

THE SECOND RISORGIMENTO. A NON-BANAL REFERENCE IN TRIESTE

In the summer of '45, on July 25 to be exact - a key date, the newspaper of the Communist Party of the Giulia Region (PCRG), then embarked on a markedly pro-Yugoslav position and in open controversy with the Italian parties that had formed the **Julian Committee of National Liberation**, from which the Communists of Trieste had left in the autumn of 1944 to adhere to Tito's annexation theses, hosted an unexpected interview with an authoritative Trieste exponent of the Action Party, **Giovanni Paladin**, here indicated with the cover name used during the struggle of liberation, Libero Giuliano [.11](#)¹

Paladin, probably put at ease by an interlocutor who knew and appreciated the moral qualities, with reciprocity of sentiment, expressed himself in very open ways about the aims of his party and the historical tradition that accompanied it. After recalling the propensity of the **Garibaldini Giuliani** volunteers to fight on the side of the oppressed peoples, from France in 1871 to Poland, from Hungary to Greece, Albania and finally Serbia in 1914, and the work of Giuseppe Mazzini for the emancipation of the Poles and the southern Slavic peoples and in favour of a pact between the Italian people and the Slavic world, he wanted to recall the characteristics of the Trieste democratic movement.^[2]² The question was strictly contingent on an article that appeared some time earlier in the same newspaper, entitled "Let's fill the ditch", in which it was hoped that the democratic forces would reunite in the city, similar to the experience when the **Yugoslav** ended occupation and that Anglo-American began. A very delicate subject, after all that had happened in Trieste and in **Venezia Giulia** from that autumn 1944 onwards and especially during the forty days of the Yugoslavs, also when the C.L.N. he had been forced to go underground and its exponents hunted down, persecuted, arrested with the usual methods of Stalinist communism. For this reason Giovanni Paladin is firm in the positions:

*" You know (...) that in Trieste the goal of the Action Party is unity with Italy and that its path is that of tetragonal resistance against any attempt to separate the **Italians of Venezia Giulia from the rest of Italy**. Our party, heir to Mazzinianism, heir to the spirit of its fallen in the anti-German struggle in the two world wars - from Nazario Sauro and Giuseppe Vidali to Gabriele Foschiatti and Umberto Felluga to Maovaz, Sala and many others - believes and trusts in nascent Italy today from the blood of a martyred people, which in the struggle against the Germans and the Fascists achieved **its second Risorgimento**. And in this attitude there is an irrevocable decision, without hesitation, without misunderstandings. The Action Party, despite its unmistakable*

¹ Per una scheda biografica di Giovanni Paladin rimando alle note introduttive: Giovanni Paladin, La lotta clandestina di Trieste. Nelle drammatiche vicende del C.L.N. della Venezia Giulia, Civiltà del Risorgimento, 72, Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, Comitato di Trieste e Gorizia, Del Bianco, Udine 2004, pp. 17-66;

² Nostra intervista con un esponente del Partito d'Azione, 25 luglio 1945, "Il lavoratore";

national attitude and while remaining faithful to this premise, cannot forget that it is an essentially democratic party. "

These words contained the motives and reasons for the Resistance understood as the second Risorgimento, as an essential act to resume the path interrupted after the First World War, as a necessary moral regeneration of Italy in the name of that political and cultural movement that during the second half of the nineteenth century had achieved national unity. National unity that had been jeopardized during the Second World War, especially between 1943 and 1945, and which now manifested itself in all its dramatic condition precisely in Trieste and in Venezia Giulia. What had been achieved in 1918 was now being questioned also in the light of the clash between nationalisms and imperialisms in the first post-war period and then in the unfolding of the Second World War. The Italian nationalist claims against the Slavic ones, the fascist and then Nazi imperialism, the Italian military defeat, the foreign, German, Yugoslav, Anglo-American occupations, had called into question and made waver certainties but certainly not the ideals of those who were remained tied to that democratic tradition that appealed to the Italian Risorgimento, to the battle for social emancipation and the defence of national rights in Trieste and Istria, precisely in the name of a tradition that on the north-eastern Adriatic moved from the myth of Venice to arrive at that of Garibaldinism and Mazzinianism which had nourished, well beyond the chronological limit of the Risorgimento, the very idea of a struggle to build a society, already modern in itself, on completely new moral foundations.

1. Last Risorgimento and moral continuity in the Resistance

The moral continuity of the last Risorgimento lies not only in the commitment of men who had served at the beginning of the century alongside the last historical exponents of the Risorgimento movement, becoming their heirs, but also in the conviction that from that extreme test of the struggle against fascism and the Nazism could generate a new Italy. If for the Mazzinians of Trieste, even before the First World War, the Austrian state was not reformable, now the Italian one had to be built on completely new foundations in the sign of discontinuity with the liberal model that collapsed during the Great War and under the shoulders of fascism. But not even the construction of a socialist state, in the Marxist sense of the term, was satisfactory neither for Italy nor for Trieste, whose fate in the balance could not lean towards a Yugoslav solution; according to Paladin, Trieste had to be given an autonomist future, based on the centrality of its port, capable of guaranteeing all Venezia Giulia work and national rights, (*"Trieste, in order to be economically reborn, cannot expect anything from chauvinist and impotent demagogues that give hope miracles that will never come true . "*), but ensured by connection to the new democratic Italy. What a very

young Carlo Tullio Altan would say in other words in May 1945: “*We, can say it openly, we are federalists and humanitarians, but we consider the concept of justice and freedom indispensable to such an organization of life.*” [3]³

Few political forces in Trieste in 1943 could declare and demonstrate that they were democratic and Italian, and could at the same time boast an ideal and moral continuity with the Risorgimento, for having lived from the inside, directly, the travail from irredentism to voluntarism, from anti-fascism to the liberation struggle. And because few forces, these were also minorities in favour of the large masses, and yet a tradition was on their side, starting with the first Trieste pre-Marxist socialism that appealed to Garibaldi's social humanism, and then Mazzinianism as a source of secular and democratic inspiration, as well as republican. The events that have conditioned the broad front of the workers with the Austrian Socialist Workers' Party in the pre-war coast divided nationally (German, Italian and Slavic - or Yugoslav as it will be defined) are well known between Austro-Marxism and Latin democracy: the first more rooted in Trieste and the second in Istria, similarly to what happened in Trentino. **The Mazzinians** of the Italian Democratic Society, which also gathered a component from the liberal left, did not have such precise ideological models but looked in the direction of an egalitarian society to be built, not on class conflict but on full social emancipation. This will be one of the strong reasons that will converge in their anti-fascism.

On November 3, 1948, the lawyer Michele Miani, appointed president of the municipality of Trieste - a function corresponding to that of mayor, during the first phase of the Anglo-American occupation and remained in office until the local elections of 1949 - during the ceremony the restoration of the tombstone of the Julian volunteers who fell in the 1915-1918 war and the inauguration of the boulder dedicated to the Resistance fighters as well as the memorial stone with the motivation of the Gold Medal awarded to the city of Trieste, stated among other things : “*erecting these monuments , the Municipality has understood the duty to exalt everything that was precluded in recent decades by the noble spirits of our city and our region, to safeguard the eternal principles of homeland and freedom, and to reaffirm the spiritual continuity of the deep instinct patriotic of our people, a continuity that has not found interruptions or stops, but which was transmitted from one era to another by the super stiti of the generation of the Risorgimento, to the Volunteers of the Resistance.*” [4]⁴ The meaning of this discourse could be perfectly understood three years after the end of the war, five years after the start

³ Trieste, (Carlo Tullio Altan), “Veneto Liberale”, a. I, (Serie III), n. 1, (Venezia) 28 maggio 1945

⁴ Istituto Regionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione nel Friuli Venezia Giulia (IRSML FVG), fondo Venezia Giulia, doc. 1450, Discorso pronunciato dal sindaco di Trieste avv. Michele Miani il 3 novembre 1948 sul colle di San Giusto in occasione del trentennale della redenzione, cc. 2

of the liberation struggle, but also thirty years after the end of the Great War and one hundred years after that 1848 which did not seem yet so far away.

Material and moral inheritance, therefore, which had already manifested itself in the naming of the partisan formations to Garibaldi, and also to Mameli, Mazzini, Pisacane, Nievo, that is to those figures who were placed at the basis of a Risorgimento not only effective but also betrayed in the hopes and expectations of a monarchical and prefectural Italy that had become a diarchy of power during the fascist regime. Here, then, that the "Garibaldi" mountain brigades with their own particular and complex history will also rise in Venezia Giulia, and in Trieste the city divisions of "Justice and Freedom" and then "Domenico Rossetti". In the first, four brigades called "Garibaldi", "Frausin", "Foschiatti", "Pisoni" will operate, the latter three named after three CLN members arrested and eliminated by the Nazis or who died in deportation; in the second the brigades "Venezia Giulia", "Ferrovieri", "Timavo", "San Sergio", denominations recalling in some ways the territory, local history or contingent situations. [5]⁵

It must be said that in the collective imagination the Risorgimento had never declined, with its historical figures cultivated above all in the world of school, even if the myth had been replaced by the fascist regime with that of greater importance of the Roman imperial glories, used by analogy with the fascist colonial fortunes: indeed it was very difficult, after the Lateran Pacts and then before the cumbersome alliance with Nazi Germany, to survive an idea of the Risorgimento that had nourished itself from 1820 to 1918 with the struggle against Austrian oppression (therefore of the German world) or of a national unity achieved to the detriment of the temporal power of the Roman Catholic Church.

It was difficult to explain to the generations of the Karst and Vittorio Veneto that yesterday's enemy was today's ally, evoking the brief Italo-Prussian alliance of 1866. It was even more difficult in Venezia Giulia, where propaganda and public use of history they were accompanied for a long time, so in one fell swoop irredentism and the myth of "mutilated victory" had to be removed, forcing us to see the German world - actually the Third Reich - already appearing in the Alps from 1938 as a new opportunity given by political destiny. Furthermore, Mazzini and Garibaldi had been two revolutionaries, the first also republican and anti-monarchist, the second vaguely socialist, while the fascist Mussolini had quickly abandoned those shores and the fascist regime was perfectly integrated into the monarchical state with the support of the more conformist ecclesiastical hierarchies.

However, when the conflict began to register defeats and disasters, the myth of imperial Rome soon ended up in the attic for a return to the themes of the Risorgimento, even in musical performances:

⁵ Per la loro attività operativa e cospirativa rimando ai documenti pubblicati nel volume: Roberto Spazzali, Volontari della libertà. Dalla resistenza politica all'insurrezione armata. Documenti e testimonianze, Civiltà del Risorgimento, 86, Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, Comitato di Trieste e Gorizia, Del Bianco, Udine 2008;

avoiding the easy propaganda songs - those of the easy victory - we even returned to the war songs of the Risorgimento, if not of the Great War. Those tuned to hope and suffering.[6] In a climate of civil war, between 1943 and 1945, even in the visual propaganda there is a revival of the Risorgimento, especially in that exercised by the Italian Social Republic. 1849 is rediscovered together with Goffredo Mameli in a poster entitled "Brothers of Italy, Italy has awakened!", And equally strong is the reference to Garibaldi and even his first wife with "Anita Garibaldi guides the women of Italy ". The fascist symbol adopted by the Republican Fascist Party is taken from that of the Roman Republic by Mazzini. Armellini and Saffi; Mazzini himself, because he was anti-monarchist and persecuted by the Savoy, appears in effigy on the postage stamps of the Social Republic. Roman famous postcard of Garibaldi dejected, sitting on the rubble, burdened by "Eight in September!" like the evocative one the sacrifice of the Great War with a woman in malaise on whose chest the gold medal is pinned and under the warning "do not betray my son", in which it is not difficult to recognize Maria Bergamas, mother of the irredent like Antonio dispersed in war, which was called to indicate the body that would become the Unknown Soldier .[7]

Having ascertained the improper use of Garibaldi's name and image (in the post war period it will also be used by the Social-Communist Popular Front for the political elections of 1948), those who felt they were direct heirs of that history reacted with appeals and initiatives aimed at restoring the truth : on 2 June 1944, the 62nd anniversary of Garibaldi's death, the Action Party launched a commemorative poster in Trieste for the "knight of mankind", recalling that the " *salvation of the Italian people is in the tradition of freedom, far from any nationalist egoism, from any imperialistic hysteria* "therefore far from what the propagandists of the Social Republic wanted to imply; a Garibaldi defender of oppressed peoples and democracy , therefore a prophet of the struggle against fascism and the German occupier and his collaborators (" ... *Germans (...) Croatian-Slovenian white guard, who with the same desire yearn to take our city, our land and our sea and long to reduce us to economic and national slavery ...*). The appeal was addressed to the young Julians (" *if you are worthy of the Garibaldi traditions of our people and if you know how to actively collaborate with our brothers who, as fighters of a free Italy and as precursors of Italian renewal and of the federation of free peoples, sacrifice and fight to open the ways of the new Risorgimento to the Italian people* ") [8] to spur them on to commitment, to emulate the other young Italians who had joined the partisan formations, but who were

still late in Trieste. The reference to the moral season of voluntarism appears in another appeal signed "National Liberation Committee", addressed to the military and officers, the day after the liberation of Rome (June 4, 1944), to join the "Garibaldi-Trieste ", When it was still under the control of the Julian CLN: *"if you have Italian blood in your veins; if you want to be worthy of your fathers and your grandparents, if the teachings of the men who advocated and achieved the first Risorgimento by reuniting the then divided homeland (...) you refuse to serve the Germans and the fascists (...) immediately pass into the ranks of the patriots and of the "Garibaldi" Brigades fighting to achieve the second Risorgimento ..."* [9]. It was the first time that the ideal continuity Risorgimento-Resistance appeared explicit in an appeal by the Julian CLN, which could not yet be called such, so the connotation of a "second" Risorgimento was evident for an Italy that seemed precipitated into the 1848-49 and for a Venezia Giulia returned to 1914. Trieste was the last city to close the Risorgimento - as Giani Stuparich wrote in June 1945 in the newspaper of the Action Party, "L'Italia Libera" - but it had the *"Disgrace of being involved, after a brief period of disorientation, in that fatal aberration of the history of Italy which was fascism."* [10]

The correlation is also indicated by Ercole Miani, a Mazzinian but also a legionary from Rijeka and one of the founders of that Trieste group, also made up of unredeemed and Julian volunteers, from whom he distanced himself from the advent of fascism to later become the agitator for the Italian resistance in Venice. Giulia, in an article published on the popular special issue of "Il Ponte" dedicated to Trieste in 1948, *"the patriots of C . L . N . took the beginning of the revival and, organizing the youth to the resistance, they pointed to the same the duty of the relentless struggle against the German invader as the most effective means of reaffirming the right of Mazzini's and Garibaldi's Italy to exist at the extreme eastern borders and the will of the Julian Italians to survive and not abdicate the right to life and independence from foreigners."* [11]

And on this issue many words will be spent for a long time in controversy and clarifications, first among the men of the CLN and pro-Yugoslav communists and then among the first and the supporters of the so-called "legal resistance", of patriotism to Bruno Coceani, former Head of the province under German occupation and under the constant tutelage of the Deutschen Berateter : it had come to call the CLN a traitor, fabled about agreements and surrenders in front of the communist partisans and the Yugoslav troops. And those accusations came precisely from former collaborators and hierarchs of the past regime,

claiming and agitating their alleged patriotic merits in a Trieste political condition, that of the early 1950s, in which the question of Trieste and the defence of Italianity had cleared them. without asking for a fine. In this sense, an articulated clarification by Carlo Antoni arrived in 1951 from the pages of the weekly "Il mondo" which, starting from some considerations expressed by Giani Stuparich, concluded by referring to the fact that the Yugoslavs had to recognize the existence in Venezia Giulia of a resistance Italian: " *they admitted in fact that the Italianness of Trieste had equal defenders in the liberation struggle. (...) Among them were several of the ancient unredeemed volunteers who, remained in the shadows during the twenty years, in the moment of the extreme danger had reappeared to fight the front row. Among these, Gabriele Foschiatti and Umberto Felluga died in Dachau, Francesco Terrazzani was shot by the Black Brigades, Nicolò Vidali fell in the streets of Trieste during the insurrection. They are men like these who want to pass themselves off as traitors .* " [\[12\]](#) The at their conspiratorial activities was also very much alive though nte fascism but perhaps not as well known to Italian readers and therefore he remarked Carlo Antoni virtues . [\[13\]](#)

But above all, the life of Gabriele Foschiatti seemed to represent the lived proof of that link between past, present and present; in 1955, Giani Stuparich always wanted to remember him , also recalling the atmosphere in which the city had fallen after the German occupation of '43 which had dampened the last enthusiasm of the volunteers of the previous war, except for a few, or oriented some to accept and support the state of things; well, among those few, moral survivors, was Gabriele Foschiatti: " *he was full of intimate fervor (...) and his ideas, tempered in the heroic custody of Mazzinian princes, were sure.* " [\[14\]](#)

Even in 1958 the controversy had not died out towards a certain minor press of the neo-fascist right which marked "April 25" as a day of national mourning: this was answered by the social democratic periodical "Italy socialist", recalling how in the past the homeland had become an expression of interests and selfishness, the tricolor symbol of a regime , the national sentiment expression of fidelity to fascism and hostility to other peoples; " *Therefore whoever was not a fascist was not Italian and whoever reacted to this monstrous distortion of the truth ended up in jail .* " [\[15\]](#) And after World War II there was an entire generation that could testify to have suffered the fury of the Austrian gendarmerie, and to have known the fascist prisons, the Nazi deportations

and the persecutions of Tito's communists: a generation that perhaps , at certain times, he had also taken different paths, but which still found himself in that original common matrix " *all Mazzinians of Carbonara faith and mentality* " [\[16\]](#) which had led them in half a century from conspiracy to voluntarism, from anti-fascism to the struggle for liberation.

In a quick historical sketch, Carlo Ventura recalled the stages of that path marked by the presence and continuity of some figures, above all Diomede Benco, Gabriele Foschiatti, Mario Maovaz, Umberto Felluga, Ercole Miani, where some older ones came from the Mazzinian Julian movement and others had approached it with anti-fascism: from the brief experience of Italian Social Democracy, in controversy with Austro-Marxism seen as a Pan-Germanic expression and instead in solidarity with the Istrian and Trentino socialists more akin to an idea of "Latin democracy", to the commitment in the First World War and then, after the conflict, " *the group fought the best battle of its life, marching on the edge of the popular non-Marxist left forces, often also in contrast with the initial contradictory attitude assumed by some sections of the party or republican in other provinces and in Italy in the face of the advance of fascism.* " [\[17\]](#) But in the years preceding that conflict the clear idea had matured that the liberation of the peoples of the dual monarchy and their emancipation could only be achieved with the overthrow of the empire and not with the constitution of new national states heirs of the political tensions.

In a note by Biagio Marin following an article by Vittorio Furlani on "Nuova Antologia" [\[18\]](#), it traces the history of the origins from the Democratic Association, of the Trieste liberal left, to the Free Triestine Youth at the Garibaldi Circle up to Italian Social Democracy , affirms: " *certainly the national passion was very great in them and this was the fundamental constant of all movement. But the clear awareness of what separated them from the conservative bourgeoisie was not foreign to them, and great was their concern not to lose contact with the working class and to open up to its needs for social progress.* " [\[19\]](#) An even stronger reference between the voluntarism of the Great War and the fallen of the Second World War and the resistance, testimony of the moral link, is emphasized in the speech given by Marin on November 4, 1948 in Gorizia on the thirtieth anniversary of the victory: " *And 'the hour has come for our dead forgotten behind the landslide, under the landslide (...) Between the generation of fighters in the war of '15 and the one involved in the recent disaster, above every hypocritical distinction of faction,*

the Fatherland establishes the continuity of the fathers with children. To Sergio Forti from Trieste, gold medal and hero of the resistance, the Fatherland gives as brother Giuliano Slataper, the hero of military honor. (...) "[\[20\]](#)

The theme of continuity between the two voluntarisms is repeatedly taken up by Biagio Marin who had lived that experience, mindful of his experience in fascism; in an article published in 1965 in the magazine "Trieste", which originated from the text of a public intervention, he retraces the stages of national unity but also the teaching that was to be drawn from them, especially in the concept of a homeland, not closed and hindering but open and supportive " *an ever new human reality* " : for Venezia Giulia the war of '15 -'18 above all on the civil struggle for independence and freedom but due to the inability of the ruling class, that independence and freedom were renounced " *for which in the end there is was beaten* " and " *the authoritarian involution (...) won the consciousness of nearly all the people* " so " *the fascist reign brought Italy to the war that put into question our whole political reality. (...) It was the Resistance that saved the state and national unity.* " [\[21\]](#)

That first voluntarism would have merged with the second the day after the armistice, in the face of the collapse of the state, with the birth of the partisan formations from the " *mutilated bodies of the Army* "; an " *Italian voluntarism, wonderfully alive in any adverse fortune.* " [\[22\]](#)

Anniversary commemorations were always a good occasion to return to these topics; November 4, 1948, in the aforementioned ceremony, Giani Stuparich alluded to generational responsibilities and the tragedy of Italy invaded and divided ; if " *the war of '15-'18 was a war of vindication and justice* ", and the redemption of Venezia Giulia " *glorious epilogue* ", what followed was the " *most painful tragedy of our homeland* " but if Italy saved, thanks also to the contribution of the allied armies, " *it is due to the Italians themselves, who rose up first spiritually in their conscience, in their feelings, and then physically in the huts and workshops, in the mountains and in the cities, from all over , in a dark, difficult, doubly ungrateful and painful struggle, full of sacrifices and blood. But in this struggle and with this struggle they showed the world that Italy loved Freedom, fought for Freedom, knew how to die for Freedom and Justice.* " [\[23\]](#)

Basically, Stuparich's speech reverberated what was expressed in December 1944 by the pact of the four constituent parties of the CLN of Venezia Giulia (Action Party, Socialist Party, Christian Democracy and Liberal Party): " *they consider sacred and inviolable the principle of unity of Italy reached in these lands with the purest sacrifice of blood and recognized by*

Western democracies in the previous war of liberation, which closed the cycle of the Risorgimento wars. They therefore consider Belongs en Venezia Giulia za Italy as a problem, in principle , resolved and settled in the interests of the European community. "[\[24\]](#)

Yet, as he will be able to observe the former mayor of Trieste, Gianni Baroli, the largest exhibition in Palazzo Carignano (Turin) for national unity centenary lacked Istria references and to the lost city, who also had contributed entirely to Italian history, even with the fallen and the heroes of the Resistance, as if to submit to an act of prudence with regard to the susceptibility of Yugoslavia.[\[25\]](#)

But its things were far from obvious or clear; cyclically the problem of reflection on the meaning of the Italian Resistance in Venezia Giulia arose; in 1955 Enzo Collotti, a wide-ranging article, in which he tries to grasp the peculiarity of this resistance with respect to that matured elsewhere in Italy, identified in the bankruptcy inheritance that fascism had left in Venezia Giulia, to the point of compromising the very idea of Italianness, the greatest and heaviest burden on the shoulders of the Resistance in Trieste, also called upon to demonstrate the opposite, especially towards the Slovenian and Croatian liberation movement, for which it was called to a " *double work of containing the Slavic aims and of fighting against the Nazi-Fascists* ". So " *the national mortgage weighs on the Julian Resistance from birth, it is indeed one of the conditions that condition it ...* " [\[26\]](#)

The last consecration of the Resistance as the "second Risorgimento " is reached in the mid-sixties, exactly in 1965, an occasion to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the '15 -'18 war and the twentieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. Carlo Schiffrer recalls the two dates by inserting them into a historical and also political process, which even then saw some circles objecting to the Risorgimento and denying the Resistance except as a civil war between Italians, with the danger that, in order to bring down the controversy, finally oblivion for the sake of fatherland prevailed.[\[27\]](#) Schiffrer recalls that the war of '15 and the war of '43 had a common factor in the struggle against Germanic imperialism, in the sign of a " *European nationalitarian program, to be achieved with the last war, the one that was to end to the fratricidal wars of the European peoples* . " Things went differently, as we know, and even in Italy the convergence between moderate forces and democratic and progressive forces that had instead promoted and achieved the first stages of national unity was not fully realized. But it was the historical contingencies that made the liberation struggle

the "second Risorgimento", because the national territory had once again become the battlefield of foreign armies; national unity, independence, even the freedom of the single individual put in jeopardy, **for which as in '15 so in '43, that struggle became a "people's war" in mazzinai meaning**; Garibaldi did not hesitate to pit his men, Italians, against other Italians because he had proposed a patriotic goal - national unity - without waiting for unity and freedom to be obtained and granted through a foreign army. And like the Risorgimento, the Resistance were not specific and exclusive facts of the history of Italy but complex phenomena of European history. Paradoxically, **Schiffrer reached these conclusions, the disaster of '43 had given the Italians a new, irreversible experience, and regenerated their national sentiment.**

The Anti-German Struggle in the Second Risorgimenti

Precisely on the 61st anniversary of the execution of Guglielmo Oberdan, it was then December 20, 1943, the Action Party secretly circulated a manifesto compiled by Ercole Miani in which, following the example of the young patriot, students and workers were encouraged not to collaborate with the German occupier but not even to listen to the Triestine bourgeoisie " *first Austrian, then fascist and now municipalist* " or be convinced by the lure of hired collaborators; the German, in addition to being a raider and looter, was an " *eternal barbarian* " who aimed " *to annex Venezia Giulia and reduce us to political and economic slavery* ". **[28] The fight against Pan-Germanism in the First World War merged with the opposition to Nazi-Fascism**, animated by a strong intransigence towards pro-German collaborationism in the name of " *defending the Italian character of Trieste and the unity of the region with Italy on the of freedom* " **[29]**, but also in aversion to Yugoslav annexationist aims.

It is worth mentioning here an article that appeared in the Trieste socialist newspaper on October 27, 1918, in which the consequences for the claims on Trieste stirred up by the Slovenian bourgeoisie were feared : " *... certain Yugoslavs advocating democracy tend to a peace that leaves the national problem unsolved in these lands, indeed to "resolve" it - let's say so - in order to leave open the most bitter national* **conflict between Italians and Slavs**. (...) *Come and listen to the Slovenes and you will be convinced that everyone is ready, if necessary, to shed their blood once again rather than allowing Trieste to be torn from Yugoslavia. (...) As if Trieste already belonged to this state that has yet to rise! (...) Not an Italian would submit to the national violence that has long manifested Yugoslav nationalism. (...) All Italians without distinction agree in the fight against incorporation into Yugoslavia and all will be united*

as one man if such violence is dared. "[30] These are words that will resound a quarter of a century later in the appeals of the CLN.

So two basic reasons of the latest Risorgimento and interventionism had found a closer convergence in an action, that of the CLN, without which the fate of Trieste would have been jeopardized in the eyes of the allied powers. This will be a recurring motif in the commemorations to which will be added that of the actual danger incurred by north-eastern Italy with the detachment of the provinces treated as a German sphere of influence.[31] There is indeed a practical reason for these references: several protagonists and animators of the **first resistance had been part of the third generation of the Julian Risorgimento: wanted by the military authorities in the years of the First World War for crimes of treason, desertion and avoidance of the mass draft** .[32] They are perfectly inserted in a clear political biography of that long season that links the most critical phases of the two world wars experienced in Venezia Giulia; and then the state of anguish is understandable, the strong concern that can also be gathered from the testimonies and memories of those men who were witnessing the unstoppable crumbling of a reality to which they had contributed in building. [33] A crumbling was happening so for external boost, due to the dissolution of the Italian and German occupation state, but that is well fed by a crisis of values present in Julian society, the strengthening of identity antagonist Slovenian and Croatian causes fascist persecutions, from an inextinguishable Austrianism and well-rooted Pan-Germanism to every stratum of the population that looked with different expectations to the new European order of Nazi Germany; " *The German invader, more faithful than ever to the old program expressed in the "Mein Kampf" according to which victorious Germany will have to revolve around the Hamburg-Trieste axis, aims to isolate, with a safe and systematic procedure, the Venezia Giulia renamed the Adriatic Coast , from the rest of Italy* "wrote the clandestine paper " Giustizia e Libertà "distributed under Nazi occupation.[34]

In November 1946 at the Redipuglia shrine, col. Antonio Fonda Savio, commander of the Trieste insurrection, offered the meaning of those **dead in the '15 -'18 war** : "they remember that Italy entered the war so that the Italians would not end up trampled by the Germanic heel , and alongside the Serbia, so that it could free the Slavic populations that were subject to it from Austrian dominion, and Yugoslavia was born . " [35] Then this last aspect disappears and the following year,

signed the Peace Treaty, he underlined the condition of isolation of Venezia Giulia, a prelude to a forthcoming annexation " *to the Great German Reich, more fiercely tightened in the grip of the nearby German provinces or Germanized (Slovenia annexed to Carinthia, Croatia) fiercely controlled ...* " [36]

The fight against *Pan-Germanism* was also claimed by **Palmiro Togliatti** when it came to defending the northern border from Austrian demands - " *the modification of our northern border would be serious, because with it we bar the doors to permanence. It must not be forgotten that, while Italy was fighting against the Germans, many divisions of the SS, stationed in Italy, were Austrian* " - but there was just as much vigor for the eastern one, also subjected to Tito's expansionism, if not a condemnation of the positions of the Trieste communists who declared themselves in favour of the Yugoslav annexation. [37]

A component of the anti-Germanic movement was headed by intellectual figures expressing the **Jewish** community that had played a large part during the nineteenth century in promoting and establishing the concept of the struggle for freedom in the Risorgimento as a natural confluence of the process of Jewish emancipation from joining the movements Bonapartists from the revolutionary two-year period 1848-49 until Garibaldinism. In a publication of 1952, **Angelo Scocchi - a controversial Mazzinian who passed to fascism and then returned to the republican riverbed** - presented a very intense and in some ways not predictable picture: if on the one hand the '15 -'18 war had closed the season of the national struggle what followed was not the achievement of expectations for the Jewish component: the fascist regime, after an initial phase of national and political assimilation of minorities, to which many Jews convinced themselves, soon assumed strongly discriminatory characteristics with the well-known and serious racial accentuations dictated by the alliance with Nazi Germany, for which the Jewish component, which had given so much part to national unity and its fulfillment, will be literally removed and erased from memory. **However, the Jewish community was divided , in full adhesion, between fascism and anti-fascism** , with human and personal cases that were quite rare or sporadic, up to active support for squads or religious abjuration to make assimilation and political alignment complete. Among those who adhere to anti-fascism, the reason for the struggle for freedom will remain unaltered. [38] Therefore, the continuity of the commitment of the men of observant or secularized Judaism against Germanic imperialism does not escape, and among the many persecuted by the Austrian police, in the years of the First World War, there are also several Jews,

allegedly indicated as candidates for the rabbinate but perhaps conscientious objectors and therefore even more suspicious.

It has been said of the anguish that had become a drama due to the nature of the Nazi occupation which will cause the rediscovery of the spirit of the Risorgimento now also aimed at the construction of a new democratic Italy and in it a new democratic Trieste.

The idea of democracy and the modern state

It was therefore a question of sowing the seed for a new society, founded on the democratic principles of freedom and equality within which even the Slavic populations would have to recognize and accept the new Italy as a “*moral homeland founded on a common sense of justice* .” This is the hope contained in a manifesto of the **Action Party** written by Gabriele Foschiatti and already published on 1 July 1943, when nothing had happened yet but the perception that the fascist regime would be overwhelmed by the Italian military defeat was already leaking;[\[39\]](#) it was also the first Italian anti-fascist response to the declarations of the Slovenian People's Liberation Front and the Croatian Liberation Council which proclaimed the struggle and hoped, in the second case, for the unification of all Croatian localities, Istria, Rijeka, islands of Kvarner and Zadar understood. In a more general reformulation of relations between European peoples, Foschiatti also hypothesized the constitution of a "European federation of free nations": these were not new topics, already addressed in the early 1920s, when the republicans proposed to break the bonds of privilege and parasitism that already blocked the potential of Trieste at that time. Once national redemption had been conquered, it was then a question of giving life to a political regeneration, but the republicans were isolated by choice and minorities by fate, they did not admit alliances with the bourgeois classes and had not found an agreement with socialists and communists, firm on their Marxist positions. , for a united popular front. With the affirmation of fascism within the ex-combatants and ex-legionaries, the passage of squad gravitation will open, which will put an end to the experience of that season of irredentism, and even the republicans will become the object of fascist offense and offensive. In July 1922 "Emancipazione" denounced the immigration of a mass of Italian dispossessed ready to take the place of the local labor force and already agile instrument of fascist bullying.[\[40\]](#) Shortly thereafter the party would experience the last years of public political battle, of open opposition to fascism, up to the seizure decrees of its newspaper - more persecuted in 1924 than in the days of the Austrian police - which coincided with the denunciation of the crime Mat Teotti and the end of the liberal state in Italy. The "Emancipation" will close on December 19, 1925.

After the Second World War, it was clear to that surviving generation that Italian society, as well as Venezia Giulia, had opened up to the fascist regime due to a deficit of democracy, even if in some quarters an exercise in democratic culture never ceased, as in the school, where several teachers gave birth to forms of nicodemism to present also another possible world that was only the one offered by the fascist regime. Here then is the Risorgimento stripped of nationalistic and primacy reasons to enhance its characteristics of passion for freedom. This will be the climate in which the choices of many young people will mature who will then give their lives in the Resistance in Trieste and with them also their teachers. In a first summary, unfortunately not detailed, Elio Aperi reported, engaged on the Resistance front, a group of students from the "Guglielmo Oberdan" high school and the teachers who would have given life, in the years of the German occupation, to the faculty of Letters and Philosophy, but we know that, despite lacking a strictly student aggregation, participation in the liberation struggle was significant, for the toll in human life, and far from marginal, both in Venezia Giulia and in other Italian provinces and abroad. [41] It can be said that they, like the generation of volunteers of the previous war, set themselves the problem of refounding and renewing society.

So a case of national or perhaps democratic conscience, as Giani Stuparich hinted in 1954 when he identified in the history of Italy, the history of the struggle for freedom against servitude, "*history of the resurgence over foreign dominations*" for which from experience gained under Fascism had come the teaching "*which ways Italy should no longer go*." [42] These are the same concepts re-proposed nine years later when he wanted to explain the reasons for being Italian but not an irredentist or nationalist, who decides to become a "consequent" irredentist so as not to leave the subject to the prerogative of irredentists and nationalists, but also to counter the Pan-Germanist design put in place on Trieste: "*it was no longer a question of reconciling economic well-being and Italianness, but of saving one's existence (...) it was a historical necessity for Italy and that the fate of the war would depend of Trieste. (...) If the Central Powers won, you know what his fate would have been. Thirty years later (...) there was concrete proof of what the Germans intended to do with the Giulia Region.*" [43]

The moral legacy

What moral legacy at the end of the First World War? Already in 1924 the mission of the former Julian volunteers to avoid the new threat of a tightly united and imperialist Slavism from Prague to Port Arthur had been identified in the reconciliation of common interests between Italians and Slavs, in the face of economic and political interference.^[44] This could have threatened Italianness, not directly on the Slav side, but as a result of an alleged need to defend it in the name of fascism that wanted to champion a cause, without having the merit and without the need for his intervention. The Italian spirit could well defend itself, as it had done under Austria, but now it even had to doubt "*from the Italian government which issues (va) decrees such as those on border properties - never repealed decree that lowers (va) these lands at the level of Asian colonies ...*"^[45]

Thus, in perfect historical continuity, the CLN exponents will have to spend a lot of energy to counter the accusations of the National Communists of collusion with fascism and the post-neo-fascist ones of national treason. For Carlo Schiffrer, there was no Slav threat to Trieste - following the claims of 1924 - until one was exhumed by fascist politics and the war, but the CLN had the merit of "*having created that collection center in Venezia Giulia of democratic forces (...) that proved capable of resisting the Slavs, thus contributing decisively to saving what was able to be saved in the midst of the general collapse .*"^[46] A moral inheritance, however, traced back not to the days of the previous war victory or to those of liberation but to the darkest days of the armistice and the collapse of the Italian state: "*the date of 8 September will remind us of our supreme humiliation (...) The memory of 8 September must be the spur on the day that the unity of Europe can be proclaimed.*"^[47]

Another reference to the "two plebiscites of Trieste", the first of October 30, 1918, the second of April 30, 1945, with the double defeat of Germanic imperialism which was followed, on May 5, 1945, by the collapse of the "*skinny dream, based on the strength of others*" with the massacre of the "*helpless crowd*".^[48]

In the 1950s the Trieste press hosted frequent articles on the subject of irredentism and the commitment of the Italian intellectual world, due to the international political conditions of the city which had imposed a revival with very different implications from those half a century earlier. We look to that distant season to re-establish a link with the Vocian motifs, Scipio Slataper above all, but

also Angelo Vivante, for which a distinction was necessary between that irredentism and that Italianness and their instrumental use to legitimize the neo-irredentism aroused from the Question of Trieste. In some interventions, the desire to correct the erroneous spiritual positioning of some figures emerges and to specify that democratic irredentism has merged into the democratic patriotism that fueled Julian anti-fascism and the action of the CLN. by Angelo Vivante to tear it away from the deformed political use that had been made of it to give substance to the independentism of Trieste which in those years was enjoying a certain success.^[49] Schiffrer is not afraid to define Vivante's work as the daughter of his time, indeed of the Austrian historiography which had already found a fervent supporter in Pietro Kandler. Trieste's Danubian and less Adriatic vocation had been the great political and cultural theme of the second half of the nineteenth century, but Vivante's economic analysis was now outdated in the contingency of the facts: that past world, after the Second World War, did not exist more and those models of development could not be appealed to. There remained the great lesson and the sensitivity with which Vivante had treated the question of relations between Italians and Slavs, drawing the conviction that “ *Italianness can in substance still exercise the attraction proper to great civilizations* ”.

Scipio Slataper, on the opposite side, instead felt the national drama as an existential torment but also great discontent with the present, and perhaps the latter more than the first triggered in him the spring of sacrifice and heroic death.^[50] He, while declaring himself a non-irredentist, challenges the irredentists on the level of commitment “ *you owe a new life of ours with me* ”, revealing a Mazzinian training and temperament that distinguished him from nationalists and irredentists for a solid national conscience and for an open modern view of the world and the free exercise of judgment.^[51] But we are now in the last holocaust dimension of Slataper.

Biagio Marin will often talk about Scipio Slataper, as a spiritual brother and existential model, especially in matters of patriotism : “ *homeland is spirit in action* ” knowing full well that the political and social models of comparison between 1912, the years of Slataperian writings , and in 1952 when Marin “meets” him again on the theme of the national struggle, the prophecy that the Slavic world would one day be able to “ *remove the Italianness from our soul or force us to flee* ” was duly fulfilled. ^[52]

Biagio Marin has always shown himself to be very attentive to the evocative references and to the weight of the moral inheritance in the voluntarisms of the two wars, often taken up in the official speeches he was called to participate in or in preparatory texts for unspoken interventions because he often went off

the cuff, moved from the basic inspiration and motivated by the climate that was created around the circumstance. In a presumably unpublished text, entitled "May 24, 1915", it recalls those days of waiting spent together with many young people from the most disparate provinces of Italy, finally arriving at a consideration for how that war sanctioned national unity on a definitive basis : “ *But the war of '15 was not only the war of redemption of the Giuliani and the Trentini; a redemption was for all of Italy, not miraculous and therefore taking place out of time, but the start of a sacrifice, to the solidarity that made possible the resistance to the Germans in '44, '45, and the victory over the danger of collapse of Italian unity. In spite of so much pressure, of so much madness, the Italian people have reconfirmed with new blood with a new soul the duty of everyone towards the Nation, towards the Homeland.* ” [\[53\]](#) For which he often proposed the correlation between the fallen of the first and second world wars, not as heroes, but as the loss of two vital generations for the destiny of Trieste that he missed and to whom he addressed with devout sense of guilt also for the too rapid removal from the memory of their sacrifice. To the point of wondering what the city would have been like had they survived and what new company they would have offered. Our "sacred springs" as he called them. [\[54\]](#)

Even Ferruccio Parri, who returned in November 1951 by a congress pacifi is held in Zagreb, had to justify its participation in a Yugoslavia with which Italy was still the question of Trieste and the Istrian region B. But there was also the question of the persecution of Italians and anti-fascists, some of whom, republicans, were imprisoned in Yugoslav prisons. Well, the old shareholder and republican had had to unleash the merits gained on the Karst, in '17, when he obtained promotion on the field after a vain attempt to conquer Mount Hermada which blocked the way to Trieste , or his intervention at Alexander in 1945. to plead the cause of Italian Istria : as if to say that he believed with the credentials in the field of duty and of patriotism , and therefore not the you could blame any supposed moral betrayal. [\[55\]](#)

Just in the same days Giani Stuparich was called to Venice to commemorate November 4th, with a speech from the loggia of the courtyard of the Doge's Palace. It 'another chance to get back the reason of voluntarism in that war who had assumed the character and spirit of the Risorgimento, even if it was dimost installment much harder and less romantic than expected . If the victory of '18 had confirmed the Italian right over Venezia Giulia, the subsequent defeat

had undermined that right and now turned into an abdication of dignity to the point - this is Stuparich's concern - of seeing Italian civilization vilified and the remaining Italians abandoned. beyond the border.[56]

However, things changed over time, and not positively, when with the affirmation of fascism the identification between nationalism and Italianness was consolidated, putting all the values that had accompanied the commitment to defend it from exploitation into the background. " *Italianity with rhetoric swamped* " - as Elio Apih stated in 1965 - " *while the democratic idea of homeland, that of the Risorgimento tradition, progressively deepened by a whole line of Risorgimento, progressively deepened by a whole line of culture that begins with the editors of "La Favilla" and comes down to us through the mediation of Scipio S lataper, he lived, so to speak, in the bush, or in isolation . When she was able to resume her post, after the collapse of the regime, she was able to put to good use - as did Gabriele Foschiatti - all the painful self-belief that she had matured under oppression, but she had to place her trust above all in people who he felt the humanity of the democratic idea by instinct, because the twenty years of the regime had not allowed this idea, among us, to become the common and institutional patrimony of society.* "[57]

Roberto Spazzali

[1] For a biography of Giovanni Paladin, I refer to the introductory notes: Giovanni Paladin, *The clandestine struggle of Trieste. In the dramatic events of the CLN of Venezia Giulia* , Civiltà del Risorgimento, 72, Institute for the history of the Italian Risorgimento, Committee of Trieste and Gorizia, Del Bianco, Udine 2004, pp. 17-66;

[2] *Our interview with a member of the Action Party* , 25 July 1945, "The worker";

[3] *Trieste* , (Carlo Tullio Altan), "Veneto Liberale", a. I, (Series III), n. 1, (Venice) May 28, 1945;

[4] Regional Institute for the History of the Liberation Movement in Friuli Venezia Giulia (IRSML FVG), Venezia Giulia fund, doc. 1450, *Speech delivered by the mayor of Trieste avv. Michele Miani on November 3, 1948 on the hill of San Giusto on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the redemption* , cc. 2;

[5] For their operational and conspiratorial activity, I refer to the documents published in the volume: Roberto Brushes , *Volunteers of freedom. From political resistance to armed uprising. Documents and testimonies* , Civiltà del Risorgimento, 86, Institute for the history of the Italian Risorgimento, Committee of Trieste and Gorizia, Del Bianco, Udine 2008;

[6] Pasquale Iaccio, *Entertainment, propaganda and mass culture from the war to Liberation* , Adolfo Mignemi (cur.) *Between fascism and democracy. Political propaganda and mass media* , Historical Institute of the Resistance in the province of Novara "P. Fornaia ", Novara 1995, pp. 75-96

[7] Adolfo Mignemi, *CSR propaganda in a territorial reality: the case of Novara* , in Adolfo Mignemi, *cit.* , pp. 276-335;

[8] Giovanni Paladin, *cit.* , Manifesto for the 62nd anniversary of Garibaldi's death, *Garibaldi* , pp. 143-144;

[9] Id., Manifesto directed by CLN to Italian soldiers, *Soldati!* , pp. 145-146;

[10] *The drama of a city* , (Giani Stuparich), "Free Italy", 5 June 1945, republished in Patrick Karlsen, Stelio Spadaro (cur.), *The other question of Trieste. Italian Voices of Julian Civil Culture 1943-1955* , Volunteers of Freedom Association (Trieste), Libreria Editrice Goriziana , Gorizia 2006, p. 45 (45-49);

[11] *The Resistance in Venezia Giulia* , (Ercole Miani), "Il Ponte", IV, n. 4, 1948, republished in Patrick Karlsen, Stelio Spadaro (cur.), *The other question of Trieste...* , p. 32 (29-38);

[12] *Six years in Trieste* (Carlo Antoni), "Il Mondo", (Rome) 12 May 1951;

[13] On the group of the Action Party and the historical Mazzinians engaged in the Resistance in Trieste and in Venezia Giulia, I refer to the *irreplaceable* text by Galliano Fogar, *From Irredentism to Resistance in the Adriatic Provinces: Gabriele Foschiatti* , Political Struggle and Resistance in Friuli and Venezia

Giulia, 8, Regional Deputation for the history of the liberation movement in Friuli and Venezia Giulia, Del Bianco, Udine 1966;

[14] *Gabriele Foschiatti knight of honesty* , (Giani Stuparich), "Trieste", Julian political magazine, 17, May-June 1955, pp. 22-23;

[15] *The line of lies* , "Socialist Italy", (Trieste) May 1, 1958;

[16] *The indomitable action of Trieste's youth* , "Giornale di Trieste", April 7, 1954;

[17] IRSML FVG, Venezia Giulia fund, b. CCIV, doc. 8071, *Mazziniani and fascism* (Carlo Ventura), cc. 4;

[18] Vittorio Furlani , *Trieste Brigades and cenacles* , "Nuova Antologia" , n. 1866, June 1956, pp. 198-210 ;

[19] *Times and figures of the Mazzinian movement in Trieste* (Biagio Marin), Edda Serra, Pericle Camuffo, Isabella Valentinuzzi (cur.), *Self-portraits and civil engagement. Rare and unpublished writings from the Marin Archive of the Cassa di Risparmio di Gorizia Foundation* , "Studi Mariniani", n. 11 suppl., "Biagio Marin" Study Center Grado, Fabrizio Serra Editore, Pisa - Rome 2007, pp. 156-157;

[20] *The return of a hero* , (Biagio Marin), id., Pp. 137-139;

[21] *Citizens of Trieste* (Biagio Marin), id., Pp. 214-222, published with some variations in *Conquest of civilization and freedom, the victory of war '15 -'18* , "Trieste" Julian political magazine, n. 66, March-April 1965, pp. 3-6;

[22] *September 8* , "Emancipation", (Trieste) September 8, 1947;

[23] *Fourth November 1918. Prayer pronounced by Giani Stuparich in San Giusto on 3.11.1948, under the auspices of the Municipality of Trieste* , Trieste 1950, IRSML FVG, Venezia Giulia fund, b. XIV, doc. 1452;

[24] Giovanni Paladin, *cit.* , Pact of the 4 parties constituting the CLN of Venezia Giulia, 9 December 1944, pp. 216-218; also quoted in *30 April '45* , "Giornale di Trieste", 30 April 1954;

[25] Gianni Bartoli, *The contribution of the Julian and Dalmatians to the Italian Risorgimento* , speech given in the main hall of the Turin Chamber of Commerce, on June 18, 1961, under the auspices of the Venezia Giulia - Dalmatia National Association , Trieste 1961;

[26] *The moral value of the Julian Resistance* , (Enzo Collotti), "Trieste", Julian political magazine, 17, May-June 1955, pp. 2-5;

[27] *Why the Resistance is the Second Risorgimento* , (Carlo Schiffrer), "Trieste", political review, 66, March-April 1965, pp. 2-4;

[28] *The manifesto of the Party in December '43* , "L'Emancipazione", December 15, 1945;

[29] *April 30, 1945* , "Il Piccolo", April 30, 1955;

[30] *Even with blood* , "Il Lavoratore", (Trieste) 27 October 1918;

[31] *The double martyrdom of Trieste in the manifesto of the partisans* , "Giornale di Trieste", 30 September 1951;

[32] IRSML FVG, Venezia Giulia fund, b. CC, docs. 7806, 7807, 7808, 7809, 7810, 7811, *Index of Police Sheet published by the I.R. Police Directorate in Trieste* , (years 1915, 1916, 1917);

[33] *Thirty years have passed* , "L'Emancipazione", (Trieste) May 27, 1946;

[34] *Documents of the resistance* , "L'Emancipazione" (Trieste), 19 August 1946;

[35] *Glory to the Fallen for the Victory who no longer rest in peace* , (Antonio Fonda Savio), speech given at the sacraio of Redipuglia, 4 November 1946, Antonio Fonda Savio, *The Italian Resistance in Trieste and Venezia Giulia* , Civilization of the Risorgimento , 76, Institute for the history of the Italian Risorgimento, Committee of Trieste and Gorizia, Del Bianco, Udine 2006, pp. 243-244;

[36] *April 27, 1947* , (Antonio Fonda Savio), speech given in San Giusto (Trieste) for the second anniversary of the liberation, Antonio Fonda Savio, *The Resistance...* , pp. 247-249;

[37] *Togliatti and Venezia Giulia* , "The free voice" (Trieste)... December 1945;

[38] Angelo Scocchi, *The Jews of Trieste in the Italian Risorgimento* , Libreria Editrice Mazziniana, Trieste 1952; revised and corrected extract from the "Historical Review of the Risorgimento", XXXVIII, f. III-IV, July-December 1951;

[39] *The national problem of Venezia Giulia. Republican and Action Party guidelines* , "Emancipation" (Trieste) 1 October 1945; the text was also published in essays and anthologies.

[40] *Campanilismi* , "L'Emancipazione" (Trieste) 15 July 1922;

[41] *Anti-fascist Nicodemism* , (Giuseppe Granata), *Resistance in Trieste* , (Elio Apih), "The voice of the democratic school", II, 9, (Rome) 1 May 1955;

[42] *National conscience* , (Giani Stuparich), "The free voice", 1945;

[43] *Past and present of Trieste in an in-depth examination by Giani Stuparich* , (Giani Stuparich), "Giornale di Trieste", April 23, 1954;

[44] *Our mission. After ten years* , "The frontier. Journal of the mutilated" , (Trieste) 2 August 1924;

- [45] *The rights of our Italian spirit* , “ The frontier. Journal of the mutilated ”, (Trieste) 29 December 1924;
- [46] *The historical mission of the Julian CLN* , (Carlo Schiffrer), “Trieste”, Julian political review, 17, May-June 1955, pp. 13-15;
- [47] *September 8* , “The free voice”, (Trieste) September 8, 1946;
- [48] *XXX Aprile* , (Vittorio Furlani), “The free voice”, 30 April 1948;
- [49] *Vivante's Adriatic Irredentism* , (Carlo Schiffrer), “Giornale di Trieste”, 27 November 1954;
- [50] *Political awareness of irredentism* , (a.) "Giornale di Trieste", May 25, 1954;
- [51] *Scipio Slataper political writer* , (Baldo Baldi), “Il Piccolo”, 3 December 1955;
- [52] *Our national struggle according to Scipio Slataper* (Biagio Marin), Edda Serra, Pericle Camuffo, Isabella Valentinuzzi (cur.), *Self-portraits and commitment...* , pp. 148-151;
- [53] *May 24, 1945* , (Biagio Marin), Edda Serra, Pericle Camuffo, Isabella Valentinuzzi (cur.), *Self-portraits and commitment...* , pp.208-210;
- [54] Roberto Brushali , *Our sacred springs. Biagio Marin and the young people who died in war and in the liberation struggle* , “Studi Mariniani”, Centro Studi Biagio Marin, Grado, a. XI, nn. 7-8, (Grado) December 2002, pp. 43-51;
- [55] *Hon. Parri ai Triestini* , “Latest news”, (Trieste) 10 November 1951; *AMI's response to a letter from Parri* , “L'Emancipazione”, (Trieste) 10 November 1951;
- [56] *If there was a problem of Venezia Giulia, Vittoria del Piave solved it forever* , (Giani Stuparich), “L'Emancipazione”, (Trieste) 10 November 1951;
- [57] *Democratic patriotism and nationalist patriotism* , (Elio Apih), “Trieste”, “Trieste”, Julian political magazine, 67, May-June 1965, pp. 9-10, also published in Patrick Karlsen, Stelio Spadaro, *The other question of Trieste. Italian Voices of Julian Civil Culture 1943-1955* , Volunteers Association of Freedom, Trieste, Libreria Editrice Goriziana , Gorizia 2006, pp. 153-158;