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SOVIET LABOR DELEGATION REPORTS
OCT. 1944

Confidential

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
APO 394
LABOR SUB-COMMISSION

EJS/ac/maa

REF: 091.446

SUBJECT: Memorandum on the SOVIET LABOUR DELEGATION TO ITALY

TO : Mr. W. W. Schott (a) and Mr. H. Hopkinson (b)
A. C. Joint Vice-Presidents, Political Section
Through Colonel Junius R. Smith
Acting Director, Labour Sub-Commission

FROM : Major E. J. Scicluna
Labour Relations Officer, A. C. Labour Sub-Commission
Officer Conducting Soviet Labour Delegation Tour

I. Initial contacts and Preliminaries in Rome (23 Sept. - 6 Oct.)

1. The Delegation composed of:

Michail Petrovic TARASOV - Secretary of the Central Syndi
Council of the USSR - Head of the Delegation.

Vasili Dementievic AKSENOV - President of the Central Syn
Committee of Mechanical workers of the USSR - Member of t
Delegation.

Piotr Vasilievic SCIUPLEZOV - President of the Syndical O
ganising Committee of Agricultural workers of Ukraine and
Moldavia - Member of the Delegation.

Dimitri Petrovic SCHEVLIAGHIN - Secretary to the Soviet
Labour Delegation to Italy.

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on the SOVIET LABOUR DELEGATION TO ITALY

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Vice-Presidents, Political Section
Colonel Junius R. Smith
Director, Labour Sub-Commission

Scicluna
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Came to Italy with the approval of AFHQ, on the invitation of the "Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro". The text of the invitation was submitted to ACC Political Section by Giuseppe di Vittorio, Communist Joint Secretary of CGIL.

2. The Soviet Delegation arrived in Rome on 23 September 1944--the eve of departure of the Anglo-American Trade Union Delegation--thus affording them an opportunity for an informal exchange of views with three of the Anglo-American delegates, namely O'Brien (T.U.C.), Lawther (T.U.C.) and Baldanzi (C.I.O.).

3. On this early occasion Col. Bain, Director Labour Sub-Commission, briefly explained to the Soviet delegates how the Anglo-American Delegation had been afforded every facility by AFHQ and ACC, suggested at the same time that an early appointment be fixed for a conference to decide in what way could best afford them the same help. Col. Bain also called at the Soviet Embassy the following day in order to have this meeting arranged by them. Five days lapsed before an appointment was fixed.

4. The conference was attended by the four Soviet members of the Delegation, Lt. Commander Grishchinsky (P.A. To General Sousloparov), Col. J.T.R. Bain (Director Labour Sub-Commission), Captain The Earl of Ranfurly (ACC Liaison Branch), and myself. In a very cordial, if somewhat formal atmosphere, the activities and experiences of the Anglo-American Delegation were briefly outlined to the Soviet delegates and an assurance given that they would be afforded the same facilities. Tarasov was the spokesman for the Soviet Delegation, stating that:

- a. Their limited time in Italy precluded the adoption of such an ambitious programme as that followed by the Anglo-Americans;
- b. They were already in close contact with CGIL officials with whom they had exchanged views;
- c. They had not yet planned any tour but would in due course inform ACC of their intentions and requirements; and

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with the approval of AFHQ, on the invitation of the "Generale Italiana del Lavoro". The text of the invitation was prepared by the ACC Political Section by Giuseppe di Vittorio, Communist Party of CGIL.

The Soviet Delegation arrived in Rome on 23 September 1944--the departure of the Anglo-American Trade Union Delegation--thus providing an opportunity for an informal exchange of views with three American delegates, namely O'Brien (T.U.C.), Lawther (T.U.C.) and (I.O.).

On this early occasion Col. Bain, Director Labour Sub-Commission, explained to the Soviet delegates how the Anglo-American Delegation had been provided every facility by AFHQ and ACC, suggested at the same time that an appointment be fixed for a conference to decide in what way ACC could provide them the same help. Col. Bain also called at the Soviet Delegation the following day in order to have this meeting arranged by them. This was done before an appointment was fixed.

The conference was attended by the four Soviet members of the Delegation, Commander Grishchinsky (P.A. To General Sousloparov), Captain The Earl of (Director Labour Sub-Commission), Captain The Earl of (Liaison Branch), and myself. In a very cordial, if somewhat informal manner, the activities and experiences of the Anglo-American Delegation were briefly outlined to the Soviet delegates and an assurance was given that they would be afforded the same facilities. Tarasov was the only member of the Soviet Delegation, stating that:

- a. Their limited time in Italy precluded the adoption of such an ambitious programme as that followed by the Anglo-Americans;
- b. They were already in close contact with CGIL officials, with whom they had exchanged views;
- c. They had not yet planned any tour but would in due course inform ACC of their intentions and requirements; and

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- d. They were indeed grateful for the hospitality and ship which ACC had so far afforded them and they would call upon ACC Labour Sub-Commission for any assistance they might require.

From the trend of this interview and of a subsequent conversation one was led to believe that:

- a. The delegation had received no specific terms of reference from the Soviet Government;
- b. They considered their mission to be solely "social" and "exclusively" to the Italian working classes;
- c. It was their intention (i) to convey to the Italian men a message of good-will from the Soviet workers to tell the people of Italy something of their war experiences and of the Nazi atrocity, and (iii) to find something about the present conditions of the Italian working classes.

5. The Delegation continued to operate independently of the Sub-Commission and assumed towards me a courteous attitude of aloofness. A meeting with the Labour Exponents and Organizers of the Rome Area was arranged by the "Camera del Lavoro" under the aegis of the CGIL on 29 September without previous notification to ACC and almost to make it quite clear that they were not expecting any cooperation from Labour Sub-Commission. Invitations were delivered on the eve of the meeting. At this meeting Tarasov spoke publicly for the first time giving an outline of the campaign and emphasising the one final mission of the United Nations "to finish the Fascist - Nazi beast in its lair.". No Agenda has been prepared for the meeting. After some discussion it was decided to give the audience an opportunity of asking questions about life in Soviet Russia a matter which provided some rather embarrassing moments for the Delegation which had no previous similar experience. On the whole this first meeting was a failure.

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d. They were indeed grateful for the hospitality and friendship which ACC had so far afforded them and they would call upon ACC Labour Sub-Commission for any assistance they might require.

On the trend of this interview and of a subsequent conversation, I believe that:

- a. The delegation had received no specific terms of reference from the Soviet Government;
- b. They considered their mission to be solely "sociological" and "exclusively" to the Italian working classes; and
- c. It was their intention (i) to convey to the Italian workmen a message of good-will from the Soviet workers, (ii) to tell the people of Italy something of their war experiences and of the Nazi atrocity, and (iii) to find out something about the present conditions of the Italian working classes.

The Delegation continued to operate independently of Labour on and assumed towards me a courteous attitude of aloofness. A the Labour Exponents and Organizers of the Rome Area was arranged "Cura del Lavoro" under the aegis of the CGIL on 29 September 1944. I gave a notification to ACC and almost to make it quite clear that I was not expecting any cooperation from Labour Sub-Commission five days before the meeting. At this meeting I was delivered on the eve of the meeting. At this meeting I was publicly for the first time giving an outline of the Russian Revolution, emphasising the one final mission of the United Nations, namely, the Fascist - Nazi beast in its lair. No Agenda has been prepared for the meeting. After some discussion it was decided to give the opportunity of asking questions about life in Soviet Russia--a provided some rather embarrassing moments for the Delegates who had no previous similar experience. On the whole this first meeting was a

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6. On 3 October 1944 Di Vittorio communicated to me the itinerary which the Soviet Labour Delegation were intending to follow on their tour of Southern Italy - informing me at the same time that they would require transport for this tour. The tour was scheduled to take place between 6 October 1944 and 5 November 1944, but the delegation were expecting to return from Moscow in answer to their request to prolong their stay in Italy. The itinerary was subsequently curtailed with a view to reaching Rome on the 31st October. It was also radically altered for the period in which Di Vittorio was expecting to be alone with the Delegation whilst touring his own province of Puglia. (Vide Appendix "A" for Itineraries). Motor transport was made available and the Delegation was informed that as representative of Labour Sub-Commission, Major Scicluna would be conducting the party. On the eve of departure at 2300 hrs. the Secretary of the Delegation informed me that they still did not think it necessary for a military escort to accompany them and (b) they would make their own transport arrangements once it was possible to get military cars without an accompanying officer. Acting on the instructions of Brigadier Lush, ACC Chief of Staff, Col. Junius R. Smith (Acting Director, Labour Sub-Commission), at 0015 hrs. on 6 October, I personally intimated to the Delegation, through their Secretary Mr. Schevliakov, that their departure would have to be postponed by a few hours in order to clear up this misunderstanding. General Soustoparov, ACC Soviet representative, would be present.

7. At a meeting held in Brigadier Lush's office, the Soviet representative, in the absence of the Delegation, undertook to explain to the Delegation that it was advisable to use military transport and to have a conducting officer to accompany them.

The party consisting of four Soviet Delegates, Giuseppe Di Vittorio (Communist Sec. CGIL), Oreste Lizzardi (Socialist Sec. CGIL), and myself eventually left Rome for Naples at 1300 hrs. on 6 October 1944.

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On 3 October 1944 Di Vittorio communicated to me the itinerary of the Soviet Labour Delegation were intending to follow on their tour of Italy - informing me at the same time that they would require motor transport for this tour. The tour was scheduled to take place between 4 and 5 November 1944, but the delegation were expecting a cable in answer to their request to prolong their stay in Italy. This was subsequently curtailed with a view to reaching Rome on the 4th.

It was also radically altered for the period in which Di Vittorio was to be alone with the Delegation whilst touring his own province - (see Appendix "A" for Itineraries). Motor transport was made available to the Delegation was informed that as representative of Labour Sub-Commission Major Scicluna would be conducting the party. On the eve of departure at 1300 hrs. the Secretary of the Delegation informed me that (a) they did not think it necessary for a military escort to accompany them as they would make their own transport arrangements once it was not possible to get military cars without an accompanying officer. Acting on the instructions of Brigadier Lush, ACC Chief of Staff, Col. Junius R. Smith, Director, Labour Sub-Commission), at 0015 hrs. on 6 October, officially informed the Delegation, through their Secretary Mr. Schevliaghin, that their departure would have to be postponed by a few hours in order to avoid any misunderstanding. General Soustoparov, ACC Soviet representative, was to be present.

At a meeting held in Brigadier Lush's office, the Soviet General, Secretary of the Delegation, undertook to explain to the Delegates that they were unable to use military transport and to have a conducting officer accompany them.

The party consisting of four Soviet Delegates, Giuseppe (Communist Sec. CGIL), Oreste Lizzardi (Socialist Sec. CGIL) and two others, finally left Rome for Naples at 1300 hrs. on 6 October 1944.

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II. The Tour of Southern Italy, Sicily and Sardegna - 6 Oct. -

1. The tour of Southern Italy took the Delegation to the towns: Naples, Scaffati, Torre del Greco, Foggia, Lucera, San Serracapriola, Manfredonia, Cerignola, Canossa, Barletta, Andria, Ruvo, Brindisi, Lecce, Francavilla, Bari, Giovinazzo, Taranto, Grotte, Potenza, Cosenza, Reggio Calabria, Messina, Catania, Agrigento, Palermo, Cagliari, Iglesias and Carbonia.

2. The first mass public meeting was held at the Teatro Giustiniani, Naples. This was the only occasion on which Grandi (Christian Sec. CGIL) was present. Lizzardi returned to Rome on departure from Naples but, as he was afraid that the tour was about to generate into an all-communist picnic, in order to counter-act the effect of Di Vittorio he made arrangements for Colassanti (Demo-Christian) to accompany the Delegation as a representative of Grandi. Di Vittorio left the Delegation on 20 October 1944 on the conclusion of the tour in Puglia and Calabria). was replaced by Pastore (Communist, Gen. Sec. Agricultural Workers' Union Puglia and Calabria).

3. Throughout the tour but more particularly in the earlier part, whilst Di Vittorio was responsible for all arrangements, the Delegation continued to be very courteous but evasive and reticent--thus manoeuvring into a position of "splendid isolation". I was never informed until the eleventh hour where the Delegation was heading for and what activities were proposing to follow. On the whole I had to rely on casual, second-hand sources for my information. Between 11 October 1944 and 20 October 1944, the itinerary scheduled out in Rome was completely so that all hotel reservations were thrown out of alignment and had to be made for accommodation and garaging as circumstances permitted. The duration of a visit in any town was made contingent on the arrangements by the local Communist Organization and by the "Camera" political exigencies being the primary consideration for the elaboration or curtailment of their programme.

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Tour of Southern Italy, Sicily and Sardegna - 6 Oct. - 30 Oct. 1944

The tour of Southern Italy took the Delegation to the following places, Scaffati, Torre del Greco, Foggia, Lucera, San Severo, Mottola, Manfredonia, Cerignola, Canossa, Barletta, Andria, Corato, Grottole, Lecce, Francavilla, Bari, Giovinazzo, Taranto, Gioia del Colle, Cosenza, Reggio Calabria, Messina, Catania, Agrigento, Caltanissetta, Iglisia and Carbonara.

The first mass public meeting was held at the Teatro Giacoso in Naples. This was the only occasion on which Grandi (Demo-Sec. CGIL) was present. Lizzardi returned to Rome on our departure from Naples but, as he was afraid that the tour was about to develop into an all-communist picnic, in order to counter-act the activities of Di Vittorio he made arrangements for Colassanti (Demo-Christin) to accompany the Delegation as a representative of Grandi. Di Vittorio left the tour on 20 October 1944 on the conclusion of the tour in Puglia; he was replaced by Pastore (Communist, Gen. Sec. Agricultural Workers Union of Calabria).

Throughout the tour but more particularly in the earlier stages and in Calabria, Di Vittorio was responsible for all arrangements, the Delegation could be very courteous but evasive and reticent--thus manoeuvring me into a position of "splendid isolation". I was never informed until the last hour where the Delegation was heading for and what activities they were proposing to follow. On the whole I had to rely on casual remarks and on the word of mouth of the various sources for my information. Between 11 October 1944 and 30 October 1944, the itinerary scheduled out in Rome was completely ignored, all hotel reservations were thrown out of alignment and arrangements for accommodation and garaging as circumstances permitted. The decision of a visit in any town was made contingent on the programme proposed by the local Communist Organization and by the "Camera del Lavoro"--the exigencies being the primary consideration for the elaboration of their programme.

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4. The Delegation was generally met at the entrance of the town by large crowds who might have been awaiting the arrival of the "four anti-christs" for hours. A number of Soviet flags, Communist Symbols and placards bearing Communist mottoes and photographs of Lenin were invariably in evidence. Often the municipal band was present. The Party was enthusiastically welcomed and, in procession through the principal street and to the singing of "Bandiera Rossa" and the "Inno Internazionale". were escorted to the Theatre or open tribune from where the addresses were to be made. The organized welcoming crowd was often under strict Communist discipline, organized in squads with the juvenile and women's sections brought into special evidence. Mass hysteria and emphasis on red symbols varied from one place to another, reaching its highest expression in the Puglia, particularly at Andria, San Severo, Cerignola and Taranto.

The Delegation was accompanied by the respective Provincial Secretaries of the "Camera del Lavoro" and of the "Communist Party" and by the Editor of "La Voce"--and ardent communist--between October 10 and 11. A change of guard took place as the Delegation crossed over from one province to another.

Addresses delivered by the Delegates were invariably correct in content and limited to subtle innuendoes; the Communist representative of CGIL provided the more obvious onslaught--the trend and intensity of Communist propaganda changing with the locality and in conformity with directions given by the respective Provincial Secretaries. The message delivered was more or less the same but varied from an objective and guarded statement of social injustices that should be urgently remedied--as was put over in more important centres like Naples or Bari, where speeches would have been considerably publicised, thus causing immediate repercussions--to a violent outburst of malicious invective and provocation of class hatred as was spread in the lesser centres like Barletta, San Severo, Serracapriola, Cerignola, where publicity would have been limited to the local press.

5. The activities of the Delegation throughout the tour might be subdivided as follows:

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4. The Delegation was generally met at the entrance of the town by the crowds who might have been awaiting the arrival of the "four anti-ists" for hours. A number of Soviet flags, Communist Symbols and cards bearing Communist mottoes and photographs of Lenin were invariably evidence. Often the municipal band was present. The Party was enthusiastically welcomed and, in procession through the principal streets to the singing of "Bandiera Rossa" and the "Inno Internazionale". They were escorted to the Theatre or open tribune from where the addresses were made. The organized welcoming crowd was often under strict Communist discipline, organized in squads with the juvenile and women's sections brought into special evidence. Mass hysteria and emphasis on red symbolism spread from one place to another, reaching its highest expression in the area, particularly at Andria, San Severo, Cerignola and Taranto.

The Delegation was accompanied by the respective Provincial Secretaries of the "Camera del Lavoro" and of the "Communist Party" and the Editor of "La Voce"--and ardent communist--between October 10 and 20. A change of guard took place as the Delegation crossed over from one province to another.

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5. The activities of the Delegation throughout the tour might be divided as follows:

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- a. Mass public meetings in the principal theatre or in open air;
- b. Meetings at the "Camera del Lavoro" for all Labour and such members of the "Camera" as were actively engaged in canvassing membership or were interested in the Regime;
- c. Visits to the principal factories followed by a mass of the employees;
- d. Unofficial meetings with the Chief Communist exponee organizers.

a. Public Mass Meetings. The same procedure was followed at these meetings. The Secretary of the Provincial "Camera" for the Region made the opening address to welcome the Delegates. The opportunity was seized to glorify the Soviet way of living, workers of the World hoped to achieve at not too distant a future.

TARASOV, sometimes followed by one of the two other delegates conveyed a message of "fraternal goodwill" to the Italian worker 25 million Soviet workers in the Soviet Unions. Under the Soviet workers had attained unprecedented Economic, Social and Cultural. The Russians were a peace-loving people, happy to live their own way when the Nazi hords launched their unexpected attack to enslave the Russian people and to deprive them of their nation. As one man they had rallied round their leader Stalin. "The people preferred to die standing than to live on their knees at the mercy of German Barons." In spite of the ruthless destruction carried out by the Nazi, the Russian Army not only stemmed the tide but also flung the barbarous Hun, whom they would finish in his own lair. Reference also made to the achievements of Russian labour, the steadfastness of the workmen in supporting Stalin and the Glorious Red Army, the Self-reliance of the Russian war industry, the speedy reconstruction of life of social life no sooner a territory is liberated, the indissoluble friendship between Soviet Russia, USA, and Great Britain, and the intentions of the Soviet workers towards all the free and Democratic countries of the world who are willing to cooperate against Nazi-

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- a. Mass public meetings in the principal theatre or in the open air;
- b. Meetings at the "Camera del Lavoro" for all Labour organizers and such members of the "Camera" as were actively engaged in canvassing membership or were interested in the Soviet Regime;
- c. Visits to the principal factories followed by a mass meeting of the employees;
- d. Unofficial meetings with the Chief Communist exponents and organizers.

a. Public Mass Meetings. The same procedure was followed throughout these meetings. The Secretary of the Provincial "Camera del Lavoro" of the Region made the opening address to welcome the Delegates. Often opportunity was seized to glorify the Soviet way of living, which all of the World hoped to achieve at not too distant a future.

MARASOV, sometimes followed by one of the two other delegates, then read a message of "fraternal goodwill" to the Italian workers from the Italian Soviet workers in the Soviet Unions. Under the Soviet Regime, Russians had attained unprecedented Economic, Social and Cultural standards. Russians were a peace-loving people, happy to live their own lives in their own way when the Nazi hords launched their unexpected attack in order to enslave the Russian people and to deprive them of their national wealth. The man they had rallied round their leader Stalin. "The people of Russia preferred to die standing than to live on their knees at the mercy of the German Barons." In spite of the ruthless destruction carried out by the German Army not only stemmed the tide but also flung out the victorious man, whom they would finish in his own lair. Reference was then made to the achievements of Russian labour, the steadfastness of the Russian in supporting Stalin and the Glorious Red Army, the Self-sufficiency of the Russian war industry, the speedy reconstruction of industry and social life no sooner a territory is liberated, the indissoluble bond of friendship between Soviet Russia, USA, and Great Britain, and the benevolent intentions of the Soviet workers towards all the free and Democratic peoples of the world who are willing to cooperate against Nazi-Fascism.

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A tribute was always paid to Italian Partisans fighting in the

COLASSANTI, Demo-Christian representative of CGIL) then spoke of the necessity of having a united Trade Union Movement independent of religious influences and without religious and racial prejudices. This unity must be gained and maintained through mutual tolerance and respect of personal opinion. It is essential to obliterate not only fascist and fascist methods but also to eject from one's self the fascism which appears to have permeated in each of us. "Unity can only be gained in an atmosphere of liberty of thought and freedom of speech and must avoid any form of compulsion or violence." There are many things which the working classes must attain and this can only be done through solidarity which has been achieved by the CGIL is not jeopardized. Communist representative of CGIL spoke next--Di Vittorio up to the tour and Pastore for the latter part of the tour. Di Vittorio proved to be a more outstanding personality and an experienced demagogue who spoke to the audience and worked them up to a pitch. Pastore was more blunt and whole a poor speaker who never really succeeded in raising any enthusiasm in his audience.

DI VITTORIO, invariably referred to the Soviet Delegation representatives of the "great nation that first succeeded in breaking the chains and in tracing out the road of progress for other peoples to follow" then refers to the unity of the Russian people behind Stalin and the victorious Red Army, to the enthusiastic reception afforded to the Soviet Union which was conclusive proof that twenty years of Fascist propaganda had accentuated the sympathy of the Italian working classes for the Soviet Russia, to the distinction that must be made between the fascist clique who had plunged Italy into an anti-national war and the Italian people who never had cause or reason to wage war against their American and above all against their Soviet friends, to the urgency of furthering the war effort of the United Nations and the task of the Italian working classes that have to reconstruct the Fatherland physically and spiritually. "But when the Nation has been reconstructed it must not be handed over on a platter to the reactionary groups which have organized, supported and used Fascism for their own ends". Larg

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te was always paid to Italian Partisans fighting in the North.

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big capitalists, unscrupulous bankers had given birth to Fascism in that they might continue to exploit the working classes. Italy must return to that form of Democracy which existed before Fascism but it be an Italy of the working classes, on whom the responsibility of re-education has devolved. No real Democracy can exist as long as "tens of thousands of hectares are in the hands of a few (who have not even been allowed to visit their possessions!) while hundreds of thousands do not own a plot of land in which to buy themselves." This injustice calls for immediate action; it can be achieved if the solidarity of all those who make a contribution to production (both manual and intellectual workers) is maintained. The CGIL has achieved a unity of organization amongst all classes unprecedented in the history of Italy; thanks to this solidarity we have already achieved our first victories:

- (i) The extraordinary indemnity of High Cost of Living which shall be paid to all wage-earners with effect from August 1945;
- (ii) The promulgation of legislation whereby farmers who own uncultivated land are empowered to move in on any uncultivated or under-cultivated land; and:
- (iii) We have advanced the plea that under present conditions it was "preposterous that landowners (who make no contribution towards cultivation either in work or in expenses!) should be allowed one half of the produce. The allotment should be two-thirds to the farmer and only one-third (which is already too much!) should go to the proprietor". We have not yet obtained redress over this injustice but we shall not rest until we achieve our objective. (The Italian Government has since published a Decree allotting the farmer three-fifths of the produce).

These successes do not, of course, solve the economic problems of the masses but merely afford an immediate help. Our final aim is the beginning of more radical changes. Our final aim in the agricultural field is to wrest all the land from the hands of the big land-owners in order that these lands might be divided between their rightful claimants--the farmer.

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ists, unscrupulous bankers had given birth to Fascism in order that might continue to exploit the working classes. Italy must not have that form of Democracy which existed before Fascism but it must have a form of Democracy which exists now, on whom the responsibility of rehabilitation of the working classes, on whom the responsibility of rehabilitation devolved. No real Democracy can exist as long as "tens of thousands of hectares are in the hands of a few (who have not even bothered to buy themselves)." This injustice calls for immediate action. It can be achieved if the solidarity of all those who make a contribution to production (both manual and intellectual workers) is safe-guaranteed. The CGIL has achieved a unity of organisation amongst all working classes unprecedented in the history of Italy; thanks to this solidarity we have already achieved our first victories:

- i) The extraordinary indemnity of High Cost of Living which shall be paid to all wage-earners with effect from August 16th;
- ii) The promulgation of legislation whereby farmers who own no land are empowered to move in on any uncultivated or badly cultivated land; and:
- iii) We have advanced the plea that under present conditions it was "preposterous that landowners (who make no contributions towards cultivation either in work or in expenses!) should be allowed one half of the produce. The allotment should be two-thirds to the farmer and only one-third (which is already too much!) should go to the proprietor". We have as yet not obtained redress over this injustice but we shall not rest until we achieve our objective. (The Italian Government has since published a Decree allotting the farmer three-fifths of the produce).

These successes do not, of course, solve the economic problems of the masses but merely afford an immediate help; this is the beginning of more radical changes. Our final aim in the agricultural field is to wrest all the land from the hands of the big land-owners in order that these lands might be divided between their rightful claimants--the farmers.

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Other important tasks are before us. We must oust from our national life all Fascists, and we must see to it that those who have committed crimes receive their due punishment. We must fight the reactionary elements in our social structure--the big land-owners, big financial interests, trusts since they were the epitome of the Fascist regime. We must lend every possible help to the fighting alongside the masses in order to accelerate the downfall of the Fascist-Nazi regime.

PASTORE'S addresses were generally uninspired and somewhat blurry. He adopted the technique of quoting from Colassanti's speech and then twisting its meaning. Colassanti had occasion to protest about this but Pastore facetiously waved these objections aside and continued to do the same. The trend of his speeches was as follows:

Soviet Russia had achieved great well being for its masses, her strength behind the resistance against Nazi aggression. The people of Russia had evolved a system which was a model for the rest of the world. In 1917 Russia was a devastated country, a defeated nation, but the masses were at the lowest possible social level but by 1942 the Proletariat had attained the highest economic, social and cultural level for the great mass of citizens. Italy was today in a very similar position but "would the Italian worker know how to achieve the same ends?" We must return to the position of 1919 and in a united effort we must endeavor to attain our objectives: all peoples get the treatment they deserve, the advantages gained must be earned. Urgent reforms are required in Italy, more specially so in the field of the agricultural worker, to whom the right of given the rightful ownership of the land. Unity of Labor Organization has been achieved by the CGIL; anyone who attempted to jeopardize that was an enemy of the working classes. Every effort must be directed (a) aiding the war effort and the Italian partisans, (b) removing from the national life all those who were part of the Fascist machine, (c) benefitted by Fascism and (c) eliminating the forces of reaction that were still lurking behind the scene.

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Other important tasks are before us. We must oust from our national life all Fascists, and we must see to it that all those who have committed crimes receive their due punishment. We must fight the reactionary elements in our social structure--the big land-owners, big financial interests and trusts since they were the epitome of the Fascist regime. We lend every possible help to the fighting alongside the Allies in order to accelerate the downfall of the Fascist-Nazi beast.

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b. Meetings at the "Camera del Lavoro" -- These meetings took shape of "inner circle" discussions between the Delegates and the Co-representative of the CGIL on the one side and local Communist labour organisers on the other side, with a smattering of non-communist elements who could not, of course, be openly excluded from attending. I was excluded from attending any of these sessions but I have been able to ascertain that the main purpose is that of affording an opportunity of obtaining information on the Soviet form of Sociology. Questions cover (i) Organisation and function of the collective forms, (ii) the Stakanovic piece-work in industry, (iii) Syndical organisation and functions of the Soviet, improving conditions of work and providing social services (iv) aspects of political, religious, school and family life in general.

The Delegates have tended to quibble over (i) the question of freedom of cult, (ii) divorce and the attitude of the State towards the family, (iii) Syndical organisations and the election of representatives (iv) collective bargaining and "Collective Contracts". Di Vittorio has used these occasions in order to advocate (i) complete sabotage of the Labour Offices; (ii) direct action and agitation as a means of achieving economic and political aspirations; (iii) encroachment on State responsibilities and activities by the Camera del Lavoro (placement of Labour compensation claims, etc.); and (iv) the use of intimidation whenever disciplinary action is contemplated by the constituted authorities.

c. Visits to Principal Industrial plants -- The Delegation took every possible chance of meeting workmen at their jobs, by visiting Railway tobacco factories, steel factories, cotton industries, Port installations, naval dockyards, paper-making plants, wine and spirit factories, sulphur coal mines, etc... They usually wound up the visit with a short address to the workers. These visits are pre-arranged by the local Camera del Lavoro and the procedure followed appears to have taken the form of a letter in which the management is informed of the impending arrival of the Soviet Delegation and that it was their intention to visit the plant on a certain date. This procedure generally worked like an open sesame, the Delegation even succeeding to visit the port in Naples without a military escort.

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the "Acciaierie Pugliese di Givinazzo", which is under Allied Control. It caused, however, an unpleasant incident. On this occasion the Soviet Delegates present were interrupted during their address by a responsible British officer, who insisted on taking their names and proceeded to escort them out of the premises. The Head of the Delegation (who was not present) asked me to put in a formal verbal protest to the competent military authorities in order that necessary action be taken against the Officer in question. The matter was duly investigated and no official complaint has been filed by the Delegation, no action apart from a warning to the Officer in charge "to exercise more tact on occasions."

d. Meetings with Communist Organizers were of an informal nature and often took the form of convivial festivities. I had occasion to attend at the dinner arranged in San Severo but the mistake of including a list of guests at "private" Communist gatherings was never allowed to happen again. As wine flowed more freely and tongues loosened one had the opportunity of hearing some very interesting casual remarks made by the elements in the party. On two occasions one also had occasion to meet Scherliaghlin, the Italian-speaking Secretary to the Delegation, once with the principal Communist organizers. At Naples a formal meeting was held at the Communist Party HQ. and alleged newspaper representatives (three or four at a time) of "Voce" held a number of sessions at the same time with Scherliaghlin.

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III. Second Period of Sojourn in Rome (21 October - 16 October 1944)

1. The Delegation returned to Rome from Cagliari by air on 30 October 1944. On their return the policy of independent activity was resumed and every subterfuge was used to avoid any contact with me and to withhold information as to their whereabouts and their activities. They spent much time at the Soviet Embassy, at the Central Office of the CGIL and there are reasons to believe a considerable time was devoted to conferences with Communist party officials. On one occasion without giving any warning, they left Rome for Naples in a Soviet Embassy car and only returned at 0145 hours three days after. They explained that they had gone down to Sorrento to place a commemorative tablet in the Villa once occupied by Gorki, which was perfectly true but did not exclude the fact, that it provided an opportunity for further personal contact with the political groups of (i) the workmen's newspaper "Voce", and "(ii) Communist Party HQ" in Naples. Their policy of courteous cold-shoulder towards me found its best expression in the deliberate omission of my name from the list of guests both on the occasion of the official reception given by the Soviet Embassy to celebrate the 27th Anniversary of the October Revolution as well as on the occasion of the official dinner arranged by the CGIL in honour of the Delegation on November 5th.

2. During their stay in Rome a visit to the principal Electric plants was arranged by the CGIL; this took the Delegation to Tivoli on November 1944, when it was made an occasion for a "spontaneous" public demonstration.

3. On 5 November 1944, the Rome Camera del Lavoro under the patronage of the CGIL organised a public meeting at the Brancaccio. This was amply covered by the local press-much prominence being given to the invitation extended by the Delegation for an Italian Delegation to visit USSR. The following points are noteworthy:

- a. No press notice of this important meeting was issued-on the other hand the theatre was packed with workmen with red handkerchiefs in much evidence. Communist Party HQ. had, in fact, circularised "Ordine di Mobilitazione No. 3" to ascertain that there could be a preponderance of Communists at the meeting.

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End Period of Sojourn in Rome (21 October - 16 October 1944)

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- b. The addresses made by the Soviet Delegates were for the first time read and not spoken. Both the original Russian text and the Italian translation had been carefully prepared.
- c. The addresses made were punctuated by enthusiastic applause but most of the audience were not following what was being said owing to a defective loud speaker. This was particularly noticeable during the very long address made by Tarasov and translated in a very muffled voice by Schevlvaghin.
- d. I was not notified of this meeting and there was no "commemorative medal" available for me notwithstanding the fact that everyone in any way connected with the Soviet Delegation visit had been included in the list.

4. The Delegation attended the mass public meeting organized 12 November by the Communist and Socialist Parties to celebrate the 27 anniversary of the Soviet Republic. Despite adverse weather conditions the two parties regimented some 12000 members in an orderly demonstration at the Palatine Hill Stadium, where Togliatti and Nenni conjointly laid emphasis on

- i. Their resolve to wipe out every vestige of Fascism in Italy;
- ii. The glorious achievements of the Red Army--as distinct from the Allied Armies;
- iii. The common cause of the two popular parties of the left.

5. The Soviet Delegates left Rome for Cairo via Naples at 15 hours on 16 October 1944. They were seen off from Littorio Airport by Soviet Ambassador and most of the Soviet personalities in Rome.

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IV. Reflections on the present Politico-Syndical Situation

1. The visit of the Soviet Labour Delegation to Italy was undertaken with a view to furthering the spread of Soviet ideals and ing a spirit of confidence and respect for Soviet Russia rather than occasion for the Soviet Labour leaders to see the conditions of the w classes or to study the progress of Trade Union organisation in Italy. This was amply confirmed during the tour not only by their quiescence the demagogic tactics adopted by Di Vittorio on the return of Lizzadr Rome but more particularly by their connivance to ditch Colassanti (Demo-Christian) at two crucial points on the tour, namely, at Foggia our way to Lucera and San Severo, and at Barletta on our way to Cerig Colassanti only re-joined the party because he succeeded in "hitch-hi his way to the next stop on the first occasion, and because I went to rescue on the second occasion. Collassanti, as a representative of G was officially entitled to the same consideration as Di Vittorio, nev theless he was treated as a cumbersome unavoidable impedimentum that be ignored when present and could be discarded if and when opportunit He was never informed and certainly never consulted on questions affe the policy or the plans for the Delegation's tour. The tour was, in a partisan triumphal march of Communism--a matter which became obvious Colassanti, who sought several occasions to deplore with me Di Vittor bad faith and the gullibility of Grandi.

2. The agreement reached at the mid-September Rome Congress the CGIL was not only defiantly ignored by Di Vittorio, but on many occasions he advised his "satellites" to act in complete contrast wit principles therein contained. The Rome Congress, which was sponsored the Anglo-American Trades Union Delegation, had adopted unanimously a resolution guaranteeing

- a. Democratisation of the Trade-Union Organisation--wit Elections to be conducted immediately, by secret dir vote; and
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Di Vittorio not only overlooked every glaring breach of these principles but directly and indirectly encouraged it. Some incidents of minor importance in themselves but quite significant taken cumulatively the following:

- a. In a public square at Lucera he conducted personally the singing of "Bandiera Rossa" and "Internazionale";
- b. At Taranto he instructed La Toree (Communist Provincial Secretary of the Camera del Lavoro) to deny the platform to an Anarchist member of the "Camera del Lavoro", adding that the Anarchists ("Sindacalisti" or "Comunisti Liberi" or "Anarchici") could always "call it a deal by denying the Communists free speech at their next public meeting";
- c. At Foggia Di Vittorio reproached Allegato (Communist Party Zone Secretary) for living at San Severo and not at Foggia this made it difficult for him to keep in close contact with the Provincial "Camera del Lavoro" which was at Foggia.
- d. Referring to the Secretarial posts of the "Camere del Lavoro" Di Vittorio's instructions to his party officials were that they should temporise whenever the Secretary was a Communist and insist on a "joint secretariat" whenever they happened to be in a minority.
- e. Key positions in the organisation of the "Camera del Lavoro" are now occupied by self-appointed Communists - tried members of the party, most of whom were political prisoners at Portofino and/or Ventotene where they came in intimate contact with Di Vittorio under the influence of Di Vittorio and Grieco (mentioned above). The following Provincial Secretaries - all Communists - were accompanying the Delegation in their respective Provinces: PELOSI (Foggia), DE LEONARDIS (Bari), SEMERANO (Brindisi), LA TORRE (Taranto), FABRETTI (Potenza), MONTALTO (Cosenza), LO GIUDICE (Reggio Calabria), FIORE (Messina), LO PRESTI (Catania), CUFFARO (Agrigento).

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They all occupied their posts ostensibly for a short initial period and with the "professed intention" of organising elections at the earliest possible date. So far in not a single occasion has the opportune moment for holding an election arrived--notwithstanding the instructions contained in the "Resolution" of the Rome Congress.

- f. The closest cooperation exists between the respective Party Secretaries of the "Camera del Lavoro" and the "Comunisti". In certain instances the premises of the two organisations are the same.

3. The programme arranged for the Delegation in the various towns and villages was entirely in the hands of the Socialist-Communist element, the "Camera del Lavoro", sometimes in collaboration with the Communist Party Officials. The choice of towns to be visited no less than the content of the programme was governed by political and not by Labour or trade union considerations.

In public or closed meetings no reference was ever made to Communist Union activities except for much emphasis laid on the necessity of jealously safeguarding the unity and solidarity of the working class now attained through the CGIL. It was indeed surprising that the names of Matteotti, Buozzi and Don Minzoni--the accepted martyrs of the Trade Union cause--were never mentioned, a significant fact when it is considered that a tribute to these names was the order of the day at every meeting arranged for the Anglo-American Trade Union Delegation.

The general trend of addresses delivered at these meetings was to prove that Communist Trade Union organisers have a particular meaning to give to the word "unity" and that is "absorption" and not "fusion".

4. The Demo-Christian CGIL representative (Colassanti) was invited called upon to speak before the Communist. This procedure, of course, provided the latter with an opportunity to make a rehash of the statements by the former. Needless to say this was done with malice aforethought that a marxist point of view could be presented with special stress on the inevitability of "Class war". Occasionally a timely, if veiled warning was given to intransigent Communists not to alienate the se-

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of workmen with a different political or religious ideology as their adherence could be well consolidated by insisting on the "common Economic interests".

Recent successes obtained by CGIL were made to appear as the personal victories of the Communist Labour leaders, who were ready to pledge themselves to do so much more--"if only workers would remain undivided!"

5. The Delegation was everywhere lavishly entertained at banquets attended by many Communists and a small minority of the "white" Trade Union Experiences in connection with these entertainments as well as for his accommodation were ostensibly being defrayed by the local "Camera dei Deputati" though circumstantial evidence suggests other sources. The Delegates were also smothered with flowers and presents. The presents took the shape of artistic trophies the making of which often involved considerable work and time--a matter which indicates that the donors had ample warning of the proposed visit of the Delegation. The generosity lavished on Soviet Delegates provides a glaring contrast with the stinted hospitality of perhaps a glass of vermouth or wine, offered to the Anglo-American Delegates as well as with the attitude of Di Vittorio who thought fit to accept a refund from the Anglo-Americans for the cost of a wreath then placed on Buozzi's tomb in Rome--advancing the plea that CGIL was at a low financial ebb".

The Delegates were equally generous with their tips for which they sought many occasions (50 lire for a shoe-shine--200 lire to the driver of Di Vittorio when the car was not used and not required). They were paid in Italian currency throughout and not Allied Military Government notes.

There are many Communist Labour organizers or canvassers on the Italian Communist party pay-roll; similarly party organisers receive a full time salary as one clearly surmised from a conversation between Di Vittorio and Allegato (Provincial Party Secretary at Foggia), when the latter solicited an increase of his allowance.

6. The Communist Party throughout the South of Italy is regaining influence in some places more obviously than in others. During a triumphal parade

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at Andria the exuberant "master of ceremonies" was running up and the file yelling at the individual "comrades" to keep in regimental. Sometimes it reproduces all the Fascist clang and clamour--Red Flag "Hammer and Sickle" instead of "Fasces", red shirts or red handker instead of black shirts, clenched fist instead of Roman salute, sin "Bandiera Rossa" and "Internazionale" instead of "Giovinezza", Sec and Groups instead of "Squadre", Section and Group leaders instead "Gerarchi" and "Squadristi" and so on.

Great attention is paid to the "juvenile" and the "women" tions, which are put into ostentatious evidence. At Taranto the "whores" were canvassed individually by the responsible organiser to create numbers and set the fashion for women taking active part politics. Signora Bei, who operates from the Rome Party Headquarters inspector, in reporting on the situation in the South to Di Vittorio qualified Cosenza Province as the principal stronghold and Reggio as the centre in which most progress had been made in the organization of women.

The Communist influence diminishes as one proceeds south Puglia towards Reggio Calabria and Sicily with the exception of the zone where the presence of Mancini (Socialist Minister without portfolio Nenni school) or Gullo (Communist Minister of Agriculture) at each keeps the flame alive. The Potenza and Matera regions are the least areas owing to the presence of many small land-owners, Sicily is very "red" but for (i) Messina where FIORE--Regional Secretary of del Lavoro and a cunning Communist of the Ventotene school--has and (ii) Agrigento, a Communist stronghold of pre-Fascist days and of the depressed Sulphur Mining industry; Sardegna remains cold mainly because of the popularity of USSU, founder of the strong d'Azione Sardo". Here, the "white" Trade Unions would at the moment give the greatest possible response if they were more organisationally but the Demo-Christian leaders who should give the lead are living in a placid atmosphere and are making no real effort to remove the difficulties--here as elsewhere--of (i) lack of funds and (ii) a suitable energetic organisers.

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ria the exuberant "master of ceremonies" was running up and down the line yelling at the individual "comrades" to keep in regimental line. Sometimes it reproduces all the Fascist clang and clamour--Red Flags and "Death and Sickle" instead of "Fasces", red shirts or red handkerchiefs instead of black shirts, clenched fist instead of Roman salute, singing of "Canta Rossa" and "Internazionale" instead of "Giovinezza", Sections instead of "Squadre", Section and Group leaders instead of "Comandanti" and "Squadristi" and so on.

Great attention is paid to the "juvenile" and the "women" organisations which are put into ostentatious evidence. At Taranto the local "comrades" were canvassed individually by the responsible organiser in order to get large numbers and set the fashion for women taking active part in demonstrations. Signora Bei, who operates from the Rome Party Headquarters as a propagandist, in reporting on the situation in the South to Di Vittorio, named Cosenza Province as the principal stronghold and Reggio Calabria as the centre in which most progress had been made in the organization of the movement.

The Communist Influence diminishes as one proceeds south from Calabria towards Reggio Calabria and Sicily with the exception of the Cosenza Province where the presence of Mancini (Socialist Minister without portfolio--Minister of Education) or Gullo (Communist Minister of Agriculture) at each week-end keeps the flame alive. The Potenza and Matera regions are the least affected owing to the presence of many small land-owners, Sicily is not as yet "red" but for (i) Messina where FIORE--Regional Secretary of the Camera del Lavoro and a cunning Communist of the Ventotene school--has been active, (ii) Agrigento, a Communist stronghold of pre-Fascist days and the home of the depressed Sulphur Mining industry; Sardegna remains cold to Communism because of the popularity of Ussu, founder of the strong "Partito Sardo". Here, the "white" Trade Unions would at the moment find the greatest possible response if they were more organisationally active than the Demo-Christian leaders who should give the lead are living in a comfortable atmosphere and are making no real effort to remove the existing difficulties--here as elsewhere--of (i) lack of funds and (ii) absence of able energetic organisers.

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The Red Trade Unions are using Live-wire organisers and are certainly in no financial difficulties so that the Communist cause is to make progressive headway as the Separatist Movement declines in and as Lussu fails to deliver the goods in Sardegna; the precarious and social level of the masses, coupled with disillusionment in the present respective causes will suffice to drive the working classes hands of the active Communist firebrands who have so far preached the gospel in the wilderness.

7. There appears to exist the closest cooperation between the pal exponents of the Communist and Socialist Party in most of the centres of Southern Italy. There were occasions when it was openly that there was understanding between them even for a "Coup d'Etat".

The following incidents may be of interest:

- a. At Lecce a lunch party for 85 persons was arranged and speeches were made. Dr. Manno (Socialist Party leader Lecce) and Refulo (Secretary of the Lecce "Camera del and Ventotene School Communist) separately explained that Socialists were in accord for a "Coup d'Etat". Sansonetti (Socialist) in a speech referred to the imminence of a "Coup", if social justice was to be attained in Italy.
- b. The twenty year old Woman Organiser of Lecce stammered three sentences at the mass meeting held in the local and she made it the occasion to pay tribute to the Revolution who during the Revolution assassinated the Governor of town saying: "Better late than never." "So shall it be when Revolution will break in Italy!"
- c. Both Gullo and Mancini, speaking at Cosenza, made reference to the October Revolution of 1917 which was an inspiration to the people of Italy. "The indissoluble link of the Communist Socialist Parties binds them together for all eventualities."
- d. Pastore systematically referred to the "Glorious October Revolution".

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Red Trade Unions are using Live-wire organisers and are certainly facing financial difficulties so that the Communist cause is likely to lose headway as the Separatist Movement declines in Sicily. The failure to deliver the goods in Sardegna, the precarious economic level of the masses, coupled with disillusionment in their respective causes will suffice to drive the working classes into the arms of the active Communist firebrands who have so far preached the Soviet dream in the wilderness.

There appears to exist the closest cooperation between the principals of the Communist and Socialist Party in most of the important areas of Southern Italy. There were occasions when it was openly stated that there was understanding between them even for a "Coup d'Etat".

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b. The twenty year old Woman Organiser of Lecce stammered exactly three sentences at the mass meeting held in the local theatre and she made it the occasion to pay tribute to the Russian girl who during the Revolution assassinated the Governor of her town saying: "Better late than never." "So shall it be with us when Revolution will break in Italy!"

c. Both Gullo and Mancini, speaking at Cosenza, made reference to the October Revolution of 1917 which was an inspiration to the people of Italy. "The indissoluble link of the Communist and Socialist Parties binds them together for all eventualities."

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Revolution" and drew a parallel between the situation of Russia then and Italy today.

- e. References to the Italian Revolution that is to come were made by local exponents in several centres--quite openly at Barletta, Ruvo, Corato, Brindisi, Gioia del Colle. At Gioia the local Secretary of the Camera del Lavoro, Capuzzo (Verdane School), spoke of the Russian Revolution as the pattern for Italy, at Ruvo reference was made to the solidarity of the workmen who had freely joined the "Camera del Lavoro" in order to put into practice the teachings of Lenin."

At Barletta the Sindaco (Demo-Christian) was interrupted in his speech of welcome with cries of: "We want a Communist Dictatorship";

At Brindisi, Soviet Russia ~~was~~ dubbed: "The light from the East"; while at Corato it was plainly stated that "regeneration can only come through "revolution".

- f. Di Vittorio addressing a mass meeting of over 20,000 at Taranto in glorifying the efforts of the Partisans and paying tribute to the loyalty of the Navy towards the "people of Italy", deplored the defection of the Army in terms calculated to drive it in the eyes of those present. This technique of open militarist propaganda is in Italy considered as the key-note of an advanced phase of Communism.

8. Much circumstantial evidence leads one to believe that the agreement between the Communists and the Nenni School of Socialists is not limited to theoretical planning but has already reached the stage of active preparation for the eventuality. Amongst the more important indications one might mention the following:

- a. Di Vittorio, aided and abetted by Lizzadri, has so far succeeded in preventing the promulgation of any legislation in the field. Since February 1943 the Italian Ministry had del

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Much circumstantial evidence leads one to believe that the agreement between the Communists and the Nenni School of Socialists is not limited to tactical planning but has already reached the stage of active preparation for eventualities. Amongst the more important indications one might mention the following:

- a. Di Vittorio, aided and abetted by Lizzadri, has so far succeeded in preventing the promulgation of any legislation in the labour field. Since February 1943 the Italian Ministry had delayed

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the enactment of Labour laws--those responsible had no clear idea of either their objectives or of the machinery that would be equal to the existing conditions. H.E. Di Napoli, however, eventually submitted a Draft to cover all important sectors of the Labour field: this draft was accepted by Labour Commission, but with the liberation of Rome, there came into play the short-sightedness of his successor, H.E. Gronchi (Demo-Christian) and the sabotage of Di Vittorio.

The situation today is entirely "de facto", in which even Labour Offices in liberated Italy are in an equivocal situation.

- b. During the meetings held with Labour Organisers at the "del Lavoro", Di Vittorio took the opportunity of laying down the policy of sabotage, agitation and intimidation as set out in II 5 (b) of this Memo.
- c. There appears to be considerable traffic in firearms. reliable sources of information one is informed that:
 - (i) A "moschetto" is quoted at a standard price of 15,000 lire in Taranto, where Italian sailors are the principal source of supply;
 - (ii) 18,000 lire is the standard price for a "Berretta" revolver in Florence zone;
 - (iii) Allied calibre 9 ammunition is bought in the small towns between Terracina and Naples, the possible source being the Dump at Anzio, which has been earmarked as "serviceable" and was being disposed of out at sea by the good services of two local brigs. It is significant that the Italian Mitro-Beretta machine gun takes 9, which was available at the Anzio Dump.
 - (iv) General Carbone handed over to the Socialist and Communist Groups considerable quantities of firearms in the

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 - (i) A "moschetto" is quoted at a standard price of 15,000 lire in Taranto, where Italian sailors are the principal source of supply;
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 - (iii) Allied calibre 9 ammunition is bought in the smaller coastal towns between Terracina and Naples, the possible source being the Dump at Anzio, which has been earmarked "un-serviceable" and was being disposed of out at sea through the good services of two local brigs. It is significant that the Italian Mitro-Beretta machine gun takes calibre 9, which was available at the Anzio Dump.
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area when the Badoglio Government was overthrown by the Italian People's Party. Only negligible quantities of firearms were handed to the authorities on the promulgation of the AMG ordinance. The arms legitimately obtained from General Carbone, seized from the disintegrating Italian Army, the Royal Italian Army, the Socialist Communist partisan groups, one is reliably known to have had in their possession hand-grenades, some motor-cyclists, armoured cars, as well as approximately 30,000 firearms (including Mitro Berettas), of which some 10,000 were allocated to the sectional leaders while the remainder were held in reserve. Baron Malfatti (recently mentioned as the "Labour Observer" at the Italian Embassy in London) is one of those known to have handled large quantities of arms and has never accounted for their allocation or their return.

- d. The large majority of partisans are communists and it is suggested that they receive orders to join the movement from the Party Headquarters in order that they might be in possession of firearms. Longo, an outstanding Italian Communist who was political commissar in Spain, crossed the German frontier being released from Ventotene by Badoglio and has now been named as the Commander of the "Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale dell'Alt'Italia" under his previous name GALLO.
- e. "Pressure Groups" are now operating both in the political and Labour field, so that:
- (i) In the forward areas it has now become obvious that the Partisan Movement, the "Camera del Lavoro" and the "Comitato di Liberazione" are three different but related the same phenomenon, namely--Communist party.
 - (ii) Pressure is being brought on the employers through the so-called "Commissioni Interne" that are ostensibly the Italian version of the "Work's Committees" but in reality "Soviets" in the making. This type of

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 - (ii) Pressure is being brought on the employers through the so-called "Commissioni Interne" that are ostensibly an Italian version of the "Work's Committees" but are in reality "Soviets" in the making. This type of pressure

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assumes greater force in direct ratio to the weakness of the management and is not limited to privately owned industries. There have been occasions when the workers at the instigation of the "Commissione Interna", have taken the law into their own hands--two instances found in the "Telephone Company" at Naples and "T" at Taranto.

- (iii) Pressure is being brought to bear on H.E. Bonomi--directly by the extreme left members of the Cabinet indirectly through a systematic press campaign--in order to obtain his quiescence in the nomination of "Co" in private industry.

There appears to be some truth in the rumour that an attempt on Bonomi's life was being organised and that Di Vittorio was not altogether uninformed.

- (iv) Pressure is also brought by Communist so-called "Organisers" on the individual workman to join the "Camera del Lavoro".
- (a.) At the Naples Labour Exchange a Communist Official representative of the "Camera del Lavoro" were known to have made placement in a job conditional to membership in the "Camera".
- (b) At the Candela (Foggia Province), the Communist official at the Post Office is known to have refused payment of "Family Allowance" to a workman until he had joined the local "Camera del Lavoro". (Unsolicited statement available).
- (c) No sooner did Avezzano get transferred to the Italian Government jurisdiction, the "Communist Party" of Avezzano "Labour Exchange" opposite the Labour Office in Avezzano to cater for the same services as had been made the responsibility of the Labour Offices: This expectation is in keeping with the expressed views of Di Vittorio.

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- (c) No sooner did Avezzano get transferred to the Italian Government jurisdiction, the "Communist Party" opened a "Labour Exchange" opposite the Labour Office in order to cater for the same services as had been made the responsibility of the Labour Offices: This experiment is in keeping with the expressed views of Di Vittorio

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who considers that placement of Labour and social services should be centered entirely in the hands of the "Camera del Lavoro"

- (d) At Ancona, which has ceased to be AMG territory, the Communist Director of the Labour Office has arranged for the registration of all workmen at the Labour Office. This is not only compulsory but also conditional to the issuance of a Ration Card.
- (e) At Aquila a Communist Deputation presented itself to the Regional Labour Officer (Major Thomas R. Fisher). They demanded the use of a Fascist building with suitable furniture for an "Over-All" Labour Office that would cater for all Labour problems and would formulate Labour policy for all labour machinery including the Labour Office set-up by Allied Government. They eventually withdrew gracefully when a firm stand was taken by the Labour Officer in question.
- (f) A Communist Deputation visited the Regional Labour Officer of Region VIII to intimate to him that they were not going to recognize the Regional Labour Director appointed. They would not have anybody who was a Communist.
- (g) At the Tosi yards in Taranto, foremen have been warned by aggressive Communists that they were not to allow any workmen for smoking in the workshops and that they were not to reduce "overtime". The same clique has recently warned off the workshops a considerable number of highly-skilled workmen who to this day are still on the job. (More detailed report on the peculiar situation which has developed in the Tosi yards will follow.)

9. From all the above considerations one might surmise that the Communist Party is endeavouring to assign to the various Labour organizations a specific role, thus fixing, as it were, to each a

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From all the above considerations one might surmise that the city is endeavouring to assign to the various Labour and political a specific role, thus fixing, as it were, to each of the

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legally recognised Labour and political organisations their respective jurisdictions and functions in the illegal or revolutionary activities.

The legal formations are:

- a. Camera del Lavoro
- b. Commissioni Interne
- c. Party Organisation

The "Camera del Lavoro" is the melting pot in which workmen's political creeds are to be influenced by "Economic Considerations" accepting the theory of "Class War". Through the "Camera" the Communist Party intends to form public opinion amongst the working classes: tact and a modicum of outward tolerance are the policy, "unity and solidarity" of all workmen the appeal. In the "Camera" the Communist is expected to discharge unobtrusively one of their legal functions, that of setting the stage for a seizure of power by the controlling "underground" group.

The "Commissioni Interne" are made to appear an innocuous "Workers' Committee" through which the workmen may air their grievances: In these are the thin edge of the wedge to create the "Consigli di Fabbrica" which Gramsci started in Turin in 1920-21. The "Commissioni Interne" working in concert with the "Communist Cells" would have it in their power to declare a strike as and when the opportunity arises or is created. They already experienced some of the workings of this machinery, in connection with agitation for increased wages and for the elimination of discrimination from the management.

Wherever it is possible to introduce a "Commissario" to direct an industry, then every possible trick is played to ascertain that he is a Communist or a Socialist, as this enables the organisation to work more freely.

For some time the Socialist and Communist groups in Rome have been vying with the Partito d'Azione for the appointment of a new "Commissario" to the "Istituto di Ricostruzione Industriale", a para-statal bank organisation through which private industries have been financed. The present Commissario Picardi has been violently attacked by the left.

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press. If the parties of the left succeed in occupying this strategic industrial position, they should be in a position to accelerate the socialisation of industry and should at any rate be able to exert a decisive influence on the general trend of Italian Industry as a whole.

The "Communist Party" is organized in the traditional manner with

- (i) a legal or official set-up and an underground revolutionary section, a net distinction being made between the officials of the former (Il Partito) and of the latter (L'Apparato);
- (ii) Topographical organisation into "Federazioni Provinciali", "Federazioni Comunali" or "Cittadine", "Zone", "Settori", "Gruppi"; and
- (iii) "Cellule" or "Gruppi d'Azione" at the Industrial or works level. Admission to the party does not appear to be difficult but it is made amply clear that effective membership remains at the pleasure of the Party pundits and is not a matter of course. Waiting lists of "aspirants" or so-called "simpatizzanti" seeking membership exist in every Sectional Office. Considerable discipline is exercised over the members in order not to create any further uneasiness amongst the population--activities have been limited to propaganda, unobtrusive pressure on individual workmen and on the authorities and occasional demonstrations that are generally orderly. There are occasions to believe, however, that much attention is being given to instruction and proper regimentation of the "action groups" which would be responsible for:
 - (1) any acts of terrorism or violence that might have to be staged
 - (ii) direct revolutionary action on "D" Day.

In the light of the foregoing considerations and in absence of Legislation, the situation of today may be compared to that of 1919-1920 in which case a pamphlet now on sale throughout the South of Italy, v

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In the light of the foregoing considerations and in absence of Labour legislation, the situation of today may be compared to that of 1919-1922, in which case a pamphlet now on sale throughout the South of Italy, viz.

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"ANTONIO GRAMSCI--Capo della Classe Operaia Italiana" by Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli) "Edizioni del Partito Comunista Italiano"--1944, should be regarded as a document worthy of the closest study. Antonio Gramsci--"the first Communist" and "the first Bolshevist" in Italy--is here shown up as the advanced thinker capable of putting ideas into practice. Togliatti endeavours to prove that Gramsci's plan was sound and that it failed only because time had not allowed him to actuate his scheme on a basis. The period of the occupation of industries is carefully analysed the effectiveness of the machinery which Gramsci had put into motion is clearly brought out. Today that very same plan is being followed--the machinery, the same objectives, the same policy if not as yet the same advances revolutionary tactics because the time is not yet ripe. To my mind in this modest booklet one can read that part of the Communist plan which is still to come. Without purposefully writing his "Mein Kampf" Togliatti unwittingly given us a clue to the illegal or revolutionary programme his senior partner CRIFCO is unobtrusively putting into effect. It is significant that the most outstanding Communist syndical personality--Leonida, rather than assume the responsibilities of a Joint Secretary of CGIL, being set free with Di Vittorio from Ventotene, considered it more opportune to cross the enemy lines in order to reach Turin, where Gramsci had found such a fruitful experimental ground. Due notice should be taken of the fact that the pamphlet in question was written before the outbreak of war and is relevant from:

- a. The Preface--"Queste Pagine furono scritte da Palmiro Togliatti subito dopo la morte di Gramsci e pubblicate all'Estero sulla rivista del nostro Partito, Stato Operaio". Gramsci died on 27 April 1937, and
- b. The footnote to an earlier Edition published at 62 Via Salvatore Tommasi, Naples, which runs: "(1) Lo scritto di Ercoli e del 1938".

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ANTONIO GRAMSCI--"Capo della Classe Operaia Italiana" by Palmiro Togliatti, (oli) "Edizioni del Partito Comunista Italiano"--1944, should be regarded as a document worthy of the closest study. Antonio Gramsci--"first Communist" and "the first Bolshevist" in Italy--is here shown as the advanced thinker capable of putting ideas into practice. Togliatti endeavours to prove that Gramsci's plan was sound and that it failed only because time had not allowed him to actuate his scheme on national scales. The period of the occupation of industries is carefully analysed and the effectiveness of the machinery which Gramsci had put into motion is also fully brought out. Today that very same plan is being followed--the same machinery, the same objectives, the same policy if not as yet the same addresses revolutionary tactics because the time is not yet ripe. To my mind this modest booklet one can read that part of the Communist plan which is to come. Without purposefully writing his "Mein Kampf" Togliatti has strikingly given us a clue to the illegal or revolutionary programme which senior partner CRILCO is unobtrusively putting into effect. It is significant that the most outstanding Communist syndical personality--Longo--rather than assume the responsibilities of a joint Secretary of CGIL, on being set free with Di Vittorio from Ventotene, considered it more opportune to cross the enemy lines in order to reach Turin, where Gramsci had found a fruitful experimental ground. Due notice should be taken of the fact that the pamphlet in question was written before the outbreak of war as is evident from:

- a. The Preface--"Queste Pagine furono scritte da Palmiro Togliatti subito dopo la morte di Gramsci e pubblicate all'Estero sulla rivista del nostro Partito, Stato Operaio". Gramsci died on 27 April 1937, and
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V. PERSONALITIES.

1. From information received from reliable sources and from circumstantial evidence, one is led to believe that, in the underground movement counterparts to Togliatti and Di Vittorio on the legal side, are RUGGIERO GRIECO and LONGO (Gallo).

2. GRIECO occupies no "official" outstanding position in the Italian Communist Party, yet he is the most capable and most experienced figure in the Party. Like he has for many years been in contact with the Soviet hierarchy, spending much time in Moscow, and like Togliatti, he is a Soviet citizen. In the International Communist movement, he was the Head of the Western Mediterranean "Sezione E" (Esterna), an underground Communist set-up with HQ in Paris. During the Spanish Revolution he was responsible for formulating the policy and for guiding: (i) the Italian political Commissar LONGO, and (ii) the Editor of "Voce degli Italiani" DI VITTORIO. There is every indication that he is today occupying the Communist key position in Italy as Head of the underground movement - issuing directives to Togliatti in the political field, to Di Vittorio in the Trade Union field and to Longo (Gallo) in the field of revolutionary direct action - a replica of the arrangements during the Spanish Revolution. In the "underground" Grieco would represent Rear HQ and Longo the Advanced HQ while Togliatti, ~~as~~ the "legal" screen, has the responsibility of setting the stage for the seizure by the controlling underground group.

3. LONGO, alias GALLO, was not free from Ventotene by Badoglio. As the experienced Syndicalist he should have remained in liberated Italy to take up the responsibilities which have now devolved on Di Vittorio: he preferred to cross the border to reach Turin which is regarded as the political centre of the Communist Party. Under his old name Gallo, he is now the "Political Commissar" of the northern Party organized by the "Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale dell'Italia" and on the basis of his present role, he is endeavouring, through Party pressure, to be included in the CENAI Delegation to visit Southern Italy. This would give him an opportunity of establishing a national figure in Southern Italy and would also provide an excellent opportunity for personal contacts with Grieco and others.

Long supplanted Di Vittorio as "Political Commissar" in Spain, the latter went to Paris to take over again the most influential anti-Fascist paper ever published, "La Voce degli Italiani". Longo was responsible for "purging" more than three thousand volunteers in the ranks of the Republican Foreign Brigades. Most of those expelled to the dissident Communist groups - "Trotskisti" and "Comunisti libertari" (Anarchists) amongst the latter was BERBERI, the right-hand man of Carlo Rosselli. It is at

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PERSONALITIES.

1. From information received from reliable sources and from financial evidence, one is led to believe that, in the underground movement, the parts to TOGLIATTI and DI VITTORIO on the legal side, are RUSSIAPO GILLO (Gillo).

GRIECO occupies no "official" outstanding position in the Italian Communist Party but he is the most capable and most experienced figure in the Party. Like Togliatti, for many years been in contact with the Soviet hierarchy, spending much time in Moscow and like Togliatti, he is a Soviet citizen. In the International Communist movement he was the Head of the Western Mediterranean "Sezione E" (Eastern), an underground network set-up with HQ in Paris. During the Spanish Revolution he was responsible for framing the policy and for guiding: (i) the Italian political Commissar LONGO, alias GILLO and (ii) the Editor of "Voce degli Italiani" DI VITTORIO. There is every indication that he is today occupying the Communist key position in Italy as Head of the "underground" - issuing directives to Togliatti in the political field, to Di Vittorio in the union field and to Longo (Gillo) in the field of revolutionary direct action. This is a part of the arrangements during the Spanish Revolution. In the "underground" activities he could represent Rear HQ and Longo the Advanced HQ while Togliatti, ~~acting~~ acting as "front" screen, has the responsibility of setting the stage for the seizure of power controlling underground group.

LONGO, alias GILLO, was set free from Ventotene by Badoglio. As the most respected syndicalist he should have remained in liberated Italy to take up the responsibilities which have now devolved on Di Vittorio; he preferred to cross the line in French Turin which is regarded as the political centre of the Communist Party. His old name Gillo, he is now the "Political Commissar" of the northern Patriots, led by the "Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale dell'Alt'Italia" and on the strength of his present role, he is endeavouring, through Party pressure, to be included in the Italian delegation to visit Southern Italy. This would give him an opportunity of posing as a national figure in Southern Italy and would also provide an excellent occasion for contacts with Grieco and others.

Longo supplanted Di Vittorio as "Political Commissar" in Spain, the latter returning to take over eg. in the most influential anti-Fascist paper ever published abroad - "Voce degli Italiani". Longo was responsible for "purging" more than three thousand men in the ranks of the Republican Foreign Brigades. Most of those executed belonged to dissident Communist groups - "Trotskisti" and "Comunisti Libertari" (Anarchici); the latter was BERTINI, the right-hand man of Carlo Rosselli. It is significant

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that Di Vittorio wrote an article in the "Voce degli Italiani" (between 15th and 37) not only approving of the "purge" but disclaiming it as an act of justice.

4. DI VITTORIO (Nicoletti), together with Grandi (Demo-Christian) and Longobardi (Socialist), occupies the leading post in the organisation of the CGIL. Of the three joint Secretaries of the CGIL, he is by far the most forceful and he has so far dominated the scene. Impulsive, violent, bitter, calculating and treacherous he is the typical political gangster and he is bluffing his way in which he has had very limited previous experience. In order to escape judgement he has manoeuvred his way into the position of the judge. Apart from his official position, he is now the "Comissario per i Delitti Fascisti", a section of the "Comitato d'Eurazione". As another Communist - Scocimarra - is the "Comissario nari statali", between them, they succeeded in blackmailing into submission or liberation most of the principal political figures all of whom have a friend or that they would want to protect. Di Vittorio is not too highly regarded by his colleagues who do not trust him and consider him unduly ambitious and corruptible; he has a life of comfort and comparative luxury to which he is used but also to enhance his position over others. He was denied the Directorship of "Unita'" - a matter which still hangs over him. There are reasons to believe that he lives up to his present assignment with some reluctance as he is aware that it is likely to do him damage with a section of the working classes when the double game now being played by the Communists in the field is called off.

5. LONGOBARDI (Longobardi), Socialist joint Secretary of the CGIL, first came to prominence at Longobardi, when at the "Congress of Bari", he came over from the important directives from the "Underground" political movement of the occupied zone. He is a man of goodwill but appears to be easily influenced by more forceful colleagues. He tends to support Di Vittorio more than Grandi even in matters which are essentially solely in the interest of the Communist cause. With Di Vittorio he has recently been responsible for defeating any attempt at the promulgation of Labour legislation making a complete "volte-face" on his former policy which was that of support of the anti Draft Laws.

6. GRANDI, Demo-Christian joint Secretary of the CGIL, has been well known to his Party Chief, De Gasperi, as "Il Místico dell'Unita' Sindacale". He is a member of a Trade Union movement that is independent of party politics and democ

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Atterio wrote an article in the "Voces degli Italiani" (between 15th and 25th July) approving of the "purge" but declaiming it as an act of justice.

DI VITTORIO (Nicoletti), together with Grandi (Demo-Christian) and Lizzadri Longobardi (Socialist), occupies the leading post in the organization of the working of the three Joint Secretaries of the CGIL, he is by far the most forceful character who has so far dominated the scene. Impulsive, violent, bitter, calculating and as he is the typical political gangster and he is bluffing his way in a field in which he has had very limited previous experience. In order to escape judgement, he invades his way into the position of the judge. Apart from his official syndical role he is now the "Comissario per i Delitti Fascisti", a section of the "Alto Commissariato per l'Epurazione". As another Communist - Scocimurra - is the "Comissario per i Funzionari", between them, they succeeded in blackmailing into submission or into collaboration most of the principal political figures all of whom have a friend or a relation whom they would want to protect. Di Vittorio is not too highly regarded by his colleagues who do not trust him and consider him unduly ambitious and corruptible; he has a weakness for a grabbing instinct for money, for which he finds use not only to seek the comfort and comparative luxury to which he is used but also to enhance his power. He was denied the Directorship of "Unita'" - a matter which still rankles. There are reasons to believe that he lives up to his present assignment with reluctance as he is aware that it is likely to do him damage with a section of the masses when the double game now being played by the Communists in the Trade Union is called off.

LIZZADRI (Longobardi), Socialist Joint Secretary of the CGIL, first came into prominence as Longobardi, when at the "Congress of Bari", he came over from Rome with directives from the "Underground" political movement of the occupied territories. He is full of goodwill but appears to be easily influenced by more forceful personalities. He is inclined to support Di Vittorio more than Grandi even in matters which are essentially and in the interest of the Communist cause. With Di Vittorio he has recently been largely responsible for defeating any attempt at the promulgation of Labour legislation, thus completing a "volte-face" on his former policy which was that of supporting the Di Vittorio Laws.

GRANDI, Demo-Christian Joint Secretary of the CGIL, has been well described by the Chief, De Gasperi, as "Il Mistic dell'Unita' Sindacale". He is a sincere advocate of a Trade Union movement that is independent of party politics and democratic in form.

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He distrusts Di Vittorio but hesitates to declare war on ~~the~~ ^{his} bad faith of Di because he feels that the moment is not yet opportune. In an interview with however, Grandi failed to take a definite stand on this point. In answer to t as to whether he considered the Communists in good faith over the question of the Trade Union movement, his retort was that "he was not a prophet but he t they were." This attitude was in contrast with the statement made to me over ago, when he expressed his confidence that the "White" Trade Unions would ge of the "Red" Trade Unions in due course, but "the fight must be staged when t can be made to smash themselves irrevocably on a main issue."

7. Baroncino MALFATTI, the "Labour Observer" designate for the Italia London, is a doubtful character who appears to have played a double game dur career. He has had no experience whatever in the Trade Unions field, being so of age., and having been in the Army since 1940 when he was in the Armistice Paris. His nomination as being a suitable person to be in liaison with the B Party and with the Trade Union Congress was made by Togliatti on the insistan Malfatti is now a member of the Socialist Party: he boasts of having been a n 1940 when he joined at the "Centro Estero" of Paris - a centre which has never to exist! Like Nenni, his name is linked up with the "Deuxieme Bureau", and edly pledged his allegiance to Nenni, as far as he can be trusted to do so t suggestion has been made that Nenni is keen on having Malfatti in London in up, through influence abroad, his waning prestige in the Socialist Party. Moe figurehead of Italian Socialism, though not as clever a politician as Nenni, ascendancy in Party ranks. The return of SILONE to Italy has also diminished ence. The arrival of Togniarelli, as a spokesman of the leading Socialists in given Nenni considerable food for thought. Togniarelli, one is reliably infor the following message to Nenni: (i) the "front populaire" policy must cease a list Party must cut loose of Communist directives; (ii) an early date must be Socialist Congress in order to define more specifically the Policy of the Par and election on a broader base for the leadership of the Party, it being con Congress of Naples, which elected Nenni, was not sufficiently representative must choose between remaining the head of the Party or the Editor of the "Av "Avanti" must change its present attitude of aggressive criticism of the Ita as long as the Socialist Party remains in the Cabinet.

Malfatti, apart from having no experience whatever in the Trade Union, ^{fid} and an unscrupulous adventurer who is alledged to have ⁰¹ aided the Socialist and in Rome to corner considerable quantities of fire-arms, motor-cycles, and-gr and (ii) collaborated with the German S.S. during his stay in Paris;

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attorio but hesitates to declare war on ~~the~~ ^{his} bad faith of Di Vittorio, that the moment is not yet opportune. In an interview with His Holiness, failed to take a definite stand on this point. In answer to the question considered the Communists in good faith over the question of unity in movement, his retort was that "he was not a prophet but he thought that attitude was in contrast with the statement made to me over three months pressed his confidence that the "White" Trade Unions would get the better of the Unions in due course, but "the fight must be staged when the Communists dash themselves irrevocably on a main issue."

Cino MALFATTI, the "Labour Observer" designate for the Italian Embassy in a character who appears to have played a double game during his short and no experience whatever in the Trade Unions field, being some 25 years old, having been in the Army since 1940 when he was in the Armistice Commission in London as being a suitable person to be in liaison with the British Labour Party. The Trade Union Congress was made by Togliatti on the insistence of Nenni, a member of the Socialist Party: he boasts of having been a member since 1921 and at the "Centro Estero" of Paris - a centre which has never been known to Nenni, his name is linked up with the "Deuxieme Bureau", and he has undoubtedly been made that "Nenni is keen on having Malfatti in London in order to bolster his influence abroad, his waning prestige in the Socialist Party. Modigliani, an Italian Socialist, though not as clever a politician as Nenni, is fast gaining popularity in the Party ranks. The return of SILONE to Italy has also diminished Nenni's influence. Togniarelli, as a spokesman of the leading Socialists in the North has delivered considerable food for thought. Togniarelli, one is reliably informed, delivered a message to Nenni: (i) the "front populaire" policy must cease and the Socialist Party must cut loose of Communist directives; (ii) an early date must be fixed for a congress in order to define more specifically the policy of the Party and to hold a broader base for the leadership of the Party, it being considered that the Socialists, which elected Nenni, was not sufficiently representative; (iii) Nenni must remain the head of the Party or the Editor of the "Avanti"; (iv) the change its present attitude of aggressive criticism of the Italian Government. The Socialist Party remains in the Cabinet. field, apart from having no experience whatever in the Trade Union, is considered as an adventurer who is alleged to have aided the Socialist and Communist groups in considerable quantities of fire-arms, motor-cycles, and grenades, etc... collaborated with the German S.S. during his stay in Paris.

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- (iii) betrayed the Allied parachutists at Visso, in order to obtain possible considerable sums of money in Italian lire, which had been dropped for the purpose of financing the "underground" anti-Fascist movement;
- (iv) Systematically withheld valuable information regarding road-blocks and hid him for transmission to the Allied Field Security Service;
- (v) Knowingly misinformed the Central Committee of the "Fronte Nazionale" regarding the military situation on the 9th September, thus creating panic and any attempt at concerted action against the Nazi.

More information on these lines has been brought to my notice and a report will be submitted in due course.

8. Fabrizio MONFRI, who at 26 years of age occupies the post of "Agit - Prop" (Agitazione e Propaganda), is one of the more important figures in the Communist "underground" movement. He gives directives to Velio Spano who is the Editor of the Party organ - "Unita". He is highly thought of and is well-known as a writer.

9. Antonello TROMBADORI, ostensibly a minor figure in the Communist movement, occupies a position of considerable importance in the "underground" movement. He works for the Terrorist Section, while his present job as secretary to Scoccimarro gives him with an opportunity of gaining some experience while awaiting more favourable times for his proper role in the Party. He is 24 years of age, impulsive and, in Party inner circles he is regarded as one of the intellectuals.

10. LI CAUSI, recently wounded in a demonstration in Sicily, is one of the more important intellectuals of the "underground" movement. He is currently in PALERMO, undersecretary for War and GULLO, Minister of Agriculture on the island, have no real standing in the "underground" movement, but the latter has a high regard for the political ability shown in forcing through legislation of the Communist hall-mark.

An important personality in the Italian Communist Party is BERTI. U.S.A. Party pundits consider his return to Italy as one of their principal aims since his experience as organizer of the Soviet Youth Movement in Russia was his best purpose during this preparatory period.

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trayed the Allied parachutists at Visso, in order to obtain possession of the sums of money in Italian lire, which had been dropped for the purpose of financing the "underground" anti-Fascist movement; systematically withheld valuable information regarding road-blocks supplied to the transmission to the Allied field security Service; wrongly misinformed the Central Committee of the "Fronte Nazionale dei Partiti", of the military situation on the 9th September, thus creating panic and defeating any concerted action against the Nazi. The information on these lines has been brought to my notice and a separate report will be submitted in due course.

Fabrizio ROVERELLI, who at 26 years of age occupies the post of head of "Prop" (Agitazione e Propaganda), is one of the more important figures in the Communist "underground" movement. He gives directives to Vello Spano (Tedeschi) the Editor of the Party organ - "Unita'". He is highly thought of in Party circles and well-known as a writer.

Antonello TROTTADORI, ostensibly a minor figure in the Communist Party, holds a position of considerable importance in the "underground" movement. He is responsible for the Terrorist Section, while his present job as secretary to Scoccimarra merely provides him with an opportunity of gaining some experience while awaiting more favourable circumstances for his proper role in the Party. He is 24 years of age, impulsive, energetic, cultured. In Party inner circles he is regarded as one of the intellectuals.

LI CAUSI, recently wounded in a demonstration in Sicily, is also one of the important intellectuals of the "underground" movement.

Undersecretary for War and GRILLO, Minister of Agriculture on the other hand, has a real standing in the "underground" movement, but the latter has gained Party recognition for the political ability shown in forcing through legislation of an essentially Fascist hall-mark.

An important personality in the Italian Communist Party is BERTI who is still in the Party. Party pundits consider his return to Italy as one of their principal immediate tasks, as his experience as organiser of the Soviet Youth Movement in Russia would serve its purpose during this preparatory period.

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VI. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. The foregoing considerations conclusively indicate that the people are unwittingly being pressured into swallowing another form of totalitarian Government, and present Anglo-American policy in Italy does not appear to be reversing the process.

The Soviet interlude which we have experienced may well be regarded as a warning of a more intensive effort on the part of Russia to capture Italy under her sphere of influence, since Italy represents a strategic political boundary in the corner of a Soviet ideology throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

2. In order to enable the individual Italian citizen to voice his views on what form of Government he considers best suited to Italy, a bolder stance must be taken by the Democratic Governments against the political pressure groups of the left. Measures should also be set afoot to neutralise the many factors that are contributing towards the expeditious advent of Communism in Italy. I am submitting herewith suggestions for consideration.

3. In the political field special attention should be devoted to:

- (a) Sicily and Sardegna,
- (b) The impending political crisis in the Socialist Party ranks,
- (c) The urgency of creating a common front for the Parties that stand for "law and order", and
- (d) The expediency of forcing the revolutionary issue before the withdrawal from Italy of the Anglo-American troops.

(a) Sicily and Sardegna occupy a strategic position in the event of a "Coup d'Etat". These two islands represent the bug-bear of Italian Communism. Gramsci pointed out, they could serve as the base from which military action could be launched to defeat a revolution or from which a counter-revolution might be staged. Attention should be given to purge these islands of any Communist fire-brand. Foretell Communist propaganda by enlisting the support of Mussolini in Sardegna. Foment the Separatist movement towards a Monarchical movement in Sicily. The Union organisers should be supported materially as well as morally in their efforts to organise the working classes into Trade Unions that are completely independent of Communist influence. If the Communist party were defeated in their process of penetrating these two islands, the greatest deterrent to Communist violence would have been removed.

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CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS.

1. The foregoing considerations conclusively indicate that the Italian unwittingly being pressured into swallowing another form of totalitarianism and present Anglo-American policy in Italy does not appear to be retarding the Soviet interlude which we have experienced may well be regarded as a timely war- more intensive effort on the part of Russia to capture Italy under its sphere of influence, since Italy represents a strategic political boundary in the consolidation of Soviet ideology throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

In order to enable the individual Italian citizen to voice his views freely on the Government he considers best suited to Italy, a bolder stance must be taken by democratic Governments against the political pressure groups of the left; counter-measures should also be set afoot to neutralize the many factors that are contributing to the expeditious advent of Communism in Italy. I am submitting hereunder some suggestions for consideration.

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- (a) Sicily and Sardegna,
- (b) The impending political crisis in the Socialist Party ranks,
- (c) The urgency of creating a common front for the Parties that stand for "law and order", and
- (d) The expediency of forcing the revolutionary issue before the withdrawal from Italy of the Anglo-American troops.

Sicily and Sardegna occupy a strategic position in the event of an attempt at "Estat". These two islands represent the bug-bear of Italian Communism for, as pointed out, they could serve as the base from which military action might be launched against a revolution or from which a counter-revolution might be staged. Special attention should be given to purge these islands of any Communist fire-brands and to counter Communist propaganda by enlisting the support of Luzzu in Sardegna and by diverging separatist movement towards a monarchist movement in Sicily. The "White" Trade Unions should be supported materially as well as morally in their endeavour to bring the working classes into Trade Unions that are completely independent of Communism. If the Communist party were defeated in their process of penetration in these islands, the greatest deterrent to Communist violence would have been safeguarded.

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(b) The Socialist Party is heading for an internal crisis from which it could well be made to emerge in a minority, ~~unless~~ if the group of the right and center are properly maneuvered. Allied Field Security Services should make available to its opponents all information likely to discredit him both socially and politically. It is reasonable to believe that there is a great deal that could be said of Nenni, who has been in the pay of Russia while in Paris, and is cunningly directing the Socialist movement towards political absorption by the Communist Party. The wide-spread cries of "Fusi" at the Palatine rally on November 12th were symptomatic. Modigliani and more particularly Silone could be expected to carry the day if they are given the necessary moral and financial support by the Anglo-American authorities.

(c) The parties that stand for "law and order" would be at the best of an initial handicap in any clash with the Communist Party that would use violence as their principal argument. At present, leaders of the Parties of the Centre and of the right are complacently regarding the spread of Communist ideology as a "passing phase": the same mistake in 1921 and had to accept Fascist Dictatorship in consequence. A truce amongst these Parties must be brought about in order that a common policy might be adopted to act in concert in the defeat of the pressure group policy being followed by the Communists. The Demo-Christian Party as the "Partito di Massa" and yet a "Partito d'Ordine" must be made to take the lead. In this connection it should be seriously considered to curb the predominant influence of the Communist party in the Duration Scheme, at the same time initiating proceedings against such Fascist personalities as have found their way into Communist ranks.

(d) The revolutionary issue must be forced at a more opportune moment, but certainly before Anglo-American troops have been taken out of this theatre. A systematic clean-up of hidden fire-arms should be staged simultaneously on a nation-wide basis due course but before the Communists have had time to disperse their reserves. Left partisans should be carefully kept at the local Police Station in order to effect a thorough search at an appointed time.

4. In the Labour field, the more immediate problems are:

- (a) The question of legislation,
- (b) The urgent necessity of calling off the unholy alliance that now exists between the "White" and the "Red" Trade Union Organizations in the CGIL,
- (c) The question of temporarily lending support to any political

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(b) The Socialist Party is heading for an internal crisis from which Nenni will be made to emerge in a minority, ~~unless~~ if the group of the right and centre properly maneuvered. Allied Field Security Services should make available to Nenni's agents all information likely to discredit him both socially and politically. One has to believe that there is a great deal that could be said of Nenni, who has been the pay of Russia while in Paris, and is cunningly directing the Socialist movement towards political absorption by the Communist Party. The wide-spread cries of "fusionne" at the Palatine rally on November 12th were symptomatic. Morigliani and more particularly he could be expected to carry the day if they are given the necessary moral and material support by the Anglo-American authorities.

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or Trade Union organisation which is calculated to disrupt the Communist front, and

- (d) the selection of appropriate personnel for the Regional and Provincial Labour Offices.

(a) Practically all Fascist labour legislation was abrogated by AMG General Orders, and ordinances were set up in place. According to the terms of transfer of Italian territory to the Italian Government jurisdiction, AMG legislation is only recognised "for such time as it was in force", only such acts and facts as were the result of such legislation being recognised "in fact" and not "in law". Labour Offices are therefore placed in a peculiar and equivocal position, the right of organisations into free independent associations remain at the mercy of the self-appointed leaders of the Trade Union movement and, in general, a situation is created which is anti "de facto". In order to attain an atmosphere of law and order and to ensure the democratic way of thinking and acting prevails, it is absolutely necessary to see legislation that would: (i) provide State machinery for the study and regulation of labour problems, and (ii) channelise the Trade Union movement into a disciplined form of organised labour, in which responsibilities as well as rights are clearly defined. It is unimportant whether the Draft Laws submitted by Di Napoli are once more resubmitted or a new Draft is undertaken, but it is definitely of consequence as to whether enactment of labour legislation is delayed any further or not. Opposition has come from one quarter, namely Communist Party exponents, and it would appear unnecessary to dwell on the "whys and wherefores" this attitude has been taken.

(b) The CGIL represents a political intervention in the Trade Union field to ensure that the organisation of Italian workers should be attained on a unitary basis. As Trade Unions were the appendages of political Parties in pre-Fascist days, they would have been serving a sacred purpose - provided the parties concerned were sincere, faithful, and sincerely striving for the creation of a democratic independent form of Trade Unionism. It is indisputably true, however, that Communist labour leaders are only interested in using Trade Union Organisations as a means of influencing the Government. No mutual confidence has ever existed between the two currents.

Since the present alliance is only serving:

- a. to strengthen the hands of the left-wing elements, and
- b. to build up an efficient organizational machine, which will remain in the hands of the "Reds",

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or Trade Union organisation which is calculated to disrupt the Communist front, and

- (d) The selection of appropriate personnel for the Regional and Provincial Labour Offices.

(a) Practically all Fascist Labour legislation was abrogated by AMG General and ordinances were set up in place. According to the terms of transference of territory to the Italian Government jurisdiction, AMG legislation is only valid "for such time as it was in force", only such acts and facts as were the result of such legislation being recognized "in fact" and not "in law". Labour Offices were therefore placed in a peculiar and equivocal position, the right of organisation of independent Associations remain at the mercy of the self-appointed leaders of the Trade Union movement and, in general, a situation is created which is entirely unsatisfactory. In order to attain an atmosphere of law and order and to ensure that a new way of thinking and acting prevails, it is absolutely necessary to set up legislation that would: (i) provide State machinery for the study and regulation of labour problems, and (ii) channelize the Trade Union movement into a disciplined expression of organized labour, in which responsibilities as well as rights are clearly defined. It is important whether the Draft Laws submitted by Di Napoli are once more resuscitated, or whether a new Draft is undertaken, but it is definitely of consequence as to whether the enactment of labour legislation is delayed any further or not. Opposition has come only from one quarter, namely Communist Party exponents, and it would appear unnecessary to discuss the "whys and wherefores" this attitude has been taken.

(b) The CGIL represents a political intervention in the Trade Union field to the detriment of the organization of Italian workers should be attained on a unitary basis. In the past, the Unions were the appendages of political parties in pre-Fascist days, the CGIL have been serving a sacred purpose - provided the parties concerned were in good faith and sincerely striving for the creation of a democratic independent form of unionism. It is indisputably true, however, that Communist Labour leaders are interested in using Trade Union Organizations as a means of influencing the proletariat. No mutual confidence has ever existed between the two currents.

Since the present alliance is only serving:

- a. to strengthen the hands of the left-wing elements, and
- b. to build up an efficient organizational machine, which will remain in the hands of the "Reds",

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It is well to unmask Di Vittorio and his satellites, thus calling off the hounds that have so far been staged. The "White" Trade Unions would even now be undertaking an uneven struggle. In order to overcome the many handicaps with which they stand, moral and material help would be a "sine qua non". Financial difficulties could be overcome with our unobtrusive intervention in taking the initiative to secure the provision of funds by (i) landowners and capitalists of goodwill, (ii) private sources, and (iii) the Trade Union movements of U.S.A. and Great Britain.

(c) The Communist Party have a deadly fear of (i) the Syndicalist Movement (Anarchisti or Comunisti Libertari), and (ii) Trotskisti (Bordighiani). They are a sincere energetic group of workmen whose approach is essentially "practical" and have therefore better ascendancy in the North where the masses are more progressive as they have no foreign financial resources they are not encroaching on Communist to the best advantage. The expeditious return to Italy of two outstanding ex-Communists, Ermanno Borghi at present in New York (295 Lafayette St), and Gigi Demiani at present in Tunis, would considerably strengthen this movement. Ferruccio Girolimetti of Sant'Anna di Stabia (Province of Forlì) is an earnest active member of this group and a motor-truck - on business grounds - would considerably aid the movement as it would enable him (i) to establish better direct contacts with other members of the movement, (ii) to coordinate and direct the activities of the movement, and (iii) to earn some money with which to subsidise a newspaper for which permission has been granted in the Rome area.

Bordiga, an outstanding figure in the leftist movement of pre-Fascist Italy, in Naples and has not dared make himself felt. Together with Gramsci he was one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party at the Socialist Congress in 1921. It has been suggested, not without reasons, that Bordiga has been wary of the Communists against entering the political field. There are still many of his supporters who have either found their way into other political currents or are lying low. He might well be approached with a view to rallying round his supporters. It is known that Bordiga referred to Di Vittorio as "the" most insidious man in the Italian political field."

(d) There is every reason to believe that the Communist Party views the stabilising influence of the Labour Offices in the labour field. Their antagonism, at first covertly, now openly, is symptomatic. It is essential that members of these Offices should be chosen apart from any political considerations. Communists or extreme left Socialists should be precluded from occupying any view of the policy of sabotage adopted by their respective Party. These decisions are made during the initial military period of the occupation and their selection is generally at the discretion of an officer who in view of his language difficulties

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is well to unmask Di Vittorio and his satellites, thus colling off the hoax that so far been staged. The "White" Trade Unions would even now be undertaking an open struggle. In order to overcome the many handicaps with which they start, our moral and material help would be a "sine qua non". Financial difficulties could only be overcome with our unobtrusive intervention in taking the initiative to encourage provision of funds by (i) landowners and capitalists of goodwill, (ii) Vatican forces, and (iii) the Trade Union movements of U.S.A. and Great Britain.

(c) The Communist Party have a deadly fear of (i) the Syndicalist Movement (Arcobelli or Comunisti Liberatori), and (ii) Trotskisti (Bordighiani). The "Syndicalisti" are a sincere energetic group of workmen whose approach is essentially "rational". They are therefore better ascendency in the North where the masses are more progressive, but they have no foreign financial resources they are not encroaching on Communist ranks the best advantage. The expeditious return to Italy of two outstanding exponents, viz. Amanno Borgioli at present in New York (295 Lafayette St), and Gi Damiani at present in Tunis, would considerably strengthen this movement. Ferruccio Girolinetti of Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna (Province of Forli) is an earnest active member of this group and a permit of circulation for a motor-truck - on business grounds - would considerably aid this movement as it would enable him (i) to establish better direct contacts with other leaders of the movement, (ii) to coordinate and direct the activities of the movement, and (iii) to earn some money with which to subsidise a newspaper for which permission has already been granted in the Rome area.

Bordiga, an outstanding figure in the leftist movement of pre-Fascism, is now in Naples and has not dared make himself felt. Together with Gramsci he was responsible for the foundation of the Italian Communist Party at the Socialist Congress of Livorno in 1921. It has been suggested, not without reasons, that Bordiga has been warned by the Communists against entering the political field. There are still many of his followers who have either found their way into other political currents or are lying low. Bordiga might well be approached with a view to rallying round his supporters. It is interesting that Bordiga referred to Di Vittorio as "the" most insidious man in the Italian political field."

(d) There is every reason to believe that the Communist Party views with concern the stabilising influence of the Labour Offices in the labour field. Their systematic antagonism, at first covertly, now openly, is symptomatic. It is essential that the directors of these Offices should be chosen apart from any political considerations and that Communists or extreme left Socialists should be precluded from occupying such posts in view of the policy of sabotage adopted by their respective Party HQs. These appointments were made during the initial military period of the occupation and their selection has been generally at the discretion of an officer who in view of his language difficulties and

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and his association with labour organisation in U.S.A. has not always been pick on the right type. To my mind, before such appointments are confirmed opinion of a trustworthy Italian official with labour experience should be after due investigation on the spot. This procedure would obviate the possibilities of:

- (a) having to resort to the drastic measure of removal from office, and
- (b) allowing an office to be started on the wrong lines and with a partisan

5. In the Social field, the questions calling for consideration are:

- (a) the intensive activity of political parties in the field of services and in the organisation of cooperatives;
- (b) the alluring "laissez faire" attitude of the Church toward spread of materialistic ideology, and
- (c) the necessity of providing counter-propaganda to neutralise malicious spread of disillusionment in the Allied Commission the Anglo-American way of thinking and acting.

(a) Political Parties are making a bid for political influence on the providing legal and medical assistance to the worker through the Trade Union tions and through Co-operative Societies; (ii) setting up Co-operative Societies "consumption" and of "production or profit".

This policy is also followed by the Demo-Christians with another end in view. They have never ceased to be suspicious of the absorption intent of the Reds and are endeavouring to keep their supporters together through a Co-operative movement. Communists and Socialists consider this form of organisation as a stepping stone to "collective" undertakings. In this connection it is expedient to draft legislation which would provide:

- (i) a State organisation to function on the lines of the "Ente per l'Assistenza Sociale", which was fairly recently suppressed by the Fascist Government;
- (ii) a democratic para-statal organisation that would assume the functions of the "Ente Nazionale della Co-operazione" which is now in process of liquidation as a result of Fascist legislation. With reference to the latter, the "Banca del Lavoro" was the financing agency and considering that this Bank finances the movement it is not difficult to explain why socialist exponents are showing considerable interest in this connection. As the Socialist group in question (Dugoni - Margade - Buongiacchini) appear to be aiming at a strictly democratic and independent Co-operative Agency, the Allied Commission would do well to encourage their activities.

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association with labour organisation in U.S.A. has not always been able to the right type. To my mind, before such appointments are confirmed, the of a trustworthy Italian official with labour experience should be obtained the investigation on the spot. This procedure would obviate the possibility of having to resort to the drastic measure of removal from office, and allowing an office to be started on the wrong lines and with a partisan hall-mark.

In the Social field, the questions calling for consideration are:

- (a) the intensive activity of political parties in the field of social services and in the organisation of cooperatives;
- (b) the alarming "laissez faire" attitude of the Church towards the spread of materialistic ideology, and
- (c) the necessity of providing counter-propaganda to neutralize the malicious spread of disillusionment in the Allied Commission and the Anglo-American way of thinking and acting.

(a) Political Parties are making a bid for political influence on the masses by (i) giving legal and medical assistance to the worker through the Trade Union Organisation and through Co-operative Societies; (ii) setting up Co-operative Societies of "production" and of "production or profit".

This policy is also followed by the Demo-Christians with another end in view. They never ceased to be suspicious of the absorption intent of the Reds and they are therefore endeavouring to keep their supporters together through a Co-operative movement. The Fascists and Socialists consider this form of organisation as a stepping stone towards "productive" undertakings. In this connection it is expedient to draft legislation that provide:

- (i) a State organisation to function on the lines of the "Patronato Nazionale Assistenza Sociale", which was fairly recently suppressed by the Fascist Regime, and
- (ii) a democratic para-statal organisation that would assume the responsibilities of the "Ente Nazionale della Co-operazione" which is now in process of liquidation as a result of Fascist legislation. With reference to the latter, the "Banca Nazionale del Lavoro" was the financing agency and considering that this Bank finances the Socialist Party it is not difficult to explain why socialist exponents are showing considerable initiative in this connection. As the Socialist group in question (Dugoni - Margadonna - Gaetti - Accorini) appear to be aiming at a strictly democratic and independent form of Co-operative Agency, the Allied Commission would do well to encourage their activities.

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(b) Vatican circles are quite concerned about the present political but appear to take no direct or indirect action to repair the damage being done by Communist propagandists. I submit that the Church might be in a position to do a great deal to counteract through its Clergy much of the fantastic "dope" which is being put across. The Vatican may also be solicited to take a greater interest in the financing and organisation of a Trade Union movement that takes its philosophy from Christian as opposed to Marxist tenets.

(c) Left wing policy includes the malicious spread of "disillusionment" about the Anglo-American aid to Italy. This is done with a view to fostering - by elimination - a sympathetic outlook towards the Soviet mode of living. As a general impression of the Italians is that the Cabinet taken as a whole has come to a standstill and is likely to do no better, it stands to reason that with the elimination of Anglo-Americans as their hope of salvation, there only remains Soviet Russia. The masses are not concerned with political ideals and objectives, or the means of achieving both, but they are very much interested in the prospect of a decent living. Soviet Russia is made to appear as the one Nation that has achieved a high economic, social and educational standard, as the magnanimous one which is prepared to come to the rescue of the Italian proletariat. Emphasis is made on the generous conditions of armistice to Finland and Rumania, whereas the Anglo-American had imposed on Italy the most drastic terms. In this respect the facts are not only publicised that:

(i) the ^{Soviet} Government was a signatory of the Italian Armistice terms, and
 (ii) circumstances were very different when the Italian Armistice was signed.
 The Allied Commission is made the scape-goat whenever it is necessary to apologise for failure to meet a situation or to improve precarious conditions. The word "appeal" - which has certainly been inoperative in the Labour field - is still abused. It may not be out of turn to suggest that periodical official communiqués be sent by the Chief Commissioner to fix responsibilities and to inform the public of the situation in respect of any important issue under consideration.

6. In conclusion, I submit that much has had to be left unsaid and that the facts alluded to in this memo would bear further investigation and elucidation. Were considered necessary to follow up any particular point, I would welcome the opportunity of discussing that point in greater detail.

E. Scialuna, Major
 Labour Relations
 Allied Commission, Labour Sub

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(b) Vatican circles are quite concerned about the present political trend, appear to take no direct or indirect action to repair the damage being done by leftist propagandists. I submit that the Church might be in a position to do a deal to counteract through its Clergy much of the fantastic "dope" which is put across. The Vatican may also be solicited to take a greater interest in financing and organization of a Trade Union movement that takes its philosophy Christian as opposed to Marxist tenets.

(c) Left wing policy includes the malicious spread of "disillusionment" in Anglo-American aid to Italy. This is done with a view to fostering - by process of suggestion - a sympathetic outlook towards the Soviet mode of living. As the general impression of the Italians is that the Cabinet taken as a whole has achieved nothing likely to do no better, it stands to reason that with the elimination of the Americans as their hope of salvation, there only remains Soviet Russia to turn to. These are not concerned with political ideals and objectives, or the means of living both, but they are very much interested in the practical politics of making a living. Soviet Russia is made to appear as the one Nation that has given its people a high economic, social and educational standard, as the magnanimous Nation that agreed to come to the rescue of the Italian proletariat. Emphasis is made on the conditions of armistice to Finland and Roumania, whereas the Anglo-Americans imposed on Italy the most drastic terms. In this respect the facts are not sufficient-

discussed that:
 (i) the ^{Soviet} Government was a signatory of the Italian Armistice terms, and
 (ii) circumstances were very different when the Italian Armistice was imposed. The Allied Commission is made the scape-goat whenever it is necessary to apportion blame for failure to meet a situation or to improve precarious conditions. The word "Control" has certainly been inoperative in the Labour field - is still abused to this day. It is not out of turn to suggest that periodical official communiqués be issued by the Allied Commissioner to fix responsibilities and to inform the public of the actual position in respect of any important issue under consideration.

In conclusion, I submit that much has had to be left unsaid and that a number of allusions to in this memo would bear further investigation and elucidation. If it is considered necessary to follow up any particular point, I would welcome an opportunity of discussing that point in greater detail.

E. Scialuna, Major
 Labour Relations Officer
 Allied Commission, Labour Sub-Commission.

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<u>Appendix "A"</u> Dates	<u>I. Original Itinerary</u> (as submitted in Rome) on 3 Oct 44	<u>II. Curtailed Itinerary</u> (as altered in Naples) on 8 Oct 44	<u>III. Actual</u> (as actually)
Oct 6th Frid.	0800 hrs d. Rome 1300 hrs ar. Naples	0300 hrs d. Rome 1300 hrs ar. Naples	1300 hrs 1800 hrs
Oct 7th Sat.	NAPLES	NAPLES	NA
Oct 8th Sun.	NAPLES	NAPLES	NA
Oct 9th Mon.	NAPLES	NAPLES	d. Ne ar.d. To ar.d. So ar. Ne
Oct 10th Tues.	0900 hrs d. Naples ar. Foggia d. Foggia 2000 hrs ar. Bari	0900 hrs d. Naples ar. Foggia d. Foggia 2000 hrs ar. Bari	d. Naples ar. Foggia
Oct 11th Wed.	BARI	BARI	d. Foggia ar.d. L ar. San
Oct 12th Thur.	BARI	BARI	d. San ar.d. S ar.d. M ar. Cer
Oct 13th Frid.	BARI	BARI	d. Cer ar.d. C ar.d. F ar.d. L ar.d. C ar. L
Oct 14th Sat.	BARI	BARI	

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I. Original Itinerary (as submitted in Rome) on 3 Oct 44	II. Curtailed Itinerary (as altered in Naples) on 8 Oct 44	III. Actual Itinerary (as actually followed)
0800 hrs d. Rome 1300 hrs ar. Naples	0300 hrs d. Rome 1300 hrs ar. Naples	1300 hrs d. Rome 1800 hrs ar. Naples
NAPLES	NAPLES	NAPLES
NAPLES	NAPLES	NAPLES
NAPLES	NAPLES	d. Naples ar.d. Torre del Greco ar.d. Scafati ar. Naples
0900 hrs d. Naples ar. Foggia d. Foggia 2000 hrs ar. Bari	0900 hrs d. Naples ar. Foggia d. Foggia 2000 hrs ar. Bari	d. Naples ar. Foggia
BARI	BARI	d. Foggia ar.d. Lucera ar. San Severo
BARI	BARI	d. San Severo ar.d. Serracapriola ar.d. Manfredonia ar. Cerignola
BARI	BARI	d. Cerignola ar.d. Canossa ar.d. Barletta ar.d. Andria ar.d. Corato ar.d. Ruvo ar. Bari
BARI	BARI	BARI

Appendix "A" Dates	I. Original Itinerary (as submitted in Rome) on 3 Oct 44	II. Curtailed Itinerary (as altered in Naples) on 8 Oct 44	III. Actual (as actual)
Oct 15 Sun.	BARI	BARI	BARI
Oct 16 Mon.	BARI	BARI	BARI
Oct 17 Tues.	BARI	BARI	d. B ar.d. B ar. L
Oct 18 Wed.	BARI	BARI	d. L ar.d. F ar. T
Oct 19 Thur.	BARI	BARI	T
Oct 20 Frid.	BARI	BARI	d. T ar.d. G ar. B
Oct 21 Sat.	d. Bari ar. Cosenza	d. Bari ar. Cosenza	d. B ar. P
Oct 22 Sun.	COSENZA	COSENZA	d. P ar. C
Oct 23 Mon.	d. Cosenza ar. Reggio Calabria	d. Cosenza ar. Reggio Calabria	d. C ar. R
Oct 24 Tues.	d. Reggio Calabria ar. Messina	d. Reggio Calabria ar. Messina	d. R ar. M
Oct 25 Wed.	d. Messina ar. Catania	d. Messina ar. Agrigento	d. M ar. C
Oct 26 Thur.	d. Catania ar. Agrigento	d. Agrigento ar. Palermo	d. C ar. A

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<u>I. Original Itinerary</u> (submitted in Rome) on 3 Oct 44	<u>II. Curtailed Itinerary</u> (as altered in Naples) on 8 Oct 44	<u>III. Actual Itinerary</u> (as actually followed)
BARI	BARI	BARI
BARI	BARI	BARI
BARI	BARI	d. Bari ar.d. Brindisi ar. Lecce
BARI	BARI	d. Lecce ar.d. Francavilla ar. Taranto
BARI	BARI	TARANTO
BARI	BARI	d. Taranto ar.d. Gioia del Colle ar. Bari
Bari Cosenza	d. Bari ar. Cosenza	d. Bari ar. Potenza
COSENZA	COSENZA	d. Potenza ar. Cosenza
Cosenza Reggio Calabria	d. Cosenza ar. Reggio Calabria	d. Cosenza ar. Reggio Calabria
Reggio Calabria Messina	d. Reggio Calabria ar. Messina	d. Reggio Calabria ar. Messina
Messina Catania	d. Messina ar. Agrigento	d. Messina ar. Catania
Catania Agrigento	d. Agrigento ar. Palermo	d. Catania ar. Agrigento

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<u>Appendix "A"</u> Dates	<u>I. Original Itinerary</u> (as submitted in Rome) on 3 Oct 44	<u>II. Curtailed Itinerary</u> (as altered in Naples) on 8 Oct 44	<u>III. Act</u> (as actu
Oct 27 Frid.	d. Agrigento ar. Palermo	PALERMO	d. Ag ar. Pa
Oct 28 Sat.	PALERMO	d. Palermo ar. Sardegna	d. Pa ar. Ca
Oct 29 Sun.	PALERMO	SARDEGNA	d. Ca ar.d. C ar.d. I ar. O
Oct 30 Mon.	d. Palermo (air trans.) ar. Naples	SARDEGNA	d. O ar. R
Oct 31 Tues.	d. Naples (air Trans.) ar. Sardegna	d. Sardegna ar. Rome	R
Nov 1 Wed.	SARDEGNA	ROME	R
Nov 2 Thur.	SARDEGNA	ROME	R
Nov 3 Frid.	d. Sardegna (air trans.) ar. Naples	ROME	R
Nov 4 Sat.	d. Naples (air trans.) ar. Rome	ROME	R
Nov. 5 Sun.	Rome Public Meeting (Brancaccio Theatre)	Rome Public Meeting (Brancaccio Theatre)	Rome Pu (Branca

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I. Original Itinerary (as submitted in Rome) on 3 Oct 44	II. Curtailed Itinerary (as altered in Naples) on 8 Oct 44	III. Actual Itinerary (as actually followed)
d. Agrigento ar. Palermo	PALERMO	d. Agrigento ar. Palermo
PALERMO	d. Palermo ar. Sardegna	d. Palermo (air trans.) ar. Cagliari (Sardegna)
PALERMO	SARDEGNA	d. Cagliari ar.d. Carbonia ar.d. Iglesias ar. Cagliari
d. Palermo (air trans.) ar. Naples	SARDEGNA	d. Cagliari (air trans.) ar. Rome
d. Naples (air Trans.) ar. Sardegna	d. Sardegna ar. Rome	ROME
SARDEGNA	ROME	ROME
SARDEGNA	ROME	ROME
d. Sardegna (air trans.) ar. Naples	ROME	ROME
d. Naples (air trans.) ar. Rome	ROME	ROME
Rome Public Meeting (Brancaccio Theatre)	Rome Public Meeting (Brancaccio Theatre)	Rome Public Meeting (Brancaccio Theatre)

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