

The Renaissance of Imperial Geopolitics. The Irredentist claim of Mussolini's Italy over Corsica and Malta (1922-1942)

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Abstract: My article aims at focusing on the fascist rhetoric over two territories, Malta and Corsica, the object of the irredentist goals of the fascist government during the twenties. Firstly, I will trace a general outline of the fascist geopolitical vision for the Mediterranean with reference to the Mussolinian policies towards France and Great Britain. Following this, I will examine the imperialist rhetoric promulgated through the magazine “Geopolitica” and the touring guides of Touring Club Italiano.

Keywords: Fascism, Italy, Malta, Corsica, geopolitics

O Renascimento da Geopolítica Imperial. A reivindicação irredentista da Itália mussoliniana sobre a Córsega e Malta (1922-1942)

Resumo: O artigo visa enfocar a retórica fascista sobre dois territórios, Malta e Córsega, objeto dos objetivos irredentistas do governo fascista dos anos 20. Em primeiro lugar, será proposto um esboço geral da visão geopolítica fascista do Mediterrâneo com referência às políticas de Mussolini em relação à França e à Grã-Bretanha. A seguir, será examinada a retórica imperialista promulgada através da revista «Geopolítica» e dos guias turísticos do Touring Club Italiano.

Palavras-chave: Fascismo, Itália, Malta, Córsega, Geopolítica

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Introduction

The Mediterranean - intended as a "rhetorical space" - has historically lent itself to different uses, coming to be employed as a rhetorical tool apt for determining the balance of geopolitical power. As Michael Drolet observed, the Mediterranean has become a «new civilizational geopolitical space»^I: from geographical object, this sea has progressively assumed the appearance of a cultural entity charged with significant symbols and ideologies for the use and consumption of geopolitics. The metaphor of the Mediterranean and the representation of this maritime space as an arena of conflict and division has been the object of a recent reflection by Rolf Petri who has enquired into the geopolitical significance, in particular delving into the reasons why the idea prevails that history is a «generator of spatial order»^{III}. As Giancarlo Monina has observed «the culture of "free seas", without national borders and not subject to territorial sovereignty, is definitively substituted by a conception of the sea as "territory"; the idea of control is substituted by that of conquest»^{IV}.

The historian and teacher of naval strategy, Alfred Thayer Mahan, who in the last decade of the 1800s outlined the theory of «sea power», affirmed in the celebrated work *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660-1783* (1890) how the possession of Corsica and Malta, territories unquestionably Italian, was determinant for an Italy that aspired to assume a leading role in the Mediterranean basin. On this he wrote:

At the present day, looking only at the geographical position of Italy, and not at the other conditions affecting her sea power, it would seem that with her extensive sea-coast and good ports she is very well placed for exerting a decisive influence on the trade route to the Levant and by the Isthmus of Suez. This is true in a degree, and would be much more so did Italy now hold all the islands naturally Italian; but with Malta in the hands of England, and Corsica in those of France, the advantages of her geographical position are largely neutralized. From race affinities and situation those two islands are as legitimately objects of desire to Italy as Gibraltar is to Spain^V.

The writings of Mahan which were based on a mercantilist conception of geopolitics, in particular *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660-1783* and *The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire*^{VI} (1892) were received with some acclaim, not only in naval circles, but also in the cultural world of the era.

I intend to propose some reflections on the imperialist imprint Mussolini wanted to stamp upon the cultural institutions engaged in the study of political geography and economy and in the diffusion of a geographical culture inflamed by the cries of the greatness of fascist Italy. This reflection will focus on the fascist rhetoric over two territories, Malta and Corsica, object of the irredentist goals of the fascist government during the twenties. Firstly, I will trace a general outline of the fascist geopolitical vision for the Mediterranean with reference to the Mussolinian policies towards France and Great Britain. Following this I will examine the imperialist rhetoric promulgated through the magazine «Geopolitica» and the touring guides of Touring Club Italiano.

Britain and France as “Italy’s jailers” in the Mediterranean

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On the occasion of the meeting of the Grand Council on 4-5 February 1939, Mussolini, before the fascist grandees, enunciated the celebrated formula of «Marcia all'Oceano (March to the Ocean)». Mussolini's speech -- about which il Duce ordered those present to maintain strictest confidence - represents an episode utterly relevant to understanding the new direction of fascist foreign policy.

On that occasion Mussolini defined the aspirations of fascist Italy with the metaphor of «March to the Ocean».

As MacGregor Knox pointed out, Mussolini intended to orient Italian policy “in the short term, in the long term, and in the very long term”. Mussolini's speech was «a sort of Mussolinian *Mein Kampf*», a lapidary statement of a geopolitical vision of the dictator had entertained since at least the mid-1920s»^{VII}.

The theory in which the Mediterranean was a sea imprisoning a country such as Italy, which was denied access to the oceans, was the premise underlying imperialist fascist policy:

[...] [Italy] is barthed by a landlocked sea that communicates with the oceans through the Suez Canal, an artificial link easily blocked even by improvised methods, and through the straits of Gibraltar, dominated by the cannons of Great Britain. Italy therefore does not have free connection with the oceans. Italy is therefore in truth a prisoner of the Mediterranean, and the more populous and prosperous Italy becomes, the more its imprisonment will gall. The bars of this prison are Corsica, Tunis, Malta, Cyprus. The sentinels of this prison are Gibraltar and Suez. Corsica is a pistolet pointed at the heart of Italy; Tunisia at Sicily; while Malta and Cyprus constitute at threat to all our positions in the eastern and western Mediterranean. Greece, Turkey, Egypt have been ready to form a chain with Great Britain and to complete the politico-military encirclement of Italy. Greece, Turkey, Egypt must be considered virtual enemies of Italy and of its expansion^{VIII}.

The fascist government took an openly hostile attitude towards France and Great Britain arising from its condemnation of the international Anglo-French policy aimed at containing Italy in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean.

France was considered a power historically opposed to Italian geopolitical interests. Italian territorial claims over French possessions were intended to gain Italy strategic positions of control in the eastern Mediterranean and of the African port of Djibouti. France had concluded a number of alliances in the Balkans with regional states with the goal of limiting the revisionist push and of impeding the Soviet Union from exercising influence. The government in Paris had in fact adopted a policy of collaboration with the Small Entente, the alliance between Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, resulting from three bilateral accords: the defensive alliance with Czechoslovakia and The Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia (14 August 1920), the treaty between Czechoslovakia and Romania (23 April 1921), and that between Romania and the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia (7 June 1921). This collaboration between France and the Small Entente was further strengthened in February 1933 and February 1934 when the Balkan Pact between Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, and Turkey was made. This system of alliances was seen by Mussolini as an indication of a markedly anti-Italian attitude. In the eastern Mediterranean the ceding of Alexandria in Egypt to Turkey by the French (July 1938) was taken by Italy as a

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demonstration that the Parisian government's intention to include Turkey within the Anglo-French defensive system in the eastern Mediterranean^{IX}.

During the summit at Munich between Italy and Germany on 18 June 1940 Mussolini agreed to the request to present to France for an armistice. This foresaw: the occupation of French territory until Rodano, Corsica, Tunisia, the African port of Djibouti, the military base of Orano in Algeria, Casablanca; the delivery of the naval fleet and airforce, and the dissolution of the alliance with Great Britain. At the end of the Italo-French negotiations, the conditions dictated by the Italians were in fact reduced to the occupation of a few territories along the alpine border, the demilitarization of a 50km strip within metropolitan France and between Libya and the French colonies in Africa, the right of Italy to use the port of Djibouti and the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway in Italian east Africa^X.

Regarding Great Britain, "Perfidious Albion", it was believed that it was the Mediterranean intruder, the real enemy to Italian imperial interests in an area of the Mediterranean where Italy, as emerged in the proceedings of the Grand Council of 1939, aimed for a position of supremacy. According to Mussolini the presence of Great Britain in the Mediterranean served to consolidate its economic power at the cost of emerging powers. According to this point of view, Great Britain had always been opposed to the unification of continental Europe under a strong leader, able to call upon a series of alliances with states with whom it had assured the maintenance of the status quo so as to block the emergence of powers that could undermine its leadership^{XI}. The control of Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus were for purely strategic reasons: the English presence on those strongholds was instrumental to control of the Mediterranean basin. Even the annexation of Malta to Italy could have created a critical faultline in the efficient British imperial system.

Corsica and Malta in the Journal «Geopolitica»

In the celebrated study *Intellettuali militanti e intellettuali funzionari. Appunti sulla cultura fascista* Mario Isnenghi says of the relationship between geography and politics: «the field of geographical studies, it appears, is after all, by tradition, one of the most susceptible to the political currents of the day and reactionary through its assistance and legitimation of the expansion of the state, be it ethnic and risorgimental, or colonial and imperial^{XII}.

The geographical determinism of Friedrich Ratzel, his theory of Lebensraum (Living Space) expressed in the 1897 article *Politische Geographie* (Political Geography), found a new lease of life thanks to the contribution of Rudolf Kjellén, Swedish geographer, considered the father of geopolitics, who in 1916 used the term for the first time in the work *Staten som Lifsförm* (the State as a Form of Life). In the interwar years political geography became a «codification of state power»^{XIII}. At the end of the thirties, in the phase during which Mussolini gave full vent to territorial claims to the Mediterranean basin, political geography spread and acquired greater weight. Italian geographers fully embraced the Lebensraum theory, and on official occasions, such as in conferences and in editorial offices, pushed studies in a direction that presented Italy in new clothes, as having a prominent position with respect to other states by virtue of her imperial Roman legacy.^{XIV}

As Marco Antonisch demonstrated, a geopolitical conception of «roman-mediterranean» arose, based on the Roman imperial model, that represented a system able to efficiently organize subject territories to prevent internal divisions of the communities that

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comprised the Roman Empire; this was contrasted with a «nordic» geopolitics founded on the concept of «state-patrimony» and on the logic of expansion to gain the greatest amount of territory possible, without organizing the populations in an organic way. Antonish observed «the same affirmation of the existence of a particular "Roman race" from the perfect fusion of dolichocephalic-mediterranean and brachycephalic-aryan elements ended up justifying the hegemonic role of Italians within their Lebensraum and gave them particular prestige with respect to allied "aryans"»^{XV}.

1939 saw, at the initiative of Triestine geographers Ernesto Massi and Giorgio Roletto, the first edition of the monthly «Geopolitica», which ran until 1942^{XVI}. Numerous scholars from the academic world contributed, principally geographers and economists, but also military officers who presided over geographic institutions such as la Reale Società Geografica or l'Istituto geografico militare^{XVII}. The declared objective of «Geopolitica» was to interpret geography not merely as a discipline centred on the physical aspects of a territory, but as a subject strictly connected to the actions of man on the environment. Fascism wanted to make geography «the scientific arm for the justification of its imperial tendencies»^{XVIII}.

A nationalist and imperialist orientation was the distinctive trait of geographers serving the propagandistic needs of the regime. The founders of the journal took inspiration from a school of thought that developed within the geopolitical school in Munich, taking as their model the «Zeitschrift für Geopolitik» (Journal of Geopolitics), founded in 1924, and managed by general Karl Haushofer. The dogmatism and strong racism expressed in Haushofer's journal was almost entirely reproduced.

The journal «Geopolitica» repeatedly affirmed the Italianity of the irredente: Nice, Savoy, Malta, and Corsica, and denounced the denationalisation by "foreign powers" of the Italian residents of the Canton of Ticino or Tunisia. Particularly engaged in stating the Italian claims on the irredente of the Mediterranean basin was Gino Bottiglioni^{XIX}. Professor of glottology at the University of Bologna^{XX} and member of the scientific committee of «Geopolitica», Bottiglioni wrote an article entitled *Italiani in dominio straniero (Italians in Foreign Dominions)* which appeared in «Geopolitica» in 1941^{XXI}. Bottiglioni must also be largely credited with l'*Atlante Linguistico della Corsica*^{XXII}, an imposing scientific publication which pursued the objective - deemed essential for irredentist propaganda - of demonstrating how the Corsican dialect belonged to the family of Italian dialects.

With this work Bottiglioni intended to back up the fascist declarations inclined to demonstrate the Italianity of Corsica. It comes as no surprise that l'*Atlante Linguistico della Corsica* was the beneficiary of subsidies from the Consorzio Universitario di Cagliari, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that of National Education, each of which contributed 140 000 lire. Bottiglioni started the work in 1933 - with the intention of publishing ten volumes and over 2000 tables - to produce «a precious document of Italianity intended to demonstrate how the idiomatic origins of Corsican are closely related to those of Tuscan, Sardinian, and Sicilian»^{XXIII}. During his lectures Bottiglioni went to great pains to demonstrate scientifically how the Corsican dialect was nothing other than an ancient Italian dialect. For example on the 20 December he gave a lecture at the Società Geografica Italiana on the theme of the ethno-linguistic relationship of Corsican with the principal Tyrrhenian islands. He responded to the invitation from the secretary of la Società geografica italiana, Enrico de Agostini:

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I am delighted to accept your invitation to present a lecture about Corsica from a geo-linguistic point of view and will happily set a date with the secretary. The theme could be this: The geographic position of Corsica and its ethno-linguistic relationship with the Italian peninsula and with the other major Tyrrhenian islands. The lecture would demonstrate how the geographic nexus that exists between Corsica and the Tuscan archipelago on the one hand, and Corsica and Sardinia on the other, has done much to create insoluble ethno-linguistic connections which bind our island to the peninsula^{XXIV}.

As proof of the interest by fascists in the scientific work undertaken by Bottiglioni it is worth underlining how Enrico de Agostini took the trouble to report the summary of the lecture to the editors of «Tribuna», «Giornale d'Italia», «Messaggero» and «Azione coloniale» so that they would be predisposed to publish it.

The speaker, positing that the return of Corsica to the maternal fold will make it for us still more necessary to have a perfect knowledge of the island, of its history, and of its particular character of authentic Italianity, went on to describe the environment in which the first Corsicans found themselves. This, from a neogenic, geological, and geographical point of view was and is intimately connected with that of the two other large Tyrrhenian islands and the Italian peninsula [...] Also the life of Corsicans is marked by this pure Tuscanism, beneath which appear elements that reconnect the island to nearby Sardinia. A series of appropriate extracts taken from the Atlante Linguistico- Etnografico of Bottiglioni give the concrete proof for this assertion; therefore it can be concluded that Sardinia, on the one hand, and Tuscany, on the other, are the two zones of reference to which those who want to understand, in intimate detail, the life and spirit of the Corsicans, should turn. But at this point the speaker felt duty-bound to examine a third ethnic element that in some way recently spread to Corsica, the French element. This however, far from penetrating, has remained superficial and is limited to a lexical invasion which has not had the slightest impact on the essential character of the Corsicans under discussion^{XXV}.

Corsica and Malta in the Guides to Italy of the Touring Club Italiano

Among the cultural organisations who put themselves at the service of imperialist and expansionist Italian fascist interests was Touring Club Italiano^{XXVI}, a cultural institution that had the goal of scientific divulgation within the ambit of geography. Although it was founded as a sporting club in 1894, it became progressively a body aimed at «popularizing the geography of our home nation, even while the drive to colonialism became more imperious, or interest in the "lands redeemed" or to redeem, that it to annex to Italy^{XXVII}, intensified. In particular, la Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, in twenty volumes, on which work begun in 1912 at the initiative of Luigi Vittorio Bertarelli, contributed to a diffusion of geographic information for the purposes of tourism. As Costantino Caldo observed «at the outset harking back to European models, English and German (its guides took inspiration from the famous Baedeker), [il Touring Club Italiano] was above all oriented towards the middle classes of northern Italy, where at the start of the 1900s there was a growing desire to travel and discover, crowning with cultural gratification, a state that had come of age.^{XXVIII} In the guide to Italy, Corsica and Malta were integrated. The guide of Touring Club Italiano

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“The roads of Italy and of the world” entitled *La Sicilia e isole minori (Sicily and the smaller islands)*, included Malta among the Italian islands off Sicily, along with the Aegadian and Pelagic islands. Benvenuto Cellini, founder and director of the irredentist journal «Archivio Storico di Malta» between 1929 and 1935, wrote a eulogizing review of the guide. In his opinion the choice of Touring Club Italiano to present Malta as a Sicilian island was quite legitimate, given that the Maltese islands were an integral part of the Italian territory in virtue of the historic ties and ethnography that linked them to the Kingdom of Italy: «in the second edition of this excellent guide of Sicily by Touring, rightly added are the Maltese islands, which are indissolubly linked by geography, history, and ethnography, and which today, for transitory political reasons, some seek in vain to devalue»^{XXIX}. Following the same logic, the guide to Italy of Touring Club Italiano dedicated to Sardinia, also included Corsica. In this case it even consisted of a single guide dedicated to two islands, to the two «twin islands»: Corsica and Sardinia. That, according to the authors of the volume, should come as no surprise to the readers as since the 1800s, when «Corsica was part of those regions enveloped by the "principle of nationality", which already had its theorists and believers, and which settled the matter, [...] in the Italian geographical map, Corsica, alongside its sister, Sardinia, had not been left out»^{XXX}.

Conclusion

Fascist policies towards the irredente, Corsica and Malta in particular, find their fullest expression at the rhetorical level, as seen in the journal «Geopolitica» and the Guida d'Italia of Touring Club Italiano. Nonetheless, fascist geopolitics remained theoretical. They are not matched by a practical plan of annexation, which, along with Cyprus, Tunisia, Gibraltar, and Suez, as Mussolini on occasion reiterated before the Grand Council, were the keys to the Mediterranean basin. The motives behind Mussolinian possibilism in foreign policy reside in the ambition to establish a maximal programme that didn't exclude, but that rather implied one or more minimal programmes. As Emilio Gentile observed fascist ideology distinguished itself for its contradictions and open character «in constant evolution in the light of real experience»^{XXXI}. For this Maria Rosaria Quartararo coined the expression «imperialism-realism» which explains the attitude taken by Mussolini on the Maltese question. Quartararo observes:

Undoubtedly Mussolini pursued an imperialist policy, but it was always shaped by constant and vigilant examination of the international situation and the need to preserve, as long as possible, peace in Europe. Therefore imperialism and realism always co-existed within an "open", ductile, elastic, and possibilist, policy framework aimed at "maximal" programmes of expansion, but not disdaining the advancement, even contemporaneously, of varied and numerous "minimal" programmes [...] If territorial expansion was constantly kept on the table, the timeline was open, dependent on the evolution of domestic politics of the countries in question on the one hand, and international affairs on the other. This sustained double note constituted the internal logic and deeper coherence of Mussolinian foreign policy, from whence our definition of "imperialism-realism"^{XXXII}.

The «imperialism-realism» of Mussolini could be extended to Corsica and Malta, seeing that il Duce in both cases although publicly declaring the Italian fascist expansionist

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intentions for the two islands, was aware that the time of annexation would depend on factors inherent to international relations, that involved diverse actors: not only directly interested parties such as France and Great Britain, but also - and above all - the allied Germans who determined the direction of Italian Mussolinian geopolitics.

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^{II} PETRI, Rolf. "The Mediterranean Metaphor in Early Geopolitical Writings", in "History", 101/348, 2016, pp. 671-691.

^{III} G. MONINA, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

^{IV} MAHAN, Alfred Thayer. *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, BOSTON LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, 1928, P. 32.

^V MAHAN, A.T. *The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire*, Sampson Low, Marston, London 1892.

^{VI} MAHAN, A.T. *The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire*, Sampson Low, Marston, London 1892.

^{VII} KNOX, MacGregor. *Mussolini Unleashed, 1939-1941: Politics and Strategy in Fascist Italy's last war*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 39

^{VIII} KNOX, MacGregor. *Mussolini Unleashed, 1939-1941: Politics and Strategy in Fascist Italy's last war*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 40.

^{IX} SINIBALDI, Giulio, *La geopolitica in Italia (1939-1942)*, Limena, Edizioni Webster Srl, 2010, P. 95

^X SINIBALDI, Giulio, *La geopolitica in Italia (1939-1942)*, Limena, Edizioni Webster Srl, 2010, P. 95

^{XI} SINIBALDI, Giulio, *La geopolitica in Italia (1939-1942)*, Limena, Edizioni Webster Srl, 2010, P. 91

^{XII} ISNENGHI, Mario. *Intellettuali militanti e intellettuali funzionari. Appunti sulla cultura fascista*, Torino, 1979, p. 90.

^{XIII} CALDO, Costantino. *Il territorio come dominio. La geografia italiana durante il fascismo*, Napoli, Loffredo Editore, 1982, p. 183.

^{XIV} CALDO, Costantino. *Il territorio come dominio. La geografia italiana durante il fascismo*, Napoli, Loffredo Editore, 1982, p. 184.

^{XV} ANTONISCH, Marco. "La rivista 'Geopolitica' e la sua influenza sulla politica fascista", in "Limes. Rivista italiana di geopolitica", n. 4, P. 275

^{XVI} PERRONE, Andrea, «Mare nostrum e "Geopolitica". Il mito imperiale dei geografi italiani», *Diacronie. Studi di Storia Contemporanea* : "Se creare è definire", 29/03/2016,

^{XVII} CALDO, Costantino. *Il territorio come dominio. La geografia italiana durante il fascismo*, Napoli, Loffredo Editore, 1982, p. 184.

^{XVIII} CALDO, Costantino. *Il territorio come dominio. La geografia italiana durante il fascismo*, Napoli, Loffredo Editore, 1982, p. 185.

^{XIX} *Geopolitica* anno I, n. 2, 28 febbraio 1939, pp. 130-131; Gino Bottiglioni, "La Corsica", in "Geopolitica", anno I, n. 4, 30 aprile 1939, pp. 244-249; Cronache in "Geopolitica", anno IV, n. 11, 30 novembre 1942, p. 521.

^{XX} Gino Bottiglioni was born in 1887 in Apuania, in the province of Carrara. Graduated at the University of Pisa in 1910, student at Scuola Normale di Studi Superiori, he obtained, two years after his degree, a specialization at Istituto di Studi Superiori in Florence. He was professor at University of Cagliari (1927), University of Pavia (1928-1938) and, since 1938, University of Bologna where he held a chair in glottology. His first publication was about the Latin poets in Florence at the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Between 1932 and 1942 he wrote *Atlante linguistico etnografico della Corsica* in ten volumes. This work earned him the solemn praise of Reale Accademia d'Italia and the Royal Prize for Philology and Linguistics (18 June 1940). Member of the Fascio in 1932, he was also member of Istituto di Studi Etruschi, Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Sardegna e per l'Emilia and della Société de Linguistique de Paris. Archivio Natio Corsa, Corrispondenza della Presidenza e della Segreteria generale, b. 21, "Gino Bottiglioni".

^{XXI} Sull' *Atlante Linguistico della Corsica* si veda ASMAE, Gab., 1923-1943, b. 1068.

^{XXII} Sull' *Atlante Linguistico della Corsica* si veda ASMAE, Gab., 1923-1943, b. 1068.

^{XXIII} ASMAE, Gab., 1923-1943, b. 1064, promemoria del Gabinetto "L'azione riservata svolta dal Regime per l'italianità della Corsica", s.d. [preparato per la riunione del Gran Consiglio del 4-5 febbraio 1939].

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^{XXIV} Archivio della Società Geografica Italiana, “amministrativo”, fasc. D CC.2857, lettera di Gino Bottiglioni a Enrico de Agostini, 9 novembre 1940.

^{XXV} Archivio della Società Geografica Italiana, “amministrativo”, fasc. D CC.2857, lettera di Enrico de Agostini alla direzione dei giornali «Tribuna», «Giornale d'Italia», «Messaggero», «Azione coloniale», 20 dicembre 1940.

^{XXVI} BOSWORTH, Richard J., « The Touring Club Italiano and the Nationalization of the Italian Bourgeoisie », in *European History Quartely*, 3/1997, pp. 373-375 ; PIVATO, Stefano, *Il Touring Club Italiano*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2006.

^{XXVII} CALDO, Costantino. *Il territorio come dominio. La geografia italiana durante il fascismo*, Napoli, Loffredo Editore, 1982, p. 32.

^{XXVIII} CALDO, Costantino. *Il territorio come dominio. La geografia italiana durante il fascismo*, Napoli, Loffredo Editore, 1982, pp. 32-33.

^{XXIX} Recensione di Benvenuto Cellini a L.V. Bertarelli (a cura di), *Sicilia e isole minori*, Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1928, in «Archivio Storico di Malta», 1930-1931, p. 45.

^{XXX} BERTARELLI, L.V. (a cura di), *Sardegna e Corsica*, Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1929, p. 343.

^{XXXI} GENTILE, E. *Le origini dell'ideologia fascista (1918-1925)*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1975, p. 240.

^{XXXII} QUARTARARO, M.R. *Roma tra Londra e Berlino. La politica estera fascista dal 1930 al 1940*, Bonacci, Roma, 1980, pp. 33-34.

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