ALDO VERGANO'S IL SOLE SORGE ANCORA / OUTCRY (1946) AS INFLUENCE ON GILLO PONTECORVO

Gillo Pontecorvo, the director of seminal works in political cinema such as the recently re-released La grande strada azzurra/The Wide Blue Road (1957), Kapò (1960), La battaglia di Algeri/Battle of Algiers (1966), Queimada/Burn! (1969), and Ogro/Operation Ogre (1979), has claimed that the film that directly inspired him to become a director was Rossellini's Paisà/Paisan (1946). Rossellini's film obviously appealed to Pontecorvo memories of his heroic experiences in the Italian Resistance in which he actually served as an underground leader in Milan and Turin. However another film, Aldo Vergano's Il sole sorge ancora/Outcry (1946), seems to have had a greater impact on Pontecorvo's cinematic formation as it contains specific approaches to acting, settings, lighting, cinematic style, plot lines and characterization that recur throughout Pontecorvo's films.

Although well known in Italy as one of the standard bearers of the neorealist style, Vergano's 1946 film never enjoyed wide public or critical recognition abroad, particularly in comparison to more renowned neorealist films of the same period. Perhaps because of its uncompromisingly rhetorical tone, the film is largely unknown outside Italy despite the fact that it served as a training ground for many influential Italian filmmakers of the post war period. Future directors Carlo Lizzani Giuseppe DeSantis and film critic Guido Aristarco received a writing credit and Pontecorvo appeared in a small part as the resistance fighter Pietro. This paper will examine the manner in which Vergano adapted themes from his experiences in the Italian professional cinema of the 1930s and early 40s in *Il sole sorge ancora* and how that influence would carry on in the rise and decline of the output of Pontecorvo, who later became a central figure in world political cinema.

Based in Milan and partly funded in part by an ex-partisan veteran association, the ANPI (Associazione Nationale Partigiana Italiana), *Il sole sorge ancora* depicts the moral, social, and political impetus for the partisan movement and featured direct input from active participants in the resistance, including Pontecorvo. The producers' first choice for director was Goffredo Alessandrini, later discarded because of his reputation as a fascist era filmmaker. (Faldini 120) Alessandrini's last film before the war, *Abuna Messias vendetta africana/Cardinal Messias* won the Mussolini Cup for

best Italian film at the Venice film festival in 1940. Vergano was chosen because his political inclinations would better reflect those of the ex-partisan organization producing the film. Despite his progressive politics, Vergano had been able to find work in the prewar Italian film industry as his family and educational background proved extremely valuable in his dealings with the regime. Important figures in the regime such as culture czar Luigi Freddi and Mussolini's doomed son-in-law Galeazzo Ciano were aware of Vergano's political leanings and yet tolerated his presence in the Italian film industry for apparently personal reasons. (Faldini 24)

Vergano's first important credit was as screenwriter on Alessandro Blasetti's Sole (1929), the lost classic of the Italian silent period, which depicts fishermen, shepherds, and peasants working courageously on the regime's irrigation and land reclamation projects in the Pontine region south of Rome. Sole was hailed as a rebirth for Italian cinema, especially for its use of non-professional actors and popular themes, a characteristic of the verismo current in Italian literature, which would become a trademark of the neorealist period in the 1940s. Vergano also aided Blasetti on the seminal journal Cinema, founded by Mussolini's son Vittorio, which became a breeding ground for many future directors, including Michelangelo Antonioni and Luchino Visconti. In his critical writings Blasetti praised the style and work of Russian directors such as Eisenstein and Pudovkin and saw their thematic emphasis on heroic collectivity as a model for the revitalization of the Italian film industry. Blasetti's directorial efforts borrowed from Russian cinema with a photographic style and story lines that emphasized the relationship between characters and their natural surroundings.

Vergano also worked as a screenwriter on several films by Goffredo Alessandrini, the director he would supplant on *Il sole sorge ancora*. Alessandrini was best known for his fascist era war films featuring matinee idol Amadeo Nazzari. Vergano was unit manager on Nazzari's debut *Ginevra degli Almieri* (1936), and screenwriter on *Cavalleria* (1936), a Nazzari vehicle that combines a love story and social tensions amidst World War I heroics. Vergano also collaborated on the screenplay of *Don Bosco* (1935) with Alessandrini and Sergio Amidei, later known for his work on Rossellini's *Rome Open City*. In fact it was Vergano who first introduced Rossellini and Amidei. (Faldini 48) Vergano worked with Amidei again on *La notte delle beffe/The Night of Tricks* (1940), another Nazzari vehicle, which

ran into some difficulty with regime censors for its portrayal of social issues and government authorities in the 1859 Kingdom of Naples. Other Vergano credits include Mario Bonnard's *Albero di Adamo/Adam's Tree* (1936), a romantic comedy on they worked with Corrado Alvaro, best known for his novels in the naturalistic *verismo* tradition. Vergano was also co-screenwriter with Cesare Zavattini, best known for his neorealist collaborations with Vittorio De Sica, on *San Giovanni decollato/St. John the Baptist Beheaded* (1940), a Totò vehicle with themes of class tension directed by Amleto Palmieri.

Vergano debuted as director with another screenplay collaboration with Amidei. Pietro Micca (1939), a historical drama about the Piedmontese defense against a French invasion in the early 1700s in which the humble miner Pietro Micca blows himself up in order to deliver Turin. This theme of self-sacrifice and suicide for political reasons would resonate in Il sole sorge ancora as well as in the films of De Santis such as Caccia tragica/Bitter Hunt (1946) and in the political films of Gillo Pontecorvo Kapò (1960), La battaglia di Algeri/Battle of Algiers (1966), and Queimada/Burn! (1969). Vergano's other prewar directing credits include I figli della notte/Los hijos de la noche (1939) with Spanish director Benito Perojo, and Quelli della montagna (1943) another Amadeo Nazzari vehicle in which Vergano worked with Blasetti on the screenplay that mixes elements of sentimental drama with the propaganda film by glorifying the exploits of the Italian Alpine mountain troops. The conclusion to be drawn from Vergano's prewar filmography is that by the time he directed Il sole sorge ancora in the winter of 1945-46, he was a seasoned professional in the Italian cinema like his colleagues Rossellini and De Sica, who later gained international fame as neorealist icons.

The style and even the subject matter of Vergano's early films carry over into Il sole sorge ancora. The storylines recall the emphasis on collective efforts and love triangles as in Blasetti's Sole, the political suicide in Pietro Micca, the forced heroism of Amadeo Nazzari vehicles. Besides the influence on Vergano from Blasetti, Il sole sorge ancora also benefited from Aldo Tonti's cinematography. Tonti, like Vergano, had worked in the prewar Italian professional cinema in films such as Alessandrini's Abuna Messias, Visconti's Ossessione/Obsession (1943), and De Sica's wartime film La porta del cielo/The Gate of Heaven (1946). In each of these films Tonti overcame conditions that would presage the methods and stylistic

necessities of neorealism. For example, Abuna Messias was shot on location in the Cobbù plain and Cercer mountain chain in Ethiopia. Ossessione (1943) is often cited as the first neorealist film not only because of the subject matter but also because of the unadorned quality of its photography. Filming on La porta del cielo took place under precarious conditions in Nazi occupied Rome. Under Tonti's influence Il sole sorge ancora has a rough newsreel quality that would become a neorealist common place and was adopted as a cinematic style by Pontecorvo. Pontecorvo's early documentaries Missione Timiriazev (1953), about a flood on the Po river, Cani dietro le sbarre (1954) about dog kennels in Rome, Pane e zolfo (1956) about the closing of sulfur mines; were made in the style and influence of neorealism which favored a stark, unadorned cinematography. This style would carry over into Pontecorvo's features such as Giovanna (1956) and especially in Battle of Algiers (1966), which actually had to be advertised as a film that did not use newsreel footage. Audiences assumed it was a documentary film because of Pontecorvo's mimicry of a documentary style.

For the female lead in *Il sole sorge ancora* the producers contacted Clara Calamai, who had worked with Vergano on Pietro Micca and with Visconti on Ossessione. However she declined in order to star in Camerini's undervalued Due letter anonime/Two Anonymous Letters (1945), repeating the unfortunate choice she made when she declined to appear in Rome Open City. Nevertheless, the cast did have experience in the cinema. Elli Parvo (Matilde) had been the female lead in Rossellini and Pagilero's Desiderio/-Women (1946). Vittorio Duse (Cesare) had a brief role in Visconti's Ossessione (1943). Carlo Lizzani (Don Camillo) would become a director whose credits would include L'oro di Roma/The Gold of Rome (1961) and Mussolini ultimo atto/The Last Days of Mussolini (1974). Tonino, the servant of the count, is played by Giuseppe De Sanctis, another future director whose credits would include Caccia tragica/Bitter Hunt (1946) and Riso amaro/Bitter Rice (1949). Pontecorvo plays Pietro, the courageous but doomed partisan. Vergano himself plays a railway worker. The rest of the cast was taken from acquaintances and non professionals in the neorealist style. Filming began in the winter of 1945-46 on location in the Po valley where the memory of the resistance was extremely fresh. (Faldini 120)

The film opens with a sequence set in a bordello filled with Italian soldiers on leave surprised by the radio announcement of the Italian monarchy's September 8, 1943 decision to switch to the Allied side in the war. A

German dragnet for Italian soldiers who have abandoned their army units follows. The protagonist, Cesare, is an Italian soldier who has just enjoyed the services of Mariska, a prostitute who invites him to remain despite the commotion caused by his panicking comrades. With this scene the film clearly annunciates the opinion that on September 8th the Italian army was caught with its pants down. This refers not just to the mismanagement of the war by the regime, but also in the confusion that followed the Italian King's decision to switch to the Allied side, arrest Mussolini, set up a government in Brindisi, and assign World War I hero General Badoglio with the task of joining royalist troops with the other anti-fascist political and military factions of the CLN (Commitato per la Liberazione Nazionale).

In this opening bordello scene the film makes an initial equation between illicit sex and defeat, an impression reinforced further when Cesare abandons his army unit and returns home to the Po valley as a civilian. At home Cesare encounters two possible love interests who offer opposing models of womanhood. His childhood sweetheart Laura, a name that recalls the literary topos of the angelic woman, is identified with moral rectitude. Throughout the film she is depicted carrying children at the hearth as a traditional female representing the home and family values. In contrast, Matilde is the emancipated wife of the local factory owner. She drinks, smokes, listens to jazz, has a semi-lesbian relationship with her cousin and keeps a male personal trainer, Spartaco, who poses for her to paint his abstract portrait. The Matilde character is very much in the tradition of the telefono bianco romantic comedy developed in the 1930s and 40s in films such as Bonnard's *Io suo padre* (1938), in which a young boxer is tempted by a fatalona (femme fatale) played by Clara Calamai. Vergano would have been practiced in the commonplaces surrounding the fatalona stock character as he had worked with Bonnard on the comedy L'albero d'Adamo (1936). Vergano had also learned how to imbue dramas with elements of sentimentality from his experience on Blasetti's Sole as well as Amadeo Nazzari vehicles such as Quelli della montagna or Cavalleria, two war films in which the protagonists overcome amorous disappointments through heroism on the battlefield.

With its moralistic representation of sexuality unsanctioned by marriage, *Il sole sorge ancora* followed a current in Italian films such as *Il Signor max* (1937), Quattro passi fra le nuvole/Four Steps in the Clouds (1942), I bambini ci guardano/The Children are Watching Us (1943), Cam-

po de' fiori/Peddeler and the Lady (1943), Ossessione (1943), and La Porta del cielo (1945), where unsanctioned sex leads directly to personal suffering, a theme that would continue in the postwar and neorealist period. The difference is that during the Italian professional cinema of the 1930s and early '40s, the fatalona indulges in immoral, foreign pastimes that are an anti-Italian cultural threat. For example, in Camerini's Il signor Max, Donna Paolo speaks English, plays bridge and brags about having visited New York to see the latest Clark Gable movie. She bewitches Gianni, a humble newspaper kiosk owner who pretends to belong to the extra-national leisure class in order to court her. In the post-war Il sole sorge ancora Matilde's interest in jazz, modern art, and sexual license no longer threatens the fascist regime's ideals of Italian national and racial culture, but rather, the new standards of virtue in a post fascist world based upon collective struggle.

In Vergano's film displays of physicality, alternative sexuality and hedonism indicate economic selfishness and political arrogance. The lesbian references of the Matilde character in *Il sole sorge ancora* recall similar themes developed by Rossellini and Amidei in the character of the Nazi agent Ingrid in *Rome Open City*. In *Il sole sorge ancora* the Nazi officer Major Heinrich is equated with semi-pagan ideals of physical beauty of fascist culture. He is introduced doing bodybuilding exercises and vaunting his prowess as a lover. The other German officers, like the upper class residents of the count's villa, distract themselves with sex and drink. At one point Heinrich even states that he wants a pagan themed party with a pig roast meat sacrifice where he can play the part of the sun god Apollo. The equation of hedonism with fascism and oppression would become a commonplace in cinematic depictions from *Rome Open City* to Cavani's *Il portiere della notte/The Night Porter* (1974).

In contrast, modesty in *Il sole sorge ancora*, as embodied by the traditional female figure Laura, represents the values of self-sacrifice, collectivity and solidarity of a reassembled Italian left. This high moral ground extends to lifestyle differences between rich and poor and is indicative of the Marxist ideological influences working within the film. For example, Cesare is the son of an overseer who has been able to obtain a middle ground between the working and landowning classes. Cesare is torn between his sense of moral indignation at class inequalities and his father's advice to work in the foundry and accumulate wealth. To emphasize Cesare's dilemma the film constantly shifts between scenes contrasting the land-

owner's mansion with the humility and poverty of Laura and her comrades. In Matilde's luxurious house, guests listen to music, drink and dance in contrast to Laura's sparse room filled with hungry children. The ultimate symbol of the artificial comfort and waste of the upper class is Matilde's greenhouse, which she uses as a *locus amoenis* to seduce Cesare. Cesare's need to choose between the immediate sexual and financial satisfaction offered by Matilde and the high road of self-sacrifice represented by Laura parallels the decision he must take regarding his political stance in the civil war between Nazi/fascists or partisans. Vergano's film presents this dilemma in terms of personal and family relationships. Characters like Laura and Matilde provide a parallel between the personal and ideological choices that provide the framework for the entire film.

Pontecorvo would repeat many of these themes about the political or economic valence of sexuality in his films. In Kapò Edith suffers the humiliation of unsuccessfully trading her virginity to an SS officer for food. In a memorable scene in Battle of Algiers Algeria women cosmetically enhance their western physiognomy in order to pass the checkpoints out of the Kasbah and plant bombs in the French quarter. In Burn! Walker makes a crude parallel between marriage/slavery and prostitution/wage earning in order to convince the island's sugar barons to abolish slavery on economic rather than on strictly moral grounds. Like Vergano, Pontecorvo relied on plots in which a character struggles between short-term economic advantages and conscience in many of his later features. For example, in Giovanna (1956). the female protagonist struggles with her husband's opposition to her decision to partake in a textile factory strike. In La grande strada azzurra/The Wide Blue Road (1957), Squarciò must choose between the short run economic benefits to his family of dynamite fishing and his responsibility to the fisherman collective.

Pontecorvo's ability to convincingly present both sides of a story in his films has much in common with the plot mechanisms present in Vergano's film. In the scenes of *Il sole sorge ancora* there is a final uprising of popular revolt and liberation. The factory owner's wife, Matilde, stands recklessly in front of a window exposing herself to the crossfire that results in her death, a *de facto* suicide that functions as an attempt to reclaim her honor and conscience. Like Vergano, Pontecorvo's films also emphasize the human aspect of choices made by antagonists. In *Kapò* Edith, the Jewish girl turned Kapò sacrifices herself to a guard's bullet so that the other prisoners

may escape. In *Battle of Algiers* Colonel Mathieu remarks about the irony of finding himself fighting a popular resistance since his first military experiences were in the anti-Nazi resistance. In *Burn!* Walker is torn between his sense of personal identification with the rebel leader Jose Dolores and his conclusion that Dolores's goals are impractical and unobtainable.

Another element in Vergano's film, which Pontecorvo expanded upon, is the idea of a power, even nobility in ignorance and the importance of using non professional actors to remove any sense of artifice from the production. Pontecorvo would rely on the neorealist practice of casting nonprofessional actors whenever possible. For example, Ali le Point in Battle of Algiers and Jose Dolores in Burn! were both played by non-professionals, Brahim Haggiag and Evaristo Marquez respectively, who Pontecorvo discovered while scouting locations. For Burn! Pontecorvo went to great lengths to oppose studio attempts to cast Sidney Poitier as Jose Dolores opposite Marlon Brando's Walker. Pontecorvo foolishly refused the direction and a writing credit for Mr. Klein (1976) because of the decision to casting matinee idol Alain Delon in the starring role. One of Pontecorvo's unfinished projects in the 1980s was a version of the life of Jesus never completed because Pontecorvo, true to his experiences under Vergano and the neorealist school, stubbornly refused to submit to producer's requests to cast a professional actor in the title role.

Pontecorvo's intransigence about non-professional actors is actually quite ironic since many neorealist films made abundant use of professional actors. The female lead in Il sole sorge ancora had first been offered to Clara Calamai, one the most successful professional actresses in the Italian professional cinema of the late 1930s and early '40s. The neorealist classic Rome Open City featured Anna Magnani and Aldo Fabrizi, professional actors who had even appeared together in a Bonnard romantic comedy, Campo de' fiori (1943). Other neorealist directors like Visconti and De Sica were somewhat more rigorous in their use of non-professionals during neorealism's heroic period such as De Sica's Ladri di biciclette/The Bicycle Thief (1948) or Visconti's La terra trema (1948). However the level of their professional preparation in the theater allowed these directors to use nonprofessionals in a manner that made up for an actor's lack of preparation or experience. The reality of the non-professional ideal was that any inconsistency in performance could be fixed in post-production since Italian films were done with post-synchronous sound. Non-professionals were simply more malleable to the improvisational approach that neorealist directors favored. Pontecorvo took this heritage to heart in the legendary confrontations with Marlon Brando on the set of *Burn!*, pitting neorealist improvisation against method acting.

Related to this idea of the nobility of ignorance is the depiction of suffering children as a means to elicit emotional reaction. In Il sole sorge ancora the angelic love interest Laura leads a funeral procession of a child, in another scene a child is killed in crossfire. Vergano also displays the sort of clandestine tactic typical of popular resistance movements that mobilized the least suspect, even children, for a political cause. For example, in Il sole sorge ancora the priest asks the boys to count the numbers of Nazi soldiers arriving to enforce the occupation. Of course, the use of children as an emotional ploy in Italian film was not original to Vergano or the neorealist period. Dependence on innocent characters and children in particular seems to be a universal trend in Italian film from Pastrone's Cabiria (1914) to Benigni's La vita è bella (1997). Pontecorvo continued this technique in films. In La grande strada azzurra Squarciò's small sons witness his final agony. In Kapò Edith is an innocent girl ignorant of the cruelties and suffering of the world before deportation. Montages abound of reaction shots from young children in Battle of Algiers and especially in Burn!, such as the scene in which Jose Dolores holds up a naked infant during the popular celebration of his army's arrival and taking of power. In Ogro a young girl recognizes the terrorists as Basques, providing a rare moment of tenderness in the film.

Vergano's *Il sole sorge ancora* also develops a black market theme which was a constant in neorealist films. In *Il sole sorge ancora* black market themes are first presented with the character of Cesare's brother Mario who is finally hunted down and killed by angry townsfolk when the fascists begin to lose power. The depiction of Mario's lynching reveals Vergano's debt to Blasetti's interest in Russian cinema. When Mario is confronted by the townsfolk there is a montage of reactions shots from the townsfolk including a breastfeeding mother, a group of elderly woman, and a farmer on horse back as the representatives of the collective rage that will culminate in Mario's death. The theme of black marketeering is also shown from the opposing side when Pietro, played by Pontecorvo, leads the partisans in the theft of trucks and then distributes the stolen flour among the people.

Another key element in Vergano's film later repeated by Pontecorvo is political self-sacrifice and suicide, the negation or the withdrawal from life in order to satisfy a political aim. In Il sole sorge ancora the dual sacrifice of the communist resistance fighter Pietro and the Catholic priest Don Camillo represent the two main forces in the anti-Nazi/fascist coalition that formed the resistance, another commonplace of neorealism. Vergano adopts a curious mixture of Christian iconography to portray the sacrifice of the two ideological pillars of the anti-fascist resistance. Heinrich, the Nazi major, has the prisoners tied to posts and then parades as if in a chariot using their bodies for target practice. The staging recalls martyrdom scenes in Guazzoni's silent classic Quo Vadis (1913), later remade by Mervyn LeRoy in 1951, in which Christians were martyred in the arena under the eyes of the emperor Nero. The equation of Heinrich with Apollo/Nero and his epicurean wine and sex romps extends to the scene in which Don Camillo and Pietro are captured and the populace gathers to witness their execution. As Don Camillo walks through the crowd to his execution, he leads the surrounding crowd in a crescendo recitation of Ora pro nobis until the culminating moment when he and Pietro are shot, and fall on top of one another to form a cross. (Mereghetti 1701) Vergano's heavy use of cross cutting and reaction shots again recalls the lessons of Russian cinema that Vergano learned from Blasetti with an extended montage of reaction shots. By presenting the priest and partisan among a montage of reaction shots of the populace Vergano extends Catholic imagery of martyrdom to the priest's ideological counterpart, the communist resistance fighter Pietro, played by Pontecorvo.

Plots that elevated self-sacrifice and violence for political ends are another common thread between Vergano and Pontecorvo. Vergano developed these themes in *Pietro Micca* and *Il sole sorge ancora*. Like Vergano's heroes, Pontecorvo's protagonists (*Squarciò* in *Grande strada azzurra*, Edith in *Kapò*, Ali Le Point in *Battaglia di Algeri*, Jose Dolores in *Burn!*) also face their end with a spirit of intransigence and certainty. Before being shot Pontecorvo's character in *Il sole sorge ancora*, Piero, spits at the Nazi conducting the execution, a sequence that recalls Jose Dolores spitting in Walker's face in *Burn!*. For the depiction of the self-sacrifice of his protagonists, Squarciò, Edith, Ali le Point, and Jose Dolores, Pontecorvo developed an iconography of martyrdom relying heavily on sacred music and Russian style choral montages of reaction shots from non-professionals.

Ironically the depiction of ideologically driven violence and self-sacrifice would be cause of Pontecorvo's retreat from filmmaking. The planned release of Pontecorvo's last feature film, Ogro, coincided with the kidnapping/murder of former Italian premier Aldo Moro by the Red Brigade communist terrorist. Because of the popular opposition to terrorism following Moro's murder, a sentiment shared by Pontecorvo, Ogro was re-written and re-shot to include a coda critical of terrorism. The films ends with a flash forward to the hospital deathbed of one of Blanco's assassins who asks his comrades to confirm the idea that terrorism is just form of political struggle, but they refuse. Reeling from the backlash of the Moro murder, Pontecorvo re-wrote the ending of Ogro in order to condemn acts of terrorism carried out within a country that had democratic or republican institutions, as would be the case in post-Franco Spain. (Levantesi 34) The idea of ideologically driven violent struggle simply lost currency in Italy after the terrorist period of the 1970s culminating in the murder of Moro. In fact Ogro would prove to be Pontecorvo's last feature film. The projects that Pontecorvo did manage to complete after 1978 were more limited documentaries and shorts that demonstrate a spirit of resignation. In the documentary Ritorno in Algeri/-Return to Algiers (1992), an aging Pontecorvo (1919-) returns to Algiers to as a journalist to witness that country's civil war. Pontecorvo interviews angry Islamists who simply see him as another westerner. In the short film Danza della fata confetto Nostalgia di protezione (1997), a grown man yearns for the security he experienced as a child protected by his mother. These last efforts from Pontecorvo are witness to the increasing level of insecurity and self-doubt that began with Ogro. Pontecorvo's indecision about his projects after Ogro reveals the moral dilemma of trying to classify diverse violent struggles as terrorism or freedom fighting, which depends on political and cultural prejudices as well as moral and economic factors. After Ogro, Pontecorvo simply lost the ideological certainty about armed struggle and self-sacrifice that had been the defining feature of Il sole sorge ancora.

In sum, Pontecorvo's films have too much in common with Vergano's *Il sole sorge ancora* for the connection to be casual. His appearance as the resistance martyr Pietro, as well as that of Lizzani and the other future directors may have been because the film's ex-partisan producers lacked funds to hire actors. However the style and thematic elements of *Il sole sorge ancora* resonate deeply and repeatedly in Pontecorvo's later features.

Pontecorvo's experiences and participation in *Il sole sorge ancora* seem to be the germ, the foundation, the source of the cinematic vision that he transferred to the historical settings in his films: the Holocaust, the Algerian revolt against France, the colonial and post-colonial process, and the Basque terrorist movement.

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