Contents

Acknowledgments —— IX
Introduction —— 1
Book Structure —— 6
State of the Art — 9
Sources — 17
Methods —— 21
Chapter 1
Conceptual Foundations and Historiographical Debates —— 29
The "Soviet Myth" in the West, and the Anomaly of Italian Communism — 29
Substantial Asymmetries and their Consequences: Communism in a
Democracy and in a Dictatorship —— 32
The GDR: which Dictatorship? —— 37
(Communist) Antifascism between History and Memory, in Italy and
Germany —— 40
Chapter 2
Cold War Entanglements — 59
Occupation, Influences. The Role of the USA and USSR in the "German
Question" —— 60
Triangulations. West Germany, Italy, and the GDR — 68
The Late Postwar and the 1950s —— 71
Between Détente and Ostpolitik: the 1960s and 1970s — 74
Watersheds. The Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with the GDR —— 80
Chapter 3
Strategies of National Bilateral Exchange —— 83
Town Twinning —— 85
Organizational Networks: International, National, Local —— 85
Cities for Peace —— 99
Politics. The PCI and the SED —— 104
Culture —— 113
Culture's Nest. The Centro Thomas Mann —— 113
Italian Heterodox Leftist Intellectuals and the Early GDR —— 120
Academic Exchange —— 127



Economy --- 133

Work. The Italian and East German Labor Unions — 136

Chapter 4

"Red" Areas and Towns: Developments, Similarities, Asymmetries — 144

GDR: Towns as Cells of the Central State — 147

Italy: Municipalities as Political Organs —— 155

Italy: "Red" Areas, "Red" Subcultures --- 164

Governing Development: Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany —— 167 Communist Government in a Politically Inhomogeneous Territory:

Piedmont and Turin --- 183

Chapter 5

Protagonists and Practices of Socialist Twinning — 189

Actors --- 190

Administrators --- 190

Grassroots Activists — 211

Connecting Personalities - 222

Spaces and Fields of Convergence — 228

Trade and Local Agency — 232

Local Welfare --- 253

Interpreting Communist Municipal Exchange — 292

Chapter 6

Looking at the "Other" --- 303

Shadows of the War, Antifascism, Resistance —— 304 Microsociability, Ceremoniality, Daily Life, Generations —— 320

Symbols: Togliatti, the Wall — 336 Memory and Subjectivity — 347

Epilogue --- 364

List of Archives --- 374

List of Abbreviations --- 376

List of Interviews ---- 377

Biographies of Interviewees — 378

Bibliography —— 380

Index —— 409