

As Andrew Shields points out, Cullen's fear of Mazzinian nationalism was shared by many Protestant Irish conservatives who were opposed to the idea of 'popular sovereignty' in Ireland on both practical and ideological grounds. Irish conservative MPs, the vast majority of whom were Protestants, were also concerned that unrest in Italy might ultimately serve the ambitions of imperial France. Again, though, religious factors – in this case Irish conservatism's 'intense hostility' towards the papacy – led many conservatives to embrace the Italian nationalist cause, or at least its moderate monarchical wing under Piedmont.

The final section of essays in *Nation/Nazione* looks beyond religion and politics to address issues of culture and gender. Emanuela Minuto analyses the widespread and enduring appeal of Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* in Italy; Donatella Abbate Badin considers the role and impact of Lady Morgan on Italian nationalism in the early phase of the Risorgimento; and Emer Delaney compares women's experiences in the Risorgimento and the Irish Independence movement. Even here, though, religion and politics remain to the fore. Minuto, for example, shows how Moore's work was able to appeal both to Italian Catholics (as a demonstration of the supremacy of Catholic culture) and Italian nationalists (as an example of the ability of songs to express 'the "natural" characteristics of a community' [p. 197]). Abbate Badin meanwhile explains how the new and anticlerical Italian state denied voting rights to women on the grounds that they were more susceptible than men to clerical influence; in Ireland, by contrast, Irish women were subject to reactionary gender policies because of the Catholic-infused politics of the Irish Free State.

*Nation/Nazione* is not without its weaknesses. Roland Sarti's essay on Mazzini and democracy has very little to say about Ireland and sits uncomfortably alongside the other contributions to the volume. Alberto Belletti's chapter on Gioacchino Ventura's funeral oration for Daniel O'Connell in 1847 favours descriptive narrative over analysis. Consequently, we learn what Ventura said but not why he said it. Other questions regarding the reasons behind the oration, O'Connell's relations with the Church, the choice of Ventura, or Pius IX's endorsement of the speech in the face of conservative criticisms, also remain unanswered. These, however, are minor quibbles. This is a book with much to recommend it.

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**Da Gramsci a Occhetto: nobiltà e miseria del Partito comunista italiano 1921–1991**, by Franco Andreucci, Pisa, Della Porta Editori, 2014, 467 pp., €20.00, ISBN 978-88-96209-13-4

Writing the history of the Italian Communist Party is not an easy task. Scholars have to deal with a well-established party historiography and a collective memory that have become fundamental elements of the PCI's identity. Both of these dimensions have contributed significantly to building a party tradition aimed at promoting a view of the PCI's historical experience marked essentially by continuity and at justifying the political choices made along the way by the party's leading groups. The disruptions, disputes, ambiguities and contradictions that have characterised

the PCI's existence have remained on the margins of the narratives. However, these elements find adequate reflection in Franco Andreucci's huge summary of the PCI's history, which is derived mainly from party press reports, memoirs and secondary literature. Readers should not be misled by the title of the book: *Da Gramsci a Occhetto*. The figure of Amadeo Bordiga, who was the first leader of the PCI, is not at all neglected. On the contrary, Andreucci emphasises that Bordiga, during the formative period of the party, was regarded as an 'undisputed leader' (p. 95) and exercised a strong influence on most of those who would constitute, starting from 1924, the so-called 'new leading group' (Antonio Gramsci, Palmiro Togliatti, Umberto Terracini). Likewise, the author does not ignore the serious conflict between Gramsci and Togliatti, which took place in October 1926, concerning the struggle for the leadership within the Bolshevik Party.

It is an intricate and troubled historical course revisited by Andreucci, in which two moments appear to be crucial. The first is related to the so-called 'turn to the left', which was driven by the Comintern at the end of the 1920s and coincided with Stalin's final victory over his opponents in the Soviet leadership struggle. Such a turn, which was launched under the heading of 'social-fascism' and the battle against Trotskyism, brought about a strong backlash in the PCI. The party, which had already been hit hard by Fascist repression and forced to work underground, paid dearly for its loyalty to the dominant line within the Communist International. Important leaders (it is sufficient to recall the names of Angelo Tasca, Alfonso Leonetti and Ignazio Silone) were expelled. Andreucci remarks that it was at that time that the 'iron link' with the Soviet Union, which would mark 'the identity of Italian communists for several decades of their history' (p. 115), was created. The author of that choice, which put the PCI completely within the sphere of Stalinism, was Togliatti, who had replaced Gramsci as party leader after he was imprisoned.

The second decisive moment in the PCI's history was the Hungarian revolt in 1956. On that occasion, Togliatti called openly for Soviet intervention on the basis that the uprising was fomented by reactionary circles and sponsored by anti-communist forces in the West. The decision to support the Soviet repression caused new disruptions within the party, but above all left the PCI completely isolated. 'The tragedies and mistakes of 1956', Andreucci argues, 'increased the extraneousness of the PCI to the democratic political system and made the "K factor" a fundamental point of Italian politics' (p. 343).

Nevertheless, the PCI became the strongest communist party in the West. How was this possible? Andreucci analyses the various factors that enabled the party to root itself firmly in Italian society, starting with the prominent role played by communists in the Resistance. It was during the liberation struggle against Nazism and Fascism that the PCI laid the foundations for becoming a mass party. In that context, the so-called '*svolta di Salerno*', launched by Togliatti in March 1944, was particularly relevant: by deciding to support the Badoglio government, the PCI revealed a new profile – that of a pragmatic, not ideological, party. The image of the 'new party', which the political tradition would consolidate in the following decades, arose at that time. Moreover, in the post-war period, the PCI appeared as a popular force that included not only industrial workers, but also farmworkers and intellectuals. It was also through its cultural politics, by appropriating the democratic legacy of the *Risorgimento*, that the party could dilute its class features in the larger traditions of the subaltern classes.

From the account provided by Andreucci, it emerges, therefore, that a deep contradiction marked the PCI's existence. Within the party there was a reformist, pragmatic approach as well as utopian views, linked to the communist tradition, which were expressed in the sympathy for the socialist eastern bloc. In the years after 1956, the process of the PCI's integration into Italian

society came about completely; it was, however, a ‘negative integration’, as Andreucci explains, borrowing a term first coined in the 1960s by the German-American scholar Guenther Roth in relation to German Social Democracy in the Second Reich (Roth 1963). The PCI in republican Italy, exactly like the SPD in the Wilhelmine Empire, created ‘a counter-society’ which had ‘a limited access to real politics’ and where the party’s communities believed ‘in alternative values’ (p. 367).

In order to explain why the PCI remained isolated in the political system, Andreucci constantly refers to the strength of the Soviet myth within the party, above all among the rank and file. According to him, it was for this very reason that the PCI’s relationship with the Soviet Union continued to be ambiguous and contradictory even after the party’s leading group disapproved of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The claim of autonomy from Moscow, pursued by Enrico Berlinguer in the years of ‘Eurocommunism’, was never translated into ‘a deep revision of the communist ideology, similar to that launched by the SPD in Bad Godesberg in 1959’ (p. 423). Even after the death of Berlinguer in 1984 and the subsequent rise of Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, the PCI failed to make a decisive break with its political tradition, by refusing ‘to admit, explicitly and without justification, the crimes committed by many communists in the name of communism’ (p. 431).

### Reference

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**The Friulian language: identity, migration and culture**, edited by Rosa Mucignat, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars, 2014, xxii + 197 pp., £44.99 (hardback), ISBN 978-1-4438-5817-5

Friulian is one of the many languages spoken in the Italian peninsula and in Italian communities outside the national borders. Thanks to its recent legal recognition and subsequent heightened social status, researchers are becoming increasingly interested in the ways in which the language has found its place among users. Rosa Mucignat’s edited volume dedicated to Friulian is an important contribution to our understanding of the significance of this Rhaeto-Romance language in numerous fields, as well as an informed panoramic view on the culture and the people of Friuli. The volume is divided into four parts: history and status; language and culture; migration; and literature. Each section is both conceptually self-contained and linked aptly to the overall theme, so that the different contributions may be read separately if need be.

The first chapter traces the history of the region from Roman times to the twentieth century. It summarises the main events that have shaped the region, highlighting its relationship with the rest of the peninsula and other parts of Europe. Scarred by wars and torn between centrifugal and centripetal forces, Friuli strived for a sense of identity of which the language has been a long-debated marker. The second chapter further examines the language in the region and how its