Acknowledgments


Introduction


4. The figures for returns from Italian Africa (between 1940 and 1961) come from Colette Dubois and Jean-Louis Miège, introduction to *L’Europe retrouvée: Les migrations de la décolonisation*, ed. Jean-Louis Miège and Colette Dubois (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1994), 9–22. Drawing on the work of Hamid Etemad, Andrea Smith instead estimates between 320,000 and 480,000 Italian migrants from the colonies. Smith, “Europe’s Invisible Migrants,” 32. When terms like “colonies” are used in such statistics, it often proves unclear whether this refers only to the formal colonies or also to possessions like the Dodecanese or Albania. According to a publication commemorating the work of the Committee for Assistance to Refugees of Venezia Giulia, 1,089,516 “national refugees” from Venezia Giulia and the former colonies (and other powers’ colonies, such as Egypt) received assistance in the fifty-year period between 1947 and 1997. Istituto Regionale per la Cultura Istriana, *Esodo e Opera Assistenza Profughi: Una storia parallela* (IRCI: Trieste-Roma, IRCI, 1997), 5. The numbers of national refugees from each of the lost possessions are, not surprisingly, the object of contestation and political manipulation, particularly in the Julian case. The standard statistical study endorsed by Istrian Italian exiles gives a figure of 350,000 ethnic Italians; see Amedeo Colella, *L’esodo dalle terre adriatiche. Rilevazioni*
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statistiche (Rome: Stab. Tip. Julia, 1958). Other studies estimate between 188,000 and 200,000 migrants from the Adriatic territories Italy ceded to Yugoslavia.

5. Here I have given the most inclusive dates for the operation of UNRRA and the IRO. The UN archives actually list UNRRA's dates of operation from 1943 to 1946, although some operations continued after that, and the final employee ceased work only in 1949. Likewise, the UN General Assembly adopted the constitution of the International Refugee Organization in December 1946, but operations only really began in earnest in 1948. In 1951–1952, IRO work overlapped with that of the young UNHCR.


8. Ibid., 16–17.

9. On the geographic reservation and Italy refer to Luca Einaudi, Le politiche dell’immigrazione in Italia dall’Unità a oggi (Rome: Editori Laterza, 2007), 49. The text of the convention published by the UN in 1954 contains this statement by Italy’s representative, Gastone Guidotti: “In signing this Convention, the Government of the Republic of Italy declares that the provisions of articles 6, 7 (2), 8, 17, 18, 19, 22 (2), 23, 25 and 34 are recognized by it as recommendations only. It also declares that for the purpose of the obligations assumed by the Republic of Italy under this Convention, the words ‘events occurring before 1 January 1951’ in article 1, section A (2), shall be understood as referring to events occurring in Europe before 1 January 1951.” Refer to United Nations, “Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (with schedule),” in Treaty Series: Treaties and International Agreements Registered or Filed and Recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations, vol. 189 (Geneva: United Nations, 1954), 192 fn. 1. In 1964, Italy withdrew its reservations to articles 6, 7, 8, 19, 22, 23, 25, and 34 of the convention.

10. Section (1) of article 40 stated, ‘Any State may, at the time of signature, ratification or accession, declare that this Convention shall extend to all or any of the territories for the international relations of which it is responsible. Such a declaration shall take effect when the Convention enters into force for the State concerned.’ UN Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 34. Many thanks to Max Cherem for pointing this out.

11. Cited in Atle Grahl-Madsen, The Status of Refugees in International Law, vol. 1 (Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1966), 265–266. Section E of Article 1 proves identical with Article 7(b) of the 1950 UNHCR statute. Article 1(D) of the convention contained another important exclusion for individuals already receiving assistance from UN agencies (such as the IRO and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, or UNRWA). The term “national refugee” is sometimes used interchangeably with the term “con-national refugee,” as in the work of Grahl-Madsen. Given the prevalence of the terminology of national refugee, in this book I employ that more straightforward vocabulary and leave the parsing of possible distinctions between national and con-national refugees to other scholars.
Though rarely used, the con-national term is often associated with those refugees excluded by the criteria of Article 1(D). I am grateful to Max Cherem for bringing to my attention the “con-national” language and for his insights on the complexities of, as well as confusions surrounding, the categorization.

12. Grahl-Madsen, Status of Refugees, 92–33; see also 265–270.


16. Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, “Different Types of Forced Migration Movements as an International and National Problem,” in The Uprooted: Forced Migration as an International Problem in the Post-War Era, ed. Göran Rystad (Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press, 1990), 28. Grahl-Madsen remains one of the few scholars in the early postwar period to acknowledge the existence, let alone the significance, of national/con-national refugees, who he recognized were “found in great numbers in various countries such as Germany, India, Italy, Korea, Pakistan, Turkey, and Viet-Nam.” Nonetheless, his discussion focuses almost exclusively on the German expellees. Grahl-Madsen, Status of Refugees, 3; see also 89–91.


18. Grahl-Madsen, Status of Refugees, 262. Orchard ultimately locates the exclusion of IDPs and (con-)nationals from the refugee definition as the product of “the deliberate effort by the US government to frame refugees as having two constitutive properties: they were both outside their own State and lacked its protection.” Orchard, “Contested Origins of Internal Displacement,” 233. Focusing on the issue of ethnic German expellees, Orchard makes a persuasive, if incomplete, case. The Italian example instead underscores the importance of the colonial context to the wider debate.

19. James Hathaway, The Rights of Refugees under International Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 74. As a historian, I adopt an approach different from that of Hathaway, who examines the specific debates among the convention’s framers along with “evidence of contemporary factual challenges to the treaty’s effectiveness, and syntheses the interpretation so derived with analysis of the vast array of primary and secondary materials which elaborates the interpretation of cognate rights under general international human rights law.” Ibid.


24. Ibid.

25. IC(E)M Library / IOM Historical Section, Geneva, Refugees General Statistics: European Ref. Ex Africa, etc., Tenth Session, Summary Record of the Eighty-Eighth Meeting, 6 May 1959, 19–20. The Italian government did, however, pledge some 500 million lire to the WRY and additional monies to be raised through a state lottery. Minutes of UNHCR/ICEM meeting held in the ICEM Conference Room, 18 July 1960, 2.


34. For a cogent summary of refugee protections as they developed under the League of Nations see Hathaway, *Rights of Refugees under International Law*, 83–91. Hathaway locates the origins of legal protections for refugees in laws concerning aliens and minorities. On the former, 75–81; on the latter, 81–83.

35. G. Daniel Cohen, “Between Relief and Politics: Refugee Humanitarianism in Occupied Germany, 1945–1946,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 43 no. 3 (2008): 447. Importantly, however, the 1938 Convention concerning the Status of Refugees Coming from Germany was the first refugee “convention with a clear exclusion clause” for so-called economic migrants. This convention also began to take account of individual motivations for flight. Both issues would become central to the post-1945 regime of protections. Orchard, “Contested Origins of Internal Displacement,” 216; see also 217.


42. UNRRA, S-520, box 295, Sorieri to Cooley, 31 December 1944.


44. This glossed over the tragic story of forced repatriations carried out by the Allies, which prompted the UN agencies’ subsequent prohibition on refoulement.


52. Watt, “‘Disposition of Japanese Civilians,’” 413.


55. In further contrast to the Italian case, the Dutch assumed “the mantle of liberators of their colonial subjects rather than merely liberated by the Allies.” Buettner, *Europe after Empire*, 88.


59. For a sampling of newspaper and magazine articles making the argument for Italy to retain African territories see ASDMAE ASMAI Africa, vol. 4, Fondo Comm. di Studi Economici (Segr. Cerulli), pacco 1, b. 47, fasc. 3, “Libia: Documentazione, articoli vari.”


61. For suggestions on what a “rhythmanalysis” of colonial repatriation might consist of for the case of Italian Libya refer to Pamela Ballinger, “Borders and the


66. Gabriele Proglio has usefully traced out the genealogy of what he calls “the paradigm of memory repression” for the case of Italian colonialism, noting its changing dimensions in the historiography at large and in the work of specific historians like Labanca. Focusing on visual and textual representations in popular magazines like *Epoca* and *Oggi*, Proglio instead argues for the production in the 1950s and 1960s of what he calls a “huge public archive” of memories and images of colonialism that continue to influence understandings in Italy today. Turn to “The Fascist Empire Strikes Back: Reconsidering the Memory of Colonialism after 1945,” in *Images of Colonialism and Decolonisation in the Italian Media*, ed. Paola Bertella Farnetti and Cecilia Dau Novelli (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2017), 240–241.


70. When I consulted the archives of the UNHCR, I was surprised that these too had only recently been cataloged and made available to researchers. One archivist told me that when UN bureaucrats originally created filing systems for such documents—which jumbled together documents containing personal data (such as medical status) about refugees with interoffice memos and other forms of correspondence—they did not anticipate changes in privacy laws or scholarly ethics that would complicate the task of future archivists.

71. For details see Giulia Barrera, “The Unhappy End of the Italian Institute for Africa and the Orient (IsIAO) and the Uncertain Fate of Its Holdings,” Critical Interventions: Journal of African Art History and Visual Culture 10, no. 1 (2016): 71–80. See also Costantino di Sante, “Per una ‘Nuova Idea Coloniale’: Il Museo dell’Africa italiana dal fascismo alla Repubblica,” in Quel che resta dell’impero: La cultura coloniale degli Italiani, ed. Valeria Deplano and Alessandro Pes (Milan: Mimesis Edizioni, 2014). The IsIAO was itself the product of various mergers of older colonial-era institutions, as discussed in Barrera. Much of the collection of the old Museo Coloniale was given to the Istituto Italo-Africano in 1972 (which later joined with the Istituto per il Medio Oriente to form IsIAO). The Museo Nazionale Etnografico “Luigi Pignorini” acquired many of these materials after IsIAO’s closure. In 2017, many of the IsIAO collections became available at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome.

72. Thanks to the tireless efforts of the director Eirini Toliou, the archive has since been transferred to a new site.


(Pistoia: CRT, 2000), 19–32. The product of a conference of Italian and Libyan specialists held in 2000, this volume represented an important contribution to dialogue between scholars in the former colony and metropole.

80. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995), 26. This contrasts with those former Italian settlers from Tripolitania who often turned to the parish registers transferred to the Archivio del Segretariato delle Missioni dei Frati Minori lombardi in Milan in order to verify their births or marriages. Sabbadin, *I frati minori lombardi in Libia*, fn. 5, 67.


83. While the official UNRRA archive is located in New York, useful records from UNRRA can be found in many places, including the countries where UNRRA conducted operations. The personal papers of prominent staff members such as UNRRA directors Herbert Lehmann (located at Columbia University) and Fiorello La Guardia (located at LaGuardia Community College) also provide perspectives on UNRRA different from those offered by its institutional archive.


88. Serving at war’s end as an internment camp for fascists from the Repubblica Sociale Italiana, or RSI, Fossoli then became a camp to which Allied officials sent “undesirable” foreigners, for whom the Italian government had responsibility. Despite the efforts of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to have foreign Jews sent to UNRRA camps, Jews remained at Fossoli until 1946. After the Fossoli camp closed in 1953 with the dispersal of “hard core” refugees to the camps of Fraschette and Farfa Sabina, a settlement for Italian refugees from the eastern Adriatic was created. Costantino Di Sante, *Stranieri indesiderabili. Il campo di Fossoli e i “centri di raccolta profughi” in Italia (1945–1970)* (Verona: Ombre Corte, 2011), 37–39, 51–61, 113. On the Istrians at Fossoli, Maria Luisa Molinari, *Villaggio San Marco, Via Remesina ’32 Fossoli di Carpi* (Turin: EGA, 2006).


1. Empire as Prelude


5. Ibid., 2.


15. For the broader history of the Società Dante Alighieri refer to Beatrice Pisa, *Nazione e politica nella società “Dante Alighieri”* (Rome: Bonacci, 1995), and Patrizia

16. Senator Leopoldo Franchetti was entrusted with this project, which saw the arrival of ten peasant families in Eritrea in December 1893. Gian Luca Podestà, “Emigrazione e colonizzazione in Libia e Africa Orientale,” *Altreitalie* 42 (2011): 37.


19. Before World War I, Battisti, a socialist deputy in the Viennese parliament and representative of Trentino’s Italian minority, urged the joining of Trento to Italy. He rejected, however, irredentist claims to majority German-speaking Alto Adige / Sud Tyrol, as well as arguments that Italy should acquire formal colonies in Africa. A volunteer in the Italian military during the Great War, Battisti was executed by the Austrians for treason. The fascist regime helped transform him into a nationalist martyr, a process that obscured his particular brand of socialist irredentism. For details see Ferretti, ‘Arcangelo Ghisleri and the ‘Right to Barbarity,’” 575–578. On other critics of the Libyan campaign and Italy’s supposed “mission” there, notably the radical parliamentary deputy Leone Caetani, refer to Alessia Maria Di Stefano, “Italian Judges and Judicial Practice in Libya: A Legal Experiment in Multinormativity,” *American Journal of Legal History* 58 (2018): 430–434.


23. For plans to bring Italian settlers to Albania on one-year colonial contracts (“patti colonici”) in order to work with Albanian landowners see Giuseppe Scassellati Sforzolini, *Immigrazione di coloni italiani in Albania* (Valona: R. Officina Tipografica Italiana, 1919).


27. With the completion of the (re)conquest, the territory officially became Libya (Libia) in 1934. It was occasionally referred to as Africa settentrionale italiana. The Italian regime then created five governmental districts: Tripoli, Benghasi, Derna, Misurata, and Territorio Militario del Sud.


33. Giuliani and Lombardi-Diop, Bianco e nero, 42.


35. Cannistraro and Rosoli, “Fascist Emigration Policy in the 1920s,” 673–692; see in particular 675. Also Anna Treves, Le migrazioni interne nell’Italia fascista: Politica e realtà demografica (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1976). For a comprehensive view of emigration within broader demographic policy under liberal and fascist Italy see Carl Ipsen, Dictating Demography: The Problem of Population in Fascist Italy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Ipsen’s work complicates facile assumptions either that the fascist regime simply condemned emigration or that the call for Italy’s colonial “place in the sun” merely followed out of the problems of surplus population.


37. Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri (PCM) 1944–47, b. 3423, fasc. 3.2.6/4426, Italy at Rhodes, 30.


### 2. Wartime Repatriations and the Beginnings of Decolonization

1. Grazia Arnese Grimaldi, *I ragazzi della IV Sponda* (Milan: Editrice Nuovi Autori, 1990). Alessandro Rossetto’s 2012 documentary *Vacanze di guerra* has reconstructed the story of these *bimbi libici*. Some documents from the time claim a figure closer to fifteen thousand children. See Associazione Nazionale Profughi della Libia, *Memorandum presentato alla Commissione di Indagine delle Quattro Potenze sulle Ex-Colonie Italiane* (Rome, 22 May 1948; held at Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente), 27. This same publication states that on the eve of Italy’s entry into the war, the civilian Italian population of Libya numbered at 124,135, with 78,506 in Tripolitania and another 45,629 in Cyrenaica (p. 28).


3. Coordinated repatriation of Italians from non-Italian territories, notably France and Tunisia, had occurred as early as 1938. In the context of growing political tensions between Italy and France, Mussolini had called for the establishment of a Commissione permanente per il rimpatrio degli italiani all’estero (CORI). Although CORI sought to send repatriates from French territories to Italy’s African colonies (AOI), the largest flows appear to have been to Germany. On the little-studied history of CORI see Romain Rainero, *Le navi bianche: Profughi e rimpatriati dall’estero e dalle colonie dopo la seconda guerra mondiale: Una storia italiana dimenticata (1939–1991)* (Mergozzo: Sedizioni, 2015), 103–131; Carl Ipsen, *Dictating Demography: The Problem of Population in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 136–139.


5. These movements could nonetheless prove significant in demographic terms. One document from the Ministry of Italian Africa reports that whereas 27,836 Italians migrated to Libya in 1938, another 9,620 Italians repatriated. Similarly, for the following year, 23,122 Italians relocated to the territory, whereas 9,367 left it. By September 1940, only 5,200 Italians had been recorded that year as moving to Libya, versus 5,875 departing migrants. Such numbers do not appear to take account of


17. Cited ibid., 11.


19. Ibid., 326.

20. In particular, article 43 of the 1907 Hague Convention stipulated, “The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all the measures in his power to restore, and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country.” Cited in Adam Roberts, “Transformative Military Occupation: Applying the Laws of War and Human Rights,” *American Journal of International Law* 100 (2006): 587. The application of such laws to the former Italian colonies remained a source of debate, however. Writing in 1948, Rennell claimed, “the Legal Advisors [of BMA] were confronted with the serious problem of being supplied, at long last, with text-books on international law, which, compiled by learned writers, dealt with the interpretation and application of a Convention which was inadequate to the existing circumstances.” Highlighting the colonial mind-set that guided such administration, Rennell added, “The observations in these learned works dealt with a state of affairs which might have arisen in the territory of a sovereign state in Europe a quarter of a century ago, where homogeneous nations were concerned and where existing law and judicial and executive arrangements were inadequate for the needs of a civilised people. Such was not the picture in the Italian African Empire in 1940 and the ensuing years.” Rennell, *British Military Administration*, 345.


22. There exists a sizable and growing body of literature on the Italian experience in POW camps during World War II. Classic works include Flavio Giovanni Conti, *I prigionieri di guerra italiani 1940–1945* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986). On the topic of those in British-administered camps see Bob Moore and Kent Fedorowich, *The British Empire and Its Italian Prisoners of War, 1940–1947* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2002). The majority of Italian males captured in East Africa were sent to camps in Kenya. Another population instead waited out the war interned in India and South Africa. For a sampling of works go to Lorenzo Carlesso, *Centomila prigionieri italiani in Sud Africa. Il campo di Zonderwater* (Ravenna: Angelo Longo, 2009); Alfredo Gambella,


25. On 3 April 1941 the General Officer Commanding in East Africa had recommended the repatriation of civilians to Italy. By 22 April the War Office had approached the Italian government over the issue of evacuation. Sir Philip Mitchell, chief political officer of the East Africa Command, headed the evacuation operation. Registration of civilians, the first step in the operation, began in June 1941. Rennell, British Military Administration, 439–452.


27. Zamorani, Dalle Navi Bianche, 94–98.

28. Romiti, L’evacuazione degli Italiani dall’Etiopia, 50. On the assistance work carried out by this Ente, which received high praise from and took place under the supervision of British officials, see Rennell, British Military Administration, 79–80. For the highly gendered aspects of what became cast as a humanitarian crisis see Noelle Turtur, “Mothers without Milk: A Humanitarian Crisis in British Occupied Italian East Africa,” unpublished paper, 2019.

29. Junod’s father, Henri-Alexandre Junod, was similarly a well-known missionary and anthropologist who worked in both South Africa and Mozambique and engaged in important debates with Radcliffe-Brown and Van Gennep, among other anthropologists. Henri-Philippe’s cousin, Marcel Junod, also played an important role in the ICRC during the interwar period and Second World War. On these deeply intertwined strands of religious humanitarianism and ethnographic research turn to Patrick Harries, “The Anthropologist as Historian and Liberal: H-A. Junod and the Thonga,” Journal of Southern African Studies 8, no. 1 (1981): 37–50;


34. The reasons for this were both political and pragmatic. The British did not know whether these territories would be returned to Italy at war’s end. In their claim to follow international law, the British also sought to differentiate themselves from their enemies. As a wartime publication put it, “The correct procedure for occupying territory is laid down carefully and clearly by international law.” Ministry of Information, *First to Be Freed*, 25. On both the logistical and political challenges (in particular with the local Arab populations) created by adherence to international law and the “continuation of a latent Italian sovereignty” in Libya refer to Rennell, *British Military Administration*, 448.
Administration, 252; see also 253, 320–345. Whereas in some parts of the former Italian empire BMA officials largely exercised supervision over or coordination with Italian administration, in other areas—such as Eritrean Asmara and Massawa, and parts of Somalia—BMA eventually adopted fairly direct forms of rule. Boobbyer, “Lord Rennell, Chief of AMGOT,” 310.


37. Romiti, L’evacuazione degli Italiani dall’Etiopia, 38–42. For another memoir that stresses the fear and suffering experienced by Italian women and children civilians in AOI during the initial period of the British occupation see F. G. Piccinni, Africa senza sole (Rome: TOSI/Tip. SICCA, 1949). 59–73. Among other things, Piccinni describes how Italian men in Addis Ababa sought to flee or hide (as he did for several months before the English found him and interned him) and how some other “less honorable” Italians turned informers for the British or, in the case of Italian women, became their lovers.

38. TNA, FO 371/37306, H. J. Phillinion to C. M. Weekley, 2 December 1943.


40. Samuel Moyn has gone so far as to claim a “secret history” of Christian human rights in Europe during the interwar and early postwar period. Though the Vatican’s humanitarian efforts are not quite secret, they have been overlooked in favor of the story of the UN agencies. Moyn, Christian Human Rights (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

41. On the complex nature of the ICRC’s role during the Ethiopian War see the detailed study by Rainer Baudendistel, Between Bombs and Good Intentions: The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935–36 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006). Baudendistel contends that the Ethiopian War, which led the ICRC to send its first delegation to Africa, played an important role in clarifying the ICRC’s role during the subsequent global conflict. The organization asserted its neutrality, particularly vis-à-vis the League of Nations, and stressed the supposedly “apolitical” nature of its work. After World War II, the ICRC’s strict adherence to this role would become the source of renewed controversy in light of its actions (and inaction) during the Holocaust.

42. ACICR BG 3 42–4 Missions de Gottfried Senn en Rhodésie du sud, d’E. Grasset dans l’Union sud-africaine, d’André Evalet en Afrique orientale italienne, de Robert Maurice au Congo belge 27/03/1941–14/10/1941, Telegram 8 January 1941, Junod.

43. For his account of the British command’s initial failure to provide for communications between those in civilian internment/transit and POW camps and his sense of “duty” in facilitating those communications see Romiti, L’Evacuazione degli Italiani dall’Etiopia, 38–40. On Evalet’s role in delivering personal letters despite British prohibitions turn to ACICR BG 17 06–024 Prisonniers en Afrique Orientale Italienne
occupée, septembre 1942–1943, 20/02/1942–21/03/1946, C. E. Thibaud, “Note Concernant M. André Evalet,” July 1942. For ICRC regulations on the mail refer to ACICR B G 3 42–4 Missions de Gottfried Senn en Rhodésie du sud, d’E. Grasset dans l’Union sud-africaine, d’André Evalet en Afrique orientale italienne, de Robert Maurice au Congo belge 27/03/1941–14/10/1941, “Correspondence between Italian civil internees and their families.”


46. BMA documents instead claim to have explicitly decided against fostering antifascist movements, at least before the events of September 8, 1943. In Eritrea, for instance, the BMA supported the “ex-fascist majority which must, after all, form the main body of a future Italy.” British Military Administration Eritrea, *Annual Report by the Chief Administrator on the British Military Administration of Eritrea Report V for Period 1 January to 31 December, 1943* (Eritrea: BMA, 1943), 5. Another publication similarly stated, “On the whole, therefore, the Administration decided that it was best to regard the Italians in Eritrea and Somalia as neither Fascist nor anti-Fascist, but just Italian; not to attempt to build up an anti-Fascist party, since in so doing one would automatically stimulate a pro-Fascist party; to take the line that would keep the colonies quietest and enable them to be administered with the minimum of fuss.” Ministry of Information, *First to Be Freed*, 17.


52. ASDMAE ASMAI Africa, vol. 3, b. 166, Rimpatrio donne, bambini ed invalidi civili dall’Africa Orientale Italiana: Relazione, Achille Saporetti, “Relazione dell’ufficiale P.A.I.,” 21. One official even feared that the internment camps had infected repatriates with “the poison of Bolshevism.” Cited in Ertola, “Navi bianche,” 139. Interestingly, in her diary Maria Carelli uses similar language to convey her frustrations as an upper-class officer’s wife being forced to live cheek to jowl with the hoi polloi. Her diary entry for 30–31 December 1941 reads, “We grouped ourselves together in order to avoid contact with women who we don’t know and who immediately reveal themselves to be . . . enemies of officials’ wives. We are all equal, however, there is neither a general’s wife nor a colonel’s wife who has any worth, these are the phrases that accompanied us on the trip [to Dire Daua] and afterwards. We are in full Bolshevism! I feel as if I’m living in Russia!!” Carosio, Via dall’Etiopia, 32. The similarity of language here suggests that Italian propaganda accused the British (no strangers to class hierarchy themselves) of imposing an unnatural egalitarianism upon Italian civilians.


54. Carosio, Via dall’Etiopia, 129, 133.


57. TNA, FO 371/35621, M. G. Seidl, “Rapport sur l’embarquement a Mogadisco, a bord du M/V Saturnia, de civils italiens de la Somalie Italienne en vue de leur rapatriement,” July (?) 1943.

58. On the negotiations over Ras Imru and the repatriation voyage of 19 Eritreans/Ethiopians, refer to TNA, FO 371/35617, Cypher, 31 May 1943; Cypher, 1 June 1943; Norton, Cypher, 4 June 1943; MacKereth to French, 17 June 1943; and G.M. to Swiss Legation, 24 June 1943. TNA, FO 371/35621 also contains information on the release of Ras Imru.


62. Michel Foucault proposed the notion of heterotopia as a counter-site, one where incompatible sites could be juxtaposed as “a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.” Foucault, “Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias,” Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité, trans. Jay Miskowiec (October 1984), 3.


69. TNA, FO 371/35621, Colonel Mirehouse to Mr. MacKereth, 28 September 1943.

70. TNA, FO 371/35621, G. Hartman, 24 August 1943.

71. TNA, FO 371/37306; July 30, 1943, C. M. Ledger wrote, “Relative to arrangements being made in Portuguese East Africa by the German Consul-General and the Italian Consul for the repatriation of their Nationals on the Italian repatriation ships coming from Eritrea and Mogadiscio it may be that the two Axis Consulates were trying by this means to discover which of their nationals were still Nazi or Fascist and therefore willing to return to their home country and those who were indifferent or now opposed to the Axis Governments.” On Campini as “completely devoid of scruples” see handwritten notes on the minutes for R7559, 14 August 1943.


73. Prior to the 1943 armistice, the Ente comunale di assistenza (ECA) had established camps for “bombed out” Italians at Lecce, Brindisi, Venice, and Rome. See Antonio D’Andrea, “Campi profughi, centri di lavoro, di studio e di educazione professionale,” in Atti del convegno per studi di assistenza sociale, contained in UNRRA, S-520 box 249, 599. Relatively little is known about assistance to colonial repatriates under Salò. Just two months after the armistice of 1943, a Comitato di Assistenza agli Italiani Rimpatriati dall’Estero (CAIRE) was created, but it appears to have achieved few results. On this turn to Rainero, Le navi bianche, 17–18, 47. Between 1943 and 1945, two competing Ministries of Italian Africa existed, one in the RSI and one in the Regno del Sud (at Salerno). In both states, repatriates from Africa were excluded.
from the category of profughi di guerra or war refugees. Alessandra Vigo, Rimatri d’Africa: Assistenza, associazioni e reintegro tra storia e memoria (1939–1952) (Padua: Scripta Edizioni, 2016), 20–25. By contrast, individuals displaced from the Dodecanese and other Italian territories (occupied by the Germans) could be considered war refugees, at least in the Regno del Sud. Esposito, “Profughi e rimatri in terra di Bari,” 119.

74. Ministry of Information, First to Be Freed, 40–42.
76. Rennell, British Military Administration, 259.
77. Ibid., 134–135, 164.
78. Ibid., 163.
79. Ibid., 196.
80. A memo within the Stato Maggiore della R. Marina (Italian Royal Navy) dated 8 November 1944, for example, decries the “very tough, almost cruel” treatment of Italian prisoners and internees in Africa and notes the positive changes in Somalia and Eritrea brought about by the arrival of the Americans, who “left our civilians in complete liberty and fittingly assumed them as employees.” ACS PCM 48–50, b. 325, fasc. 17.1/12491, “Notizie sull’Africa Orientale Italiana,” 8 November 1944.
81. In the case of the violence in Greece, novels and films like Captain Corelli’s Mandolin together with war crimes trials (such as that of Nazi officer Alfred Stork, found guilty in 2013 by an Italian military court for his role in the Cephalonia killings), have shed light on the fate of Italian military personnel. On the tragic fate of Italian military in the Dodecanese Islands, for example, see Isabella Insolvibile, Kos 1943–1948. La strage, la storia (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2010).
83. ASDMAE AP 1931–34, Dodecanneso, b. 16, fasc. 7, “Trasporti ferroviari di donne e bambini sfollati dall’Egeo,” 1 June 1943; “Trasporti ferroviari di donne e bambini rimatri dall’Egeo,” 12 July 1943.


88. ASDMAE AP 1931–45, Dodecanneso, b. 16, fasc. 11, Antonio Coccheri, “Al Segretario del Partito Fascista Repubblicano,” 4 October 1944. Menascé cites an Italian interned by the Germans who recalls approximately fifteen hundred Italian civilians employed by the Germans in Rhodes: Menascé, Buio nell’isola del sole, 104.

89. Clementi and Toliou, Gli ultimi ebrei di Rodi, 201–204. In questioning the frequent claim that Faralli was actually an antifascist threatened with dismissal by the Germans on several occasions, they assert, “If it is true that Faralli helped save the life of some Italians interned by the Germans, and the ‘if’ must be stressed here, it is utterly clear that others, namely the Jewish community, were sacrificed; after which, the complicity of the government of the Aegean Islands in the deportation of the Jews was hidden,” 204. Clementi and Toliou’s similar skepticism regarding Macchi’s role in these events contrasts with the glowing accounts of the work of Macchi in the testimony of Father Giovanni Pellegrini Longobardi, who in October 1945 praised Macchi for helping Italian military personnel escape deportation to Germany, organizing air raid protection, and making secret contact with the Allies. In addition, Longobardi contended that Macchi provided food and assistance to the islands’ Jews until the last moment possible, even “when there was nothing more possible to do to help those unfortunates.” ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Dodecanneso, b. 2, Padre Giovanni Pellegrini Longobardi, “Stralcio della Relazione del Padre Giovanni Pellegrini Longobardi sull’attività svolta dalla Commissione per la Tutela degli Interessi Italiani nel Dodecanneso costituita in Rodi-Egeo-Dopo l’occupazione Britannica nel Dodecanneso,” October 1945. For other positive assessments of Macchi’s role see Vittorini, Isole dimenticate, 120–123, 156–159, and Menascé, Buio nell’isola del sole, 127–129. Luca Pignataro’s Il Dodecaneso Italiano, 1912–1947, vol. 3, De Vecchi, guerra, e dopoguerra, 1936–1947/50 (Chieti: Solfanelli, 2018) contains a polemical refutation of the conclusions of Clementi and Toliou (see pp. 36–54; on Macchi and the Jewish deportations, 260–261 fn. 781).

90. Clementi and Toliou, Gli ultimi ebrei di Rodi, 27.


93. Menascé, Buio nell’isola del sole, 127. Pignataro’s careful reconstruction indicates that it was Faralli who first sought provisioning via Turkey through the services of a commander of the Italian merchant marine. Unsuccessful, he then
appealed to the RSI’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, asking them to request assistance from either the ICRC or the German command. Pignataro, *Il Dodecaneso Italiano*, 3:287–301.

94. ACICR BG 003 60–1 Mission de Raymond Courvoisier en Palestine en août 1944 et dans le Dodécanèse en 1945, 08/08/1944–08/04/1945. This file contains the letter of appeal from the religious heads sent to the president of the ICRC on 3 November 1944. Other relevant details about the mission can be found in ACICR BG 003 27–26 mai–décembre 1945: correspondance avec Albert Gredinger, correspondance avec la sous-délégation de Rhodes, 18/06/1945–13/12/1945. Particularly useful is the ten-page extract of a report by Courvoisier dated 27 July 1945. According to this document, the first relief mission took place between 12 and 28 February 1945 to Rhodes, Leros, Calimnos, Pserimo, and Calemia. The second relief shipments occurred between 11 March and 3 April 1945. On 7 April another shipment of food and medication went to the islands. For a tally of the funds expended and the goods provided in these actions see ACICR Sg. 11, Secours à la Grèce, Secours aux Îles de Dodécanèse et Dél. de Rhodes, 1946–1950, Marc Seidl, “Action de Secours aux Îles du Dodécanèse,” 1 October 1946. An Italian consular document instead notes the dates of the three relief missions as 18 February, 16 March, and 20 March 1945. ASDMAE AP 1931–45, Dodecanesse, b. 16, G. Aloisi, “Notizie da Rodi,” 6 April 1945. In a request made by the Vatican to the British ambassador to the Holy See and to UNRRA to provide assistance to the Dodecanese, extracts of Courvoisier’s report were included, indicating the frequent circulation of such communications. See UNRRA S-0527, box 848, Displaced Persons—Italian Dodecan., S. M. Keeny to Paolo Contini, “Assistance to the Dodecanese Islands,” 8 June 1945.


96. ASDMAE AP 1931–45, Dodecanesse, b. 16, G. Aloisi, “Notizie da Rodi,” 6 April 1945. This presumably referred to the Italian military that had sworn loyalty to the RSI. At war’s end, the German general Wagener who oversaw the Isole Egeo was arrested and turned over to the British Military Tribunal. In addition to crimes such as illegal antiquities trafficking and his role in running three internment camps on Rhodes, Wagener was accused of having diverted Red Cross supplies to German troops and for sale on the black market. Handed off to the Italians in January 1947, a year later Wagener received a pardon from the Italian president Luigi Einaudi that permitted him to return to live in Germany. Andrea Villa, *Nelle isole del sole: Gli italiani del Dodecaneso dall’occupazione al rimpatrio (1912–1947)* (Turin: SEB 27, 2016), 277–278.


98. The ambiguous status of the CTIID reflected the fact that until the 1947 Peace Treaty, the islands technically remained Italian and thus there did not exist on the islands an Italian consular or diplomatic office. The Commissione thus stood in for this representation, acting as a de facto section of the Italian Legation in Athens until the opening of the Italian consulate in Rhodes in 1949. Luca Pignataro, “Il tramonto del Dodecaneso italiano (1945–1950),” *Clio* 37, no. 4 (2001): 660–663.

100. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Dodecaneso, b. 2, Pro Memoria, “Fondi Commissione Italiana di Rodi,” 1 August 1946.


102. For a typical account of those sent to Germany see the diary of the Tuscan sergeant major Silvio Forzieri, who fought against Albanian “rebels” (i.e., partisans) until he was captured by the Germans after Italy’s capitulation and interned in Hannover from October 1943 to May 1945. Massimo Borgogni, ed., *Diario di guerra e prigionia del Sergente Maggiore Silvio Forzieri, 1941–1945* (Siena: Edizioni Cantagalli, 2003).


107. Rossi and Giusti, *Una guerra a parte*, 358. The Italian government found itself pressured by its newfound British and American allies to delay or avoid official recognition of the Albanian state under Hoxha, a situation that made Albanians much less sympathetic to Italy’s requests for repatriation.


110. “The Italians who were officially to be retained were required to sign a declaration, as a condition of their staying in Ethiopia, absolving the British authorities from responsibility for their protection.” Rennell, *British Military Administration*, 196.

Turcato’s departure further taxed British and UNRRA representatives negotiating with Hoxha’s regime in the attempt to repatriate Italians. See UNRRA, S-1012–0005–03 Albania Displaced Persons—Italian Repatriates—Policy and Procedures, Ruby Oakley-Hill, 14 January 1946.


113. UNRRA S-1010, box 8, file 9, Albania—Bureau of Finance and Administration—Personnel-Legal Matters, “Proces Verbal on incidents at house off Rruga Kavaja on the 10th, 11th, and 12th February 1946, and appertaining thereto.”

114. AS SDA SCE Tirana 1950–1974 592 E, sf. 7, “L’attività scolastica italiana in Albania negli anni scolastici 43/44 e 44/45.” One document states that the Gruppo Democratico Popolare Italiano originated in the days following the liberation of Tirana, when Enrico Danek, Gioacchino Magnoni, and Ugo Merola contacted the command of the Gramsci Battalion. “The men of the Gruppo Democratico Popolare immediately had a notable part to play in the functioning of the Circolo Garibaldi.” ASDMAE, AP 1946–50 Albania, b. 8, Verbale, 3 August 1945. Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror (AQSH), Circolo Garibaldi (CG), dosja 14, viti 1944 contains lists of contributions made by Italian companies to both the Comitato Antifascista Italiano and the Circolo Garibaldi in December 1944. Seventy-four companies offered donations, revealing the wide range of Italian commercial interests still present in Albania at that time.

115. For the many communications on this issue refer to UNRRA, S-1012, box 5, file 6. In particular see D. Rielli (president, Circolo Garibaldi) to UNRRA Durazzo, 1 September 1945.

116. AQSH, CG, dosja 1, viti 1944, seduta del 9–12–44.

117. AQSH, CG, dosja 2, viti 1944, Pirrò, 14 December 1944. For an account of the foundation myth of the Circolo’s birth in the partisan fight in the mountains see the “Diario Storico Circolo Garibaldi” in AQSH, CG, dosja 52, viti 1945.

118. On the establishment of a canteen restricted to those in need see AQSH, CG, dosja 15, viti 1944, “Conv. Mensa,” 30 December 1944. AQSH, CG, dosja 45, viti 1944 contains several documents on a kitchen with rations for transiting soldiers and others who lacked assistance. On aid to an Italian woman married to an Albanian man, AQSH, CG, dosja 16, viti 1944, letter of 27 December 1944.

119. See the letter from the “Comitato Assistenza fra Italiani in Scutari,” 9 December 1944 contained in AQSH, CG, dosja 3, viti 1944.

120. AQSH, CG, dosja 68, viti 1945, Magnoni, 2 January 1946. See also AQSH, CG, dosja 95, viti 1945, 3 December 1945; AQSH, CG, dosja 114, viti 1946, 2 January 1946.


122. AQSH, CG, dosja 14, viti 1944 (various lists of contributions). Also AQSH, CG, dosja 28, viti 1944, 29 October 1944, refers to the “help provided on the generous initiative of a woman, well known to many of you, and the generosity of contributors” in making possible recreational outlets for Italian comrades who had returned from the partisan campaign in the mountains. One letter of thanks from Circolo president Gregorio Pirrò (dated 5 January 1945) referenced various items of clothing donated by the Bulgarian vice consul. On this, AQSH, CG, dosja 65, viti 1945.
123. On this see various documents found in ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Albania, b. 3: letter of Gennaro Imondi, 3 April 1946; letter of Eliseo Canavese, 8 August 1946; letter of Gioacchino Magnoni to Ugo Turcato, 5 August 1946; letter of Ugo Turcato to MAE, “Fondi assistenza a disposizione della Missione Italiana in Albania,” 16 August 1946. Officials in the MAE nonetheless considered the Circolo “under the direct influence of the Albanian government, with the result that the assistance to Italians is subordinated to discriminatory criteria.” ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Albania, b. 2, “Memorandum per l’U.N.R.R.A.,” 23 February 1946.

124. See the collection of letters at the Albanian Central State Archives (AQSH), Leterkembimi i qytetareve italianë në Shqipëri, dosjet 39–41/4, viti 1945. For the specific lament about civilians, dosja 41, viti 1945, letter to Calderazzi Sabino, 20 June 1945. In the spring of 2015, the MAXXI (National Museum of Twenty-First Century Art) in Rome featured an installation titled Sue proprie mani in which actors read a number of these letters.


128. At Yalta, the Allies agreed to international supervision of these Italian territories. By the time of Potsdam, the Soviets were demanding that they administer one such trusteeship. As Soviet-American relations deteriorated, these plans disintegrated, opening up a protracted series of negotiations over the individual territories. For more details see Saul Kelly, “Britain, the United States, and the End of Italian Empire in Africa, 1940–52,” Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 28, no. 3 (2000): 52–53.


3. Italy’s Long Decolonization in the Era of Intergovernmentalism


transparency and accountability (a role often played by NGOs), and the role of IGOs in promoting global democracy. For a review of these debates see Alexandru Grigorescu, *Democratic Intergovernmental Organizations? Normative Pressures and Decision-Making Rules* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1–12.


16. Ibid., 403. In her masterful study of the League’s mandate system, Pedersen details the central unintended consequence of that system. “The League helped make the end of empire imaginable, and normative statehood possible, not because the empires willed it so, or the Covenant prescribed it, but because the dynamic of internationalization changed everything—including how ‘dependent peoples’ would bid for statehood, what that ‘statehood’ would henceforth mean, and whether empires would think territorial control essential to the maintenance of global power.” Ibid., 406.


23. Ibid., 480.


28. The tiny island of Pantelleria actually became the first Italian territory to fall under the administration of the AMGOT (Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories).

29. The negotiation of an Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement signed on 31 January 1942 left the British in control of the “Reserved Areas” in Ethiopia bordering French Somaliland, the Haud area adjacent to British Somaliland, the region of Ogaden in eastern Ethiopia, and the railroad between Addis Ababa and Djibouti. A subsequent 1944 Anglo-Ethiopian Accord reduced British influence; by early 1951, the British

30. John Lamberton Harper’s *America and the Reconstruction of Italy, 1945–1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) provides a valuable account of the diplomatic twists and turns between the fledgling Italian democratic government in the south and the Anglo-Americans, particularly over the vexed question of revising the terms of the armistice and restoring Italy’s financial autonomy. See, in particular, pp. 22–36.


33. Ibid.


38. TNA, WO 204/9942, AMG Fifth Army 1943 and 1944 Refugee/DP Reports (Italy); “Weekly Report of Refugee Field Section, October 8th to October 14th (inclusive),” 15 October 1944.


40. Antonio D’Andrea, “Campi profughi, centri di lavoro, di studio e di educazione professionale,” in *Atti del convegno per studi di assistenza sociale*, contained in
UNRRA, S-520, box 249, 600. In May 1945, the Allied Displaced Persons and Repatriation Sub-Commission, Alto Commissariato Profughi, and the BMA Eritrea collaborated on five hundred repatriation cases of Italians from Eritrea on compassionate grounds. Division of responsibilities for displaced and repatriates thus still remained flexible. See ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italia Ex Possedimenti Eritrea, b. 7, “Minutes of a Meeting in Brigadier Upjohn’s office A.C. at 1000 hrs. on Saturday 5 May, 1945”; also “Rimpatri dall’Eritrea,” 30 June 1945.


46. In October 1944, UNRRA and the IGCR divided up responsibility for displaced Yugoslavs, including monarchists/Chetniks, living in camps in the Middle East (primarily Egypt). “UNRRA will assist in the care and repatriation of such of those persons as can, and are willing to, return to their countries of former origin or of former residence. The Inter-Governmental Committee has the function of finding places of settlement for such of them as fall within its competence and as cannot or do not desire to be so repatriated.” UNRRA also pledged to help in the care and maintenance of these refugees until the IGCR could move them to “new places of settlement.” IRO AJ 43/30, H. R. Emerson, “Memorandum,” 23 October 1944. Though not authorized to carry out resettlement, UNRRA was permitted to facilitate it. As a policy directive put it, “The dividing line between ‘assisting’ or ‘facilitating’ or ‘cooperation,’ and ‘undertaking’ is apt to be somewhat indistinct in practice.” UNRRA, S-0517–0119, PAG-4/1.0.1.0.0:34 UNRRA Subject Files 1943–1949, Displaced persons—resettlement, “UNRRA’s Responsibility with regard to resettlement of Displaced Persons,” 4 December 1946.


48. On some of the overlaps between the ACC, UNRRA, and Italian state relief to DPs in Italy see Victoria Belco, War, Massacre, and Recovery in Central Italy, 1943–1948 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 136–141.

50. Hoover Archives, Stanford University, Loda Mae Davis Papers, box 1, folder 6, “Italy,” Letter to Mikail Menshikov, 30 May 1944.
52. UNRRA, S-520, box 295, A. A. Sorieri to Thomas Cooley, 31 December 1944, 3.
53. For details on these programs for women and children go to Branscombe, “Children of the United Nations,” 318–319.
55. Many of these letters are beautifully written and adorned with elaborate artwork, suggesting that teachers, nuns, and priests prepared the missives to which the children then attached their signatures. Some of the letters featured religious imagery such as angels and children genuflecting in prayer and lauded “our beloved protector” La Guardia, whereas others contained drawings of activities such as UNRRA supply distribution. La Guardia and Wagner Archives, LaGuardia Community College, Queens, New York. See the Fiorello H. La Guardia Documents Collection, UNRRA Series, box #26B2, folders #13–20; box #26B3, folders #1–20; box #27B4.
60. Carlo Falconi, L’assistenza italiana sotto bandiera pontificia (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1957), 12, 44. In his often critical account, Falconi claims that Jesuits and those who had moved in elite fascist circles played a disproportionate role in the founding and expansion of the PCA/POA. Falconi details how the POA shut down one of its key competitors, the Ente Pro Meridione (1954–1956) and created a “totalitarian regime” marked by clericalism and “propagandismo.” Falconi, 90; see also 83–90.
62. For details, including ENDSI’s statute, consult UNRRA, S-0527–0981 Bureau of Relief Services UNRRA/ENDSI. See also ACS PCM 48–50, b. 4043, fasc. 19/14.n.13073, sf. 3/12, ENDSI, 16 July 1945.
63. Falconi, L’assistenza italiana sotto bandiera pontificia, 97. In terms of funds, the $3 million raised by American Relief for Italy for the CRS between June 1943 and
October 1945 certainly pales by comparison even with initial UNRRA monies for Italy. Egan, Catholic Relief Services, 117. For examples of promotional films celebrating the work of the PCA and the POA see “‘Caritas’ P.C.A.” (1953; Cella 98 n. 1967), and “Operazione Carità-POA” (Cella 97 n. 1949) held at the Filmoteca Vaticana.

64. Falconi, L’assistenza italiana sotto bandiera pontificia, 55. Predictably, there was a struggle not just between statal and religious entities over assistance but also within the government as to the roles of respective agencies and ministries. In 1951, this division of labor became the subject of an inquiry by a Commissione per il riordinamento dei servizi assistenziali. That same year, Montini wrote to Raffaele Pio Petrilli, “I cannot hide from you that I am amazed to not find a representative of this Administration [AAI] among the components of the Commission. I maintain, in fact, that A.A.I. is among those state administrations that directs one of the largest assistance programs after that of the Ministry of the Interior.” See ACS AAI Seg. Presidenza, b. 87, Montini to Petrilli, 11 July 1951. This opens up onto a much broader historiographical debate about how to characterize the nature of the postwar Italian welfare state. For authors putting welfare into the frame of the intersection of national and international postwar assistance in Italy refer to Giacomo Canepa, “Rifare gli Italiani. Profughi e progetti per il welfare (1944–47),” Meridiana 86 (2016): 57–78; and Gianpiero Fumi, “L’assistenza nell’Italia del dopoguerra: Un nuovo progetto di lavoro nell’archivio,” Bollettino dell’Archivio per la storia del movimento sociale cattolico in Italia 37, no. 1 (2002): 11–19. Fumi challenges a commonplace view that the Catholic Church resisted reform of the welfare system in order to maintain its traditional forms of “private” assistance. At the same time, he notes that even while preserving many institutional welfare structures inherited from the previous regime, the leaders of post-1945 Italy rejected the “statism” that had characterized fascism. In terms of the competition over assistance between the PCA/POA and the AAI, both followed similar paths from an initial focus on administering emergency relief to tackling broader questions of welfare in Italy. Lodovico Montini noted that the AAI’s work with the impoverished and needy in Italy was a “precedent for the [well-known parliamentary] inquiry, which it stimulated and directly assisted.” Montini served as the vice president of the inquiry. Montini, “The Parliamentary Inquiry into Destitution in Italy,” International Labour Review 71, no. 1 (1955): 63 fn. 1.

65. UNRRA, S-1450-0000-0002, Displaced Persons Division. Correspondence and Working Papers, Standing Technical Committee on Displaced Persons, “Statement on Displaced Persons; Displaced Persons with whom UNRRA is at present authorized to deal,” 1 August 1945, 2.


67. “L’UNRRA-CASAS e l’assistenza alle famiglie,” Note Economiche 69 (9 May 1947). See also Barbara Allason, UNRRA-CASAS: Contributo alla ricostruzione (Rome: s.n., 1950), in particular the section titled “il focolare ricostruito.” This publication can be found in ACS MI Attività Ass. Italiane ed Internazionale (AAI) Presidenza, b. 90, fasc. 8.


69. UNRRA, S-0527, box 864, UNRRA Italian Mission Displaced Persons Committee, “Minutes of the First meeting held on 4 July 1946.”


71. UNRRA, S-0527, box 880, Martin Germandof to Helen Montgomery, “Collaborationists,” 7 March 1946. This confidential memo outlined six categories of collaborationists. After acknowledging the fuzziness of some activities and categories, Germandof nonetheless concluded, “With all apparent difficulties in reality [sic] somebody who is acquainted with the European war conditions and the German system of occupation will find easily the moral limits of the definition ‘collaborationist.’”

72. UNRRA, S-0527, box 864, UNRRA Italian Mission Displaced Persons Committee, “Minutes of the First meeting held on 4 July 1946.”

73. UNRRA, S-0527–0980 PAG 4/3–0–14–3–0–1, UNRRA Subject Files 1944–1949, Helen Montgomery to A. A. Sorieri, “Conference with Col. Fathergill, DPAPSC AC HQ,” 10 November 1945. On agreements between SACMED and UNRRA for the latter to assume care of non-Italian displaced persons see UNRRA, S-0527–0980 PAG 4/3–0–14–3–0–1, UNRRA Subject Files 1944–1949, S. M. Keeny to De Gasperi, 23 May 1946. Ultimately, the ACC continued to care for a number of refugees until the IRO took over those duties. Many of those found in the ACC camps were Yugoslavs, whereas many of those under UNRRA care were Jewish. IRO AJ 43/26, L. M. Hacking, “Refugee Situation in Italy,” 16 August 1946.


76. On the charged debates within the Italian government over responsibility for these UNRRA ineligibles see Salvatici, “Between National and International Mandates,” 527–528. Italy would only become a member state of the UN in 1955.

77. UNRRA, S-0527, box 982, “Nota Verbale,” 7 October 1946.

78. Ibid. It is worth mentioning that during this period Italian politicians more generally sought to turn their weakness to their advantage. Writing of the early years of the Cold War (1947–1950), for example, Mario Del Pero has argued against a common view of Italy as a mere and passive client of the United States. Del Pero, “Containing Containment: Rethinking Italy’s Experience during the Cold War,” Journal of Modern Italian Studies 8, no. 4 (2003): 532–555.

79. UNRRA, S-0527, box 864, UNRRA Italian Mission Displaced Persons Committee, “Minutes of the First meeting held on 4 July 1946.” 6. In 1946, memos between the ACC, UNRRA, and the Italian government transferred responsibility for movements between Italy and its African colonies to the Ministry of Italian Africa,

80. Woodbridge, UNRRA, 2:479. In applying Resolution 47 about intruded persons to Albania, an UNRRA memo noted, “While Albania is in one sense an ex-enemy area, the draft Agreement with Albania stipulates that U.N.R.R.A. is concluding the agreement on the basis of Resolution 1 (I)/(2), which means that we are treating it as a liberated area. In that case Italian displaced persons in Albania will be in the same case as Italian displaced persons in Greece, and we shall have to act under Resolution 47.” UNRRA, S-1012–0005–03 Albania Displaced Persons—Italian Repatriates—Policy and Procedures, A. H. Robertson to Delierreux, 25 June 1945. Resolution 47 required the ex-enemy government, in this case Italy, to pay for these repatriation efforts. See A. H. Robertson to Oakley-Hill, 27 June 1945.


82. UNRRA, S-1011, box 6, file 6, “Minutes of Meeting at the British Military Mission,” 30 January 1946.

83. UNRRA, S-1012–0005–03, Cable Tirana to London, 8 February 1946.

84. UNRRA, S-0527, box 848, Cable no. 01787.


90. UNRRA, S-1012–0005–03 Albania Displaced Persons—Italian Repatriates—Policy and Procedures, Cable (Rome to Tirana), 1 [2] March 1946. A representative of the British brigadier in Albania stressed the difficulty of evaluating repatriation lists within Albania. “We also suggest that it be pointed out that should an Albanian pose as an Italian with the approval of the Circolo Garibaldi, it would be almost impossible for you [UNRRA] or BMM to discover his real identity.” Major GS to UNRRA Tirana, 4 March 1946. On the acceptance of pre-1939 Italians, P. M. Colburn, Telegram, 19 April 1946 and Cable (London to Rome), 17 [18] April 1946.
91. UNRRA, S-1012–0005–03 Albania; Turcato to Oakley-Hill, 2 September 1945; Turcato, 3 September 1945; Oakley-Hill to E. J. Priddey, 5 September 1945.

92. Woodbridge, UNRRA, 2:177.


95. Woodbridge, UNRRA, 2:140.


99. Ibid., 2.

100. In this, UNRRA likely followed the example set by the ICRC and the Red Cross. Zanella’s urgent plea for relief in September 1945 acknowledged that Rijeka/Fiume awaited critical supplies from the ICRC. Zanella feared that such supplies, while certainly welcome, would prove insufficient. A few months before Zanella sent out his requests for help, the Vatican had informed the Allied command, the ICRC, and UNRRA of the “grave situation” of food scarcity in the city. UNRRA, S-0527–0853 Pag 4/3.0.14.0.2.:11 UNRRA Subject Files 1944–1949, Fiume—Request for UNRRA Assistance, Secretariat of State of His Holiness to Harold H. Tittmann, “Note Verbale,” 28 June 1945.

101. UNRRA, S-0527, box 1174, La Guardia to General Lee, 28 July 1946. On the UNRRA inquiry regarding the accusations of malfeasance made by chief of UNRRA Jugoslav mission regarding Berry White, head of the UNRRA Jugoslav Mission port operation in Trieste, see UNRRA S-0527, box 1173.

102. Woodbridge, UNRRA, 2:335–339.


104. UNRRA, S-0527, box 0475, Willard Park to M. Keeny, 6 May 1947. Ethiopia appears to have later relented, allowing a certain number of European refugees to settle in the country under IRO auspices. One document from the Italian governmental representative in Eritrea claimed that 171 refugees were settled in Ethiopia between September and October of 1950. The memo countered reports published in *Il Giornale d’Italia* and other news outlets that Ethiopian “natives” had threatened the refugees and forced them to flee. For both the newspaper account and the memo turn to ASDMAE AP 1950–57, Eritrea, b. 714, “Profughi europei in Etiopia,” 24 February 1951.
105. On the repatriation of Ethiopians from Italy turn to UNRRA, S-0527–0475 Pag 4/3.0.8.0:1 UNRRA Subject Files 1944–1949, Willard Park to Ambaye Woldemariam, 30 May 1946. See also UNRRA 410.1 Ethiopia: Repatriation Operations. For requests to facilitate the return of individual Italians to Ethiopia see UNRRA, S-0527–0475 Pag 4/3.0.8.0:1 UNRRA Subject Files 1944–1949, J. P. Bond, “Mrs. Carmela Fonzia in Morgano—Emigration to Ethiopia,” 9 January 1947; also, Tullio Fiori to Willard Park, 3 October 1946.

106. Woodbridge, UNRRA, 2:323.

107. For details see ibid., 322–331.


110. ACICR, BG 003 27–26, mai–décembre 1945: correspondance avec Albert Gredinger, correspondance avec la sous-délégation de Rhodes, Acland to Munier, 30 July 1945. The BMA had been happy, however, to allow the ICRC to fill crucial gaps in relief, as with the forty convoys of assistance sent to the islands in May 1945. For further details on the initial contacts with the BMA see ACICR Sg. 11, Secours à la Grèce. Secours aux Îles de Dodécanèse et Délég. de Rhodes, 1946–1950, G. Ladame, “Rapport Ladame no. 2 sur la Mission de secours aux Îles du Dodécanèse occupées par les Allemands. Situation fin mai 1945,” 30 May 1945.

111. The ICRC report of this visit features a number of photographs of the needy children and orphans who received shoes and other items from the ICRC. See ACICR Sg. 11, Secours à la Grèce. Secours aux Îles de Dodécanèse et Délég. de Rhodes, 1946–1950, “Rapport n. 2 de la Délégation du CICR au Dodécanèse Novembre 1945.”


118. Francis Rennell (Lord Rodd), _British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa during the Years 1941–1947_ (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1948), 529.
119. UNRRA S-1242-0000-0066, Subject Files Bureau of Areas—Executive Office, Dodecanese Islands, Ben Eckhaus to Mr. Menshikov, “Subject: Cable n. 1399 from London,” 11 June 1945.

120. UNRRA, 410.1 Dodecanese Repatriation Operations, R. J. Youdin, Telegram, 6 August 1945.

121. ACICR Sg. 11, Secours à la Grèce. Secours aux Îles de Dodécanèse et Déleg. de Rhodes, 1946–1950, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Central Relief Committee,” 14 November 1945.

122. UNRRA, S-0527, box 463, file S-1345–0000–0033, “Introduction to monthly narrative report i.e. for month ending 30th November 1946,” 10 December 1946. In a confidential memo sent to Robert Jackson, senior deputy director-general of UNRRA, Wankowicz expressed concern over the ongoing food shortages and the future of relief after UNRRA’s departure and the islands’ annexation by Greece. He urged that “the skeletal staff which will be active here during the last quarter of this year should be left at their posts at least until the crop of 1947, whatever the organization may be which will take over the general direction of relief.” UNRRA S-1534–0000–073 Dodecanese Islands—Greece, Wankowicz to Jackson, 12 September 1946.

123. Greek State Historical Archives of Dodecanese (GSAD), Rhodes, British Military Administration (BMA) of Karpathos CPS 87, C. M. Miles-Bailey, “Entry permits into the Dodecanese from Greece. 1 months visit only, NO permanent residence,” 25 June 1946. On unauthorized migrations to the islands see also G. M. Miles-Bailey, “Unauthorized entry Dodecanese (from Greece),” 17 May 1946; also, G. M. Miles-Bailey, “Entry Permits from Greece into Dodecanese,” 15 May 1946.

124. GSAD, BMA Karpathos CPS 98 UNRRA General, C. J. Bonington, “U.N.R.R.A. Relief Office,” 25 February 1946. While these orders no doubt reflected stereotypes about both emotionally volatile Greeks and erratic refugees, they also drew on previous experiences. When ICRC relief arrived during the winter of February 1945, a desperate crowd launched itself on the packages despite the efforts of German soldiers to beat them back. On this see Andrea Villa, Nelle isole del sole: Gli italiani del Dodecaneso dall’occupazione al rimpatr (1912–1947) (Turin: SEB 27, 2016), 263.


126. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Dodecanessos, b. 1, Annual Report by the Chief Administrator on the British Military Administration of the Dodecanese Islands for the Period 1 January, 1946, to 31 December, 1946 (Rhodes: Government Press), 11. Prior to UNRRA’s arrival in the islands, the BMA had prepared three refugee camps on Kasos in order to house approximately one thousand Greeks and nine hundred Italians and another camp on Karpathos (which, at one point, held four thousand Greeks). BMA staff conducted this work with the help of a Friends Ambulance Unit Relief Detachment. On this, Annual Report by the Chief Administrator, 9.

127. UNRRA, S-0527, box 469, file S-1345–0000–0112, W. Wankowicz to J. Munier, 22 December 1945; also Wankowicz, 10 December 1945.

per la tutela degli interessi italiani nel Dodecaneso Antonio Macchi visited Italy in January 1946, Wankowicz asked him to inquire into the situation of Jewish refugees there wishing repatriation to Rhodes. Wankowicz to Chief of Italian Mission Rome, 4 January 1946. On Macchi’s recommendations to the Italian government regarding the Jews of Rhodes see Villa, *Nelle isole del sole*, 275–276.

129. ASDMAE AP 1946–50 Dodecaneso, b. 1, *Annual Report by the Chief Administrator*, 12. For correspondence between BMA and UNRRA on this issue and the problem of determining who constituted a bona fide Dodecanesian displaced person refer to UNRRA, S-1372–0000–0092 Displaced Persons—Dodecanese Islands.

130. UNRRA, S-0527, box 469, file S-1345–0000–0113, D. Cotzias, 29 April 1946.


133. ACICR Sg. 11, Secours à la Grèce. Secours aux Îles de Dodécanèse et Délég. de Rhodes, 1946–1950, Jean Munier, “Minutes of a Meeting of the Central Relief Committee,” 7 September 1945.


135. On temporary visit permits see GSAD, BMA Karpathos CPS 82/A. CPS 83 instead contains requests for permanent transfers from Karpathos, almost always to Rhodes.

136. TNA, FO 371/49830, Western Italy 1945, R. D. H. Arundell to AFHQ / Brig. Henn, 5 June 1945. For details on some of these medical cases refer to GSAD, BMA Karpathos, CPS/112 BMA-GMA Hand-Over.

137. Rennell, *British Military Administration*, 519, 523. Macchi also confirmed the improvement of relationships between Greeks and Italians in the islands after the departure of the most noted fascists. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Dodecaneso, b. 1, Macchi to Ministero degli Affari Esteri, “Relazione sulla situazione politica del Dodecaneso,” 23 December 1945; also Macchi to Ministero degli Affari Esteri, “Situazione politica locale,” 14 February 1946.

138. Luca Pignataro, “Il tramonto del Dodecanese italiano (1945–1950),” *Clio* 37, no. 4 (2001): 657–658 fn. 36. A few months after the peace treaty went into effect, a newspaper in Italy (Il Nuovo Giornale d’Italia) published an article claiming various acts of violence (including torture and murder) by Greeks against Italians in the islands. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs received testimonies from repatriates, including the architect Mario Paolini, that debunked these accounts. Greek newspapers like *Ethnos* and *Kathimerini* also dismissed (and denounced) the accusations. For the original article, translations of Greek responses, and firsthand testimonies provided to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs turn to ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Dodecaneso, b. 2.

139. These evaluations varied depending on location. Under fascism, Kalymnos remained a center of resistance to infringements on its former tax exemption privileges under the Ottomans. Inhabitants of smaller islands that did not receive the infrastructural investments concentrated in places like Rhodes and Kos also tended

140. TNA, FO 371/49830, Western Italy 1945, Telegram from Mr. Hopkinson, ZM 3800 21/22 [14] July 1945.

141. TNA, FO 371/49831, N. Charles (Rome to Foreign Office), 6 September 1945. On this see also TNA, FO 371/49831, Western Italy 1945, N. Charles, “Repatriation of Italians from the Dodecanese,” 2(7) September 1945.

142. TNA, FO 371/49831, Western Italy 1945, AFHQ and the War Office to Alcom, Cipher Telegram, 15 October 1945.

143. For the report that the BMA had requested information from each Italian family about its repatriation intentions and “the widespread impression that the English act as if they plan to remain in the Aegean Possessions” see ACS A56 1944–1949, b. 4, Coppini, “Situazione degli Italiani nel Dodecannese,” 13 November 1945.

144. The US secretary of war Henry Stimson, for instance, complained that the British Allies sought “to lay a foundation throughout the Mediterranean for their own empire after the war is over.” Cited in Patrick J. Hearden, *Architects of Globalism: Building a New World Order during World War II* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002), 79.


147. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Dodecanneso, b. 1, A. A. Sorieri to Ministero degli Affari Esteri, “Personal property of Italians in DODECANESE,” 4 April 1946. This file also contains a number of requests by individuals to obtain property left behind, requests usually forwarded to the Commissione per la tutela degli interessi Italiani nel Dodecaneso. On the advocacy with the Italian government for would-be repatriates by the Commissione per la tutela degli interessi Italiani nel Dodecaneso see in this same file: Macchi, 3 September 1946; Charles Gormley to Brig. Lush, 17 September 1946; and Zoppi, “Comunità italiana dell’Egeo-Rimpatri,” 23 September 1946.


150. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Dodecanneso, b. 1, *Annual Report by the Chief Administrator*, 13; for the details of the transports see 12–13. Lists of some of the passengers can be found in this same file.


153. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Dodecaneso, b. 1, Macchi to Italian Ambassador, 12 July 1946. For the case of two Italian brothers, one born in Sardinia and the other in Beirut, requesting UNRRA assistance to join their family in Palestine see UNRRA, S-1345–0000–0117, Natalino and Umbert [sic] Piga, 25 September 1946. That same folder contains the request of a widow seeking relocation with her three children to her sister in Alexandria [Domenica Bradicich, 26 September 1946]; and an elderly father at the Old People’s Home in Rhodes desiring to join his son in Cairo [A. R. Mills, “Beniamino TRIBUZIO,” 12 July 1946]. In UNRRA S-1345–0000–0112 see the letters of J. G. Toby of 24 January 1946 and Carlo Bona of 9 December 1946 regarding an elderly Italian man who sought to move to Alexandria to live with his children there. Carlo Bona had been born in Egypt in 1872 and worked there until moving to Rhodes in 1939 in search of medical treatment; in 1946, he was receiving a small pension from the Egyptian government.

154. UNRRA, S-1345–0000–0117, T. T. Waddington, “DE MARCHI, G.,” 16 July 1946. Waddington further suggested that UNRRA might try to persuade the BMA to permit De Marchi’s children to join him in Rhodes in transit to Italy on compassionate grounds. For Wankowicz’s initially favorable response see UNRRA, S-1345–0000–0112, Wankowicz to Repatriation Division, 26 January 1946. Also Memorandum of 8 January 1946.

155. TNA, FO 371/49864 Western Italy 1945, Major D. W. Logan to J. W. Davidson, 20 October 1945.

156. See various documents on this incident in ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Etiopia, b. 1, b. 2, b. 5, b. 7.

157. For those appeals refer to ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Etiopia, b. 3.


159. UNRRA S-0527, box 469, file S-1345–0000–0113, G. M. Miles-Bailey, “Repatriation Italian families (through UNRRA) into Dodecanese,” 13 April 1946.


161. For the petition signed by eight individuals in Bari who claimed “we were born and raised in those lands and believe it is the greatest injustice that we were expelled solely for the fact of our Italian citizenship” see ASDMAE AP 1950–57, Italia, b. 522, “On/le Commissione incaricata per la revisione del trattato di pace,” 7 August 1951. The “expulsion” referred to the citizenship articles of the 1947 Peace Treaty that required those opting to retain Italian citizenship to leave the Aegean Islands for Italy.

162. Ultimately, only eighteen of the thirty-eight were classified as eligible for repatriation on “humanitarian grounds.” UNRRA S-1345–0000–0116, L. B. Webber, “Repatriation—Italians,” 13 December 1946.

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165. See Federico Cresti, “La rinascita dell’attività politica in Tripolitania nel secondo dopoguerra secondo alcuni documenti britannica (dicembre 1945–gennaio 1949),” in La Libia tra Mediterraneo e mondo islamico, ed. Federico Cresti (Milan: Giuffrè, 2006), 191–194. By contrast, even after the 1947 Peace Treaty, representatives of the Italian community in Tripoli were still submitting petitions to the presidency of the Council of Ministers that claimed “the Arabs, even more than we Italians, have understood well that only Italian rule can create a way of life that promises an economically viable and peaceful future.” ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italian Ex Possedimenti Libia, b. 9, Carlo Buriani, “Promemoria: Come e cosa pensa il coloniale italiano in Tripolitania,” 13 February 1947.

166. Filiberto Sabbadin, I frati minori lombardi in Libia: La missione di Tripoli, 1908–1991 (Milan: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, 1991), 65–67. In March 1945, the Italian Ministry of the Navy offered the Allies ships to carry Italian children back to Libya. The ministry recommended that “for reasons of moral character and national prestige,” the vessels should fly the Italian flag. ACS PCM 44–47, b. 3543, fasc. 17.4/30208, “Profughi di guerra della Libia,” 2 March 1945. This same file contains a letter to Admiral Ellery Stone of the ACC from the minister of foreign affairs Alcide De Gasperi. De Gasperi noted that the Allies had already permitted some Greek and Maltese who had been resident in Libya and were evacuated during the war by the Italian authorities to return. The refusal to permit similar reentries of Italians, continued the letter, “could not but be perceived by all Italians . . . as a serious and deliberate measure directed against them.” De Gasperi to Admiral Stone, 15 March 1945.


170. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italia Ex Possedimenti Libia, b. 10, Memorandum, 21 November 1945. See, too, the earlier worries expressed by Italian officials in the Ministero dell’Africa Italiana about the uneven application of the breadwinners’ scheme and the unequal flows between Italy and Libya in ACS PCM 1948–50, b. 325, fasc. 17.1/12491, “Rimpatri dalla Tripolitania e rientro nostri connazionali in quella Colonia,” 12 November 1945.

171. On head to head (sometimes referred to as “head for head”) see ASDMAE AP, 1946–50 Italian Ex Possedimenti Libia, b. 9, “Notes on Dr. Catitti’s Memorandum of 6 March 1947.” This policy (introduced in June 1946) appears to have been formalized in the negotiations between the BMA and the Italian mission that visited

172. On this see ASDMAE AP, 1946–50 Italia Ex Possedimenti Somalia, b. 14, Memorandum from Zoppi, 10 June 1946.


182. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italia Ex Possedimenti Libia, b. 18, Dr. Cibelli, “Gionmaria MALTANA, rientro famigliari,” 6 August 1947; Cibelli to Maltana, 11 August 1947; BMA to Cibelli, “Repatriation of Massimo Maltana,” 13 August 1947. The role played in this case by Cibelli, head of the local Comitato Consultivo Italiano, points to that committee’s important role as intermediary between the colonists and the BMA. For more on the constitution of the Comitato Consultivo Italiano go to ASDMAE AP 1950–57, Libia, b. 761. Other concerns focused on the educational deficits experienced by those children shuttled between institutions on the Italian peninsula during the war years and the need to help children arriving in Libya in clandestine fashion resume their schooling. On this, ASDMAE ASMAI Africa, vol. 4, Ufficio per gli Affari del Soppresso Ministero A.I. (1946–1947), pacco 1, b. 42, “Rapporto della Missione a Tripoli—Ottobre 1946: Scuole,” 2.


189. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italia Ex Possedimenti, b. 27, fasc. 7, “Nota Verbale,” 4 March 1948. The BMA complained about the pressures created by the “over-all balance between movements in either direction.”

190. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italia Ex Possedimenti Libia, b. 90, aide-mémoire, 10 March 1949.


194. ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italia Ex Possedimenti Eritrea, b. 16, “Note Verbale,” 13 September 1947. “With regard, however, to the proposal in paragraph 2 of the Ministry’s Note to the effect that the 1 to 5 ratio should be abandoned, the Embassy feels bound to inform the Ministry that from the information at its disposal there is very little likelihood that the competent British authorities will be prepared to reconsider their decision in this connection; the Embassy fears, indeed, that by making this proposal and by suggesting that Italian nationals who settled in Eritrea after 1935 should in principle be allowed to return, the Italian Government are only courting further delay in bringing about a final settlement of this question, to the inconvenience of all concerned.”


200. At the Peace Conference, Italian representatives could not request changes to the treaty text but only offer comments or “observations.” Giulio Esposito, “Profughi e rimpatriati in terra di Bari,” in La Puglia dell’accoglienza: Profughi, rifugiati e rimpatriati nel Novecento, ed. Vito Antonio Leuzzi and Giulio Esposito (Bari: Progedit, 2006), 107 fn. 18. Sara Lorenzini maintains, “The history of the 1947 Peace Treaty with Italy demonstrates above all Italy’s impotence in the postwar period. . . . The country would not accept the impossibility of changing the situation”: Lorenzini, L’Italia e il trattato di pace del 1947 (Bologna: Mulino, 2007), 147. For publications that present the treaty as a “shameful” act see Diktat: Il vergognoso “Trattato di Pace” imposto all’Italia dagli Alleati (Genoa: Effepi, 2005); Anna Borsi De Simone et al., eds., Testimonianze fotografiche sulle Foibe-Diktat-Esodo (Milan: Associazione Nazionale Venezia Giulia e Dalmazia, 1992).


205. Cited in “Obituary: Maria Pasquinelli,” *Telegraph*, 8 July 2013. Italy’s overseas colonies and recently redeemed ones were intertwined in Pasquinelli’s biography. Born in Florence, she was a proud adherent of fascism and in 1940 became a Red Cross volunteer in Italian Libya and North Africa. She then became a teacher in 1942 in the Dalmatian territories Italy occupied during the war and moved to Trieste after Mussolini’s ousting in 1943.


209. See, for example, Mémorandum présenté par le Comité des réfugiés de la Libye, de l’Érythrée et de la Somalie sur la question des Colonies Italiennes / Memorandum presented by the Committee of the refugees from Libya, Eritrea, and Somalia on the Italian Colonial Question. Contained in ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italia, b. 53, fasc. 1. For the appeal to Byrnes and Macmillan, ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Italia Ex Possedimenti Parte Generale, b. 2, Feliciano Bianchi to De Gasperi, 1 June 1946. Refer to this same file for other declarations and telegrams from groups that include the Associazione Coloni d’Africa e Colonizzatori, the Associazione Nazionale Profughi Libici, the Associazione Nazionale Profughi Africa Orientale, the Unione Profughi, the Unione Nazionale Profughi Africa Orientale, the Comitato Profughi Libici, the Società Africana d’Italia, and the Associazione fra le Imprese Italiane in Africa.

211. Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). While the Italian public declared the resulting treaty a diktat in terms that evoked German denunciations of the Versailles settlement of 1919, and while the Paris Peace Conferences of 1919 and 1946 both mobilized a wide range of actors and produced a mountain of propaganda pamphlets, the 1946 conference has received much less scholarly scrutiny than that following World War I. For an account of the atmosphere at the 1946 conference and the tensions over the “combustible” issue of Trieste see the dispatches by Anglo-Irish journalist Elizabeth Bowen collected in *People, Places, Things: Essays by Elizabeth Bowen* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 66–80.


216. For a discussion of these publications and the battery of arguments made in favor of either Italian or Yugoslav claims (or those of regional autonomist movements) see Pamela Ballinger, *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 82–86.


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223. Rhetorically at least, the FTT also invoked Trieste’s longer history as a free port beginning with the Habsburg era. Emperor Charles VI had designated Trieste a free port in 1719, and in 1740 his successor Maria Theresa expanded the borders of the free port and issued an edict of toleration that welcomed to the city ethnically and religiously diverse populations (including Jews, Greek Orthodox, Serb Orthodox, Armenians, Protestants, Croats, and Slovenes). Even today, parts of Trieste’s port remain exempt from European Union customs.


231. Ibid., 343.


237. In a 1949 article titled “Ritorneremo” published in FeNPIA’s official journal, Vittorio Paliotti mocked those who had treated the image of the old man holding up the child with the promise “We will return” as empty propaganda. Blaming Italy’s postwar political class, as well as the Anglo-Americans, Paliotti argued that “history doesn’t forgive” and that “the prophecy of the old man will come true: the child will return to Africa.” Paliotti, “Ritorneremo,” *Vergogna* 1, no. 2 (5 November 1949): 2.
240. Gian Paolo Calchi Novati, L’Africa d’Italia: Una storia coloniale e postcoloniale (Rome: Carocci editore, 2011), 370. Although the trusteeship had a fixed end point, in 1956 the British raised the question of whether the Italian trusteeship might be extended in the hopes of containing the Somali nationalism that threatened British rule in British Somaliland. This idea was ultimately dropped, as it would have required debate in the UN Assembly. See Mohamed, “Imperial Policies,” 1195–1196. See also Antonio Morone, L’ultima colonia: Come l’Italia è tornata in Africa 1950–1960 (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2011).
244. ASDMAE AP 1950–57, Albania, b. 517, Legazione d’Italia in Tirana, “Relazioni sugli avvenimenti maturatisi in Albania durante l’anno 1951.”
247. On the role of the Toscana see Paolo Valenti, Toscana: La nave dei due esodi (San Dorligo della Valle: Luglioeditore, 2009). Valenti does not mention the voyages of the Toscana to the AOI in the early postwar period.
248. Sandi Volk maintains that the Italian government did encourage and direct these movements in order to send a powerful message about the impossibility of Italians living under Yugoslav rule. Volk, Esuli a Trieste: Bonifica nazionale e rafforzamento dell’italianità sul confine orientale (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2004). It should be noted that the thesis that Istrians were fooled by Italian state propaganda into leaving their homeland was long a staple of pro-Yugoslav rhetoric.

250. Ufficio per le Zone di Conflme (UZC) PCM Sezione II Profughi (b. 2, vol. 1) 46/3, Micali, Dispaccio Telegrafico to Ufficio Provinciale Assistenza Postbellica & Ministero Interno, 25 July 1947.


254. UZC PCM Sezione II Profughi (b. 12, vol. 2) 49/4.

4. Displaced Persons and the Borders of Citizenship


5. John Torpey, The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 103. In the broader arena of citizenship that those passports usually (but not always) symbolized, however, there also existed competition among states for migrants and attempts by labor-hungry states to woo Europeans with the prospect of dual citizenship. On Argentine efforts to transform Italians and Spanish into Argentine (dual) citizens in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see David Cook-Martín, The Scramble for Citizens: Dual Nationality and State Competition for Immigrants (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013). During this period, Italy also began to strike bilateral agreements designed to facilitate labor abroad. While pioneering in this regard, the 1904 France-Italy Labor Treaty was merely the first of numerous such arrangements between Italy and France. Go to Caroline Douki, “Accords franco-italiens: Des accommodations d’urgence à l’administration partagée du travail immigré,” in 1914–1918.


18. To some extent, this hierarchy of value also applied to the Italian citizen-settlers. In a 1940 memo to the Commissariat for Migration and Internal Colonization, the Ente di Colonizzazione Puglia d’Etiopia’s president Carlo Severini contended that the difficulties presented by the African climate and environment negated the possibility of producing ideal Italian peasant settlers (*contadini perfetti*) in AOI. By contrast, in Albania and other future “Mediterranean” territories, it was “necessary and indeed indispensable to be perfect peasants . . . [whereas] in Africa it is sufficient to be good agricultural laborers [*braccianti d’agricoltura*], provided they have a great love of the land.” ACS Ente per la colonizzazione Puglia d’Etiopia, b. 6, fasc. 57, Severini to Giuseppe Lombrassa, 4 July 1940, 2.


21. Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Extraterritorial Dreams: European Citizenship, Sephardi Jews, and the Ottoman Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 73. The concepts of the Levant and Levantines have recently enjoyed a scholarly renaissance. As the editor of the *Journal of Levantine Studies* founded in 2011 put it, “The term ‘Levantines’ was originally applied to the European inhabitants of the Mediterranean; it later acquired other meanings and was applied to diverse groups. . . . The journal’s goal is to reclaim the Levant as a historical and political concept and as a category of identity and classification.” Anat Lapido-Firilla, “Editor’s Note,” *Journal of Levantine Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 6. Within the context of Italian studies, authors like Rosetta Giuliani Caponetto have used the term “Levantine” to refer to individuals (in the case she examines, in Egypt) who were “genetically Italian, but culturally ‘bastardized.’” The Levantine’s ambiguity, however, encoded “murky” racial origins and certainly included Jews and also Turks in Italian possessions like the Dodecanese Islands. Caponetto, *Fascist Hybridities: Representations of Racial Mixing and Diaspora Cultures under Mussolini* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 8.


28. Ibid., 81. For details on the history of Jewish populations in the islands within the wider context of the Sephardic world, go to Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue,
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27. On the efforts by Italian authorities to deny the right of option to native Orthodox Dodecanese living in Turkey at the time of the treaty and the ultimately negative consequences for Italy see Filippo Espinoza, “Una cittadinanza imperiale basata sul consenso: Il caso delle isole italiane dell’Egeo (1924–1940), in Sudditi o cittadini? L’evoluzione delle appartenenze imperiali nella Prima guerra mondiale, ed. Sara Lorenzini e Simone A. Bellezza (Rome: Viella, 2018), 194–196.


31. GSAD, 1932 296 1/2.


34. For details, McGuire, “Una faccia, una razza,” 18. See also Espinoza, “Una cittadinanza imperiale,” 196.

35. GSAD, 1932 480 1/6, Aloisi, n.d. This missive was authored by Pompeo Aloisi, who was in Ankara between 1929 and 1932 before becoming the MAE cabinet head in July 1932.


37. GSAD, 1932 480 2/6, “Soggiorno degli stranieri nel Possedimento,” 30 December 1931. For other rejected requests by Greek subjects either born in the islands or with relatives there to travel/migrate to the Egeo go to GSAD, 1932 480 3/6, “Catracatsos Giovanni—sbarco a Coo,” 2 April 1932; “Catracatsos Giovanni—domanda di sbarco,” 17 February 1932. An instructive comparison can be made between the request of Catracatsos and that of Luigi de Martino, an Italian who had previously lived on Rhodes and even married an Orthodox Greek woman from Simi. The couple had moved to Italy in 1926, but the wife returned four years later to live with her mother. De Martino’s request to return to Rhodes and reside with his wife there was well received. See the relevant documents in the same file.

38. GSAD, 1932 480 1/6, “Colonie Italiane in Turchia,” 16 June 1932. An undated translation of an article from a Turkish newspaper contained in this same file reports on a law being debated in Ankara to restrict employment to Turkish citizens. This contextualizes Lago’s comment that, once admitted into the islands, these Italian Levantines could not return or be sent back to Turkey. The passage of this law led to fears of “an exodus of Italians from Turkey” toward Rhodes. See “Sbarco nel Possedimento di connazionali di Smirne,” n.d.

39. See, for instance, the documentation on the requests by Maria Scagliarini to be joined by her mother and brother’s family, then resident in İzmir/Smirne. Contained in GSAD, 1932 480 4/6.


42. Torpey, *Invention of the Passport*, 161.

43. GSAD, 1932 480 1/6, “Visto sui passaporti dei dodecannesini che ritornano dall’America,” 22 September 1932.

44. For details see McGuire, “Una faccia, una razza,” 12.


49. Ibid., 62–79, 84–85.


53. In using the problematic term meticci I follow Barrera, Sorgoni, Deplano, and others, who acknowledge its historically derogatory connotations but also recognize that it served as an official category of identity. After stating that she preferred to employ terms such as “Italo-Eritreans,” D’Agostino admitted that in contemporary Eritrean society “the term ‘meticcio’ among meticci is in current use without obvious negative connotations.” Gabriella d’Agostino, *Altre storie: Memoria dell’Italia in Eritrea* (Bologna: Archetipolibri, 2012), 13.


55. Although interracial marriages between Italian women and African men were uncommon, they did occur. According to Deplano, the 1938 census revealed five Libyan men with Italian wives but only one Eritrean married to an Italian. By 1951, five Libyans and three Eritreans (all ex-military based in Italy) had taken Italian wives. Valeria Deplano, *La madrepatria è una terra straniera: Libici, eritrei e somali nell’Italia del dopoguerra (1945–1960)* (Florence: Le Monnier, 2017), 28, 55.


57. Menachem Shelah, “The Italian Rescue of Yugoslav Jews, 1941–1943,” in *The Italian Refuge: Rescue of Jews during the Holocaust*, ed. Ivo Herzer et al. (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1989), 205–217; Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941–43* (London: Routledge, 1990); Susan Zucotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996). Considerable attention has been paid to the refuge in fascist Italy provided to many foreign Jews, including those fleeing Germany. Until 1943, the fascist regime permitted DELASEM (Delegazione per l’Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei) to facilitate emigration for these foreign Jews. Nonetheless, the 1938 Racial Laws prohibited foreign Jews from residing in Italy, Libya, or the Dodecanese and required all non-Italian Jews who had come to Italy after 1918 to leave. For details on DELASEM refer to Settimio

58. See Michele Sarfatti, The Jews in Mussolini’s Italy: From Equality to Persecution, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007). An important line of argumentation, epitomized by the work of Davide Rodogno, has complicated understanding of what “protection” of Jews in Italian territories meant and the motivations for such assistance. In unpacking the self-exculpating myth of Italians as good people (Italiani, brava gente) Rodogno writes of Italian operations in the Balkans, “Good Italians’ did rescue Jewish victims of persecution, as well as those of other faiths and nationalities, but the claim that ‘the Italians’ as a people did not betray the Jews to the Germans for humanitarian reasons simply cannot be sustained. Nor is it defensible to highlight individual actions in order to prove that humanitarianism is inherent in the Italian national character or to assert a priori that the fact of being Italian precluded anti-Semitic acts.” Davide Rodogno, “Italiani brava gente? Fascist Italy’s Policy towards the Jews in the Balkans, April 1941–July 1943,” European History Quarterly 35, no. 2 (2005): 234–235.


60. For a summary of some of these debates see “Three Documents on Race: The Manifesto of Race (1938), Critique of The Manifesto of Race (1941–42), and New Revised Draft of The Manifesto of Race (1942),” in A Primer of Italian Fascism, ed. Jeffrey Schnapp (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 172–184.

61. Olindo de Napoli, La prova della razza: Cultura giuridica e razzismo in Italia negli anni trenta (Florence: Le Monnier, 2009). Barbara Sòrgoni’s pioneering research, for instance, evidences the degree to which colonial jurists and administrators in Italian Africa were in dialogue with broader anthropological theories of race prevalent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Sòrgoni, Parole e corpi; also, Etnografia e colonialismo. L’Eritrea e l’Etiopia di Alberto Pollera (1873–1939) (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2001).


63. For some key texts see Gaia Giuliani and Cristina Lombardi-Diop, Bianco e nero: Storia dell’identità razziale degli italiani (Florence: Le Monnier, 2013); Pergher, Mussolini’s Nation-Empire.


67. GSAD, 1936 231 1/2. This file contains considerable documentation on these migrants from Calese and Merano to the colonial village of Campochiaro on Rhodes. A *pro memoria* defined these individuals as being “elementi allogeni,” even as it noted that the selection of families was made “without regard to whether they were of Italian or German language.” See “Promemoria per il R. Consolato Generale d’Italia in Innsbruck,” 10 November 1936. The presence of monolingual German speakers appears to have created problems in practice, however.


72. Nonetheless, whereas most Italian women lost their citizenship when they married a foreign spouse, in the rare cases of marriage between an Italian woman and an African man, the Italian woman retained her citizenship in recognition of her supposed racial superiority. Sòrgoni, *Parole e corpi*, 110. As in other colonial societies, settler women within Italian colonies bore a heavy symbolic and practical role. Fascism overlaid these notions of gender with its particular vision of women as mothers of the nation whose very bodies constituted “the border between purity and impurity, morality and immorality, racial regeneration and degeneration.” Giuliani and Lombardi-Diop, *Bianco e nero*, 47. For the role assigned to Italian women as protectors of respectability and race in AOI and the paradoxical situation of Italian women imported by the regime for prostitution in service to respectability (through the avoidance of miscegenation) see also Emanuele Ertola, *In terra d’Africa: Gli italiani che colonizzarono l’impero* (Bari-Roma: Laterza, 2017), 102–115.

73. Giulia Barrera, “Patrilinearity, Race, and Identity: The Upbringing of Italo-Eritreans during Italian Colonialism,” in *Italian Colonialism*, ed. Mia Fuller and Ruth Ben-Ghiat (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 98. That said, from the early twentieth century there did exist colonial legislation prohibiting miscegenation. Sarfatti has argued that Italian laws in the pre-fascist colonies were very much in keeping with broader trends in European colonies at the time. What differed was the selective application of this legislation. Sarfatti, *Jews in Mussolini’s Italy*, 53–54.


78. Between the Armistice of 1943 and the war’s end there existed another system of “dual tracks”: that constituted by the citizenship codes of the Italian monarchy in the south and the RSI in the north. The former would usher in female suffrage and would increasingly link citizenship with antifascism. Donati, *Political History*, 231–233.


81. Nonetheless, the French situation required respecting a French law that the territories in question hold a referendum on such annexation. On 12 October 1947, a large majority of residents in Briga and Tenda voted to join France. See Andrea Gandolfo, “La ‘dolorosa’ cessione di Briga e Tenda alla Francia, il racconto dettagliato dello storico Gandolfo,” *Sanremo News*, 25 August 2013.

82. Kunz, “Nationality and Option Clauses,” 625.

83. Ibid., 630.


90. IRO officials did not always possess reliable information as to these citizenship statuses. When asked whether the Yugoslav authorities provided information
about the option, chief eligibility officer Gesner recalled in 1952, “We had to be satisfied with a certificate from the Venezia Giulian Committee. These were not reliable as it was not a completely valid document. In the Communes they knew which people had opted. In some communes they issued certificates which are normally valid. When it came time to register for IRO, the refugee went to the Venezia Giulian Committee and made a statement as to the date he opted.” AN IRO AJ 43/140, “Interview between Mr. R. L. Gesner, Chief Eligibility Officer, Italian Office and Mr. J. Mandel on Thursday, 10th January 1952,” 6.


99. Ibid.

100. AN IRO AJ 43/1036, G. F. Mentz to W. Hallam Tuck, 5 November 1948.

101. One IRO document states that the IRO never ran camps for the “Italian” Venezia Giulians, although some did come through the transit center run in Trieste out of the old Casa dell’Emigrante. After an IRO area office was established in Trieste in 1950, approximately two thousand Venezia Giulians came under IRO “legal protection and care.” A much smaller population (initially two hundred and then increased to five hundred) actually received “IRO assistance.” In April 1950, another three thousand such DPs became eligible for IRO assistance. AN IRO AJ 43/140, “Background notes on Trieste and the Venezia-Giulian Refugee Situation,” 7 October 1951.

102. ACS PCM 51–54 (Certificati di Cittadinanza), b. 509, fasc. 19.17/13659 sf. 40, “Regolamento opzioni nel territorio ceduto alla Jugoslavia,” 20 February 1949. For examples of individuals whose options the Yugoslav government refused (sometimes more than once), and the reasons given, consult ASDMAE AP 1946–50, Jugoslavia, b. 61, fasc. 2, “Opzioni: Fascicoli per lettere alfabetiche.”

103. UNRRA 0527–469-S-1345–0000–0116, “Displaced Persons classified as of undetermined nationality,” 26 October 1946. As UNRRA was winding down operations in 1947, a memo from S. K. Jacobs noted, “The topic of displaced persons classified as of ‘undetermined nationality’ has been the subject of a number of cables to and from London. Originally, the Central Committee raised the question as to why there were so many displaced persons listed under ‘undetermined nationality.’”
Instructions discussed the application of this label to certain categories of Jews, persons of “Ukrainian extraction who had previously lived in areas now ceded to the USSR,” and Nansen passport holders, among others. See UNRRA S-0520–0179 PAG-4/1.3.1.10.:11, “Categories of D.P’s Eligible for UNRRA Aid,” S. K. Jacobs, “Undetermined Nationality,” 3 February 1947.

104. AN IRO AJ 43/140, “Interview between Mr. R. L. Gesner, Chief Eligibility Officer, Italian Office and Mr. J. Mandel on Thursday, 10th January 1952,” 5.


107. AN IRO AJ 43/476, V. A. Temnomeroff, “Venezia Giulia Refugees with Italian provisional passports,” 4 October 1950. This echoed the exasperation expressed in an earlier 1946 UNRRA memo: “It is also important to take cognizance of the fact that an exhaustive study of the nationality of each individual displaced person, from the legal point of view, would impose a tremendous burden on staff . . . and goes far beyond the present practical administrative possibilities. Beyond this, of course, the ultimate determination of nationality in a legal sense is not a matter for which UNRRA has either final authority or final responsibility.” UNRRA 0527–469-S-1345–0000–0116, “Displaced Persons classified as of undetermined nationality,” 26 October 1946, 2.


112. Ibid.


114. Ibid.


117. AN IRO AJ 417, Del Drago to Chiavari, 10 December 1949.

118. Ibid.


120. GSAD, BMA Karpathos CPS 69, C. J. Denington, “Repatriation to Italy,” 26 June 1946.

121. UNRRA S-0527, box 848, Agostino Cecchi (Swiss Legation in Athens, Foreign Interests Section) to UNRRA, Greece Mission, 7 December 1945.


126. GSAD, BMA Karpathos CPS 69, P. A. Mason Pay, “Italian-Greek Marriages,” 18 November 1946. This file contains many requests for proof of matrimony, including by Italian husbands already repatriated to Italy who wished their wives to join them.

127. Bussotti, La cittadinanza degli italiani, 208. For various aspects of the option process consult ASDMAE AP 1950–57, Jugoslavia, b. 533.


138. Deplano, La madrepatria è una terra straniera, 98.

139. Ibid., 115–117.

140. For details on this see ibid., 117–118. According to a publication of the Italian Consulate in Asmara, however, the British had permitted notaries to put down the name of Italian fathers of mixed-race children, in effect allowing them to be recognized. See Gino Cerbella, Eritrea 1959: La Collettività Italiana nelle sue attività economiche sociali e culturali (Asmara: Consolato Generale d’Italia, 1960), 9–10.


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144. D’Agostino, *Altre storie*, 64.

145. Within this federation, Eritrea was to exercise autonomy. In reality, however, Ethiopian leaders treated the federation as a full union. In 1962, Eritrea became merely another province within Ethiopia. After decades of violent resistance to Eritrea’s absorption into Ethiopia, Eritrea achieved independence in 1993.

146. On the recognitions see ASDMAE AP 1950–57, Etiopia, b. 102, “Collettività italiana in Etiopia,” Smergani, 16 March 1955, 8. On citizenship and the “option” see ASDMAE AP 1950–57, Eritrea, b. 878, “‘Opzioni’ degli italo-eritrei,” 22 March 1953; also Consolato Generale d’Italia, Asmara, “Meticci eritrei di cittadinanza italiana. Rinuncia alla cittadinanza federale,” 8 June 1953. See also the many documents on the Ethiopian and Eritrean laws of citizenship contained in ASDMAE AP 1950–57, Eritrea, b. 801. Because Italian documents sometimes refer to Eritrea alone or to Ethiopia as presumably including Eritrea, it can prove confusing to parse out whether population figures refer to the entire federation or just one of its entities.


5. Reclaiming Fascism, Housing the Nation

1. To offer just one example, a headline in Vergogna (the journal of FeNPIA, Federazione Nazionale dei Profughi Italiani d’Africa) trumpeted, ‘According to the bully Senator Conti, ‘We are the residue of a nationalist mentality lodged in the past.’” Vergogna 3 (20 November 1949).


6. Ibid., 50. See also the film by Marco Bertozzi and Noa Steimatsky, Profughi a Cinecittà (Rome: Istituto Luce, 2012).

7. A 1957 memo to INPS president Angelo Corsi diagnosed a “true and proper ‘psychosis’” of exodus from the farms of Tripolitania. See AS INPS, Carte della colonizzazione libica, 1933–1968, b. 130, fasc. 515, Raccomandata, 15 February 1957. Other observers, including colonial expert Armando Maugini, feared the effects of mass repatriations. “Such a repatriation,” he mused, “would give rise to political speculation; the colonists would find defenders in the unions and political realms and could easily fall prey to subversive propaganda.” AS INPS, Carte della colonizzazione libica, 1933–1968, b. 62, fasc. 259, A. Maugini, “Relazione sulla colonizzazione contadina della Tripolitania,” May 1953, 17.


10. UNRRA-CASAS, Realizzazioni edilizie per gli esuli adriatici (Rome: UNRRA-CASAS, 1957), 17. On complaints in 1950–1951 by the Opera per l’Assistenza ai Profughi Giuliani e Dalmati that the housing units promised by UNRRA-CASAS for
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esuli had been reduced, see the testy exchanges between Lodovico Montini of the AAI, various other officials, and Oscar Sinigaglia contained in ACS MI AAI Presidenza, b. 89, fasc. 2.


16. For a summary of Italy’s efforts to cope with housing shortages in the first decade and a half after the war see Paul F. Wendt, “Post World War II Housing Policies in Italy,” Land Economics 38, no. 2 (1962), 113–133.


21. The Villaggio Giuliano Dalmata was the only sizable OAPGD project built for Adriatic national refugees outside the Italo-Yugoslav border region. The OAPGD instead concentrated its housing in the area around Trieste: Chiarbola-Trieste, Opicina, S. Croce, Sistiana, Prosecco, Muggia, Servola, Monfalcone, Gorizia, and Udine. UNRRA-CASAS, Realizzazioni edilizie per gli esuli adriatici, 39–97.

clean up unhealthy marsh areas but also render them productive for both agriculture and human habitation. The Serpieri law passed the following year. The 1928 Legge Mussolini provided extensive funding for bonifica, and the following year a new agricultural ministry came into existence. Turn to Federico Caprotti, Mussolini’s Cities: Internal Colonialism in Italy, 1930–1939 (Amherst, NY: Cambria, 2007), 83. For details on Serpieri’s role in shaping fascist agricultural policies refer to Fabrizio Marasti, Il fascismo rurale: Arrigo Serpieri e la bonifica integrale (Rome: Edizioni settimo sigillo, 2001). Refer also to Dario Gaggio, The Shaping of Tuscany: Landscape and Society between Tradition and Modernity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 27–29.

23. Caprotti, Mussolini’s Cities. For a study of these intertwined processes of internal and external colonization go to Roberta Pergher, Mussolini’s Nation-Empire: Sovereignty and Settlement in Italy’s Borderlands, 1922–1943 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).


31. Though the OAPGD eventually became the Opera per l’Assistenza ai Profughi Giuliani Dalmati e Rim patriarchi, including in its remit repatriates from other former possessions, it remains best known for its work with Adriatic displacedes (particularly its census of refugees). Sandi Volk notes that in 1948 the Associazione nazionale
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profughi dalla Libia encompassed 127 provincial committees and proposed the creation of an assistance entity for refugees from Africa, the Opera per l’assistenza ai profughi d’Africa, modeled on the OAPGD. This was never realized. Volk, Esuli a Trieste: Bonifica nazionale e rafforzamento dell’italianità sul confine orientale (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2004), 87 fn. 60.

32. Ibid., 298–312.
33. Ibid., 299.
34. Enrico Valsecchi, Da Alghero a Fertilia (Alghero: Rotary Club, 2016), 124. In trying to resettle its former colonists from Libya, for example, the INPS contacted the entity involved in reclamation of the once malarial and sparsely populated Maremma region (in Tuscany). On this, AS INPS, Carte della colonizzazione libica, 1933–1968, b. 64, fasc. 269, “Disponibilità coloni ex residenti in Libia per Enti di colonizzazione in Italia,” 8 November 1954; fasc. 271, “Contatti con l’Ente Maremma per il riperimento di terreni per le famiglie coloniche rimpatriande dalla Libia,” 15 October 1956. The departure of peasant sharecroppers for cities in places like Tuscany also created spaces for repatriates, especially those from Libya and Tunisia, welcomed for their presumed political conservatism in contrast to restive Tuscan peasants who voted for leftist parties. On this, turn to Gaggio, Shaping of Tuscany, 141, 146–147.
36. Here we see another example of the entwined processes of internal and external colonialism, as the INFPS also oversaw and administered ten villages created ex novo for Italian settlers in Tripolitania, Libya. More directly, the governor of Libya (and former ras or boss of Ferrara) Italo Balbo promoted the EFC and became the major shareholder of a canning factory intended to handle agricultural products from the reclaimed Nurra territory. The reclamation of the Nurra built on the earlier efforts undertaken to drain the area around Calik interrupted by Italy’s entry into World War I. The French government sent representatives to visit the Nurra project, expressing interest in using this as a model for its own colonies. Valsecchi, Da Alghero a Fertilia, 49–55, 64.
37. This stood for the architects’ names: Petrucci, Paolini (the 2 Ps), Silenzi, and Tufaroli. For a detailed discussion of these architectural plans see Cocco, Fertilia, 13, 37.
40. State School Alghero 2 & Fertilia, Ischia, 82–83. For details of the commission sent to Sardinia to evaluate both Fertilia and Castiadas (a former penal colony) refer to UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 26, vol. 1), Profughi 53/1, “Sardegna. Fertilia e
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Castiadas. Sopraluogo di una commissione tecnica istriana per esaminare la possibilità di sistemare parte della popolazione istriana in Sardegna.”

41. Cited in State School Alghero 2 & Fertilia, Ischida, 85. Compare Dapiran’s description to the strikingly similar one in Gino Rovesti’s 1936 Luce documentary, Fertilia di Sardegna: “The picture is that of the most authentic desolation: very few inhabitants and all of them cowherds or shepherds, the only activities the region affords. All around, in that inertia that corrodes the spirits, in that monotonous passage of time that saps any energy, the only companions men have are the vast stretches of wild palm groves and marshes with their noxious vapors.” Cited in Silvio Carta, “Sardinia in Fascist Documentary Films (1922–1945),” Journal of Italian Cinema and Media Studies 1, no. 2 (2013): 181.

42. A memo from Fausto Cella noted that in 1946 in his capacity as mayor of Alghero he had drawn up a proposal for Fertilia to accommodate those in Alghero who had lost their homes in the war. He worried about the delays in drawing up a new plan, given that refugees had already arrived in Alghero. UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 26, vol. 1), Profughi 53/1, “Sistemazione della Borgata di Fertilia per ricoverarvi i profughi Istriani,” 9 February 1947. A note sent in March 1947 to Giovanni Carignani, a member of the Constituent Assembly, also mentions refugees from Pola who had made their way to Alghero “to this point completely on their own initiative.” UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 26, vol. 1), Profughi 53/1, Letter to Carignani, 18 March 1947. There did exist an association formed by and for such refugees in Alghero, which apparently was in contact with prospective and newly arrived settlers in Sardinia. Letter from Francesco Chieffi to Cappa, 24 February 1947. On the temporary housing of refugees from Pola at the airport, “Profughi giuliani,” 11 February 1947. On the refugees sent by the CLN refer to Valsecchi, Da Alghero a Fertilia, 125–126; also Marialuisa Manfredini Gasparetto, “Aspetti geografici dello sviluppo di Fertilia,” L’Universo 42, no. 3 (1962): 406.

43. Valsecchi, Da Alghero a Fertilia, 94–95. See also UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 30), Profughi 53/6, Dapiran, “Breve relazione sulla borgata di Fertilia circa la possibilità di sistemarvi pel momento 120 famiglie di pescatori Giuliani,” 22 November 1947. UNRRA also provided the first refugee families with clothing, linens, and bedding. On this, UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 26, vol. 1), Profughi 53/1, “Interrogazione On. Corsi” and “Risposta all’Interrogazione dell’On. Corsi,” 18 November 1947. The local UNRRA committee initially sponsored the running of the day nursery and offered the children there snacks. See also “Situazione profughi giuliani in Fertilia,” 12 November 1947; also the letters from Salvatore of 19 July 1947 and 10 November 1947. Another “new town” that became home to many Italian refugees from the eastern Adriatic was Latina (formerly Littoria). For details go to Angelo Francesco Orsini, L’esodo a Latina: La storia dimenticata dei Giuliano-Dalmati (Rome: Aracne, 2007).

45. UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 26, vol. 1), Profughi 53/1, “Relazione della commissione tecnica istriana sulla possibilità immediata di sistemare parte della popolazione istriana in Sardegna,” 10 December 1946. A 1947 memo likewise cautioned that the Ente Sardo di Colonizzazzione had determined that the “bonifica of Fertilia did not offer the possibilities for a definitive settlement of families of agricultural workers but only their provisional housing until they could be sent on to Castiadas. Instead, in Fertilia there can be settled permanently a certain number of fishermen.” “Sistemazione famiglie istriane,” 25 March 1947.


49. State School Alghero 2 & Fertilia, Ischida, 94. A 1974 article on Fertilia also noted that the common practice in Sardinia of dynamite fishing had “impoverished” the seas. This description seems at odds with the testimony of Massarotto and other refugees about the plenitude of the waters off Fertilia, though it may reflect changes over the intervening decades. See Gasparetto, “Aspetti geografici dello sviluppo di Fertilia,” 409–10 fn. 8.

50. UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 30), Profughi 53/6, “Bilucaglia Sergio—Esposto,” 23 April 1952. For the complaints of the refugees themselves refer to “Appunto,” 22 August 1951. A counter-version of events defending the actions of the Unione and, in particular, its founder Sergio Bilucaglia can be found at “Promemoria,” 27 August 1951. For Andreotti’s official denunciation of the Unione, Andreotti, “Unione Pescatori Giuliani, x Venezia,” 11 March 1953.

51. UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 29), Profughi 53/5, EGAS Comitato Esecutivo, 14 October 1948. For the more positive position on EGAS’s accomplishments go to Valsecchi, Da Alghero a Fertilia, 149–155. Marina Pinna and Marina Nardozzi, Orfeo: The Archives of the Memory of the Exiles from Istria, Fiume and Dalmazia (Alghero: La Poligrafica Peana, 2007), 32–40, offer a critical account.

52. UZC 5, PCM Sezione II (b. 29), Profughi 53/5, “Appello degli esuli giuliani e dalmati di Fertilia,” 20 April 1958.

53. Dario Manni, interview with the author, 23 June 2013, Fertilia.

54. Dario Manni, interview with the author, 22 June 2013, Fertilia. The figures Manni provided me differ from those found in a 1958 document, which lists 54 refugees in accommodations provided by UNRRA-CASAS and another 139 non-refugees in such housing. It proves difficult to determine from that document whether those numbers map onto actual housing units or merely indicate the number of residents


56. Istrian Maria Anna Santin described similar disapproval on the part of southern Italians when she and her fellow esuli in the camp of Altamura forwent stockings or, even more scandalous, donned pants. Anna Gervasio, “Il Centro Raccolta Profughi di Altamura,” in La Puglia dell’Accoglienza: Profughi, rifugiati e rim patriarchi nel Novecento, ed. Vito Antonio Leuzzi and Giulio Esposito (Bari: Progedit, 2006), 212–213.


60. Eileen Egan, Catholic Relief Services: The Beginning Years; For the Life of the World (New York: Catholic Relief Services, 1988), 126.

61. Ibid. Without a doubt, many Italians—whether refugees or not—continued to emigrate abroad in search of work during the early postwar period. On the clandestine movements of Italians within Europe, especially to France, refer to Sandro Rinauro, Il cammino della speranza: L’emigrazione clandestina degli italiani nel secondo dopoguerra (Turin: Einaudi, 2009). In part to curb such movements and protect its migrants, in the 1950s and 1960s the Italian government pushed for the right of free movement of laborers within the emerging European Community. For details, see Giuliana Laschi, “L’Europa comunitaria e le migrazioni: Elementi di rottura e continuità, dal secondo dopoguerra ai nostri giorni,” in Europa in movimento: Mobilità e migrazioni tra integrazione europea e decolonizzazione, 1945–1992, ed. Giuliana Laschi, Valeria Deplano, and Alessandro Pes (Bologna: Mulino, 2017), 23–70.


63. Pandolfi cited in Nicola Mai, “The Cultural Construction of Italy in Albania and Vice Versa: Migration Dynamics, Strategies of Resistance and Politics of Mutual Self-Definition across Colonialism and Post-colonialism,” Modern Italy 8, no. 1 (2003): 84. Caponetto similarly argues, “Colonialism seemed to offer a way of bridging the gap between the North and the South by means of the larger contrast between Italians and Africans; the Italy/Africa and North/South dichotomies were appropriated, as the real Africa provided a stronger point of contrast in post-unified Italian society.” Rosetta Giuliani Caponetto, Fascist Hybridities: Representations of Racial Mixing and Diaspora Cultures under Mussolini (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 2. For the role played by Sardinians in colonization projects in Africa refer to Valeria Deplano, ed., Sardegna d’Oltremare: L’emigrazione coloniale tra esperienza e memoria (Rome: Donzelli, 2017).
64. Bonifazio, *Schooling in Modernity*, 137.
65. Ibid., 139–140.
68. Gaggio, *Shaping of Tuscany*, 172. In the early postwar period, Sardinian shepherds had begun to migrate to mainland Italy, creating yet more “empty spaces” to be filled on the island. They often went to the same desolate spaces targeted for resettlement by colonial repatriates, such as the Tuscan Maremma. The linkage in the popular imagination of these shepherds with banditry, kidnapping, and arson made them particularly unpopular migrants with local Tuscans. See Gaggio, 176–193.
70. Bodleian, Papers of John Alexander-Sinclair, Ms. Eng.C. 4657, folios 1–179; Alexander-Sinclair to Mr. Wynham-White, 24 April 1953. Those working with international refugees in Italy also worried about the Italian police’s use of the “compulsory movement order” to confine so-called undesirable refugees to what amounted to internment camps. Ms.Eng.C 4658, John Alexander-Sinclair to James Read, 22 March 1955.
77. Bodleian, Papers of Alexander-Sinclair, Ms.Eng.C 4659, folios 1–190; Council for Europe Consultative Assembly, “Motion for a Resolution presented by M. de la Vallée Poussin and a number of his colleagues,” 28 April 1958.
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83. Bodleian, Papers of Alexander-Sinclair, Ms.Eng.C 4659, folios 1–190, letter to Migone, 8 July 1958. By this point, Migone had assumed the position of Italian ambassador to the Holy See.

84. Bodleian, Papers of Alexander-Sinclair, Ms.Eng.C 4659, folios 1–190, Alexander-Sinclair to Vassallo, 8 September 1958. The actual note sent by Alexander-Sinclair, on which he also hand wrote, “This makes me very sad. Triste,” can be found in the files of ACS MI AAI Segr. Presidenza, b. 84. This file also contains a copy of the proposed Sardinia project.


86. See ACS AAI Seg. Presidenza, b. 84, Benvenuti to Montini, 12 July 1958; Montini to Benvenuti, 31 July 1958.

87. The only aspect that appealed to Pescatori was the provision that were this Sardinia plan put into place, it would not house Yugoslav refugees and that other European countries would be required to step up and take Yugoslav migrants in Italy (arriving, according to Pescatori, at a rate of approximately one thousand persons each month). ACS AAI Seg. Presidenza, b. 84, Pescatori, “Appunto,” 20 June 1958.

88. ACS AAI Seg. Presidenza, b. 84, Vassallo to Montini, 17 July 1958.


90. In a letter to Alexander-Sinclair, Auguste Lindt of the UNHCR commented, “As you know, there is a record in Sardinia of some successful small and medium-scaled projects of a similar nature to yours. I will cite only the Don Murray project as an example of a new small one.” Bodleian, Papers of Alexander-Sinclair, Ms.Eng.C 4659, folios 1–190, Lindt to Alexander-Sinclair, n.d. Alexander-Sinclair’s papers also include copies of HELP publications and an invitation to HELP’s inauguration. Paulson to Alexander-Sinclair, 18 July 1958.


93. Ibid., 121.
94. Cited ibid., 141. Paulson later promoted HELP as a model for refugees in the Middle East, particularly Palestinians displaced by the Six Day War.


97. Cited ibid., 140.

98. Interview with widows and children of HELP refugees, Simaxis, Italy, 30 June 2015.


100. Ibid., 9–10.


102. Bodleian, Papers of John Alexander-Sinclair, Ms.Eng.C 4659, folios 1–190, C. Balmelli to John Alexander [Sinclair], 20 January 1958. In a slightly different vein, both Belden and Lisa Paulson also described their work in Sardinia as that of “pioneers,” pointing to how such a metaphor operated on numerous levels and cultural registers. See Paulson, *Odyssey of a Practical Visionary*, 99–100.


104. Ibid., 3.

105. Ibid.


108. On the desire of Italian officials to end the passive life of refugee camps and turn their residents into “pioneers” see Giacomo Canepa, “Rifare gli Italiani. Profughi e progetti per il welfare (1944–47),” *Meridiana* 86 (2016): 76.


110. AS INPS, Carte della colonizzazione libica, 1933–1968, b. 64, fasc. 272, Enrico Barra, “Soc. Coop. Agricola fra i colonizzatori italiani d’Africa: Contributo per la sistemazione di famiglie d’esuli,” 14 March 1956. It should be noted, however, that the request to INPS came after SACIDA’s founding in order to acquire more land and thus settle additional families from Libya.


112. Another man I interviewed had instead migrated to Venezuela in 1958, returned to Italy in 1965, and moved back to Gebelia in 1967 (interviews conducted 16 and 23 May 2011).


117. It should not surprise readers to learn that in recent years another group of mobile and marginalized subjects—Romani—have moved from the outskirts into the largely abandoned center of Fertilia, given that many of the esuli and their families long ago relocated to nearby Maristella and Alghero. When in 2013 I visited the elementary school in Fertilia (its architecture as pure an expression of fascist rationalism as one might hope for), I saw Romani mothers anxiously waiting to speak with the administrators there. On a return visit to Fertilia in the summer of 2016, opinions were divided over the use of the defunct Hotel Bellavista to house African migrants and refugees. See “Profughi all’Hotel Bellavista di Fertilia, cresce la protesta dei residenti,” *La Nuova Sardegna*, 26 June 2015.

118. My use of this term differs from that of Alexander Regier, who employs it to capture the importance of the event of the Lisbon earthquake to articulations of the sublime. See Regier, “Foundational Ruins: The Lisbon Earthquake and the Sublime,” in Hell and Schönle, *Ruins of Modernity*, 357–374. In using this phrasing I also gesture toward the ways in which the new towns have been seen as (seemingly) paradoxical projects: as zones of “destructive creation” and “tradition as a means to the end of tradition.” On the former refer to Federico Caprotti, “Destructive Creation: Fascist Urban Planning, Architecture and New Towns in the Pontine Marshes,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 33, no. 3 (2007): 651–679. On the latter see Fuller, “Tradition as a Means to the End of Tradition.”


**Conclusion**


2. The law of 4 March 1952, n. 137, laid out assistance to Italian refugees from Libya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, and from territories ceded by the 1947 Peace
Treaty, as well as Italian refugees from foreign countries (such as Tunisia) and from those within Italy impacted by World War II.


10. AQSH, CG, dosja 58, viti 1944, letter of Magnoni, 12 November 1945.


12. It appears that some “Italians from Libya” were asked to meet with Gadhafi. Giovanna Ortu, the longtime president of the Associazione Italiani Rimpatriati dalla Libia (AIRL), claimed she was invited in a nonofficial capacity but then never heard anything further. See “Giovanni Ortu: La visita di Ghedaffi? Una burla,” *Politicamente Corretta*, 25 June 2009, http://www.politicamentecorretto.com/index.php?news=13925.

13. This brings to mind partition and Muslim migrants from India to Pakistan who were discouraged from settling and told “Karachi is full.” Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 171.

14. For details on historians’ efforts to situate the Istrian exodus into the frame of East European population movements see Pamela Ballinger, “*Remapping the Istrian Exodus: New Interpretive Frameworks,*” in *At Home but Foreigners: Population Transfers in 20th Century Istria*, ed. Katja Hrobat Virloget, Catherine Gousseff,
and Gustavo Corni (Koper: Univerziteta založba Annales, 2016), 69–90. The volume *Naufraghi della pace: Il 1945, I profughi e le memorie divise d’Europa*, ed. Guido Crainz, Raoul Pupo, and Silvia Salvatici (Rome: Donzelli, 2008) represents a pioneering work for its insertion of the history of refugee flows from Italy’s eastern border into broader refugee histories. Addressing both the origins and consequences of postwar European displacements, the contributions locate Istrian migrants in the wider migration trajectories of European displaced persons and debates about relief and assistance. Historian Romain Rainero’s study *Le navi bianche* links various migration histories, although it leaves several key archival sources for such histories untouched. In the context of memory studies, Patrizia Audenino has compared the recollections of Istrian displacement with those of Italians repatriated from Africa, as well as German expellees and French pieds-noirs. For the important work by Audenino see *La casa perduta: La memoria dei profughi nell’Europa del Novecento* (Rome: Carocci, 2015).
