

Italy

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Italy is considered authoritarian from 1919 to 1945. Though authoritarian (and formally a constitutional monarchy), leaders in Italy changed power much like in a parliamentary democracy, after elections, between 1919 and 1922. In 1919 Vittorio Emanuele Orlando of the Destra (Des- right, conservative-liberal) was Prime Minister (PM). In June 1919 parliament passed a vote of no confidence in Orlando (Procacci 1968, 174) after he had failed to achieve territorial concessions at the Paris Peace Conference (Killinger 2002, 140). Francesco Saverio Nitti and economist of the Radical Party (Rad) became PM. This is a SOLS change since Nitti was not Orlando's pre-designated successor. In 1920, after elections, Giovanni Giolitti of the Liberal Party (PL) became PM. This is a SOLS change. In 1921 Ivanoe Bonomi of the Italian Social Reform Party (PSRI) became PM. This is a SOLS change. In February 1922 Luigi Facta, PL, became PM. This is a SOLS change.

In October 1922 Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini of the National Fascist Party was appointed PM by the King after his March on Rome. Initially Mussolini continued to rule in a right-wing government within the constraints of the existing system, while solidifying his grasp on power.

In 1925, the parliament was transformed and the Italian government was turned into a one-party system, but at the same time a careful purge of the party itself was carried out. The PNF was brought under bureaucratic control rather than vice versa. Between 1929-1933, Mussolini continued weakening the party, dismissing high-ranking ministers. He wanted to ensure that no stable governing elite powerful enough to oppose him could form (Payne 1980, 77). "In practice, it might be described as a primarily political dictatorship that presided over a pluralistic or semipluralistic institutional system. Victor Emmanuel III, not the Duce, remained constitutional head of state. The PNF itself had almost concretely bureaucratized and was subservient to the state itself. [...] The armed forces enjoyed at least equal autonomy and were mostly left to their own devices, though by no means exclusively. The fascist party militia was placed under general army control, though it in turn enjoyed a semiautonomous existence when made part of the regular military institutions. The pre-Mussolini judicial was left relatively intact and partially autonomous as well. The police continued to be directed by state officials and were not taken over by party leaders as in Nazi Germany, nor was a major police elite created as in German and Soviet Russia. [...] There was never any question of bringing the church under overall subservience to the regime, as in Germany, much less near-total control that has often existed in Russia. [...] Fascism came to power on the basis of a kind of tacit compromise with established institutions, and Mussolini was never able fully to escape the constraints of that compromise" (Payne 1980, 74-75).

Because Mussolini controlled the party rather than vice versa, Italy under Mussolini is best understood as a personalist system. Under Mussolini, Italy entered World War II on the side of Germany. Once it became clear Italy was on the losing side, after the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed Mussolini, had him arrested, and appointed Marshal Pietro Badoglio, Mil, to take his place and become PM. This move ended Mussolini's personalist regime and thus is a SOLS change. "The government which succeeded that of Mussolini was the personal government of the King. He picked the ministers. He determined the policy of action by stages, first eliminating Mussolini, while pretending fidelity to the Axis, and then seeking contact with the Allies [...]" "This form of government was a military dictatorship

in so far as the King resumed command of the armed forces and prevented by martial law the exercise of civil liberties. In another respect it may be considered a pure monarchy, characterized by the direct rule of the King” (Smyth 1948, 208).

The King and Badoglio soon lost favor with the Italian people, acting duplicitously with the Allies. In 1944, the CLN (Anti-Fascist United Freedom Front), recently bolstered by the Allied Liberation of Italy, demanded the abdication of Victor Emmanuel III and the resignation of Badoglio. Victor Emanuele abdicated in favor of his son Umberto and Umberto accepted Badoglio’s resignation and Bonomi, non-party, but a leader of the CLN movement became the new PM. This decisively ended the fascist era (Ventresca 2004, 38). This is also a SOLS change. The Bonomi cabinet drew up a “provisional constitution” (Smyth 1948, 214) and took “certain steps toward future elections” (Smyth 1948, 217). We do not code a specific autocratic regime type for 1943 and 1944 since there country seems to have been in flux as the result of the war.

Italy transitioned from authoritarianism to democracy in 1945 and is coded as parliamentary democracy from 1946 until 2008. Although initially an ally of Germany, the king of Italy turned against the Nazis in 1943. Rome was liberated by the Allied war powers in 1944. Despite the fact that the country is considered independent by COW at this time, since only Northern Italy was officially occupied, the Americans “forced” the reigning king Victor Emmanuel to turn over the crown to his son Prince Umberto II (anglicized as Humbert) (Kogan 1953, 284). The new monarch appointed Ivanoe Bonomi, Non-Party, as PM in 1944. This government was recognized by the Allies as the legitimate government of Italy. According to Smyth (1948, 217) “Bonomi’s ministry did take certain steps toward future elections,” but he was not a democratically elected leader. The war officially ended in 1945. Bonomi resigned shortly thereafter. He proposed Count Carlo Sforza as his successor, but “Churchill disliked Sforza and the British vetoed this choice” (Moseley 2004, 164). Later that year Ferruccio Parri of the Action Party (AP) was appointed PM.

This is a tricky coding decision. We consider Italy non-democratic so the relevant rule is whether Parri was Bonomi’s pre-designated successor. We could find no evidence for that. At the same time, both were supported by the King, the royalists, and the allies. Based on our coding rules we code a SOLS change here.

According to Pridham (1988, 42, 52-3) Prime minister Parri of the Action Party governed from June till December 1945. Parri led a coalition of the Action Party, the Christian Democratic Party (DC), the Communist Party (PCI), the Liberal Party (PLI), the Socialist Party (PSI), and the PDL (Democratic Labour) – detailed entry data available via Archigos. In December 1945 Parri was succeeded by the first De Gasperi (DC) Cabinet, which consisted of the DC, the PCI, the PSI, the Action Party, the PDL, and the PLI. This is a SOLS change. The first De Gasperi government lasted for six months until July 1946, when it was supplanted by the second De Gasperi cabinet. The second De Gasperi government consisted of the DC/PCI/PSI/PLI/Republican Party (PRI). In short, the Action Party and PDL left the coalition in favor of the PRI in July 1946. This coalition lasted for six months as well until February 1947. In February 1947 PSI, PRI, and PLI left the coalition and the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) joined. This is a minor SOLS change (Feb 3 1947). In May PCI and PSI left the coalition and National Democratic Union (NDU) joined. This is a minor SOLS change (May 31 1947). In December NDU left the coalition and PRI, PLI, and PSDI all rejoined. This is a minor SOLS change (Dec 15 1947). In 1950 PLI left the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Jan 27 1950). In 1951 PSDI left the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (July 26 1951). In 1953 PRI left the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (July 17 1953). Later that year Giuseppe Pella,

DC, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. In 1954 Amintore Fanfani, DC, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. Later that year Mario Scelba, DC, became PM in coalition with PSDI and PLI. This is a minor SOLS change (Feb 11 1954). In 1955 Antonio Segni, DC, became PM as part of the same coalition. This is not a SOLS change. In 1957 Adone Zoli, DC, became PM out of coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (May 20 1957). In 1958 Fanfani, DC, became PM in coalition with PSDI. This is a minor SOLS change (July 10 1958). In 1959 Segni, DC, became PM out of coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Feb 16 1959). In 1960 Fernando Tambroni-Armadori, DC, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. Later that year Fanfani, DC, once again became PM. This is not a SOLS change. In 1962 PSDI and PRI joined the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Feb 21 1962). In 1963 Giovanni Leone, DC, became PM out of coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (June 21 1963). Later that year Aldo Moro, DC, became PM in coalition with PSI, PSDI, and PRI. This is a minor SOLS change (Dec 5 1963). In 1968 Giovanni Leone, DC, became PM out of coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (June 25 1968). Later that year Mariano Rumor, DC, became PM in coalition with PSI and PRI. This is a minor SOLS change (Dec 12 1968). In 1969 PSI and PRI dropped out of the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Aug 5 1969). In 1970 PSI+PSU and PRI joined the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Mar 27 1970). In 1970 Emilio Colombo, DC, became PM as part of the same coalition. This is not a SOLS change. In 1971 PRI dropped out of the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Feb 27 1971). In 1972 Giulio Andreotti, DC, became PM out of coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Feb 18 1972). Later that year PSDI and PLI joined the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (June 26 1972). In 1973 Rumor, DC, once again became PM in coalition with PSI, PSDI, and PRI. This is a minor SOLS change (July 8, 1973). In 1974 PRI dropped out of the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Mar 14 1974). Later that year Moro, DC, once again became PM in coalition with PRI. This is a minor SOLS change (Nov 23 1974). In 1976 PRI dropped out of the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Feb 13 1976). Later that year Andreotti, DC, became PM out of coalition. This is not a SOLS change. In 1979 PSDI and PRI joined the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (March 21 1979). Later that year Francesco Cossiga, DC, became PM in coalition with PSDI and PLI. This is a minor SOLS change (Aug 5 1979). In 1980 PSDI and PLI dropped out of the coalition and PSI and PRI joined. This is a minor SOLS change (April 4 1980). Later that year Arnaldo Forlani, DC, became PM in coalition with PSI, PSDI, and PRI. This is a minor SOLS change (Oct 19 1980). In 1981 Giovanni Spadolini, PRI, became PM in coalition with DC, PSI, PSDI, and PLI. This is a SOLS change. In 1982 Fanfani, DC, became PM in coalition with PSI, PSDI, and PLI. This is a SOLS change (Dec 11 1982). In 1983 Bettino Craxi, PSI, became PM in coalition with DC, PSI, PSDI, PLI, and PRI. This is a SOLS change. In 1987 Fanfani, DC, once again became PM out of coalition. This is a SOLS change. Later that year Giovanni Gorla, DC, became PM in coalition with PSI, PRI, PSDI, and PLI. This is a minor SOLS change (July 29 1987). In 1988 Ciriaco De Mita, DC, became PM as part of the same coalition. This is not a SOLS change. In 1989 Andreotti, DC, once again became PM as part of the same coalition. This is not a SOLS change. In 1991 PRI dropped out of the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (April 15 1991). In 1992 Giuliano Amato, PSI, became PM in coalition with DC, PSI, PSDI, and PLI. This is a SOLS change. In 1993 Carlo Ciampi, Non-party, became PM in coalition with DC, PSI, Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), and Lega Verde (LVERDE). This is a SOLS change. Later that year LVERDE and PDS dropped out of the coalition and PLI and PRI joined. This is a minor SOLS change (May 7 1993). In 1994 Silvio Berlusconi, Forza Italia (FI), became PM as part of the

Freedom Alliance¹ (FA). (Forza Italia, National Alliance and Lega Nord). This is a SOLS change. In 1995 Lamberto Dini, Non-party, became PM. Woldendorp et al. refer to Dini's government as a "government of non-aligned ministers" and suggest that it was a caretaker government and the Department of State also refers to it as a "technical government". Thus we code this as an interim government— no SOLS change. In 1996 Romano Prodi, OT-PPI (Olive Tree²-Italian Popular Party), became PM as leader of the Olive Tree coalition (an election cooperation of PDS, Democratic Union (UD), Greens, PPI, Italian Renewal (RI), and (IND) independents) (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 321; Ignazi 1999, 437). This is a SOLS change.

In 1998 Massimo D'Alema, PDS-DS,³ became PM in coalition with PPI, Union of Republican Democrats (UDR), Greens, Party of the Italian Communists (PDCI), RI, Italian Democratic Socialists (SDI), and IND (Ignazi 1999, 438). This is a SOLS change. In 1999, the UDR split into two factions: one loyal to its founder, Francesco Cossiga, "which distanced itself progressively from the government" (Ignazi 2000, 440) and another named UDEUR (Union of Democrats for Europe) that remained in the coalition. The Democrats (DEM) also joined the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (21 Dec 1999). In 2000 Amato, Non-Party, once again became PM in coalition with IND, DS, PPI, UDEUR, Greens, PCDI, RI, DEM, and SDI (Ignazi 2001, 341). This is a SOLS change. In 2001 Berlusconi of the Forza Italia-Casa delle Libertà⁴ (FI-CDL) became PM as part of the Casa delle Libertà/House of Freedoms coalition (FI/AN/LN/CCD-CDU/IND - Ignazi 2002, 996). This is a SOLS change. April 28, 2005 the CCD-CD left and the UDC, PSI, and PRI entered the coalition (minor SOLS change). In 2006 Prodi, OT, became PM in coalition with DS, Margherita (Daisy), the Communist Refoundation (RC), Rose in the Fist (Rose), Italy of Values (IdV), Greens, UDEUR, and IND (Ignazi 2007, 997).⁵ This is a SOLS change. In 2008 Berlusconi, FI (Il Popolo della Libertà/People of Freedom)⁶ became PM in coalition with AN, LN, and Christian Democracy for the Autonomies (DCpA) (Ignazi 2009, 1000). This is a SOLS change.

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¹ In Italian Polo delle Libertà, also called Pole of Freedoms in English.

² L'Ulivo in Italian.

³ In 1998 PDS changed its name to simply DS, for Democrats of the Left (Ignazi 1999, 441). Worldstatesmen.org lists D'Alema's SOLS as PDS-DS, but this seems repetitive. Moreover, Ignazi (1999, 439) lists D'Alema's SOLS simply as DS. Thus, we go with Ignazi (1999) and code as simply DS.

⁴ Casa-delle Libertà, or House of Freedoms, is a coalition of FI, National Alliance (AN), Northern League (LN), and Christian Democratic Center-United Christian Democrats (CCD-CDU), and IND (Ignazi 2002, 996).

⁵ According to Ignazi, Prodi refused to identify himself with any of the coalition parties and is thus listed as Olive Tree (p.998). HE was formerly associated with the PPI.

⁶ People of Freedom was a new center-right party formed by Berlusconi from the merger of FI with AN.

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Pre- and post-1945 coded by Anna Carella (Vanderbilt) 11/2010 and 05/2011
 Pre-1945 revised by Michaela Mattes (Vanderbilt) on 02/10/2012
 Post-1945 checked by Michaela Mattes (Vanderbilt) on 06/19/2011
 Post-1945 revised by Eelco van der Maat (Vanderbilt) on 09/26/2011
 Combined by Matt DiLorenzo (Vanderbilt) on 08/11/2013
 Edited by Andrew Wood (Rice) on 5/23/14