

A PENGUIN SPECIAL

THE REMAKING OF ITALY

BY
PENTAD



PENGUIN BOOKS

HARMONDSWORTH MIDDLESEX ENGLAND

41 EAST 28TH STREET NEW YORK U.S.A.

A PENGUIN SPECIAL

THE REMAKING OF ITALY

BY
PENTAD



PENGUIN BOOKS

HARMONDSWORTH MIDDLESEX ENGLAND

41 EAST 28TH STREET NEW YORK U.S.A.



THE REMAKING OF ITALY

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

If you are not already on our mailing list and would like to know when new books are added, please send in your name and address on a postcard. Suggestions for new additions are welcomed.

To
THE GLORIOUS MEMORY
OF
FORTUNATO PICCHI
OB. PALM SUNDAY 1941
A MARTYR OF THE NEW
RISORGIMENTO

To
THE GLORIOUS MEMORY
OF
FORTUNATO PICCHI
ON EASTER SUNDAY 1941
A MARTYR OF THE NEW
PACIFIC RISE

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

PAGE

INTRODUCTION	ix
--------------	----

PART I—THE MAKING OF ITALY

I.	THE ITALIAN NATION FROM 476 TO 1748	13
II.	HOW THE ITALIAN NATION BECAME THE ITALIAN STATE	32
III.	THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS (1870-1920)	44

PART II—THE GERMANS AND ITALY

I.	THE "TEDESCHI"	55
II.	EVENTS OF THE PAST	63
III.	VOICES FROM THE PAST	85
IV.	HITLER AND ITALY	98
V.	"FUORI I TEDESCHI!"	108

PART III—THE ENGLISH AND ITALY

I.	ENGLAND'S DEBT TO ITALY	117
II.	THE ITALIAN IN ENGLAND	130
III.	THE ENGLISHMAN IN ITALY	140
IV.	PALMERSTON AND THE LIBERATION OF ITALY	148
V.	MR. GLADSTONE AND KING BOMBA	154
VI.	LORD JOHN RUSSELL AND THE MAKING OF ITALY	161
VII.	THROUGH WAR TO NEW FRIENDSHIP	168

PART IV—THE BLACK DEATH OF FASCISM

I.	LAW AND LAWLESSNESS	175
II.	POST-WAR NEUROSIS	180
III.	SAN SEPOLCRO	184
IV.	SOCIALISM BETRAYED	188

CHAPTER	PAGE
V. FIUME	194
VI. AN OLD MAN'S ERROR	204
VII. THE ETERNAL CITY	210
VIII. POLICE AND PROPAGANDA	225
IX. FASCISM COMMITS SUICIDE	241

PART V—ITALY AFTER FASCISM

I. THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE ASSOCIATION	259
II. CLASSES AND IDEALS	261
III. ELIMINATION OF PRIVILEGE	267
IV. POLITICAL REFORM	270
V. AGRARIAN REFORM	273
VI. REFORM OF INDUSTRY AND BANKING	278
VII. ITALY'S PLACE IN THE WORLD	282

INTRODUCTION

THIS book is written in the faith that Italy has been, and will yet be, a beacon of civilization to the world; that Italy, far from being naturally addicted to authoritarian rule, has been at her greatest when she has enjoyed free institutions; that Great Britain has always been the true friend, and Germany the real enemy of Italy; that Italy has suffered for twenty years under a tyranny containing nothing new except the name of Fascism; that Mussolini, the tyrant of Palazzo Venezia, self-styled Duce, first betrayed his countrymen by depriving them of liberty and finally by delivering them to the Germans; that the war in which Italy now finds herself on the wrong side gives Italians an opportunity to shake off the tyranny under which they have languished, restore good relations with the Anglo-Saxon democracies and clear Italy's name from dishonour. It is written, in short, in the belief that the present war may prove for Italy a new Risorgimento, a rising again from the tomb of Fascism to a new and better life.

It is mainly the work of four Italians who are actively engaged in this work of liberation. They have suffered under Fascism because they esteemed freedom higher than comfort, and are now exiles in the land that sheltered Mazzini and honoured Garibaldi. For the safety of their relatives in Italy, and for the security of their part in the task of liberation, their names must remain unknown, but they represent all the main aspects of Italian life; one is a Lombard, one a Venetian, one is a Sicilian and the fourth is an Emilian, but they are united, as all true Italians are united, in love of their country, in detestation of Mussolini, in hatred of German domination, and in a belief in free institutions. They have been helped by an English officer who is proud to recall, in his own contribution, the help which England gave in the first Risorgimento.

Three of the Italian contributors wrote in their native language, but their manuscripts have been translated under their supervision. In a few places it will be found that the contributors mention subjects that are treated in greater detail elsewhere in the book. Occasionally, when the recent history of British policy is in question, judgements are made to which many English readers may demur; but no attempt has been made to alter those judgements, as it will be useful, even for those who demur, to see how British policy looks through a pair of Italian eyes.

The writers, Italian and English, trust that their words may kindle in many hearts a new love and a new hope for Italy. Believing in the value and the necessity of an informed public opinion, they have written in the first place for the general public, both in the British Commonwealth and in the United States of America. They would like this public to have the vision of the new Italy which may arise when the night of Fascism and German occupation is over, and they hope that the British and American publics will press on their Governments the desirability of helping Italians to achieve their vision. To the Italian emigrants in the old and the new world, and especially to the five million north Americans of Italian descent, their message is more insistent: they appeal for the fullest help in the crusade of liberation. If by any chance their words should reach the Italians of the peninsula, now under the double tyranny of Mussolini and Himmler, their message is one of hope and exhortation: "The night is far spent, the day is at hand." It is for Italians in Italy to show themselves worthy of the help of the democratic Powers and of their kinsmen oversea by throwing every available grain of sand into the Axis war-machine.

PART 1 .

THE MAKING OF ITALY

Malo periculosam libertatem quam quietum servitium
I prefer a dangerous liberty to a peaceful servitude

TACITUS

CHAPTER I

THE ITALIAN QUESTION

THE ITALIAN QUESTION is one of the most important and complex of the modern world. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions.

The Italian Question is a question of the most complex and important of the modern world. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions.

The Italian Question is a question of the most complex and important of the modern world. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions. It is a question which has for centuries been the subject of the most passionate and often the most violent passions.

CHAPTER 1

THE ITALIAN NATION FROM 476 TO 1748

LORD DEWAR used to say that some people's minds are like parachutes: they work only when they are opened. My friends and I believe that it is necessary to state the case for the Italian people because for eighteen years the false propaganda carried everywhere by the Fascist Government, and even more by its foreign admirers, has succeeded in covering everything Italian with a thick fog of misstatements, spurious legends, journalese verbiage and downright lies.

We believe that if we succeed in giving the British public even a general idea of the true Italy, we shall have made a useful contribution to truth, to a better understanding of the Italian people and therefore to a mutually advantageous solution of the unnatural conflict that is temporarily separating Britain from Italy.

To know Italy you must first of all know something of her history, life and soul. Many British people have learned these things, and they have loved and still love Italy: I do not ask them to read this very short outline of Italian history, because they know it already. I beg my other readers, those whom I hope will also become friends of Italy, to study the few pages that follow and some of the books I ask them to read; all those books are easily found in public libraries, and none of them is heavy reading. We want new friends for Italy, but friends who will be so because they have learned through truth to love Italy's virtues, to have charity for her faults, and pity her for her misfortunes.

1. ITALY IN THE BARBARIC PERIOD.

The Western Roman Empire collapsed in 476; for some time it had been in such a state of dissolution that only its great name and tradition kept it going. The last Emperor was a fourteen-year-old boy, Romulus Augustulus, put on the throne by his father, Orestes, formerly in the retinue of Attila, the King of the Huns. The capital of the Empire was no more Rome, but Ravenna, a town in a more protected position near the mouth of the river Po. The barbaric

German tribes had repeatedly invaded Italy and had sacked Rome and the principal towns. The rotting Empire had entrusted its defence to its worst enemies, and was at the mercy of its German mercenaries, from whom it received its death-blow. Odoacer, chief of the imperial troops, taking advantage of the extreme weakness of the Empire, deposed the boy Emperor, proclaimed himself King (not Emperor) and asked to be recognized by the Eastern Emperor. He distributed to his men a third of the Italian lands. These soldiers did not trouble to till the land; they simply had it worked by the native population, and exacted one-third (or more) of the crops or their value. The Latin population was left in peace, with all its magistrates and institutions; the German occupiers formed the army, and acted as a kind of feudal overlords. They took great care to disarm the Latins (we cannot yet talk of Italians), and to keep them in a position of inferiority, using them as tillers of the soil, craftsmen or clerks.

Odoacer ruled Italy in an able and tolerant manner and prevented other hordes of barbarians from invading and looting the country, until in 489 he had to face one of the biggest German tribes, the Ostrogoths, commanded by one of the greatest barbarian chiefs, Theodoric. Odoacer was defeated in battle, and after sustaining a long siege in Ravenna, had to capitulate; he was killed in a brawl a short time afterwards. During the war two other German tribes took advantage of the occasion and made extensive raids in Italy, carrying off large numbers of slaves and much loot.

Theodoric ruled Italy extremely well. He rebuilt many of the ruined towns, and by choosing wise and skilful Roman administrators managed to bring back some prosperity to the country; even letters flourished mildly for a short time (Boethius, Cassiodorus). Ravenna, his capital, was embellished with fine buildings in the Byzantine style. He gave to his soldiers the customary one-third of the land, taking it away from the dispossessed followers of Odoacer. Towards the end of his life he persecuted the Romans, and sent several to their death. He spent a good deal of his life in waging successful wars, thus becoming with Attila (Etzel) one of the heroes of German legends under the name of Dietrich von Bern (Theodoric of Verona). He died in 526, and in ten years his kingdom passed through the hands of his grandson, his daughter and her husband.

In the meantime Justinian became Emperor in Byzantium, and began to reconquer the lands occupied by the barbaric tribes. His best general, Belisarius, in a single year destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals (534); next year he was sent to Italy against the Eastern Goths, and in a long and difficult campaign defeated them

(539). After his return to Constantinople the Goths rose, and under their kings, Totila and Teia, fought a long war against another Roman general, Narses, until, after many defeats, they were all either captured or obliged to leave Italy (553). During these wars and after, barbaric hordes of Franks and Alamans invaded Italy three times, looting, devastating and murdering to their hearts' content until defeated by the Byzantines.

Justinian brought many changes to the administration; nominally the civil power was separated from the military, but in fact very soon they became one, under the Byzantine governors. The military power in the districts was in the hands of dukes and tribunes who commanded troops composed of Greek soldiers and of local militia-men recruited from among the nobility and the craftsmen. The landowners and the nobles were given back the old Roman privileges. The power of the bishops became very great, because they were the chief magistrates. The third of the land belonging to the Goths was not given back to the old owners, but became Crown property. The Byzantines showed soon that they were more grasping than the barbarians, and became even more hated by the common people than the German invaders.

In the first half of the sixth century St. Benedict of Norcia (near Rome) founded the great monastic order of the Benedictines.

Byzantine rule over Italy did not last long. About 568 the most savage of the German tribes, the Longobards, descended into Italy, accompanied by Suabians and Saxons, under the leadership of their king, Alboin. In a few years they occupied a large part of Italy, because the Italians were indifferent and the Greeks weak. Rome, Ravenna, Naples and some other districts remained in the hands of the Byzantines; thus Italy was split into several parts and remained divided for thirteen centuries. The invaders robbed and looted as much as they could, and the wealthy people sought refuge in the districts still under the Eastern Empire or on the islands in the Venetian lagoons, where some colonies had already been established during the Hun invasion. From these settlements Venice arose.

The Longobard kings made Pavia their capital; the kingdom was divided into a large number of dukedoms, often fighting among themselves. Only the Longobards could have arms, and so they became the new nobility. The local population supplied the craftsmen, the peasants and the clerks. During the reign of King Agilulf, Pope St. Gregory the Great (590-604) succeeded in converting to Catholicism a large part of the Longobards; he became the real ruler of Rome, where the Byzantine Emperor retained only a nominal sovereignty; he took particular care of the liturgy and choral singing (called Gregorian chant after him, though the merit

FRANCE

