'Aiding gli Ebrei' - Delasem under fascism, 1939 to 1945

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Chapter 1

Literature Review

A perusal of previous research on the topic of the attitude of Mussolini’s Fascist regime towards Italian and non-Italian Jewish people is critical for understanding Delasem’s role as the Italian Aid Commission for Jewish Refugees. Immediately, one sees a contradiction in that an organisation formed by Jewish people existed under an anti-Semitic Fascist regime. Despite this, many still consider Mussolini’s Fascists as anti-Semitic, but others disagree. The result is a large corpus of research that exists on the relationship between Mussolini and the Jewish people of Italy, with a dichotomy forming between researchers championing ‘appeasement’ or ‘genocide’. This chapter describes the evidence and the views formed by the two camps.

The appeasement group

Many consider Italy a haven for Jewish people from the time of the Italian State’s formation to 1943. Roth wrote \(^{100}\) that ‘after 1870 there was no country in either hemisphere where Jewish conditions were or could be better\(^{101}\) than in Italy. Roth argued that Italy had no legal differences between non-Jewish and Jewish citizens before 1938 – a statement backed by legislation enacted by consecutive liberal thinking governments.\(^{102}\) Roth emphasised that Italian Jewish people were a part of the wider Italian community of the period. They identified themselves as both Jewish

\(^{100}\) Cecil Roth, *The history of the Jews of Italy*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1946.

\(^{101}\) Ibid., pp. 474-475.

\(^{102}\) Ibid.
Hilberg reinforced\(^{105}\) Roth’s view stating that in Italy the relationship between Italian Jews and Italian Christians developed to a point where persecution of Italian Jewish if it were to occur was psychologically and administratively difficult.\(^{106}\) This was because the Jews in the Italian peninsula had been absorbed entirely into Italian life and culture. From the elimination of the ghettos in Rome in 1870 until 1938, the integration of the Jews in Italy had been greater and more successful than almost any other country in the world.\(^{107}\)

Bookbinder\(^{108}\) stated that while the Nazi Regime from 1941 intensified its campaign against Jewish people in other parts of Europe, Italy, despite being an ally of Germany, was secure for Jewish refugees from other European nations and for Italian Jews.\(^{109}\) This was possible only because most of the Italian population accepted and respected Jewish people. Bookbinder\(^{110}\) made the significant comment that

> The Holocaust is to a considerable extent a study in the potentialities of human evil and inhumanity. However, within all the horror; there were still sparks of good hope…Italy was one of these sparks which illuminated human good, compassion and tolerance…While the evil [of the Holocaust] cannot be forgotten,

\(^{104}\) Ibid., p. 101.
\(^{105}\) Hilberg, pp. 421- 432.
\(^{106}\) Ibid., p. 421.
\(^{107}\) Ibid.
\(^{108}\) Zimmerman, p. 2.
\(^{109}\) Ibid.
\(^{110}\) Ibid.
its darkness all the more serves to contrast with the light of the Italian response. 111

In his work, Bookbinder highlighted the positive attitude of Italians to Jewish people stating that Italians did not hesitate to take risks in order to help Italian and non-Italian Jewish people. 112

In his approach to the topic, Renzo De Felice looked carefully at the mindset of the Italian leader Mussolini, concluding 113 that Mussolini wanted ‘discriminare ma non perseguitare’ 114 (to discriminate, but not to persecute) Jewish citizens of Italy. De Felice supported the concept that Mussolini issued the Racial Laws to re-energise Fascism in Italy and to strengthen his alliance with Hitler. 115 De Felice considered that Mussolini did not personally harbour any real prejudice against Jewish people, but he believed that the adoption of anti-Semitic Laws in Italy resulted primarily from the growing importance of the Rome-Berlin Axis alliance to Italy. 116 De Felice affirmed that giving credibility to the Axis motivated Mussolini who saw it as a necessity to align Italian and Nazi German policies closely. 117 He also argued that Mussolini’s Racial Laws were alien to the Italian’s mentality and sensibilities; 118 and that Italian Christians embraced Italian Jewish people as their own. Therefore, De Felice reinforced the concept that Italian people overall were unfavourable of the anti-Semitic campaign and aims. 119

111 Zimmerman, p. 2.
112 Ibid.
113 Renzo De Felice, Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo, Einaudi, Torino, 1993.
114 De Felice, Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo, p. VIII.
115 De Felice, Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo, p. 239.
116 Ibid., pp. 27-29.
117 Ibid., p.252.
118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.
Kirkpatrick\textsuperscript{120}, Gregor\textsuperscript{121} and Michaelis\textsuperscript{122} follow a similar argument to De Felice’s interpretation that Mussolini’s decision to ostracise the Jewish was due to his desire to cement the Axis alliance by eliminating any strident contrast in the policies of the two powers.\textsuperscript{123} There is, however, variation in opinion. Michaelis, for example, maintained that Mussolini had many grievances against Jewish people but only one reason for persecuting them; namely, his alliance with Adolf Hitler who he referred to as the ‘Jew-baiter’.\textsuperscript{124} Mussolini needed to reinforce the alliance with Hitler, but at the same time, he did not want to provoke opposition amongst his fellow Italians who were for the most part not anti-Semitic.\textsuperscript{125}

Michaelis wrote\textsuperscript{126} that since 1919, Italy had made ‘no distinction’ between Jewish people and other religious and cultural groups in the Italian peninsula. Anti-Semitism was alien to Italians and he said, ‘likely to remain so’.\textsuperscript{127} It was Michaelis’ opinion that the Jewish people who lived in Italy had no reason to move to Palestine at a time when other countries’ Jewish populations were immigrating to the Middle East. For the Jews in Italy, their ‘New Zion’ was where they were located presently.\textsuperscript{128} Michaelis supported his thesis by referring to the Duce’s conversation in June 1932 with the Austrian Vice Chancellor Ernest Rudiger Starhemberg. Mussolini said to the Austrian that ‘We too have our Jews. There are many in the Fascist Party, and they are good Fascists and good Italians. A country with a sound system of government has no Jewish problem’.\textsuperscript{129} This statement, made six-years before the tabling of the Racial Laws and therefore possibly unencumbered with the necessary politics to

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\textsuperscript{122} Michaelis.
\textsuperscript{123} Zimmerman, pp.126-127.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., p. 7.
\textsuperscript{125} Zimmerman, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{129} Michaelis, p. 56.
\end{flushright}
appear supportive of another country’s policies to Jewish people, is an important window to Mussolini’s opinion and value of Jewish people in Italy.

Mussolini appears ambivalent regarding Jewish people even after the passing of the Racial Laws. Michaelis mentioned Mussolini’s conversation with the Italian Foreigner Minister Ciano di Cortellazzo at the Grand Council meeting on 6 October 1938,\(^{130}\) where he stated in the context of the Racial Laws that ‘In Italy racialism and Anti-Semitism were being made to appear as politically important even though they are unimportant in their real substance’.\(^{131}\) Morley’s view is similar to Michaelis, stating\(^{132}\) that Italy’s tabling of the Racial Laws in November 1938 occurred ‘even though there was no racial problem in the country at the time’.\(^{133}\) Morley claims that ‘Jews were well assimilated in Italian society and numbered only 57,000; about 0.1 percent of the total Italian population’.\(^{134}\) Morley also compared Italy with other European countries. He argued that in other European nations under German influence where the Nuremberg Laws were enacted like Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and parts of France, many Jewish people were deported and subsequently murdered. In Italy, however, the Racial Laws never went beyond the stage of anti-Jewish legislation.\(^{135}\) Jewish people were only deported – and then only from northern Italy – after the Germans occupied the area in 1943 after the Italians sued for peace from the Allies.\(^{136}\)

Voigt, who wrote about Jewish refugees in Italy from 1933 to 1945, follows a similar view to Morley\(^{137}\) about Jewish refugees from German occupied Europe. Voigt

\(^{130}\) Michaelis, p. 56.
\(^{131}\) Ibid., p. 183.
\(^{133}\) Ibid.
\(^{134}\) Ibid.
\(^{135}\) Ibid., p. 167.
\(^{136}\) Ibid.
reinforced the topic that the country continued to tolerate Jewish refugees from German occupied Europe inside its territory even after Italy entered the war in June 1940. In Italy, the number of Jewish refugees doubled between 1940 and 1943, reaching eventually about 10,000 people. He said that until September 1943, when the German occupation of northern Italy took place, that the Italian Fascist government spared the deportation of Jewish refugees and Italian Jewish people. The government’s non-deportation stance applied to Italy but also to the areas under Italian jurisdiction like coastal areas of Yugoslavia and parts of southern France. Voigt and Morley are just two of many who consider that the Italian Fascist government had an anti-deportation stance when it came to Jewish people. Carpi stated that ‘there is widespread agreement among scholars, writers and thinkers that Italy was a country (or even ‘the only country’) where ‘anti-Semitism did not strike roots before and during the Fascist regime. The Racial Laws were ‘fundamentally foreign to the social and cultural fabric of Italy…this also explains the lack of response by Italian diplomats and military personnel when told to arrest and deport Italian and foreign Jewish people living in Italy. Carpi points out that Italian authorities were aware of the Nazi’s aim of exterminating Jewish people in Europe, ‘express[ing] their deep revulsion and their unwillingness to be partners to this despicable crime’. He considered that Italy and the attitude of the Fascist government was a ray of light for many Jewish people in the south of France, Yugoslavia and Greece.

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138 Voigt, p. IX.
139 Ibid.
140 Ibid., p. X.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid
146 Ibid. p. 249.
147 Ibid.
Reale compared and contrasted\textsuperscript{148} racism in the ultra-right governments of 1930s Europe. He found that racism in Fascist Italy was not characterised by annihilation of those affected by racism, but that extermination was a characteristic of German Nazism. He also noted that the Italian Racial Laws of 1938 and the German Nuremberg Laws of 1935 had similar wording but were not the same.\textsuperscript{149} Reale argued that the Italian Racial Laws had ethnic discrimination grounded on political and cultural characteristics, while the German Nuremberg Laws had the Aryan race myth as the main component. The Nuremberg Laws protected the supposed purity of the German race at any cost,\textsuperscript{150} while Mussolini’s Racial Laws aimed at avoiding ethno-cultural contamination not only with the largest minority group in Italy but also in Libya and the Dodecanese Islands.\textsuperscript{151} In addition, the Nuremberg Laws were worded to assist Germans avoiding contamination with their largest alien group, not only from an ethno-cultural viewpoint, but also and most importantly from a biological interpretation.\textsuperscript{152} Reale stated:

In this way it becomes possible to achieve an understanding of why German Nazism evolved into the concept and the reality of extermination camps in order to find a solution to genetic contamination of German blood, while in Italy, between 1940 and 1943, Fascist concentration camps were created with the goal of isolating and removing all civilian rights from their largest minority group, the Jews.\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{148} Reale, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{150} Reale, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., p. 51.
Walston supported Reale’s opinion with his research on the Italian internment camps established in 1940 for the Jewish, calling them ‘a scopo protettivo’ (for the purpose of protection). For the most part, the Jewish internees were protected inside the camps, avoiding possible deportation to Nazi concentration camps. Unfortunately, for those in camps in northern Italy, this arrangement remained until German occupation on 8 September 1943 after which many were transported to concentration camps in Germany and Poland.  

In the internment camps, the Italian government detained Jewish people who were citizens of countries allied or enemies of Italy like Germans and Polish, or Jewish people who had taken Italian citizenship within the previous twenty years. Walston outlined the fact that these Jewish people were not exposed to the same conditions as those in Nazi concentration camps. He described accounts of Jewish people who stayed in Italian internment camps, stating that they maintained good relationships with the Italian army near the camp and how they were like an oasis compared to German camps. The Italian camps were not for extermination; the camps saved Italian and non-Italian Jewish people from deportation and possible death like what occurred in German concentration camps. Italian Jews survivors of the Holocaust who experienced conditions in Italian internment camps and German concentration camps mainly remember the Italian internment camps as peaceful and secure places where they, as internees, experienced the same heat, cold and distress as the local free Italian population who resided nearby. Walter Wolff and his brother Bruno experienced conditions in German and Italian camps. They arrived in Italy in June 1940 having escaped from the German Dachau concentration camp in upper Bavaria. They wanted to continue their exodus to Shanghai in China, but when

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155 Ibid., p. 170.
156 Walston, p. 171.
157 Ibid., p. 172.
158 Ibid.
159 Ibid.
they arrived in Genoa, the Fascist militia arrested them, sending Walter Wolff to Campagna camp and Bruno Wolff to Ferramonti di Tarsia internment camp.\textsuperscript{160} Walter Wolff (Figure 4) described his life in the camp, stating that Italian internment camps were hotels compared to German concentration camps. In addition, Walter Wolff confirmed that because of the Fascist government directive that tried to keep Jewish refugee families interned together, he spent only one year in Campagna after he was interned before moving to Ferramonti di Tarsia internment camp where he was reunited with his brother Bruno.\textsuperscript{161} During his stay at Campagna and Ferramonti, Walter Wolff expressed an almost unshakeable belief in the internees’ conviction of the fundamental goodness of Italians.


\textsuperscript{161} Ibid.
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Figure 4 A group of internees playing stringed instruments in the Campagna internment camp. Walter Wolff is standing second from the right.\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{162} A group of internees playing stringed instruments in the Campagna internment camp. Walter Wolff is standing second from the right, photo, http://idamclient.ushmm.org/PUBLICIMAGES/IDAM_USHMM/Image.aspx?qfactor=2&width=800&height=800&crop=0&size=1&type=asset&id=1141522 [02 September 2015].
The genocide group

Up to this point in this chapter, the literature analysed suggests that Mussolini’s Racial Laws were a front to appease the Nazi German regime after the forming of an alliance between Italy and Germany. However, opposing opinions exist suggesting that the Italian government’s treatment of Jewish people was no different to that of Nazi Germany. Contrasting the views of the ‘appeasement’ group outlined above, Sarfatti stated\textsuperscript{163} that ‘Mussolini supported the biological basis of anti-Semitism’.\textsuperscript{164} Further, he argued that ‘for five years, from 1938 to 1943, Jews in Italy were subject to harsh, complex and ever more perilous persecution’.\textsuperscript{165} It was Sarfatti’s belief that Mussolini issued the Racial Laws deliberately to persecute Jewish people and not just to intern or protect them.\textsuperscript{166} Sarfatti also considered that Mussolini made a definitive decision to eliminate Jewish people from Italy\textsuperscript{167} and ‘as a way to achieving this final aim of creating an Italy without Jews, Fascism harassed the Jewish with a myriad of prohibitions covering all aspects of personal life’.\textsuperscript{168}

Italian researchers of the Holocaust in Italy, particularly Zuccotti and Picciotto, supported Sarfatti’s propositions and argued that the Fascist government betrayed its Jewish citizens and the Jewish refugees in Italy before German occupation in 1943.\textsuperscript{169} Zuccotti contended\textsuperscript{170} that focus in the existing literature on episodes of heroism in Italy during the Second World War had diverted attention away from negative aspects of Italian-Jewish relations.\textsuperscript{171} Furthermore, Picciotto – who

\begin{footnotes}
\item[163] Michele Sarfatti, \textit{The Jews in Mussolini’s Italy: from equality to persecution}, The University of Wisconsin press, 2006, pp. 133-161.
\item[164] Ibid., p. 133.
\item[165] Ibid., p. 161.
\item[166] Ibid., p. 133.
\item[167] Ibid., p. 141.
\item[168] Zimmerman, p. 77.
\item[169] Ibid., p. 8.
\item[171] Zimmerman, p. 8.
\end{footnotes}
researched the deportation of Italian Jewish people to the German concentration camps after 1943 when the Germans occupied northern Italy - claimed that the persecution of Jewish people started with the tabling of the Racial Laws in 1938 and that conditions only worsened in 1943. Picciotto suggested that the census of Italian Jewish people on 22 August 1938 - done under the guise of improving the government’s knowledge of the identities and characteristics of Jewish Italians – was evidence for Jewish discrimination before the issuing of the Racial Laws.

The 1938 census that Picciotto discussed was deleterious for the future and survival of Jewish people in Italy. The census in the long-term had lethal consequences for Jewish people after 1943 with Nazi occupation of northern Italy. The census data allowed the Germans to locate and deport Jewish people from Italy to German concentration camps. Picciotto, consequently, stated that from 1943 the Italian authorities in collaboration with the Nazis initiated similar actions against Jewish people that were as cruel as those applied by German Nazis to Jewish people in Germany and other European countries they occupied.

Picciotto and Collotti stated that the 1938 census of Italian Jewish people was a political act and not an administrative measure. They purport that the racist actions of Fascist Italy against the Jewish were endemic and that Hitler did not push Mussolini to launch an anti-Jewish crusade. This opinion was based on Italian Foreign

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173 Ibid., p.5.
175 Ibid., p. 854.
177 Ibid.
178 Ibid.
179 Ibid., pp.16-27.
181 Ibid.
Minister Ciano di Cortellazzo’s182 diary entry of 12 November 1938, saying that Mussolini gave his approval regarding the Pogroms (Kristallnacht or Night of Crystal), when Nazis attacked Jewish people and destroyed their property in Germany and Austria.183 The Duce stated that ‘If I would be in the same situation as the Germans I would act in the same way or worse’.184 Di Cortellazzo’s diary entry suggests that Mussolini and the Fascist regime understood and agreed with Hitler’s and the Nazi’s campaign against the Jewish people in Europe.185

Momigliano is another who considered that the Italian government was involved in the genocide of Jewish people. His more philosophical view claimed186 that a statement had to be made about the period where Fascists and Nazis were allied and collaborated in sending millions of Jewish people to concentration camps.187 The Jewish genocide would never have occurred if Italians, French and Germans did not become, over the centuries, indifferent and apathetic to the destiny of their fellow citizens of the Jewish faith.188

Stille is another in the ‘genocide’ camp. He agreed in support of and reinforced189 Sarfatti’s opinion about how ‘the Italian Racial Laws…were applied with considerable severity and had devastating effects on Italian Jewry’.190 He points out, as Sarfatti did also, that the Racial Laws in several aspects were the same as the Nuremberg Laws.191 The expulsion of Jewish adults from businesses and professions and children from Italian schools made many outcasts in their own country, forcing

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182 Foreigner Minister of Fascist Italy (1936-1943).
183 Collotti, p. 79.
185 Collotti, p. 79.
186 Ibid.
187 Ibid., p. 7.
188 Ibid.
189 Zimmerman, p. 20.
190 Ibid.
191 Ibid.
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many to seek refuge in other countries. Stille stated that ‘Although it is not comparable to genocide, it is hardly a chapter of which Italy can be proud’. Stille maintained that lists containing information about Italians of Jewish ancestry compiled by the Italian government in 1938 would not have occurred if the Racial Laws had not existed. The lists contained information on Italian Jewish communities, while the compulsory annotation of ‘Razza Ebraica’ (Jewish Race) on identity cards of Italian Jewish people made it easy for the Germans after their occupation of northern Italy in 1943 to identify those who were Jewish. In addition, Toscano wrote regarding the Italian Jews identity under the Mussolini regime:

Jews became the negative model par excellence in the creation of the new Fascist Italian. Jewish identity stripped of its rich variety; was reduced by law to the least common denominator of biological affiliation. The Fascist regime thus undertook the eradication of the rich and variegated identity that had been created by Italian Jews over the course of the centuries-long process of original acculturation.

Villari supported Toscano’s view, arguing that ‘Mussolini’s regime brutalized Italy’s Jews’. He underplayed Hitler’s authority on what happened in Italy and its colonies. Villari claimed that while the existence of a Jewish problem demanding a solution was admitted, the measures enacted by the Italian government did not help and actually aggravated the situation for the Jews in Italy. Villari argued

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192 Zimmerman, p. 20.
193 Ibid.
194 Ibid.
195 Ibid.
196 Ibid., p. 48.
198 Ibid., p. 10.
199 Ibid.
that the Racial Laws in 1938 revealed Mussolini’s aversion for Zionism and International Jewry.  

Bernardini and Ledeen supported Villari’s argument. Bernardini wrote in ‘Il popolo d’Italia’ (the people of Italy) that Mussolini was ‘a ruthless pragmatist in matters political and a charismatic master showman like Hitler’. The Duce, however, was ‘too practical to turn cynically against the Jews until he joined Hitler’s vision of Europe as the junior partner in the Patto D’Acciaio (Pact of Steel)’. Notwithstanding, Villari thought that the effort of De Felice and others (whose views are mentioned above) to be more ‘objective’ about Mussolini’s legacy were pointless. There was no way to revise the fact that il Duce was responsible for the actions taken towards Jewish people in Italy and for a war that cost the lives of at least 330,000 Italian men and women.

Villari stated that Mussolini destroyed Italy and that his Fascist policies and decisions resulted in the death of many Italian citizens including fellow Jewish Italians who were sent to death camps. The Italian Jewish community of 45,000 lost 45 percent of its members due to emigration before the war and mass murder during the war.

Paolo D’Ancona in ‘Ricordi di Famiglia’ (Families Memories) wrote about his personal experiences of the loss of his Italian citizenship as a result of the 1938 Racial Laws. He recounts that ‘suddenly all my pursuits as a citizen and as a scholar

200 O’Reilly, p. 10.  
201 Ibid.  
202 Ibid.  
203 Ibid., p. 11.  
204 Ibid.  
205 Ibid.  
206 Ibid.  
207 Ibid.  
208 Ibid., p. 75.
had been broken off”. It was D’Ancona’s opinion that Mussolini wanted anti-Semitic fascism, while Annalisa Capristo examined the loss of Jewish Italian citizenship and identity resulting from fascist policies. She argued that anti-Semitism in Italian culture was dictatorial with a prime objective of removing Jewish Italian citizens from the Italian intellectual scene. Furthermore, Vittorio Foa wrote on the same topic stating that ‘Indifference was the most evident fact’, and that there was no noticeable protest by intellectuals.

The various opinions of the ‘genocide’ group are galvanised by the concept that Italian citizens of the Jewish faith were treated as enemies in their own country and that they suffered for eight years from 1938 to 1945 as a consequence of the Fascists Racial Laws. The members of the genocide group and others argue that the persecution of Jewish people began in 1938 in Italy, but they do stress and acknowledge the difference in the more blatant anti-Jewish incidents after Germany occupied northern Italy between September 1943 and May 1945. It is important to consider the propositions of their views in relation to the polarity of opinion of other scholars who consider that Mussolini protected Italian and foreign Jewish between 1938 and 1943.

Each of the sources mentioned above – whether from the ‘appeasement’ or ‘genocide’ schools – devote considerable space to discussing Delasem as an organisation involved with Jewish people in Italy before and during the Second World War. They write about Delasem, but they do not use a wide range of primary sources from the organisation to frame their opinion in their studies. De Felice,

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209 Zimmerman, p. 75.
211 Ibid.
212 Zimmerman, p. 86.
213 Picciotto, L’alba ci colse come un tradimento: gli ebrei nel campo di Fossoli 1943-1944, p.16.
214 De Felice, Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo, pp. 417-433.
Sarfatti\textsuperscript{215}, Zuccotti\textsuperscript{216}, Reale\textsuperscript{217} and Herzer\textsuperscript{218} highlight that Delasem was permitted to operate and that the Fascist government supported the organisation. They also recognise that Delasem provided help and protection to thousands of Jewish people between 1939 and 1945.\textsuperscript{219} However, many of their arguments were based on secondary sources that did not engage in extensive exploration of the organisation and its role. This imperfection is this research’s platform – the analysis of primary sources associated with Delasem’s operation between 1939 and 1945, with a particular emphasis on the period before German occupation of northern Italy in 1943.

An intensely researched and more comprehensive study of how Delasem operated unobstructed in spite of the Racial Laws under the Fascist regime between 1938 and 1943 is important for Italian and World history. In addition, the organisation operated while Italy was allied with a regime born with anti-Jewish fervour. The aim in this research is to fill current gaps in the knowledge of Delasem’s involvement in the lives of Jewish people in Italy under the Fascist regime. From the literature reviewed in this chapter, it is apparent that Delasem’s aid activities were of great significance but are under researched. Analysing Delasem’s documents should achieve a fuller and clearer understanding of the experiences of Italian Jewish refugees in Italy between 1938 and 1943, the lives of Italian Jewish people during the same period and, importantly, add to the debate regarding Fascist attitudes to people of the Jewish faith between 1938 and 1943. The primary documents from Delasem’s archives in Rome will be the vehicle for this research (Figure 5), and an analysis of them occurs in the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{215} Sarfatti, \textit{The Jews in Mussolini’s Italy: from equality to persecution}, pp. 261-269.
\textsuperscript{216} Zuccotti, \textit{The Italians and the Holocaust: persecution, rescue and survival}, pp. 65-67.
\textsuperscript{217} Reale, pp. 147-150.
\textsuperscript{218} Herzer, pp. 154-158.
\textsuperscript{219} De Felice, \textit{Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo}, p. 427.
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Figure 5 The Historical Archives of the Jewish Community of Rome (ASCER; centre of photograph) Rome 2012

ASCER (Historical Archives of the Jewish Community of Rome), Rome, July 2012, Authors Collection.