

Italy

Rice

The period from the end of WWI until Mussolini took power in 1922 was a time of great instability and political conflict in Italy. This period is not coded as democratic, and features several short term PMs, none of whom were able to succeed in consolidating enough control to govern effectively. This is a transitional period that should not be coded as a particular autocratic regime, and thus, we use the predesignated successor rule to determine SOLS changes. Since none of the PMs were replaced by predesignated successors, the leadership changes during these few years all constitute SOLS changes. In 1919, the Prime Minister of Italy was Vittorio Orlando, the leader of the Destra (Right) party (Des). Due to difficulties at the Paris Peace Conference (during which he was unable to secure territories for Italy), Orlando resigned and was replaced by Francesco Nitti, a member of the Radical Party (SOLS change). Nitti's government also did not last long—political divisions between anarchists, communists and fascists led to deadlock in the legislature, and he and his cabinet resigned in June of 1920. He was replaced by Giovanni Giolitti, of the Partito Liberale (PL, SOLS change). Like his predecessors, Giolitti had to deal with the “Two Red Years”, where it appeared that the socialist and communist parties in Italy would come to control the government (Carter 2010, 80). Fascism (and the rise of fascism) was tolerated during this period because of the fear of a communist government in Italy (Carter 2010, 80). Giolitti attempted to strengthen his government with elections in April 1921, and tried to ally PL with the fascist party, the PNF. This attempt failed, and left Giolitti with a minority government. He was unable to form a governing coalition, and so chose to resign in July 1921 (Killinger 2002, 142). He was replaced by a coalition government led by Ivanoe Bonomi, a member of the Italian Social Reform Party (PSRI)(SOLS change). Bonomi's coalition included six parties and was generally unstable, and, in February 1922, he resigned.

The two largest parties in the Parliament—the PPI (Italian People's Party) and the PSRI—were unable to agree on a government, which led the King to turn to Luigi Facta, of the PL (who had been a supporter of Giolitti) to form a government pending new elections (SOLS change). Facta was only able to remain in office until 31 October 1922, due to the rise of fascism, the Fascist Party, and Benito Mussolini. The Fascists, led by Mussolini, staged a March on Rome, which in turn led Facta to ask the King to declare martial law. When the King declined, Facta resigned, and the King was forced to ask Mussolini to become the Prime Minister (SOLS change). Upon his selection, Mussolini established a Fascist Grand Council and a voluntary militia—both of which worked to combat socialist parties and groups throughout Italy (Killinger 2002, 145). The Fascist party also created its own unions, again to undercut socialist movements—and stop strikes and lockouts organized by those unions (Killinger 2002, 145). Following calls of electoral fraud in 1924, Mussolini began to consolidate power into the executive branch, establishing a personalist government with the Fascist organization forming his support party. He began by suppressing the press, then maneuvered Parliament until it altered the constitution and surrendered its control over the Prime Minister and his cabinet to the King (Killinger 2002, 147). A new national police system was implemented, and Mussolini put himself in charge of Italy's internal security apparatus (Killinger 2002, 147). By 1925, Mussolini had declared himself to be the Head of Government and titled himself “Il Duce” (“leader”). Along with the title came a new cult of personality surrounding himself, yet another sign that his government was personalist.

Mussolini remained in power until 1943, at which point Italian military resources had deteriorated and military losses characterized Italy's World War II participation. At that point, the Fascist Grand Council removed Mussolini from power, and the King turned to General Pietro Badoglio to form a military government. While Badoglio was part of the prior administration, he was not a predesignated successor, so this is a SOLS change. This government continued to fight against the Allied powers, but again, the Italian forces were unable to defend their country from British and American troops—leading the King to abdicate in favor of his son in 1944. At the same time, a new government, led by Ivanoe Bonomi (now nonpartisan) was established. Bonomi had participated in anti-fascist groups, and he does not appear to have been viewed as an interim leader, so we code his assumption of power as a SOLS change.

In the post-1945 period, the office of prime minister was dominated almost exclusively by the Partito Democratico del Cristiano (DC). Accordingly, most of the SOLS changes which will be described and coded prior to the 1990s are minor SOLS changes. However, initially, multiple leadership changes must be addressed.

Again, at the beginning of 1945, Ivanoe Bonomi, who had no party affiliation, was PM. He had not been democratically elected, and was instead appointed by the King. On June 19, 1945, Bonomi resigned as PM in favor of Ferruccio Parri of the Action Party (AP) (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005; "Ivanoe Bonomi"). We code a major SOLS change for this leadership transition since Parri and Bonomi were of two different political affiliations. 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). In November 1945, Parri was forced to resign, thus leading to Alcide De Gasperi of the DC becoming PM on December 4, 1945 ("Italy"; "Alcide de Gasperi"). We code this leadership transition a major SOLS change. De Gasperi (DC) first cabinet consisted of the DC, the PCI, the PSI, the Action Party, the PDL, and the PLI. 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.

Though De Gasperi would remain as PM until 1953, several minor SOLS changes occurred during this time period. On July 12, 1946, a coalition consisting of the DC, PSI, Partito Repubblicano Italiano (PRI), Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI), and Partito Liberale Italiano (PLI) was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319). We code a minor SOLS change for December 7, 1946. Another minor SOLS change is coded for February 3, 1947 when a new coalition consisting of the DC, PCI, and PSI was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319). Three months later, on May 31, a new coalition consisting of the DC and NDU was formed, thus constituting a minor SOLS change; we code accordingly (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319). One more minor SOLS change occurred in 1947. On December 15, 1947, a coalition consisting of the DC, PRI, Partito Liberale Italiano, (PLI), and PSDI was formed, so we code a minor SOLS change for this date (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319).

The next SOLS change occurs on January 1950, when the PLI party leaves the coalition and a new coalition consisting of the DC, PSDI, and PRI is formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319). We code a minor SOLS change for this date. The next, on July 26, 1951, a coalition consisting of the DC and PRI was formed, so we code a minor SOLS change for that date. On

July 17, 1953, just prior to a leadership change, another minor SOLS change occurs when the DC becomes the sole party in government (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319).

In August, 1953, the De Gasperi government fell and he was replaced by fellow DC party member Giuseppe Pella (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005; “Alcide de Gasperi”). We code no major SOLS change for this date since both men were of the DC party. The following year, on January 18, 1954, Amintore Fanfani, also of the DC party, replaced Pella as PM (“Amintore Fanfani”; Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). However, this premiership did not last long because, after the Fanfani cabinet fell, Mario Scelba of the DC became PM (“Mario Scelba”; Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). We code no major SOLS change for this leadership transition since both men were of the same party. With the Scelba leadership change on 11 February 1954 came changes to the composition of the coalition coded as a minor SOLS change (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319).

Scelba remained PM until 1955 when he was replaced by Antonio Segni of the DC (“Antonio Segni”; Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). Though this leadership transition took place on July 6, 1955, we do not code a major SOLS change for this date since both predecessor and successor were of the same party. The next relevant political event occurred on May 20, 1957 when Adone Zoli of the DC became PM (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). We code no major SOLS change for this leadership transition since both politicians in this leadership transition were of the DC party, but we do code a minor SOLS change due to changes in the ruling coalition.

The following year, on July 10, 1958, Zoli was replaced by fellow party member and former PM Amintore Fanfani; we do not code a major SOLS change for this transition, but we do code a minor SOLS change due to another change in the governing coalition. Fanfani would remain as PM until 1959 when he was replaced by fellow DC party member and former PM Antonio Segni though here we code no major SOLS change since both men were of the same party, but there is another minor SOLS change on February 16. Segni was replaced by fellow DC party member Fernando Tambroni-Armadori on March 25, 1960. A second leadership change occurred in 1960 when Fanfani of the DC once again became PM yet we code neither 1960 leadership change as a major SOLS change since they were all within the same party (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005).

A minor SOLS change occurred on February 12, 1962 when a coalition consisting of the DC, PSDI, and PRI was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319); we code this as a minor SOLS change. The next leadership change occurred in 1963 when Giovanni Leone of the DC party became PM (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). We do not code this leadership transition a major SOLS change, but it is a minor SOLS change. Later that year, Aldo Moro of the DC became PM; a leadership change which is not coded as a major SOLS change (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). On December 5, 1963, a minor SOLS change occurred when a coalition consisting of the DC, PSI, PSDI, and PRI parties was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319).

On June 25, 1968, Leone once again became PM, however, we code no major SOLS change for this transition since it was an inner party leadership transition, but it is a minor SOLS change due to changes in the coalition (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). Later that year, on December 12, 1968, Mariano Rumor of the DC party rose to be PM but I code no major SOLS change for this date since he was of his predecessor’s party (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). Again, however, there is a minor SOLS change. In 1969, minor SOLS change occurred when the DC became the party in government, accordingly, we code a minor SOLS change for August 5, 1969 (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319). Another minor SOLS change occurred in 1970 when a

coalition consisting of the DC, PSI+PSU, and PRI was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 319). We code a minor SOLS change for March 27, 1970. Later that year, on August 8, Emilio Colombo of the DC became PM. We do not code a major SOLS change for this leadership transition.

In 1971, a minor SOLS change occurred on February 27 when a coalition of just the DC and PSI+PSU was formed. We code a minor SOLS change accordingly. Giulio Andreotti of the DC became PM on February 18, 1972, however, we do not code this a major SOLS change since no party change accompanied this leadership change, but it is a minor SOLS change. Four months later, on June 26, 1972, a new coalition comprised of the DC, OSDIO, and PLI was formed so we code a minor SOLS change as is appropriate. Rumor returned to the premiership on July 8, 1973 (WKB); this is not coded as a major SOLS change (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005), but it is coded as a minor SOLS change since a coalition consisting of the DC, PSI, PSDI, and PRI was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 320).

In 1974, a minor SOLS change occurred when a coalition comprised of the DC, PSI, and PSDI was formed on March 14; we code this date accordingly (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 320). A leadership change occurred on November 23, 1974 when Moro returned to the premiership, yet we do not code this as a major SOLS change, just a minor one (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). A minor SOLS change occurred on February 13, 1976 when the DC became the sole party in government. Andreotti returned to the premiership on July 30, 1976 but we do not code this as a major SOLS change. A minor SOLS change occurred on March 21, 1979 when a coalition comprised of the DC, PSDI, and PRI was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 320). We code a minor SOLS change for this date. On August of that same year, Francesco Cossiga of the DC became PM. We do not code this as a major SOLS change, although it is a minor change due to a change in the ruling coalition. In 1980, a coalition comprised of the DC, PSI, and PLI was formed, so we code a minor SOLS change for April 4, 1980 (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 320). On October 19, 1980, a leadership change occurred when Arnaldo Forlani of the DC became PM. We do not code a major SOLS change for this date since he and his predecessor were of the same party, but it is a minor SOLS change (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005).

A major SOLS change occurred on June 28, 1981 when Giovanni Spadolini of the PRI became PM. We code a major SOLS change accordingly. On November 30, 1982, another major SOLS change occurred when Amintore Fanfani of the DC became PM (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). We code a major SOLS change for this date. Though what would be a minor SOLS change occurred shortly after this leadership change, we do not code a minor SOLS change for 1982 since the coalition change which occurred coincided with the leadership change which occurred (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 320). The next year, on August 4, 1983, Bettino Craxi of the PSI became PM. Since Craxi was of a different party than his predecessor, we code a major SOLS change (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005).

On April 18, 1987, Amintore Fanfani of the DC became the next Italian PM (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). We code a major SOLS change for this leadership transition since Fanfani was of a different party than was Craxi. A second leadership change occurred on July 29, 1987 when Giovanni Goria of the DC became PM (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). We do not code a major SOLS change for this leadership transition, but we do code a minor SOLS change due to the change in governing coalition. Ciriaco De Mita of the DC became PM on April 13, 1988 yet we code no major SOLS change since he was of the same party as his predecessor. Fellow DC party member and former PM Giulio Andreotti became PM on July 23, 1989 but we

do not code a major SOLS change since he was of the same party as his predecessor (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005).

A minor SOLS change occurred on April 15, 1991 when a coalition comprised of the DC, PSI, PSDI, and PLI was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 320). We code a minor SOLS change accordingly. Giuliano Amato of the PSI became PM on Jun 28, 1992, and since he was from a different party than his predecessor, we code a major SOLS change for this date (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). On April 29, 1993, Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, who had no political affiliation, became PM (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). We code a major SOLS change since Ciampi was of a different political affiliation than his predecessor. One week later a minor SOLS change occurred when a new coalition consisting of the DC, PSI, and PLI was formed (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 320). We code a minor SOLS change for May 7, 1993.

Silvio Berlusconi of the Forza Italia (FI)/ L'Unione (LU) became PM on May 11, 1994 (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). Since Forza was of a different party than his predecessor we code a major SOLS change for this leadership transition. Berlusconi's coalition consisted of his Forza Italia, National Alliance (NA) and Lega Nord (LN). Another leadership transition occurred the next year when Lamberto Dini of no party became PM on January 17, 1995 (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). Dini led a cabinet of non-aligned ministers whose function was to get a budget through parliament and then serve as a caretaker government until the next election (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 321). Since Dini's government was primarily a caretaker government, we do not code a SOLS change until the next regular leader takes power. Romano Prodi, who was associated with the Olive Tree coalition, became PM on May 18, 1996 so we code a major SOLS change accordingly.

A major SOLS change occurred on December 21, 1998 when Massimo D'Alema of the PDS-DS party became PM heading a PPI/UDR/Greens/PDCI/RI/SDI/IND coalition (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). We code a major SOLS change for this leadership transition since the former and latter PM's were of different parties. A minor SOLS change occurs December 21, 1999 when 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. On April 26, 2000, Giuliano Amato once again became PM of a coalition consisting of IND/DS/PPI/UDEUR/Greens/PCDI/RI/DEM/SDI. Since he had no party affiliation, this leadership change constituted a major SOLS change so we code accordingly (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). On June 11, 2001, Silvio Berlusconi of the FI party (FI/AN/LN/CCD-CDU/IND) became PM and since he was of a different party than his predecessor, we code a major SOLS change (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005). April 28, 2005 there is a change in junior coalition partners as the CCD-CD left and the UDC, PSI, and PRI entered the coalition (minor SOLS change). In 2006, Prodi returned to the premiership, heading a coalition of OT/DS/Daisy/RC/Rose/IdV/Greens/UDEUR/IND. We code a major SOLS change for May 17, 2006 since Prodi and Berlusconi were of different parties. One final major SOLS change occurred prior to the end of this projects temporal domain when Silvio Berlusconi of the FI became PM on May 8, 2008; we code accordingly (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005).

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Pre-1945 coded by Meera Krishnan (Rice) on 05/11/2011
Post-1945 coded by Alexander Anderson (Rice) on 07/11/2010

Pre-1945 revised by Ashley Leeds (Rice) on 07/13/2012

Post-1945 revised by Ashley Leeds (Rice) on 07/23/2010
Post-1945 revised by Eelco van der Maat (Vanderbilt) on 09/26/2011
Post-1945 revised by Michaela Mattes (Vanderbilt) on 12/16/2011

Combined by Matt DiLorenzo (Vanderbilt) on 08/08/2013
Edited by Andrew Wood (Rice) on 5/23/14