La politica estera italiana e la Cina durante la guerra civile cinese fra Kuomintang e Comunisti (1945-1949), Francesco Varriale

L’autore sostiene che, finita la seconda guerra mondiale, l’Italia era troppo debole per influenzare, in qualche modo, il conflitto fra comunisti e nazionalisti. Ciò detto, la diplomazia italiana, ed in particolare l’ambasciatore in Cina Sergio Fenoaltea, cercò di elaborare una propria visione della guerra civile cinese e di trarre profitto dalle debolezze dell’Italia per stabilire buone relazioni con il governo del Kuomintang: la Cina era considerata una grande potenza, soprattutto in seno alle Nazioni Unite, e poteva giocare un ruolo importante per il futuro dell’Italia. Inoltre, Fenoaltea non risparmiò critiche alla politica di mediazione di Marshall fra comunisti e nazionalisti ed al sostegno americano verso Jiang Jieshi. Per l’ambasciatore italiano, infatti, gli Stati Uniti non erano capaci di comprendere la situazione cinese e di supportare una forza realmente democratica. Infine, i diplomatici italiani in Cina provarono a rimanere equidistanti fra le due fazioni che si fronteggiavano nella guerra civile per proteggere la piccola comunità italiana e, soprattutto, non compromettere la possibilità di una relazione pacifica e proficua con il futuro vincitore della guerra civile.

Parole chiave: relazioni Italia-Cina, politica estera italiana, ambasciatore Fenoaltea, guerra civile cinese, politica internazionale, Comunisti e Kuomintang.

The Italian Foreign Policy Toward China During the Chinese Civil War Between Kuomintang and Comunists (1945-1949), Francesco Varriale

According to the author, after the Second World War, Italy was too weak to build an autonomous foreign policy in China or to influence the conflict between Communists and Nationalists. However, Italian diplomacy, especially the Italian ambassador in China Sergio Fenoaltea, tried to have his own vision of the Chinese Civil War and to take advantage of the weakness of Italy to establish a good relationship with the Kuomintang government: China was a great power, especially at the United Nations, and it could be very important for the future of Italy. Furthermore, Fenoaltea criticized Marshall’s mediation between the Communists and the Nationalists along with the American endorsement of Jiang Jieshi. From the perspective of the Italian ambassador, the USA was not able to understand the situation in China or to support a really democratic force. Finally, Italian diplomats in China tried to be equidistant between the two parties acting during the Civil War to protect the little Italian community in China and to not impair the possibility of a pacific and positive relationship with the future winner of the Civil War.

Key words: Italy-China relationship, Italian foreign policy, ambassador Fenoaltea, Chinese Civil War, international politics, Communists and Kuomintang.
Mondo contemporaneo

Intellettuali italiani fra società opulenta e democrazia del benessere: il caso de Il Mulino (1958-1968), Marzia Maccaferri

A partire dagli anni Cinquanta il processo di ricostruzione economica in Italia poteva considerarsi compiuto e ci si avviava verso l’affermazione, seppur in modo contraddittorio, della società del benessere e dei consumi. Spostando la prospettiva di analisi dagli aspetti economici a quelli socio-politici del consumo, il saggio intende ricostruire il dibattito sviluppato dal gruppo di intellettuali del Mulino circa la sfida posta dalla trasformazione negli stili di vita e nella cultura conseguenti all’affermarsi della cosiddetta affluent society negli anni compresi fra la pubblicazione dell’omonimo lavoro di John Kenneth Galbraith e il 1968.

Analizzando pubblicistica e materiale d’archivio l’autrice pone in luce i temi-chiave del dibattito e i nessi creatisi fra questione del benessere e rivoluzione dei consumi, da un lato, spazio e legittimazione politica, dall’altro. Viene evidenziato il processo di riflessione che a partire dalla ricezione della sociologia e della politologia anglo-americana permetterà di individuare lo standard di vita e l’accesso ai consumi e al tempo libero come un elemento di legittimazione politica e di ridefinizione dei rapporti tra cittadini e governanti in termini di democratizzazione del benessere. Il saggio si sofferma sul dibattito che portò intellettuali quali Giorgio Galli, Luigi Pedrazzi, Nicola Matteucci a considerare l’alleanza di centro-sinistra DC-Psi come la formula politica in grado di dare risposte adeguate a questo nuovo aspetto del processo di modernizzazione. In conclusione viene approfondita l’ipotesi elaborata dal gruppo del Mulino circa il superamento della sclerosi del sistema partitico italiano, cioè del «bipartitismo imperfetto», che venne proposta come diagnosi dell’impasse politica italiana e come soluzione della questione politica dell’affluenza.

Parole chiave: democrazia e società del benessere, società dei consumi, Italia anni Sessanta, intellettuali del Mulino, coalizione di centro-sinistra DC-Psi, bipartitismo imperfetto DC-Pci.

Italian Intellectuals Between the Affluent Society and the “Welfare Democracy”: the Case of Il Mulino (1958-1968), Marzia Maccaferri

By the 1950s the process of economic reconstruction in Italy was widely considered as accomplished with the welfare consumerist society starting to take hold, albeit not without its contradictions. Shifting the perspective of the analysis from the economic aspects to the socio-political ones of consumption, this essay seeks to reconstruct the debate that was developed by the group of intellectuals of the journal Il Mulino over the challenges posed by the transformation of lifestyles and culture as a consequence of the establishment of the so-called affluent society in the years spanning between the publication of John Kenneth Galbraith’s work and 1968.

By analysing political works and archival materials the article sheds light on the key
issues of the debate as well as on the connection between, on the one hand, the issue of welfare and the consumer revolution, and space and political legitimation, on the other. It is focused on the analytical process that, starting from the reception of Anglo-American sociology and political science, would then conceptualise the standard of living and access to consumption and leisure time as an element of political legitimacy and a redefinition of the relations between citizens and government. The article then analyses the democratisation of affluence and what intellectuals like Giorgio Galli, Luigi Pedrazzi, Nicola Matteucci identified as the political formula capable of providing adequate answers to this new aspect of the modernisation process: the Centre-Left DC-Psi alliance. In conclusion, the author deepens the hypothesis drafted by the *Il Mulino* group concerning the superseding of the “sclerosis” of the Italian party system, that is the imperfect two-party system, interpreted as being the diagnosis of the Italian political stalemate and a solution to the political issue of affluence.

*Key words*: welfare society, affluent society, political issue of welfare, consumer society, the Sixties in Italy, intellectuals of the *Il Mulino*, DC-Psi Centre-Left coalition, imperfect two-party system DC-Pci.

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**I moti di Torino dell’agosto 1917 nelle memorie di un socialista**, Luigi Scoppola Iacopini

L’articolo presenta un documento inedito: la memoria di un socialista italiano, testimone in prima persona dei drammatici scontri avvenuti nella Torino in guerra nell’agosto del 1917 tra le masse popolari e le forze di polizia rafforzate da truppe provenienti direttamente dal fronte. L’autore, Gino Mangini, in gioventù su posizioni intransigenti, dopo una lunga carriera politica e sindacale a livello locale, resterà fedele al Psi fino alla fine dei suoi giorni. L’importanza del frammento, estratto dai ponderosi volumi inediti di memorie, poggia su due motivazioni: la novità di una fonte (tra le poche esistenti sui moti popolari di Torino) che aiuta a rivedere, almeno in parte, quei giudizi consolidati della storiografia, che guardano a quei giorni in chiave politica e rivoluzionaria (l’ultimo risale a Paolo Spriano nel 1972); il fatto di essere l’unica testimonianza disponibile proveniente da un socialista che, oltre a non abbracciare le idee della rivoluzione d’Ottobre e della Terza Internazionale, resterà sempre critico nei confronti del comunismo.

*Parole chiave*: socialismo italiano, prima guerra mondiale, moti popolari di Torino, 1917, fronte interno.

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**The Revolt of Turin in the August of 1917 According to a Socialist’s Memoirs**, Luigi Scoppola Iacopini

This article presents an unpublished paper taken from the memoirs of Gino
Mangini; the author was an Italian socialist, who stood by the democratic vision of socialism for his whole life. At that time, he was a member of the radical left wing of the PSI, as well as a witness and an actor of the dramatic riots between the civilian population and the police forces joined by soldiers coming directly from the military front. This paper is relevant for two reasons: it is one of the few documents which allow us to partially review the accepted vision (embraced by many among whom Paolo Spriano in 1972 was the last one) of those days as a political effort towards the revolution. Secondly, the document is the only written evidence by a socialist who never accepted the ideas of the October’s Revolution and of the Third International.

**Key words**: Italian socialism, World War I, 1917, popular demonstration in Turin, home front

La represión franquista. La historiografía y el debate en torno a la memoria, Carme Molinero

Como en la mayor parte del mundo occidental, la reivindicación de las “memorias reprimidas” adquirió una presencia pública notable en España desde la década de los noventa. En este caso el objeto particular de atención era la “memoria de los vencidos” de la guerra civil, que había sido silenciada sistemáticamente durante los casi cuarenta años de duración del régimen franquista y, en buena medida, también en las dos décadas siguientes. Por su parte, en el último cuarto de siglo, el conocimiento historiográfico acumulado sobre las diversas y complementarias formas represivas ha sido extraordinario. Ha permitido mostrar su magnitud tanto en violencia física – muertes, campos de concentración, encarcelamientos, explotación laboral – como legal – depuraciones, multas, etc. –. La represión franquista fue mucho más elevada que la ejercida por otros regímenes del Nuevo Orden fascista en tiempos de paz. La producción historiográfica ha permitido, por otra parte, dotar de base empírica a los movimientos que durante años han reivindicado el reconocimiento de las instituciones democráticas a las víctimas del franquismo.

**Palabras clave**: guerra civil española, represión franquista, historiografía, historia y memoria, políticas públicas de la memoria, violencia física y legal en la guerra civil española.

The Francoist Repression: Historical Research and the Debate on Memory, Carme Molinero

In Spain the recognition of the “repressed memories” has earned a remarkable public presence since the ’90s, similarly to what occurred in most of the western
In the Spanish case the attention focused on the “memory of the defeated” in the Civil War, which had been systematically silenced during the almost forty years of dictatorship and, to a large extent, during the following two decades too. In parallel with that, in the last quarter of the century there has been an outstanding accumulation of historical knowledge on the many and complementary forms of repression. This has demonstrated the magnitude of physic violence – deaths, concentration camps, imprisonment, work exploitation – as well as legal violence – purging, fines, etc. Francoist repression was much stronger than the one practised by other New Order fascist regimes during peace time. These historical studies have also provided concrete background for movements which for many years have asked for re-cognition from the democratic institutions of victims of Francoism.

Key words: Spanish Civil War, Francoist repression, Spanish Civil War historical studies, history and memory, memory public policies, physic and legal violence in Spanish Civil War.

Reality and Representation of the Italian Resistance in the Records of the Partisan Movement, Tommaso Piffer

The essay shows the importance of the records of the partisan movements in writing the history of the Resistance in Italy in World War II. Using these records, it seems possible to write a partially different history from that written by the most important authors in the past decades. This essay is focused on the relationships between leadership and ranks in the bands, the political consciousness of the partisans, their
relationship with political parties and the strategy of the political leaders. In conclusion, the author suggests the opportunity of a new synthesis of this period based on this material.

Key words: Resistance movement in Italy, Italian partisan movement, Italian Resistance historical studies, World War II, political parties and partisan bands, partisan records.

The Enfranchisement of Italian Women in the Political Satire of the Years 1945 and 1946, Giulia Galeotti

The satire that in the years 1945 and 1946 commented the enfranchising of the Italian women replicated most of the themes emerged since the reunification of the country, in the year 1861: their lack of interest in politics, their political naïveté and therefore their asserted easy manipulability. The study of articles, short stories, riddles and cartoons of the time seems to confirm that the Italian society was not ready for
women’s entry into politics, beyond political and cultural differences. The author underlines however the surprising absence of a theme which had played a big role in the debate of the pre-Fascist years: the old concern that women’s new political rights would have broken up the traditional balance inside family life.

The author suggests that the main target of the time (in a kind of political maturation) were not women voters as such, but other subjects, along the same line followed by Aristophanes: when he presented Athens governed by women, his target were not female malice and luxury, but instead men’s incapacity to govern a city in decline. The same happened at beginning of the foundation of the Italian Republic: the political satire invested the two main political parties that strongly supported the universal suffrage and were expected to gain most from it, the Christian Democratic Party and the Communist Party.

*Key words*: political satire, women enfranchising, Bonomi Act January 1945, Italian elections 2 June 1946, the crises of politics, women and politics.