1975

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ACC

10000 | 32 | 299

530

Political

Nov 1943

1876

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10000 | :32 | 299

530

Political, Internal Parties

Nov 1943 - June 1949

1877

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L'ALLEANZA [illegible] CON LA [illegible] TA IN LETTERE [illegible] LIBRO DELLA STORIA [illegible] TURA.

ONORE

MUSSOLINI [illegible] TAGIATO [illegible] VERAMENTE [illegible] CONTARE.

ORGANO DEL FASCIO REPUBBLICANO CLANDESTINO DI ROMA

ANNO I - NUMERO 1 — 13 GENNAIO 1945 XXIII

Se dubitassimo della nostra vittoria dovremmo [illegible] ciò sarebbe estremamente grave [illegible] Colui che regola secondo giustizia le sorti degli uomini.

Mussolini

SALUTO

«ONORE» [illegible]

[illegible]

W IL FASCISMO — W IL DUCE
W LA REPUBBLICA SOCIALE ITALIANA

Lo scritto di un fantasma

Nel recente tutti i fortunati [illegible] DUCE al [illegible] di Milano, hanno potuto [illegible]

Mussolini al «Lirico» di Milano per [illegible] di fede.

A noi sarebbe molto facile [illegible]

[illegible]

Ma possiamo oltre. Secondo [illegible]

Ha poi pensato Don Chi[illegible]

[illegible] l'Inghilterra si [illegible] dell'Europa da una parte e la conservazione o conquista dei mercati e sociali dell'altro.

[illegible]

Possedendo la [illegible]

[illegible] Don Chiurchie.

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[illegible] della Repubblica e dell'Italia.

BAFF

Il forte è più potente quando è solo

Non si [illegible] che tutto ciò che è realmente grande in questo mondo non fu [illegible] a coalizioni, ma costituì sempre il successo di un solo vincitore. [illegible] di coalizioni portano già, germe alla loro origine, il germe [illegible]

Le grandi [illegible] che mutarono l'aspetto del mondo si possono [illegible] di singole figure, non mai quali imprese di coalizione.

(HITLER - La mia Battaglia)

UNA STRADA

Una strada: una strada che mena diritto in Paradiso, all'Eden [illegible] Ideali, anche se esso sia soltanto terreno.

E' la strada che viene indicata alla gioventù d'Italia, dell'Italia naturalmente liberata, dai banni del Comitato Nazionale di Liberazione con la costituzione di un'armata "che sia espressione della rinnovata coscienza nazionale, e [illegible] di questa Armata [illegible] dirà l'aspirazione del popolo italiano di contribuire più efficacemente alla liberazione della Patria".

Orsù, giovani di questa Italia, presentatevi compatti alle caserme al canto degli inni di questa vostra Patria: ARMATEVI E PARTITE!

Orsù, non esitate ad indossare la [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

ARMATEVI E PARTITE!

[illegible]

Tornano i prigionieri

I [illegible] tornano. [illegible]

[illegible]

CAMALEONTE

3 Gennaio 1925

[illegible]

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sono quegli stessi che oggi non hanno vergogna di [illegible], [illegible] e [illegible]tanti, onde [illegible] i fasti del disprezzante [illegible], di aver provocata la disfatta di El Alamein, di aver fatto lo sbarco degli alleati e di aver loro [illegible] la [illegible] dallo Stretto a [illegible] E quegli stessi [illegible] grido: ARMATEVI E PARTITE!

Ma essi, i [illegible] del COMITATO DI DISONORE NAZIONALE se ne stanno [illegible], come sempre, a casa, [illegible] sempre, [illegible] onanistica [illegible], all'[illegible] diverse Londra, Parigi, [illegible] ma inglese. E [illegible] sempre quella strada, quella strada che porta al loro Paradiso, all'Eden che essi [illegible] intravedere ed al quale [illegible] gonzi [illegible] dini dell'avventura, quelli delle brigate [illegible] internazionali, quelli delle brigate partigiane......... [illegible] di quel metallo».

Una strada......

Si, una strada, [illegible] di vergogna e di [illegible] per [illegible] ed [illegible] della libertà [illegible] pra [illegible] posizioni.

Una strada......

Si, la strada, forse, [illegible] l'[illegible] fabile Mister Eden [illegible] l'Italia, che ha accettato la resa incondizionata, che ha già avuti tanti aiuti materiali alla maniera ..... [illegible] vuto [illegible] della Corona Savoia [illegible] volta, dobbiamo riconoscerlo, il Foreign Office ha [illegible] alto, l'Italia, che una strada..... Si, una strada, [illegible] nario, una [illegible], una semplice strada che si può [illegible] guare nelle sue [illegible] menti, nelle sue donne......

Dopodichè, [illegible] giovani dell'Italia liberata!

ARMATEVI E PARTITE!

Noi preferiamo una [illegible], in attesa dei fratelli del Nord, per armarci e partire allora, a nostra volta, alla vera guerra di liberazione e morire, se occorre, purchè l'Italia viva.

CALAF

I NOSTRI NEMICI MALEDIRANNO IL GIORNO IN CUI HANNO SCATENATO QUESTA GUERRA. (Hitler)

L'indipendenza dell'Italia [illegible] della Germania, [illegible] integrano [illegible] perchè [illegible] dal nuovo edificio europeo. [illegible]

Come Mussolini va incontro al popolo

Nell'Italia veramente libera, due decreti recentemente emanati, hanno dimostrato ancora una volta quanto grande sia l'amore del Duce per il suo popolo.

Il primo riguarda la trasformazione di tutti i ristoranti e trattorie, a qualunque categoria appartengano, in mense collettive per il popolo; il secondo la requisizione di tutte le aziende [illegible] all'ingrosso. Non più, quindi, grosse [illegible] gente che [illegible] dalle cinquecento alle mille lire a pasto; non più quindi mostruosi arricchimenti a danno dei lavoratori.

[illegible] significato politico e sociale dei due provvedimenti [illegible].

Nell'Italia [illegible], si chiacchiera ed il popolo si consola con la libertà: quella, naturalmente, di morire serenamente di fame.

SOCIALIZZAZIONE

Mentre nell'Italia settentrionale ancora [illegible] dall'oppressore tedesco, la socializzazione delle aziende [illegible] le commissioni di fabbrica hanno già da tempo iniziato il loro lavoro in applicazione del Manifesto programmatico di Verona; [illegible] del Nord si trasformano i ristoranti in mense collettive [illegible] aziende commerciali all'ingrosso; nell'Italia occupata [illegible] e liberatrice di [illegible] comunista e [illegible] di [illegible]

[illegible] pur noi [illegible] Nenni [illegible] dell'Italia [illegible] industriali [illegible] e dei [illegible] della nostra [illegible] di proprietà dei [illegible] mai, di quale socializzazione, ripetiamo, va cianciando Nenni? E quali poteri avrebbero i sindacati operai? Quelli di ordinare [illegible], forse? [illegible] tanto, per quello che son costate le aziende [illegible] che verremmo [illegible] e privati delle stesse [illegible] necessarie alle nostre industrie. Questa e non altra sarebbe la [illegible] tà, [illegible] assassini. Nemmeno il diritto di [illegible] fra i 14 punti dell'[illegible].

Ma il triste in tutto questo non è quello che [illegible] Nenni, nato da madre italiana [illegible] quando parla e scrive [illegible] la democrazia. Tanto a lui, [illegible] passerebbero le stesse [illegible] amici della sezione internazionale di Zurigo e del Partito Laburista Inglese.

Le Fosse Ardeatine

Nei primi mesi della tanto sospirata «liberazione» si è fatto un gran parlare delle Fosse Ardeatine. Si sono [illegible] proposte, si sono [illegible] caduti, si sono [illegible] le loro famiglie etc., ma nessuno ha pensato ad onorare, almeno pubblicamente, l'eccidio di Via Rasella.

Infatti, se non fosse stato tanto [illegible] i [illegible] sarebbero ancora vivi, le famiglie dei [illegible] non [illegible] piangere e la propaganda dell'[illegible] [illegible] avuto un [illegible] te in [illegible] di [illegible].

Occorre quindi [illegible] il compagno Bentivegna si imponga e poichè la «libera» stampa che [illegible] attualmente Roma non ci ha ancora pensato, lanciamo noi l'idea di innalzare un monumento in bronzo [illegible] di Velio Spano quando parla di democrazia e [illegible] politica [illegible]. E sapete dove sarà elevato il monumento? All'ingresso delle cave Ardeatine.

Da oggi sono aperte le sottoscrizioni

20

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IL GIOCO DEI PERCHE'

Democrazia - Plebiscito e Costituente

— Perchè [illegible]

— Perchè [illegible]

— Perchè [illegible]

— Perchè quasi tutti i Partiti vogliono che il problema istituzionale sia risolto dalla Costituente e non col Plebiscito [illegible]

[illegible]

— Quello di vedere [illegible]

MUSSOLINI

5 Giugno 1944

[illegible]

(Da Radio Milano)

Gli Stati aggressori e la morale delle nazioni (cosiddette) unite

[illegible]

La requisizione delle proprietà italiane in Tunisia

Qualche giornale italiano [illegible] ha riportato [illegible] la requisizione delle proprietà italiane in Tunisia da parte dell'[illegible] generale De Gaulle [illegible]

Se Garibaldi fosse ancora fra noi, non potrebbe che ripetere le parole da lui scritte da Caprera il 25 Maggio 18[illegible] ad [illegible]

"...... l'Italia perderà degli schiaffi a Tunisi, come li prenderà dovunque col sistema presente..."

AI NOSTRI CAMERATI E SIMPATIZZANTI

[illegible]

Ascoltate da Radio Milano [illegible]

Ascoltate [illegible]

AVANTI, GIOVENTU D'ITALIA, DOPO IL CALVARIO, SULLA VIA DELLA RISURREZIONE.

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(28)

COMANDO SUPREMO
UFFICIO INFORMAZIONI

29

25 marzo 1944

INTERROGATORIO dei Sottotenenti in S.P.E. Carlo Alberto ALBRIZIO del 2° Rgt. Granatieri di Sardegna e Umberto Paolo GABRIELLI del 9° Rgt. Alpini "Duca".
Partiti da Roma il 29 febbraio 1944 e giunti nelle linee alleate il 10 marzo 1944.

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REPORT "A"

Notizie interessanti

1) - Attività svolta e contatti avuti dai predetti ufficiali.

I due ufficiali cominciarono a prendere contatto con le organizzazioni politiche e patriottiche in Roma al primi di gennaio c.a.

In un primo tempo il S.Ten. Albrizio entrò a far parte di una "cellula" composta da un capitano, un ufficiale subalterno ed un sottufficiale. La "cellula" faceva parte di un'organizzazione comunista-patriottica, costituita in maggioranza di ufficiali e sottufficiali del R.E. nel complesso, secondo l'opinione dell'Albrizio, in questa organizzazione si trovano molte chiacchere e pochi fatti.

In seguito, verso la fine di gennaio, l'Albrizio ebbe l'incarico dall'organizzazione di recarsi nelle Marche per ritirare delle armi e introdurle successivamente a Roma. L'Albrizio partì unitamente a certo capitano MORBELLI e tale GABRIELLI (probabilmente un sottufficiale) i primi di febbraio. Il gruppo si portò ad Ascoli (provincia di Ascoli Piceno) con un autocarro in servizio per conto del Governo Generale, allo scopo apparente di trasportare verdura ed altre derrate a Roma. Giunti ad Ascoli, i tre patrioti ritirarono le armi (incassate) e procurarono un carretto tirato da cavalli, le caricarono sotto un grosso carico di verdura. Lungo la strada di ritorno, rimasero bloccati dalla neve in una capanna al passo delle Capannelle (Gran Sasso); pertanto l'Albrizio ritornò a Roma da solo per chiedere altri finanziamenti all'organizzazione, giacché il cavallo era morto e non vi era la possibilità di far proseguire il carretto a Roma.

A Roma l'Albrizio si incontrò davanti al Caffè Pagano (Piazza S. Maria Maggiore) con un colonnello in borghese, appartenente all'organizzazione, con il quale aveva preso telefonicamente appuntamento. Vennero così forniti all'Albrizio altre 14.000 lire da consegnare al capitano Morbelli per il proseguimento del viaggio verso Roma.

L'Albrizio, che nel frattempo, aveva preso contatto con il S.Ten. GABRIELLI, manifestò al predetto colonnello la loro intenzione di passare le linee, non appena avesse consegnato i denari al Morbelli in Abruzzo. Infatti i due sottotenenti si recarono nella zona del Gran Sasso dove, consegnate le 14.000 lire al Morbelli per completare il carico di verdura e noleggiare il cavallo, si diressero a sud e dopo alcuni giorni nella notte tra il 9 e il 10 marzo passarono le linee.

Durante il loro soggiorno a Roma, sempre occultati nel timore di essere prelevati dalla polizia tedesca o fascista, l'Albrizio ed il Gabrielli ebbero vari contatti con elementi dirigenti delle organizzazioni antifasciste, raccogliendo le seguenti notizie:

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- A Roma esiste in Via Tasso un tribunale di polizia, per il quale fu[illegible] servizio la Guardia Repubblicana, la [illegible]estapò e le "SS". In quest[illegible] quel detto "tribunale" vengono giudicati tutti i sospetti politici.

Secondo dichiarazioni di un tenente dei carabinieri appartenente all'organizzazione patriotica (conosciuto dall'Albrizio e dal Cambelli sotto il nome di "ENRICO"), l'organizzazione stessa avrebbe dei propri elementi intimamente inseriti in detto tribunale e pertanto essa viene a conoscenza di quanto é rivelato dagli arrestati.

Infatti, come hanno potuto effettivamente constatare i due predetti Sottotenenti, più volte gli elementi patriotici nascosti sono stati preavvertiti del loro arresto a cui pertanto riuscivano a sfuggire.

Qualche tempo fa vennero catturati e condotti alla sede del tribunale di polizia : un colonnello dei CC.RR., un capitano CC. RR. della legione di Roma e certo colonnello MONTEZEMOLO.

A quanto riferiva il predetto tenente dei carabinieri "Enrico", il colonnello Montezemolo, in seguito a tortura, aveva parlato ed in conseguenza la polizia nazi-fascista aveva effettuato importanti arresti fra i patrioti (tra cui quelli nella basilica di S.Paolo) e si era impadronita dei cifrari con i quali le organizzazioni patriotiche corrispondevano a mezzo radio clandestine con l'Italia liberata. Sembra che il Montezemolo sia stato successivamente fucilato dai fascisti (notizia che però il tenente "Enrico" avrebbe riferito in modo vago ed impreciso).

Secondo l'opinione del sottotenente Albrizio, le dichiarazioni del tenente "Enrico" vanno accolte con cautela e riserva, poiché quest'ultimo, nonostante dimostrava di essere un fervente patriota e persona decisa, dava però l'impressione di gonfiare ed esagerare le notizie per darsi maggiore importanza.

- A Roma l'organizzazione comunista é molto attiva. Gli elementi che la compongono non sono molti ma decisi e spregiudicati. I dirigenti si servono anche di individui di basso ceto ed anche di fuori legge per compiere atti di sabotaggio. Dell'organizzazione comunista fanno anche parte ufficiali e sottufficiali del Regio Esercito. L'Albrizio ne ha conosciuto uno: il Sottotenente CALPANELLA in spe. carrista, ha frequentato l'84° Corso all'Accademia, abita a Roma. I comunisti dispongono di molto denaro.

Il partito Comunista é l'unico che a Roma svolga palese attività: attentati terroristici contro i tedeschi, scritte murali, diffusione di opuscoli e giornali (durante la notte viene recapitato in molte case il settimanale comunista "La Riscossa").

- A Roma la grande maggioranza della popolazione é nettamente antifascista ed anti-tedesca. Grandi speranze aveva suscitato lo sbarco alleato nella zona di Anzio; viceversa, in seguito all'arresto delle operazioni, é subentrato un profondo scoraggiamento ed un diffuso senso di sfiducia, nei riguardi degli alleati. Inoltre la intensificazione delle perquisizioni, rastrellamenti ed arresti da parte della polizia nazi-fascista, nonché i recenti bombardamenti alleati sulla città hanno maggiormente depresso l'animo delle masse ed indebolito la capacità di resistenza dei patrioti.

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Il comportamento delle truppe germaniche nella città é in complesso corretto. Continuano però frequenti, di giorno e di notte, i rastrellamenti di uomini validi, sia per il reclutamento alle armi (elementi giovani) e sia per le organizzazioni tedesche del lavoro. A queste operazioni partecipano forze di polizia fascista con elementi germanici.

La situazione alimentare, malgrado le difficoltà di trasporto, é ancora tollerabile; i razionamenti sono più o meno regolari.

Nella massa i sentimenti politici prevalenti sono ancora monarchici; severe critiche vengono però rivolte all'attuale Re. Il Governo di Badoglio, peraltro, é sostenuto da buona parte della popolazione, in particolare negli ambienti medi ed elevati.

- A Roma vi sono tuttora nelle organizzazioni patriottiche-monarchiche numerosi elementi CC.RR. della legione di Roma, sfuggiti alla cattura, attualmente nascosti.

All'atto dello sbarco alleato ad Anzio, circa 2000 patrioti composti in maggioranza di ex carabinieri della legione di Roma e di ex militari, hanno occupato una vasta zona dei colli Albani lungo la via Appia (tra Velletri e Valmontone), in attesa del sopraggiungere delle forze anglo-americane.

In seguito all'afflusso delle unità germaniche, i patrioti, rimasti isolati e privi di adeguati mezzi di difesa, nonostante la strenua resistenza sono stati sopraffatti. La maggioranza di essi venne passata per le armi e, a quanto si dice, un forte numero fucilato nella piazza principale di Velletri.

--In Abruzzo, nei centri abitati come nelle campagne, la popolazione vive in uno stato di apatia e di disorientamento. L'azione dei partiti antifascisti non é risentita affatto o quasi. I giovani si professano apolitici, desiderosi soltanto di poter riprendere in tranquillità il proprio lavoro come civili. In genere i sentimenti prevalenti sono monarchici; negli elementi ex militari si esprime però severi giudizi nei riguardi dell'attuale Re e di Badoglio.

Nonostante sia sempre viva l'avversione contro i tedeschi, molta grfiducia si va diffondendo nei riguardi delle forze alleate.

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REPORT "B"

23 marzo 1944

R E L A Z I O N E

dell'esplicazione fatta dal Generale di Corpo d'Armata Ecc. TOSCASI ai Sottotenenti in s.p.e. Carlo Alberto AGAZIO del 2° Reggimento Granatieri di Sardegna e Umberto Paolo SARDAGNA del 9° Reggimento Alpini "Julia", in Roma il giorno 29 febbraio 1944 dalle ore 10 alle ore 12,10.

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L'Ecc.TOSCASI ha trattato i seguenti argomenti:

1°) Inquadramento della sua persona ed attività svolta;

2°) Inquadramento politico generale dell'Italia occupata;

3°) Provvedimenti presi dall'Ecc. TOSCASI nella città di Roma;

4°) Situazione militare dell'Italia occupata;

5°) Collegamenti;

6°) Richiesta e conclusione.

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1°) INQUADRAMENTO DELLA SUA PERSONA ED ATTIVITA' SVOLTA.

L'Ecc.T. ha iniziato il suo colloquio mettendosi al corrente del suo passato politico, antecedentemente alla rivoluzione fascista, dichiarando come egli fosse stato uno dei maggiori esponenti del Partito Popolare Cattolico. In questa occasione egli dirigeva anche un giornale pubblicato sotto gli auspici della Santa Sede e riscuoteva la fiducia del pontefice e degli ambienti ufficiali Vaticani di allora; fiducia che onore egli riscuote.

In seguito ai noti avvenimenti politici per i quali il predetto partito fu assorbito nel P.N.F., l'Ecc. T. entrò a far parte di quest'ultimo partito.

Non ci siamo soffermati informarti né circa al corrente dell'opera svolta e delle cariche eventualmente ricoperte dall'Ecc. T. durante il ventennio fascista. Ci accenna, per quanto da lui detto, come egli esercitasse la professione forense. In seguito fu nominato presidente del Tribunale Supremo Militare, carica che mantenne per un certo periodo di tempo e nella quale fu sostituito dal Generale di C.A. Nino VILLA SANTA.

Non sappiamo se egli fosse in relazione col C.N.L., antecedentemente alla data del 25 luglio; certo è che attualmente, da quanto egli stesso ha riferito, è a capo del Partito delle classi medie nell'Italia occupata.

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2°) IL CLIMA POLITICO GENERALE DELL'ITALIA OCCUPATA.

a) Organizzazione dei vari partiti.

Nell'Italia occupata sono attualmente in atto tre principali partiti:

- Partito Comunista: ricevute fiducia limitata per il fatto che il popolo italiano è stanco dei regimi totalitari dittatoriali.

Da pochi ma ottimi elementi, molto aggressivi e turbolenti, decisi a tutto pur di far trionfare la propria idea. Impiega, in special modo negli atti di sabotaggio, elementi giovanili. Ha nella sua organizzazione anche alcuni ufficiali del Regio Esercito.

- Partito Socialista: poco ci è stato riferito dall'Acc. T. nei suoi riguardi. Esso trae i suoi elementi dalle classi intellettuali, al contrario di quanto accade nel Partito Comunista. I socialisti incontrano poco il favore popolare perchè nell'Italia occupata attualmente il loro partito, in seguito alla socializzazione, è ritenuto di favoreggiamento repubblicano.

- Il "Partito delle classi medie d'Italia" comprende la quasi totalità degli appartenenti alle forze armate, della magistratura, degli impiegati statali, provinciali e privati, della piccola e media industria, del piccolo e medio commercio ed in parte della grande industria e del grande commercio e dell'alta finanza e per ciò riferito non la preoccupa dell'Acc. stessa "bolgia che hanno di recente portato più di 100 lire a paio di un milione".

Ebbe ha attualmente circa quattordici mesi del suo partito raccolto circa il 70% della popolazione italiana del territorio occupato, specialmente in questo personale anche i membri delle famiglie dei soci e i capi del partito stesso.

Egli ha diviso la sua organizzazione in branche a seconda delle attività che ognuna di queste deve svolgere. La più importante è quella militare con cui alle sue dipendenze anche una forte aliquota di ufficiali superiori che sono stati costretti, per ragioni varie, ad arruolarsi nel corso dell'occupazione repubblicana.

Gli agenti S.A.M. delle città di Roma che sono riusciti ad eludere la cattura ed il concentramento in colonia da parte dei germanici, fanno parte di questo ramo. Essi egli ammontano a circa 6.000.

b) Situazione finanziaria.

- Il Partito Comunista dispone di larghi mezzi che, come sembra, gli provengono dalla Russia.

- Riguardo il Partito Socialista, non siamo stati messi al corrente della sua situazione finanziaria.

- Del Partito delle classi medie la situazione finanziaria è catastrofica. Preoccupazione principale dell'Acc.T. è stata ed è quella di porre un rimedio efficace a questo stato di cose. È quanto l'Acc. T. ci ha riferito egli aveva avuto l'autorizzazione da parte del Governo italiano di impiegare giornalmente la somma di un milione di lire

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che egli in verità non sapeva come procurarsi.

L'Ecc.T. si è preoccupato di sopperire ai bisogni del suo Partito ricorrendo agli esponenti dell'alta finanza, dell'industria e commercio, cercando di portarsi nell'orbita del proprio movimento.

Ha trovato in genere gente piuttosto restia a cedere somme di una certa entità per il fatto che, pur conoscendo l'Ecc. personalmente come uomo degno della massima fiducia e considerazione, non avevano garanzie da parte del Governo italiano. Ciò nonostante alcune somme sono state elargite, ma non essendo esse che minimamente sufficienti ai grandi bisogni del Partito, egli ha dovuto ricorrere per arrotondare le cifre alle sue personali disponibilità.

L'Ecc.T. nel suo colloquio ci ha prospettato due soluzioni per ovviare alle deficienze finanziarie del suo Partito:

1°) Accreditare l'Ecc.T. presso la Santa Sede in qualità di rappresentante segreto ufficiale del Governo Italiano per le questioni inerenti all'Italia occupata. Egli ci verrebbe delle lettere credenziali come garanzia del Governo Italiano presso gli eventuali creditori. L'Ecc.T. a riguardo è già segretamente d'accordo col Cardinale di Stato Mons. Maglione. Le lettere credenziali dovrebbero essere inviate al predetto Cardinale e <u>soltanto</u> a questi, come ci è più volte raccomandato l'Ecc.T. Questo metodo è ritenuto il più facile ad attuare ed il migliore.

Qualora questo sistema verrà accettato dal Governo Italiano, l'Ecc.T. ha stabilito una frase convenzionale da trasmettere via Radio Bari o Radio Londra B.B.C. (trasmissione per l'Italia) per almeno tre giorni consecutivi. La frase è la seguente:

.....

2°) In seguito ai accordi intercorsi tra l'Ecc.T. e il direttore della Sede Centrale di Roma del Banco di Sicilia è stato elaborato un speciale sistema di finanziamento. Dietro sollecitazione del Governo Italiano il direttore generale della Sede di Palermo del Banco di Sicilia dovrebbe inviare al direttore della Sede di Roma un dispaccio segreto che autorizzi quest'ultimo ad aprire un credito tacito ed illimitato a nome di più persone di fiducia dell'Ecc.T.

E' stato convenuto di accreditare più persone per evitare eventuali controlli e ricerche da parte dei fascisti o nazisti.

Questo sistema però, secondo l'avviso dell'Ecc.T., è di più complicata attuazione.

e) <u>Scopi e finalità di ciascun Partito.</u>

- Il Partito Comunista tende a lavorare per proprio conto. E' decisamente contro il fascismo ed il nazismo ed ha tendenze antimonarchiche. E' ostile al Governo di Badoglio in special modo dopo l'eventualità di un'occupazione di Roma. Cerca di infiltrarsi nelle masse proletarie.e Per raggiungere questi scopi non si astiene da atti terroristici che turbano l'ordine pubblico in special modo nei centri urbani. Esso compie atti di sabotaggio contro le forze armate tedesche e provoca la reazione di queste sotto forma di rappresaglie

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contro le popolazioni civili. Attualmente é il Partito che agisce più palesemente nell'Italia occupata (giornali, pubblicazioni, scritte murali, atti di sabotaggio, ecc.).

- Partito Socialista, é anch'esso antifascista ad oltranza, però al contempo tendenzialmente filomonarchico ed antidittatoriale. Anche questo Partito é contrario al Governo Badoglio. Non siamo stati edotti circa l'attività che esso svolge.

- Il Partito delle classi medie é Partito d'ordine, ricerca la collaborazione degli altri Partiti ma é fermamente deciso e non lasciarsi sopraffare. Trova la sua forza sul consenso incerto degli incerti ed é anche deciso ad agire a fondo contro il Partito Comunista pur di mantenere l'ordine e la calma in special modo nelle grandi città. E' decisamente antifascista e antifascista, ma sostenitore della Monarchia e del Governo Badoglio e lo sarà anche dopo l'occupazione della città di Roma.

Compie anch'esso atti di sabotaggio ed ha schiere di patrioti che combattono in varie zone dell'Italia occupata. Ci sarebbe però dell'azione sabotatrice nei grandi centri urbani. Cerca di mantenere vivo nei suoi seguaci la tradizioni militari e costituzionali d'Italia. Si sforza di poter sopperire ai bisogni personali di tutti quei militari ed anche civili che dopo l'8 settembre e in seguito alle direttive ora note-fasciste per il trasferimento verso l'Italia settentrionale, si sono trovati in condizioni finanziarie precarie. Questa opera però è molto ostacolata dalle attuali scarsissime disponibilità di fondi. Si sta verificando la concentrazione un continuo passaggio di questi elementi nei ranghi dell'esercito repubblicano e delle organizzazioni statali dipendenti, dovuto esclusivamente a ragioni di vita.

d) Relazioni fra i vari Partiti.

Come ho riferito l'Ecc.V., in questi ultimi tempi, in seguito all'eventuale imminente liberazione della città di Roma da parte degli alleati, si é verificata una grande attività nei vari Partiti. Si sono avute al riguardo riunioni, comizi segreti ecc. Allo scopo di compiere gli ultimi sforzi concordemente e di poter accomunare alcune vedute politiche, l'Ecc. V. ha provocato diverse riunioni tra i tre partiti suddetti in Roma. In queste riunioni si é convenuto di costituire un'unica blocco di Partiti contro i tedeschi. Però vi sono state molte divergenze. L'Ecc.V. ha portato la questione della conservazione della Monarchia. Egli, contrastato sopratutto dai Comunisti, é riuscito però a dimostrare la necessità del mantenimento della Monarchia in Italia. Successivamente attaccato anche dai socialisti, ha dichiarato che il Re che siederà sul trono anche dopo la occupazione di Roma dovrà essere Vittorio Emanuele III. Dopo molto vivendo egli avrebbe ottenuto anche l'adesione degli altri Partiti, dimostrando al riguardo come un'eventuale cambiamento in materia potrebbe non essere riconosciuto giuridicamente dalle potenze straniere. Egli ha concluso con queste parole: "Dal momento che abbiamo un Re che gode della stima di buona parte del popolo italiano, che ancora é riconosciuto come tale dagli alleati e dalle potenze straniere é bene che sia Lui che continui a tenere in mano le redini della

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Italia".

Per quanto riguarda la questione del Governo Badoglio lo discussioni - ha detto l'Ecc.T. - sono state lunghe e sino ell[illegible] (29 febbraio) non erano stati raggiunti precisi accordi tra i va[illegible] Partiti.

Comunque l'Ecc.T. ha insistito a lungo sulla necessità che il Governo Badoglio rimanga in carica anche dopo l'occupazione della città di Roma. Tutti gli altri Partiti lo hanno però vivamente contrastato e pertanto nessun accordo concreto è stato raggiunto in merito. Tutti i Partiti sono però d'accordo perché il Maresciallo Badoglio resti a capo delle Forze Armate nello stato agli ordini del Re.

L'Ecc. T. ha dichiarato che continuerà ad insistere per ottenere che il Maresciallo Badoglio conservi il suo posto al Governo e nutre molta speranza di riuscire ad imporre questa necessità anche agli altri Partiti.

Circa le questioni relative alla costituzione del Gabinetto dopo l'occupazione di Roma, l'Ecc. T. ha dichiarato:

In seguito al fallimento della conferenza fra i Partiti in Bari, e della dichiarazione del Maresciallo Badoglio alla stampa (dichiarazione che è stata riportata integralmente sull'Osservatore Romano) risulta come il Capo del Governo abbia messo a tacere la "fermano" ne tacque" riducendo quale giustificazione l'assenza quasi completa dei rappresentanti di alcuni Partiti, in particolare di quelli della Liberazione Nazionale. Erano lo spunto da questi avvenimenti, in Roma si sta trattando per la costituzione di un nuovo Gabinetto "a più ampio respiro". Di questo Gabinetto dovrebbero parte i rappresentanti di tutti i Partiti. "Io - ha detto l'Ecc.T. - sono stato messo a capo del Ministero degli Interni perché questo Ministero deve essere affidato al Partito Democratico. A questo proposito ho già elaborato il piano per l'organizzazione del Ministero ed in particolar modo per la costituzione della nuova Polizia che comincerà a funzionare non appena avrò la certezza che il nuovo Gabinetto possa essere formato. Anche per questa organizzazione occorrono molti fondi. Se la proposta per la costituzione del nuovo Gabinetto, viene presa favorevolmente in considerazione dal Governo Badoglio mi dovrebbe farmi pervenire sempre a mezzo Radio Bari e Radio Londra B.B.C. (trasmissione in italiano) il seguente messaggio:

.....""

L'Ecc.T. ha aggiunto, che data la calma e le possibilità di intesa verificatesi in questi ultimi tempi tra i vari Partiti, egli è venuto nella deliberazione di adottare per l'intero movimento antifascista dell'Italia occupata la denominazione di "Lega (delle classi ?) per il Risorgimento d'Italia".

3°) <u>ACCERTAMENTI FATTI DALL'ECC.T. NEI CONFRONTI DELLA CITTA' DI ROMA.</u>

L'Ecc.T. ha dichiarato che al nuovo preoccupante della città di Roma in special modo perché essa è la prima grande città che soffre soggetta alle rivendicazioni e ai sacrifici della guerra incombente.

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Due sono gli aspetti principali della questione:
- l'approvvigionamento alimentare;
- la provvista di armi.

In conseguenza dell'ingente numero di persone che po[illegible]no la città dopo l'afflu[illegible] di sfollati dall'Italia centro-meridi[illegible]nale, la situazione alimenta[illegible] di Roma si é molto complicata. Appena si verificherà lo sgombero delle autorità fasciste e naziste che attualmente mal sopperiscono ai bisogni alimentari, la situazione della città sarà criticissima in quanto non esistono quasi magazzini viveri e per il fatto che in un primo tempo le necessità militari degli alleati potranno impedire ad essi di prendere i necessari provvedimenti a favore della popolazione civile. L'Exc.T. si é pertanto preoccupato ed é riuscito ad organizzare un adeguato servizio di approvvigionamenti.

Infatti, inviando elementi nelle Marche, Umbria ed Abbruzzi é riuscito ad accettare un complesso di derrate di prima necessità per 25 milioni di lire ed accaparrarne per altre 30 milioni di lire.

Sino a pochi giorni fa, eludendo la sorveglianza del blocco della città, l'Exc.T. aveva fatto immagazzinare in Roma circa 9 milioni di lire di generi alimentari. Senonché le autorità germaniche sono riuscite a scoprire i magazzini ed hanno asportato la quasi totalità delle merci, in parte dietro pagamento e in parte di autorità. In seguito a quanto avvenimento l'Exc.T. si é accordato con gli Enti Vaticani presso i quali gode ottima fiducia ed é riuscito ad ottenere che parte dei trasporti e l'immagazzinamento delle derrate vengano effettuati sotto l'egida della Città del Vaticano. Le merci verranno in parte condotte nella cinta del Vaticano e in parte rinchiuse in magazzini di stabili appartenenti alla Santa Sede nella città di Roma. Però al momento attuale le condizioni finanziarie dell'Exc. T. rendono impossibile l'attuazione di questo piano.

L'Exc. T. sarebbe altresì riuscito con alcuni battelli di piccolo cabotaggio battenti bandiera Vaticana trasportino, anche da mercati esteri quali Argentina e Spagna, derrate per l'approvvigionamento della popolazione romana.

L'Exc. T. ha concluso dicendo che conta molto sugli aiuti del Vaticano ma sino a che non avrà le somme occorrenti per l'attuazione del suddetto piano gli sarà impossibile effettivamente realizzarlo.

Circa la provvista delle armi, si é invece già fatto di più che per l'approvvigionamento.

Sono state ricuperate quante più armi possibili lasciate dalle unità italiane dopo l'8 settembre, ed ora é stato organizzato un servizio di raccolta in particolare nelle Marche e negli Abbruzzi. Ciò nonostante le armi raccolte non sono ancora sufficienti ed a riguardo l'Exc. T. chiede che il Governo italiano, d'accordo con gli Alleati, effettui dei lanci in zone prestabilite.

Quante armi dovranno servire esclusivamente nel momento in cui i reparti tedeschi abbandoneranno Roma ed altri centri dell'Italia, ad impedire che le manovre di guastatori germanici ostacolino quelle distruzioni previste nei loro piani. Inoltre con quante armi potrà essere ristabilito, da elementi responsabili, un immediato servizio di ordine pubblico nella città.

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4°) SITUAZIONE MILITARE NELL'ITALIA OCCUPATA.

Altra preoccupazione dell'Ecc. T. subito dopo l'8 settembre è stata quella di poter tenere "alle macchie" quanti più militari fosse possibile. Molti di essi e specialmente gli ufficiali sono regolarmente iscritti nel Partito dell'Ecc. T. e cooperano con esso.

Nei primi mesi dopo l'armistizio, la situazione caotica in cui si trovava il Paese favorì molto l'opera del Partito. In seguito, soprattutto dopo la metà di gennaio, questi militari "alla macchia", si sono progressivamente ad uno ad uno allontanati dall'organizzazione T. perché, oltre al timore della pena di morte a cui sono soggetti se renitenti alla chiamata alle armi, si trovano per lo più in difficili condizioni famigliari e finanziarie. D'altro canto l'organizzazione T. non può versare loro regolarmente e sufficientemente il sussidio di cui avrebbero bisogno e quindi essi lentamente vanno presentandosi per l'arruolamento nello esercito repubblicano.

Un sintomo significativo che si nota in coloro che ancora sono fuori dalle organizzazioni nazi-fasciste, è la crescente sfiducia diffusa verso le operazioni militari degli Alleati. Tutti erano prima convinti di dover attendere solo poco tempo, ma in seguito alla lentezza dei movimenti militari anglo-americani si è affievolita in essi la possibilità e la capacità di resistenza "alla macchia". Quando gli Alleati eseguirono lo sbarco ad Anzio, la quasi totalità dei tedeschi abbandonarono le posizioni sui colli Albani e Roma stessa fu quasi evacuata dalle truppe germaniche per tre o più ore. Nella Capitale nel primo e secondo giorno dello sbarco tutto era stato predisposto per l'azione contro i guastatori germanici e per cacciare i residui di truppe tedesche rimaste in città.

Un forte gruppo di circa 2.000 patrioti, in prevalenza DC. [illegible], avevano occupato tutta la zona che si estende lungo la rotabile da Velletri a Valmontone, bloccando in tal modo le possibilità dei rifornimenti lungo la Via Appia e la Via Casilina. Un gruppo di Cd.Fn. si spinse fino ai comandi militari alleati nella zona di Cisterna e rivolse loro l'invito di avanzare e consolidare le posizioni occupate dai patrioti. I comandi alleati risposero: "I piani degli alleati tendono ad altri scopi: non possiamo occupare quella zona". Fu così che dopo i primi giorni le truppe germaniche, constatata la lentezza dei movimenti alleati, ritornarono sui loro passi e contrattaccarono.

Attualmente più nella zona di Roma che in altre zone, i patrioti si trovano in condizioni non buone. Difettano di armi e di viveri, soffrono molto il freddo perché privi di oggetti di vestiario.

5°) COLLEGAMENTI.

L'Ecc. T. ha dichiarato che in questi ultimi tempi gli erano [illegible] a tenere i collegamenti con il Governo italiano. Non ci ha informato di preciso quali collegamenti gli fossero mancati: ne

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via radio ufficiale o via radio clandestina o tramite altri sistemi.

L'Ecc. T. ci ha solo dato l'incarico e la raccomandazione di riferire che al più presto possibile vengano riattivate le comunicazioni.

6°) RICHIESTE E CONCLUSIONE.

Allo stesso, le richieste dell'Ecc. T. sono le seguenti:

- lettere credenziali presso la Santa Sede (occulte);
- invio di fondi;
- riattivazione delle comunicazioni;
- trasmissione di messaggi e pacchi (vedi punto 3 a e b);
- trasmissione di un messaggio personale comprendente il vostro arrivo ed il contatto avvenuto con il Comandante Fieramosca. La frase da trasmettere via radio cari e degli sembra è la seguente: "Giunto illeso ed atteso i sono riuniti".

Conclusione

L'Ecc. T. ha così concluso la sua esposizione:

"Sono fermamente di ritenere perché l'Ecc. Carnelio perché egli prenda nota del luogo di formazione del nuovo governo, di cui al più presto invierà dettagli. Ritengo pertanto di richiedere avventa presso i governi alleati perché venga concretata anche a mezzo dispositivo tendente a rimuovere il veto frapposto nelle persecuzione e di far cessare la causa la accanita resistenza nelle operazioni militari degli alleati, tenendolo edotto del fatto che qui tutti attendono la liberazione da parecchi alleati, che per l'organizzazione interna della città di Roma io farò fronte con tutte le mie forze in ogni evenienza. Faccio in modo che S.E. va egli stesso tengano duro contro i vari pellicciotti tipo gli sforza, Bruce, tenori ecc. perché al momento opportuno entrino trionfare nel nome della libertà del Papa e della Democrazia. Fate presente che all'ingresso di S.E. Vittorio Emanuele III in Roma egli avrà sciolto e disciolto e secondo delle nuove elezioni e dei nuovi elementi in suo nome da noi e reggente che avanti voi riceve la risposta all'opinione del popolo italiano. Fatevi però sentire. Dal vostro arrivo dipende la risoluzione di una completa attuazione politica."""

- - - - - -

Quanto al seguito risponde a ciò che l'Ecc. Tenerani ci ha direttamente e raccomandato nel corso del suo colloquio.

Foto Referenziata. Omissis ai sensi dell'art.

Foto Referenziata. Omissis ai sensi dell'art.

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PARTITO CRISTIANO SOCIALE

ESECUTIVO CENTRALE

Roma, li 15 / 6 / 1944

Il Partito Cristiano Sociale, che ha come organo ufficiale di stampa il giornale L'AZIONE, regolarmente autorizzato nelle sue pubblicazioni antifasciste e sensibili del governo alleato, fa presente che è stato privato della sua sede in Corso Umberto n° 360 per requisizione dei locali da parte di Uffici Stampa e Propaganda degli alleati (tra cui il Daily Express).

Inoltre pertanto domanda perchè gli venga concessa un'altra sede adeguata alle sue necessità.

Per la Direzione:

Col Munro for information only - 15/1 21/6/44

Sam R 2 I am sure Mr Emmons has

his own headquarters & staff & would object — Sam Rhea

to back Communist as any rate.

246 5:03

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R E S T R I C T E D

HEADQUARTERS
ROME REGION
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
A.P.O.No. 394, U.S. ARMY

5AR/100

20 June 1944

SUBJECT: Italian Democratic Party.

TO : Political Section,
Headquarters,
Allied Control Commission.

1. Colonel FISKE has asked that the attached be sent you for your comments.

For Colonel FISKE:

JOHN D. AMES
Lt Colonel, G.S.C.
Executive Officer.

Encl.

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R E S T R I C T E D

For Col. Fiske from the Chief of Democratic Party

Information received with regard to the underground party "Libera Roma" "Italian" "Liberian Colonia"

The democratic party has secretly organized in Rome since the end of September, 1943, and spring and whose aims are in the public opinion, in contradiction to the Committee of National Liberation, more of the ideas which are modern and not come to permit discussions on the institutional problems, which would obviously lead to a crisis in the harmony of the parties in anti-War Fascist against the Germans and in favour of the Allies. The party decided that it was better to postpone every discussion about after the end of the war and to concentrate all their efforts for the struggle against the Germans.

The scope of agitation, which corresponded with the directives of the Allied governments, was the motive which, despite every disagreement, influenced the Party to remain outside the Committee of National Liberation.

Notwithstanding these factors, the activity of the group was considerable, both as regards politics (with the distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, and sheets under clandestine newspapers: "Libera Roma", "L'Italiano", "Unità Socialista") and as regards the military news, which was collected and communicated to the Allied

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Jos Comunale
(Cont'd)
1

organized in Rome after the 8th of September, 1943, gathering all those parties of the Center and Left which, in opposition to the Committee of National Liberation, were of the idea that the moment was come to permit discussions on war international problems, which would obviously lead to a breach in the harmony of the groups in order war Fascism against the Germans and in favour of the Allies. The Party decided that it was better to postpone every discussion until after the end of the war and to concentrate all every efforts for the struggle against the Germans.

This state of affairs, which corresponded well to the wishes of the Allied government, was the motive which, despite every allurement, influenced the Party to remain outside the Committee of National Liberation.

Notwithstanding these factors, the activity of the group was considerable, both as regards politics (with the distribution of leaflets, pamphlets, and editing three clandestine newspapers: "Italia Nuova", "L'Italiano", "Giustizia e Libertà") and as regards the military news, which was collected and communicated to the Military Command (Gen. Roncaglia and his successors) and when possible, passed on to the Allied Agents. (Lindsell, Bortenbine, Jones-Pelo). Besides this,

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help was given to the patriots, especially as regards furnishing new material and money, favouring the partisan formations. In Milan Marinetti was one of the leaders. In close harmony the Italian democratic party was constantly collaborated with the committee of national liberation.

As consequence of this movement many members of the democratic party were arrested and shot by the Germans and fascists. Among the present leaders, members of the Staff of the "Italia Nuova", Mr. Parri was first arrested by the S.S. and after being liberated was obliged to seek refuge in the Vatican. The Marquis Casati was arrested on April 6th and remained in prison until June 4th, having fraudulently escaped being shot. Mr. Bonomi was at Regina Coeli Prison for a month and Mr. Bonomi for 12 days. This only as regards the sub-editors of the "Italia Nuova" because many more members of the party had difficulties with the German and fascist police.

After June 4th, the Center of the Italian Democratic Party, together with the "Unione" Party (which had unobtrusively edited "L'Italiano") and the Social Democratic Party (which had edited "Giustizia Sociale") were fused into one Party which is now the Democratic Party with "L'Italia Nuova" as the official press organ.

To suppress this newspaper would mean to

L'ITALIA NUOVA was suspended due to newspaper shortage. Claims to have private supply & will continue.

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1897

SECRET

Distribution:

No. 0138

Rendom
(Lieut.
A.C.O. (Political Section)
Lt.Col.Gibson, G.S.I(b), A.A.I.
H.Q.S. (ref.CSDIC/AAI/GI/11 of 3.4.44.
sent to Major Lee, 308 Field by
Lt. L. S.C.I.Drift)

Attached are two reports relating to S/Ldr. ANDRIN and CHERRILL, who left Rome on 22.2.44. and arrived in the Allied lines on 10.3.44. Report "A" is the interrogation report of the two officers themselves written by S.I.M. Report "B" is an appreciation by General DERRANT of the situation in Fascist Republican Italy and particularly in Rome. This was remarked by these two Italian officers in Rome and has not been reproduced by them for transmission to the Badoglio Government. It, in fact, constituted the object of their mission.

2. The following are the main points contained in each report:

"A" INTERROGATION REPORT.

(i) The two officers came in contact with Colonel MONTEZEMOLO's "patriotic organisation" through a lieutenant in the CO-called SMERCO (who has not yet been identified).

(ii) SMERCO informed them that Colonel MONTEZEMOLO had been subjected to torture by the West Fascist police and had, in consequence, revealed information leading to the arrest of many important patriots, some of them now in hiding in the Basilica di San Paolo.

(iii) SMERCO intimated vaguely that Colonel MONTEZEMOLO had been subsequently shot by the Fascists; the former's statements however should be treated with some reserve.

(iv) Some interesting remarks are made about the different parties now in Rome: the Communist party is described as being very active. Its members, though few in number, have very pronounced views. The party contains some military elements and believes in terrorist activities against the Germans; acts of sabotage and the preparation of clandestine newspapers and pamphlets. It works more in the open than any other party in Rome.

(v) The civilian population in Rome is considered definitely anti-Fascist and anti-German, but the present anti-climax to the Allied landing at Anzio has caused profound discouragement amongst all classes.

SECRET

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All that are two reports relating to S/Ltn. MARRIOTT and sergeant, who left them on 22.9.44. and under 2 in the Allied lines on 10.10.44. Report "A" is the interrogation report of the two officers themselves written by A.I.I. Report "B" is an appreciation by General WESSEL of the situation in Fascist Republican Italy and particularly in Rome. This was requested by these two Italian officers in Rome and has now been reproduced by them for transmission to the Polish Government. It, in fact, constituted the object of their mission.

2. The following are the main points contained in each report:

(a) INTERROGATION REPORT.

(i) The two officers were in contact with Colonel MONTEZEMOLO's "resistance organisation" through a lieutenant in the QG-SIM called MARIO (who has not yet been identified).

(ii) MARIO informed them that Colonel MONTEZEMOLO had been subjected to torture by the Nazi Fascist police and had, in consequence, revealed information leading to the arrest of very important officials, some of them were in hiding in the Pontifical St Jean Lateran.

(iii) MARIO intimated somewhat vaguely that Colonel MONTEZEMOLO had been subsequently shot by the Fascists; the former's whereabouts however should be treated with some reserve.

(iv) Some interesting remarks are made about the different parties now in Rome: the Communist party is described as being very active. Its members, though few in number, have very pronounced views. The party contains some military elements and builds up its formidable opposition against the Germans; acts of sabotage and the organisation of clandestine newspapers and leaflets. It seeks more to the open than any other party in Rome.

(v) The civilian population in Rome is considered definitely anti-Fascist and anti-German, but the present anti-climax in the Allied Armies at Anzio has caused profound disappointment amongst all classes.

(vi) Increased activity on the part of the Nazi-Fascist police coupled with the effects of our own bombing of the city has had a crushing effect on resistance elements generally.

/(vii)

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(viii) "Round out" of this budget was for military service or forced labour in Germany continue to be the "order of the day".

(viii) The food situation, in spite of transport difficulties is still tolerable and the rationing system is, on the whole, functioning.

(ix) The majority of the people like is still "muddling", in spite of sharp criticism of the present King. The Badoglio Government has the support of a large part of the upper and middle classes.

"B" [illegible] PARTY" - CLASSIFIED.

(x) This report outlines the main features of the three principal parties in Rome: (a) the Communist Party; (b) The Middle Class Party (Partito Delle Classi Medie d'Italia), of which General TOGNI himself claims to be the head; (c) the Socialist Party.

(xi) The Middle Class Party intends to include almost all the members of the Italian Army; capitalists; private and state employees; the small and middle class tradesmen and industrialists and some big industrialists as well.

(xii) General TOGNI claims 70% of the total Italian population of Germany-occupied Italy. This includes 2,000,000 in hiding in the city of Rome.

(xiii) The report goes on to deal with the aims and financial resources of each Party.

(xiv) The Communist Party, which disposes of large funds, apparently supplied by Russia, works on its own. It is decidedly anti-Fascist and anti-German and also has anti-Royalist leanings. It will oppose the Badoglio Government after the occupation of Rome. Its sabotage and terrorist activities against the Germans in thickly populated centres disturb law and order and result in reprisals against the civilian population.

(xv) The Socialist Party, on the other hand, though strongly anti-Fascist, has pro-Anarchist tendencies. It is, however, opposed to the Badoglio Government. Little is known about its activities or the financial resources at its disposal.

(xvi) The "Partito Nello Stesso Medio" or Partito D'Azione aims at collaboration with other anti-Fascist parties, but will not submit to coercion from them. Its strength lies in the large number of its adherents. It is prepared, in the interests of law and order, to act against the Communist Party, especially in large cities. It is decidedly anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi and will uphold the King and the Badoglio Government after the occupation of Rome by the Allies. Its sabotage activities are

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

1900

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785616

(xxiii) In anticipation of the Allied occupation of Rome, meetings were held between the various resistance parties to exchange political views and decide on concerted action against the Germans. Very divergencies of opinion were expressed.

(xxiv) After a great deal of hesitation from both Communists and Socialists, General TRUSCOTT obtained apparently the agreement of all parties to the acceptance of King Victor Emanuel III after the occupation of Rome by the Allies. The exact motivating argument used by Gen. TRUSCOTT in favour of the King was the fact that he had already received the full recognition and support of the Allies and other foreign powers.

(xxv) The question of Marshal Badoglio's future status had not been agreed upon by the various parties up to the time of the departure of the two officers in question (20th February) in spite of Gen. TRUSCOTT's insistance on the necessity of his remaining in power after the occupation of the city.

(xxvi) As a direct result of the abortive conference of Bari, preliminary plans had been drawn : for the constitution of a new "Cabinet" in which all parties would be represented, Gen. TRUSCOTT would himself be assigned the direction of the Ministry of the Interior.

(xxvii) Gen. TRUSCOTT requested approval from the Badoglio Government for the formation of such a cabinet, which would naturally require unanimous favor. Approval was to be signified by the following message broadcast from Radio Bari and from London "Sarie Alberto e Umberto I sono giunti".

(xxviii) Gen. TRUSCOTT then dealt with the food situation in Rome, which, upon the occupation of the city by the Allies, threatens to become critical for various obvious reasons. Gen. TRUSCOTT, however, with the help of the Vatican and in fact of German opposition, is doing what he can to build up the necessary stocks to meet the situation.

(xxix) The position with regard to arms is very favourable due to the organisation of a service for the collection of arms in various parts of the country. The Allies are requested to drop further supplies in suitable localities. These arms will only be used at an opportune moment to prevent the retreating Germans from effecting demolitions.

(xxx) Surveying the military situation General TRUSCOTT again stresses the fact that any military elements enrolled in the armed resistance at the beginning of the Armistice have now deserted to the other side either from fear of reprisals or for family or financial reasons. The remainder are occupied by present military operations in progress and their areas of resistance are thereby limited.

5508

1902

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3-3/NND No. 785016

III after the occupation of Rome by the Allies. The most convincing argument used by Gen. TOGNAZZI in favour of the King was the fact that he had already received the full recognition and support of the Allies and other foreign powers.

(xi) The question of Marshal Badoglio's future status had not been agreed upon by the various parties up to the time of the departure of the two officers in question (28th February) in spite of Gen. TOGNAZZI's insistence on the necessity of his remaining in power, after the occupation of the city.

(xii) As a direct result of the abortive civil riots of Sept., the Badoglio Cabinet had been given a free hand for the constitution of a new "Cabinet" in which all parties would be represented. Gen. TOGNAZZI would himself be assigned the direction of the Ministry of the Interior.

(xiii) Gen. TOGNAZZI requested approval from the Badoglio Government for the formation of such a cabinet, which would naturally require considerable funds. Approval was to be signified by the following message broadcast from Radio Bari and from London "Carlo Alberto a Umberto I sono giunti".

(xiiii) Gen. TOGNAZZI then deals with the food situation in Rome, which, upon the occupation of the city by the Allies, threatens to become critical for various obvious reasons. Gen. TOGNAZZI, however, with the help of the Vatican and in face of German opposition, is doing what he can to build up the necessary stocks to meet the situation.

(xiiv) The position with regard to arms is more favourable due to the organization of a service for the collection of arms in various parts of the country. The Allies are requested to drop further supplies in suitable localities. These arms will only be used at an opportune moment to prevent the retreating Germans from effecting demolitions.

(xv) Surveying the military situation General TOGNAZZI made mention the fact that many military elements enrolled in the armistice location at the beginning of the hostilities have now reported to the other side either from fear of reprisals or for family or financial reasons. The remainder are increased by present military operations in progress and their powers of resistance are thereby undermined.

(xvi) General TOGNAZZI concludes that communications with the Italian Government have broken down and is anxious that these should be re-established at the earliest possible opportunity. The precise nature of communications referred to is not known by the two Italian officers in question.

55103

1903

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

1904

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 78506

(xxvii) The report ends with Gen. TUCCARI's conclusions resulting from his appreciation of the situation. Briefly he suggests the following: (i) Peace for his party;
(ii) concrete action on the part of the Allies in the near future, calculated to raise the morale of the people;
(iii) energy action against political agitators such as Sforza, Croce, Bonomi.

(xxviii) Gen. TUCCARI states that he is speaking on behalf of Italian public opinion. The success of his own activities in the name of the King, which depend largely on the financial and other resources placed at his disposal, will determine the future of H.M.King Victor Emanuel III.

C F Hoyt
Lt.
For C/S Information.

5.10.43

1905

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Ltr/hd

1/4SI 0.0.1

16 August 1944

Subject: Italian political party formation

To: Allied Force Headquarters, A.P.O. 512.
(Attention G-5)

For your information, attached is memorandum No. 530, Political Section, Allied Control Commission, dated 13 August 1944, above subject.

EDGAR W. ROOT
Captain, U.S.N.
Acting Chief of Organization

1 Incl:
As above (in triplicate)

RECEIVED
Hq ACC Secy Gen.
DISPATCH
Date/Hour 17 Aug 1100
File
Initials BWR

5502

1906

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

1907

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Kissinger

/

3365

1908

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

HC

LEGA DEMOCRATICA

SEGRETERIA GENERALE

N. di Prot. 9014

Allegati 1

ROMA 9 Agosto 1944

Sede Provv. Tritone 169
Tel: 61216

AL GOVERNO MILITARE ALLEATO
Sezione Politica
R O M A

Oggetto = Lega Democratica I.V.E. : Comunicazione.

Informasi che la Lega Democratica I.V.E., costituita fin dal 9 Settembre 1943 dagli affiliati al Comitato Clandestino di Resistenza I.V.E., parteciperà attivamente alla politica del Paese a partire del = 15 corrente.

Nell'accludere copia dello statuto e dello schema di pro= gramma pregasi di voler prendere nota, a tutti gli effetti, della pre = sente comunicazione.

Con osservanza.

IL P R E S I D E N T E
(Conte Avv. Giuseppe Pironti)

Giuseppe Pironti

LEGA DEMOCRATICA SEDE CENTRALE ROMA

5205

1991

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

LEGA DEMOCRATICA

I.V.E. (Italia Virtutem Extollit)

STATUTO

E

SCHEMA DI PROGRAMMA

Presidenza e Sede Centrale: ROMA

LEGA DEMOCRATICA ROMA SEDE CENTRALE

5298

1910

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

STATUTO

ART. 1° — E' costituita la *Lega Democratica* che ha per motto « I.V.E. » che fu la parola d'ordine del Comitato Clandestino di Resistenza I.V.E.

ART. 2° — La Lega Democratica I.V.E. si propone di difendere e propugnare il fine politico di quanti professano idee di sana democrazia e rifuggono da qualsiasi dittatura od oligarchia: Essa perciò è un partito politico.

ART. 3° — La rappresentanza è retta da un Presidente coadiuvato da un Comitato Centrale eletti dall'Assemblea Nazionale.

ART. 4° — Organi periferici saranno i Comitati Regionali, i Comitati Comunali e i Delegati Sezionali.

ART. 5° — Al Presidente è devoluto il compito di redigere i regolamenti del Partito.

ART. 6° — Il Presidente ha facoltà di costituire leghe di giovani ed associazioni femminili dipendenti dalla Lega Democratica I.V.E. ed egli ne determinerà gli scopi e ne redigerà i regolamenti.

ART. 7° — Solamente l'Assemblea Nazionale potrà, a maggioranza di voti, emendare il presente Statuto.

DIO, PATRIA E FAMIGLIA — ORDINE E PACE — LIBERTA' E LAVORO
LOTTA AD OLTRANZA CONTRO OGNI FORMA DI DITTATURA

1911

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

SCHEMA DI PROGRAMMA

1)° **Postulati della convivenza umana.** — Libertà di pensiero, di parola e di stampa. Libertà di riunione e di religione. Fraternità tra i popoli senza pregiudizi razziali.

2°) **Programma circa i poteri dello Stato.** — Stato retto nella forma che liberamente sceglierà il Popolo Italiano a norma dei patti internazionali conclusi.

3°) **Difesa dei diritti e delle libertà del Popolo.** — Istituzione di organi nuovi e riforma degli esistenti con il fine di impedire che qualsiasi governo si trasformi in dittatura e distrugga l'esercizio delle libertà inalienabili del Popolo.

4°) **Economia, produzione, finanza.** — Libertà individuale esercitata in regime di libera concorrenza limitatamente alle aziende di interesse pubblico. Rispetto alla proprietà privata e a quella intellettuale.

5°) **Educazione pubblica.** — Libertà di insegnamento limitata dai programmi governativi.

6°) **Giustizia.** — Riforme radicali circa l'amministrazione e il costo della Giustizia affinchè ad essa possano aderire, effettivamente, tutti i cittadini.

7°) **Politica estera.** — Orientamento delle enunciazioni formulate come fine da raggiungere attraverso la presente guerra per una vera ed effettiva unione collaboratrice tra i popoli che aspirano ad una pace giusta e duratura.

8°) **Forze Armate.** — Loro ricostituzione in corrispondenza dei bisogni del Paese, degli accordi internazionali e della necessità di liberare la Patria dai tedeschi e dai nazi-fascisti.

9°) **Danni di guerra.** — Equa ed effettiva distribuzione di essi affinchè i ricchi contribuiscano in proporzione ai loro averi.

10°) **Epurazione fascista.** — Punizione e confisca dei beni dei traditori, dei disonesti e dei profittatori e specialmente di coloro che si macchiarono di ferocia repressiva. Esclusione di ogni azione persecutoria e discriminazione esente da ogni forma di settarismo.

1912

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
ROME REGION
APO 394

R/2124

31 July 1944.

SUBJECT: The program of the "Fronte dei Lavoratori", a political party.

TO : Political Section, ACC, Hq.

The attached forwarded for your information.

Charles Poletti

CHARLES POLETTI
Colonel, AUS
Regional Commissioner

2 Incls.
Incl. 1 : Letter of "Fronte dei Lavoratori" with translation
Incl. 2 : a printed program of the Party.

1913

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

JUL 30 1944

POLITICA SECTION ACC, HR

FRONTE DEI LAVORATORI

Piazza Mazzini 41

AL COMANDO GENERALE ALLEATO

R O M A

The "Fronte dei Lavoratori" started as an ideal movement of opposition to Fascism before the 25 th. July and after that date was organized as a political party: Now after having perfected its organization begins by sending its greetings to the Allied Authorities ed Joia herewith the program of our Party.

The "Fronte dei Lavoratori" has alreay founded some clandestine branches in Central and Northern Italy, with which it will take its contacts after the liberation of those countries, while other branches have been established in South Italy; in this way it is to be hoped that the "Fronte dei Lavoratori" will greatly contribute to the conviction and reconstruction of our country, thus inserting its activity among the forces able to warrant security and order.

We take this opportunity to declare that we shall be glad, when requested, to cooperate with the Allied Authorities in so far as it rests on the possibilities of our Party

Most sincerely

Yours

Vincenzo Matteucci

1914

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

FRONTE DEI LAVORATORI

Piazza Mazzini 41

AL COMANDO GENERALE ALLEATO

R O M A

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori, sorto come movimento ideale di opposizione al regime fascista prima del 25 luglio, e subito dopo tale data costituitosi in partito politico, rivolge -ora che ha completato la sua organizzazione- il suo saluto deferente a Codesto Comando Alleato.

Si unisce alla presente il programma del partito.

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori, che ha già istituito sedi clandestine nell'Italia Centrale e Settentrionale con le quali si attende di riprendere i contatti con la liberazione di quelle regioni, e sta istituendo sezioni nell'Italia Meridionale, porterà il suo contributo all'azione di epurazione e di ricostruzione della Patria, inserendosi nella vita nazionale fra le forze di ordine.

Nel presentarsi a Codesto Comando, il Fronte si dichiara pronto ad affiancare l'opera Sua in tutto quanto possa esserGli richiesto e sia nelle possibilità del partito.

Con ossequio

p. l'Esecutivo Centrale

Vincenzo Matarazzo

5203

1915

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

FRONTE DEI LAVORATORI

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori, sorto come movimento ideale di opposizione al regime fascista, prima del 25 luglio, quando la nostra Patria era trascinata, in una guerra non sentita dal popolo, verso un inevitabile disastro, si costituiva in Partito politico clandestino nella primavera del 1943, assumendo la denominazione di Fronte Rivoluzionario Sociale.

Dopo il 25 luglio, il Fronte dei Lavoratori ingrossò le sue fila con vecchie forze dell'antifascismo settentrionale, tornate in quel tempo in Italia dall'estero o dal confino.

Il 9 settembre, mentre la Capitale rimaneva senza governo, gli uomini del Fronte — con alla testa l'Esecutivo Centrale al completo — si facevano organizzatori di folti gruppi che marciavano in quel doloroso pomeriggio verso Porta S. Paolo, per affrontare l'odiato nemico teutonico che premeva su Roma.

Nonostante l'oppressione nazista e la peggiorata tirannide fascista, il Fronte continuava l'opera sua, organizzando la resistenza passiva e il sabotaggio.

Ma per l'arresto da parte delle S. S. e dei neo-fascisti di alcuni membri dell'Esecutivo, mentre qualche altro riparava nel Meridione d'Italia, oltrepassando le linee, e gli altri venivano intensamente ricercati, l'attività direttiva del Fronte dovette superare enormi difficoltà, le quali però non impedirono che si continuasse nelle missioni precedentemente segnate, per raffermare la partecipazione del movimento alla lotta clandestina e alla resistenza.

Subito dopo l'ingresso degli Alleati a Roma, il Fronte — rafforzato da nuovi elementi di lavoratori — ha assunto la denominazione di Fronte dei Lavoratori.

5534

1916

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

POSTULATI

a) **Nell'ordine politico.**

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori assume, quale presupposto indispensabile di ogni società civile, *l'assoluto rispetto di tutte le libertà individuali*, condizione prima per la tutela della dignità della persona umana.

Libertà, quindi, in tutte le sue manifestazioni: libertà piena ed integrale di individui e di gruppi, sino al limite imposto dalla coesistenza delle libertà altrui.

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori si fa, pertanto, fautore di un sistema costituzionale, radicalmente rinnovato, atto ad offrire tutti quei congegni che diano assoluta garanzia per la piena attuazione di tali postulati e che possano nel futuro preservare la collettività nazionale dal pericolo di ritorni ad odiosi regimi dittatoriali.

Democrazia altrettanto piena ed integrale, che trova la sua espressione in un sistema elettorale che sia la manifestazione genuina, per nessun verso coartata, delle volontà individuali, con rispetto assoluto anche per quelle rappresentative delle più modeste minoranze.

Consegue un sistema di rappresentanza politica fondato esclusivamente sul suffragio universale (*col sistema del collegio uninominale*), dal quale non vi è motivo di escludere alcuno dei consociati, senza differenziazioni di razza o di sesso.

b) **Nell'ordine economico.**

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori intende pervenire nel campo dell'economia ad una radicale trasformazione di rapporti e di istituti, in cui venga bandito ogni privilegio di classe e di casta, ed ogni sperequata distribuzione della ricchezza.

Il lavoro, non più al servizio ed allo sfruttamento del capitale, sarà base e centro dell'economia, così come la dignità economica del lavoratore sarà la condizione di una società veramente e durevolmente rinnovata.

I lavoratori, associati in libere organizzazioni, non avranno più la figura di umili salariati, sibbene quella di liberi produttori, come già li vagheggiava, nel suo pensiero profetico, Giuseppe Mazzini.

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori vuole così combattere la sua battaglia a favore delle classi meno abbienti, perennemente allettate ma sempre disagiate e scontente; di quei lavoratori del pensiero e del braccio che hanno sempre dato senza mai nulla avere, e verso i quali le provvidenze e l'assistenza, dietro la retorica delle parole, si sono risolte in forme, oltreché irrisorie, spesso degradanti.

1917

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Il capitalismo industriale e finanziario deve essere infranto; le estese proprietà terriere devono sparire: le grandi speculazioni commerciali vanno soffocate.

Con ciò non s'intende uccidere l'iniziativa privata che va invece suscitata ed incrementata.

La piccola industria, la piccola proprietà terriera, l'artigianato tradizionale e rinnovato vanno sorretti e favoriti in un regime di libero scambio, quando saranno cadute tutte le barriere doganali.

Al crollo della grande industria e dell'alta finanza, come pure al frantumarsi della proprietà terriera, dovrà subentrare un razionale ed ampio sistema *cooperativistico* tra liberi lavoratori, qualora non si ravvisi opportuna una *socializzazione* di Stato.

Anche il problema impiegatizio forma parte integrante del programma che il Fronte intende attuare.

Molti tra gli impiegati dello Stato e di altri pubblici Enti hanno, durante il periodo della resistenza, attivamente militato nelle nostre file; e di essi — di cui abbiamo potuto conoscere le gravi necessità materiali e morali — vogliamo raccogliere il grido per la tutela dei loro diritti e la realizzazione delle loro legittime aspirazioni.

c) **Nell'ordine morale.**

Le esperienze passate e specie quelle recenti hanno, però, mostrato che nessuna evoluzione è possibile nell'ordine politico ed economico ove si prescinda da una radicale ricostruzione morale della figura dell'uomo e della società umana.

Il disagio universale in cui la umanità versa non è, come è stato avvertito da più parti, soltanto economico e politico. Occorre che la società nel suo complesso e nelle singole cellule che la costituiscono — ad iniziare dall'individuo — si rifaccia ai valori trascendenti della vita, di cui purtroppo si è fatto finora scempio.

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori propugna un ritorno all'essenza pura del Cristianesimo, che dovrà ispirare tanto la vita dei singoli che quella delle varie collettività.

Il Fronte è, pertanto, profondamente religioso: Dio, Patria e Famiglia sono i pilastri su cui esso si basa; essi soltanto possono garantire un giusto, prospero ed ordinato vivere civile di tutti gli uomini.

Ma non si può sentire la Religione, la Santità della Patria — che ricostruiremo con sacrifizio e con amore — nè può costituirsi una sana famiglia se non con cuore puro; onde il Fronte propugna — prima che nel campo economico e politico — una profonda rivoluzione nel campo dello spirito, «in interiore hominis».

1918

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785 Cl b

In questo settore il Fronte si propone di incidere profondamente, svolgendo un'intensa opera di educazione non solo morale, ma altresì civile e politica del popolo italiano.

Tale posizione del Fronte, nettamente cristiana, non esclude, però, per la logica coerenza dei suoi postulati, il rispetto verso tutti i Culti, i quali devono trovare protezione nello Stato.

d) **Questione Istituzionale.**

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori non ritiene vi siano particolari ragioni per optare a favore di una forma di governo monarchica ovvero repubblicana. Ormai le espressioni « monarchia » e « repubblica » sono divenute forme prive di un reale contenuto, in quanto possono esservi ottime monarchie (in grado di garantire le libertà individuali, i principi democratici e le rivendicazioni economiche che sono a base del nostro programma), mentre possono esservi (come ci insegna anche la recente esperienza) delle repubbliche dittatoriali. Il tutto sta, quindi, nel trovare i congegni atti al retto funzionamento di ogni bene ordinata monarchia o repubblica che sia.

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori non prende, quindi, posizione al riguardo lasciando che la libera manifestazione della volontà del popolo opti per l'una ovvero per l'altra forma di governo.

È però pacifico che sulla conclamata responsabilità di Vittorio Emanuele III non può esservi alcun dubbio.

e) **Nel campo amministrativo.**

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori ha elaborato una radicale riforma amministrativa, intesa ad attuare, non solo la giustizia, ma altresì l'onestà nella amministrazione italiana.

A base di tale riforma sta un pieno decentramento amministrativo, che fa capo all'autonomia della Regione, senza infrangere, però, quell'unità politica cui il Fronte fermamente crede.

f) **Nell'ordine internazionale.**

Il Fronte dei Lavoratori propugna la collaborazione di tutti gli Stati Europei in regime di piena libertà, assicurando ad ogni Stato, non solo l'indipendenza territoriale, ma altresì la dignità nazionale. Tale collaborazione deve condurre, sul piano economico, a coordinare ed armonizzare le rispettive economie negli interessi di tutti gli Stati, e sul piano politico ad una leale collaborazione che dovrebbe avere, come finale risultato, una Federazione tra gli Stati Europei, una « Santa Alleanza dei Popoli », verso cui il Fronte decisamente tende per il definitivo consolidarsi della pace e della prosperità in Europa.

1919

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

S-2117

SECRET

CENTRAL "C" SECTION
PWB UNIT 8
APO 512

28th April, 1944

HEADQUARTERS
- 1 MAY 1944
A. C. C.

TO: Lt. Hinkle, Liaison PWB/ACC.

SUBJECT: Comitato Monarchio Liberale per la Ricostruzione.

Reference the letter from the G.C., AAI, 8th Army dated 19 April, 1944 ref. G4/72 to the Executive Commissioners, AC & SC Section, HQ., ACC, regarding the above committee, the following is a brief note on the committee.

The Comitato Monarchio Liberale per la Ricostruzione(after referred to as the "Monarchical Liberal Party" in filed reports), is a monarchical party which was formed in Naples about the middle of November 1943.

Its policy is in line with other monarchical parties, except that it supports King Vittor Emanuel.

The president of the Committee is Prince Stefano Colonna di Paliano, though the moving force until recently behind the party was Senator Giulio Cesare Sonnino. The Senator has much reduced his activities, at least temporarily, with the accession as result of the recent publicity he has had on account of the Generale Caridionale affair. Other active members are Lt.Col. Gustavo Lo Verde who writes most of the committees propaganda and addresses meetings, Paolo Lentagne, the sons of the Senator, Lt. Brustio, the secretary of the Crown Prince, Lt.Lembo, Padre Izzo and Padre Giusi.

The committee also sponsors the Centro Italiano Partiti di Collaborazione pre in Rimini. Lt.Col. Lo Verde takes an active part in running this "Centro".

Carabinieri H.Q's and Commissaire of the Questura are reported to have been used for doing the work of proselitism. A reliable source stated that he thought that there were about 1500 members judging by the size of the card index in the party offices at Via Cavalleriza a Chiaia 87, Naples. Another source informed this Section in February that Squadrie d'Azione had been formed in Naples by the Committee.

In the months of Nov. and Dec. 1943 and in Jan. 1944 the committee was very active in distributing leaflets and affixing posters. Some of their material was above the signature of Lt.Col. Lo Verde. The party issued the first number of its weekly organ entitled "L'Idea on 28th January 1944. This paper has been published regularly since, the last edition being No. 16 on 22 April 1944. The propaganda issued by the committee was printed in the party works at the Italian Military Command for Campania Region at Palazzo Salerno, Naples.

The committee confines its activities to the Campania area, though there have been instances of its activities in other areas.

Further information can be supplied if required.

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W.A.B.I. Hanley, Major,
Acting Chief Central C Section,
PWB

Copies attached for; Joint Vice-Presidents,
Political Section, ACC.
G.C., AAI, Rear HQ, 8th Army.

1920

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PARTITO DEL REDUCE ITALIANO

ROMA
Via Cortanese No. 6 - Tel. 895.917

Roma, 5 / 9 / 1946

Il Segretario Generale

Alla Sezione Politica dell'A.M.G.

R O M A

Il Colonnello Poletti, al quale inviai copia del programma del Partito del Reduce Italiano, con due mie 'Il agosto u.s. nel partecipargli di averlo letto con molto interesse, augurava al nuovo Partito, - che vuole essere faro di orientamento per i reduci da tutti i fronti e dall'oppressione del fascismo, nel l'esito dell'ordine e nella sana democrazia, - un prospero avvenire. Nel contempo mi consigliava di mettermi in contatto con codesta spettabile sezione, che è la sola autorità competente, leggiucevo, a giudicare in merito ai problemi di angolo generale riguardante la costituzione di partiti, su scala nazionale.

Per tanto, prima di iniziare qualsiasi attività, mi onoro rimetterle una copia del programma del Partito e chiedo che mi venga fissata, al più presto un'udienza, per discutere in merito e fornire elementi sul nostro movimento, che merita tutto l'appoggio da parte degli Alleati, che vi auguro non mancherà.

Nell'attesa, ringrazio ed invio distinti saluti

Avv. Edgardo Nicoletti

Allegati 2

1921

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UNIONE MONARCHICA ITALIANA

- - - -

P R O G R A M M A

L'Unione:
vede nella Monarchia l'istituzione che meglio assicura la realizzazione di uno stato veramente democratico, che si opponga validamente a qualsiasi forma di dittatura di classe o di partito.

L'Unione:
si propone di sviluppare nella mente dei cittadini il convincimento, già insito in essi, che la Monarchia costituzionale, nella sua naturale successione, particolarmente oggi, ancor più che per il passato, è l'unica istituzione, che, nella sua essenza di simbolo di unione nazionale, più di ogni altra forma è idonea ed indispensabile per la garanzia della libertà, dell'ordine e del lavoro, per la ricostruzione del Paese, nell'equilibrato evolversi di ogni e qualsiasi corrente politica.

L'Unione:
si propone di collaborare strettamente, tanto con quei gruppi di idee affini che non deliberassero fondersi con essa, quanto con quei partiti politici che pongano nel loro programma la pregiudiziale di sostenere l'istituzione monarchica costituzionale.

L'Unione:
accoglie tutti coloro che professano idee monarchiche. Può aderirvi sia chi è politicamente indipendente, sia chi è inscritto a gruppo o partiti, sia chi, per ragioni inerenti al proprio stato, non può appartenere a partiti politici.

IL COMITATO CENTRALE

Sede provvisoria della Segreteria:
in Via Regina Elena n. 36 - piano terra
orario : 10/12 - e 16,30/18,30

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(copia corretta)

U. M. I.

UNIONE MONARCHICA ITALIANA

R E G O L A M E N T O

CAPO PRIMO

Soci

Art. 1 - L'ammissione all'U.M.I., aperta anche alle donne, avviene su domanda degli interessati, redatta su apposito modulo, controfirmato da uno o più soci presentatori.

Art. 2 - Ogni iscritto all'U.M.I. riceve una tessera del modello unico stabilito dal Comitato centrale.

Art. 3 - I soci sono distinti nelle categorie:
a) Socio fondatore;
b) Socio benemerito;
c) Socio.
Sono soci fondatori coloro che hanno promosso o organizzato i vari movimenti locali dell'U.M.I.
Sono soci benemeriti quelli che con la loro azione avvantaggiano l'U.M.I. nel raggiungimento dei suoi scopi.
I soci delle categorie a e b sono nominati dal Comitato centrale su proposta dei comitati regionali.

CAPO SECONDO

Organi sociali

Art. 4 - Organi sociali sono:
Un comitato centrale
un comitato regionale per ogni regione d'Italia
un comitato provinciale per ogni provincia
un comitato comunale per ogni comune
le assemblee nazionali, regionali, provinciali e comunali.

Art. 5 - Il comitato comunale è eletto dagli iscritti del comune.
Il comitato provinciale è eletto dai presidenti dei comitati comunali della provincia o da loro delegati.
Il comitato regionale è eletto dai presidenti dei comitati provinciali di ogni regione o da loro deputati (vedi allegato indicante le regioni).
Il comitato centrale è eletto dai presidenti dei comitati regionali e provinciali o da loro delegati.
Il presidente dell'U.M.I. ed i vice presidenti sono eletti dal Comitato centrale.

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Soci

Art. 1 - L'ammissione all'U.M.I., aperta anche alle donne, avviene su domanda degli interessati, redatta su apposito modulo, controfirmato da uno o più soci presentatori.

Art. 2 - Ogni iscritto all'U.M.I. riceve una tessera del modello unico stabilito dal Comitato centrale.

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a) Socio fondatore;
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Sono soci fondatori coloro che hanno promosso o organizzato i vari movimenti locali dell'U.M.I.
Sono soci benemeriti quelli che con la loro azione avvantaggiano l'U.M.I. nel raggiungimento dei suoi scopi.
I soci delle categorie a e b sono nominati dal Comitato centrale su proposta dei comitati regionali.

CAPO SECONDO

Organi sociali

Art. 4 - Organi sociali sono:
Un comitato centrale
un comitato regionale per ogni regione d'Italia
un comitato provinciale per ogni provincia
un comitato comunale per ogni comune
le assemblee nazionali, regionali, provinciali e comunali.

Art. 5 - Il comitato comunale è eletto dagli iscritti del comune.
Il comitato provinciale è eletto dai presidenti dei comitati comunali della provincia o da loro delegati.
Il comitato regionale è eletto dai presidenti dei comitati provinciali di ogni regione o da loro delegati (vedi allegato indicante le regioni).
Il comitato centrale è eletto dai presidenti dei comitati regionali e provinciali o da loro delegati.
Il presidente dell'U.M.I. ed i vice presidenti sono eletti dal Comitato centrale.

Art. 6 - Il comitato centrale comprende un presidente ed un numero pari di membri da 14 a 24.
Esso ha alla sua dipendenza come coadiutori nel raggiungimento dei fini sociali:
un centro di orientamento e studio
un centro di attività giovanile

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i cui nomi sono nominati dal comitato centrale stesso.

Art. 7 - Il comitato centrale, oltre a nominare il presidente, elegge nel suo seno i vice presidenti, un segretario ed un amministratore.
Ciascun comitato regionale comprende 9 membri, che eleggono nel loro seno un presidente, un vice presidente, un segretario ed un amministratore.
Ciascun comitato provinciale comprende 7 membri, che eleggono nel loro seno un presidente, un vice presidente, un segretario ed un amministratore.
Ciascun comitato comunale comprende 5 membri che eleggono nel loro seno un presidente, un vice presidente, un segretario ed un amministratore.

Art. 8 - Tutti i comitati durano in carica 4 anni, si rinnovano per metà ogni due anni ed i loro componenti sono rieleggibili.

CAPO TERZO

Compiti degli organi sociali

Art. 9 - Il comitato centrale ha il governo generale dell'U.N.I. ed emana le direttive, le istruzioni e gli ordini opportuni per il conseguimento dei fini stabiliti dallo Statuto sociale.

Art. 10 - Il centro di orientamento e studi, alle dipendenze del comitato centrale:
a) Segue l'evolversi delle ideologie dei vari partiti nei confronti del principio monarchico, per trarne norma nella difesa del principio stesso;
b) Promuove, incoraggia e, eventualmente, dirige o compila pubblicazioni atte a diffondere e difendere i principi propugnati dallo Statuto dell'U.N.I.;
c) Compila un elenco dei proclami, dei manifesti e di eventuali proposte di modificazioni proposte allo statuto ed al regolamento;
d) Promuove e dirige la propaganda sia a favore del principio monarchico in generale, sia a favore dell'U.N.I. in particolare.

Art. 11 - Il centro di attività giovanile, alle dipendenze del comitato centrale:
a) Promuove, incoraggia ed attua tutte le iniziative atte a facilitare l'afflusso della gioventù all'U.N.I.;
b) Provvede al potenziamento delle forze vive dell'U.N.I. per il trionfo del principio monarchico.

Art. 12 - I comitati regionali, provinciali e comunali, conformemente alle direttive del comitato centrale, hanno il compito direttivo ed organizzativo nei limiti della propria giurisdizione.

Art. 13 - L'Assemblea Nazionale:
a) provvede all'elezione del comitato centrale e di tre revisori dei conti;
b) Si pronuncia su gli argomenti che le vengono sottoposti;
c) Esamina, approva o respinge il bilancio del comitato centrale;
d) Discute, approva o respinge le proposte di modificazione allo statuto o

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Ciascun comitato provinciale comprende 7 membri, che eleggono nel loro seno un presidente, un vice presidente, un segretario ed un amministratore. Ciascun comitato comunale comprende 5 membri che eleggono nel loro seno un presidente, un vice presidente, un segretario ed un amministratore.

Art. 8 - Tutti i comitati durano in carica 4 anni, si rinnovano per metà ogni due anni ed i loro componenti sono rieleggibili.

CAPO TERZO

Compiti degli organi sociali

Art. 9 - Il comitato centrale è il governo generale dell'U.M.I. ed emana le direttive, le istruzioni e gli ordini opportuni per il conseguimento dei fini stabiliti dallo Statuto sociale.

Art. 10 - Il centro di orientamento e studi, alle dipendenze del comitato centrale:
a) Segue l'evolversi delle ideologie dei vari partiti nei confronti del principio monarchico, per trarne norma nella difesa del principio stesso;
b) Promuove, incoraggia e, eventualmente, dirige e compila pubblicazioni atte a diffondere o difendere i principi propugnati dallo Statuto dell'U.M.I.;
c) Compila lo stesso dei proclami, dei manifesti e di eventuali proposte di modificazioni proposte allo statuto od al regolamento;
d) Promuove e dirige la propaganda sia a favore del principio monarchico in generale, sia a favore dell'U.M.I. in particolare.

Art. 11 - Il centro di attività giovanile, alle dipendenze del comitato centrale:
a) Promuove, incoraggia ed attua tutte le iniziative atte a facilitare l'afflusso della gioventù all'U.M.I.;
b) Provvede al potenziamento delle forze vive dell'U.M.I. per il trionfo del principio monarchico.

Art. 12 - I comitati regionali, provinciali e comunali, conformemente alle direttive del comitato centrale, hanno il compito direttivo ed organizzativo nei limiti della propria giurisdizione.

Art. 13 - L'Assemblea Nazionale:
a) Provvede all'elezione del comitato centrale e di tre revisori dei conti;
b) Si pronuncia su gli argomenti che le vengono sottoposti;
c) Esamina, approva o respinge il bilancio del comitato centrale;
d) Discute, approva o respinge le proposte di modificazione allo statuto o al regolamento.

Art. 14 - Le assemblee regionali, provinciali e comunali hanno compiti analoghi a quelli previsti dai comma a, b e c/ per l'Assemblea nazionale, ma nel limite delle attribuzioni dei comitati regionali, provinciali e comunali rispettivamente.

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CAPO QUARTO

Assemblee e riunioni

Art. 15 - Le assemblee tanto nazionali, quanto regionali, provinciali e comunali sono ordinarie o straordinarie.
L'assemblea ordinaria ha luogo dentro il 31 marzo di ciascun anno ed in essa viene approvato il bilancio rispettivamente del comitato centrale, regionale, provinciale o comunale e vengono elette le cariche sociali scadute.
Le assemblee straordinarie vengono convocate quando se ne ravvisi l'opportunità.

Art. 16 - Le assemblee nazionali sono indette dal comitato centrale, o su richiesta di almeno un terzo dei comitati regionali.
Esse hanno luogo con un preavviso di almeno 30 giorni e sono convocate con invito epistolare ai comitati regionali.
Con lo stesso sistema e con un preavviso di 15 giorni sono indette le assemblee regionali, provinciali e comunali.

Art. 17 - Alle assemblee nazionali intervengono, oltre il comitato centrale, i presidenti dei comitati regionali e provinciali o i loro delegati.
Alle assemblee regionali intervengono, oltre il comitato regionale, i presidenti dei comitati provinciali dipendenti o i loro delegati.
Alle assemblee provinciali intervengono, oltre il comitato provinciale, i presidenti dei comitati comunali dipendenti o i loro delegati.
Alle assemblee comunali intervengono gli iscritti del comune.

Art. 18 - Tutte le assemblee sono valide in prima convocazione quando siano presenti almeno un decimo di coloro che devono intervenire. In seconda convocazione sono valide qualunque sia il numero degli intervenuti.

Art. 19 - Le riunioni dei comitati e del centro di orientamento e di quello di attività giovanile sono valide quando sia presente la metà più uno dei componenti.

Art. 20 - Il comitato centrale può invitare alle sue sedute, od aggregarsi temporaneamente, in qualità di consulenti, altri soci dell'Unione per udire il loro parere di volta in volta, od incaricarli di speciali missioni.

Art. 21 - Delle assemblee, delle riunioni di comitato e dei centri di orientamento, volta a volta, succinti verbali che vengono trascritti su appositi libri a cura dei rispettivi segretari.

CAPO QUINTO

Amministrazione

Art. 22 - I fondi sociali sono costituiti dai versamenti annui (quota sociale) fatti da

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viene approvato il bilancio rispettivamente del comitato centrale, regionale, provinciale o comunale e vengono elette le cariche sociali scadute.
Le assemblee straordinarie vengono convocate quando se ne ravvisi l'opportunità.

Art. 16 - Le assemblee nazionali sono indette dal comitato centrale, o su richiesta di almeno un terzo dei comitati regionali.
Esse hanno luogo con un preavviso di almeno 30 giorni e sono convocate con invito epistolare ai comitati regionali.
Con lo stesso sistema e con un preavviso di X giorni sono indette le assemblee regionali, provinciali e comunali.

Art. 17 - Alle assemblee nazionali intervengono, oltre il comitato centrale, i presidenti dei comitati regionali e provinciali o i loro delegati.
Alle assemblee regionali intervengono, oltre il comitato regionale, i presidenti dei comitati provinciali dipendenti o i loro delegati.
Alle assemblee provinciali intervengono, oltre il comitato provinciale, i presidenti dei comitati comunali dipendenti o i loro delegati.
Alle assemblee comunali intervengono gli iscritti del comune.

Art. 18 - Tutte le assemblee sono valide in prima convocazione quando siano presenti almeno un decimo di coloro che debbono intervenire. In seconda convocazione sono valide qualunque sia il numero degli intervenuti.

Art. 19 - Le riunioni dei comitati e del centro di orientamento e di quello di attivi=tà giovanile sono valide quando sia presente la metà più uno dei componenti.

Art. 20 - Il comitato centrale può invitare alle sue sedute, od anche per tempo=ranea=mente, in qualità di consulenti, altri soci dell'Unione per udire il loro pare=re di volta in volta, od incaricarli di speciali missioni.

Art. 21 - Delle assemblee, delle riunioni di comitato e dei corsi si compilano, volta a volta, succinti verbali che vengono trascritti su appositi libri a cura dei rispettivi segretari.

CAPO QUINTO

Amministrazione

Art. 22 - I fondi sociali sono costituiti dai versamenti annui (quota sociale) fatti da ciascun iscritto all'U.N.I. e da eventuali elargizioni.
La quota annua normale è di L. 10.

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Art. 25 - I fondi raccolti dai comitati comunali spettano per due terzi ai comitati stessi e per un terzo al comitato provinciale.
I fondi raccolti dai comitati regionali spettano per due terzi ai comitati stessi e per l'altro terzo al comitato centrale.

Art. 26 - L'impiego dei fondi presso ciascun comitato è affidato all'amministratore sotto la direzione e corresponsabilità del comitato e la vigilanza di tre revisori dei conti nominati annualmente dall'assemblea ordinaria.

Art. 27 - I conti sociali vengono chiusi ogni anno alla data del 31 dicembre. Dopo di che si forma il bilancio che, esaminato e controllato dai revisori, è poi sottoposto all'approvazione della prima assemblea.

CAPO SESTO

Disciplina

Art. 28 - Ogni iscritto all'U.N.I. ha il preciso dovere di fare opera di propaganda a favore dell'istituto combattentistico.

Art. 29 - La collaborazione degli iscritti con i rispettivi comitati è ampia e desiderata. Perciò qualunque iscritto può fare proposte e discutere a voce o per iscritto problemi in esame presso gli organi locali competenti. Una volta, però, che tali problemi siano stati discussi con deliberazioni di assemblea, dal comitato centrale o dagli altri organi competenti, è dovere di ogni iscritto di attenersi a dette deliberazioni.

Art. 30 - L'onore, l'amor di patria e la devozione all'Ideale combattentistico sono le caratteristiche indispensabili d'ogni iscritto all'U.N.I..
Chiunque con parole, con scritti o con fatti viene meno ad uno o più di tali caratteristiche incorre nella diffidenza d'ufficio.
Se la trasgressione dà luogo a pubblicità dannosa al decoro dell'U.N.I. si applica l'espulsione.

Art. 31 - La inosservanza di direttive e ordini dei comitati o di loro delegati è repressa con la sospensione da ogni attività sociale da uno a tre mesi.
Il recidivo è diffidato d'ufficio.

Art. 32 - Le sanzioni di cui ai precedenti art. 28 e 29 vengono date in grado dai comitati competenti.
Per i componenti i comitati comunali provvede il comitato provinciale.
Per i componenti i comitati provinciali provvede il comitato regionale.
Per i componenti i comitati regionali provvede il comitato centrale.
Infine per i componenti del comitato centrale provvede il Presidente in unione con i vice presidenti.

Art. 33 - Contro le sanzioni disciplinari è ammesso il ricorso al comitato di grado

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Revisori dei conti nominati dall'assemblea ordinaria.

Art. 25 - I conti sociali vengono chiusi ogni anno alla data del 31 dicembre. Dopo di che si forma il bilancio che, esaminato e controllato dai revisori, è poi sottoposto all'approvazione della prima assemblea.

CAPO SESTO

Disciplina

Art. 26 - Ogni iscritto all'U.M.I. ha il preciso dovere di fare opera di propaganda a favore dell'istituto monarchico.

Art. 27 - La collaborazione degli iscritti con i rispettivi comitati è sempre desiderata. Perciò qualunque iscritto può fare proposte e discutere a voce o per iscritto problemi in esame presso gli organi sociali competenti. Una volta, però, che tali problemi siano stati risolti con deliberazioni di assemblea, del comitato centrale o degli altri organi competenti, è dovere di ogni iscritto di attenersi a dette deliberazioni.

Art. 28 - L'onore, l'amor di patria e la devozione all'idea monarchica sono le caratteristiche indispensabili d'ogni iscritto all'U.M.I.
Chiunque con parole, con scritti o con fatti viene meno ad uno o più di tali caratteristiche incorre nella diffida d'ufficio.
Se la trasgressione dà luogo a particolare disonore all'onore dell'U.M.I. si applica l'espulsione.

Art. 29 - La inosservanza di direttive e ordini dei comitati o di loro delegati è repressa con la sospensione da ogni attività sociale da uno a tre mesi.
Il recidivo è diffidato d'ufficio.

Art. 30 - Le sanzioni di cui ai precedenti art. 29 e 29 vengono dalle sezioni dai comitati competenti.
Per i componenti i comitati comunali provvede il comitato provinciale.
Per i componenti i comitati provinciali provvede il comitato regionale.
Per i componenti i comitati regionali provvede il comitato centrale.
Infine per i componenti del comitato centrale provvede il Presidente in unione con i vice presidenti.

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Art. 31 - Contro le sanzioni disciplinari è ammesso il ricorso al comitato di grado immediatamente superiore il cui giudizio è inappellabile.
Per le sanzioni deliberate dal comitato centrale è ammesso il ricorso ad una commissione d'inchiesta da nominare, volta per volta dal Presidente dell'U.M.I.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785014

CAPO SETTIMO

Carichi onorari

Art. 32 - E' facoltativa la nomina di presidenti onorari dell'U.M.I.
Tali nomine sono fatte esclusivamente dal comitato centrale o di propria iniziativa o su motivata proposta di un comitato dipendente per tramite del proprio comitato regionale.

CAPO OTTAVO

Varianti allo statuto ed al regolamento

Art. 33 - Varianti allo statuto ed al regolamento possono venire deliberate unicamente dall'assemblea nazionale dell'U.M.I.
Per le varianti allo statuto occorre il voto favorevole di almeno la metà più uno dei comitati esistenti.

CAPO NONO

Disposizioni transitorie

Art. 34 - Il comitato centrale, così come fondamentalmente costituito resta in carica fino al 31 marzo 1946.

Art. 35 - Il comitato centrale può apportare aggiunte o varianti al presente regolamento fino al 31 marzo 1945 senza consultare l'assemblea nazionale.

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Art. 3 A - Non possono far parte dell'Unione coloro che hanno ricoperto cariche politiche fasciste, salvo che, nel periodo posteriore al 25 luglio 1943, abbiano preso posizione contro il nazi-fascismo.

Non possono inoltre far parte dell'Unione coloro che abbiano tratto illecito profitto dal fascismo e dal nazismo.

Sono comunque esclusi dall'Unione tutti coloro che non abbiano tenuto un contegno patriottico durante i mesi dell'occupazione tedesca, o che abbiano collaborato con nazi-fascisti.

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1932

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

AC-Italy
RG 331
Folder 10000/133/299
1 document 1 page

ACCESS RESTRICTED

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Date 9/30/44

From

To

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☒ Security-Classified Information

☐ Otherwise Restricted Information

OSS/CIA (WBL)
Authority

4/11/74
Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA FORM 7117 (2-72)

WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

1933

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

ACC - Italy
RG 331
Folder 10000/132/299
1 document / 2 pages

ACCESS RESTRICTED

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Date 10/9/44

From

To

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OSS/CIA (WDC) 4/11/74
Authority Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION GSA FORM 7117 (2-72)

WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

1934

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785011a

13 February 1945

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am sending you herewith a copy of a translation of a News Sheet of the Republican Fascist Party - Palermo Section which has appeared in Palermo and to which you will no doubt desire to give attention.

Very truly yours,

/s/ Ellery W. Stone

ELLERY W. STONE
Rear Admiral, USNR
Chief Commissioner

His Excellency Ivanoe Bonomi,
The President of the Council of Ministers,
Italian Government,
Rome.

cc: COS
Political Section
CC files

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TRANSLATION

"FOR US" 9.1.1943- XXIII.

Newsheet of the Republican Fascist Party -
Palermo Section

STIMULATED by the pains of an unjust slavery and in the cult of an Idea that the vileness of the present time ennobles and purifies, the voices of the free Italians of Sicily is raised today working in secret revolt. To the disgrace of the traitors and the outrages of the enemy these voices will oppose what still survives the spoliation of the Fatherland: the untouchable dignity the utmost strength of the souls.

While the democrats, slaves to the foreigner, arbitrarily clothed as a pretender, imposes on the people of Italy an unending series of humiliations and sufferings that the lying tongues of the rhetoricians, far from relieving, exasperates; while a criminal reversal of values, on the tattered symbols of the old and only Ideals, is hoisted the dishonored banner of renunciation and fraud; while the name of the fatherland is profaned every day by men who never worked for its greatness but who besmut it and who speed it towards disaster; while political life based on corruption and persecution in the name of national exigency organizes hate and vendetta, and the foreigner raised to the state of master without struggle has taken advantage of an exhausted and divided people, now thanks to his superciliousness and his rancour, this voice rallied round the symbols of our redemption the free forces of the fatherland reborn, working in the dark.

Those who have understood what it means to guard honour, have had strengthened in their hearts during the changing vicissitudes of fortune, intact the culture of the Italian Fatherland, the desire to remake it free and great and the certainty of reconquering some day the honour and the respect of the world, the duty of rededicating the true liberty and of imprinting on a future destiny the instinctive forces of their revolt.

We want to guard in the darkness which has come over our country that which the enemy seeks in vain to destroy; our past and our future, our threatened national unity, our ransomed independence, our Italian name.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AND OF ITALY
I SWEAR
TO FOLLOW THE IDEAS
OF THE DUCE
AND TO SERVE WITH ALL MY STRENGTH
AND IF NECESSARY WITH MY BLOOD
THE CAUSE OF REVOLUTIONARY FASCISM.

5851

1935

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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IN THE NAME OF GOD AND OF ITALY
I SWEAR
TO FOLLOW THE ORDERS
OF THE DUCE
AND TO SERVE WITH ALL MY STRENGTH
AND IF NECESSARY WITH MY BLOOD
THE CAUSE OF REVOLUTIONARY FASCISM.

WHY WE ARE FASCISTS.

OFTEN we feel the urge to ask ourselves: Why are we Fascists? Why are we the defenders of a party that has already lost the last battle?

At...

1936

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

At the same time it is necessary to add: At bottom you are right. You can't be wrong, when one thinks of the twenty profitable years work, of true well-being all to the credit of fascism, while two years of so-called "liberty" have already disillusioned the most rabid anglophile and Americanophiles.

We often feel the urge to say this. But we answer, No, dear sir, no, dear friend, we are not the defenders of a party that has lost the last battle. Because it is necessary to observe that the last battle has not yet been fought, that the issue of this cruel conflict - you must admit it - is to say the least very uncertain.

But that which we want to make clear at the moment is that we are not defending a party. The National Fascist Party is dead; on this we are completely at one. But the original Ideal is not dead, the revolutionary spirit of fascism is not dead; and of this Ideal, of this spirit, we feel ourselves the custodians, precisely us, young men of an incorruptible faith, who have made of Fascism a religion since boyhood, of our strength.

We are fascists not because of a nostalgic yearning for an era of well-being and of tranquility, neither by reason of the fact that we remember a regime which is above all praiseworthy for the indefatigable work for the people.

These are secondary motives; because we are fascists because Fascism is perennial youth, heroic morale of life, audacity without confine; because fascism is honour and dignity of the Fatherland, sure sign of every victory; in a word, because Fascism means ITALY!

"DIES IRAE!"

D.N'T worryyourselves too much, silly old fools of all pseudo-parties! Just follow the advice which your anglo-saxon so kindly offer you. This is our disinterested advice: don't worry too much. Save your energies a little: because the day when you will need them is not, perhaps, very distant. Spare your breath; you may need it.

But perhaps you won't even need it. Your dear "liberators", preoccupied with their leaving, certainly won't have much time to spare for you. And it will then be our exquisite pleasure to deal with you ourselves....!

Then we will make you eat your words. Pray heaven that you won't have to eat the words you have actually written - literally. Then we should ask you to take a good dose of castor oil to help your digestion and a salutary massage with a truncheon.

And you, judges of all the commissions of defascistization;

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1937

5280

We often feel the urge to say this. But we answer; no, dear sir, no, dear friend, we are not the defenders of a party that has lost the last battle. Because it is necessary to observe that the last battle has not yet been fought, that the issue of this cruel conflict - you must admit it - is to say the least very uncertain.

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Then we will make you eat your words. Pray heaven that you won't have to eat the words you have actually written - literally. Then we should ask you to take a good dose of castor oil to help your digestion and a salutary massage with a truncheon.

And you, judges of all the commissions of defascistization; instead of venting your spleen on some poor devil of a clerk, instead of venting your stupid annoyance against some officer who has sought only to do his duty, remember what the gospels say: "Judge not that ye be not judged!"

No mercy for all the outrages you have perpetrated against our people; to please your masters you have deprived families of the pensions which are justly due to the fallen of this war; you have forbidden the heroes the right to wear the ribbons which they have won by their courage; you have renounced, in the name of a people whom

you...

1938

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you do not represent, all the conquests of twenty years, which fascism, or no fascism, has cost the sons of Italy much suffering and much blood.

We have a steel will and a memory like an elephant. And we won't forget! it will come, then, it will come, for you "Dies Irae!"

PLAIN WORDS

At last has appeared the first number of "NOI DUE" which seeks to be, among all the base cringing to the foreigner, the sincere and free voice of all true Italians.

Around it, symbol of every hardihood, mark of purest faith, gather the comrades of yesterday and today, the most faithful of every hours, those who never give up. Now is the hour to sound our battle-cry, because the hour of decision is at hand.!

We say, this to the uncertain ones, the too luke-warm ones, to the diffident ones, not to push them or force them into our ranks, who are for the rest strong enough for any battle, but to warn them that now is the time to abandon certain purposely ambiguous positions, certain convenient masquerades, certain sitting-on-the-fence attitudes through cowardice or calculated self-interest. Enough of hypocrisy! You must chose one side or the other of the fence. We can't stand any more of this shilly-shallying, playing safe, this waiting-and-seeing or this "you never know" attitude, those who, in a phrase, always stand behind the blind!

Today there are no more concessions, there is no more waiting allowed: The Fatherland is in danger and calls its sons to the death-struggle in defence of the race, tradition, honour. Those who turn a deaf ear to the cry of the Great Mother are unworthy to be called Italians and should tremble for the just and inexorable fate that awaits them.

Against the evil genius of those who betrayed and still betray or sell themselves to the enemy or who merely help the enemy by their pretended cooperation, whose lack of faith paralyses all attempts at resurrection, against all that ignoble company the youth of Italy considers that the time is ripe.

Now at the dawning of what cannot fail to be day of our redemption we point out to every Italian worthy of the name the sacred path of sacrifice of thousands and thousands of fallen: the way of honour!

The Legionaire.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

1940

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

20 December 1944

Ref: 550

SUBJECT: National Reconstruction.

TO : Civil Affairs Section

FROM : Political Section

I attach a copy of the reply sent to the Liberal Socialist Party's letter in question to, of course, our official views, you will see from the fourth paragraph, the Italians are not friendly towards the Government. If the Socialist Party intended to take positive steps towards the relief of the Government, the best thing would be for them to put an end to their own internecine quarrels, through the Socialist Unification Committee, in which the Communists, through no initiative of theirs, are now participating.

C.C.S.

H. T. C. [illegible]
Acting Vice President, Political Section.

3 Encl. [illegible]
[illegible]

5269

1941

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 795016

Ref: 11/294

To: Head of Chancery
British Embassy
ROME

Copy: A. Halford, Esq.,
Political Section
A.C.C., Rome

From: A.C.C.
Room 1701 Allied Command

Date: 16th January, 1945

CLANDESTINE FASCIST PARTY IN ROME

1. There is now evidence in tangible form of a clandestine Fascist Party in Rome. Appended are photostat copies of the first, and so far the only, edition of the Party's newspaper.

2. According to source the Party contains in addition to members of the Mussolini era, men who previously had little or nothing to do with the Party, but who have no links with the C.L.N. and are apprehensive of the apparent control of the Left Wing Parties. Source describes the members as brave, serious and emotional types of men who support a modified form of Fascism as the only system of government capable of arresting Communism in the country. Source is unable at present to give any precise indication of the size of the Party, but states that his informant told him there were "several thousand" members.

3. Source has been told to continue his investigations.

530

5278

[signature]
Major
I.S.L.D.

1942

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Da parte del
Partito Indipendente Democratico
(via Principessa Clotilde, 7)

Prof. Marcello Umberto dell'
Università di Roma (*)
coniug. Rossi Cesare Giulio

(*) Via Alfieri Secondo 4
(Tel. 52856)

1943

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

TELEGRAMMA A MANO

A S.E. il Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri

e, per conoscenza, alla

"Allied Commission"

R O M A.

Partiti, organizzazioni, movimenti autenticamente democratici antifascisti, antidittatoriali, antitotalitari, veggonsi ormaϕ costretti denunziare politica oligarchica dello attuale inefficiente Governo Italiano;

invocano anzitutto promesso esercizio libertà pensiero propaganda attraverso stampa et nuovi periodici espressione maggioranza Paese, maggioranza estranea fazioso monopolio sei Partiti preoccupati proprio successo, autoinvestiti ogni potere, riluttanti ogni controllo;

avendo atteso et taciuto finora disciplina guerra, carità Patria, deferenza vittoriosi Alleati, declinano responsabilità qualora illiberale esarchia dominante prosegua aut consenta fascisticamente quotidiana violazione leggi, giustizia, elementari diritti democrazia.

PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO
COMITATO PER LA RICOSTRUZIONE NAZIONALE
UNIONE MONARCHICA ITALIANA
MOVIMENTO MONARCHICO
UNIONE DEMOCRATICA NAZIONALE
PARTITO DI UNIONE PROLETARIA
SETTIMANALE "L'OPINIONE"
- anche a nome di Gruppi minori -

Romaϕ 31 Ottobre 1944.

PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO

SEGRETERIA GENERALE

ROMA, 1944
VIA PRINCIPESSA CLOTILDE, 7 - TELEF. 31.204

(Ordine del giorno approvato dall'Assemblea Generale in data 17-9-44)

IL PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO (P.IN.D.)

- in attesa di quella che - dopo liberato l'intero Paese, stipulato l'armistizio e conclusa la pace, restituiti alla Patria prigionieri, internati, deportati e lavoratori all'Estero (milioni) - dovrà essere la chiara, genuina consultazione del Popolo Italiano prima sul problema istituzionale (sotto la forma democratica del r e f e r e n d u m), poi sull'indirizzo politico (Assemblea c o s t i t u e n t e);

- mentre rinnova l'affermazione, tempestivamente fatta (15 giugno 1944), che un Governo di parte o una oligarchia di partiti non sono atti ad assicurare il necessario clima e le indispensabili garanzie per la libera espressione di tale volontà popolare, garanzie e clima che solo offrirà un forte Governo di tecnici, superiore alle fazioni e politicamente neutro;

- denuncia, come nuovo palese documento della spirito fazioso predominante nella oligarchia al potere, la subdola, minacciosa manovra delle anticipate, affrettate, imposte e l e z i o n i a m m i n i s t r a t i v e le quali - nel generale disorientamento, fra problemi di vita quotidiana insoluti e improrogabili (fame, disoccupazione, ricostruzione, epurazione, guerra e pace, ecc.) - dovrebbero, dopo vani tentativi precedenti, fare il gioco della coalizione repubblicana ogni padrona incontrastata dello Stato, della stampa, dei posti di comando o di controllo su enti pubblici e privati, violatrice sistematica - non da oggi - delle libertà altrui, emula della intolleranza fascista; dovrebbero cioè, in una transitoria condizione di privilegio, carpire al Popolo un torbido, equivoco consenso da ostentare poi agli Alleati come volontà di maggioranza;

- richiama S.E. il Presidente del Consiglio alla doverosa salvaguardia dei diritti di tutti - anche di quella autentica maggioranza che non trova nell'esarchia i propri rappresentanti, ma troppi "duci" redivivi - e al mantenimento delle garanzie più volte da lui, democratico, date in tal senso;

- invoca da tutti i partiti, i movimenti, gli uomini d'ordine, che solo dall'ordine e nell'ordine si attendono e cercano le vie della

1944
Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

(Ordine del giorno approvato dall'Assemblea Generale in data 17-9-44)

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- denuncia, come nuovo palese documento dello spirito fazioso predominante nella oligarchia al potere, la subdola, minacciosa manovra delle anticipate, affrettate, imposte e l e z i o n i a m m i n i s t r a t i v e le quali - nel generale disorientamento, fra problemi di vita quotidiana insoluti e improrogabili (fame, disoccupazione, ricostruzione, epurazione, guerra e pace, ecc.) - dovrebbero, dopo vani tentativi precedenti, fare il gioco della coalizione repubblicana ogni padrona incontrastata dello Stato, della stampa, dei posti di comando o di controllo su enti pubblici e privati, violatrice sistematica - non da oggi - della libertà altrui, emula della intolleranza fascista; dovrebbero cioè, in una transitoria condizione di privilegio, carpire al Popolo un torbido, equivoco consenso da ostentare poi agli Alleati come volontà di maggioranza;

- richiama S.E. il Presidente del Consiglio alla doverosa salvaguardia dei diritti di tutti - anche di quella autentica maggioranza che [illegible] non trova nell'esarchia i propri rappresentanti, ma troppi "duci" redivivi - e al mantenimento delle garanzie più volte da lui, democratico, date in tal senso;

- invoca da tutti i partiti, i movimenti, gli uomini d'ordine, che solo dall'ordine e nell'ordine si attendono e cercano le vie della faticosa rinascita italiana, un pronto, solidale, pubblico interven-

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1945
Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO

SEGRETERIA GENERALE

ROMA, 1944

VIA PRINCIPESSA CLOTILDE, 7 - TELEF. 31.204

FOGLIO 2°

to contro le nuove, più gravi sopraffazioni socialcomunista, affiancate dai partiti del Fronte repubblicano, subite dai cauti collaboratori, invano contrastate dagli innumerevoli ma inermi avversari: sopraffazione che, snaturando il verdetto popolare, tende a svuotare o precludicare ogni futuro "referendum" e trasforma così l'istituto più democratico, quale è la consultazione elettorale, in quelli che il cinismo antiliberale dei Fascisti ebbe l'impudenza di definire "riti cartacei";

- invoca, ove tale appello non fosse raccolto da chi di dovere, l'alto intervento degli alleati garanti, con la vittoria, e di S.A.R. il Luogotenente tutore, col vigente patto costituzionale, di tutte le libertà civili.

(La Segreteria Generale)

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO

SEGRETERIA GENERALE

ROMA, 1944
VIA PRINCIPESSA CLOTILDE, 7 - TELEF. 31.204

(Ordine del giorno approvato dall'Assemblea Generale in data 17-9-44)

IL PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO (P.I.N.D.)

preso in esame i provvedimenti fin qui adottati dal Governo, specie in materia di politica economica, e particolarmente alcuni relativi alla disciplina della produzione nel campo agricolo e della distribuzione dei prodotti alimentari;

ravvisa in essi l'evidente mediato tentativo di instaurare una politica economica fondata su premesse ideologiche di parte, esorbitando così dai limiti che l'onestà politica dovrebbe imporre alla azione di Governo, sino a quando non sia data al popolo italiano la possibilità di esprimere liberamente il proprio pensiero sull'indirizzo cui dovrà ispirarsi la condotta dei pubblici poteri rispetto ai problemi economici;

denuncia in tal modo la tendenza dell'attuale Governo di porre sin d'ora, con una serie di fatti compiuti, delle ipoteche sull'assetto futuro della vita economica del Paese;

ed invoca che l'attività governativa sia limitata per ora alla soluzione dei gravi ed indeferibili problemi del momento, senza pregiudizio della loro definitiva impostazione e soluzione sulla base del responso che solo potrà essere dato da tutto il popolo italiano all'indomani del conflitto.

5223

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

1948

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO
ROMA - SEGRETERIA GENERALE - ROMA

POSTULATI PROGRAMMATICI.

Il PIND, intransigentemente antifascista come tutta l'Italia migliore, mentre afferma e consacra nel nome stesso la sua indipendenza da particolaristici interessi italiani o stranieri, considera corresponsabili del triste ventennio mussoliniano la diserzione dei vecchi Partiti, la decadenza delle classi dirigenti, la credula immaturità delle masse politiche italiane; denuncia i primi orientamenti illiberali e monopolistici di quegli stessi Partiti nella loro risurrezione postfascista; e pertanto chiama a raccolta gli Italiani amanti della vera libertà – che è libertà *di tutti* – e dell'autentica democrazia – che è governo in rappresentanza *di tutti* – in un movimento nuovo e rinnovatore, sulla base del più completo, organico, moderno piano di riforme, col pregiudiziale compito della restaurazione *morale* del Paese e della inesorabile persecuzione dei profittatori d'ogni tempo e d'ogni etichetta.

Sono compresi nel programma del PIND i postulati seguenti.

I. – PROBLEMI DELLO STATO.

1. – Governo provvisorio di unione nazionale, formato da tecnici e politicamente neutro, col compito di amministrare il Paese, riconducendolo dalla sconfitta alla vittoria in comune coi valorosi Alleati, mercè la riorganizzazione e l'impiego dell'esercito *nazionale*, fuori da ogni rinascente milizia o volontarismo di parte; e di preparare procedimenti e clima per la futura consultazione plebiscitaria.

5273

1949

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785 Cable

2. – Plebiscito (a pace conclusa e con assoluta libertà di propaganda e di voto) sulla permanenza o meno dell'istituto monarchico, cui il PIND – scevro d'ogni vieto servilismo dinastico – vuole solennemente riaffidata dal Popolo – non senza opportune garanzie costituzionali – la storica missione di continuità, di ordine, di coesione, di limite alle intemperanze civili e soprattutto di ostacolo ai possibili tentativi di *dittatura* personale o partigiana o di classe.

3. – Riforma della Costituzione, successivamente elaborata dal primo Parlamento investito dell'autorità di Costituente. Coordinamento e indipendenza dei tre poteri (legislativo, esecutivo, giudiziario); indipendenza degli organi costituzionali di controllo.

Riforma del Senato, mercè la eleggibilità di una parte de' suoi membri. Riconoscimento e prerogative di un Capo della Opposizione parlamentare, in rappresentanza delle minoranze.

4. – Voto *obbligatorio* per tutti i cittadini maschi; graduale e facoltativo per le donne.

5. – Decentramento amministrativo (Regione), e sostanziale riforma della pubblica Amministrazione.

II. – PROBLEMI DELLA VITA INTERNA.

6. – Precedenza, su ogni altro, ai doveri della ricostruzione.

Problemi morali.

7. – Riforma della Scuola, istruzione assicurata gratuitamente e illimitatamente ai non abbienti (in Collegi di Stato). Libertà alle Arti e alla Stampa; incremento agli sport.

8. – Riordinamento della Giustizia.

9. – Preminenza alla Religione Cattolica, col rispetto d'ogni altro culto. Difesa della Famiglia. Riconoscimento

1950

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO

ROMA - SEGRETERIA GENERALE - ROMA

POSTULATI PROGRAMMATICI.

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1951

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785 Cable

2. – Plebiscito (a pace conclusa e con assoluta libertà di propaganda e di voto) sulla permanenza o meno dell'istituto monarchico, cui il PIND – scevro d'ogni vieto servilismo dinastico – vuole solennemente riaffidata dal Popolo – non senza opportune garanzie costituzionali – la storica missione di continuità, di ordine, di coesione, di limite alle intemperanze civili e soprattutto di ostacolo a possibili tentativi di *dittatura* personale o partigiana o di classe.

3. – Riforma della Costituzione, successivamente elaborata dal primo Parlamento investito dell'autorità di Costituente. Coordinamento e indipendenza dei tre poteri (legislativo, esecutivo, giudiziario); indipendenza degli organi costituzionali di controllo.

Riforma del Senato, mercè la eleggibilità di una parte de' suoi membri. Riconoscimento e prerogative di un Capo della Opposizione parlamentare, in rappresentanza delle minoranze.

4. – Voto *obbligatorio* per tutti i cittadini maschi; graduale e facoltativo per le donne.

5. – Decentramento amministrativo (Regione), e sostanziale riforma della pubblica Amministrazione.

II. – PROBLEMI DELLA VITA INTERNA.

6. – Precedenza, su ogni altro, ai doveri della ricostruzione.

Problemi morali.

7. – Riforma della Scuola, istruzione assicurata gratuitamente e illimitatamente ai non abbienti (in Collegi di Stato). Libertà alle Arti e alla Stampa; incremento agli sport.

8. – Riordinamento della Giustizia.

9. – Preminenza alla Religione Cattolica, col rispetto d'ogni altro culto. Difesa della Famiglia. Riconoscimento

1952

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

giuridico della piena eguaglianza alla Donna. Organizzazioni giovanili in funzione educativa.

Problemi economici.

10. – Mediazione dello Stato fra libertà economica ed economia regolata. Esercizio della proprietà in funzione dell'interesse collettivo. Radicali provvedimenti risanatori nel campo finanziario e del credito.

11. – Politica agraria realistica (aliena quindi da illusionismi demagogici); lottizzazione (dovunque possibile) del latifondo, assorbimento graduale del bracciantato, espropriazione dei terreni inadeguatamente sfruttati; condizioni di vita (edilizia rurale, ecc.) atte a legare l'agricoltore alla terra.

12. – Disciplina – in regime di libera concorrenza – della grande industria (fino all'eventuale statizzazione di pubblici servizi e di industrie-chiave), diffusione dell'industria piccola e media, incremento dell'artigianato.

13. – Libera attività, previa selezione tecnica, del commercio; riorganizzazione dei trasporti. Sviluppo dell'attrezzatura turistica. Graduale ricostruzione della flotta mercantile.

14. – Risanamento igienico di scuola, casa e caserma; assistenza profilattica e sanitaria gratuita.

15. – Soluzione dei problemi del Mezzogiorno, previo intervento dello Stato, col potenziare le iniziative locali.

Problemi organizzativi del lavoro.

16. – Libertà di lavoro e diritto di sciopero; sindacato unico obbligatorio e apolitico; efficacia giuridica del contratto di lavoro collettivo stipulato dai sindacati riconosciuti e loro funzione arbitrale. Salario o stipendio con aliquota mobile periodicamente e *automaticamente* ragguagliata al costo della vita. Consigli di fabbrica, come organi rappresentativi delle maestranze e dei rispet-

1953

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

tivi bisogni. Estensione e disciplina delle assicurazioni sociali.

17. - Collocamento assicurato a tutti i disoccupati. Collocamento preferenziale, ma razionale, ai Reduci.

18. - Cooperazione quale mezzo di emancipazione del lavoro e di difesa del consumatore.

III. - PROBLEMI DELLA VITA ESTERA.

19. - Pacifismo a oltranza del PIND; in caso di necessità: Nazione armata, con snello organismo militare professionale e adeguato armamento.

20. - Posizione dell'Italia - a parità di diritti e di doveri - nel libero consesso delle Democrazie, grandi e piccole, partecipando al definitivo assetto mondiale e alla tutela della pace, salva l'unità etnica, geografica, economica, politica della Nazione e con sbocchi adeguati alla sovrabbondanza demografica e alla provata capacità colonizzatrice; nei casi d'insanabile mescolanza e convivenza etnica, scambio di popolazioni o trasferimento di minoranze, a salvaguardia d'una pace duratura.

Avvento di un'Europa economicamente e politicamente solidale.

1954

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

giuridico della piena eguaglianza alla Donna. Organizzazioni giovanili in funzione educativa.

Problemi economici.

10. – Mediazione dello Stato fra libertà economica ed economia regolata. Esercizio della proprietà in funzione dell'interesse collettivo. Radicali provvedimenti risanatori nel campo finanziario e del credito.

11. – Politica agraria realistica (aliena quindi da illusionismi demagogici); lottizzazione (dovunque possibile) del latifondo, assorbimento graduale del bracciantato, espropriazione dei terreni inadeguatamente sfruttati; condizioni di vita (edilizia rurale, ecc.) atte a legare l'agricoltore alla terra.

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Problemi organizzativi del lavoro.

16. – Libertà di lavoro e diritto di sciopero; sindacato unico obbligatorio e apolitico; efficacia giuridica del contratto di lavoro collettivo stipulato dai sindacati riconosciuti e loro funzione arbitrale. Salario o stipendio con aliquota mobile periodicamente e *automaticamente* ragguagliata al costo della vita. Consigli di fabbrica, come organi rappresentativi delle maestranze e dei rispet-

1955

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

tivi bisogni. Estensione e disciplina delle assicurazioni sociali.

17. – Collocamento assicurato a tutti i disoccupati. Collocamento preferenziale, ma razionale, ai Reduci.

18. – Cooperazione quale mezzo di emancipazione del lavoro e di difesa del consumatore.

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Avvento di un'Europa economicamente e politicamente solidale.

Un messaggio augurale di Bonomi a Don Sturzo

ROMA, 25 (NNC). — Il Presidente del Consiglio on. Bonomi ha diretto a don Luigi Sturzo il seguente telegramma augurale:

«La fine di quest'anno dovrebbe in ogni caso essere per ciascuno di noi particolarmente caro e pieno di fiducia. Il Governo, quanto e come le stesse ripercussioni per la nobilissima attività da lei svolta, con così grande competenza e disinteressata sagacia a favore del Popolo italiano.

Ed anche voglio dire che questa attività conforma intorno per l'avvenire nella speranza che l'anno nuovo possa ridare alla Patria, finalmente rasserenata nel concorde lavoro di tutti i suoi figli, quella giusta pace che le consenta di rimarginare le sue ferite e di riprendere il suo posto in quel mondo più degno che è nei voti comuni.

Accolga con i miei auguri migliori le espressioni della mia stima amicale».

Nel trasmettere il telegramma del Presidente del Consiglio, anche il Ministro per gli Affari esteri S. E. De Gasperi ha fatto pervenire a don Luigi Sturzo i suoi particolari rallegramenti e i suoi auguri più sentiti.

Capo Ufficio Stampa
Direttore Gen. Serv. Stampa

Ripetere a Londra e Washington

Un messaggio natalizio di Sturzo

NEW YORK, 25 (NNC). — Nell'odierna trasmissione de «La voce dell'America», don Luigi Sturzo ha indirizzato agli italiani un messaggio per il Natale.

Egli ha sottolineato il significato tradizionale della festività religiosa che reca una parola di speranza e una via di pace in mezzo ai disastri e alle sofferenze dell'Europa. Ma la speranza — aggiunge don Sturzo — si riforma se gli Alleati, ai quali Iddio, e non gli uomini, ha assegnato la vittoria materiale delle armi, sapranno vincere i naturali egoismi che ogni vittoria desta nei cuori. Se al contrario, essi mancheranno agli ideali di umanità, di libertà, di moralità cristiani, questa seconda guerra mondiale, non sarà seguita da una pace tranquilla, ma solo da una tregua ostiata da paure, tormenti e rimorsi. Noi italiani abbiamo troppo provato rimorsi e paure per precedenti guerre ingiuste, culminate nella presente guerra distruttiva. Ora è nostro compito trovare nella pacificazione interna, nel lavoro assiduo nello sviluppo della cultura, nello spirito della fraternità quella pace serena che non ci diedero i sogni di grandezza e la cupidigia di territori altrui.

1956
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PARTITO DELL'ORDINE NUOVO
"DEMOCRATICO"
Sez. Prov.le SIRACUSA

Eccellenza

A titolo di informazione e per benevola collaborazione ho scrivente l'onore sottoporre all'alto e illuminato giudizio dell'Eccellenza Vostra il seguente commento al qui allegato articolo sul messaggio natalizio del tanto vantato Don Sturzo, oltre il conseguente messaggio augurale dell'attuale Presidente del Consiglio Signor Bonomi.
Don Sturzo in questo suo messaggio intelligente e significativo e con un meraviglioso linguaggio metaforico vuole convincere il mondo intero e gl'Italiani in ispecie che nella guerra precedente 1916-1918 gli Alleati peccarono di molto egoismo nei riguardi dell'Italia, dando implicitamente ragione e motivo all'affermazione del Fascismo e della sua accorta tutela al potere e quindi alla grande confederazione Europea. Ora se gli Alleati, certamente vincitori, si trattassero similmente avverrebbe la stessa cosa. In conseguenza il messaggio sturziano ha dato motivo e campo del fascismo di dimostrare con evidenza e fondatezza le proprie ragioni circa la giustezza della causa italiana di prevenire e scegliere il proprio immane conflitto. Per cui è potuto formare oggetto di consultazione e di propaganda specie fra gl'intellettuali ai fini specifici di favorire il nemico in tempo di guerra anche indirettamente e di minare la coscienza anche dei combattenti tanto più la dialettica di Don Sturzo è stata confermata e lodata dal Primo Ministro italiano col suo telegramma augurale qui accluso per visione e considerazione.

Se i due messaggi fossero stati elaborati da uomini della stessa nazione avremmo detto che uno di essi Don Sturzo e

5270

1957

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1958

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[illegible] l'onore sottoporre all'alto e illuminato giudizio dell'Eccellenza Vostra il seguente commento al qui allegato articolo sul messaggio natalizio del tanto vantato Don Sturzo, oltre il consueto messaggio augurale dell'attuale Presidente del Consiglio Fanfani Bonomi.

Don Sturzo in questo suo messaggio intelligente e significativo, con un meraviglioso linguaggio metaforico vuole convincere il mondo intero e gli Italiani in ispecie che nella guerra precedente 1916-1918 gli Alleati peccarono di molto egoismo nei riguardi dell'Italia, dando implicitamente ragione e motivo all'affermazione del Fascismo e della sua ascesa vertiginosa al potere e quindi alla grande confrontazione europea. Ora se gli Alleati, certamente vincitori, si trattassero similmente avverrebbe la stessa cosa. Se con questo messaggio sturziano ho dato motivo e campo del preciso di dimostrare con evidenza e fondatezza le proprie ragioni circa la giustezza della causa italiana di provocare e scegliare il presente immane conflitto. Per cui è potuto formare oggetto di compiacimento e di propaganda (specie fra gli intellettuali) ai fini specifici di favorire il nemico in tempo di guerra anche indirettamente e di minare la coscienza anche dei combattenti tanto più la dialettica di Don Sturzo è stata confermata e lodata dal Primo Ministro italiano col suo telegramma augurale qui accluso per visione e convinzione.

5270

Se i due messaggi fossero stati elaborati da comun denominatore non avremmo fatto caso, ma da un Don Sturzo e da un Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri la cosa è diversa — perchè come V. Ecc. sa bene quest'ultimo potrebbe formare oggetto di speculazione e clamore nell'opinione pubblica.

La propaganda a favore del nemico in tempo di guerra non è stata mai un motivo trascurabile ed infatti la legge militare francese gravissime; ritenne quindi salutare che le Autorità Alleate facessero con egual e tale rigore perchè la delittuosa incoraggia e nel caso in ispecie conferma la propaganda nemica. La libertà non deve trascendere i limiti della giustizia: il dolce e l'amaro vanno sempre insieme, perchè separatamente usati si cade nell'errore di un governo con tutte le conseguenze note ed ignote.

È bene ricordare a Don Sturzo che le guerre non si vincono con deviate e con i falsi presupposti ma col sangue, con gravissimi sacrifici ed inenarrabili sofferenze. Piuttosto che lasciare i nemici più distruggere le vette di Cefalù, occorrerebbe fare in tempo a costruire efficacemente alla causa santa degli Alleati evitando così, all'atto della pace, di far gravare sulla bilancia tutti i bollettini di guerra passati: perchè la storia insegna che nessun popolo si consuma e vinca per sport. E se non si avesse da pagare gli Alleati avrebbero il sacro diritto di dire: Ci siamo e resteremo in Sicilia - chiave del Mediterraneo - - - - - Certamente Don Sturzo che ha dimenticato la testa nella sua Caltagirone - città famosa per la fabbricazione dei vasi da notte, non pensa quello che sarebbe accaduto agli Alleati in caso di vittoria delle forze avverse. Le sue minacce non servono ad altro che ad apprezzare la posizione dell'Italia ed a fare scoprire la sua finta amicizia. Meno male che di Sturzi in Italia ne abbiamo pochi: due o tre del popolo italiano amiamo i nostri Grandi e generosi Alleati come noi stessi e forse anche più di noi stessi; crediate, Eccellenza, e fatelo credere agli alti Uomini di vostra gente.

Coi sensi della più alta stima

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785646

1960

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785116

...volere giudicare neutrale e non belligerante chi come voi ...
...ogni e tale scrupolo perché la debolezza incoraggia e nel caso in ispecie conferma la perfidia nemica. La libertà non deve trascendere i limiti della giustizia: il dolce e l'amaro hanno sempre insieme, perché separatamente usati si cade nell'errore di malgoverno in tutte le conseguenze note ed ignote.

È bene ricordare a Don Sturzo che le guerre non si vincono con decreti e con i falsi passaporti ma col sangue, con grandi sacrifici ed indicibili sofferenze. Piuttosto che bruciare i municipi per distruggere le carte di leva occorrerebbe fare in tempo a consegnare efficacemente alla causa santa degli Alleati evitando così, all'atto della pace, di far gravare sulla bilancia tutti i bollettini di guerra passati perché la storia insegna che nessun popolo si conserva e vince per sport. E se non si dovesse da pagare gli Alleati avrebbero il sacro diritto di dirci: Ci siamo o ci restiamo in Sicilia - chiave del Mediterraneo - - - - - Certamente Don Sturzo che ha dimenticato la testa nella sua Caltagirone - città famosa per la fabbricazione dei vasi da notte, non pensa quello che sarebbe accaduto agli Alleati in caso di vittoria delle forze avverse. Le sue minacce non servono ad altro che ad apprezzare la posizione dell'Italia ed a fare scoprire la sua finta amicizia. Meno male che di Sturzo in Italia ne abbiamo pochi e che il 4/5 del popolo italiano ammira i nostri Grandi e generosi Alleati come mai stessi e forse anche più di noi stessi; credetelo, Eccellenza, e fatelo credere agli altri illustri di vostra gente.

Coi segni della più alta devozione e considerazione

Il Prefetto della Provincia
del Partito

Siracusa 4 Gennaio 1944.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX I NO. 55

15 FEBRUARY 1945

POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERATED ITALY

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Additional copies of this Appendix are available on request.

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1961

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERATED ITALY

Introduction

The following appendix has been prepared in the endeavor to present a comprehensive picture of the growth, organization and programmes of the principal political parties existing in Italy today. Some of the major ones have been omitted, but an additional appendix will follow describing these. It is inevitable that after twenty years of fascist oppression during which period everything possible was done by Mussolini and his henchmen to discredit the idea and practise of democracy both inside and outside of Italy, that the rebirth and growth of democracy should be accompanied by certain difficulties. When a whole generation has been educated in an atmosphere of hatred, ignorance and intolerance, it is not surprising that the youth of the country should have to learn the ways of democracy by slow experience, and in the course of this lesson should occasionally betray signs of the influence of twenty years of tyranny. While the youth was deliberately isolated from the ideas of the rest of the world, the older democratic leaders were either driven into exile, imprisoned or forced into an obscure retirement. Each year numbers of Italian democrats were tried before the Special Tribunals of the State and sentenced to imprisonment for refusing to submit to the dictates of a ruthless tyranny. Many of these Italians were intellectuals, other politicians, other labour organizers, and many were workers. Some, like Matteotti, Amendola, or Gramsci were assassinated, beaten to death or left to die slowly in prison. After twenty years of resistance, these men have emerged from their prisons, returned from their hard, lonely exile, or emerged from their enforced retirement, to find that fascism by suppressing liberty and democracy has landed Italy in the greatest disaster since her unification. Many had sacrificed twenty years of active political life in deference to the ideals of liberty and democracy. They have waged a long battle against the forces of tyranny and they have seen liberty triumphant once again in their land.

In the meantime a new generation has grown up. These young persons have never known how a democracy works. For them elections, a parliament, a free press are something which they have thirsted for during the years of oppression, and now that such things are within their reach they have to accustom themselves by experience to a heady wine which may at times intoxicate them. They have however experienced dictatorship and have drunk the cup of tryanny to the dregs. During the last years of fascism there was a distinct reaction among the younger generation in Italy.

1962
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The clandestine war activity of the anti-fascists increased before the war and after 1940 was organized and extended throughout Italy. Two clandestine groups had never ceased to function in Italy; one was the Communist party, and the other was the movement known as "Giustizia e Libertà" (an organization which attracted to its ranks liberals, socialists and democrats). The Communist party under the leadership of Antonio Gramsci opposed fascism actively in the Chamber of Deputies until its final supression by Mussolini. The party then retired underground and throughout Italy cells were organized. During

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the early years of fascism most of the leaders of the party were imprisoned or forced into exile. Gramsci, Scoccimarro and Terracini were imprisoned, and Togliatti, Negarville and Reale went into exile. Gramsci (the recognized leader of the party) died in prison in 1937. Scoccimarro and Terracini were not released until August, 1943. Togliatti directed the party from Moscow where he was also one of the secreteries of the Comintern. After the leaders had been eliminated, it appears, the party was forced to concentrate on building up its organization, and, apart from the occasional distribution of a clandestine newspaper or the writing on walls of anti-fascist slogans, there was little apparent sign of Communist activity in the years before Italy declared war. From time to time there were attempts to organize strikes, or sabotage the fascist war machine (both during the Ethiopian war and the Spanish Civil War) but generally a certain number of Communists were rounded up and the prisons swelled still further. After the entry of Italy into the war, and particularly after the German attack on Russia, the Communists intensified their organization which reached the point where they were able to stage the general strike in Northern Italy of Spring, 1943. This was the largest strike of its kind which occurred in any occupied or satellite country in Europe during the war. The Communists were almost entirely responsible both for the organization of this strike and the one which took place in the following year under the eyes of the Germans. It is reported that the Communist party during the clandestine period of the struggle against fascism, received both financial and moral support from Russia.

In the meantime the "Giustizia e Libertà" movement had been carrying on its opposition to fascism during the same period. Leaflets and newspapers were printed and circulated throughout Italy. Contact was maintained with the outside world, through the central headquarters which were in Paris. The escape of Emilio Lussu, Carlo Rosselli and others were planned and successfully executed by the "Giustizia e Libertà" movement. The dominating figures in exile were Alberto Tarchiani, Alberto Cianca, Emilio Lussu, Carlo Rosselli and Giuseppe Saragat.

Apart from these two groups there was no organized resistance to fascism after the suppression of the freedom of the press in 1926. The old parties finally disappeared in 1929 when the fascists held their first totalitarian elections. Liberals like Giolitti, Orlando and Soleri had continued to oppose the fascists in the Chamber of Deputies until the

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As fascism raced towards suicide, after 1940 the opposition to the corruption, inefficiency and brutality of the regime increased. In May, 1943, after the great and successful strike of that year, six parties emerged to form a National, anti-fascist front. The Liberals, the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and the Communists were all parties which had existed in pre-fascist days and they gathered round

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themselves in this clandestine period many of the former members of these parties as well as many of the more active, courageous and determined young men who had grown to loathe fascism with a deep, undying hatred. The "Giustizia e Libertà" movement had developed first into the Liberal-Socialist party and later into the Party of Action and this was one of the new parties which attracted many followers during the clandestine period, as it lived up to its name and was one of the new parties whose hostility to fascism took a more energetic and active form. Faithful to the Mazzinian tradition of republican idealism, it made its appeal to the intellectual, the idealist, and the youth of the middle classes who were disillusioned with fascism but longed for liberty and were therefore averse to the idea of plunging into another totalitarian experiment in the shape of Communism. The sixth party was the Labour Democrat Party which was formed by a few former ministers and deputies of the liberal or "socialista-riformista" school. Of these the two most prominent were Ivanoe Bonomi, who had been Prime Minister in the fateful period of 1921-22, and Meiucci Ruini. In 1943 all of these parties published clandestine newspapers, some of which had a fairly wide circulation. In particular, the ITALIA LIBERA (organ of the Party of Action) and UNITA (the Communist newspaper) were widely distributed.

Opposition became really organized for the first time in May, 1943, and unity of the anti-fascist forces was achieved to such an extent that for the first time they constituted a direct threat to fascism. Undoubtedly, they were aided by the course of the war, by the loss of the African colonies, and the shattering defeats endured by the fascist armed forces. The bombing of the northern cities did much to increase the opposition of the workers to fascism, and there is no doubt that the General Strike of the spring of 1943 did much to contribute to the fall of Mussolini. Grandi and other fascist leaders, as well as the King, were undoubtedly afraid of the open and violent hostility of the workers, and the coup d'etat of 25 July, 1943, was the result.

After the fall of Mussolini, the six parties were able to bring pressure on Badoglio for the release of anti-fascists frim prison, but there was still no freedom of the press. The government was formed entirely of technicians, for the most part civil servants who had occupied key positions in the different ministries under fascism. Martial law was proclaimed and the parties had very little more liberty than they had had under fascism. Several newspapers representing the parties were immediately suppressed, so that they continued

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During the 45 days between the fall of Mussolini and the announcement of the armistice, the parties were however able to improve their organization, as they were strengthened by the return of many eminent anti-fascists who were released from the "confino" or from imprisonment. A few also returned from exile, mostly from France.

With the announcement of the armistice on 8 September, 1943, and the escape of the royal family, Badoglio and a few members of the government to Brindisi, Italy was divided into two zones; one which was

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liberated by the Allies, and the other which was occupied by the Germans. In the German-occupied zone the parties had to continue their struggle underground, while in the Allied zone, at first in Apulia, and later in Naples, the parties were allowed to come into the open. In October, 1943, the National Anti-fascist Coalition of the six parties was transformed into the Committee of National Liberation both in liberated and German-occupied Italy. Freedom of the press was introduced into Apulia in November, 1943, and each of the six parties was allowed to have a weekly newspaper. This system was gradually extended to other areas until in May, 1944, in each large city the six parties were allowed weekly newspapers. With the liberation of Rome, these parties were allowed daily newspapers in the capital, and later, also in Naples and other cities. In the winter of 1943-44, the parties were also given facilities to speak on the radio. Thus through the press and radio the parties were able to address large groups and greatly to improve their organization.

On 28 January, 1944, the Congress of Bari was held. This was the first free congress to be held in Liberated territory, and delegates of the Committees of Liberation throughout the liberated area attended. The congress expressed the unanimous hostility of the partiest to the Badoglio government and demanded the abdication of the king. A deadlock ensued and this was solved by the return of Palmiro Togliatti, the Secretary of the Communist party, from Russia in March, 1944. The six parties agreed to follow the lead given by Togliatti and decided to enter a government presided over by Badoglio. The king agreed to retire temporarily on the liberation of Rome and hand over his powers to a lieutenant-general (the Crown Prince). This first government based on the six parties was formed in April, 1944, at Salerno. With the liberation of Rome, Badoglio handed in the resignation of his cabinet and came to Rome to try to form a more broadly based cabinet. The Committee of National Liberation in Rome refused to serve under Badoglio, and Bonomi, the President of the Committee, formed a government based on the six parties. This government lasted until December, 1944, when a new government, with Bonomi still as prime minister, was formed with the support of the Liberal, Labour Democrat, Christian Democrat and Communist parties. The Socialists and the Action party refused to serve under Bonomi. This government is still in power.

In addition to these six major parties, there are a number of

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In addition to these six major parties, there are a number of others. Some are the expression of purely personal ambition, while others probably have a more considerable following, as they are traditional Italian parties. Among the latter is the Republican party, which before the advent of fascism had a maximum of 2[illegible] deputies. This party was revived during the clandestine period and is reported to be particularly strong in the Maremma and the Romagna. It has refused to become part of the Committee of National Liberation and has always adopted an attitude of intransigent republicanism. As the leaders refuse to compromise themselves with the monarchy, they criticise and oppose the government, and in particular those parties which have a republican programme and have nevertheless consented to accept the

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compromise of the Lieutenant-General. It is reported that this party has gathered round it many of the former republicans as well as some of those who are discontented with the government and, in particular, with the armistice terms.

The Demo-Liberal party, which was powerful, especially in the south, before fascism, and remained outside the Committee of National Liberation, and provided the main support for the Badoglio government in Apulia, was fused with the Liberal Party in August, 1944.

The Italian Democratic Party represents the conservative, monarchical forces in the country; and has a daily newspaper, ITALIA NUOVA, in Rome. Many of the smaller monarchical parties later fused with this party.

Most of the other parties, it is reported, have little real following in the country, and very often they are founded to satisfy the personal ambition of a few individuals. No free elections have been held in Italy for more than twenty years, and it is therefore difficult to asses the exact strength of any party. There is however, a group of dissident left-wing parties which are rather Trotskyist in character. Among these are the Movimento Comunista, and the Revolutionary Socialists. They may have a certain following, as it is believed that the Trotskyist movement in the north may be not altogether negligible. In addition there is the Anarchist party which has a weekly newspaper in Rome, UMANITA NOVA. This party is also a traditional one and is reported to be strong in certain areas of Italy.

The Party of the Christian Left is a development of the Catholic Communist Party, and is reported to have a following among Catholic workers. Many of its members are young intellectuals. It has however been reprimanded by the Osservatore Romano, and this may have frightened away many Catholics. The Christian Social party has fairly good relations with the Christian Democrat party, and in Central and Northern Italy is reported to have many followers. There, it seems, it would form the left wing of the Christian Democrat party. In addition to all these parties there is the Separatist movement in Sicily which is led by Finocchiaro-Aprile, a former member of parliament. As this movement is reported to be strong, a separate appendix will be written dealing with it.

An attempt has been made to trace the development of the various political parties in Italy today; but it would be hazardous to try to predict their relative strength until elections have been held.

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An attempt has been made to trace the development of the various political parties in Italy today; but it would be hazardous to try to predict their relative strength until elections have been held. Many of the parties are in a fluid state. Almost all the principal parties are still in a chrysalis stage and will be subject to considerable development and change in the near future. Almost all have a left wing and a right wing, and the fusion of elements in one party with those in another is more than likely at a later stage. It is however possible to say with some certainty that the four strongest parties in Italy will be the Christian Democrats, the Socialists, the Communists and the Liberals. Of these the first three are generaly considered to have a following among the masses, whereas the liberals

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(and the Party of Action) draw their supporters mainly from the middle and upper classes. Moreover the Trade Unions are organized by the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and the Communists. This means that the vote of the working classes will go in the main to these parties. The Liberals are however strong in certain areas of Italy and will attract to a large extent the Conservative vote. It is difficult to assess the relative strength of the other parties although it would appear certain that they have nothing like the following of the four main parties.

Finally these four parties (the Christian Democrats, the Liberals, the Socialists and the Communists) are all parties with a nation-wide following and organization. The principal political leaders of these parties are all in liberated Italy and it is probable that the members of these parties in the occupied zone will follow the instructions of the central executives of these four parties which are in Rome.

The parties continue to be reinforced by the return of distinguished Italians who generally belong to one or another of the parties. Gradually a greater degree of understanding and tolerance has developed in the relations between the principal parties. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that the various anti-fascist, although holding different political views, have come to know each other in the past twenty years in the poverty of exile or in the tragic conditions of fascist prisons. And during the last few months they have given an example of cooperation by forming a coalition government, where they have begun to know each other more intimately. It is impossible to predict the course of democracy in Italy, but if it continues along the lines it has followed during the last eighteen months, then there will be little reason for despondency.

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1974

PARTIES COMPOSING THE COMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION (C.L.N.)

PARTITO LIBERALE ITALIANO

Headquarters: via Frattina 89, Rome.

Organisation: The Party is directed by a National Council of which the President is Senator Benedetto CROCE, and the two Vice-Presidents are Prof. Enrico LEONE and Dott. Rafaele DE CARO. The Secretary General is Avv. Leone CATTANI. There is in addition a National Executive "Giunta", presided over by Count Avv. Nicolo CARANDINI. The Party has organised provincial sections, with subsections in the cities and towns. In Rome, the Party headquarters have branches which deal with publications, party discipline, propaganda, welfare, Occupied Italy etc.

Membership: The Liberal Party is not one of the so-called "mass" parties. It is not numerically strong, but its leaders believe that it exerts and will continue to exert a powerful minority influence. It draws its membership chiefly from the intellectual and professional classes, the productive groups of the middle-classes, landowners and artisans. It claims relatively few adherents in the younger age-groups and finds little support from labour organisations. It believes it will gain adherents from the Right fringes of the Christian Democratic and Action Parties and, in case of a fusion of the Socialist and Communist Parties, from the Reformed Socialists.

Regionally, the Party claims numerous supporters in Calabria and Puglia, particularly since its fusion with the Liberal Democrats who are reputedly strong in those provinces, and claims to have considerable strength in the North which is the birthplace of Italian Liberalism. The figure of 5,000 inscribed members has been mentioned, but the Party's headquarters admit that existing difficulties of communication make it virtually impossible to obtain even approximate statistics. The Party is elaborating a system of enrolment which will begin to show results within the next few weeks.

Newspapers: "Il Risorgimento Liberale", daily, Rome. Authorised circulation: 65,000. Editor: Mario PANNUNZIO.
"Il Giornale", daily, Naples. Authorised circulation: 50,000. Editor: Manlio LUPINACCI.
"Il Giornale dell'Umbria", daily, Perugia. Authorised circulation: 25,000. Editor: Bonuccio BONUCCI.

A fourth daily, "Sicilia", will shortly appear in Catania, and a new daily "Risveglio" in Catanzaro. There are in addition a number of provincial Liberal Party weeklies whose appearance is sporadic owing to shortages of transportation and newsprint. The Party publicizes its political principles and propaganda by the dissemination of free pamphlets, brochures etc.

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Youth Organisations, (male): These are set up as subsections of the regular Party sections, with the exception of the student organisation, "Unione Goliardica Italiana per la Liberta", which is backed by the Party and is largely autonomous.

Women's Organisations: This depends directly from Party headquarters in Rome and is directed by Signora LUPINACCI.

Workers: The Party is actively recruiting among younger men and labour classes whom it is endeavouring to educate as to their interests and rights in their dealings with syndical organisations. It is promoting the development of co-operatives for workmen, and producers and consumers, for which purpose it has established in Rome a "Centro Cooperativo Nazionale Liberale".

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History: Liberalism has long existed in Italy. Early in the 19th century, the liberal movement was embodied more by a group of political thinkers than by a political party, though from time to time many parties assumed, with varying adjectives, the term "liberal".

The founders of Italian Liberalism are D'Azeglio, Gioberti, and above all, Cavour. From 1848 - 1876 the Liberals of the Right were in power and it was they who by constitutional means brought about the unification and independence of Italy. Outstanding names in the Liberal movement of that time are Ricasoli, Lanza, Spaventa, Sella, Minghetti and De Sanctis.

The reactionary governments of Umberto I were followed after the turn of the century by a series of cabinets under Giolitti, the founder of Liberal Democracy. In that period Benedetto Croce became the ideological leader of Italian Liberalism, and Sonnino, in the political field, became head of the Party. Salandra, Liberal Premier (March, 1914) and Sonnino, his Foreign Minister, advocated neutrality in the early months of the World War I, but later negotiated the Treaty of London which preluded Italy's intervention. Politically weakened by their failures at the Peace Conference and in dread of "Red Violence" which was then threatening Italy, the Liberals accepted the collaboration of the Fascists in the 1921 elections. Still blind to the latent dangers of this movement, they repeat- their mistake in the 1924 elections, and only broke with Mussolini when the Matteotti murder revealed the true nature of Fascism. Thereafter, the Liberals continued to struggle openly against Fascism until the electoral "reform" of 1929 obliterated the last traces of parliamentary opposition.

From 1929 - 1943, the Liberals ceased to be a political party, but nevertheless remained active in the intellectual and ideological field in the relentless opposition to Fascism.

The Party was reconstituted after July 25th, 1943. But already in that year, foreseeing the collapse of Fascism, Liberals had engaged in underground activities. In May 1943, they joined the National Committee of Anit-Fascist Parties, which later, in September, became the Committee of National Liberation. During the German occupation of Rome, the Party organized a number of bands, and in cooperation with other groups of liberal tendencies, published the clandestine "Il Risorgimento Liberale", which, even in those early days, advocated the expulsion of the Germans from Italy.

The Party refused to participate in the early Badoglio Governments because the latter failed to declare war on Germany. Due to its opposition to the person of the King, the Party only joined the Badoglio government after the appointment of the Lieutenant General, being represented by two ministers (Croce and Arangio Ruiz) and two under-secretaries (Morelli and Bergami). The following members of the Party hold cabinet posts in the Badoglio government formed after the liberation of Rome:

Alessandro CASATI	Minister of War
Marcello SOLERI	" " the Treasury
Nicolo CARANDINI	" Without Portfolio
Renato MORELLI	Under-Secretary of the Presidency of the Council

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Mario BERGAMI	" " of Agriculture.

The following members hold cabinet posts in the present Bonomi government:

Manlio BROSIO	Minister without Portfolio
Cesare GABRIELE	Under-Secretary of Finance
Marcello SOLERI	Minister of the Treasury
Alessandro CASATI	" of War
Vincenzo ARANGIO-RUIZ	" of Education
Giambattista RIZZO	Under-Secretary of Transport
A. Medici TORNAQUINCI	" " for Occupied Italy
Renato MORELLI	" " " Italians Abroad
Franco LIBONATI	" " of the Press

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Politics: The Liberal Party is the furthest to the Right of the Six Parties (now reduced to four) which have participated in the Bonomi Governments. It is a centre party and essentially a party of order, moderation and conciliation, distrusting all organized mass movements because of the violence which usually accompanies them, and fearing too sharp a swing to the Left which might lead to dangerous reaction such as occurred in 1919 and resulted in Fascism. The Party in general stands for freedom of thought, of expression and association, and of religion. It wants the settlement of political struggles by peaceful means, and seeks a democratic government by the majority, and the safeguarding of the rights of the individual and the minority. The dignity of the individual must be protected, and while the primary duty of the state is to further not curb, the development of individual personality, it admits that individual excesses must be curbed and a compromise between personal liberty and state absolutism must be sought and found. Its leaders believe that the authority of a government can alone be derived from the willing consent of a free people, and, in contrast to the totalitarian theory, that its stability and efficiency are not impeded by parliamentary processes.

The Party is progressive and realises that far-reaching social reforms are inevitable and necessary. These will involve a general levelling of fortunes, and retribution for the capitalists who, in spite of their often admirable individual initiative, are to be blamed for their greed and excessive conservatism.

Although traditionally monarchist, the Party demand the removal of King Victor Emmanuel III because of his complicity with Fascism and betrayal of Italy at the time of the Armistice. Beyond that the Party is indifferent to the institutional question, the solution of which must be deferred to the Constituent Assembly after the complete liberation of Italy.

To the Liberals a democratic republic would be as acceptable as a constitutional monarchy; there are both republican and monarchist groups within the Party, the former headed by Cerandini, the latter by De Caro.

While in no way anti-religious, the Liberals are opposed to any political role on the part of the Vatican, which is by its very nature anti-progressive and reactionary.

The August 1944 fusion with the allegedly monarchist Liberal Democratic Party has considerably strengthened the Liberals numerically. It has, however, accentuated the rift with the parties of the Left. The Liberals envisage the possibility of collaborating or even uniting with the Christian Democrats, although a coolness arose between the two parties when the latter joined the Socialists and Communists in excluding the Liberals from the directorate of the Italian General Confederation of Labour.

Although a redistribution of land is necessary, the liberals favour State control of the great estates as against splitting them up among the poor and helpless peasants who could not exploit their holdings efficiently. Agriculture should be industrialised along the lines adopted in Russia.

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The August 1944 fusion with the allegedly monarchist Liberal Democratic Party has considerably strengthened the Liberals numerically. It has, however, accentuated the rift with the parties of the Left. The Liberals envisage the possibility of collaborating or even uniting with the Christian Democrats, although a coolness arose between the two parties when the latter joined the Socialists and Communists in excluding the Liberals from the directorate of the Italian General Confederation of Labour.

Although a redistribution of land is necessary, the liberals favour State control of the great estates as against splitting them up among the poor and helpless peasants who could not exploit their holdings efficiently. Agriculture should be industrialised along the lines adopted in Russia.

The Liberals demand epuration, which however, must be limited to the Fascist leaders and accomplices, and officials holding key positions in the administrations. The innumerable involuntary and helpless victims of a system over which they had no control must be spared, and it must be borne in mind that it will be difficult to find replacements if too many trained officials are dismissed.

Due to the fluidity of present conditions the Party has not elaborated a specific programme, but the following are in general its objectives:

1. Immediate preparation and execution of a plan for the reparation of war damage. Stimulation of national production (while avoiding dangerous revolutionary experiments), and reconversion of industry to a peace footing. Financing of national reconstruction by the conscription to a large extent of the national patrimony, and by foreign loans implemented by free trade.

2. A new constitution establishing and guaranteeing the peoples fundamental liberties under genuinely democratic institutions.

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3. Reform of the bureaucracy, increasing the efficiency of the administrations and affording to civil servants and magistrates independence and adequate standards of living.

4. Limitation of the discretionary powers of the administrations and curbing of abusive practises by officials, by a revision of penal and public security laws.

5. Regional and communal autonomy, with locally elected officials.

6. Reform of the school system. Autonomy of the universities. Extension of the period of obligatory free education; creation of new professional schools; adequate facilities for the education of the poorest classes.

7. Adherence to future international organisations for the preservation of peace.

8. Gradual abolition of protective tariffs and of restrictions on emigration and on exports and imports. Suppression of all restrictions on new enterprise, and of all existing private privileges. Control and, wherever necessary, nationalisation of private monopolies and of such great industries as have become of public utility.

State protection and control of the open market and of free competition.

Large-scale planning of productive public works to absorb unemployment.

Social insurance, in part assumed by the State, in order to provide adequate living conditions for the workers.

9. Stimulation of agricultural production, particularly with a view to exportation.

Policy of adequate agricultural credits to further the formation of a new class of small and medium agricultural tenants and owners.

10. Labour laws to protect the rights and improve the standards of living of industrial and agricultural workers.

11. Liberty of syndicalism, and suppression of obligatory membership and dues. Right for syndicated workers to elect their own representatives; Right to strike.

Participation of labour in management, to insure equitable profit-sharing and democratic election of the management.

Improvement of living conditions of all workers, especially those living in remote communities. Improvement of rural housing and hygiene

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Participation of labour in management, to insure equitable profit-sharing and democratic election of the management.

Improvement of living conditions of all workers, especially those living in remote communities. Improvement of rural housing and hygiene.

Reform and local autonomy of welfare institutions.

12. Establishment of a sound budget. Stabilisation of the currency. Favoured treatment for the small investor and charitable institutions.

13. Simplification of taxation. Increase of inheritance taxes. Maintenance of requirement that securities be registered nominatively. Rigorous enforcement of taxation and severe penalisation of tax evaders.

14. Reform of the banking system to encourage small savings and provide credits for the small borrower, peasants, shopkeepers, artisans and co-operative associations.

15. Adoption of laws guaranteeing freedom of the press and safeguarding it from the occult influences of private interests.

The Party has no symbols or emblems other than the national flag.

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II. PARTITO DEMOCRATICO DEL LAVORO

HEADQUARTERS: Piazza Augusto Imperatore 32, Rome

Officebearers: The spiritual head of the Party is Ivanoe BONOMI; his present functions as Premier, however, prevent him from being an inscribed member.

Official head of the Party is Avv. Dott. Prof. Meuccio RUINI (Minister of Public Works.)
Secretary " " " " Avv. Mario CEVOLOTTO (Minister of Communications)
Vice-Secretaries Avv. Achille LORDI
Prof. Giuseppe PATRUNO
Chairman, Rome Committee Dott. Alto BOZZI

ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP: The Party is directed by a Central Committee which was self-constituted during the underground period. A National Congress of the Party will subsequently elect a new Central Committee. Special sub-committees function in Rome, charged with various duties such as press, propaganda, recruiting, administration, etc. The work of the Central Committee and of the sub-committees is coordinated by the Party Secretary. There are in addition a certain number of provincial and communal committees in the liberated areas. The Party has allegedly 5,000 inscribed members and claims some 200,000 adherents in liberated Italy, with numerous applications not yet passed upon. The Party appeals more particularly to the middle-age groups, to the middle-classes, to public and private employers, artisans and small tradespeople.

PARTY MOVEMENTS: The Youth organization of the Party, under Roberto DAP CAY, as also the syndical movement directed by the Party show tendencies which are considerably to the left of those of the Party's leaders. The Syndical movement is active in propaganda among the working classes. The Party has no women's organization.

NEWSPAPERS: "RICOSTRUZIONE", daily, Rome. Authorized circulation, 36,000. Editor: Eucardio MONGELLIANO. Publishing offices: Via del Tritone 61, Rome. "IL PUNGOLO", daily, Naples; director: G. PATRUNO.

The following are the Party weeklies:

"IL LAVORO D'ITALIA", Naples. Editors: A. CERABONA and S.CIAMPA.
"LA DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO", Lecce. Editor: P. MASSARI
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Reggio Calabria. Editor: P. SICILIANO
"L'AZIONE", Potenza. Youth Movement publication: circulation 5,000.

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Secretary	" " "	Avv. Mario CEVOLOTTO (Minister of Communications)
Vice-Secretaries		Avv. Achille LORDI
		Prof. Giuseppe PATRUNO
Chairman, Rome Committee		Dott. Aldo BOZZI

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NEWSPAPERS: "RICOSTRUZIONE", daily, Rome. Authorized circulation, 80,000. Editor: Ducardi MONTGLIANO. Publishing offices: Via del Tritone 61, Rome. "IL PUNGOLO", daily, Naples; director: G. PATRUNO.

The following are the Party weeklies:

"IL LAVORO D'ITALIA", Naples. Editors: A. CERABONA and S.CIAMPA.
"LA DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO", Lecce. Editor: P. [illegible]ASSAFI
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Reggio Calabria. Editor: P. SICILIANO
"L'AZIONE", Potenza. Youth Movement publication; circulation 5[illegible].
"RICOSTRUZIONE", Foggia. Editor: GARGANO.
"LA TRIBUNA DEL P.D.L.", Palermo
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Perugia.

FIRST DAY: In August, 1944, the Democratic Labour Party emerged as a fusion party of several former parliamentary political groups, all of which were of social-democratic tendencies. The most important of these was the Democracy of Labour which itself was the outgrowth of the Italian democratic "left." The movement traces its origin to 3 currents: 1) The democratic radicalism of Bertani, Cavallotti and Bacchi; 2) Reformed Socialism (Bonomi-Bissolati) which arose in 1911

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when the then ultra-revolutionary Mussolini expelled the right-wing socialists from the party: 3) a group of younger men, who having experimented fascist "corporationalism" and found it wanting, turned to freer political ideals, while still advocating a controlled economy favoring the less privileged classes at the expense of the plutocratic groups.

Among the parties and movements which merged in 1944 to become the present day party, were "Il Partito del Lavoro", which is strong in Southern Italy, "Il Partito Progressista" and "Il Partito Democratico Sociale", which has many adherents in Sicily. All these parties were active during the underground period, with clandestine publications, and in organizing bands which operated in the winter of 1943-44 in the area between Rome and the front.

The Party participated in the last Badoglio government and in the two Bonomi cabinets as follows:

3rd Badoglio Government

CERABONA	Minister of Communications
CILENTI	Under-secretary of Public Works
LOMBARDO	Under-Secretary of Justice

1st Bonomi Government

RUINI	Minister without Portfolio
CERABONA	Minister of Communications
BASSANO	Undersecretary of Justice
SCIALOJA	Undersecretary for Air
MANES	Undersecretary of the Treasury

Present Bonomi Government

RUINI	Minister of Public Works
CEVOLOTTO	Minister of Communications
CERABONA	Minister of Transportation
SCIALOJA	Minister of Air
(Resigned, later, and is replaced by Luigi GASPEROTTO)	
BASSANO	Undersecretary of Navy
MOLE	Undersecretary of Interior
PARESCE, Eugenio	Undersecretary of Labor, Industry and Commerce.
VERONI, Dante	Undersecretary of Justice.

POLITICS: The Party is a party of the center with right but progressive tendencies. It is not a "mass party" and does not claim

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RUINI	Minister of Public Works
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BASSANO	Undersecretary of Navy
MOLE	Undersecretary of Interior
PARESCE, Eugenio	Undersecretary of Labor, Industry and Commerce.
VERONI, Dante	Undersecretary of Justice.

POLITICS: The Party is a party of the center with right but progressive tendencies. It is not a "mass party" and does not claim great numerical strength. It allegedly draws its members principally from the professional and intellectual classes.

PROGRAMME: The Party stands for the elimination of all traces of fascism and of totalitarianism of any form. Its doctrines are progressive, liberal and democratic-socialist. It wants to be the vanguard of a new and broader labour party on the British model. It seeks the rapid evolution by legal means of capitalistic economy into an economy of labour. It advocates cooperative and associated production, free from the shackles of bureaucratic despotism.

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Some of the planks of its political platform are:

1) A radical and far-reaching reform of the constitution, so that all powers will emanate from the people to whom their essential liberties are to be restored.

2) Organization of a strong and vigorous democratic government, with a supreme court to protect the new constitution (Party leaders do not conceal their admiration of the American and Swiss constitutions.)

3) Simplification of the bureaucracy.

4) An independent magistrature, safeguarded against political pressure.

5) Abolition of monopolies, and state supervision of private enterprise.

6) Participation and cooperation of the workers in management with, ultimately, association which will gradually replace private enterprise in the larger industries.

7) Moral and educational reconstruction, with emphasis on teaching the masses their civic and constitutional duties.

8) Greater regional autonomy.

9) Agrarian reform.

10) Freedom of syndical organizations from political influences.

11) Although the Party formerly outspokenly advocated a republic, its leaders today -- presumably on account of an internal rift -- wish the question deferred. They are allegedly endeavoring to find a formula which will reconcile and harmonize internal divergent trends.

12) Active participation in the war and adherence by Italy to future European or World Peace organizations.

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4) An independent magistrature, safeguarded against political pressure.

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7) Moral and educational reconstruction, with emphasis on teaching the masses their civic and constitutional duties.

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PARTITO D'AZIONE

Headquarters: Via Sistina 72, Roma

Office bearers:

On. Dott.	Emilio LUSSU
On. Dott.	Alberto CIANCA
Dott.	Ugo LA MALFA
Avv.	Federico COMANDINI
Dott.	Francesco FANCELLO
Prof. Avv.	Guido CALOGERO
Dott. Ecc.	Alberto TARCHIANI
Prof.	Guido DE RUGGIERO
Dott.	Riccardo BAUER
Prof.	Carlo MUSCETTA
Avv.	Cronzo REALE
Dott.	Manlio ROSSI DORIA

Emilio Lussu is the recognized chief of the party, with the above-named leaders forming what might be termed an executive committee. In addition there is an advisory committee of over 40 members, composed almost exclusively of intellectuals and members of the liberal professions. Of these, 75% are residents of Rome. The party has no secretary.

Membership : The party is not a mass party and claims its strongest support from the middle and above all the intellectual classes, also adherents among students and in the working and peasant classes. It is a centre party, with progressive and market left tendencies, which seeks to join the masses in the utter destruction of Fascism and help them in their assault against the forces of reaction. The party has been slow in organizing and lacks internal homogeneity, probably because of the intellectual individualism of its leaders and prominent members. It aims at summoning at a future date, a national party congress which will elect members of the directing committees. In the meanwhile regional and provincial federations, with sections and subsections in the towns and communes have, allegedly, been formed. The party claims 16,000 inscribed members for Rome alone. It has no data as to the number of its adherents in the rest of liberated Italy.

Newspapers : L'ITALIA LIBERA, daily, Rome. Authorized circulation: 37,000. Alleged actual circulation: 40,000. Editor-in-chief: Carlo MUSCETTA. It is believed that the management has recently been taken over by Alberto CIANCA.

L'AZIONE, bi-weekly, Naples. Circulation: 18,000, under A. Armino. (now authorized as a daily.)

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Avv. Cronzo REALE
Dott. Manlio ROSSI DORIA

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L'AZIONE, bi-weekly, Naples. Circulation: 18,000, under A. Armino. (now authorized as a daily.)

L'ITALIA DEL POPOLO, weekly, Bari. Circulation: 13,000. Editor: F. D'ERAMO.

GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTA', weekly, Rome. Youth movement organ. Director: Giuseppe PATRONO.

In addition the party distributes pamphlets and brochures for its propaganda.

Youth Movement : This consists of a "Federazione Giovanile del Partito d'Azione" under G. Patrono and G. Gabrielli. Headquarters: Via Parma 3, Rome.

Feminine Movement : Headquarters: Via Gregoriana 54. Leader: Bastianina Musu.

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Workers' Movement : Directors: B. Pierleoni and D. Gentile. Members of the Italian General Confederation of Labour are free to join the organization.

History : The party is a new party, born of present-day world conditions, proposing new solutions to the problems arising from the collapse of out-moded Italian parliamentary democracy and from the negative experiment of totalitarianism. It traces its origin to i) the Sardinian Partito d'Azione of 1916 under Emilio Lussu, a left movement which advocated regional autonomy. This movement was broken up by the Fascists and its adherents driven into exile; ii) the "Italia Libera" movement (a left movement with post-Fascist doctrines) which after 1922 rallied young and leftist elements, such as Rosselli and Randolfo Pacciardi, and a certain number of dissident Fascists. Its influence was considerable among Italian emigrants in the Americas and France. At the same time Carlo Rosselli was following a parallel course with his 'Giustizia e Libertà" movement in France. Although his group was dispersed after the murder of the Rosselli brothers, its ideas and experience profited the founders of the present party. By July 1943, the party was already active underground and soon after, its clandestine paper L'ITALIA LIBERA appeared. The party organized cells and bands which operated in liaison with the military giunta of the C.L.N. In August 1944, a party congress was held at which the left tendencies within the party became apparent and the basic doctrine of the party was defined as "autonomistic, liberal and anti-totalitarian socialism."

The party participated, as one of the Six Parties, in the third Badoglio and in the first Bonomi governments. Its leaders refused to join the second Bonomi government in December 1944, partly out of loyalty to Sforza whome they considered Bonomi had sacrificed to British pressure, but chiefly because they demanded more rigorous epuration and the recognition of greater powers in the C.L.N. On the two latter issues the party sided with the Socialists and Communists. In spite of this, one of the party's left tendencies, it has been dubbed a "bourgeois party" by the Socialists and Communists, who in the past excluded the party from the directorate of the Italian General Confederation of Labour. The recent government crisis has served to unite to some extent and for the time being, the La Malfa and Lussu groups within the party, but its hybrid socialist-reformist aims and its violent anti-monarchist and epuration campaigns have cooled the ardour of some adherents with

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The following members of the party held cabinet posts in the third Badoglio government:

Alberto TARCHIANI - Minister of Public Works
Adolfo OMODEO - Minister of Education
Filippo CARACCIOLO - Under-Sec. of the Interior

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and the following in the first Bonomi government:

Alberto CIANCA	-	Minister without Portfolio
Stefano SIGLIENTI	-	Minister of Finance
Guido DE RUGGIERO	-	Minister of Education
Giuseppe BRUNO	-	Under-Sec. of Public Works
Sergio FENOALDEA	-	Under-Sec. to the Presidency
Luigi LONGHEZ	-	Under-Sec. of the Navy

Programme :

1. A Republic, and the elimination of the Monarchy.
2. A democratic and republican constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, association and worship.
3. Equality before the law of race and creed.
4. Political sovereignty of the people by means of a constitution based on universal suffrage.
5. Administrations to be merely responsible agencies, deprived of all political power.
6. Basic reorganization of the state, with articulated regional autonomy within the framework of the consititution;
7. Reform of bureaucracy and police, with restriction of their discretionary powers; technical training for public servants, of whom certain classes are subject to election.
8. Reorganisation of army cadres, with commissions made available to the lower classes.
9. Elimination of class spirit of the judiciary; certain magistrates to be subject to election; independance of the judiciary to curb the power of the executive and administrations.
10. Immediate nationalization of big business and industry; education of the workers in business management; free enterprise of small and medium business, whether private or cooperative, to permit development of individual initiative.
11. All business, whether socialized, cooperative or private, to provide social assistance for their employees; workers in free enterprise to be under the control of internal commissions which will enforce syndical agreements, keep workers informed of the economic condition of the business and enable them to participate in its management.
12. Agrarian reform, with modernization of agricultural technique; expropriation in favour of peasants of uncultivated holdings of large land-owners; state improvement of backward areas; widespread formation of agricultural cooperations.
13. Expropriation without indemnity of reactionary Fascist plutocracy.
14. Sliding-scale taxation, while safeguarding the product...

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freedom of speech, press, [illegible]

3. Equality before the law of race and creed.

4. Political sovereignty of the people by means of a constitution based on universal suffrage.

5. Administrations to be merely responsible agencies, deprived of all political power.

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13. Expropriation without indemnity of reactionary Fascist plutocracy.

14. Sliding-scale taxation, while safeguarding the productivity of small and medium business

15. International free trade; more rational distribution of raw materials and manufactured products; free circulation of labour.

16. Looks to the Church for spiritual aid in the work of reconstruction, but demands its non-intervention in politics.

The above 16 points were published in L'ITALIA LIBERA in July 1944.

In the international field the party endorses the principles of the Atlantic Charter and desires a close and specific European federation.

The party's emblem is a red flag with an upward-pointed sword and the words "Giustizia e Libertà."

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PARTITO DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA

Headquarters: Piazza del Gesù 46, Rome.

Office bearers: Ecc. Dott. Alcide DE GASPERI (Political Secretary)
Avv. Mario SCELBA (Vice-Secretary)

Other prominent members of the National Council or Direzione Centrale are:
Avv. Giuseppe SPATARO
Avv. Gennaro CASSIARI
Prof. Guido GONELLA
Avv. Giuseppe PUSCHINI
Avv. Giulio DI RODINO
Rag. Pier Carlo RESTAGNO

Other leading personalities are:
Umberto TUPINI
Giovanni GRONCHI
Salvatore ALDISIO
Bernardo MATTARELLA
Angelo Raffaele JERVOLINO
Prof. AGNELLO (Siracusa)
Prof. SECNI (Sardegna)
On. BUONOCORE (Caserta)
On. PISCITELLI (")

Organization: The Statutes of the Party, adopted at the Party congress held in Naples 29th July 1944, call for a national council of 27 members, representing the various regions and the syndical, professional and cultural groups of the Party, and provide for a provincial directorate for each province, and a "segretario comunale" for each commune. At present there are trustees ("fiduciari") in each province; Candidates for party offices are elected. The Party has offices in the principal cities of liberated Italy, and local elections are held for the Regional Committees, each of which send three delegates to the central Executive Committee. Theorganization of the Party is necessarily still in its early stages. It seems to have proceeded satisfactorily in Rome where it has large offices with reception rooms for visitors

Membership: The Party claims some 78,000 inscribed members, of whom 60,000 are in Sicily and 18,000 are in Rome. Exact figures are not at present available at the Party's headquarters for the other regions of liberated Italy. Some

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Rag. Pier Carlo RESTAGNO

Other leading personalities are:
Umberto TUPINI
Giovanni GRONCHI
Salvatore ALDISIO
Bernardo MATTARELLA
Angelo Raffaele JERVOLINO
Prof. AGNELLO (Siracusa)
Prof. SECNI (Sardegna)
On. BUONOCORE (Caserta)
On. PICCIONELLI (")

Organization: The Statutes of the Party, adopted at the Party congress held in Naples 29th July 1944, call for a national council of 27 members, representing the various regions and the syndical, professional and cultural groups of the Party, and provide for a provincial directorate for each province, and a "segretario comunale" for each commune. At present there are trustees ("fiduciari") in each province; Candidates for party offices are elected. The Party has offices in the principal cities of liberated Italy, and local elections are held for the Regional Committees, each of which send three delegates to the central Executive Committee. Theorganization of the Party is necessarily still in its early stages. It seems to have proceeded satisfactorily in Rome where it has large offices with reception rooms for visitors

Membership: The Party claims some 78,000 inscribed members, of whom 60,000 are in Sicily and 18,000 are in Rome. Exact figures are not at present available at the Party's headquarters for the other regions of liberated Italy. Some hundreds of thousands of applications for membership have allegedly been received in Lazio. These are being carefully examined in order to guard against the infiltration into the Party of dubious Fascist elements. Adherents are to be found chiefly among the lower middleclasses, peasants, small landowners and State employees. Some, compromised under Fascism, have joined the Party out of fear of persecution by the Left parties and in the belief that they would fare better were the Christian Democrats to come to power. The Party claims great strength in Northern Italy.

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Newspapers: ."Il Popolo", daily, Rome; offices: 231 Corso Umberto, Rome; Authorized circulation: 65,000. Editor: Guido GONELLA. At one time he was a contributor of the "Osservatore Romano". He is said to be close to the Vatican which gave him asylum in 1940. He is a brilliant and sagacious writer and his paper has set a high standard of journalism.

"Il Domani d'Italia" daily, Naples.

Youth Movements: The Party is busily recruiting members by its "Gruppi Giovanili Nazionali" among the younger age groups. The Party has organized corresponding "Gruppi Femminili Nazionali".

Workers' Movement: The Party cooperates with the Socialists and Communists on the question of labour syndicalism.

History: The Party is the outgrowth of and political heir to Don Sturzo's Partito Popolare which in 1919 polled 1½ million votes and won 103 seats in the Chamber of Deputies; as against 156 for the Socialists. As a result it was the second strongest political party in Italy at that time. Under Fascism, the Party continued to exist in a subdued way, more as a movement than as an underground combatant organization. Early in 1943 it became more active. It collaborated in the publication of the clandestine "Ricostruzione" and in the distribution of pamphlets ("Il Segno", "La Punta", "Il Punto"). The Party was regularly constituted after July 25th, 1943, later organizing underground activities and publishing its clandestine paper "Il Popolo". During the period of German occupation, it founded and operated partisan bands, more especially in Tuscany, and "Squadre di Azione Cittadina" in Florence. The Party is one of the original "Six Parties" (now reduced to four) of the Bonomi governments. Together with the Socialists and Communists, it is one of the so-called "mass parties".

The following members of the Party hold Cabinet posts today:-

Giuseppe SPATARO	Under-Secretary of the Presidency of the Council.
Giulio DI RODINO	Vice-President of the Council
Alcide DE GASPERI	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Umberto TUPINI	Minister of Justice
Salvatore SCOCA	Under-Secretary of the Treasury
Gennaro CASSIANI	" " " Public Works
Bernardo MATARELLA	" " " Education
Giovanni GRONCHI	Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labour

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Party has organized corresponding "Gruppi Femminili Nazionali".

Workers' Movement: The Party cooperates with the Socialists and Communists on the question of labour syndicalism.

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Gennaro CASSIANI	" " " Public Works
Bernardo MATARELLA	" " " Education
Giovanni GRONCHI	Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labour.
Antonio SEGNI	Under-Secretary of Agriculture

The following members of the Party held posts in the first Bonomi government:-

TUPINI	Minister of Justice
GRONCHI	" " Industry, Commerce and Labour
SPATARO	Under-Secretary of Press and Information
MATARELLA	" " " Public Instruction
JERVOLINO	" " " Communications (Posts and Railways)

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and the following in the two Badoglio governments:-

Giulio DI RODINO	Minister without Portfolio
Salvadore ALDISIO	" of the Interior
Raffaele JERVOLINO	" " Education
Giulio SANSONETTI	Under-Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labour.

Politics: The Christian Democratic Party is essentially a party of order, with "evolution" rather than "revolution" as its watchword. The relative moderation of its programme attracts many who fear Communism and the revolutionary tendencies of the Socialists. Its policy favours the Vatican which in turn is said by some to be actively and materially, although unofficially, supporting the Party. Some of its members allegedly are at the same time members of the "Azione Cattolica". The Party leaders have repeatedly declared that cooperation with the Socialists and Communists in the political field cannot be contemplated unless the latter formally renounce their anti-clerical and anti-religious prejudices. The Party is active in propaganda among the peasants whom it is endeavouring to win away from Communist influence.

Both Right and Left tendencies are to be found in its rank and file, with the older men monarchists and the younger republicans. The party therefore is not as united politically as some of the other principal parties. Its leaders have consistently refused to take a stand on the institutional question, which they believe can only be decided after the total liberation of Italy. They fear that a Republic, prematurely set up, would lead to Jacobinism and religious intolerance, and accordingly, at least for the present, they are curbing the Republican trends of its younger elements.

A keen observer has ventured the opinion that the struggle which looms up between the Communists and the Christian Democrats in Northern Italy when that region will have been liberated will swing in favour of the former during the early days of liberation on account of the influence of the Partisans, but that subsequently, due to the influence of the clergy, the latter will gain ascendency.

The Party leaders look to London and Washington rather than to Moscow for the aid essential to the salvation and rehabilitation of Italy. They have on occasion expressed friendly sentiments for the principal Catholic Allied countries, France and Poland.

Programme: The Party's programme has a religious basis: the moral and material forces of Christian charity. It looks

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The Party leaders look to London and Washington rather than to Moscow for the aid essential to the salvation and rehabilitation of Italy. They have on occasion expressed friendly sentiments for the principal Catholic Allied countries, France and Poland.

Programme: The Party's programme has a religious basis: the moral and material forces of Christial charity. It looks upon the family as the keystone of the social structure of the state. The family must therefore be protected against State oppression (one of the characteristics of Communism) and aided in every way, e.g. Education, taxation, property ownership, standard of living etc..

The Party advocates:

- Woman suffrage
- A Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage on a system of proportional representation.

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3. A national assembly, with members elected by regional organizations of the large interests, (employee and employer-groups, liberal professions, artisans, consumers etc.)

4. An independent and non-political judiciary, with a supreme court to protect the latter and the spirit of the law from the encroachments of government authorities and political parties.

5. Decentralization of state administrations, with large autonomy given to the Regions and Communes in administrative and financial matters.

6. Independence of Church and State, with maintainance of the Lateran Treaties and Concordat.

7. Freedom of religion.

8. Free primary and secondary education. Freedom of private and secondary education. Freedom of private education. Autonomy of the Universities.

9. Respect of private property, but state control of "big business, which in some cases is to be expropriated by legal means with adequate indemnity in each case.

10. Protection of the consumer against capitalistic cartels.

11. Redistribution of land by breaking up large holdings. These to become available for purchase by the peasants with the aid of government credits.

12. Expansion ofSocial insurance, with simplification and decentralization.

13. Obligatory and autonomous syndicalism: collective contracts and obligatory arbitration.

14. Workers' participation in the management and in the capital of enterprise.

15. Abolition of unessential private monopolies which will mass under state control-curbing of financial imperialism.

16. Recruiting and equipment of an Italian army to fight side by side with the Allies.

17. Severe but essentially just epuration.

18. General international disarmament.

19. A new League of Nations with a police force at its disposal.

The Party has an anthem.

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PARTITO SOCIALISTA ITALIANO DI UNITA PROLETARIA

Headquarters: Via Gregoriana 41, Rome. They will shortly be transferred to the Palazzo della Previdenza Sociale, in the Corso Umberto.

Office bearers:

Dott. Dec. Pietro NENNI — Head of the Party with title of Secretary.
PERTINI(in the North) — Vice-Secretary
Ing. Luigi CACCIATORE — " "

In addition there is a "political office" of the following 7 members:
Pietro NENNI
Giuseppe SARAGAT
Oreste LIZZADRI
Luigi CACCIATORE
Giuseppe ROMITA
PERETTI
ZAGARI

Organization: Provincial Federation, with sections and sub-sections in the cities have been set up. Thelast number about 40 in Rome and 20 in Florence. Attached to the Party's headquarters in Rome are 14 advisory committees charged with research and analysis in the fields of labour, press, culture, law, administration, social insurance, agriculture, reconstruction and socialism, economics, etc. etc.. The Party operates a Centro di Studi Sociali for the study of socialist doctrines at Via Collina 9. The rights and duties of inscribed members have not yet been specified, but in general members have the right of free speech in all party meeting and congresses, but are required to attend all meetings of the section or sub-section to which they belong. All political or syndical initiative must be approved by a hierachical superior.

Membership: The Party claims a total inscribed membership in the whole of liberated Italy of approximately 120,000. This figure, owing to difficulties of communication and the incompleteness of the party's organization should be accepted with great caution. The figure of 70,000 adherents south of the Garigliano has been given, and the Party has allegedly received 12,000 applications in Rome, of which only 7000 have been accepted to date. Before Fascism the registered membership of the Party was about 300,000 and it controlled about one million

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Pietro NENNI
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The Socialists, compared to the Communists and the Party of Action, are showing little interest in welfare work.

2002

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55

(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

Newspapers: "Avanti", daily, Rome. Authorized circulation: 90,000. Published by Pietro NENNI, editor-in-chief, and SARGAT.
"La Voce", Naples, daily.
"Il Lavoratore", Potenza. weekly;
"Il Lavoro", Salerno "
"La Parola Socialista", Cosenza "
"Il Tribuno Salentino", Lecce "
"La Voce Socialista", Palermo "
"La Luce", Reggio Calabria "
"Il Risveglio", Pescia "
"L'Avanti", Bari "
"La Giovane Umbria", Spoleto
"La Rivoluzione Socialista".(Youth Movement organ, Editor: M. Matteotti). "
"La Donna Socialista". (Women's Organization publication. Director: L. Usellini) "
"Pettirosso". Humorous publication, Rome.

The Party has applied for authorization to publish a daily in Florence.

Youth Movement: The Movement (from 18-25 years of age) is run by a committee under Matteo Matteotti and Leo Soleri. The Federazione Giovanile Socialista numbers some 1600 inscribed members. The organization is strictly bound to the Party and serves as a training ground for future members. Sports are organized and lectures given on political history, economics, Marxism etc.. The Party claims to establish Youth groups alongside all of its sections and sub-sections.

Feminine Movement: Federazione Femminile Socialista, which, like the Youth Movement has provincial branches.

Workers' Movement: This is headed by Lizzadri, who is also Socialist member of the three-man directorate of the Italian General Confederation of Labour. The Party is extremely active in recruiting among the workers who are considered to be relatively malleable.

History: The present Socialist Party is the outgrouth of the old Italian Socialist party which dates from the days of Bakunin and Marx in 1865. Numerous labour congresses in the 80's and 90's showed two trends, one favouring the

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"L'Avanti", Bari "
"La Giovane Umbria", Spoleto
"La Rivoluzione Socialista".(Youth Movement "
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History: The present Socialist Party is the outgrouth of the old Italian Socialist party which dates from the days of Bakunin and Marx in 1865. Numerous labour congresses in the 80's and 90's showed two trends, one favouring the attainment of socialist ends by violent and the other by parliamentary means. In 1894, under Crispi, the Parliament adopted a number of anti-socialist laws which largely drove the movement under-ground. In 1895 the Party first assumed the name of Partito Socialista. In the election of that year, 12 Socialist deputies were elected. An insurrection broke out in Milan in 1898 which led to the arrest and exile of numerous Socialist leaders. These persecutions resulted in an extreme left alliance between the Socialists, Republicans and Radicals. In the 1900 elections the Socialists won 30 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, showing, in spite of vicissitudes, a steady growth of the party's political influence.

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In 1902, the more conservative elements of the Party formed a Reformed Socialist group under Turati and Bissolati, in opposition to the extremist wing under Ferri. In 1904, the latter gained the ascendancy within the Party and organized the first general strike to occur in Italy. The struggle between the divergent elements resulted in 1911 in the resignation of the conservative elements, among which were Bonomi and Bissolati who formed the Partito Socialista Riformista, while the socialists assumed the name of Partito Socialista Italiano Ufficiale. In World War I the party was completely divided. Mussolini and a minority advocated intervention, while the majority stood out for neutrality. In the election of 1919, the Socialists emerged the strongest party in Italy, winning 156 out of a total of 535 seats: they however failed to gain control of the government because of the opposition of the Catholic masses and of the Army officers who frowned upon the party's anti-militarism. Further internal dissensions in 1921 led to the breaking up of the party into three groups: 1) the right wing, heir to the Reformed Socialists, became the Partito Socialista Unitario under Turati, 2) the left wing under Bordiga, adhered to the Third Moscow International and became the Partito Comunista Italiano, thus making the first parting of the ways between Socialism and Communism in Italy, 3) the majority under Serrati and Bombacci, although thoroughly indoctrinated with Communism, refused subservience to Moscow, and took the name of Partito Socialista Massimalista.

Under Fascism, the Socialists led the opposition in Parliament under Matteotti. Upon the latter's assassination in 1924, their deputies withdrew from the Chamber. After 1926 when the Fascists suppressed all political parties, most of the Socialist leaders were imprisoned, or driven underground or into exile. During the next 10 years, Italian Socialism became virtually extinct in the Peninsula, but was kept alive abroad by such men as Pietro Nenni and Bruno Buozzi. By 1939, various clandestine socialist movements, with publications in Turin, Milan etc., began to form. It was from these movements, both in Italy and abroad, that the present Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria emerged in July 1943. Nevertheless, the present party may be said to be political heir of the majority group of 1921, the Partito Socialista Massimalista.

5236

The basic similarity of the political doctrines of the Socialists and Communists led both parties in August 1944 to

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5236

The basic similarity of the political doctrines of the Socialists and Communists, led both parties in August 1944, to form a pact for joint political action of the working masses against the forces of reaction. In the international field, the Italian Socialists, as far back as 1934, had come to an understanding with the Russian Communists, which however came to an end with the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939. After the German attack on Russia in 1941, relations between the two were resumed. At the present time, the Italian Socialists are thinking in terms of International Socialism, and are proposing an International Socialist Conference to which representatives of all organized labour movements in the world are to be invited and which is to function contemporaneously with and along side of the Peace Conference. They seem to have in mind a Socialist Internazional, or perhaps cooperation with a future Fourth

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Internazionale.

The following members of the Socialist Party hold cabinet posts in the 3rd Badoglio Government:

MANCINI	Minister	without portfolio
DI NAPOLI	"	of Labour, Industry and Commerce.
SALERNO	Under-Secretary	of the Interior
ALBERGO	" "	" Merchant Marine

and the following hold posts in the 1st Bonomi government:-

SARAGAT	Minister	without Portfolio
MANCINI	"	of Public Works
CANEVARI	Under-Secretary	of the Interior
COSTA	" "	of Labour, Industry and Commerce.
CORSI	" "	of Merchant Marine

Politics. The Socialist party is a "mass" party, and violently anti-monarchist. It is unquestionably one of the three most influential parties in Italy today. It stands midway between the Communist party and the Party of Action, with both of which it cooperates from time to time and with varying fluctuation. Like all Italian parties there are divergent trends within the party; with the conservative group headed by Saragat and Modigliani, and the extremist group by Nenni. Its underground activities have been and still are numerous, and it gives its all-out support to the C.L.N. Its refusal to participate in the present Bonomi Cabinet was largely because the latter emanated from the Luogotenente and not form the C.L.N. whose authority seemed thereby to be reduced rather than increased.

Party leaders state that its Marxist objectives are to be attained preferably by peaceful and parliamentary means; and not by violence and revolution as advocated by the Communists. However, extremist spokesmen have declared that in case of too stubborn a resistance on the part of the privileged classes, the Socialist masses, whose erstwhile pacific disposition may have been shaken by the Russian example and by the present war, may well resort to violence and set up a revolutionary authoritarian dictatorship.

While the basic Marxist doctrines of the Socialist and Communist Parties are almost identical, the Parties differ on one issue which is rather more conjectural than factual.

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While the basic Marxist doctrines of the Socialist and Communist Parties are almost identical, the Parties differ on one issue which is rather more conjectural than factual. The Socialists want a democratic form of Government free from foreign influence. They have misgivings as to what the fundamental intentions of the Communists are in this respect- whether the affirmations of anti-totalitarian and democratic ideologies and the assurances of independence from Moscow frequently made by Communist leaders are to be taken at their face value or are merely attributable to political opportunism. In spite of their misgivings, in August 1944 they made a pact with the Communists for joint political action; setting up at the same time a coordinating committee; composed of three Socialists, Nenni, Lizzadri and Villani, and three

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and three Communists; Togliatti, Di Vittorio and Pellegrini.

During the recent government crisis, the Socialists, after considerable hesitation; finally decided against following the Communists in participating in the Government, and together with the Party of Action and under the latter's influence, passed to the opposition. This has been hailed by some, although denied by both the Socialists and Communists, as indicating a weakening of the pact. The two parties, however, seem firmly united in thelabour and syndical field. Both are active in, and in fact dominate, the Italian General Confederation of Labour, on whose directorate of three each have a member, (the Socialist member is Lizzadri).

Although Socialist leaders dubbed the Action Party a "bourgeois" party with only half-hearted Socialistic convictions, the programmes of the two parties are very similar. The Socialists do not conceal their hope to absorb at least a part of the Actionists whom they esteem for their fighting qualities and whose intellectuals would represent for them a considerable accession of strength. Some Socialists think that once the anti-Fascist struggle is over, the Action Party's principal raison d'etre will cease to exist, and that its proletarian following will go over to the Christian Democrats while many of its intellectual members will join the Socialists. The two parties are at present collaborating closely in the field of labour.

Socialist leaders are anxious to bring about a fusion of the three "mass parties", so that their party would hold a central position between the Communists and Christian Democrats. This has partly been achieved by the pact with the Communists, but although the Christian Democrats are cooperating to some extent with the Socialists in the syndical field, a political alliance with them seems improbable. While the parties have many political, social and economicaims in common, the Socialists demand of the Democ-Christians a formal pronouncement in favour of a republic and their repudiation of the monarchy, while the latter are opposed to the marxism of the Socialists. Thoparties moreover distrust each other on the question of the Church, with the Socialists accusing the Demo-Christians of being under the political influence of the Vatican, and the latter distrusting the Socialists' anti-clericalism. The Socialists are now claiming that their violent anti-clericalism of Fascist days has been much attenuated since

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indicating a weakening o[illegible]
over, seem firmly united in thelabour and syndical field. Both are active in, and in fact dominate, the Italian General Confederation of Labour, on whose directorate of three each have a member, (the Socialist member is Lizzadri).

Although Socialist leaders dubbed the Action Party a "bourgeois" party with only half-hearted Socialistic convictions, the programmes of the two parties are very similar. The Socialists do not conceal their hope to absorb at least a part of the Actionists whom they esteem for their fighting qualities and whose intellectuals would represent for them a considerable accession of strength. Some Socialists think that once the anti-Fascist struggle is over, the Action Party's principal raison d'etre will cease to exist, and that its proletarian following will go over to the Christian Democrats while many of its intellectual members will join the Socialists. The two parties are at present collaborating closely in the field of labour.

Socialist leaders are anxious to bring about a fusion of the three "mass parties", so that their party would hold a central position between the Communists and Christian Democrats. This has partly been achieved by the pact with the Communists, but although the Christian Democrats are cooperating to some extent with the Socialists in the syndical field, a political alliance with them seems improbable. While the parties have many political, social and economic aims in common, the Socialists demand of the Democ-Christians a formal pronouncement in favour of a republic and their repudiation of the monarchy, while the latter are opposed to the marxism of the Socialists. The parties moreover distrust each other on the question of the Church, with the Socialists accusing the Democ-Christians of being under the political influence of the Vatican, and the latter distrusting the Socialists' anti-clericalism. The Socialists are now claiming that their violent anti-clericalism of Fascist days has been much attenuated since World War II.

In addition to the question of the CLN, the Socialists withheld their support from the present Bonomi Cabinet because they consider the premier weak and ineffectual, and bitterly criticize his delaying action in the matter of epuration.

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Programme: The Party's programme is based on Marxism, of which the principles are to be extended to meet the economic and social needs of present-day Italy. Italy's sole asset is its capacity for work, and it will be the workers who will be called upon to reconstruct the country's means of production. Hence they may justly demand that the same, once restored, be exploited by and for the benefit of public interests, and not returned to private speculation. The Party openly advocated a class struggle by the proletariat (without excluding the middle class) as a mean to its ends.

The principal planks of the Socialist platform are as follows:

1) Destruction of Fascism and democratization of the economic and political life of the country.
2) Inflexible epuration, striking officials in key positions, prefects and police and army chiefs. Punishment and confiscation of property of Fascist leaders and profiteers.
3) Socialization of industry and big business; united and autonomous syndicalism, workers' participation by means of committees, in the management of industry and big business.
4) Workers' participation in the planning and direction of reconstruction, the financial burden of which is to be borne by the propertied classes which were responsible for Fascism and the war.
5) Improvement of living conditions for the working classes, with adjustment of wages and pensions to the cost of living.
6) Work for, and aid to the unemployed.
7) Reform of the administrations.
8) Agrarian reform.
9) Equal political and social rights for women.
10) A Republic for Italy

The Party emblem is a red flag.

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PARTITO COMUNISTA ITALIANO

HEADQUARTERS: Via Nazionale 243, Rome.

LEADERSHIP:

Head of the Party with title of Secretary General:
Dott. Ecc. Palmiro TOGLIATTI.

Vice-Secretary Mauro SCOCCIMARRO

Members, Central Committee, (in addition to the above)

Celeste NEGARVILLE
Eugenio REALE
Velio SPANO
Giuseppe DI VITTORIO
NOVELLA Agostino
MASSOLA Alessandro
SILVATI Alessandro
NULLO Mara
Ruggiero GRIECO
MONTAGNANA Rita
PELLEGRINI Giacomo

MEMBERSHIP: The Party claims 3[illegible],000 adherents in Liberated and 80,000 in occupied Italy. It also claims great potential strength in the North, where it is better organized than any other party. In Liberated Italy, during 1944, the Party made considerable gains, attributable to efficient leadership and its recent doctrinal and political moderation which has allayed many fears. The Party represents a large section of the working masses which constitute the great majority of its membership. It has als found many adherents from among the new student generation, from those who have lost faith in the democratic parties, and are attracted by a Party which they feel will be successful, and others who find it easier to change from fascist to Communist disciplined authority; or again from intellectuals who think Russia a paradise for such as they, and some peasants who, overcoming their Catholic prejudices, hope for benefit by Communist agrarian reform.

The Party possesses leaders who are highly trained specialists in organization, and propaganda, such as Togliatti, for many years an emile in Moscow; Negarville, who aided in preparing the strikes in Northern Italy in 1943 and now heads the Party's Youth Movement; Reale and Spano, and Di Vittorio, a specialist on syndical organization.

ORGANIZATION: Rigid party discipline is demanded of all members who are required to pay their dues, to attend all meetings of their units, to accept without question the Party's political programme, and to perform all duties assigned to them. Before admission the records of all applicants are closely examined as to political convictions, reliability, leadership, energy, etc.

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Members, Central Committee:

Celeste NEGARVILLE
[illegible] REALE
Velio SPANO
Giuseppe DI VITTORIO
NOVELLA Agostino
MASSOLA Alessandro
SILVATI Alessandro
NULLO Mara
Ruggiero GRIECO
MONTAGNANA Rita
PELLEGRINI Giacomo

MEMBERSHIP: The Party claims 3[illegible],000 adherents in Liberated and Southern occupied Italy. It also claims great potential strength in the North, where it is better organized than any other party. In Liberated Italy, during 1944, the Party made considerable gains, attributable to efficient leadership and its recent doctrinal and political moderation which has allayed many fears. The Party represents a large section of the working masses which constitute the great majority of its membership. It has also found many adherents from among the new student generation, from those who have lost faith in the democratic parties, and are attracted by a Party which they feel will be successful, and others who find it easier to change from fascist to Communist disciplined authority; or again from intellectuals who think Russia a paradise for such as they, and some peasants who, overcoming their Catholic prejudices, hope for benefit by Communist agrarian reform.

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NEWSPAPERS: "L'UNITA", daily, Rome. Authorized circulation: 80,000. Editor in Chief: Velio SPANO. "LA VOCE", daily, Naples, combined organ of the Socialists and Communists. Authorized circulation, 70,000. "LA VOCE COMUNISTA", daily, Palermo. Authorized circulation, 30,000. There are a number of other Communist papers in the rest of Liberated Italy, for the most part weeklies and including "CIVILTA PROLETARIA", Bari.

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YOUTH MOVEMENT: "Movimento Giovanile Comunista", headed by Celeste Negarville, one of the Party's ablest organizers. Membership is open to youths from 14 to 21 years of age. A "Federazione Giovanile Comunista" functions under each Party Provincial Federation.

WORKERS' MOVEMENT: The Party's expert in the labour field and syndical organization and activities is Giuseppe Di Vittorio. He is the Communist member of the three-man directorate of the Italian Confederation of Labour.

HISTORY: The history of Communism in Italy is identical with that of Socialism until 1921, when the Socialist Party broke up into 3 groups, the right wing becoming the Partito Socilista Unitario, the center or majority group becoming the Partito Socialista Massimalista, while the left wing, under Antonio Gramsci, became the present Partito Comunista Italiano. Under fascism and until 1929, the Communists fought the regime in Parliament, but they were uncompromising in their refusal to cooperate with any of the other anti-fascist parties. In 1929, the Party along with the others was suppressed and its leaders were driven underground, imprisoned, or they left the country. Togliatti and Negarville went to Moscow, while Gramsci, although a deputy, was kept in prison from 1928 to his death in 1937. During fascism the Party was generously financed by Moscow, aid being furnished both in Italy and to Italian emigrés. Party leaders and agents were active, particularly in the North, in maintaining and creating cells, in propaganda, proselytizing and sabotage, while Italian exiles organized battalions which fought in Spain on the side of the Republicans. Early in 1943 a few Communist organizers had returned clandestinely to Italy, and in March of that year they successfully organized the series of strikes in occupied Italy. By its vitality and efficiency the Party has taken the lead in partisan and other subversive activities.

Since the Armistice and particularly since the end of March, 1944, when Togliatti returned from Moscow, the Communists have adopted a policy of cooperation with other parties with which they are ideologically at variance.

The following members of the Party have held posts in the various Cabinets:

3rd Badoglio Cabinet

Palmiro TOGLIATTI Minister without Portfolio

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Communist member of the three-man directorate of the Italian Confederation of Labour.

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The following members of the Party have held posts in the various Cabinets:

3rd Badoglio Cabinet

Palmiro TOGLIATTI	Minister without Portfolio
Fausto GULLO	Minister of Agriculture
Antonio PESENTI	Undersecretary of Finance

1st Bonomi Cabinet:

Palmiro TOGLIATTI	Minister without Portfolio
Fausto GULLO	Minister of Agriculture
Antonio PESENTI	Undersecretary of War
Mario PALERMO	Undersecretary of Industry & Commerce.
M. LINELLI	

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Present Bonomi Cabinet

Palmiro TOGLIATTI	Vice President of the Council
Mario SCOCCIMARRO	Minister for Occupied Italy
Fausto GULLO	Minister of Agriculture
Antonio PESENTI	Minister of Finance
Mario PALERMO	Undersecretary of War
Giuseppe MONTALBANO	Undersecretary for Merchant Marine
Umberto FIORE	Undersecretary of Industry & Commerce
Eugenio REALE	Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs.

POLITICS: The Communist Party, although faithful to the doctrines of Marxism -- dictatorship of the industrial proletariat with the abolition of private property -- has so far refrained from elaborating any specific programme, and has adopted an attitude of moderation and conciliation. Although definitely republican, the Party is participating in a government emanating from the Monarchy, and by its insistence on the patriotic note of liberating Italy from the Germans, and its desire for an alliance with the Christian Democrats, shows a reasonable attitude towards the Church and the Army. In keeping with its policy of conciliation and unity in the war effort, in August, 1944, the Communists made a political pact with the Socialists and have come to an understanding with the Christian Democrats in the syndical field. In July, 1944, syndical unity was achieved for the first time in Italy when the Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists formed the General Confederation of Labour.

PROGRAMME: The Party's programme, in so far as it has been publicly announced, is roughly as follows:

1) A democratic republic, set up by means of a constituent assembly, with the institutional question left temporarily in abeyance.

2) Liquidation of fascism, and drastic epuration of all businesses and persons who furthered fascism or profited thereby.

3) Union of all patriotic, democratic and anti-fascist forces, and especially of the three "mass parties" for the intensification of the war effort and the renovation of Italy. 8283

4) Greatest possible military participation in the war.

5) Betterment of living conditions of the masses, unemployment relief, control of the black market.

6) Socialization of industry and big business. Respect of

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Eugenio REALE — Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs.

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4) Greatest possible military participation in the war.

5) Betterment of living conditions of the masses, unemployment relief, control of the black market.

6) Socialization of industry and big business. Respect of small property owners.

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PARTIES OUTSIDE THE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND OTHER GROUPS

PARTITO DEMOCRATICO ITALIANO

Headquarters: Piazza Montecitorio 121, Rome.

Officials:
- Acting Secretary: Dr. Enzo SELVAGGI
- Head of Economic Section: Giorgio CLAROTTI
- Member of Executive: Marchese Roberto LUCIFERO
- " " " " Avv. BEDESCHI DELL'ANNUNZIATA
- Head of Rome Committee: Col. MARGINI

Dr. Selvaggi is an energetic Calabrian of 30. He left Italy at the age of twelve, studied in S. America, at Princetown, in Switzerland and at Aberdeen. He returned to Italy for his military service, and stayed on. It is worth noting that Selvaggi is at the head of the Party, editor of its two newspapers and formulator of its doctrines. He gives the impression of being a very able and intelligent but also very ambitious man.

Membership: The Party claims to have 237 Sections in Liberated Italy with a membership of about 142,000. It draws its strength from middle-class salaried workers and professional people. There is a high percentage of young people.

Newspapers: "L'Italia Nuova", daily Rome. Authorised circulation 86,000 (this is probably exceeded by purchases of paper on the black market). Director and leader-writer: Dr. Enzo SELVAGGI. "La Voce dei Giovani", bi-weekly, Rome, Director: Dr. Enzo SELVAGGI.

Youth Movement: In Rome the "Sezione Giovanile" is strictly political in character. Its meetings are addressed by the official Party speakers. It has a centre for political and economic studies, runs language classes and a film group. The members number about 600, of whom 30% are women. It boasts a "clandestine" past, having discovered and denounced to the Allies the Fascist D'Annunzio group. President: Avv. ZERILLI. Secretary: Arturo ALLIETTI. Newspaper: "La Voce dei Giovani" (see above).

Workers' Movement: The Party claims to sponsor free labour unions, with headquarters temporarily in Naples. These are not, however, believed to be of any great importance.

History: The Party was formed in Rome on 6 June 1944 by the fusion of the Centre of Italian Democracy, the Union Party and the Social Democratic Party, groups which had existed from the early years of the War to carry on propaganda aimed at the creation of a democratic conscience amongst the Italian people. After the Armistice they acted against the Germans not only with Propaganda, but with their

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Officials: Acting Secretary: [illegible]
Head of Economic Section: Giorgio CLAROTTI
Number of Executive: Marchese Roberto LUCIFERO
" " " Avv. PIETESCHI DELL'ANNUNZIATA
Head of Rome Committee: Col. MARGHINI

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Membership: The Party claims to have 237 Sections in Liberated Italy with a membership of about 142,000. It draws its strength from middle-class salaried workers and professional people. There is a high percentage of young people.

Newspapers: "L'Italia Nuova", daily Rome. Authorised circulation 36,000 (this is probably exceeded by purchases of paper on the black market). Director and leader-writer: Dr. Enzo SELVAGGI. "La Voce dei Giovani", bi-weekly, Rome. Director: Dr. Enzo SELVAGGI.

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Programme:

1. International relations founded on the Atlantic Charter.
2. Dependence of Civil Order on the family.
3. The enjoyment of liberty, including freedom of individual enterprise for every citizen.
4. More equitable distribution of wealth and property, including breaking up the big estates.
5. Increased social and economic security for all classes.
6. Educational opportunity for all.
7. Continuation of the Monarchy, but not necessarily support of Victor Emmanuel III. Institutional question to be settled by referendum.

The general aim is to establish in Italy a democracy on the lines of the Anglo-American democracies, with a "two-chamber legislative body, separation of the executive from the judiciary and non-political trade unions.

In spite of this progressive programme and the Democratic Party's claim to be a party of the Centre rather than of the Right, in actual fact it represents the extreme Right of the range of larger parties, being the only one which is outspokenly Monarchist.

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PARTITO REPUBBLICANO ITALIANO

Headquarters: Via Dei Prefetti 46, Rome.

Officials:
On. Avv. Giovanni CONTI (Secretary)
Avv. Randolfo PACCIARDI
On. Avv. Gino MACRELLI
Avv. Ottorino PETRONI
Ing. Giorgio DI RICCO
Dott. Franco FRANCHINI
Dott. Giovanni CALDORI
Giovanni PASQUALINI
Giorgio BRACCIALARGHE
Nicola SIGISMONDI
Oliviero ZUCCARINI

Avv. Pacciardi was born at Grossetto in 1889. While still very young he published a pamphlet on Mazzini. He fought during World War I. and was recommended for the Gold Medal for Bravery. He studied law in Rome under Giovanni CONTI (see above) and in 1923 formed the association "L'Italia Libera". In 1927 he left Italy to escape from Fascist persecution, going first to Switzerland and then to Spain, where he fought in the Republican Army, reaching the rank of Colonel and commanding the Italian "Garibaldi" Brigade. In 1938 he was in Paris where he founded the anti-Fascist Movement "Giustizia e Libertà" and directed, along with

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6. Educational opportunity for all.
7. Continuation of the Monarchy, but not necessarily support of Victor Emmanuel III. Institutional question to be settled by referendum.

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Membership: The Party is pretty well organised in Rome, which is divided into fifteen sections with a total membership of 5,500 as early as August. In all liberated Italy "from Sardinia to Bologna" it claims a membership of 30,000 - 50,000. It has never been strong in the South, its greatest hold being

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in Tuscany, Umbria, the Marches and Romagna. In occupied Italy it is traditionally strong in Veneto, but not in the large cities.

Newspapers: "La Voce Repubblicana", daily, Rome. Authorised circulation: 44,000 (this may be increased by purchases of Black Market newsprint) Director: Giovanni CONTI. Leader-writer: Rodolfo PACCIARDI. "L'Alba Repubblicana", bi-monthly, Rome, Youth Movement organ. "La Repubblica", weekly, Naples, 10,000. "L'Amico del Popolo", weekly, Catanzaro: 4,000.

Youth Movement: Directive Council: Mario GUGLIELMOTTI, Libero MASTROCCHI, Alberto RONCHEY, Gianfranco MONTEGAZZA, Bruno GARIBALDI, Idomenio BARBADORO, Filiberto BARDELLONI. There are fifteen youth centres in Rome; they had an aggregate membership of 2,400 in August. Newspaper: "L'Alba Repubblicana" (see above).

Feminine Movemt: Directive Council: Mercedes GUARNERI, Giovanna BONGESE, Franca FABBRI, Lidia MASTROGIOVANNI, Lia ABBATIELL. In August the fifteen women's centres in Rome had an aggregate membership of 840.

Workers' Movement: The Party sponsors free unions under the general direction of Oliviero ZUCCARINI and Giovanni PASQUALINI. It is not thought that these are of any very great importance.

History: The Party counts Mazzini and Garibaldi among its former members, and its programme is unchanged from that originally laid down by Mazzini: National independence and unity; republic; emancipation of labour; and moral redemption of man. Its popularity declined in the year immediately preceding World War I, and in pre-Fascist years it was represented by only fifteen deputies. After the downfall of Fascism the Party worked clandestinely against collaborators and Nazis in all occupied territory, contact being maintained by radio and messengers. It sustained several casualties. It has not participated in any Government since the Armistice, consistently attacking the Monarchy and all parties which have served under the latter. It has excellent relations with the Partisan Movement.

Programme:

1. The Republic, proclaimed by the free will of the people expressed by a Constituent Assembly of delegates elected by universal suffrage. The Head of the State a President elected for a term of five or six years.

2. Sovereignity of the people, which would elect its representatives to Communal Councils, Regional Assemblies and Parliament.

3. No office to be filled without popular election.

4. Equality of all citizens. All equally eligible for election as Councillor, Deputy, Minister or President.

5. The family is the foundation of society. The Commune is the most important of all political and social organisms; the Region is also important. State control should be reduced to a minimum. Communes,

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5. The family is the foundation of society. The Commune is the most important of all political and social organisms; the Region is also important. State control should be reduced to a minimum. Communes, Regions and State to be administered by the people either directly or through their elected representatives.

6. Liberty of thought, speech, press and religion.

7. Importance of education, both as instruction and education for citizenship.

8. Economically, to each the fruit of his own labour. In Mazzini's words: "He who does not work has no right to live." Capital and work in the same hands, and the land to belong to the peasants.

9. No taxes on essentials or on the poor; but heavy taxes on wealth. Abolition of import and local duties ('dazi') and indirect taxes (salt, matches, entertainments etc.)

Short Term Programme: An all-party, neutral government, with equal representation for all constituent parties.

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MOVIMENTO COMUNISTA D'ITALIA

HEADQUARTERS: Via Nazionale 230

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Filiberto SBARDELLA
Francesco CRETARA
Calogero PUGLIARA
Ettore BARONCINI
Giovanni GLORIOSO
Attilio PELLI

Cretara is the only member left of the Committee elected on 7 July 1944. SBARDELLA was at that time understood to have been expelled from the Movement; he was one of the two leaders at the time of the liberation of Rome and was reported to be an opportunist and not over honest.

MEMBERSHIP: The only figure available is a claim to have 70,000 members, made by a member of the Committee in August, 1944. At that time there were 35 sections in Rome and 14 in the outskirts, in addition to Sections at Viterbo, Naples, Bari, Taranto, Palermo, Lecce and Catania. Further Sections have been set up as the front moved northwards. The Movement expects much stronger support in the industrial North. It has undoubtedly a certain strength in Rome, particularly in San Lorenzo, the least orderly district of the city.

NEWSPAPERS: "BANDIERA ROSSA" was printed fairly regularly in Rome during the clandestine period, but has not appeared since. The Movement's only organ now is an internal bulletin.

HISTORY: The movement was founded in Fascist days by Avv. DE LUCA from the remnants of a Communist group called "La Scintilla", most of whose members had been arrested. It began to flourish, in opposition to the Communist Party, at the time of the partisan bands formed after the Armistice. In November, 1943, DE LUCA's band amalgamated with that of Dr. M. RETTI ("bands of Via Margutta"), and the name 'Movimento Comunista' was adopted, though not all the members were Communists. This was the period of the "Bandiera Rossa", and of the collaboration of the two sons of Matteotti. At the time of the liberation of Rome the two leaders were one P.O.W. who had been expelled from the Communist Party, and SBARDELLA (vide supra); both regarded as opportunists and with a reputation for dishonesty. Dr. Moretti was regarded as a moderating influence, but on the whole the Movement was a gathering of malcontents and extremists. Both Moretti and De Luca have since left the movement, the former to become the Secretary of the Associazione Partigiani d'Italia (q.v.), and the latter to withdraw from active pol-

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a) An instrument of the Right masquerading as a left-wing party;

b) A convenient though officially disowned "strong-arm" instrument of the Communist Party;

But neither hypothesis has been by any means proved.

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PROGRAMME: 1) Support for Communism, but not the Third International: Marx and Lenin are the prophets.

2) Liberty, equality, and justice for all workers.

3) No dictatorship of any kind, but the equality of the whole people in the government.

4) No collaboration with bourgeois parties or governments.

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PARTITO CRISTIANO SOCIALE

HEADQUARTERS: Via del Tritone 201

CENTRAL COMMITTEE: Dr. Gerardo BRUNI (founder)
Conte Lucangelo BRACCI
Lidio BAZZINI
Dr. R. BERTOLI
Dr. Aldo SPADA
Signora Silvestra SESINI
Comm. Ernesto APUZZO (administrator)

MEMBERSHIP: Not even approximate figures are available. The greatest strength is in Tuscany, where the Party is in some districts stronger than the Christian Democrats, and has a big following among the young intellectuals. Consididerable strength is claimed among the working masses of the North. In Rome before the split (see History below) there were 1000 members.

NEWSPAPERS: "L'AZIONE SOCIALE", weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation: 5000. Director: Gerardo BRUNI.

"LA VOCE DEGLI OPERAI", Verona. Details not known.

During the clandestine period two papers "L'AZIONE" and "L'AZIONE DEI LAVORATORI", were printed in Rome; and one "RINASCITA", in Tuscany (5 numbers at Leghorn and one at Florence.)

ORGANIZATIONS: The Party sponsors a youth movement, a women's movement and labour offices.

HISTORY: From a group founded in 1941 by Dr. BRUNI, librarian at the Vatican, there eventually emerged both the Partito Cristiano Sociale and the Partito della Sinistra Cristiana (q.v.) The group's self-imposed task was to reconcile labour with Catholicism; with this aim it carried on clandestine anti-fascist propaganda and later armed

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HEADQUARTERS: Via del Trit ne 2 1

CENTRAL C MITTEE: Dr. Gerardo BRUNI (founder)
Conte Lucangelo BRACCI
Lidio B ZZINI
Dr. R. BERT LI
Dr. Aldo SP DA
Signora Silvestra SESINI
Comm. Ernesto PUZZ (administrator)

MEMBERSHIP: Not even approximate figures are available. The greatest strength is in Tuscany, where the Party is in some districts stronger than the Christian Democrats, and has a big following among the young intellectuals. Considerable strength is claimed among the working masses of the North. In Rome before the split (see History below) there were 1 members.

NEWSPAPERS: "L'AZI E SOCIALE", weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation: 5 . Director: Gerardo BRUNI.

"LA VOCE DEGLI OPERAI", Verona. Details not known.

During the clandestine period two papers "L'AZI NE" and "L'AZI NE DEL LAVORATORI", were printed in Rome; and one "RINASCITA", in Tuscany (5 numbers at Leghorn and one at Florence.)

ORGANIZATIONS: The Party sponsors a youth movement, a women's movement and labour offices.

HISTORY: From a group founded in 1941 by Dr. BRUNI, librarian at the Vatican, there eventually emerged both the Partito Cristiano Sociale and the Partito della Sinistra Cristiana (q.v.) The group's self-imposed task was to reconcile labour with Catholicism; with this aim it carried on clandestine anti-fascist propaganda and later armed anti-German activities both in Rome and Tuscany. The actual party was constituted in March, 1943, at a meeting which adopted the present programme. In October, 1944, the Rome branch of the Party split. Bruni was expelled by the Executive Committee, which then went over practically en bloc to the Partito della Sinistra Cristiana. Bruni promptly reconstituted the Party. The causes of the split appear to have been Bruni's insistence on personal leadership, the abstruse nature of his political doctrines and his inability to cooperate with the parties of the Left.

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Meanwhile the movement had spread clandestinely to Tuscany, where it became one of the most successful in underground work against the Germans. The leaders here were: Dr. BILANCIERI, Don ANGELO (a priest), Conte BALOCCI (vide sopra), Sig. BAZZINI (v.s.), Sig. Spada, (v.s.), Dr. Anna Maria ENRIQUEZ AGNELETTI (murdered by the Germans). Most of these were arrested by the Germans in May, 1944; Don Angelo is still in German hands. The principal centers in Tuscany were and are Montepulciano, Leghorn (where the Party took the place of the Christian Democrat Party on the CLN), Siena and Florence. After the liberation of Florence the Party was strongly represented on the University Faculty Committees.

PROGRAMME: 1) Decentralization. Reduction of the power of the State in favor of labour and economic associations, Communes and Regions, Family and Church.

2) Freedom of press, association, education and religion, guaranteed by a Constituent Assembly of the liberated Italian people, elected only by those in possession of a "work certificate".

3) Socialist economy. Workers' cooperatives rather than State control.

4) Federation of European states, with freedom of international trade and access to raw materials.

5) Union of Christians, Liberals, and Socialists in support of the above programme.

Since the split in the Party (see History above) the republican and revolutionary planks have been dropped from the programme. The Party has in fact moved away from the Left and closer to the Christian Democrats.

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PARTITO DELLA SINISTRA CRISTIANA

HEADQUARTERS: Via Agostino De Pretis 86

OFFICEBEARERS:

Secretary — Giuseppe RAPINI, Prof., University of the Sacred Heart

Vice-Secretary — Adriano OSSICINI, Doctor of Medicine

Director "VOCE OPERAIA" — Fedele D'AMICO

Editor, "VOCE OPERAIA" — Filippo SACCONI, Prof. Pontifical Institute.

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are Montepulciano, Leghorn (w[illegible]), Christian Democrat Party on the CLN), Siena and Florence. After the liberation of Florence the Party was strongly represented on the University Faculty Committees.

PROGRAMME: 1) Decentralization. Reduction of the power of the State in favor of labour and economic associations, Communes and Regions, Family and Church.

2) Freedom of press, association, education and religion, guaranteed by a Constituent Assembly of the liberated Italian people, elected only by those in possession of a "work certificate".

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Since the split in the Party (see History above) the republican and revolutionary planks have been dropped from the programme. The Party has in fact moved away from the Left and closer to the Christian Democrats.

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PARTITO DELLA SINISTRA CRISTIANA

HEADQUARTERS: Via Agostino De Pretis 86

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OFFICEBEARERS:

Secretary — Giuseppe MIRA, Prof., University of the Sacred Heart

Vice-Secretary — Adriano OSSICINI, Doctor of Medicine

Director "VOCE OPERAIA" — Fedele D'AMICO

Editor, "VOCE OPERAIA" — Filippo SACCONI, Prof. Pontifical Institute.

Delegate, Agrarian Problems — Gino BARBIERI, Prof. University of the Sacred Heart.

Delegate, Propaganda — Franco RODANO, Doctor of Letters and Philosophy.

The leaders of the Party appear to be young, sincere idealists in the main, with a few older advisers.

Fedele D'AMICO is a young man of letters in his early 30's, the son of one of Italy's best dramatic critics. He is a highly cultiv-

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ated person whose primary ability is perhaps literary and artistic rather than political. With him Catholicism (not clericalism) comes first, and Communism second. He professes to feel himself in sympathy with Sidault and the members of the Left Catholic party in France, centered round "L'Aube, and to have a great admiration for Peguy. The Christian Democrats, he considers, are reactionary in practice, and he feels that the distrust of the parties of the Right towards the Communists will produce a violent revolution in Italy, which will be the responsibility of the Right.

MEMBERSHIP: The Party claims about 32,000 members in liberated Italy, plus considerable strength in occupied territory. There is a cellular organization of the Communist type.

NEWSPAPERS: "VOCE OPERAIA", weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation, 10,000. Director: Fedele D'AMICO; editor, Filippo SACCHI. Since 22 Jan. 45 this paper has been authorized to appear as a daily, with a circulation of 10,000. There is also a clandestine edition printed by the Milan and Turin branches of the Party.

"LA TERRA", monthly for peasants.

Party Bulletin, fortnightly, Rome.

YOUTH ORGANIZATION: The Youth Federation of the Party includes Girls' Sections which adhere to the Unione Ragazze d'Italia (See Unione Donne d'Italia.)

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION: The Women's Section of the Party adheres to the Unione Donne d'Italia (q.v.)

LABOUR ORGANIZATION: The Workers' Movement within the Party supports the single trade union as advocated by the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro.

HISTORY: The movement was founded under fascism with the purpose of healing by Catholicism the schism in the working classes, regarded as the root of all their troubles. It sprang from the Partito Cooperativiste Sinarchico founded in 1941 by Dr. BRUNI, librarian at the Vatican (see Partito Cristiano Sociale). It was originally called the Partito Comunista Cattolico (+). It carried on clandestine propaganda, printed a paper called "PUGNO CHIUSO" and organized the first anti-fascist manifestations. In September 1944 it changed its name because the word "Communist" had atheistic associations. In November 1944 it absorbed a fair number of dissidents from the Rome branch of the Partito Cristiano Sociale (q.v.) On 2 and 3 January 1945 the "OSSERVATORE ROMANO" contained an unsigned statement referring to the Party

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MEMBERSHIP: The Party claims about 32,000 members in liberated Italy, plus considerable strength in occupied territory. There is a cellular organization of the Communist type.

NEWSPAPERS: "VOCE OPERAIA", weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation, 16,000. Director: Fedele D'AMICO; editor, Filippo SACCONI. Since 22 Jan. 45 this paper has been authorized to appear as a daily, with a circulation of 16,000. There is also a clandestine edition printed by the Milan and Turin branches of the Party.

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LABOR ORGANIZATION: The Workers' Movement within the Party supports the single trade union as advocated by the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro.

HISTORY: The movement was founded under fascism with the purpose of healing by Catholicism the schism in the working classes, regarded as the root of all their troubles. It sprang from the Partito Cooperativiste Rinarchico founded in 1941 by Dr. BRUNI, librarian at the Vatican (see Partito Cristiano Sociale). It was originally called the Partito Comunista Cattolico (+). It carried on clandestine propaganda, printed a paper called "PUGNO CHIUSO" and organized the first anti-fascist manifestations. In September 1944 it changed its name because the word "Communist" had atheistic associations. In November 1944 it absorbed a fair number of dissidents from the Rome branch of the Partito Cristiano Sociale (q.v.) On 2 and 3 January 1945 the "OSSERVATORE ROMANO" contained an unsigned statement referring to the Party in the following terms: "...the principles and tendencies (of the Partito della Sinistra Cristiana)...are not in conformity with the teachings of the Church, and hence those who promote them have not the right to speak as representatives of Christian thought and still less to pretend that those Catholics who wish for the true good of the people should adhere to their movement."

(+) There exists in Naples a distinct group also called "Movimento Comunista Cristiano", headed by a Father Angelo D'ARPSIA, Prof. of Philosophy and Theology. It is said to have contacts with the Rome Communist and Partisan movements.

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I No. 55

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Fedele D'AMICO, in the course of a private conversation, expressed the opinion that the attack was inspired by the Christian Democrats. At the same time he could not understand on what grounds (documents) the Party had been condemned. What attitude did the Vatican intend to adopt towards the French Catholics of the Left and Bidault, French Foreign Minister? In any case it seemed that the present Vatican attitude, if adhered to, would ruin any chance his Party had of obtaining a hold over substantial bodies of Italian opinion. Its appeal was to town workers and country people, all firm Catholics but repelled by the present weak and colorless programme of the Christian Democrats.

PROGRAMME: 1) To incorporate the needs and aspirations of the workers, who find set forth in the Gospels their will to concrete democracy and justice.

2) Progressive and popular democracy to protect labour from every form of exploitation.

3) Single union of all workers.

4) Help for the small landholder by the cooperative use of mechanical farm equipment. Breaking up of big estates. Creation of farm cooperatives.

5) Support for the Government and the CLN.

6) Support and working out in practice of the broad lines of policy announced by the Church, as the latter cannot itself interfere in politics.

7) Democratization, not Communism. The Party is anti-Monarchist.

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PARTITO SOCIALISTA RIVOLUZIONARIO ITALIANO (P.S.R.I.)

Headquarters: Port'Alba 33, Naples.

Leaders: Vincenzo DE LUCA, Secretary of the Party.
Avv. Rocco D'AMBRA. Former Secretary of the Party. Has a long history of anti-Fascist activities.
Prof. Ugo BELLANCA.
Ugo MARGIOTTA. An experienced revolutionary anarchist, one-time exile in Mexico and U.S.A. He is said to have resigned from the Party, but his resignation is not considered genuine in many Neapolitan circles.
Avv. Antonio LANDOLFI, Secretary of the Campania Section.
Giovanni D'ANTONA, Administrative Secretary of the Party.
Alfredo CERMINO. Anti-Fascist of long standing.

Membership: The Party has its largest following in Campania and the city of Naples. There are many other branches in Southern Italy and Sicily, but connection with the Party headquarters is not efficient. No membership figures are available.

Newspaper: "La Fiaccola", weekly, Naples.

History: The Party claims to have been founded in the North in 1940 and was the first to be formed in Naples after the city had been liberated. In 1943 it gathered in liberated territory a number of dissidents from among the Left-wing groups who were dissatisfied with the policy of the C.L.N. In Naples the weekly paper "Bandiera Rossa" of the paper was published without authorisation, and attained a fair circulation possibly because of its violent tone. Subsequently "Bandiera Rossa" started criticising the Allies, who banned the paper. Later the Party was allowed to publish "La Fiaccola" in its place. When strikes and meetings were organized in Naples by the other Left Wing Parties as a protest against the Crown, the attitude of the P.S.R.I. was interpreted as being philo-monarchist, since it took no part in the demonstrations, but maintained that discussions regarding the institutional question and responsibility of the Crown and the anti-Fascist groups in the advent of Fascism, should be postponed. This interpretation was further confirmed by the attitude of the Party, by the relations of some of its members with Allied officers and by the development of a political movement which, without traditions behind it and without leaders worthy of the name, yet managed to swell its ranks so considerably.

After Togliatti's arrival in Italy, and especially after he had declared himself in favour of postponing the institutional question until the whole of Italy was liberated, the P.S.R.I. endeavoured to get closer to the Communists. When, however, Togliatti advocated the collaboration of all political parties with the Monarchy to intensify the war effort and consolidate national unity, the Party returned to its violent opposition and also of the new democratic government.

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Ugo MARGIOTTA. An experienced revolutionary anarchist, one-time exile in Mexico and U.S.... He is said to have resigned from the Party, but his resignation is not considered genuine in many Neapolitan circles.
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After the liberation of Rome, the Party tried to establish its headquarters there, but failed to do so. Later on there was a move to merge the Movimento Comunista and the P.S.R.I., but nothing came of it.

Politics and Programme: The Party has always been anti-Monarchist and has upheld Sicilian separatism. In October 1943 the Party reprinted some propaganda pamphlets which were allegedly drawn up during the clandestine period, and which stated that the Party was of the Left Wing, but contrary to proletarian dictatorship.

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(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

The following are the main points of its programme (valid December 1944):

1. A Socialist Republic, under a President chosen by a national assembly of electors representing free workers' associations.
2. A two-Chamber legislature: Chamber of Economics and Legislative Body.
3. Minister appointed by and responsible to the Chambers. The President to coordinate and unite the Government.
4. Obligatory suffrage restricted to members of the workers' associations.
5. Complete separation of Church and State.
6. The institution of divorce with restrictive laws safe-guarding the family.
7. Abolition ofthe death penalty.
8. Recognition of all freedoms, speech press etc. emigration, abortion.
9. A single state tax.
10. Abolition of large and medium properties.

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MOVIMENTO PARTIGIANO

Headquarters: Direzione Centrale in via Sistina, 48.
Direzione Provinciale & Assistance Office, in Torre dei Conti, Via dell'Impero.

The Movement is directed by the Direzione Centrale consisting of 14 to 20 members and in each province by a Direzione Provinciale consisting of 3 to 5 members.

Office Bearers: Secretary: Alfredo PACCIRA (has a long anti-fascist record among workmen of Terni.)
Welfare Supervisor: Rag. BRUNELLI.

Membership: 4000 enrolled members. 12,000 applications being examined.

The Movement has 15 branches in Rome and others throughout Italy.(e.g., Florence, Viareggio, and Sicily. It is organized into groups, Sections and Zones, and aims at establishing centers in every commune. The members claim to be unarmed and desirous of co-operating with the Allies. 50,000 (?) if supplied with arms and food would be willing to cross over into North Italy to fight.

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5. Complete separation of Church and State.

6. The institution of divorce with restrictive laws safe-guarding the family.

7. Abolition ofthe death penalty.

8. Recognition of all freedoms, speech press etc. emigration, abortion.

9. A single state tax.

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Newspapers: "Il Partigiano", weekly, Rome; Authorized circulation 10,000. Directors: Carlo LUDOVICI and A. Claudio ROCCHI,

"Lotta Partigiana", weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation 30,000. Published by Partisan H.Q. (Comando Superiore Partigiano).

Organizations: There is a Women's Branch, a Young People's Sports Association and a Labour Office.

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History: The movement was formed by Dr. Andreoni in Rome before the Allies arrived, and came into the open in the early days of June 1944.

Programme: The movement as set out in an 8 page leaflet aims at giving moral and material support to the Partisans, and assistance in every way to demobilized partisans. It welcomes all who have taken an active part in the fight against Nazism and fascism. It claims to be a movement of the nation and to constitute the moral reserve of the nation, and it defends the ideas for which anti-fascists suffered. These are:

1) Defense of the just boundaries of Italy, which have been compromised by the monarchy through participation in an anti-national anti-democratic, anti-European war.

2) Defense of democratic ideas, which are now shown to be incompatible with the monarchical institution in Italy. A Democratic Republic was the dream of "our fallen" and is the invocation of the survivors.

3) The defense of social systems, founded on popular liberties which ensure to manual and intellectual workers the entire fruit of their labours.

4) Universal brotherhood of Partisans beyond the frontiers. They represent the popular, idealistic, revolutionary element in the present war.

"The reference to the 'just boundaries of Italy' is an indication of possible friction and subversive activity in the future, and the appeal to 'universal brotherhood' is only too reminiscent of Communism." (Extract from FSS report). The movement appears to include extremists from the Communist Party, with Anti-British sentiments. Republican and anti-Royalist feeling is high.

The Movement is in touch with the Garibaldi Brigades in North Italy by means of Couriers (e.g. Adolfi, Braccialarghe and Speranza) who pass the lines on the Bologna front. After the war the Movement intends to see that the Partisans are treated fairly in a Republic organized on a co-operative basis.

Funds are obtained by voluntary donations to the movements bank accounts, or directly to its offices or from proceeds of social evenings.

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1) Defense of the just boundaries of Italy, which have been compromised by the monarchy through participation in an anti-national anti-democratic, anti-European war.

2) Defense of democratic ideas, which are now shown to be incompatible with the monarchical institution in Italy. A Democratic Republic was the dream of "our fallen" and is the invocation of the survivors.

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Funds are obtained by voluntary donations to the movements bank accounts, or directly to its offices or from proceeds of social evenings.

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(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only.)

ASSOCIAZIONE PARTIGIANA D'ITALIA

HEADQUARTERS: Piazza Adriano 2 Casa Madre dei Mutilati.

GENERAL SECRETARY: Vincenzo Sofia MORETTI.

Dr. Moretti was active as leader of an armed band (bands of Via Marguta) during the German occupation of Rome. His band eventually joined up with others to constitute the Movimento Comunista d'Italia (q.v.) in which Moretti was considered a moderating influence. He has now left the Movimento and withdrawn from active political life (his present Association being "non-political").

The association has no newspaper and no youth or other organizations. The Secretary refused politely to give even approximate figures for its membership.

PROGRAMME: 1. Welfare among Partisans.

2. Rallying of all Partisans in a single non-political group, in order to avoid the dispersal of the most vital and valuable force in present-day Italian life.

According to 276 FSS, this Association, officially non-political, is in fact Monarchist. It occupies offices in the building of the official Disabled Ex-Servicemen's Association, a Government service presumably under army control or influence. Moreover, Moretti's former connection with the Movimento Comunista d'Italia is not without interest, as that group has been at times sustpected of being, like the Unione Proletaria, an instrument of the right masquerading as a left-wing party.

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ASSOCIAZIONE NAZIONALE PARTIGIANI D'ITALIA

Headquarters : Scala Aracoeli 1 (Campidoglio)

National Committee : Carlo LIZZI - General Secretary
Alessandro VAIA
Michele JANNARONI
Alfredo MONACO
Arturo MONDOVI'
Felice SALVIETTO
Domenico PALADINO

Membership : No figure available. The association claims to have adherents in all parts of liberated Italy.

Newspaper : LA VOCE PARTIGIANA. Clandestine.

Programme :

1. To unite in a single association all who have played an active part in the partisan war.
2. To promote in Italy a democratic regime and guard against any recurrence of absolutism or tyranny.
3. To continue the fight against the Nazis and Fascists in cooperation with the regular armies.
4. To publicise both at home and abroad the efforts and achievements of the Partisans in order at once to encourage them and to secure their recognition as the direct heirs of Garibaldi's armies.
5. To preserve the memory of the Partisan dead.
6. To uphold the right acquired by the Partisans to play a leading part in the reconstruction of Italy.
7. To supply moral and material relief to its members and the families of its dead.
8. To relieve unemployment by the creation of organizations for production and labour.

According to 276 F.S.S. this association, officially non-political, is in fact Monarchist.

FEDERAZIONE COMUNISTA LIBERALE

Headquarters : Piazza Fiametta 11.

Office bearers : Anselmo PESCIOSI - Secretary
Ugo DI BERNARDINO
Camillo POTESCA

Membership : In Rome there are 15 groups, mustering about 500 picked members. The Federation claims [illegible]

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Newspaper : LA VOCE PARTIGIANA. Clandestine.

Programme :

1. To unite in a single association all who have played an active part in the partisan war.
2. To promote in Italy a democratic regime and guard against any recurrence of absolutism or tyranny.
3. To continue the fight against the Nazis and Fascists in cooperation with the regular armies.
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8. To relieve unemployment by the creation of organizations for production and labour.

According to 276 P.S.S. this association, officially non-political, is in fact Monarchist.

FEDERAZIONE COMUNISTA LIBERALE

Headquarters : Piazza Fiametta.11.

Office bearers : Anselmo PREZIOSI - Secretary
Ugo DI BERNARDINO
Camillo PORZECCA

Membership : In Rome there are 15 groups, mustering about 500 picked members. The Federation claims to work in "free collaboration" with the "federalist movement" in various parts of Italy.

Newspaper : UTILITA' NUOVA, weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation: 2,000. Provisional Director: Anselmo PREZIOSI.

Organizations : Young people's movements are only at the blue-print stage. Members adhere to local trade unions.

History : The Federazione has the most ancient tradition of any Left party, being in fact the Italian Anarchist Party. It also perpetuates the doctrine of the pre-Fascist Unione Sindicale Italiana, that the government should be chosen by the people

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through its labour organisation. It has very little contact with any other political party.

Programme :

1. Libertarianism or anarchy, with Communist economy.
2. Emancipation and perfectioning of peoples by the system of pure democracy.
3. Socially, a levelling-up from below to produce true social justice.
4. Revolution not evolution.
5. Opposition to the Monarchy.
6. Opposition to the parties of the C.I.N.

PARTITO AGRARIO SOCIALE

Headquarters : Via Liguria 40.

Office Bearers : Dr. Erminio PIGHI, Rome
Dr. Angelo FABRI "
Conte Ludovico CENIANO, Siena
Ing. Nicolò MARTTI-CUSA, Palermo
Dr. Salvatore DE MARTINO, Naples
Umberto CORTI, Cremona
Prof. Emanuele MORSELLI, Messina
Conte Antonio TOSTI DI VALMINUTA , Rome
Ludovico PATERNO DI SESSA, Rome
Prof. Cesare GRINOVERO, Milan -Agrarian Expert
Prof. Achille MANGO, Rome " "

Membership : No figure available.

Newspaper : The party hopes to publish a paper to be called L'AVVENIRE DEL POPOLO and directed by Dr. De Martino.

Youth Movement : Unione Agraria Giovanile. Office bearers - Dr. Costante Prosperi, Secretary; Dr. Paolo Sylos Labini, Rome; Dr. Domenico Viggiani, Naples.

History : The party was formed at the time of the liberation of Rome, and disclaims any connection with previous parties of the same name.

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Programme :

1. Union of all democratic forces in Italy. International relations based on democracy and mutual respect.
2. Establishment of the Government on a firmer basis by means of the above-mentioned union to enable it to represent

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6. Opposition to the parties of the C.L.N.

PARTITO AGRARIO SOCIALE

Headquarters : Via Liguria 46.

Office Bearers : Dr. Erminio BIGNI, Rome
Dr. Angelo FABBRI "
Conte Ludovico CORNIANO, Siena
Ing. Nicolò MARTTI-CUSA, Palermo
Dr. Salvatore DE MARTINO, Naples
Umberto SCOTTI, Cremona
Prof. Emanuele MONTELLI, Messina
Conte Antonio TOSTI DI VALMINUTA , Rome
Ludovico PATERNO DI SESSA, Rome
Prof. Cesare GRINOVERO, Milan -Agrarian Expert
Prof. Achille MANGO, Rome " "

Membership : No figure available.

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History : The party was formed at the time of the liberation of Rome, and disclaims any connection with previous parties of the same name.

5246

Programme :

1. Union of all democratic forces in Italy. International relations based on democracy and mutual respect.
2. Establishment of the Government on a firmer basis by means of the above-mentioned union to enable it to represent the Italian people and defend democracy.
3. Rapid organisation of the State. The constitutional question to be settled by referendum.
4. Rapid economic reconstruction, free from political interference; this freedom to be guaranteed by the Government over the whole period of reconstruction.
5. Support for the Allied war effort, chiefly through national unity and order.

This programme differs from that put out in June 1944 in the emphasis on political problems. The original programme, addressed to farmers, stressed rather the agrarian problems of land reclamation, irrigation, "latifondi", re-afforestation and improved living conditions for farm labourers. The party appears to belong to the right-centre.

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ALLEANZA CONTADINA ARTIGIANA E MARINARA

Headquarters : Via Due Macelli 97.

Executive Committee : On. Enrico INSABATO
Avv. Domenico CASAMASSIMA
Comm. Delio RAVA'
Col. Francesco Saverio CILANDO
Ing. Renato ANDREINI
Avv. Enzo MERCURIO - General Secretary

General Committee : This consists of 16 members with a strong army-navy flavour and includes:

Sen. Gen. Fidenzio DELL'ORA
Gen. Alessandro DE GUIDI
Barone Paolo LAWGHEIM
Mons. Dr. Antonio PELLIZZOLA

Membership : No figure available.

Newspaper : The group published a paper called L'ITALIA LIBERA during the clandestine period in Rome. They have applied for it to be authorised.

Organizations : The alliance sponsors cooperatives and sees in their development the solution of the country's economic and social problems.

Programme :

1. The great mass of peasants (agricoli), constituting the economic and social basis of the nation, has the right to play the leading role in directing the country's policy.
2. Regional autonomy as the only sure guarantee of national unity. Regional assemblies to be elected by universal suffrage.
3. The granting of regional autonomy to be followed by the election of a Constituent Assembly to decide on the Constitution, the Statute and the Charter of the State.

In pursuance of the above programme a Partito Autonomista Contadino has been set up within the framework of the Alliance, which still continues to control directly the other two sectors - Sailors and Artisans.

An earlier version of the programme emphasises more the economic side:

1. Curtailment of industrialism in favour of a return to an economy prevalingly agricultural.

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Ing. Renato ANDREINI
Avv. Ingo MERCURIO - General Secretary

General Committee : This consists of 16 members with a strong army-navy flavour and includes:

Sen. Gen. Fidenzio DALL'ORA
Gen. Alessandro DE GUIDI
Barone Paolo LANGHEIM
Mons. Dr. Antonio PELLIZZOLA

Membership : No figure available.

Newspaper : The group published a paper called L'ITALIA LIBERA during the clandestine period in Rome. They have applied for it to be authorised.

Organizations : The alliance sponsors cooperatives and sees in their development the solution of the country's economic and social problems.

Programme :

1. The great mass of peasants (agricoli), constituting the economic and social basis of the nation, has the right to play the leading role in directing the country's policy.
2. Regional autonomy as the only sure guarantee of national unity. Regional assemblies to be elected by universal suffrage.
3. The granting of regional autonomy to be followed by the election of a Constituent Assembly to decide on the Constitution, the Statute and the Charter of the State.

In pursuance of the above programme a Partito Autonomista Contadino has been set up within the framework of the Alliance, which still continues to control directly the other two sectors - Sailors and Artisans.

An earlier version of the programme emphasises more the economic side:

1. Curtailment of industrialism in favour of a return to an economy prevalingly agricultural.
2. Creation of cooperative societies of all kinds.
3. Decentralisation of public administration.

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55
(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

PARTITO DEL REDUCE ITALIANO

Headquarter: Via Curtatone, 6.

Secretary: Avv. Edgardo NICOLETTI.

Newspaper: None. It is hoped to publish a paper to be called: "La Patria".

Membership: No information available.

Organisation: The Party sponsors a co-operative society.

History: The Party was founded by the present Secretary in September, 1944.

Programme: 1) Union of all ex-Service Men, returned PWs, forced labourers, political refugees etc.
2) Anti-Fascism and anti-Nazism, but also anti-Nihilism. Democracy but not demagogism.
3) Sovereignty of the people. Avoidance of dictatorship either of individuals or parties.

According to 275 F.S.S. the Party is suspected of being Monarchist or reactionary. A weak pun greeted the appearance of its first posters in Rome, by which it became the "Partito del Re e del Duce".

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LEGA PER LA LIBERTA'

Headquarters: Via Tommaso Salvini 33.

Secretary: Alighiero CIAFFINI.

Membership: There are no regularly enrolled members, merely "adherents".

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Newspaper: The League hopes to publish a paper to be called: "Il Nuovo Patto".

Organisations: Nil.

Programme: 1) To set up a federal Republic.
2) To bring in a great Government-sponsored

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"La Patria".

Membership: No information available.

Organisation: The Party sponsors a co-operative society.

History: The Party was founded by the present Secretary in September, 1944.

Programme: 1) Union of all ex-Service Men, returned PWs, forced labourers, political refugees etc.
2) Anti-Fascism and anti-Nazism, but also anti-Nihilism. Democracy but not demagogism.
3) Sovereignty of the people. Avoidance of dictatorship either of individuals or parties.

According to 276 F.S.S. the Party is suspected of being Monarchist or reactionary. A weak pun greeted the appearance of its first posters in Rome, by which it became the "Partito del Re e del Duce".

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LEAGUE FOR LA LIBERTA'

Headquarters: Via Tommaso Salvini 33.

Secretary: Alighiero CIAMPINI.

Membership: There are no regularly enrolled members, merely "adherents".

Newspaper: The League hopes to publish a paper to be called: "Il Nuovo Patto".

Organisations: Nil.

Programme: 1) To set up a federal Republic.
2) To bring in a great Government-sponsored scheme of social insurance calculated to re-establish the balance upset by economic liberalism and to work in favour of the working-classes.
3) To re-introduce gradually economic liberalism.
4) Italy to join a Society of Nations based on multi-lateral undertakings and guarantees.

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(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

CENTRO ITALIANO DI RINNOVAMENTO.

Headquarters: Corso Umberto, 333.

Membership: The Welfare and Cultural Centre groups about 50 people. These are almost all professional workers who belong to no political party.

Programme: This group is non-political. It concentrates on:-
1) Welfare and cultural activities.
2) Consumers' co-operative: 'Fratelli d'Italia'.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

COMITATO PER LA RICOSTRUZIONE NAZIONALE

Headquarters: Via Quattro Fontane, 142 and 143.

Office-bearers: Capt. Giorgio STARO SANTAROSA.
Dr. Mario RUGGERO
Dr. Giancarlo GIORDANI
Capt. Achille RIBONI
Dr. Pirongelli BRUZIO - Press

Membership: About thirty groups and parties send representatives to the Committee's meeting.

Newspaper: "Lavoro" periodical, Rome. Director: Carlo PINNA FRANCESCO.

Organisations: The Committee sponsors a youth movement and a women's movement. It proposes to form workers' co-operatives.

Programme: 1) The Committee is not a political party, but aims at co-ordinating the policies and activities of groups, parties and organisations opposed to dictatorship either by individuals or parties and striving for democracy, liberty, justice and order.

2) Member parties are free to follow their own political and economic programmes; but the Committee provides them with preliminary studies prepared by experts of the problems of the hour.

3) The Committee maintains that Italian reconstruction may be attained with abolishing the Monarchy.

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Programme: [illegible]
1) Welfare and cultural activities.
2) Consumers' co-operative: 'Fratelli d'Italia'.

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COMITATO PER LA RICOSTRUZIONE NAZIONALE

Headquarters: Via Quattro Fontane, 142 and 143.

Office-bearers: Capt. Giorgio SCIARO SANTAROSA.
Dr. Mario RUGGERO
Dr. Giancarlo GIORDANI
Capt. Achille RIBONI
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Membership: About thirty groups and parties send representatives to the Committee's meeting.

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2) Member parties are free to follow their own political and economic programmes; but the Committee provides them with preliminary studies prepared by experts of the problems of the hour.

3) The Committee maintains that Italian reconstruction may be attained with abolishing the Monarchy.

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PARTITO DI RICOSTRUZIONE CRISTIANA.

Headquarters: Via G. Avezzano, 51.

Office-Bearers: Directing Committee: Avv. Alberto SABATINI (head of the Party)
Cte. Paolo PIELLA
Avv. Giovanni SILVESTRELLI

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55
(Passages market with a line at the side are for information only)

The Party has the slogan "To Christianize the state and to co-operate in a new Christian order in the world". It is monarchical and clerical.

The Party has no inscribed membership, adherents are found and maintained by means of meetings. It has no Youth, Feminine or Syndical organizations. It claims to have applied for authorization to publish a party newspaper.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

PARTITO DI UNIONE PROLETARIA

Headquarters: Via Tornova, 12.

These offices are somewhat palatial for a minor, proletarian party. The Secretary's desk bears a formidable battery of bell-buttons, which are answered with almost disconcerting rapidity. There is also a very efficient 'escort' service for seeing visitors to and fro from their cars.

Office-bearers: Umberto SALVAREZZA, General Secretary
Renato BIANCHI
Lt. Carlo CONCARI
Count Pietro JONIGRA
Arnaldo MARAPODI
Vittorio ANACLERI
Anacleto BALLA

The only person on the above list who held office in the Party in August 1944 is Salvarezza, the founder and Secretary of the Union. An ex-Communist, he has a police record reaching back for twenty years, including several convictions for theft and fraud. He is believed to have belonged to the "Bandiera Rossa" (Movimento Comunista, q. v.) group during the German occupation, and to have formed his own band only when the fall of Rome was imminent. He was imprisoned by the Germans, but released. In November, 1944 he quarelled with On. Umberto Bianchi, ex-deputy and co-leader of the Party and the latter unveiled Salvarezza's past and accused him of using the Party to obtain sums running into millions of lire from various industrialists and ex-Fascists in operations which sounded suspiciously like blackmail. At about the same time Salvarezza claimed in public to be working for the British Secret Service- a claim which he was compelled to withdraw in a newspaper statement. He was recently, according to a reliable source, seeing a good deal of Navy Comm. Montezemolo, a member of Prince Humbert's household.

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PARTITO DI UNIONE PROLETARIA

Headquarters: Via Fornova, 12.

These offices are somewhat palatial for a minor, proletarian party. The Secretary's desk bears a formidable battery of bell-buttons, which are answered with almost disconcerting rapidity. There is also a very efficient 'escort' service for seeing visitors to and fro from their cars.

Office-bearers: Umberto SALVAREZZA, General Secretary
Renato BIANCHI
Lt. Carlo CONCARI
Count Pietro JONIGRA
Arnaldo MARAPODI
Vittorio ANACLETI
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Membership: Independent sources confirm Salvarezza's claim to have 40,000 members in Liberated Italy; but the figure is passed on with all due reserve. The Party claims to have 710 branches. It is stated by the police to have its own partisan bands operating in the North, several hundred members of which are said to be now in Rome for the winter, and to be secretely armed. It claims to be supported by all the parties and movements of a body called the "Congresso Democratico Anti-Comunista".

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(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

Newspapers: "Unione Proletarie": editor: Umberto SALVAREZZA. Authorized by PWB 14th August, 1944, later suspended by the Under-Secretary for the Press and Propaganda. It was claimed by his opponents that Salvarezza numbered the first issued 61 to make believe that it had appeared during the German occupation and that he used it as an instrument for his black-mailing activities.

History: According to Salvarezza he founded the movement in Paris in 1936 but it remained very small until after the Armistice when it was joined by many young people. It had its own bands -the "Gruppi Romagnoli" under General Vannetti and Luigi Sabatini- which carried on sabotage, propaganda and help for political refugees and escaped Allied PWs. In the autumn of 1944 Salvarezza was the soul of the so-called "Democratic Congress", a gathering of small parties and groups ranging from extreme Right to extreme Left united only in opposition to the parties of the CLN. He then claimed to control the Liberal-Social Party, the Communist Libertarian (Anarchist) Party (q.v.) and the Communist Movement, (q.v.), and was in close touch with Dr. Strazza, secretary of the Collaborationist Constitutional Movement, a well-backed party of Right leanings, as well as the Partisan and the Volunteer Garibaldi movement under General Peppino Garibaldi ("the Spaniard"). The Party has never lacked funds and may even be subsidised by the Monarchy and reactionaries.

Programme: This has varied considerably since June 1944, but the more constant factors may be summarised as follows:

1) A republic, to be proclaimed by the free vote of the people through a Constituent Assembly.
2) Regionalism.
3) Solution of political problems by technical and economic means.
4) Full satisfaction of the claims of the workers, combined with anti-Communism and opposition to the Socialist Party. Salvarezza claims to possess incriminating evidence against Togliatti, Nenni and Reale and to be prevented from publishing it; but when invited to produce it, starts to talk in terms of thousands of dollars.

The latest sensational incident in the chequered career of the Party was the shooting by the police on 16th January of Giuseppe Albano, as he was leaving the Party offices. Albano, known as "Il Gobbo", the Hunchback of the Quarticciolo, was a seventeen-year old gang leader, with whom Salvarezza

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when it was joined by many [illegible]
-the "Gruppi Romagnoli" under General Vannetti and Luigi Sabatini-
which carried on sabotage, propaganda and help for political
refugees and escaped Allied P'Ws. In the autumn of 1944 Salva-
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a gathering of small parties and groups ranging from extreme
Right to extreme Left united only in opposition to the parties
of the CLN. He then claimed to control the Liberal-Social
Party, the Communist Libertarian (Anarchist) Party (q.v.) and
the Communist Movement, (q.v.), and was in close touch with
Dr. Strazza, secretary of the Collaborationist Constitutional
Movement, a well-backed party of Right leanings, as well as the
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The latest sensational incident in the chequered career of the Party was the shooting by the police on 16th January of Giuseppe Albano, as he was leaving the Party offices. Albano, known as "Il Gobbo", the Hunchback of the Quarticciolo, was a seventeen-year old gang leader, with whom Salvarezza was implicated. The following day 97 persons, including several belonging to his gang were arrested. Salvarezza himself, after a press campaign lasting several days, was sought by the police, remained in hiding for more than a week, and was finally discovered on 4th February by a journalist of the Communist newspaper "Unita". He was arrested and is now in prison.

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(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

APPENDIX I. No. 55

UNIONE DELLE DONNE ITALIANE

Headquarters: Via IV Novembre 144, Rome.

Board of Directors: Emilia SIRACUSA CABRINI
Luigia COLUMBU
Egle GUALDI
Rita MOGGIANI TOGLIATTI
Bastianina MUSU MARTINI
Giuliana NENNI
Maria ROSSI
Marisa CINCIARI RODANO

Note: Bastianini Musu Martini (of the Partito d'Azione) is said to be the "guiding spirit and soul" of the Unione which is apparently composed of representatives of many political parties as well as independent opinion. The secretarial offices comprise one representative of each political party plus one non political member. The Christian-Democratic Party has refused to associate itself with the Union on the grounds that it is doing its own charitable work through religious organizations.

Membership: The Unione states that it has fifteen branches (circoli) in Rome, and has branches in fifty six towns and villages in Liberated Italy and that its total membership is not known. The Unione is growing rapidly.

Newspaper: "Voi Donne" bi-monthly, Rome, has a circulation of 20,000. Editors-in-chief: Laura Bracco and Vittoria Giuntu.

Youth Movement: The Unione has an active youth movement called "Ragazze d'Italia".

Workers Movement: The Union appeals the women of all classes.

History: In 1943 the Unione was initiated, clandestinely with the formation of "Women's Defence Groups" during German occupation. Its chief present interests are assistance to children and the poor, moral and material help for soldiers and repatriated prisoners and votes for women. They allow complete freedom of religion and political beliefs in their members. Various political Parties have given contributions to the Unione

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2055

Maria ROMITA
Marisa CINCIARI RODANO

Note: Bastianini Muso Martini (of the Partito d'Azione) is said to be the "guiding spirit and soul" of the Unione which is apparently composed of representatives of many political parties as well as independent opinion. The secretarial offices comprise one representative of each political party plus one non political member. The Christian-Democratic Party has refused to associate itself with the Union on the grounds that it is doing its own charitable work through religious organizations.

Membership: The Unione states that it has fifteen branches (circoli) in Rome, and has branches in fifty six towns and villages in liberated Italy and that its total membership is not known. The Unione is growing rapidly.

Newspaper: "Noi Donne" bi-monthly, Rome, has a circulation of 20,000. [redacted] Laura Bracco and Vittoria Giuntu.

Youth Movement: The Unione has an active youth movement called "Ragazze d'Italia".

Workers Movement: The Unione appeals the women of all classes.

History: In 1943 the Unione was initiated, clandestinely with the formation of "Women's Defence Groups" during German occupation. Its chief present interests are assistance to children and the poor, moral and material help for soldiers and repatriated prisoners and votes for women. They allow complete freedom of religion and political beliefs in their members. Various political Parties have given contributions to the Unione (Liberal Party, etc.) and also banks and private citizens but the Unione is handicapped by a great shortage of funds.

Programme: 1) Active participation in the political and social life of the country, and education of workers by conversation and conferences in the principles of Unions for the defence of their economic rights.

2) To continue and to increase the work of assistance to the soldiers and their families, to victims of German and Fascist terror and to victims of the war.

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APPENDIX I. No.55

3) Collaboration with action of epuration of the Government, to fight the Black Market and to nominate women as delegates on the Epuration Commission.

4) Social work for mothers and children of workers with free medical service and help with their problems.

5) Cultural and recreational activities by organization for women, free education for children in rural districts and villages, and to help women improve their knowledge of life and of the world and to prepare them for full participation in political elections and administration.

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AZIONE CATTOLICA ITALIANA.

Headquarters: Via della Conciliazione, 3.

Office-bearers: Director General: P. GILLA GREMIGNI, M.S.C.
Deputy " " : Mons. Giuseppe MORCHINO
General Secretary: Avv. Vittorio VERONESE.

Membership: The organisation claims a membership of approximately 2,000,000. It has Regional, Diocesan and Parish Councils throughout Italy, and is recognised as "an established channelfor Church charity" (Cardinal [illegible]).

Newspapers: "Il Quotidiano", daily, Rome. Authorised circulation: 37,000. Director: Igino GIORDANI.

"Bollettino Ufficiale dell'Azione Cattolica", monthly, Rome. Authorised circulation: 2,500. Director: Mons. Giuseppe BORCHINO, for group leaders.

Thirteen other papers and magazines are published in Rome alone. (see also 'Organisations' below).

Organisations.

Men's Catholic Action Union. Newspaper "Noi Uomini", monthly; 20,000.
Women's " " " " "In Alto", fortnightly, 5,000.
Catholic Action Youth Movement, " "Gioventù Nuova", weekly; 5,000.
Catholic " Girls " , " "Squilli.
" " Students " " "Azione Fucina", fortnightly, 6,000.
Catholic Action Graduates' Section. Magazine: "Studium".

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" " Students " " "Azione Fucina", fortnightly, 6,000.
Catholic Action Graduates' Section. Magazine: "Studium", monthly; 3,500.
Catholic Action Schoolmasters' Section. Magazine: "Il Maestro" quarterly; 4,000.
ACLI (Christian Workers' Association of Italy). Newspaper: "Il Giornale dei Lavoratori"; daily; not yet authorised. The ACLI unions adher to the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro in which, pending forthcoming election, the direction is shared by representatives of the Christian Democrats (q.v.), Socialists and Communists. They have considerable strength. Avv. Mario MONTINI, brother of Mons. MONTINI, is active in the Association.
AGE (Associazione Giovani Esploratori). Catholic Boy Scouts' Association.
AGI (Associazione Guide Italiane). Catholic Girl Guides' Association.

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(Passages marked with one line at the side are for information only)

The Catholic Scouts' Association was founded in 1916, adhered to the Boy Scouts' International Bureau and, at the time of its suppression in 1928, had several thousand troops throughout Italy. It was revived almost simultaneously in the late summer of 1943 in Sicily, under the patronage of Cardinal LAVITRANO, and in Rome, where Prof. GEDDA, President of the Central Youth Organisation of Catholic Action, was authorised by the Badoglio Government to revive the movement. It has now regional and diocesan organizations throughout liberated Italy and has published manuals and magazines, run courses for scoutmasters and resumed normal scouting activities to some extent.

Note: There is also a non-religious scouting association in liberated Italy called CEI (Corpo Nazionale Giovani Esploratori Italiani).

History: The Movement, born in the nineteenth century, received a great impetus from the support of Pius XI. Although recognised in the Concordat of 1929, however, it was subjected to attacks by the Fascists from 1931 on. During the German occupation of Rome it suffered some actual persecution, due probably to the action of the Catholic clergy in sheltering anti-Fascists and Jews. Father GILLI and Mons. BORGHINO were both arrested by the Germans, and other arrests were carried out in the offices of the movement.

Since the liberation of Rome full-scale lay action in the religious sphere has been resumed. Good instances are ACLI, AGI, AGE and ICAS (Istituzione Cattolica di Attività Sociale) an organization headed by Avv. Vittorio VERONESE (vide supra) which runs libraries and educational as well as charitable activities.

Programme: Militant action of the laity in support of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the accomplishment of the latter's apostolic mission, as interpreted by itself.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

The following parties, groups or units, also in existence in Italy, are not dealt with in this document. This further list is not final or exhaustive.

1.	Lega Democratica	Rome	
2.	Free Democratic Front	Rome	
3.	National Voluntary Garibaldi Movement.	Rome	
4.	Free Social Party	Rome	Left Centre

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liberated Italy called CLI (Corpo Nazionale Giovani Esploratori Italiani).

History: The Movement, born in the nineteenth century, received a great impetus from the support of Pius XI. Although recognised in the Concordat of 1929, however, it was subjected to attacks by the Fascists from 1931 on. During the German occupation of Rome it suffered some actual persecution, due probably to the action of the Catholic clergy in sheltering anti-Fascists and Jews. Father GILLI and Mons. BORGHINO were both arrested by the Germans, and other arrests were carried out in the offices of the movement.

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1.	Lega Democratica	Rome	
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4.	Free Social Party	Rome	Left Centre
5.	Italian Liberal Constitutional Party.	Rome	Right
6.	Union for Democratic Collaboration	Rome	Right
7.	Centro della Ricostruzione	Rome	
8.	Risveglio Democratico Popolare Italiano.	Naples	
9.	Partito Comunista d'Italia	Naples	Dissident
10.	Libera Unione degli Uguali	Naples	Left
11.	Partito dei Lavoratori	Bari	Left ?
12.	Partito Separatista Siciliano	Sicily	
13.	Partito Democratico Agrario	Sicily	Republican
14.	Partito Siciliano del Lavoro	Sicily	Separatist
15.	Partito Federale Comunalista	Sicily	
16.	Lega Italiana	Sicily	Regionalist
17.	Unione dei Siciliani	Sicily	

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PARTITO DI UNIONE PROLETARIA

1. Informant states that Umberto Salvarezza is the self appointed leader of the party. A former official of the Public Security Police, he boasts of 13 years imprisonment, not entirely for political activities. He claims friendship with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, and high ranking Russians.

2. According to informant, in September 1944 Salvarezza was speaking of his appointment as Minister of the Interior and even as Prime Minister. He alleged that at that time he was in the confidence of the Allies who were in consultation with him regarding his new cabinet.

3. Source states that the twenty parties which he claims are affiliated to his party number only a few hundred members.

4. He was reported to be on good terms with Americans, with the Malocco group of Freemasons and British officials connected with the Transport office and press. Also that he has been seeking to obtain entrance to large commercial enterprises belonging to rich Fascists.

5. Of the parties mentioned in paragraph 3, the following seventeen are stated by source to belong to this affiliation:-

Partito di Unione Proletaria
Movimento Communista d'Italia
Movimento Laburista Italiano
Partito di Contadini Italiani
Partito Republicano del Lavoro
Partito Progressista Italiano
Movimento Partigiano
Movimento Nazionale Volontario Garibaldino
Partito Libero-Sociale
Federazione Communista Libertaria
Partito Mazziniano

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of 16 years imprisonment, not entirely for political activities. He claims friendship with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, and high ranking Russians.

2. According to informant, in September 1944 Salvarezza was speaking of his appointment as Minister of the Interior and even as Prime Minister. He alleged that at that time he was in the confidence of the Allies who were in consultation with him regarding his new cabinet.

3. Source states that the twenty parties which he claims are affiliated to his party number only a few hundred members.

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Movimento Nazionale Volontario Garibaldino
Partito Libero-Sociale
Federazione Communista Liberteria
Partito Mazziniano
Partito Liberale Constituzionale Italiano
Unione per la Collaborazione Democratica
Unione Democratica Nazionale
Movimento Collaborazionista Costituzionale
Partito Socialista Rivoluzionario
Partito Agrario

The Executive Committee of the Unione Proletaria was composed of the following:-

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Sandro STRAZZA (ex-Fascist)
Mario LOLLI (violently opposed to Badoglio and Orlando)
Emilio Eletto
Umberto Salvarezza
Francesco Castellano
Umberto Bianchi (Republican)
Ugo Collelia

c. The Ministers proposed for the Salvarezza cabinet were:-

Bianchi ..... Labour
Mojocco ..... Public Instruction
Dall'Ora ..... War
Salvarezze ..... Interior
Albanese ..... ?

7. The above was the position in September 1944, and nothing was heard of the movement until 18th January, when following the street fighting which resulted in the killing of Giuseppe Albano (il Gobbo - "the hunchback"), the press linked the latter with the Unione Proletaria, and on 21st January with Salvarezza himself.

8. The most virulent attacker of the Unione Proletaria and Salvarezza has been L'UNITA, organ of the Communist Party.

9. Following L'UNITA's attack on the Unione Proletaria, we asked various sources to report any information they could get on the Unione or Salvarezza.

10. Salvarezza's claim to be connected with a Branch of Freemasonry is confirmed by other reliable sources, one of whom obtained his information from two prominent masons, and reported on 25th January as follows:-

(a) The UNIONE PROLETARIA, headed by UMBERTO SALVAREZZA, after occupying the ground and first floors of Via Fornovo 12, suggested to Domenico MAIOSCO that his Group should take possession of the

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6. The Ministers proposed for the Salvarezza Cabinet were:-

Bianchi ..... Labour
Majocco ..... Public Instruction
Dall'Ora ..... War
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Albanese ..... ?

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10. Salvarezza's claim to be connected with a Branch of Freemasonry is confirmed by other reliable sources, one of whom obtained his information from two prominent masons, and reported on 29th January as follows:-

(a) The UNIONE PROLETARIA, headed by UMBERTO SALVAREZZA, after occupying the ground and first floors of Via Formovo 12, suggested to Domenico MAIOCCO that his Group should take possession of the second floor premises. This was done through the intermediary of Umberto BIANCHI and Avv. PELLEGRINI, both masons and members of the UNIONE PROLETARIA.

(b) At that time, extensive propaganda was made in MAIOCCO's group in favour of the UNIONE PROLETARIA. The party organ UNIONE PROLETARIA was invariably to be found in the reading room and the clandestine paper

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LA FRUSTA (also published by the Party) was disseminated among the masons of the Group.

(c) While not a mason himself, Umberto SALVAREZZA was habitually seen on the premises in the company of masons - especially MAIOCCO, BIANCHI, PELLEGRINI etc..

(d) Upon the advice of MAIOCCO and other leaders of his Group, many masons joined the Partito di Unione Proletaria; among these were MONDIANO, FRANCOSCI and SANCETTA of the Mameli Lodge, which had remained loyal to Maiocco.

(e) Some three or four months ago, a certain CARPANO (Mason) who runs several educational institutes, was invited by SALVAREZZA to pay over to the Partito Unione Proletaria a considerable amount of money. Upon his refusal, Salvarezza threw out veiled hints that his party organ would make an attack on him. When CARPANO asked Salvarezza the reason why he was approached to provide the sum in question, SALVAREZZA replied that it had been done on the suggestion of the Grand Master MAIOCCO. CARPANO confronted MAIOCCO with this assertion who stated that it was false. However, even after this incident, it appears that MAIOCCO still maintained contacts with SALVAREZZA.

(f) During the last ministerial crisis when it appeared unlikely that BONOMI would be able to form his Cabinet, MAIOCCO in conversation with the Lieutenant General is claimed to have suggested the constitution of a Government in which both he and Salvarezza should take office.

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(g) In masonic circles - especially among members who are opposed

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MAIOCCO, BIANCHI, PELLEGRINI etc..

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(g) In masonic circles - especially among members who are opposed to MAIOCCO - it is reported that the latter is still in secret contact with SALVAREZZA.

11. On the same date another source reported as follows after he had an interview with MAIOCCO. According to source MAIOCCO stated: "I have had

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no contacts with SALVAREZZA for the past two months; he is a dangerous man, but he holds documents which are highly incriminating. One of these shows that NENNI accepted funds from the Fascists; another proves that TOGLIATTI and NENNI purchased jewels (to the value of several millions Lire) from BULGARI, a well known dealer in precious stones. Yet another document denounces DI VITTORIO as a Gestapo agent. Another refers to EUGENIO REALE etc. SALVAREZZA states that he will hand over these documents in return for 100 million Lire. I sent a representative to ask SALVAREZZA to put down in writing that Italian Masonry was not implicated in these matters; he gave the desired declaration".

12. On 1st February source saw Tomasso MORO, who was a fellow political exile of NENNI and LUSSU and others, at the time they escaped from LIPARI. Source describes MORO as a sincere patriot who has been approached by TOGLIATTI and other extremist leaders, with the offer of a Communist cell in Rome, which however, he has refused. MORO toldsource:-

(a) SALVAREZZA holds the diary of Alberto GIANNINI (a former political exile who escaped from France and is now in a concentration camp at PADULA) from which it appears that NENNI received subsidies from Russia during his stay in France. This, in the opinion of many, explains the anxiety of NENNI to establish an alliance with Communism without waiting for the liberation of the whole country. He stated that NENNI has lately shown signs of moral depression, since he fears discovery of his links with Russia.

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(b) MORO stated that he knows SALVAREZZA and regards him as a suspicious character, but asserts that the documents are in the latter's possession. According to source the four most important ones are:-

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(i) against SOCCIMARRO - for having accepted funds through the CVPA;

(ii) reciprocal charges brought by TOGLIATTI and NENNI, which might lead to serious upheaval of the Leftist parties;

(iii) against DI VITTORIO and NENNI, for having received monies from Russia;

(iv) inquiry made into the conduct of TOGLIATTI who is claimed to have mal-administered 50 million lire entrusted to him by Russia when he was in France.

13. MORO told source that these documents were supplied by a certain ALVARO SPINELLI and that when threatened with the rest SALVAREZZA handed them over to his assistant Lieut. STROPPA who was arrested on 3rd February.

14. MORO also said that Eugenio REALE is mentioned in these documents (this confirms statement made by MAIOCCO to another source vide paragraph 11 above).

15. SALVAREZZA was arrested on 4th February and the Italian Police state that the famous documents were found at the same time.

16. Conclusions: From the pamphlets published by the Unione Proletaria, it is clear that this organisation set out at least to pose as a Left Wing political movement. The violent attacks made by L'UNITA on the organisation and Salvarezza personally tend to show that the Unione Proletaria's conduct was opposed to the interests of the Communist Party. 5283

SALVAREZZA's close connection with MAIOCCO and his group of masons tend to show further that these political connections had little to do with either Communism or Left Wing politics.

SALVAREZZA has the reputation of a black-leg and is said to

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SALVAREZZA's close connection with MATTEOCCI and his group of masons tend to show further that these political connections had little to do with either Communism or Left Wing politics.

SALVAREZZA has the reputation of a blackmailer and his alleged connection with the Hunchback indicate that he might have been using the latter's gang of thugs for his own financial gain, and also possibly intended as a weapon of intimidation for a left or right wing party which would offer him any political advancement.

Names mentioned in the press in connection with the case seem to indicate at present that his closer associates are drawn more from the right wing than from the left.

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...r your files" SPECIAL ISSUE. July 28th, 194?
...ckground material

POLITICAL PANORAMA OF LIBERATED ITALY.

Parties in liberated Italy can be mainly divided into three classes. They are:

A. Parties existing before Fascism and abolished in 1925.
B. Parties born under Fascist tyranny.
C. Parties produced by recent events, some born since September 8th, 1943. (A few having connections of a sort with old groups which existed in 1922.)

To "A" belong the following:

1. Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano).
2. Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria)
3. Republican Party (Partito Repubblicano).
4. Christian Democrats (Partito Democratico Cristiano).
5. Liberal Party (Partito Liberale.)

To "B" belong the following:

1. Party of Action (Partito d'Azione).
2. Democratic-Labour Party (Partito Democratico del Lavoro).

To "C" belong the following:

1. Catholic Communist Movement (Movimento Cattolico Comunista)
2. Italian Communist Movement (Movimento Comunisti d'Italia).
3. Democratic Cooperation Union (Unione di Collaborazione Democratica).
4. Democratic Party (Partito Democratico Italiano).
5. Italian Labour Party (Partito Laburista Italiano).
6. Christian Socialist Movement (Movimento Cristiano Socialista)
7. Monarchical Union (Unione Monarchica).
8. Liberty Communists (Comunisti Libertari)
9. International Democratic Union (Unione per la Democrazia Internazionale).
10. Agrarian Party (Partito Agrario).
11. Progressive Party (Partito Progressivo.)

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Besides those Parties or Movements which have political aims, there are other groups without any particular political colouring, as the Masons, Scotch Rites; the Order of Carbonari; the Intransigen...

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Background Material

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10. Agrarian Party (Partito Agrario).
11. Progressive Party (Partito Progressivo.)

Besides these Parties or Movements which have political aims, there are other groups without any particular political colouring, as the Masons, Scotch Rites; the Order of Carbonari; the Intransigent Antifascist Union; Unione Studenti (Student's Union); Associazione Liberdica della Libertà (Students' Liberty Association), and many

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thers of various importance, was composed of a few men, some of several thousand.

Six of these Political Parties were recognised by the Allies, those which, after July 25th, 1943, met in Rome and formed the Central Committee of National Liberation. They are (reading from Left to Right): 1. Communists. 2. Socialists. 3. Party of Action. 4. Labour Democrats. 5. Christian Democrats. 6. Liberals.

The Central Committee of National Liberation was composed of

One Chairman (Ivanoe Bonomi, Labour Democrat, present Prime Minister),

One Secretary (Sergio Fenoaltea, Party of Action, present Undersecretary of the Prime Minister),

and by the representatives of the six Parties:

1. Alessandro Casati, Liberal, now Minister of War.
2. Alcide de Gasperi, Chr.-Dem.,now Minister without Portfolio.
3. Mauccio Ruini, Labour-Democr., now Minister without Portfoli .
4. Ugo La Malfa, Party of Action, now member of Executive Committee, Party of Action.
5. Pietro Nenni, Socialist, now Secretary of the Party, and Editor of the "Avanti!"
6. Mauro Scoccimarro, Communist, now Vice-Secretary,Communist Party.

The Central Committee of the CNL declared, in August 1943, after of their first meetings, not to share with the Badoglio Government, the intention to continue the war against the United Nations. As the anti-Fascists disengaged themselves from the responsibility the continuation of the war. After the Armistice, on Sept. 15th, when Italy was occupied by the German Armed Forces, the Central Committee, CNL, ordered to form, in every city and town, a local committee of six, to conduct underground resistance. The problems which CNL coped with, during the underground months, were: 1. Cooperation with Allied Forces. 2. Resistance against Germans. 3. Solution the Monarchical Question. The cooperation with the Allies and the resistance against the Germans were organised by the joint resolution of all Parties concerned to obey Allied orders and to work in strict liaison with each other irrespective of Party Loyalty. The Monarchical Question was left for the Parties of Liberated Italy to debate, while the development of the difficult question was very closely followed. After the arrival in Italy of Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Communist Party, and his initiative for cooperation with the Monarchical section, the CNL approved the inclusion of

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several thousand.

Six of these Political Parties were recognised by the Allies, those which, after July 25th, 1943, met in Rome and formed the Central Committee of National Liberation. They are (reading from Left to Right): 1. Communists. 2. Socialists. 3. Party of Action. 4. Labour Democrats. 5. Christian Democrats. 6. Liberals.

The Central Committee of National Liberation was composed of

One Chairman (Ivanoe Bonomi, Labour Democrat, present Prime Minister),

One Secretary (Sergio Fenoaltea, Party of Action, present Under-Secretary of the Prime Minister),

and by the representatives of the six Parties:

1. Alessandro Casati, Liberal, now Minister of War.
2. Alcide de Gasperi, Chr.-Dem.,now Minister without Portfolio.
3. Mauccio Ruini, Labour-Democr., now Minister without Portfolio.
4. Ugo La Malfa, Party of Action, now member of Executive Committee, Party of Action.
5. Pietro Nenni, Socialist, now Secretary of the Party, and Editor of the "Avanti!"
6. Mauro Scoccimarro, Communist, now Vice-Secretary, Communist Party.

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[illegible], Badoglio was obliged to hand in his resignation, and Ivanoe Bonomi formed the new Government. The new Ministers represent the Six Parties in equal numbers (June 8,1944). Their first meeting, Salerno, June 10,1944, was followed by an official communiqué, which said: "First Act of the Government will be the passage of a Law for the election of a Constituent Assembly by secret, universal, and direct suffrage. As soon as the National Territory is liberated, the Assembly will deliberate on the Constitution of the State. All the Members of the Government assume office they swear to exercise their functions in the supreme interest of the Nation, not to accomplish acts which will prejudice the future choice of the form of the State, until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly."

Thus the Government recognises a wide range of a truce between itself and the Monarchy.

The Problema Sindacale (Trade Unions Problem) was also tackled independently at the same time. Free Workers Syndicates were reconstructed, which had been destroyed by Fascism and the Corporate Laws. By the initiative of the three Parties which were prominent in the organisation of workers (Communists, Socialists, Christian-Democrats) a Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (General Confederation of Labour) was reconstituted in Rome, June 12,1944. Its organisation is as follows: 1. A National Federation for all branches of production; 2. A Camera Confederale del Lavoro (Federal Chamber of Labour) for every Province. 3. A local and provincial Syndicate (Labour Union) for every category of productive activity.

The political organisation is as follows.

a) Simple democratic system of elections for posts, with proportional representation for minorities.

b) Reciprocal respect for political and religious opinions.

c) Independence from Political Parties. Full permission to all members to belong to any Democratic Party.

There is now a Directorate Pro Tem. composed of 15 Members and a "Segreteria Generale" whose members are:
Giuseppe di Vittorio (Communist), Oreste Lizzadri, (Socialist), and Achille Grandi (Christian-Democrat.)

June 16, Colonel Charles Poletti also solved the problem of the Civil Administration of Rome, by appointing a Mayor of Rome,

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Thus the Government recognises a wedding stage in the truce between itself and the Monarchy.

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Giuseppe di Vittorio (Communist), Oreste Lizzadri, (Socialist), and Achille Grandi (Christian-Democrat.)

June 16, Colonel Charles Poletti also solved the problem of the Civil Administration of Rome, by appointing a Mayor of Rome, Filippo Doria Pamphili, a respected anti-Fascist Roman Prince, and a Board ("Giunta Comunale") composed of 12 men, two for each of the Six Parties. They are Mario Alicata and Giulio Turchi (Communist), Vittorio Bonfigli and Giovanni Canini (Socialist), Valerio de Bartis and Guido Dai (Labour Democrats), Guido Egidi

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Ulderico Mazzolani (Party of Action), Franco Libonati and Enzo Storani (Liberal), Giuseppe Bersani and Giovanni Vicentini (Christian Democrats).

SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF PROMINENT ITALIAN POLITICIANS.

Ivanoe Bonomi, Prime Minister.
Born in Mantua November 16,1873. University degrees in Natural Sciences and Law. Elected deputy in 1909 electoral district of Castilia on the Socialist Reform ticket, abandoned the Party in 1911, together with Leonida Bissolati, at the Reggio Emilia Congress. Headed the Italian delegation to the Rapallo Conference, 1920, and received the highest Italian decoration, the Order of the Most Holy Annunciation. Prime Minister in 1921. After fighting a losing battle against the forces of Fascism, abandoned political life in 1924. In September 1943, he presided the CNL. He is flanked by seven Ministers without Portfolio, who form under him a kind of Supreme Council for the formulation of policies.

The Ministers without Portfolio are:

1. Benedetto Croce, head of the Liberal Party, who is considered Italy's most prominent philosopher and one of her greatest historians. He was born at Pescasseroli (Abruzzi), February 25,1866. He gave himself to studies when very young, publishing the result of his researches in the Neapolitan historical magazine "Napoli Nobilissima" and "Archivio Storico delle Provincie Napoletane." He contributed articles to the "Giornale d'Italia" and since 1903 has published his own magazine "La Critica" which he edits and writes with the help of a few pupils. Doctor "honoris causa" of the University of Fribourg and Oxford. A member of the National Academy "dei Lincei", which will take the place of the Accademia d'Italia of Fascist creation. President of the Academy of Political and Moral Sciences. Member of the Prussian Academy. Minister of Public Instruction in Giovanni Giolitti's fifth Cabinet. In the first years of Mussolini's rise to power he published an "Intellectual's Manifesto", signed by several hundred thinkers, scholars, artists, proclaiming the indipendance of the cultural world from politics. He is the author of more than forty volumes of literary, political, moral and art criticisms. He was appointed Minister without Portfolio by Badoglio. He has announced his intention to withdraw from the Cabinet (July 16th,1944). His house in Naples, where he owns one of the biggest libraries in Europe

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nzo Storoni (Liberal), Giuseppe [illegible]
(Christian Democrats).

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2. Giuseppe Saragat, Socialist. Born in Turin in 1898. Universit degree in Economics. He joined the Socialist Party after 1922. Si 1925, a member of the party's directorate. In 1926, he emigrated, first to Austria, where he met Carlo Kautsky and Otto Bauer, then to France where he belonged to the anti-Fascist coalition. He ther wrote several books, among these "Marxism and Democracy", "Marxist Humanism". After July 25, 1943, he returned to Italy and began organizing the Socialist Party, continuing with his work after Septe - ber 8, until arrested by the Germans in Rome. He managed to escap miraculously. He accepted the post as Minister without Portfolio in the Bonomi Government.

3. Alberto Cianca, belongs to the Partito d'Azione. Born in Rome in 1885, Graduated in Law. He started journalism very young and wa editor of the " essaggero" and the "Ora" di Palermo. He then be- came collaborator and afterwards editor of the "Mondo" with Giovan - ni Amendola. He conducted a Press campaign against Fascism after Matteotti's murder. After Giovanni Amendola had been killed he es- caped to Corsica on a saling boat in 1927. He then went to France where, together with Emilio Lussu and Carlo Rosselli, founded the anti-Fascist movement called "Giustizia e Libertà" (Justice and Freedom). After a plot of "giellisti" (this is how those who belon - ed to the secret society "Giustizia e Libertà" were called) his brother Renato and his nephew Claudio, still living in Italy, wer condemned to thirty years jail by the Fascist Special Court ("Tri- bunale Speciale"). After France was defeated he escaped to the U.S. and came back to Italy after July 25 and he now occupies a post of minister without portfolio as representative of the Partito d'Azio - ne in Bonomi's Cabinet.

4. Meuccio Ruini, belongs to the Democratic Labour Party. Born in Reggio Emilia on December 1887. Graduated in Law. Very young he en- tered the civil service occupying a post in the Public Works Minist (Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici). In 1912 he was made General Direc- tor for the South of Italy. In 1913 he was elected State Counsell After 1927 he was compelled to retire, owing to his anti-Fascism. He had been a member of Parliament (Deputato) for the Radicals and Undersecretary at the Labour Office during Orlando's Cabinet, and Minister for the Colonies with Nitti. He organized the Institute for Civil Servants' Homes. In 1923 he founded and was Chairman of the National Democratic Union, which gave origin to the present Democratic Labour Party; at that time he tried to build up an anti- Fascist coalition together with the other parties.

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5. Alcide de Gasperi. Born in Trento 1881. In 1911 he was elected Member of the Austrian Parliament. During the Great War he was the leader of the Italian members of Parliament in Austria. In 1919 he was elected Chairman at the First Congress of the Partito Popolare (Catholic Party). In 1921 he entered the Italian Parliament as leader of the parliamentary group of the Partito Popolare. He succeeded Don Luigi Sturzo as Secretary of the Party in 1921, until the party itself was no longer allowed to exist. Since the 8th of September he represents the Christian Democrats - the old Partito Popolare - at the C.L.N. He occupies the post of Minister without portfolio in Bonomi's Cabinet.

6. Carlo Sforza. Independent. Born at Lucca (Tscany) in 1872. Graduated in law, he entered the diplomatic service when still very young. He went to China and to Turkey. He was called as Foreign Minister during the Nitti and Giolitti Cabinets in 1920. He worked with Bonomi on the Rapallo Treaty between Italy and Jugoslavia. Being Ambassador in Paris in 1921, he took part in the Ambassadors' Conference giving his tribute to the solution of the questions of the Polish-German boundaries (the so-called"Sforza Line"). He resigned in 1922 when Fascism came into power. He left Italy in February 1927 and went to China as correspondent for English newspapers. He then went to France and Belgium and lastly to the U.S. He is member of the Carnegie Institute for Peace. He held many lectures at the Columbia University. After July 25th he came back to Italy and was present at the meeting of the Bari Congress. He was Minister without portfolio in Badoglio's Cabinet and now under Bonomi.

7. Niccolò Carandini was born in 1895 and took part as an Alpine officer in the 1914-18 war and in the campaign during 1919 to reconquer Libya. After returning home he joined the Veteran Soldiers' movement, militating among the liberal group and flanking the anti-fascist opposition, up to the violent extromission in 1925 of anyone showing a free conscience in this Association. He has taken an active interest in industry and agriculture, firstly and for [illegible] years in the flourishing wood industry, and then in agriculture to which he still devotes much of his time.He is an expert in all the complex problems of this most important branch of national economy. Niccolò Carandini, in spite of his being Minister without portfolio, will bring an efficient contribution to the renewal of life in rural centres besides in agrarian industries. He has always been an opposer to Fascist dictatorship and never gave way even to the most

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contributed to its movement of renewal and has now assumed the presidency of the National Clandestine Committee, representing the Party also on the National Liberation Committee. He is one of the founders of the"Risorgimento Liberale"and is stilla collaborator to this paper. On assuming the post of Minister without portfolio formerly held by Benedetto Croce, his companions in work and struggle state that they trust him for his thorough preparation, spirit of sacrifice and working capacity.

THE PARTIES

Socialist Party. - In Italy the workers' movement began at the same time as in other European countries, towards 1864 when Carlo Marx founded the Workers' International Union, and it spread to Italy with an anarchic tendency, mainly on account of Michele Bakunin's teachings. Andrea Costa was the first leader of the Italian section of the Workers' International Union and was arrested by order of Marco Minghetti in 1874 together with other members of the "Republican Union". Anarchists, Republicans, opposers to the Monarchy, Garibaldi's followers, anticlerical followers of Mazzini and admirers of Marx's theory contributed to found the first Italian Workers' Party based on strong theoretical and practical principles. The worker's holiday, the 1st of May, was celebrated for the first time in 1892, and in the same year Filippo Turati founded the weekly "La critica sociale", which introduced critical marxism. At the Italian Workers' Congress in Genoa, 1892, the socialist split away from the anarchic, antistate branch. The former founded the Socialist Party of Italian Workers in Reggio Emilia in 1893 (Filippo Turati, Anna Kuliscioff, Marino Lazzari). In 1901 the Minister Giuseppe Zanardelli granted the right of organization within law limits to workers' organizations and recognized full freedom to strike. The party grew immediately when the General Labour Confederation was founded in Parma in 1905, with a reformist tendency. Thus inside the party existed a reformers' group headed by Leonida Bissolati and Filippo Turati, hindered by the revolutionary Socialists and Syndacalists. In 1911 a split took place between the Reformers (Bissolati and Bonomi) and the Revolutionary Socialists (Mussolini); the latter was expelled from the Socialist Party in 1925 for the attempt he made to introduce a Nationalistic and Imperialist mentality in the party; moreover Mussolini was an "interventista", that is he wanted Italy to go to war against Austria. He was followed by a certain number of Syndacalist and National Socialists with whom he later founded Fascism. On January 24, 1921 the Communists at Leghorn, headed by Secrati and Antonio Gramsci, split from

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Party went to the opposition together with the Liberal and Democratic Parties (gathered under the name of Democratic Union) and the Catholic "Popolare" Party (1923). In 1924, Giacomo Matteotti the Socialist Member of Parliament, who never tired of denouncing Fascist crimes to the House, was killed by Fascists. On January 3rd 1925 the Socialist Party was abolished like all other Parties and started its underground life. During this time the Party merged with the "Proletarian Union" and to-day it is called "Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria" (P.S.I.U.P.). Its paper is the "Avanti!" whose editor is Pietro Nenni, the Party's Secretary.
Giuseppe Saragat (Minister without Portfolio), Pietro Mancini (Public Works) Variana Costa (Undersecretary for Industry, Trade and Labour), G.Corsi (Merchant Fleet), are Socialist Ministers in the present Cabinet.

Communist Party. - The Communist Party's origins are more recent than those of the Socialist Party. It is based on Marxism and Socialist theory according to Lenin's principles and the example of Russian Communist Party methods. In Italy Communists were a part of the Socialist party representing the Bolshevist tendency until the split at the Leghorn Congress, 1921, when the majority refused Serrati's proposal of expelling Filippo Turati as "reformist and social patriot" from the Socialist party. Communists had previously expressed their own theoretical tenets in the Turin paper "Ordine Nuovo", whose editor was Palmiro Togliatti, before 1920, and in the other papers "Il Comunista" and "L'Unità", which showed certain differences between the Communist section and the official Socialist Party. The actual Italian Communist Party was founded on January 24th 1921, when 58.000 Communists headed by Antonio Gramsci, left the Socialist Party. Since January 3rd 192 it started its underground life. Its leader, Antonio Gramsci, was put into jail and died there. Palmiro Togliatti, who meanwhile had gone abroad, was named official leader of the Party after 1927. In September 1943 the P.C.I. and the P.S.I.U.P. have settled a pact of unity of action for the fight against Nazis and Fascists. The P.C.I. paper is "L'Unità" edited by Velio Spano. Palmiro Togliatti (Minister without Portfolio) and Fausto Gullo (Agriculture) are Communists Ministers in the present Cabinet. Antonio Pesenti (Finance) and C. Molinella (Labour and Industry) are the Communist Undersecretaries.

Christian Democrats. - A party appealing to the masses, gathers

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Christian Democrats. - A Party appealing to the masses, gathers its members among industrial and agricultural workers. It was founded in 1919 under the name of "Partito Popolare" and it was the first official political Party authorised by the Roman Catholic Church. Until 1926 the Church emphasized the difference

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between Roman Catholics who were Members of Parliament who might belong to any Party and Roman Catholic ("Popolari") Members of Parliament. Luigi Sturzo, a priest, born at Caltagirone (Sicily), was its leader and developper. Soon after the March on Rome the Partito Popolare took a clear antifascist stand. Don Sturzo had to go to exile. During the secret fight the party was rebuilt under the name of "Partito Democratico Cristiano" and contributed greatly to the fight against Nazism. After Rome was liberated, the Party joined the General Labour Confederation together with the Socialist and Communist Parties, its representative being Achille Grandi. Its paper is the "Popolo", whose editor is Guido Gonella. Alcide de Gasperi (Minister without Portfolio), Umberto Tupini (Justice), Giuseppe Spataro (Press and Information) and Giovanni Gronchi (Labour) are Ministers in the present Cabinet.

Italian Liberal Party.- This Party's economic doctrine is based on a reformed, modernized version of economic liberalism, and its political creed on the right of every man to civil, political and religious freedom, without any limits, except those put by constitutional law. The Italian Liberal Party claims to have originated from the Party of Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, whose policy led Italy to the conquest of territorial and political unity. To-day the Italian Liberal Party represents all constitutional and moderate tendencies. Although it made no open statement against Monarchy, it clearly took an attitude of protest against the constitutional violation by the Monarchy. Its martyr is Giovanni Amendola, who, during the Parliamentary "strike" ("Aventino movement") following Fascist crimes in 1923-25, was Member of Parliament for the Liberal Democrats and leader of the movement for protest and secession of the parties. Giovanni Amendola was attacking daily the Fascists with his editorials on the "Mondo", denouncing their crimes. He was beaten five times. Finally after the last beating in Montecatini, in 1926, he died of wounds. The Liberal Party took part in the activity of the C.N.L. during the German occupation. Its paper is the "Risorgimento Liberale", whose editor is Mario Panunzio.
Benedetto Croce, who has announced his desire of retiring to private life, Marcello Soleri (Treasury), Alessandro Casati (War) are the Ministers under the present Cabinet.

Action Party (Partito d'Azione). - Its program is liberal-socialist. It attempts to conciliate the liberal necessity of individual political freedom with the Socialist economic theory. It claims its

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Action Party (Partito d'Azione). - Its program is liberal-socialist. It attempts to conciliate the liberal necessity of individual political freedom with the Socialist economic theory. It claims its origin from Mazzini's Action Party, promoter of several rebellious upheavals during the Italian Risorgiment . Its more recent origins are found in the Socialist Action Party, founded by Emilio Lussu in 1927, and in the secret Antifascist movement called "Giustizia

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"Libertà" founded by Alberto Cianca in 1929. Both movements have been fighting a good deal against Fascism and their plots were put to various well-known trials of the Fascist Special Court. After July 25, it took part in the C.N.L. It is clearly against the Monarchy. Among the members of the Central Committee are Ugo La Malfa, Alberto Cianca, Federico Comandini. Its paper is "Italia Libera", editor Carlo Muscetta. Alberto Cianca (without portfolio), Stefano Siglienti (Finance), Guido de Ruggero (Education) are Ministers in the present Cabinet; Sergio Fenoaltea (Presidency) is the Undersecretary.

Democratic Labour Party. - Its program akin to that of the British Labour Party. It includes Socialist reformers and Liberal-Democrats, who want wide agricultural and industrial reforms. Its leader is State Counsellor Ivanoe Bonomi, who founded the Democratic Union in 1923, a fusion of the Democratic Antifascist Parties. Its paper is "Ricostruzione", whose editor is Eucardio Momigliano. Ivanoe Bonomi (without portfolio), Francesco Cerabona (transport) are Ministers under the present Cabinet.

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APPENDIX I
Page 1

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SURVEY OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS IN ROME AS AT 23 JULY, 1944

1. General Introduction.

The bulk of political activity in Rome has from the time of its efflorescence on July 25 been canalised in the work of the six parties which constituted the Roman Committee of National Liberation. Of these, some were more active than others and it is generally conceded that during the nine months of the German occupation of Rome the two most energetic parties of resistance and combat were the Communist and, having regard to its size, the Party of Action. There were, however, in addition, other resistance movements controlled by a-political leaders (though they often contained political elements outside the six parties) who put the fight against the Nazis and Fascists above all political considerations, and who on full investigation may be found to have done as much in the struggle against the oppressors as was done by the resistance groups affiliated to any of the six parties. Such were the bands of the Centro Militare which were drawn from soldiers and officers of the Italian army and Carabinieri, and the bands under the direction of the Comando Superiore Partigiani of Dott. Carlo Andreoni, the Bande Moretti and the Movimento Communista - some of whom were dissident Communists, while others carried the label without subscribing to the political doctrines implied by it - and a number of others. And lastly there were bands inspired by a definite political tendency which did not follow the six currents harboured in the Committee of National Liberation. Such independent political bands were those of the Catholic Communists, the Republicans and the Christian Socialists.

It is not possible as yet, nor is it necessary for the purpose of this survey, to establish which on these many bands must go the palm for having carried on the greatest amount of partisan activity, the most raids, the highest number of Germans killed and so forth. All played a part and if it is thought that, having regard to their numbers, the results achieved were not extraordinary, two things must be remembered. A prevailing lack of arms, explosives and ammunition reduced the activity of many of these partisans to the mere game of bamboozling the Germans - forging passes, hiding suspects, preventing the destruction of important plant and material, hampering the efficiency of the Germans in offices and factories. This game was dangerous in itself - the penalty was death if you were caught at it - and taken all in all must have been a serious disadvantage to the Germans, while it helped to keep up the morale of the Italians. Secondly it must be remembered that at the time when the partisans had prepared to

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its efflorescence on July 25 been canalised in the work of the six parties which constituted the Roman Committee of National Liberation. Of these, some were more active than others and it is generally conceded that during the nine months of the German occupation of Rome the two most energetic parties of resistance and combat were the Communist and, having regard to its size, the Party of Action. There were, however, in addition, other resistance movements controlled by a-political leaders (though they often contained political elements outside the six parties) who put the fight against the Nazis and Fascists above all political considerations, and who on full investigation may be found to have done as much in the struggle against the oppressors as was done by the resistance groups affiliated to any of the six parties. Such were the bands of the Centro Militare which were drawn from soldiers and officers of the Italian army and Carabinieri, and the bands under the direction of the Comando Superiore Partigiani of Dott. Carlo Andreoni, the Bande Moretti and the Movimento Communista - some of whom were dissident Communists, while others carried the label without subscribing to the political doctrines implied by it - and a number of others. And lastly there were bands inspired by a definite political tendency which did not follow the six currents harboured in the Committee of National Liberation. Such independent political bands were those of the Catholic Communists, the Republicans and the Christian Socialists.

It is not possible as yet, nor is it necessary for the purpose of this survey, to establish/which of these many bands must go the palm for having carried on the greatest amount of partisan activity, the most raids, the highest number of Germans killed and so forth. All played a part and if it is thought that, having regard to their numbers, the results achieved were not extraordinary, two things must be remembered. A prevailing lack of arms, explosives and ammunition reduced the activity of many of these partisans to the mere game of bamboozling the Germans - forging passes, hiding suspects, preventing the destruction of important plant and material, hampering the efficiency of the Germans in offices and factories. This game was dangerous in itself - the penalty was death if you were caught at it - and taken all in all must have been a serious disadvantage to the Germans, while it helped to keep up the morale of the Italians. Secondly it must be remembered that at the time when the partisans had prepared to go into action on a big scale, during the last day of the German occupation of Rome, they received definite instructions by wireless from the Allied Commander not to attack the Germans, but to try to prevent the Germans from destroying plant and installations in Rome. These instructions both positive and negative were carried out.

More important from the political point of view than assessing the extent of the partisan resistance of any group, is to observe the effect which nine months of combined resistance to oppression has had on all of them. An Allied officer who has come from Naples to Rome,

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immediately has the impression of a greater understanding between people of different political viewpoints; there is less vituperation, less suspicion, less defamation. This fact is plainly established when one compares the party newspapers of Rome with those of Naples. Here the political discussion has so far been carried on with dignity and acumen; there it was no discussion but a brawl. Here if there is a polemic the contestants attribute the most honest motives to each other; there it was impossible to conceive of another man holding a different opinion except for the purpose of personal ambition or private gain. In Rome it has even happened that "Avanti", the Socialist paper, and the "Osservatore Romano", the Vatican organ, have quoted with approval their concurring opinion about the goums. The lion and the lamb have lain down together!

The feeling of solidarity which has been engendered among the six main parties by their united struggle and their common suffering can be kept alive in time of war by exploiting three factors in the present situation. The first is the coalition government, which the force of circumstances has brought into being, and which offers the ideal opportunity, for some time to come, for men of opposing political views to know and understand each other. The second is the presence of the common enemy - the German - on the soil of Italy. The third is the existence of the internal enemy - the Fascist - in all parts of liberated Italy. It is well known that where a nation has the will to react against the threat of danger from an enemy, that threat can be a powerful unifying factor. The same threat exists in Italy from the enemy without and the enemy within the gates, from German and Fascist alike. A policy in which the unity of Italian political thought and an indispensable measure of party tolerance is given due weight, would seek in every way possible to strengthen the coalition government, to help the Italians to wage war themselves against the Germans and to keep them unremittingly conscious of the need for rooting out Fascism from their midst.

Present needs have created a congeries of emotions, of sympathies, of understanding which the Italian character is not always capable of having. It will not surprise anyone who knows the Italians if, when the nexus of a common enemy, a national government and a universal struggle has ceased to bind the people together, this characteristic individualism, self-interest and love of intrigue should draw them fatally apart. Therefore these sympathies between parties, this understanding between man and man, should be encouraged and fostered, while yet the pressure of events causes them to exist, so as to form a habit which will outlast the change of conditions produced by the armistice.

II. The Parties of the Committee of Liberation.

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II. The Parties of the Committee of Liberation.

1. The Liberal Party.

Headquarters	:	89 Via Frattina, Roma.
Secretary of the Party:		Avv. Manlio Brosio.
Leaders	:	Count Sarandini
		On. Alessandro Casati
		Avv. Leone Cattani
		Avv. Francesco Libonati
Newspaper	:	Il Risorgimento Liberale

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The national head of the party is Senator Benedetto Croce whose writings have done much to keep alive the ideas of liberty and liberalism in Fascist Italy. The part in fact never ceased to exist during the long night of the regime but it was not active for two reasons. It is a party of order, opposed to acts of violence and rebellion, and it is a party of intellectuals of the governing class who are the least likely people to carry on successfully an active underground resistance.

The party was immediately reconstituted after 25 July 1943 with the fusion of various clandestine groups of Liberal tendencies which had existed under Fascism and which found expression early in 1943 in the illegal newspaper "Ricostruzione". In May 1943 with the Liberals took part in the formation of the first National Committee of anti-Fascist parties which on the 9 September of the same year transformed itself into the Committee of National Liberation. During the German occupation of Rome a number of partisan bands were formed under the aegis of the party, that of Col. Silvestri being the most important. The newspaper "Risorgimento Liberale" which first appeared on 13 August continued to be published, somewhat sporadically and had reached its ninth issue on 5 May 1944 which was the last clandestine number. Liberals are proud of the fact that during the 45 days before the armistice their newspaper upheld the necessity for driving the Germans out of Italy willy-nilly while most of the parties were calling for an armistice.

During the period 1 May 1943 to 15 January 1944, the party issued eight political tracts on current problems entitled: Primi chiarimenti; Realtà; Lineamenti di una politica economica liberale; Per una federazione economica europea; Il problema della stampa quotidiana; Il problema istituzionale; Il problema del lavoro; Gli scambi internazionali, la nazionalizzazione delle imprese ed i piani economici.

The policy of the party, which is too well known to need elucidation, makes a special appeal to the intellectual upper and middle classes, and to elements of the artisan class. It is never likely to be a mass party though it has a limited following in the syndical field. The party is organised in communal sections and in provincial federations. In the Rome section the work of the party has been allotted as follows -

Publications Section	under	Rizzo
Party Discipline	"	Mazzocchi
Propaganda	"	Carli
Welfare	"	Benotti Bianchi

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Publications Section	under	Rizzo
Party discipline	"	Mazzocchi
Propaganda	"	Carli
Welfare	"	Sanotti Bianchi
German Occupied Italy	"	Ruggeri

The Roman Committee of the party is receiving numerous applications for membership. So far about 5,000 have been granted.

A student organisation called "Unione Goliardica per la Libertà" was started in Rome during the clandestine period and is now very active. There is also a study group for political and economic questions. Meetings are held on Saturdays at the headquarters. The party, however, appears to be less active in the matter of holding meetings than the other parties of the Committee of Liberation.

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"Risorgimento Liberale" is a newspaper which maintains a high intellectual and moral level. The chief writers in it are Lupinacci, Croce, Ferrara and Pepe.

2. Christian Democrat Party.

Headquarters: Piazza del Gesu.
There is no secretary but a Giunta which directs the party.
Leaders : On. De Gasperi.
Giovanni Gronchi
Umberto Tupini
Achille Grandi
Avv. Mario Scelba

Newspaper : Il Popolo (Authorised circulation: 32,000
Estimated free circulation: 32,000)

Like the Liberal Party, the Christian Democrats growing out of the old Partito Popolare of Don Sturzo continued in a subdued ~~way~~ to exist as a movement even under Fascism, but their activity consisted more in a meeting of true minds than in any combatant underground resistance. They however collaborated in the publication of the clandestine paper "Ricostruzione" in the first half of 1943, which expressed the opinions of Liberals, Christian Democrats and Labour Democrats. Soon after the beginning of the war they joined with the Liberals and Labour Democrats to form the Front of the United Democracies. They took part in the formation of the first anti-Fascist National Committee in Rome in May 1943 and the party was constituted after the 25 July. During the nine months of the German occupation of Rome the party carried on a fairly energetic underground activity, publishing a newspaper "Il Popolo" and pamphlets entitled "Idee e Battaglie", and having partisan bands working under the control of the Committee of Liberation.

The Party has a large following among the masses, especially the peasants and it is also strong in Rome. Active propaganda is done among the youth through "Gruppi Giovanili della Democrazia Cristiana". It is reported that the majority of older members of the party are monarchists, whilst most of the younger ones are not. The Christian Democrat Party, though representing currents of opinion which tend to both left and right and though not so united politically as some of the other parties, is well organised in Rome and exceedingly active and is gathering a large number of adherents. At present there are about 12,000 inscribed members.

The policy of the party with regard to current problems was outlined in a speech by its leader De Gasperi in Rome on the 24 July

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The policy of the party with regard to current problems was outlined in a speech by its leader De Gasperi in Rome on the 24 July 1944. He would not pronounce any definite condemnation of the monarchy (though many of his audience cried "Viva la Repubblica") because he said that question must be decided by the whole people. He described his preference for the type of liberal commune as the basic structure of the state rather than the factory council propounded by the Communists. He made a special plea for a sense of responsibility in politics. The state was like a pyramid; at the top might be a king or a president, but what really counted was the quality of the people, the broad base. He drew attention to the

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dangers of state oppression which were inherent in Communism, while recognising the tremendous achievements of the Russian nation and hoping that the presence of Togliatti in Italy would spare in this country the errors and fruitless experiences which were discovered in the Russian system. He ended by underlining the religious foundation of the Christian Democrat policy which is founded on the moral and material forces of Christian charity.

The newspaper "Il Popolo" maintains a high standard of journalism and often contains articles by its editor, Guido Gonella, who is a brilliant and sagacious writer.+++

3. Democrazia del Lavoro

Headquarters: Piazza Augusto Imperatore 32.
Leaders of this party include the following notable personalities: On. Bartolomeo Ruini
On. Giovanni Persico
Dante Veroni
On. Guarino Amelli
On. Giuseppe Cerabona
On. Antonio Manes
Encarmio Monigliano
General Secretary : Mario Cevoletto
Newspaper :Ricostruzione (Circulation: 25,000)

The party came into being in 1919. It fought Fascism until 1924 when Mussolini ordered all parties to be dissolved and open opposition became impossible. It printed a clandestine sheet "Ricostruzione" which is now a regular daily.

The party has drawn new vitality from the fusion of various democratic currents originating in the professional and intellectual classes. These minor independent parties were: Socialdemocratico Italiano, Progressista del Lavoro, Partito del Lavoro. The Partito Laburista Italiano, founded after September 8, 1943, has applied for a merger with the Partito Democratico del Lavoro, by reason of the similarity of its policy with that of the said party. Negotiations are now pending.

The party claims to follow Mazzinian traditions, and hopes to develop a programme of moral and educational reconstruction. The party programme is social-reformist. The younger members are organised in a youth group. Present membership is 5,000, and there is a long list of applicant members waiting to be admitted. It has an active cultural centre and regional sections are being organised.

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Dante Tormni
On. Guarino Amelli
On. Giuseppe Scrabona
On. Antonio Manc
Eucardio Momigliano
General Secretary : Mario Cavalletto
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"Ricostruzione" is a serious paper and very well liked by the public. The Allies set the circulation at 25,000 but the editors feel certain that without this restriction that figure would be vastly exceeded.

+++ Giunta Esecutiva (Christian Democrat Party)

Avv. Ercole Chiri	Giulio Pastore
Prof. Guido Gonelli	Avv. Mario Scelba
Rag. Piercarlo Restagno	Giorgio Tupini

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4. Party of Action.

Headquarters : Via Sistina 91.
Newspaper : Italia Libera
(22 numbers published in the clandestine period
Editor: Carlo Muscetta.
Present circulation: 28,000)

With the exception of the Communist Party, the Party of Action was during the Fascist regime the most active and most inspired anti-Fascist movement. But unlike the Communist movement, it always represented the intellectual more individualistic section of anti-Fascism - a characteristic which was most effective and forceful in a concentrated underground movement. Today, however, in the open and expanding organisation of the party, this factor appears to be a disadvantage: the numerous distinctive personalities at its head - Alberto Cianca, Riccardo Bauer, Emilio Lussu, Alberto Tarchiani, Ugo La Malfa - to mention only the chief, cannot give it the compactness and the specific programme of the Communist or Catholic parties. Its hybrid socialist-reformist aims, its violent anti-monarchist and epuration campaigns have alienated it from Catholic, Liberal or Labour (Democrazia del Lavoro) sympathies (ref. article of 17th July in "L'Opinione", independent political weekly). On the other side of the scale, though here in Rome the severe German occupation and greater political consciousness had brought all parties together in closer collaboration than in Naples, yet the Socialists and Communists have - at least provisionally - excluded the Party of Action from the Directorate of Labour (the Italian General Confederation of Labour) because it is a bourgeois party, not a party of the "masses".

Riccardo Bauer, militant representative of the very strong party organisations in Northern Italy, is the head of the Party's military committee in Rome, which, together with its Communist and Socialist equivalents, directed patriot activity in the city of Rome and gave orders to patriot bands operating round about. The Party of Action bands controlled the band in the "Castelli Romani" region, the band in the Civita-Castellano region and the band in the Turrita-Tiberina area, up the Tiber. The committee consists of six members - Prof. Riccardo Bauer, Dott. Francesco Fancello, Avv. Emilio Lussu, Avv. Oronzo Reale, Prof. Manlio Rossi-Doria and Dott. Ugo La Malfa, who usually presides. The secretary is Prof. Bruno Visentini.

In the larger Consultative Council of twenty-one members, there figure Prof. Guido De Ruggiero, now Minister of Public Instruction, Avv. Stefano Siglienti, now Minister of Finance, Avv. Sergio Fenoaltea, Under-Secretary to the Presidency of the Council, Prof. Luigi Salvatorelli, Dott. Aldo Garosci and Dott. Calogero, all well known writers and scholars.

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With the exception of the Communist Party, the Party of Action was during the Fascist regime the most active and most inspired anti-Fascist movement. But unlike the Communists, it always represented the intellectual more individualistic section of anti-Fascism - a movement characteristic which was most effective and forceful in a concentrated underground movement. Today, however, in the open and expanding organisation of the party, this factor appears to be a disadvantage: the numerous distinctive personalities at its head - Alberto Cianca, Riccardo Bauer, Emilio Lussu, Alberto Tarchiani, Ugo La Malfa - to mention only the chief, cannot give it the compactness and the specific programme of the Communist or Catholic parties. Its hybrid socialist-reformist aims, its violent anti-monarchist and epuration campaigns have alienated it from Catholic, Liberal or Labour (Democrazia del Lavoro) sympathies (ref. article of 17th July in "L'Opinione", independent political weekly). On the other side of the scale, though here in Rome the severe German occupation and greater political consciousness had brought all parties together in closer collaboration than in Naples, yet the Socialists and Communists have - at least provisionally - excluded the Party of Action from the Directorate of Labour (the Italian General Confederation of Labour) because it is a bourgeois party, not a party of the "masses".

Riccardo Bauer, militant representative of the very strong party organisations in Northern Italy, is the head of the Party's military committee in Rome, which, together with its Communist and Socialist equivalents, directed patriot activity in the city of Rome and gave orders to patriot bands operating round about. The Party of Action bands controlled the band in the "Castelli Romani" region, the band in the Civita-Castellano region and the band in the Turrita-Tiberina area, up the Tiber. The committee consists of six members - Prof. Riccardo Bauer, Dott. Francesco Fancello, Avv. Emilio Lussu, Avv. Oronzo Reale, Prof. Manlio Rossi-Doria and Dott. Ugo La Malfa, who usually presides. The secretary is Prof. Bruno Visentini.

In the larger Consultative Council of twenty-one members, there figure Prof. Guido De Ruggiero, now Minister of Public Instruction, Avv. Stefano Siglienti, now Minister of Finance, Avv. Sergio Fenoaltea, Under-Secretary to the Presidency of the Council, Prof. Luigi Salvatorelli, Dott. Aldo Garosci and Dott. Calogero, all well known writers and scholars.

The local party has eight branches in Rome and does active propaganda through its paper "Italia Libera" and through various pamphlets which it has published during the clandestine period and since the Allied occupation.

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Clandestine publications.

as follows: - The Party of Action and Socialism (Carlo Bandi)
What is the Party of Action (Federico Comandini)
Panorama of Free Italy (")
The Reconstruction of the State (Emilio Lussu)
The Party of Action in its methods and aims (Francesco Fancello)
For the Rebirth of Italy (Anonymous)
Brief History of Five Months (")

Publications since 4th June.

Profile of Giacomo Matteotti (Piero Gobetti)

The party has besides organised a Youth Federation, which has study, sports and art groups, and so far numbers about 2,000 members, including all its eleven branches in the city.

In a practical sense the party appears to exercise most influence through its personalities in the government - Cianca, De Ruggiero, Fenoaltea, but in a wider political sense its intellectual force, its energetic and democratic spirit, is the most important contribution.

5. Socialist Party.

Headquarters : Via Gregoriana 21.
Secretary : Pietro Nenni.
Directive Council: Ing. Romita
Oreste Lizzadri (Longobardi)
Giuseppe Saragat (Minister without Portfolio
Ing. Emilio Canevari (Under-Secretary for the Interior)
Ing. Molinari
Avv. Clindo Vernocchi
Prof. Giulio Vassalli
Avv. Vittore Bonfigli (Assessor to the Comune of Rome)
Dott. Mario Zagari
Avv. Mancinelli
Matteo Matteotti (son of the martyr)

Newspaper : Avanti (Circulation: 42,000)

Under the fine leadership of Pietro Nenni, the Socialist Party contributed as much as the Communists to the fight against the Germans in Rome. Indeed the "solidarity" in action of the two proletarian parties was so close both in Rome and Naples that it seemed as though the much bruited fusion of the two parties might be effected. But in

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The Party of Action in its methods and aims (Francesco Fancello)
For the Rebirth of Italy (Anonymous)
Brief History of Five Months (")
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The party has forty branches in the city. There are about 11,000 prospective members of the party in Rome, but membership cards have not yet been distributed. The Party has set up fourteen committees which, as a government party, it needs for consultation and backing. These include the labour, press, administration, cultural, insurance, juridical, economic and technical, agricultural, reconstruction and socialisation, political studies, and investigation (probiviri) committees, and the military committee which now only recruits patriot volunteers but worked under the orders of the Military Giunta of the six parties during the period of the German occupation and helped organise patriot resistance. It is headed by Sig. Giuseppe Gracova.

The Socialist Youth Federation has been and is very active. In the clandestine period it published a pamphlet called "the ABC of Socialism", and on the 1st, 3rd and 15th May it issued manifestoes and held brief public meetings (the Germans did not interfere). It has published three numbers of its paper "Rivoluzione Socialista" as supplements to the party paper "Avanti". It runs courses in political history, economics, Marxism. It also holds weekly meetings and lectures. It has between 2,500 and 3,000 members, who are workers, and a branch attached to every party branch. It has a central committee of three people, headed by Matteo Matteotti, who is also a member of the party Directive Council. It is to be noticed that this youth organisation is strictly dependent on the party, unlike the Party of Action youth organisation which is more autonomous.

The propaganda of the Socialist Party is less active than that of the Communist Party, but it has published two pamphlets: "Bruno Buozzi" by Pietro Nenni and "Socialismo e Libertà" by Giuseppe Saragat.

In the field of labour, the main representative on the triple secretariat of the Italian General Confederation of Labour is Lizzadri. He collaborates closely in this field with the Communists.

As a whole, it must be said that the Socialist Party has not the organisation and methodic activity of the Communist Party, but in its quality of a half-way house between the Communists and the Party of Action (distinctly closer to the Communists) it serves a very useful purpose, as it has a balancing effect on the politics of the extreme left.

6. Communist Party.

Headquarters	: Via 4 Novembre 149.
General Secretary	: Palmiro Togliatti.
Vice-Secretary	: Mauro Scoccimarro.
Leaders	: Giuseppe di Vittorio

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	Girolamo Li Causi
	Carlo Negarville
	Agostino Novella
	Eugenio Reale
	Velio Spano
Newspaper	: Unità (Estimated circulation: 46,000)

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The Communist Party, more actively than any of the other Italian political parties, carried on the underground fight against Fascism during the years of oppression. It seems to have kept some kind of an organisation going; its members continued to circulate anti-Fascist propaganda; Many suffered persecution. During the war period the Communists became more active and it appeared to Allied observors who first entered Italy that they were the best organised and most energetic among the parties. During the period of the German occupation of Rome, the party had its own bands which carried out numerous agressive exploits against the Germans, the most celebrated of which was the coup of Via Rasella, organised by the now famous Bentivegna and Calamandrei, when thirty-two Germans were killed. "Unità" was published clandestinely, as well as many leaflets and pamphlets.

Since the arrival of the Allies, the party has been very busy reorganising its sections in Rome, of which there are twenty-four. Much work is also being done among young people and feminine groups are being formed.

In numbers the party is said to be less strong in Rome than the Socialists or the Christian Democrats. The policy of the party is at present emphatically democratic and patriotic. In a speech in Rome on the 9 July, 1944, on a platform adorned with the Italian tricolour and the red flag of the Communist Party, Togliatti stressed the need for unity of all the parties in Italy to fight the war and assist in the rebirth of the nation. In fact the party leaders have shown great understanding for other political viewpoints, in particular that of the Catholic element, in all their public utterances.

There is a strong group of young Communist intellectuals of considerable merit in Rome, among which the names of Alicata the literary critic, Guttoso the painter and Visconti the film director are well known.

The newspaper "Unità" is edited by Velio Spano (who used the pseudonym Tedeschi at one time) and is on the whole well written and interesting.

III. Other Parties.

Italian Republican Party.

Headquarters : Via Ezio 12.
Leaders : On. Avv. Giovanni Conti
Avv. U. Macrelli
Avv. Ottorino Petroni

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Italian Republican Party.

Headquarters : Via Dzio 12.
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Avv. U. Macrelli
Avv. Ottorino Petroni
Ing. Giorgio di Ricco
Dott. Franco Franchini
Dott. Giovanni Amadori
Giovanni Pasqualini
Giorgio Braccialarga
General Secr.: Ugo Roncho
Newspaper : La Voce Repubblicana (Circulation:23,000)

("La Voce Repubblicana" is very popular. Circulation was restricted by the Allied authorities to 23,000 as against 80,000 applied for.)

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The party is well organised and flourishing in all parts of Italy, particularly in the south and in Sicily and Sardinia, since contacts with these regions have been reestablished. Newspapers are published also in Naples, Catanzaro and Locri.

The Rome section is sub-divided into fifteen regional sections to take care of the members in excess of the number prescribed by the statute. Present membership is 3,500; many applications are under consideration. Rules for admittance are rigorous with respect to applicants' moral and political character.

Besides the fifteen regional sections, there are fifteen youth centres, with an aggregate membership of 2,400, fifteen womens centres, with an aggregate membership of 840, a student group, membership 500, and various Social Action groups whose members are drawn from the working classes and classified according to trade.

The party programme is based on Mazzinian tradition and on the ideals of the Risorgimento. The main object is "a new republican Italy built out of its own ruins". But first "the remaining vestiges of feudalism and social and political barbarism must be eradicated". It asks the Allied that the Italians be permitted to fight for the cause of world freedom and justice, but recognises that the work of internal political rehabilitation is incumbent upon the people.

Partito Repubblicano del Lavoro.

Headquarters : Via Mario de' Fiori 21.
Leaders : Attilio Buscca, President.
Serafino Cesari, Political Secretary.
Filippo Filippelli, Administrator.
Newspaper : "L'Italia Repubblicana" is the name by which the party intends to call its newspaper. Only one issue has come out so far. The party has applied for permission to print this paper (circulation 10,000) and is awaiting the decision of the Allied authorities

No membership census has been taken and the number of members adhering to the Rome section is not known. The party is organised on a national scale. The Rome section comprises a Youth Federation which is also part of the Federazione Giovanile Laziale.

Besides the republican form of government, the party programme includes a social plan in accordance with Marxist theories, as a part of its name, 'del Lavoro' implies. In fact the social aims of the programme are more Communist than Socialist, inasmuch as they endorse:

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With regard to present and future relations with other parties, the Partito Repubblicano del Lavoro intends to help organise a federation of all parties whose political policy is a republican form of government with a social order following the lines of Marxist teachings.

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Monarchist parties.

Monarchist tendencies, like all others, express themselves most effectively through the channel of a party or parties. However, there are some groups or leaders not organised into proper parties, but which champion the cause of the monarchy.

There is a group of leaders generally looked upon as "manoeuvrers" (ex-parlamentari) who, because they do not fit into any of the other parties, have rallied around the monarchists. These comprise: Italian Catholic Centre, Partito Agrario, and the Massoneria.

There is still another group composed of Monarchist Catholics who call themselves Political Crusaders of the Sacred Heart of Christ the King, and not organised into a proper party.

There are two all-out monarchist parties: the Partito della Democrazia Italiana, and the Partito Monarchico, the latter only in its early stages.

Three of the parties represented in the National Committee of Liberation have not professed their preference, but would not object either to a monarchy or a republic, provided it was established on a democratic, progressive basis. These are: the Liberal Party, the Christian Democrat Party and the Democrazia del Lavoro (for description see these headings).

It is safe to say that the officers of the High Command and the high ranking officers of the regular army are all out and out monarchists. In the regular army alone there are six hundred generals. Moreover, a vast number of officers in the reserve army also want a monarchy.

The opposition protest that the ideology of these officers is reactionary. However, there can be no question as to the sincerity of their belief that the tradition of their class must be preserved for the good of the country.

La Democrazia Italiana. 5225

Headquarters : Piazza Montenterio 121.
Directive Council: Baron Enzo Selvaggi (acting secretary)
Marchese Lucifero
Avv. Guidoni Perelli
Marchese Gorelli
Dott. Toddei

Baron Enzo Selvaggi has been the leader of this party since it was founded in January 1944. He studied at Princetown University, has

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Marchese Lucifero
Avv. Guidoni Perelli
Marchese Gerelli
Dott. Teddei

Baron Enzo Selvaggi has been the leader of this party since it was founded in January 1944. He studied at Princetown University, has lived in the United States and claims to be a suitable interpreter of real democracy in Italy, where this word has been forgotten for the last twenty years.

Newspaper : L'Italia Nuova (Circulation: 20,000)

The Party, though monarchic, professes no attachment to King Victor Emmanual III. It aims to establish in Italy a democracy fashioned after the Anglo-American democracies. It favours freedom of private enterprise, with special support for individual industries,

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and international collaboration. It considers necessary the breaking up of big estates (latifondi).

This party critisizes the parties of the National Committee of Liberation, alleging that they are a "resurrection of the ideas and policies which paved the way to Fascism".

Membership is claimed to be 20,000; membership cards have been issued. There are groups outside Rome: Naples, Littoria and Pescarelli. Ex-Senator De Nicola is said to collaborate with the party. Filippo de Grenet, Placido Martini and Carlo Zaccagni, three of the 320 victims of the massacre of March 23rd in Via Ardeatina, were members of this party.

Centro Cattolico Italiano.

Headquarters : Via Giuseppe Avezzana 51.
Leaders : Conte Paolo Pietro.
Avv. Alberto Sebastiani
Avv. Giovanni Silvestrelli
Newspaper : Application has been made but not granted.

The Centro Cattolico Italiano, formerly called the Centro Politico Italiano was founded in December 1943 to promote the frank and decided profession of the Catholic faith; support for a constitutional monarchy; the attainment of social justice inspired by Christian charity; an attitude of calm in judging men or institutions or people. The Centro can hardly be called a party, for it has no definite organisation and no political programme beyond what is outlined above. Adherents do not number more than a few hundred though sympathisers may run into several thousand. The work of the movement is one of moral re-education which is to be carried out by publications and by personal influence and example.

During the German occupation of Rome, seven numbers of the clandestine paper "Alleanza Italiana" were circulated.

Although the members of the movement are decidedly monarchical they do not as a whole express a preference for King Victor Emmanuel, and feel that he should remain in retirement. Avv. Sebastiani, one of the leaders, declared that if the republic were voted by legal means, members of the Centro would accept it loyally.

Movimento Communista.

Headquarters : Via Sabelli (S. Lorenzo)
Leaders : Dott. Moretti
Avv. De Luca

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Movimento Communista.

Headquarters : Via Sabelli (S. Lorenzo)
Leaders : Dott. Moretti
Avv. De Luca
Avv. Rise
Palmiero
Cretara
(above executive committee was elected on 7.7.44.)
Newspaper : Bandiera Rossa (no longer in circulation)

The movement was founded in Fascist days by Avv. De Luca from the remnants of a Communist group called the "Scintilla", most of whose members were arrested. It began to flourish in the time of the partisan bands formed after 8 September, 1943. The bands organised by

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De Luca amalgamated with those of Dott. Moretti (originally called the bands of Via Marguta) and in time all these bands took on the name of the Movimento Communista, though by no means all the members were Communists. A clandestine paper "Bandiera Rossa was published.

On the entry of the Allies into Rome, we find the two leaders of the Movimento Communista in evidence, Pece and Sbardella, who have acquired a somewhat unsavoury reputation as opportunists and dishonest men. Pece was earlier expelled from the official Communist Party and both he and Sbardella have now been ousted from the Movimento Communista. Dott. Moretti, the present leader, seems to be a moderating influence, but on the whole the movement is reputed to be gathering in malcontents and extremists, and those people naturally tending to the left for whom the politics of the official Communist Party are too orderly.

It is certain that the Communist Party is making a great effort to attract the more responsible elements of the Movimento Communista into the party. Dott. Moretti declares that this process of persuasion is being carried on by other parties also, and specifically by the monarchists, who realise that the large number of partisans who form part of the Movimento Communista, a young and tomorrow perhaps an influential section of the population, are a prize worth having in any party.

It is reported that in the San Lorenzo district of Rome, which has always been one of the least orderly zones of the city, there is a large following of the Movimento Communista.

It would seem that the importance of the movement, which politically speaking is not strong, will vary with the amount of poverty and discontent in the land and the extremism which is likely to follow from these conditions.

Socialist Revolutionary Party.

Headquarters : Via Nazionale 230.
Leaders : Avv. Rocco d'Ambra (Naples)
Avv. Silvio Romano
Giudice Alfonso Albano (Secretary of the Committee)
Dott. Giovanni Perillo

The party was founded in November, 1940. It at once gathered a number of dissidents from among the left-wing groups who were dissatisfied with the policy of the parties of the Committee of National Liberation. In Naples the paper "Bandiera Rossa" was published without Allied authorisation and attained a fair circulation. It was violent in tone and wavered between marxist and bourgeois extremism.

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Socialist Revolutionary Party.

Headquarters : Via Nazionale 230.
Leaders : Avv. Rocco d'Ambra (Naples)
Avv. Silvio Romano
Giudice Alfonso Albano (Secretary of the Committee)
Dott. Giovanni Perillo

The party was founded in November, 1940. It at first gathered a number of dissidents from among the left-wing groups who were dissatisfied with the policy of the parties of the Committee of National Liberation. In Naples the paper "Bandiera Rossa" was published without Allied authorisation and attained a fair circulation. It was violent in tone and wavered between marxist and bourgeois extremism.

Towards the end of June, Avv. d'Ambra came to Rome to start organising the party here. So far there have not been many members inscribed. A move by two discredited members of the Movimento Communista, Sbardella and Poce, to join forces with the Socialist Revolutionary Party is not looked upon with enthusiasm by Avv. Silvio Romano, head of the Party in Rome.

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It is possible that the Partito Socialista Rivoluzionario will gather up in Rome as in Naples discontented elements which incline to extremism. At the moment it seems to have little importance. No newspaper has yet been authorised or is being circulated.

Partito di Unione Proletaria.

Headquarters : Via dei Gracchi 291.
General Secretary: Dott. Salvarezza.
There is a Central Committee consisting of 5 people.
Newspaper : Unione Proletaria (published during the clandestine period and during the first days of the liberation, whose circulation was said to be 45,000. Not authorised at present, though they claim it would sell 70,000, obviously an exaggerated figure.)

The party was founded in Paris in 1936 by Umberto Salvarezza but remained very small until after the 9 September, 1943, when its ranks were joined by many young people. Present membership is about 8,000.

During the clandestine period bands were formed under the name of the "Gruppo Remagnoli", under the command of Gen. Vannetti and Luigi Sabatini. They carried out sabotage, anti-German and anti-Fascist propaganda and helped political refugees and Anglo-American prisoners.

Today the party is attempting to form a united block of all left parties, and claims to have gathered together about twenty up to date. Their attitude towards the Allied Government is a neutral one; they are keeping in the background. Although they are socialists, they do not find themselves in agreement with either the Socialist or the Communist party. They claim to have taken the best part of the programmes of these latter to form that of their own party.

Partito dei Contadini Italiani.

Headquarters : Via Palermo 36.
Secretary : F. Castellano.
Leaders : Prof. Perroni.

The party was founded in 1922 and took root in the Northern provinces. It was reconstituted in Rome on 30 July, 1943, and began to organise groups in Tuscany and the Abruzzi as well as in the North. It is claimed that the party is of a democratic, anti-Fascist nature, conservative but not unprogressive. It is now directed by a provisional Central Committee of seventeen, most of whom are at present across the line. The brunt of the work, such as it is, therefore falls

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An undated leaflet published in Rome after the entry of the Allies brings the party to the notice of the public. It indicates that the main preoccupation of the party is to safeguard the rights and interests of the peasant class, to bring about the transfer of land to the peasants by legal means, to reduce the innumerable and useless taxes which weigh upon agricultural work and production, to increase the number of technical-agrarian schools.

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SECRET

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Partito Progressista Italiano.

Headquarters : Via Appia Nuova 151.
Leaders : Juan Gatti
Comm. Lalli
General Sampelli
Prof. Umberto Monaco
Newspaper : "Il Progresso" (Only two copies were issued after 5 June. The paper did not obtain Allied authorisation and consequently stopped.)

The party is of no practical importance. It has a branch called the Partito Progressista Sammarinese headed by the Gran. Uff. Ettore Stacchini, whose Rome headquarters are at Via Milano 52. This branch of the party is reported to be carrying on some clandestine activity in the vicinity of San Marino. The Partito Progressista Italiano has since the end of June been collaborating with the Partito Democratico del Lavoro.

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Extra Copy

HEADQUARTERS
NINTH AIR FORCE COMMAND
G-2 SECTION
TRANSLATION DEPARTMENT

23 August, 1944.

REPORT ON THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN ITALY.

COMMUNIST PARTY.

In Italy the Communists appeared as a distinct party during the year 1921. Its Adherents and leaders came from the Northern Provinces and it founded its center of activity in Turin. With the advent of Fascism its activities were submerged, but it remained as an underground movement in opposition to Fascist oppression. With the developments of the war this party continued to gain strength in the struggle to liberate Italy from the invader and from the elements that had caused her disintegration as a nation.

The true strength of the party today cannot be accurately estimated as the industrial sections still remain under the domination of the Germans. Its tendencies have been moderate and conciliatory and it has expressed renunciation of a revolutionary policy and has referred the settlement of socio-economic problems to such a time as the internal situation of Italy will allow it. The Communists have committed themselves to the liberation of Italy and to this end exert the influence of the party. It is fundamentally a mass party, but there is a strong intellectual group in its ranks.

As far as its expressed policies are concerned it is for the Nationalization of industry, the elimination of the social evils of the past regime, the liberation of the worker from poverty. It includes the employees group and works toward the elimination of classes.

The recent union with the Socialist party, a strategic move to counteract the effects of a rising reactionary group. It is the first time in 23 years that the two parties, which sprang from the sources, have met in a combined movement.

Togliatti, the party secretary and one of the ministers, in the present government, has been one of the primary influences in mainteining unity within the Parties of Liberation. It was he who broke up the dead-lock over the elimination of the monarchy by proposing the present set-up.

Its newspaper, "Unita" has perhaps the largest distribution of the Rome papers, but the actual strength of the party is said to be inferior to the Socialist and Christian Democrats.

SOCIALIST PARTY.

The similarity of policy between the Socialist and Communist parties in Italy has brought them to an agreement and union. The discernible differences are in the Socialist attitude toward Russia and Soviet policy (which had brought the rupture between the two parties in 1923), in the

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It derives its support from the masses. Socialization of industry, government control of utilities and national industry, protective legislation for the worker and farmer are the fundamentals of its program.

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In Rome it consists of about 40 branches but its organization is not as concrete as the Communists. There is a very active Socialist Youth Federation which runs courses in political history, economics and Marxism. It has a membership of about 3,000 workers and is dependent on the party. Matteo Matteotti (son of the martyr) heads the central committee.

In the government it is represented by Saragat, Minister without portfolio. Lizzardi is their main representative in the Italian General Confederation of Labor.

Pietro Nenni, secretary of the party and editor of the official party paper, "Avanti", was active in its organization and in fighting against the Germans. The party shows a similar tendency to moderation as exhibited by the communist and it has submerged its differences to avoid discord within the six parties. The more pressing problems of the liberation and reconstruction of Italy receive primary consideration.

ACTION PARTY.

The Action Party sprung up in resistance to Fascism. It represented an intellectual and individualistic effort and consequently it has not been considered a mass party. It is opening and expanding the organization of the party but with the numerous distinctive personalities it has difficulty in establishing a specific program. It has a hybrid socialist-reformist character and has given its approval of the union of the two leftist parties and has shown a tendency to cooperation. The Action Party carries on violent anti-monarchical and epuration campaigns and this has brought them in opposition to the more conservative parties. The partisans have their full support and the "Italia Libera", the party newspaper, publishes continual appeals for more recognition and aid for these patriot groups.

The party exerts its political influence through its personalities in the government: Bianco, De Ruggiero, Minister of Public Education, Fancalten, and Siglienti, Minister of Finance. Its vital influence is in the intellectual and democratic guidance which it offers. It interests itself in the problems of labor and recently its interests have spread to agrarian problems and it appears to be spreading its influence in the provinces.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY.

The Christian Democrat Party may be called the middle party. It is considered by some to be the strongest single party in Italy today. In Rome it is well organized and has a large number of inscribed members. In its ranks are currents of opinion which tend to both left and right. The party has a strong following among the masses but its true strength lies in the peasants. It is split on the question of the monarchy with some elements demanding its elimination while others would retain the monarchy but in some form of regency. In the recent meeting of the party in Naples the later tendency seemed to prevail. The party is said to have many adherents in Northern Italy where the old Partito Popolare, from which the present party sprung, still continued to exist as a movement of opposition against Fascism.

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The party is a stable element in the government. It bases its policies on Christian morality and insists on religion as a force in politics. It has some connections with the Vatican. It has a very strong "nationalistic" tendency and believes in a pyramidal form of government. It prefers to have a type of liberal commune as the basic structure of the state rther than the factory council idea of the Communists, but it does not oppose strongly this party whose contributions they appreciate and recognize.

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De Gasperi is the leader of the party and a member of the government. The views of the party are expressed in the newspaper, "Il Popolo" whose editor is Guido Gonella.

DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO (Labor).

This is the fifth of the parties in the government which bases its policy on the nationalization of industry and agriculture. It believes that the government should be given more responsibility in the solution of the nations problems. It strongly opposes the reactionary elements.

The party fought Fascism since its organization in 1919, but opposition became impossible with Mussolini's order to dissolve the parties. The party claims to follow Mazzinian traditions and has worked out a program which is socialist-reformist. It has drawn new vitality from the fusion of various democratic currents originating in the professional and intellectual classes. Because of its constitution and moderation it is not a mass party, but with the fusion with other labor parties it is increasing its membership and influence.

The party newspaper is the "Ricostruzione" which had been published during the German occupation as a clandestine sheet. It is serious and tries to arouse the political conscience of the people.

LIBERAL PARTY.

The parties already mentioned may be considered as having certain similarities in policy but with the Liberal Party there is a net cleavage. Whereas the other parties stand for certain interpretations of social legislature and government control, the Liberals follow the traditional policies of the party in freedom of enterprise and industry and localization. It is not a mass party but derives its support from the intellectual upper and middle classes and from elements of the artisan class. The party is organized in communal sections and in provincial federations.

Recently it met and united with the Democratic-Liberal Party a step which was criticized by the other parties, especially the Communist, as introducing a reactionary element into the government. The Liberal party on the other hand defends its move and maintains that it is a party of the avant-guard. It means bringing men like Orlando and Count Carandini.

The national head of the party is Benedetto Croce who retired from the government when it left Salerno. He still guides the thought of the party in his writings in the Risorgimento Liberale, the party's official paper. 5237 This paper was published clandestinely during the occupations by the Germans and it was the first to advocate for the necessity of driving the Germans out of Italy. It is a party of order and its leaderships was more in guiding the thought of the people than in organizing resistnce.

These six parties constitute the Committee for Liberation and form the present government. There are considerable number of minor parties, factions and dissention groups which in the majority form the opposition. Some resent

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ITALIAN REPUBLICAN PARTY.

This party bases its program on the Mazzinian tradition and on the ideals of the Risorgimento of Italy. Its main ooject is a new republican Italy built out of the ruins of the old republican government. It wants

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the remaining vestiges of feudalism and social and political corruption to be eliminated. It asks the Allies that the Italians be permitted to make a greater contribution in the common struggle for freedom and justice, but recognizes that the internal rehabilitation of Italian politics must depend on the people.

Its newspaper is the Voce Repubblicana, but the party publishes other papers in other parts of Italy. It is well organized and has established branches in all parts of Italy, especially in the southern and island provinces.

THE REPUBLICAN LABOR PARTY.

This party has not been completely orgnized but it has ambitions on a national scale. It leans toward Communism and includes a social plan based on Marxist theories.

THE ITALIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY.

This party has been the most critical of the present government and its newspaper, l'Italia Nuova, is in constant argument with the newspapers of the left wing. As its name expresses its policies and program are based on an imitation of the Anglo-American form. It is in support of the Monarchy but has no attachment to the King. It forms the strongest and most vociferous opposition.

CENTRO CATTOLICO ITALIANO.

As the name implies it is a party based on the Catholic religion and therefore limited in its scope. It supports a constitutional monarchy. It is loyal to the present government and recognizes it as legal. The party is not well organized and the influence it exerts is very limited.

MOVIMENTO COMMUSISTA.

It is composed of the more extremist members of the Communist party and the malcontents and dissidents. The official Communist Party is making an attempt to attract the more responsible elements of the Movement. It is not a very strong party but has an appeal for the dissatisfied groups and for the poor masses.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

It is a party composed of dissident elements from among the left wing groups who were dissatisfied with the policies of the parties of the Committee of Liberation. At present it has little importance although it has a number of adherents in Naples and may attract other dissenting groups.

THE PARTY OF PROLETARIAN UNITY.

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THE PARTY OF PROLETARIAN UNITY.

A left-wing party which rendered mentionable assistance in the clandestine movement. They are Socialists though they have taken much from the Communists. It has gathered support and incorporated other leftist groups and asks the government to be given a share in deciding the labor policies.

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THE ITALIAN PEASANTS' PARTY.

The name of the party is self explanatory. Most of the leaders of the party are at present still in Northern Italy and at present it is not well organized; it is a conservative party but claims to be democratic in nature. It proposes to eliminate the evils under which the peasant is subjected by the use of legal means.

THE ITALIAN PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

It is a party of small importance. It carried on a certain amount of clandestine activity and its influence centers around San Marino. It collaborates with the Partito Democratico del Lavoro.

There are also a number of minor parties whose names may be mentioned:

THE ITALIAN LABOR PARTY
THE PARTISAN MOVEMENT
THE NATIONAL VOLUNTARY GARIBALDI MOVEMENT
THE FREE SOCIAL PARTY
THE LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY
THE MAZZINI PARTY
THE ITALIAN LIBERAL CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY
THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION
THE UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC COLLABORATION
THE CONSTITUTIONAL COLLABORATIONIST MOVEMENT.

These and other parties met under the auspices of the Party of Proletarian Unity in Rome and formed the "Democratic Congress". Here they gave vent to their grievances. They deplored the fact that they were not given authorization by the Allies to publish newspapers while the parties of the Committee of Liberation were given a monopoly of the press. The Congress called for representation in the Labor organizations. It called the Committee for National Liberation a new form of dictatorship. It asked that all parties be given equal footing until the popular opinion could decide. It called for the resignation of a government of national unity. In all it represented all the grievances of the minorities.

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THE ITALIAN LABOR PARTY
THE PARTISAN MOVEMENT
THE NATIONAL VOLUNTARY GARIBALDI MOVEMENT
THE FREE SOCIAL PARTY
THE LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY
THE PACELLI PARTY
THE ITALIAN LIBERAL CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY
THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION
THE UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC COLLABORATION
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March 1944

[illegible]

[illegible]

1.) Partito Socialista (Socialist Party).

Socialism on national (Italian) basis. Universal welfare particularly for the common people. Complete defascistisation. Abolition of the monarchy, but maintenance of an independent Italy.
Favours interests of working classes and lower middle classes. ([illegible]).
President Avvocato [illegible].

2.) Partito Comunista (Communist Party).

Idea of the "Third Internationale" within scope of the proclamations of the Board of the International Communist Party at Moscow. Rule of the proletariate (workers and agricultural workers). Welfare of the common people. Existence of Italy within a European Union of Communistic republics. Abolition of the monarchy. Complete defascistisation.
President Palmiro Togliatti, [illegible] member of the executive of the Comintern. Has lived in Moscow for a considerable number of years. Arrived in Italy March 27th.1944, explained his views on April 1st. 1944.

3.) Partito Democratico - Cristiano (Democratic-Christian Party).

Realisation of the democratic ideal on christian basis. Defascistisation of the State. Support for agriculture. Protection of the middle classes and further labour welfare (particularly [illegible]) in keeping with "Rerum Novarum" ~~[illegible]~~ (Encyclical Leo XIII). Favours monarchical system.
President [illegible].

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4.) Partito Liberale (Liberal Party).

Re-establishment of the old Liberal Party existing until the suppression of all political parties by the Fascist Government. (Vide Art. 215 onward Italian Law of the Public Security Unified Text 1926 repealed by the Law of the Public Security Unified Text 1931 Art. 210 onward.) Risorgimento (National Regeneration) also in historical sense. Abolition of the monarchy after plebiscite. Defascistisation of the State. Favours monarchical system but desires abdication of present King.
President Professore Arangio Ruiz.
Vice President Senator Benedetto Croce.

5?14

5.) Partito d'Azione (Party of Action).

It wants complete defascistisation and liberation of Italy from the occupation by the Germans. Active Policy of Italy to side with the United Nations and active participation of Italy [illegible]

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(a [illegible] of new text).

President Avvocato Guglielmo Giannini.

4.) [illegible] (Democratic Party).

[illegible] of the "Uniti Democratici" within groups of the proclamations of the Board of the International Democratic Party as opposed to the proletariat (workers and middle class), believes in the common people. Headquarters of Party remain a European Union of Democratic Republics [illegible] of the country into [illegible] democracies.

[illegible] Chairman of [illegible] Council of the Executive of the Democratic Party given an [illegible] Democratic Member of [illegible] Council in Italy, [illegible] Democratic Party [illegible].

5.) [illegible] Democratic Party [illegible] (Democratic Party) [illegible].

[illegible] of the democratic ideal on Christian basis. Reconciliation of the [illegible] support for Agricultural [illegible] of the classes and another Labour Party [illegible] Democratic Party in keeping with "Democratic" [illegible] Republican (Doc XIII). Favors Confederal system.
President Mario Pilati.

6.) [illegible] Liberal [illegible] Party.

Re-establishment of the old Liberal Party existing until the suppression of all political parties by the Fascist Government. (Vide Article Eleven Italian Law of the Public Security United Text [illegible] repealed by the Law of the Public Security United Text [illegible] Articles Eleven.) Disagrees with (National Organization) also in Electoral Sense. Abolition of the monarchy after plebiscite. Organization of the State. Favors Conservative Party but desires collection of present thing.
President Prospero Semplo Pile. 534
President Mario Pilati Bracco Group.

7.) [illegible] Movement [illegible] Party.

Absolute necessity determination and liberation of Italy after the occupation by the Democratic Party of Italy to side with the United Nations and active participation of Italy in the war. Public exposure of all fascist or Nazi circles. Trial of those responsible for the war and the collapse of Italy.
Partito Italia - Repubblica.

President Avvocato Gaetano Tortora,
President Antonio Conte absent.
Followed a copy of Tel. Rome Investigation with favorable [illegible] on Partito Italy.

6.) Partito della Democrazia del Lavoro (Democratic Party of Labour).

National Democratic Party. Government of Italy in conformity with democratic values. Establishment of the "State of Parties". Democratic ideals:liberty,equality,fraternity. Protection of the common people,the workers and the artisans and instruction of the youth.
President:Avvocato Quirino (Nicolo) (Alessandro).
Practically no followers.

The 6 parties mentioned above participate in the National Front of Liberation at first named.
Antifascist concentration combines.
Purpose: Unconditional continuation of the war against Germany for the liberation of Italy and complete defascistization. Provisional professors Ernesto Buonaiuti per Napoli.
For every province there is named another president.

7.) Partito democratico-liberale (Democratic-liberal Party).

Also named by the people partito nel ha (Party of the King). Government-Party of the Presidency Badoglio.
Postponement of the constitutional question until the complete liberation of Italy.Protection of the national economy and particularly of agriculture and industry.
Equality for all citizens.
Presidency vacant.
Party in reorganization.
President Senator B.S.Avvocato di Nicola.
Follows personality in Allied circles.
Strong position in South.

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PARTITO
DEMOCRATICO
COSTITUZIONALE

COMITATO CENTRALE

ASSEMBLEA GENERALE

DEL 17 SETTEMBRE 1944

(RESOCONTO STENOGRAFICO)

ROMA
PIAZZA ESQUILINO, 3 - TELEF. 487-716

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COMITATO CENTRALE

PROCESSO VERBALE DELL'ASSEMBLEA GENERALE

DEL GIORNO 17 SETTEMBRE 1944

Nella sede del Comitato Centrale ha luogo l'assemblea generale con la partecipazione dei soci risultanti dal foglio di presenza da essi firmato; alle ore 9 assume la Presidenza il Grand Uff. Alberto Pansini il quale dice:

Pansini. — L'onore e Voi la Presidenza del Partito che durante il regime fascista ha cessato di manifestarsi in pubblico perchè, come tutti gli altri Partiti, fu soppresso pena a chi avesse osato darne segni di vita, il confino, il carcere e perfino la morte.

Le nostre file nella cospirazione non si sono diradate: perdemmo dei soci, ma ne acquistammo dei più giovani, più decisi, più sicuri.

Il nostro pensiero in questa prima riunione, non più segreta, si rivolge con commossa devozione alle figure dei nostri eroici soldati che nelle due grandi guerre del secolo caddero sul campo dell'onore. Salutiamo anche con tenerezza i gloriosi mutilati e tutti coloro che si batterono, i prigionieri e gli internati, le angosce loro famiglie e quanti dalla guerra ebbero danni e dolori.

Per rivolgiamo il pensiero ai nostri soci scomparsi. Primo fra tutti ecco la figura dell'amato Presidente della Direzione Generale del Partito, Senatore Giovanni Antonio Vanni. A lui ed agli altri l'omaggio dell'affettuoso nostro ricordo.

Dopo ciò, invito l'Assemblea ad eleggere un Segretario e due Scrutatori.

(*Vengono eletti a Segretario Bernardi Arturo e Scrutatori Pennacchi Filippo e Mennini Luigi*).

IL PARTITO DEMOCRATICO COSTITUZIONALE È SULLA LINEA STORICA DELL'ALLEANZA CON LE NAZIONI UNITE.

Presidente. — Il Partito in scioltо, ma non cessò di esistere segretamente e se molti di noi, specialmente dirigenti, si salvarono dall'esilio e dal confino, si deve al fatto che seppero espatriare da provati cospiratori.

Il Partito politico non nasce come una ditta commerciale per l'accordo dei suoi contraenti, con un improvviso atto costitutivo, depositato alla Can-

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celetta del Tribunale. Esso deve avere dei precedenti, delle tradizioni nel Paese, alle cui esigenze spirituali e ai bisogni storici deve rispondere, se vuole vivere al presente.

Non dubito che vi siano ancora molti uomini politici che ricordino la combattiva vita del nostro Partito, le nostre adunanze, le nostre deliberazioni, i nostri congressi.

Voglio sperare a Roma, i romani dell'epoca precedente al 1922, ricorderanno, certamente, l'attività spiegata dal P. P. I. in ordine alle soluzioni dei più importanti problemi politici che occuparono le menti più illuminate della Nazione.

Avemmo molti autorevoli rappresentanti nei due rami del Parlamento, uomini di Governo e Presidenti del Consiglio distribuiti tra la destra liberale e la sinistra radicale.

Era il nostro Partito che presto alla democrazia, la quale era costretta spesso, sempre soccombente nelle battaglie elettorali, amministrative e politiche, un metodo di lotta, spingendola nella battaglia e assicurandole la vittoria.

Il P. P. I. si fece anche centro di unioni e di blocchi di altri Partiti, non esclusa qualche ala sovversiva repubblicana e socialista e l'estrema destra nazionalista. Il Presidente della sezione di Roma fu sempre nel Comitato direttivo di tali unioni al centro della lotta, infaticabile animatore.

Non può essere dimenticata la vittoria del blocco presieduto da Vanni nel 1907 che diede al Comune di Roma il Sindaco Ernesto Nathan. Nè può essere trascurata la parte presa dal Partito all'azione per l'intervento dell'Italia nella conflagrazione mondiale che vide i suoi fasti nelle radiose giornate del maggio 1915 e si ebbe a lavoro dell'entrata dell'Italia in guerra a fianco dell'Inghilterra, della Francia, della Russia e dell'America. Infatti il P. P. I. si fece centro del Comitato Interventista che comprendeva nazionalisti, radicali, riformisti, parte dei socialisti e repubblicani i quali ultimi, per l'occasione, fecero generoso getto della loro pregiudiziale.

Il Presidente della sezione di Roma ebbe, in quelle circostanze, incarichi importanti e delicati: fra cui l'organizzazione di tre manifestazioni, vietate dall'intervento degli ambasciatori d'Inghilterra, Francia e Russia e che ebbero per conferenzieri il deputato prof. belga Lorin, Cesare Battisti ed Ernesto Nathan.

Non minore energia fu spiegata, né minore successo ebbe il Partito nell'azione di resistenza sul fronte interno che si rese necessaria dopo Caporetto, dovuta alla propaganda neutralista alimentata dal tedesco.

Mercè l'opera da noi svolta, fra gli emigrati italiani e le popolazioni d'Inghilterra e d'America, si consolidarono i buoni rapporti di cordialità, già da tempo esistenti e i sentimenti di costante amicizia che sempre nutrimmo per i Russi.

Purtroppo questi sentimenti ammirevoli di antica tradizione si vogliono sfruttare da parte di alcuni partiti con mentalità e metodi prettamente fascisti, come il risultato della loro politica, che avrebbe portato il popolo italiano ad odiare agli alleati. Non è vero! Il popolo italiano tiene in giusta considerazione inglesi, americani e russi, perchè appresi nei libri di scuola che l'Inghilterra ha sempre sostenuto l'Italia, nel suo Risorgimento, che l'Ita-

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sempre ammirata, amata e rispettata per ragioni di cultura, di storia e d'arte e, diciamolo pure francamente, anche per una esplicita convenienza politica internazionale che le consigliava di mantenere un retto equilibrio fra le Nazioni europee e mediterranee, a tutela dei suoi interessi continentali e coloniali.

L'Italia non fu mai soggetta a dominazione inglese, americana o russa, sicchè nei ricordi di famiglia e nelle lezioni degli insegnanti, la gioventù non trova ragioni che possano suscitare nel suo animo il più piccolo risentimento, il più piccolo rancore, contro quelle Nazioni. Che dire dell'America scoperta da Italiani, fecondata dal lavoro italiano? Invece, in ogni memoria è vivo il ricordo del «bastone» tedesco. L'Italia non «domina», nè il popolo distinse nell'appellativo «tedesco» il prussiano dagli altri germanici.

Gli Italiani — vogliamo proclamarlo altamente — furono costretti, loro malgrado, a combattere a fianco dei tedeschi, contro le Nazioni Unite, con i migliori figli delle quali avevano versato — venticinque anni innanzi — il loro sangue nella prima guerra democratica.

È ancora nei nostri orecchi il rombo della folla che, nella notte del 26 luglio, prorupe per le strade dell'Urbe acclamando al Re che, rovesciando una dittatura ventennale, con pericolo della sua stessa incolumità, aveva ridonato agli Italiani la necessaria libertà che permise poi di svincolarci dal nefasto Patto d'Acciaio e di ritrovare le vie dell'antica storica alleanza riprendendo contatto, sia pure attraverso l'umiliazione di una resa a discrezione, con le grandi democrazie.

Tutto ciò abbiamo voluto ricordare perchè non sembri improvvisa la voce del P. D. C. e per concludere che il Partito Democratico Costituzionale è il solo che sia nella linea storica dell'alleanza con le Nazioni Unite. Ci troviamo all'avanguardia di quella politica di adesione alle Nazioni Unite iniziata con il decreto costituzionale del 25 luglio 1943 che erroneamente è stato chiamato «colpo di stato».

All'avvento del Fascismo, io che vi parlo, ero il Presidente della Sezione Romana del P. D. C. e Vice-Presidente della Direzione Centrale. Per la morte del Presidente Vanni, ne ereditai l'ufficio e a me pertanto vi rivolgeste appena costituito il Ministero Badoglio, lavoratori del braccio e del pensiero, rappresentanti dell'aristocrazia del sangue e del danaro, affinchè vi convocassi in Assemblea.

Ma Badoglio aveva disposto che si dovesse attendere la fine della guerra e la loro costituzionale, attesi. Peraltro, di fronte al sorgere di tanti partiti, spuntati fuori come funghi dopo la pioggia, è stato necessario non indugiare oltre a convocarvi, fiducia nel senso di giustizia e d'imparzialità del Governo e degli Alleati che non vorranno, per questo nostro senso di disciplina, negarci il posto che ci compete nel concerto dei partiti italiani, per assumere le nostre responsabilità di fronte a quei partiti che, pur di abbattere la Corona, non esitarono ad assumere il potere ricevendo l'investitura dalla Corona medesima e non si peritarono di battere le vie costituzionali, mentre avevano in animo di abbattere la Costituzione.

Noi sappiamo di parlare a nome della maggioranza degli Italiani che hanno superato, da tempo, l'ideologia e ravvisano in tutti questi santoni, patroni, protettori, tutori del loro benessere, i portatori di miseria, di fame, di odi, di lotte fratricide e di guerre esterne.

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Sopattutto è bene determinato e tutore, finalmente, in tutti i provvedimenti adottati in spregio alle Stesse l'esame e Senatori del Regno, con tro la Corte dei Conti ed altre istituzioni statutarie.

L'EPURAZIONE DEI SENATORI È ANTICOSTITUZIONALE

Il provvedimento è anticostituzionale:

— colpisce e ferisce disposizioni statutarie e per conseguenza viene a colpire la Monarchia Costituzionale, senza che sia stato ancora sostituito allo stato attuale un nuovo Stato, un nuovo Statuto. Perchè?

Lo colpisce per le seguenti ragioni:

— I Senatori sono nominati dal Re a vita ed i giuristi sono concordi nel concetto che non sia possibile di obbligarli a dar le dimissioni da Senatore.

— I Senatori potevano essere giudicati solamente quando l'Alta Corte di giustizia li avesse riconosciuti colpevoli di reati stabiliti dalla legge: oggi, invece, con legge in assoluta opposizione con lo Statuto, si stabilisce che i Senatori possono essere dichiarati decaduti e si afferma poi che ragione di tale decadenza non sia una colpa prevista dal codice penale, ma un determinato atteggiamento politico. Ad esempio: si afferma che ragione di decadenza possa essere stata la nomina a Ministro o a Sottosegretario di Stato da parte dello stesso Re, anche se l'azione di Ministro ha avuto il pieno consenso del Re, delle Camere e Senato e Parlamento, secondo le precise disposizioni statutarie. L'azione di Ministro e di Sottosegretario era quella che le Leggi gli attribuivano e che era compiuta a servizio dello Stato esistente legalmente secondo la Costituzione e riconosciuto internazionalmente.

Nel frastuono delle voci vecchie e nuove squilla dunque e squillerà anche quella del nostro Partito che, nella suprema necessità di sopravvivere, a differenza degli altri, abbandona i vecchi sistemi e le manovre intese a conseguire fini apparentemente ispirati da un'ideologia, ma praticamente da un interesse non ancora palese.

NATURA ED INDOLE DEL PARTITO

Il Partito è nato e si è sviluppato con una fisionomia ben determinata e *difficilmente si discosta* principi sanciti nello Statuto. Lungo il non breve corso della sua storia non venne mai meno alle scopo; se cessò di manifestarsi fu perchè non acconsentì mai a piegarsi sotto il giogo fascista.

Il Partito è, come dice il nome stesso e ce lo conferma la sua storia, *costituzionale* al cento per cento e questa sua fisionomia che lo distingue fra la moltitudine dei partiti, pullulati dopo la caduta del fascismo, dovrà rimanergli come carattere indelebile e inconfondibile. Ma ciò non vuol dire che noi ci attacchiamo «mordicus» allo Statuto del Regno, sancito da Carlo Alberto il 4 marzo 1848 ed accettato con plebisciti da tutto il popolo italiano, senza tener conto dello sviluppo e progresso dei popoli e del procedere inevitabile della Storia, ma significa che noi terremo fede alla Costituzione, come a un punto fermo «ab consistam», riconoscendo nella Carta Albertina il principio storico dello Stato Italiano e non tollereremo nessuna modificazione

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sostanziale alla Costituzione, se non venga evidentemente provato che la conservazione di un determinato articolo, come per esempio il predetto articolo, sia un male evidente e il cambiamento un bene evidente per la Nazione.

Voi comprendete, o Signori, che questa prova non sarà tanto facile per i nostri avversari, quando le penne dei nostri migliori scrittori entreranno a difendere la Costituzione (*Applausi*).

IL NOSTRO PARTITO NON DEVE ESSERE ANTICLERICALE

Nel nostro Partito è stata veduta dal popolo italiano una fisonomia *anticlericale*. Ma per lealtà e sincerità d'animo che non tollerano vie torte e meschine sottintesi, dobbiamo immediatamente affermare che questa caratteristica non deve sopravvivere.

Il nostro anticlericalismo aveva come movente storico di combattere quelle forze politiche militanti della Chiesa, che ci sembravano voler perpetuare il dissidio tra Stato e Chiesa. In questa lotta funesta, che ha travagliato il nostro Paese per lunghi decenni, rendendo sterili tante buone opere, privandoci dell'aiuto di ottime energie, io sono stato sempre in prima linea. Ma oggi non vi è più ragione.

I Patti Lateranensi hanno troncato ed eliminato gli ultimi residui psicologici della lotta anticlericale, appianando ogni ragione di contrasto politico. Essi, infatti, hanno posto fine al grave dissidio che esisteva tra l'Italia e il Papato e che teneva in continua angoscia milioni e milioni di cattolici e di cittadini, hanno creato un nuovo ordinamento giuridico e stabilito un sistema di buone relazioni pacifiche tra il potere ecclesiastico e il civile, universalmente auspicate dalla coscienza religiosa del popolo italiano; hanno sancita pubblicamente e solennemente quella conciliazione fra lo Stato e la Chiesa che è fonte sicura di immensi vantaggi per la Patria e per la Religione, che è la base incrollabile della vera grandezza e prosperità di una nazione, che è pegno certissimo di speciale protezione del cielo» (P. Cappello, *Cit. Cath.* capo T. I. pag. 202).

Per comprendere l'importanza e il valore di questi accordi dovreste, o Signori, leggere la copiosissima letteratura che ha veduto la luce in questi cinque lustri in Italia e all'Estero tra il clero e il laicato. Fra i cultori delle discipline giuridiche e storiche, voi non troverete nessun trattato o conversazione che possa vantare tanta dovizia di pregevoli e dotte pubblicazioni.

Ma non c'è bisogno di questo: basta pensare al lavoro patriottico del clero sul campo di battaglia (*applausi*) per mezzo dei suoi meravigliosi ed eroici cappellani militari e nelle proprie case, monasteri e conventi, che nel periodo del terrorismo tedesco hanno saputo prodigarsi ed immolarsi per salvare i nostri ufficiali, perseguitati, minacciati nella vita per voler rimanere fedeli alla parola giurata; i nostri giovani di leva, renitenti non per combattere una giusta guerra, ma per non macchiarsi le mani di sangue fratricida; i nostri migliori uomini politici ed intellettuali, che dopo essere stati spogliati delle loro giuste ricompense venivano barbaramente deportati, perchè la Patria non potesse servirsi del loro ingegno e del loro cuore. A questi esuli eroi dell'uno e dell'altro Clero, vada, o Signori, il nostro plauso, la nostra riconoscenza. La Patria non li saprà mai più abbastanza lodare e

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Signori, risollevare in questo momento una lotta anticlericale, non sarebbe anacronistico; ma addirittura un crimine di lesa Patria. Solo un vile, asservito ai nemici d'Italia, può pensare a riaprire questa piaga insanabile nel seno della nostra Madre: l'Italia.

Questo vile, Signori, non sarò certamente io, che per tanti titoli storici potrei vantare il primato in una simile lotta, né sarà il mio Partito. Io ho trovato nella Fede una fulgida luce che irradia i miei ultimi anni, una forza che mi sostiene in questo ultimo scorcio di vita. Se non avessi questa fede religiosa così luminosa, così convinta, non sarei qui in mezzo a Voi a combattere l'ultima battaglia «pro aris et focis» (*Applausi*).

Ma non sarà neppure il Partito a riaprire una tale piaga, perchè conosco troppo bene il Vostro amore, la Vostra passione per la vera grandezza d'Italia. Anzi il nostro Partito, con la sua solita indole battagliera che l'ha sempre contraddistinto in ogni lotta e polemica, va avanti su questo punto agli stessi partiti cattolici, perchè è fermamente convinto che questa pace tra Chiesa e Stato è fonte d'unione e di grandezza patria. (*Applausi*).

Il P. P. D. C. aderisce quindi incondizionatamente agli Accordi Lateranensi, ne riconosce carattere ed efficacia di veri Trattati Internazionali e non tollera modificazioni e deroghe senza il previo consenso di entrambi le parti, né vuole interpretazioni e applicazioni che non siano secondo quello spirito che condusse le due Alte Parti contraenti alle mutue intese; riconosce l'indiscutibilità tra il Concordato e il Trattato, ne condanna ogni violazione; ne auspica una leale e costante osservanza e li ritiene incorporati tra le leggi costituzionali dello Stato per quel salutare e benchè sviluppi che se ne potranno ricavare in avvenire per la politica interna ed estera del Paese.

Quindi sul punto fondamentale se l'Italia debba o no conservare nel Cattolicismo la sua religione di Stato, il nostro Partito respinge la tesi per cui si mira a livellare tutti i culti, come se il nostro popolo non fosse nella sua quasi totalità e nelle sue più profonde convinzioni, nella sua letteratura, nella sua arte, nella sua storia, cattolico, apostolico, romano.

Lo spirito della costituzione Albertina è di nuovo solennemente confermato nei Patti Lateranensi:

(Art. 1 del Trattato): «L'Italia riconosce e riafferma il principio consacrato nell'art. 1 dello Statuto del Regno 4 marzo 1848 per il quale la Religione Cattolica, Apostolica e Romana è la sola Religione dello Stato».

(Art. 1 del Concordato): «L'Italia ai sensi dell'art. 1° del Trattato, assicura alla Chiesa Cattolica il libero esercizio del potere spirituale, il libero e pubblico esercizio del culto, nonchè della sua giurisdizione in materia ecclesiastica, in conformità alle norme del presente Concordato; ove occorra accorda agli ecclesiastici per gli atti del loro ministero spirituale la difesa da parte delle sue Autorità».

(Art. 2 del Trattato): «L'Italia riconosce la sovranità della Santa Sede nel campo internazionale come attributo inerente alla sua natura, in conformità alla sua tradizione e alle esigenze della sua missione nel mondo».

Questi tre articoli esprimono il pensiero del P. P. D. C. sul valore della Religione Cattolica per il popolo italiano, massimamente per la conservazione della sua unità.

Su questo nuovo atteggiamento del Partito, impegnativo dinnanzi alle

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nostre coscienze e alla storia, io chiedo di chiarire esplicitamente la Vostra opinione (sebbene in via confidenziale conosca la consolante comunione di idee che avete con me), votando la seguente mozione: «L'Assemblea udita la dichiarazione del Presidente Pavoni, approva fin d'ora quella parte di programma che egli ha presentato, relativa alla Religione Cattolica Apostolica Romana». (*Nessuno chiedendo di parlare il Presidente mette ai voti la mozione testè letta constatando, col concorso degli scrutatori, con prova e controprova, che è approvata all'unanimità*).

Il nostro Partito deve perdere altresì il carattere che, per identità di determinati atteggiamenti, lo fece ritenere come una emanazione della massoneria, anche perchè i Dirigenti del Partito erano allora in massima parte, cominciando da me e da Vanni, notoriamente massoni. Ma a tagliar del vero, il Partito non stava agli ordini di Palazzo Giustiniani, e prova ne sia che io ho avuto tre processi, davanti al tribunale massonico, su denuncia di troppo accesi fratelli che sostenevano che io avevo una condotta politica non sovversiva. In questi processi sono stato sempre assolto: quindi la massoneria, in quanto tale, non controllava gli atteggiamenti del P. D. C. Eravamo noi componenti il partito, che vi portavamo il nostro temperamento e il nostro credo anticlericale.

È giusto pertanto, o Signori, concludere che se al nostro Partito seconda le una inoppugnabile dimostrazione, non dipendeva allora da Palazzo Giustiniani, molto meno ne deve, nè può dipendere oggi:

a) perchè una nuova aura di pace religiosa è oggi sorta sul cielo di Italia per i Patti Lateranensi e il nostro Partito, come voi avete approvato, a questa totalmente s'ispira;

b) per il rinnovato spirito di tante coscienze, prima fra tutte la mia.

IL PROBLEMA DEGLI EX FASCISTI

Il nostro Partito non respinge nessuno, e Esso accoglie fra i suoi soci tutti coloro che, sinceramente, senza distinzione di stirpe, di razza, di ceto sociale, di fede religiosa, uniformino la loro condotta, sia nella loro azione individuale sia nel Partito, ai principi sanciti nello Statuto del Regno e nel Programma del Partito». (Art. 2).

Ora s'impone subito la trattazione di un problema di prima importanza, l'accettazione degli ex fascisti nel Partito. Questo problema deve essere esaminato con cervello e con cuore ben diversamente da quello che fanno parecchi nostri avversari, i quali non per questo avranno il diritto di gridarmi «sputa prima la camicia nera», perchè io non l'ho mai avuta e perchè nessuno di loro è venuto con me all'Isola di Ponza, perchè fra loro son pochi che hanno un carattere così schivo del fascismo come il mio, che non si è lasciato mai persuadere di seguire la moda della camicia nera. Ho fatto e sto facendo del mio meglio contro il fascismo in qualsiasi mia azione, in qualunque ufficio io ricopra.

Fui condannato a cinque anni di confino (annullati senza mia richiesta nè atto di sottomissione compromissoria per la mia condotta politica) e non fui ammesso al Sindacato professionale. Io Presidente effettivo e poi onorario

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del Collegio dei Ragionieri di Roma quel presidente effettivo e poi onorario della Federazione Italiana dei Collegi dei Ragionieri del Regno fui radiato dall'Albo del Collegio dei Ragionieri di Roma per dichiarate ragioni di condotta politica.

Ma Voi sapete, o Signori, che io ho sempre odiato le mistificazioni e quindi è bene vedere insieme una pagina di storia per riconoscere le proprie responsabilità e così anche in questo campo ispirarsi alla giustizia.

Quasi tutti gli italiani applaudirono al voto della Camera dei Deputati che determinò l'avvento del governo fascista. Eravamo usciti vittoriosi dalla grande guerra con un trattato di pace faticosamente ottenuto dalla illuminata intelligenza del patriota e grande statista Vittorio Emanuele Orlando il quale saggiamente aveva chiesto di più di quello che poteva ottenere. (*Applausi — Commenti*). Avevamo avuto seicentocinquantamila morti in guerra; avevamo 450.000 mutilati, 1.250.000 feriti in combattimento, 5.250.000 combattenti che tornavano dal fronte. Le loro famiglie erano sentimentalmente legate alla guerra vittoriosa, affezionate all'Esercito. (*Commenti — Interruzioni*).

Ma i cosiddetti partiti estremisti, asserviti al nemico, da una parte aggravano, per simulata esasperazione dell'amor di Patria, il trattato di pace, dall'altra inscenavano scioperi, invasioni di fabbriche, insulti all'esercito, atti di violenza contro chiunque indossasse una divisa militare. Così invece di dedicarsi alla soluzione dei più importanti problemi del lavoro e della stessa questione sociale, questi partiti tradivano la causa del proletariato, esaurendo la loro azione nell'organizzazione politica che aveva per fine il rovesciamento delle patrie istituzioni.

Intanto, il popolo con pubbliche dimostrazioni chiedeva che fosse ristabilito l'ordine, incoraggiando perfino una marcia armata sulla capitale. Le armi erano una cosa ridicola: 10.000 fucili dell'epoca garibaldina, alle porte di Roma e 10.000 fucili della stessa epoca sparsi per tutta Italia, ma quelle armi erano un simbolo di volontà combattiva. Tra i dimostranti erano numerosi soldati e ufficiali.

Si aprì una crisi parlamentare che fu risolta, come in altri casi, in modo extra parlamentare, ma costituzionale.

La soluzione fu ratificata dal Parlamento, il popolo esultò! Quanti non si sentirono intimamente lacerati! Ma il fascismo come fu sentito originariamente dagli italiani avrebbe dovuto essere una reazione patriottica alla minaccia estremista di dissolvimento.

È vero che taluno potrebbe rispondervi che il disordine stava cedendo e avrebbe potuto essere dominato, senza il cambiamento del Governo che aveva proclamato lo stato d'assedio, revocato dopo 24 ore. Ma non tutti gli italiani avevano questa finezza di accorgimento politico, perchè la politica, per lo spettatore, è scenografia e non realtà.

Due anni dopo nella Camera vi furono uomini che ritrovarono la loro dignità contro la dittatura: allora vedemmo deputati disertare la Camera, nella quale dovevano esercitare il mandato loro affidato dagli elettori. Ma di questo? costituzionalmente non poteva tener conto alcuno il Capo dello Stato che nella leale applicazione dello Statuto deve riconoscere la Camera dei Deputati e seguirne la volontà.

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Quindi con la loro uscita dalla Camera, cioè con l'abbandono del mandato conferito loro dal popolo, i deputati dei partiti di opposizione crearono le condizioni necessarie per il formarsi della dittatura del partito al Governo sul Paese. Essi lasciarono allo sbaraglio le forze sane della Nazione che, dentro e fuori il Partito fascista, manifestavano ancora la volontà di difendere le istituzioni e spezzarono in mano alla Corona l'unica arma che lo Statuto le concedeva per assicurare il funzionamento della costituzione ed interrogare il corpo elettorale.

Il resto è troppo noto, in quanto Corona e Paese restarono per 18 anni prigionieri della tagliola che Mussolini aveva approntata, ma che proprio l'opposizione fuori dell'aula aveva fatto scattare per inesperienza.

Dunque, con che coscienza si può oggi da questi Partiti accusare Corona e popolo ai quali per la insufficienza dei partiti stessi erano venuti a mancare gli strumenti della lotta?

Noi aborriamo il fascismo, lo combatteremo *sempre sul riflessione antecedente*, se comunque mascherato e camuffato si ripresentasse sulla scena politica; lo riteniamo definitivamente spazzato via col suo complice, il nazismo, caduto sotto l'esecrazione mondiale.

La lotta più tenace dev'essere condotta contro la mentalità vendetta e i propositi dittatoriali del fascismo, ma bisogna evitare la caccia all'individuo, solo perchè in possesso della tessera ha inteso servire il paese e non il partito che deteneva il Governo, non essendo presumibile che si arrestasse la vita pubblica per un ventennio, in attesa che maturassero gli eventi e gli uomini del governo.

È da considerare che quando un partito arriva a conquistare il Governo dello Stato, con il riconoscimento delle altre Nazioni, cessa di essere un partito: s'immedesima con lo Stato stesso. Per parlare con cognizione di causa cito un esempio: Se il Collegio dei Ragionieri di Roma avesse a radiare tutti gli ex fascisti, il risultato sarebbe questo: sopra 300 iscritti nell'Albo, dovrebbe radiarne 284 e conservarne 16. Credo che questo accadrebbe negli altri ordini costituiti (avvocati, procuratori, ingegneri, chimici, impiegati ecc.). Mi consta altresì che degli iscritti nell'Albo dei Commercialisti tutti meno due avevano la brava tessera fascista.

È pure da considerare che, per volere che credettero in buona fede nel fascismo, senza peraltro aver la forza di combattere le deviazioni, è ammessa la cosidetta crisi di coscienza, cioè il cambiamento di opinione politica.

Carroli Crispi, Zanardelli, Ferris, Pantano, Bissolati e Bonomi, Cavour ed altre centinaia di uomini di primo piano: prima repubblicani, divennero poi monarchici. Viceversa, uomini politici come il codino della Tribuna, ex fervente Barzilai, divennero repubblicani. E così al presente uomini che erano monarchici sono ora divenuti o si atteggiano a repubblicani.

L'importante è che non si siano macchiati d'indegnità.

E allora il logico dilemma è questo: o i fascisti hanno commesso delitti, che per la loro posizione privilegiata restarono impuniti, e sono innocenti. Se sono colpevoli, debbono soggiacere alle sanzioni della legge penale e non possono essere ammessi nè nel nostro nè in alcun altro partito, ma se sono innocenti, non vedo come non abbiano diritto di militare al servizio di una

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idea politica senza che un divieto di tale genere ferisca il principio morale della libertà su cui vuol poggiare tutto l'edificio della democrazia.

Non vi sarebbe, infatti, ragione che il Paese rinunciasse a servirsi di grandi energie e di grandi ingegni che si trovano tra quelle forze politiche in un momento così grave nel quale si ha bisogno di raccogliere uomini sinceramente disposti a servire la causa della ricostruzione.

Né ci si obietti che uomini i quali concorsero a creare le condizioni dell'attuale disastro non sono più idonei a collaborare alla ricostruzione. Il giudizio dipende infatti dal modo come essi si comportarono per il passato al servizio del Paese, esso dalla natura e dall'entità dell'azione che essi svolsero nelle particolari contingenze e dalla parte di responsabilità che loro deriva dagli atti ricoperti rispetto alle sventure militari del Paese. Sarebbe assurdo ignorare una massa di uomini che al momento dello scioglimento del partito oltrepassava i quattro milioni. Maggior danno ne verrebbe alla Patria di abbandonare gli ex fascisti a loro stessi, perchè ciò servirebbe a dar corso a questa massa onde potrebbe generarsi, a lunga o breve scadenza, una esaltazione di perdurose forze reazionarie.

Ma degli ex fascisti la più gran parte aveva la tessera come biglietto d'ingresso nel campo del lavoro: altri li troviamo che erano stati reclutati come in una leva militare, tra i banchi della scuola, per la loro età attratti dal gioco del moschetto, della sciabola, del tamburo e della trombetta, come in ogni epoca ha allettato i ragazzi il vestito da soldato o da marinaio e per anche da aviatore.

LA NOSTRA AZIONE DEL MOMENTO

Il Partito Democratico Costituzionale si uniformerà lealmente all'impegno dichiarato (ma non adempiuto), dai sei Partiti evalizzati di non discutere per ora della forma istituzionale per unire tutti gli italiani in un solo partito: ricostruire. Ma interverrà ove altri continui a mancare a tale impegno, specie se — come fu fatto fin qui da taluno — si adoperino bugiardi e calunniosi metodi di attacco in risposta a bugiarde e calunniose diatribe in malafede pubblicate contro l'attuale regime. Interverrà forte e battagliero per il buon nome del Popolo Italiano e per l'urgenza di attendere con tutte le forze alla ricostruzione nazionale a cui è necessario opera fattiva, ognuno nel campo suo, nell'ufficio che ricopre.

Ai giovani dobbiamo facilitare il compito di prepararsi alla vita politica e perciò spetta agli anziani di illuminarne l'esperienza.

Intanto sarà primo nostro compito di arruolare quanti giovani sentano l'umiliazione della Patria debusa e vogliano di combattere per l'onore della bandiera e le fortune del Popolo Italiano, continuando quella tradizione di patriottismo cui si devono tanti recenti atti di eroismo sfortunati che, in un paese privo come il nostro di materie prime, scarso di industrie, reso non di meno rispettare le sconfitte dove non riuscirono ad assicurare la vittoria delle armi. (*L'Assemblea acclama di nuovo alle Forze Armate*)

Non si può rivolgere una manifestazione all'Esercito senza rinnovare il proprio pensiero riconoscente al suo capo naturale. (*L'Assemblea acclama il Re*).

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E va pure il nostro pensiero a colui che con l'Esercito ci assicurò le vittorie del Sabotino, di Vittorio Ve[illegible] e di Addis Abeba. (*Viva Badoglio*). Fu assumendo il 25 luglio il potere politico, non aveva nulla da aggiungere ai suoi meriti, alla sua gloria, alla sua posizione economica. Assunse la grave responsabilità per il bene d'Italia arrandona una serie di calunnie vomitate da chi *conosceva e sapeva* era in completa malafede. (*Applausi. Si grida Viva Badoglio — Una voce: Bravo Tarchi, questo si chiama parlar chiaro come è stile tuo*).

Nello stesso modo interpretando i vostri sentimenti, io mando un saluto alle Nazioni Unite, America, Inghilterra, Russia, Francia, nella fiducia che ci rendano possibili riprendere decisamente le armi per condurre la guerra al loro fianco contro i nemici della democrazia. (*Si applaude agli Alleati*).

Sì, gli Alleati devono convincersi che l'Italia non può restare più lungamente assente dalla guerra senza venire assolutamente perduta a quel paese, che, nel mio animo dalla nostra resa tempestiva, con la quale aprimmo il cammino ai Liberatori, non hanno ancora oggi deposto le armi. Non meno decisamente gli Alleati dovranno risolversi a reprimere atti selvaggi compiuti dalle truppe di colore, che combattono sotto le loro bandiere, atti che ripugnano la più severa legge di guerra può consentire.

Neppure ai tempi dell'antica schiavitù che preoccupava Ettore alle porte Scee che immaginando sua moglie Andromaca schiava dei Greci le diceva «Misera in Argo, all'insolente cenno di una straniera tesserai le tele». Nessuno fattore non prevedeva eccessi e scempi della dignità umana come quelli consumati dai marocchini recentemente a Frosinone e Montefiascone.

Del grave momento che attraversa l'Italia, non tanto per la sconfitta, quanto per le difficoltà che si frappongono alla ripresa della sua vita civile, non si vendono contro quegli scellerati italiani che compiono atti riprovevoli di servilismo e di corruzione, abbassando negli alleati il giudizio favorevole che le accoglienze trovate fra noi avevano suscitato in loro e che pur doveva e deve ispirare le voce di coloro i quali, avendo vinto la guerra, dovranno dettare i patti della pace.

Ma non meno incomoda di questa difficile situazione si manifestano coloro, che, lungi dal dedicarsi concretamente allo studio dei problemi di riorganizzazione su cui poggia la ricostruzione del Paese, si trastullano nel gioco della ricerca delle responsabilità, rinfocolando odi, provocando nuove miserie, organizzando una lotta di fazione. Questa lungi dall'avere per scopo il bene comune, sembra voler aggravare il danno anziché ripararlo, e pensino quanto coloro che tendono ad aggravarsi gli Alleati con l'accettazione supina di uno stato di fatto che deve essere ovviato per ragioni di dignità; laddove più efficace collaborazione si potrebbe offrire ai vincitori, indicando loro i mezzi con i quali potrebbero sollevare da una miseria che si lungo andare si ripercuoterà sulla loro stessa economia.

Sul triste spettacolo che vede offerto dalle compagnie ballerine che vanno in giro sugli autocarri militari, consumando la preziosa benzina — che servir potrebbe al trasporto dei viveri ai bisognosi — non bisogna esagerare. Tutte le grandi metropoli straniere durante la guerra, videro spettacoli del genere per certo provarsi ha certa parte.

Ma non è questa l'Italia.

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Le nostre donne sono al Tempio a pregare anche per quelli traviati. E noi le copriamo le nostre sante [illegible] se non frequentano il Tempio per formalità e terrore, ma per intimo senso di fede che le sorregge e le anima in tutte le loro azioni, così in ogni palese manifestazione della vita, come nel l'intimo raccoglimento della famiglia e della casa, resa sacra dalle loro pure sime virtù, solidali nell'adempimento di ogni dovere d'ordine del tutto superiore. (*L'Assemblea prorompe in una prolungata ovazione*).

(*Il Presidente, poichè vede che nella sala sono presenti dei giovani, fa rilevare come si renda necessaria l'organizzazione di una sezione giovanile, la quale dovrà essere opportunamente illuminata sulle questioni che dovranno interessare sul programma del Partito*).

Ritorna dovere inviare un saluto ai Funzionari dello Stato, del Comune, delle Società dell'acqua, della luce e del gas e dell'A.T.A.G. che, pur tra innumerevoli difficoltà hanno cercato e cercano di portar il maggior sollievo alla popolazione curando i vari servizi ad essi affidati.

Questa Assemblea che tiene la sua riunione in Roma manda un reverente pensiero di devozione e di amore al sommo Pontefice, Capo della Chiesa Cattolica, la cui azione ispirata dalla Divina Provvidenza, gli ha guadagnato l'ammirazione del Mondo intero e la imperitura riconoscenza della Cristianità e della sua Patria di origine.

Egli nulla ha trascurato per dare conforto e aiuto — morale e materiale — a tutti coloro che dalla guerra sono stati maggormente colpiti. (*L'Assemblea ascolta lungamente in Piedi*).

Non ardirò fra poco esporvi il programma del Partito approvato ed inaugurato dal nostro Consiglio Direttivo Centrale.

Nessun dubbio esso sarà bene accetto ai lavoratori e specialmente ai più umili, i quali pur comprendendo come mediante la solidarietà di tutte le categorie sociali sarà loro possibile vedere appagate le proprie aspirazioni.

Anche i ricchi possidenti, lungimiranti non vorranno attendere che la tempesta già minacciosa sull'orizzonte sociale, tutto travolga e sommerga i loro averi, le loro esistenze e quelle degli amati figli ben per i quali sarebbe inutile accumulare risparmi e saggiamente vorranno di muovere incontro alla offerta collaborazione dei non abbienti. A ciò del resto gli uni e gli altri sono portati dalla loro educazione morale e religiosa che induce la democrazia ad un elevamento delle classi meno abbienti anche le più umili le quali da parte loro chiedono giustamente ed necessariamente di migliorare, senza che questo si raggiunga a prezzo dell'altrui spogliazione. Gli uni e gli altri sono sorretti e incoraggiati anche dalla sublime parola del Vicario di Cristo che incita gli uni a spogliarsi del superfluo e gli altri a migliorare le proprie condizioni non ricorrendo all'odio e facendo leva sull'amore sociale.

(*Una prolungata ovazione saluta la fine del discorso del Presidente. Molti si affollano a stringergli la mano*).

Riprendendo:

Signori, termino il mio dire con un voto: che il nostro Partito facendosi realizzatore come già fece nel suo glorioso passato, possa ridare le forze dell'ordine alle Istituzioni ed alla Costituzione ed alla Monarchia in guisa che i nuovi, i troppi partiti, le associazioni e gli enti che si muovono e si agitano nella stessa sfera di azione, pur conservando ciascuno le proprie finalità e caratteristiche

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legislatura politiche e economiche [illegible] al massimo in quanto [illegible] popolare e altrimenti denominato [illegible] il trionfo delle comuni idealità per la ricostruzione della Patria. (*Applausi*).

E, infine, *dulce in fundo* leggerò il telegramma spedito a nome del Consiglio nella ricorrenza del genetliaco a S. A. R. il Principe di Piemonte:

Sua Eccellenza il Generale di Divisione Ismaele on. Ufl. Rodolfo
Aiutante Campo Militare Real. Principe di Piemonte
Luogotenente Generale S. M. il Re.

ROMA

Nella lieta ricorrenza genetliaco S. A. R. Luogotenente Generale S. M. il Re il Partito Democratico Costituzionale riprendendo manifestamente sua azione politica intende ripristinare quella antica tradizione della espressione della propria devozione alla augusta Casa Regnante onde mio mezzo esprime migliori auguri storia del risorgere nostra più gloriosa Italia nella costituzione che permetta il più esteso esercizio sovranità popolare nel campo economico politico sociale, mercè tradizionale lealtà Principi Salvatori, confermata anche dalla costante condotta Regnante Monarca simbolo e pegno unità nazionale.

ALBERTO PAVONE – *Presidente*

L'assemblea plaude lungamente al grido di « Viva il Principe Ereditario – Viva Savoia! » (*)

Il Segretario dà lettura del programma del Partito

[illegible] presenta alcune dichiarazioni di cui dà lettura il Presidente.

Per quanto si attiene all'agricoltura, si dia ampia lode al programma testè letto. Ritengo che il proprietario ed il lavoratore nella comune mezzadria devono trovare una forma di convenzione la quale tenga conto delle esigenze reciproche di guisa che alla partizione di una ripartizione aritmetica dei prodotti del suolo, sia sostituito un criterio di equa valutazione, accompagnato da parte del proprietario dalla coscienza della sua responsabilità nei confronti di tutte le necessità del lavoratore e da parte del lavoratore dalla consapevolezza della dignità e degli oneri del diritto di proprietà.

E mentre finora, tra i fattori della produzione, proprietà, direzione, mano d'opera, aveva prospera considerazione la proprietà, questa deve essere considerata sullo stesso piano dei lavoratori.

(*) Nota — È pervenuto successivamente il seguente telegramma:

Alberto PAVONE – Partito Democratico Costituzionale
Piazza Esquilino, 7
ROMA

S. A. Luogotenente Generale del Regno ringrazia molto per devoti sentimenti et per cari auguri sorti di cui Lilla si è reso interprete.

Generale ISPANO.

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Ne consegue che la mercede o ricompensa deve essere tenuta nella massima considerazione, garantita sacrosanta e garantita dagli altri due fattori produttivi.

La ripartizione del prodotto che interessa le categorie di possidenti e dei lavoratori tecnici e manuali, genera uno dei problemi sociali che tormentano l'umanità e che servono di pretesto a mestatori, a spostati, a mestieranti per fare ai lavoratori delle mirabolanti inaggiungibili promesse che spaventano l'altra categoria, mentre con la buona volontà delle parti, con la collaborazione delle medesime si può giungere a quell'equilibrio che assicuri la pace, la tranquillità e il benessere.

In primo luogo il proprietario vogliamo elevato alla dignità del buon padre di famiglia che deve ripartire gli utili dell'azienda, i cui componenti costituiscono una vera e propria famiglia, tra i membri della quale devono esistere rapporti fraterni nella indispensabile gerarchia da cui deriva l'ordine e la pace.

In secondo luogo il dirigente dovrà riscuotere piena adesione e fiducia sia dal proprietario che dal personale dell'azienda. Egli lavora con piena dedizione, con assillanti pensieri che non cessano nelle momentanee assenze.

In terzo luogo, il personale dell'azienda deve essere tenuto nella più alta considerazione quale elemento su cui si basa il rendimento della azienda e deve essergli assicurata la necessaria tranquillità per il mantenimento della famiglia. Da parte sua deve dare una collaborazione serena, coscienziosa indefessa, astenendosi da quanto possa contrastare con gli interessi del proprietario. (*Applausi*).

PRESIDENTE. — Ringrazio il socio Lconori per le assennate parole. Comprenderà peraltro, il collega Leonori, che un programma deve essere sintetico. Il problema sociale da lui posto deve essere studiato. Certo che uno sviluppo della mezzadria con l'appoderamento di altre terre oggi non coltivate intensivamente potrà recare un contributo notevole alla soluzione del problema, realizzando altresì un effettivo progresso dell'agricoltura, ottenendo una maggior quantità di prodotti da servire prima all'alimentazione della popolazione e poi all'esportazione.

Molte altre cose dovremo poi illustrare, come ad esempio «il residuo familiare» e lo sviluppo che dobbiamo promuovere nel campo della cooperazione, specie in quella delle Cooperative di classe di lavoratori.

Altra importante questione è quella della guerra che noi facciamo al capitalismo mentre sosteniamo il concetto della proprietà privata che rappresenta il capitale.

Sembra che in questi due postulati vi sia contradizione. Ma una cosa è il *capitale* altra è il *capitalismo*.

La parola «capitalismo» esprime una degenerazione dell'altra «capitale», ancorchè questo sia più che rilevante, quale occorre per sane industrie e pubblici servizi. Combattiamo il capitalismo, cioè la ricchezza inerte del Lavaro di Accio Plauto e di Molière e le artificiose combinazioni di cartelli o *trusts*. Dunque non è questione di limiti al capitale che costituisce la proprietà privata, ma del modo di costituirlo e del fine per il quale viene impiegato.

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PANNI. — Il motto del P. D. C. era ben diverso da quello adottato dal passato Regime. « Chi non è con noi è contro di noi ». Se io personalmente dovetti subire la persecuzione del fascismo, che mi allontanò dal mio posto di lavoro e m'impose la vigilanza dei pidznotti, tuttavia penso che non dobbiamo imitare i sistemi del fascismo e perseguitarne gli scritti. La lotta contro il fascismo non significa contro l'individuo, solo perchè sia stato possessore della tessera in un tempo in cui il partito fascista aveva usurpato il Governo e non c'era certo la possibilità di attendere un ventennio in disparte, aspettando che gli Sforza, i Cianca tornassero in Patria con la cittadinanza ideale Franco-Inglese....

PRESIDENTE (*interrompendo*). — Prego di mantenersi in un tono sereno ed alto, non posso consentire apprezzamenti intempestivi e per lo meno avventati.

PANNI. — Comunque dirò che non potevamo aspettare 22 anni che ritornassero gli esuli.

RICCARDI. — Ma questo lo ha già detto il Presidente.

PRESIDENTE. — Non interrompete. Continui, Panni.

PANNI. — I galantuomini, anche se fascisti non dovranno essere allontanati dal campo del lavoro, per evitare di ripetere il mal fatto del passato regime con la lotta senza quartiere contro coloro che non militavano nei suoi ranghi.

Vi è chi provvederà alla punizione che io vorrei severissima di quei fascisti che hanno male operato, abusato del potere, proditato del pubblico danaro. Dovrà essere combattuto (e il Presidente Parri è per tutti una garanzia) il fascismo che camuffato comunque intralci la libertà e l'opera di ricostruzione del Paese (*Applausi*).

E permettete che passi ad altro argomento.

PRESIDENTE. — Parli, parli; ma cerchi di essere breve.

PANNI. — Dopo la firma dell'Armistizio, giornali fascisti e tedeschi vomitarono calunniose accuse contro il Re e Badoglio che avevano salvato l'Italia dalla completa distruzione già iniziata, e a buon punto è solo frenata, per quanto le esigenze belliche lo permettessero, dall'azione del Sommo Pontefice Pio XII.

Le accuse erano queste:

1° il Re è fuggito;

2° Badoglio ha lasciato Roma senza un Comando Militare per difenderla;

3° il Re era stato fascista e aveva persino visitato la tomba del genitore di Mussolini;

4° il Re durante il fascismo ha permesso un Governo assoluto contro le libertà statutarie.

Nessun giornale poteva ribattere queste calunnie, perchè eravamo sotto il governo nazi-fascista. E il popolo d'Italia, che aveva spontaneamente espresso il entusiasmo inneggiando al Re e a Badoglio, il 25 luglio 1943, cominciò ad ingoiare quel veleno senza contraveleno.

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Vi basta rivedere per rendervi dell'impressione di un soldato che molto stimato per le sue virtù guerriere, diventato Re d'Italia e che tuttavia a dargli pre-stigio.

Dopo la cacciata dei tedeschi e dei fascisti, i partiti che sono al Governo in Italia e che di tutte le azioni della storia fanno giustizia sommaria rimeggiando, rinnegando pure qualcosa di buono del regime fascista, non respin-sero queste calunnie, ma vollero farle proprie.

Essi avrebbero dovuto dire: « Sebbene noi siamo repubblicani per ideo-logia d'ordine superiore, dobbiamo per la verità, che la tarda storia ristabi-lirà, affermare che:

1° il Re non è fuggito dalla battaglia, dal campo dell'onore. Esso è semplicemente evaso dalla prigionia in cui lo aveva cacciato il tradimento del suo primo ministro e dei suoi alleati, per riprendere le sue statutarie fun-zioni di Capo delle Forze Armate, battutti per la liberazione del Paese. Che avrebbe potuto, infatti, fare il Re a Roma se non essere preso in ostaggio, non a suo danno, ma a maggior rovina d'Italia?

2° Badoglio, partendo lasciò un'organizzazione gerarchica militare e civile per sostituirlo, dovendo necessariamente seguire il Re. Qualsiasi resi-stenza fosse stata iniziata da chi sostituiva Badoglio avrebbe provocato da parte delle Forze Armate tedesche, che già da tempo, senza colpo ferire, avevano invaso l'Italia, la distruzione delle città e specialmente di Roma che sarebbe stata rasa al suolo.

Il popolo romano, sebbene inerme fece del suo meglio; ma non riuscì a vincere le forze nemiche tedesche, poderosamente preparate col tradimento fascista;

3° anche a che il Re non ha avuto la precisa sensazione che il popolo lo avrebbe seguito non ha potuto licenziare il ministro che appariva da tutti ac-clamato (sotto il rumore per bisogno di pane, non conta). Re leale ha voluto comportarsi col suo Ministro lealmente, deferentemente e visitare la tomba degli Avi, come avrebbe fatto un qualsiasi gentiluomo con un suo dipendente collaboratore;

4° Costituzionalmente il Re ha lasciato governare il Governo, limi-tandosi, come ha sempre fatto e deve fare il Re costituzionale a seguire il voto del Parlamento, cioè della Camera e del Senato.

Il Popolo ignora, e molti dottori fingono di ignorare, la Costituzione per sorprendere la buona fede del popolo.

Il popolo nella parola « re » sente riecheggiare la figura degli antichi monarchi assoluti e facilmente accede alla semplicistica teoria: « Il Re non ha voluto, non ha saputo..... ».

Noi rivolgiamo al popolo due sole domande:

a) se nel 1922 il Re avesse estromesso il fascismo, che aveva avuto il voto di fiducia nei due rami del Parlamento, e non aveva dimostrazioni di sfiducia in agitazioni sulle pubbliche piazze, e fosse scoppiata una guerra ci-vile, che avreste detto del vostro Re?

b) se quando al balcone di Palazzo Venezia, senza sentire né il Re, né il Gran Consiglio, né il Parlamento, Mussolini ha dichiarato la guerra tra l'applauso di una moltitudine, frastornata secondo sistemi, basati sull'e-

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alla vittoriosa della guerra d'Africa, alle sue basi operative, alle zone delle del vostro Re?

Invece, quando il Re da dimostrazioni palesate dal dibattito del Gran Consiglio (la cui istituzione per essere questo un organo consultivo, non aveva violato lo Statuto del Regno) potè licenziare il Ministro, lo ha fatto.

Ora si impone una domanda: Che fa il Governo di S. M. il Re? Che fa quella maggioranza silenziosa che ci governa e nella Costituzione e fuori?

Ovvero alcuni politicanti lo trascinano con altre costituzionalissime, ma troppo amanti del potere (con o senza portafoglio).....

PRESIDENTE. — Lasci stare, questi sono motivi di dubbio spirito....

VOCI. — Parli, parli....

PRESIDENTE. — Non ho velleità di parlare, ho detto del «tono».

PANNA. — Stiamo facendo propaganda più che bolscevica, con metodi peggiori del fascismo: la libertà di stampa è solo contro il Re e specialmente sui muri: per fortuna ottiene l'effetto contrario, perchè il popolo, nel suo buon senso non va appresso alle moderne scritte virulentemente di notte «ai muri» (*Applausi*).

PRESIDENTE. — Non può negarsi che il socio Panna, autentico antifascista, perseguitato, abbia detto delle cose ragionate, ma il dibattito non sta nelle persone dei ministri. Sono, prese ad una ad una, individualmente, figure nobilissime nelle cui carte vorrei potessero specchiarsi tutti gli italiani. Così può dirsi dei dirigenti attuali dei giornali di tutti i partiti e dello stesso rappresentante dell'amica Russia.

Il dibattito sta nella libertà costituzionale che non esprime ludibrio a nessun partito e che rende la stampa nuova nella mancanza di una vera e collaborante opposizione.

Di ciò dovrebbero giudicare gli Alleati, i quali non potranno non tenere conto che mentre la guerra col Giappone durerà due anni ancora, la Russia terminerà la sua guerra assai più presto e l'Italia potrà essere utile al comune Campo per il trionfo della giustizia e della civiltà.

COMM. GENCO. — Esprimo il mio compiacimento al Presidente per il suo magnifico ed eloquentissimo discorso e la mia profonda soddisfazione per i sani concetti esposti dal Presidente e cittadini del signor Panna, concetti che dovranno essere divulgati con i mezzi a disposizione del Partito, per dissipare gli errori diffusi nel popolo italiano.

Tengo ad esprimere la mia soddisfazione particolarmente su due punti che hanno caratterizzato il discorso del Presidente: la politica verso la Russia e l'opera dell'Inghilterra nei riguardi dell'Italia. Questi due argomenti non potevano essere trattati più ellenicamente. (*Applausi - Il Presidente stringe la mano*).

Desidero richiamare allo spirito dei presenti qualche episodio storico che costituisce la tangibile prova dei sentimenti che hanno sempre animato l'Inghilterra in favore dell'Italia, contrariamente a quanto si è fatto credere dalla propaganda del passato Regime, il quale invano tentava di generare nel popolo italiano idee malsane e storicamente false - lo abbiamo letto, con lo strazio di un generale a riposo, in un quotidiano di Roma, che ha appunto de-

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formata la vera storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Ma oggi possiamo ricostruirne e ripristinare il valore morale e gli eterni sentimenti verso la grande Nazione Inglese; ed il miglior modo è quello di restituire e rivocare le verità storiche.

Invero, l'Inghilterra fu la Nazione che, durante tutto il periodo del Risorgimento, favorì in larga misura il moto per l'indipendenza e l'unità dell'Italia: quel moto che in Cavour, in Mazzini e in Garibaldi trovò i suoi maggiori assertori e realizzatori. Gli italiani sarebbero oggi immemori e ingrati se non lo ricordassero.

Sorvoliamo sulla ospitalità e le preziose amicizie con eminenti personalità inglesi che furono di tanto aiuto morale e materiale al nostro Mazzini e ad altri esuli italiani e soffermiamoci per un momento su alcuni fra i tanti significativi episodi del periodo immediatamente antecedente alla formazione del Regno d'Italia.

Ricordo, anzitutto, la frase detta da Gladstone nei riguardi delle galere borboniche, in una celebre lettera, scritta nel 1851 a Lord Aberdeen nella quale bollava come «negazione di Dio» il governo borbonico.

1854: fu l'Inghilterra la Nazione che invitò il piccolo Piemonte a partecipare alla impresa di Crimea? Inghilterra e Francia scendevano in campo nella guerra della Russia contro la Turchia: Cavour dovette sostenere una asprissima lotta parlamentare contro il forte partito delle estreme sinistre del Parlamento Subalpino di quel tempo, che si opponevano all'intervento. Ma Cavour, con uno dei suoi migliori discorsi nel quale esaltò il valore morale e la utilità pratica di intervenire a fianco della Nazione inglese, vinse l'opposizione capeggiata da Angelo Brofferio, e allestì quel Corpo di spedizione coi 15.000 Bersaglieri comandati dal Generale Alessandro La Marmora, che giustificò poi, a guerra vittoriosamente conclusa, l'ammissione del Piccolo Piemonte rappresentato da Cavour al tavolo della pace. E fu, appunto, al congresso di Parigi, nel 1856 che — per la prima volta nella storia — fu posta la memorabile «questione italiana».

Sarebbe mai riuscito Cavour da solo senza l'appoggio inglese, a tanto risultato che costituì il fondamento diplomatico della nuova Italia? Certamente no! Tale indirizzo facilitò poi tanto il compito di Giuseppe Garibaldi.

1860: Infatti, nel corso della leggendaria impresa dei Mille e precisamente quando Garibaldi era considerato ancora, dal governo borbonico, un brigante e un filibustiere, e quindi non riconosciuto che come tale nelle relazioni ufficiali, sorse la necessità per le forze militari borboniche di parlamentare con i ribelli.

Era Comandante della Piazza di Palermo il Generale Borbonico Lanza, che aveva minacciato, contro la rivolta dei palermitani, di far uso di tutte le batterie di terra e di mare; ma egli fu contrastato in questo proposito dal Console Inglese Goodwin.

Nel porto di Palermo era ancorata la nave inglese (Hannibal) al comando dell'Ammiraglio Rodney Mundy: su proposta inglese, l'incontro fra i parlamentari del Lanza e Francesco Crispi, inviato da Garibaldi, avvenne appunto sull'ospitale nave inglese.

Episodi? Ma più che significativi, giacchè crearono quell'atmosfera che portò alla liberazione dell'Isola e quindi alla unione delle due Sicilie al resto d'Italia, cioè alla unificazione del Regno, proclamata nel 1862.

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La politica di amicizia e di solidarietà italo-inglese è continuata anche dopo e si è manifestata sempre concreta in molte occasioni: per esempio in quella dell'occupazione della Libia. Tale solidarietà non può dirsi diminuita dal fatto che l'Inghilterra persegua anche proprî interessi mediterranei.

Tutto ciò va rilevato per rendere merito al Partito Democratico Costituzionale che, nell'attivo delle sue concezioni politiche, ha costantemente tenuto fede all'amicizia italo-inglese. (*Applausi prolungati*).

Oggi l'Inghilterra, con le altre Nazioni Unite sparge il proprio sangue sul nostro suolo per la liberazione dell'Italia e del Mondo dal giogo tedesco, presupposto della libertà non solo degli italiani, ma di tutti popoli. (*Applausi prolungati*).

Nessuno chiedendo la parola, il Presidente dichiara chiusa la discussione generale.

Comunica presentato il seguente:

ORDINE DEL GIORNO

L'Assemblea

1° udita la lettura del programma;

2° constatato che il Governo, con la creazione di magistrature speciali per la punizione di delitti fascisti, ha compiuto atti di natura essenzialmente rivoluzionaria, violando i diritti sanciti dallo Statuto del Regno (art. 36 e 37);

— considerato che l'atto rivoluzionario del Governo non è in difesa, ma in contrasto di ogni principio di libertà e con lo spirito e il costume politico di ogni paese veramente democratico;

— fermamente convinta che la garanzia fondamentale di ogni ordinamento costituzionale, ed il presupposto necessario di ogni pacificazione e moralizzazione interna del nostro Paese, come di ogni effettiva e coordinata ricostruzione, *sia la giustizia amministrata da giudici naturali* e non da tribunali e commissioni straordinarie;

riaffermando il suo compito di mantenere il rispetto delle libertà costituzionali e dei diritti fondamentali del popolo;

— decisa ad ottenere nella pienezza legalità la punizione dei delitti e delle colpe dei responsabili fascisti, punizione tanto più esemplare ed efficace quanto minore sia il periodo di tempo intercorso tra delitto e settarismo;

DELIBERA

1° di approvare il programma in ogni sua parte;

2° di protestare contro le procedure straordinarie adottate.

Parrenti propone che al n. 2 siano aggiunte queste parole: «e conferisce mandato all'Illustre Presidente di dare alla protesta la più larga diffusione».

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PRESIDENTE. — Metto ai voti l'ordine del giorno Genco per divisione. Chi approva la prima parte compresa sub n. 1 del dispositivo alzi la mano.

Con prova e controprova riconosciuta dagli scrutatori è approvata all'unanimità.

PRESIDENTE. — Metto ai voti l'emendamento aggiuntivo presentato dal socio Padroni al n. 2 dell'ordine del giorno Genco.

È approvato all'unanimità come sopra.

PRESIDENTE. — Metto ai voti il n. 2 dell'ordine del giorno Genco.

È approvato all'unanimità come sopra.

L'Assemblea nomina, su proposta dell'Ing. Lavagnino, conferisce al Consiglio i poteri dell'Assemblea sino alla costituzione di un congruo numero di sezioni e non oltre il 30 giugno 1945 con facoltà di integrare il Comitato Centrale con altri consiglieri per completare la rappresentanza dei vari ceti sociali intesa alla collaborazione anziché alla lotta di classe.

Si procede quindi alla elezione del Consiglio che risulta all'unanimità e per acclamazione così composto:

PRESIDENTE: PAVONI ALBERTO

Vice Presidenti: DUSMET DE SMOURS marchese ALFREDO, FELICI conte PIERO; LEONORI FILIPPO, *confidente.*

Consiglieri: ANGELINI ROTA ANNIBO, *avvocato*; BACCHETTI PIETRO, *presidente*; BERARDI MARIO, *ragioniere*; DE CHIRICO TITO, *amministr.*; DE SANTIS GUGLIELMO, *custode scuole*; FRANCIARDI LUCIANO, *parrucchiere*; GIANNONI BRUNO, *appartenente giornalista*; LAVAGNINO RUGGERO, *impiegato*; LUZZATTI IVO, *colonnello a riposo*; MENNINI LUIGI, *ins.tore dello spettacolo*; PANNI TIBERIO, *pensionato*; PENNACCHI FILIPPO, *ufficiale tecnico*; RAFFAELLI REMO, *autotrasportatore*; ROSSI AUGUSTO, *ragioniere*; ZAMPIERI AMLETO, *impiegato privato.*

Segretario: GENCO comm. BERNARDO.

Gli Scrutatori:
PENNACCHI FILIPPO
MENNINI LUIGI

Il Segretario:
BERNARDO GENCO

Il Presidente:
ALBERTO PAVONI

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PARTITO DEMOCRATICO COSTITUZIONALE

PROGRAMMA

ROMA

PIAZZA ESQUILINO, 5 - TELEF. 487-716

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PARTITO DEMOCRATICO COSTITUZIONALE

SEZIONE DI ROMA
PIAZZA ESQUILINO, 5

Il sottoscritto

di e di

nato

domiciliato in Via n.

telefono

di professione

fa domanda di essere iscritto al Partito Democratico Costituzionale dichiarando di conoscere il programma (i cui concetti fondamentali sono qui retro riassunti) che accetta in ogni sua parte.

Firma
(non richiesta)

Soci presentatori

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Io sottoscritto con sentimento di assoluta devozione a Dio, alla Patria, che voglio unificata, indipendente, forte e sicura, alla Costituzione, che permette il più esteso esercizio della sovranità popolare nell'ordine politico economico e sociale, alla Casa dei Savoia, leale esecutrice di detto Statuto, ispiratrice, guida e centro del Risorgimento nazionale;

con fede certa nella missione provvidenziale, che la stirpe italica ha avuto per l'elevazione della spiritualità umana;

dopo aver preso visione del programma del Partito Democratico Costituzionale;

dichiaro di aderire, conforme al detto programma:

1) - alla rivendicazione di principi, diritti, libertà costituzionali (art. 1);

2) - alla concreta attuazione di questi principi in un ordinamento schiettamente democratico secondo un ritmo di una rapida evoluzione non interrotta da sconvolgimenti rivoluzionari (art. 3);

3) - alla ricostruzione - PRO ARIS - dei veri valori etici-religiosi del nostro popolo; - ET FOCIS - della dignità della persona umana, della santità della famiglia, della grandezza della madre patria (art. 1).

(data)

.....

(firma)

Accolta la domanda con deliberazione del Consiglio della Sezione di Roma del

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RICOSTRUIRE

Nel momento più tragico della nostra storia plurimillenaria in cui assistiamo all'accumularsi delle immani rovine del nostro patrimonio spirituale, artistico, culturale, politico, economico, sociale, tanto faticosamente costruito dai nostri padri lungo il lento corso dei secoli, non sentendosi che il grido «vendetta» «rivoluzione» «morte», sorge imperiosa in noi la necessità di tornare all'azione gridando a tutta l'Italia: «Per tutto ciò che vi ha di più sacro nella Religione, nella famiglia, nella Patria, sopiti odi e rancori fratricidi, ricostruiamo».

Ricostruire! Ecco la nostra parola d'ordine che deve dirigersi allo spirito e alla materia, che deve estendersi da un capo all'altro della nostra Patria, che deve elevarsi finchè non ha chiuso in un sol blocco spirituale ingegno e volontà di bene del nostro popolo, che deve durare finchè nel nostro spirito non fioriranno le virtù dei nostri antichi e sul nostro suolo patrio non tornerà a splendere al sole la nostra arte, la nostra industria, il lavoro paziente intelligente della nostra terra.

Ricostruire! Ci rivolgiamo all'individuo, alla famiglia, a ogni collettività sociale e allo stesso Stato; abbracciamo ogni campo: politico, economico, sociale, nazionale e internazionale; bramiamo, insistentemente chiediamo la collaborazione così dell'intellettuale, dell'uomo di governo, del professionista, come del tecnico, dell'operaio, dell'agricoltore; stimoliamo, sproniamo col pungolo di una volontà indomita a passare all'azione ricostruttiva immediatamente, mentre ancora non è cessata l'infausta opera demolitrice della guerra; esigiamo, pretendiamo che tutti portino il loro sassolino alla ricostruzione del sacro tempio della nostra Patria.

Ricostruire! Non ci spaventi la lotta, non ci fermi la fatica e il travaglio, non ci fiacchi l'immane peso di lavoro e di responsabilità, che grava sulle spalle di ognuno: ricostruiamo!

Ricostruire! Ricordando che la Provvidenza ha avuto sempre sul nostro popolo anche nell'umiliazione disegni di gloria e nel dolore disegni di prosperità e di gioia e che la nostra stirpe non solo nel trionfo, ma anche nell'insuccesso politico ha trovato il successo della sua arte e del suo commercio e nelle sconfitte militari ha imposto ai vincitori la vittoria della sua civiltà, gridiamo al cielo, alla terra, al nostro mare, nostro per la nostra storia e per le nostre speranze.

Ricostruire!

Roma, 15 settembre 1941.

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PARTITO DEMOCRATICO COSTITUZIONALE

PROGRAMMA

I. — Noi PARTITO DEMOCRATICO COSTITUZIONALE richiamati nell'alto divino, nelle qualità morali intellettuali fisiche della nostra stirpe italica, nella progressiva formazione dell'intera unità nazionale, auspicando una subita gloriosa rinascita del nostro popolo, ricordando con gratitudine l'eroismo e la perseveranza dei vecchi compagni nella lotta e nel sacrificio e il loro interventismo nella grande guerra a fianco degli Alleati, torniamo all'azione vindici di principi di diritto e libertà costituzionali con l'unica mira di ricostruire: PRO ARIS i veri valori ancestrali del nostro popolo, ET FOCIS, la dignità della persona umana, la santità della famiglia, la grandezza della madre Patria, che vogliamo unificata e indipendente, forte e sicura, affinchè promuova un ordine sociale sull'eterne basi del diritto e della libertà, che ci garantisca uguaglianza, rispetto del lavoro, sviluppo delle forze materiali e morali per il bene dell'umanità.

II. — Il Partito Democratico Costituzionale ribadisce la sua piena adesione allo Statuto del Regno, concesso da Carlo Alberto, il 4 marzo 1848, ed accettato con i plebisciti, da tutto il popolo italiano, riconoscendo in esso lo storico principio costitutivo dello stato italiano, il fondamento delle patrie libertà, gli essenziali principi etico politici della vita italica e capace di adattarsi ad ogni perfezionamento richiesto dallo sviluppo inevitabile della Storia.

III. — Esso accoglie fra i suoi soci tutti coloro che sinceramente, senza distinzione di stirpe, di ceto sociale, di fede religiosa, uniformano la loro condotta, sia nella loro azione individuale, sia nel partito, ai principi sanciti nello Statuto del Regno e nel programma del partito.

IV. — Il Partito propugna la concreta attuazione dei principi democratici nell'ordine politico, economico e sociale secondo un ritmo di rapida evoluzione, non interrotta da sconvolgimenti rivoluzionari. Risponde alla parola d'ordine: RICOSTRUIRE. Assume come emblema lo scudo della lega lombarda col motto PRO ARIS ET FOCIS diviso in due campi, l'uno coi colori nazionali, l'altro d'oro caricato della croce azzurra.

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«PRAEARIS»

Ricostruire i valori dello spirito

V. — Il P. D. C. convinto che la vita religiosa di un popolo è una potente forza di coesione che occorre utilizzare in tutta la sua capacità di rendimento, dichiara che il Trattato e il Concordato sono leggi costituzionali dello Stato e che la Conciliazione non solo rappresenta un esemplare accordo giuridico, ma anche significa il ricongiungimento dell'Italia con la sua tradizione religiosa in quale l'inizio di un nuovo ciclo storico e di un nuovo compito affidato dalla Provvidenza alla nostra Nazione per l'elevazione della spiritualità umana.

«ET FOCIS»

Ricostruire la dignità della persona umana

VI. — Il P. D. C. propugna che, sancito il principio di uguaglianza di ogni cittadino dinanzi alla legge, lo Stato, pure avendo riguardo alle capacità tecniche, morali e alle funzioni sociali, deve riconoscere alla persona umana il diritto di libertà di coscienza — di religione — di pensiero — di associazione e di stampa; il diritto di sviluppare la propria personalità, di scegliere il proprio stato, di formarsi una famiglia, di lavorare per il suo sostentamento; l'inviolabilità di persona e di domicilio; in quanto l'esercizio di tali diritti non si oppone alla dottrina e alla morale cattolica e alla convivenza della libertà altrui ossia al bene comune.

Ricostruire la santità della famiglia

VII. — Il P. D. C. propugna che lo Stato abbia sempre a riconoscere la famiglia come la cellula prima, naturale e fondamentale della società e come un istituzione morale, che possiede diritti inalienabili e imprescindibili, antecedenti e superiori ad ogni legge positiva. E quindi senza turbamenti con inopportune intromissioni l'intima libertà della vita familiare debba garantirla e proteggerla nella sua costituzione ed autorità, come la base necessaria dell'ordine sociale, indispensabile al bene della nazione e dello Stato.

VIII. - Al fine di tutelare efficacemente l'istituto familiare il P. D. C. si attende dallo Stato a pro della famiglia: difesa, protezione, assistenza, educazione.

1) Difesa:

Impedirà, conformemente all'art. 34 del Concordato ogni attentato al vincolo matrimoniale, origine e fondamento della società domestica, non permettendo che mai alcuna legge possa essere emanata, nella quale si conceda la disso-

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5 luzione del matrimonio e che la stampa, il cinema, il teatro, la radio attentino alle finalità del matrimonio con esaltazione del vizio.

2) Protezione:

a) Proteggerà la maternità, soccorrendola per le nascite e gli allevamenti più onerosi con provvidenze veramente efficaci;

b) impedirà che le madri siano strappate dal focolare domestico e costrette dalle necessità economiche a impiegarsi in lavori per i quali debbano trascurare i loro doveri familiari;

c) non permetterà che i figli durante il periodo scolastico siano costretti al lavoro stabile retribuito per integrare lo scarso salario dei genitori;

d) sosterrà con mezzi morali e finanziari l'incremento e lo sviluppo di quelle istituzioni, che hanno per iscopo la protezione della gioventù.

3) Assistenza:

a) Creerà un Istituto di Assistenza Famigliare, il quale, federando tra loro le opere di carità cristiana, che agiscono a pro della famiglia, raccogliendole, proteggendo, regolando i residui comuni di famiglia, restituirà al capo famiglia la sua dignità, provvedendogli i mezzi per l'esercizio della sua potestà.

b) Proteggerà quegli Enti Cooperativi o di mutua assistenza, che sono capaci di dare al capofamiglia le possibilità di lavoro e di fornirgli a buon mercato generi alimentari, vestiario, abitazione e credito.

c) Favorirà speciali opere di assistenza per promuovere la giustizia nelle mutue relazioni tra datori di lavori e operai, per evitare efficacemente la lotta di classe ed affrettare anche nel campo economico l'attuazione del principio democratico.

4) Educazione:

IX. — Il P. D. C. propugna, che lo Stato riconosca, che il primo e naturale educatore del fanciullo sia la famiglia

a) garantisca il diritto inalienabile e il dovere dei genitori di provvedere secondo i loro mezzi all'educazione religiosa e morale, intellettuale fisica e sociale dei loro figli;

b) riconosca la piena libertà ai genitori di provvedere a questa educazione nelle loro case o nelle scuole private o in scuole riconosciute e scelte dallo Stato senza coartare la coscienza e le loro legittime preferenze di scegliersi il tipo di scuola, che sembri più adatto pei loro fanciulli;

c) vigili, come custode del bene comune, in vista delle condizioni odierne che tutti i fanciulli ricevano un minimo di educazione morale, intellettuale e sociale;

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d) intervenga con opportune sanzioni a carico di quei genitori, che non curino l'adempimento degli obblighi scolastici della prole;

e) si riserbi di dare ai proprî cittadini un'educazione civica, che li formi all'adempimento dei doveri e delle funzioni, che dovranno disimpegnare in favore della collettività;

f) renda totalmente gratuita la scuola primaria e la scuola professionale, che sarà perfezionata nei suoi diversi tipi fondamentali e resa veramente efficace con mezzi adeguati;

g) provveda affinchè sia aperta la via all'istruzione superiore a tutte le classi, temperando l'imposizione fiscale, largheggiando in aiuti in favore dei meno abbienti e dei più dotati di intelligenza e buona volontà;

h) nei gradi superiori valorizzi il patrimonio culturale della Nazione, riportando il pensiero alle gloriose tradizioni del passato con un'educazione umanistica, filosofica e giuridica, che sia ad esse conforme;

i) riconosca alla Chiesa il diritto divino d'insegnamento e ne tuteli l'attuazione;

l) favorisca ed aiuti per lo sviluppo della cultura e per i diritti della libertà, con legislazione particolare, l'istituzione di scuole private, purchè offrano sicura garanzia di buona riuscita; fissi le modalità, affinchè quelle che siano in grado di concorrere efficacemente alla pubblica utilità possano ottenere i mezzi necessari al loro sviluppo per l'adempimento della loro funzione.

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RICOSTRUIRE LA GRANDEZZA DELLA MADRE PATRIA

I) Ricostruzione sociale

N. — Riconoscendo che ogni vera ricostruzione sociale debba per il trionfo della libertà salvare la persona umana come origine come soggetto e come fine della vita economica e che quindi ogni opera di ricostruzione sta in proporzione della realizzazione di questo trinomio:

1) PROPRIETÀ — 2) LAVORO PERSONALE — 3) SICUREZZA DI VIVERE

Il P. L. C. propugna che lo Stato per:

1) La proprietà.

a) s'ispiri in tutte le sue disposizioni e determinazioni in fatto di diritto sociale al principio che l'uomo in virtù del suo essere razionale, anteriormente ad ogni legge positiva, ha il diritto naturale della proprietà privata fondamento necessario della vita e del progresso sociale;

b) riconosca che le leggi positive nella loro opera di ordinamento sociale non devono né abrogare, né violare tale diritto, sia sui mezzi di consumo, che sui mezzi di produzione; ma temperarlo e armonizzarlo al bene comune;

c) sorvegli perchè la proprietà né con un eccessivo frazionamento, né con una eccessiva riduzione oltrepassi quei limiti richiesti dal maggior bene della collettività;

d) tuteli quel capitalismo che non ha alcuna subordinazione al bene comune e trasformi quel latifondismo improduttivo nocivo alla nazione;

e) garantisca e promuova le medie e piccole proprietà nella agricoltura, nelle arti e nei mestieri, nel commercio e nella industria;

f) reprima monopoli e i protezionismi.

2) Il lavoro personale.

a) inculchi nei cittadini con l'obbligo l'amore del lavoro e il dovere di moltiplicare con la propria fatica i valori acquisiti dalle generazioni passate e di aumentare il valore generale della ricchezza nazionale, materiale e intellettuale;

b) tuteli la libertà di lavoro e d'iniziativa in ogni campo dell'attività economica;

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c) organizzi la vita economica in modo di assicurare a ogni cittadino la possibilità di lavoro, di esistenza e di benessere;

d) valorizzi tutte le energie nazionali disponibili per il lavoro;

e) coordini la gestione delle imprese statali;

f) preveda che si stabilisca fra di loro la produzione industriale ed agricola;

g) favorisca ogni specie di associazione per l'acquisto di materie prime e di macchine o per la conquista dei mercati o per il prestito dei capitali;

h) faciliti alla grande azienda la possibilità di trasformare i contratti di lavoro in contratti di società;

i) promuova tutti che facilitino il finanziamento non superiore al tasso ufficiale e ogni altra condizione necessaria a quelle speciali Associazioni Produttive, dove le maestranze hanno la possibilità di essere corresponsabili con l'imprenditore e compartecipi di utili in proporzione delle capacità, competenze e rendimento;

l) crei organismi tecnico-finanziari che presiedano alla ricostruzione del paese;

m) valuti il complesso dei danni subiti e l'entità del patrimonio nazionale;

n) consideri l'opportunità o meno di ricostruzioni o costruzioni locali di industrie alluvionali mediante piani comunali opportunamente coordinati;

o) emani il turno di un piano poliennale che tenga conto delle possibilità finanziarie del Paese, delle maestranze tecniche e delle materie prime disponibili;

p) controlli i necessari finanziamenti tenendo conto dei criteri democratici;

q) preferisca a parità di condizioni l'opera dei reduci di guerra;

m) proceda di pari passo al più alto livello possibile la domanda delle merci come dei servizi da raggiungere la piena occupazione lavorativa; attuando una triplice politica:

a) di lavori pubblici da svolgersi in modo speciale subito nel dopoguerra;

b) di prezzi, il più possibilmente stabili con sempre adeguato livello dei salari;

c) di mobilità del lavoro per favorire il passaggio dei lavoratori da un'industria all'altra.

3) La sicurezza di vivere.

n) esiga per il lavoratore intellettuale, tecnico e manuale un salario familiare stabile e tale capace da concedergli un tenore tale di vita da consentirgli un conveniente vitto, vestiario, alloggio e la possibilità, mediante la creazione di apposito istituto di credito per i Beni Stabili, per i Fondi Rustici, per il Lavoro, di acquistare lo stabile della sua professione, la bottega della sua arte, la terra che lavora, la casa che abita, senza ledere i diritti altrui;

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b) imponga al lavoratore un rito, mio per cui si venga a costituire un residuo comune di famiglia, quale asse familiare atto a sostenere la famiglia nei bisogni dell'invalidità, della vecchiaia, del vedovato, allevamento, infortuni e malattie e sia custodito e regolato da uno speciale Istituto di Assistenza Famigliare (cfr. VIII, 3, *a*).

c) ottenga per il lavoratore la partecipazione agli utili dell'Azienda in modo da potere usufruire di una maggiore assistenza familiare, elevazione religiosa morale, miglioramento sanitario, dotazione di una casa personale, non lontana dal locale di lavoro, igienica, sufficientemente grande secondo le esigenze morali, dotata di orto e ricaduta.

11) **Ricostruzione economica**

XI. — Il P. D. C. auspicando un ordine economico democratico internazionale inteso a garantire in ogni paese, così il lavoro, come un equo salario e ad assicurare una maggiore agevolazione del libero scambio, più razionale distribuzione delle materie prime, delle industrie produttive, dei traffici e delle forze di lavoro, si attende dallo Stato una completa ricostruzione economica, agricola, industriale, commerciale, e la creazione di un organismo permanente diretto allo studio della situazione economica e all'orientamento della pratica attività del Governo per facilitargli una politica di equi salari, di prezzi stabili e di eliminazione della disoccupazione.

Agricoltura.

a) una maggiore valorizzazione razionale estensiva ed intensiva della terra:

— con l'estensione sistematica delle coltivazioni pregiate redditizie, come l'ortofrutticoltura, in relazione ai bisogni dei mercati europei ed extraeuropei;

— con la creazione di bacini montani, di una vasta rete di acquedotti e di canali irrigui e di strade rurali;

b) una maggiore e più equa valorizzazione del lavoro, col perfezionamento e la riforma della scuola agraria, con lo sviluppo e il perfezionamento della scuola professionale agraria, sì da ottenere un'ottima specializzazione teorico-pratica del direttore e una cooperazione intelligente, attiva cosciente dell'agricoltore;

c) un più largo investimento di capitali mediante Istituti di Credito Agrario per favorire gli agricoltori privati e le associazioni suddette.

Artigianato.

Lo sviluppo del lavoro a mano e della produzione personale, mediante la rieducazione artistica e tecnica dell'artigianato italiano, glorioso nei secoli e grato all'indole della nostra gente; l'organizzazione consortile degli acquisti e delle vendite, lo sviluppo del credito, la selezione dei prodotti.

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Arte e cultura.

Conservare, proteggere, restaurare, ricuperare i nostri tesori d'arte, quale patrimonio nazionale inalienabile.

Dare nuovo impulso a tutte le forme di attività artistica culturale del paese, creando scuole d'arte, accademie, promuovendo gare nazionali e internazionali.

Industrie.

Riordinamento delle industrie d'interesse pubblico con opportuna disciplina del credito, incremento e perfezionamento dell'istruzione professionale, creazione di nuove scuole di apprendistato e d'istruzione professionale.

Miniere.

La valorizzazione del sottosuolo tenendo in debito conto i fattori economici nazionali.

Commercio.

Un nuovo impulso all'attività mercantile non meno antica che fortunata nella nostra tradizione, sviluppo delle linee aeree, ristabilita disciplina dei traffici, restaurata moralità nella condotta degli affari.

Turismo.

Il potenziamento del movimento turistico, sfruttando al più alto grado le bellezze di cui il clima, la natura, l'arte, la storia, sono state larghe all'Italia, curando con opportuni mezzi di attrazione, una sana industria alberghiera.

III) Ricostruzione politica

XII. — *Nel campo istituzionale.* – Il P.D.C. riconosce che l'Istituto monarchico, mentre non impedisce lo sviluppo e la realizzazione dei veri ideali democratici, d'altra parte costituisce un essenziale fondamento di coesione e di stabilità — anche contro il pericolo di falsi regionalismi — perchè la Monarchia unisce e la Repubblica divide, per assicurare un ordine necessario al progresso della vita nazionale.

XIII. — *Nel campo amministrativo.* – Riconosce l'errore di un eccessivo accentramento statale che rende troppo complicata l'organizzazione burocratica e che impedisce lo svolgimento delle libere attività nazionali: ma riconosce anche che il decentramento non deve intaccare l'unità dello Stato e delle sue funzioni fondamentali, ma deve avere per fine solo il potenziamento delle attività nazionali e della loro capacità produttiva.

L'amministrazione deve essere portata all'osservanza rigorosa della Legge, senza peraltro costituire un potere autonomo e indipendente dalla autorità politica.

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La burocrazia deve essere mantenuta secondo una organizzazione razionale degli uffici e con rigorosa selezione, specializzazione e valorizzazione del personale.

XIV. — *Nel campo tributario.* — Propugna una riforma del sistema tributario, che unifichi i tributi e le tasse, depuri di ogni forma vessatoria l'esazione, semplifichi le dichiarazioni e gli accertamenti, aggravi anche abbondantemente le imposte dirette applicate sui redditi di consumo popolare.

XV. — *Nel campo elettorale.* — La Camera dei Deputati sarà eletta per suffragio universale. L'esercizio del voto è obbligatorio per ogni elettore.

XVI. — *Nel campo militare.* — Il P. D. C. propugna:

a) che ogni cittadino, senza distinzione di origine etnica, di lingua e di religione faccia parte di uno degli elementi della forza armata, per cui riceva un'adeguata istruzione durante il periodo scolastico e postscolastico, sì che sia pronto a formare in caso di bisogno a difendere la Patria;

b) che la forza armata permanente limitata negli effettivi e valorizzata socialmente ed economicamente, sia formata:

1° di quadri omogenei tratti dal popolo con accurata selezione e severe prove;

2° di specialisti con reclutamento volontario a lunga ferma ed anch'essi severamente selezionati;

c) che un Consiglio Superiore della Difesa del Paese, del quale faranno parte anche elementi civili, provveda permanentemente alle misure necessarie per l'organizzazione della difesa nazionale.

XVII. — *Nel campo giudiziario.* — Lo Stato esercita il potere giudiziario mediante organi specificamente ordinati i quali nella loro funzione devono essere liberi da qualunque influenza del potere esecutivo o comunque estranea alla giustizia.

XVIII. — *Nel campo internazionale.* — Il P. D. C. s'impegna totalmente a valorizzare lo sforzo compiuto dal popolo italiano nell'attuale guerra di liberazione europea onde ottenere il riconoscimento dei suoi sacrifici, dei suoi diritti storici, della sua funzione politica per un trattato di alleanza su piede di parità con le Nazioni Unite.

XIX. — Il P. D. C. auspica che l'Italia, risorta dalla crisi presente, possa portare, in nome e colla forza della sua tradizione storica informata a fini di superiore senso di universale spiritualità umana, un valido contributo alla creazione di un ordine internazionale che permetta a tutti i popoli di svolgere in ogni campo, dell'economia e di la cultura, tutta la loro libera attività secondo le particolari condizioni e le particolari attitudini in sana armonia cogli altri popoli.

Auspica che a tale fine possa creare una prima intesa dei popoli latini, intesa che avrebbe già impedito la guerra, legati tra loro da un'originaria comunanza di stirpe, di territorio, di forme sociali.

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Auspica che il problema dell'educazione venga seriamente studiato come un sentimento italiano ed inizio al suo tempo, mirando a farne l'espressione di collettività consapevolmente organizzate e non di disordinati impulsi individuali.

Auspica infine la possibilità che la madre patria prepari queste collettività con opportuna opera educativa alla nuova vita che segna con amorosa materna assistenza culturale e religiosa, compatibile col diritto sovrano del paese che le ospita, in modo che il sentimento della loro origine italiana ne cementi e rafforzi in esse la fedele devozione alla nuova patria e alla umana spirituale armonia, che è principio e meta di tutte le patrie.

XX. — Il P. D. C., convinto che la forza brutale delle armi debba cedere alla forza morale del diritto, auspica una pace che conceda tali condizioni di vita al popolo italiano, onde sia invitato a promuovere nel concerto delle nazioni una politica fondata sulla pace universale.

A tal fine esso impegnerà le sue forze culturali e stimolerà quelle del paese intero ad affermare e provare che l'Italia, come nel passato così anche per l'avvenire, è Madre e Maestra di progresso e di civiltà.

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HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
APO 394
CIVIL AFFAIRS SECTION

Tel: 608

MEMORANDUM

15th Dec. 1944.

SUBJECT: National Reconstruction.

TO : Political Section.

Reference Memorandum No. 6502/25/COS addressed to you by the Chief of Staff's Office, copy to this Section, the Vice President Civil Affairs Section forwarded the proposal in question to the Patriots Branch for information and comment. A copy of the reply received from the Patriots Branch is attached for your information.

If you have made a reply to the Liberal Socialist Party on the subject it would be appreciated if this Section could be furnished with a copy.

R.R. GRIPPS, Col.
CSO CA Section.

Encl.

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COPY

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
APO 394
CIVIL AFFAIRS SECTION
PATRIOTS BRANCH

Ref. 126/PAT 12th December, 1944.

SUBJECT: A.C.A.P.

TO : Civil Affairs Section.

1. Patriots Branch has never been informed of the existence of an Alto Commissariato per l'Assistenza ai Partigiani (A.C.A.P.). Rumours have been circulating in official circles about the future creation of a Government body to recommend, promote and coordinate all branches of assistance to patriots.

2. The plan formulated by the Secretary General of the Liberal Social Party has been scrutinised by my Italian Patriot Liaison Officers, who consider the scheme a highly intelligent one. They particularly like the proposal by which the High Commissariat for National Reconstruction would receive funds for relief of the needs of patriots by the imposition of a 5% additional tax on theatre and cinema performances. They would like to see all funds collected in this way turned over to the Patriots Office or to any other body specially appointed, which, by virtue of possessing a non-political complexion, might, it may be hoped, avoid partiality in the distribution of the funds.

(Sgd.) R.C.B. SPICER, Col.
Director,
Patriots Branch.

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Rec'd

TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM CONSULATE
NEW YORK

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TO: The President, (Del Vaz to Controle)
Portillo Libaro-Controle,
Cafferia Nacional Confederada, D.
Cuba.

The political section of the Allied Commission has been requested by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge (4th) Cipher (No. 1) dated November 4th, 1943, and to inform the President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Cuba that the Allied Commission is in receipt of the communication of the 29th November and is taking immediate steps to carry out the suggestions contained therein.

Acting Vice President,
Political Section.

15.12.43

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
APO 394
ECONOMIC SECTION

Tel: 558

CWA/ram

19.00/ES

13 December 1944

SUBJECT: National Reconstruction

TO : Political Section

1. Reference COS letter No. 6502/25/COS dated 30 November 1944.

2. This Section agrees that beyond acknowledging the letter of the President of the Central Committee of the Liberal Socialist Party and stating that the proposals put forward will receive due consideration no further action is necessary.

L. D. Densmore

L. D. DENSMORE
Col., FA, CSO
Economic Section

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HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
APO 394
Office of the Chief of Staff

Tel. 269

Ref. G502/25/CCS

30 November 1944.

6 DEC. 1944

Subject: National Reconstruction.

TO : Political Section.

1. Attached letter No. 4442 dated 25 Nov 44 from the President of the Central Committee of the Liberal Socialist Party is passed to you for reply.

2. Copies are being sent to the Civil Affairs Section, Economic Section and IG Branch to facilitate any necessary co-ordination.

3. Two copies of your reply should be sent to the Chief of Staff for information.

[signature]
Senior Staff Officer
for the Chief of Staff

Copy to: Economic Section
Civil Affairs Section
I.G. Branch
S.C. to Chief Commissioner

Economic Section only
Civil Affairs Section Copy
2 Encl.

I think a simple acknowledgment is all that is called for.

[signature]

(UNIONE LABURISTA)

PARTITO LIBERO - SOCIALE

COMITATO CENTRALE: Galleria Regina Margherita n.7 tel.42-183 - Roma -

Roma, 28 Novembre 1944

Prot.N° 1882

Al Commodoro Hellery Stone
Capo della Commissione Alleata
P.zza Venezia,11
R O M A

Mi pregio rimettere alla S.V. un progetto del nostro Segretario Generale Carlo Rosile per un eventuale Suo Autorevole interessamento nell'interesse del nostro Paese.

Con deferenti ossequi.

PARTITO LIBERO-SOCIALE
COMITATO CENTRALE
ROMA

IL PRESIDENTE
del Comitato Centrale
(Avv.I.Cocola)

Avv. Ignazio Cocola

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

COMITATO CENTRALE: Galleria Regina Margherita n.7 tel.42-183 - Roma -

Roma, 28 Novembre 1944

Prot.N° 8382

Al Commodoro Hellery Stone
Capo della Commissione Alleata
P.zza Venezia,11
R O M A

Vi pregio rimettere alla S.V. un progetto del nostro Segretario Generale Carlo Rosselli per un eventuale Suo Autorevole interessamento nell'interesse del nostro Paese.
Con deferenti ossequi.

PARTITO LIBERO-SOCIALE
COMITATO CENTRALE
ROMA

IL PRESIDENTE
del Comitato Centrale
(Avv.I.Cocola)

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

(UNIONE LABURISTA)

PARTITO LIBERO - SOCIALE

COMITATO CENTRALE: Galleria Regina Margherita n.7 tel. 42-183 - Roma -

Sunto schematico del progetto di C.L. Basile Segretario Generale del Partito Libero Sociale (Unione Laburista) per l'istituzione di un

ALTO COMMISSARIO PER LA RICOSTRUZIONE NAZIONALE

(A. C. R. N.)

Cinquecento miliardi di lire stanziati in un venticinquennio senza gravare in alcun modo sul Bilancio dello Stato.
Due milioni e mezzo di vani per case popolari da costruirsi in un decennio e da assegnarsi ai sinistrati con immissione nella proprietà entro venticinque anni.

Il problema della Ricostruzione Nazionale può essere affrontato in pieno e risolto solo attraverso un piano organico e un ingente annuale stanziamento di fondi per un determinato numero di anni. La qual cosa non è stata possibile per le esauste finanze dello Stato che non possono sottostare ad alcun gravame senza scuotere la già scossa posizione della lira italiana in grave pericolo per l'inflazione, che dopo aver superato il primo stadio è entrata in quello così detto forte -
D'altra parte, il rigido controllo degli Alleati mai consentirebbe stanziamenti perturbatori delle finanze o del Bilancio Statale Italiano.
Ma il senso unanime di sfiducia che ha accompagnato il Governo Bonomi è da attribuirsi, non soltanto al problema dell'Alimentazione mai affrontato e tanto meno neppure in alcuna parte risolto, ma al fatto che nulla era stato, non diciamo realizzato, ma neppure tentato a proposito della Ricostruzione; e le centinaia di migliaia di sinistrati hanno con profonda amarezza constatato che mentre prima, sotto i repubblichini fasciati, si corrispondevano degli acconti per i danni di guerra, il governo democratico ha su quell'argomento, per lunghi sei mesi, ostinatamente taciuto.
Attraverso il progetto Basile si rende possibile - per l'attuazione di un piano concreto - lo stanziamento di complessivi 500 miliardi di lire senza in alcun modo gravare sul bilancio dello Stato.
Si propone all'uopo di istituire una sovrimposta straordinaria di guerra su un genere di forte produzione e consumo e che non faccia parte degli alimenti base e il cui acquisto non debba costituire una necessità della popolazione, ma un approvvigionamento facoltativo, quasi voluttuario. E non v'è che il vino la cui produzione e consumo si ag=

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gira, annualmente intorno ai 40 milioni di quintali. Una sovrimpo= sta decennale di L. 5.== al litro, dati i prezzi altissimi pratica= ti per la vendita del vino e la purtroppo sempre minore potenza di acquisto della lira, non influirebbe, in fondo, in media, che per 1/10 del suo costo di vendita e non verrebbe quasi risentita dai consumatori. In tal modo, verrebbero a realizzarsi circa 20 miliardi di lire al= l'anno da stanziarsi per la metà per danni di guerra ai sinistrati e per l'altra nella costruzione di case popolari. Si potrebbero al= l'uopo costruire circa 250.000 vani all'anno in case popolari, dedu= te in fitto a un prezzo mite (un canone medio annuo di L. 600.== per ogni vano). Ciò comporterebbe una maggiore entrata di un miliardo e mezzo di lire per il primo anno, 3 miliardi per il II°, 4½ per il III°, 6 per il IV°, 7½ per il V°, 9 per il VI°, 10½ per il VII°, 12 per l'VIII°, 13½ per il IX°, 15 miliardi per il X anno, stabilizzandosi su tale gettito di entrata che al XXV anno verrebbe a cessare per l'immissione nella proprietà degli affittuari sinistrati. In tal mo= do ai 200 miliardi stanziati bisogna aggiungere 307.5 miliardi di lire di proventi per canoni di affitto, pari, complessivamente, a cir= ca 500 miliardi di lire stanziati per la ricostruzione in un venti= cinquennio, con 2 milioni e mezzo di vani per case popolari costruite.

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Circa l'immediato inizio costruttivo delle case popolari alcuni po= trebbero opporre che ciò non è possibile per la mancanza di materie prime. Ad essi risponde il progettista C.L. Basile che qualora gli Alleati mettessero a disposizione dell'Alto Commissario 2 grossi va= pori da carico per una complessiva portata di 20 mila tonnellate, im= portando con carattere di continuità, in Italia, carbone e nafta si potrebbe alimentare un centinaio di medie fabbriche di materiali late= rizi rimaste presso che illese dalla guerra. Per il ferro, tutte le nostre campagne sono sature di rottami che andrebbero convogliati alle Acciaierie di Terni, che per fortuna hanno conservato, nonostante tut= to, l'80% della propria efficienza, da cui uscirebbero tondini di ferro omogeneo per cemento armato e travature, atti ad una immedia= ta ripresa edilizia.
Tale ripresa risolverebbe anche in gran parte il problema della disoc= cupazione poichè potrebbero sistemarsi non soltanto diecine di miglia= ia di operai edili specializzati, ma anche braccianti, impiegati, tec= nici, falegnami, frabbri ecc.-

IL SEGRETARIO GENERALE

ROMA 27 NOV. 1944

PARTITO LIBERALE SOCIALE
COMITATO CENTRALE
ROMA

2179

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

(UNIONE LABURISTA)

PARTITO LIBERO - SOCIALE

Comitato Centrale: Galleria Regina Margherita n. 7 - Tel. 42-183- Roma

Roma, 27 novembre 1944

Sunto schematico del progetto C. L. Basile, Segretario Generale del Partito Libero Sociale (Unione Laburista) per l'istituzione di un

ALTO COMMISSARIATO PER L' ASSISTENZA AI PARTIGIANI (A.C.A.P.)

Il vivo malcontento che serpeggia fra i partigiani è sopratutto dovuto al fatto che manca per essi un Organo Ufficiale di Assistenza. Divise in tre organizzazioni distinte, che spesso si diffidano e politicamente si combattono, attingono i mezzi di assistenza dalla pubblica beneficienza e tali mezzi - indecorosi - sono privi di controllo circa la destinazione. I sussidi elargiti dal Governo di Bonomi sono stati, naturalmente, insufficienti agli improrogabili bisogni dei Partigiani.
Grado e grado che procede l'avanzata Alleata e delle Armi Ufficiali Italiane essi, nella maggior parte, vengono disarmati e inviati alle loro case in condizioni veramente pietose.
L'Istituzione di un Alto Commissario per l'Assistenza dei Partigiani rincuorerebbe gli animi dei valorosi partigiani dell'Italia del Nord e senerebbe il malcontento dei mobilitati nell'Italia liberata.
Per alimentare di continui cospicui fondi senza gravare sulle esauste finanze dello Stato, bisognerebbe istituire una sovrimposta straordinaria del 5% su tutti i pubblici spettacoli, solo fino a sei mesi dopo la cessazione delle ostilità in Italia. Ex dovrebbe apparire opportuno a tutti gli italiani il principio che chi si diverte può anche pagare un lievissimo "di più" per chi ha rischiato o rischia la vita per collaborare nella lotta antinazifascista per la liberazione dell'Italia.
La sovrimposta eccezionale dovrebbe essere esatta, come per la tassa erariale, dalla Società degli Autori che fin dalla data del decreto istitutivo potrebbe fare delle anticipazioni di cassa per l'Organizzazione dell'Alto Commissario. A tutt'oggi, il gettito di entrata che si potrebbe ricavare dalla su accennata sovrimposta sarebbe di oltre 30 milioni di lire al mese, entrata suscettibile di continui aumenti secondo la progressiva riattivazione delle sale di pubblici spettacoli e l'avanzata delle truppe liberatrici. Un'organizzazione pratica, snella, agile sicura, costerebbe circa un milione di lire al mese, solo il 3% delle complessive entrate. In
Nelle zone che man mano venissero liberate dovrebbe subito inviarsi un ispettore dell'Alto Commissariato mentre per quelle già da tempo liberate basterebbe un delegato provinciale che dovrebbe siedere nel capoluogo ospite della prefettura o del comune con un solo contabile e una dattilografa alle proprie dipendenze.

IL SEGRETARIO GENERALE

ROMA 27 NOV. 1944

PARTITO LIBERO-SOCIALE * ROMA *

5564

(UNIONE LABURISTA)

PARTITO LIBERO - SOCIALE

COMITATO CENTRALE: Galleria Regina Margherita n.7 tel. 42-183 - Roma -

ROMA 27 NOV. 1944

Il Partito Libero Sociale (Unione Laburista) è stato fondato il 26 luglio 1943. Nel P.L.S. si sono fusi il Partito Laburista Italiano e il Partito Democratico di Avanguardia.
Di opposizione al Governo di Bonomi gli è stata finora negata una stampa propria, nonostante le più vive sollecitazioni. Presentemente è in corso la pratica per l'autorizzazione di stampa del giornale "La Concordia", organo del P.L.S. Partito bene organizzato nel Lazio; nella Campania; nelle Puglie in alcune Provincie della Sicilia.
Quindicimila inscritti.

IL SEGRETARIO GENERALE

PARTITO LIBERO SOCIALE * ROMA *

Quotidiano "Il Tempo" del 30 agosto 1944

MA

TRIBUNA

(Per disposizione dell'A. P. B.)

Risposta a « Ricostruzione »

Dopo il plauso volto dai Ministri senza portafoglio al Governo in occasione dell'assunzione dei poteri su Roma, il quotidiano « Ricostruzione », organo ufficioso di Bonomi, nell'articolo di fondo in data 27 agosto invita gli oppositori — come hanno già fatto i suddetti Ministri — ad essere costruttivi ed a « precisare il perchè della loro ostilità all'attuale Governo ». Spieghiamoci: una buona volta! noi siamo oppositori, sì, ma costruttivi e gli esperti — nei vari settori — del nostro Partito, hanno preparato elaborati progetti di risanamento, meglio di salvataggio nazionale.

Noi accusiamo il Governo Bonomi di spendere inutilmente, in un anno, 26 miliardi di lire per il prezzo politico del pane quando tale riduzione non incide in alcun modo sul bilancio familiare del consumatore italiano. E' ridicolo che lo Stato in rovina subisca tale sfasso per far risparmiare sei lire al giorno a una famiglia di cinque persone, quando quella famiglia per dare da mangiare ai propri componenti una sola pesca deve spendere trenta lire!

Noi accusiamo il Governo Bonomi di spendere inopportunamente 14 miliardi di lire per il rimborso dei Buoni del Tesoro di imminente scadenza, quando era proficio il caso di rimandarne il rimborso ad almeno un anno dopo la guerra, pur continuando a pagarne gli interessi.

Noi accusiamo il Governo Bonomi — che si permette il lusso di spendere circa 40 miliardi, come accennato — di assoluta incomprensione del momento quando con quella ira di Dio scatenatasi sulla nostra Italia stanzia un solo miliardo per le opere pubbliche.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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SEGRETARIATO CENTRALE: Galleria Regina Margherita n.7 tel. 42-183 - Roma -

ROMA 27 NOV. 1944

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Quindicimila inscritti.

IL SEGRETARIO GENERALE

PARTITO LIBERO SOCIALE * ROMA *

Quotidiano "Il Tempo" del 30 agosto 1944

MA

TRIBUNA

(Per disposizione dell'A. P. B.)

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Noi accusiamo il Governo Bonomi — che si permette il lusso di spendere circa 40 miliardi, come accennato — di assoluta incomprensione del momento quando con quella ira di Dio scatenatasi sulla nostra Italia stanzia un solo miliardo per le opere pubbliche.

Noi accusiamo il Governo Bonomi di essere costituito da incompetenti.

Noi accusiamo il Governo Bonomi di non aver fatto ancora nulla per risolvere il gravissimo problema della disoccupazione.

Noi accusiamo il Governo Bonomi di troppa timidezza nell'epurazione: limitarsi a sospendere dalla carica i giudici del Tribunale Speciale è il colmo del « lasciar vivere »; lasciare quasi la magistratura e mantenere in vita la polizia, così, com'è, è il colmo della... disinvoltura politica; permettere che si

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Translation

Libero-Social Party (Labour Union)

Central Committee: Galleria Regina Margherita, 7 tel. 42.183 - Rome

Rome, 28 November 1944

n. 4842

To Commodore Ellery Stone
Chief Commissioner of the Allied Commission
R o m e

I take the liberty of sending a project by our Secretary General Carlo Basile, hoping that you may intervene in the interest of our country.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(Avv. I Cocola)

/s/ Avv. Ignazio Cocola

5157

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

n. 4842

To Commodore Ellery Stone
Chief Commissioner of the Allied Commission
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I take the liberty of sending a project by our Secretary General Carlo Basile, hoping that you may intervene in the interest of our country.

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Sincerely yours,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(Avv. I Cocola)

/s/ Avv. Ignazio Cocola

5367

2183

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Translation

Summing up of the project of C.L. Basile, Secretary General of the Libero-Social Party (Labourist Union), for the formation of a

HIGH COMMISSIONARIAT FOR NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

(A. C. R. N.)

Five hundred milliard lire appropriated in twenty five years without weighing on the State Budget.

Two and a half million rooms (in tenement houses) to be built in ten years and allotted to the people whose houses were destroyed during the war; after twenty five years, the ownership should pass to them.

The only way to face and solve the problem of National Reconstruction is to have a determined plan and important funds for a certain number of years. This hasn't been possible for the exhausted finances of the State couldn't bear any burden without endangering the precarious position of the lira, already in great danger because of the inflation, which from a first phase, has now reached what may be called the 'strong' phase.

On the other hand, the strict control of the Allies would never allow appropriations which might interfere with the finances of the Budget of the Italian State.

But the unanimous feeling of mistrust towards the Bonomi Government is to be ascribed not only to the food question which has never been faced and even less solved, but also to the fact that nothing has been, we don't say realized, but attempted about the Reconstruction; hundred of thousands of people who lost their houses saw with great bitterness that why the fascist republicans gave an indemnity for war damages, the democratic government has remained obstinately silent on this point for over six months.

The Basile plan makes possible, - for the realization of a concrete plan - the appropriation of about 500 milliard lire without burdening the Budget of the State. It suggests to establish an extr-tax on a commodity which is produced and used in great quantity, which doesn't belong to the category of essential foodstuffs, and the purchase of which is not indispensable to the population, but facultative. The wine only would answer to these requisites; an amount of about 40 million qls is produced and bought yearly. An extra-tax of L.5 a liter during ten years would only affect the sale prices for 1/10 and it wouldn't make much difference to the customers, for the sale prices of the wine are already very high, and the purchase power of the lira is getting smaller everyday. In this way, about 20 milliard lire a year would be appropriated; one half would be used to pay war indemnities to the 'sinistrati', and the other half would be employed to build tenement houses. It would be possible to build about 20.000 rooms a year in tenement houses. the rent should be low (about 600 Lire a year for each room). This would mean an extra income of 1 1/2 milliard lire during the first year, 3 milliards during the second, 4 1/2 during the third, 6 during the fourth, 7 1/2 during the fifth, 9 during the sixth, 10 1/2 during the seventh, 12 during the eighth, 13 1/2 during the ninth, 15 during the tenth, establishing that after 25 years, the ownership should pass to the 'sinistrati' tenants, who wouldn't have to pay the rent any more. To the 200 milliards which would have been appropriated, must be added 307.5 milliards coming from the rent,

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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On the other hand, the strict control of the Allies would never allow appropriations which might interfere with the finances or the Budget of the Italian State.

But the unanimous feeling of mistrust towards the Bonomi Government is to be ascribed not only to the good question which has never been faced and even less solved, but also to the fact that nothing has been, we don't say realized, but attempted about the Reconstruction; hundred of thousands of people who lost their houses saw with great bitterness that why the fascist republicans gave an indemnity for war damages, the democratic government has remained obstinately silent on this point for over six months.

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It may be said that it is impossible to start at once building tenement houses because of the lack of raw materials. C.L. Basile answers that if the Allies put two steamers the tonnage of which would amount to 20 thousand tons, at the disposal of the High Commissariat, and which would be employed for bringing coal and naphta to Italy, it would be possible to supply a hundred brick kilns which suffered practically no damages during the war. As for iron, the countryside is full of wrecages which might be taken to the steel plants of Terni, which have kept 80% of their efficiency. This would give the necessary material for ferroconcrete and beams, for immediate employment.

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This would partly sol[illegible] the problem of unemployment, f[illegible] it would give work to thousands of brick-layers, workmen, employees, technicians, carpenters, blacksmiths etc.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL

/s/C.L. Basile

Rome, 27 Nov. 1944

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

5285

Summing up of the project of C.L. Basile, Secretary General of the Libero-Social Party (Labour Union) for the formation of a

HIGH COMMISSARIAT FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE PARTISANS (A.C.A.P)

The dissatisfaction of the partisans is due to the fact that they have no official Organ for Assistance.

The three distinct organizations mistrust each other and fight one another politically; the means of assistance come from public generosity and their destination isn't controlled. The subsidies given by the Bonomi Government were of course insufficient to give the partisans what they needed.

As the Allies and the Italians proceed they are disarmed and sent home in really miserable conditions.

The formation of a High Commissariat for Assistance to the Partisans would hearten the Partisans of North Italy have a favourable effect on the dissatisfaction of those who have been mobilized in liberated Italy.

To provide the required funds without burdening the exhausted finances of the State, it would be necessary to establish an extra tax of 5% on all public spectacles and this only till six months after the end of hostilities in Italy. All Italians should agree that who enjoys himself can also pay a little more for those who have been and are still risking their life to collaborate in the fight against the nazi-fascists and for the liberation of Italy.

Like the fiscal tax, this extra tax should be exacted from the Societa degli Autori which could advance funds for the organization of the High Commissariat, this when the decree should have been passed. More than 30 million lire a month could be had by means of this extra tax, and this amount would increase with the reopening of cinemas, theaters etc and the progress of the liberating troops. A practical, quick and safe organization would cost about one million lire a month, only 3% of the total income. An inspector of the High Commissariat should be sent in the newly liberated regions; a provincial delegate should be sent in the regions which have already been liberated for a certain time; he would have to live in the chief town, as guest of the Prefecture or of the Municipality, and have one book-keeper and one typist only at his disposal

THE SECRETARY GENERAL

C.L. Basile

Rome, 27 Nov. 1944

3256

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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THE SECRETARY GENERAL

C.I. Basile

Rome, 27 Nov. 1944

5554

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

The Libero-Social Party (Labourist Union) has been founded on July 26th 1943, uniting the Italian Labourist Party and the Vanguard Democratic Party.

Opposed to the Bonomi Government, it hasn't been allowed to have its own newspaper, in spite of many sollicitations. At present it is asking to be allowed to publish the paper 'La Concordia', organ of the P.L.S. The Party is well organized in Lazio, Campania, Puglie and in some Provinces of Sicily.

Fifteen thousand members are inscribed.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL

/s/C.L. Basile

Rome, 27 Nov, 1944

trans. E.C.

5253

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3-3/NND No. 785016

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
APO 394
Office of the Chief of Staff

Tel: 289

29 November 44.

Ref : 6502/19/003

SUBJECT : Constitutional Democratic Party.

TO : Political Section.

1. Attached letter of 27 November 44 from the Constitutional Democratic Party, with enclosed program, is passed for information and retention on your file.

for Chief Staff Officer
To the Chief of Staff.

Copy to: 30 to Chief Commissioner.

5152

150

2191

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Translation

Constitutional Democratic Party

Rome, Piazza Esquilino, 9 27 November 1944

To Commodore Ellery Stone
A.C - R o m e

I enclose the program of the Constitutional Democratic Party; its long period of existence is linked with many demonstrations of consideration for the United Nations, England, America, France and Russia; I also enclose the account of the General Assembly, which is very important because of the demonstrations - on September 17th, 1944 - made by the General Assembly of the Party, for the approval of the said program.

We are asking for justice: our Party must be added to the six parties which, improvised and self-appointed, formed till today the Italian Government.

Yours truly,

THE PRESIDENT
(Cr. Uff. Alberto Pavoni)

s/ Alberto Pavoni

trans. E.C.

5362

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Partito Democratico Costituzionale

COMITATO CENTRALE

ROMA, 27 novembre 1944
Piazza Esquilino, 5
Telef. 487-716

ul/

NOV 28 1944

Commodoro EMERY STONE
A. C.

R O M A

Via Veneto, 62

Mi onoro inviare alla Signoria Vostra il programma del Partito Democratico Costituzionale, di ancora vita legata ad affettuose dimostrazioni di grande considerazione verso le nobili Nazioni Unite, Inghilterra, America, Francia e Russia; nonchè il resoconto dell'Assemblea Generale, più importante ancora per le dimostrazioni in data non dubbia - 17 settembre 1944 - offerte dall'Assemblea Generale del partito stesso, in occasione dell'approvazione del suddetto programma.

Dalla S.V. invochiamo giustizia affinchè il nostro Partito sia aggiunto ai sei partiti che hanno formato fin qui, improvvisati ed autoelettisi, il Governo italiano.

Con perfetta osservanza.

IL PRESIDENTE
(Gr. Uff. Alberto Pavoni)

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Letters and patitions and radio reports: 29 Jan 44

1. Party comments over radio.

2. Committee in Reggio disapproves Badoglio's Govt.

3. Catholics support Badoglio and King.

Letters forwarding same for info.

FILED: 731.0

5143

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785006

OCCUPIED ITALY

REGGIO EMILIA
MODENA
FORLI
PARMA
PIACENZA
BOLOGNA
EMILIA

PISA
LEGHORN
AREZZO
FLORENCE
TOSCANA

TERNI
PERUGIA
UMBRIA

CREMONA
BERGAMO
BRESCIA
VARESE
COMO
MILAN
LOMBARDY

CUNEO
NOVARA
VERCELLI
ALESSANDRIA
TURIN
PIEDMONT

LA SPEZIA
SAVONA
GENOA
LIGURIA

TREVISO
UDINE
BELLUNO
VICENZA
VERONA
PADOVA
TRENTO
TRIESTE
VENICE
TRE VENEZIE

ASCOLI P.
MACERATA
ANCONA
MARCHE

RIETI
VITERBO
ROME
LAZIO

COMITATI DI LIBERAZIONE

PARTITO COMUNISTA
PARTITO SOCIALISTA
PARTITO D'AZIONE
DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO
DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA
PARTITO LIBERALE

INDIPENDENT RIGHTEST
BIG BUSINESS, ETC.

LIBERAL DISSIDENTS

SOTTOCOMITATO MILITARE

SOTTOCOMITATO ESECUTIVO

COMITATO DI LIBERAZIONE NAZIONALE
(R O M E)

(10) SFORZA

(11) CROCE

(1) GIUNTA

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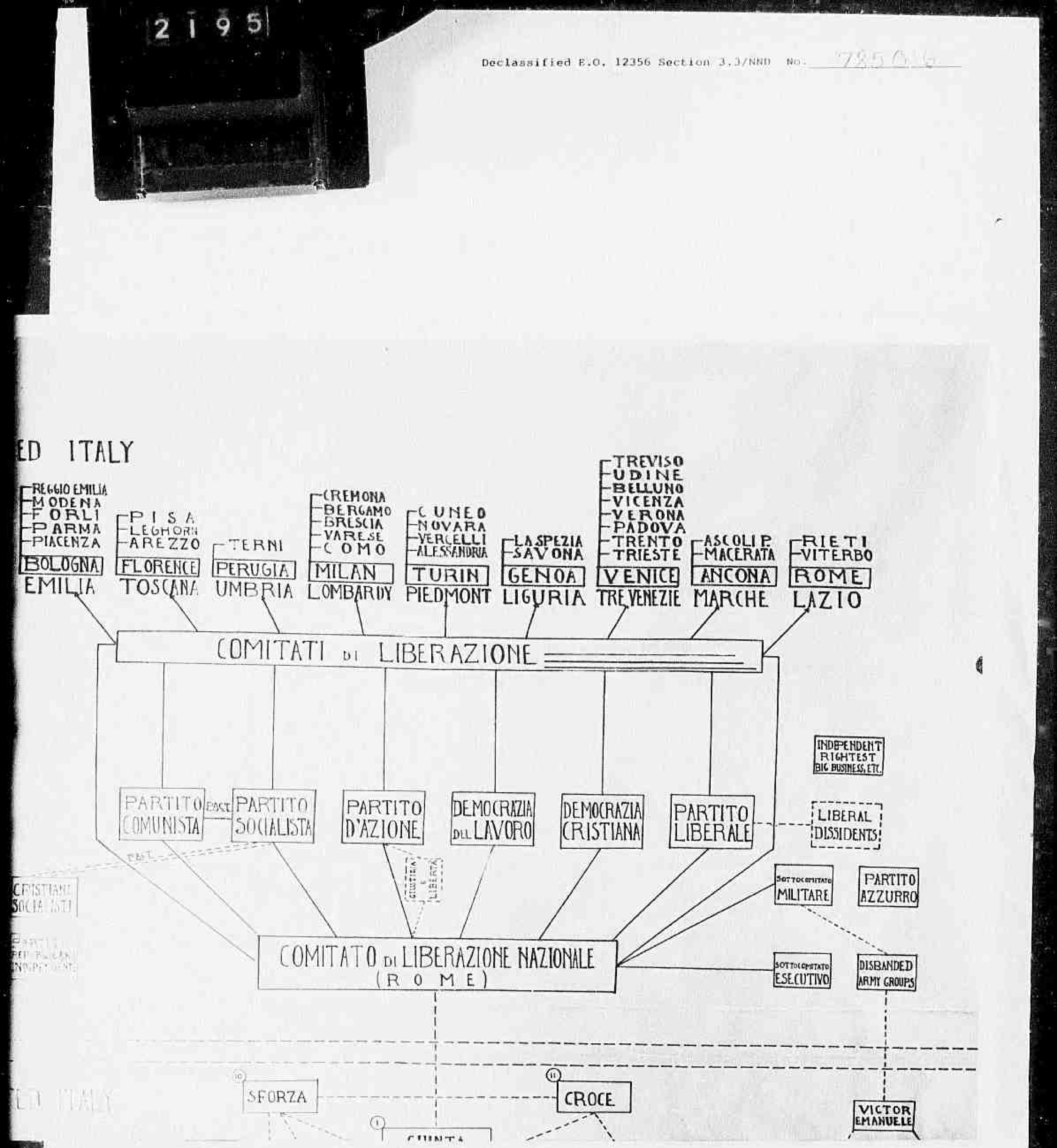
Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

ED ITALY



2196

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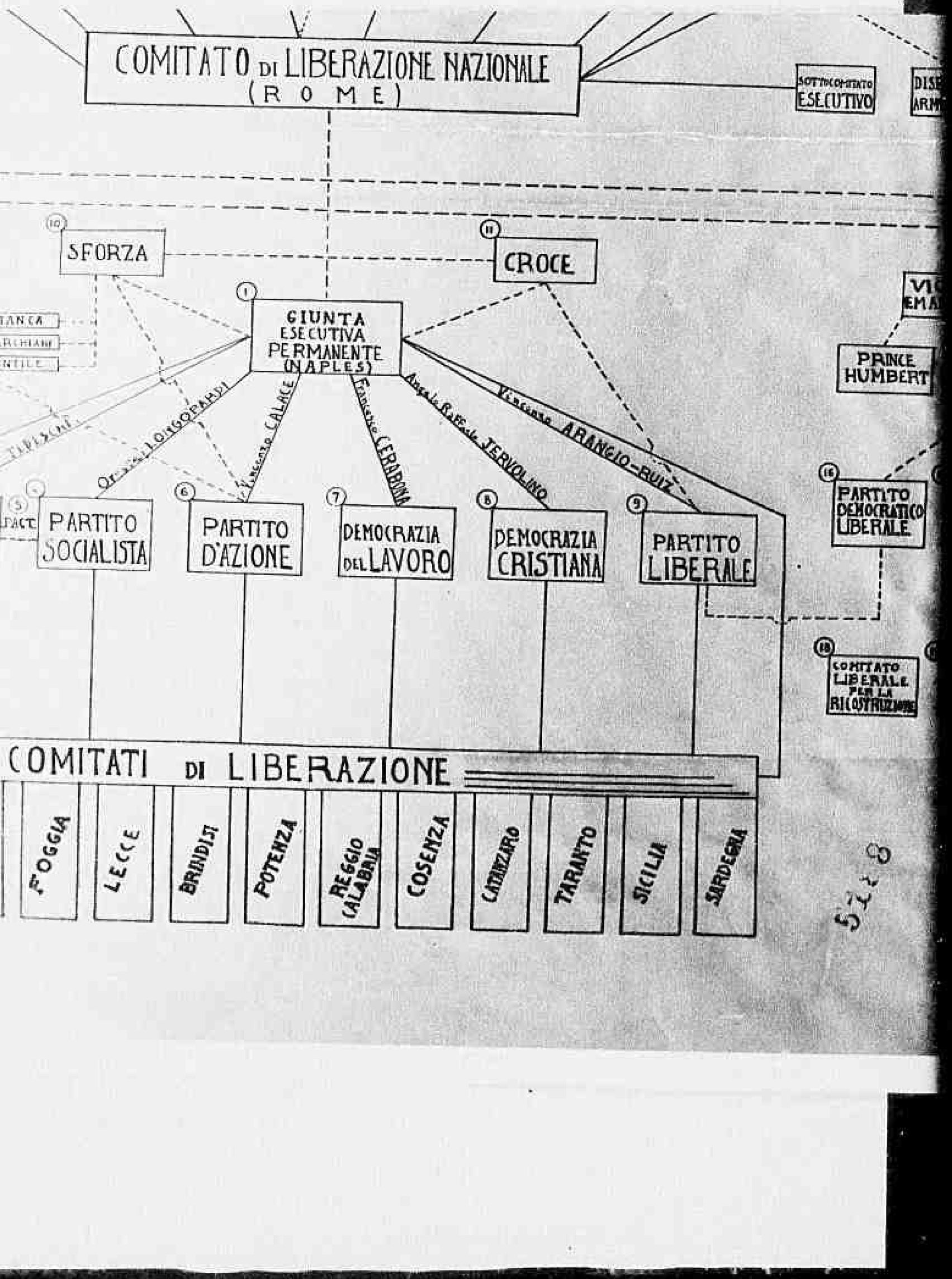

2197

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COMITATO DI LIBERAZIONE NAZIONALE (ROME)

SOTTOCOMITATO ESECUTIVO

DISBANDED ARMY GROUPS

VICTOR EMANUELE

PRINCE HUMBERT

BADOGLIO GOVERNMENT

(10) SFORZA

(11) CROCE

(1) GIUNTA ESECUTIVA PERMANENTE (NAPLES)

GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTÀ

Pietro NENNI

Luigi LONGO

Vincenzo CALACE

Francesco CERABONA

Angelo Raffaele JERVOLINO

Vincenzo ARANGIO-RUIZ

(2) PARTITO COMUNISTA

PART.

(3) PARTITO SOCIALISTA

(6) PARTITO D'AZIONE

(7) DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO

(8) DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA

(9) PARTITO LIBERALE

(16) PARTITO DEMOCRATICO LIBERALE

(17) PARTITO D'UNIONE

(18) COMITATO LIBERALE PER LA RICOSTRUZIONE

(19) PARTITO AZZURRO

COMITATI DI LIBERAZIONE

NAPLES

BARI

FOGGIA

LECCE

BRINDISI

POTENZA

REGGIO CALABRIA

COSENZA

CATANZARO

TARANTO

SICILIA

SARDEGNA

5 to 8

2198

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

JOHN V. HINKEL
Major, M. I.

2199

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

ALLIED COMMISSION
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX OUTGOING

U. S. SECRET
Allied British SECRET

12/27
1148
REV 27145 A
REV

SECRET
PRIORITY
FATIMA
FREEDOM

REFERRING MY TELEGRAM NUMBER ONE ONE TWO SIX PD TO FREEDOM FROM FATIMA SIGNED JOYCE PD AFTER ITS MEETING OF NOVEMBER TWENTY FIFTH THE NEW CABINET DECIDED TO ADJOURN UNTIL NOVEMBER THIRTY ZERO AND TO CONCLUDE ITS DELIBERATIONS BEFORE PD A COMMUNIQUE TO THIS EFFECT/ WAS BEING ISSUED TO THE PRESS ADDING THAT NO DECISIONS WILL BE ANNOUNCED UNTIL THE SESSION IS CONCLUDED PD PARA IN THE MEANWHILE THE CABINET HAS TAKEN OBJECTION TO THE PERSONAL DECLARATION ISSUED BY PARIX TO THE PRESS UPON HIS ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE AS UNDERSECRETARY FOR INFORMATION PD HE HAD IMPLIED THAT THE PRESENT POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE SIX PARTIES IN THE SOUTH WERE PREMATURE AND MIGHT NOT BE FULLY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE AND HE HAD CLAIMED TO HAVE TAKEN OFFICE TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE PROLETARIAT PD THE CABINET HAS ISSUED A STATEMENT DISASSOCIATING ITSELF FROM PARIX APOSTROPHE S IMPLIED CRITICISMS AND POINTING OUT THE DECLARATION THAT HIS DECLARATION DOES NOT REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT PD ALTHOUGH IT HAD RECEIVED BERGEIS APOSTROPHE S PRIOR APPROVAL FOR PUBLICATION THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE CABINET MAY FORCE PARIX APOSTROPHE S RESIGNATION

DISTRIBUTION:

2 - AG
1 - Diary
1 - Mr. Reber

AUTHENTICATED:

5407

U. S. SECRET
Allied British SECRET

ROBERT B. LOY
Major, A.G.D.
Secretary of Commission

2200

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

(43)

MEMORANDUM TO: British Resident Minister's Office
at Allied Force Headquarters,
5, Rue Professeur Curtillet,
ALGIERS.

FROM: Political Section,
Headquarters Allied Control Commission,
ALGIERS.

No. 22.

3rd March, 1944.

---

1. With reference to Fatima telegram No. 1523 of yesterday, enclosed is a copy of the memorandum addressed to the Secretaries of/Party of Action, Socialist Party and Communist Party, instructing the leaders of these three parties to issue an announcement stating that the suspension of work proposed for Saturday, March 4th, would not take place.

/the

2. As reported in Fatima telegram No. 1530 a letter was received later in the same day from representatives of the three parties concerned, stating that the demonstration proposed for March 4th was not intended in any way to compromise the war effort. This letter, of which a translation is enclosed, was despatched by the three parties before the receipt of the memorandum referred to in paragraph 1 above. In order that there should be no misunderstanding, however, a message was conveyed to the three parties that, though their letter had been received and was being forwarded to the Allied Governments, they should understand that the position was unaltered and that the action proposed by them for Saturday, March 4th, could not be permitted.

3. Copies of this memorandum and the enclosures are attached for the information of the Commander-in-Chief and Civil Affairs.

H. A. Caccia
Vice-President.

5486

2201

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

FWB/cfe

121 (000.1)

2 March 1944

MEMORANDUM:

TO : The Secretaries of the Party of Action, Socialist Party and Communist Party.

1. Copies of a pamphlet issued by the Party of Action, Socialist Party and Communist Party calling upon all workmen, employees, business and professional men to suspend work for ten minutes on Saturday, 4th March, and to paralyze for ten minutes the economic and administrative life of the city of Naples have come into my possession.

2. I can only assume that these had been issued before my talk with the Junta yesterday morning.

3. I have already made it quite clear to the members of the Junta representing your three parties that no action of the kind contemplated can be permitted. Action designed to paralyze the economic and administrative life of the city cannot in the present military situation be tolerated under any circumstances.

4. My instructions to the leaders of your three parties are as follows:

In the press tomorrow morning, the 3rd March, and on the radio commencing this evening, the 2nd March, your three parties will issue an announcement stating that the suspension of work referred to in your manifesto will not take place.

5. Failure to comply with these instructions satisfactorily by 12:00 noon tomorrow, 3rd March, will entail inevitable regrettable consequences.

6. The PWB and censorship authorities have been instructed to afford you the necessary press and radio facilities.

NOEL MASON MACFARLANE
Lieutenant General
Deputy President and Chief Commissioner
of Allied Control Commission
for
General Sir Herold Alexander
Military Governor

22021

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Mos 021415A

H.E. General MacFarlane
Chief of the Allied Control Commission.

Following the conversation had by you with the members of the Executive Giunta, we wish to point out that the demonstration projected for March 4th does not intend to, nor can in any way, compromise the war effort. On the contrary it has the clear aim to demonstrate that the Italian People, hostile to the King and the Badoglio Government, want instead an anti-fascist Government capable of really mobilizing the Italian people to intensify the war effort.

Even though having considered profoundly your words, we cannot therefore see in what way this demonstration could compromise the positive result of the negotiations in course between the Executive Giunta and the Allied Governments, all the more in the speech of P.M. Churchill - it is necessary to emphasize this - constitutes a negative element in the solution of the present crisis and a considerable help to the accomplices of Fascism, who today unworthily are at the head of the Government.

Assuring you that our action is inspired today as yesterday by that profound devotion to the cause of the United Nations, of which we gave concrete proof even when the King and Badoglio were fighting against you, we beg you to accept, General, the expression of our anti-fascist sentiments.

For the Action Party /s/ Pasquale Schiano

For the Socialist Party /s/ [illegible]

For the Communist Party /s/ Eugenio Reale

5483

2203

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

S.E.(l Generale Ambrosio.

Capo della Commissione Alleata di Controllo.

Mos 02 1415 A

A seguito del colloquio avuto da Voi con i membri della Giunta Esecutiva tendente a precisare una comune impostazione programmatica per il governo nuovo ed immediato più in grado di fronteggiare le esigenze di guerra, sono lieto confermarVi, a nome proprio di Bonomi e Ruini, che il popolo Italiano, rappresentato al suo più alto grado dal governo nella fattispecie capace di mobilitare ed unire il popolo Italiano nel prosieguo della guerra.

Ho avuto modo di constatare profondamente quale sia la volontà di tutte le forze politiche di concorrere alla formazione di tale governo ed il proposito positivo delle iniziative in corso tra le Giunte Esecutive ed i Comitati di Liberazione, più che degli impegni del D.L. Luogotenenziale - e conseguente alla formazione - particolare in riferimento a quanto previsto per la soluzione della crisi attuale ed a altre conseguenze ai compiti del Governo, che si trovano oggi fortemente al governo.

A tale riguardo vi ho già espresso oggi come fede, la quale determinazione profonda della nostra forze politiche di cui abbiamo dato prova concreta in questi 20 mesi e Italia combattiamo contro di voi, [illegible]

Vi prego di gradire, Generale, l'espressione dei nostri sentimenti cordiali.

per la Democrazia Cristiana — Luigi Gedda

per la Democrazia Sociale — (illegible)

per la Democrazia Comunista — Eugenio Reale

5263

2204

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Copy

WNM/dfe

12 (OCC.1)

2 March 1944.

MEMORANDUM:

TO : The Secretaries of the Party of Action, Socialist Party and Communist Party.

1. Copies of a pamphlet issued by the Party of Action, Socialist Party and Communist Party calling upon all workmen, employees, business and professional men to suspend work for ten minutes on Saturday, 4th March, and to paralyse for ten minutes the economic and administrative life of the city of Naples have come into my possession.

2. I can only assume that these had been issued before my talk with the Junta yesterday morning.

3. I have already made it quite clear to the members of the Junta representing your three parties that no action of the kind contemplated can be permitted. Action designed to paralyse the economic and administrative life of the city cannot in the present military situation be tolerated under any circumstances.

4. My instructions to the leaders of your three parties are as follows:

In the press tomorrow morning, the 3rd March, and on the radio commencing this evening, the 2nd March, your three parties will issue an announcement stating that the suspension of work referred to in your manifesto will not take place.

5. Failure to comply with these instructions satisfactorily by 12:00 noon tomorrow, 3rd March, will entail inevitable regrettable consequences.

6. The PWB and censorship authorities have been instructed to afford you the necessary press and radio facilities.

Sd/-

NOEL MASON MACKELLAR
Lieutenant General
Deputy President and Chief Commissioner
of Allied Control Commission
for
General Sir Harold Alexander
Military Governor

2205

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Mar 0214154

H.E. General MacFarlane
Chief of the Allied Control Commission.

Following the conversation had by you with the members of the Executive Giunta, we wish to point out that the demonstration projected for March 4th does not intend to, nor can in any way, compromise the war effort. On the contrary it has the clear aim to demonstrate that the Italian People, hostile to the King and the Badoglio Government, want instead an antifascist Government capable of really mobilizing the Italian People to intensify the war effort.

Even though having considered profoundly your words, we cannot therefore see in what way this demonstration could compromise the positive result of the negotiations in course between the Executive Giunta and the Allied Governments, all the more as the speech of P.M. Churchill - it is necessary to emphasize this - constitutes a negative element in the solution of the present crisis and a considerable help to the accomplices of Fascism, who today unworthily are at the head of the Government.

Assuring you that our action is inspired today as yesterday by that profound devotion to the cause of the United Nations, of which we gave concrete proof even when the King and Badoglio were fighting against you, we beg you to accept, General, the expression of our antifascist sentiments.

For the Action Party /s/ Pasquale Schiano

For the Socialist Party /s/

For the Communist Party /s/ Eugenio Reale

5.1.52

2206

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

C o p y.

ITALIANI! DAVANTI!

Churchill ha recentemente dichiarato che l'attuale governo Badoglio ha più autorità nel paese di quanta potrebbe averne un altro governo, affermando - sulla base di questo suo apprezzamento - che l'Italia continuerà a rimanere senza governo fino alle liberazione di Roma. E a Roma, sempre secondo Churchill, l'Italia non avrà un governo su basi nuove, ma semplicemente su basi più larghe.

INDIGNATEVI!

Questo falso apprezzamento rischia di far, del nostro paese un male incancellabile. E quindi necessario rincarare, subito, a Churchill e agli alleati che fossero altrettanto male informati, che il popolo italiano vuole:

- Mettere ai margini della vita nazionale, fino alla fine della guerra, la monarchia di Savoia, corresponsabile e complice del fascismo - Costituire un governo antifascista, veramente democratico, che possa fare la guerra sul serio contro il nazismo, epurare la vita del paese, dare inizio di schiarimento alla disoccupazione e all'angosciosa situazione alimentare, rappresentare fra gli alleati gli interessi del popolo italiano e non quelli dei suoi nemici.

Per dare questa dimostrazione, domandiamo a tutti gli operai, gli impiegati, i commercianti, i professionisti,

DI SOSPENDERE IL LAVORO PER 2 ORE DURANTE LA MEDIA ALLA UNDICI E DIECI DEL MATTINO, LA GIORNATA DI SABATO 4 MARZO.

E per dimostrare a tutti che non si tratta di uno sciopero o di un boicottaggio della produzione, ma soltanto di una manifestazione

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COPY

TRADUZIONE

Churchill ha recentemente dichiarato che l'attuale governo
inglese è più stabile del regno di Giorgio precedente avendo
un vasto consenso, attualmente - dell'80 o 90 per cento anzi-
ché - come l'ultimo governo a rivestire questa forma governo
fino alla liberazione di Roma. È come, quando abbiamo Churchill
l'Italia non può essere in pericolo da nessuno, e specialmente da
quel vile inglese.

ORIGINALE

Questo Paese apparentemente ricade di vero e proprio pazzo
in una autodistruzione. Il che bastasse l'atteggiamento, inutile,
di Churchill in ogni riunione che riguardi direttamente gli Alleati
ed, ovvia, la sua politica suicida:

- mentre si avvicina alla vittoria finale, che il fine
della guerra, la sconfitta di Hitler, comincia a dividere
gli Alleati = Churchill non vuole distruggere, vorrebbe
addirittura, che tutta la potenza del Terzo Reich venisse
a trovarsi nel cuore dell'Europa, anziché in Russia,
mentre la vita del paese, sotto stato di soggiogo alla disorganizzazione e all'incompetenza alimentare, rappresentano per gli alleati gli interessi del popolo italiano e non quelli nei suoi numeri.

Per cosa questa dimostrazione, condannano a tutti gli
operai, gli impiegati, i commercianti, i professionisti,

DI RIPRENDERE IL LAVORO PER DIECI MINUTI DALLE UNDICI alle
UNDICI E DIECI DEL MATTINO, IN SEGNO DI RAMMARICO.

E per dimostrare a tutti che non si tratta di una soluzione

2208

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C o p y.

ITALIANI! LAVORATORI!

Churchill ha recentemente dichiarato che l'attuale governo Badoglio ha più autorità nel paese di quanta potrebbe averne un altro governo, affermando - sulla base di questo suo apprezzamento - che l'Italia continuerà a rimanere senza governo fino alla liberazione di Roma. E a Roma, sempre secondo Churchill, l'Italia non avrà un governo su basi nuove, ma semplicemente su basi più larghe.

LAVORATORI!

Questo falso apprezzamento rischia di fare al nostro paese un male incalcolabile. È quindi necessario dimostrare, subito, a Churchill - e agli alleati che fossero altrettanto male informati, che il popolo italiano vuole:

" Mettere al bando dalla vita nazionale, fino alla fine della guerra, la monarchia di Savoia, corresponsabile e complice del fascismo; " Costituire un governo antifascista, veramente democratico, che possa fare la guerra sul serio contro il nazismo, epurare la vita del paese, dare inizio di soluzione alla disoccupazione e all'angosciosa situazione alimentare, rappresentare tra gli alleati gli interessi del popolo italiano e non quelli dei suoi nemici.

Per dare questa dimostrazione, domandiamo a tutti gli operai, gli impiegati, i commercianti, i professionisti,

DI SOSPENDERE IL LAVORO PER 8 ORE DOPO AVERTI DATO INIZIO ALLE UNDICI E MEZZO DEL MATTINO, IL GIORNO DI SABATO 4 MARZO.

È per dimostrare a tutti che non si tratta di uno sciopero o di un boicottaggio della produzione, ma soltanto di una manifestazione

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manifestazione patriottica e antifascista.

PROLUNGATE IL LAVORO PER UN QUARTO D'ORA DA MEZZOGIORNO

A MEZZOGIORNO E UN QUARTO DELLA STESSA GIORNATA.

Paralizzando per dieci minuti la vita economica e amministrative della città, i napoletani firmano a Churchill quello che vuole al nostro paese.

IL PARTITO D'AZIONE

IL PARTITO SOCIALISTA

IL PARTITO COMUNISTA.

2210

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COPY

ITALIANI! LAVORATORI!

Churchill ha riconosciuto ufficialmente che l'attuale governo
Badoglio è più sabaudo nel senso di voler perpetuare avere
un altro governo, effettivamente - nella sua di fronte ad un espe-
diente - un'Italia combattente e fiduciosa nella giustizia
fine alla liberazione di Roma. Ed ecco, proprio mentre Churchill
l'Italia non avrà un governo di buon grado, ne compiacimento su
di noi ogni arbitrio.

SALVATORI!

Questo falso apprezzamento giunge al fine di aprire un varco
un [illegible]. Quanto [illegible] sarebbero, anche,
a Churchill voglia intanto che finora veramente nessun inter-
[illegible], che il re di [illegible] vuole:

- Scongiurare il pericolo della vita nazionale, fino alla fine
della guerra, la monarchia di Savoia, corresponsabile e complice
del fascismo - Costituire un governo anti-fascista, veramente
democratico, che possa fare la guerra sul serio a fianco di Stalin,
Roosevelt e Churchill, che possa fare la pace con la Russia,
l'America e l'Inghilterra, che possa ridare all'Italia un esercito
nelle file degli alleati gli internati del popolo italiano e non
nelle file dei suoi nemici.

Per dare questa dimostrazione, facciamo a tutti gli
operai, gli impiegati, i commercianti, i professionisti,

DI OSSERVARE IL LAVORO PER ALMENO UNA ORA DALLE ORE 10
ANTIMERIDIANE, IL GIORNO DI SABATO 4 MARZO.

E per dimostrare a tutti che non si tratta di uno sciopero

2211

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o di un boicottaggio della produzione, ad esempio di una manifestazione patriottica e anti-Fascista,

PROLUNGATE IL LAVORO PER UN QUARTO D'ORA DA MEZZOGIORNO A MEZZOGIORNO E UN QUARTO DELLE ORE SEGNATE.

Paralizzando per dieci minuti la vita economica e amministrativa delle città, i napoletani diranno a Churchill quello che vuole il nostro paese.

IL PARTITO D'AZIONE
IL PARTITO SOCIALISTA
IL PARTITO COMUNISTA

2212

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

TRANSLATION

ITALIANS! WORKMEN!

Churchill recently stated that the present Badoglio Government has more authority in the country than any other Government could have, affirming - on the basis of this appreciation - that Italy will continue to remain without a Government until Rome has been liberated. And so Rome, according to Churchill, Italy will not have a Government [illegible] simply on a transcend[illegible] basis.

WORKMEN!

This false appreciation runs the risk of [illegible] our country [illegible] irreparable harm. Hence it is necessary to show [illegible] to Churchill and to the Allies that they have been badly informed and that the Italian people wants:

- Until the end of the war [illegible] of the national life the royal house of Savoy [illegible] co-responsible for war and an accomplice of Fascism; - To form an anti-Fascist and truly democratic Government which can prosecute the war in a [illegible] manner against Nazism, [illegible] the life of the country, undertake initial steps to solve the problem of unemployment and of the anxious food situation, represent to the Allies the interests of the Italian people and [illegible] of their [illegible].

In order to prove this we ask all workmen, employees, technicians and professional men

5[illegible]

TO SUSPEND WORK FOR TEN MINUTES FROM ELEVEN TO ELEVEN TEN A.M.
ON SATURDAY 4 MARCH

2213

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

ITALIANI! LAVORATORI!

Churchill ha recentemente dichiarato che l'attuale governo Badoglio ha più autorità nel paese di quanta potrebbe averne un altro governo, affermando — sulla base di questo suo apprezzamento — che l'Italia continuerà a rimanere senza governo fino alla liberazione di Roma. E a Roma, sempre secondo Churchill, l'Italia non avrà un governo su basi nuove, ma semplicemente su basi più larghe.

LAVORATORI!

Questo falso apprezzamento rischia di fare al nostro paese un male incalcolabile. E' quindi necessario dimostrare, subito, a Churchill e agli alleati che fossero altrettanto male informati, che il popolo italiano vuole:

— Mettere ai margini della vita nazionale, fino alla fine della guerra, la monarchia di Savoia, corresponsabile e complice del fascismo; — Costituire un governo antifascista, veramente democratico, che possa fare la guerra sul serio contro il nazismo, epurare la vita del paese, dare inizio di soluzione alla disoccupazione e all'angosciosa situazione alimentare, rappresentare fra gli alleati gli interessi del popolo italiano e non quelli dei suoi nemici.

Per dare questa dimostrazione, domandiamo a tutti gli operai, gli impiegati, i commercianti, i professionisti,

di sospendere il lavoro per dieci minuti dalle undici alle undici e dieci del mattino, il giorno di sabato 4 marzo.

E per dimostrare a tutti che non si tratta di uno sciopero o di un boicottaggio della produzione, ma soltanto di una manifestazione patriottica e antifascista,

prolungate il lavoro per un quarto d'ora da mezzogiorno a mezzogiorno e un quarto della stessa giornata.

2214

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 778500

avrà un governo su basi nuove, ma semplicemente su basi più larghe.

LAVORATORI!

Questo falso apprezzamento rischia di fare al nostro paese un male incalcolabile. E' quindi necessario dimostrare, subito, a Churchill e agli alleati che fossero altrettanto male informati, che il popolo italiano vuole:

— Mettere ai margini della vita nazionale, fino alla fine della guerra, la monarchia di Savoia, corresponsabile e complice del fascismo; — Costituire un governo antifascista, veramente democratico, che possa fare la guerra sul serio contro il nazismo, epurare la vita del paese, dare inizio di soluzione alla disoccupazione e all'angosciosa situazione alimentare, rappresentare fra gli alleati gli interessi del popolo italiano e non quelli dei suoi nemici.

Per dare questa dimostrazione, domandiamo a tutti gli operai, gli impiegati, i commercianti, i professionisti,

di sospendere il lavoro per dieci minuti dalle undici alle undici e dieci del mattino, il giorno di sabato 4 marzo.

E per dimostrare a tutti che non si tratta di uno sciopero o di un boicottaggio della produzione, ma soltanto di una manifestazione patriottica e antifascista,

prolungate il lavoro per un quarto d'ora da mezzogiorno a mezzogiorno e un quarto della stessa giornata.

Paralizzando per dieci minuti la vita economica e amministrativa della città, i napoletani diranno a Churchill quello che vuole il nostro paese.

Il Partito d'Azione
Il Partito Socialista
Il Partito Comunista

2213
Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 780013

2216

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

The Marauders did not meet any Luftwaffe fighters but crews reported that the flak was unusually intense. All medium bombers and fighters returned to their bases safely.

RABAUL RAIDED AGAIN WITHOUT MEETING AIR OPPOSITION: Allied Headquarters SW Pacific, Feb. 28--Allied bombers and fighters today dropped 164 tons of bombs on Japanese supply and bivouac areas at Rabaul in New Britain. Fourteen barges, four jetties, and an ammunition dump were destroyed or damaged. Heavy destruction was caused among warehouses and buildings. There was no interception. One Allied plane was lost.

Thirty-seven Japanese planes were either destroyed or damaged on fields surrounding Wewak, the Japanese base in northern New Guinea. Japanese installations at Hollandia and Alexishafen also came in for a pounding.

NAPLES LABORERS TO STAGE 10-MINUTE STRIKE SATURDAY: Naples, Feb. 28--(By Basil Sprigge, Reuters special correspondent)--Italian workers are to stage a 10 minute strike on Saturday in protest against Churchill's declaration in the House of Commons last week guaranteeing provisional support to the Badoglio government until Rome is reached.

The strike, which is due to start at 11 in the morning, is to take place under the auspices of the Communist, Socialist and Action parties and enjoys the sympathy of the Executive Committee of the National Liberation Committee. To ensure that the Italian war effort is unaffected by the strike the workers will put in an additional quarter of an hour of work afternoon on Saturday. The Committee of National Liberation debated for two hours this afternoon before drawing up a formal protest against Churchill's statement which will be presented to Allied authorities tomorrow.

EGYPT PROTESTS U.S. SENATE STATEMENTS ON PALESTINE: Cairo, Feb. 28--It is officially announced today that the Egyptian government has protested to the United States Government against statements made to a Senate committee on the advisability of creating a Jewish state in Palestine. The note containing the protest was handed to U.S. Minister Alexander Kirk. No answer has yet been received from United States authorities. The Iraq government is understood to have made a protest on similar lines. The Egyptian government is understood to be considering calling on the Arab states to make a protest against any interference in the Palestine issue. Especial importance is attached to this situation at present because the so-called White Paper agreement signed by the British government is due to expire March 31. This agreement specified that after expiration of the agreement no further immigration of Jews to Palestine would be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine were prepared to allow it.

LOANS FOR RETURNING SERVICE MEN: Washington, Feb. 28--Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones said today that government loans will be available to all returning members of the armed forces to help re-establish the business operations which they were forced to liquidate or turn over to others on entering the service.

ITALIAN ART WORKS SAFE IN VATICAN: Zurich, Feb. 28--Reports from Italy say that valuable works of art from all over Italy are now housed in the Vatican. One correspondent of a Swiss paper wrote that "thousands of cases have been taken there, including the most beautiful paintings from Rome, Genoa, Florence, Milan, Venice, and Naples. The contents of several museums are also now safe in the Vatican."

NO MANPOWER SHORTAGE IN INDUSTRY? Detroit, Feb. 28--AFL President William Green said today that the period of manpower shortage in industry had passed. "Now we have moved to the point where men are being thrown out of work," he said.

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NEWS SUMMARY

Public Relations Office

PERSONNEL BASE SECTION NUMBER 139-TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1944

LITTLE ACTION ON ITALIAN FRONTS: Allied Headquarters, Feb. 28--The Germans are taking longer than expected to reorganize their 14th Army--150,000 strong--around the perimeter of the beachhead in preparation for a third full scale assault against the Allied beachhead. The heavy casualties suffered in their last attack, the continued harassing of their rear lines by Allied airforces, and the weather have all, probably, contributed to slowing up the expected offensive.

On the main Fifth Army front the Cassino stalemate persists.

Allied airforces yesterday flew 800 sorties. Rome's airfields were among the targets.

650 LOCALITIES FALL TO RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN THE NORTH: Moscow, Feb. 29--Moving forward on a 100-mile front from north of Pskov down to west of Novosokolniki, Russian troops yesterday continued their broad advance, capturing a total of 650 localities.

Russian forces closing in on Pskov captured 450 towns and villages, including Karamyshevo, 15 miles east of Pskov and last important station on the railway from Staraya Russa. The capture of this town represents an advance of 32 miles in the two days since Porkhov fell. Also taken was the town of Slavkovichi, 23 miles southeast of Pskov and a few miles south of the Staraya Russa railway.

In the advance north and northwest of Novosokolniki a total of 200 localities were captured. Among them was Dicholo, situated 8 miles south of Neverzhev. Soviet forces moving westward in this sector are approximately 40 miles from the Latvian border.

Although Hitler has issued an order to hold Pskov to the last man, it appeared last night that the whole northern front was rapidly giving away under Russian pressure. If the Soviets reach the Latvian border, not less than 40 miles away in some sectors, they will have cleared the Germans from a stretch of the Russian border more than 200 miles in length. The supplement to last night's communique states that three German divisions were defeated in the current drive toward Latvia.

THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS ARRIVE IN BRITAIN FOR SECOND FRONT: London, Feb. 28--Many thousands of Americans have landed in Britain to reinforce the invasion army. This was disclosed today by a London evening standard report on the U.S. forces who said that the Americans enjoyed quite a pleasure cruise. Thousands of troops crossed the ocean without the loss of a man or a ship. Not a single U-boat attack or attempted attack was reported. A number of the convoy vessels transported land and carrier-based fighting planes. The convoy also brought many airmen to reinforce the ever-increasing Eighth and Ninth U.S. Air Forces. The standard reporter said these airmen were ready to take over the new aircraft brought across the Atlantic by transport command pilots. Among the arrivals were also many Canadians. The men were permitted to sleep in pajamas because the German submarines did not appear. Lifebelts were not worn.

AIR OFFENSIVE RESUMED WITH ATTACKS ON NORTHERN FRANCE: London, Feb. 28--American flying fortresses and Liberators of the Eighth Air Force escorted by Lightnings, Thunderbolts and Mustangs switched from German aircraft factories to pound military targets in northern France today. No fighter opposition was encountered from the Luftwaffe, one of whose planes was destroyed by the American fighters as it was taking off. Six American bombers were lost in this operation. Marauder medium bombers of the Ninth U.S. Air Force were also in action against northern France. More than 2 0 Marauders crossed the Channel wing tip to wing tip and then split up into several formations, striking at Pas de Calais and German airfields near Amiens.

(Continued)

March 1944

Parties of the Kingdom of Italy (Liberated Zone).

Memorandum.

1.) Partito Socialista (Socialist Party).

Socialism on National (Italian) basis. Universal welfare particularly for the common people. Complete defascistation. Abolition of the monarchy, but maintenance of an independent Italy.
Favours interests of working classes and lower middle classes. (a part of New Deal).
President Avvocato Lelio Porzio.

2.) Partito Comunista (Communist Party).

Idea of the "Third Internationale" within scope of the proclamations of the Board of the International Communist Party at Moscow. Rule of the proletariats (workers and agricultural workers). Welfare of the common people. Existence of Italy within a European Union of Communistic republics.
Abolition of the monarchy. Complete defascistation.
President: Palmiro Togliatti, former member of the executive of the Comintern. Has lived in Moscow for a considerable number of years. Arrived in Italy March 27th. 1944, explaining his views on April 1st. 1944.

3.) Partito Democratico - cristiano (Democratic-Christian Party).

Realisation of the democratic ideal on Christian basis. Defascistation of the State. Support for agriculture. Protection of the middle classes and further labour welfare (particularly peasants) in keeping with "Rerum Novarum" ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ Encyclical (Leo XIII). Favours monarchical system.
President Rodino Giurio.

4.) Partito Liberale (Liberal Party).

Re-establishment of the old Liberal Party existing until the suppression of all political parties by the Fascist Government. (Vide Art. 215 onward Italian Law of the Public Security Unified Text 1926 repealed by the Law of the Public Security unified Text 1931 Art. 210 onward.) Risorgimento (National Regeneration) also in historical sense. Abolition of the monarchy after plebiscite. Defascistation of the State. Favours monarchical system but desires abolition of present king.
President: Professore Orazio Auix.
President Honor: Benedetto Croce.

5.) Partito di Azione (Party of Action).

La cui ~~xx~~ complete defascistation and liberation of Italy from the occupation by the Germans. Active Policy of Italy to side with the United Nations and active participation of Italy in the war. Public censure of all fascist

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2.) Partito Comunista (Communist Party).

Idea of the "Third Internationale" within scope of the proclamations of the board of the International Communist Party at Moscow.Rule of the proletariate (Workers and agricultural workers).Welfare of the common people.Existence of Italy within a European Union of Communistic republics.Abolition of the monarchy.Complete defascization.
President:Palmiro Togliatti,former member of the Executive of the Comintern.Has lived in Moscow for a considerable number of years.Arrived in Italy March 27th.1944,explained his views on April 1st. 1944.

3.) Partito Democratico - Cristiano (Democratic-Christian Party).

Realization of the democratic ideal on Christian basis. Reincarnation of the State.Support for Agriculture.Protection of the middle classes and further laborers welfare(particularly peasants) in keeping with "Rerum Novarum" Encyclical (Leo XIII).Favours monarchical system.
President Rodino Giulio.

4.) Partito Liberale (Liberal Party).

Re-establishment of the old Liberal Party existing until the suppression of all political parties by the Fascist Government.(Vide Art.215 onward Italian Law of the Public Security Unified Text 1926 repealed by the Law of the Public Security Unified Text 1931 Art.210 onward.) Risorgimento (National Regeneration) also in historical sense.Abolition of the monarchy after plebiscite.Defascization of the state. Favours monarchical system but desires abolition of present ruling.
President:Professore Arangio Ruiz.
President honor:Benedetto Croce.

5.) Partito di Azione (Party of Action).

Regulate complete defascization and liberation of Italy from the occupation by the War ons.Active Policy of Italy to close with the United Nations and active participation of Italy in the war.Public exposure of all fascist or dubious circles. Trial of those responsible for the war and the collapse of Italy.
Partito d'Azione - Republican.

President Avvocato Ferruccio Parri.
President honour Conte Sforza.
Follows a group of Int.Class intellectuals with financial backing in Northern Italy.

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6.) Partito della Democrazia del Lavoro (Democratic Party of Labour).

Radical Democratic Party. Government of Italy in conformity with democratic axioms. Reinstatement of the "State of Parties". Democratic ideals:Liberty,equality,fraternity. Protection of the common people,the workers and the artisans and furtherance of the youth.
President:Avvocato Williams (almost) (unmasked).
Practically no followers.

The 6 parties mentioned above participate in the National Front of Liberation, at first named Antifascist Concentration Committee.
Purpose Unconditional continuation of the war against Germany for the liberation of Italy and complete defascisation.
President:Professore Arangio Ruiz,Napoli per Napoli.
For every province there is named another president.

7.) Partito Democratico-Liberale (Democratic-Liberal Part.).

Also named by the people Partito dei Re (Party of the King). Government-Party of His Excellency Badoglio.
Postponement of the constitutional question until the complete liberation of Italy.Protection of the national economy and particularly of agriculture and industry.
Equality for all citizens.
Presidency vacant.
Party in reorganisation.
Prominent member S.E.Avvocato di Nicola.
Followers particularly in middle classes.
Strong sections in Apulia.

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SECRET

SECRET 23

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH ARMY
Psychological Warfare Branch (Inc) AFHQ
APO 464 USA.

SUBJECT: Political Intelligence Report for Background Material.

TO : The Commanding General, Fifth Army, ATTN A.C/S, G-2, Fifth Army.

SECRET
By Authority of CG, 5th Army
Initials
Date: 15 November 1943.

1- The attached report is prepared from intelligence gathered by J.a.R.I.Manley (Sr), Captain, I.Corps; A.L.a. Patti, First Lieutenant, MIS, and Arthur C.F.Mathieu, First Lieutenant, MIS.

2- It has not been evaluated except by PWB, but all elements of Italian opinion have been sampled and the report is believed accurately to reflect the political background required for the propaganda work of the Psychological Warfare Branch.

John T. Whitaker
JOHN T. WHITAKER,
Lt.Colonel, aUS,
CO PWB 5th Army.

1 Incl
Incl # 1- Political chart.

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S E C R E T

I. GENERAL.- 1. The Italians have attempted since the armistice to resolve their political differences and widen the base of national unity. There has been a deadlock. On the one hand the King declines to abdicate. On the other the liberal or anti-fascist groups support the Allied war effort and the Badoglio government but they refuse to participate in that government so long as the King (whom they blame for his acceptance of fascism and the German alliance) remains. A phase in the effort to achieve compromise was terminated by (a)- the visits of King Victor Emanuel and Marshal Badoglio to Naples, (b)- their failure to persuade leading personalities to accept cabinet posts, and, (c)- the subsequent announcement (13 November) that Badoglio had organized a "technical" government of under-secretaries and experts. Thus the efforts of Italians to compose the differences which divide them are abandoned until the taking of Rome or thereafter. Allied propaganda must be forearmed consequently against a possible struggle for power, since the King and the Prince of Piedmont may try for a de facto military dictatorship, or the anti-King groups (most are not opposed to the House of Savoy) may attempt popular agitation.

a. Count Carlo Sforza, the most distinguished of the anti-fascist exiles, arrived in Italy with the valuable political capital of recent talks with Mr. Hull and Mr. Churchill. Sforza persuaded liberals against collaboration with Badoglio before the abdication of the King but declared his willingness to accept Badoglio as regent for the boy Prince of Naples, grandson of Victor Emanuel. Sforza's popular following has proved in no way comparable to his prestige among the elite.

b. General Basso, supported by troops from Sardinia, became Badoglio's military commander in the Naples area. Enrico Cavalieri was named Prefect for the Province of Naples by decree of Badoglio through Basso without the ratification of Allied authorities and without the consultation of the liberal groups which AMG had requested. Guiseppe Volpi was appointed first president of the Court of Appeals, Naples.

c. News of the Moscow conference was received with interest in informed circles and Italians are awaiting further developments and interpretations of what the results will mean to Italy now and in the post-war settlements.

d. The ration situation has improved slightly but is still described as unsatisfactory by the people. Meat distribution started 7 November.

e. The remarkably rapid reopening of the banks 30 October brought a most favorable reaction comparable to that following the speedy restoration of water in the first days and electric current in the first week of the Allied occupation.

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II. PUBLIC OPINION. -1. The general trend of Italian opinion in this area in past weeks has been unmistakably one of raising clamor against the King and former fascists still in office. This was perhaps inevitable with the visit of the King and others. Certainly the one subject of conversation which cuts across all lines of class is the rumor that Badoglio would drop the King, create a regency and call Sforza or Bonomi or Croce to be Prime Minister. This is understandable but to the chatter of political conversation there has been added the deeper and more threatening note of divers elements bent on starting up the underground presses in a campaign for the immediate ousting of the King and the countless bureaucrats remaining in office from fascist days.

a. Elements sponsoring Sforza rarely miss a spotlight opportunity. After the armistice celebration at the University of Naples 4 November Sforza was called upon to speak but while what he said met with the approval of students and audience generally there was slight applause for the person of the Count who is felt by many of these elements to have been too long away from Italy. An artificial demonstration for the man failed.

b. There is widespread bewilderment at the recent actions of General Basso. It was understood by the public that General Basso's mission was purely military, yet he has made several administrative appointments in the name of the Marshal. The people are aware that a military man has assumed the role of civil administrator, while they still believe that there exists a Minister for Civil Affairs, Signor Piccardi.

c. Marshal Badoglio's departure from the city left an impression of helplessness. It was made clear to the various people with whom he spoke, that Italians are to accept the Monarchial Government until the Allies have reached Rome. He also left the implication that it is difficult to treat with the Allies.

d. The future of Italy, worries many thinking Italians, because of their participation in the occupation of North Africa, France, the Balkans, Greece, and other countries. The meeting between Count Sforza, and De Gaulle, in North Africa, has created the impression that the Count might have raised the question of a post-war Italian position with regard to France, and that some understanding has been reached. But the French National Committee of Liberation took the stand that Italy could not, and should not be treated on the same basis with liberated France. Hence, efforts on the part of the Allies through their RSC appeals to the Italians to assist the French and the French to assist the Italians are necessary but not likely to be successful. Until a better interpretation of Italy's position can be had, the Moscow Conference has served to upset the Italian mind as to its future, in spite of the decision to call Italians in for the London Advisary Committee.

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e. Many quarters, including the military, voice the view that the purpose of the new Italian army is not to assist the allied war effort but to create a bodyguard for the King and Prince and if necessary to defend the Crown by force. Many former officers consider that the armed is being reformed under complete royalist control and under officers who at the time of the German occupation showed weakness and fascist tendencies. It is argued, that the only officers considered eligible for service now are those who in the past showed unwavering loyalty to the crown and are now prepared to swear allegiance to the King in his anti-Republican program.

f. Some commotion has been raised against the lire notes printed by AMG. Certain industrial interests with banking connections are spreading disparaging rumors, followed by suggestions that new bank notes be printed by the Bank of Naples. (At one time both the Banks of Naples and Sicily printed notes).

g. Meat was distributed for the first time 7 November but this did not justify in the minds of the public the high cost of living. The "popolo" make much of the fact that the bread ration is still 100 grams per day and not 200 as announced by BBC. The shortage of foodstuffs on the open market and their abundance in the Black Market causes bitterness and the people complain against a lack of allied firmness. Simple people who depended upon the industries of the Naples area for their income are a prey to mischievous individuals who say that factories which remain unbombed could be reopened if the allies pursued a more generous policy. This kind of rumor has been assisted by Lauro, and other unscrupulous industrialists, with an axe to grind.

III. THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE FIVE PARTIES (Il comitato d'azione dei cinque partiti). -1. at present the Committee for Liberation (comitato di liberazione) is somewhat discredited in the eyes of the citizenry because some members have little party support. Aping the similar committee set up in Rome the Neapolitans named several individuals to represent parties which scarcely existed in Naples.

a. LABOR PARTY. Signor Cerabona, a former member of Parliament, appointed himself the representative of Partito del Lavoro which had no membership in Naples and is seeking followers.

b. SOCIALIST PARTY. Lelio Forzio, a lawyer completely inexperienced in politics, together with Scipione Rossi, likewise an honest lawyer without political background, represent a Socialista party with negligible membership.

c. THE ACTION PARTY. Claudio Ferri represents Partito d'Azione in the committee and this party is undoubtedly powerful. A coalition of anti-Fascist groups it reflects the socially-minded bourgeois elements who proved staunch foes of the Mussolini regime but Ferri is lacking in vigor and his colleague, Signor Schiano, though an enthusiastic foe of fascism, is ready to espouse any form of demagoguery.

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d. LIBERAL PARTY. Professor Arangio Ruiz is a man of learning. He was thwarted in his ambition to be rector of the University and hence embittered against Professor Omodeo, the the present rector, and Senator Benedetto Croce, his old friend. As leader of the Liberali in the committee Arangio Ruiz is committed to Signor Morelli whose first loyalty would appear to be less toward the Liberali than toward the interests of the Bank of Naples and its director, Signor Frignani, for whom Morelli is legal counsel.

e. The Communists are represented in the committee by Eugenio Reale whose brother Adriano is a leading member of Partito d'Azione. The Reale brothers are honest and forceful but they do not seem able to improve the honesty or forcefulness of the Steering Committee of the Five Parties which is further weakened by the presence of Sigs. Santoro and Formarisllo, two lawyers who sit on behalf of invalids and ex-combattants from the World War.

f. To sum up, the committee is composed of well meaning men who find it hard to maintain independence of action and decision because they are influenced by pressure on their parties, some of which are virtually without members and others of which have members under obligation to Signor Lauro and other monied individuals trying to maintain the positions they enjoyed in the fascist system of outright corruption. In moments of complete confusion the Steering Committee has twice repaired to Sorrento to seek the advice of Senator Croce. This 77-year-old philosopher whom even Mussolini dared not arrest is perhaps the only living Italian who has the respect of all political groups. He refuses to enter politics, saying that he finds it possible to work until 3 or 4 a.m. on his philosophical writings but that politics, as practised by the King and the Steering Committee, weary him unduly. Croce is unalterably opposed to the King as "the first fascist of the land"; approves Badoglio as a patriotic, if politically inept, Italian with whom he conspired for thirteen months in order to eject Mussolini and make war against Germany. When the King, through Count D'Acquerone, approached Croce last week with the suggestion that Croce's son-in-law, Raimondo Craverieri of Partito d'Azione, should have cabinet rank the old man is said to have replied with irritation that Craverieri could not hold such a position and furthermore that such matters did not interest him in the least. Croce has told the committee and all others seeking his advice that their first duty is to fight the Germans, support the Allies with a lively sense of Italy's obligation to the democracies and save such problems as the King for the period after the ejection of the Germans.

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IV. ARMY. a. The Italian army as a political force likely to decide the future system of government in this country stole into the picture almost imperceptibly.

a. On 23 October the advance echelon of the Hq of General Basso appeared in Piazza Salerno, accompanied by the first elements of the 113 Regt of the Mantova Division. Basso received full authority from Badoglio and the King in the area of Campania. He was charged to reorganize military installations and to form new units (based on the 160,000 men in Sardinia) in accordance with the requirements of the Allied authorities. According to reliable informants, however, Basso received further instructions from the Prince of Piedmont who declared during his visit in Sardinia that he expected Basso to "purge" out Republican elements and to obstruct any Allied requisitions not made by the Italian army on behalf of the Allies. At an "officers -call" shortly after his arrival in Naples, Basso himself said that the new army would be rigidly anti-Republican and that he would examine the past activities of every officer to be sure of their loyalty to Victor Emanuel.

b. General Pavone's volunteer movement was liquidated 2 November when orders were received from Basso. The reaction of the Pavone group was one of disappointment that the Allied authorities had not intervened on behalf of Pavone. Morale fell noticeably among these volunteers.

ENCL.
Attached is a provisional chart of Italian political parties and groups, arranged in order of political tendencies from right to left. The size of the squares and their relative heights bear no relation to their strength. Dotted squares indicate groups absorbed into or affiliated with other parties.

John T. Whittaker.
JOHN T. WHITTAKER,
Lt.Colonel, AUS,
CO PWB 5th ARMY.

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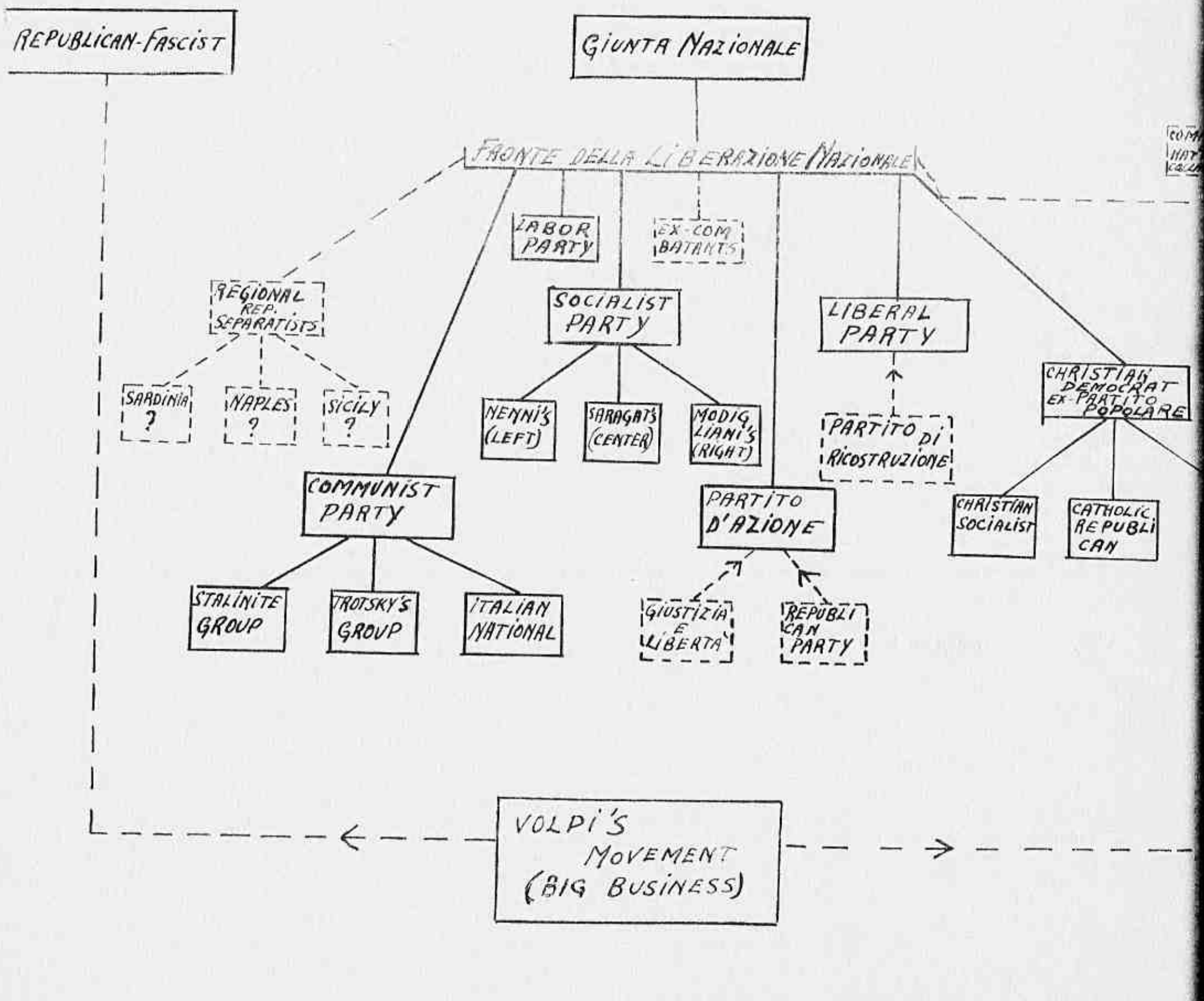
POLITICAL PARTIES ITALY NOV. 1943



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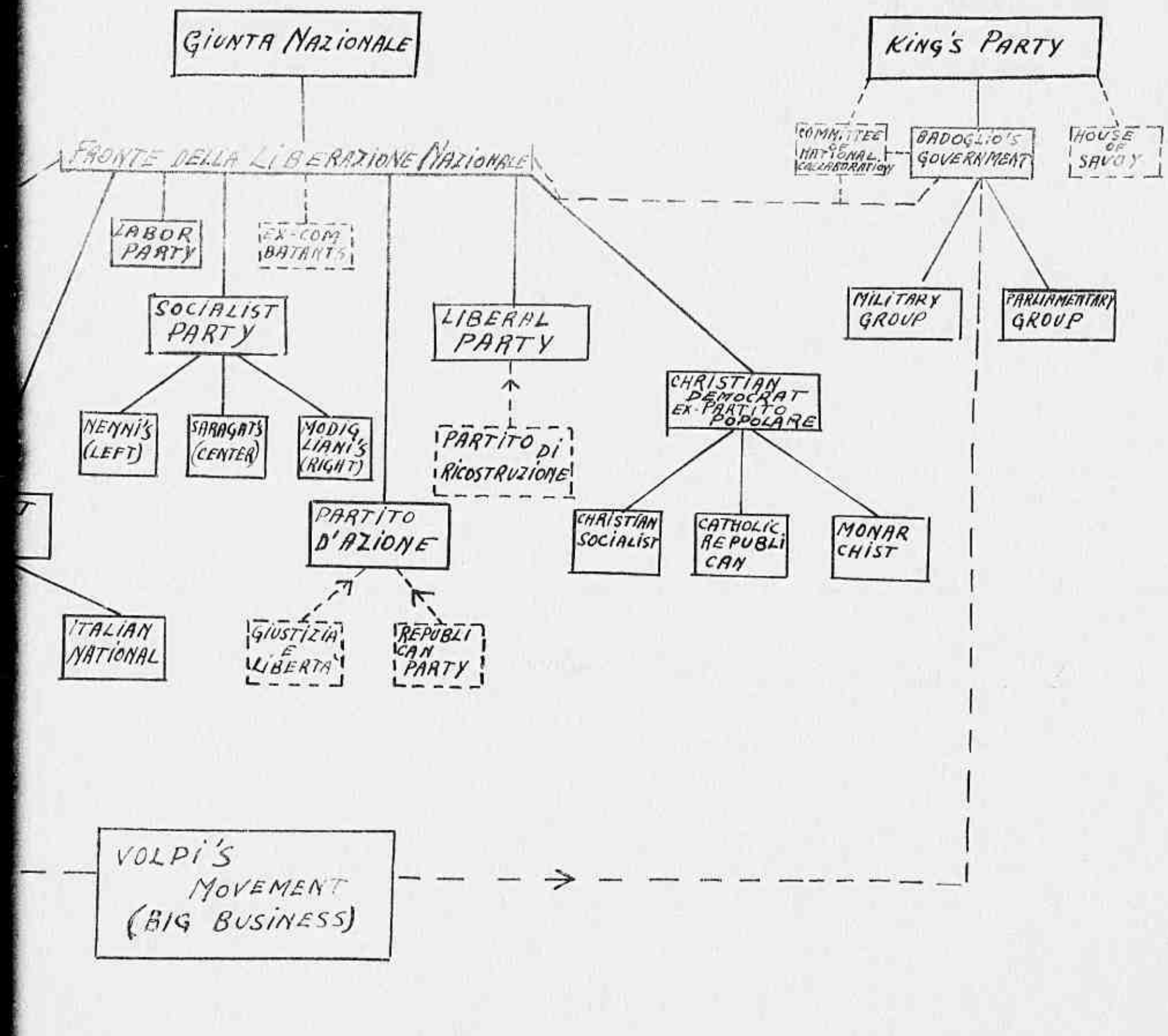
POLITICAL PARTIES ITALY NOV. 1943

PROVISIONAL DIAGRAM



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Letter 7 March 1944

Reinhardt to Pol. Sec.

Anti-German elements in Milan have formed a Central Committee for all German-occupied Italy. They approve Allied policy in S. Italy, etc. etc.

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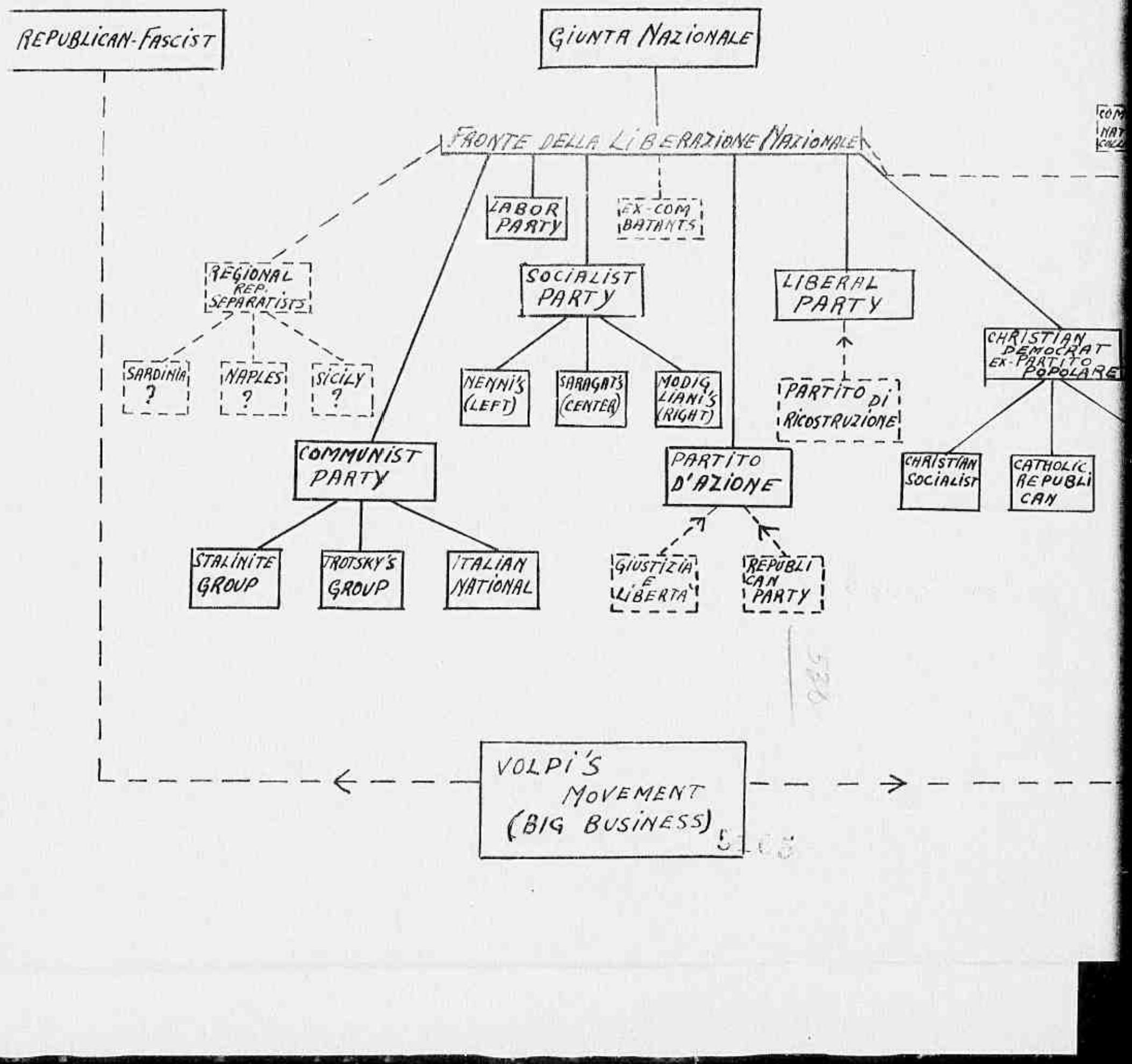
POLITICAL PARTIES ITALY NOV. 1943



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Political Parties Italy Nov. 1943

Provisional Diagram