

## Department of Political Science

### HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY ITALY. THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Dr Simone Paoli



## Part I

### 1.1 General Information

- Full course title: History of Contemporary Italy. The Italian Republic in the International System
- Type of course: Compulsory
- Level of course: ^
- Year of study: ^
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 6
- Name of lecturer(s) and office hours:  
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### 1.2 Course aims

The course, **which is entirely taught in Italian**, has been designed to analyze the political, economic and socio-cultural history of Italy from the establishment of the Republic (1946) to the ongoing transition from the so-called Second Republic to a Third Republic (2011-2019). Special emphasis will be put on the Italian foreign policies and, more generally, on the Italy's role in the international

system in both the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods. **In order to help non-native Italian speakers, the instructor makes extensive use of multimedia presentation formats such as power points, documentaries and movies in English. Upon request, students may study compulsory readings for the final exam in English (previously agreed upon with the instructor).**

### **1.3 Learning outcomes**

On completion of the course, students will have acquired the instruments for grasping, interpreting and discussing the most important events in post-war Italy and the dynamics behind them: the basic trends of continuity and change, causes and effects, the interplay of regional, national and international influences, and the significance of global events within the country. On the basis of this knowledge, they will be able to read and understand press articles and television reports on current Italian politics, economics and society and to form considered opinions about topical issues and news. Also, they will be able to analyse primary sources and to conduct independent research; in addition, they will be able to present, in both oral and written reports, the results of their research activities.

### **1.4 Course requirements**

Students will be required to attend not less than 80% of classes and be prepared for class discussions. Students are encouraged to ask questions and express personal opinions during classes. They are also highly encouraged to take detailed notes, as lectures provide the base of information for the final exam. They are expected to behave properly in class; eating and drinking are not allowed, and cell phones and laptops must be switched off. All students are expected to show respect for their teacher and classmates by being prompt.

All students are expected to present a **research paper** (up to 15 minutes) on a topic of their choosing (previously agreed upon with the instructor) concerning contemporary Italian history. They must transform their oral presentation into a paper of about 2,000 words by the end of the course.

Students will have to take a mandatory **final exam**, which will relate to both readings and class lectures. The exam consists of an oral interview on the topics discussed during the course. The oral test consists of a colloquium between the candidate and the teacher, or between the candidate and collaborators of the teacher. The exam is passed if the candidate correctly answers the questions concerning the basic part of the course. **Upon request, students may sit the exam in English.**

### **1.5 Grading plan**

The final grade will be determined as follows:

- 10% Class participation
- 20% Oral Presentation
- 20% Written Paper
- 50% Final Exam

## **Part II**

### **2.1 Course content**

Topic 1. Resistance and Renewal (1943-1946)

Topic 2. Post-War Settlement (1946-1948)

Topic 3. Choice for the West and for Europe (1948-1958)

Topic 4. Neo-Atlanticism and Centre-Left Foreign Policy (1954-1968)

Topic 5. “Economic Miracle” and “Americanization” (1958-1963)

- Topic 6. A Decade of Protests, Crisis, Reforms and Bullets (1968-1978)
- Topic 7. The End of an Era (1978-1983)
- Topic 8. “Second Economic Miracle” and International Protagonism (1983-1987)
- Topic 9. End of the Cold War and Transition from the First to the Second Republic (1989-1994)
- Topic 10. A New Centre-Left: a European Agenda (1995-2001)
- Topic 11. A New Centre-Right: between Russia and the United States (2001-2011)
- Topic 12. Great Recession and the crisis of the Second Republic (2011-2019)

## **Topic 1.**

### **Resistance and Renewal (Lectures 1-2)**

#### **Content of the lectures and questions to answer**

##### **FIRST LECTURE:**

Introduction to the course: aims, structure, methodology, assignments, attendance, participation, examination, and grading system.

##### **SECOND LECTURE:**

- Dismissal and Arrest of Benito Mussolini (1943): reasons, and consequences
- Armistice with the Allies (1943): contents and consequences
- Struggles in the peninsula: actors, objectives, outcomes
- Significance of the Resistance Movement: contribution and weaknesses
- Liberation (1945)

##### **Compulsory readings**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 131-150.

##### **Further readings**

Aga Rossi, Elena, *L'Italia nella sconfitta: politica interna e situazione internazionale durante la seconda guerra mondiale*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1985.

Pavone, Claudio, *Una guerra civile. Saggio storico sulla moralità nella Resistenza*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1991.

Varsori, Antonio, *L'Italia nelle relazioni internazionali dal 1943 al 1992*, Roma, Laterza, 1998.

##### **Internet sources**

Istituto Nazionale Ferruccio Parri. Rete degli Istituti per la Storia della Resistenza e dell'Età Contemporanea: <http://www.reteparri.it/>

Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d'Italia: <http://www.anpi.it/>

## **Topic 2.**

### **Post-War Settlement (Lectures 3-4)**

#### **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

##### **THIRD LECTURE:**

- *Svolta di Salerno* (1944): context, reasons, decisions, and consequences
- National Unity Governments: composition, and decisions

- Constitutional Referendum (1946): outcomes, and consequences
- Election of the Constituent Assembly (1946): protagonists, and results
- Constitution of the Italian Republic (1946-1947): fundamental Principles; rights and duties of citizens; organization of the State

#### **FOURTH LECTURE:**

- Treaty of Peace (1947): context, and consequences
- Exclusion Crisis (1947): reasons, domestic and foreign pressures, consequences, repercussions for domestic and foreign policies
- 1948 General Elections: protagonists, United States', Soviet Union's and Catholic Church's interference in the election, election campaign, and results

#### **Compulsory readings**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 150-171.

#### **Further readings**

Bernardini, Giovanni, Cau, Maurizio, D'Ottavio, Gabriele, Nubola, Cecilia, *L'età costituente, Italia 1945-1948*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2017.

Lorenzini, Sara, *L'Italia e il trattato di pace del 1947*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2007.

Spagnolo, Carlo, *La stabilizzazione incompiuta: il piano Marshall in Italia, 1947-1952*, Roma, Carocci, 2001.

#### **Internet sources**

Archivio Centrale dello Stato: <http://www.acs.beniculturali.it/>

Farnesina: Documentazione Storico Diplomatica - Archivio Storico Diplomatico: [https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/servizi/uapsds/storico\\_diplom](https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/servizi/uapsds/storico_diplom)

### **Topic 3.**

#### **Choice for the West and for Europe (Lectures 5-6)**

#### **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

#### **FIFTH LECTURE:**

- Italy's integration into the Western Economic System: reasons, domestic reactions, impact
- Italy's integration into the Western Military System: reasons, domestic and international reactions, consequences

#### **SIXTH LECTURE:**

- Italy's European choice: reasons
- Participation in the Council of Europe (1949)
- Participation in the European Coal and Steel Community (1950-1952): aims, and debate
- Negotiations on the European Defence Community and establishment of the Western European Union (1954): positions, and consequences
- Participation in the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Economic Community (1955-1958): aims, domestic and international debate, and achievements

#### **Compulsory readings**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 172-205.

#### **Further readings**

Del Pero, Mario, *L'alleato scomodo: gli USA e la DC negli anni del centrismo (1948-1955)*, Roma, Carocci, 2001.

Formigoni, Guido, *La Democrazia Cristiana e l'alleanza occidentale (1943-1953)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1996.

Varsori, Antonio, *La Cenerentola d'Europa? L'Italia e l'integrazione europea dal 1947 a oggi*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2010.

#### **Internet sources**

Historical Archives of the European Union: <https://www.eui.eu/Research/HistoricalArchivesOfEU>

Istituto Luigi Sturzo: <https://www.sturzo.it>

## **Topic 4.**

### **Neo-Atlanticism and Centre-Left Foreign Policy (Lectures 7-8)**

#### **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

##### **SEVENTH LECTURE:**

- Solution to the “Trieste question” (1954-1975): reasons, and consequences
- Italy’s Admission into the United Nations: reasons, and consequences
- Neo-Atlanticism: ideas, initiatives and role of Giovanni Gronchi, Amintore Fanfani and Enrico Mattei

##### **EIGHTH LECTURE:**

- Opening to the Left: reasons, and consequences
- Centre-Left Governments: attitudes towards France, Great Britain, and the European integration process
- Centre-Left Governments: attitudes towards the United States, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Vietnam War
- Centre-Left Governments: attitudes towards the People’s Republic of China
- Centre-Left Governments: attitudes towards Arab countries and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

#### **Compulsory reading**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 206-224.

#### **Further readings**

De Leonardis, Massimo, *Il Mediterraneo nella politica estera italiana del secondo dopoguerra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2003.

Giovagnoli, Agostino, Tosi, Luciano, *Amintore Fanfani e la politica estera italiana*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2010.

Tonini, Alberto, *Il sogno proibito: Mattei, il petrolio arabo e le “sette sorelle”*, Firenze, Polistampa, 2003.

#### **Internet sources**

Portale Storico della Presidenza della Repubblica: <https://archivio.quirinale.it/aspr/>

Fondazione ENI Enrico Mattei: <https://www.feem.it>

## **Topic 5.**

### **“Economic Miracle” and “Americanization” (Lectures 9-10)**

## **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

### **NINTH LECTURE:**

- Reconstruction (1945-1948): reasons, and consequences
- Economic Policy Reversal (1947-1949): reasons, and decisions
- Post-Reconstruction Boom (1951-1958): role of the monetarist squeeze, the Marshall Plan, and the Korean War, and internal demand
- Economic Miracle (1958-1963): sectors, reasons, and economic repercussions

### **TENTH LECTURE:**

- Socio-Cultural Modernization: changes in consumption habits, leisure-time activity, international perception, familial structure, and role of religion
- Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican (1962-1965): reasons, decisions, and consequences

### **Compulsory readings**

Patrizia Battilani, Francesca Fauri, *L'economia italiana dal 1945 a oggi*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014: 87-117.

### **Further readings**

Crainz, Guido, *Il paese mancato: dal miracolo economico agli anni Ottanta*, Roma, Donzelli, 2003.

Gentiloni Silveri, Umberto, *L'Italia e la nuova frontiera. Stati Uniti e centro-sinistra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1998.

Nuti, Leopoldo, *Gli Stati Uniti e l'apertura a sinistra: importanza e limiti della presenza americana in Italia*, Roma, Laterza, 1999.

### **Internet sources**

Archivio Storico della Confindustria: <http://www.centenarioconfindustria.it/index.php/memoria/archivio-storico>

Fondazione Giuseppe Di Vittorio: <https://www.fondazionedivittorio.it>

## **Topic 6.**

### **A Decade of Protests, Crisis, Reforms and Bullets (Lectures 11-12)**

## **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

### **ELEVENTH LECTURE:**

- Winners and Losers of the Economic Miracle
- Southern Question: characteristics, and Government's responses and performance
- Labour Question: characteristics
- Internal Migration: reasons, problems, consequences
- Student Question: characteristics
- Hot Autumn (1969): requests, and Government's, employers' and Neofascists' responses
- Strategy of Tension: terrorist attacks, responsibilities, and international links

### **TWELFTH LECTURE**

- Italian Communist Party's Proposal for a Historic Compromise (1973): reasons, aims, and domestic and international reactions
- Italian Communist Party's Foreign Policy Conversion: Eurocommunism and change in attitudes towards the Soviet Union, the European Communities and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- 1976 General Elections: results, and consequences
- Governments of National Solidarity: reasons, characteristics, and domestic and international reactions

- Red Terrorism: reasons, ideology, aims and strategy

### **Compulsory readings**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 224-240.

### **Further readings**

Giovagnoli, Agostino, Pons, Silvio, *L'Italia repubblicana nella crisi degli anni settanta*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2003.

Lazar, Marc, Matard-Bonucci, Marie-Anne, *Il libro degli anni di piombo: storia e memoria del terrorismo italiano*, Milano, Rizzoli, 2010.

Giovagnoli, Agostino, *Il caso Moro: una tragedia repubblicana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2005.

### **Internet sources**

Fondazione Gramsci: <https://www.fondazionegramsci.org/>

International Institute of Social History: <https://iisg.amsterdam>

## **Topic 7.**

### **The End of an Era**

#### **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

#### **THIRTEENTH LECTURE**

- Moro's Assassination: reasons, negotiations, and consequences
- Collapse of the Governments of National Solidarity: reasons, and consequences
- Decline of the Italian Communist Party: reasons, and consequences

#### **FOURTEENTH LECTURE**

- Confirmation of the Atlantic Choice: reasons, and decisions
- Euromissiles: reasons, and consequences
- Lebanese Civil War and participation in the Multinational Force (1982-1984): reasons, development, and consequences
- Confirmation of the European Choice: reasons, and initiatives
- Genscher-Colombo Plan (1981): reasons, contents, and outcome

### **Compulsory readings**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 240-248.

### **Further readings**

Spadolini, Giovanni, *L'Italia nell'Occidente: la politica estera dei governi a guida repubblicana*, Roma, Edizioni della voce, 1984.

Riccardi, Luca, *La «grandezza» di una Media Potenza. Personaggi e problemi della politica estera italiana del Novecento*, Roma, Società Editrice Dante Alighieri, 2017.

Scoppola, Pietro, *La repubblica dei partiti. Evoluzione e crisi di un sistema politico 1945-1996*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1997.

### **Internet sources**

Fondazione Spadolini - Nuova Antologia: <https://nuovaantologia.it/>

Associazione Italiana Vittime del Terrorismo e dell'Eversione contro l'Ordinamento Costituzionale dello Stato: <http://www.vittimeterrorismo.it/>

## Topic 8.

### “Second Economic Miracle” and International Protagonism (Lectures 15-16)

#### Content of the lecture and questions to answer

##### FIFTEENTH LECTURE

- Second Economic Miracle (1983-1987): sectors, characteristics, reasons, and economic repercussions

##### SIXTEENTH LECTURE

- An Ambitious Foreign Policy: reasons, and achievements
- Loyalty to the Atlantic Alliance: instalment of the Euromissiles
- Sigonella Crisis (1985)
- Influential Role in the Mediterranean: attitudes, and initiatives
- Italian Ostpolitik: attitudes, and initiatives
- Active Role in the “European Relaunch”: reasons, initiatives, and achievements
- Weaknesses

#### Compulsory readings

Patrizia Battilani, Francesca Fauri, *L'economia italiana dal 1945 a oggi*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014: 123-150.

#### Further readings

Di Nolfo, Ennio, *La politica estera italiana negli anni Ottanta*, Manduria, Lacaita, 2003.

Gualtieri, Roberto, *L'Italia dal 1943 al 1992: DC e PCI nella storia della Repubblica*, Roma, Carocci, 2006.

Varsori, Antonio, Zaccaria, Benedetto, *Italy in the International System from Détente to the End of the Cold War: The Underrated Ally*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

#### Internet sources

Fondazione Craxi: <http://www.fondazionecraxi.org/>

Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati Nilde Iotti: <http://biblioteca.camera.it/>

## Topic 9.

### End of the Cold War and Transition from the First to the Second Republic (Lectures 17-18)

#### Content of the lecture and questions to answer

##### SEVENTEENTH LECTURE

- End of the Cold War (1989-1991) and its Impact on the Italian Political System: crisis and transformation of the Italian Communist Party, and crisis of the Christian Democracy
- Italy and the Gulf War (1990-1991)
- Rise of the Northern League: ideology, and impact
- Bribesville: origins, development, and repercussions
- Mafia Offensive: origins, development, and repercussions

##### EIGHTEENTH LECTURE

- Italy and the Maastricht Treaty (1990-1992): role, and impact
- Dissolution of Traditional Parties
- Establishment of Go Italy! (1994): strategy, values, and aims



- 1994 General Elections: results, and consequences

### **Compulsory readings**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 249-264.

### **Further readings**

Diodato, Emidio, Niglia, Federico, *Italy in International Relations: The Foreign Policy Conundrum*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Pons, Silvio, Roccucci, Adriano, Romero, Federico, *L'Italia contemporanea dagli anni Ottanta a oggi. Fine della Guerra fredda e globalizzazione*, Roma, Carocci, 2014.

Varsori, Antonio, *L'Italia e la fine della guerra fredda. La politica estera dei governi Andreotti (1989-1992)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2013.

### **Internet sources**

Libera. Associazioni, nomi e numeri contro le mafie: <http://www.libera.it/>

Associazione Nazionale Magistrati: <http://www.associazionemagistrati.it/>

## **Topic 10.**

### **A New Centre-Left: a European Agenda (Lectures 19-20)**

#### **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

#### **NINETEENTH LECTURE**

- “Governments of Experts” and Ulivo Governments
- Entry into the Economic and Monetary Union and Domestic Reforms
- Entry into the Schengen Area and Domestic Reforms

#### **TWENTIETH LECTURE**

- Splits in the Government over the Mission in Albania, the Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Öcalan's Case
- Tensions and Loyalty to the United States and Atlantic Alliance: participation in the Kosovo (1998-1999)

### **Compulsory readings**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 264-270.

### **Further readings**

Neri Gualdesi, Marinella, *Il cuore a Bruxelles, la mente a Roma. La partecipazione italiana alla costruzione dell'unità europea*, Pisa, ETS, 2004.

Paoli, Simone, *Frontiera Sud. L'Italia e la nascita dell'Europa di Schengen*, Milano, Mondadori Education, 2018.

Prodi, Romano, *Un'idea dell'Europa*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1999.

### **Internet sources**

Fondazione italianieuropei: <https://www.italianieuropei.it/>

Fondazione per la Collaborazione tra i Popoli: <http://www.fondazionepopoli.org/>

## **Topic 11.**

## **A New Centre-Right: between Russia and the United States (Lectures 21-22)**

### **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

#### **TWENTY-FIRST LECTURE**

- Berlusconi as a political, economic, and social phenomenon
- Berlusconi: international perceptions

#### **TWENTY-SECOND LECTURE**

- War on Terror and Loyalty to the United States: positions and role in the Afghan and Iraqi wars
- Ambiguous Attitudes towards the European Integration Process
- Pro-Israel Policy

#### **Compulsory reading**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 270-279.

#### **Further readings**

Diodato, Emidio, Niglia, Federico, Berlusconi 'The Diplomat': Populism and Foreign Policy in Italy, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Lazar, Marc, *L'Italie à la dérive: Le moment Berlusconi*, Paris, Perrin, 2006.

Orsina, Giovanni, *Berlusconi and Italy: A Historical Interpretation*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

#### **Internet sources**

Fondazione Magna Carta: <http://magna-carta.it/>

Fondazione Ugo Spirito e Renzo De Felice: <http://fondazione Spirito.it/>

## **Topic 12.**

### **Great Recession and the crisis of the Second Republic**

#### **Content of the lecture and questions to answer**

#### **TWENTY-THIRD LECTURE**

- Italian Sovereign-Debt Crisis: causes, development, consequences
- Demise of the Berlusconi's Government and Transition to the Monti's Administration: reasons, domestic and foreign pressures, and consequences
- Austerity Measures: reasons, contents, aims, and consequences

#### **TWENTY-FOURTH LECTURE**

- Centre-Left Governments: attitudes towards the migration crisis, the European Union, Russia, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, and Libya
- 2018 General Elections: results, and consequences
- Italy in the International System: current status and future prospects

#### **Compulsory readings**

Mammarella, Giuseppe, Cacace, Paolo, *La politica estera dell'Italia. Dallo Stato unitario ai giorni nostri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010: 279-316.

#### **Further readings**

Coticchia, Fabrizio, Davidson, Jason W., *Italian foreign policy during Matteo Renzi's government: a domestically focused outsider and the world*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2019.

Fubini, Federico, *Mario Monti. Le parole e i fatti*, Milano, Rizzoli, 2012.

Tarchi, Marco, *Italia populista: dal qualunquismo a Beppe Grillo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014.

**Internet sources**

Istituto Affari Internazionali: <https://www.iai.it>

Società Italiana per l'Organizzazione Internazionale: <https://www.sioi.org/>