

borhoods. The inability of the local police force to bring the city under control forced the government to call in the army, which employed tanks and machine guns first to repel efforts by workers to occupy the center of the city and then to restore order in the periphery. The city did not return to normal until the last few days of August and then only at the price of fifty deaths, hundreds of wounded, and more than 800 arrests. The Turin insurrection not only marked the high point of wartime revolutionary unrest, but was one of the most violent labor conflicts in Italian history.

The events of August 1917 further polarized social relations and political life in the city during the last year of the war. While the anti-war cause enjoyed strong support within the working classes and the Socialist party, it aroused little enthusiasm among the local middle classes. They responded instead to patriotic appeals and nationalist initiatives especially after the military disaster of Caporetto in the fall of 1917, when the Austrians occupied most of the region of Veneto and took 300,000 Italian soldiers as prisoners. In the wake of the worker insurrection and Caporetto, prominent conservative leaders in Turin founded the National Alliance, which joined with a number of other nationalist groups and *La Gazzetta del Popolo* to mobilize support for the war effort and against the supposed defeatism and treasonous subversion of the "internal enemies" on the socialist left. These pro-war groups made their presence felt in the city by organizing and promoting public participation in a series of patriotic events such as the ceremony of the "oath for victory" in the summer of 1918.

The return of peace late in the fall of 1918 did not put an end to the political conflict in Turin. Indeed, the divergent responses of the right and left to news of the armistice ending World War I revealed the deep-seated political and social divisions within the city. Nationalists and interventionists dominated the first victory celebrations in the Piedmontese capital at the beginning of November. Predictably, their rallies glorified patriotic values and paid homage to the monarchy, army, and the idea of territorial expansion of the victorious Italian nation. A very different sort of celebration took place the following day, when thousands of workers from the periphery marched to the center of the city to express their joy over the end of hostilities, but also to show their support for a "people's peace", the communist revolution in Russia, amnesty for political prisoners, and an immediate end to military discipline in the industry. Union and socialist party leaders also used the rallies to advance an ambitious post-war agenda of labor reforms that included the eight-hour day and management's recognition of workers councils in in-