopolitan binary.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the research is based on Assmann’s theory on the four types of collective memory: individual, social, political, and cultural (Assmann 2006, 2). Individual memory and social memory are embodied forms of collective memory, whereas political memory and cultural memory are mediated and transgenerational, “founded on the more durable carriers of external symbols and material representations” (Assmann 2006, 6). Due to this distinction, this research uses data that falls into the political or cultural memory category; this memory is not reliant on the people who experienced the event. Political and cultural memory are the mediation of “fuzzy bottom-up memory” into an “explicit, homogenous, and institutionalized top-down memory” (Assmann 2006, 6).

Political and cultural memory can overlap; thus, it is necessary to clearly state the distinction, to justify the data selection. Assmann contends that political memory resides in “material media, symbols and practices which have to be engrafted into the heads and minds of individuals” (Assmann

2006, 6-7). Assmann provides some examples, two of which will be used: “emplotment of events in an affectively charged and mobilizing narrative” and “sites and monuments” (Assmann 2006, 7). This research analyses the states’ involvement in the funerals of Moro and Schleyer, and the commemorative *lieux de mémoire* constructed since. Pierre Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire* refers to “a place where memory crystalizes and secretes itself” (Nora 1989, 7). They are embodiments of collective memory, where a sense of historical continuity persists (Nora 1989, 7).

Cultural memory is an active memory; “what a society consciously selects and maintains as salient and vital items for common orientation and shared remembering” and for the “continuation of a specific group and its identity” (Assmann 2006, 11). The cultural memory data that is used in this research takes the form of photos from the events that were published in the media at the time, and the films that have been made in the 40 years since.

Methodology and Data Collection

“In order to survive, memory must be mediated” (King 2019, 30), thus a discourse analysis is necessary to understand how a persuasive version of the past has been constructed. According to Foucault, it questions “on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest” (Foucault and Kritzman 1990, 155). Discourse analysis is a qualitative method that, through a contextualized and intertextual approach, allows for an understanding of each piece of data as one element of a broader narrative rather than as a standalone piece of memory construction. For individual and social memory to become cultural and political memory, it must be externalized, producing constructions of the past through discourse. In this research, Moro and Schleyer’s narrative is analysed to understand whether a discourse of victimhood or martyrdom is being constructed. The following addresses how the discourse analysis functions for each type of data used.

As previously outlined, the data sources are split into two categories: political memory and cultural memory. The first analysis looks at the memory culture during and immediately after the events and the second analysis focuses on the memory culture up until the present day, summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of the media used in the memory culture

Memory Type	Immediately after death	Evolving Memory
Political	Funerals	<i>Lieux de mémoire</i>
Cultural	Photographs	Films

The initial political memory is analysed through a discourse analysis of the states' involvement in the funerals of Moro and Schleyer. This was the best opportunity for an immediate mediation of the memories of both figures by the state, the state could set the tone and the narrative on the political memory of both figures; it is this narrative that is analysed. Discourse analysis focuses on the "strategies of persuasion" (Rose 2016, 193) employed to construct the desired reality. The analysis is carried out through close textual analysis of speeches and by collating data on the social context, such as newspaper articles, and images and videos of the events.

Photographs from during the kidnapping and immediately following Moro and Schleyer's deaths are the form of data chosen to demonstrate the cultural memory of the period because, although photographs are sometimes perceived as accurate representations of history, as with any visual culture, "representation is inevitably a process of interpretation and abstraction" (Bleiker 2009, 36). Visual discourse analysis "pays careful attention to the images themselves and to the web of intertextuality in which any individual image is embedded" (Rose 2016, 217), ergo the images are analysed for their iconographic tropes of martyrdom and victimhood within their intertextual context in the newspapers. Photos were selected if they had been published in one of the main newspapers of the time; they had to be seen by many people for it to influence memory construction. Regarding Moro, there were many newspapers that published various photos: Moro as a hostage, Moro dead in the boot of the Renault 4 and Moro's funerals and the Italian public mourning him. Photos of Schleyer were much more challenging to find. The only images in the newspapers available online were of him alive as a hostage, or of the funeral march for his drivers and police escorts. Whilst there are photos available to purchase of the discovery of Schleyer's body on stock photo websites and German newspaper archives provided articles from the announcement of his death, no newspaper images were accessible. The accessibility of the images for Moro and Schleyer is itself of interest to the comparative analysis, with the indication it gives of memory construction.

Since the death of Moro and Schleyer, both figures have made their mark on Italy and Germany's memory landscapes. In the case of Schleyer, this happened to a much lesser degree, with only three *lieux de mémoire* (embodiments of collective memory): the Hanns Martin Schleyer

Foundation (Schleyer-Stiftung), the Hanns Martin Schleyer Halle and the commemorative memorial in Cologne City Forest (*Kölner Stadtwald*). The nature of *lieux de mémoire* for Moro in Italy is very different; “secular martyrs dominate modern Italy’s *lieux de mémoire*” (King 2019, 3) and as of 2018 there were 2,628 streets named after Moro (Gary 2018). The analysis selects three monuments which are the most visited and/or geographically prominent: one in Brindisi, Bari, and Rome. As with the photos, to understand the symbolism of the *lieux de mémoire* within the web of intertextuality the discourse analysis looks both at the images and information on the *lieux de mémoire*, and the discourse surrounding them in the media.

Finally, the research analyses several films that have been released since the late 1970s which feature Moro or Schleyer and hence contributed to the construction of their cultural memory. Regarding Moro, the films chosen are Marco Tulio Giordana’s *Romanzo di una strage* (2012), Marco Bellocchio’s *Buongiorno, notte* (2003) and Paolo Sorrentino’s *Il divo* (2008). The rationale for this is that they all frame Moro from different perspectives; *Romanzo di una strage* foreshadows Moro’s martyrdom, *Buongiorno Notte* tells the story of the events themselves and presents Moro in a Christ-like role whilst *Il Divo* focusses on Moro’s haunting presence in Italian society, treating the period following his death. Rainer Werner Fassbinder’s *Deutschland im Herbst* (1978), Heinrich Breloer’s *Todesspiel* (1997) and Uli Edel’s *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (2008) are the subject of the discourse to understand the construction of a cultural memory in Germany of Schleyer. Unlike in Italy, where Moro has featured in at least ten films, these are the only films that address Schleyer’s cultural memory construction. The iconography and the dialogue of the film are closely analysed, supported by some stills of the scenes discussed. Again, an intertextual approach is employed, through a discussion of the media’s discourse surrounding some of the films.

Whilst this may appear as a large amount of data, it is important to note that the focus of the analysis is very narrow; does the data construct a version of the past that promotes a victimhood narrative or a martyrological narrative? In order to understand the divergence of Italy and Germany’s memory cultures following WWII, the following chapter offers a brief historical overview which provides the necessary context for the subsequent discourse analysis.

Chapter 4: The *anni di piombo* and the *Deutscher Herbst*

Whilst the events analysed took place in 1977 and 1978, an understanding of the period from the end of WWII leading up to the beginning of the domestic terrorism in both countries is vital to comprehend the divergence of the nation's memory cultures. This historical overview begins by exploring each country's transition periods after WWII. Following this, the chapter sets the scene of the domestic terrorism in Italy and Germany. The chapter ends with a focus on the events of the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro and Hanns Martin Schleyer.

World War II

As WWII came to an end in Italy and Germany, both countries were left with the reality of having lost a six year long, devastating conflict. Simultaneously, they were faced with the task of coming to terms with their fallen Fascist dictatorships, led by Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany. Notably, Germany was divided into two independent states: the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) from the end of the war up until German reunification in 1990. Whilst Italy and Germany experienced much shared history during the conflict, as both countries transitioned out of the war, they approached the memory construction in contrasting ways.

In Italy, the country's status as simultaneously a loser, occupied, resistor and victor accounted for "the variety of conflicting and fragmented memories and identities that emerged after the war" (Forlenza 2012, 74). Beginning in 1943, WWII had "evolved into a brutal civil war" in Italy, posing a challenge to the creation of any unifying memory (Forlenza 2012, 73). As Assmann has argued, in the memory constructions of nation states, "only those historical referents were selected which strengthened a positive self-image and supported specific goals for the future" (Assmann 2006, 8). The narrative reconstruction that gave Italy the new beginning it needed glorified the role played by Italians in the anti-fascist and anti-Nazi struggle after 1943 (Forlenza 2012, 74). It also "denied - or at least reduced - their responsibility in the Axis war", therefore allowing Italians to identify themselves as victims of the conflict (Forlenza 2012, 74). Memories of suffering and victimhood used the language and symbols of religion, such as martyrdom, which are deeply ingrained in Italian popular culture (Forlenza 2012, 80). This collective memory remained divisive; it was contested by right-wing, neo-fascist groups who accused the Resistance of being "anti-national" and those on the left who felt that

the Resistance had been an unrealised class war. This was heightened by the lack of an Italian equivalent to the Nuremberg trials; Battini argues that whilst Germany reckoned with their history, Italians chose the path of a voluntary collective amnesia (Battini 2007). The lack of unity over the collective memory of Italy's role in the war, and the Italian state's failure to confront its role as a perpetrator in the conflict, boiled over in the late 1960s with the student protests and the subsequent *anni di piombo*.

Germany also faced many challenges after WWII to identity construction: not only was the country divided into East and West, “the horrors of the immediate past were an immense additional burden for German national identity” (Welch and Wittlinger 2011, 44). Almost immediately after the end of the war, in November 1945, the Nuremberg Trials began, which aimed to prosecute all prominent members of the leadership of Nazi Germany. The country's Nazi past “provided the basic narrative of the Federal Republic between 1949 and 1990”, with lessons learned from the past influencing both policies and discourse (Welch and Wittlinger 2011, 44). In response to the difficulty in creating a positive identification with the German nation, society began to look forwards to a European identity and “an embrace of cosmopolitanism as a normative position” (Welch and Wittlinger 2011, 44-45). Whilst in post-war German society of the 1950s and 1960s there was a “strong desire for a closure of memory”, over time the long-term effects of the traumatic historical events began to be acknowledged by both victims and perpetrators and were addressed in the public social arena (Assmann 2006, 9). Germany's critical reckoning with history has “become institutionalized to the point that one can regard it as an integral part of the German state's *raison d'état*” (Wüstenberg 2019, 90). The “politics of regret” was gaining momentum at the time of Hanns Martin Schleyer's murder, however, the so-called historian's dispute of 1985-6 over Nazi Germany's place in the nation's narrative and identity still had to take place; consensus over the memory of this period remained highly contentious (Olick 2007).

1968, the *anni di piombo* and the *Deutsche Herbst*

Thus, the 1968 student protests took place in both Italy and Germany in a climate of tension regarding the country's collective memory and identity. In both countries, some of society still felt that the memory of the war and the nation's role as a perpetrator in the conflict had yet to be adequately confronted. The global 1968 protests, which were generally student-led and anti-establishment, also affected Italy and Germany. In Italy, the economic boom of the late 50s and early 60s led to a more educated populace that began to question the capitalist and patriarchal nature of Italian society (Foot 2014). In Germany, the poor living conditions of students was paired with a building anger over the

enduring presence of government officials with Nazi pasts. Whilst *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* was underway at the macro-societal level, this reckoning with the Nazi past and the Holocaust “had not yet reached the micro-societal level” and the “lack of recognition of personal and individual guilt on the part of their parents upset many young people” (Blumenau 2014, 15).

In both countries, these protests marked the beginning of a period of social unrest, widespread violence, and domestic terrorism in which the subjects of this research, Aldo Moro and Hanns Martin Schleyer, were kidnapped and murdered. In Italy, this period is known as the *anni di piombo*, the years of lead, and took place between the late 1960s and the early 1980s. Acts of terrorism were carried out by both right- and left-wing paramilitary groups and included large scale bombings such as the Piazza Fontana bombing of December 1969 and the Bologna massacre of August 1980. The *anni di piombo* saw huge numbers of Italians take to the streets, protesting student and worker’s rights, with many of these marches ending in violence. There are many conspiracy theories regarding the events of the period and the government’s involvement in the violence; consequently, the history of the *anni di piombo* remains highly contested. Aldo Moro was kidnapped and murdered by one of these paramilitary groups, an extreme left-wing terrorist organisation called the *Brigate Rosse* (BR). On March 16, 1978, the BR ambushed the Christian Democrat politician on his way to parliament to begin the ratifying his political vision of the *compromesso storico* (Historic Compromise) in which the Italian Communist Party (PCI) would surrender its oppositional role despite not being part of the Christian Democratic (DC) government. The BR saw this as a betrayal and Moro therefore became the BR’s target (Scolari 2018, 16). Moro was held captive for 55 days, in which time BR communicated through the press, including publishing some of the letters Moro wrote in his captivity in the so-called “people’s prison”, in which he pleaded for the Italian government to negotiate for his release (Scolari 2018, 16). However, the new government, formed a few hours after the abduction, decided immediately on a *linea della fermezza* (line of firmness), and refused to negotiate with the terrorists. On May 9, Aldo Moro’s body was found in the trunk of a red Renault 4, halfway between the headquarters of the DC and the PCI. The assassination of Moro led to a loss of support for the BR and paved the way for the eventual end of the period of domestic terrorism. His death was framed as representing the trauma everyone experienced during this period despite the partisan nature of the conflict; the commemoration for the victims of terrorism is on 9 May, the day Moro was assassinated.

In Germany, the so-called Easter rising in 1968 saw the first violent attacks “against symbols of conservatism and alleged reactionary forces” (Blumenau 2014, 16), however the election of Willy Brandt as federal chancellor in 1969 and the way that he symbolised a new chapter in dealing with the Nazi past resulted in the student movement and its protests losing momentum (Blumenau 2014, 17).

Nevertheless, a small group of protestors decided to go underground, seeking not just political reform but “outright revolution” (Blumenau 2014, 17); it was from these groups that the terrorists of the 1970s, including the Red Army Faction (RAF), evolved. The *Deutsche Herbst* (German Autumn) in 1977 was the most violent year of the twenty-year period of domestic terrorism. On 5 September 1977, the RAF group kidnapped Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the chairman of the Confederation of German Employers’ Associations. Schleyer was a former SS officer and a prominent member of the Christian Democratic Union. He was held hostage for 44 days, in which time the RAF attempted to negotiate for the release of RAF leaders from prison. The federal government would not meet the terrorists’ demands. Following this refusal, four Palestinian terrorists hijacked the Lufthansa aircraft Landshut with 90 members of the public on board. The Chancellor Helmut Schmidt stood firm, and the German Border Police stormed the plane on 18 October 1977, freeing the hostages and killing all but one of the terrorists. The same day, the RAF leaders imprisoned were found dead in their cells having committed suicide, and a day later the dead body of Schleyer was discovered in the trunk of a car near Mulhouse, France. Just as in Italy, the events surrounding the murder of Schleyer represented a turning point for the RAF terrorists; “by attacking ordinary citizens, they lost most of the support they had still enjoyed with people on the far left”, becoming perceived as a criminal organization rather than a revolutionary one (Blumenau 2014, 23).

This historical overview gives a clear picture of the similarities and contrasts in Italy and Germany’s shared histories and how they have memorialised WWII. This background regarding their differing approaches to confronting violent periods in their countries’ histories is important in order to comprehend the memory cultures that have developed in both countries since. As the paper now moves on to the discourse analysis, the research will continue to refer back to this shared history and how it has influenced the discursive narrative of Moro and Schleyer in national collective memory.

Chapter 5: The Initial Collective Memory

The Initial Political Memory of Moro and Schleyer

In order to analyse the immediate mediation of the political memory of each figure by their national governments, the data selected is the state's discourse regarding their funerals. This chapter questions how the funerals were used as an opportunity to immediately institutionalise a certain narrative of Moro and Schleyer. The analysis combines close textual analysis of speeches and analysis of data on the social context, to identify tropes of victimhood or martyrdom from Table 1.

Schleyer's Funeral¹

The first key aspect to note about Schleyer's funeral is that, despite Schleyer not being a politician, his requiem mass at the St. Eberhard RC Church in Stuttgart was attended by a multitude of important figures in West Germany. This included the President Walter Scheel, the Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, and many other dignitaries, described as the "German political celebrity" (Laubenthal 2007). Their presence reflected both Schleyer's status in Germany as President of two powerful commercial organizations and a prominent member of the Christian Democrat party, and the impact his kidnapping and murder had on the nation. This constructed a discourse on the funeral that framed it as an important element of the memory construction of Schleyer. The state was clearly invested in this mediation, giving the impression of a desired posthumous purpose for Schleyer.

During the ceremony, President Walter Scheer, the Head of State of West Germany, made a speech on behalf of the German government and the German populace. An analysis of this speech, accessed through a video and quotations in two articles (Laubenthal 2007, Tagesschau 2010, The New York Times 1977), is used to identify the tropes of martyrdom and victimhood present. It must be noted that German is a very precise language, thus some nuance will always be lost in translation, however the translated quotes are as precise as possible.

One common element of martyrological narratives is that the discourse that mediates their memory often obscures parts that do not fit into the desired narrative (King 2019, 5). This is evident when Scheer describes Schleyer as "*den Mann, der gute Gründe für jede seiner Ansichten hatte* - the man who had good reasons for each of his views", despite the fact that Schleyer had been a member of the Hitler Youth, the SS, and the Nazi Student Movement. Furthermore, sections of the speech appear

¹ For originals of Scheer's speech see:
<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1VAmEwNh0TChXJmw15umhBxBMTMHBO01u?usp=sharing>

influenced by Christian martyr narratives, such as Jesus', whose death is a symbol of renewal and rebirth. This can be seen when Scheer states: "*Seinen Tod müsse man als Einschnitt in der Geschichte begreifen. Davon muss eine verwandelnde Kraft ausgehen* - Schleyer's death should be understood as a break in history, a positive transformative force needs to emanate from it" (Laubenthal 2007). This section of the speech is powerful, as the idea of a break in history is usually used to refer to major events such as the war, rather than the death of one civilian. Although there is no evidence that Schleyer had a desire to die in order to put an end to the period of violent terrorism, a martyrological narrative depends on the mediation of the memory of the person, rather than their actual convictions. The speech frames his death as a tragedy that can allow for the renewal of the country, a break from the past to move to a better future.

The final trope of martyrdom is the way Scheer contrasts the power Schleyer can exert from the grave with the powerlessness of the terrorists now they are dead. Martyrdom often represents a death as having contributed to the pursuit of an end goal (Middleton 2011, 29). Scheer uses the opportunity of this speech in order to make an international plea for the end of terrorism, hence connecting the legacy of his death to the end goal of the cessation of violence. He clearly states that his death must be remembered in order to keep the memory of terrorism alive in German society (Tagesschau 2010). Regarding the terrorists, Scheer emphasises the need to forgive because the end of their life erases liability. This contrast highlights the desire of the West German state to mediate the memory of Schleyer's death through his funeral.

This discourse analysis of Schleyer's funeral demonstrates that the German government was framing Schleyer's death primarily employing tropes of martyrdom rather than victimhood, in order to construct a collective memory of his death as a vital turning point. It must be noted in this analysis that the language used, though showing influence from Christian martyrological narratives, does not use any religious discourse and is subtle in its use of martyrdom. This framing will now be contrasted with the Italian state's discourse regarding Moro's funeral.

Moro's Funeral²

Moro had been able to regularly communicate with the outside world during his 55 days in the "people's prison", as the BR delivered many of the letters that he wrote to the press. In one letter, published on the 2nd April, Aldo Moro, seemingly aware that he would soon be killed, asked that no members of state or party members attend his funeral, given that they had not negotiated for his release.

² For supporting data see:

<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1VAmEwNh0TChXJmw15umhBxBMTMHBO01u?usp=sharing>

His wish was for his body to be buried in the presence of only those who truly loved him. Thus, his family organised a small private funeral on the 10th May. Whilst the Italian state respected his wishes to a certain extent by not attending this private funeral, they nevertheless organised a state funeral in the Archbasilica of St. John Lateran three days later. The grandeur of the funeral overshadowed the fact that his body was not actually present. The televised ceremony was broadcast throughout Italy, led by Pope Paul VI and attended by the political establishment.

This discourse analysis focuses on the state's involvement in constructing a political memory of Aldo Moro. The context and the government's actions were more revealing regarding the construction of this discourse than Pope Paul VI's primarily theological speech at the funeral, therefore this makes up the body of the analysis.

The newspapers played a key role in selecting which stories to tell and which to exclude, thereby "setting the agenda for collective memory" (King 2019, 30). Hence, the government's decisions were taken against this backdrop of the Italian media's immediate construction of Moro as a martyr figure for the nation. The newspapers published on the 10th May 1978, from across the political spectrum, painted Moro's death as a unifying force that would bring together the divided Italian nation, whilst simultaneously presenting his murder by the BR as a sacrifice that Moro made for the Italian people (Scolari 2018, 289). For example, the headline in *Il Popolo* was "*Dolore e sdegno uniscono l'Italia*" - Pain and anger unify Italy, and from the front-page editorial in *Corriere della Sera*, "*È morto perché questa Repubblica viva*" - He died so that the Republic lives.

Despite the fact that Moro had made it clear in his letters that he did not wish to die, the government's decision to organise an enormous, televised state funeral tied his death to national symbolism and supported the media's framing of his death as a sacrifice for the state. Had the government not made this decision, it is possible that a narrative of the futility of death may have emerged as the construction of memory at the private family funeral focused on mourning Moro's loss and the Italian state's complicity in his death. Moro's actual intentions were irrelevant, the symbolism was a far more powerful tool. This manipulation of memory is the first trope of martyrdom in Table 1.

To co-opt the media's discourse of unity and rebirth, trope two in Table 1, the state had to bury Moro, even if it was merely a symbolic burial. The government's decision to organise this ceremony highlights their ambition to harness the media's discourse and to use the funeral as a means to further the narrative of closure on the period of violence and a new start for the united Italian nation. This also links to the legacy of Moro's death, the third trope of a martyrological narrative from Table 1. The choice of such a grand funeral that could be watched by all Italians makes it abundantly clear that the

Italian state wished to ascribe a legacy to Moro's death. This was also evident in Pope Paul VI's speech at the funeral in which he directed everyone – "*fa' che noi tutti raccogliamo nel puro sudario della sua nobile memoria l'eredità superstite...della sua dedizione alla redenzione civile e spirituale della diletta* – let us gather in the shroud of Moro's memory and carry out his legacy by following in his example of his dedication to the civil and spiritual redemption of Italy" (F 2014). Moro, therefore, exerted power beyond the grave. Furthermore, the large role that the Pope played in the funeral and the theological discourse that he employed in his speech supported the religious discourse that had been used in many of the newspapers, such as the comparison drawn between Christ's and Moro's sacrifice for the people.

Conclusion

Whilst not as explicit as Scheer's speech at Schleyer's funeral, the discourse and memory construction produced through Moro's state funeral gives an indication of the government's will for Moro's political memory to be in line with the narrative promoted in the media of Moro as a unifying martyr who sacrificed himself for Italy's rebirth. Through the construction of a political memory immediately after their deaths, both Moro and Schleyer are portrayed, using common martyrological tropes, as martyrs for the nation that represent a break with the violent period of domestic terrorism. Whether the same can be said for the construction of a cultural memory immediately after their deaths will now be analysed through a discourse analysis of photographs of the events.

The Immediate Cultural Memory of Moro and Schleyer

Hostage Photographs



Figure 2: Newspapers covering the kidnappings (Left: Front page *la Repubblica* on 27th March 1978 (La Repubblica 1978), Centre: Photo of Moro whilst in captivity (Scala Archives 2016), Right: Front page *Der Spiegel* on 12th September 1977 (Der Spiegel 1997))

What is striking when placing the above photographs of Moro and Schleyer (Figure 2) side by side is their similarity. The background of both shows the symbols of the left-wing terrorist groups that kidnapped them: the RAF in Schleyer's case and the BR in Moro's. The men gaze out at the camera with a vacant expression on their faces. Reprinted in the newspapers of the time, the examples here being *La Repubblica* for Moro and *Der Spiegel* for Schleyer, they inspire feelings of empathy and pity for the men, clearly the desired outcome for the terrorists who were holding them in order to negotiate with the government. This was particularly challenging in the case of Schleyer, as his Nazi past made it harder to inspire public pity. They are clearly devoid of agency which emphasizes their innocence and powerlessness. Whilst alive, these photographs create a cultural memory of the men that constructs a victimhood narrative.

Photographs after their death



Figure 3: Newspapers covering the deaths (Left: Front page *la Repubblica* on 12th May 1978 (La Repubblica 1978), Centre: Front page *Corriere della Sera* on 12th May 1978 (Corriere della Sera 1978, Corriere della Sera 1978) , Right: Article in *Grazia Italia* on 28th May 1978 (Grazia 1978))



Figure 4: Commemorations (Left: Italians pay tribute to Moro (Getty Images 2013), Right: Double page spread in *Bild am Sonntag* on 11th September 1977 (Bild am Sonntag 1977))

The crucial part of this analysis, however, is to understand what kind of cultural memory was constructed of the men after their deaths. Whilst the cultural memory of the men was very similar whilst they were in captivity, there is a serious divergence after their passing. Again, the analysis employs the tropes of martyrdom and victimhood outlined in Table 1.

Schleyer

Unfortunately, an extensive search of newspaper photographs from the announcement of Schleyer's death or his funeral was not fruitful. This was surprising given how much effort was made by the government of West Germany to make his funeral into an important element of memory construction, as outlined in the previous chapter. Whilst it may be the case that the photos of the car with Schleyer's body in it were originally printed in the paper, the fact that they are not available online or in archived newspaper articles, compared to the easily accessible photographs of Moro, is indicative of their impact on memory construction. Despite the state's efforts to construct a political memory of Schleyer that framed him as a martyr, this was not supported by the cultural memory of Schleyer after his death. This highlights the futility of his death, rather than giving the impression that his death was assigned a posthumous purpose in cultural memory form. This is heightened by the fact that it was easy to access a photo of a double page spread in the German tabloid *Bild am Sonntag* (Figure 4) in which there is a picture of Schleyer's wife and son, and a large picture of the funeral march held for the victims of the kidnapping - the police, and the drivers - which was attended by an enormous crowd of 5,000 people. Overall, the nature of these photographs gives the impression that Schleyer was of more importance to cultural memory when alive than dead. Thus, this presents the cultural memory of Schleyer as falling into the victimhood category, using the elements outlined in Table 1. Schleyer is not given agency

beyond the grave and the lack of photos presents his death as futile, without a legacy in cultural memory form. This contrasts greatly with the cultural memory production after the death of Moro.

Moro

The most striking image of Moro after his death that graced the front pages of the *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica*, two of the most widely read newspapers in Italy, is the photo of Moro's limp body curled up in the boot of the car in which he was discovered (Figure 3). This photograph is powerful, Moro was an influential figure when alive and this image reduces him to bare life. The headlines above the photos in the newspapers was discussed in the previous chapter; the discourse is of rebirth and renewal with Moro's death portrayed as a sacrifice for the Italian nation, hence assigning a transparently false motive and agency to Moro.

Looking more closely at the images themselves in *La Repubblica* and *Corriere della Sera*, their cultural memory is powerful in assigning Moro a posthumous purpose through an image that sensationalizes his death. In sharp contrast to Schleyer, these photos of Moro's body were on the front pages of the newspapers and remain easily accessible today. The influence for this could be derived from the Christian martyrological narratives of the past. In order to spread the ideology of the Christian martyrs, sketches would be done of their violent deaths and distributed; Mitchell describes this phenomenon as "martyrdom as a media asset" (Mitchell 2012, 29). Thus, the trope of martyrdom of assigning the figure a posthumous purpose is extremely evident here. The widespread use of this photo of his dead body echoes the original idea of martyrdom as a "witness" and the historical use of images of martyrdom to spread a certain ideology or message. In this case, the message was clear in the media discourse: Moro was to be a uniting figure whose death would put an end to this period of violence.

The photos that featured in the newspapers in the following days supported the creation of a cultural memory of Moro that focused on his posthumous purpose as a unifier of the nation. These photos include those showing the sheer number of people that were present at his state funeral (Figure 3). This further demonstrates the power he exerted from beyond the grave, in contrast to Schleyer. Furthermore, in support of the religious martyrological discourse present in the prevalence of the image of his dead body, photos of the public mourning his loss through visiting temporary shrines and placing flowers by images of him with messages such as: *vive nei nostri cuori* – he lives on in our hearts, were circulated in international press (Figure 4).

Conclusion

Whilst the immediate political memory of Moro and Schleyer revealed both the Italian and the German governments' attempts to harness the symbolism of their deaths and the framing of martyrdom to mark a break in history from the violent period, the immediate cultural memory of Schleyer does not appear to have followed suit, revealing a divergence in the countries' memory cultures. Schleyer's agency and purpose seems to have ended at the same time as his death. Moro's cultural memory, on the other hand, is in line with the political discourse and appears influenced by Christianity in its creation of a martyrological narrative. The analysis thus far has focused on the memory creation immediately after the men's deaths, however, to draw any conclusions the research must now move to an analysis of the evolving collective memory up until the present day.

Chapter 6: The Evolving Collective Memory

The Evolving Political Memory of Moro and Schleyer

Nora defined *lieux de mémoire* as places where “memory crystalizes and secretes itself” (Nora 1989, 7) and argued that these embodiments of memory are necessary in an age where there is no spontaneous memory (Nora 1989, 12). *Lieux de mémoire* can take various forms, however this chapter will focus primarily on commemorative monuments. In Schleyer’s case, as there are only two physical *lieux de mémoire*, the analysis also considers his foundation as a *lieux de mémoire*, as it has a clear commemorative element. The concept of these places of memory as “bastions of identity” justifies why *lieux de mémoire* are vital elements of the political memory of the figures (Nora 1989, 12). The commemorative memorials to Moro and Schleyer are analysed to understand how the memory landscapes of Italy and Germany have been shaped by their deaths. The discourse of the *lieux de mémoire* is analysed, which means exploring not only the textual and visual content, but also their location and what these choices say about the intended political memory of the figures. In the case of Moro, the *lieux de mémoire* selected are the most visited or geographically prominent sites of memory; those with the most impact on the memory landscape. Table 1 is again employed in order to understand whether a discourse of martyrdom or victimhood is promoted.

Schleyer *Lieux de Mémoire*

The *lieux de mémoire* analysed for Schleyer encompass all of those in existence publicly: the Hanns Martin Schleyer Foundation (Schleyer-Stiftung), the Hanns Martin Schleyer Halle and the commemorative memorial in Cologne City Forest (*Kölner Stadtwald*). The Hanns Martin Schleyer Halle, although keeping Schleyer’s memory alive through the use of his name for an enormous arena in Stuttgart, does not appear to do any other memory construction; websites that give information on the venue do not mention its namesake and there is no evidence of it having a particular commemorative purpose. The only prominent evidence of a discussion of the arena’s name was a thread on Google questions in which four people were complaining that it was named after an ex-SS officer. Ergo, it barely qualifies as a *lieux de mémoire*, an embodiment of memory, given the lack of symbolic memory construction.

The foundation is a different story. Since 1982, the Schleyer-Stiftung has administered a prize in Schleyer’s name which is awarded for “outstanding contributions to consolidating and strengthening the foundations of a community based on the principle of individual freedom” (Schleyer-Stiftung). This certainly ascribes a posthumous purpose to Schleyer, as it portrays this *lieux de mémoire* as

continuing Schleyer's promotion of individual freedom. This portrayal counters the idea of death as futile, a common trope of a victimhood narrative. It not only gives Schleyer a legacy, but it also manipulates Schleyer's memory, given that "individual freedom" was not what Schleyer was promoting during his time as an SS officer. Therefore, as a *lieux de mémoire*, to some extent the prize is constructing a martyrological narrative of Schleyer.



Figure 5: Schleyer commemorative monument, Google Street View 1/6/21

Nevertheless, the dominant discourse of Schleyer's *lieux de mémoire* is one of victimhood. There is a distinct absence of Schleyer in Germany's memory landscape. Whilst there is one big street named after Schleyer in Stuttgart, this is an anomaly, and the only commemorative monument is on a roadside on the edge of Cologne City Forest. A cross bears the images of all of the victims of the kidnapping, and a plaque which reads: "To the victims of terrorism - for a free constitutional and social democracy - the citizens of Cologne -5th September 1977." The impact of the monument is minimal: the decoration is plain, and it is tucked away at the side of a busy main road (Figure 5). This location highlights that the evolving political memory constructs his death as futile, a trope of a victimhood narrative.



Figure 6: Schleyer Memorial, *Kölner Stadtwald* (Claudia   2017)

The main discourse constructed by the small cross with the photos on and the plaque underneath is one that portrays Schleyer's death as of little importance. The focus of the commemoration is on the kidnapping, with Schleyer presented as one of five victims, although his photo is slightly larger than the others on the cross. The plaque describes them as victims and does not mention them individually, merely stating the date of the kidnap. Although the German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier visited the monument in 2017 for the 40-year anniversary, countering the idea of that Schleyer's death was unimportant, it is necessary to make the distinction that this monument is a commemoration of the kidnapping, rather than of his death. This is deeply contrasting with Moro. In 2007, the Italian government announced that the 9th March, the day Moro died, was to be dedicated to all victims of terrorism. As Schleyer is commemorated in the context of the policemen and the drivers who were killed during his kidnap, his death is presented as futile; he is framed as one of the innocent victims.

Although there is some sign of a martyrological narrative through the Schleyer Prize, the overall impression is that Schleyer's death was not employed as symbolic material for the creation of *lieux de mémoire* in Germany, hence a martyrological discourse was not constructed.

Moro *Lieux de Mémoire*

“Secular martyrs dominate modern Italy’s *lieux de mémoire*” (King 2019, 3) and Moro is one of the most common of these, with almost 3,000 streets named after him. This section of the discourse analysis explores the effect of this on the political memory construction, drawing out key tropes of the three commemorative monuments to Moro which appeared to be the most visited and/or geographically prominent memorials in Brindisi, Bari, and Rome.

The omnipresence of Moro in many of Italy’s cities promotes a certain discourse about Moro’s political memory construction. Due to the vast quantity of his *lieux de mémoire*, some have commented that there is a sense that Moro haunts the streets of Italy. This gives Moro agency and legacy, tropes of a martyrological narrative, as he is an integral part of Italy’s memory landscape.



Figure 6: Brindisi Monumento ad Aldo Moro (BRUNDARTE 2019) (Left: Full monument, Right: Close up)

The monuments support this martyrological framing. The monument in Brindisi (Figure 6) is the most visually striking and untraditional. It contains a large amount of symbolism. Situated on a prominent roundabout on the way into Brindisi, therefore it is seen by many people each day, making it an important part of the local memory landscape. Two large panels reach upwards, with a red metal element that appears to break their connection and juts forward and outwards. This imagery promotes the framing of Moro’s death as a break in history; the red is bloody in tone and causes a schism in the monument. Furthermore, the outward movement of the piece heightens a sense of agency, it powerfully juts outwards and upwards. The artists stated that this element was intended to represent the fact that, although Moro died, the legacy of the ideals that he represented live on (Brindisi Web). In this way, the monument bears the key tropes of a martyrological narrative.

Whilst the other two other *lieux de mémoire* are not as impactful visually, the discourse that they convey supports the construction of a martyrological narrative through different approaches. In Bari, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Moro's death, five plain stone plaques were strategically placed around the city to create tour of *lieux de mémoire*, including the church Moro attended, and his family home. The performative nature of this memory construction and the educational historical content heightens the framing of Moro's legacy as a vital part of the political memory of the country.



Figure 7: Graffiti on the memorial at the site of Moro's kidnapping (Il Messagero 2018)

The third *lieux de mémoire* is in Via Fani, Rome, the site of the kidnapping (Figure 7). Again, this monument was constructed to commemorate the 40th anniversary. The interesting aspect of this monument is not its content – it is a very simple, classic memorial listing the names of the victims – but the discourse surrounding it. There have been two incidents of graffiti on the memorial; one was a tag of a swastika and the other was the letters “BR”. The contested nature of this *lieux de mémoire* demonstrates that Moro continues to exert power from beyond the grave through a divisive, highly partisan legacy. The Rome division of the Democratic Party addressed the perpetrators through an official statement to inform them that history has defeated them once and for all – “*la Storia li ha già sconfitti una volta e per sempre*” (Il Messagero 2018). This discourse contains another martyrdom trope: that of the Moro's death signalling a break in history; in this case the idea that his death was a turning point in the fight against terrorism and towards a more unified Italy.

Conclusion

In the years since their death, the political memory of the figures has been constructed in contrasting ways, highlighting the divergence in Italy and Germany's memory cultures. In Schleyer's case, his absence from the German memory landscape is more telling than anything. Moro's omnipresence places him as a haunting figure, whose *lieux de mémoire* continually remind the Italian people of his ongoing power from beyond the grave, his martyrological narrative. The final analysis looks at the films that have portrayed the two figures in different lights since their deaths in order to understand their legacy in cultural memory.

The Evolving Cultural Memory of Moro and Schleyer

Film was chosen for the analysis of the legacy of the cultural memory of Moro and Schleyer, as they have both been the subject of, or have featured in, multiple films. The analysis of three films for each of them provides insight on the discourse present in the cultural memory creation of both figures. There are only three German films that contribute towards a cultural memory of Schleyer - Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Deutschland im Herbst* (1978), Heinrich Breloer's *Todesspiel* (1997) and Uli Edel's *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (2008). *Deutschland im Herbst* and *Todesspiel* are documentaries or docudramas, which is important to note prior to the analysis as it frames them, whether this is the case or not, as being more reliable portrayals of the events. The release date of these films spans the time from Schleyer's death to almost the present day. In contrast, the Italian films chosen are all from the 21st century due to the decision to avoid the earlier films which mainly dealt with the conspiracy theories surrounding Moro's death. The terrorist attack of September 11th was a catalyst for a resurgence of interest in Italian cinema in the *anni di piombo*, with a multitude of films released treating different episodes during the violent years of domestic terrorism. The three films selected for analysis are: Marco Tulio Giordana's *Romanzo di una strage* (2012), Marco Bellocchio's *Buongiorno, notte* (2003) and Paolo Sorrentino's *Il divo* (2008).

Moro films

Each of the films selected shows Moro in a different perspective: *Romanzo di una strage* foreshadows his death; *Buongiorno, notte* treats the events of the kidnapping themselves, whilst *Il Divo* explores the effects of Moro's death on Italy. They are all contemporary films; thus, they provide insight on the contemporary cultural memory of Moro. Their success reveals the ongoing national interest in the Moro affair which keeps his memory alive, driven by the need to continually reimagine this divisive

and contested memory for Italians. The creation of a shared cultural memory of Moro in film is a way for Italians to cope with this difficult past.



Figure 8: Moro with Priest - *Romanzo di una strage* (Giordana 2012)

Giordana's *Romanzo di una strage*, released in 2012, focused on a memory construction of Moro whilst he was still alive and foreshadows his death. The film's plot was based on the events of the *Pizza Fontana* bombing in Milan in 1969 which killed 14 and wounded 88; the first major event of the *anni di piombo*. As with *Il Divo*, Moro is not a main character in the film, however as a voice of reason, a devoted Catholic and a beacon of truth, his calming presence is constantly in the background. In the first scene, Moro is seen talking to a priest in church (Figure 8) and questioning what role the Lord has assigned to him "*in questo mare tempeste* – in the midst of this stormy sea". He explains to the priest that he thinks that Italy is in need of a catastrophe in order for it to rebuild itself, and he states that he is ready to be the first victim of this catastrophe. This imagined conversation is full of martyrological tropes, demonstrating the film's attempt to portray Moro as a martyr within cultural memory. The catastrophe could also be described as a turning point and Moro's offer to be the first victim portrays him as being willing to sacrifice himself for the renewal of the nation. This is rewriting history, as Moro was clear in his letters during his time in the people's prison that he did not want to die, and he pleaded with the government to negotiate with the hostages. The assigning of a legacy and a purpose is clear; by portraying Moro as a defender of democracy, of truth, of Italy, the film frames Moro as having died for Italy's survival. This portrayal also has a religious framing: in the few scenes

that Moro is in, he is seen either in a church, or there is religious music in the background. In the first conversation, his purpose is linked to God's will for him, therefore his sacrifice and Italy's fate is linked to some kind of holy plan.



Figure 9: Moro watches Chiara sleep – *Buongiorno, notte* (Bellocchio 2003)

Bellocchio's *Buongiorno, notte*, the first of the films to be released, focuses on Moro's kidnap and murder, narrated through the eyes of the female BR terrorist, Chiara. Again, his image as a devout Catholic is central: in one of the first scenes that Moro appears in, it is in private prayer. The portrayal of Moro in the film bears many of the tropes of the martyrological narrative of Jesus. He is portrayed as suffering at the hands of the BR, yet he is also shown forgiving his captors. The letters that Moro sent that criticized the government are omitted from the film, which manipulates the memory; choosing which parts of Moro's character should be remembered in order to best construct a martyrological narrative.



Figure 10: Moro walks free – *Buongiorno, notte* (Bellocchio 2003)

This effect is heightened by the oneiric scenes that show Moro watching over Chiara (Figure 9) and the fictional scene near the end of the film in which Moro is shown walking free from the people's prison and out into the streets of Rome (Figure 10). Gilliom has argued that the horror of Moro's death still haunts the Italian people, thus the creation of an emotional memory in this sequence and the martyrological narrative in this film functions to assign meaning to the events and relieve national guilt (Gilliom 2016, 115). It supports the framing of Moro as a Christ like figure, showing him to almost rise from the dead. Again, Moro is portrayed as being willing to sacrifice himself for the good of Italy, assigning him a manipulated posthumous purpose and distancing from a victimhood narrative of death as futile.

Il Divo, directed by Sorrentino and released in 2012, also uses fictionalised scenes to represent the haunting presence that Moro continues to have for the Italian people. The film is a portrayal of seven-time Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, set in the early 1990s when he was embroiled in a corruption scandal. Andreotti had been the Prime Minister who decided not to bargain with the BR for Moro's release and Moro had been critical of Andreotti in his letters from the people's prison. Moro's omnipresence is highlighted right from the start when there are facts on the screen which describe what happened to Moro and the conspiracy theories about the circumstances of his kidnap and death. This frames Moro as a rarely seen but always present figure in the film. A few moments later, there is a short clip of him being shot whilst under a blanket in the boot of a car; reminiscent of the iconic photo, a reminder of his martyr image.



Figure 11: Moro held hostage– *Il Divo* (Sorrentino 2008)

The other scenes in which Moro is present are fictional scenes in which he haunts Andreotti. In one, Andreotti is trying to sleep and is haunted by an image of Moro in his cell writing his letter about Andreotti (Figure 11).



Figure 12: Moro haunts Andreotti – *Il Divo* (Sorrentino 2008)

In another, he hallucinates Moro in his bathroom (Figure 12), and Moro tells him that his blood will fall on Andreotti. Moro's power beyond the grave is evident as he haunts Andreotti's guilty conscience, just as he haunts Italy's collective memory. In another fictionalised scene, Andreotti confesses his involvement in all of the murders and in this impassioned, quasi-religious confession Andreotti says that he had to "*perpetuare il male per garantire il bene* - perpetuate evil to guarantee good". Andreotti's speech is a manipulation of history; Sorrentino constructs a cultural memory of

Moro in which he was sacrificed by Andreotti for the good of the nation, assigning fictional martyrological motives.

The cultural memory of Moro constructed in these contemporary films, whilst portraying Moro in different time periods, are united in the martyrological narrative that they construct.

Schleyer Films

The films which treated the RAF and Schleyer are from two different time periods: *Deutschland im Herbst* was released in 1978, when West Germany was still in the midst of the period of domestic terrorism, whilst *Todesspiel* and *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* were released in 1997 and 2008 respectively as part of a new wave of films on the RAF prompted by the 20th anniversary of the German Autumn. Preece has argued that the first wave of films on the RAF in the 1970s and 1980s challenged the political establishment and, whilst remaining critical of terrorists, they also mythologised their deeds; the second wave films, in contrast, are characterised by a more critical approach, whilst showing influence from the first wave of films (Preece 2008).



Figure 13: Documentary footage of Schleyer – *Deutschland im Herbst* (Fassbinder 1978)

Fassbinder's *Deutschland im Herbst* was released just a year after Schleyer's death, thus it played an active role in a construction of a collective memory of the events (Figure 13). The film has continued to be watched since, thus it has endured as a cultural memory of Schleyer. It shows Schleyer as actively opposing being assigned a posthumous purpose by the state – clips of the state's

preparations for his funeral have a voiceover in the background of a letter written by Schleyer denying that it is ever “sweet and proper to die for the fatherland”. Schleyer’s portrayal is in contrast with that of the terrorists, who are mythologised by the film. Preece has outlined this distinction in a particular montage sequence of the film in which “subliminally, and indeed really quite insidiously, the RAF deaths in Stammheim are aligned with Luxemburg and Liebknecht, premier heroes-cum-martyrs of the German Left, Schleyer is linked meanwhile with Rommel and the Schmidt government with Hitler's regime” (Preece 2008, 226); in other words, there is a clear line drawn between political victims and political martyrs.



Figure 14: Moments before kidnapping - *Todesspiel* (Breloer 1997)

Whilst Schleyer was a figure in the shadows in *Deutschland im Herbst*, Breloer’s *Todesspiel*, released in 1997 for the 20th anniversary of the German Autumn, directly addresses the cultural memory construction of Schleyer. The film is a blend of dramatic reconstruction, real footage and contemporary interviews. Its style frames it as a film that aims for historical accuracy and a balanced portrayal of events, such as the exact times of each of the events which appears on the screen (Figure 14). A martyrological narrative, as , requires some manipulation of memory, however *Todesspiel* was praised in the media for its objective historical accuracy and demystifying of the events (Haynes 1999). Whilst Schleyer’s Nazi past is not avoided in the film, the cultural memory construction nevertheless frames him as a valid victim, through scenes which highlight his suffering. Martyrdom is often antagonistic, and the film clearly attempts to distance itself from that kind of portrayal through a non-partisan

portrayal of events. Furthermore, through a narrative that reconstructs the German Autumn as a tragic drama, *Todesspiel* to some extent places everyone in the category of the victim by highlighting the futility of death. Table 1, requires some manipulation of memory, however *Todesspiel* was praised in the media for its objective historical accuracy and demystifying of the events (Haynes 1999). Whilst Schleyer's Nazi past is not avoided in the film, the cultural memory construction nevertheless frames him as a valid victim, through scenes which highlight his suffering. Martyrdom is often antagonistic, and there was certainly an attempt to distance from that kind of portrayal through a non-partisan portrayal of events. Furthermore, through a narrative that reconstructs the German Autumn as a tragic drama, *Todesspiel* to some extent places everyone in the category of the victim by highlighting the futility of death.

Uli Edel's *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex*, however, returns to some extent to the portrayal of the RAF as martyrs and relegates Schleyer to the shadows; just one of the many victims of the period. The style is drama-thriller, and the RAF are the protagonists, with the torrent of violence they perpetrate making it difficult to remember any individual victims. The film's message is of the futility of death as the RAF's violence does not result in the revolution they fought for. The sheer amount of violence in the film makes Schleyer's death seem unremarkable. This is heightened by the fact that the film shows that Pope Paul offers himself in return for the hostage passengers on the Lufthanser flight, with no mention of Schleyer.



Figure 15: Schleyer's speech – *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (Edel 2008)

The only dialogue that Schleyer has is a speech (Figure 15) that was clearly written by the RAF, thus his own words are absent, making it impossible for the film to be constructing any kind of posthumous purpose or legacy from the cultural memory. Therefore, the film constructs a cultural memory of Schleyer that portrays his character as insignificant, his victimhood narrative is just one of many.

Conclusion

The films in this section on the cultural memory of Moro and Schleyer since their death are revealing in the discourse they collectively construct. The Moro films highlight the lasting effects of his death on Italy, employing many of the tropes of a martyrological narrative. The Schleyer films employ predominantly a victimhood narrative, constructing a discourse that Schleyer as a figure in German cultural memory represents no more than one of the many victims of the RAF. Whilst the Schleyer incident was clearly traumatic for the nation, he has been ascribed very little posthumous power or purpose; the cultural memory of the RAF appears to be the primary focus. This contrast clearly highlights the difference in the memory cultures: a monumental approach to the *anni di piombo* is apparent in the Italian films, through the construction of Moro as a hero who sacrificed himself for the nation, the cultural memory of *Deutsche Herbst* reveals a cosmopolitan approach to memory: victim-centred, and self-reflexive.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The *anni di piombo* and the *Deutsche Herbst* were traumatic periods for the Italian and German people. This research provides examples of attempts to create a unifying collective memory of the events of the period, through political and cultural memory.

As discussed in Chapter 4, both countries faced many challenges to national identity after WWII and their different approaches to critically reflecting on their role in the conflict can be seen in the divergence in their memory cultures evident in the analysis. Italy painted itself as a victim, shifting focus to its martyred resistant partisans, constructing a discourse of the conflict that allowed them to continue celebrating a patriotic Italian national identity through the traditional monumental mode of memory. Germany was unable to escape its role as a perpetrator, hence the domestic terrorism of the 1970s was connected to a push for West Germany to go further with its critical approach to its past. Struggling to create a positive identification with national symbols, West Germany looked towards the cosmopolitan memory culture; the analysis demonstrates that this self-reflexive approach to memory became an integral part of the German national identity. This development in the memory cultures of both countries out of WWII was a gradual process; a wide range of data and a broad timespan allows for an understanding of the manner in which this divergence happened.



The creation of a martyr can provide an opportunity for a nation to unite its citizens around a figure and the values they represent, promoting the idea of a turning point for the nation. Chapter 5 demonstrates that the Italian and West German government attempted to do this through the funerals; they harnessed the symbolism of their deaths and framed them as martyrdom to mark a break in history from the violent period. Despite the development of a cosmopolitan approach to memory in Germany, the government in the late 1970s remained attached to the traditional monumental mode of remembering with its powerful martyrological symbolism. However, whilst the cultural memory of Moro supported the martyrological portrayal, the same cannot be said for Schleyer. This divergence continues in the analysis of the evolving political and cultural memory of the figures. Moro is a haunting presence in Italy, his sacrifice for the nation is omnipresent on the memory landscape and he continues to exert his martyrological power in contemporary film. Schleyer's most striking quality is his absence, particularly in contrast to the cultural memory production that surrounds the perpetrators: the RAF. The overwhelming portrayal of Schleyer is as just one of the victims of this period, emphasizing the futility of death and countering the possibility of him having any posthumous power.

The conclusions drawn from this analysis demonstrate that a monumental mode of remembering has prevailed in Italy, as Moro has been glorified in political and cultural memory as one of the heroic, “great men” of Italy. Despite evidence of the West German government attempting to employ a monumental approach to memory through Schleyer’s funeral, the self-reflexive, victim-centred approach that emerged in Germany as a result of the horrors of WWII dominated. This prevented Schleyer from having the symbolic power to be a unifying force or a turning point for West Germany like Moro was for Italy.

It is undeniable that Italy’s Catholic culture influenced this portrayal due to the familiarity of the symbols and rhetoric of martyrdom. This is most evident in the evolving cultural memory of Moro in the films: his values live on, he is omnipotent and omnipresent, and is even given a resurrection narrative in *Buongiorno, notte*. It is impossible to say whether this is the primary factor in the enduring monumental mode of remembering in Italy; other influences certainly are at play. Such influences include the difficulty to create an agreed-upon collective memory of events in Italy’s history, the lack of faith in institutions and the ever-present challenge to create a shared national identity. Further research could examine how collective memory varies within Germany: the South and the West are predominantly catholic, whilst the North and the East are predominantly protestant. Definitive answers on how the memory cultures of both countries diverged following WWII and the causes of this would require further analysis of other significant events in the country’s histories.

There is scope for future academia to further explore the connection between religious culture and collective memory in Europe. A similar comparative approach could be applied to other countries in Europe, particularly those with sizeable Catholic populations such as Poland, Ireland, and Spain, which may further disprove the homogeneity of the cosmopolitan mode of memory across Europe. WWII posed the ultimate challenge to Italian and German national collective memory; self-preservation was the focus. For Germany, this meant facing up to their history, but in Italy’s case the symbolic power of martyrdom has resulted in Moro's presence continuing to haunt the country’s streets.

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