

## Paolo Treves

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*The racial laws of November 1938 did not take Paolo Treves by surprise. With his brother Piero and his mother Olga Levi, Paolo left by boat from Genoa to Amsterdam by 24 August 1938, with the goal of moving to Great Britain. He worked at the University of Liverpool and at the Bedford College of Cambridge, and became one of the most accredited voices of Radio London. After liberation he returned to Italy and dedicated himself to politics and journalism. Paolo was a member of the Constituent Assembly and the Chamber of Deputies (1948-1958), a government man and a professor of history of political doctrines in Florence.*

### Years of formation

Paolo Treves was born in Milan on 27 July 1908 to Claudio (1869-1933) and Olga Levi (1877-1945). He had a younger brother, Piero (1911-1992), to whom he was always very attached. From childhood he was filled with values that he would not abandon for the rest of his life, even while going through different phases in his life when these ideals, starting with reformist socialism, took different forms. Paolo never experienced long periods of peace if one considers the dramatic events of World War I, which Paolo's father (with Filippo Turati) opposed in a manner consistent with the position of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) and best summarized by the slogan "né aderire né sabotare" [neither support nor sabotage]; the significant imbalances of the immediate first postwar period and the break of unity of the PSI, resulting from the October Revolution which caused the fragmentation of the labor movement in Italy and elsewhere; and the spread of fascist violence and the gradual advent of totalitarian dictatorship.

To embrace culture and political and civil passion through figures like Anna Kuliscioff (a "nonna" for the Treves brothers), Turati (to whom Paolo acted as personal secretary), his beloved father, his uncle Alessandro Levi (brother of Olga), the Gerbi family (to whom the Treves family was related), and Carlo and Nello Rosselli (of whom he was fond) was a privilege that, while

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precluded to most young men, enabled Paolo, instead, to form a conscience and exercise critical thinking. However, it also translated into a fiery and hard-to-bear delusion when, in 1924 (the year of the kidnapping and assassination of Giacomo Matteotti), the just-15-year-old Paolo understood that the world in which he had grown up was crumbling beneath his eyes, without him being able to do anything to prevent it. He started to fear for the physical fate of his father. He witnessed how the spaces of freedom of the antifascists (primarily of the executives and militants of the Unitary Socialist Party) were shrinking rapidly and inexorably. He began to feel a sense of precarity and profound distrust against the others, which, as his beloved wife Lotte Dann Treves (1912-2018) later emphasized, remained a fundamental trait of his character until his premature death.

With the “fascistissime” laws of November 1926, Paolo’s father Claudio was forced to leave the country. From Switzerland he reached Paris, where he died in June 1933 in Paolo’s arms. This was an indelible trauma destined to deepen his sense of duty in following his father’s example in order to feel worthy of his human and political-cultural depth, a mission filled with strong ethical principles that he never abandoned.

Enrolled at the University of Milan School of Law, Paolo took interest in the history of political doctrines. After having moved with his family to Turin, he pursued a second degree in Political Science (among his teachers were Gioele Solari and Francesco Ruffini) and, in 1930, thanks to the help of Benedetto Croce, published with Laterza his first work on Tommaso Campanella<sup>1</sup>.

When Olga temporarily moved to Paris to be with her husband, his life became even more difficult, since the surveillance of the fascist police became asphyxiating, preventing any free movement and erasing the most fundamental rights. Paolo suffered greatly from the two weeks that he spent incarcerated for signing a letter of support to Croce, who had voted against

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<sup>1</sup> Paolo Treves, *La filosofia politica di Tommaso Campanella*, Bari, Laterza, 1930.

the Patti Lateranensi in 1929<sup>2</sup>. Distant from both parents, Paolo went through a very complex phase alongside Piero also because, not having a passport, he did not know when he would see his father again. The restrictions to which he was subjected and which forced him to live in a sort of exile in his home country, did not prevent Paolo from developing intellectually. He collaborated with “Nuova rivista storica”, edited by Gino Luzzatto, and with “Civiltà moderna”, edited by Ernesto Codignola<sup>3</sup>. In the early 1930s, he also collaborated with “La Cultura”, which, connected with Giulio Einaudi, was a reference point for a group of antifascists associated with Giustizia e Libertà,<sup>4</sup> a movement that Paolo did not adhere to but whose demands and principles he shared thanks to some of its militants, including his cousin Carlo Levi. Even though Paolo also wrote in “Il Lavoro” of Genoa, directed by former socialist parliamentary member Giuseppe Canepa, at this stage he recognized his most profound vocation in research and literary activity having inherited rather than chosen politics, as he himself wrote many times. Paolo attempted the university career, but the Minister of National Education Balbino Giuliano denied him participation in the national examination for *libera docenza* on account of his and his family’s declared antifascism. Paolo wrote immediately to his father<sup>5</sup>. Claudio, after all, had long been a feared enemy for Benito Mussolini, and the particular attention that the regime gave to his family is not surprising. After time spent in Rome, Paolo went back to Milan, where he continued his studies. He obtained a passport, which enabled him to finally go to Paris.

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<sup>2</sup> He was released thanks to the prison doctor Mario Carrara, Claudio’s schoolmate and a friend of the family, who had him moved to a nursing home for the mentally ill, helping him to avoid the much feared political *confino* [internal exile]. See Id., *Quello che ci ha fatto Mussolini*, introduction by B. Trentin, Manduria-Bari-Rome, Lacaita, 1996, *ad indicem*. On the incident of the letter of support to Croce, the prison experience and the move to the nursing home, see A. Ricciardi, *Paolo Treves. Biografia di un socialista diffidente*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2018, pp. 53-71.

<sup>3</sup> See Francesca Fiorani, *Paolo Treves. Tra esilio e impegno repubblicano (1908-1958)*, Rome, Donzelli, 2020, pp. 38-40.

<sup>4</sup> See A. Ricciardi, *Paolo Treves*, cit., p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Paolo to Claudio Treves on 20 August 1931, in Fondazione di studi storici Filippo Turati, Florence, *Fondo famiglia Treves, Carteggio familiare*, b. 9.

Here he saw again his friends and companions after years of 'freezing' of political and personal relations. After Turati passed away in 1932, the aforementioned loss of his father represented a sort of point of no return. Paolo did not stop studying (he examined, among others, Francesco Guicciardini and Niccolò Machiavelli, and continued to publish) and did not stop planning a possible future even from a political point of view, but something in his inner realm broke down in a definitive way. His contempt for Mussolini and for fascism even intensified, and moments of hope, linked to his dream of abandoning Italy for the United States or for France, where he went several times until 1938, took turns with frequent bouts of depression. Since 1932 he had sought an invitation to the United States by asking for help from Luigi Einaudi (through his son Mario) and from Croce, first by the Rockefeller Foundation (which had funded a scholarship for Antonello Gerbi in Europe in 1929-31) and then by his friend Max Ascoli, who had moved overseas permanently in 1931.

### **The inevitable exile: a trauma and an opportunity**

On 24 August 1938, therefore before the Racial Laws, Paolo left Genoa by ship with his brother Piero and his mother Olga toward Amsterdam with the final destination being Great Britain where, asking Croce for help, he sought to obtain a lecturer position at King's College in London. In the meantime, Piero, after an earlier experience abroad in 1937, had obtained a scholarship at St. John's College at the University of Cambridge to continue his research on ancient history and so, had found the opportunity to concretely organize his family's departure from Italy. In the preceding months, Paolo had also turned to Angelo Tasca in Paris, so much so that on 7 February 1939 he still wrote to Giuseppe Emanuele Modigliani that he could choose between Liverpool and the French capital, both preferable over the United States, which had become a more uncertain destination. Paolo started working at the University of Liverpool (where he contributed to the writing of a

multilingual dictionary) without, however, treating this opportunity as his final destination, as can be evinced from two previous letters sent to Modigliani from Geneva on 28 September and 1 October 1938<sup>6</sup>. When the department where he worked in Liverpool closed down, he obtained a position at Bedford College (headed by Curt Sigmar Gutkind), which was the women's section of the University of London that had moved to Cambridge. This job occupied him for few hours and he did not find it satisfactory, as he wrote to Croce on 19 December 1939;<sup>7</sup> nevertheless, it represented a more welcomed arrangement because it was stable. However, Paolo maintained residence in Liverpool, as he wrote to Amelia Rosselli on 3 March 1939. On 5 October his cousin Laura Vita wrote to him at Cambridge, which confirms that at that point in time, which coincided with the first months of the war, Paolo was moving between the two cities<sup>8</sup>.

At Cambridge, Paolo started to go to the home of Decio Pettoello, an antifascist and a reference point for the women of the Rosselli family and for the socialist philosopher Angelo Crespi. Here he met Lotte Dann, a German of Jewish origins (the fifth of five sisters, she earned a degree in medicine in Turin with Giuseppe Levi), from whom he would never separate and whom he married in 1944<sup>9</sup>.

Paolo arrived in London in April of 1940. Following a suggestion from Gutkind<sup>10</sup> he found work at the BBC, but Mussolini's declaration of war on

<sup>6</sup> See ACS, *Archivio Modigliani*, b. 11, f. 58.

<sup>7</sup> See Fondazione "Biblioteca Benedetto Croce", *Archivio B. Croce, Carteggio*, 1939, n. 845.

<sup>8</sup> For Paolo's letters to Amelia Rosselli and Laura Vita's to Paolo, see ACS, MI, DGPS, CPC, b. 5210, f. "Treves Paolo". On this first period of exile, see A. Ricciardi, *Paolo Treves*, cit., pp. 152-166. See also BLO, MS, SPS. b. 356/2, f. "Paolo Treves", curriculum vitae attached to the letter from Paolo Treves to the SPSL, 12 December 1939.

<sup>9</sup> Forced to give up her position as researcher in Genoa due to the Racial Laws, Lotte landed in London with the affidavit of an aunt and was then hired at the Strangeways Research Laboratory at Cambridge. For Lotte's memory of the period of German bombings between January 1940 and July 1941, both traumatic and intense, in which the constructive attitude of the British in the face of such difficulty is described as very effective, see *Lotte Dann Treves - Ricordi dei bombardamenti sulla città di Londra*, in <<https://www.memorieincammino.it>> (accessed 5 July 2022).

<sup>10</sup> Gutkind endeavored to obtain for Paolo an *application* to the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, which had been founded in 1933 as the Academic Assistance Council by

France, on 10 June 1940, changed Paolo's circumstances very rapidly. Arrested on the 14th (like Piero), he was considered one of the many Italian *enemy aliens*, who, in theory, should have been incarcerated as fascists or, at least, not hostile to the regime; in practice, they were arrested simply because they came from the attacking country, without a clear criterion being defined for making a distinction within the community of exiles.

Many antifascists thus became incarcerated, starting with Decio Anzani, who was honorary secretary of the London chapter of the Italian League of Human Rights (LIDU) and a personal friend of Alessandro Magri (another member of the LIDU's leadership) and of the international secretary of the Labour Party, William Gillies. Anzani (like Gutkind) died on the *Arandora Star*, the prison ship headed to Canada on which Umberto Limentani, a colleague of the Treves brothers at the BBC who was saved with less than a third of his compatriots (226 out of 700), also boarded. Paolo did not end up on the same ship by chance (he exchanged documents with a namesake), and thus managed to join other antifascists including Livio Zeno Zencovich, later his colleague at the BBC like Umberto Calosso. Their relationship would prove to be anything but easy. Paolo was interned in the Bury camp, near Manchester; he was freed only four weeks later, when Gillies finally managed to clear his position with the authorities.

Paolo then returned to work at the BBC. In the area of Italian services (active since December 1939), he first dealt with the preparation of daily news bulletins (Colonel Stevens was, at the time, the only commentator for Italy). Following an extensive reorganization of the area wanted by C. F. Whittal, who replaced Cecil Sprigge in 1941, Paolo became one of the most important and effective speakers with the program *Sul fronte e dietro il fronte italiano*:<sup>11</sup> a very popular radio segment through which Paolo, who was often invited to

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a small group of academics including William Beveridge. The file that concerns Paolo – I am grateful to Francesco Mocellin for its acquisition – holds documents from 1939-40 (CV, general and confidential information, letters to and from Paolo). See BLO, MS, SPS, b. 356/2, f. "Paolo Treves".

conferences where he spoke both on behalf of the PSI and as an influential member of the Free Italy movement,<sup>12</sup> performed a function of great importance between October 1943 and January 1945, in consonance with the political line of the British government led by Winston Churchill and under the control of the secret services.

He informed radio listeners of the evolution of the conflict and was the bearer of important messages in code for the Resistance; constantly attacked fascism by unmasking the lies of the regime's propaganda; remembered with emotional investment but without succumbing to the rhetoric of the fallen antifascists. Leone Ginzburg, Pilo Albertelli (killed at the Fosse Ardeatine), his close friend Eugenio Colorni, Leopoldo Gasparotto, Bruno Buozzi (fulcrum of a family to which Paolo was very affectionate, like to the Nittis) and Alfonso Casati, official of the Italian Liberation Corps (CIL) and son of the liberal senator Alessandro, close to Croce and with whom Paolo had collaborated in the 1930s. He even delivered the news of the murder of Giovanni Gentile by the communist Patriotic Action Groups (GAP), an action that was criticized by most moderates among the antifascists and that Croce came to learn through the voice of Paolo.

A member of the Fabian International Bureau, Paolo wrote in various newspapers and magazines including the "Fabian Quarterly", demonstrating those qualities which made of him a prolific and attentive journalist, particularly to international politics, in addition to being a political activist and a scholar. Even during the Cold War Paolo always considered foreign politics

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<sup>11</sup> See A. Ricciardi, *Paolo Treves*, cit., pp. 207-221. After the liberation of Rome, as Paolo himself announced to radio listeners on 8 June 1944, the program changed its name to *Italian Correspondent*. Paolo's central role and personal style did not change, but the type of message conveyed partially did. Beyond the aforementioned messages to the Resistance, the news came primarily from British war correspondents authorized to work in Italian territory. Meanwhile, with the number of partisans, the number of antifascist newspapers and magazines had also grown. Among them, Paolo, always from the microphones of Radio London, remembered the weekly "La Nuova Europa", directed by Luigi Salvatorelli, and the biweekly "Realtà politica", directed by Riccardo Bauer.

<sup>12</sup> Free Italy, after the expulsion of its controversial founder Carlo Petrone, in December 1941, prepared and adopted an official bulletin, "Notiziario italiano".

much more important than the dynamics within the national political scene in each country, starting with Italy. His collaboration with the weekly founded by the Labourist publisher Victor Gollancz in 1937, "The Left News", to which the insert "International Socialist Forum" was attached, with Julius Braunthal (a historian and political activist, Secretary of the Socialist International from 1951 to 1956) as editor in chief and Paolo as a leading member of the editorial board, was particularly significant considering that this magazine articulated the line of the Left Book Club, which had been founded in 1936 by the same Gollancz with the collaboration of the prestigious member of the Labor Party, Harold Laski. Gollancz was convinced of the need to disseminate works by foreign authors at low cost to make English readers more aware and to combat the war, fascism and, more generally, totalitarianism more effectively. This approach was well suited to Paolo: he was less interested in the ideological foundations of socialism understood as a radical system offering an alternative to capitalism and focused on the integral socialization of the means of production and exchange; rather, he was first and foremost attentive to recovering and safeguarding the link between political liberties and economic development and, as a result, in line with the liberalism of the left more than with maximalist socialism. Even before the Cold War, when his anticommunism was growing, Paolo was a social democrat who did not hypothesize the integral overcoming of the market economy and who had at heart, first of all, pluralism, a principle which was incompatible with every form of authoritarianism and totalitarianism including Soviet totalitarianism, although he did not identify the regime with the Soviet people, towards whom he nurtured an unconditional solidarity due to the heroic struggle they undertook against the Nazi invaders.

Aside from his activity at the BBC and his commitment to Free Italy, which was a rather contentious movement within – the Treves family (including Olga) left it at the end of 1942, making public their separation in March 1943 and accusing the leaders of being pro-communists – Paolo (with Piero) played



an important role in the publication of the *Manifesto del Partito socialista in Italia*, which appeared in the "Notiziario italiano" on 5 December and was taken up by the British press. The manifesto – an appeal to civil disobedience against the fascist dictatorship – was born from an initiative by the Foreign Center of the Socialist Party of Italy (PSI) in Zurich directed by Ignazio Silone<sup>13</sup>. However, its content, which had been approved by Paolo, was not appreciated by all of the representatives of the movement (starting with Calosso and Guido Goldschmied), and was at the origin of the break between the Treves family and Free Italy, behind which was, in reality, a different understanding of the relationship of the movement with the communists. Pietro Nenni and Giuseppe Saragat were convinced that, without an alliance with the Communist Party of Italy, the PSI could not influence the political scene. By contrast Silone (with Giuseppe Faravelli and Olindo Gorni) believed, like Paolo, that it was necessary to safeguard the autonomy of the PSI above all else, even through the federalist choice. Inside the movement were different ideas even with respect to the political position expressed by Croce and to the relationship with the American Mazzini Society which, separate from the communists, according to the Treves family but also Limentani, Arnaldo Momigliano and Ester and Raimondo Bolaffi, ought to represent the primary interlocutor for the Free Italy movement.

One relevant theme in Paolo's writings since the end of 1942 was the future of Italy<sup>14</sup>. Paolo refused to identify the Italian people with the fascist leadership, even before the development of the Resistance movement. He did not trust the military hierarchies at all; nor did he believe in a possible replacement of Mussolini as part of a dialectic within fascism itself, or in the

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<sup>13</sup> On the preparation and spread of the manifesto in Italy, see Fondazione Turati, *Fondo Paolo Treves*, b. 3.

<sup>14</sup> In this phase, Paolo also wrote in "Tribune", a biweekly founded in 1937 with a socialist orientation, edited, at the time, by H.J. Hartshon (in reality a communist) and by Gollancz, who nearly made it an appendix of the Left Book Club. For his reflections on Italy, see P. Treves, *Italy Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, London, Victor Gollancz LTD, 1942.

Catholic church which had legitimized the regime by showing no scruples and wanting at the same time to maintain autonomy to influence the consciences of the Italians. On one hand, Italians were ever more disoriented and suffering from the developments of the war, which had revealed the military and political fragility of the regime; on the other hand, they were potentially open to a possible organized opposition for which the times seemed almost ready.

Paolo intended to provide a message to Great Britain and, in general, to the Allies: he knew that Italy, having linked its fate exclusively to Germany, would be considered a defeated country but, trusting in the possibility that antifascism would lift its head again, he hypothesized that Italy would be subjected to a non-punitive treatment, resulting from a far-sighted strategy that was not focused only on the villainous choices of Mussolini and the Savoy monarchy. In essence, he adhered to the Crocean interpretation of fascism understood as a temporary experience, a moral illness to cure in a healthy body, the body of liberal Italy. This was a different idea from that of Piero Gobetti who influenced the thought of many *Giustizia e libertà* militants by speaking of fascism as the “autobiografia della nazione” [autobiography of the nation]. Gobetti’s idea was a bit different from Carlo Rosselli’s and was characterized by greater ethic and political intransigence, which would later become a distinctive trait of the composite political culture of the Action Party, into which *Giustizia e libertà* merged.

The fall of Mussolini on 25 July 1943 appeared to Paolo as evidence of a revolution, but this view showed excessive, though widespread, enthusiasm if one considers the consequences of 8 September. The division of Italy into two parts (the Kingdom of the South and the Italian Social Republic [RSI]), the German occupation of central-northern Italy, the massacres of civilians and the persecution of the Jews, and the progressive ascent of the peninsula on the part of the Allies indicated that peace was far, although the development of the armed Resistance went in the direction that Paolo had hoped for. On

one hand, he manifested disdain for the RSI and, on the other, he did not hide the tragic contradictions of Pietro Badoglio and Vittorio Emanuele III even in this delicate transitional phase, by watching with attention the congress of the National Liberation Committee (CLN) held in Bari (January 1944) and advocating for the abdication of the king and the birth of a government that would be the expression of the antifascist parties, viewed as the only real representatives of the Italian people. In this phase, as regards the relations with the PSI, Paolo was in complete agreement with the positions of Nenni and Oreste Lizzadri, who, in December 1944, were invited to the congress of the Labor Party. His relation with Nenni would change with the start of the Cold War when, in linking the destiny of the PSI to that of Togliatti (whom Paolo had praised for the consequences of the Salerno turn in 1944, which instead had been criticized by the Action Party [Pd'A] and the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity [PSIUP]), Nenni, who was the leader of the Socialist Party, would support Joseph Stalin's politics by criticizing western democracies, thus provoking Paolo's rage and disappointment.

But the time of exile was over: since spring of 1944 Paolo felt the need to return to his homeland<sup>15</sup> to provide a more direct contribution to the antifascist fight. Negotiations with the BBC, however, were not simple nor quick. The Treves brothers carried out their work well and were much more useful to the English in London than in Italy. Paolo asked for help with the necessary permits of Labor Party member Philip Noel-Baker, who also involved Ellen Wilkinson (future Minister of Education). Only on 5 January 1945 did Paolo board with Lotte (Piero and Olga remained in England) for Naples, which they reached after nine days of voyage. Then another phase of his life began.

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<sup>15</sup> Even though he deeply wanted to return to Italy, Paolo always continued to admire the British system, showing great curiosity and attention for the environment in which he lived for those seven years. He recorded his reflections in *L'isola misteriosa. Saggio psicologico sugli inglesi*, a book dedicated to Lotte and published in Italy in 1947 by La Nuova Italia.

### **Return to Italy and the consequences of the Cold War**

His stay in Italy, after such a wait, did not last for long. Employed by the RAI, Paolo directed the *Giornale radio* [radio news] for a brief period, following Corrado Alvaro. He occupied himself again with fast-paced political activity, although he showed himself little suited to party life, above all on account of his personality. He did not like making compromises, and putting on a good face was not exactly a strength of his. In the meantime he wrote for "Avanti!"; he continued his collaboration started in England with "Il cittadino canadese", a main publication of Italian antifascists in Canada; he mended personal and political long-frozen relations and reflected, above all, on the future of Italy in a confused phase of transition from fascism to post fascism, full of unknowns. He was aware of the difficulties of the PSIUP: the consensus, even among young people, grew, but the organization was not efficient.

On 15 March 1945, Paolo agreed to follow Saragat, the first Italian ambassador after fascism, to Paris. He became Saragat's political advisor and press and cultural secretary for one year, carrying out various functions also by virtue of the knowledge he had previously acquired in England. He did not live in Italy at the end of the war nor during the establishment of the Parri government and, in July, he was joined by Lotte. Although Paris (where he saw Ascoli again, who was among the first readers of his autobiography, *Quello che ci ha fatto Mussolini*)<sup>16</sup> was a good experience compared to his exile which started in 1938, Paolo, who collaborated with Radio Paris and with the program *Voice of America*, did not find that inner tranquility he had long dreamed of even in France, expressing in his diary more intimate and melancholy considerations<sup>17</sup>. The sudden disappearance of his mother Olga represented another indelible trauma considering that, in a different way from Claudio, she was central throughout all of his life and had been his true

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<sup>16</sup> Paolo Treves, *Quello che ci ha fatto Mussolini*, London, Victor Gollancz LTD, 1940; Rome, Einaudi, 1945 (2nd ed.); Manduria-Bari-Rome, Lacaita, 1996, introduction by Bruno Trentin (3rd ed.).

<sup>17</sup> His diary is held at Fondazione Turati, *Fondo Paolo Treves, Serie Rassegna stampa*, b. 37.

constant reference point, also due to the practical impossibility of cultivating a 'normal' relationship with his father after 1926.

Paolo's return to Italy, dependent on that of Saragat, called for by the need of devoting himself to the party, responded to an urgent demand: to regenerate those political-cultural and personal roots that had been severed years before, also finding greater stability from a professional point of view. When he returned to his home country, the Cold War had not yet erupted and Paolo believed that for the PSIUP there was a real possibility to occupy an autonomous space between the developing two blocs. Socialist internationalism, in this light, was linked for him to a federalist culture which would soon be crushed by USA-URSS dualism and the need to position oneself in one of the two camps and abandon any prospect of neutrality, while continuing to feel part of a broad "terza forza" [third bloc] open to small non-socialist lay formations. On 2 June 1946, his dream came true: the victory of the Republic, which coincided with his election to the Constituent Assembly.

Within the party, he placed himself in the Socialist Concentration, a current linked to the weekly "Battaglia socialista", of whose Roman edition he was chief editor. Even though Paolo was highlighting risks and contradictions, he approved the peace treaty and the Marshall Plan, adhering to the split of Palazzo Barberini (January 1947). He broke politically with Nenni and, increasingly more worried about a potential new war, he intensified his anticommunist stand and doubts about Togliatti while maintaining a precise awareness of the risks of a return to fascism, which were all but absent in the country not only for the long lasting effects of the regime's propaganda, but also due to the impossibility of promoting a true change of the ruling classes. He was elected deputy to the Chamber of Deputies in 1948 with the Socialist Party of Italian Workers (which became the Italian Democratic Socialist Party); he did not shy away from political confrontations and, in the meanwhile, resumed traveling and visited Ascoli in the United States. In 1949 he was

invited by Harry Pierson to lecture at the Institute of International Education in New York,<sup>18</sup> as per advice from Lawrence Duggan who was in close relations with Ascoli himself. Among other countries, in 1950 he would visit Israel. In 1949 he argued for the ratification of the Atlantic Pact, which he considered a defensive alliance, and thought that the Council of Europe in Strasburg could keep the hope of a European federation alive, salvaging the centrality of the old continent against the nationalisms that had greatly harmed it. The prevalence of international scenarios over domestic politics became even more evident in his reflections and writings (which were numerous in the party's daily newspaper "L'Umanità") during a period in which, with the birth of the Chinese Popular Republic and the outbreak of the war in Korea, even Asia was changing profoundly.

Paolo's professional trajectory changed in 1950: although late and after having been deprived of the possibility of undertaking a university career under fascism, he was nominated *professore straordinario* of history of political doctrines at the Cesare Alfieri School of Social and Political Sciences of the University of Florence<sup>19</sup>.

In 1952 the birth of Paolo's son Claudio made him happy and, as shown by several letters written to relatives and friends, brought out his sweeter side, hidden behind a mostly irritable and skittish character. In the PSDI he aligned with the right of Alberto Simonini; he supported the reform of the electoral system (the "legge truffa" [scam law] according to the oppositions of the left) and showed no doubts of the need to anchor the party to the centrist government. Reelected deputy in 1953, in his second term, he represented

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<sup>18</sup> The letter from Pierson to Paolo of 16 July 1948 (copy), which contains the official invitation, is at Boston University, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, *Ascoli Papers, Personal Papers, Correspondence Italian*, b. 190.

<sup>19</sup> The letter sent by the Ministry of Public Education to the rector of the University of Florence, in which Paolo's appointment as *professore straordinario* was communicated, is found in ASUFI, AC, PO, f. A3332, "Fascicolo carriera docente Paolo Treves".

the government rather than the party since he was nominated undersecretary of Foreign Commerce.

The fall of Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev's rise to power were not seen as true turning points in Soviet politics, so much so that Paolo criticized from the right the meeting at Pralognan between Nenni and Saragat who, in 1956 (the year of the invasion of Hungary), attempted to mend the so-called "scissione di palazzo Barberini" [split of the Barberini Palace]. Perhaps his rigid stand was a decisive element during the electoral campaign in view of the elections of 1958 when Paolo, who met a terrible disappointment, was not reelected. Despite the attestations of esteem and the devoted support of some personalities even outside the political world like Raffaele Mattioli, he felt profound exhaustion. He felt defeated and, despite his scholarly activity and happy familial stability, he seemed to lose any hope for the future.

His disappointment and rage clearly come across in a letter he wrote to his fellow party member Ivan Matteo Lombardo on 14 June 1958:

I am truly grateful for your letter. It proves to me that fellow members, men who understand, still exist. I will even tell you that, except for a telegram from Simonini, not one of my ex colleagues thought to get in touch with me... Good people! It was the most shameful electoral campaign that I have ever seen and we must truly ask ourselves if there still exists a social-democratic party or only bands of gangsters fighting each other. I will visit soon and we will talk. I cannot say that I am cheerful. Thanks from the heart for your brotherly words, and thanks also from my wife<sup>20</sup>.

On 4 August 1958, while vacationing with his family in Fregene, his heart gave up on him. It is difficult to think that the lost election, which he met with some despair according to Lotte's direct testimony, had nothing to do with his fatal heart attack. Nevertheless, that was the final chapter of a painful life on the whole which, well before 1958, had profoundly marked a man who was intransigent, tormented, very active, anxious to investigate, almost thirsty for culture and oppressed by a sense of duty.

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<sup>20</sup> The letter, unpublished, was recovered from the papers of the Fondo Privato Ivan Matteo Lombardo, held by Lombardo's heir Marina Cattaneo, which is currently being inventoried.

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