Manuscript Submission Cover Page

Author: Dr Jonathan Dunnage

Affiliation: Department of History, College of Arts and Humanities, Swansea University, Swansea, UK, SA2 8PP

Email: j.dunnage@swansea.ac.uk

Cultural strategies for militarizing the Italian police, 1947 -1952

Abstract

The article analyses the employment of words, images and rituals, in the early years of the Italian Republic, to reinforce the militarization of the Public Security Guard (*Corpo delle Guardie di Pubblica Sicurezza*) and to engender public support for hard-line military-type solutions to law-and-order difficulties. Drawing on police literature (especially the magazine of the Public Security Guard, *Polizia Moderna*), newspapers and cinema newsreels, it analyses police commemorations and celebrations, and representations of these rituals internally and to the wider public. This includes an examination of the employment of religious language and liturgy, which I argue intended to reinforce a warrior mentality among police officers. The article also investigates how the police and the media framed policing activities and the hard-line repressive tactics which the enhanced militarization of the Public Security Guard determined. To aid interpretation of the sources, the article partly draws on recent critical feminist scholarship on the employment of gendered constructions in processes of militarization.

Keywords: police; militarization; language; images; rituals.

Introduction

July 1960 saw mass protests in Italy against Fernando Tambroni's Centre-Right government and the intention of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (*Movimento Sociale Italiano* –

MSI) to hold its congress in the anti-fascist stronghold of Genova.[1] In the aftermath of the protests, several of which had witnessed the killing of demonstrators by the police, the writer, film director, and acute observer of post-war Italian society, Pier Paolo Pasolini, responded to a reader's letter in his regular column in the Communist Party magazine, *Vie Nuove*.[2] The letter concerned the incidental audio recording of the killings of five protesters in the northern Italian town of Reggio Emilia on 7 July,[3] which the magazine subsequently distributed as a gramophone disc. In his response, Pasolini (1991, 44) underlined the grave impression produced by the sound of the killings, particularly the 'calculated and almost mechanical coolness' of the shootings. He went on to express his sensation that, unlike earlier post-war massacres, the police had by now become so 'perfectly organized' as to resemble almost the troops of a foreign occupying army (45).

Pasolini's words largely reflect how, as Italy emerged from the fascist dictatorship and the Second World War, the Interior Ministry police were transformed into a military organization that, on account of this, could be lethal in its confrontation with citizens. As illustrated by Donatella della Porta and Herbert Reiter (2003, 33, 62), the return to the traditional Italian model of a centralized and militarized police under the close control of the government hardly sat with the democratic ideals of the newly-founded Republic, in spite of recommendations for democratic reforms by the Allied Commission and sectors of the Resistance movement. Indeed, during the mid-1940s, a succession of anti-fascist coalition governments had turned

[1] della Porta and Reiter 2003, 149-50. For a detailed analysis of the protests and their wider context, see Cooke 2000.

[2] *Vie Nuove*, 15.33 (1960), reproduced in Pasolini 1991, 43-46.

[3] For the repression in Reggio Emilia and elsewhere, see della Porta and Reiter 2003, 150-52; Cooke, 65-127.

down the Allies' proposal to set up a Police Mission for democratic reform purposes (della Porta and Reiter 2003, 66-67). If the militarization of the post-war Interior Ministry police strongly inhibited the opportunity for democratic renewal, della Porta and Reiter stress that in Italy in the 1940s and 1950s militarization was seen as a fundamental element in the modernization of the police (2003, 35).

While the post-war militarization of the Interior Ministry police has been the object of research in regard to hierarchy, structures and training, and the implications for law and order maintenance and democratic practice (see especially della Porta and Reiter [2003] and Di Giorgio [2019]), the article undertakes an in-depth examination of cultural initiatives to reinforce this process in the early post-war period.[4] It addresses the following questions: Beyond formal training, how were words, images and rituals employed to militarize the police, facilitate military-type public order solutions, and generate public consent for military forms of policing? How did religious language and rituals aim to reinforce a military ethos among police officers in post-war Italy? How widely did the media support the process of militarization? How far were these militarizing strategies inspired by the recently-demised fascist dictatorship's methods of mass communication?

To address these questions, I draw on literature of the Public Security Guard (especially the illustrated magazine *Polizia Moderna*), cinema newsreel footage, as well as mainstream and party newspapers. Much of the focus of the article is on rituals of celebration and commemoration, and their representation within the police and to the wider public. My approach fits closely with recent scholarship which examines political languages, which Steinmetz (2011, 4) defines as 'various modes of using spoken, written, visual, corporeal, or

[4] The research in this article develops earlier work on the militarization of the post-war Italian police published in Dunnage (2017).

other signs in political communication', in 20th-century dictatorships and democracies. In analysing the use of language, and choice of terms, in which narratives about military policing are framed, the article partly draws on recent critical feminist scholarship regarding gender-resonant language, and processes of 'othering', also in the context of strategies for enhancing public support for military power in the face of the threat of Islamic terrorism.

Background

The Interior Ministry police were formally integrated into the armed forces on 31 July 1943 under the newly-formed government of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, a few days after the dismissal of the fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. In November 1944, they were renamed *Corpo delle Guardie di Pubblica Sicurezza* (henceforth referred to as Public Security Guard). While originally an emergency measure, in May 1949 the Christian Democrat government, voted into power in April 1948 following the first general election since the founding of the Republic, converted Badoglio's decree into permanent legislation (Di Giorgio 2019, 22-24; della Porta and Reiter 2003, 66). According to Michele Di Giorgio, while the other major police force, the *Carabinieri* had always been a military corps, this was the first time that the Interior Ministry police had a military organization at their disposal, with the exception of the *Regia Guardia* between 1919 and 1922 (2019, 22-23). Before 1919, the Interior Ministry police force had nevertheless presented some military characteristics. These included military-type ranks, the application of the military penal code for desertion and acts of subordination, and prioritization of recruitment from the army and *Carabinieri*.[5] During the fascist

[5] See Dunnage (1997, 12, 40). Di Giorgio (2019, 22, note 4) stresses, however, that while soldierly-like in appearance, the *Corpo delle Guardie di Pubblica Sicurezza* (1861-1889) and the *Corpo delle Guardie di Città* (1890-1919) were not military institutions.

dictatorship, the *Agenti della Pubblica Sicurezza* (1925-1943) were 'militarily organized' within a new administrative Armed Police Forces Division, though under the command of civilian officials (Carucci 1976, 98, note 1). della Porta and Reiter (2003, 66) specify that the Public Security Guard saw an enhanced militarization of their organizational structure from July 1943.

As a result of the above measures, military training within the police prevailed over instruction in policing techniques (Di Giorgio 2019, 26). The transfer to the police of a large number of men from the other armed forces, the dissolved fascist militias and the fascist colonial police (*Polizia dell'Africa Italiana* - PAI) bolstered the process of militarization (Di Giorgio 2019, 27). The appointment of personnel of ex-fascist organizations reflected more widely the failure to purge the police and armed forces. Di Giorgio notes that while members of the partisan Resistance who had been recruited to the police immediately after the war were encouraged to leave (or intimidated into leaving) the police between the end of 1946 and 1948, around 3,000 officers from the PAI were transferred to the police 'without verifying their loyalty to the new state' (2019, 28-30). Thus, the process of militarization, combined with failure to address the legacy of twenty years of dictatorship, led to a culture of policing which placed public order above the principles of democracy, which was anti-communist in orientation, and which limited the possibility of the development of a democratic mindset among police officers.

As part of the post-war militarization process, the Public Security Guard received a large quantity of military arms and equipment, much to the reservations of Allied representatives, who in the mid-1940s continued to oversee and advise on Italian affairs, and who believed that the employment and image of a militarized and excessively armed police were inappropriate for a democratic order, as illustrated by Herbert Reiter (1997, 49-50, 54-55, 58). In March 1945, for example, the Italian government requested 20,000 muskets, 11,000 pistols,

and 5,000 hand grenades from the Allies (Reiter 1997, 49-50 and note 47). The following year, the Allies discovered that the Interior Ministry had bought 4,000 sub-machine guns on the black market (Reiter 1997, 54). In the autumn of 1946, the Christian Democrat Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi justified the employment of heavy arms on the grounds of serious public order difficulties. He also claimed that the enhanced military structure of the police, while originally necessitated by the state of war, remained essential to ensure discipline within the force (Reiter 1997, 55). In the context of high levels of crime and lawlessness after the Second World War (see Canosa 1995, 8-39), military forms of policing were employed to confront the phenomenon of banditry, which was particularly rife in Sicily, but also to deal with strikes and protests. Between 1948 and 1960 ninety demonstrators were killed, in most cases when the police and *Carabinieri* used firearms (Di Giorgio 2019, 47-48).

Hard-line military-style repression at the scene of protests during the late 1940s reflected a concept of policing which in the climate of the first years of the Cold War identified an internal communist enemy which threatened the security of the state. The appointment of the Christian Democrat Interior Minister, Mario Scelba, in February 1947 determined the ideological orientation of the police against the Left and their frequent intervention during strikes. Hard-line policing was justified on the alleged grounds that the Communist Party used strikes as a political, and possibly insurrectionary, weapon (della Porta and Reiter 2003, 73-4). Scelba's reinforcement of the military structure of the police is evident in his consolidation and more efficient employment of the *Celere* military flying squads and his nomination of a military figure as the chief of police in 1948.[6] Scelba's successor, the Christian Democrat Fernando Tambroni, maintained his predecessor's ideological orientation

[6] See della Porta and Reiter 2003, 73-4. della Porta and Reiter (68-69, 73) specify that Scelba's predecessor, the Socialist Giuseppe Romita, founded the *Celere*.

of the police. He intensified the placing of left-leaning politicians, trade union officials and civil servants on police registers, which Scelba had initiated (Di Giorgio 2019, 42-4). While there were certainly instances of political violence during this period, there is little evidence that the leadership of the Italian Communist Party supported revolutionary initiatives. Nevertheless, the Christian Democrat government preferred to lead the public into believing that the country was in danger, even though the authorities privately were sceptical about a Communist revolutionary plan (see Dondi [1999, 183-96]). There were individuals at the grass roots level, particularly among ex-partisans, who believed that violence should be employed in political struggles. This is partly demonstrated by localized episodes of violence (resulting in the deaths of six police officers and eleven civilians) during the general strike following the attempted assassination of the Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti in July 1948, episodes which, however, did not turn the general strike into a full-scale communist uprising.[7] More generally, the police justified the use of fire-arms at the scene of protests as the only means of defending themselves from 'ferocious crowds' (della Porta and Reiter 2003, 83), though della Porta and Reiter stress that police measures were disproportionate in relation to the actual level of danger which police officers faced (2003, 84). Nevertheless, the majority of Italians 'probably approved of police actions' during the period in question (della Porta and Reiter 2003, 82).

The purpose of this article, however, is not to discuss how justified military forms of policing in post-war Italy were. The sections which follow analyse the employment of words, images and rituals to reinforce the process of militarization which the police were undergoing and to normalize militarized forms of policing in the public mind. I first focus on institutional

---

[7] See Dondi (1999, 190-93) and della Porta and Reiter (2003, 77-84). For a detailed analysis of the general strike and related episodes of violence, see Tobagi 2009.

narratives (often related to celebrations and commemorations) concerning the attitude of the public towards the police, the behaviour of protesters, the heroism and sacrifice of police officers, and the warrior 'qualities' of officers. Following this, the article examines media representations of police ceremonies and the police in action. It underlines, however, the lack of media consensus on militarized policing, reflecting the wider ideological divisions of the early Cold War period.

The cultural militarization of the police

Di Giorgio (2019, 46-47) notes the development during the late-1940s and 1950s of a military concept of domestic police repression modelled on the employment of arms in a war scenario, using terms like 'attack' and 'combing out' (*rastrellamento*). According to della Porta and Reiter (2003, 88), during the late-1940s, low-ranking members of the Public Security Guard were in the hands of officers drafted in from the army who had no sense of basic policing issues or knowledge of police laws and regulations. This had the effect of 'impressing upon life in the barracks an exaggeratedly military or even a solely military style, with the guards treated like troops and not like Public Security officers'.

Beyond formal training and the barrack environment of the Public Security Guard, other initiatives aimed to inculcate military ideals and values. Police officers participated in military-style celebrations, involving parades and the awarding of medals, such as on ''Police Day'' (18 October). While it is not easy to ascertain how police officers experienced these rituals, the official illustrated magazine of the Public Security Guard, *Polizia Moderna*, which reported widely on these events in lengthy illustrated features, gives us a sense of how the celebrations were employed to reinforce military culture. Those of the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Republic on 2 June 1950, in which the armed forces paraded in the main

cities, exemplify this. *Polizia Moderna* produced a two-page article, accompanied by photos, about the event. The text of the article presented the police as fully integrated members of the armed forces. It informed readers that the appreciation of the spectators was an example of the public's recognition of the institutions of the state and their sense of comfort in the knowledge that the armed forces protected them. Alluding to 'the dark days which had followed a glorious and luckless war', the celebrations were the first opportunity to present 'the new formations of the armed forces, toughened and renewed in spirit and means' (A.B. 1950, 10). Referring to the profound significance which the 'exceptional and enthusiastic' participation of the public gave to the event, and stressing that members of the armed forces originated from the people (a recurring theme in post-war Italian police narratives, which I address further below), the article claimed that, after the parades had finished, the millions of Italians who had watched the ceremonies were satisfied that they felt 'guided and protected by their own brothers in arms' (10), concluding that 'the People and the Armed Forces re-discovered each other on this day of celebration and renewed with enthusiasm and certainty the pact which ties them to the destiny of the fatherland.' (11)

While the article noted the 'peaceful' character of the parades, it nevertheless exalted the spectacle of modern military power. Referring to the procession of military units along the Via dei Fori Imperiali, which runs alongside the ancient forum in Rome, the author refers to 'modern centaurs' that 'roar past'; the 'shiny jeeps' of the *Celere* flying squad; and the armoured police vehicles, which they describe as 'steel with iron-like hearts at the service of the law and order' (A.B. 1950, 11).

Narratives about the military and technical qualities of the police and of the reassurances which this brought to the public were fairly common in *Polizia Moderna*. In a similar vein, an article of the previous month on extensive military exercises over two days in northern Italy suggested the interest of the public in the manoeuvres and training. Ignoring the disruption

which the exercises may have caused, the opening sentence of the article joked about their proximity to a hippodrome: 'Yesterday the thoroughbreds of San Siro experienced an eventful morning: indeed, for almost two hours, their most noble ears were disturbed by the roar of armoured vehicles, jeeps, trucks (…)' ('Manovre a Modena e a Milano' 1950, 16). Yet, such exercises undoubtedly also intended to intimidate the left-leaning populations in the areas where they took place. Indeed, any displays of military power served this purpose. As Di Giorgio argues (2019, 44): 'Military parades, the massive deployment of men, and patrols with convoys functioned as muscular exhibitions to show the opposition the strength and the presence of the Government.'

While the above self-celebratory features tended to dominate the pages of *Polizia Moderna*, articles which addressed the more difficult aspects of police-public relations, not least conflict at the scene of strikes and protest, were not lacking, as some of the examples below demonstrate. Yet, these tended to reject any criticism of the police themselves, treating those individuals they confronted on the streets and in the squares as violent and criminal, thereby justifying hard-line military-style tactics. An article appearing in *Polizia Moderna* in April 1949, in response to allegations that the police acted violently, while admitting the possibility of isolated incidents of 'intolerance or excessive force', emphasized the 'serious and determined attitude' of the police in the face of dangers to public order and threats to the integrity of the state and democratic liberties. Such firmness was necessary to defend themselves from 'heedless acts', which on occasion amounted to criminal behaviour among 'pregiudicati' (previous offenders) or 'irresponsible individuals', 'fed by hatred against the police', or encouraged by 'unknown instigators who speculate on street protests in order to give over to looting and private vendetta' (Tempesta 1949, 7).

As the above words illustrate, police narratives underlined the irrational or ill-intentioned behaviour of members of the public encountered during protests, and in this regard the choice

of words adopted was key. This is evident particularly in commemorations of officers who had been killed or injured at the scene of protests (and which ignored the usually higher number of casualties at the hands of the police). In October 1951, on the occasion of the annual ''Police Day'' celebrations, the Public Security Guard of Cagliari in Sardinia published a news issue, in which the police chief of the province (*Questore*), addressing the local flying squad of the *Celere*, largely associated with military-style repression, contrasted the 'sacrifice' of guards who had been killed or injured in the line of duty with the behaviour of citizens. Clearly alluding to left-wing protesters, he states: 'In these troubled post-war years, in the area of this province you have courageously faced in the squares the collective madness which our brothers, led on by false apostles, have given over to' (Genovese 1951, 5).

Other examples of post-war narratives suggest that the police saw (and, by extension, treated) the demonstrators as 'rebels' in the same way that colonial forces had dealt with rebellions by members of indigenous populations in East Africa during the fascist period. The fact that members of both the army and the colonial police had entered the Public Security Guard after the end of the Second World War enabled a transfer of fascist colonial culture to domestic policing.[8] 'Police Day' celebrations in October 1950 illustrate how police action in both earlier colonial and current domestic situations were treated equally in commendations. Members of the Public Security Guard received medals for acts of bravery in the face of resistance in East Africa in April and May 1941 and during violent protests in post-war Italy. A special feature in *Polizia Moderna* reporting the awards noted how: 'The Commander of a colonial unit, during combing operations [*operazioni di rastrellamento*], repeatedly proved his unmistakable military and professional qualities'. In several encounters, he 'threw himself'

[8] For the attitudes of ex-fascist colonial personnel in the Interior Ministry police, see Dunnage (2017, 803-804).

upon ‘determined’ groups of rebels organized in a defensive position, ‘so rapidly and aggressively as to oblige them to fight in the open’ (‘Nell’anniversario della Costituzione del Corpo’ 1950, 17). The feature included cases of guards who fell or were injured when confronting criminals and protesters during the post-war period. The narrative presents a scenario similar to that of the colonial operation, with the protesters being described as ‘insorti’ (insurgents) or ‘rivoltosi’ (rebels). (‘Nell’anniversario della Costituzione del Corpo’ 1950, 29).

Beyond the transfer of fascist colonial forms of police repression to post-war domestic policing, and its contribution to the process of militarization of the Public Security Guard, we should consider the terms employed in police narratives to describe the individuals or groups they confronted at the scene of protests in relation to critical feminist scholarship, which underlines the application in the recent war on terrorism of gender-resonant language which defines extremism as an ‘irrational, emotive and thus feminized ideology’ (Basham and Vaughan-Williams 2013, 517), in the broader context where:

the notion that war, and thus war preparedness, is inevitable is a profoundly gendered trope; it relies on assumptions about ‘human’ nature that are based on the experiences of a small number of (white) men, a focus on state-based ‘solutions’ that reify the public masculinized sphere, and a reinforcement of the superiority of masculine characteristics such as rationality, resolve and strength (Basham and Vaughan-Williams 2013, 516).

The above theory helps to explain how in post-war Italy the state employed gendered connotations to justify militarized forms of police repression of strikes and protests. (Masculine) resoluteness, bravery and sacrifice defended society from the dangers posed by (feminine) irrational hordes, as evident in the above-cited references to ‘rebels’, ‘insurgents’

and ‘collective madness’. Such gendered connotations had also been present in fascist narratives about the police, if we consider, for example, a statement appearing in the official fascist police journal, *Il Magistrato dell’Ordine*, about the ability of the police (described as even-handed in their actions, and ‘always serene and strong’), to ‘immunize the Nation from the pernicious influences of antisocial and unnatural doctrines which, unfortunately, spread ruin, massacres and disorder elsewhere’.[9] In this context, the fascist police were frequently described in military or militaristic terms. In November 1933, a special feature in *Il Magistrato dell’Ordine* on the annual Police Day celebrations (analysed in a later section), quoted from an article originally appearing in the daily newspaper, *La Gazzetta dell’Emilia*, which described the police as: ‘An army perennially fighting amid countless ambushes in times of peace, too’ and their officers as ‘soldiers of the militia of silence’ who ‘keep at bay the occult forces of the enemies of the police and are able to thwart the plots which they hatch in the shadows’ (‘La festa della polizia’ 1933, 167).

The ability of post-war police narratives to separate the violent actions of officers from their victims is reinforced by the emphasis placed on the killing and injury of officers at the scene of protests, with no direct reference made to civilian casualties.[10] The above-cited article in *Polizia Moderna* (April 1949), responding to claims that the police were against ‘the people’ stressed, for example, how:

---

[9] Altamura 1936, 134. The article was originally published in the Genoese daily newspaper, *Il Giornale di Genova*, on 18 October 1936.

[10] According to Di Giorgio (2019, 47-48), between 1948 and 1960 six police officers died at the scene of protests.

The generous blood of hundreds of fallen, officials, officers, *carabinieri* and guards, heroic victims of the most sacred of duties, that of defending the principle of authority of the Fatherland, whether in times of peace or of war, will suffice on its own to demonstrate the opposite (Tempesta 1949, 7).

This resonates closely with Victoria Basham's argument that 'designating soldiers as "the fallen", and their deaths as sacrifices, enables mourning and remembrance to be separated out from military violence' (2016, 885), ignoring the fact that: 'Soldiers do not of course "fall" in battle; they are maimed, and they maim; they are eviscerated and they eviscerate; they bleed and make bleed; they are killed and they kill.' (Basham 2016, 884-85).

Beyond references to the shedding of blood (to which we refer again in the following section), other bodily terms and imagery featured in post-war narratives about the heroism and sacrifice of police officers. As the above-cited article in *Polizia Moderna* shows, these also served to mythologize officers in the face of criticism of military-style police repression. Having exalted the sacrifice of fallen officers, the article then asks how the police could possibly be against the 'people', when they were made up of:

sons of the people whose minds are saturated with that simple and honest spirit of our people and whose bodies are accustomed to the fields and workshops, whose skin is tanned by the breezes of the Southern seas, by the winds of the Apennines, and by the scorching heat of Sicily? (Tempesta 1949, 7).

If – in an effort to reinforce the loyalty of low-ranking personnel – the above narrative exalted the peasant values and bodies of police officers, accusations that the police were against the

people stemmed from the fact that the victims of police repression were often peasants and industrial workers. Indeed, nearly twenty years later, in the aftermath of the killing by the police of two agricultural labourers at Avola (Sicily), in December 1968, Pasolini (1979, 102-104), in an article calling for the de-militarization of the police, published in the weekly illustrated news magazine *Tempo*, expressed the 'worthlessness' of peasant bodies in the mind of the Italian state:

To be 1) Sicilian (that is, to belong to a pre-industrial and prehistoric area), 2) a farm labourer [*bracciante*] (that is, to belong to the poorest of the poor categories of workers), means to be a man whose body is of no value. That one can massacre without too many scruples (...).[11]

But Pasolini, reflecting the historically high percentage of police officers who originated from the South,[12] argued that the two police officers responsible for the deaths were, in theory, also poor southerners, and therefore themselves victims of state power which, on account of their 'low-cost' status as 'southerners, potential day labourers', transformed them into 'hired assassins' in return for 40,000 Lire a month (Pasolini 1979, 103). Here Pasolini is undoubtedly influenced by historic denunciation by the far Left of the state's alleged enrolment of the Southern peasantry in the police, *Carabinieri*, and the army in order to repress the northern urban proletariat on its behalf (see, for example, Leonetti [1920]).

In the article, Pasolini (1979, 104) also suggests that Southern peasants and police officers are both 'racially (...) marked'. We can relate Pasolini's words to Ash Amin's more recent assertion that 'biopolitical regimes, with their explicit rules and practices of order based on bodily differentiation and discipline, regulate the state of alert towards the raced body.' (2010,

---

[11] Pasolini (1979, 103). The article was originally published in *Tempo*, 30.52 (21 December 1968).

[12] For figures covering the year of Pasolini's article, see Di Giorgio (2019, 100-101).

9). Following the logics which Pasolini and Amin put forward, while the ‘worthless’ ‘raced’ bodies of peasants were subjected to military police repression, those of the police officers entrusted with this were hardly considered of higher value.

If the official narratives, as evident in police journals and public celebrations, hail police officers as heroic guardians of public order and the ‘fatherland’, this conceals the reality of their poor working conditions (deriving from inadequate training, lack of rest days, and low pay) and their general maltreatment within a rigid military hierarchy (see Di Giorgio [2019, Chapter 1] for a detailed analysis). The latter deprived them of formal channels for lodging complaints, because they were banned from joining trade unions.[13] Moreover, detailed instructions in training manuals regarding such matters as table manners and personal hygiene suggest that commanders treated the guards as socially (and by such implication racially) inferior (see, for example, Ministero dell’Interno [1948, 12-16]). The contempt in which commanders held lower-ranking officers is demonstrated in episodes in which they addressed them as ‘bumpkins’ (‘cafoni’), ‘hoers’ (‘zappaterra’) and ‘worthless peasants’ (‘contadini da quattro soldi’) (Di Giorgio 2019, 134). Referring once again to critical feminist interpretations of militarizing narratives, these words suggest a ‘feminization’ of police officers, in the context of their Southern Italian origin. As V. Spike Peterson argues (2010, 19): ‘casting the subordinated as feminine devalorizes not only the empirical gender category of women but also sexually, racially, culturally, and economically marginalized men (e.g., “lazy migrants”, “primitive natives”, “effeminate gays”).’

[13] According to della Porta and Reiter (2003, 66), a government decree of April 1945 banned civilian and military personnel of the police from belonging to political parties and union organizations.

Religious language and liturgy

An examination of the police literature of the early years of the Cold War reveals the employment of religious language and rituals to reinforce the military character of the Public Security Guard. Key here were the initiatives of military chaplains of the various armed forces. The *Ordinariato Militare d'Italia*, the ecclesiastic-military organization of chaplains led by the outspoken monarchist and anti-democratic monsignor Carlo Alberto Ferrero di Cavallerleone, while formally entrusted with the task of spiritual assistance, clearly employed religious rituals for more radical purposes, to the extent that in a circular of November 1950 a military commander reminded chaplains that it was not their job to 'stimulate warrior virtues' or 'incite hatred against earthly enemies' (Franzinelli, n.d., 1-4). In his study of life in the post-war Italian army, Domenico Rizzo (2012, 134-36) stresses the importance of religious rituals, notably the practice from 1948 onwards of combined swearing-in and first-communion ceremonies, and end-of-training and confirmation ceremonies. He notes that in the ideologically polarized climate of the post-war years, from the institutional perspective 'binding the pledge of faith to the fatherland with the mystic encounter of the Eucharist' could signify a reinforcement of 'both the very ideal of fatherland and the figure of the soldier-citizen', thus endorsing the 'limited trustworthiness of whoever refuses the dual concept of "God and Fatherland"' (136).

Referring to a speech which monsignor Ferrero di Cavallerleone delivered to a regiment of soldiers on 2 March 1947, invoking the past sacrifices of soldiers to encourage opposition - through armed combat, if required - to those peoples who threaten Italian civilization and religion, Rizzo (2012, 142-43) also underlines how, through the incorporation of the religious element into military culture, the idea of fatherland was 'defined by a double frontier', both of whose confines the army was called on to defend: the 'natural' frontier of Italy's borders and

the ‘spiritual’ frontier of the Catholic faith. In this context, ‘each communist combines the figures of the invader, the materialist atheist and the internal enemy’ (143).

The proclamation by Pope Pius XII (1950) of the Archangel Saint Michael as patron saint of the Public Security Guard in September 1949 clearly intended to enhance the warrior qualities of police officers. This allowed an appropriation of divine Christian values by the post-war police in their battles against disorder and the forces of communism.[14] Moreover, the choice of St Michael as patron saint of the Public Security Guard arguably reinforced gendered notions of warrior heroism and sacrifice, given that the saint embodies the ‘masculine’ qualities of rationality, resolve and strength. As the proclamation implies, St Michael was chosen because God made him the head of an ‘Angelic Militia’ to ‘resolve the perennial struggle between good and evil’ and banish the ‘Prince of darkness and his followers’ from heaven, just as human society on earth required strength and firmness in order to enhance justice and protect the good. Thus, among ‘celestial patrons’, ‘no one seemed more right and fitting for safeguarding public security than that great Prince of the celestial Court, and precisely the Archangel Michael, being endowed with divine strength against the “forces of darkness”’ (Pope Pius XII, 1950).

As a three-page illustrated feature in the June 1952 issue of *Polizia Moderna* demonstrates, the patron saint of the Public Security Guard was celebrated annually, with military chaplains attached to the force leading religious services at police headquarters, barracks, and training schools throughout the country. The celebrations at the Adriatica barracks in Milan on 8 May 1952 coincided with the swearing-in of new recruits. At the training school of the Public Security Guard in Rome, monsignor Ferrero di Cavallerleone celebrated a mass at which he

[14] There are analogies here with religiously charged US anti-Communism founded on the idea of a struggle between good and evil. See Mergel (2011, 256-58).

‘invoked the saint’s blessing of all Public Security personnel’ (‘8 Maggio’ 1952). A feature on the 1950 celebrations includes a photograph of guards stationed at Lucera (Apulia) carrying a statue of St Michael in procession (Viale 1950, 8).

The use of religious language and images to enhance the warrior qualities of the Public Security Guard and to link directly Christian faith and service to the Fatherland is explicitly indicated in the prayer to St Michael, which Ferrero di Cavallerleone had written for police officers (Lazzerini 2009, 75-6). In the prayer, the guards proclaim the ‘Commander of the Angelic Militias’ as their patron and invoke him as ‘the celestial guiding spirit in their intentions and illuminated counsellor in their vigilant solicitude.’ They ask that St Michael, to whom God entrusted:

the highest task of driving away the dark spirits, enemies of the Truth and Justice, give strength to those whom, in their reverence and adherence to God’s law, the Fatherland has called to maintain harmony, honesty and peace among its citizens (‘Preghiera della polizia’ 2009, 13).

The above words, beyond giving the work of the Public Security Guard a religious dimension, express their actions as part of an apocalyptic battle against the forces of evil, inspired by the example of a celestial military commander. They also resonate with Peterson’s point - with reference to how the US ‘War on Terror’ after 9/11 was framed as a remasculinization of the nation - that:

Enemies this irrational and unpredictable could only be defeated by drawing an absolute line between good and evil and adopting the strongest possible measures to eliminate those deemed evil. Feminization operates here to construct enemies as so absolutely different from ‘us’ that the only viable strategy is their annihilation (2010, 23).

Police narratives repeated the imperative to follow the example of their patron saint according to the good - evil dichotomy. The feature in *Polizia Moderna* on the 1950 celebrations of St Michael stressed that the police were called upon guarantee the ideals and principles of the fatherland ('sacrifice, renunciation and generosity, for a higher and wider good'), just as St Michael 'broke the conspiracy of those who wanted to prevail over God' (Viale 1950, 8). In a similar vein, the *Questore* of Cagliari, in his address to the *Celere* in October 1951 (cited earlier), links the saint's actions to those of the police. Referring to a commemoration of fallen officers that had just taken place, he proclaims: 'They who had the function on Earth of Warrior Angels – for which reason your Patron saint is the Archangel Michael – are alive in us today more than ever.' (Genovese 1951, 5).

Though it is not central to the analysis in this article, the question remains whether one may also identify in the language of the religious ceremonies considered above the legacy of fascist state religion. According to Emilio Gentile (2011, 74-80), fascist political language (which he calls *fascistese*) was a language of 'mythification' with a strong religious dimension, in the broader context of the development of fascism as a political religion, evident in the regime's symbols and rituals, its institutional manifestations, and its presentation of fascist ideology as religious doctrine. Walter Adamson maintains, however, that 'from the ritualistic-symbolic point of view, fascism's sacralization of politics is heavily indebted to Christianity, even parasitic upon it and impossible without it.' (2014, 54).

Rituals involving the fascist police had included Catholic mass (such as on the occasion of the swearing in of new recruits), and commemorations which combined fascist and Catholic language and symbols (see Dunnage [2012, Chapter 2] and Dunnage and Rossol [2015, 106-

107]). The influence of the cult of the fallen which played a central role in the development of fascist state religion (see Gentile 1993, 47-48) is evident in the adoption by the fascist police of a register of fallen officers and in commemorations of some officers as fascist martyrs (Dunnage and Rossol 2015, 105-106). The legacy of fascism in post-war religious rituals deserves a more in-depth investigation. We should bear in mind that only a superficial de-fascistization of the police took place, and that most police officers, including devoted fascists among them, kept their jobs (see Dunnage 2012, 187-98). This arguably facilitated continuities with fascist culture and rituals even if they presented themselves in other ideological contexts. In this regard, it is telling that the above-cited *Questore* of Cagliari had openly professed his fascist beliefs during the dictatorship (See Dunnage 2012, 171-74).

Representations of militarized policing to the public

How did the Public Security Guard present themselves to the public, and how far and in what ways did the press and state media attempt to engender support for a militarized police? Here it is necessary to distinguish between representations of formal, ritualized celebrations of the police, such as the annual 'Police Day', and those of the police in action. We should also consider these representations in the context of ideological polarization between the Left and the Centre-Right in the scenario of the onset of the Cold War, as a result of which public opinion, also reflected in the media, was divided over the role of the police.

Public celebrations featuring military parades were clearly an opportunity for showcasing the militarized Public Security Guard and involving the public. Relatives of newly recruited guards would attend swearing-in ceremonies, for example. With specific reference to the army, Rizzo (2012, 133) notes that the military authorities encouraged the participation of families, alongside representatives of local institutions, the idea being that the ceremony 'should provoke a community feeling among the recruits and the onlookers'.

The press and broadcasting media projected these rituals to a wider public, and representations of 'Police Day' (*Festa della Polizia*) are a useful example of this. During the fascist dictatorship, which had instituted the celebrations in 1928, the main event was a military-style parade in Rome, in the presence of Mussolini (see, for example, 'XII anniversario' 1937). In the context of the fascist regime's cultural initiatives to prepare society for total warfare, this allowed displays of modern equipment and vehicles, including armoured vehicles which, however, though perhaps anticipating a future scenario of police involvement in belligerency, hardly reflected the nationwide activities of a police force working under an authoritarian dictatorship that above all required intensive surveillance and monitoring of the population. Demonstrations of athletic and physical skill, such as gymnastics and wrestling, and crime fighting techniques also took place (see Dunnage [2012, 39-42] and Dunnage and Rossol [2015]). As evident in newsreel footage, alongside gymnastics displays, the celebrations partly involved the enactment of war scenarios (see for example, 'Il saggio ginnico degli agenti di polizia' [1937]). Moreover, in 1938, in imitation of their German allies, the Roman step was introduced for some of the parades and displays (see, for example, 'Mussolini passa in rivista i "Metropolitani" nell'annuale dell'arma' [1938]).

della Porta and Reiter argue that 'Police Day' exemplifies how the militarized character of the post-war police was a dominant element in their self-representation (2003, 86). In this respect, the parades and medal-awarding ceremonies of the fascist period, once stripped of fascist iconography, provided a basis for the post-war celebrations, which resumed in 1947. Moreover, the propaganda techniques employed during the dictatorship to demonstrate the power and organization of the fascist police undoubtedly influenced representations of military might in the post-war scenario. Cinema newsreel features projected images of military formations and parades, which hardly differed from those screened during the fascist

period, beyond the absence of Mussolini and fascist iconography. As David Forgacs and Stephen Gundle (2007, 217) argue:

clearly there were important ideological differences between the fascist newsreels of the Istituto Luce and those of the post-war years. However, there were continuities in the mode of production and exhibition (...) and in certain aspects of style: duration, tone of commentary, and use of accompanying music.

Moreover, Forgacs and Gundle continue, although the post-war Incom news production company was a private organization, the content of its films was subject to the control of a body within the Prime Minister's Office, 'and therefore the newsreels were still, as they had been under Fascism, an official voice of the government' (217-18).

Post-war newsreels of 'Police Day' clearly emphasized the military 'qualities' of the police. That of the 1949 celebrations included footage of formations of military units, parades of units and armoured vehicles, and ceremonies in Rome, Catania and Milan. The accompanying commentary describes the police officers participating as: 'Young men in arms who dedicate their existence to guaranteeing the security of their fellow citizens. We owe it to them if in the four post-war years we have overcome the challenging phases of reconstruction.' As footage was shown of the laying of a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Rome, the commentator stated that the monument represented the 'ideal union between those who defended the fatherland and those who defend its order'.[15]

Mainstream newspapers also used coverage of public ceremonies to highlight the military power and 'qualities' of the Public Security Guard. Reducing distinction between acts of war

[15] 'Ventiquattresimo annuale' (1949). The screen title of the news report reads: 'Roma: Festa della Polizia'.

and internal policing, in its article of 19 October 1948 ('La festa della polizia' 1948, 2), the Roman daily *Il Messaggero* describes the awarding of military medals to two battalions 'which distinguished themselves for bravery and skill in war and in peace', and the procession of '5,000 men, 250 motor and armoured vehicles, and squadrons on horseback', which illustrated 'the perfect level of training achieved by the police forces' ('La festa della polizia' 1948, 2). The article noted that the spectators became particularly enthusiastic as a unit of guards about to depart for Asmara (Eritrea) paraded with new colonial equipment ('La festa della polizia' 1948, 2). Similarly, an article in the Christian Democrat Party daily, *Il Popolo*, praised the 'impeccable' parade, emphasizing the enthusiasm of the spectators, who reserved a longer applause for the 'small unit of twenty *agenti* on foot in khaki uniform' who were going to serve at Asmara ('Garanzia di ordine e di libertà' 1948, 2).[16]

Unsurprisingly, an article appearing in the Communist Party daily, *L'Unità*, took a negative view of the celebrations, stressing the unsuitability of military-style policing for fighting ordinary crime. Under the sarcastic title, 'What a nice parade!', it mocked the display of 'the most beautiful armoured cars they had in the depot', 'the fastest jeeps and "mega-jeeps" with the shiniest sub-machine-guns', noting the exorbitant cost of each armoured vehicle. The article went on to argue that when a crime is committed police officers have no means to deal with it, because resources are focused on political repression: 'What do delinquents, thieves, murderers and smugglers matter? What matters is to march against workers, even kill them, arrest partisans, even kill them, imprison union leaders, and even have them killed.' The article also comments ironically on the awarding of medals for acts of heroism during the Second World War, noting the oppressive fascist occupation of Montenegro under which such

[16] According to the website of the Polizia di Stato, after the loss of the colonies a detachment of the PAI remained in Eritrea until the early 1950s (Polizia di Stato, n.d.).

acts had taken place. The article lamented that no medals were awarded to any police officer for arresting a murderer, while units responsible for policing crime and public morality did not take part in the parade ('Che bella parata!' 1948, 2).

We should consider the article in *L'Unità* in the context in which the Communist Party and trade unions bore the brunt of police repression during this period, which they interpreted as a form of class repression. An article analysing the *Celere* flying squads of the Public Security Guard appearing in the Communist journal *Rinascita* in April 1949 describes the police in militaristic terms, referring, for example, to the *Celere* as an 'armed class formation', and, alluding to the Blackshirts who had violently assaulted the workers' movement during the period leading to Mussolini's rise to power in 1922, a form of 'state squadrismo' (Zangrandi 1949, 149-51). The article cited the 'pre-emptive and widespread employment' of the *Celere* 'with its considerable ostentation of military vehicles' as proof of the government's intention to intimidate. 'At the mere announcement of a protest (...) these troops are made to circulate widely, in complete fighting trim, before being positioned strategically in the cities, according to military-type operation plans.' (150) This created an atmosphere of civil war, which is transformed into a proper civil war if the *Celere* are ordered to repress a demonstration. Their action is characterized by war-like tactics applied against anyone who happens to be in the way:

Not only are the protesters considered on a level with enemy units to be dispersed and exterminated, but, given the difficulty in picking them out from the public, every distinction is abandoned. The jeeps start their deadly races through the crowd, they skim the walls in a mad rush, they bear down on wherever groups of people are to be found, even in the doorways, and the guards thoughtlessly deliver blows with their truncheons without discrimination: women, the elderly, children, 'subversives', and non-'subversives' are subjected to the same violence without the possibility of escape or reaction (150).

The Communist Party portrayed an image of widespread employment of military tactics in class repression - portrayals which, arguably assisted the government in its desire to intimidate the opposition. Reflecting how the language of the media could itself become militarized, the Christian Democrat press, in its efforts to defend the government and police when violent repression led to casualties, employed militaristic terms to describe the 'irrational' actions of the Communist-led working-class movement. In October 1949, following the death of two agricultural labourers at the hands of the *Celere* during an attempt to occupy land near Crotone (Calabria), the press organ of the Christian Democrat Party, *Il Popolo*, attributing the incident to communist efforts to 'sow unrest', described how 'columns of peasants heading off to occupy land already assigned to workers' co-operatives (…) attacked the police forces which were blocking their way' ('Preordinato (e fallito) lo sciopero' 1949, 1). We should consider such language in the wider context of the perceived threat of a Soviet 'fifth column' in Western Europe. An article in the same newspaper of March 1949 reported that, according to an enquiry by the Associated Press, despite their numerical weakness, communists living in the European Recovery Plan area would still be able to commit acts of sabotage, such as the destruction of railway bridges and power stations, in a war situation ('Quinta colonna in Europa' 1949, 1).

While there is little evidence that news of the killing of protesters by the police was broadcasted to cinema audiences, newsreel reports nevertheless informed them about military-type policing solutions to problems of disorder. The report of 31 July 1947 included footage of the Interior Ministry police and *Carabinieri* in a combing operation against bandits in the countryside of Western Sicily.[17] A report of 18 July 1948 on the attempted assassination of

[17] 'Polizia e carabinieri all'erta nella lotta contro il banditismo' (1947). The screen title of the news report reads: 'Lampi sulla Sicilia. Lotta al banditismo'.

the Communist leader, Togliatti, and the general strike which followed showed jeeps of the *Celere* driving at speed on the pavements in the centre of Rome to disperse demonstrators ('Dopo l'attentato a Togliatti' 1948).

This process of normalization is also apparent in news reports about military exercises. As examples of this, Incom produced a feature in August 1950 about the exercise of a battalion of *Carabinieri* cadets in the countryside near Viterbo, based on an imaginary operation against bandits. After throwing hand grenades towards the opening of a cave where the bandits are positioned, the commentary specifies that the battalion has the task of 'capturing or eliminating the bandits' ('Nella campagna viterbese. Esercitazioni dei Carabinieri' 1950). A news feature of April 1950 about weekly exercises of police mobile and *Celere* units in Emilia gives a sense of the military occupation of urban spaces during these exercises, anticipating in the mind of the viewer the possibility of a real occupation. In the particular exercise that is filmed, the units are ordered to: 'Concentrate in the outskirts of X in groups'. The successful operation is followed by an inspection of the units in the city of Modena by police commanders and the local Prefect and Police Chief ('Emilia, manovre dei reparti mobili PS' 1950). Underlining once again the overriding military 'qualities' of the police, another newsreel feature on armoured police units, dated 17 August 1950, explains how officers are trained at a location on the Adriatic coast to face a foreign invasion, stressing that 'These men are also soldiers of the fatherland' ('Litorale Adriatico manovre dei reparti mobili PS' 1950).

Conclusion

While measuring the impacts of strategies for 'militarizing' police officers and the wider public poses a challenge, there is evidence of a normalization of military forms of police

action extending beyond the realms of the police to the public sphere during and beyond the period analysed. Despite opposition from the Left, there is little doubt that sectors of the population supported the police. della Porta and Reiter (2003, 82) note that in the province of Florence the public raised more than 500,000 Lire to donate to the families of two policemen who were killed at Abbadia San Salvatore (Siena) during acts of violence which followed the attempted assassination of Togliatti. If from the start of the 1950s, in line with a drop in the level of social tension, police use of firearms decreased, repression at the scene of demonstrations continued to be violent (as demonstrated by the continued use of jeep charges and tear gas). The fact that the police retained the option of using firearms is demonstrated by the killings in July 1960 (mentioned in the opening lines of the article) (della Porta and Reiter 2003, 99, 149-52). This may partly reflect the success of strategies to reinforce the militarization of the Public Security Guard, which the article has examined, though we should not underestimate the unease among police personnel which would eventually lead to the development of a movement for the de-militarization and democratization of the Interior Ministry police.[18]

The article has stressed the importance of analysing the use of words, images and rituals which aimed to reinforce the process of militarization of the Italian Interior Ministry police during the early years of the Cold War. As part of this analysis it, has drawn on critical feminist scholarship to underline the employment of gendered definitions pitting resolve, heroism and sacrifice against the 'folly' of protesters and 'subversive' forces, in order to

[18] See Di Giorgio (2019), esp. Chapter 2. Di Giorgio notes (24-25) that an initial request for de-militarization, alongside other reforms, by a group of 'agenti democratici' from within the Public Security Guard in 1947 was ignored. Only from 1968 was there notable intensification of internal protest (131).

reinforce the status of police officers as ‘soldiers’ of the ‘fatherland’. It has also stressed the role which religious language and liturgy played in this process, framing these ‘soldiers’ as fighting in a holy war against communism. While the legacy of fascist mass communication techniques facilitated the attempted normalization of military forms of policing among the post-war public, there is also evidence of linguistic and symbolic continuities between the fascist regime and the early years of the Italian Republic. Military or militaristic terminology had often described the fascist police. Moreover, the fact that the Fascists had largely borrowed Catholic language and symbolism to create a state religion may explain an apparently painless transformation of fascist institutional culture to a Catholic one in the police. However, this process was highly ambivalent. Expressions of Catholic zeal against communism in the early Cold War period arguably masked the survival of sentiments - nurtured by the fascist cultural and religious experience - against an ‘enemy’ common to both the fascist and post-war police. Such continuities are even more significant if we consider the contribution of fascist colonial culture to the militarization of the Public Security Guard in the post-war period.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Susan Jackson and to Christoph Laucht for commenting on an earlier version of the manuscript.

References

A.B. 1950. “Nel IV anniversario della Repubblica.” *Polizia Moderna*, 2 (6): 10-11.

Adamson, Walter L. 2014. “Fascism and Political Religion in Italy: A Reassessment.” *Contemporary European History* 23 (1): 43-73.

Altamura, Giulio. 1936. “Una forza dell’impero.” *Il Magistrato dell’Ordine* 13: 134.

Amin, Ash. 2010, “The Remainders of Race.” *Theory, Culture and Society* 27 (1): 1-23.

Basham, Victoria M. 2016. “Gender, Race, Militarism and Remembrance: The Everyday Geopolitics of the Poppy.” *Gender, Place and Culture* 23 (6): 883-896.

Basham, Victoria M., and Nick Vaughan-Williams. 2013. “Gender, Race and Border Security Practices: A Profane Reading of ‘Muscular Liberalism’.” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 15 (4): 509-527.

Canosa, Romano. 1995. *Storia della criminalità in Italia dal 1946 ad oggi*. Milan: Feltrinelli.

Carucci, Paola. 1976. “L’organizzazione dei servizi di polizia dopo l’approvazione del testo unico delle leggi di pubblica sicurezza nel 1926.” *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, 26: 82-114.

“Che bella parata!” 1948 *L’Unità*, October 19.

Cooke, Philip. 2000. *Luglio 1960: Tambroni e la repressione fallita*. Milan: Teti

della Porta, Donatella and Herbert Reiter. 2003. *Polizia e protesta: L'ordine pubblico dalla Liberazione ai "no global"*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Di Giorgio, Michele. 2019. *Per una polizia nuova: Il movimento per la riforma della Pubblica Sicurezza (1969-1981)*. Rome: Viella.

Dondi, Mirco. 1999. *La lunga liberazione: Giustizia e violenza nel dopoguerra italiano*. Rome: Editori Riuniti.

"Dopo l'attentato a Togliatti: Manifestazioni di protesta." 1948. La Settimana Incom 00172, July 18. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).

Dunnage, Jonathan. 1997. *The Italian Police and the Rise of Fascism: A Case Study of the Province of Bologna, 1897-1925*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Dunnage, Jonathan. 2012. *Mussolini's Policemen: Behaviour, Ideology and Institutional Culture in Representation and Practice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Dunnage, Jonathan. 2017. "Historical Perspectives on Democratic Police Reform: Institutional Memory, Narratives and Ritual in the Post-war Italian police, 1948-1963." *Policing and Society* 27 (7): 797-812.

Dunnage, Jonathan, and Nadine Rossol. 2015. "Building Ideological Bridges and Inventing Institutional Traditions: Festivities and Commemorative Rituals in the Fascist and Nazi Police." *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History and Societies* 19 (1): 89-111

"Emilia, manovre dei reparti mobili PS." 1950. La Settimana Incom 00433, April 26. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).

Forgacs, David and Stephen Gundle. 2007. *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascist to the Cold War*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Franzinelli, Mimmo. 'Cappellani militari', 1-8, official website: http://www.mimmofranzinelli.it/tool/home.php?s=0,1,55,57,101 (last accessed 7 May 2020).

Genovese, Vincenzo. 1951. "Parole di Saluto del Questore." *Numero unico XXVI Anniversario della Fondazione del Corpo delle Guardie di Pubblica Sicurezza*, October 7.

"Garanzia di ordine e di libertà." 1948. *Il Popolo*, October 19.

Gentile, Emilio. 1993. *Il culto del littorio: La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista*. Rome-Bari: Laterza

Gentile, Emilio. 2011. "*Fascistese*: The Religious Dimensions of Political Language in Fascist Italy." In *Political Languages in the Age of Extremes*, edited by Willibald Steinmetz, 69-82. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"Il saggio ginnico degli agenti di polizia." 1937. Giornale LUCE B118706, October 20. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).

"La festa della polizia." 1933. *Il Magistrato dell'Ordine* 10: 165-68.

"La festa della polizia." 1948. *Il Messaggero*, October 19.

Lazzerini, Don Antonello. 2009. "San Michele, l'angelo protettore della polizia di stato nel 60° anniversario di proclamazione." In *Gli angeli, i militari e le forze dell'ordine*, edited by Marcello Stanzione, 54-85. Tavagnacco: Edizioni Segno.

Leonetti, Alfonso. 1920. "La Questione Meridionale." *Comunismo (Rivista della Terza Internazionale*) 1 (13): 942-949.

"Litorale Adriatico manovre dei reparti mobili PS." 1950. La Settimana Incom 00479, August 17. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).

"Manovre a Modena e a Milano." 1950. *Polizia Moderna* 2 (5): 16-17.

Mergel, Thomas. 2011. "The Unknown and the Familiar Enemy: The Semantics of Anti-Communism in the USA and Germany, 1945-1975." In *Political Languages in the Age of Extremes*, edited by Willibald Steinmetz, 245-274. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale della Polizia. 1948. *Corso di lezioni per le scuole di polizia*. Rome: Universale.

"Mussolini passa in rivista i "Metropolitani" nell'annuale dell'arma." 1938. Giornale LUCE B1394, October 19. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).

"Nella campagna viterbese. Esercitazioni dei Carabinieri." 1950. La Settimana Incom 00483, August 31. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).

"Nell'anniversario della Costituzione del Corpo." 1950. *Polizia Moderna* 2 (11): 12-33.

Pasolini, Pier Paolo. 1979. "Per una polizia democratica." In Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Il Caos*, edited by Gian Carlo Ferretti, 102-104. Rome: Edizioni Riuniti.

Pasolini, Pier Paolo. (1977) 1991. "Il disco di 'Vie Nuove' sull'eccidio di Reggio Emilia." In *Le belle bandiere*. edited by Gian Carlo Ferretti, 43-46. Rome: L'Unità/Editori Riuniti.

Peterson, V. Spike. 2010. "Gendered Identities, Ideologies, and Practices in the Context of War and Militarism." In *Gender, War, and Militarism. Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Laura Sjoberg and Sandra Via, 17-29. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Polizia di Stato. Il Fondo 'Polizia dell'Africa Italiana': https://www.poliziadistato.it/articolo/il-fondo--polizia-dell-africa-italiana (accessed on 19/05/20).

"Polizia e carabinieri all'erta nella lotta contro il banditismo." 1947. La Settimana Incom 00069, July 31. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).

Pope Pius XII. 1950. "San Michele Arcangelo è proclamato patrono particolare presso Dio dell'amministrazione dell'ordine e della pubblica sicurezza d'Italia." *Atti della Sede*

Apostolica. Commentario dell'Ufficio, 42, 2nd series (17): https://www.poliziadistato.it/statics/30/bollapapale_e_traduzione.pdf (last accessed on 19/05/20)

"Preghiera della polizia al patron San Michele arcangelo." 2009. In *Gli angeli, i militari e le forze dell'ordine*, edited by Marcello Stanzione, 13. Tavagnacco: Edizioni Segno.

"Preordinato (e fallito) lo sciopero per gli incidenti nel crotonese. La CGIL attendeva l'occasione." 1949. *Il Popolo*, November 1.

"Quinta colonna in Europa di 5 milioni di comunisti." 1949. *Il Popolo*, March 25.

Reiter, Herbert. 1997. "I progetti degli alleati per una riforma della polizia in Italia (1943-1947)." *Passato e Presente* 15 (42): 37-64.

Rizzo, Domenico. 2012. *Vita di caserma: Autorità e relazioni nell'esercito italiano del secondo dopoguerra*. Rome: Carocci.

Steinmetz, Willibald. 2011. "New Perspectives on the Study of Language and Power in the Short Twentieth Century." In *Political Languages in the Age of Extremes*, edited by Willibald Steinmetz, 3-51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tempesta, P. 1949. "Politica e polizia." *Polizia Moderna* 1 (4): 6-7.

Tobagi, Walter. 2009. *La rivoluzione impossibile: L'attentato a Togliatti: violenza politica e reazione popolare*. Milan: Il Saggiatore.

"Ventiquattresimo annuale del Corpo delle Guardie di Pubblica Sicurezza." 1949. La Settimana Incom 00355, October 26. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).

Viale, Ten. Capp. don Arturo. 1950. "Nella festa di S. Michele Arcangelo patrono della polizia italiana." *Polizia Moderna* 2 (10): 8.

Zangrandi, Ruggero. 1949. "La 'Celere' considerata come squadrismo." *Rinascita* 6 (4): 149-51.

"8 Maggio: San Michele Arcangelo solennemente festeggiato in Italia." 1952. *Polizia Moderna* 4 (6): 10-13.

"XII anniversario della fondazione degli agenti di polizia." 1937. Giornale LUCE B1184, October 20. Archivio Luce (archivioluce.com).