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(2ND)

REPORTS ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY
(DEC. 1944); APR. - JULY 1945

CONFIDENTIAL

NO.75.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section

July 6th., 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN ROME AREA

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UNIT NO.12

July 6th., 1945.

Rome "D" Section

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CONFIDENTIAL NO. 75.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section July 5th., 1945.

Report on Conditions in Rome Area

A. CURRENT EVENTS

1. Press Reactions to the Events of the Week.

The new Government still claims first place in the Roman Press this week. Other subjects given prominence are: General Alexander's statement with regard to Italy, the question of Venezia Giulia, the possibility of territorial revindications in Alto Adige, the United Nations' Charter at San Francisco, the effects of the drought in Italy, and the forthcoming English elections.

General Alexander's statement that the Italians have rehabilitated themselves is reported by the entire Press with great satisfaction on June 22nd. LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA (republican) of June 23rd., in an editorial "A gleam of light", expressed gratification at General Alexander's words, and says that whether the armistice terms are published or not is now immaterial. What is important is that they should be consigned to the archives. "If - as General Alexander says - Italy has rehabilitated herself, it is unjust that she should still be subject to the terms of unconditional surrender in the same way as the Italy of Mussolini, Hitler's Germary and Hirohito's Japan".

Venezia Giulia and Trieste. The Press on the whole is still uneasy on this question. On June 24th. it gives the AMG statement with regard to conditions in Trieste which reported that the Yugoslavs during their period of occupation removed 160 million lire from the Banca d'Italia in the city, which fact necessitated the temporary closing of all banks, post offices, etc. Emphasis is also laid upon the fact that the ethnological problem is aggravated by the fact that the Yugoslavs have demobilized men who were under arms who have now returned to civil occupations and are, therefore, remaining in the zones in question, in spite of the withdrawal of the Yugoslav troops. IL MOMENTO of June 24th. carries the headlines "The insensate opposition of the Slovenes to the Allied administration in Trieste - 160 million lire removed by the Yugoslavs - Tito's soldiers camouflaged as civilians".

The Press of June 26th. announces the disbanding of the local police forces and their replacement for the present by Allied Military Police. With reference to the 24 hours' strike in Trieste, most papers announce on the 27th.: "Trieste strike ended without incident".

The question of Alto Adige. In connection with the possibility of revindications in this zone by Austria, IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 24th., in an article entitled "Alto Adige Nazified" , writes that during the period of German occupation of Northern Italy this zone - geographically Italian - has lost every semblance of "italianita'". The article goes on to say that the manoeuvres of the foreign element to bring about an Austrian annexation of this zone should be judged in the light of the behaviour of these people during the Nazi occupation. "In the interests of European peace, one point must be made clear: the frontiers between Italy and other Countries must remain those which Nature intended".

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On June 27th. several papers give the official statement from London that the Southern Tyrol (Alto Adige) is not part of the British zone of occupation in Austria and that the status of this zone remains what it was after the last war when the province was passed over to Italy. The zone, therefore, remains under the control of AMG in Northern Italy and any eventual revindications on the part of Austria would have to be brought up at the Peace Conference.

San Francisco. The Rome Press follows events at the Conference closely and all papers give prominence to pronouncements issuing from it. On June 28th. the entire Press reports President Truman's speech on the occasion of the signing of the pact. LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (independent) of June 28th. has a leader on the "Charter of

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the United Nations". The writer condemns the facile and banal scepticism of some supposedly intelligent people concerning this new effort for the maintenance of peace, and says that on the contrary there should be faith and a determination that this time the new League of Nations shall work. The article goes on to give the similarities and differences between the charter of the United Nations and that of the old League of Nations. While admitting the value of the innovations, the writer affirms that no international institution for the maintenance of peace can be a substitute for the will of the States which form part of that institution or are responsible for its functioning; in substance there is little difference between this and the other charter which the principal members of the League had not the will to put into action. More important than the letter of the new charter is the spirit in which it has been signed: the principles invoked are those of yesterday, but this time there must be (and there must continue to be) the firm determination to make them respected.

The drought. The Press is striking a warning note concerning the damage which the continued lack of rain has caused to this year's harvest. RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal) of June 26th., in an editorial "The Spectre of Hunger", advises the Italian people not to be too optimistic over the food question, as the exceptional lack of rain has enormously affected crops. The paper urges that immediate steps be taken to acquire what is necessary for the coming winter from abroad on the best possible terms. IL TEMPO (independent) of June 27th. says that 20 million quintals of grain will have to be imported.

English Elections. AVANTI (Socialist) of June 24th. has a leader entitled "The Importance of the English Elections" in which the conservatives are accused of using the bogey of the "red peril" in their election campaign in exact imitation of Goebbels. The article concludes by saying that a conservative England would not be able to understand a Europe which is moving to the left and would, therefore, constitute a menace to future peace. LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (independent) of June 24th. includes an article: "The Principles of Liberty in the English Elections" in which some points of the English electoral system are explained.

The New Government and internal affairs. On June 22nd. AVANTI (Socialist) in an article entitled: "Faith in Italy" says: "It is necessary to reduce to a minimum the military occupation of the 43 northern provinces and to prepare the withdrawal of the troops of occupation. There exist some despicable "bourgeois" and a few aristocrats with high-sounding names who say, if the Allies withdraw they don't know what will happen. Nothing will happen - except the elections and the forming of the Constituent Assembly and the proclamation of the Republic. And from the Alps to Etna Italy will become a workshop for the reconstruction of what the fascist monarchy has destroyed".

The Press of June 24th. gives prominence to, and on the whole comments favourably, Parri's first radio address to the nation on Saturday evening, in which he appealed to the Italian people for co-operation and incited them to unity and to work.

IL GIORNALE DEL MATTINO (independent) of June 24th., says: "A quiet and convincing Speech".

LIBERA STAMPA (independent) of June 24th. underlines Parri's appeal to the Italian people to assist with work and faith the task of the new Government. This paper also gives a report from New York which "according to indiscretions in what are usually considered official circles" maintains that the whole of Italy will be under the Italian Government within three months, with the exception of certain frontier zones.

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IL GLOBO (financial) underlines that part of Parri's speech which said that "the confidence of the Allies, which means bread, coal, raw materials and credits, depends upon our work and dignified behaviour". This paper also reports that the North will return to Italian jurisdiction within three months.

IL LAVORO (CGIL organ) says Parri spoke honest and clear words which augur well. Parri's phrase "The Government can make you only one promise: there will be serious work" is quoted.

IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 24th. says: "The Government is formed. Now it must act. The Country waits for work..... In a Government which runs the whole gamut from right to left, Parri has a heavy task which may seem to some impossible".

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ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 24th. takes exception to Parri's affirmation that his Government is a "Government of the people: the whole people". In an editorial this paper says the Government is not a government of the people because it does not derive from democratic elections but is formed from the union of six Parties which do not represent the whole of the anti-Fascist elements which fought actively against the Nazi-Fascists, nor does it represent the opinions and ideals of all those who fought for liberty.
RICOSTRUZIONE (Labour Democrat) and L'INDIPENDENTE (independent - unofficial government organ) of June 24th. both have leaders which pay tribute to Bonomi who, according to those papers, took the helm at the most difficult moment in Italy's history and faced the situation (even though the Allies themselves were diffident if not hostile with regard to him), with the serene calm which is one of his characteristics. At that moment the State did not exist - everything was lacking. Bonomi was not the man to call attention to what he accomplished and Italy, accustomed to twenty years of fascist fanfare, did not understand such modesty. The Country should, nevertheless, be grateful to Bonomi for his work and for his self-sacrifice and the nation's respect should follow this man of high mind and firm conscience into his temporary retirement.

UNITA' (Communist) of June 26th. in an editorial "A new tone" says that what pleased most in Parri's discourse was just that new tone; he made only modest statements, proportionate to the situation, but he struck a chord which found an echo in the heart of every honest and serious Italian. One thing which gave particular satisfaction, says the writer, was that with regard to the Allies, Parri spoke as a man speaks to those whose friendship he is conscious of meriting.

The Press of June 27th. is mainly occupied with the Government programme as approved at the first sitting of the Council of Ministers on the 26th.
UNITA' (Communist) underlines the Government's reliance on the "active and conscious co-operation of every citizen".
RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal) emphasizes the request for an end of the armistice regime in Italy.
IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) insists that the measures to be taken to disarm citizens and to suppress illegal acts are the indispensable first step on the road to reconstruction.
ITALL. LIBERA (Action Party) says that the programme amply justifies Parri's statement that this is a Government "of the people for the people"; one of the errors of which the Bonomi Government could be accused was that it maintained itself in a kind of distrustful isolation from public opinion and thus a deep gulf was fixed between Government and people.
IL LAVORO (CGIL organ) announces: "Clear enunciation of policy by the new Government - Vast economic-social plan".
LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA (republican) dealing with the programme point by point somewhat destructively, is particularly eloquent aboutthe statement that the Constituent Assembly will be convoked "in the shortest possible time". The article says: "Yes -- but when? Three months, six months, a year?"
ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 27th., giving a decidedly secondary importance to the first meeting of the Ministers, refers to the programme approved as a "somewhat prolific document, delivered with the hypocritical coldness of a directors' report to the shareholders of a limited company and, in the manner of such reports, full of rosy promises expressed in a form not sufficiently definite to be binding".
LIBERA STAMPA (independent) of June 27th., in an editorial entitled "We and They" affirms that the separation between Government and people in Italy must cease. The Government are no other than the representatives of the people: "To defraud the fiscal authorities means to defraud ourselves; to disobey the law means to destroy our own security; he who does not consign his grain to be amassed starves himself.....The Government cannot work the miracles - we must".

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The Press of June 28th. announces the launching of the new Government loan in the North of Italy and states that Parri, who will go to the North in the next few days, will emphasize there the anti-inflationist aims of the new financial programme and underline the necessity for the State - and, therefore, for its citizens - that this loan should meet with complete success.

The Press of the 28th. also gives notice of the fact that the new Under-secretaries of State will be sworn in that afternoon.

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B. GENERAL REPORTS

P O L I T I C A L

2. Conversation with Randolfo Pacciardi.

During the course of a conversation with an Italian collaborator of the PWB, Randolfo Pacciardi, leader of the Republican Party, expressed the following opinions: "The political situation in Italy, in spite of appearances, is slowly returning to normalcy. The people are re-orientating themselves continually towards the Republic, and the House of Savoy itself knows that it has lost the battle". He emphasized the extreme necessity of new ideals in the life of the Country and of something which will lead the energy of the confused and disorientated youth of to-day into reconstructive channels. He thinks that only a republic can offer these new ideals to Italians, and he spoke of four letters which he had received in the past few days (two signed and two anonymous). The two former were from an officer who is a prisoner of war in India and from a neo-Fascist Republican captain now in a concentration camp. These letters from four young men belonging to the generation which was brought up in the school of fascism indicate clearly the extent to which the thoughts of these men are confused and how rudderless are those who, like themselves, had believed in Fascism. The number of these young men, said Pacciardi, is much greater than is generally believed, and they all are scornful of those who permitted Fascism and who are still clinging to their positions and thus impeding the regeneration of the nation. Pacciardi affirmed that these young men who are now so undeceived should not be ostracised for life and banned from public life, and that instead they should be morally cleansed and given new ideals to follow. On the problem of the South, Pacciardi said that the Republicans intend to accentuate the federal idea in the Republic so that every region will have the maximum participation in the government and so that the State shall be as decentralized as possible. He believes that this is extremely important, because then the South, which is diffident and generally inclined (for fear of something worse) to maintain the status quo, would be convinced that a Republic is preferable to a Monarchy, if it were guaranteed regional autonomy in a federated republic.

3. Demonstration of Republicans at Albano Laziale.

A PWB officer reports as follows: Delegations from the surrounding districts with their flags and apparently the entire population of Albano Laziale filled the small piazza on Sunday evening, June 24th., to hear General Azzi speak on "Why I became a Republican". A band played republican and patriotic airs and the crowd was in a friendly, democratic mood. Two trucks backed together served as the speakers' platform.

General Azzi gave a clear, concise and unemotional analysis of his reasons for becoming a member of the Republican Party. He stated that, in his opinion, three Parties were outstanding in Italy: Socialist, Action and Republican, but the fact that the latter had always been consistent in its objectives and had never compromised with the monarchy, together with a long and impartial study of its programme, had convinced him that it best interpreted the exigencies of the present situation.

In conclusion, General Azzi stated that many of Italy's internal and external enemies criticize the division into so many political Parties of apparently such diverse views with regard to economic and social problems, and claim that the Italian people possess neither the political maturity nor moral

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In conclusion, General Azzi stated that many of Italy's internal and external enemies criticize the division into so many political Parties of apparently such diverse views with regard to economic and social problems, and claim that the Italian people possess neither the political maturity nor moral capacity for self-government. "We must eliminate this idea and treat all such calumny with disdain". He stated that the resurrection of the Country and the re-establishment of Italian dignity called for the union of all in the fight for liberty, irrespective of political Parties or beliefs; that the only mortal enemy of Italy was the monarchy; that the ideal was a republic, and that the legal means to attain this is the Constituent Assembly. "If we do not have a Constituent Assembly, there will be revolution" he said.

All salient points of the discourse received loud applause and there was an ovation to General Azzi at the end. Afterwards a cortege with banners paraded through Albano singing patriotic songs. There were no incidents of any kind.

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4. Report to the Roman Communist Federation on the Insurrection of the North.

A PWB officer reports as follows: On Sunday morning, 24th. June, Pietro Socchia of the Communist Party gave a long and interesting report of the insurrection of the North to the Roman Communist Federation at the Palestrina Cinema, which was filled with a quiet and interested audience.

After speaking of the fundamental reasons for the success of the insurrection and emphasizing the necessity for a policy of national unity and of constant defence of the interests of the masses, Socchia gave a resume of the heroic events of the days of the insurrection. He spoke quietly and eloquently and was warmly applauded at the conclusion of his report.

Ilio Baroncini, commander of the Partisan forces in Emilia, then spoke and described the problems of technical and military preparation of the G.A.P. Brigades of Romagna and Bologna. He was also enthusiastically applauded. There were no incidents of any kind.

PUBLIC OPINION

5. Reaction to General Alexander's Statement

A PWB Italian collaborator reports that the recent speech by Field Marshal Alexander, which was not reported fully in the Roman Press, created a sense of solidarity with United Nations, and especially with England. Many people said that besides contributing to the re-birth of Italy, the Allies had officially recognised her efforts and their own desire for the reconstruction of Italy.

A Communist intellectual of 45 years said: Field Marshal Alexander's praise of the Partisans and Italians for their part in the war against the Nazi-Fascists was the greatest recognition we could have had. The appreciation of the value of our regular troops came at an opportune moment, that is, when doubts began to arise about the use made of our armed forces. These doubts were raised by the very sketchy accounts given in the newspapers. As regards Northern Italy, the Field Marshal gave ample assurance that the Val d'Aosta and Trieste would be under Allied control and that their positions would be discussed at the Peace Table. The anxieties about these zones are, therefore, at rest, and the manoeuvres of the Monarchist Party have failed. The hostility against the Communists has also passed, as no one believes that they are not first of all Italians.

A tailor, 30 years - Republican - was very impressed by Field Marshal Alexander's declaration concerning the armistice. The vast propaganda carried on by the "VOCE REPUBBLICANA" to have the terms of the armistice published is well known. It is, of course, obvious that they wish to have these in order to be able to attack the monarchy and Badoglio who signed this armistice. This tailor is surprised, now that "military reasons" for non-publication no longer exist, that there should have arisen "political reasons" for still withholding publication. The Allies, he says, promised a Government chosen by the people. They have not kept their promise. They refused to allow us to publish the terms of the armistice for military reasons and promised to do so when the war was finished. This promise also has not been kept. Perhaps they are making fun of us? The clauses are not known, but we all are more or less aware of what the Allies have asked. Rumania and Hungary appealed to Russia and were heard. Why can't we Italians be treated in the same way? It seems to me that there is no"political reason". If these clauses have no more value, as Alexander said, then why keep them hidden? The Italian people is not to be judged by the irresponsible acts of mad men, but by the behaviour and heroism of the Partisans, of the soldiers [illegible]

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and was warmly applauded at the conclusion of his report.

Ilio Baroncini, commander of the Partisan forces in Emilia, then spoke and described the problems of technical and military preparation of the G.A.P. Brigades of Romagna and Bologna. He was also enthusiastically applauded. There were no incidents of any kind.

P U B L I C O P I N I O N

5. Reaction to General Alexander's Statement

A PWB Italian collaborator reports that the recent speech by Field Marshal Alexander, which was not reported fully in the Roman Press, created a sense of solidarity with United Nations, and especially with England. Many people said that besides contributing to the re-birth of Italy, the Allies had officially recognised her efforts and their own desire for the reconstruction of Italy.

A Communist intellectual of 45 years said: Field Marshal Alexander's praise of the Partisans and Italians for their part in the war against the Nazi-Fascists was the greatest recognition we could have had. The appreciation of the value of our regular troops came at an opportune moment, that is, when doubts began to arise about the use made of our armed forces. These doubts were raised by the very sketchy accounts given in the newspapers. As regards Northern Italy, the Field Marshal gave ample assurance that the Val d'Aosta and Trieste would be under Allied control and that their positions would be discussed at the Peace Table. The anxieties about these zones are, therefore, at rest, and the manoeuvres of the Monarchist Party have failed. The hostility against the Communists has also passed, as no one believes that they are not first of all Italians.

A tailor, 30 years - Republican - was very impressed by Field Marshal Alexander's declaration concerning the armistice. The vast propaganda carried on by the "VOCE REPUBBLICANA" to have the terms of the armistice published is well known. It is, of course, obvious that they wish to have these in order to be able to attack the monarchy and Badoglio who signed this armistice. This tailor is surprised, now that "military reasons" for non-publication no longer exist, that there should have arisen "political reasons" for still withholding publication. The Allies, he says, promised a Government chosen by the people. They have not kept their promise. They refused to allow us to publish the terms of the armistice for military reasons and promised to do so when the war was finished. This promise also has not been kept. Perhaps they are making fun of us? The clauses are not known, but we all are more or less aware of what the Allies have asked. Rumania and Hungary appealed to Russia and were heard. Why can't we Italians be treated in the same way? It seems to me that there is no"political reason". If these clauses have no more value, as Alexander said, then why keep them hidden? The Italian people is not to be judged by the irresponsible acts of mad men, but by the behaviour and heroism of the Partisans, of the soldiers, and of the population. These questions are being put by all Italians. The feeling of brotherhood towards the Allies is great, but it would be much greater still if these clouds could be dispersed.

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L O C A L C O N D I T I O N S

6. Death rate in Rome from Tuberculosis

An Italian collaborator of PWB reports as follows: According to the first Congress for the battle against tuberculosis, the death rate in Rome in 1944

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increased by 122%.

From the report given by Prof. Giovanni L'Eltore of the Forlanini Institute, it is learned that the increase in tuberculosis in 1942 was 40% over the figures of 1938-1939. The speaker at the Congress meeting called attention to the fact that not only was the increase during the war period alarming, but the position as it is likely to develop in the next six to seven years must be considered.

Many suggestions were made for the intensification of the anti-tubercular campaign, first among which was the speedy de-requisitioning of the sanatoriums occupied at present by the military authorities. An increase in accomodation, the enforcement of obligatory insurance against tuberculosis, and an intensification of preventive measures among children, were other recommendations.

W O M E N I N P O L I T I C S

7. Women Undersecretaries.

An Italian collaborator of PWB writes that it almost seemed that the new Government might have six women Undersecretaries. The UDI (Union of Italian Women) had proposed that the Undersecretaryship of "Post War Assistance" be given to a woman and to this end conversations took place between Signora Calogero and Parri who declared himself favourable to the proposal. In the meantime the UDI (founded by women Communists) proposed the name of Rita Montagnana, the wife of Togliatti. Although the six Parties were in agreement, they feared the effect on women voters of the inclusion of a Communist woman and, therefore, wanted themselves each to nominate a woman undersecretary. The most concerned in the matter were the Christian Democrats who, together with the Communists, have the greatest Party membership. The proposal was, therefore, subsequently rejected.

8. The National League of Italian Women.

A PWB officer was invited to the first meeting of the National League of Italian Women which took place on Sunday, June 24th., 1945., in the ballroom of Palazzo Doria.

Miss Anna Lea Lelli, who is the originator of the League, and was arrested and imprisoned during the war for her plan for international education, spoke for an hour and held the attention of her listeners. She explained that the League is apolitical and does not compete with any of the existing welfare organizations or other womens' activities, but on the contrary makes use of any element which is already organized and has proved its right to exist.

The aims of the League are:

1. The union and co-ordination of all womens' centres, associations and unions already in existence, and any others which may be formed, so that the whole weight of the Italian women's influence may converge towards one aim: the civic, national and international betterment of the present and future generations.
2. To contribute to the re-education and regeneration of the Italian people and to help them to regain their own self-respect, and the respect of the rest of the civilized world.
3. The civil, moral, intellectual and political preparation, both nationally and internationally, of the Italian woman for the part she will expect to play in the life of the new Italy.

The League is divided into two groups, and each group into sections. The first group deals with problems of infancy, girlhood and motherhood and of feminine rehabilitation. The second group consists of a voluntary corps of female civic guards and deals with the political education of women (this

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WOMEN IN POLITICS

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The League is divided into two groups, and each group into sections. The first group deals with problems of infancy, girlhood and motherhood and of feminine rehabilitation. The second group consists of a voluntary corps of female civic guards and deals with the political education of women (this was explained in more detail later), the co-ordination of the various national associations, the international union, and with administration and finance. The League will operate by means of the scholastic Press, weekly transmissions over the radio, evening classes, recreational and social gatherings, and through the Feminine Voluntary corps of Civic Guards.

This is, of course, a vast programme, but the speaker showed that it is already materializing. For instance, artisan work is pouring in from different parts of the Country and is sold at a 10% profit, which latter goes to the League fund. Anyone who is really doing artisan work can bring it to the League to be sold.

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Miss Lolli went on to point out how the League would work in collaboration with the schools. One of the Sections' work is to take the children off the streets and this has already begun to operate. This is a voluntary service carried out by young women. Another Section deals with the education of the young in collaboration with the schools, and seeks to prepare young women for the moral and political responsibilities of the future. The intention is to guide the women of the Country to be useful citizens and to bring up their children to be the same.

After Miss Lolli, Mrs. Lupinacci spoke. She is the head of the Section which deals with the co-ordination between the various national feminine associations and which is dedicated to the political education of women. Lectures on political history will be given and pupils will be brought into contact with all Parties so as to give them an objective view of any political situation which may arise.

C U L T U R A L

9. Radio - Interview with Corrado Alvaro.

Corrado Alvaro, who was the first director of the R.A.I. after it was given back to the Italian Government, and a supporter of radio transmission free from Government influence and control, said that the B.B.C. was one of the most perfect radio services; its direction, editing and newsreels were models. He said that facts were given with great exactness and that the B.B.C. was also technically very superior to the "Voice of America". Nevertheless, the latter is more popular because the more humanitarian attitude of the Americans is reflected in their radio transmissions, and the masses prefer to listen to something which encourages them to hope. Alvaro is of the opinion that with their more humanitarian appeal, if the American transmissions were more carefully prepared they could have a great influence. As it is, in his opinion they are inferior to the B.B.C. broadcasts.

On the subject of Col.Stevens, he said that this popular speaker of London radio has perhaps finished his course. In Fascist times his was the most pleasant and convincing anti-fascist voice, and nearly all Italians in the privacy of their homes tried to listen to him every evening. Later, during the Nazi occupation, Col.Stevens took a more realistic and independent stand than the other speakers of the B.B.C. with regard to England's attitude to Italy. If the others had followed his example and explained things and dealt with queries as he did, Italian public opinion would have been less deluded: Italy would have expected less and so would have been less disappointed, and the reaction of discontent with the Allies would not have been so strong. At the time, Col. Stevens was considered a bird of ill-omen and the other speakers, such as Calosso, were listened to for preference, and these were taken for official speakers, whereas actually they were only speaking for themselves. They made the B.B.C. very popular at the time but, according to Alvaro, did not do a good turn to Italy, because it is better not to create illusions. In a third period, Col.Stevens adopted the attitude of the majority of English people towards Italy, thus giving the official point of view, and the Italians, moved by that feeling of uncertainty and mistrust which is the characteristic attitude of the majority, lost all interest in his transmissions.

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

C U L T U R A L .

10) EXHIBITION OF PICTURES AND SCULPTURES.

An Italian collaborator of the MVB brings us the following:

At the "Galleria del Secolo" there is an exhibition of the works of Arcangeli and Scordia (painters) and Cannilla (sculptor). The pictures which are characterised by an artistic seriousness and dignity, do not strike one as having any exceptional quality. They are of the type to which we are more or less used in these days, without having any outstanding characteristics. Various influences may be noted, from Gentilini to Mafai and sometimes Toti Scialoia, but there is nothing distinctly individual in these works.

The sculptures of Cannilla are much more interesting, and so are his designs. His nudes show an expressionist tendancy, and his heads reveal a sensibility which promises well.

At the "Finestra", where there is an exhibition of paintings by the Sienese Musiani and the Neapolitan Caroli, the air is more refreshing. There is a chromatic sensibility in the landscapes and still-life of Musiani; the chords struck are delicate but vibrant and reveal the touch of a light but sure hand. This is subtle and refined work.

The compositions of Caroli transport us to another world. Here two very different tendancies are seen: one towards the tumultous mirth which is typically Neapolitan, as represented in various pictures, such as "Piedigrotta", "Ciarlatani alla Fiera", "La Polemica" rich in inspiration and colour, and the other, more abstract and cold as represented in "Architettura", and "Pantomima", which denote a far more restrained and intellectual approach. Both tendencies are interesting and it is impossible to say which is likely to prevail.

Both these artists, when they become more stable and their intrinsic personalities have had time to develop completely, should be able to contribute something to the crowded world of contemporary painting.

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11) "A FIRE IN CHICAGO" Fox Film

"A Fire in Chicago", shown in the Capranica and Imperiale cinemas is a repeat performance of this Fox Film, which was shown in Rome in 1938.

This is one of those classic american films where one sees depicted the life of a family who were the founders of a town which has now become famous.

The story of the family O'Liri and of their business in Chicago

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The story of the family O'Liri and of their business in Chicago interested the public very much. The fire scene, very realistically represented, was particularly appreciated.

Tyron Power's personal popularity was also one of the attractions of the film.

The documentary, which illustrates with stupendous photography the operations of the Australians in Japanese territory, was followed with unusual interest, perhaps on account of the more human and less impersonal manner in which the hardships and risks of these valorous soldiers who must fight also against nature itself, are presented.

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CONFIDENTIAL NO.75.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12 APO 512

July 5th., 1945. APPENDIX NO.1.

COMPOSITION OF NEW ITALIAN CABINET - June 21st., 1945

President of the Council and Minister of the Interior		* PARRI Ferruccio (Action Party)
Vice President of the Council Minister for the Consulta		BROSIO Manlio (Liberal)
Vice President of the Council Minister for the Constituent Assembly		* NENNI Pietro (Socialist)
Undersecretaries for the Presidency of the Council		* ARPESANI Giustino (Liberal) * AMENDOLA Giorgio (Communist)
Undersecretary for the Interior		SPATARO Giuseppe (Christian Democcat)
Minister for Foreign Affairs		DE GASPERI Alcide (Christian Dem.)
Undersecretaries	(For Italians abroad)	REALE Eugenio (Communist) MORELLI Renato (Liberal)
Minister of Justice		TOGLIATTI Palmiro (Communist)
Undersecretary		VERONI Dante (Labour Democrat)
Minister of Finance		SCOCCIMARRO Mauro (Communist)
Undersecretary		PARESCE Enrico (Labour Democrat)
Minister of the Treasury		SOLERI Marcello (Liberal)
Undersecretaries	(War Damages)	* PERSICO Giovanni (Labour Demo.) * MASTINO Pietro (Action Party)
Minister of War		* JACINI Stefano (Christian Demo.)
Undersecretaries		* COLAIANNI Pompeo (Communist) * CHATRIAN Luigi -General (independ.)
Minister for the Navy		DE COURTEN Raffaele (independent)
Undersecretaries	(Military)	* ARDIZZONI Carlo (Labour Democrat) * CORSI Angelo (Socialist)
Minister of Air		* CEVOLOTTO Mario (LabourDemocrat)
Undersecretary		PELLEGRINO Ernesto- General (indep.)
Minister of Public Instruction		ARRANGIO RUIZ Vincenzo (Liberal)

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President of the Council and Minister of the Interior		* PARRI Ferruccio (Action Party)
Vice President of the Council Minister for the Consulta		BROSIO Manlio (Liberal)
Vice President of the Council Minister for the Constituent Assembly		* NENNI Pietro (Socialist)
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Minister of Air		* CEVOLOTTO Mario (LabourDemocrat)
Undersecretary		PELLEGRINO Ernesto- General (inde..)
Minister of Public Instruction		ARRANGIO RUIZ Vincenzo (Liberal)
Undersecretaries	(Fine Arts)	*ANDREAZZA Achille (Christian Demo.) * RAGGHIANTI Carlo (Action Party)
Minister of Public Works		* ROMITA Giuseppe (Socialist)
Undersecretary		* BRUNO Giuseppe (Action Party)

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Note: * - new members of the Government.

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APPENDIX NO.1.

Minister of Agriculture		GULLO Fausto (Communist)
Undersecretary		SEGNI Antonio (Christian Demo.)
Minister of Transport		* LA MALFA Ugo (Action Party)
Undersecretary		* PRIOLA Antonio (Socialist)
Minister of Post and Telegraphs		* SCELBA Mario (Christian Demo.)
Undersecretary		FANO Mario (independent)
Minister of Industry and Commerce		GRONCHI Giovanni (Christian Dem.)
Undersecretaries	(Industry)	* CANEVARI Emilio (Socialist)
	(Commerce)	* STORONI Enzo (Liberal)
Minister of Reconstruction		RUI NI Meuccio (Labour Demo)
Undersecretary		XX (see note)
Minister of Food		MOLE Enrico (Labour Democrat)
Undersecretary		* SANSONE Renato (Socialist)
Minister of Labour		* BARBARESCHI Gaetano (Socialist)
Undersecretary		* CASSIANI Gennaro (Liberal)
Minister of Post-War Assistance		* LUSSU Emilio (Action Party)
Undersecretaries	XX .	* FERRARA Mario (Liberal) (see note)

Note: * - new members of the Government. XX - Appointment to be announced.

XX July 5th.
Three further Undersecretaries have been announced this morning:

Ministry of Industry and Commerce.

Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Socialist) is nominated instead of Emilio Canevari (Socialist).

Ministry of Reconstruction.

Ernesto Rossi (Action Party)

Ministry of Post-War Assistance

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Undersecretary			FANO Mario (independent)
Minister of Industry and Commerce			GRONCHI Giovanni (Christian Dem.)
Undersecretaries	(Industry)		* CANEVARI Emilio (Socialist)
	(Commerce)	.	* STORONI Enzo (Liberal)
Minister of Reconstruction			RUINI Meuccio (Labour Demo)
Undersecretary		XX	(see note)
Minister of Food			MOLE Enrico (Labour Democrat)
Undersecretary			* SANSONE Renato (Socialist)
Minister of Labour			* BARBARESCHI Gaetano (Socialist)
Undersecretary			* CASSIANI Gennaro (Liberal)
Minister of Post-War Assistance			* LUSSU Emilio (Action Party)
Undersecretaries			* FERRARA Mario (Liberal)
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Ministry of Reconstruction.

Ernesto Rossi (Action Party)

Ministry of Post-War Assistance

Enrico Berardinone (Communist) is the second Undersecretary.

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local government

8 0 JUN 1945

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ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section June 28th., 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN ROME AREA

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NO.74.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
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CONFIDENTIAL NO 74.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section June 20th., 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN ROME AREA.
NO. 74

A. CURRENT EVENTS

1. Press Reactions to the Events of the Week.

The Government crisis has again held the field in the Roman Press this week. Other subjects of interest are: The Trieste question, the withdrawal of the French troops from the Val d'Aosta, the coming 3-Power Conference, and the future of Italian colonies.

Trieste and Venezia Giulia. Pietro Nenni, in an article in AVANTI (Socialist) of June 17th. says that in connection with the Allied-Yugoslav agreement, this provisional solution of the problem may be considered satisfactory. "All we could expect of the Allies was intervention to prevent incidents before even the question was discussed, and to avoid the establishment of a unilateral solution by force which would have created rancour between the two Countries which are both equally interested in a just solution of the frontier question. After this agreement, the way is open for direct understanding, and it is necessary that the new Government should resolutely follow this up".

INDIPENDENTE (unofficial government organ) of June 17th., in an editorial, says: "Thanks to the energetic intervention of our Allies, Venezia Giulia, trodden under the heel of Yugoslavia, rises again from the misery of four weeks of terror and violence, but the situation is not yet clear. ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 17th. reports: "Postponement of the meeting between Allies and Yugoslavs," and says it is confirmed that the final agreement has not yet been signed.

On June 19th. enthusiasm is expressed in the Press at the entry of British troops into Pola. LIBERA STAMPA (independent) of the 19th.: "The fate of Trieste will be decided within a month. Tito's pretensions concerning Istria have caused interruption in the Allied-Yugoslav talks".

The Press of June 20th. gives Reuter's report that the talks concerning the definition of respective zones of occupation will be concluded that night, and on June 21st. the entire Press announces the signing of the agreement and its terms.

Withdrawal of the French Troops from the Val d'Aosta. General satisfaction is expressed on this subject in the Press of June 17th. AVANTI (Socialist), says that a prolonged occupation of the frontier zone might have led to unpleasant incidents and provocations. The wise decision to withdraw the French troops cuts short any uncertainties and creates the conditions under which Socialists on this side and that of the Alps may collaborate.

LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (independent) of June 17th. under "French Explanations concerning the withdrawal of troops" says that an official statement from the Quai d'Orsay makes it clear that the withdrawal was not the result of diplomatic relations, but a purely military measure in accordance with Allied plans, and that there does not exist any tension whatsoever between French and

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1. Press Reactions to the Events of the Week.

The Government crisis has again held the field in the Roman Press this week. Other subjects of interest are. the Trieste question, the withdrawal of the French troops from the Val d'Aosta, the coming 3-Power Conference, and the future of Italian colonies.

Trieste and Venezia Giulia. Pietro Nenni, in an article in AVANTI (Socialist) of June 17th. says that in connection with the Allied-Yugoslav agreement, this provisional solution of the problem may be considered satisfactory. "All we could expect of the Allies was intervention to prevent incidents before even the question was discussed, and to avoid the establishment of a unilateral solution by force which would have created rancour between the two Countries which are both equally interested in a just solution of the frontier question. After this agreement, the way is open for direct understanding, and it is necessary that the new Government should resolutely follow this up".

INDIPENDENTE (unofficial government organ) of June 17th., in an editorial, says: "Thanks to the energetic intervention of our Allies, Venezia Giulia, trodden under the heel of Yugoslavia, rises again from the misery of four weeks of terror and violence, but the situation is not yet clear. ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 17th. reports: "Postponement of the meeting between Allies and Yugoslavs," and says it is confirmed that the final agreement has not yet been signed.

On June 19th. enthusiasm is expressed in the Press at the entry of British troops into Pola. LIBERA STAMPA (independent) of the 19th.: "The fate of Trieste will be decided within a month. Tito's pretensions concerning Istria have caused interruption in the Allied-Yugoslav talks".

The Press of June 20th. gives Reuter's report that the talks concerning the definition of respective zones of occupation will be concluded that night, and on June 21st. the entire Press announces the signing of the agreement and its terms.

Withdrawal of the French Troops from the Val d'Aosta. General satisfaction is expressed on this subject in the Press of June 17th. AVANTI (Socialist), says that a prolonged occupation of the frontier zone might have led to unpleasant incidents and provocations. The wise decision to withdraw the French troops cuts short any uncertainties and creates the conditions under which Socialists on this side and that of the Alps may collaborate.

LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (independent) of June 17th. under "French Explanations concerning the withdrawal of troops" says that an official statement from the Quai d'Orsay makes it clear that the withdrawal was not the result of diplomatic relations, but a purely military measure in accordance with Allied plans, and that there does not exist any tension whatsoever between French and Italian Governments. Other papers also give this report.

3-Power Meeting. In this connection the Press is speculating considerably on the possibilities for Italy in these talks. LIBERA STAMPA (independent) of June 17th. writes "What Italy asks of the 3-Power Meeting: 1) Admission among United Nations; 2) Liquidation of territorial questions; 3) Information as to the future of her Colonies; 4) Renewal of exchanges with other Countries." The article goes on to say that it is obviously in the interests of the Allies that Italy should be able to make her contribution to the reconstruction of

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Europe, and adds that in this matter it should be noted that while Russia has lost no time in regularizing her relations with the Countries between Russia and Germany, Great Britain and America, on the other hand, have not established relations with France, Belgium, Holland or Italy.

Italian Colonies: on this subject, several papers of June 17th. quote a report from London that Italy will probably be deprived of her colonies - with the possible exception of Eritrea. IL MOMENTO (independent) of June 17th. quotes the report as saying "It is highly probable that an international status will be given to the Italian pre-war colonies - perhaps under the tutelage of a commission nominated by the world organization of United Nations". It is added that both Great Britain and America have renounced any post-war territorial claims. LIBERA STAMPA (independent) of the 17th., gives the same report and adds that the ex-Italian colonies may become international peace bases. IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 17th. gives the report, but says it should be treated with great reserve.

The Government Crisis. On June 15th. the Press reported the Allied reminder that Italy is still bound by certain obligations under the terms of the Armistice, and it was obvious that this stung.
ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 15th., in an article entitled "Dignity", says that the CNL is responsible for the latest humiliation of Italy: the Allied reminder concerning Italy's obligations would never have been circulated if the crisis had been solved.
INDIPENDENTE (unofficial government organ) of June 15th. affirms in an editorial "Errors to be avoided" that the Government which issues from this long crisis must be a strong government, backed up by public opinion and supported by the Parties, who must be ready to bend their individual wills to the general good of the Country. The article adds that it would be useless to send Parri to the Government if the principal exponents of the Parties did not collaborate with him but remained outside the Government in order to be able to criticise and obstruct.
UNITA (Communist) of June 15th., after expressions of the highest esteem for Parri, for his record and his personality, says: "We Communists wish him a speedy success and undertake to facilitate his difficult task in any way within our power".

On June 16th. the Press reports the continuance of the discussions in search of a solution. Nenni, in AVANTI (Socialist), says that the institutional truce does not mean that Ministers must not let their republican opinions be heard, but merely that they must not by their acts sabotage a free response on the question from the people.
UNITA' (Communist) of June 16th. hopes that Parri will find a way out and at the same time succeed in giving positions within the Government to representatives of the working classes so that there will be at least a pretence of equilibrium until the elections.
IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 16th. states that a solution must be found rapidly; in this moment when the United States are sympathetic to the inclusion of Italy among the United Nations, when the frontier disputes have been favourably settled, Italy must convince the world of her capacity to govern and rebuild.
ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) of June 16th. says that if Parri does not succeed in forming a Government, Italy will enter a state of chaos.
LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA (republican) of June 16th. referring to the Allied reminder that the institutional question must wait until the whole of Italy can vote, says this is, then, the annulment of the Lieutenant General's decree of June 25th. 1944, which said the institutional truce should continue until "the liberation of the national territory".
ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist), in an article entitled "The Just Medium" says that

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ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist), in an article entitled "The Just Medium" says that a Government cannot be said to democratically represent the whole Country if there is no representative within it, alongside of those who claim to hold the monopoly of the life of the Country, of a political current of national character which has a considerable following; in order that the people may express themselves freely when the time comes, it is necessary that for the present there be very little politics, that the people be really free, and that there be concrete facts relative to the condition of the Country. Only thus will it be possible to talk of a beginning of democracy in Italy.

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RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal Party) of June 17th., commenting the three days of Parri's efforts, says that the main point of friction is still the question of the Ministry of the Interior which the Socialists want at all costs; the Country follows with sympathy the efforts of Parri to form a Government which will be the real expression of the CNL, and to be this, the parity of the Parties in the structure of the Government must be maintained.
UNITA' (Communist) of June 17th.: "The Ministerial Crisis - the Moment for Decision has arrived - the Egotism of the Right Wing threatens to bring about Failure of Parri's Efforts". An article says that the Ministry of the Interior is the bone of contention, and with regard to this it would appear that the Liberals have established a decided veto, refusing to admit that the Socialists could direct this Ministry and asking for themselves not only the Interior, but the Ministry of War and the Treasury. "And so a stalemate was created again yesterday by the Liberals on the question of the Ministry of the Interior as it was previously created by the Christian Democrats on the question of Nenni's presidency".
RICOSTRUZIONE (Democratic Labour Party) of June 17th. in a leader: "The Solution - nearer or more remote?" says there is a general impression that yesterday's discussions did not bring a solution any nearer.
GIORNALE DEL MATTINO (independent) of June 17th.: "Parri in Difficulties".

On June 18th. a special edition of ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) announcing the formation of "The Government of the Constituent Assembly, presided over by Ferruccio Parri" was issued. EPOCA (independent) of June 18th. (afternoon paper) announced: "The Crisis resolved with the CNL Formula".

The entire press of June 19th. gives the main outline of the Government composition, according to "corridor indiscretions".
AVANTI (Socialist) of June 19th. in a leader by Pietro Nenni, says that although the solution arrived at is not entirely that which was desired by the masses of the people it has, nevertheless, changed the political direction of the Country from right-centre to left-centre, and is, without doubt, the best possible solution that could have been obtained.
ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) vents its discontent in sarcastic headlines: "All in agreement with regard to the Government, but scrapping over the portfolios - The Posts are created, but where are the Ministries? - Multiplication of Departments in order to satisfy everybody - Will the Capital be transferred to Milan?"

The entire Press of June 20th. announces the formation of the Government "of the Constituent and of Reconstruction" with satisfaction, with the exception of ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) which says: "A Government has been formed, a crisis is opened" and adds that this is not a Government but merely another Ministry, and LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA (Republican) which calls the new Government "The Fourth Government of Compromise".
ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) in an editorial entitled "A great Government - great Responsibilities" says that the new Government is not an improvised affair arrived at in the enthusiasm of the moment, but it is the result of laborious consideration - a solution arrived at, one might say, after everything else has been thought of and tried out. "This Government, if backed up in its efforts, will be able to give Italy what she expects of it".

The Press of June 21st. gives the official lists of Ministers and says the new Government will be sworn in on Saturday.
UNITA' (Communist) of June 21st. says that it has been once again proved that at least until the elections and the Constituent Assembly, Italy cannot be governed except through the CNL - outside of the CNL there is in Italy today nothing but chaos.

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B. GENERAL REPORTS. * POLITICAL

2. Meeting of the Christian Democrats at the Volturno Cinema.

An Italian collaborator of PWB reports as follows: The Congress of representatives of the Christian Democrat Party which had begun on June 12th. came to an end on June 17th. with a meeting at the Volturno Cinema which was very crowded, mostly with young men from 19 to 23 years of age. About 15% of the audience were women, mostly young.

In the preceding days problems concerning the activities of the Christian Democrat movement were discussed and the future line of conduct was decided upon. This final meeting was conducted by Giulio Andreotti, the national delegate of the Christian Democrat Youth organization. Many political personalities were present, including the Minister Gronchi.

After a word of welcome from the Secretary of the Youth organization to the delegates of the 70 provinces, Giulio Andreotti spoke. He recalled those who had died in the Partisan struggle, and referred to the contribution with youth must make in this critical period of reconstruction. He then gave the reasons why the youth organization of the Christian Democrat Party is orientated very largely towards a democratic republic.

When the meeting was over a procession was formed to march round the town. I heard from some of them that they were going to Piazza del Gesu! where they hoped that some personality of their Party, perhaps De Gasperi, would address some words of encouragement to them. The meeting was quite orderly as they were all people of one way of thinking. There was great applause at all references to the republic.

3. Meeting of the Action Party to Commemorate the Martyrs of Zone 1.

A PWB officer gives the following report: On Sunday morning, June 17th. the Action Party commemorated their dead of Zone 1 at the Cinema Palestrina. An attentive audience filled the theatre; there were many of the wives, mothers and relatives of the martyrs present as well as many political personalities and representatives from other political Parties.

Berlinguer, after a short introductory speech by Avvocato Giovanni Ozzi, spoke simply and movingly of the dead, mentioned each by name and stressed the obligation of the living to continue the work for which they gave their lives. He stated that the Action Party was ready to assume its share of the responsibility to guarantee the free expression of the will of the people at the Constituent Assembly and to prevent the resurrection of the forces of reaction. All of Berlinguer's references to the republic and to Ferruccio Parri were greeted with great applause and enthusiasm on the part of the audience, and his eulogy of the dead was very moving.

Berlinguer was followed by speakers representing the Communist, Socialist and Republican Parties, who all spoke warmly of Parri and of the need for a democratic republic. (Great applause).

At the conclusion of the meeting, a cortege was formed to proceed to the unveiling of a plaque in honour of the dead. At this ceremony, Dottor Giuli made a short speech.

4. Socialist Meeting at the Planetario.

An Italian collaborator of PWB writes as follows: On Wednesday afternoon June 20th., the Cinema Planetario was crowded with people who enthusiastically applauded Nenni, Togliatti and Pertini when they appeared on the speakers' platform. Nenni immediately began his discourse, and spoke of the struggle of the Socialist Party for power. He said that the only opposition had come from the ignorant and from the Fascists. The advent of the Socialist Party had benefited everyone and especially the working classes, but the Christian

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attempt at a solution was blocked, and they, therefore, proposed Parri as candidate for the Presidency. Nenni then eulogized Parri as the man for the moment and said that now that the Government is completed the Socialists are the first to realize their duty and they are determined to pull together with Parri in the defence of democracy and freedom and in the advancement of the working classes. This, he said, is the task of the new Government; all privileges of the rich should be swept aside and the principal aim should be then the Constituent Assembly. "We will fight with ever increasing tenacity, and we reaffirm our faith in the republic. In not so many months when all of the provinces of Italy are under the jurisdiction of the Italian Government, the Constituent Assembly will be elected, but first of all the work of epuration should be finished. We should emulate our companions of the North and remove from civil life all those involved in crimes against the Italian people. Then the Socialists will go into power with a precise task and with the certainty of having a mandate from the people to work for a new life. Our work will be shared with the Communists and we are certain of succeeding in arriving at our objective - the Republic".

Togliatti and Nortini then spoke briefly and were also loudly applauded.

5. Communist Meeting on June 17th.

An Italian collaborator of PWB reports this as follows: The Basilica of Massenzio, chosen for this meeting, was overflowing with people. Representatives of all sections were present with red flags and banners with the mottos "Long live Russia", "Long live the Partisans", "Down with the King", "Republic and Liberty". About 10,000 people were present, principally of the working classes, and there were a great many women who collected funds for the returning soldiers and partisans.

Punctually at 10 o'clock Col.Cin. Mesatelli began to speak. He was greeted by prolonged applause, and he commenced by thanking the population of Rome for their enthusiastic welcome and for their solidarity with the Partisans of the North. He then painted a brief picture of the life they had led, and the spirit which had animated them. He tried to stress two points: 1) that among the Partisans there was no difference in creed: it was sufficient to believe in the cause of Liberty; 2) in the Communist Brigades there were enrolled many young people with monarchist ideas, many parish priests and especially many young members of the Christian Democrat Party. He concluded by saying that he would carry to the North the good wishes of the workers of Rome, and by a plea for unity in the cause of the reconstruction of Italy.

The second speaker was Ilio Baroncini. He at once said he was no orator, but gave some details about the life of the Partisans in Emilia. Baroncini also emphasized the unity existing among the Partisans, and underlined the fact that in their ranks were many Christian Democrats. Turning to the Roman workers he said that they were already very much ahead, as they had had more time for reconstruction, but that the North would not be long in coming into line. He said that everyone's energy should be canalized to the rebuilding of Italy. His last words were: "For this rebirth, we want Togliatti and Nenni in the Government".

A letter from Nenni was then read, in which he said that for special reasons he was unable to be present, but they were to carry on as though he were there, as in spirit he would be. The letter was greeted with great applause, and continuous cries of "Long live Nenni and the Socialist Party".

Before Togliatti started to speak, the band played "Canzone del Piave", "Fratelli d'Italia" and L'Inno dei Lavoratori", which the people sang all together.

Togliatti commenced by ridiculing the anxiety felt by certain heads of the police about the meeting. He went on to say that the workers present

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Togliatti commenced by ridiculing the anxiety felt by certain heads of the police about the meeting. He went on to say that the workers present wished to show their gratitude towards the representatives of the Partisans. He spoke of the accomplishments of the Partisans, and especially of the purge carried out by them. He said "If Mussolini had been brought to Rome, who knows how long it would have taken to get justice done, and how much dignity Italy would have lost over it". He said that the purge is not finished, however; it goes on and will do so until all the real culprits have been punished. (Togliatti had to wait here until the cries of "Down with the King" "We want the head of the King" had subsided). As for the Government, he declared that it must be formed by the people and there must be no one in it who, though he might write books on philosophy, or be a famous diplomat,

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or representative of the right wing, does not understand anything about popular government. He ended by saying that the unity of the working classes alone can restore national solidarity in politics.

Togliatti's speech was enthusiastically applauded and at the end the crowd pushed its way up to the platform, singing "The Red Flag" and calling for Moscatelli and Baroncini.

6. Biographical Notes on some of the Personalities in the New Government.

Ferruccio Parri, President of the Council, Action Party. Born at Pinerolo (Turin), 19th. January 1890. Graduate in Literature at Turin University. Winner of a scholarship for the professorship of a High School; was professor at the Parini"Liceo" in Milan. Soldier in the war 1915-1918. Won promotion from Lieutenant to Major. Was wounded several times and won three silver medals and French "Croix de Guerre". After third or fourth wound he was called to the "Ufficio Co-operazione" of the Chief of Staff, General Diaz, and helped to form the plan of operations which led the Italian Army to victory at Vittorio Veneto. After the Armistice, he was on the committee of the first organization "Opera Nazionale Combattente" in 1919, and was one of the best known leaders. Publisher of the "POpolo Romano", he was also managing director of the "Corriere della Sera" which he left with Albertini in 1925 when the paper became a Fascist organ. He opposed Fascism from its birth. After the assassination of Matteotti, he published, together with Riccardo Bauer, Giustino Arposani and Giovanni Mira, the "Caffe'", a weekly anti-Fascist paper which carried on in Milan the work which Piero Gobetti was doing in Turin with the "Rivoluzione Liberale". The paper beat the record of requisitionings by having two numbers only not requisitioned. With Riccardo Bauer, he was one of the principal organizers of the anti-Fascist struggle, of the clandestine press ("Antieroato"), of the conspiracy, and he co-ordinated the different centres of opposition abroad.

After the extraordinary laws of 1926 he organized with Rosselli and Portini the escape of Filippo Turati and his flight in motor boat from Savona to Corsica. On his return from Corsica Parri was arrested with Rosselli (November 1927) and was kept a long time in prison awaiting trial. They were eventually tried and sentenced to ten months' imprisonment which had already expired before the trial. They were then sent to Lipari. Liberated in May 1930, Parri was again arrested for plotting, together with Ernesto Rossi and Riccardo Bauer, on 30th. October 1930. Released in April 1932, he was banished to the islands and afterwards to the Valle Lucania, from which place he was finally liberated in 1933. During that period he was always in contact with the anti-Fascist movement of the "Giustizia e Liberta'" organization, founded by Rosselli and Lussu in France and directed in Italy by Bauer and Rossi. In February 1933 Parri was taken on by the "Ufficio Studi della Societa' Edison" and collaborated in a monumental work in 4 volumes which constitutes a complete review of the electro-mechanical evolution in the World and in Italy. This was published in the fiftieth year of the company. In 1937 he collaborated in another well-known work "Rivelazioni degli utenti familiari a contatore" which was the first study of its kind in Italy and served as an indication of the economic situation of the various parts of the Country in their relations with foreign Countries.

Ferruccio Parri's education ranges from the literary to the geographical fields and from hydrology to electro-mechanism.

In 1942, after a long period of clandestine activity, he was tried by a special court, imprisoned for six months, and then acquitted. He was one of the founders of the clandestine"Action Party" in July 1943. After the Armistice he remained in Milan, the moving spirit and organizer of the resistance against the Nazi-Fascists. He was commander of the Partisan formation in the North, together with Longo of the Italian Communist Party. After the arrival of

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He is an untiring organiser, and it is to him that the organization of the 15th. "Giustizia e Liberta'" division is owed. He was commanding General of this division. As Commander of the Partisans he is known all over the north of Italy. During the war his pseudonym was "Maurizio". He has always had a great moral influence on the younger men who fought magnificently under him.

Manlio Brosio, Liberal, Vice-President. Born in Rimini of a Piedmontese family in 1900, has been a member of the Liberal Party since he was a young man. A Lawyer, he practised in Turin. Was a member of the CNL in Rome during the Nazi-Fascist occupation. He has already taken part in the Government in the first and second Bonomi cabinets.

Alcide De Gasperi - Foreign Minister - Christian Democrat. Born in the Trentino 1893. An active irredentist, directed "Il Nuovo Trentino" newspaper and in 1911 was sent by his co-citizens as deputy to the Austrian parliament. After the 1915-18 war he entered and took part in the direction of the Partito Popolare Italiano. Deputy in 1921, he succeeded Don Sturzo in the direction of the Party. During the Fascist oppression he was condemned to four years' imprisonment. He was minister without portfolio in Bonomi's first cabinet and Foreign Minister in the second.

Meuccio Ruini - Minister for Reconstruction. Labour Democrat. Born in Reggio Emilia in 1877, entered the administration of public works in 1900 and became general manager of "Mezzogiorno" in 1912. Radical deputy, undersecretary for Labour in Orlando's ministry in 1919 and Colonial Minister in Nitti's third ministry in 1920. Under Fascism he had to leave the Council of State of which he had been a member since 1913. Minister without portfoli in Bonomi's first cabinet and Minister for Public Works in the second.

Gaetano Barbareschi - Minister for Labour and Social Insurance Socialist. He is a metallurgic worker. Born in Sestri Levante 54 years ago, took part very young in the Socialist Syndical organization into which he put all his enthusiasm and spirit of sacrifice. He was one of the first to oppose Fascism. This cost him many years of banishment, physical assaults and aggressions; he was continually spied upon and prevented from earning his living. He was amongst the foremost in the clandestine movement against the Germans in Genoa and was imprisoned in the ill-famed "Casa delle Studente" in Genoa, where he was cruelly tortured but never betrayed anything. Although he is a "self-made" man, after the liberation of Genoa he took on the management of the "Nuovo Giornale" of that city.

Giuseppe Romita- Minister for Public Works - Socialist. Born in Tortona in 1887. In 1904 he was already in the fighting lines of the Socialists. Was elected deputy for Turin 1919 and re-elected at the head of the list in the two following legislatures, 1921 and 1924. He distinguished himself in parliament for his technical abilities, and was nominated member of the Commission for Public Works. He was director for many years of the Turin paper "Il Grido del Popolo" and member of the management of the Party from 1922 to 1926 , the year in which he was arrested and banished. Referred to aspecial court, he spent his time passing from one Italian prison or island to another. For his continuous activity and anti-Fascist convictions he was eliminated from the engineers' honours list. In 1942, with Vernocchi, Lizzadri Peretti and Canevari, he reconstituted the Socialist movement and carried on extensive clandestine activity aimed at the official re-organization of the Party, for which he had worked both in banishment and freedom. In Bonomi's

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7. Reactions to the new Parri Government.

An Italian collaborator of PWB brings us the following: The solution of the political crisis by the formation of the Parri Ministry has been received with general satisfaction. Parri is believed to be a man of outstanding

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moral qualities, and there is little doubt about his energy and organizing ability. Thus, in a time when the masses are suspicious of politicians whom they consider to be personally ambitious, Parri is considered as a man apart from the others. The only reservation made - usually by Rightest elements who are disappointed that the laborious discussions of the CNL did not result in failure - is that those qualities which make him popular are not sufficient to protect him from the manoeuvres of able political elements such as, for example, the Communists.

The Organizing Secretary of the Action Party, commenting on the position of his Party, stated that in this delicate moment the Party should be able to give proof of its value in this experiment in which the future of democracy in Italy is at stake. Failure would, in his opinion, lead to a shift to the Left or to the Right: either a return to the past and to the side of the reactionary forces, or to a new type of dictatorship of a different colour. At this moment, he said, Christian Democrats on the one hand, and Socialists and Communists on the other, regard the Action Party with those sentiments one feels towards someone who has succeeded where they would have liked to succeed. Both Nenni and De Gasperi maintain that they sacrificed themselves in the interests of concord. With Parri as President, he said, the moderate tendency in the Party is represented and a serious Constituent Assembly is assured without any fear of compromise. When he was given the task of forming the new Government, Parri was told by the Lieutenant General that although the tendencies in the CNL were clearly republican, other forces existed in the Country which were monarchical and these forces should be considered in the formation of his cabinet. The Secretary stated that Parri's reply was that this was neither politically, juridically or materially possible and he added that in sending Lussu and La Malfa to the Ministry, the Action Party was playing its best cards. He concluded by saying that miracles cannot be expected even from Parri, especially in the field of national reconstruction where everything depends upon the Allies, but certainly, as far as the solution of delicate problems such as epuration, the preparation of the Constituent Assembly, the fight against a policed State and the formation of an Italian democratic conscience is concerned, the greatest confidence may be placed in Parri.

A Socialist, aged 40 years, who had been exiled in France and who had been condemned to 30 years' imprisonment by the Fascists, stated that the new Government is really formed to defend a programme which will lead to a Constituent Assembly worthy of the name, to oppose every reactionary attempt, and to go ahead energetically with epuration. On this point, he adds, Parri has given precise assurances, and since Parri is an honest man, the Socialists are convinced that he will not act as Bonomi has done. On the social question Parri is more generic and reticent, but it must not be forgotten that the problems of nationalisation of the industries and agrarian reform cannot be dealt with before the elections. Parri is a guarantee that those elections will be arrived at honestly so that the republicans and Socialists, as well as the other Parties, can freely express themselves. He says that Parri has gone into power for his personal qualities and not by any special influence of his Party which, however, acquires from his nomination a certain prestige.

A 30-year old employee - Labour Democrat, says that the nomination of Parri as Prime Minister does not give a predominant position to the Action Party. According to him, the nomination of Parri signifies a movement to the left from which the Socialists and Communists will profit. The Ministries entrusted to men of the Action Party do not allow anything important in the way of innovations, whilst Togliatti and Nenni are destined to play important roles.

A high-school Professor, 30 years, Liberal, says that the

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A high-school Professor, 30 years, Liberal, says that the crisis after all began with Cattani's letter denouncing the underground dealings of the Parties in the Government. He is sure that the Party would have accepted Nenni's candidature as President if the Liberal Party had been left the portfolio of the Ministry of the Interior, and adds that in any case, the fact of having opposed the attempted hegemony of the Socialists and Communists during the crisis gave prestige to the Liberals who, according to him, can do very good work in the Government and give to it first-class men and technicians. He thinks that an agreement with the Action Party should not be impossible as the Liberals will not be slow to follow the strongest current on the institutional question. He adds that his Party has every confidence in Parri, of whose

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qualities as an organizer he has the greatest esteem.

"Licco" headmaster - 40 years - Christian Democrat, says that as he belongs to the left wing of his Party, the constitution of the new Government has his whole confidence. He is sure that the posts allotted to Togliatti and Nenni will place them in a position to solve two important problems: epuration and the Constituent Assembly.

Woman, literature graduate, Communist, says that the constitution of the new Government represents a forward step, but the preservation of conservative elements in it which try to prevent decisive action by the left, makes it an unsatisfactory solution.

C U L T U R A L

3. "Non sei stato mai cosi' bello" at the Salone Margherita.

Peppino de Filippo, the popular Neapolitan comedian, presents this review at the Salone Margherita. It is a parody of the American film. It attempts to get away from hackneyed themes such as "Black Market" the "Liberating Allies", the "Signorinas","Shoe Shine" and Party politics, etc. An attempt is made to portray the variety and strangeness of humanity apart from contingent facts. Here and there the outworn motifs mentioned crop up and are received with long and significant applause by the audience.

In one act there is a comparison between an Englishwoman of the beginning of the century who submits to the languid fascination of Naples and a modern Wac full of energy and disdain who is incapable of seeing the true face of Italy through the grief and misery of to-day.

The chief merit of this production is the natural diction of Peppino de Filippo, but the review on the whole is mediocre.

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23 CIU. 1945

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12. APO 512

Rome "D" Section. June 21st., 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN ROME AREA.

PART I - SUMMARY.

The political crisis continued to absorb the attention of the Press during the week.

Ferruccio Parri arrived in Rome, having been unanimously proposed by the delegates of the CLNAI for the post of Prime Minister in an attempt to solve the deadlock which had arisen between the Socialists and Christian Democrats. The CLNAI declared that Parri should be Prime Minister in view of the fact that he represented the insurrectional movement in Northern Italy. They also declared that the principal representatives of the different Parties should enter the Government. The Christian Democrats accepted these proposals whole-heartedly, but when Nenni and Togliatti made it known that they did not intend themselves to enter the Government, De Gasperi (Christian Democrat) said that in that case he would be unable to do so. Parri's task was thus a complicated one, and discussions took place between him and the leaders of the various Parties. If a strong government of national union was to be formed, it had obviously to include the principal leaders of the six Parties. Parri's task was, therefore, to secure the active co-operation of Nenni and Togliatti.

The candidature of Parri was welcomed by both left and right wing Parties forming the Committee of Liberation. He was known as a man of complete integrity and a person who had always opposed Fascism. As a member of the right wing of the Action Party he was considered by the Press of all Parties to be impartial. It is reported that the Socialists and Communists, although welcoming the candidature of Parri, were determined to secure some key ministries in the Government for the working class Parties before giving their unreserved support. In the two previous Bonomi Governments the key ministries, such as Premiership, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Treasury, Ministry of War and Ministry of Justice, were all in the hands of the right wing or centre Parties. The Socialists demanded the Ministry of the Interior, but the Liberals vigorously opposed this demand as they themselves wanted this Ministry. Eventually a compromise was reached resulting in Parri himself taking over the Ministry of the Interior and the appointment of two vice-presidents. Of these, one was a Liberal, Manlio Brosio, and the other a Socialist, Pietro Nenni. Brosio is also minister for the Consulta, and, presumably, will be responsible for summoning the consultative assembly. He will also assist the Prime Minister in the Ministry for the Interior. Nenni, on the other hand, in addition to being vice-president, is minister for the Constituent Assembly and will be responsible for preparing for the elections. He has also assumed the high commissionership of Sanctions against Fascism. The Communists demanded the Ministry of Justice and Togliatti himself became Minister. The discussions between Parri and the members of the various Parties lasted for four or five days before the government was actually formed. He was received by the Lieutenant General and entrusted with the responsibility of forming the Government. He replied that he reserved his decision until he had seen whether this was possible. On Sunday evening he reported to the Lieutenant General that

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each Party, with the exception of the Christian Democrats, having three Ministries. The Ministry for Occupied Italy has been abolished. On the other hand, four new Ministries have been created. The Ministry of Reconstruction has been formed out of the various committees which existed hitherto, and Meuccio Ruini, the leader of the Democratic Labour Party, has been put in charge of this Ministry. A Ministry of Food has been created, and Enrico Molè, Labour Democrat, is Minister. A Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance has been formed, and a Genoese worker, a Socialist, Gaetano Barbareschi, is the Minister. A Ministry of Post-War Assistance has been formed, and includes the various committees for Prisoners of war and refugees. Emilio Lussu, Secretary of the Action Party, is Minister of this. De Gasperi remains at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Stefano Jacini, Christian Democrat, becomes Minister of War in place of Casati. Giovanni Gronchi remains Minister of Industry and Commerce, but his responsibility for labour is transferred to a separate Ministry. Mario Scelba, Christian Democrat, becomes Minister of Post and Telecommunications. Raffaele De Courten remains Minister of the Navy; Marcello Soleri, Liberal, remains in charge of the Treasury, and Arangio Ruiz, Liberal, remains Minister of Public Instruction. For the Communists, in addition to Togliatti, who becomes Minister of Justice, Mauro Scoccimarro replaces Antonio Pesenti at the Ministry of Finance, while Fausto Gullo remains Minister of Agriculture. For the Socialists, in addition to Nenni, who is vice-president and Minister for the Constituent Assembly, Giuseppe Romita becomes Minister of Public Works, and Gaetano Barbareschi Minister of Labour and Social Insurance. The Labour Democrats are represented by Ruini who is Minister for Reconstruction, Mario Cevellotto, who becomes Minister for Air, and Enrico Molè, who becomes Minister for Food. The Action Party is represented by Ferruccio Parri, who is President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, by Ugo La Malfa who becomes Minister for Transport, and by Emilio Lussu who becomes Minister for Post-War Assistance.

It is reported that the Ministers will take the oath to the Lieutenant General next Saturday, according to the formula adopted for the preceeding Bonomi Government, that is: each Minister will pledge himself to respect the institutional truce and to work exclusively in the supreme interests of the Country.

The Under-Secretaries have not yet been chosen, but these are expected to be selected in the next few days.

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Interest continues to be shown in the elections in England, and several articles have appeared in the Italian Press describing the English electoral

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of Post-War Assistance has been formed, and includes the various committees for Prisoners of war and refugees. Emilio Lussu, Secretary of the Action Party, is Minister of this. De Gasperi remains at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Stefano Jacini, Christian Democrat, becomes Minister of War in place of Casati. Giovanni Gronchi remains Minister of Industry and Commerce, but his responsibility for labour is transferred to a separate Ministry. Mario Scelba, Christian Democrat, becomes Minister of Post and Telecommunications. Raffaele De Courten remains Minister of the Navy; Marcello Soleri, Liberal, remains in charge of the Treasury, and Arangio Ruiz, Liberal, remains Minister of Public Instruction. For the Communists, in addition to Togliatti, who becomes Minister of Justice, Mauro Scoccimarro replaces Antonio Pesenti at the Ministry of Finance, while Fausto Gullo remains Minister of Agriculture. For the Socialists, in addition to Nenni, who is vice-president and Minister for the Constituent Assembly, Giuseppe Romita becomes Minister of Public Works, and Gaetano Barbaschi Minister of Labour and Social Insurance. The Labour Democrats are represented by Ruini who is Minister for Reconstruction, Mario Cevellotto, who becomes Minister for Air, and Enrico Molè, who becomes Minister for Food. The Action Party is represented by Ferruccio Parri, who is President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, by Ugo La Malfa who becomes Minister for Transport, and by Emilio Lussu who becomes Minister for Post-War Assistance.

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On Sunday, June 17th., the Communist Party organized a mass meeting in honour of the Partisans. This was addressed by two Partisan leaders, Colonel Moscatelli and Barontini. Moscatelli recalled how Italian industry had been saved by the efforts of the workers in the North who had become Partisans. He declared that the workers did not wish these factories to return to the hands of

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those who had made of them instruments of collaboration with the Germans. The Partisans of the North, he said, had allowed themselves to be disarmed without demanding anything. They did, however, demand one privilege: to work more than others in order to be an example and to show once more that the workers and peasants are the best part of the Italian people. Parentini said that the Partisans who had agreed to be disarmed intended to be in the vanguard of the reconstruction of their Country, but they also intended to be vigilant that the solution of the political crisis be that expressed by the will of the people. The meeting was concluded by a speech from Togliatti. He said that the meeting had been called to show gratitude for the national liberation and to express that gratitude on behalf of the whole nation to all officers, soldiers, sailors and aviators. He said that the present political crisis was profound, and that it could only be solved by a new political direction corresponding to the formidable historical fact of the struggle of the proletarian partisans for the liberation of their Country. He declared that the Socialists and Communists could best achieve this because they were supported not by the forces of the old ruling classes, but by the real Italian people. He said that the old ruling classes were afraid of the working classes and implored the Allies to remain in Italy as long as possible to prevent the people becoming masters of their own destiny. He said that nearly two years ago the Foreign Ministers of the three Great Powers pledged themselves to liberate Italy from every trace of Fascism and to allow the Italian people to express its own will as to the Government of the Country. He asked the Allies to keep faith with these pledges.

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No.73

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section

June 21st., 1945

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The problem of the new Italian Government continues to take precedence in the Press of this week, although considerable space is still given to the Trieste question. Other subjects of interest are: the situation in the Val d'Aosta, Italy's renewed request to be admitted to the San Francisco Conference, the campaign for the reduction in the cost of living, and the British elections.

On the subject of Trieste, the whole Press gives prominence on June 10t. to the agreement arrived at. AVANTI (Socialist) of June 10th., says: "The Trieste agreement has been signed - final settlement at the Peace Conference." RICOSTRUZIONE (Labour Democrat) of June 10th. states: "This solution is considered here as satisfactory and acceptable because it solves a dangerous problem and signifies the triumph of the very important Anglo-American principle according to which disputes over territory cannot be settled by unilateral action."

IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 10th. publishes an editorial by Guido Gonella who, speaking of the end of "this incubus" adds: "But how many other parts of Italian territory are still under the control of those who, in a few weeks of arbitrary occupation, have shown how little respect they have for the peoples' rights." He goes on to express concern for those Italians remaining in the zones under Yugoslav control, and says there is no guarantee that violence will not be used to influence these people when the time comes for auto-decision and discussion at the Peace Conference.

On June 11th. the Press shows a little concern in case the provisional occupation of zones by the Yugoslavs should prejudice the discussions at the Peace Conference. ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 12th. gives De Gasperi's statement on the agreement, in which he says that the request of Italy was that the whole of Venezia Giulia should be occupied provisionally by Allied forces; England and America from the beginning received this request with sympathy, but the agreement reached does not accord completely with Italian desires and leaves a certain amount of apprehension. It is appreciated, however, that the compromise arrived at is the outcome of long and tenacious effort on the part of the Governments of London and Washington.

UNITA' (Communist) of June 12th., after stating that it is to be hoped that the agreement will put an end to the alarmist tactics of certain people who sought to aggravate the already sufficient difficulties of the Country by prognostications of another armed conflict on the frontier, adds that the agreement itself, however, leaves something to be desired. A negative element of some gravity is constituted by the absence of Italy from the discussions. The article affirms that an idiotic and narrow-minded nationalism, having created an impossible atmosphere for direct discussions with Tito, has once more played into the hands of those whose interest it is to see that Italy regains an autonomous state as tardily as possible.

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The Press of June 13th. gives accounts of the enthusiasm with which the Italians of Trieste acclaimed the substitution of British and American flags for that of Yugoslavia in the city. LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA (Republican) of June 13th. has an article "Reservations by Subasic on the Venezia Giulia Agreement" and reports from Washington the publication of a letter from Subasic to the American Ambassador in Belgrade in which he says that Yugoslavia has accepted the solution offered by the Anglo-Americans in order to avoid any possibility of conflict, but he reaffirms that the agreement does not in any way prejudice the Yugoslav revindications with regard to Trieste, Istria and the Slovene coast. The letter adds that the present agreement is contrary to the sentiments of the Yugoslav populations resident in these zones.

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In connection with the situation in the Val d'Aosta, the Press maintains that bribery of the Italian population in this zone is still going on, and anxiety is expressed. IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 10th. says there is a widely diffused fear that the French intend to occupy Ventimiglia permanently. INDIPENDENTE (independent) of June 10th. states that notwithstanding the orders of General Alexander, the French troops refuse to leave the Val d'Aosta. GIORNALE DEL MATTINO (independent) of June 13th. gives in full an article by Jospeh Israel of the INS entitled "The Val d'Aosta Industries -- Paralysis at Cogne - cessation of work caused by the political and military situations". The article says that Italians and Allies are studying with interest the accord reached with Tito, in the hope that something similar may speedily be forthcoming in regard to the Val d'Aosta where the situation is becoming daily more tense as a result of the growing French pretensions.

The entire Press of June 15th. (and the afternoon papers of June 14th.) announces the withdrawal of French troops from the Val d'Aosta.

Italy's request for admission to the San Francisco Conference is arousing considerable interest in the Press. All papers of June 10th. publish the formal request and say that the question of Italy's admission is under consideration. GIORNALE DEL MATTINO (Independent) says the request has little probability of being considered until the international status of Italy has been revised. It is explained that as long as there is no peace treaty between the Allies and Italy the latter cannot be admitted to the Conference.

RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal) of June 13th. says that the admission of Italy to the Conference will be discussed next week, and quotes Antonini's memorial to President Truman concerning help to Italy and her admission to the Conference. UNITA' Communist) of June 13th. gives: "Admission of Italy among United Nations reported imminent."

In this connection, the announced intended participation of the Italian Navy in the war against Japan is underlined in the Press. GIORNALE DEL MATTINO (independent) of June 13th. states: "Part of the Italian Fleet will participate in the war against Japan - Truman shows comprehension of our Country - Antonini's memorial to the President while Italy's admission to the Conference is discussed." GIORNALE DEL MATTINO of June 14th., however, gives Ambassador Tarchiani's categoric denial of having asked that Italy might take part in the Pacific War and of having reported President Truman's promise to use part of the Italian fleet in the Far East, as stated by this paper the previous day.

A certain amount of interest continues to be shown in the forthcoming elections in Britain, but this is diminishing somewhat, perhaps because there is a growing conviction, as several papers of June 10th. point out, that the foreign policy of all Parties in Britain is fundamentally the same. The differences with regard to internal politics are outlined.

On the subject of the new Government on June 9th., the deadlock still existing, RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal) says: "It is now time to say: Italy awaits the Government of which she is in urgent need. It is perhaps not too much to add: she is tired of waiting."

IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of the same day, writes: "The Christian Democrat Party has shown its ability to deal with the political situation... all doors are wide open if there is the will and self-discipline to decide the fate of the Country through the deliberations of a Constituent Assembly."

AVANTI (Socialist) of June 9th. says: "The Constituent is a means, not an end, and if there is accord as to means without accord as to end, the accord may be ups at any moment."

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UNITA' (Communist) of June 10th: "The immediate formation of a CNL government- this is the will of the masses in the North". In an editorial, this paper affirms that many Countries in Europe have reached Fascism after having passed through the anti-chamber of Catholic governments.

RICOSTRUZIONE (Labour Democrat) of June 10th. favours a Bonomi Presidency.

L'EPOCA (independent Socialist) of June 11th. says: "The Parties are still seeking for a solution of the crisis, the delegates from the North having energetically reaffirmed that the new Government must be designed by the CNL with the exclusion of Bonomi and other politicians of the past."

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ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) of June 12th., in an editorial by Lussu, entitled "An Imminent Solution Foreseen" says that the difficulties (exclusively political and not personal) have retarded the solution of the crisis too long; the Country demands a Government and at once, and not merely explanations as to why one has not yet been formed. The article goes on to say that both the Socialist and Christian Democrat candidatures are now out of the question and, therefore, an alternative has to be found; it is obvious that the CNL, which interpreted rightly the will of the people, and conducted the revolt against the Germans and Fascists which led to liberation, must have within its ranks the men necessary to form a Government. "The future Government must re-establish the authority of the State which the Fascist regime and the war have shattered to fragments, but it must do so by democratic methods.....There must be a democratic Government, a Government of the people capable of leading the Country peacefully towards the Constituent Assembly; a Government in which not only those sections of the population which have suffered most from the Fascist adventure and from the war, but all the best elements of the new Italy - our partisans and the heroes of the resistance - shall feel themselves represented. A Government formed in any other way would not be a Government."

IL TEMPO (independent) says that Orlando's candidature would be a solution of the crisis and that the question of the Presidency must be decided to-day; that a solution of the kind they have continually championed would seem possible, namely, the presidency of Orlando with Nenni as vice-president, this latter to have ample powers for the preparation of the Constituent. "We maintain that the name of Orlando would ensure a happy synthesis of the aspirations of North and South, and Sicily in particular would see in her son a guarantee with regard to her just revindications." This paper also gives the "Presidential Derby" odds for that day: Orlando 2 - De Gasperi 4 - Bonomi 8 - Soleri 12 - Parri 12 - Nenni 12.

RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal Party) of June 12th.: "The Crisis moves towards new solutions."

AVANTI (Socialist) of June 12th.: "The Crisis enters the final stage to-day."

LIBERA STAMPA (independent) of June 12th.: "All Parties resolved to find a solution to-day".

On June 13th. the entire Press announces Bonomi's resignation and says that this marks the "official stage" of the crisis.

UNITA' (Communist) of June 13th. carries the headlines: "The Crisis at the Decisive Point - Bonomi has handed in his resignation - Yesterday also the usual opposition to representatives of the working classes holding key positions rendered fruitless the consultations between the Parties".

ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 13th., reads: "Bonomi Resigns after the useless prorogation requested by the CNL - the Lieutenant General initiates consultations and in the meantime the six Parties continue discussions in order not to come to any agreement".

On June 14th. all papers report that Ferruccio Parri has been called from the North.

AVANTI (Socialist) in an article by Pietro Nenni says: "The CNL yesterday nominated its candidate for the Prdsidency in the person of Ferruccio Parri. It is a name which means little to most people but which makes the heart of all those who have been part of the anti-Fascist conspiracy since 1922 leap". At the same time, this paper announces that Nenni, as Togliatti, will not participate in the proposed Government to be presided over by Parri.

UNITA' (Communist) of June 14th. announces the invitation of Parri to Rome but says: "But the solution of the crisis still remains very uncertain". It is added that Nenni and Togliatti do not intend to participate in the Government, and that the difficulties are now on account of the opposition of the Christian

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B. GENERAL REPORTS

POLITICAL

2. The Crisis and the composition of the future Government.

An Italian collaborator of PWB writes: The Government crisis in Italy was virtually opened when the delegates of the CNL arrived from Northern Italy, and it has not yet been settled. This long parenthesis has bored the public, and if they read the papers formerly in order to find out something about the crisis, now they do it only out of curiosity. Besides this, the various Parties outside of the CNL try to discourage everything by saying that even a new Government can do nothing if it is not elected by the people. The struggle for places in the Government has rather sickened the lower classes, who, in their ignorance, think that getting into the Government means becoming a millionaire and taking vengeance on one's enemies.

A youth aged 23 years, member of the Republican Labour Party, blamed Bonomi for the incapable way in which he has conducted affairs of the Italian State up to now. "Whatever Government gets into power, it will always be tied to the Monarchy and to the Allies. It will not be allowed to act freely, and so will be no better than the Bonomi Government. It is necessary to create the Constitution and let the people elect their own representatives. Perhaps the same people who are now in the Government would be re-elected, but at least we could be sure that they had the mass of the population behind them. Orlando, Sforza, Croce, Nuini, etc. are not fools, on the contrary they are the only people capable of taking the helm of our sinking ship into their hands, but if they have not the people behind them criticism and opposition will continue to hamper their efforts".

A civil servant, aged 30 years, member of the Republican Party said: "The only Government that will be popular with the people is one formed by the Constitution, but as long as the Allies remain in Italy this cannot happen. We Republicans are trying to establish the lesser evil: we choose the Socialist Government with Nenni as its leader. On the one hand that would mean a step forward towards solving the institutional problem because Nenni would at once begin the organization for the Constituent Assembly; on the other hand we know that the Socialists are very strongly linked with the Communists, and that is a bad thing, because the latter have too dictatorial methods and for this reason are inclined to be pro-Slav whereas we have need of everyone's help. A Government with De Gasperi at its head would be excellent from the point of view of foreign policy, but would not be popular with the majority. The Christian Democrats are too untrustworthy and would make Rome and Lazio especially into a Papal state. Those little annoyances would begin again which we, after twenty years of Fascism, are now no longer able to tollerate. I don't see any other possible candidate for the Government. Parri would be very acceptable to many: he is very popular in the North but we of central and southern Italy do not know his ideas or the objects he has in view. Parri would be an excellent Prime Minister if the Action Party would take a clear line of action and not keep its feet on both sides of the fence".

3. Speech by Ignazio Silone at the Cinema Cola di Rienzo.

A PWB officer brings us the following: On Sunday morning, 10th. of June, Ignazio Silone spoke in honour of Matteotti at the Cola di Rienzo Cinema to a large and attentive audience. After a brief introduction by Oscar Del Re, who presided at the reunion, Zeronghi saluted the gathering in the name of the Communist Party. Then Silone, after an ovation by the audience, began his discourse. The theme was "Matteotti and the Present Moment".

The speaker stated that Matteotti was still "alive and present among us in our present difficulties"; that the difficulties he faced were similar to those of today; that in the crisis of 1919 Fascism was triumphant because of grave deficiencies in Socialist political action; that although then formal unity and

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they read the papers formerly in order to find out something about the crisis, now they do it only out of curiosity. Besides this, the various Parties outside of the CNL try to discourage everything by saying that even a new Government can do nothing if it is not elected by the people. The struggle for places in the Government has rather sickened the lower classes, who, in their ignorance, think that getting into the Government means becoming a millionaire and taking vengeance on one's enemies.

A youth aged 23 years, member of the Republican Labour Party, blamed Bonomi for the incapable way in which he has conducted affairs of the Italian State up to now. "Whatever Government gets into power, it will always be tied to the Monarchy and to the Allies. It will not be allowed to act freely, and so will be no better than the Bonomi Government. It is necessary to create the Constitution and let the people elect their own representatives. Perhaps the same people who are now in the Government would be re-elected, but at least we could be sure that they had the mass of the population behind them. Orlando, Sforza, Croce, Ruini, etc. are not fools, on the contrary they are the only people capable of taking the helm of our sinking ship into their hands, but if they have not the people behind them criticism and opposition will continue to hamper their efforts".

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The speaker stated that Matteotti was still "alive and present among us in our present difficulties"; that the difficulties he faced were similar to those of today; that in the crisis of 1919 Fascism was triumphant because of grave deficiencies in Socialist political action; that although then formal unity and organization of the proletariat existed, there was a lack of clear policy and real alliance between the workers, the farmers, the intellectuals and other groups.

Silone then spoke of the present situation in Italy and explained that the most grave danger of today was not constituted by the forces of reaction (although those are important) but by the political isolation of the working classes from the other forces in the Country; by false agitation directed towards fictitious or secondary objectives; by a lack of co-ordination aimed at essential modifications of the political structure and by differences on fundamental questions of political democracy.

The address was followed with great interest by the audience and was greatly applauded at the conclusion.

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PUBLIC OPINION

4. Public Reactions concerning the withdrawal of French troops from the Val d'Aosta.

An Italian collaborator of PWB writes: The arrival of the Anglo-American troops and the consequent withdrawal of the French contingents who were stationed in the Val d'Aosta in order to create a "fait accompli" in the matter of annexation has been received with general satisfaction. But, as in all matters appertaining to politics, criticism is not lacking and the fact that the position is provisional only causes the satisfaction also to be somewhat transitory. In fact, many people make a parallel between this and the Trieste question, and they do not all believe that the Val d'Aosta question will be settled completely to our advantage either now or in the future, because they believe that the Anglo-American troops have arrived solely to restore law and order.

A University student speaking on this subject said: "The fact that the English and American Governments through their troops have played the role of "pacifier" is a proof that the question is not near to any kind of solution either for or against Italy. In this regard the news of the early meeting of the "Big Three" gives me to think, because the papers say that the question of territorial claims will be brought up and decided. I believe that the demands of France will encounter very feeble resistance on our side, on account of our position with regard to the victorious nations. I think that the strong nations will have to be careful not to make a definite enemy of France, who might ally herself with Russia who in the meantime is trying to make friends with Germany, because this would create a powerful European block rendering vain any attempts at British influence in Europe. So I think it is not impossible that France will be favoured in the settlement of the Val d'Aosta question, the more so because the Italians would not be so resentful as they would be at the loss of Venezia Giulia and Trieste.

A civil servant, aged 33 years - republican - said: "I am glad that the course of events have obliged the Anglo-American Governments to take a hand in the Val d'Aosta question, and to arrange things in such a way that neither side can make any protest or consider itself badly used. It is just what was wanted in this moment to my way of thinking. The people involved should not commit acts of violence but submit the issue to a plebiscite in the contested zone. This, I believe, would be the best solution, not only because it would be a proof that the present regime is really a democratic one, but because it is the wish of the inhabitants of the Val d'Aosta itself, whose independent spirit is well known. In this way there would not be any disappointment on one side or the other".

5. Public Reaction to the Trieste Agreement.

An Italian collaborator of PWB reports as follows: The agreement between the United Nations and Yugoslavia which temporarily closes the discussions concerning Trieste has revived interest in the eventual fate of this city. Although there is general satisfaction in the accord and although Italy was favoured, it is believed by many that the problem is still unsolved and that the agreement in itself is a prelude to future difficulties for Italy, particularly in respect to the clauses of the Armistice.

A civil servant, aged 37, states: "The United Nations consider it opportune to favour Italy because the Trieste question could be a spark of discord between themselves, especially as Italian sentiment was more stirred concerning Trieste than it was for the war against Germany. But if, when the clauses of the Armistice are known, Italy is treated more as an enemy than as a friend, then Yugoslavia may seek to press her claims and she may be successful in obtaining satisfaction. Then, in addition to Yugoslavia, other countries may profit from the situation thus created and put forward other claims more or less legitimate."

A High-school Professor stated: "From my point of view, the agreement is a

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A High-school Professor stated: "From my point of view, the agreement is a good precedent because the compromise with Yugoslavia was favourable to Italy and shows that our claims were legitimate. This is important because, although Yugoslavia collaborated with the United Nations from the beginning of the war, it demonstrates that United Nations in their policy relative to Italy are ready to give full consideration to our rights".

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6. Public Reaction to the Figures concerning Italian losses in the fight against the Germans.

An Italian collaborator of PWB reports: The news which appeared in the newspapers that 17,000 Italian soldiers died in the fight against the Germans has greatly impressed the public. During the war one never saw in the papers any exact account of the part our troops were playing in the war, and so every one thought that they were either put to work behind the lines or on reconstruction work. The casualty figures, therefore, caused surprise. It was thought that perhaps about 10,000 had died.

An artillery major, recently returned from the front, said:" Our troops, when armed like the Allies, have proved themselves to be capable of the tasks allotted to them. The soldiers felt more sure of themselves with the new arms and ready to fight. Many soldiers died in nine fields; of the others, the greater part died heroically, exposing themselves to enemy fire, and taking almost impregnable positions from the enemy, particularly in the central part of the front. The number of dead has not, therefore, surprised me very much. Our troops began to be effective after the liberation of Rome, and the figure of 17,000 dead between June 1944 and May 1945 is a very honourable one."

A boy of 22 years, soldier of the "Brigata Ebraica" (Jewish Brigade) thought that there would have been more dead. "On the 8th. Army front our soldiers fought savagely, throwing themselves upon the German forts and fighting at close quarters. Others died on the minefields which were very numerous, especially around Rimini. We of the "Brigata Ebraica" hurled ourselves at the enemy more energetically than the regular soldier because we felt it was necessary to show that Jews felt a duty to their Country just as much as the others, and perhaps even more so. The number of our dead is perhaps greater in relation to the actions fought, but there are many which have not been noticed, like those of the "F. Recce Squadron" of the Folgore Division. The Allied officers who were with us in the front line often congratulated us and showed appreciation. Let us hope that our dead did not serve only to liberate our Country, but to create that esteem which had disappeared with Fascism."

7. Public and Press interest in the possibilities of emigration to South America

An Italian PWB collaborator says that:

Emigration applications to Brazil (the target figure being 100,000 men) are coming in well firstly because it seems that the climate is adapted to the Italian physique and secondly because we Italians have developed a kind of "Americamania" (if one can so call this fixed idea of living in America) so that the mere idea of going to America lifts us to the skies. Although we know that Brazil is not a paradise, still the stories that we hear from Italians already living there and who have made their fortunes, attract a great number of people, especially the young ones. This longing to leave Italy one finds especially among the young men who frequent the bars, billiard saloons and other public places, or, in other words, those young men with no fixed work. They consider that even if they do not succeed they will only have lost a few years of their youth, which will not matter as they are so young. Also, in many cases they think that they have already missed the happy thoughtless years of their youth owing to the constant danger of being called to arms and the "razzie" under the Nazi Fascist yoke and to the many other worries of a war period. The older men, however, have not this longing to leave their Country. On the contrary they try to dissuade the younger men from their emigration intentions and try to get them to hope in a better life in Italy. They say that if we Italians remain in our Country, we shall contribute to her revival, and we shall earn the respect of other nations. On the other hand, when the young people of a Country are bent on emigration, it is a sign that that Country is disintegrating.

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YOUTH MOVEMENT

8. Italian Girl Guide Rally in Honour of Lady Baden Powell

A PWB officer reports this rally as follows:

On Sunday, June 10th., there was a Rally at Villa Doria Pamphili, the summer residence of Prince Doria, sindaco of Rome, who lent his park to honour Lady Baden Powell who had come on purpose to visit the Roman Scouts and Guides. Lady Baden Powell really came at the invitation of the Guides, but the Scouts also asked for the privilege of meeting her and so the Sunday morning was dedicated to them.

After lunch, which was prepared in the traditional manner at the Girl Guide fires, came the Guide display. This was a great surprise to Lady Baden Powell, as she said later in her speech to them. Amongst the items, which on the whole were games and picturesque representations of the Scout laws and camp work, there was a particularly interesting one showing the history, which is, of course, not a very long one, of the movement in Italy and describing the first meeting which took place in the catacombs of Saint Priscille, outside Rome, during the German occupation. This savours of the early Christians, and certainly the courage displayed was worthy of the spirit in which the early martyrs risked their lives when going to their secret meeting place. In fact, one of the guests, a future guide, told me that she continually met this group of girls who were always together, and one day asked them what they were doing, and what that little badge of a clover leaf meant, but she was only answered by an enigmatic smile. All the meetings had to be held in the greatest secrecy and the number limited. But after the liberation of Rome there was a spontaneous increase in numbers, and now the Girl Guides are about five hundred.

At the end of the display, Lady Baden Powell spoke to the Girl Guides and congratulated them. She said she had never expected to find such a large number: her idea had been about 30 or 40, not in uniform or organized, and instead she had found this wonderful gathering in uniform, well organized and understanding the spirit of the Movement. She said they could hold up their heads with any other organization in the world, and that she was delighted that after this long interval, Italy could at last take its place again in the world movement; she was looking forward to seeing them at the international Jamboree in France next year. They must remember that the future of their Country was in their hands, and that even when they were women they must still continue their work; it is not the uniform which counts, but the soul beneath it. She said she was going on to Luxembourg and Belgium and then to England, and she would carry greetings from them to the Guides in these other Countries and would tell of all that she had seen here and how, in spite of great difficulties, they had reached a high degree of efficiency. "You have every reason to be proud of yourselves, and I am very proud of you" she said.

Lady Baden Powell obviously won the hearts of the Roman Girl Guides - perhaps because she showed that she had come, not to criticise or even to inspect, but to help and encourage.

LOCAL CONDITIONS

9. The General Fall in Prices on the Market garden produce market

It has been noted that the prices in the fruit and vegetable market have fallen considerably during the last week. There were many reasons for this fall but the most important were 1) large and continuous increase of market garden production as the season advances 2) this market has been affected by the general fall in prices.

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L O C A L C O N D I T I O N S

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In fact, on an average a fall of about 180% has taken place. The price of fruit has fallen more than that of vegetables, etc. during the last five days of this week. The following is a list of present and former prices:

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Peaches	L. 160 Kg	L. 60-70 Kg
Cherries	"80-90 "	" 20-30 "
Apricots	" 200 "	" 40-50 "
Plums	" 180 "	" 60-70 "
Figs	" 140 "	" 70-80 "
Tomatoes	" 150 "	" 60 "
Small vegetable marrows	" 130 "	" 70 "

It is the opinion of many people that prices will continue to descend until they reach a level in proportion to the present value of the lire. What I was able to gather from a talk with a house-wife, mother of a large family, was; that everyone was used to high prices by now, and no one made unhappy comparisons with those of pre-war times as they did last year. Even in the working classes where the memories of times when they could live spending very much less is still a vivid one, [illegible] now made; people have become resigned to the present conditions. There is still criticism of prices but of another order; it is said they are still too high for the present moment but there is great faith that during the summer they will continue to fall all the time.

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C U L T U R A L

IO) EXHIBITION OF LEONOR'FINI'S PAINTINGS.

A private exhibition of Leonor Fini's paintings has opened in the gallery "La Finestra". The works of this Italo-Argentine artist who has passed most of her life in France are arranged with great care and artistic sense.

This artists work seems sometimes to suggest that she is too conscious of her value, and to underline too sharply the distance between common humanity and herself, as illustrated by numerous paintings, some of which are privately owned. Besides the wellknown pallid evocations of sphinxes, the exhibition includes fantastic drawings of skeletons to whichalmost always something human is left clinging, such as hair, a limb still covered with flesh, or a human expression which increases the macabre effect. Leonor Fini's surrealism is to be seen in an inclination towards the "finite" and a rigor which permits her without losing herselfin a search for sensibility, to attain that atmosphere of allusion and allegory which is one of the principal characteristics of surrealism. This is particularly evident in those canvases which treat her favourite theme of the sphinx, in her portraits, which evoke not without a certain [illegible] streak of irony,now a fifteenth century opulence, now an eighteenth century pure romanticism, and in her still life pictures minute in detail with a seventeenth century precision and a strange macabre manner like that of Bosch. There is in fact good reason for the comparison of Leonor Finis work with that of Poe.

Jaloux, speaking of Leonor Fini says that she unites the science of composition and drawing to a powerful imagination in which the sub-conscious plays the major part; she is a part of that move-

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Jaloux, speaking of Leonor Fini says that she unites the science of composition and drawing to a powerful imagination in which the sub-conscious plays the major part; she is a part of that movement of magic and enchantment which is the essence of the written and painted poetry of our century.

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NO.72.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section.

June 14th., 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN ROME AREA

Part I - SUMMARY.

Political Crisis.

The political crisis has now lasted for nearly six weeks, that is: since the liberation of the North. It had long been felt by members of all the six Parties that once the North had been liberated it would be desirable to form a new Government based on the six Parties of the CNL. The Action and Socialist Parties were prepared to return to the Government provided that Bonomi was not Prime Minister. It was also felt by the left wing that the discussions with the representatives in the North would probably take some time and that, therefore, the crisis should not be officially opened, as last November, by the resignation of Bonomi until an agreement had been reached in principle, but the discussions have lasted longer than was anticipated and have revealed the difficulties of democracy in a country which has been ruled by a dictator for twenty years. As the crisis dragged on and the position of the Government became more difficult, the apathy of the Romans was inclined to turn to scepticism. Many Italians wondered what all the crisis was about and some regretted the days when a dictator changed his government over night. From various reports it is clear that these prolonged discussions have not increased the prestige of either the Parties or their leaders.

During last week the differences between the Parties and the reasons for the prolonged discussions became more apparent. Within the Committee of Liberation there are, broadly speaking, three main points of view:
1. The point of view of those of the extreme left.
2. The point of view of those of the left centre.
3. The point of view of those of the right centre and right wing.

There are three stages in the crisis: in the first, the Parties are concerned with coming to an agreement on a joint programme; in the second stage, they are concerned with agreeing as to a Prime Minister, and in the third stage they are preoccupied with dividing the ministries equally between the six Parties.

Some time elapsed before the Parties could agree as to a common programme. The first discussions took place in Rome when the delegates from the CNL of Northern Italy (CLNAI) came South to discuss the programme. These discussions were then continued in the North when the secretaries of the different Parties went North. In the North agreement was reached between the six Parties as to a common programme, although the Liberals reserved their right to discuss one or two questions with the central executive of their Party in Rome. When the delegates returned to Rome it was clear that there was a disagreement between the Liberals on the one hand and the left wing Parties on the other as to the part which should be played by the CNL. By circumscribing the functions of the CNL to those of a purely advisory nature it was possible to reach agreement once more on the programme. There next arose the difficult question as to who would be invited to lead the Government. The left wing maintained that as soon as the secretaries of the Parties reached

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maintain that it was only when De Gasperi returned to Rome that he changed and the Christian Democrats advanced their own candidature for the post of Premier. The Socialists and Communists imply that this change came about as a result of pressure from the Vatican. Socialists and Communists argue that in democratic governments formed since the Armistice neither the Socialists nor Communists (that is, according to them, the working classes) have been properly represented. All Parties are agreed that there are certain key ministries, and these include the Presidency of the Council, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of War, the Treasury, the Ministry of Justice, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Of these it is generally considered that the Ministry of the Interior is the most important. In the eyes of the left at any rate it is considered as being even more important than that of the Presidency of the Council. It is reported that when the discussions first took place as to the structure of the Government, the Socialists, supported by the Communists, immediately asked for the Ministry of the Interior. When the Liberals and Christian Democrats declared that this was impossible then the Socialists said they would like the Presidency of the Council. The Christian Democrats, on the other hand, argue that they would prefer the Government to be presided over by a non-Party man who would be impartial. They also maintain, however, that if a Party leader is to be appointed as Prime Minister, then the Christian Democrat Party, as the potentially strongest Party and as the Party which stands roughly at the centre, should assume the leadership. They believe that if a Socialist were to be Prime Minister the balance of influence would shift appreciably to the left owing to the fact that the Socialists are in alliance with the Communists. There is also a feeling, which is shared not only by the Christian Democrats but also by progressive democrats of the centre and moderate left Parties, that Nenni is under the complete influence of the Communists. Undoubtedly, fear of the Communists has played an important part in the crisis. The right wing and centre Parties have not much confidence in Nenni, whom they consider to be an able though irresponsible journalist and likely to further the Communist influence in any government of which he might be the head. The Christian Democrats, furthermore, maintain that at the beginning of the crisis they made it clear that if a Party leader were to be Prime Minister they believed that this person should be selected from the Christian Democrat Party rather than from the Socialist Party.

The duel which ensued between Socialists and Christian Democrats left the other Parties (with the exception of the Communists) as spectators who did not appear to take sides. The Communists supported whole-heartedly the candidature of Nenni. The Party of Action also supported the candidature of Nenni, although if the Socialists and Communists had been prepared to accept De Gasperi the Action Party would have had no objection to entering a government under him. They claim that they assumed the rôle of mediators. It is reported that the Liberals were offered the Ministry of the Interior by Nenni in the event of his being Prime Minister, and this served to tranquillize their fears. It is also reported that members of the Action Party believed that if Nenni were Prime Minister the success of democracy in Italy would be facilitated, as the Socialists would be committed to supporting the Government and the Communists, who are allied to the Socialists, would not criticise a Government presided over by Nenni. The Action Party also argued that if Nenni were given responsibility he would be in a position to loosen his links with the Communists and to adopt a more independent policy. In this way, according to the arguments of the Action Party, democratic currents in the Socialist Party would be strengthened.

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There was a deadlock of several days. In an attempt to obtain the support of the Socialists, De Gasperi offered Nenni the vice-Premiership. In this post he would have been in charge of the preparations for the Constituent Assembly and would have been responsible also for social problems. Nenni refused this offer, possibly because he felt none of the key ministries in the Government would go to the Socialist or Communist Parties. He also argued that the liberation of the North had been effected largely by the working classes, and that these classes demanded a more effective control of the Government.

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The deadlock continued until Croce arrived in Rome and, it is reported, approached Orlando and asked him if he would be prepared to accept the Premiership. It is said that Orlando replied that he would accept provided the six Parties unanimously agreed to serve under him. Discussions then continued in the CNL between the various delegates, and it is reported that the left wing Parties were not prepared to accept Orlando. After the discussions had been prolonged for some time the CNLAI decided that it was essential, in the interests of Italy, to form a Government rapidly. The CNLAI then sent delegates to Rome to continue discussions with the members of the Central Committee, and they proposed that Ferruccio Parri, as the representative of the insurrectional movement in the North, should preside over the New Government. By proposing his candidature the northern delegates intended to emphasize the effort made by the North to redeem the faults of Fascism and to give due value to the participation of Italians in the victory of the United Nations under the banner of democracy. The delegates from the North also declared that, in order that the Government should have a character of national unity, all the principal exponents of the Parties, such as Nenni and Togliatti and De Gasperi, should participate in the Government, as only by such participation would the Government of Parri have the strength and importance which the northern delegates consider indispensable at the present moment, both in order to face up to the difficult problems of internal policy and to treat with the Allies in an effective and representative way. They further proposed that five ministers without portfolio to represent the North should be nominated. The leaders of the six Parties in Rome then met to discuss these proposals, and the Christian Democrats accepted them. It is, however, reported that Nenni and Togliatti declared they would not enter the Government. As a result of this, De Gasperi expressed his intention of remaining with the other Party leaders outside the Government. If this were to happen, no Government headed by Parri would have any real strength. It is not clear whether Nenni and Togliatti's refusal to enter the Government is definite, or whether it is intended to serve as a bargaining counter for one or two key ministries. It is reported that the Socialists will demand the Ministry of the Interior. Any such demand would probably be opposed by the Liberals, who consider that Parri, as a member of the Party of Action, represents the left wing and that, therefore, the Interior should go to a member of the right wing Parties.

On Tuesday Bonomi handed in his resignation to the Lieutenant General, who consulted the President of the Senate and Orlando, President of the Chamber, as well as the leaders of the Parties. Lussu and Pacciardi refused to see the Lieutenant General.

Parri, who was in Milan, is on his way to Rome, and it is not known whether he will accept the post of Prime Minister as he is known to be a man singularly lacking in ambition.

The reasons for the prolongation of the crisis would appear to be a mutual suspicion between the Parties and an unreadiness to compromise on both sides. The more disinterested Italian democrats have been striving to achieve a Government which would prepare for the elections and would ensure that they are held freely. They feel that it is important for any coalition government to agree on a minimum programme and for the Parties to work loyally together to ensure the success of this Government which is faced with such grave problems. They feel that unless such an agreement is reached beforehand, the Socialists and Communists may continue to undermine the Government as they did in the first coalition government. The difficulties of the Party leaders are heightened by the fact that no free election has taken place in Italy for [illegible] and by the fact that the Parties are uncertain as to

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represented in the new Government. On the other hand, the right wing are rather alarmed by the growth of Communism and the tendancy of certain Communists to have recourse to violence and to ignore the methods of democracy.

The Trieste Agreement.

The agreement reached between the British and American governments on the one hand and the Yugo-Slav government on the other for the withdrawal of the Yugo-Slav troops from Trieste, and the division into zones of occupation has been welcomed in the Italian Press, although there are many Italians who would have preferred that Italy should have taken part in these negotiations and that the Yugo-Slavs should have withdrawn from the whole of the former Italian territory, at least until the Peace Conference discussions.

Price Reduction Campaign by the CGIL.

The CGIL has continued its campaign for the reduction in the cost of living and in various cities of the South agreements have been reached to reduce prices.

Youth Meeting in Rome

During the week a Youth Meeting was held in which representatives of the youth of northern Italy participated

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ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section. 14th. June, 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN ROME AREA

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PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
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PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section. 14th. June, 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN ROME AREA
NO. 72.

A. CURRENT EVENTS.

1. Press Reactions to the Events of the Week.

The Press has again this week, of course, been mainly occupied with the attempt to form a government. Other subjects were: Trieste, the forthcoming elections in England, the Syrian question, the appeal of Italy to the Allied Nations for the supply of the necessary materials to facilitate the economic rebirth of the Country, the campaign by the CGIL for a reduction in the cost of living, and the recent statements concerning the Italian Navy.

As far as Trieste is concerned, General Alexander's presence there was generally considered to be a sign that an agreement had been reached on the proposals made to Tito. ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) of June 5th. says that the dispute over Venezia Giulia (until it can be discussed at the Peace Conference) would seem to be at an end; there is great scarcity of news from Allied sources, but it is believed that the A.M.G. will begin to function fully in Trieste in a few weeks' time.

On the subject of the elections in England, all papers continue to be interested, and many give the election speeches in full - under titles appropriate to their political bias. RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal Party) of June 6th. again insists that British foreign policy will remain fundamentally the same, whether the Conservatives or the Labour Party win and, therefore, great importance should not be attached by Italy to these elections.

With regard to Syria, the Press relates the incidents calmly on the whole, but in headlines. ITALIA LIBERA (Action) of June 2nd. criticises British foreign policy which intervenes in De Gaulle's aggression in Syria but does nothing about the same thing in the Val d'Aosta, and demands a universal law against aggression - even against those in whom the Great Powers are politically and economically interested. Most papers of June 7th. give prominence to the efforts of the United States to mediate in the Anglo-French dispute over Syria.

The appeal of the Italian Government to the Allies for aid to restart and develop the economic life of the Country is reported by the entire Press of June 2nd. The result of the recent government loan is cited as proof that the Italian people are trying to help themselves, but it is pointed out that the means at their disposal are absolutely inadequate to enable the Country to get upon its feet without assistance.

The CGIL has started a campaign for reduction in the cost of living, and they ask that the new Government comprise a Ministry of Supplies to discipline the distribution of first necessities. UNITA' (Communist) of June 3rd., praises the efforts of the CGIL and of the Camera del Lavoro, and says that it is the sense of responsibility shown by the masses which has made possible the first drop in prices in the South. This crusade by the CGIL, they say, is intended to stimulate production and healthy commerce, providing just profits, but striking inexorably at profiteers and speculators.

The possibility of the rebirth of the Italian merchant navy is commented on with satisfaction in the Press of June 7th. ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 6th

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On the subject of the new government, on June 3rd. there was a general optimism in the Press after the accord reached between the Parties with regard to the functions of the CNL. RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal Party) of June 3rd., in

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an article entitled "The Triumph of Common Sense", states that the solution of the crisis may now be considered within sight, and goes on to say that the Liberals cannot but feel a certain satisfaction in having raised the question of the CNL function and in having at once indicated the obvious solution; now that this matter is settled, they are determined that no other controversy shall arise to impede the formation of a government.

UNITA' (Communist) of June 3rd. hails the agreement as "an important step forward".

EPOCA (independent socialist) of June 3rd., in an article "Towards the Solution of the Crisis", adds a quotation from "New Statesman and Nation" which was also given some days ago by other papers: "In the fields of the administration of justice and of economic life, the influence of AMG cannot be other than a spoke in the wheels of a machine which functions well and an obstacle to the work of reconstruction which Italians of the North had initiated at the arrival of the Allies."

TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (Independent) of June 3rd., in an article "Considerations on the Crisis", says that when they can make themselves heard, most Italians will be found to disapprove of a policy of "fait accompli". The population feels that only a strong Government can supply that they need. bread, work and peace.

IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 3rd. says that a Christian Democrat presidency is the obvious solution to the crisis, for reasons of internal and foreign politics.

AVANTI (Socialist) of June 5th., replying, states that the Christian Democrat "perplexities" concerning the Socialist canditature have now resolved themselves into a pretension on their part to assume leadership. The article maintains that the Christian Democrat statement that the liberation of the North has revealed the necessity for a Government which will represent the popular will and that the Christian Democrat is the Party most able to satisfy this necessity, is a contradiction of terms. Indignation is also expressed that the Christian Democrats should try to use the lever of their canditature being more acceptable than that of the Socialists to the Allies. The writer further maintains that the Christian Democrats have pretensions to pre-eminence in the new government, whereas the Socialists would have maintained a balance of power among the Parties. This attitude, the article affirms, threatens to reopen the crisis and put everything back to starting point. The article concludes by saying that in the pre-Fascist period it was the same "Popular Party" (Christian Democrat) which impeded the formation of a Government which would have opposed the reactionaries - and in the meantime Fascism stepped in.

RICOSTRUZIONE (Democratic Labour Party) of June 5th. says that the head of the Government should be a man above Party politics, rather than one of the leaders of the CNL.

ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 5th., under the title "Government or Committee" says that Italy, exhausted, awaits a Government, and not a Committee which would make use of "prefetture, questure, carabinieri, commissari politici" to prepare one-sided plebiscites and elections. The article affirms that the Socialist Party in Italy only exists today as a tool of the Communist Party, and concludes: "From the bottom of this pit of impotence there arises the voice of Nenni who from Naples invites the Allies to depart. We find no difficulty in identifying ourselves with this request, but we ask the Allies to restore the powers to an Italian Government capable of re-establishing civil order, of putting an end to massacres, of making laws which are effectively equal for all, of restoring to the people confidence concerning the preservation of their lives, their tranquillity and the fruit of their honest toil, without which confidence no free elections can take place in Italy".

IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 5th., in an editorial by Guido Gonella, reaffirms the necessity for the Christian Democrat Party to assume a directive role in the new Government. Replying to critics, the article says: "Is it surprising that the Christian Democrats do not consider the Socialist canditature opportune, when Churchill himself, do until yesterday collaborated with the Socialists in coalition, attacks them violently and accuses them of being totali-

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work of reconstruction which Italians of the North had initiated at the arrival of the Allies."

TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (Independent) of June 3rd., in an article "Considerations on the Crisis", says that when they can make themselves heard, most Italians will be found to disapprove of a policy of "fait accompli". The population feels that only a strong Government can supply what they need: bread, work and peace.

IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 3rd. says that a Christian Democrat presidency is the obvious solution to the crisis, for reasons of internal and foreign politics.

AVANTI (Socialist) of June 5th., replying, states that the Christian Democrat "perplexities" concerning the Socialist candidature have now resolved themselves into a pretension on their part to assume leadership. The article maintains that the Christian Democrat statement that the liberation of the North has revealed the necessity for a Government which will represent the popular will and that the Christian Democrat is the Party most able to satisfy this necessity, is a contradiction of terms. Indignation is also expressed that the Christian Democrats should try to use the lever of their candidature being more acceptable than that of the Socialists to the Allies. The writer further maintains that the Christian Democrats have pretensions to pre-eminence in the new government, whereas the Socialists would have maintained a balance of power among the Parties. This attitude, the article affirms, threatens to reopen the crisis and put everything back to starting point. The article concludes by saying that in the pre-Fascist period it was the same "Popular Party" (Christian Democrat) which impeded the formation of a Government which would have opposed the reactionaries - and in the meantime Fascism stepped in.

RICOSTRUZIONE (Democratic Labour Party) of June 5th. says that the head of the Government should be a man above Party politics rather than one of the leaders of the CNL.

ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of June 5th., under the title "Government or Committee" says that Italy, exhausted, awaits a Government, and not a Committee which would make use of "prefetture, questure, carabinieri, commissari politici" to prepare one-sided plebiscites and elections. The article affirms that the Socialist Party in Italy only exists today as a tool of the Communist Party, and concludes: "From the bottom of this pit of impotence there arises the voice of Nenni who from Naples invites the Allies to depart. We find no difficulty in identifying ourselves with this request, but we ask the Allies to restore the powers to an Italian Government capable of re-establishing civil order, of putting an end to massacres, of making laws which are effectively equal for all, of restoring to the people confidence concerning the preservation of their lives, their tranquillity and the fruit of their honest toil, without which confidence no free elections can take place in Italy".

IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) of June 5th., in an editorial by Guido Gonella, reaffirms the necessity for the Christian Democrat Party to assume a directive role in the new Government. Replying to critics, the article says: "Is it surprising that the Christian Democrats do not consider the Socialist candidature opportune, when Churchill himself, so until yesterday collaborated with the Socialists in coalition, attacks them violently and accuses them of being totalitarian and the enemies of liberty?"

The Press of June 6th. reflects anxiety, and most papers give the text of Bonomi's note to the heads of the various Parties, calling for a rapid solution to enable the business of the Country to be carried on.

On June 7th. a note of exasperation makes itself heard. After consultation between the Socialists and Christian Democrats, no conclusion was arrived at. AVANTI (Socialist), of June 7th., under the title "A Deadlock in the Crisis", says that the last word of the Christian Democrats will be given this morning. IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) announces "Still No Solution - the laborious discussion continues". MISURAMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal Party): "Vain attempts at an accord for the Composition of the New Government". IL MOMENTO (independent Liberal): "Crisis Stalemate - Socialists and Christian Democrats firm in their respective positions."

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B. GENERAL REPORTS

POLITICAL

2. The Formation of the New Italian Government.

An Italian collaborator of PWB reports that there are many conjectures as to the future Italian Government, but without doubt public sympathy is drawn towards the two Parties which have the greatest popular appeal: Socialist and Christian Democrat. Many argue that Pietro Nenni is a probable candidate for the premiership on account of his great popularity. Added to this, there is the conviction that the Labour Party will win the elections in England. If this should happen, it is thought that the whole of Europe would follow a more moderate left line of conduct. As everyone knows that Italy constitutes a zone under English influence, our government copies English politics. In fact, it is affirmed that if a Conservative Party should go into power with Churchill at its head, Italy also will have a Christian Democrat leader. Alcide De Gasperi is named as the most popular man in this Party, as amongst all its members he is the one who holds an important position in the present Government.

A private chauffeur of 45 years, Socialist, said: I am convinced that Nenni and all his Party will go into power. Apart from the popularity he has acquired, which was increased on account of his recent arrest, he represents the real type of a new era. The present generation needs social innovations, new political ideas, new horizons, and new revolutionary methods. Communism at the beginning of the century showed the same symptoms, and I am convinced that the new idea will have success in Italy where Socialism is moderate and does not create necessarily conflict and bloodshed which Communism has done to a certain extent."

A doctor in economic science and commerce, 37 years, said: "The advent of the Christian Democratic Party to power is indicated by the following signs:
1. The Allies have shown that as long as Italy is under their control the extremist Parties will be excluded from the Government.
2. Without doubt the masses are drawn towards Christian Democracy."

3. Reactions to Events in Syria.

An Italian collaborator of PWB writes as follows: Recent events in Syria have been of great interest to Italians perhaps because of recent French action on the Franco-Italian frontier. Although there have been no anti-French demonstrations, there has been much criticism of the French Government. These events have caused some people to believe that the war was not a crusade against dictatorship, but merely a campaign for at least a moral hegemony in Europe and Asia. These beliefs, however, are not widespread and most of the feeling is against France.

A University professor (age 50 years) stated: "In considering the events in Syria one asks why France reinforced its garrison unless she expected some hostility. Perhaps France was fearful of losing her mandate over Syria, but the continuation of the mandate was not to be decided by France alone, but by the victorious nations of the last war. France has not followed the fundamental principles of liberty. Even admitting that serious disorders existed in Syria, the bombardment of the city seriously prejudiced France's position. France must give up Syria as England must give up Palestine. It is now time to create the impression among the peoples of the East that they are no longer colonies, but civilized nations capable of self-government. The Arab Union which these peoples wish to form could be of great help in European questions."

A clerk (age 45 years) stated: "The behaviour of France is deplorable. The

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A clerk (age 45 years) stated: "The behaviour of France is deplorable. The stab in the back by Italy in 1940 does not give France the right to occupy part of Italian territory. France should be grateful to the United Nations for the opportunity she has had to re-instate herself, but she should not forget that, militarily, she lost the war, that she betrayed England, that her rulers were on the same level as those of Italy before 8th. September 1943, and that her army regained its honour only through English and American help. Although her people fought an active and passive war against the Germans, she also had her collaborationists. France should remember all this. There is not much to be

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done about Syria. The French mandate was for 25 years and after that time other nations were to decide if Syria was capable of self-government. This moment has arrived. The bombardment of Damascus has greatly diminished Italian sympathy for De Gaulle, and the intervention of the British was appreciated. Now, after the war, all peoples should avoid violence and profit by past mistakes"

4. Meeting of Roman Youth with Youth of Northern Italy.

A PWB officer writes as follows: During the past week representatives of the youth of North Italy, in a series of meetings and visits with youth groups in Rome, have told of their experiences in clandestine fights, their part in the insurrection and their achievements in democratic organization. All of the political Parties of the CNL were represented, as well as the Partito Repubblicano. The purpose of these meetings was to attempt to create a youth movement composed of members of all political Parties of all parts of Italy who will co-operate in a common effort to secure a democratic republic in the Country.

On Tuesday evening, 5th. of June, Carlo Sampietro of Milan, a member of the Action Party, spoke to an interested group of his Party at their headquarters in the Via Gregoriana, and gave a detailed account of the contribution made by the youth of his Party, of the Socialist and Communist Parties and others in the common struggle until liberation was achieved by the insurrection and arrival of the Allies. He told of many episodes and battles, and emphasized the necessity of continuing that same spirit of co-operation and concord among the youth of all political Parties in a combined effort for the formation of a democratic republic. He also spoke of the need of mutual understanding between the young people of all European Countries, with the ultimate objective of a federated continent.

On Wednesday afternoon, 6th. June, a joint meeting of about 500 strong was held of the youth of all the seven Parties in the Aula Magna of the Liceo Visconti, with delegates of the various Parties seated at the speakers' table. After an introductory address by Sampietro, each delegate spoke in turn and explained the objectives and political background of his or her Party, but they all expressed the need of solidarity and mutual understanding in the struggle for definite objectives.

In the question period which followed, the discussion, although animated, was characterized by good humour and forbearance on the part of both speakers and audience. The only disagreements were caused by hypothetical questions posed by some Christian Democrats with the possible intention of confusing the delegates.

PUBLIC OPINION

5. Reaction with regard to Trieste, Fiume, and the proposed French annexations.

An Italian PWB collaborator reports: These questions have lost much of the interest they first excited, because the agreement has been held up and the newspapers give first importance to the Government crisis which is now foremost in public opinion. Moreover, when a question is dealt with and made a butt in the satirical Press, it is a sign that it has taken a second place. But in spite of this, Trieste still is very much to the fore, and the opinion is that it should undoubtedly remain Italian.

An Italian officer, now retired, pointed out the danger in regard to this question should the Socialists lead the Government. Not only is there the probability that the proclamation of Trieste as Italian would be almost indefinitely postponed, but, given the ideas of the Socialists on the subject, complications could be provoked in our relations with the Anglo-Americans who, especially the latter, have taken a definite line in the declarations of their principal political exponents.

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A mechanic, aged 27 years, pointed out the danger of a move towards an extreme policy, i.e. towards Russia. It would be the beginning of internal disorder and perhaps civil war, as the strong anti-Communist sentiments aggravated lately by the question of Trieste are only too well-known.

With regard to Fiume, very little interest is shown in this territory, it being almost completely outside the sphere of national interests. Many people maintain that instead of making all the fuss about Trieste becoming an international port, it would be much better to make Fiume this, as it could be done

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without touching the vital interests of either one or the other country.

As far as France is concerned, the feeling against the annexation of the Val d'Aosta has taken the form of personal animosity against De Gaulle rather than against the French in general. The events concerning the French demands in Syria have aggravated this feeling. De Gaulle is considered by the majority as a valiant general, but a rather poor politician. It is considered that he behaves in politics and diplomacy more like a soldier than anything else. Many people hope that the unpopularity which has accumulated against him will cause the United Nations to be better disposed towards Italy and to decide the Val d'Aosta question in her favour.

6. Grew's Invitation to Italy to Collaborate with United Nations.

An Italian collaborator of PWB reports as follows: The announcement on 1st. June of America's invitation to Italy to collaborate was received with great satisfaction and approval. But what gave greater satisfaction still was that this initiative was taken by an important personage of the American Government, and not by the usual Italian promoter in America. All the same, there is much scepticism about Italy's position in relation to the other nations. The people see that there are many declarations made, but few facts which are favourable to us materialise and they are, therefore, inclined to discredit all this talk. It would, therefore, be better that the papers did not publish the declarations of other countries with regard to us, as they only give the impression that there is a lot of talking just to keep us quiet.

A university student, 23 years, Republican, says: "All these pleasant declarations from over the seas fill me with satisfaction. At least they give one to understand that our problems are appreciated, and that we shall not finish up like Germany. This is at least something, and means that we shall rise again one day both materially and morally. The special merits we have acquired by the elimination of the German forces from Italy by the Partisans have not had the recognition that we expected. Grew's declaration is like all the rest: just a political trick to keep us quiet and to prevent us from going over to other political tendencies, i.e., the Soviet regime."

A clerk, 35 years, says: "Reading Grew's recent declaration, I realized that it has nothing to do with previous declarations made by other political men. Rather than attribute it to a spontaneous initiative dictated by a desire for a rapid solution of our problems, I think it is actuated by a specific political line of conduct decided in one of the meetings of the Big Three. It is not to be excluded that it was proposed by an Englishman. The fact is that although they have been talking about us in this way for a long time across the seas, nothing of any great importance has been done for us, except what was logical, that is, we are not treated as a defeated nation to the same extent as Germany. Their line of conduct is the following: not to say openly to the Italians that they have lost the war, but to make them understand it."

7. Public Opinion on the Possibility of Receiving Spare Parts, Tyres, etc. from the North.

A PWB Italian collaborator reports that the liberation of the North is not only hailed with delight because of the re-union of Italy, but perhaps even more for the hope of collaboration in the economic-industrial field. It is well known that there are only a few industrial establishments in the South of Italy, such as the I.L.V.A. at Bagnoli and the shipyards in Taranto. It was, therefore, hoped that with the liberation of the North, the factories could begin working again to produce all the things necessary for the reconstruction of Italy.

An industrial expert, 45 years, said: "There has always been a greater industrial development in the North of Italy than in the other zones. Besides the production of complete machines, there was also the manufacture of

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An industrial expert, 45 years, said: "There has always been a greater industrial development in the North of Italy than in the other zones. Besides the production of complete machines, there was also the manufacture of spare parts and machine tools, which is perhaps more important. It is impossible to imagine that the FIAT can begin work immediately, because of the damage done by aereal bombardment and the lack of raw material, but they can begin turning out spare parts, and they can undertake car repairs to ease the motor transport question. This would not only provide work for many people, but help to bring down prices which have soared up to the skies. The same thing can be said about Pirelli in Milan. This Company also cannot make tyres on account of the lack of rubber, but they could begin with spare parts and the reinforcing of tyres, which would lengthen their life whilst awaiting supplies of raw material from abroad.

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And so on with all the other industries.

It is not only in this field that help is expected from the North. Raw material is expected from the mines in Cogne for the construction of agricultural machinery, which is scarce all over Italy; weaving machines are expected from Como, and whatever is necessary for the shoe factories is awaited from Varese, not because there has been complete destruction in the centre and south of Italy, but because these industries did not exist here to a great extent, and they are now reduced to a minimum."

A mechanic who was once employed by Breda, in Rome, said: "No machines for making every kind of spare part for motors were missing in his factory. Even the pliers and hammers had been stolen. It is impossible to work when these tools are lacking. In order to solve this problem, this worker suggested that not only should spare parts be manufactured in Northern Italy, but also machines for making these parts, so that they could be made also in central Italy. The first place which should be put in order for the reconstruction of Italy should be the steel foundries of Terni. Only with these foundries working at full efficiency can Italian industry hope to return to normalcy. As for spare parts for cars, and tyres, all that is in too bad a condition for use could be scrapped and used to mend what could still serve.

2. Composition of the English Government.

An Italian collaborator of PWB writes: "Italians had almost forgotten that in England also the Prime Minister is elected, and so the new electioneering battle is followed with great interest. The general opinion is that Churchill will be elected with a great majority."

A young man of 22 years, of the Republican Party, said: "If Pietro Nenni succeeds in being elected Prime Minister in Italy he will find his task much easier if the Labour Party is in power in England. The latter could be of great help to us as it would allow the Italian Government to act more freely and would not interfere with the formation of the Constituent, whereas the Conservatives are more attached to the Monarchy both English and Italian. Although the Labour Party in England have not a leader like Churchill, they could do very well with Attlee. The only danger, if one can call it such, is that the Labour Party would come too much under the influence of Russia which, even if it would be advantageous to Europe as a whole, for us it would not be so, as we are resisting Tito on the question of Trieste, knowing that we have England behind us. But we must not be too selfish, and if the question of Trieste could be settled without offending either side, the Labour Party might go into power with our blessing. As regards the Socialists and the Communists, although the latter seem to have been strengthened as troops have approached and made contact with occupied territories, they cannot take an active part in the fight between the Labour Party and the Conservatives.

An employee of 50 years prefers that the Conservative Party should remain in power, as their politics cannot be criticised. Besides this, the Conservatives have leaders who have not only saved Italy but all Europe from Nazism and Fascism. "Although we have had several punches from Churchill and Eden, we must remember that these men have not hesitated to help us at the right moment. Their politics are strange, but they suit us very well, as it is much better for us to be with the Anglo-Saxon than with the Slav world. Russia will try very hard to obtain control of the Eastern Mediterranean, but we should not be able to develop either our industries or mercantile marine if we did not share the first place in the Central and Western Mediterranean with England. The English people, on the other hand, cannot forget the great part played by the Conservatives during the present war, and if the Allied troops have been victorious, it is in great part due to Churchill".

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9. The Action of the CGIL for forcing down prices, and the statements made by Di Vittorio.

An Italian collaborator of PWB reports as follows: In an article in ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist), the campaign for forcing down prices was described as follows: "In the last few days there have been small riots deliberately organized by the Socialist and Communist Parties, under the banner of the CGIL, to try to force down prices. Shops have been sacked and illegal prefects' decrees made,

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and these tactics are clearly provocative". It is specified that these methods were indicated by the secretary of the CGIL, DI Vittorio, who said that the Confederation intended to take action "so as to let the people have every possibility of control from the very beginning of production, in order that they may be able to find out the actual cost." These methods, the article continues, are mere hypocrisy and demonstrate that the aim is the same as that of the CGIL who wish to impose socialisation by force. The giornalist states that he knows there is the intention of extending these riots which have already taken place in Taranto, Naples and Palermo to Rome and Florence, where they may have even more serious results. An open letter written by the High Commissioner Bergamini to the CGIL says:"A campaign on the part of the Chamber of Labour to force down prices analagous to that which took place after the last war has begun. I wish to make my opinion known, and I will limit my remarks to my special sphere, that is, food. In all Italy from the middle of April there has been first a stabilization and then a tendency to reduction in the prices of rationed goods. It is not necessary to examine the reasons for this; let it be sufficient to say that the phenomenon existed. At the very moment when prices were definitely coming down, the General Confederation of Labour intervened, took public action and sollicited strong measures. The action of the CGIL, if it is co-ordinated with the "Commissariato per l'Alimentazione" will be very useful for a rapid reduction in prices, but in this particular moment they must be very careful that the prices of the supplies in hand are not too reduced or production will be discouraged. It is evident that only a co-ordinated, well-thought-out programme with regard to supplies, taking into consideration the special technical and political needs, can hope to give us a lasting result, and I hope that such a collaboration will be forthcoming immediately."

It is obvious from all this that the provocative action of the CGIL is being criticised by men at present in the Government whose policy is a quiet conservatism in all fields, political and social. As a matter of fact, there has been no reaction so far in Rome, as the alleged "provocative steps" have not been verified..

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that he knows there is the intention of extending these riots which have already taken place in Taranto, Naples and Palermo to Rome and Florence, where they may have even more serious results. An open letter written by the High Commissioner Bergamini to the CGIL says:"A campaign on the part of the Chamber of Labour to force down prices analagous to that which took place after the last war has begun. I wish to make my opinion known, and I will limit my remarks to my special sphere, that is, food. In all Italy from the middle of April there has been first a stabilization and then a tendency to reduction in the prices of rationed goods. It is not necessary to examine the reasons for this; let it be sufficient to say that the phenomenon existed. At the very moment when prices were definitely coming down, the General Confederation of Labour intervened, took public action and sollicited strong measures. The action of the CGIL, if it is co-ordinated with the "Commissariato per l'Alimentazione" will be very useful for a rapid reduction in prices, but in this particular moment they must be very careful that the prices of the supplies in hand are not too reduced or production will be discouraged. It is evident that only a co-ordinated, well-thought-out programme with regard to supplies, taking into consideration the special technical and political needs, can hope to give us a lasting result, and I hope that such a collaboration will be forthcoming immediately."

It is obvious from all this that the provocative action of the CGIL is being criticised by men at present in the Government whose policy is a quiet conservatism in all fields, political and social. As a matter of fact, there has been no reaction so far in Rome, as the alleged "provocative steps" have not been verified..

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L O C A L C O N D I T I O N S .

IO) WAGES AND COST OF LIVING IN LAZIO.

The Rome Regional Labour Office published a few particulars in its bulletin on the cost of living in Lazio, in which the present level of pay does not allow for the consumption of more than I000 calories per day, instead of the 2200, the minimum necessary for the average man.

According to the said bulletin the cost of living in Lazio has increased 600%

Taking I00 as the index figure for the cost of living in Sept. I943 we have:

	Sept. I944	March I945
Average	48I	664
Prov. Latinia	367	703
Prov. Frosinone	430	632
Rome (food only)	384	558

The Labour Office calculated that for an average family of two adults and three children, one under six and the others between 6 and I0 years of age, the cost of living in May was:

Province of Viterbo	L. I8,000
" " Latinia	" 20,000
" " Frosinone	" 22,300

This figure includes food, clothing, housing, fuel, and light, but it must be borne in mind that the Regional Labour Office bases their considerations on an imaginary family budget which does not correspond to individual physiological or normal family needs. In any case for food only a family of this kind in Rome would have had to spend for the month of March, L. I2,393.

Taking into consideration that the normal consumption of calories is 3300 and the minimum is 2200, the calories existing in the food distributed in rations in March I945 were:

Province	normal consumption	minimum consumption
Viterbo	42.46%	53.69%
Latinia	3I.04%	46.55%
Frosinone	30.34%	45.5I%

The cost of rationed goods per family of this type was:

Province		
Viterbo	L. II29,25	I3.50% of total sum spent per month
Latinia	" 9I2,25	7.37% " " " " " "
Frosinone	" 8I6,00	6.95% " " " " " "
Rome (city)	" 985,80	7.65% " " " " " "

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According to the said bulletin the cost of living in Lazio has increased 600%

Taking 100 as the index figure for the cost of living in Sept. 1943 we have:

	Sept. 1944	March 1945
Average	481	664
Prov. Latinia	367	703
Prov. Frosinone	430	632
Rome (food only)	384	558

The Labour Office calculated that for an average family of two adults and three children, one under six and the others between 6 and 10 years of age, the cost of living in May was:

Province of Viterbo	L. 18,000
" " Latinia	" 20,000
" " Frosinone	" 22,300

This figure includes food, clothing, housing, fuel, and light, but it must be borne in mind that the Regional Labour Office bases their considerations on an imaginary family budget which does not correspond to individual physiological or normal family needs. In any case for food only a family of this kind in Rome would have had to spend for the month of March, L. 12,893.

Taking into consideration that the normal consumption of calories is 3300 and the minimum is 2300, the calories existing in the food distributed in rations in March 1945 were:

Province	normal consumption	minimum consumption
Viterbo	42.46%	53.69%
Latinia	31.04%	46.55%
Frosinone	30.34%	45.51%

The cost of rationed goods per family of this type was:

Province		
Viterbo	L. 1129,25	13.50% of total sum spent per month
Latinia	" 912,25	7.37% " " " " " "
Frosinone	" 816,00	6.95% " " " " " "
Rome (city)	" 985,80	7.65% " " " " " "

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II) MOVEMENT OF PASSENGERS FOR THE NORTH.

The following has been reported by an Italian P.W.B. collaborator:

The director of the Pier Bussetti travel agency, one of the best in Rome said:

With the abolition of the "cordon sanitaire" the transport of passengers to the North has assumed quite considerable proportions. Not many passengers travel through the travel agencies, as many go on their own with the help of friends, or on Italian or Allied Military transport. The latter go generally on business, while those who go through the travel bureaus are people returning to their homes.

One of the reasons why the travel bureaus have so few passengers is the price of transport which may seem exorbitant at first glance, i.e. L. 7,000 for Milan. In reality it is in proportion to the expenses, when one considers that a chauffeur and porter get L. 2,000 per day, petrol costs L. 60 a litre, and tyres L.70,000 to L. 100,000 each, so that the price is not after all excessive. To Florence the fare is only L3,700 as it is less than half the distance to Milan.

Nearly every one goes to Milan, not only because it is an industrial centre of primary importance, but because it is the railway junction for the whole of Northern Italy, and one can take through trains to Turin, Genoa, Venice and other towns there.

Transport to other towns has no fixed timetable as there is for Milan, i.e. every three days, but conveyances leave according to the demand. For Turin and Venice the price is L. 8,000 but for the other towns which are the same distance as Milan the price is as for Milan.

Goods transport has not been yet organised, but during the present month should start to function regularly. The director of the Pier Bussetti agency does not know the number of passengers a week carried by two other agencies but believes it to be about 60, and two journeys a week are made on an average.

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CULTURAL

12. "Arsenic and Old Lace".

This play by Joseph Kesselring was presented at the Quirino Theatre by Dina Galli, one of the pillars of the Italian theatre, and her company. A large and elegant audience evidently enjoyed the somewhat bitter humour of the contrasts between late Victorian atmosphere and the conscious or unconscious madness which drives the various personages involved to crime. Too much emphasis given to a role, however, in some cases led to farce, thereby changing the spirit of the piece.

Although the atmosphere and mentality represented were very largely beyond the comprehension of the audience, the repeated applause in the more easily understood passages showed appreciation. The Roman public awaits with interest the appearance of American, English and French theatrical productions.

13. "The Sacred Flame".

The Cimara Cortese Company presented the "Sacred Flame" of Somerset Maugham at the Arts Theatre. This play had been already produced in Italy and raised here, as in England, discussion on the right to take the life of someone suffering from an incurable disease and tormented by constant racking pain. The work was well received by the public, who were carried away with sympathy for the mother who kills her son suffering from an incurable illness, rather than by any rational consideration. In fact, although there were constant curtain calls at the end of each act, the public on its way out discussed the personality of the mother in an uncomprehending manner.

The criticism, although lauding Maugham's technique and capacity of making unpleasant themes acceptable, condemns the mental attitude of the author, which exhausts itself in able dialectics.

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Summary No. 62.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
Psychological Warfare Branch
Unit 12 APO 512

Central D Section, Liberated Italy 5 April 1945.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY
No. 62.

PART I - SUMMARY

1. The Italian Cabinet met last week and approved a legislative decree instituting the National Consultative Assembly. The functions of the Assembly were outlined in a communiqué published after the Cabinet meeting. The Assembly, it is explained, will give its opinion on general problems and on the legislative provisions which may be submitted to it by the government. The Assembly will be consulted as to the budget, taxes and electoral laws. The government may consult the Assembly in a plenary session or consult with one or another of the commissions which make up the Consulta.

There will be ten commissions:

1) Foreign Affairs
2) Political and Administrative Affairs
3) Justice
4) Education and Fine Arts
5) National Defense
6) Finance and Treasury
7) Agriculture and Food
8) Industry and Commerce
9) Labour and Social Insurance
10) Reconstruction, Public Works and Communications

The National Consulta will, in its first plenary assembly, nominate its President, two Vice-Presidents and four Secretaries. Each Commission will elect for itself a President, a Vice-President and a Secretary. The meetings of the plenary assembly will be public but not those of the Commissions. Members of the government may assist at the meetings and participate in the discussions of the plenary assemblies and of the commissions. The members of the commissions will be chosen in the first place as nominees of the principal parties and, in the second place, from anti-fascist ex-deputies and, in the third place, from those belonging to the Trade Unions or to cultural or ex-service men's organisations. The Cabinet entrusted the President of the Council and Togliatti, De Gasperi, Ruini and Ambrosio with the task of studying the suggestions already put forward by the different sides and then to outline definitely the concrete proposals for the application of the principles and the establishment of the procedure relative to the nomination of the members of the Assembly.

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2. Public opinion continues to be absorbed by the rapid advances of the Allied armies in Germany. The prospect of an early end of the war in Europe has raised the spirits of many Italians. The mass, for the most part, assumes that the war will be over in a few we[illegible] Pleasure

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2. Public opinion continues to be absorbed by the rapid advances of the Allied armies in Germany. The prospect of an early end of the war in Europe has raised the spirits of many Italians. The press, for the most part, assumes that the war will be over in a few weeks. Pleasure is felt at the prospect that with the end of the war Italy will be once more freed and united.

3. Disappointment continues to be expressed among Italians at the fact that Italy has not been invited to the San Francisco conference. There have been demonstrations in Naples and Rome strongly supporting Italian character of Trieste. Although these demonstrations are doubt organised by nationalist circles they express the

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(Passages marked at the side are for information only)

extent a widespread preoccupation in Italy as to the future of Trieste. There is also a certain measure of preoccupation among Italians on account of the report put out by Reuter that French troops had crossed the Franco-Italian frontier south of Switzerland.

4. On 24 March the anniversary of the Fosse Ardeatine Executions was commemorated by a mass held in the Church of S.Maria degli Angeli in Rome. Many relatives of the victims were present. Before the ceremony started a woman claiming to be the widow of one victim, arrived to find no place for her. After much protestation she was eventually allotted a seat but as soon as the Crown Prince entered the church she stood up and shouted: "Via, via, non lo vogliamo. Hanno massacrato mio marito". She was calmed and led from the church. After this minor disturbance the ceremony proceeded peacefully. In the afternoon of 24 March a pilgrimage was made to the Fosse Ardeatine by the Roman populace. Some 50,000 people assembled outside the Colosseum and walked slowly to the caves, where they listened to a restrained speech by Velio Spano, the Communist Editor of U.I.T., who said, among other things, that liberty was the greatest gift of God to mankind. This ceremony proceeded without interruptions and order was kept by the Partisans.

5. During the week the Regional Commissioner for the Southern Region announced that the Allied officers were being withdrawn from the different provinces and that there would only remain a few Allied liaison officers who would be there in the capacity of observers, and certain technical officers who had been requested by the Italian Government. In view of its importance as a port to the Allied armies Naples for the moment would remain under AMG.

6) The controversy between the Liberals and Christian Democrats on the one hand and the Communists on the other continues in their respective party organs both in Rome and the Provinces. The Liberals maintain that there are approximately 10,000 armed persons in Calabria who represent a danger to public order and they think that the Government should intervene and put an end to this unsatisfactory state of affairs. On Saturday, 31 March, the POPOLO published an account of the meeting of the Directorate of the Christian Democrat party in which the events of Caulonia and Roccaforte were examined. The party had sent Avv. Gava to Calabria to accompany the Communist delegate Molinelli to examine the position and he reported on what he had seen. From this report, it is clear that bands of pseudo-partisans had been organised around a small nucleus of real partisans. These pseudo-partisans behaved more or less like brigands and seriously threaten public order. These pseudo-partisans, according to Gava, were responsible for the events of Caulonia as they had been guided and encouraged to a large extent by the Communists. In his report the Prefect of Reggio is criticized for not taking action and dismissing the Mayor of Roccaforte after the majority of the population had demanded it. The report pointed out that in the Province of Reggio Calabria the Christian Democratic party was the strongest, with the Labour Democrats and Communists following, and some distance behind were the Socialist, Action and Liberal parties. The report goes on to point out that although the Christian Democrats have only seven Mayors, the Socialists have twenty-three and administer the most

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The affairs in Calabria and other similar ones in Apulia have alarmed many Italians who see in them a return to the methods of fascism and 1919. Many who had hitherto tolerated Communism have become much more suspicious. Other Italians express the feeling that it may be difficult to avoid violence in the forthcoming elections as they feel that if the Communists find that they are not leading in local elections they may try to prevent people from voting freely.

7. There was considerable political activity in the Provinces during the week. Mario Ferrara addressed a Liberal Party meeting in Naples and stressed that epuration must be carried out gradually so as not to disturb the efficiency of the bureaucratic machine. It is reported that his audience interrupted him at this moment and demanded a more expeditious and effective epuration.

Arangio Ruiz, the Minister of Education, visited Bari and addressed a meeting of Liberals in which he made a spirited defense of democracy. He pointed out how the Liberals did not feel far from the Labour Democrats and the Christian Democrats and Action Party. He also implied that it would also be possible for them to co-operate with the Socialists. He made it clear however that it would be difficult for the Liberals to work harmoniously with the Communists who believe in a dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the provincial congress of the Christian Democrats in the province of Benevento, Avv. Scelba, the Vice-Secretary of the party, in a speech said that the party's policy toward the monarchy would be decided when the National Congress of the party meets after the whole of Italy has been liberated. He made it clear that the party had not in any way made up its mind as to its policy toward the monarchy and he also pointed out that the monarchy in the past had never favoured Catholicism particularly. At the congress the dominating influence of the Liberal Democrats in Benevento was also criticised.

8. The CGIL have demanded the suppression of the large estates and the nationalization of private monopolies, key industries and public utility services.

9. During the week, a controversy broke out between Corrado Alvaro, the principal editor of the news bulletin of Radio Rome, and Paolo Treves, one of the editors. Alvaro handed in his resignation, protesting that he believed the radio should be run freely and should not be a government institution. He added that he thought the news for radio programmes should be taken from any reliable source and without government interference. Treves in his reply maintained that in wartime a radio must adopt an official line and the sources of news must be carefully checked. The controversy and the resignation seem to have arisen more out of personal antipathy than out of any really serious defense of principle, and both Alvaro and Treves descended to personal abuse in their letters; Treves announced that he could not discuss principles of liberty with someone like Alvaro who was new to such principles; Alvaro replied that Treves had been an employee of the BBC in London and had therefore not been free to say what he thought. Alvaro received sympathy from the independent newspapers and from the Party of Action; Treves was supported by the Liberals, Socialists and Communists.

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10. During the week Ignazio Silone, the well-known novelist, gave a lecture in Rome on "Socialism's Inheritance from Christianity". He stressed the fact that Socialism must be Christian and above all he emphasized that Socialism must be democratic and preserve political liberty.

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No. 62

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
Psychological Warfare Branch
Unit No. 12 APO 512

8 APR 45

Central D Section, Liberated Italy

5 April 1945

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY No. 62

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Explanation of reliability rating:

Source (reliability)		Report (probability)	
A	Always reliable	1	Confirmed
B	Usually reliable	2	Probable
C	Sometimes reliable	3	Possible
D	Frequently unreliable	4	Doubtful
E	A bad source	5	Improbable

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No. 62.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT 12 APO 512

Central D Section, Liberated Italy 5 April 1945

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY NO. 62

PART II - ANNEXES

A. - CURRENT EVENTS

1. Press Reactions to the Allied Offensive in the West

All the Rome newspapers are full of headings, editorials and articles on the progress of the Anglo-American and Soviet drive towards the heart of Germany, and the progressive dissolution of the German troops, who are without any hope of victory now and only resisting from a sense of discipline towards the Nazi leaders. Nearly all the papers label further resistance on the part of Germany, which will result in the destruction of the whole country as "madness". The INDIPENDENTE (official government paper) asks how is it that the German generals do not understand that it would be better to surrender unconditionally. The newspaper believes that the German people and army are carrying on because the band of Nazi criminals who hold power insist on it. They wish to show the German people that the defeat and destruction will really be as frightful as their propaganda has said.

Whatever the decisions of the Nazi leaders and the army may be, the victory of the Allies is only a question of time. The RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE writes, "It is impossible to see where the Germans can build up a new line of defense. Perhaps the rearguard fights that are going on have the aim of making easier the movements of the chosen S.S. troops towards the mountain fortress where Hitler will have prepared his last stand." This will not however, according to the paper, obstruct the two Allied armies from joining forces and ending the major operations.

"Kaput!" the GIORNALE DEL MATTINO writes on 31 March, underlining the fact that at the beginning of the big Allied offensive, Germany could only count on half a million men. Now, concludes this independent paper, an immense river of men and arms flows over the undefended plain of Germany towards Berlin. Surrender is the order of the day. This is the epilogue to the craziest strategy that has ever been used in the world. L'ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) sees in the disrupting march of the Allies toward Berlin a signifcant fact. The Germans at the end of the last war maintained that they had lost be- This time the Germans

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PART II - ANNEXES

A. - CURRENT EVENTS

1. Press Reactions to the Allied Offensive in the West

All the Rome newspapers are full of headings, editorials and articles on the progress of the Anglo-American and Soviet drive towards the heart of Germany, and the progressive dissolution of the German troops, who are without any hope of victory now and only resisting from a sense of discipline towards the Nazi leaders. Nearly all the papers label further resistance on the part of Germany, which will result in the destruction of the whole country as "madness". The INDIPENDENTE (official government paper) asks how is it that the German generals do not understand that it would be better to surrender unconditionally. The newspaper believes that the German people and army are carrying on because the band of Nazi criminals who hold power insist on it. They wish to show the German people that the defeat and destruction will really be as frightful as their propaganda has said.

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writes the paper,"must defend the Reich with a broken shield and a shattered sword. Even if he wanted he can no longer form a defensive line..." The paper goes on to say that the surrender, which will not be negotiated, but imposed by the Allies, who are breaking in from every side, will come very soon.

LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (Right Wing) is also of the opinion that the war which for six years has convulsed Europe, has reached its end. The paper says that the Germans up to the last have tried to divide the Anglo-Americans from the Russians in order to obtain a compromise peace and now prefer to open the doors of Germany to the Anglo-Americans as the lesser evil. IL MOMENTO (Liberal right wing) in an editorial entitled "The Bourgeoisie Have Won", praises the fighting methods of the Anglo-Americans, who despite all, under their uniforms are peaceful bourgeoisie. The paper makes a parallel between the German Army and the Fascist Army,and those of the Allies to demonstrate that the first is based upon militarism and an old-fashioned conception of war in which the sacrifice of the soldier counts for nothing while the latter are based on individualism. "The Allied soldiers, despite everything, have remained bourgeoisie and because of this have won the greatest of all wars."

CURRENT EVENTS

2. Anniversary of the Fosse Ardeatine Mass Executions

Many commemorative services and demonstrations were organized in Rome on March 24, first anniversary of the above act of Nazi terrorism, as tokens of respect for the victims and of sympathy for their families. The Camera del Lavoro decreed 5 minutes of silent interruption of work for all workers in civilian occupations, and 1 minute for all employed in public utilities.

A PWB officer reported as follows on the mass held at the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli: The Church was filled with people of all classes, and many mothers, widows and families of the 320 victims of the massacre were present. Just before the mass started, the Luogotenente and his aides entered from the Sacristy to take seats on a raised platform near the High Altar. The congregation rose, and a woman, a late arrival seated near the PWB Officer, stood up and shouted,"Via, via, non lo vogliamo!" (Away with him, we don't want him). She caused such a scene she was forcibly ejected from the Church, still protesting,"They massacred my husband, etc," amidst the hushing of the congregation. The organ playing loudly drowned out the considerable commotion. Monsignor Bonaldi, Vicar of S. Maria

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Low Mass was quickly said, and followed by the blessing and absolution of the Catafalque. The clergy, followed by the Luogotenente and his aides then filed into the Sacristy, while the government officials remained conversing and only gradually left through a side door.

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Outside the Church, inside an area marked off by a cordon of soldiers, several groups of people, mostly women, engaged in violent discussion and protest against the Luogotenente and the authorities in General. They seemed awaiting an opportunity to duplicate the demonstration of the woman in the church and disappointed when the Prince did not appear. In contrast, a group of women gathered about the banner of the Association of the Widows and Mothers of Victims of the Fosse Ardeatine. Two of the " mourners", a mother and son, both apparently 'plants' and in a state of over-acted excitement, were hurling epithets at the crowd in general, until at last the mother concentrated her "fury" on the cordon of police whom she qualified as "Venduti" (sold). However the potential demonstrators were not numerous and gradually disintegrated among the congregation as the latter left the piazza.

When the delegation from the Partisans' "Garibaldi Division", who had formed part of the Guard of Honor around the Catafalque, left the Church they were surrounded and accompanied to the far side of the Piazza by members of the crowd from the church and its approaches.

(It is to be noted that the ITALIA LIBERA (organ of the Action Party) devoted an editorial to the "incident" which took place in the church. Whereas there was in fact only one manifestant, a "mother" or "widow" of doubtful authenticity, the author of the editorial does not hesitate to make political capital based on misrepresentations and writes that the spontaneous and indignant protestation of the mothers and widows (both in the plural) on this occasion and at this place has a significance, from certain aspects greater than that of the recent demonstrations at the Quirinal and the Viminal.)

The pilgrimage to the Fosse Ardeatine took place in the afternoon. The point of assembly was the Colosseum where some 50,000 people gathered. From there they proceeded to the Fosse some three miles beyond, the majority walking, though some were provided with trucks, horse-drawn vehicles or bicycles. A fifty-piece band led the straggling procession, playing the Garibaldi, the Mameli and the Lavoratori "hymns" (inni). Innumerable wreaths were carried, as well as party banners, of which the more numerous were the red flags of the Socialist, Communist and Action Parties. Only one Italian flag was noticed by the three PWB officers who took part in the Pilgrimage.

At the entrance to the Ardeatine Caves, the Communist editor-in-chief of AVANTI, Velio Spano, made a very brief speech, in the course

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At the entrance to the Ardeatine Caves, the Communist editor-in-chief of AVANTI, Velio Spano, made a very brief speech, in the course of which he said that liberty was the greatest gift of God to mankind, and that the crime committed a year ago was one against all Italy. He urged the people to take the pledge that nothing would stop them in their social progress.

The emotion of the crowd at the Caves was intense, and there were isolated outbreaks of hysteria. But there were no disorders and

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beyond Spano's restrained address, no attempt was made to interject politics in the demonstration of respect for the victims of the massacre.

There were many touching scenes on the way and at the caves. Groups of women wer singing the Rosary as they marched in the dust and many people of the humblest classes were carrying expensive wreaths, or bunches of flowers which seemed far beyond their means.

There was lack of organization at the Caves, where order was maintained by a group of Partisans who were unfamiliar with their duties. Only the relatives of the victims were allowed admittance, and they were required to show identification disos. The bulk of the crowd were disappointed at their exclusion and rumors were in circulation that the Carabinieri were to have sent a detachment but had failed to appear in the hope that confusion would result from their absence.

On Sunday morning, 25 March, a meeting in commemoration of the victims was held in Teatro Adriano. In addition to members of the families of the victims, the Prime Minister and members of the Government and Italian and Allied Authorities, including the American Ambassador, were present.

After an introduction by Costantino Preziosi of the Committee of National Liberation, the Mayor of Rome, Prince Doria, made an address. He pointed out the significance of the occasion, and told of the resistance of the Roman population under Nazi oppression and of the tragic massacre of the Fosse Ardeatine. He spoke of all the fallen heroes who were animated by the same ideals which eventually will lead to the complete liberation of Italy from fascism and from the Nazis. Although lacking in dramatic qualities, Prince Doria's address was warmly applauded.

B. GENERAL REPORTS

POLITICAL

3. Brigadier Dunlop's Farewell Press Conference, Naples

The following is a resumé of the farewell press conference which Brigadier Dunlop held at the Provincia Building on 28 March 1945.

In referring to the announcement made on 24 February by Mr. Harold MacMillan to Signor Bonomi, Brigadier Dunlop confirmed that Allied Officers would be withdrawn from Italian Government territory, and that after 31 March there would therefore no longer be any Regional Commissioner, Southern Region, or any Regional Officer. He then spoke of the smooth way in which arrangements at Naples had

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He paid a tribute to the excellent work done by Lt.Col.Simson and after sympathizing with, and sharing the general regret for the

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departure of this officer, he announced that the new Commissioner will be Col. Pennycuick, a gallant officer who has held for many months the post of Regional Commissioner in Sardinia.

The continuance in office of an Allied officer in the case of the Commune of Naples was, he said, an exception, due to the great importance of the Port of Naples to the Allied cause. Apart from that and a few other minor exceptions, such as the employment of Allied liaison officers to facilitate relations between the Allied military and Italian civil authorities at the port of Bari, other Allied technical officers for services in connection with the Allied Armies, and thoseofficers who, for a limited period will continue, at the Italian Government's request, to assist in the olive oil campaign, the important fact would remain that full administrative authority would be restored to the Italian Government by the end of March.

Brigadier Dunlop went on to stress the point that any Allied liaison officer in Italian sovereign territory would be there chiefly as an observer, and further stressed the point by saying that they would not -- not, he repeated -- offer even advice to the Italian authorities, and that if the latter asked for it, they would be referred to their Rome ministries.

He then referred to the hard work with which the Allied officers, who were now leaving, would be faced in the North as the result of the destruction, dislocation and shortage of food in occupied Italy. After considering that the experience gained in the South would serve officers well in the North, he compared the picture which Naples presents now to that of 1943. He did not, however, claim any credit for the great improvement, but considered it rather his duty to pay tribute for it, on the part of the citizens of Naples, to his predecessors General Hume, Colonel Kraege, Colonel Poletti, Colonel Chapman and Colonel Temperley who indefatigably worked for the good of Naples. He said that there was, of course, much that still remained unaccomplished, but was confident that the Italian people and the Italian authorities would carry on the work started by the Allies.

In conclusion, he regretted leaving Southern Italy after the happy months he had spent there, but on the other hand, he was satisfied to do so since his departure implied confidence in the Italian people and in ultimate victory. Brigadier Dunlop finally thanked all civilians, officials and organizations for their valuable co-operation.

After the speech, the chief editors of IL GIORNALE, Vorluni, and of IL DOMANI D'ITALIA, Franciosi, who were the most important among the journalists in attendance, expressed their appreciation of Brig-

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CONFIDENTIAL

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There was a pleasant atmosphere of simplicity and cordiality in the proceedings and several of the journalists stated that they were voicing the opini n of the majority of Neapolitans when they said that Brigadier Dunlop's cordial and easy manner, and his evident interest in all local problems, had won him the general sympathies of all officials and people with whom he had come in contact. (A-2)

4. Arangio Ruiz, Minister of Public Instruction, in Bari

At 17:30 on the afternoon of 23 March, the Minister of Public Instruction, Arangio Ruiz, visited the headquarters of the local Liberal Party where he gave a talk. The room was about 20' x 50', and the greater part of the audience of 200, mostly members of the Liberal Party, had to stand. There were some members of other parties and the PWB officer, probably the only non-Italian. There were also a few women.

Although the talk of the Minister had been announced for 17:30, Sig. Ruiz arrived half an hour late. The audience waited goodhumoredly and welcomed him enthusiastically. The Secretary of the Liberal Party of Bary, the Lawyer Raffaele La Volpe, opened the meeting by warmly thanking the Minister for his visit to Bari and introduced him to the Audience.

Ruiz said that he was very happy to be in Bari, which today has a history, especially after the 8 September 1943. The publishing house of Laterza (located at Bari) has contributed a great deal by printing for wide dissemination the works of the great philosopher, Benedetto Croce, the soul of the Liberal Party. Bari has given much and will continue to give much to Italy. Her new history begins with the date of the Armistice. An historic event of world importance was the famous Congress of all the anti-fascist parties in January, 1944.

The Minister then spoke of the theoretical differences which exist between the Liberal Party and the other parties included in the National Committee of Liberation. The difference between the Socialist Party and the Liberal Party is that the Socialist creates class distinctions while the Liberals consider that all people belong to the same social class. Between the Action Party and the Liberal Party there is a difference so small that with a little good will even that could be eliminated inasmuch as many people who today are members of the Action Party have been disciples of the great master, Benedetto Croce. The difference is this, the members of the Action party want to bring about too many reforms at one time.

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The Liberal Party believes that every problem which needs reform should be studied at the proper time and place, calmly and with due thought. Next, the difference between the Communist Party and the Liberal Party was discussed. The Communists today speak of a proletariat dictatorship. "After an experience of over 20 years of dictatorship it would be just as well if such words", said the Minister, "were to completely disappear from our governmental reform programme". This is the greatest difference which exists. He also mentioned that there is no such thing as a dictatorship of the masses but only a dictatorship of the few and that a dictatorship of the proletariat in Italy would mean the dictatorship of Togliatti. Finally he mentioned briefly the Demo-Christian Party maintaining that although the designation "Christian" suggested a certain superior qualification of this party that the connotations invoked by the disgnation, "Christian", were common to all parties.

"At present one hears of political unrest among the parties. But in truth", said the Minister, "one should speak of personal egoism more than of political unrest. Among all the maladies from which Italy suffers such as war destruction, lack of transport etc., the greatest is egoism".(hearty applause). "One should speak rather of a lack of civic conscience. It is this lack of civic conscience that is evident in those Fascists who still will not admit the defeat of their Party. It is a lack of civic conscience which is evident in those Fascists who take to fleeing from justice and stir up trouble and revolutions. For example: General Roatta. It is lack of civic conscience which is in evidence in those people who buy merchandise at its weight in silver and resell it at its weight in gold. Finally there is a lack of civic conscience also in those persons who hoard material for their own good, disregarding the misery of the greater part of the people. In fact, almost every ody displays a lack of civic conscience in one way or another.

Minister Ruiz concluded his brief address by saying that today all the anti-Fascist Parties must have a single aim, the full establishment of democracy for the present and future well-being of the country. Everybody must concur in this well-being whatever his individual political beliefs may be. All the Italian strength and all the anti-Fascist beliefs must tend toward the work of reconstruction of the country. The difficult problems which are before us can only be solved if each one of us feels with a true sense of civic conscience, the times through which he is passing.

The talk of Minister Ruiz was enthusiastically applauded. During the course of his talk he was interrupted several times by lively applause. The Lawyer, Lattanzio, President of the Professional Deputation, thanked the Minister in the name of the University students of Bari for the provisions made for the University. Sig. Ruiz answered that his greatest wish was that Bari should have a complete University such as would be appropriate to her geographical and historical position in Italy. Someone asked about epuration in the schools. The Minister replied very clearly saying that this epuration would take place at an opportune time. After this the meeting ended. Among those present and seated at the speaker's table were: Prof. Tommaso Fiore, the Provveditore for Studies, Dr. Natale Loiaconi, Mayor of Bari and Sig. Lattanzio, the President of the Deputation.

The Minister spoke in a rather husky voice and somewhat in dialect. He is a rather small man. His gray hair was brushed straight back from his forehead; he has a very prominent arched nose; his gray suit and his shirt appeared mussed, probably from travelling. While speaking, he gesticulated almost constantly.

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between the Communist Party and the Liberal Party was discussed. The Communists today speak of a proletariat dictatorship. "After an experience of over 20 years of dictatorship it would be just as well if such words", said the Minister, "were to completely disappear from our governmental reform programme". This is the greatest difference which exists. He also mentioned that there is no such thing as a dictatorship of the masses but only a dictatorship of the few and that a dictatorship of the proletariat in Italy would mean the dictatorship of Togliatti. Finally he mentioned briefly the Demo-Christian Party maintaining that although the designation "Christian" suggested a certain superior qualification of this party that the connotations invoked by the designation, "Christian", were common to all parties.

"At present one hears of political unrest among the parties. But in truth", said the Minister, "one should speak of personal egoism more than of political unrest. Among all the maladies from which Italy suffers such as war destruction, lack of transport etc., the greatest is egoism".(hearty applause). "One should speak rather of a lack of civic conscience. It is this lack of civic conscience that is evident in those Fascists who still will not admit the defeat of their Party. It is a lack of civic conscience which is evident in those Fascists who take to fleeing from justice and stir up trouble and revolutions. For example: General Roatta. It is lack of civic conscience which is in evidence in those people who buy merchandise at its weight in silver and resell it at its weight in gold. Finally there is a lack of civic conscience also in those persons who hoard material for their own good, disregarding the misery of the greater part of the people. In fact, almost every body displays a lack of civic conscience in one way or another.

Minister Ruiz concluded his brief address by saying that today all the anti-Fascist Parties must have a single aim, the full establishment of democracy for the present and future well-being of the country. Everybody must concur in this well-being whatever his individual political beliefs may be. All the Italian strength and all the anti-Fascist beliefs must tend toward the work of reconstruction of the country. The difficult problems which are before us can only be solved if each one of us feels with a true sense of civic conscience, the times through which he is passing.

The talk of Minister Ruiz was enthusiastically applauded. During the course of his talk he was interrupted several times by lively applause. The Lawyer, Lattanzio, President of the Professional Deputation, thanked the Minister in the name of the University students of Bari for the provisions made for the University. Sig. Ruiz answered that his greatest wish was that Bari should have a complete University such as would be appropriate to her geographical and historical position in Italy. Someone asked about epuration in the schools. The Minister replied very clearly saying that this epuration would take place at an opportune time. After this the meeting ended. Among those present and seated at the speaker's table were: Prof. Tommaso Fiore, the Provveditore for Studies, Dr. Natale Loiaconi, Mayor of Bari and Sig. Lattanzio, the President of the Deputation.

The Minister spoke in a rather husky voice and somewhat in dialect. He is a rather small man. His gray hair was brushed straight back from his forehead; he has a very prominent arched nose; his gray suit and his shirt appeared mussed, probably from travelling. While speaking, he gesticulated almost constantly.

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5. Elections in Italy

(a) Some Opinions. The subject of the forthcoming administrative elections was recently discussed by a PWB officer with three Italians - a magistrate, a business man, and a musician. They were all Romans and all were of "center" political tendencies.

They all admitted that they were not in the habit of voting, and that they would be afraid to go to the polls, fearing violence and disorder. According to them, elections in Italy have in the past always been bitterly contested. Feelings run high and people get over-excited. Certain groups, especially the Communists, resort to threats of violence - which are not always idle - against those whom they suspect of intending to vote against them. In all but the larger cities, every individual is known by sight by virtually all his fellow townsmen who also know his political opinions, so that if a man is seen going to the polls it is pretty well known how he is going to vote. Violence, or at least threats of violence, are sure to be frequent occurrences-when the next elections take place.

The three Italians were of the opinion that the Christian Democrats would probably carry the election in most districts, provided they were not deterred from voting by the fear of "incidents".

(b) Voting System. A PWB officer, on March 25th, obtained the following information from an official of the Ministry of the Interior.

The law on administrative elections is in the process of being modified, and to date the text of the new law covering these elections has not been adopted. However, one knows the general lines which will determine how these elections will be held. The Civil Administration branch of the Ministry of the Interior is studying the problem, and it is probable that it will recommend a return to the general lines of the law of 1915 (Communal and Provincial Law, Royal Decree of 4 February 1915, No. 148, amended in 1919), according to which administrative elections take place under the "majority system" (as distinguished from the "system of proportional representation").

Under the "majority system" there are no lists of candidates officially registered by the political parties, which however, campaign for their respective candidates by their press, by posters, circulars etc. and distribute ballot forms. Every voter votes directly for the candidate of his choice. This method theoretically gives greater liberty to the voter as he can vote for any individual regardless of the latter's party.

Every electoral district, has its own poll officials who are appointed by the president of thelocal court of Appeal and who consist of: A President and Vice-President both of whom must be magistrates, a Secretary and four vote counters.

Administrative elections involve the election of the Communal Councils and of the Provincial Councils. Under the law of 1915, popular representation on the two councils is as follows:

COMMUNAL COUNCIL

80	members for communes of	250,000	inhabitants
60	-do-	60,000	"
40	-do-	30,000	"
30	-do-	10,000	"

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COMMUNAL COUNCIL

80	members for communes of	250,000	inhabitants
60	-do-	60,000	"
40	-do-	30,000	"
30	-do-	10,000	"
20	-do-	3,000	"
15	-do-	loss than 3,000	"

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PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

60	members for provinces of	600,000	inhabitants
50	-do-	400,000	"
40	-do-	200,000	"
30	-do- less than	200,000	"

Due to the fact that the populations of the large cities (Rome, Naples, Palermo, Milan, Genoa, Turin) have greatly increased during the past 25 years, the limitation of the membership of the Communal Councils to a maximum of 60 is under consideration. These cities all have populations of some half a million or more so that the councils would be so large as to be unwieldy.

The election of the councils which before Fascism were considered "auxillary organs" of the state, will serve to restore considerable autonomy to the provinces and communes. There are however, a number of reasons,- financial and administrative - which will tend to curb regional autonomy. The huge task of reconstruction will have to be financed by the central government and will necessarily require considerable centralized control. The disastrous state of local public finance will also involve constant State intervention.

Under the law of 1915, the Communal Councils elect the mayors and members of the municipal councils while the Provincial Councils elect the president and members of the Provincial Deputation.

Proportional representation is being advocated by the parties with mass following, but the system has never been in use before in Italy and presents many problems. One of these is the question of public order. The system involves a list of candidates, which in turn means that a whole province will go to the polls on the same day, and disturbances are to be feared as Italians are traditionally excitable on election day. On the other hand, under the majority system, elections can be held piecemeal, making it easier to provide means for maintaining order.

There are two reasons for adjourning the forthcoming administrative elections: All of the communes have not yet prepared their electoral lists, and the new electoral law has not been adopted in its final form by the government.

On 28 September 1944, the Italian government passed a ministerial decree slightly modifying the Royal Decree of 2 September 1919, relative to the formation of the electoral lists in the communes. These modifications cover the granting of votes to women, the disenfranchisement of ex-Fascists where they are subject to Art. 8 of the law for Sanctions against Fascism, special provisions to enable refugees absent from their communes to vote etc. Due to the fact that many communes have been completely disorganized by the war, their inhabitants scattered all over Italy, many public buildings and public records destroyed, and that such elections have not been held for over 25 years, the preparation of the electoral lists is a difficult task. However, it is now believed that the lists will be ready by the middle or the end of June.

6. Crisis in the Liberal Party - Bari

A FMB collaborator has submitted the following report:

"On 24 March a secret meeting of the political direction of the Italian Liberal Party was held in which came to light the split between the two principle trends of thought within the Party, the Conservative and the Progressive. Lawyer Gioia, the editor of the weekly publication "L'Idea Liberale" at the end of the session declared

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A young engineer has the following to say: "People who frequent the Laterza bookshop for reasons of study have reported the uneasiness of the proprietor of the famous publishing house at heading a movement which has completely assumed the characteristics of a refuge for those compromised by the Fascist regime. The proprietor is said to have commented that "Lawyer Perrone-Capano uses his political influence to save his own threatened position. He exploits his friendships and influence in order to increase his own sizeable savings. In rather shady manoeuvres he has a worthy accomplice, Lawyer La Volpe. I feel a moral uneasiness at being known as the head of such a bunch of rascals. But I cannot withdraw because Senator Croce many times has begged me to have faith".

The news of such a controversy has not caused any surprise to the public. For some time the public has been aware of the unhappy combination of honest and dishonest men. The liability of a group of pro-Fascists has discredited the honour of a Party of the Right. From a conversation with a member of the Provisional Deputation, a PWB collaborator reports the following:

During the secret meeting of the Liberal Party which was held at the headquarters of the Party on Saturday 24 March, some of the leading members quarrelled among themselves. Lawyer Perrone Capano and Lawyer Raffaele La Volpe maintain that the Party ought to admit into its ranks all the ex-Fascists who want to join the organisation. At this proposal, Lawyer Gioia, the editor of the Party organ "L'Idea Liberale" expressed himself in opposition, insisting that these attacks and polemics against the Liberal Party which took place after the flight of General Roatta and culminated in the incidents of Andria, Spinazzola, Minervino and in other localities in Puglia, were caused by the fact that the Liberal Party had received among its members, without much regard for the consequences, individuals who were compromised with the Fascist Party. Lawyer Gioia insisted on a revision of the membership of the Party and proposed, if necessary, an epuration. These last words antagonized Lawyer Perrone Capano, already fairly well known everywhere for his outmoded ideas, and as always happens, one word led to another. Lawyer Gioia to put an end to this heated discussion, resigned from the Party and as editor of the newspaper. The editorship of the newspaper was later handed over to Lawyer Perrone Capano.

This split has brought about many rumours among the petty politicians and especially among those who do not approve and are opposed to the programme and directives of the Liberal Party "because they say that, among the Liberals, there are many conservatives and fascists". "One cannot judge a Party by a few of its members". "Every Party has among its members some who are extremely orthodox. Others coming from other Parties accept the new ideas for their own ends or because they have been epurated by the Parties to which they formerly belonged". "These splits are an indication of a lack of unity within the Party and naturally do a good deal of harm to the Liberals who formed the so-called historical "right"".

These and other similar remarks have been heard in the conversation which revealed the facts reported above. In the conversation about ten persons took part, among them two doctors, an engineer, a lawyer and some university students some of whom were members of the Liberal Party.

7. Minor "Left" Political Parties

The following local "Left" political parties are confusing because of the similarity of their names. They are however, different organizations:

Unità Proletaria (Cosenza) Anarchist

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Unità Proletaria	(Cosenza)	Anarchist
Unione Proletaria	(Rome)	(Salvarezza)
Movimento di Unificazione Proletaria	(Catania)	Anarchist (?)
Movimento di Unitaria Proletaria	(Italy)	Dissident Communist

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8. Trieste

(a) Meeting of Adriatic League - Naples

At a recent special meeting "La Lega degli Adriatici" (The Adriatic League) a political association with Liberal tendencies, passed an order of the day regarding Italy's North Eastern frontiers.

Briefly, this order supports the one passed by the Venezia Giulia National Committee of Liberation, stating that Trieste and Venezia Giulia are Italian, and expresses the hope that the Western Democracies will intervene effectively in the matter. The order of the day of the "Lega degli Adriatici" goes on to stress that Trieste is Italian, and that it is in the political interest of the great Western Democracies themselves to see that Trieste continues to be Italian. The order of the day finally concludes by binding all members of the League itself to an active campaign in favour of an Italian Trieste.

(b) Interview with a Professor, formerly of Trieste

In view of the importance which the Trieste problem has for Italy, and considering that local public opinion has shown great interest in the matter, an interview has been sought with a University Professor of history who has spent many years at Trieste.

The professor has briefly outlined the history of Trieste. Ancient Tergeste was [illegible] 129 B.C. conquered by the Romans who turned it into a military colony; it afterwards became part of the 10th Italian region, and finally a self-governing commune. At the time of the Roman Empire it was a very prosperous city, gave Rome many of its illustrious citizens, and its soldiers, generally, fought in the XV Appilinare Legion.

It suffered very considerably during the barbaric invasions. In 848 it was under the temporal power of a Bishop who also bore the title of Count. In 1139 Trieste became an independent commune, and it is then that her trade began to grow: a rivalry, therefore, sprang up with Venice, at that time a most powerful maritime republic, which frequently lead to fratricide wars between the two cities. In 1382 Trieste concluded an agreement with Leopold III by which Trieste, whilst retaining her independence, acknowledged the emperor who, in exchange, promised protection and assistance. As a result, however, of commercial competition, the conflicts between the two sister cities continued. In the meantime, the Empire, while it helped Trieste economically, slowly but surely dominated her politically and administratively. But the soul of the old Italian commune never gave up hope even during her forcible domination by Austria.

While the unification of Italy was being accomplished, the people of Trieste began to take up an ever-increasing tinge of aversion towards Austria: at all public gatherings the people of Trieste acclaimed the free fa[illegible]rland, Italy. Thus began a period of very active nationalism, and in 1882 Guglielmo Oberdan was condemned to death by the Austrian Government for working for the return of Trieste to Italy.

On the outbreak of war in 1914, many Trieste men deserted the Austrian ranks in order to fight on the side of Italy, and the Austrian Government in its turn did not send any Trieste units to fight against the Italians, but sent them, instead,

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On the outbreak of war in 1914, many Trieste men deserted the Austrian ranks in order to fight on the side of Italy, and the Austrian Government in its turn did not send any Trieste units to fight against the Italians, but sent them, instead, to the Russian front. From November 4th 1918, Trieste definitely returned to its original state of Italian territory.

The above brief summary, the professor pointed out, clearly shows that Trieste is Italian: its history, language, traditions, culture, race and the aspirations of the people themselves are all Italian.

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(c) The Communists and Socialists and the Trieste Problem

According to an article which appeared in "Rinascita" (under the editorship of Togliatti) the Communists have changed their attitude of renunciation in connection with the Trieste frontiers and those of Venezia Giulia and reverted to an agnostic attitude as they state now that an agreement must be reached with Yugoslavia at all costs.

The Socialists, on the other hand, in an editorial by Pietro Nenni, maintain that Trieste cannot be saved by more nationalistic discussions or by the demonstrations which were attempted during the past few days by the right-wing parties and reactionaries, but only by fighting both on the military and the home front against hitlerite-Fascism. "We will conserve as much as possible of the 1918 victory," writes Pietro Nenni, "by breaking away for ever from the dreams and illusions of military monarchy and fascism, by creating a new democratic order and by showing ourselves to Europe as a country which bases all its hopes on its manpower."

(d) Students Demonstration

Some two hundred students carrying placards inscribed with the words "Trieste is Italian" paraded to the Palazzo Viminale, the Ministry of the Interior, where Bonomi has his office, at 11 a.m. on Tuesday March 27th.

A detachment of carabinieri were massed behind the closed gates and on the terrace of the building, while mounted troops had taken up a position to the left of the entrance.

A delegation of students were admitted to the Ministry where they remained for half an hour, and then rejoined their comrades. Its leader then made a short address to the students, after which the "demonstration" came to an end. The entire affair seemed to be rather in the nature of a student's "lark".

PUBLIC OPINION

9. The Views of an Economist - Naples. (as expressed to a PWB officer)

British Elections: The speaker believes that the next elections will still be in favour of the Conservatives, but that their ranks will be reduced, perhaps by as much as sixty seats, while Labour will improve in the same proportion, so that the balance of power might rest in the hands of a small group of Liberals. It is difficult to look further ahead, but the subsequent election will probably put Labour in the saddle.

Britain and Italy: Some leaders in Britain have probably realised the importance of Anglo-Italian collaboration, but the general public do not appear to understand the position, and if there is to be close co-operation between the two countries, public opinion must be brought round, in order that the Government may feel that in a line of conduct based on friendship with Italy, it has the backing of the majority of the nation. With her 45 million population Italy could raise an army of seven million men, which might be useful to Britain in the Mediterranean.

Italian Heavy Industry: Will Italy be able to re-start her heavy industry of producing pig-iron and steel? It is doubtful, as it will depend on the possibility of procuring coal and producing electricity. Her electric installations in the South did not suffer very much from the war, whilst those in the Centre were very heavily

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Italian Heavy Industry: Will Italy be able to re-start her heavy industry of producing pig-iron and steel? It is doubtful, as it will depend on the possibility of procuring coal and producing electricity. Her electric installations in the South did not suffer very much from the war, whilst those in the Centre were very heavily damaged. A lot will depend on the condition in which installations in the North will be found. Should the Germans destroy them, the consequences will be tragic, because it would take years to reconstruct them, and this would paralyse a large part of Italy's industry.

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Another incognita in the matter is the peace treaty and its terms: will Italy be authorised to produce steel and iron? There is one region where she can manufacture a special kind of high-grade steel, which is about equal to what Sweden can produce; this is at Cuorgne. She could export this profitably against lower-grade steel. American, Britain and Germany all produced steel, and each one specialised in certain varieties, so that each one of the three countries exported to and imported from the other two. But perhaps the most profitable use to which she could put her furnaces, would be found in producing aluminium, from her very rich deposits of Bauxite. But her again arises the question of electric power which would be required in very considerable quantities.

Coal: Before she had developed her hydro-electric installations, Italy was a large buyer of coal; she imported as much as 13 million tons in a single year; in fact at one time she was among Britain's best customers in this line. If Italy's electric installations as a whole are heavily damaged, she will have to go back to coal to a great extent. Will Britain supply it or America? The United States have the advantage of less deep mining and more up-to-date methods, but the drawback of distance between the mines and the port of loading. Britain is handicapped by her antiquated methods and lack of up-to-date machinery. It may perhaps come down to a question of freight or the possibility of securing return freights so as to avoid ships sailing in ballast. The cost of transport plays a considerable part where bulky goods are concerned.

Communism: After a great war with its inevitable restrictions and hardships, the political pendulum usually swings to the Left, towards the Parties which appear to offer the best chances of democracy and progress; it is only natural. This is happening at present in Italy, and the Party which, in words, is noisily promising most, is the Communist. Yet in Southern Italy the belief is very widely held that, barring unexpected occurrences, the country will not go Communist.

Franco-Italian Relations: There appeared to be a possibility of a closer understanding between the two countries which, if transformed into an alliance, might have caused Britain some headaches. The chance has been spoiled by the rumour that France was casting loving eyes on the island of Elba, which is within swimming distance of the Italian coast. Perhaps France had not forgotten the loud talk there had been in Italy about Nice, Savoy, Corsica. At all events there does not seem to be any probability of an agreement between the two, for the time being.

De Gaulle: It is interesting to note de Gaulle's progress: he started off with very decidedly Left Wing tendencies, culminating in the agreement with Russia; then, by degrees, as France began to find her feet and to express an opinion, De Gaulle has been steadily working his way towards the centre, where he stands today. Is he going still further to the Right? Was the Moscow agreement made with the full consent of the majority of his people? Appearances do not point that way. Did he seek the approval of Britain, of Churchill to whom he owes his success?

(B.3)

10. The San Francisco Conference and Public Opinion - Bari

A PWB collaborator has submitted the following report on the above subject.

A few days ago in its edition 22 March, the "Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno" published the news from London that in government circles it was already known that the United Nations has definitely refused the Italian government permission to send observers to the San Francisco Conference which will be held on 25 April. "Italy", states the

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A few days ago in its edition 22 March, the "Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno" published the news from London that in government circles it was already known that the United Nations has definitely refused the Italian government permission to send observers to the San Francisco Conference which will be held on 25 April. "Italy", states the article in the "Gazzetta", "will be informed of all the decisions which are made regarding her". All kinds and classes of people have been interviewed concerning this subject - lawyers, doctors, students, white collar workers, teachers, ordinary workers, etc. They are all grieved by this pronouncement of the United Nations, particularly coming from England and America.

A doctor, 40 years old, member of the Demo-Christian Party: "Italy today finds herself in very special circumstances and just because of these very special circum-

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stances she deserves a treatment different from that given to other nations. I do not mean that she should have more privileges than other countries but it would be enough if she had a simple and more attentive consideration of her condition. We are still at the usual point. First of all they promise all kinds of things and then they let you know(because they never have the courage to tell you frankly without ulterior motives) that the promise cannot be kept and the hope which is in your heart grows less every day. I will make a comparison which is relevant with respect to the relations between Italy and the Allies. Italy is seriously ill, the Allies are her doctors. The promises which they make are the injections of camphor. As long as we have them our hopes keep up".

A refugee student from the School of Law of the University of Torino, 23 years, a liberal: "It is a wonder to me how, at this time, America and England are settling things in a manner which actually is not to their advantage. It is true that Italy has faults but she has already paid dearly for them and I believe that she has paid enough."

A Professor of Latin - 50 years old, an Independent: "...The Conference of San Francisco represented for Italy another chance to hope in a better tomorrow, in a tomorrow made effective by reconstruction and rebirth. But with the refusal to Italy's desire to attend the conference all of this stimulus disappeared. The Italians have always been animated by good will and just because of this good will, because of their courage in the face of misfortune, because of their spirit of renunciation, they have come so far without allowing themselves to be fascinated by Communism. But they are now tired. All their will, courage and resignation have been trampled upon by the Allies who have followed the Fascist policy of beautiful words and beautiful promises but all inconsistently, and it is with profound sorrow that today I look upon the martyrdom of Italy".

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L A B O U R

11. Demands of C.G.I.L.

The General Confederation of Labour handed to the Presidency of the Council a motion in which among other things, it asks Allied authorities to de-requisition factories not engaged in war work. It asks the Italian government to liquidate big landed property, to nationalize private monopolies and key industries, as well as the Italian Railways, the telephone company and the services of public utility. The process of nationalization whould begin with that of the I.R.I. (Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale).

LOCAL CONDITIONS

12. Events of the Week, Naples

Besides the controversy which is still going on between Communists and Liberals, nothing special has happened during the week to influence the political situation. Public opinion is centered on military events on the Western Front which it hopes will bring the war to an early end. With particular reference to Campania, the following events may be mentioned:

1) The speech of Mario Ferrara, National leader of the Liberal Party and Editor of IL RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE, on Sunday in a Naples theatre. It was fairly full and among the personalities present were Benedetto Croce, His Excellency Morelli, etc.

He outlined the position of the Liberal Party at this political juncture; the leading points of the speech were the reference to the institutional problem and the question of epuration.

He maintains that great tact must be used in carrying out epuration, because of the risk of jeopardizing the working of the whole bureaucratic machinery of the state. Against such an outlook on the question of epuration, and also to obtain a more energetic attitude, many voices were raised from the public, and heated discussion was started between the audience and the speaker. This showed that most of the people present were for strict and complete epuration.

Ferrara declared that regarding the institutional problem, the Liberal Party will only decide on the matter after the entire liberation of Italy, but that in any case no prejudice should exist against the Monarchy which indeed had done much for the country. This attitude implies at the moment that most of the leaders of the Liberal

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2) The Provincial Congress of Christian Democracy of the Province of Benevento was held during the 25-26 of March. The main points of interest were the way in which the institutional problem was explained by Avv. Scelba, Vice Secretary of the Party, and the revelations by Avv. Lepore on the political administrative situation of the Province of Benevento.

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Avv. Scelba stated that Christian Democracy will, after the liberation of Italy, make its decision in accordance with the prevailing opinion of Demo-Christians, but that in any case the Party is in no way tied to the Monarchy which besides has never favored Catholicism since the liberation of Italy began. Such assertions are no doubt important, seeing that Avv. Scelba is the Vice Secretary of the Party, and that an anti-Monarchist orientation of Christian Democracy would undoubtedly contribute to turn the scale of Italian public opinion towards Republicanism.

Avv. Lepore followed by saying that a situation of absurd privilege had been created in the province of Benevento in favor of just one party (i.e., Liberal Democracy, which some time back had joined hands with the Liberal Party) and that unless the Government vigorously intervened to stop such a state of affairs, the Demo-Christian representatives in the communal administration of the province of Benevento would all resign. The situation mentioned does in fact exist and is the outcome of the attitude openly adopted by the Prefect of Benevento in favor of Liberal Democracy from the time Benevento was liberated.

3) Many repercussions and comments have been caused by the press conference held by Brigadier Dunlop in connection with the handing over of the administration of Southern Italy to the Italian Government. The local press has very favorably commented the general tone of the declaration made to the press at the conference, and brought it into great relief. Public opinion also has been very favorably impressed by the declaration and has above all remarked on its objectivity and sincerity.

13. The Western Front

Naples public opinion is almost surprised at the latest Allied offensive in Western Germany, as they had apparently been under the impression that the weight of the war was being carried chiefly by the Russians. They are now realizing how important a part the Allies have played and continue to play in the final discomfiture of Germany.
(B-2)

14. Black Market Price, Naples

Bread		L.	140	per kilo
Pasta		"	170	" "
Flour	(brown)	"	130	" "
	(white)	"	220	" "
Sugar		"	1100	" "

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(E-2)

14. Black Market Price, Naples

Bread		L.	140	per kilo
Pasta		"	170	" "
Flour	(brown)	"	130	" "
	(white)	"	220	" "
Sugar		"	1100	" "
Mozzarella		"	400	" "
Lard		"	580	" "
Pork		"	550	" "
Salame		"	1000	" "

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Sausages	L.	1100	per kilo
Butter	"	900	" "
Potatoes	"	42-45	" "
Charcoal	"	26	" "
Oranges	"	43-50	" "
Apples	"	75	" "
Fish - Cod	"	400	" "
Mullet	"	450	" "
Anchovies	"	150	" "
Onions	"	6	" bundle
Eggs	"	28	each
Artichokes (Palermo)	"	24	"
(native)	"	45	"
Oil	"	400	per litre
Wine	"	45/50/60	" "

(B-2)

PRESS & PROPAGANDA

R A D I O

15. Alvaro-Treves Controversy

The resignation of Corrado Alvaro, radio news editor, has been the subject of much discussion among the Roman newspapers. Corrado Alvaro, the well-known writer, in a letter to the press and to the Commissioner of the R.A.I., Russo, on 23 March, announced his resignation. He stated that he had been offered the editorship of an independent radio, while actually shortly after his appointment as such he had met with outside interference directed at limiting or nullifying the freedom of the radio news service. Alvaro maintained that radio being a public service, should be outside all government interests and therefore he could not agree to it being restricted to the mere announcement of information from official or semi-official sources. These were the reasons for his resignation.

The Commissioner's reply to this letter was published in the newspapers. It stated that at the present moment, owing to the fact that the radio is functioning in a national capacity, and is most important as such, it can give only news which is accurate. LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (independent) published a statement by the Editor in Chief of the Radio News Service, Paolo Treves, former editor of the BBC feature "Sul fronte e dietro il fronte Italiano", in which he says "Corrado Alvaro implicates me without mentioning my name in his letter of resignation. The disagreement between Alvaro and myself is: Can the Radio, a national institution, include in its

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Charcoal	"	26	
Oranges	"	43-50	" "
Apples	"	75	" "
Fish -- Cod	"	400	" "
Mullet	"	450	" "
Anchovies	"	150	" "
Onions	"	6	" bundle
Eggs	"	28	each
Artichokes (Palermo)	"	24	"
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have in me, neither can I enter into a discussion on serious matters like liberty and democracy, with a person I consider a novice in such matters."

L'EPOCA (independent), in the place of the leading article published a letter from Corrado Alvaro to Paolo Treves. Alvaro writes, "Dr. Paolo Treves exaggerates when he refuses to discuss serious things such as liberty and democracy with those whom he considers new to such arguments, that is myself. He exaggerates, because I did not want to carry the protest so far as to make it personal, and wished to leave the Radio Giornale without causing dissension. He exaggerates, because he seems to think in common with several of his friends, that he has returned into the midst of a tribe of Congo savages, who have taken no part in the war, not suffered, and did not make the most dramatic suicide that a nation could make to regain its liberty. Paolo Treves' experience of liberty, of which he is very proud, was with Radio London, where he played contralto in that magnificent instrument for propaganda, flattering us as never Col. Stevens flattered us, counterbalancing the hard English words with brotherly expressions. It was a liberal and democratic organization which stretched its arms across the Channel to us, speaking to us with wellknown voices; free, yes, I believe so, but only up to a point. Not free enough to disregard the thesis of the Foreign Office when the monarchical crisis opened in Bari. It was a fundamental crisis and we were advised to keep the monarchy. Paolo Treves took part in this 'concerto'. If these are his qualities, allow me to give him some advice, not to be too outspoken about them. The Italians who went to the BBC liberty school do not remember it willingly." After continuing in this tone for some time, he says that the technical disagreement between Paolo Treves and himself can be reduced to this fact: Treves upholds the necessity of an official radio, while Alvaro does not agree with him. He gives some incidents of interference whilst he was director: "There is an editor at the Radio who can testify that information received from an excellent source, that is from a Minister and undersecretary of State, about the amount that could be obtained by the confiscation of excess war profits of the regime (from 300-400 milliards) was taken out of the news by order of the Commissioner for Radio (Rusca) when it was already in the transmitting cabin. The liberal (Rusca) did not want the information to be given out, saying that it was a manoeuvre on the part of the Communists to sow discontent. As for myself, I was not there to make inquiries, my function was to collect accurate news at its source." Alvaro cited further incidents of this kind.

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L'EPOCA (Independent) published an answer to this letter from Treves. Treves says "Alvaro is at liberty to burn incense in front of other altars now, but once again I will not enter into a discussion with him. I merely wish to make it clear that I have never said that

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Radio should be official even if I hold that its news must come from a good source and be based on reliable information." Treves also stated that he always spoke from Radio London with complete freedom, supporting for example the actions of the Anti-Fascist Parties in Bari and contrasting the thesis of the Monarchy. He affirms that he has copies of his talks for anyone who wishes to check his statement. All the rest of Alvaro's two columns is only gossip.

Alvaro wrote a reply to this with five personal accusations against Paolo Treves but without further reference to the functioning of the Radio, to which a brief reply by Treves appeared in the AVANTI under the heading "End of a Discussion", in which he says, "Alvaro in his answer to my letter published in yesterday's EPOCA does not continue a discussion but makes a personal attack on me which does not correspond to the truth. Those who know me are aware of this and that is enough for me. As far as I am concerned, no matter what Alvaro may write, the subject is now closed."

SOME PRESS REACTIONS: The discussion among the papers, although of a personal character, also touches upon a principle of general interest. ITALIA LIBERA points out that there are two contrasting theories. Should the radio be the mouthpiece of the government, and as such an official instrument, or should it be free and belong to the people?

The press holds different views on the subject. ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) is in favor of a free radio, as otherwise the function of the Radio would be a purely political one in the service of the Government. "A Government-controlled radio," writes the paper, "would only try to influence public opinion for the elections in favor of the Government by means of a careful selection of news. The radio, in addition to the Prefects' and centralized system of government, would develop into a political weapon. And as a natural consequence, the radio would be bad and inefficient."

VOCE REPUBBLICANA of 27 March takes the same line, writing; "According to Paolo Treves, the radio in the service of the nation must only give official, therefore government-controlled, news... We are not shocked at such language. But we feel profoundly humiliated that the son of Claudio Treves (a well-known Socialist) whould use these words."

L'EPOCA supports the same theory, as it previously expressed itself in favor of absolute freedom of the press at a time when some Romen papers had been suppressed. "Alvaro's words," the paper writes, "join in the chorus of voices which for a century have been repeating that true freedom is based on the freedom of thought and expression."

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IL LAVORO, 27 March, believes that democratic Italy must have a free and independent radio, free from Government control. The Government might have its own broadcasts but the public should be told which broadcasts are official ones. "The scandal must cease," writes IL LAVORO (General Confederation of Labour) "of one man controlling the radio and what is more a man of authoritarian character, as is the

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case of Rusca. The radio must be directed by several persons who represent all currents of public opinion and thus prevent the interest of one group in particular...At any rate it is obvious that the new editor of the radio news service must not be appointed by Rusca and not even by the Under Secretary for the Press, but by a representative group." The paper concludes by hoping in the future socialization of the Radio.

UNITA' (Communist) takes the same line. According to the paper, in a country at war "an independent radio news bulletin cannot exist ...the only thing that is permissible is that the radio should conform to the policy of the government and therefore be a democratic radio." Absolute independence, that is independence from Government directives and from the National Liberation Committees, is tantamount to independence from the six parties, and would be a pretext for allowing reactionary forces and interests to manoeuvre the radio.

PROPAGANDA

16. Anti-Anglo-Saxon Propaganda

Referring to PWB Consolidated Report dated 21 March, 1945, Appendix III, the circular therein summarized seems to have been written by Giovanni AMADORI.

The 30 June 1940 edition of "Chi E'" gives the following information about him:

Born in Cesena (Forli) 23 JAN 1883, son of Luigi Amadori and of Esterina Virgili; diplomat; degrees in law and social sciences. Uses "Un Italiano" as nom-de-plume. Parliamentary journalist 1905-09, then commercial delegate (1st Class) in Salonica and Belgrade (1909). In 1910, entered diplomatic service as legation attaché. Was sent on a research mission to Asiatic Turkey (1913-14). In 1920 was entrusted with a mission in Russia, where in 1922-23, was head of the Italian Economic delegation in Moscow, he initiated Italo-Russian relations. He later served as chargé d'affaires in Siam, and in turn as Minister to Lithuania, Norway and Ecuador, where he was in 1940. He is the author of the following:

L'Istituto famigliare nelle società primordiali, Bari, 1903.
Il santim. imperialista, Palermo, 1906.
La Questione rumeliota e la politica estera Italiano, Bitonto, 1908.
Il probleme politico dell'emigrazione italiana e la questione della cittadinanza, Roma, 1911. (Un Italiano).
Il problema dell'Asia centrale e la politica estera Italiana, ib, 1913. (Un Italiano)

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La Politica estera italiano (1875 - 1916) Bitonto, 1916.

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17. Liberals vs. Communists

The polemics between Liberals and Christian Democrats on the one hand and Socialists and Communists on the other, caused last week by events in Caulonia, continued on a stronger line this week, accentuating the existing divergence of opinion.

The Liberals, basing their opinion on a Government communiqué which put the total figures of armed men calling themselves partisans in Calabria at about 10,000, believe that the Government should intervene energetically in order to re-establish law and order in this region. The Christian Democrats support this theory and believe that Priolo, the Prefect of Caulonia, should be held responsible, as well as the numerous "Red" Mayors in this region. The Socialists and Communists on the other hand assert that what happened is the outcome of the popular fury against the failure to punish the responsible fascists. "We certainly deplore," writes Palmiro Togliatti in UNITA', " clashes between Italians at a time when all efforts should be directed towards intensifying our fight for liberation. But we must make a new start. If resistance to democracy is not overcome or smashed by an energetic action against fascism, order and discipline will not be maintained for long." Pietro Nenni, Secretary of the Socialist Party, is of the same opinion; in an article in AVANTI he states that order cannot be maintained if political reform does not take place first. The State is in dissolution. The Government must therefore be based on the Liberation Committees, on the Trade Unions, and take into account the feelings of the masses. "If the Government does not change its attitude," Nenni concludes, "or if the country does not change its Government, we feel ourselves authorized to forecast that we shall have to face far more serious incidents than those of Calabria." The problem therefore, as the Socialists and the Actionists see it, must be solved by inducing the Government to see the people's point of vies as otherwise an inevitable cleavage between the country and the parties, already visible in outline, will be accentuated and have serious consequences. This Government must at present have a minimum programme based on three fundamental points:

1. Definite liquidation of responsible fascists.
2. Financial stabilization (renunciation of an increase of salary and institution of a tax on capital.)
3. Control of food supply for the Italian people.

Taking up the argument other papers, such as IL MOMENTO, ITALIA NUOVA, L'INDIPENDENTE, point out that if these two opposing tendencies cannot arrive at an agreement, civil war in Italy will be inevitable

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Various Rome papers continue to criticize the Communist Party strongly, accusing it of monopolizing anti-fascist feeling. ITALIA NUOVA, in an editorial of 20 March, criticizes the Communists and tells them to look facts in the face and admit that their party is on a par with the others. The mistakes of 1939 which led Russia to a pact with Germany and to Russia's successive alliance with the capitalistic powers are clear proofs that besides Communism there exist other progressive democratic forces which cannot be accused of fascism. An article in DEMOCRAZIA INTERNAZIONALE (weekly) takes a strong line. Its criticism of the Communist party takes a more practical form. It contests the fact that it was the Communist party which led the anti-fascist struggle. The Communist forces did not exceed 1500 men during the period of Nazi-fascist occupation, when anti-fascism fought underground.

18. Press, Naples

IL DOMANI D'ITALIA published on 23 March an article "Condemnation of Political Absenteeism" signed by Cardinal Elia Dalla Costa. By numerous quotations the writer eloquently proves that it is the duty of every citizen to participate in the political life of the country and that if on the contrary people do not take part in the elections, there is a risk that the government of the country may fall into the hands of an overbearing few who might do immense harm to the nation.

The writer then goes on to point out the course to be followed by Catholics during the elections and after promising that in accordance with the Lateran Conventions, it is forbidden to all members of the clergy to belong to any political party, he states that all laymen are free to join any party, provided the party chosen offers sufficient guarantee of respect for religion and the Catholic church. The article concludes by stressing that only the precise and conscientious application of the above directives by all citizens can ensure an honest and Christian democratic government.

The article in question is of great importance because

a) It expresses the views of the Church in regard to the attitude of Catholics at the elections and towards the democratic government;

b) It is part of the press campaign supported by the Church and the Clergy in egen the most outlying districts in respect of the next administrative elections, and

c) It shows how closely the Church is bound to Christian

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C U L T U R A L

19. Socialism's Inheritance from Christianity - Lecture by Ignazio Silone, 25 March

On 25 March, Ignazio Silone, well-known Italian author, delivered a lecture at the Sala Capizucchi to an audience of some 250 people who overcrowded the small lecture hall. The following is a summary of his address:

The finding of a substitute for Fascism is not a simple matter and may be said to resolve itself in pre-fascists and post-fascists. The most notable event is the re-appearance of socialism, and by socialism is not meant the Socialist Party, but the whole of modern society and more particularly the proletariat. The latter alone can be the constructor of human order and progress. The new socialism will not be one of tyranny, as were Fascism and National Socialism, but one of liberty.

Fascism failed to solve any of the problems of modern society, it only adjourned them. It failed because it did not have the true spirit of socialism - that is the idea of the supremacy of man over production and denied liberty and self-government.

Today, anti-Fascism means the restoration of everything which fascism forsware or abolished; it means the renaissance of our cultural heritage and of social civilization. There exists no panacea which will insure the happy solution of present problems. One can only hope and strive for the restoration of human dignity and of the human conscience, without which there can be no progress. We all belong to the Christian civilization. Christ died for all of us, not for only those of us who go to church.

The expectation of God's Kingdom on earth has been a source of disillusionment. Christian socialism, translated into terms of modern socialism, means the creation of the Kingdom of man; it means placing economy at the service of mankind. The present world is evil, but socialism wants to create a better one in which man does not exploit man. The denial of Socialism would mean the denial of human conscience and of morality. The real strength of Socialism lies in its union with the working classes. It may change its form and its ideologies may evolute but its indissoluble union with the proletariat is basic and will always remain. It represents the human craving for redemption. Socialism can be a crusade for the betterment of the terrestrial kingdom. It is no longer a question of a struggle between capitalism and socialism; it is a question of what kind of socialism will prevail. Will it be the socialism of Christ or the socialism of Barabas? The economic revolution aims at the removal of obstacles now hindering the life of the people. We cannot foresee the future relative position of the Church and Christianity in the Socialism of the future, but in the past Christiantiy has shown its adaptability and has impressed its stamp on all civilizations - whether Byzantine, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, etc. It will continue to inspire and model all future and unknown civilizations. In a new society entirely founded on the self-government of free and equal man, will existing barriers between clerics and laics subsist?

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"D" Section, Press Reading Bureau

APPENDIX No. I.

R O M E N E W S P A P E R S

1. Political trends of Rome Dailies (with particular reference to the period February 25 - March 5th 1945)

2. List of all Rome Dailies with director, address and telephone. Outstanding weeklies, monthlies and periodicals.

3. List of outstanding newspapers of Liberated Italy, directors, addresses.

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1. POLITICAL TRENDS OF ROME DAILIES
(with particular reference to the period February 25 - March 5th 1945)

A V A N T I

Official mouthpiece of the Socialist Party, strongly reflects the personality of its editor, Pietro Nenni. It is one of the most widely read papers in Liberated Italy. It demands the epuration of Fascists, the abolition of large landed property, the socialisation of factories. Politically it demands a Republic. It is not clear up to what point and in what sense it stands for liberty. For a certain period it saw eye to eye with the Communists, with whom the Socialist Party is still closely linked by a pact establishing unity of action, which AVANTI often commented favorably.

Nevertheless AVANTI to-day represents the opposition to the Bonomi Cabinet, to which the Communists belong. Its chief collaborators are, besides Nenni, Giuseppe Saragat and Umberto Calosso. The latter does not deal exclusively with politics, but specialises in a reform of women's rights in Italy. Ignazio Silone occasionally writes for AVANTI.

In short, AVANTI's tendencies are Socialist, Republican, Marxist and, for the time being at least, non-communist.

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I L G I O R N A L E d e l M A T T I N O

IL GIORNALE DEL MATTINO is a successor to the daily edited by PWB, IL CORRIERE DI ROMA. Its chief characteristic is an unconditional approval of Allied policy in Italy. Consequently the paper equally refrains from any criticism of the Italian Government. During the period of interest to us, for instance, the Stone and MacMillan's statements announcing the greater autonomy granted to Italy was greeted by great enthusiasm. (Not without a rather conformist loyalty. "We have complete confidence in Bonomi, just as we have faith in the Allies's sense of justice," writes Arrigo Jacchia in the editorial of 27th February.)

More than any Rome paper, IL GIORNALE DEL MATTINO devotes comments and articles to military operations. This paper also publishes articles by personalities whose ideas differ from the policy of the paper: on the 25th February and on the 1st of March, Carlo Sforza and Mario Vinciguerra expressed their personal points of view in editorials entitled: "Symbol and Messages of an Ambassador" and "Old and New Diplomacy". This was also the policy of the former CORRIERE DI ROMA.

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L' E P O C A
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Published since February 1945. A Socialist paper, which would like to see an amalgamation of the left-wing parties (Action Party, Socialists, Left-wing Catholics, General Confederation of Labour,etc.) and have this bloc carry out Socialist reforms but avoiding a Marxist dictatorship. It is not yet possible to assess its popularity. L'EPOCA can therefore be described as a paper of Socialist tendencies, aiming at promoting a coalition of Left-wing parties, in a non-communist sense.

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I L G L O B O
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This daily which announces itself as the bearer of economic information is all out for reconstruction. It gives only very cursory attention to political events inside Italy during the period in question. The main interest of the paper is the dispassionate analysis, without harbouring illusions, of the present economic and financial situation of the country. It believes that in a time of so vast and general collapse the only way to salvation lies in production, by whatever means and whatever methods possible. IL GLOBO, despite everything, has faith in Italy's rehabilitation. It repeats its faith in this by its comments devoted to the statements by Stone and MacFarlane concerning the greater autonomy granted to the Italian Government by the Allies. IL GLOBO believes up to a certain point in the efficaciousness and disinterestedness of Allied help for Italy. "Nothing would be worse than to sit and wait for the rebirth of national economic life, to expect it as a gift from the powers who have defeated us; despite the fact that collaboration with them - and above all with America - is absolutely essential if we want to start on the road to rehabilitation. The forces on which we must count, above all, are initiative and Italian labor. To work and to produce: and to strenghten the link with the great Latin country, equally striken by poverty and, akin to Italy, able to recuperate: France."
On the whole a certain right-wing tendency can be discerned in IL GLOBO. The paper naturally is in favour of a resumption of international trade. Its attitude towards Allied policy in Italy is rather cautious.

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I N D I P E N D E N T E

A moderate independent paper, which in general explains Government measures and the Government's point of view to the public. It is not influenced by any party, but clearly on the side of the Government. It is the official mouthpiece of the second Bonomi Cabinet.

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I T A L I A L I B E R A

This is the official mouthpiece of the Action Party. It is Republican and progressive. It aims at the socialisation of large industries, the reform of the civil service and the army, the dismissal of all the responsible Fascists from public offices. Ever since July 25th it represented the opposition to the Government, except during the last Badoglio Cabinet in Naples and during the first Bonomi Cabinet in Rome.
In the field of foreign policy, ITALIA LIBERA is intransigeant as well: it attacks Fascism throughout the world. It believes that Yalta has no more meaning than the pact of Westphalia, Vienna, Frankfurt, Berlin and Versailles had in past. It aims at the abolition of spheres of influence. It fights for a federal Europe. In contrast to UNITA' and AVANTI it is not marxist and wishes to see the social reforms carried out in an atmosphere of freedom. The title of its juvenile edition (appearing on Monday) is GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTA'.
On the whole, ITALIA LIBERA is a paper of liberal-socialist tendencies, strongly anti-Fascist and anti-Monarchist.

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I T A L I A N U O V A

Mouthpiece of the Italian Democratic Party (monarchist), this paper is called reactionary by the entire left-wing Press. Its editors however are capable. Their trump cards are:

1.- Respect of democratic law (this respect of law and order does not convince the left-wing parties, who prefer to call it an attempt to uphold the House of Savoy by dynastic legitimism).
2.- Polemics against the Committee of Liberation exarchy.
3.- Stubborn defence of the nation's territorial integrity (Trieste) and of the right to regain the pre-fascist colonies.
4.- Need to avoid internal disorders in order not to discourage those Anglo-Saxon capitalists who are willing to finance Italian reconstruction.
5.- A campaign in favour of the granting the status of ally to Italy.

The passage in Churchill's speech which referred to Italy regaining her place among the great nations of Europe, was in fact stressed. The favourable comment to Roosevelt's speech followed the pointedly realistic policy of this paper in dealing with international problems: and that is, that no one should be surprised if the future peace shows signs of a new international order, based more on unilateral criteria of the victors than on the aspirations of other interested nations.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 78502

I T A L I A N U O V A

Mouthpiece of the Italian Democratic Party (monarchist), this paper is called reactionary by the entire left-wing Press. Its editors however are capable. Their trump cards are:

1.- Respect of democratic law (this respect of law and order does not convince the left-wing parties, who prefer to call it an attempt to uphold the House of Savoy by dynastic legitimism).

2.- Polemics against the Committee of Liberation exarchy.

3.- Stubborn defence of the nation's territorial integrity (Trieste) and of the right to regain the pre-fascist colonies.

4.- Need to avoid internal disorders in order not to discourage those Anglo-Saxon capitalists who are willing to finance Italian reconstruction.

5.- A campaign in favour of the granting the status of ally to Italy.

The passage in Churchill's speech which referred to Italy regaining her place among the great nations of Europe, was in fact stressed. The favourable comment to Roósevelt's speech followed the pointedly realistic policy of this paper in dealing with international problems: and that is, that no one should be surprised if the future peace shows signs of a new international order, based more on unilateral criteria of the victors than on the aspirations of other interested nations.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 778021

I L L A V O R O

Mouthpiece of the C.G.I.L. - the General Italian Confederation of Labour - it has come out recently, in January 1945.
Its importance is great, for the reason that it is the non-political Trade-Union paper. Its object is to show up the workers' conditions. It recently fought for an increase in salary, which later was granted by the Government. Between February 25 and March 5 it greatly stressed the need to establish increasingly cordial relations between Italy and France. It does not always, in practice, succeed in keeping completely away from politics, as it would like to.
On the whole, IL LAVORO is a left-wing paper, particularly interested in looking after the workers' interests in their relationships to employers.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

L I B E R A S T A M P A

It is not easy to take the vague policy of the afternoon paper seriously. As far as internal policy is concerned, LIBERA STAMPA attacked the Government when it tried to suppress or suspend straight news publications; then, having regained confidence in its threatened existence, it turned once again to deal with the Black Market.

In the sphere of foreign policy, this paper shows a "European" spirit and is submissive towards France (see editorial of March 1st) and rigid, almost chauvinistic in regard to Yugoslavia (see editorial of February 2nd: "Trieste and Italy").

It must be added that LIBERA STAMPA follows obviously no policy of its own. Its aim seems to be to serve the public real "canards"; Rudolph Valentino is in Rome, as an American colonel, or Marconi commits suicide to avoid revealing his "Death Rays", to the Duce. Politics come later: and the subjects dealt with reveal an amateurish hand.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 778502/

I L M O M E N T O
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IL MOMENTO, a relative newcomer, calls itself a "popular paper". This by no means denotes, even in a purely demagogical sense, a left-wing tendency of this paper, whose editor, Tommaso Smith, is a Liberal die-hard. [redacted]

IL MOMENTO aims above all at supplying news and its political tendencies seem to swing to the right.

Of an intransigeant and stubbornly anti-Fascist attitude, its criticisms of the Bonomi Government are above all directed against the slowness with which epuration proceeds. (See editorial of February 2nd: "Confusion".)

During February, IL MOMENTO also advocated a determined Press campaign to induce the Government to publish a list of the O.V.R.A. spies. Besides, IL MOMENTO is one of the most active in advocating the severest measures to be taken, regarding the confiscation of Fascist property, directly or indirectly acquired, as the case may be. (See editorial of March 1st and 2nd.)

The paper's point of view in regard to the Allies is inspired by confidence and trust and but not appear supinely optimistic. If, for instance, the speech Churchill made on February 27th in the House of Commons was very favourably commented on - Morgenthau's statements - indicative of Allied financial policy towards Italy - were bitterly attacked by IL MOMENTO (see editorial of March 3rd.).

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 778021

I L P O P O L O

As distinct to the Liberal paper, this mouthpiece of the Christian-Democratic Party shows itself far more impatient in demanding an alliance; it stresses the contradiction between a co-belligerant Italy and an Italy still considered a defeated enemy in the comment on Churchill's speech. Roosevelt's speech on the end of American isolationism was very favourably received. The final statement of the National Council of the Christian Democratic party repeats this party's fundamental aversion for all forms of social or State changes by violent methods and not by legal and constitutional means and without consulting public opinion.

In short, IL POPOLO shows a democratic trend and favours reforms carried out within the law.

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I L Q U O T I D I A N O

This mouthpiece of the Catholic Action Party often deals with moral problems conflicting with Catholicism. As far as internal policy is concerned it is generally averse to all methods which mean a revolution and disturb the existing order. As far as foreign policy is concerned, its extremely aggressive polemics against Soviet Russia are worth pointing out. (See especially the article by S. Federici which replies to the defamatory campaign of Moscow against the Vatican.)

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 778502

R I C O S T R U Z I O N E

Mouthpiece of the Democratic Labor Party, it is particularly preoccupied with the problem of the nation rallying unitedly round a democratic Government. This paper openly avows its aversion for abstract, extremistic and mystic ideologies. The Democratic Labor Party is the party sponsored by civil servants.

Comments to MacMillan's statement were favorable. The comments to Churchill's speech were moderately favorable. In conclusion the hope was expressed that Italy might be able to regain her place among the great nations.

RICOSTRUZIONE seems to be of even more pronounced right-wing tendencies than IL POPOLO or RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE.

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R I S O R G I M E N T O L I B E R A L E

This mouthpiece of the Liberal Party does not share in the disappointment expressed by nearly the entire Rome Press after the conference at Malta. The editorial dealing with this event and written by the very anglophile Alberto Albertino aimed at inducing the Italian to hope and not to be disappointed. The comments to MacMillan's statements and Churchill's speech were equally very favourable. The comment to Morgenthau's statements on the Am-Lire was restricted to the mere publication of Minister Soleri's comments on it. The meeting of the National Committee of the Liberal Party culminated in the speeches of Cattani and Croce. Cattani reasserts the party's agnostic attitude concerning the constitutional problem but clarified the Liberals' point of view: they see it in the light of a choice between a parliamentary constitutional Monarchy or a parliamentary Republic. Croce complained of the lack of right-wing views among the present Italian parties: according to Croce, there should be a right-wing political group so that the Liberals could represent the Center.

On the whole one might say that RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE is of moderate and intelligently right-wing tendencies.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

S E C O L O XX

This paper describes itself as an economic and financial sheet, but it does not require much effort to discern its right-wing tendencies, stronger more pronounced in fact than that of many other Rome papers. The publication of biographic sketches of "men of the day" is a feature of this paper. These"men of the day" if not eminent politicians, are the "new captains" of Italian industry and finance: Alberto Theodoli, Elio Turchetti, Federico Jarah, Giuseppe Palombelli. This paper is decidedly against Government control of private enterprise, which it deems necessary for the reconstruction of the country.

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I L T E M P O

This paper describes itself as independent, but from the time Renato Angiolillo remained its sole editor (as its co-editor Leonida Repaci revealed himself as an independent socialist) it has acquired right-wing tendencies.

It interpreted the Yalta meeting as the end of Europe: the old continent has lost the war, which has been won by non-European powers such as America and Russia; but Europe has the function of intermediary between conflicting worlds.

Other characteristic attitudes of this paper are:

1. A simpathy for the lower middle class;
2. Polemics with Tito's Yugoslavia concerning the question of Trieste whose "Italian character" it affirms;
3. Polemics with the Action Party, which it describes as a muddle-headed party;
4. Defence of Italian autonomy with regard to her war criminals (Italian war criminals should be judged either by Italian tribunals or by International tribunals; but not by Yugoslav tribunals).

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

L A T R I B U N A DEL P O P O L O

Very often this paper gives prominence to technical subjects: the resumption of foreign trade, for instance, or even - as in the editorial of February 28th - "Present Economic Science".

But if the TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO is forced to express its point of view, its attitude is clearly right-wing. In the middle of February, when the existence of the non-party papers was at stake, it attacked the Communists with particular violence, jumping to conclusions and formulating general accusations based on specific individual cases.

LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO assumes a respectful attitude towards the Government and fundamentally agrees with Bonomi's policy in the Government. The paper also agrees with the Allies: both Stone and MacMillan's statements and Churchill's speech (of February 27th) were favourably received by LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO.

A reactionary trend is visible in this paper, when it deals with economic social questions.

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LA VO C E R E P U B B L I C A N A

Mouthpiece of the Republican Party, it heatedly attacks the King, Badoglio, the "generals of 8th September" and the Fascists. It is widely read even in the country, because the traditions of the Republican Party date back to Mazzini and Garibaldi. It is against an interference by the Church or the Vatican in affairs of the State. It favors epuration. Sometimes it strongly criticizes Allied policy which tends to hold democratic Italy responsible for the crimes of Fascism. It greatly admires Republican America and the democratic organization of the United States. It is decidedly against Britain, which it holds responsible for a misguided and opportunist policy towards Europe and, at present, towards Italy. It is favourable to an economic and social reform but in reality it is above all interested in the constitutional problem and against the monarchy.

LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA is therefore fundamentally a popular paper, Republican and stubbornly anti-monarchist.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 78502/

U N I T
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As the official organ of the Communist Party, it reflects the party's attitude towards all problems. It fights vehemently for the epuration of Fascists from Government offices and civil service, particularly in the provinces and in villages and small towns which it would like to see carried out with great severity. An article by Concetto Marchesi (Rector of the University of Padua and party member) blames the state of culture in Italy for having upheld Fascism. Another diligently pursued aim of the paper is the demand to be allowed to participate in the war of liberation and to chase the Germans from Italy. Thus, the recent measures taken by the Allies and diminishing the control of the A.C. were favorably received by UNITA', which made only one reproach: that Italy was not allowed a greater participation in the war. The paper also fights stubbornly against any remainder of nationalism in Italy. It nearly always refers to the Allies in favourable terms: its vehement polemics are reserved for Fascists and Italian reactionaries. It respects the truce with the monarchy. It always gives great prominence to Soviet victories, but equally headlines Allies advances in the West. Besides Britain, the United States and Russia, France as well seems to invite the sympathies of the paper.

UNITA'can therefore be termed as a strongly anti-Fascist and revolutionary paper as far as internal policy is concerned: while it adopts a conciliatory attitude as far as foreign policy is concerned, with a notable deference towards the Allies.

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20th March, 1945

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

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20th March, 1945

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

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ROMAN DAILIES

NAME	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS
AVANTI	Pietro Nenni - G. Saragat	Corso Umberto I°,476
L'EPOCA	Leonida Repaci	Via Nazionale,89
GIORNALE DEL MATTINO	Arrigo Jacchia	Via del Tritone,156
IL GLOBO	Carlo Vaccaro	Via S.Basilio,45
L'INDIPENDENTE	Giuseppe Micheli-Picardi	Corso Umberto I°,239
L'ITALIA LIBERA	Alberto Cianca	Via Due Macelli,47
ITALIA NUOVA	Enzo Selvaggi	Piazza Montecitorio,121
IL LAVORO	A.Grandi-Di Vittorio-Lizzadri	Via IV Novembre,194
LIBERA STAMPA	Ermete Santucci	Via della Mercede,9
IL MOMENTO	Tommaso Smith	Via del Tritone,62
OSSERVATORE ROMANO		Città del Vaticano
LA PATRIA	Pietro Bullio	Posta Militare,3.800
IL POPOLO	Guido Gonella	Corso Umberto I°,239
IL QUOTIDIANO	Igino Giordani	P.S.Carlo al Corso,433 c
RICOSTRUZIONE	Mario Leoni	Via Milano,70
IL RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE	Mario Pannunzio	Corso Umberto I°,239
IL SECOLO XX	Lelio Ravà	Via Due Macelli,97
IL TEMPO	Renato Angiolillo	Via della Stelletta,23
LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO	Gaetano Natale	Via Milano,70
L'UNITA'	Velio Spano	Via IV Novembre,149
LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA	Giovanni Conti	Via dei Prefetti,46

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ROMAN DAILIES

NAME	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS	PHONE
	Pietro Nenni - G. Saragat	Corso Umberto I°,476	62119-62465
A	Leonida Repaci	Via Nazionale,89	480271
LE DEL MATTINO	Arrigo Jacchia	Via del Tritone,156	44141-44144
BO	Carlo Vaccaro	Via S.Basilio,45	41746-43189
PENDENTE	Giuseppe Micheli-Picardi	Corso Umberto I°,239	41141-43045
IA LIBERA	Alberto Cianca	Via Due Macelli,47	63816-64864
NUOVA	Enzo Selvaggi	Piazza Montecitorio,121	61185
ORO	A.Grandi-Di Vittorio-Lizzadri	Via IV Novembre,194	66436-7-8-9
STAMPA	Ermete Santucci	Via della Mercede,9	66984
ENTO	Tommaso Smith	Via del Tritone,62	61151-2-3
TORE ROMANO		Città del Vaticano	55251
RIA	Pietro Bullio	Posta Militare,3.800	
LO	Guido Gonella	Corso Umberto I°,239	60282
IDIANO	Igino Giordani	P.S.Carlo al Corso,433 c	64202-60817
UZIONE	Mario Leoni	Via Milano,70	42141-43142
RGIMENTO LIBERALE	Mario Pannunzio	Corso Umberto I°,239	62041-63961
LO XX	Lelio Ravà	Via Due Macelli,97	60980-60283
O	Renato Angiolillo	Via della Stelletta,23	564751
UNA DEL POPOLO	Gaetano Natale	Via Milano,70	43141-43142
	Velio Spano	Via IV Novembre,149	66436
EPUBBLICANA	Giovanni Conti	Via dei Prefetti,46	64705

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ROMAN WEEKLIES AND MONTHLIES

NAME	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS	P
AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI	Gino Tomaiuoli	Via Torino,122	4
ALBA REPUBBLICANA (Voce Repubblicana)	Giovanni Conti	Via dei Prefetti,46	6
AZIONE DEMOCRATICA (Ricostruzione)	Roberto Japoli	P.za Augusto Imperatore,32	6
AZIONE FEMMINILE	Angela Maria Guidi	Piazza del Gesù,46	6
LA BILANCIA	Casimiro Céas	P.za SS.Apostoli,53	6
BUONA GUARDIA		Ministero della Marina	
CANTACHIARO	Raffaele Ferruzzi	Via dei Prefetti,8	6
CITTA' LIBERA	Giorgio Granata	Via Frattina,89	6
CITTA' UNIVERSITARIA	Vincenzo Balestrieri	Via S.Maria in Via,38	
IL COMMENTO (Monthly)	Giuseppe Sardo	Via Borgognona,47	6
CORRIERE DELLO SPORT	Pietro Petroselli	Largo dei Lombardi,14	
CORRIERE GIUDIZIARIO	Giorgio Lombardi	Via Montebello,22	4
COSMOPOLITA	Giuliano Briganti	Via dei Lucchesi,26	6
DANNI DI GUERRA	Ugo Gonella	Via Regina Elena,86	4
DEMOCRAZIA INTERNAZIONALE	Federico Valenzani	Via dei Greci,3	4
DOMENICA	Piero Arnaldi	Via Torino,122	4
DOMENICA DEL POPOLO	Agostino Mottiga	Via Beccaria,35	3
DONNA SOCIALISTA (Avanti)	Luisa Usellini		
IL DOVERE	Amedeo Gigliotti D'Andrea	P.za Grazioli,5	6
ECONOMISTA (Monthly)	Arturo Giordano	P.za Poli,37	
ESTERO (Monthly)	Mario Elia	Via Illiria,18	7
LA GAZZETTA	Fausto Sartorelli	Via Vittoria Colonna,1	3

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ROMAN WEEKLIES AND MONTHLIES

DIRECTOR	ADDRESS	PHONE
TEFNAZIONALI — Gino Tomaiuoli	Via Torino,122	481267
UBBLICANA (ubblicana) — Giovanni Conti	Via dei Prefetti,46	65705
EMOCRATICA (azione) — Roberto Japoli	P.za Augusto Imperatore,32	681878
EMINILE — Angela Maria Guidi	Piazza del Gesù,46	62005
IA — Casimiro Céas	P.za SS.Apostoli,53	683763
RDIA	Ministero della Marina	
RO — Raffaele Ferruzzi	Via dei Prefetti,8	64379
BERA — Giorgio Granata	Via Frattina,89	681413
IVERSITARIA — Vincenzo Balestrieri	Via S.Maria in Via,38	
TO (Monthly) — Giuseppe Sardo	Via Borgognona,47	683446
LELLO SPORT — Pietro Petroselli	Largo dei Lombardi,14	
GIUDIZIARIO — Giorgio Lombardi	Via Montebello,22	480779
TA — Giuliano Briganti	Via dei Lucchesi,26	64565
GUERRA — Ugo Gonella	Via Regina Elena,86	487092
A INTERNAZIONALE — Federico Valenzani	Via dei Greci,3	480495
Piero Arnaldi	Via Torino,122	484645
DEL POPOLO — Agostino Mottiga	Via Beccaria,35	33237
IALISTA (Avanti) — Luisa Usellini		
Amedeo Gigliotti D'Andrea	P.za Grazioli,5	65162
A (Monthly) — Arturo Giordano	P.za Poli,37	
onthly) — Mario Elia	Via Illiria,18	762414
TA — Fausto Sartorelli	Via Vittoria Colonna,1	360383

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ROMAN WEEKLIES AND MONTHLIES

NAME	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS
GAZZETTA DELLA GIUSTIZIA	Giuseppe Rizzo	Via del Babuino,72
GIORNALE DELL'AVIATORE	Ufficio Stampa Ministero Aeronautica	Via IV Fontane,18
GIORNALE DEL LAVORATORE	Igino Giordani	Via Ara Coeli,3
GIORNALE DEGLI IMPIEGATI	Edoardo Stolfi	
GIOVENTU' NUOVA (Unità)	Giulio Spallone	Via Nazionale,343
GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTA' (Italia Libera)	Franco Galluppi	Via Parma,3
INTRANSIGENTE	Gino Roverano	Via della Mercede,42
ITALIA	Pietro Bullio	Via Giovanni Baracca,12
ITALIA ILLUSTRATA	Soc.An. La Tribuna	Via Milano,70
MARFORIO	Arduino Maiuri	Via della Scrofa,64
MERCURIO (Monthly)	Alba De Cespedes	Via Savoia,27
MERIDIANO	Pio Fedele	Via P.pe Amedeo,132
MINERVA CRITICA	Antonio Grossi	Città Universitaria
LA NUOVA BATTAGLIA (Il Popolo)	Giuseppe Fuschini	Piazza del Gesù,46
LA NUOVA EUROPA	Luigi Salvatorelli	Via del Corso,47
L'OPINIONE	Armando Zanetti	Piazza Navona,49
OSSERVATORE DELLA DOMENICA	Città del Vaticano	
IL PARTIGIANO	Carlo Andreoni	Via Sistina,48
IL PETTIROSSO	Primo Parrini	Corso Umberto I°,476
POLITICA ESTERA (Monthly)	Giuseppe D'Amico	Via Liguria,42
LA PUNTA (Il Popolo)	Giorgio Tupini	P.za del Gesù,46

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ROMAN WEEKLIES AND MONTHLIES

	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS	PHONE
A DELLA GIUSTIZIA	Giuseppe Rizzo	Via del Babuino,72	
E DELL'AVIATORE	Ufficio Stampa Ministero Aeronautica	Via IV Fontane,18	
E DEL LAVORATORE	Igino Giordani	Via Ara Coeli,3	
E DEGLI IMPIEGATI	Edoardo Stolfi		
U' NUOVA (Unità)	Giulio Spallone	Via Nazionale,343	
LA E LIBERTA' Libera)	Franco Galluppi	Via Parma,3	41347
GENTE	Gino Roverano	Via della Mercede,42	64419
	Pietro Bullio	Via Giovanni Baracca,12	859508
ILLUSTRATA	Soc.An. La Tribuna	Via Milano,70	
	Arduino Maiuri	Via della Scrofa,64	
(Monthly)	Alba De Cespedes	Via Savoia,27	80145
O	Pio Fedele	Via P.pe Amedeo,132	5D524
CRITICA	Antonio Grossi	Città Universitaria	
BATTAGLIA lo)	Giuseppe Fuschini	Piazza del Gesù,46	62005
EUROPA	Luigi Salvatorelli	Via del Corso,47	60048
NE	Armando Zanetti	Piazza Navona,49	
OLE DELLA DOMENICA	Città del Vaticano		
GIANO	Carlo Andreoni	Via Sistina,48	60352-3-4
ROSSO	Primo Parrini	Corso Umberto I°,476	62119
ESTERA (Monthly)	Giuseppe D'Amico	Via Liguria,42	485751
(Il Popolo)	Giorgio Tupini	P.za del Gesù,46	62005

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ROMAN WEEKLIES AND MONTHLIES

NAME	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS
IL PUBBLICO	Ferdinando Borla	Via Calabria,17
QUADRANTE	Vittorio Calvino	Via dei Sabini,7
LA RASSEGNA	Alberto Canaletti	Via S. Basilio,45
REALTA'	Mario Pantaleo	Via dei Lucchesi,26
REALTA' POLITICA	Riccardo Bauer	P.za Mignanelli
IL REPORTER		Editore De Luigi
ICOSTRUZIONE (Monthly)	Pietro Bonanni	Via Milano,70
INASCITA (Monthly)	Erminio Crespolani	Via Marcantonio Colonna,66
L RISVEGLIO	Palmiro Togliatti	Via Nazionale,243
IVOLUZIONE SOCIALISTA	Ernesto Buonaiuti	Via Calabria,56
Italia Libera)	Matteo Matteotti	Via Piemonte,40
OMA DEL POPOLO	Emilio Frattarelli	Via dei Prefetti,46
RENISSIMO	Pio Vanzi	Piazza di Pietra,34
A SETTIMANA	Giuseppe Sciortino	Via Veneto,84
OCIALISMO (Monthly)	Giuseppe Saragat	Corso Umberto I°,476
AR	Ercole Patti	Via Torino,122
LANITA' NUOVA	Anselmo Preziosi	Piazza Fiammetta,11
MO QUALUNQUE	Guglielmo Giannini	Via della Mercede,56
VOCE DEI GIOVANI		
talia nuova)	Giorgio Criscuolo	Via dei Portoghesi,18
OCE DELLA SCUOLA	Pasquale D'Appiero	Via Po,102
OCE OPERAIA	Filippo Sacconi	Via A.De Pretis,86
OCE PARTIGIANA	Salvo Tomasselli	Campidoglio
OCI RADIO	Guglielmo Morandi	Piazza della Pilotta,3

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ROMAN WEEKLIES AND MONTHLIES

C	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS	PHONE
BLICO NTE	Ferdinando Borla Vittorio Calvino	Via Calabria,17 Via dei Sabini,7	485107 638547
SEGNA	Alberto Canaletti	Via S. Basilio,45	
POLITICA	Mario Pantaleo Riccardo Bauer	Via dei Lucchesi,26	431280 64565
RTER	Pietro Bonanni	P.za Mignanelli Editore De Luigi	
UZIONE (Monthly)	Erminio Crespolani	Via Milano,70	43141-2
TA (Monthly)	Palmiro Togliatti	Via Marcantonio Colonna,66	35264
EGLIO	Ernesto Buonaiuti	Via Nazionale,243	
IONE SOCIALISTA Libera)	Matteo Matteotti	Via Calabria,56	41664
POPOLO	Emilio Frattarelli	Via Piemonte,40	
IMO	Pio Vanzi	Via dei Prefetti,46	683842
MANA	Giuseppe Sciortino	Piazza di Pietra,34	65279
MO (Monthly)	Giuseppe Saragat	Via Veneto,84	43772
NUOVA	Ercole Patti	Corso Umberto I°,476	62119
UNQUE	Anselmo Preziosi	Via Torino,122	481267
EI GIOVANI uova)	Guglielmo Giannini	Piazza Fiammetta,11	564749
A SCUOLA	Giorgio Criscuolo	Via della Mercede,56	61979
AIA	Pasquale D'Appiero	Via dei Portoghesi,18	564747
GIANA	Filippo Sacconi	Via Po,102	865838
	Salvo Tomasselli	Via A.De Pretis,86	42219
	Guglielmo Morandi	Campidoglio	62995
		Piazza della Pilotta,3	68347

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OUTSTANDING NEWSPAPERS OF LIBERATED ITALY

CITY	NAME	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS
Napoli	IL DOMANI D'ITALIA	Angelico Veruti	Via S. Carlo,2
"	IL GIORNALE	Manlio Lupinacci	Largo Spirito
"	IL RISORGIMENTO	Floriano Del Secolo	Ang. Galleria
"	LA VOCE	Nino Gaeta, M. Alicata	Via Medina,72
Firenze	CORRIERE DEL MATTINO	Pietro Fossi	Via Ricasoli,8
"	NAZIONE DEL POPOLO	Pietro Compagno	Via Ricasoli,8
Palermo	GIORNALE DI SICILIA	Enrico Wolleb	P.za Giulio Ce
"	SICILIA LIBERA		Via Italia
Bari	CIVILTA' PROLETARIA	Antonio Di Donato	P.za Roma,18
"	GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO	Luigi De Secly	
Messina	NOTIZIARIO DI MESSINA	Biagio di Paolo	Corso Cavour,
Catania	CORRIERE DI SICILIA	Carlo Ardizzoni	
R.Calabria	IL TEMPO	Francesco Cipriani	Via Bruno Buo
"	VOCE DELLA CALABRIA	Filippo Rizzo	Piazza Camagn
Cagliari	UNIONE SARDA	Giuseppe Musio	Via Regina El
Sassari	L'ISOLA	A. Fadde-Fuffiani	Via Turoni,8
Cosenza	CORRIERE DEL SUD	Mariano Albanese	Corso Telesio
Catanzaro	LA NUOVA CALABRIA	Giovanni Paparozzo	Larghetto Ser

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OUTSTANDING NEWSPAPERS OF LIBERATED ITALY

	NAME	DIRECTOR	ADDRESS
li	IL DOMANI D'ITALIA	Angelico Venuti	Via S. Carlo,26
	IL GIORNALE	Manlio Lupinacci	Largo Spirito Santo,28
	IL RISORGIMENTO	Floriano Del Secolo	Ang. Galleria Umberto I°,
	LA VOCE	Nino Gaeta, M. Alicata	Via Medina,72
nze	CORRIERE DEL MATTINO	Pietro Fossi	Via Ricasoli,8
	NAZIONE DEL POPOLO	Pietro Compagno	Via Ricasoli,8
rmo	GIORNALE DI SICILIA	Enrico Wolleb	P.za Giulio Verdi
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nia	CORRIERE DI SICILIA	Carlo Ardizzoni	
labria	IL TEMPO	Francesco Cipriani	Via Bruno Buozzi
"	VOCE DELLA CALABRIA	Filippo Rizzo	Piazza Camagna
iari	UNIONE SARDA	Giuseppe Musio	Via Regina Elena,12
ari	L'ISOLA	A. Fadde-Fuffiani	Via Turoni,8
nza	CORRIERE DEL SUD	Mariano Albanese	Corso Telesio
nzaro	LA NUOVA CALABRIA	Giovanni Paparozzo	Larghetto Serravalle

CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX II NO.62

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN VALMONTONE AND ORVIETO

VALMONTONE

The above town which is situated on the inland highway from Rome to Naples was visted by a PWB Officer on 27 March.

The town was almost entirely destroyed by bombing and shelling. It had a prewar population of 7500, now reduced to 6700. Not a single house was left intact. About 1000 persons live in some 50 houses that have been sufficiently repaired to provide shelter; about 5000 live in huts and caves. Some 200 are lodged in the town-hall and some 3-400 persist in living in houses which are still shambles and periodically have to be evicted, for there have been casualties caused by collapsing floors and walls. In spite of the numerous air raids and heavy shelling only about 150 inhabitants were killed.

According to the Commissario, Romeo Saracini, and the local doctor, Remo Natalizia, the following are present day conditions:

The sewage system is non-existent. The electric power plant which had been nearly completely destrcyed, was partly repaired two months ago. After being totally deprived of electric power for 6 months, the town now gets about 20% of its normal supply. The railroad line and main road have been repaired. The water supply is 20% of normal, and is furnished by one of the town's previous five fountains. Some of the streets have been cleared of rubble. The hospital which was modern and up-to-date was completely destroyed. There is now an improvised first aid station, which is utterly insufficient for local needs, and lacks medical supplies, bandages and instruments. Serious cases have to be sent to Rome.

Sanitary conditions are very bad; with no sewers, no toilets, no bathing facilities, an insufficiency of water, and hardly any soap, the danger of epidemics is a very real one. People sleep in their clothes, and about 90% have scabies. Last summer there were 15 cases of typhus, 5 cases of Maltese fever, and more than 120 case of malaria. Pneumonia is rare, but tuberculosis is on the increase. Malnutrition is widespread, and cases of organic breakdown are frequent.

The supply of fresh vegetables and milk is adequate, with the price of the latter at 30 lire per liter. There is practically no meat or fish, and eggs are scarce, costing 25-30 lire each. There is no baker and the people make their own bread with their flour rations. While the pasta rations have been regular, there has been only one distribution of oil (February) for nearly a year. Wine is available, but only a few can afford to buy it at its current price of 60-100

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

Thefts are common, even the pipes of the church organ having been stolen. The police force consisting of 3 carabinieri is utterly insufficient to cope with the situation.

The Ente Assistenziale, subsidized by the government, makes limited distributions of food to the poorer people. There are some nuns who aided by the Vatican serve soup to the poor.

The land is under intense cultivation as many persons who cannot at present carry on their normal actifities have taken to agriculture. The new harvest will consist of wheat, corn, oats, potatoes, beans and grapes. Although more ground is under cultivation the harvest will probably not exceed that of last year because of the lack of fertilizers.

About 20 houses have already been repaired, and about 50 more, whose owners have been granted loans by the Government, may be expected to be repaired soon. The rest are beyond repair. The town schoolhouses were completely wrecked, but two elementary schools have been opened in the outskirts. Except for a few who have been sent to Rome by their families, high school pupils are without means of education.

Of the twelve churches in the town, 11 have been completely destroyed. The twelfth was very severely damaged, but it is now being used. A stable has been converted into a church, which accommodates about 60.

Some 10 persons, the richer ones, on their own initiative have begun to rebuild their houses. About 30 have built small temporary houses in the country. Most of them are sheltering homeless fellow townspeople.

In September 1944 the Pinto Construction Co. began the building of 35 two-family houses, 15 one family houses, and 10 prefabricated barracks on a hill in the outskirts of the town. However the company was unable to finish the work and gave it up in January. The Cardoni Company has now taken over the contract, and has agreed to complete the barracks within one month, and the houses in three. The project is government-financed, and is under the supervision of the Civil Engineer Corps.

Many of the people of Valmontone are now living in caves in the cliffs in and near the town which were formerly used as stables or store rooms. Some of the caves are 50-60 feet long and the people, overcrowded, live in the midst of mud, dampness and smoke. There is no ventilation. Along the sides, alcoves have been dug out and the people sleep in them like animals. In one cave, with an area of some 35 square metres, 15 people were living huddled together in the

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Valmontone is suffering from a labour shortage as far as reconstruction of the town is concerned. Workmen employed in removing rubble are paid 105 lire a day and receive in addition an extra bread ration. Farm laborers, on the other hand, are fed and earn from 200-300 lire per day. Bricklayers, masons and specialized workmen from Rome or elsewhere are demanding the prohibitive pay of from 700 to 800 lire per day. For the relative dangerous work of demolition, specialists in that field are demanding 2000 lire per day.

The political situation in Valmontone seems confused. The Mayor told the PWB officer that he belonged to the Labor Democratic Party, which according to him is the only "democratic" party -- all the others, excepting the Socialists and Communists, being locally composed of fascists. The chairman of the Local Committee of National Liberation however told the PWB officer another tale; according to him, the Mayor is a Communist with dictatorial ideas who refuses to cooperate with any other parties. Plans are afoot to replace him with a member of the Christian Democrat Party which allegedly has the largest local following. The local C.L.N. includes members of the Communist, Socialist, Action, Liberal, Christian Democrat and Labour Democrat Parties. The Committee will shortly appoint a municipal "Giunta". Political life is active in town. Every Sunday morning there are one or more political meetings with speakers often coming from Rome. Several townspeople who were interrogated were of the opinion that the political parties were only interested in quarreling with each other.

ORVIETO

On Sunday, 25 March, a PWB officer in the company of a U.S.Naval officer, passed through Orvieto where he spent two hours. It was midday and the streets were thronged with the local population and large numbers of young soldiers. The former were well dressed in their Sunday clothes and gave the general impression of relative prosperity and wellbeing. There was no apparent poverty or misery, and not a beggar was seen anywhere. It should be said, however, that the streets and squares visited were for the most part in the center, and therefore in the better quarters of the town.

The soldierw were principally from Sicily and from the Southern Provinces. Those of them who were interrogated said that they had completed their training and were waiting to be sent to the front. Their new dark green uniforms were neat, the men held themselves well and their morale was high. They were smiling and cheerful. They struck the PWB Officer as being high grade troops, perhaps

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Both the civilian population and the soldiers were extremely friendly, lining up against the walls of the houses of the narrow streets to let the jeep through, waving good-naturedly, and making conjectures as to the uniforms and the ranks of its passengers.

The jeep was left standing in the front of the Cathedral for a few minutes during which some one as a compliment to its American passengers decorated its windshield with a few sprays of mimosa.

The main part of the town lies on an acropolis which rises several hundred feet from the floor of the Tiber valley and is guarded on all sides by precipitous cliffs. It has suffered no war damage. Only the new part of the town in the neighborhood of the station below in the valley and at a considerable distance from the center, has been damaged.

No red flags, or other signs of political activity were to be seen. Although headquarters of political parties undoubtedly exist in Orvieto, their offices were not in evidence in the principal streets and squares.

Analogous conditions of relative prosperity seem to prevail in such other towns and villages visited by the PWB officer as have similarly escaped war damages. Their populations have shown at least superficially similar friendliness towards the Allies -- or at any rate towards the Americans. Being close to the source of agricultural products and not directly dependent upon industry for their immediate daily needs, these populations appear on the whole to have remained relatively undisturbed by political strife and, so far at least, to be satisfactorily holding their own in today's economic crisis.

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CENSUSES AND SURVEYS FOR NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

(Summary)

Published by Presidency of the Council of Ministers - Central Institute of Statistics, and Allied Commission. (Rome February, 1945)

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In order to determine the effect of the war on economic social and living conditions in Liberated Italy, a Census was undertaken at the initiative of AC and the Italian Government in September 1944. The present volume contains the preliminary results. For reasons of speed and economy no detailed information was sought; and approximate, or representative results were included.

To carry out and control the job, 200 specially trained inspectors were stationed at 196 typical communes (an average of 5 for every Province); in addition 68 expert officials of the Statistical Institute acted as supervisors, in provincial offices and in the field. 57 different schedules and a total of 4,500,000 forms were used. Some 5,000 persons were employed on the job - 3,200 of them for editing and tabulation. 340 adding and calculating machines, 13 punching, 10 sorting and 15 verifying machines were used. By using a greater number of persons as enumerators and by limiting the collection of data to the most important fields, it was possible to cut down the time necessary to a fraction of that ordinarily required for such a census; while paper consumption was only about 1/10. The cost was held to 4,5 lire per inhabitant as against 2 lire pre-war (equivalent to at least 20 lire today).

Information on the various communities was tabulated as soon as 80 to 85% of the returns had been received. As regards the Industrial Census, information received up to December 10, 1944 was included - which was 89% complete. Some of the information collected, but not included in this publication, is to be published later, together with possible revisions of the present results.

What are some of these results:

Importance of the Area covered.

The Census covers 38 Liberated Provinces, representing 48% of Italy's territory, 43.4% of its people (though

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What are some of these results:

Importance of the Area covered.

The Census covers 38 Liberated Provinces, representing 48% of Italy's territory, 43,4% of its people (though only 38,4% of the working population). These 38 Provinces formerly grew 44,3% of the country's Wheat, but only 5,7% of its Sugar Beets; 81,3% of its Dried Legumes; 87,9% of its Olives; 99,7% of its Citrus Fruit. They contained only 20,5% of its Cattle, but 76,5% of its Sheep and Goats. They produced from 25,5% to 29,6% of the output of essential Phosphates and Nitrogenous fertilizers. They contained

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38,6% of the country's industrial plants, but only 26,3% of its industrial workers, 20,9% of its mechanical horse - power. The territory's output of electrical energy was 22,7% of that of all Italy.

Its highway system is 52,3% of the total, but it had only 24,7% of the trucks and trailers. The people's deposits in Savings Institutions (Excluding Postal) were only 12,9% of the total; Postal Savings ammounted to 39,7%. The transaction tax yielded only 26,8%, the income tax 24,1%, but the land tax 42,8% of the total (in 1939).

Elementary school enrollment was 41,8% - or proportionate to the population. That for secondary schools was higher, (53,6%) as was that for universities (51,5%). But on the basis of 1932 data the number of hospital beds was only 24,9%.

Population

364,706 persons, or about 2% of the people in the 38 Provinces were driven from their homes into other communities; 704,854 persons (3,7%) lived in houses damaged by war; 48,415 (25 in 10,000) lived in emergency shelters, such as barracks, tents and caves. 128,552 were unemployed in September 1944 and 114,126 were employed by Allied Forces.

AGRICULTURE

On September 15, 1944, 140,108 ha of land (sowable or in specialized tree tops) or 1,7% of the total were not utilized due to war damage. 28,052 ha (or 20%) of these were flooded; 36,195 ha (or 26%) were mined and bombed; 75,861 ha (or 54%) were occupied by the military. In addition 54,679 ha of woods (or 3% of the total woods and forests) were either destroyed or suffered considerable damage. 90 million vines (about 2% of the total) were either destroyed or considerably damaged, so were more than 2⅓ million olive trees (about 2½%) and 6,3 million other fruit trees.

44,949 rooms in rural dwellings were fully or partly destroyed, and cannot be used; three times as many were damaged, but are usable. 332,743 sqm of livestock shelter had been destroyed; twice as much damaged; 1,2 million cbm. of storage room for foods and machinery was destroyed; 1,4 million cbm. was damaged. 35,332 cbm. of forage silos were destroyed; three times as many were damaged. 20,725 cbm. of buildings for drainage and irrigation were destroyed; twice that many were damaged.

Land reclamation and irrigation works had been particu-

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12,9% of the total, Postal Savings amounted to 39,1%. The transaction tax yielded only 26,8%, the income tax 24,1%, but the land tax 42,8% of the total (in 1939).

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Land reclamation and irrigation works had been particularly affected. While only 7,2% of the productive land was damaged, 45,1% of the buildings (in cubic meters), 11,6% of the dams and dikes (in cubicmeters), 27,4% of the syphons (in litres per second) and 1/3 of the bridges (in meters) were either destroyed or heavily damaged.

The loss of livestock is given by way of compairing their numbers on September 15, 1944 with those of 1942. Thus the number of cattle was reduced by 1/3; of horses and

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Destroyed rooms in destroyed dwellings ...	426,844
" " " seriously damaged dwellings	57,378
Severely damaged rooms in seriously damaged dwellings	145,092
Severely damaged rooms in occupied dwellings	105,089
Total	734,313

Health

Deaths from typhoid fever were 71% higher in the 3 months from June to August 1944 than in the corresponding period in 1939; the death rate from tuberculosis was 38% higher. The editors of the census believe that the death rate from these causes was actually still higher. Infant mortality, on the other hand, was in this period actually 9½% lower, though considering the falling birth-rate, the census editors believe 1944 figures are "considerably higher" than in 1939.

The average weight and height of children at birth, at various age levels decreased slightly between 1942 and 1944. However, it is difficult to say whether this decrease could be considered alarming. The Census expresses no opinion.

Education

Detailed tables give information as to the situation of the schools, enrollment, etc. as of the close of the Scholastic Year 1943-1944. No comparisons are made with previous years.

Public Services

An interesting table shows how many communes are and are not provided with hygienically safe drinking water, with gas, electricity and sewer systems. A separate table shows that 278 communities, or 22% of those investigated, suffered damage to 193,076 Km (or 3%) of sewer lines. On September 15, 1944 267 communities, or 11½% of the total of 2,318 investigated were without any electricity, affecting 1,390,207 persons (8%). 1,138 communities (or 49%) affecting 11,086,542 persons (or 64%) had reduced electricity service.

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Severely damaged rooms in occupied dwellings 105,079
Total 734,313

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parts not at present obtainable. In all, some 965 units with 590,470 horsepower were either destroyed, stolen or idle. In addition, 193 Electric Generators with 254,639 HP were destroyed, 15 with 5,049 HP were removed by the Germans, and 136 with 111,812 HP were idle due to needed repairs or parts.

The Germans also stole 14,088 electric motors with 84,369 HP; 5,990 electric motors with 58,164 HP were destroyed; and 8,229 with 67,493 HP were out of operation. The total loss in power production added up as follows:

Destroyed	741,913 HP
Removed by the Germans	104,360 "
Idle due to repairs etc.	353,789 "
Total	1,200,062 HP

Living Conditions

Nutrition

The data published under this heading refer to the average consumption of various foods, their caloric values, availability through rations or on the black market, their prices, etc. Since September 1944 the bread and pasta rations have been increased, black market prices have changed, other rations (such as of olive oil) have been issued. That is, conditions seem to have changed enough to require corresponding changes in the data on food contained in this census. Additional material on this subject has been collected and will be published later.

Clothing

The census indicates that on the average about 1/3 of all men's and boys' clothing is in very bad condition; about half to 60% is in bad condition but usable. That is, only some 10 to 20% is considered in good condition. More than half the bedding material is in bad condition, but usable; between 10 and 20% is in very bad condition.

There were only 44 overcoats for every 100 men, only 23 for 100 boys; and only 67 pairs of shoes for 100 boys.

Houses

In the 38 Provinces investigated, a total of 129,390 dwellings with 426,844 rooms were completely destroyed. In addition 57,378 rooms were destroyed and 145,002 rooms so badly damaged as to be useless, in houses considered seriously damaged. Damaged dwellings which were, however,

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Houses

In the 38 Provinces investigated, a total of 129,390 dwellings with 426,844 rooms were completely destroyed. In addition 57,378 rooms were destroyed and 145,002 rooms so badly damaged as to be useless, in houses considered seriously damaged. Damaged dwellings which were, however, occupied, totalled 169,744, containing 714,496 rooms; in these dwellings 105,089 rooms were however unoccupied because of war damage. The total loss in rooms thus adds up to 734,313, as follows:

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Destroyed rooms in destroyed dwellings ...	426,844
" " " seriously damaged dwellings	57,378
Severely damaged rooms in seriously damaged dwellings	145,002
Severely damaged rooms in occupied dwellings	105,089
Total	734,313

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REVIEW OF ECONOMIC ARTICLES NO. 8

WEEK ENDING APRIL 4, 1945

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ROAD TRANSPORTATION

The press continues its criticisms of ENAC (Ente Nazionale Autotrasporti Cose) through which the Government seeks to control road transportation.

"Il Reporter" (Febr. 10) - independent - comments that the first result of the functioning of ENAC is that goods have become scarcer on the Rome markets; common sense could have foreseen this.

"Libera Stampa" (Febr. 16) - also independent - calls ENAC a new "elephantine" bureaucracy. Without specifying any reasons, the paper says that if ENAC is not immediately reformed, national recovery will be endangered.

"L'Indipendente" (Febr. 17) reports an interview with Transportation Minister Cerabona, who explains that high transportation costs are in line with the prices being paid for vehicles. He confirmed that ENAC was trying to solve this problem by controlling the purchase and sale of trucks

"Il Globo" (March 7) shows how in practice requests for transportation are usually accompanied by designations of the trucks to be used - contrary to the spirit of the law. This enables the shipper to make private arrangements with the truck owner - at higher than tariff rates. Transportation requests which do not designate the trucking firm, are turned over by ENAC to its truck pools where similar private arrangements can be made. Those who do not want to pay more than tariff find it difficult, if not impossible, to ship their goods. "It follows that ENAC is in no position to exercise effective control over the employment of trucks." If ENAC were to ask that a truck be unconditionally put at its disposal, it would be sure to have a break-down, which in view of the lack of parts would present great difficulties.

"L'Italia Libera" (March 13) - center party paper - considers the institutional organization of ENAC "absurd". Under existing conditions in communications "it is impossible to give any real assurance that the transportation undertaken by ENAC actually responds to the public's needs. The organization, therefore, does not solve the problem for which it was established, and remains a bureaucratic waste. Instead of assuring

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"Il Globo" (March 25) declares that the cost of transportation is from double to ten times the legal tariff rates.

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"We must admit that the organization lives outside of reality, if there is this big difference between legal transportation prices and actual costs". ENAC's bureaucratic control has not been able to prevent the direct contact between shipper and trucker who today freely and liberally determine the rates and conditions of transportation; nor has it been able to cause a reduction in the prices of trucks. The paper suggests that transportation be left free, and that the activity of ENAC be limited to granting authorizations for essential goods. "This would, in substance, create a freight market, and the situation can only improve, even though Italy has a deficiency of means of transportation."

On March 30, "Il Globo" publishes ENAC's reply to certain criticisms previously made by this paper. It admits that not all transportation costs are fixed on the black market. For instance, wheat is transported at official rates. The fact that black market rates exist besides the official ones does not prove that the control system has failed. As regards its proposal that truck transportation be uncontrolled, the paper argues that gasoline is rationed, and that its available quantity is hardly sufficient for the most urgently needed goods. Moreover, given the great excess demand upon transportation capacity, it must be presumed that freight costs may, in an absolutely free system, equal those of the black market, or even exceed them.

FOOD AND BLACK MARKET

Rome

The "Bollettino del Lavoro" (March 1) of the Provincial Labor Office, publishes an index number of the cost of food for January, 1945. With 1940 as a basis, this index number is 1754,11; that is, the cost of food is 17½ times that of 1940. The Bollettino further finds that during the last five months of 1944, the average typical family food expenditure was £. 8.704,= per month; of this, 62,5% was spent on the black market, 30,9% on the free market, and 6,6% for rationed foods. In January 1945, this family food cost had risen to £. 10.608,=, an increase of almost 20% over the previous five-month average.

Since February 1, 1945; food markets have reacted to (a) greater control in the country; and (b) extensive police activity against black market merchants in the city. Especially the latter has produced considerable comment in the press.

Among the papers of the right, "L'Italia Nuova" (Febr.20) while approving the activities of the police, still asks, how the people can eat with existing rations. It continues the argument (Febr. 21) by saying that the need to have recourse to the black market has not been reduced; but that instead

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"Ricostruzione" (Febr. 20) - center press - says that to try and solve the problem in this manner is like starting to

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build a house from the roof. It holds (Febr. 21) that the fight against the merchants is useless if the large stores existing in the country, which are their sources, are left alone. It concludes by demanding that all but two or three foods be left to the free market.

"Il Popolo" (Febr. 20) demands that police activity also include the large warehouses. How can the people live, it asks, (Febr. 22), without the aid of the black market, and with absolutely insufficient rations? It lists (Febr. 25) the motives which determined the fight against the black market as political, hygienic, and an attempt to discourage the producer from sending his goods to the black market, and hopes that there will be some improvement in the rations, as otherwise the fight would be harmful.

Among the left wing papers, "L'Unità" (Febr. 23) writes that the fight should be integrated with energetic organisational measures, among which the abolishing of the regional food blocks is the most important.

"Il Lavoro" (Febr. 20) - organ of the Confederation of Labor - also asks how the people will eat if the police campaign should succeed. In a later article (March 2) the paper declares that an effective fight against the black market can only be made by way of workers' consumer cooperatives.

On March 24, the same paper points out that the control commissions, yardstick-retail stores, consumers organizations, etc., decided upon at a Cabinet Meeting of February 17, have not yet been established. It demands that public representatives be included in the control commissions. The paper further complains (March 27) that in spite of the provisions regarding the management by government appointed commissioners, of mills and bakeries which had violated the food laws, no such commissioners had ever been appointed. All mills and bakeries are now supplying the black market and their management should be entrusted not to commissioners, but to labor representatives who will act in the public interest.

"Il Globo" (March 2) - among the independent papers - speaks favorably of the establishment of the "Coop" - a cooperative organization intended to buy foods for all the cooperatives at the lowest possible prices.

"Il Tempo" (March 18) criticizes the battle against the black market: "Nothing comes from the country any more. We shall die of hunger; for we cannot live on our rations". The paper says that this battle should be fought in the country and the policy of compulsory collections (ammassi) be reviewed. It favors the requirement for the producer to sell only a part of his products at a low price, but enable him to sell the

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the paper argues, free market prices, (today's black market prices) may even decline, because they would no longer have to include the risk, and the number of intermediaries could be reduced.

"Il Tempo" (March 20) also publishes the proposal of an expert of the milling industry. In order to produce the best possible bread - almost white - he suggests the elimination of the bran from the mixture. This would entail only a small loss of weight to the consumer. Instead of having 200 gr. of inedible bread, this would give 175 gr. of excellent food. The savings in bran could be used to feed some 20.000 pigs which would furnish both meat and fat to the people of Rome. The paper asks its readers to write their opinions on this debatable question.

"L'Indipendente" (March 29) writes that "something new has happened regarding bread". Some bakeries have been taken from their proprietors and turned over to "ASA" (a communal organization) because they were guilty of violating war-time regulations. The paper welcomes this "first lesson" and observes that recently the bread has become better, apparently as the result of a better control of the mixture.

The press unanimously carried, and approved, the Pope's reference to the BlackMarket in his speech of March 18. "Be none of you among those who today see no other opportunities than to dishonestly enrich themselves at the expense of the needs and sufferings of their brothers."

SHIPPING

According to "L'Economista" (March, 1945) hardly 15% of Italy's pre-war merchant marine (3½ million tons in 1938) is left. About half of it is used by the Allies; the rest is under the control of COGENA (Commissariato Generale Navigazione).

Pino Fortini, in "Politica Estera" (Febr. 1945) believes that a merchant marine is important for Italy as means of employing both capital and a substantial number of workers. The seizure of Italian ships by neutrals should be reexamined on the basis of international law. While Liberty ships are not well adapted to Mediterranean traffic, 50 to 100 of them would be useful in tramp shipping, with which Italy has to begin restoring its merchant marine. The decision as to how many and when these ships should be purchased should, however, be left to their future owners.

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De Grenet ("L'Economista" - March 1945) thinks there is little hope for the restoration of ships seized by neutrals. Nor should Italy nourish any excessive hopes as to Allied "First Aid" regarding shipping, until the United Nations are convinced that "it is opportune that bottoms be assigned to Italy in order to promote an effective, even if limited, economic recovery." Italians are a seafaring people; they have ship-building technicians and shipyards which could assure the

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recovery of her merchant marine. Her sailors could work on Allied ships. Empty ships returning from the Black Sea, could be used to serve Eastern Mediterranean ports.

"Il Globo" (March 8) suggests two proposals of immediate benefit: that America employ Italian sailors to man its ships (presumably lacking in personnel); and that Italy be given the temporary use of some 10 Liberty ships which could satisfy 80% of current shipping needs, and employ a few of the many idle sailors. The advantage would be mutual, as the pay of Italian sailors is lower than that of Americans.

"Il Globo" (March 21) also discusses the request of South Italian ship owners for 100 Liberty ships. The paper thinks it unlikely that this request will be granted, even though it would be of great advantage to Italy. The ships could serve the Allies and thus earn a profit to Italy in foreign exchange. Considering that after the war there will be an abundance of ships at low prices, "Globo" thinks that it may be preferable for Italy not to buy, but rent these ships today, man them and put them into Allied service.

"Il Giornale del Mattino" (March 31) recalls that Brazil seized 100,000 tons, and Argentina 70,000 tons of Italian ships, which were subsequently sold to those contries. The sales contracts contained a cancellation (or redemption) clause [illegible] the paper suggests should now be made effective so as to restore these ships to Italy. The paper considers it absolutely necessary to increase the available tonnage by any possible means.

RECONSTRUCTION NEWS - (from the Italian Press)

Shipping - ("Il Globo" March 23 and 24)

Until today 380 motor vessels and 20 medium sized sailing ships have been dereguisitioned. Additional 20 000 tons of ships, each in excess of 300 tons, are to be dereguisitioned for civilian use.

("Il Globo" March 27) - 16,000 workers are at present engaged in the reconstruction of the port of Naples.

("Il Globo" March 28) - For the repair of the Port of S. Benedetto del Tronto, the sum of 6½ million lire has been allocated. Out of 100 motor fishing vessels which used to dock at this port, only 10 of the smaller ones are left.

The shipyard at Porto Civitanova in March launched its first 500 ton motor vessel; its name, "Italia Liberata".

("Il Globo" March 31) - A new 50 million lire company, "Sardamare" was formed in Sardinia, by Sardinians, for the purpose

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Shipping - ("Il Globo" March 23 and 24)

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("Il Globo" March 27) - 16,000 workers are at present engaged in the reconstruction of the port of Naples.

("Il Globo" March 28) - For the repair of the Port of S. Benedetto del Tronto, the sum of 6½ million lire has been allocated. Out of 100 motor fishing vessels which used to dock at this port, only 10 of the smaller ones are left.

The shipyard at Porto Civitanova in March launched its first 500 ton motor vessel; its name, "Italia Liberata".

("Il Globo" March 31) - A new 50 million lire company, "Sardamare" was formed in Sardinia, by Sardinians, for the purpose of managing shipping lines and promoting maritime transportation.

("Il Globo" April 1) - Thanks to considerable reconstruction efforts, the Port of Civitavecchia now has a daily capacity of 3,000 tons. In February, 36,000 tons of goods were unloaded; the March tonnage was 50,350.

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Road Transportation

("Il Globo" March 24) - Another 386 of the promised 1.700 American trucks have arrived. The total thus far arrived is 818.

Railroads

("Il Globo" March 28) - The electric railroad Porto S. Giorgio to Servigliano has been reactivated. It is hoped to extend the line to Amandola during the next month.

Foreign Exchange

("Il Globo" March 24) - From June, 1944 to February, 1945, Italo-Americans have remitted $ 10.835.000; Italians in England and the Commonwealth have remitted 130.000 pound sterling. The average remittance from America was $ 50; from Great Britain, 20 pounds.

Foreign Trade

("Il Globo" March 27) - In the week from March 11 to 18, Italy exported 2,000 tons of goods, valued at about 100 million lire. They included 1,265 tons of sulphur for Greece; 38 tons of mercury for France; 537 tons of citric acid, 80 tons of hemp; 6½ tons of silk, and 65 tons of tartaric acid to Great Britain.

("Il Globo" March 30) - During March 18 to 25, Italy exported 4,587 tons, valued at 135 million lire. Shipped to England were: 3,103 tons of lemons, 33 tons of citric acid, 22 tons of tartaric acid; to France: 129 tons of mercury, 4 tons of bergamot; to the U.S.A.: 600 tons of salt; to Malta: 220 tons of wine, 153 tons of salt and 147 tons of oranges; to the Middle East: 80 tons of citric acid.

Rebuilding of Houses

("Il Globo" March 29) - The Florence Genio Civile has repaired 2,000 rooms at a cost of 100 million lire. Private owners have repaired 4,200 rooms.

("Secolo XX" March 28) During 1944, 476 large and small firms with a combined capital of about 1 billion lire, were founded in Rome. Their objective: to build and repair homes. Additional companies were formed during the first quarter of 1945.

Roads and Bridges

("Il Globo" March 27) - In Molise, 120 out of 600 destroyed bridges have already been rebuilt. 1,000 Km of roads have been restored.

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Industry

("Il Globo" March 28) - The Cecchetti Railroad Shops at Porto Civitanova has reemployed 500 of its normal complement of 3,000 workers.

("Il Globo" March 31) - 50 tons of American and Egyptian cotton have been assigned to the Stabilimenti delle Manifatture Cotoniere Meridionali. This factory produces currently 20 to 30,000 meters a day which are put at the disposal of the Minister of Agriculture for distribution to Governmental Organizations and Cooperatives.

("Secolo XX" March 30) - 150 Prato textile firms have already begun partial operation, with 35,089 spindles working. With an adequate allocation of electricity and wool, the output is expected to increase soon.

Bentonite

("Secolo XX March 30) - The white bentonite mines at the island of Ponza (the only such mines in the world) are ready to produce again. The product is to be refined at Rome because of damage to the Gaeta plant.

Chlorine - Soda

("Secolo XX" March 23) - The Aniene Chemical Industry is almost in full production again. The current output is 40 tons of chlorine monthly (treating daily about 3 tons of rock salt), plus 30 tons of soda a day.

Paper

("Secolo XX" March 28) - In the course of this week, the Cartiera Emilio Boimond and the Cartiera di Ceprano, both in the Province of Frosinone, will resume production.

Agriculture

("Il Globo" March 28) - 10,000 ha of flooded land in Emilia have been almost drained. In Lazio, 6,700 ha have been drained, and during April another 20,000 ha of flooded, and 10,000 ha of insufficiently drained lands are to be dried up.

("Il Globo" March 30) - On February 15, 1945 the wool Ammasso had collected 2,025,747 Kg, of which 1,508,696 Kg was textile wool.

Hemp

("Secolo XX" March 27) - The 1944 harvest yielded only 10,000 tons of hemp; for 1945, 20,000 tons are hoped for. During 1944 exports of raw hemp to England amounted to 3,000 tons. No exports are expected for 1945, as 80% of the production will be absorbed by Allied needs in Italy; the remai-

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ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
Psychological Warfare Branch
Unit No. 12 APO 512

Central D Section, Liberated Italy December 7, 1944

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY NO. 45

PART II - ANNEXES

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Explanation of Reliability Rating:

Source (reliability)	Report (probability)
A always reliable	1 confirmed
B usually reliable	2 probable
C Sometimes reliable	3 possible
D frequently unreliable	4 doubtful
E a bad source	5 improbable

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CONFIDENTIAL NO. 45

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
Psychological Warfare Branch
APO 512 UNIT 12

Central D Section, Liberated Italy 7 DECEMBER 1944

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY NO. 45

PART II - ANNEXES

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A. - CURRENT EVENTS

THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS

1 Rome Press Comments

A fullpanorama of the Government crisis was given in the Rome press which was very much the center of it, as the attitude of the respective party organs to the government was at least a contributary cause of the government's instability.

Wholehearted criticism of the attempt of Bonomi to solve the crisis came, as was to be expected, from two opposite angles: from Pacciardi's V DI REPUBBLICANA which used the breakdown of the Bonomi system to illustrate further attacks on the Monarchy, which it maintained was now discredited and was a hopeless obstacle to a fresh democratic rebirth as it was to epuration on which issue the present deadlock had arisen; and from the Monarchist ITALIA NUOVA which continued its familiar line of arguing that the Committee of National Liberation represents only a small percentage of the people, and that the only adequate solution would be a collaboration of all forces around the Monarchy. IL TEMPO (independent) supported ITALIA NUOVA's usual contention in one particular, when it pointed out that the great majority of the people were apathetic to the problems of the Bonomi government.

According to IL TEMPO, 28 November, the present crisis had arisen when the Socialists had raised a new platform and had provided a new and more revolutionary conception of the Italian government's real functions. Faced with the left attitude, the Christian Democrat had cried "Halt!" and had become the "paladins of legality à l'outrance." The Christian Democrats had not only refused to join a left combination, they had gone further towards the right. There were two extreme solutions now being advocated, neither of which would work: on the one hand government by a left bloc which was made impossible by the Allied veto, and the preponderance of administrative needs in Italian political life at present; and on the other hand the plan to set up a cabinet of technicians which would mean an end of any really

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IL POPOLO and RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE came out approximately in agreement in their interpretation of the main issues and in the blame which both threw on the Communists and the Socialists. According to the organ of the Liberal Party, the Socialists and the Communists had torpedoed the Bonomi government by playing a double game, by violent criticism of the government in which they were represented, by the threat of turning out into the piazza and by adopting a revolutionary and illegal tone. The Committees of Liberation should not be allowed to become a "super government". IL POPOLO took up the same polemical line against the left and attacked (28 November) the slogan "all power to the Committees of Liberation". It was apparent from the columns of the POPOLO as from those of other papers, that the crux lay in the question of epuration, which the left would like to use so as to promote an ultimate revolution, while the right in its fear of such ultimate effects, could be accused of complacency regarding the continued existence of fascist or ex-fascist elements in key positions. The epuration issue had become thorny, according to the POPOLO, after Scoccimarro's interview which involved an attack on certain ministers of the Bonomi government; and Togliatti and Bonomi had discussed the question without reaching any agreement.

Pietro Nenni's daily articles in the AVANTI were a further factor which helped to pour oil into the fire of the government crisis. This opinion was generally held in Rome both by Nenni's supporters -- opponents of the conservative or moderate attitude of the Bonomi government -- and by his many critics. According to the AVANTI while Bonomi was prepared to accept increased left representation in the Council of the Ministers, he would not accept a Socialist Minister of the Interior, the post for which Nenni's name had previously been mentioned.

ITALIA LIBERA (28 November) came out with a whole hearted support of Count Sforza as the man who should form the new government. On November 29 Rome Newspapers published without comment the news of the British veto.

2. An Action Party View

Professor Guido Calogero of the Action Party who has been mentioned as a possible successor to Dr. Ruggiero at the Ministry of Education, said in a discussion with a PWB officer on 26 November that he thought that of all the men available, Count Sforza would make the best President of the Council of Ministers. This view made its appearance later in the Italia Libera as the official outlook of the Action Party.

The appointment of Sforza would, in Calogero's opinion, be acceptable to the extreme left. The danger lay in the formation of a new government, either with or without Bonomi, which would be to the right of the present one. From such a government the Communists

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The appointment of Sforza would, in Calogero's opinion, be acceptable to the extreme left. The danger lay in the formation of a new government, either with or without Bonomi, which would be to the right of the present one. From such a government the Communists might break off and their position in the country might be very much strengthened if they had freedom to criticize, and no responsibility to bear. In fact were the Communists out of office, the difficulties which had arisen through the criticism levelled in the Communist and Socialist press against the present government, would naturally be intensified,

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and it would probably be impossible to build up a stable cabinet. It would be much better, he thought, to agree to a strengthened representation of the extreme left, such as had been demanded. If Nenni could be got into the government so much the better. The Action Party had always been anxious that none of the Party leaders should evade their share of responsibility, especially at this critical period. There was a grave danger in the ever-widening rift between the Socialists and Communists on the one side, and the Christian Democrats and Liberals on the other. The anti-Communist feeling of the Christian Democrats had driven them more appreciably to the right in the last two months. The right wing tendency among the Liberals and the hostility to the Communists derived in part, he thought, from Benedetto Croce.

Professor Calogero said that Orlando was far too old and out of date to be suitable for the post of Premier. Moreover he would not be acceptable to the left. He was a Monarchist and his message supporting Mussolini at the time of the Abyssinian war had not been forgotten.

Calogero expressed some critical views of Bonomi, whose weakness took the form of acting in the interests of the right; and of De Ruggiero who had been lacking in energy in the epuration of the universities and schools, and their reformation on anti-fascist lines.

Calogero seemed to have the impression that the Anglo-Saxon allies wanted a right wing government.

3 Interview with D. Ernesto Bonaiuti

Dr. Bonaiuti is the ecclesiatical historian and writer, formerly of Rome University, who was unfrocked and excommunicated by the Vatican for his modernism. In an interview with a P.B officer, Dr. Bonaiuti said that in his opinion the effect of the present crisis would be disastrous abroad where what little confidence there was in the Italian government would evaporate. One wondered if the Italians were fit for Democracy. Sforza has been grotesque and inept in angling for a position which he knew the Allies would not let him take over. Nenni's lack of restraint and political experience was a scandal and a shame, he said. He could not see what solution remained save 1) holding an election of some sort now even in spite of the almost insuperable difficulties, or else 2) the establishment of complete Allied control. The composition of the present government was absurd and an anomaly if one were to talk of democracy seriously. The Liberals and the Labour Democrats for instance, who had hardly 2000 members in Rome between them, had as many representatives, or more proportionately, than the Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists, who had about 12,000 inscribed members each in the Rome

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Dr. Bonaiuti is sometimes criticized for being hasty and emotional in his judgments. He has a wide acquaintance among Italian anti-fascists in Rome.

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4 Interview with Avv. Mario Montini

Avv. Mario Montini, brother of Monsignor Montini, discussed the government crisis with a PWB officer on November 29. He called it a "crisis of conscience." How can there be a government crisis when there is no parliament, no vote against it from any direction? No one overthrew this government except itself, he said. Until Italy has regained something to make politics about, she should be treated as an irresponsible minor. The Allies should say, "for such and such a time, there will be no change in the government," and then people will go to work. He said there are plenty of good men, but no one wants to get mixed up with a government that can be shaken loose by newspaper articles or an attack of conscience.

Montini seems to share the increasing view that the Allies should take a firm hand and control what there is of liberated Italy until she "grows up again".

5 A Christian Democrat View

A PWB office talked with Ragionere Liverani, Christian Democrat administrative director of IL POPOLO, on the subject of the Government crisis on November 28. Liverani was obviously worried by the news, saying that he had not yet spoken with his colleagues who had more intimate knowldge of the cabinet shakeup and therefore knew nothing more than the obvious facts. He said it was certain that this crisis had been forced upon the government and Bonomi by the Communists and socialists.

"You know that our party wants order, tranquility and legal processes. Instead the extremist parties are continually causing unrest which eventually manifests itself in such a crisis. It is a sad thing for our country. Certainly it is not welcomed by us. Who but Bonomi can have the confidence of the six parties. Anyone else would have the interest of his own party at stake to a much greater degree. Who else but Bonomi can unite the parties at this moment? It would be much better to keep what we have and try to improve it instead of overturning the whole administration... but this is the way the parties of the left always act. We have few enough experienced men in libertated Italy who are able to accomplish the purely technical work required of a government."

He said that times have been extremely hard for the newly formed government, not only because of the immense destruction in Italy, but also because the Allied authorities sat over the Italian government, and thus it is impossible for it to have the confidence of the people or to act with authority in an autonomous manner. He stressed Italy's past and how it was divided into many small warring states and later dominated by other nations, France, Austria, Spain, etc. All hist-

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5 A Christian Democrat View

A P.B office talked with Regionere Liverani, Christian Democrat administrative director of IL POPOLO, on the subject of the Government crisis on November 28. Liverani was obviously worried by the news, saying that he had not yet spoken with his colleagues who had more intimate knowldge of the cabinet shakeup and therefore knew nothing more than the obvious facts. He said it was certain that this crisis had been forced upon the government and Bonomi by the Communists and socialists.

"You know that our party wants order, tranquility and legal processes. Instead the extremist parties are continually causing unrest which eventually manifests itself in such a crisis. It is a sad thing for our country. Certainly it is not welcomed by us. Who but Bonomi can have the confidence of the six parties. Anyone else would have the interest of his own party at stake to a much greater degree. Who else but Bonomi can unite the parties at this moment? It would be much better to keep what we have and try to improve it instead of overturning the whole administration... but this is the way the parties of the left always act. We have few enough experienced men in liberated Italy who are able to accomplish the purely technical work required of a government."

He said that times have been extremely hard for the newly formed government, not only because of the immense destruction in Italy, but also because the Allied authorities sat over the Italian government, and thus it is impossible for it to have the confidence of the people or to act with authority in an autonomous manner. He stressed Italy's past and how it was divided into many small warring states and later dominated by other nations, France, Austria, Spain, etc. All historical differences come to the surface at times like these and make for unrest and lack of unity, this lack being Italy's greatest defect and tragddy. He spoke of the great influence that North Italy would have upon political and governmental decisions when it would be liberated, and could not understand why the Allied armies had stopped when they were so near their goal. He could not see why the Allied armies do not break across the Po valley to Verona thereby

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trapping all the Germans in western Italy. By dragging out the war this way, all the northern Italy is daily subjected to further murder, robbery, looting and destruction. He himself fought at Piave in the last war.

The Italians envy France her immediate liberation with her lands and towns intact, he said. Instead it is with the greatest possible discouragement that Italians must look at their destroyed country and try and put it together and form a sound government at the same time; this too in the face of little outside cooperation or help. He spoke with great fear of Russia and felt that any Russian influence in Italy would be a bad thing.

6 A Talk with an Industrial Leader on the Committee of Experts for the Reconstruction of Industry (Nov. 29)

This man said that he interested himself very little in politics. The politicians were all merely wasting time. Five valuable months had already gone by and they had done no reconstruction. True, the Allies had put a few railroads into operation, but for military use only. He was anxious to begin to do something. It did not matter how little it would be, but the Italians must be the ones to take the first step. Then they would be ready for another. According to his information all of the railroad tunnels that link northern Italy with the peninsula have been destroyed; these tunnels were in the zone where the front lines are at the moment, and it will be a matter of years before they can be repaired. Therefore traffic between northern and southern Italy will have to go by truck of ship. As a shipbuilder who built up the merchant marine in the past decades -- the Conte di Savoia and such -- he was extremely anxious to be allowed to begin reconstruction. He had just completed an exhaustive survey of industry which he has passed on to A.C. He does not know whether or not they have any plans for action.

7 Interview with Comm. Restagno

Comm. Restagno is Christian Democrat Director of Banca Sao Paolo, Galleria Colonna, Rome. In an interview with a PWB officer on Nov. 29 Restagno looked upon the crisis as a very unfortunate thing. The heart of the difficulty rests in the differing conceptions of epuration, according to him. He said the Communists were prepared to exempt anyone from epuration if they would subscribe to their party. Party strife exists at every step in the epuration process. He felt that De Gasperi would be a leader acceptable to all the parties, and to the English. He spoke of the necessity of epurating quickly, because the longer it would be drawn out the more difficult it would be. There is a great need in the government for men who are

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8 "The Man in the Street"

Rumors that the crisis in the Bonomi Government had come to a head began to spread wildly by Sunday afternoon, November 26. People

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talked of announcements on the radio. During that day and the next, the belief was widespread that Military Dictatorship would succeed the dissolved Bonomi cabinet. A reliable Italian source interviewed the following:

A worker in a sweet shop, about 49 years old: "I believe Badoglio will take the reins of government again, instituting a military dictatorship. Thus a state of emergency, and to crown it all, moving the curfew back to 8 o'clock. That will be great fun indeed!"

A teacher of an elementary school, about 25 years old: "I have a brother in the war ministry. There is a general opinion there that General Messe will be placed at the head of the military dictatorship, and I believe so too."

A colleague of the above, about 27 years old, replied that this would be impossible because the Allies would not allow Messe's appointment because he led the Italian Forces against them in Africa.

A government employee , about 34 years old: "This is a very important event, especially in a moment like this. If however, a crisis like this should arise in the military dictatorship (which dictatorship we all expect) it would only lead to a revolution of the people and bloodshed. It is therefore preferable to desire a government like the preceding one, however weak."

Many expressed the strong wish that the Allies take the power directly into their own hands. In doing this many mistakes and misunderstandings would be avoided as in the present Italian political situation the government has to act on the basis of compromises. Also because the ineptitude of the Bonomi government has demonstrated that Italy does not yet know the meaning of the word "democracy." An officer on leave said, "In order to placate all, and not run the danger of further crisis, the best solution would be the dictatorship of a just man who belongs to no party at all."

9 DISTURBANCES AT REGINA COELI

Rioting was reported at the Regina Coeli Prison, Rome, on 20 November, with attempts at arson necessitating the calling in of firemen. A few shots were fired by guards to intimidate the prisoners. The prison authorities stated that the causes were alleged poor food and bad living conditions. On the 23rd serious disturbances took place involving 700 prisoners. They reached the roof from which they showered tiles on the guards. Some of the latter are reported to have opened fire and a few persons were wounded. AC intervened energetically and 400 prisoners were transferred to other prisons the same day. "Avanti" of 24th attirubted the rioting to two grievances of the prisoners; poor food and slow judicial procedure. With regard to the former it is stated that the 200 political prisoners received Allied rations and were much better fed; it is even alleged

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imprisonment, are said to have been awaiting trial for months.

On the 25th prison officials reported heavy damage to the building. Not only had the fabric been badly damaged, but in four wings all the beds and mattresses had been destroyed and the locks rendered useless. By that date 700 prisoners had been moved from Regina Coeli, some being taken as far as Benevento.

B. GENERAL REPORTS

10 Political Review in Newly Liberated Romagna

The leading members of the Republican and Action Parties of Romagna being arrested, executed or forced into hiding, the Communists succeeded in getting full control of the situation and deployed their political activities almost undisturbed by other parties during the last 3 months of occupation. The following factors were responsible for bringing about this state of affairs:

The Communists gained a majority vote in the C.D.L.N. by imposing in addition to their own representatives those of the following organizations: FRONTE DELLA GIOVENTU, GRUPPI DIFESA DELLE DONNE, SINDACATI OPERAI; absence of strong personalities in other political parties, and the absorption of the Socialist party, represented by weak leaders.

Such was the political situation as found in CESENA and FORLI when these towns were liberated. In FORLI, the walls were plastered with Communist posters and Communist newspapers were distributed. Very soon though with the return of their leaders, the other parties reacted.

Christian Democrats have been very active in the area of CESENA and their leader, MARIO PASINI, declares himself very satisfied with the progress achieved.

Partito d'Azione. The return to FORLI fo Avv. Bruno ANGELETTI, well-known anti-fascist and one of the most popular figures in Romagna, has reinforced the party's position. Furthermore, Avv. F. COMANDINI, one of the leaders of the Partito d'Azione in ROME and a member of a well-known CESENA family, has returned to Romagna recently and has been working hard trying to fuse the Republican and Action parties.

Meanwhile the Communists are carrying on an intensive propaganda drive to win support for themselves among the peasants who are becoming convinced that they should no longer share profits with their landlords.

Strength of Partids and their Leaders in Province of Forli:

5000 Zanelli, Adamo

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Strength of Partids and their Leaders in Province of Forli:

COMMUNIST	5000		Zanelli, Adamo
FRONTE GIOVENTU.	3000		Rossi, Vladimiro
GRUPPI DIFES DONNE	4000		
SINDACATI OPERAI	1000	(approx.)	Maroni, Nello
REPUBLICAN	2500	"	QUERZOLI, Giovanni
AZIONE	2000		Avv. Angeletti, Bruni
Christian Democrat	3000		Avv. Braschi
Socialist	4000		Morgagni, Piero

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11 Left Wing Parties Want Port Cooperatives

From information gathered from various sources and also as the result of direct contacts with heads of Parties and organizations, the labour position in Naples port appears to be as follows:

The Neapolitan Federations of the Communist and the Socialist Parties have received identical instructions from their respective headquarters in Rome. The instructions are to the effect that the Neapolitan Federations of the aforesaid Parties should start action at once for the formation of numerous cooperatives among the various categories of port workers, so that the loading and unloading of ships would be entrusted exclusively to such cooperative. This action is to be started in the port of Naples and extended to those of the Province (Portici, Torre del Greco, Castellammare di Stabia and Pozzuoli.)

In view of the great interest which the headquarters of the Communist and Socialist Parties are showing in the matter, it may be concluded -- and this is confirmed by rumors in circulation — that it is their intention to extend later on the same kind of organization to all other Italian ports in order to secure absolute control of them. Obviously the influence of the Communist and Socialist Parties in the port cooperatives would be considerable, in fact paramount for various reasons:

(a) because it is they who will have started this cooperative movement, and the original nucleus of the various cooperatives would be formed by their own men;

(b) very many among the workers in Naples port belong to the two left-wing parties;

(c) in the cooperatives the personnel would practically be always the same and, therefore, easily organized from a trade-union point of view (internal commissions, trade unions, etc.) and from the political point of view (Communist cells, Socialist groups, etc.)

It is therefore easy to realize that if the Communist and Socialist Parties should succeed in securing the allotment of even a small section of work to a cooperative, the Port authorities might find themselves (once the precedent is established) little by little compelled to entrust the whole work of loading and unloading to new cooperatives which would spring up one after another. Thus the port of Naples and presently other Italian ports, would find themselves under complete control of the extreme left wing parties, of which these cooperatives would be the docile instruments.

The cooperatives might appear as a legitimate expression of a democratic labor principle, and from the point of view of organization

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The cooperatives might appear as a legitimate expression of a plausible labor principle, and from the point of view of organization and output, they might well improve conditions in the port. On the other hand, there would be the enormous disadvantage that the Allied Port Authorities would, in a great measure, be at the mercy of the left wing parties.

In this connection the case of the "Navalmeccanica" may serve as an example. This important concern, which was reorganized some time ago, has been the object of special attention by the Communist Party,

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to the point that the word of Quadro, the Secretary of the Communist cell, is now law.

Naturally the disadvantages of a position as outlined would not be serious while the left wing parties maintain their present attitude, but would become so in case of a change of policy by these parties. The means by which cooperatives could be formed and work secured for them might be summed up as follows:

a) Direct pressure on affiliated port workers in order to persuade them to get together and form cooperatives. This policy has already been set in motion since the lists of members are ready, the leaders have been selected and the adherence of many specialists has been secured.

b) Indirect pressure on the workers through their associations, (Confederazione Italiana del Lavoro, Sindacato Portuale, etc.) on which generally the influence of the Communists and Socialists is decisive.

c) A vigorous press campaing to convince port workers that the only means for improving working conditions is to form cooperatives. An article over the signature of Nino Gaeta, which appeared in the "Voce" a few days ago, has been the cause of much discussion.

In order to eliminate or mitigate the effects of this campaign on the part of the left wing parties, it might be advisable to exercise a more rigid control over the press, especially that of the left. After all, the port of Naples has its importance from a military point of view. Also, the conditions of the workers might if possible be improved in order to reduce discontent, which is of great assistance to left wing parties in gaining influence over them.

From the point of view of both security and output, it can be said that the present system for the loading and unloading of ships by private firms is the best. Workers in this case are continually shifting, so they cannot so easily organize themselves, either politically or in a trade-union way, and it is more difficult for them to bring about a strike; also they are less liable to be influenced by the left wing parties.

Furthermore, by considering the problem from this angle, the system of working under private firms appears perhaps even preferable to that of working under Allied directives. Private firms get more out of the workers and the latter, by constantly working for different concerns, are less organized, whereas if employed by the Allies, they would instinctively drift into forming regular gangs and thus have better opportunities to organize themselves.

The left wing parties try to influence public opinion through

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The left wing parties try to influence public opinion through the press and by meetings and false reports. Among other things, they are saying that the Allies will soon have to give in and hand over the port to the workers' organizations. (B-3)

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12 Italian Patriots

Italian public opinion has been struck by the campaign which has been and is being carried on by the press in favor of Patriots in occupied Italy. The serious consequence is that most Italians are acquiring the conviction through their press that it is the Allies who have failed the help the Patriots. As to political circles, especially those of the left and centre, the opinion is that the Allies, though they dispose of large quantities of war materials, have not for political reasons furnished either adequately or regularly, supplies to the Patriots. Neapolitan Political circles have, up to the present, greatly discussed the argument, and even now it is second only to that of the Government's crisis. (B-2)

13 Trade Union Congress

In Trade Union circles, intense activity is being displayed in preparation for the Trade Union Congress to be held at Naples from the 10th to the 13th of December. The Congress will be preceded by a meeting of the Christian Labour organizations who will very probably decide to withdraw from the Italian General Confederation of Labor. It is therefore likely that the outcome of the Trade Union Congress will be to strengthen the bonds of trade unionism in spite of definite opposition by Right wing catholics, and the marked activities by some left wing Communists and Socialists, headed by Enrico Russo, to overcome the influence of the official Communist and Socialist Parties.

It may also be foreseen that the Party of Action will secure a place in the General Presidency, but the ultimate result will undoubtedly depend on whether the three parties now in office (Communist, Socialist and Catholics) will present themselves as a whole, or in competition, at the election of the chief offices. In any case, the expectation in Trade Union and political circles is very great because from the results of the Trade Union Congress, it will be possible to get a clear idea of the tendency of the working classes. (B-2)

14 Opinion of a Young Liberal on the Present Situation (29 November)

A young professor in his twenties, working in the Liberal Party offices, expressed his disappointment and dismay at the way things were going in Naples. He professed himself little expert in governmental politics; however he said that the late Government had achieved much in foreign affairs, but had done nothing to improve the internal situation. He then quoted Manlio Lupinacci of the Liberal organ, "IL GIORNALE" as saying that the Government crisis was not a political, but a much deeper national crisis. The older and more authoritative members of the Liberal Party who were in financially secure positions -- the leisured class -- represented the more Conservative wing in

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tion and inefficiency of local government in Naples. The professor was evidently preoccupied solely with local problems to which he, like so many Neapolitan youths of Liberal leanings, is most sensitive. He was bitter about the treatment of some Italian soldiers, their torn uniforms, poor equipment, etc. The Italian army's contribution to the war is indeed for many young Italians the only foundation of dignity and hope left to them, unless they hold a very strong political creed.

Another thing with which the professor was critical is the deplorable conditions in which many poor families have been living for two years in the damp and dark shelters of Naples. He had himself seen over 200 people in the San Gaetano shelter near Piazza Donna Regina, living in these painful conditions.

The professor announced that the Liberal Youth movement headed by Mario D'Onofrio is now debating whether to admit Monarchist members or not. It appears that the Liberals are near the parting of the ways. Because of the government crisis several leading Liberals have gone up to Rome. Senator De Nicola, said the professor, has already gone up twice. (A - 2)

15 A SOCIALIST'S VIEW OF ITALY'S GENERAL SITUATION

Dr. Malfatti, who is shortly going to London to join the staff of the Italian Representative, Count Carandini, is a prominent member of the Italian Socialist Party. He is associated with their paper AVANTI. His sympathies are for the more moderate wing represented by Saragat and Modigliani, and he tends to take an anti-Communist line. In the course of recent conversations with a PWB officer, he expressed the following opinions:

Italian Morale The collapse of Italy as a power had led to general moral collapse and scepticism in which a handful of people, "some 300" in Rome were struggling to establish democratic institutions and to carry on the government and the press. One way of improving morale would be to allow Italians a greater participation in the war; to provide something about which enthusiasm could be begotten. In addition as reconstruction was so impossible owing to the lack of materials and transport, employment in the war would save many from despair and misery and destitution through pointless idleness. Owing to the shortage of materials, reconstruction was at present a secondary issue, or at least a political solution needed to be found fir[illegible]

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Epuration Italy has been ruined for "200 years to come"; hence the indignation against those responsible for Italy's plight. But what could he do. When he had been at the Commissary of Police he

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drive. He was bitter about the treatment of some Italian soldiers, their torn uniforms, poor equipment, etc. The Italian army's contribution to the war is indeed for many young Italians the only foundation of dignity and hope left to them, unless they hold a very strong political creed.

Another thing with which the professor was critical is the deplorable conditions in which many poor families have been living for two years in the damp and dark shelters of Naples. He had himself seen over 200 people in the San Gaetano shelter near Piazza Donna Regina, living in these painful conditions.

The professor announced that the Liberal Youth movement headed by Mario D'Onofrio is now debating whether to admit Monarchist members or not. It appears that the Liberals are near the parting of the ways. Because of the government crisis several leading Liberals have gone up to Rome. Senator De Nicola, said the professor, has already gone up twice. (1 - 2)

15 A SOCIALIST'S VIEW OF ITALY'S GENERAL SITUATION

Dr. Malfatti, who is shortly going to London to join the staff of the Italian Representative, Count Carandini, is a prominent member of the Italian Socialist Party. He is associated with their paper AVANTI. His sympathies are for the more moderate wing represented by Saragat and Modigliani, and he tends to take an anti-Communist line. In the course of recent conversations with a PWB officer, he expressed the following opinions:

Italian Morale The collapse of Italy as a power had led to general moral collapse and scepticism in which a handful of people, "some 300" in Rome were struggling to establish democratic institutions and to carry on the government and the press. One way of improving morale would be to allow Italians a greater participation in the war; to provide something about which enthusiasm could be begotten. In addition as reconstruction was so impossible owing to the lack of materials and transport, employment in the war would save many from despair and misery and destitution through pointless idleness. Owing to the shortage of materials, reconstruction was at present a secondary issue, or at least a political solution needed to be found first.

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Epuration Italy has been ruined for "200 years to come"; hence the indignation against those responsible for Italy's plight. But what could he do. When he had been at the Commissary of Police he had put numbers of fascists in concentration camp; but he had been told by Allied authorities that in a democratic country political opponents could not be kept indefinitely in a concentration camp, and they had been released. The trial of Generals Pentimalli and Del Fetto would take place, but they could not be given the death sentence because they had already raised the awkward point of the behavior of Badoglio and the King. The latter were as guilty as the former, and the cordiality of Churchill's references to Badoglio made the whole question an anomalous one.

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The Partisans - Dr. Malfatti said that the position of the partisans in the north was very serious. Their losses had been heavy. Food was not their problem, but they desperately needed shoes, for instance, and odd articles such as nails for shoes. The arms dispatched to them were always insufficient. They had on occasions received a type of "gangster" material which while theoretically excellent had turned out to be ineffective against German weapons in practice. But above all what mattered was the moral issue. He thought that interest abroad in their activities would be an encouragement to them. It was totally impractical to suppose that they could lie low or go home during the winter, and then rise again as a reorganized body in the spring.

Prisoners of War - Though it seemed a cruel thing to say, he and his colleagues (especially Socialists) did not want prisoners of war to be returned to Italy at present, and they looked forward with apprehension to the day of their eventual return. They were quite sure that workers who had been carried off to Germany would be a treatable and politically seasoned element. But prisoners who returned from India or England, who had none of the experiences through which Italians at home had passed, in the majority either retained their fascist beliefs or had no belief in democracy. The return of brigades of blackshirts to Italy would be an additional problem.

The Financial Situation - Dr. Malfatti said that the Italian currency was in the exceptional situation at present of having no covering at all. President Roosevelt's declaration did not alter this situation as only a small percentage of the actual currency for the whole of Italy was involved therein. Immediately after the declaration people had hoarded American lire as distinct from currency notes. Fortunately this dangerous tendency had been restrained by the fact that large numbers of false American notes were in circulation. In addition the flourishing black market in foreign currencies was flooded with false dollars.

LABOUR

16 The Cost of Production (from conversation with a shipyard owner)

The question of transport is still very serious, and plays quite a part in the cost of production, inasmuch as it very generally affects the individual output of workmen. Let us take as an example the men in a Naples shipyard. Many of them live far from their work, in fact it takes them an hour or even at times two hours twice a day to travel between their homes and their work. They probably leave home on an empty stomach, with a piece of bread in their pocket, perhaps 100 gr. (about 3 oz.); at noon they are given a soup; frequently prepared daily from the same ingredients (of which they are heartily tired), and on this they have to work all day. If there is a pres-

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Underfed as they are, the long walk to and from their work saps their energy, and production suffers in consequence. At the shipyard referred to, the men's output is no higher than 40 per cent of what it was a year ago. The cost of production rises accordingly; one of the chief sufferers being the Allies who are probably the most important employers of labour in Naples. (A-2)

17 OCREN Workers on Strike

The workmen of te Officina Costruzioni Reparazioni Elettromeccaniche Napoletana (about 200) went on strike because they demanded better wages and thepossibility of purchasing food, shoes, clothing, etc. at reasonable prices. The strike has now been settled and is indicative of an economic conditions which might lead to more serious agitations. (B-2)

18 Strikes

The continued state of unrest amongst Neapolitan employees and workers who have unsuccessfully been asking for improvement of their economic conditions, frequently results in strikes and agitations. This week, besides the strike of the OCREN workers, which has meanwhile been settled, there has also been a strike on the part of the clerical employees of the Provincial Labour Office. This last is important because the Labour office, by its very function of settling and controlling Labour disputes, can influence many other categories of workers. (B-2)

P R E S S

19 Allotment of Newsprint to Rome Newspapers

ITALIA NUOVA of 25 November complains that the method of allotting newspring to the various party newspapers constitutes a very effective kind of censorship of the Press. It prints the following figures:

Newspaper	Party	Newsprint	Number of Copies
Corriere di Roma	PWB	864 quintals	180,000
AVANTI	Socialist	201	42,000
UNITA	Communist	192	40,000
ITALIA LIBERA	Action Party	134	28,000
RICOSTRUZIONE	Labour Dem.	110	23,000
RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE	Liberal	110	23,000
ITALIA NUOVA	Monarchist	48	10,000

20 Attack on Italian Censorship

On 22 November the Cabinet approved the drafts of two decrees 328
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On 22 November the Cabinet approved the drafts of two decrees dealing with the organization of 2 commissions to be responsible respectively for the co-ordination and control of radio programmes, and the censorship of films. Thest two bodies would act in a consultative capacity to the Undersecretariat of Press and Information.

RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE of 23 November deplored that such grave decisions should be taken without any attempt to consult public o-

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pinion and stated that such hasty legislation was only too reminiscent of fascist methods. ITALIA LIBERA of the same date warned the Government that the country would no longer stand for controls imposed from above and obligatory propaganda speeches à la Ministry of Popular Culture.

On the 24th the National Press Association issued a statement criticizing the office of the Undersecretary for Press and Information and demanding that Government control of the Press should be reduced to the absolute minimum consistent with military security. The statement pointed out that the Undersecretariat was originally created for the purpose of gradually doing away the functions of the Ministry of Popular Culture.

IL TEMPO of 27 November, however, defends the institution of a cinema censorship as an anti-pornographic measure; but hopes that it will soon become unnecessary, as it holds up the release of films of topical interest.

21 Neapolitan Weeklies

Two new weeklies have been published this week: LA FIACCOLA and IL CORRIERE DEL LAVORO, both sanctioned by PWB.

LA FIACCOLA is a paper of the Italian Socialist Revolutionary party and to all intents and purposes is a continuation of BANDIERA ROSSA (Red Flag), an unsanctioned paper which for many months was published in Naples by the said party. In fact, LA FIACCOLA bears the subheading "Edito da Bandiera Rossa" (edited by"Red Flag") because the heads of the I.R.S.P. have formed a company and called it "Bandiera Rossa." Newsvendors take advantage of the subheading and shout "BANDIERA ROSSA" in order to attract the public, whose attention and perhaps curiosity are aroused by the name of a wellknown paper the printing of which was banned.

From the very first LA FIACCOLA has taken up the same political attitude as that of BANDIERA ROSSA, i.e. definite opposition to the Committees of Liberation. It appears to be the intention of the heads of the Italian Revolutionary Socialist Party to give the widest possible circulation to their weekly, of the first copy of which they printed 20,000 copies. The paper has further been very extensively advertised, to encourage sales, and the most advantageous conditions have been offered to newsvendors. Though the price of LA FIACCOLA is 3 instead of the usual 2 lire, the paper has a good sale, at any rate for the time being.

IL CORRIERE DEL LAVORO is, instead, the organ of the "Associazione Generale delle Unioni Libere del Lavoro". This weekly was

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it is under the influence of the heads of the Italian Revolutionary S.cialist Party. It amply discusses the problem of war victims; Dr. Gennaro Capozzi, President of the Free Union of War Victims, is one of the heads of the Association of the Free Unions, and of the C.R-RIERE DEL LAVORO". (B-2)

22 IL DOMANI D'ITALIA

On N.v. 30th, in Naples, the first number of the Demo-Christian daily, IL DOMANI D'ITALIA (Italy's Future) was published. So far it seems that sales are going well, but at the same time this is not having any effect on the sale of RISORGIMENTO, though both papers come out at the same hour. The main reason for this is the fact that public opinion is primarily more inclined to buy a daily giving news than a paper of a political character. It would appear, therefore, that the present output of IL RISORGIMENTO is much below the demand. (B-2)

23 ROME Literary Review

A substantial weekly literary review entitled CITTÀ has just made its first appearance in Rome. In size and format it resembles the political and cultural weeklies DOMENICA and CRONOPLITA, already in existence. It has 16 pages, costs 20 lire and prints 12,000 copies.

The editorial committee of CITTÀ is composed of an interesting cross section of Italian literary figures of very varied ages and styles: Massimo Bontempelli, Goffredo Gellonci, Ercole Maselli, Paula Masimo, Alberto Moravia, Guido Piovene and Alberto Savinio.

The standard of the first issue of CITTÀ was high. It contained a good Moravia short story, a bizarre and brillian story by Albert Savinio (the brother of the painter G. Di Chirico), and the first part of a serial on life in German occupied Italy by Arrigo Benedetti. The critical articles were somewhat uneven. Moravia in the form of a review contributed a very interesting short defense of writers mainly of "between the two wars" who deserve to be better known outside of Italy, such as Parazzeschi, Gozzano, Cecchi, Montale and Saba. Bellonci and Mario Soldati also wrote good critical articles, though that of the latter was a little marred by journalism. Bontempelli was academical and dull; Savinio unorthodox and sparkling; Piovene psychoanalytical and not quite sensitive enough.

E C O N O M I C S

24 Report on the Production and Control of Hemp in Campania

As soon as Naples was liberated the Allies substituted the fascist "Ente Economico delle Fibbre Tessili" by the "Ammasso Regionale Canapa". At present the Ammasso Regionale Canapa (which will soon be called the "Consorzio Nazionale Canapa") has its main offices in Rome

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With reference to the cultivation of hemp it has suffered a set-back in the last two years; more attention having been given to the production of foodstuffs. The following figures are interesting:

1938	Quintals	276,855
1939	"	292,748
1940	"	291,925
1941	"	244,751
1942	"	291,917
1943	"	166,987
1944		130,000

The first step which the "Ammasso Regionale Canapa" took, when it came into being, was to raise the price of hemp so as to make it correspond more adequately to the higher cost of living, and thus encourage hemp growers to deliver their production to the pools. The price of hemp, which on an average was 1000 lire per quintal in 1943, was therefore raised to the average price of 3000 lire.

For some months past all raw hemp and articles manufactured therefrom have been placed monthly at the disposal of the Allied Commission who, after establishing the quantities needed to cover military requirements and exports to the United Kingdom, release the surplus for civilian consumption. The hemp and its manufactured articles for export to the United Kingdom and for civilian consumption are paid for in full. The Allied Armed Forces instead pay only to the Ammasso the cost of manufacturing plus a percentage to cover the expenses of the pools. This is in accordance with orders laid down by the Allied Commission. The cost of the raw material will presumably be paid for in clearing against goods imported from Allied Countries.

The Ammasso is practically an agricultural, industrial and commercial organization. It collects the hemp produced by fully 20,000 small growers, and allots it to thousands of artisans and hundreds of small industrialists for the purpose of manufacture. Further, the Ammasso assists the growers by allotting fertilizers, seed, additional rations of food for scutchers, transport, etc. It also helps industrialists in securing the materials necessary for the working of their plants (electric power, fuel, oxygen, acetylene, lubricating oils, etc.), as well as in obtaining the additional ration of bread which the Allied Commission has granted to workers.

The control of the industry has made it possible to eliminate speculation in the field of manufactured articles. It has also made it possible to place at the disposal of the Allied Armed Forces, from as far back as February 1944 considerable quantities of manufactured articles such as rope, twine, string, sacks and canvas. In conclusion the working of the Ammasso is good. The 1945 crop, however, will be

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25 Almonds, Walnuts and Filberts

This year the walnut crop has been very abundant, but the quality is poor to the extent that in normal times it would not have been found satisfactory by foreign buyers.

The almond crop has been limited in Sicily, and below normal in Puglia. However, the availability after the harvest was above normal because of stocks carried over from the previous year.

The filbert crop has been slightly above normal in Sicily, but below normal in Campania. The availability at this time of the year is perhaps larger than usual as a result of the quantities still on hand from the previous harvest.

Prices per quintal as compared to those ruling before the armistice are as follows:

	Present average	Old controlled price
Filberts, Naples long	L. 5000	L. 850
" Sicilian round	" 3400	" 750
Walnuts (Sorrento)	" 6000	" 800
Almonds (shelled)	" 10000	" 2800

In both cases the prices are first cost for delivery at the place of production. Prices before the armistice were controlled by the Ministry of Agriculture who therefore fixed them. The present prices are those of the free market.

Although the above products were largely exported before the war, the present high prices are due partly to local consumption, which is abnormally large in consequence of the present food contitions in Italy, and partly to fear in the further depreciation of the lira and the consequent unwillingness of producers to part with their products which, particularly in the case of almonds and filberts, may be kept in stock for years. A further explanation of the high prices is the fact that many who have never handled these products consider them a good investment as they are not readily perishable.

The evident disparity in prices of Sicilian and Neapolitan filberts is due to the fact that as the Naples production is nearer the centre of consumption, it is more readily absorbed than the Sicilian one, as the latter is handicapped by lack of transport.

As to the export of these products, it could readily be done before the war because the products, being pooled at prices fixed by the Italian Government could be submitted at firm offers for the quantity allotted to him for export. At present, however, these products are only obtainable on the free market, and prices in these abnormal times are subject to very wide fluctuations. The would-be exporter finds it therefore extremely difficult if not impossible to submit firm offers holding good over a length of time such as would

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26 Olive Oil Collection, Salerno

The Prefect of Salerno recently held a conference with regard to the pooling of this year's oil production. After a lengthy discussion it was decided to adopt the following resolutions:

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1) To appoint 4 flying squads for the purpose of going round to the various districts and demanding delivery of oil from the producers.

2) The squads will be made up of one Police agent, one official of the Consorzio Agrario, and an official of the Ufficio Accertamenti Agricoli (Agricultural Ascertainment Office).

3) As the squads would have no transport a decree of the Prefect is being published ordering all car owners to place their vehicles at the disposal of SEPRAL for 2 days a month for the purposes of this oil collection. (B-2)

FOOD SITUATION

27 Public Opinion

The food situation may be said to occupy the attention of the general public more than any other single topic, and observers frequently report that persons interviewed on any subject very soon may work the conversation around to this all important subject. Complaints center on three main points: short supplies, high prices and mismanagement by distribution authorities.

In mid-November about 100 women assembled in the Piazza della Signoria, Florence, shouting out at the Prefect, and any Fascists still in office. They carried placards bearing the words, "We want bread," "We want milk for our children", and also some lauding the Allies and their armed forces. A little later another band of women arrived and demanded "Coal" and the removal of the Prefect from office.

On 25 November, a group of housewives from workingclass districts of Ostiense and Testaccio, Rome, went to the Campidoglio to protest to the Mayor, who received them. They bore placards with such inscriptions as "We are hungry," "E ora di finirla".

28 Salt

On 21 November the Directors of the State Monopolies announced that in the future no issue of salt would be made to bakers for bread-making. The press attacked both monopolies' management and SEPRAL, the food distribution agency. IL POPOLO declared that the present ration of 100 grs. per month is quite insufficient for health, and demanded more salt be made available even if the price had to be raised. AVANTI pointed out the absurdity of a salt famine in a country so abundantly provided with salt mines and marshes. The refineries were not all destroyed and there are still sailingboats for transportation. QUOTIDIANO however defended the Monopolies' step which was taken when it found the bakers were many of them selling the salt on the Black Market. In addition the salt save, together with fresh supplies, would make a larger general ration possible.

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3) As the squads would have no transport a decree of the Prefect is being published ordering all car owners to place their vehicles at the disposal of SEPRAL for 2 days a month for the purposes of this oil collection. (B-2)

FOOD SITUATION

27 Public Opinion

The food situation may be said to occupy the attention of the general public more than any other single topic, and observers frequently report that persons interviewed on any subject very soon may work the conversation around to this all important subject. Complaints center on three main points: short supplies, high prices and mismanagement by distribution authorities.

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On 25 November it was announced 600 tons of salt had arrived by sailboat from Sardinia, and the Monopoly is said to be considering the resumption of the bakers' allotment.

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29 Wine from Apulia

ITALIA LIBERA of 23 November writes of the "scandal" of the coming of the first lot of long-awaited wine from Apulia, brought north in a ship provided by the Allies. Even at Civitavecchia considerable quantities were missing, and more barrels were unloaded at open country stops of the train bringing it to Rome. In the city wholesalers did not keep their promise to sell only to registered retailers, and finally the retailers were "sold out" almost immediately -- i.e. the wine went "under the counter" for sale to special customers at special prices. More wine is expected by rail, and the paper stated that it is up to SEPRAL to provide adequate guards and distribute it only by ration card.

ITALIA NUOVA of 26 November stated that the wine was bought in Apulia for 11.80 lire per litre, alcoholic content 13%. It was sold in Rome for 29 lire per litre, alcoholic content 11%. SEPRAL is blamed again for this unwarrantable difference.

30 Rome Rations

Certain misapprehension has arisen concerning recent statements that a 300 gram bread ration has been requested for the whole of liberated Italy. It has to be stated that what has always been meant has been the flour equivalent of a 300 gram bread ration made up of a 200 gram bread ration and a weekly pasta ration of 550 grams, which is the present ration prevailing in Southern Italy, or any other agreed combination of bread and pasta. Thus no increase was contemplated for Southern Italy.

Recent statements in the Press have implied that Supplementary Rations for all workers were to be continued and expanded. This is not correct. What was agreed at the recent conference held between Italian Ministers, representatives of CGIL and A.C. was that the demand for supplementary rations for all workers would be studied closely and an early decision reached upon the matter. Meanwhile these rations are continuing in Rome only until a general settlement of the whole question is reached.

No decision has yet been reached regarding a change in the present highly subsidized price of bread. According to VOCE REPUBBLICANA of 23 November, representatives of CGIL saw several ministers and the Undersecretary for food, Bergami, to ask that any increase should not apply to workers earning less than L. 5000 per month.

31 Food Distribution in Rome

There are at least 3 bodies sharing what is really one job: SEPRAL, ASA (Azende Servizi Annonari) and UDIS (Ufficio Distribuzione) The Government or at least the Mayor ought to create a single central organization, and see that it is staffed with men of energy and in-

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stops of the train bringing it to Rome. In the city wholesalers did not keep their promise to sell only to registered retailers, and finally the retailers were "sold out" almost immediately -- i.e. the wine went "under the counter" for sale to special customers at special prices. More wine is expected by rail, and the paper stated that it is up to SEPRAL to provide adequate guards and distribute it only by ration card.

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taken in the issue of these, and the difficulties raised, paralyze the activities of the cooperatives. Their warehouses are empty, members protest, directors resign. UNITA maintains that helping the cooperatives would solve half the food problems of Rome.

32 Rationed Foodstuffs Distributed in Rome during November

Food	Quantity	Price
Macaroni	275 grms.	£ 7.00
Potatoes	1 kilo	£ 16.00
Salt	100 grams	£ 7.00
Dried soup	125 "	£ 30.00
Dried peas or beans	200 "	£ 30.00
+ Canned Pork	180 "	£118.00
+ Meat and Vegetables canned	200 "	£ 66.00
Macaroni	300 "	£ 7.00

Distribution of some items began in the last days of October.

+ Items were alternatives, one Zone received one, the others, another.

33 Prices of Food Supplies in Naples

The prices of foodstuffs and goods of every nature continue to rise rapidly and without interruption. The increase on meats and fats is especially marked. There is a rumor that before long meat will be distributed weekly on ration cards. Prices in Naples are quoted as follows:

Bread	per kilo	L.	160 - 170
Macaroni	do.	"	180 - 200
Flour	do.	"	160 - 180
Beans	do.	"	140 - 150
Cheese	do.	"	350 - 370
Mozzarella	do.	"	360 - 400
Lard	do.	"	650 - 700
Fish	do.	"	300 - 350
Beef	do.	"	450
Veal	do.	"	480
Pork	do.	"	500
Sugar	do.	"	600
Oil	per litre	"	400 - 440

(A-1)

RECONSTRUCTION AND REFUGEE PROBLEMS

34 A Labour Plan for Reconstruction

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	Quantity	Price
Macaroni	275 grms.	£ 7.00
Potatoes	1 kilo	£ 16.00
Salt	100 grams	£ 7.[illegible]
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Oil	per litre	"	400 - 440

(A-1)

RECONSTRUCTION AND REFUGEE PROBLEMS

34 A Labour Plan for Reconstruction

In a broadcast of 19 November Di Vittorio, the Communist Secretary of CGIL, spoke of the most urgent problems of national life: unemployment in relation to Italy's economic reconstruction.

The key to economic reconstruction, the key to employment, lies in finance. The only way to make a start is to make funds available. Funds must be taken where they are to be found, that is in the great fortunes of the rich and newly-rich, who are in any case the promoters and profiteers of fascism.

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An immediate start, on however modest a scale, is necessary in order to provide employment. For this purpose two measures are required: the setting up of communal and provincial commissions of workers' representatives, technicians and mayors to decide on priorities of work; and an immediate graduated tax on great fortunes to finance the scheme.

35 Restocking Latium with Livestock

It was stated by the Italian Ministry of Agriculture on 23 November that a total of 13,000 hog sucklings had been shipped during the past three months from Perugia Province to Latium and Abruzzi. Allied authorities provided the necessary transport.

36 Government Credits for Sardinian Reconstruction

On 22 November the Interministerial Committee for Reconstruction approve the final text of the measures already approved by the Cabinet for aiding reconstruction in Sardinia. Three measures were involved:

a) Wider powers for the High Commissioner; and institution of a consultative assembly.

b) Grant of one milliard of Lire for agriculture.

c) Grant of 300 millions for industrial reconstruction plus allotment to Sardinia of one quarter of the two milliards already agreed on for the industrial reconstruction of the country as a whole.

37 Red Cross Week

The final results of the Italian Red Cross week held early in the month have now been announced. The total sum collected amounted to four and a half million lire, in addition to considerable quantities of clothing, furniture, etc., most of which have already been distributed to needy families of refugees.

38 CHRISTMAS Plans

The Monarchist paper ITALIA NUOVA has appealed to the population to give hospitality to soldiers on Christmas Day, and claims that large numbers of readers have written agreeing to take in so many each.

CORRIERE DI ROMA of 26th reports that the Union of Italian Women (U.D.I.) is organizing a scheme for the distribution of presents to poor children at Christmas.

39 1000 Refugees Return Home - The Journey from Rome to REGGIO

The following information was supplied by an Italian lady who traveled with the refugee train from Rome to Reggio (Calabria) for purposes of observation and assistance. The information is considered reliable. 324

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The refugees were told to be at the Prenestina Station at 9 a.m. The Italian Red Cross nurses were told to be there at 1 o'clock. The train left at 5.10 from the Prenestina and at 6.10 from the Casilina Station.

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The nurses made a tour of the freight cars where the refugees were to see that all were in good health. They found a boy with whooping cough in the wagon with other children and a pregnant woman.

In the middle of the train there was a 3rd class car and a priest asked the two volunteer nurses to take the place of two nuns. There were 8 places in the compartment, which was connected with another (with a toilet between) where there were other priests and nuns. In the last big compartment, of about 20 places, the Pontifical Commission was comfortably installed. It was composed of a Doctor, Signor Persichetti, Signor Romeo, wearing a white and yellow armband bearing the words "Pontifical Commission for Refugee Assistance", Signor Bonajuto (Sicilian), Father Lograsso (Sicilian) who was in charge of the refugees, Staff-Sergeant Morelli and another policeman. (N.B. This compartment was the only one which had almost all the window panes intact).

In the same compartment was a professional Red Cross nurse wearing a mobilization armband to show she was traveling on service. But at the end of the journey at Reggio Calabria she admitted she had not been sent by the Red Cross and confessed her "service" had consisted of helping with the distribution of milk at Cava dei Tirreni (assistance offered by the High Commissioner of Refugees, which should have been presided over by volunteer Red Cross Nurses) and giving 2 hypodermic injections to a paralytic in the compartment next to hers. The Volunteer Nurses were otherwise occupied in another compartment occupied by the so-called sick, about 8 in all. This compartment had no window panes or light. The prompt action of the nurses who covered the windows with the refugees' blankets saved the travelers from asphyxiation in the many tunnels.

During the various stops, the refugees used the toilet of this compartment, whereas the priests forbade the entrance to their door, and the other toilet in the compartment of the Pontifical Commission was shut and locked. At one stop a woman who got off the train instead of standing in the queue was almost left behind and sprained both ankles in trying to regain the car. During the journey parents just held their children outside the windows.

"On the 9 November at 8 o'clock we reached Cancello, where the train for Naples was detached, and at 13.30 we arrived at Cava dei Tirreni, where the first ration (soup and bread) was distributed. The refugees had to get down to get it. Signor Romeo of the Pontifical Commission tried to help and the refugees turned imploringly to the nurses asking to be treated like human beings and not like cattle. The invalid with heart trouble had an attack and some boys asked for coffee for her. We had none and could only offer a hypodermic injection. A nun asked for pyramidon which she gave her and

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Dr. Persichetti of the Pontifical Commission asked us to take in a poor old woman 80 years old suffering from incontinence, who was in a freight car where the other travelers could no longer stand her. We took her in, but discovered that she was also insane, which the Doctor had not told us. We asked the priests and nuns to take her in as she was frightening a young mother and her six weeks old baby, but they refused.

10 November. At 10:15 a.m. we reached Paola where there was an excellent and well-organized distribution of hot milk and bread on the train, and also medical service for anyone requiring it.

11 November. At 4 o'clock we reached Reggio Calabria Marina. The weather was intensely cold with snow on the mountains of Sicily, and the refugees were frozen. At 8 o'clock they should have been ferried across and instead it was 2 o'clock before they left.

The presence of volunteer nurses on refugees trains is considered necessary but they should have proper conditions in order to give adequate assistance to their patients.

The way the refugees are put in freight cars is horrible. From 35-40 people are put in one freight car, with no toilets, so they are forced to leave the train during the stops, in the dark, the cold and the rain, at the risk of losing the train and hurting themselves."

40 Report on War Victims in the City of Naples

The situation regarding war victims in Naples is a particularly serious one, because they are very numerous, very little has been done for them and on top of it, conditions generally are extremely bad. The victims may be divided into two groups: those who have lost real estate (houses, factories, shops, etc.) and the others who have lost either altogether or in part, their furniture, personal effects and other household belongings.

The former demand that the State should intervene directly or indirectly, in full or in part, in the reconstruction of their property; they claim that war damage should be borne by the whole nation and not only by those who have been victimized, and lastly, that assistance given to the private initiative of the victims is the first step towards national reconstruction.

The latter, and they are very numerous, are as a rule the greatest sufferers; among them is the great mass of the penniless who owned nothing and lived miserably before the war, and who now after the disaster, are reduced to absolutely primitive conditions of existence. Many of them have been unable, so far, to find a lodging and are still obliged to live in public shelters; it is a question of thousands of them living in a manner which is primitive, unhealthy, immoral and

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Very little has been done in Naples to assist war victims. The Ente Comunale Assistenza have distributed some subsidies, a few parcels of clothing and some meals; on the other hand the Intendenza

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di Finanza, which should indemnify the victims for damage sustained, suspended payments for lack of funds more than a year ago. Up to date the cases which have been approved for liquidation, but which have not yet been paid off, amount to about one milliard lire. Lastly, the Government Civil Engineers have not yet started repairing damaged buildings owing to lack of funds.

A number of associations have sprung up among the war victims for the furtherance of their interests, but the majority of them went to pieces owing to incompetence and lack of interest on the part of the leaders. At the present moment there are two such associations in existence in Naples: the Association of War Victims in Via Chiatamone run by Dr. Ernesto De Leo, and Commendatore Michele di None; and the Free Union of War Victims at No. 102 Via de Pretis, presided over by Dr. Gennaro Capozzi.

From information received from many different sources and from direct inquiries, it appears that the first of these organizations was started for speculative purposes, and that persons resorting to it are blackmailed in every way; naturally this has deeply stirred public opinion.

On the other hand, the Unione Sinistrati appears to be a reliable concern, having over 2000 registered members, with a sound organization in Naples and Province and also in other Provinces. Among the leaders there are various people who are favorably known and esteemed in the city circles, such as Dr. Capozzi, Commendatore Tancredi, Engineer Amigo-Rotas, etc. For several months now they have been very active in their endeavors with institutions, authorities and private individuals, trying to bring assistance and relief to victims of the war; in fact it appears that many Allied and Italian authorities have received them, listened to them, and acknowledged them.

The Unione Sinistrati are trying to organize the whole mass of victims (about 40,000 individuals) in order to be able to demand from the authorities the assistance which the leaders believe they could not obtain otherwise. The main forms of assistance which the Union wants to get for these victims, and which correspond to the wishes of the population and to the demands of Italian reconstruction, are the following:

1) Reconstruction by the Government Civil Engineers of the buildings which are not seriously damaged and which, with slight repairs, could be used for dwelling purposes.

2) De-requisition of premises which are not indispensable to the prosecution of the war by the Allied authorities, for the purpose of making them available to the homeless.

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3) Construction of huts for the temporary housing of homeless people who cannot continue indefinitely to live in public shelters.

4) Payment for damages suffered by people without means, for limited amounts, say less than 10,000 lire.

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5) Assistance in cash and raw materials for the owners of productive concerns, who against such assistance would undertake to restart production.

6) Supply clothing and household goods to those who have lost them. This could be done either by using the UNRRA supplies direct, or by commanddering the articles from the trade and selling them to the war victims at equitable prices.

(B-2)

R A D I O

41 Criticism of Radio

UNITA of 19 November criticised the BBC's treatment of the Italian political crisis. According to the Communist daily the BBC stated that the insoluble problem is how to consult the will of the people. UNITA ironically suggests the "neologism": elections.

RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE of 24 November attacked sharply the lack of impartiality on the part of the three regular announcers of Radio Rome, Aldo Cerosci, Umberto Calosso and Ruggero Orlando, claiming that not content with announcing the news, they comment on it, praising or blaming parties or individuals. If they are speaking in the name of A.C. or PWB it seems a strange way for the Allies to choose in order, for instance, to advise the Italian Ambassadors on how to behave in the countries to which they are accredited. If, however, as seems more likely, they speak in the name of their own parties, then each of the Italian parties ought to have its announcers on the radio.

ROME LOCAL CONDITIONS

42 VALLE AURELIA

UNITA of 25 November continues to describe the various quarters of Rome and speaks of Valle Aurelia, described as a forgotten suburb. The suburb has been known as anti-fascist from the very first, and was intentionally neglected by the Mussolini Government for a long twenty years. "It is time the authorities came to see how the people live in this unfortunate zone. The greater part of the dwellings are broken-down huts, damp and cold. There are no sewers. And the scavenger service is more or less non-existent. The street cleaner service leaves much to be desired. There was a flourishing brick kiln in the

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5) Assistance in cash and raw materials for the owners of productive concerns, who against such assistance would undertake to restart production.

6) Supply clothing and household goods to those who have lost them. This could be done either by using the UNRRA supplies direct, or by commanddering the articles from the trade and selling them to the war victims at equitable prices.

(B-2)

R A D I O

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CULTURAL NEWS

43 Christianity and Communism. Literary Ideas in Italy - A Talk with Alberto Moravia

Alberto Moravia is the most gifted of the younger Italian novelists and the only one whose books have become at all well known abroad. Though he is only in his early thirties, he has produced half a dozen novels and collections of short stories. Of these the best known abroad is "Gli Indifferenti" which first appeared in 1929 and was translated into English, French and Hungarian, and subsequently adapted for the Paris theatre. Other writings appeared during the late thirties and early forties: "Le Ambisioni Sbagliate" (1933), "La Bella Vita" (1935) "L'Imbroglio" (1937), "La Mascherata" (a political novel with an implied satire on Fascism, 1941), "L'Amante Infelice" (1943) and "Agostino" (1944).

"Gli Indifferenti" was an immense success in Italy when it first appeared and it struck a new note in Italian novel writing: though the influence of Giovanni Vergas realism apart from that of non-Italian writers such as Samuel Butler (of whom Moravia confesses himself a great admirer) was perceptible "Gli Indifferenti" was a study of a rootless and decayed Italian middle class family with a sordid background: and its realism, so much in contrast with the Italy projected by Fascism, removed the veil from the society in which the author lived. Moravia continued in this tone under the official frown and finally was forbidden to write under his own name. He was able to travel however, and visited the U.S., Mexico and China. Moravia is partly Jewish by origin which added to the difficulties of his life during the last years of Fascism, and he had to take cover like other non-Fascist writers during the period of the terror.

In a discussion Moravia spoke of the recent short book he has produced on Christianity and Communism, entitled "La Speranza". He is not an orthodox Communist and he looked forward with interest to the article answering his view which he understood Togliatti had written for the party periodical "La Rinascita". He, Moravia, had already been attacked in the Catholic press. He did not believe that Marx was a "scientist" (as orthodox Marxists maintain) but the founder of a religion, the religion of "the city of God on Earth" which was in many ways comparable to Catholicism. Moscow today occupied the place which Rome had once occupied in human history. The Communists had their dogmas, their church fathers, and their oecumenical councils. The modern equivalent to the idea of "original sin" was property from which communism preached redemption. When questioned about liberalism Moravia said that in his view it was the last survival of Christianity. Communism, the new order to come, would not be liberal at first. But it would develop towards liberalism with the passage of time: just as Christianity in Italy had "developed into paganism with the Renaissance".

Speaking about Italy in general Mora[illegible] expressed many of the

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Speaking about Italy in general Moravia expressed many of the feelings of weariness and disillusion from which Italian writers often suffer even in less trying times. Rome was old and decrepit and corrupt. He obviously felt drawn to a new world of foreign and younger countries. Italian literature he thought lacked good novelists because of the lack of vital society such as still exists for instance in France or in England. Italian writers had to struggle against their surroundings which were narrow and provincial. Italians did not read books. His own books sold much better than those of most of his friends, but he believed this was because people thought they were pornographic. No Italian writer could

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live by writing books. Hence there was the need to interrupt serious work so as to write newspaper articles. For instance at present though he was working on a novel, he had to write articles of literary criticism for the new weekly "Citta", of which he was one of the editors. Italians had depended on contact with the outer world, for instance France, but under Fascism that had been made much more difficult and he had never received more than a small percentage of the royalties he should have been given for translations of his work. There was no adequate society for the protection of authors rights in Italy. The isolation which writers had felt under Fascism still remained, as there was hardly any information available about what was happening in other countries and English and French books and periodicals were completely lacking.

Asked about the influence of modern foreign writers in Italy, Moravia said that it was obviously very great. Amongst Italians he had personally found the greatest appeal in Manzoni, Boccaccio and Ariosto. He was a great admirer - as are many contemorary Italians - of Stendhal as well as of the French eighteenth century novelists. Part of his knowledge of English he owed to study of James Joyce's "Ulysses", though he was a devotee of Swift and Dickens. Dostoevsky meant much more to him than Tolstoy. He spoke very warmly about Faulkner who is deeply appreciated in a limited set in Italy.

Like many of those of the younger generation of Italians who are not profoundly under the influence of Croce, Moravia blamed the Hegelian currents of thought in Italy not only for having paved the way towards ideas of state absolutism but also for having introduced a dead jargon of abstract words in writing and discussion, which was used alike by Fascists and anti-Fascists. This abstract jargon which Croce's followers adopted - though Croce himself was quite a good writer - was only second in bad influence in style to the rhetoric which the Italians through the Renaissance had inherited from the Romans. One task of modern writers was to write as they spoke and thought, as Verga had done. It was far better to be rough and sincere than precious and empty.

Moravia has remarkable acumen as a literary critic and is able at the same time to argue his unusual political views very aptly. This is perhaps not surprising in a country in which critical faculties and intellectualism are develped to so fine a point. It is not out of the ordinary either, perhaps that Moravia as an Italian and a novelist should adopt in conversation on the whole what would be called a negative attitude to society in spite of his intellectual conception of its ultimate renewal. That is to say, his tone is fundamentally individualistic and atomistic and, perhaps unconsciously, he stresses all the time, in a not untypical Italian way, the implicit claims of the independent person as against those of any larger whole whether national or ideological.

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43 Re-Opening of the University of Siena

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The University of Siena was officially re-opened at 10 a.m. Sunday morning November the 26th, in the "Sala del Mappamondo" in the old Chigi Palace, now the Municipal Palace.

The faculty in their purple robes, representatives from each section of the town wearing the mediaeval costume of the colour of his section and carrying his banner, as is the custom during the traditional Palio festival, the students with their long peaked caps

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of varying colours dotted among the quiet spectators, gave colour to the ceremony. The Allied Government has made possible the continuation of this university rich with tradition, by providing facilities for the text books. The University was founded in the year 1241, its main studies being Law and Medicine.

44 Films

Rome "La Nostra Città" (Our Town). Continual comments showed that the exclusively upper class and army audience followed the projection closely. The remarks were most favorable, regarding the technical side. A number like it because such films recall normal life and act as a sedative for over-strained nerves. An army officer disapproved because he felt that such a picture of smooth living was an affront to Italy's tragic situation.

"Garand, the Gunsmith" (Documentary). In addition to the life of the inventor of the army firearm, this film includes an account of a workman who invented a machine used for war industry. People interrogated found the film very interesting. Three found such documentaries interesting because they put Italians in intimate contact with American industrial life. Two others decried this method of propaganda as an over eager attempt to show Italians that the word "democracy" in America has reached its highest and widest expression, treating Italians as if they were children being taught the most elementary rudiments. Others wished for films like this, showing the war effort of the Allies for final victory "so that we could emulate them".

"Natascia" (Russian feature). The audience at this showing consisted mostly of women, bored, hardly watching the screen. The Russian Red Cross service theme was considered depressing, without any lighter relief. Two young men admired the photography but wished for better dubbing and more virile men's voices.

"Aspettami" (Russian feature). This was the first non-propaganda Soviet film to be shown in Rome. Critics agreed that on the whole the production was "a trifle too simple". The public was quite surprised to see beautiful houses, fine clothes, kissing of hands, etc. However, it does have seriousness and a sense of style and the music is typically Russian. The film has the charm of taking one into a typically Russian world.

Naples. "Ossessione" was shown recently in Naples, and a Naples art critic considers that this film is the best among good ones produced in recent years in Italy.

Bari. "The Great Dictator" has been very well received. Chaplin's impersonation of Hitler was particularly appreciated but the presentation of Mussolini was not so well liked. A Commander in the Royal Italian Navy would have preferred to see him presented

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"Vigilia di Guerra" on the other hand has interested only a part of the audiences. The main criticisms were the lack of unity among the various episodes and the commentary which is not always presented with sufficient logic. However, it was felt it well merited being seen to refresh the memory today on the events of yesterday.

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I NO. 45

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APPENDIX I + QUESTIONAIRE ON "CORRIERE DI ROMA"

METHOD

The aim of this sample poll was to obtain the opinion of 200-300 Romans representing as wide a cross-section as possible of the population on the PWB Daily "CORRIERE DI ROME".

This was to be achieved by a three day miniature poll (24-26 November) of citizens in their homes, using a standard questionnaire (a translation of which is attached.)

To obtain as representative a poll as possible, three districts were chosen: Parioli, for the upper class; Savoia for the middle class; Trastevere for the lower class. Four full time interviewers were employed on the work, two Americans in uniform and two Italians in civilian dress, all members of the "D" Section staff. In addition a number of members of the PWB staff agreed to poll their Italian friends.

On the whole, the poll met with a good response. Initial diffidence on the part of those interviewed, due to the novelty of the procedure in Rome, was in general easily overcome; though one Italian interviewer was not satisfied that in all cases the persons interviewed expressed their true opinions. In a few cases there were clear indications that the person concerned was afraid anything he said might be held against him. 245 persons in all were interviewed; of these 82.45% answered all the questions, 13.5% some of the questions, while only 4.15% refused to answer at all.

CLASSIFICATION OF SAMPLE

(a) Sex	Number	Percentage
Men	193	78.8
Women	52	21.2

It was feared at first that the method of interviewing in homes would lead to an undue proportion of women, and an effort was made to avoid this. It was only too successful. However, as in the experience of all interviewers women mostly seemed to have thought little about the subject and to be merely echoing the opinions of their men, the result is probably not as unbalanced as it appears.

(b) Age	Number	Percentage
15+	5	2.
20+	25	10.2
25+	28	11.3
30+	31	12.7

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(b) Age

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15+	5	2.
20+	25	10.2
25+	28	11.3
30+	31	12.7
35+	31	12.7
40+	38	15.5
45+	24	9.8
50+	33	13.5
55+	10	4.1
60+	20	8.2

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This distribution seems fairly satisfactory, although the under twenties are inadequately represented, and the over sixties more than adequately.

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(c) Profession	Number	Percentage
High State Employees (1 retired)	2	.8
Civil Servants	41	16.4
Landowners	2	.8
Army Officers	10	4.-
Lawyers	6	2.4
Doctors	5	2.-
Chemists	5	2.-
University professors	3	1.2
Secondary School teachers	5	2.-
Journalists	2	.8
Engineers	6	2.4
Women in professions	11	4.4
Manufacturers	6	2.4
Merchants	4	1.6
Students	16	6.4
Clerks	14	5.6
Shopkeepers	33	13.2
Industrial workers (men)	26	10.4
" " (women)	7	2.8
Drivers	7	2.8
Concierges	8	3.2
Housewives	20	8.-
Unemployed	2	.8
Balance not specified	(4)	3.6
	245	100.-

In the absence of reliable recent statistics for occupations in Rome, it is only possible to express a general opinion of this distribution. It is clearly weighted at the top -- too many professional workers and intellectuals as against practical non-representation of the unemployed. While the numbers of civil servants, clerks and other white-collar workers may seem excessive, it should be remembered that Rome is largely an administrative as distinct from an industrial city. The percentage of shop-keepers seems also unduly large.

(d) District	Percentage
Parioli (upper class)	30.6
Savoia (middle class)	22.5
Trastevere (lower class)	26.1
Other districts	20.8

This distribution confirms the conclusion that the sample is

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Landowners	1	1.4
Army Officers	2	.8
Lawyers	10	4.-
Doctors	6	2.4
Chemists	5	2.-
University professors	5	2.-
Secondary School teachers	3	1.2
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Other districts	20.8

This distribution confirms the conclusion that the sample is overweighted at the top. On the other hand it must be remembered that in Parioli quite a number of the interviews were with servants. The "other district" most largely represented was the middle and working class quarter between the Corso Umberto and the Tiber.

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RESULTS

Among all the Rome dailies (Osservatore Romano was not listed) the "Corriere" was easily the most popular. How far this result was influenced by the fact that the poll was in part carried out by interviewers in Allied Uniform it is impossible to say. The following table gives percentages of first preferences only:

Newspaper	Percentage
Corriere di Roma	42.44
Risorgimento Liberale	13.46
Avanti	9.38
Il Tempo	8.14
Voce Repubblicana	6.53
Unità	5.71
Il Popolo	4.48
Italia Nuova	3.67
Italia Libera	2.04
Ricostruzione	.81
Il Quotidiano	----
Others	2.54

68% of the people interviewed stated that they read the "Corriere" daily. 8.1% never read it or refused to answer. The frequency of reading of the remainder is as follows:

8.1% read the "Corriere" once per week
3.6% " " " twice " "
5.2 " " " three times per week
4.4% " " " four " " "
1.2% " " " five " " "
.4% " " " six " " "

Three out of every four buy their own copy. 17% read some one else's copy. In 8% of cases this question was not answered.

The opinion of the persons interviewed of the various services supplied by the "Corriere" is shown in the following table of percentages. It is broken into the three factors: preference, opinion of quality and opinion of quantity. As regards preference, only first preferences have been included, while this question was included in only 42.4 of the schedules completed. The percentage of "No opinions" varied between 16 and 32 for the various services.

"O" = Good "M" = More
"I" = Indifferent "P" = As at present
"B" = Bad "L" = Less

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	Pref.	Quality			Space Required		
		G.	I.	B.	M.	P.	L.
War News	29.	67.8	15.9	0.	11	66	4.1
Foreign News	.4	48.1	23.7	9.	22.5	49.4	4.1
Italian Politics	3.6	29.6	29.2	21.6	33.9	39.2	3.3
Italian Partisans	2.8	42.9	23.7	11.9	31.4	42.4	3.2
Italian War Effort	2.1	39.2	18.	21.2	35.9	38.8	2.
Local (Rome) News	2.1	45.2	20.	19.1	28.9	47.3	3.2
Religious News	.8	27.7	33.	11.	17.9	43.6	7.
Entertainments	1.2	23.7	39.5	16.7	18.8	44.5	4.9
Editorials	.4	37.6	32.7	4.1	10.6	59.6	1.2
News Commentaries	-	28.2	38.3	11.4	24.5	48.6	1.2
General Make-up	-	51.	24.	2.4			

This shows War News a clear first preference, with none of the other services standing out as a particular favorite. News commentaries do not appear to be in demand.

There is general approval of the quality of the services provided, the standard of War News and Foreign News being considered particularly high. Opinions vary most widely as regards the standard of Italian political news.

It is generally agreed that none of the services listed can do with less space. More space is desired strongly for Italian news, including politics, war effort and partisans.

68.5% of those questioned agree that the "Corriere" provides a clear picture of war conditions in America, Britain and Russia. 13% disagree, 18.5% have no opinion. 51% find that it gives a clear picture of the work of A.C. in Italy, 29% do not, 20% have no opinion.

70% obtain from it a clear idea of the Allied war efforts, 9% do not, 21% have no opinion. 15% think the "Corriere" ought to be more polemical, 3% that it should be less so, and 58% are satisfied with it as it is. 24% have no opinion.

51% have no further improvements to suggest at the end of the interview, 43.3% wished to make suggestions or add comments. These are listed below in order of frequency:

a) Suggestions

	No; of times suggested
1. Give more detailed news of the War in general	12
2. Clearer printing	11
3. More political orientation	6
4. Should not give only U.N.N. news	5
5. Larger format	3
6. More news of Italian Prisoners of War	2

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5. Larger format	3
6. More news of Italian Prisoners of War	2
7. More detailed economic news	2
8. Should urge speedier epuration	2
9. More religious news	2
10. More sports news	ONE
11. More small advertisements	ONE
12. Advertisements should be cheaper	ONE
13. Urge party truce in Italy	ONE
14. More propaganda to unite Italy and Allies	ONE

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15.	Clearer presentation of Allied attitude to Italy	)
16.	Should be non-political	)
17.	Should oppose leftist tendencies	)
18.	More Italian news in Sunday edition	) One
19.	Daily CIL (Corpo Italiano di Liberazione) column	)
20.	More pictures	)
21.	Fewer pictures	) each
22.	Improve news lay-out	)
23.	More accuracy in maps	)
24.	More copies available on news stands	)

b) Comments

1.	Reads "Corriere" solely for local and official news (i.e. rations)	5
2.	Discontinued reading "Corriere" because it gives little news of Italy, reconstruction and Italian youth	4
3.	Does not read any paper because of disbelief in contents	2
4.	"Corriere" is not interesting	1
5.	"Corriere" is the most serious paper	2
6.	Too many newspapers in Rome	1
7.	Reads "Corriere" but does not believe what it prints	1
8.	Corriere is too completely under Allied control	1
9.	Editorials are not specific	1
10.	Translations often inaccurate	1

TRANSLATION OF PWB PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE "CORRIERE DI ROMA"

(1) Complete ( ) (2) Incomplete ( ) (3) Refused ( )
(4) No. of Interview ( ) (5) Date ( ) (6) District ( )
(7) Interviewer ( ) (8) M. ( ) F. ( ) (9) Checked ( )
(10) Age: 15+ ( ); 20+( ); 25+( ); 30+( ); 35+( ); 40+( )
45+( ); 50+( ); 55+( ); 60+( )
(11) Occupation _

I. Which is your favorite newspaper? Second favorite? Third? Any others?

Newspapers	Preference	Newspaper	Preference
Corriere di Roma		Avanti	
Risorgimento Liberale		Il Popolo	
Voce Repubblicana		Il Quotidiano	
Italia Libera		Ricostruzione	
Italia Nuova		Il Tempo	
		L'Unità	

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18. More Italian news in Sunday edition	)	One
19. Daily CIL (Corpo Italiano di Liberazione) column	)	
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Italia Libera		Ricostruzione	
Italia Nuova		Il Tempo	
		L'Unità	

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II. Do you read the "Corriere di Roma" daily ( ); how many times per week? ( ); Never ( )?

III Do you buy your own copy? ( ); read someone else's ( )?

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The "Corriere di Roma" provides a new-service covering the following subjects. Please state your opinion of the QUALITY and SPACE REQUIREMENTS of each, and your order of preference:

		Quality G. I. S.	Space M. P. L.	Preference
IV	War News			
V.	Foreign News			
VI.	Italian Politics			
VII.	Italian War Effort			
VIII.	Italian Partisans			
IX.	Local (Rome) News			
X.	Religious News			
XI.	Amusements			
XII.	Editorials			
XIII.	News Commentaries			
XIV.	General Make-up			

XV. Does the "Corriere" give a clear picture of war-time conditions in America, Britain and Russia? Yes ( ) No ( )

XVI. Does it give you a clear picture of the work of A.C. in Italy? Yes ( ) No ( )

XVII. Does it give you a clear picture of the Allied war effort? Yes ( ) No ( )

XVIII. Do you think the "Corriere" should be more polemical ( ); less polemical ( ); no change ( ).

XIX. Do you wish to suggest any other changes? Yes ( ) No ( ).

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APPENDIX II No. 45

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L E G H O R N

PERSONALITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

THE PREFECT is Dr. Miraglia, who has risen to this post through the Civil Service. He is a Catholic, and not even his political enemies can accuse him of Fascism. He has worked actively to restore normal conditions in the city. Where differences of opinion exist between Allied and Italian organizations, he does his best to maintain good relations, stressing the fact that the abnormal conditions of the town are the inevitable result of the present Allied war requirements. For this reason he is not popular with Left wing parties, and the Committee of National Liberation accuses him of being subservient to the Allies, of being too much influenced by the Provincial Commissioner who is a personal friend of his, also of not being active enough in the work of epuration.

THE SINDACO is Furio Diaz, a young Communist lawyer, member of a well-to-do and well-known family. He is said to collaborate with the Allies and appears to be on friendly terms with the Prefect.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE C.L.N. is Conte Renzo Ruel. He is non-political and appears to have been active on behalf of the Allies during the German occupation. As he is on good terms with the American Command, the Committee find him a useful liaison with the Allies and have refused to accept his resignation, which he has tendered several times as he wishes to retire from political life.

THE COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION includes representatives of the Liberals, Communists, Christian Socialists, Party of Action, Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists, (now called Comunisti Libertari) and Partisans. The reason that the Christian Socialists and not Christian Democrats are represented is because only the former can claim recognition for activities during the clandestine period. The unusual presence of the Comunisti Libertari (ex-Anarchists) is due to the fact that this party has a considerable following in Leghorn. It is reported that the Party of Action and the Republicans have amalgamated and that therefore the delegate of the former represents both parties.

THE TOWN COUNCIL has been nominated by the Allies, but has not yet been recognized by the Prefect. It is composed of one member of each of the following parties: Socialist, Communist, Demo-Christian, Liberal, Party of Action and Liberal Communists (ex-Anarchists). The last named has just resigned. Both the C.L.N. and the Town Council are said to be at odds with the Allies and the Prefect. The former are accused of indifference to the needs of the people, the latter of being too subject to the Allied Authorities.

POLITICAL PARTIES

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POLITICAL PARTIES

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LIBERAL PARTY - has carried on only extremely limited activity during the clandestine period. It is unorganized and has very few members. Its funds are scanty and come from Florence. Up to the present it has been subsidized by industrialists and capitalists. Sig. Giorgi, the President, declares that if the party wants to survive it should adopt a left wing policy. Thus its representatives on the C.L.N. are ready to cooperate with extremist elements.

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COMMUNIST PARTY - has many members and sympathizers in all social classes. It has capable leaders such as Gigli, the President of the Camera del Lavoro, who is very active in syndical affairs. The party policy in Leghorn is that of general collaboration. They have not openly joined the anti-Monarchical front, but it is thought that they are fairly active behind the scenes.

SOCIALIST PARTY - has many members among the lower middle classes and among the young, especially students and young workers.

PARTITO COMUNISTA LIBERTARIO (ex-Anarchist Party) - has changed its name in order to gain representation on the C.L.N. This party has many members. There is a strong vein of anarchism in the Livornesi which is explained by the ethnic origins of the city which was populated in the 16th Century by outcasts of the Mediterranean ports and political refugees, etc.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST PARTY - was the only party which worked successfully through the clandestine period. When the town was liberated, the Christian Democrats, profiting by the fact that the Christian Socialist leaders had been arrested, spread the report that the two parties had amalgamated. Thus members of the Christian Socialists subscribed themselves en masse in the Christian Democrat Party. It is probable that the former will end in absorbing the Democrats and will attract all the Catholics, who in Leghorn are far less reactionary than in other parts of Italy. The Christian Socialists affirm that they are not in any way allied with the Vatican.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS - are not represented in the C.L.N. It is closely linked with the Vatican.

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF ACTION - Has a very large following in Leghorn and can be considered to have an important future. At one time it was amalgamated with the Party of Action. Later, when it became clear that the two parties had nothing in common, the Republicans decided to separate from the latter.

ANTI-MONARCHICAL MOVEMENT

Republicanism is very strong in Leghorn; it may be said that all the political parties have this point in common. An anti-Monarchical Front has been organized and it has been reported that if the Lieutenant General were to visit the town a hostile demonstration would take place. Neither the Liberals, the Christian Democrats, nor the Communists have joined this movement. The two former parties are not necessarily Monarchist in sympathy, but they wish to remain loyal to the national directive. While the Communists believe that to declare themselves openly on one side or the other would cause a split in the Partisan forces, as there is no doubt that there are

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LABOUR ORGANIZATIONS

The C.C.L.(Camera Confederale Lavoro) has been organized on democratic lines. There is a Provisional Executive body in which Communists, Socialists, Demochristians and Comunisti Libertari are represented. In the Secretariat, on the other hand, only the three

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main parties are represented and the Comunisti Libertari are excluded. The Republicans and the Party of Action were not admitted because they had not defined their programmes.

In the larger provincial centers (Piombino, Resignano, Solvai, Colle Salvatti) regional offices on the same lines as the C.CIL. have been established. These offices have authority to run their own local affairs, subject to the approval of the central offices in Leghorn.

An "Ufficio Avviamento al Lavoro" was established for the placing of workers. Later the Allies took over this function and set up the Provincial Labour Offices, which act in conjunction with the CCL.

Various groups of labour are represented on the CCL. These include workers from the Naval dockyards, the Modo Fedes Factory, the Petal works, the S.I.C.E. (Building Society), the Social Welfare Institutions, bank, postal, Telegraph and Telephone employees, and even Railway employees, who tend elsewhere to organize themselves separately.

The Agricultural workers have organized their own "leagues" which are affiliated to the CCL. Conditions for this group have been and still are very difficult. A wage of only 18 lire a day is by no means rare. Landowners are definitely opposed to the formation of these leagues, which are designed to protect the worker.

The Internal Factory Commissions, another separate organization, are established in all industries and civil services, including those controlled by the Allies. It is alleged, however, that the Allied authorities do not look favorably on these Commissions.

AMG order No. 28, Article 2, establishes the right of skilled and permanent hands to elect these Commissions themselves and rules that all political parties, with a large enough following, should be represented. Representation of women workers by women is urgently demanded in the factories.

In this AMG order no mention is made of the CCL, whose work it is alleged is being hampered by the Allied authorities. As an instance of this is quoted the fact that Allied firms do not allow their Italian employees to ensure against accidents and illness. Thus in these cases, the worker, if dismissed, gets no compensation. The working classes resent this and accuse the CCL of not safeguarding their interests effectively with the Allies.

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

In June the following organizations, upon which the whole food supply of Leghorn depended, ceased to function:

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The Agricultural Inspectorate
Provincial Agricultural Control Office
Provincial Agricultural Union

Even before the liberation the CLN tried, illegally, to provision the city, set up special "Food Squads" with "Armed Squads" to defend them. Thus wheat, flour and meat were collected and distributed.

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After the Liberation the Agricultural organizations failed to resume their functions. Therefore the "Commissione di Riattivizzazione" was organized and carried on alone for a short time under the CLN. The Allies authorities subsequently refused to recognize such a commission and transferred all authority back to the Agricultural Organizations, without any attempt at epuration.

THE AGRICULTURAL INSPECTORATE - ought to be the local centre of the Ministry of Agriculture, which it represents. For more than a month, however, it ceased to exist in Leghorn for the reason that its director, Professor Pacli, has been ill for a long time and in spite of this refused to resign. The Vice-Director, Dr; Giacomelli, has proved incompetent throughout the crisis.

THE PROVINCIAL AGRICULTURAL CONTROL OFFICE - is directed by Dr. Pellegrini. He has proved incapable and has obstructed work of the Commissione di Riattivizzazione. The son of a Squadrista, pro-German in sympathies, he urged his staff to enlist. Now he is trying to give the impression that he is working actively by carrying on a kind of epuration of his own and dismissing people at random.

In the PROVINCIAL AGRICULTURAL UNION there has been no epuration at all, merely the nomination of a new administrative council which has been recognized by the Provincial Commissioner. Avv. Bersacchi, notoriously incompetent and legal adviser to the former organization, has been placed at its head. A deficiency in the funds of about eight million lire has been discovered and the CLN has appointed a Commission to investigate the matter. The fact that the legal adviser of the old and fraudulent administration is now presiding over the organization is much criticized in Leghorn.

DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN LANDLORDS AND SHARECROPPERS

There is disagreement between landlords and peasents in the Leghorn district, over the sale of local produce. An agreement, enforced by the Fascists in 1936-7, stipulates that the sharecroppers cannot sell their produce direct, but must hand it over to the landlord for sale. 70% of the profits from this sale are then divided between the two parties, and 30% is kept as a reserve. The sharecroppers now went this agreement abolished. They wish to control the sale of produce and division of profits themselves. The landowners have so far refused to come to terms. Consequently the peasents are refusing to hand over their produce and the landlords are retaliating by refusing to repair farmhouses or provide fertilizers, etc. It is possible that this state of affairs may result in armed clashes.

FOOD SITUATION

The food situation is very bad. The reason for this is that the Province of Leghorn consists of a narrow strip of sea coast and has

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List of current prices during the month of October:

1 kilo American coffee	L. 400
1 kilo American flour	80
1 3-kilo tin American meat	400
1 flask American petrol (for lighting)	150
100 grams American butter	50
1 packet American cigarettes	40 – 60

HOUSING SITUATION

The center of the town is a restricted area, only available to the families of those who are working for the Allies. The Prefect has established a billeting office to deal with housing difficulties. Men who are working for the Allies have the right to occupy any premises in the city; having done so they must obtain the approval of the Italian civilian billeting officer. By Nov. 1, some 10,000 premises had been requisitioned and some 5000 more had been applied for. The defects of this system are that the original householder loses all rights to his home; no provision is made for the protection of his furniture; complaints are heard that inhabited premises are arbitrarily requisitioned by Allied officers

PRESS, PROPAGANDA AND CINEMAS

Leghorn is practically without newspapers. The limited number of copies of the "Corriere del Mattino" which reach the town arrive 24 hours late and few people get the chance of seeing them. The "Telegrafo", which was the organ of the Ciano family, used to be published here. It was competently edited by Ansaldo, of broadcasting fame, and had a circulation outside Leghorn. The printing works of this paper are in perfect condition and the staff still in the town, though employed in other work by the Allies. Lastly there are considerable stocks of paper available. The CIN would like to republish this paper under their contol. AMG however will only support the publication of a completely non-political local paper, which would provide local news and information about AMG orders, etc.

Since there is no electricity, there is no radio, and all the cinemas have been requisitioned by the Allies. The Livornesi are anxious that at least two cinemas should be opened to the civilian population. Morale is low, and as newspapers are so scarce there is great need for an Allied propaganda centre in Leghorn. AMG officers would like PWB to take this matter up. A Jew named Belforte has a bookshop at 10 Via Ricasoli, which might serve for this purpose. Sig. Belforte is said to be completely pro-Allied and prepared to sell such publications as "Victory", "Il Nese", etc., for which there is a great demand.

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1 kilo American flour	80
1 3-kilo tin American meat	400
1 flask American petrol (for lighting)	150
100 grams American butter	50
1 packet American cigarettes	40 – 60

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CONFIDENTIAL NO.71.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit NO.12 APO 512

9 JUN 1945

Rome "D" Section June 7th., 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY, NO.71.

Part 1 - SUMMARY.

The political crisis continues, and has now been prolonged for more than a month. At first it was difficult for the Parties composing the CNL, both in the North and in Rome, to come to an agreement on a common programme. After much delay and hesitation, at the end of last week they formulated a joint programme on which they could agree. A statement was issued in which the representatives of the six Parties belonging to the CNL reaffirmed their "determination to maintain the union of the anti-Fascist Parties in order to solve the problems inherent in the democratic construction of the State". They pledged themselves to exercise a moderating influence in Party strife so that violence would be avoided and freedom of speech guaranteed to all. It was further decided that the provincial and municipal CNL's would continue to exercise advisory functions beside the prefects until the formation of organs of administration could be assured by democratic elections, and that the Committees in factories should be transformed as rapidly as possible into technical and syndical organs to adapt themselves to the exigencies of production and social justice.

Having overcome the obstacles to an agreement on the functions of the CNL, and having already agreed on a joint programme, the six Parties next dedicated themselves to the structure of the Government. It is reported that the Socialist Party proposed - during discussions in Milan - that Nenni should be Prime Minister as it was felt that the new situation created by the liberation of the North demanded that the working classes should be represented in the key position of the Government. It is also reported from left wing sources that all six Parties, during the discussions in Milan, agreed to the desirability of a Socialist being Prime Minister.

Immediately after agreement had been reached as to the programme, Guido Gonella, in a leading article in IL POPOLO put forward the canditature of the Christian Democrat for the Premiership. He argued that Italy's needs could best be served at this particular moment by a Christian Democrat Prime Minister. As regards internal affairs, he maintained that the Christian Democrats were a centre Party and that at this moment it was essential to preserve the balance between left and right, and only the Christian Democrats were in this central position. If, he continued, Nenni were to be Prime Minister, the balance would be shifted definitely to the left, more particularly in view of the pact of unity existing between the Socialists and Communists, and there would be a danger that the Government would become predominantly Socialist-Communist in character. As far as relations with the Allies are concerned, Gonella argued that De Gasperi as leador of the Christian Democrat Party would be much more likely to receive the support and understanding of the Allies than Nenni. The Christian Democrats maintain that in discussions with the other Parties which took place in Rome at the beginning of May they had already suggested that in the event of a change in the Premiership and in the event of this office falling upon the shoulders of a Party man, the Christian Democrat Party would be most likely to preserve a balance between left and right. Therefore, the charge made by the left wing Press that by proposing their canditature last Sunday the Christian Democrats were sabotaging the formation

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Meanwhile, in a letter not devoid of irony, Bonomi wrote to the leaders of the six Parties reminding them that after the liberation of the North he promised Nenni and Togliatti not to open the ministerial crisis until an agreement had been reached between the different Parties. "Since then" he writes, "almost a month has passed, in which the Government, given the precarious nature of its position, has had to postpone the solution of the principal problems. You will agree with me that this situation cannot be further prolonged without

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harm to the Country. Now that you have reached agreement as to programme, I believe it is time to proceed to an understanding. I would, therefore, be most grateful to see you". During the discussions which have taken placein the last month Bonomi has taken little or no part, but the manner in which he has allowed the Parties to continue their discussions and the way in which he reminded them that it was essential to come to an agreement soon has met with considerable approval. In sections of the population these prolonged discussions have served to discredit the Parties, the more so as the disagreement hinges on the question of who is to be Prime Minister. Many Italians who belong to no Party feel that the Party Leaders are not sufficiently aware of the gravity of the economic and political situation in which Italy finds herself to-day. Many believe, in view of the refusal of the Socialists and Communists to support the De Gasperi canditature, and the refusal of the Christian Democrats to agree to the canditature of Nenni, that Bonomi may remain as the only alternative. It is also reported that some other representative Italian may be suggested as Prime Minister so as to heal the deadlock. It has, in fact, been suggested by some Italians that a member of the Party of Action, such as Parri, who would represent the resistance movement in the North and at the same time the right wing of his Party, might be Prime Minister. It is believed, however, that he himself is not very willing to accept such a post and it is further known that the Action Party would not suggest his canditature unless they were first certain of the whole-hearted Communist Socialist support. They would only consider that the Communist support was whole-hearted if Togliatti himself entered the Government. So far, Togliatti has declared that he desires to leave the Government so as to dedicate himself to the organization of the Communist Party, though, he has added, he would be prepared to serve in a government presided over by Nenni. The Action Party leaders have discussed this question with the Communists and have asked them to review this decision. There have been further suggestions that the crisis might be solved by offering the principal post in the Government to a man like Orlando, Nitti, Sforza or Bonomi, who are outside the Parties. Left wing and progressive Parties, however, discount this, as they point out that it would be unacceptable to the people of the North. At the moment there is no indication of an immediate solution to the problem.

Prominence has been given in the Press to the general election in England. It is reported that the left wing and in particular the Socialist-Actionist Parties, hope and believe that the Labour Party will emerge victorious. The statements of the Labour leaders on foreign policy have been favourably received by Italians of progressive tendencies. The right wing, on the other hand, hope and believe that the Conservatives will win the election. There is, however, considerable ignorance as to the method of election obtaining in England, and much surprise was at first caused by the resignation of Churchill and by the formation of a new Government. From various sources it is clear that Churchill enjoys considerable popularity with many right wing, centre and non-political Italians, not only for the part he played in 1940, but also for his vigorous defence of liberty and private enterprise. His explanation of how Great Britain wanted Italy to retain her fleet and, therefore, handed over British instead of Italian ships to the Russians has been particularly well received by Italians.

The Press continues to display great interest in the Trieste problem.

A Congress of the Republican Party was held in Rome and policy was discussed. Among other things it was decided not to take part in the Consulta Nazionale - "the last of the Lieutenant General's Government's tricks".

Lussu addressed the [illegible] Party during the week concerning conditions

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Lussu and [illegible] addressed the Party during the week concerning conditions of the Party in the North. Lussu declared there were 70,000 members in Milan alone, and Ghidini said that the Party was stronger in Milan than in Rome and, therefore, the organization here must be improved.

As a result of an enquiry made as to the possibility of the existence or growth of a "Mussolini Myth", it has been ascertained that amongst non-political Italians there is a certain nostalgia for Fascism in so far as order was preserved. There are some Italians, it is reported, who say that Mussolini was badly advised and they defend his conduct up to the signing of the alliance with Germany. They declare that he was misinformed by his advisers and that this was the cause of the disaster.

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CONFIDENTIAL

No.71.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
UNIT NO.12 APO 512

Rome "D" Section

7th. June, 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY NO.71.

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A. CURRENT EVENTS

1. Press Reactions to the Events of the Week.

The main topic in the Press is, of course, the Italian Government crisis. The other principal themes are Trieste, the release of Pietro Nenni, the abolition of the "cordon sanitaire", and the forthcoming elections in England.

With regard to Trieste, Press reaction remains the same, and anxiety is still felt regarding the outcome. Reports of preparations by the Yugoslavs to defend the city strike a note of alarm.

On the question of the arrest and release of Nenni, most papers merely say he was set at liberty after he had written a letter of apology for infringement of regulations, and conclude that this closes a disagreeable incident. ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) of May 27th. and other papers, give the order of the day issued by the Central Committee of Liberation at a meeting convened to discuss this matter: "....(the Committee) invites the Italian Government to present a formal request to the Allied Government for the abolition of the restrictions which still impede the full exercise of political liberties". They go on to quote Reuter, however, which points out that the withdrawal of Allied Military Government from the North of Italy, although it will make political life in those parts more easy, will, on the other hand, render Italy's position in the Venezia Giulia and Val d'Aosta questions more difficult.

The abolition of the "cordon sanitaire" between North and South is hailed with extreme gratification by the entire Press.

UNITA' (Communist) of May 27th., in an editorial entitled "Europe is Moving towards the Left" says: "It is practically certain that the Labour Party, with the collaboration of Socialist and Communist forces which are already very important even in England, will obtain a crushing majority in the elections in Britain in July. British policy, especially with regard to European nations, will then change considerable."

On the same subject, ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) of the same date, in an article on the forthcoming elections in England, maintains that victory will be with the conservatives, but at the same time the article points out that even if the Labour Party should win, it would not mean any radical change in British foreign policy.

The main discussion with regard to the formation of the new government in Italy centres round the function of the Committee of Liberation in that Government.

RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (Liberal Party) of May 29th. says: ".....an expedient must not be considered as a method of government....It must be remembered that when the coalition of the six Parties was formed (within the CNL) in Bari and later transferred to Rome, its programme was very precise: to throw

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never
lay the foundation of a new national structure. All governments by the Committee have existed in conditions of internal strife, which has degenerated into anarchy and tyranny. Is it at this we are aiming?"

INDIPENDENTE (Unofficial government organ) openly sides with the opinions expressed in RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE, and LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO (Independent) and IL TEMPO (Independent) take the same line.

On May 30th. the entire Press reacts on the question of the position of the CNL. Several papers give the letter sent by the Liberal Party to the secretaries of the other five Parties of the CNL reaffirming what was said the day before in their editorial, and stating that the Liberal Party accepts in principle the points elaborated in Milan, but reserves itself on the question of the function of the CNL.

EPOCA (independent Socialist) of May 30th. says that a member of Action Party in an interview gave it as his opinion that the question of the composition of the CNL should not present difficulty, and after this it would be possible to proceed with the construction of the Government. The article, however, also says that the solution since Togliatti and Nenni returned from the North seems to be further away, and the accord between the six Parties, which seemed perfect some days ago, is now not so clear and the solution of the crisis seems more remote.

UNITA' (Communist) of May 30th. quotes an editorial from AVANTI (Socialist) of Milan, under the title "The CNL, mass organism of Order and Self-Government", which expresses astonishment at finding that delegates from the South stipulated as a basis of accord in the formation of the new Government, that the CNL should revert to its simple function of liaison between the Parties. The article goes on to say that the CNL as a mass organization can bring order and discipline into Italian political and social life, especially in this moment of disorientation; that it can collaborate with the Government and bring to it the point of view of the masses, and at the same time make those masses understand the necessity for steps taken by the central government. To oppose the functioning of the CNL in this way is to oppose an effective and organic union between the government and the people who have contributed so much in the battle of liberation.

AVANTI(Socialist) of May 30th. gives Nenni's speech on his return from the North, and quotes him as saying that he has the impression that a step forward was made in Milan, and two steps backward have been since made in Rome.

On May 31st. the entire left-wing Press reacts strongly to the declarations of the Liberal Party. AVANTI and UNITA' (Socialist and Communist), affirming their complete solidarity, state that the position taken by the Liberals is an obvious manoeuvre to prevent the formation of a Government which shall be the expression of the will of the people. They insist that the crisis shall be solved at the earliest possible moment, and that the new Government shall be in accordance with the unanimous decisions of the Committee of National Liberation of Northern Italy (CNLAI).

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B. GENERAL REPORTS - POLITICAL

2. Discourse by Professor Ugo della Seta.

On Sunday morning, 27th. May, Prof. Ugo della Seta spoke of "La Repubblica" at the cinema Teatro in Piazza Sonnino, to a large and attentive audience composed for the most part of members of the Action and Republican Parties.

In his discourse the speaker calmly and serenely examined the institutional problem, the forces that favour the Monarchy and the forces that desire a republic, and he then set forth his belief that a sane republic is an unquestionable necessity for Italy from both a historical and moral point of view. He stated that a republic is the logical form of political system; that a republic is against privilege and opposed to the omnipotence of the State, and that it is the pivot of equality, justice and liberty.

The speaker then reviewed the English, American and French revolutions of the nineteenth century and their relation to a Europe then stabilized in constitutional monarchical and liberal forms of government, and dwelt on the rapid spread of republican principles and spirit in that period.

The speaker then delineated the juridical, political and economic aspects of the republican order and it s rôle in the present struggle in Italy. He maintained that the abolition of the Monarchy is an ethical necessity for the moral welfare of the Nation. He continued by exalting the value of the Constituent Assembly and closed his discourse with an eloquent appeal for concord and joint effort of all democratic and republican forces in the Country.

The audience listened attentively and warmly and frequently applauded the speaker during and at the conclusion of his address.

3. Celebration of the "Rerum Novarum" in Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano and Speech made by Minister Gronchi.

This meeting took place at 5 pm. on May 27th. and was in honour of Christian workers. It was organized by the A.C.L.I. A vast crowd was hedged into Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano, for the most part workers of both sexes united under their white catholic banners and standards and singing the hymns of their associations. It was impossible to calculate the number of persons present as the crowd not only filled the courtyards, but overflowed into a large portion of the Piazza. On the platform reserved for the speaker and authorities the presence of many political personalities was noted, in particular those belonging to the Christian Democrat Party, i.e. Minister De Gasperi, Tupini, Scelba, Mentini and Conella. There were also important representatives of the "Camera del Lavoro" and the CGIL.

In the first place there were several introductions full of compliments and cordial words of greeting. These were followed by the president of the ACIL, Dr. Ferdinando Storchi, who read a message from the Pope which was received with great enthusiasm by the audience. He then read a letter from the Secretary of the CGIL, Achille Grandi, who exorted the Christian workers to maintain syndical unity under the auspices of the Church.

Minister Gronchi then spoke. He first drew attention to the fact that among the workers there is a great will to work for the reconstruction, and that this will to work must not be denied if we are not to return to the past, to its spirit of violence and imperialism or to the dictatorships that even today are not extinct in Countries which term themselves Christian and democratic. (This was a clear allusion to Russia). He then stressed the importance of the "Rerum Novarum" and after giving an ample picture of the fundamental statements dealing with private property and the use of same, and with the question of salaries, he pointed out that the Christian conception is not one of a middle way between the schools of thought, but has its own peculiar and particular ideas. He ended by demonstrating the absurdity of identifying the priests with the overlords of the masses, putting Catholicism and reaction to

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The audience listened attentively and warmly and frequently applauded the speaker during and at the conclusion of his address.

3. Celebration of the "Rerum Novarum" in Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano and Speech made by Minister Cronchi.

This meeting took place at 5 pm. on May 27th. and was in honour of Christian workers. It was organized by the A.C.L.I. A vast crowd was hedged into Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano, for the most part workers of both sexes united under their white catholic banners and standards and singing the hymns of their associations. It was impossible to calculate the number of persons present as the crowd not only filled the courtyards, but overflowed into a large portion of the Piazza. On the platform reserved for the speaker and authorities the presence of many political personalities was noted, in particular those belonging to the Christian Democrat Party, i.e. Minister De Gasperi, Tupini, Scelba, Montini and Conolla. There were also important representatives of the "Camera del Lavoro" and the CGIL.

In the first place there were several introductions full of compliments and cordial words of greeting. These were followed by the president of the ACIL, Dr. Ferdinando Storchi, who read a message from the Pope which was received with great enthusiasm by the audience. He then read a letter from the Secretary of the CGIL, Achille Grandi, who exorted the Christian workers to maintain syndical unity under the auspices of the Church.

Minister Cronchi then spoke. He first drew attention to the fact that among the workers there is a great will to work for the reconstruction, and that this will to work must not be denied if we are not to return to the past, to its spirit of violence and imperialism or to the dictatorships that even today are not extinct in Countries which term themselves Christian and democratic. (This was a clear allusion to Russia). He then stressed the importance of the "Rerum Novarum" and after giving an ample picture of the fundamental statements dealing with private property and the use of same, and with the question of salaries, he pointed out that the Christian conception is not one of a middle way between the schools of thought, but has its own peculiar and particular ideas. He ended by demonstrating the absurdity of identifying the priests with the overlords of the masses, putting Catholicism and reaction together, and he said that those few who in future will be called to guide the destinies of the Nation will not be the old ruling class shut up in its egotism, but they also cannot be exclusively the masses by themselves, who cannot remain hostile and alienate themselves from other social classes.

The speech was interrupted by frequent and enthusastic applause. There followed a procession of the workers. Outside there were enthusiastic scenes and De Gasperi was carried on the shoulders of some young men and cheered by the crowd. On the meantime other political personalities carried on improvised open-air committee meetings.

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POLITICAL (contd.)

4. Report of Emilio Lussu and Ugo La Malfa on the Condition of the Action Party in the North.

On Thursday morning, 31st. May, in the auditorium of the Dopolavoro dello Finanze, Emilio Lussu and Ugo La Malfa gave brief reports of their recent visits to the North and of the activities of the Action Party there.

Emilio Lussu, the first speaker, gave an account of the life of the Party in Milan, of its 70,000 members there, of its contribution in clandestine and partisan activities, and of its great losses. Although the Socialists and Communists are very strong numerically, he said, the Action Party had played an outstanding and important part in the liberation of the city. Lussu then spoke of the many young men and women who had been partisans, of their intelligence, bravery and sacrifice. He spoke of many episodes in the partisan struggle, of the battles in Cuneo and in the Provinces, of the valour and effectiveness of the "Giustizia e Liberta'" brigades, of their disdain and rejection of German overtures, and of their subsequent victories.

The speaker was eloquent on the subject of youth, of the boys and girls in whose qualities of simplicity, self-sacrifice and patriotism rested the hope of the Italy of tomorrow. After speaking of Turin, of its proletarian traditions and Socialist and Communist organizations, and of the noteworthy group of Action Party members, Lussu then compared the people of the North with those of Rome and referred to the different way in which punishment had been meted out to the Fascists in the two places.

The speaker then outlined the political position of the Party, the labour and syndical conditions of the North and the necessity for more homogeneous and definite action in solving these problems.

Ugo La Malfa stated that he had little to add to the words of Lussu except to say that in Milan the Action Party was far more potent and active than in Rome where, although it played an important and vital role in clandestine times, it no longer enjoys the same importance. Therefore, he said, it is necessary to increase our organizing activity, improve our newspaper, and follow our brothers of the North with a similar energy and will.

5. Speech by Avvocato Commandini at a Meeting of the Action Party.

Avvocato Commandini spoke on "The Action Party at the Present Moment". His discourse was an explanation of how Fascism came into power and the mistakes made in the enforcing of its doctrines. The situation is exactly the same today, he said. The population sees Parties multiplied and does not know which to choose. This bewilderment is everywhere, and the moment will arrive when one party will try to restore by force another dictatorship. The Action Party rises against such a threat. Founded in 1859 by Mazzini, this Party was inactive for about 50 years and was reformed by Carlo Rosselli as the "Giustizia e Liberta'" movement, and as the liberal-Socialist movement of Guido Calogero. The "Partito d'Azione" does not ask a place in the Government. It wants a Republic, but not the Republic sought by the Partito Repubblicano Italiano. It aims at a social republic which will give prosperity above all to the lower classes.

The speaker was not at all precise in his speech. He was, however, applauded by the audience which numbered about twenty, mostly women.

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6. Reactions concerning the new Italian Government.

An Italian PWB collaborator reports as follows: The opinions gathered are very diverse.

A civil servant, aged 55, considers that a good solution might be provided by a ministry formed by Bonomi, Orlando and Sforza. Such a ministry, according to this man, is the only one which could give the people the sensation of being governed. Bonomi would represent an important factor for Italians: that he is well received by the Allies and, therefore, could be very useful. Orlando is, without doubt, the man most capable of holding the balance between the Parties; he would be able to silence the discordant voices of the various Parties and bring unity. Sforza, although not a persona grata to the Allies and not the man to take control, could, however, be extremely useful in a diplomatic capacity and he would certainly obtain support in the USA. Furthermore, a ministry composed in this way would put on one side the political aims of the other Parties and be able to initiate rapidly the work of reconstruction in Italy.

A tailor, 45 years, thinks that a suitable solution to the crisis would be a Togliatti-Nenni government. He did not explain very well his reason for thinking thus, but it would seem that he chose these two men because he considers they represent together the great mass of the people and, united, they would be able to work to the advantage of Italy. He also referred to the importance of Togliatti in the government, seeing that he has been in close connection with the Comintern in Russia. He could count upon the assistance of Russia and, therefore, of all the Allies.

A Carabinieri sergeant, 45 years, considers that a solution must be found either in the reconfirmation of the Bonomi government, or in a government formed by Francesco Saverio Nitti. This, not because Nitti is a monarchist but because, according to this sergeant, he is the only man capable of holding the reins of government. No-one can doubt his honesty - neither the anti-Fascists nor the Allies - and, in fact, the latter would be favourable to Nitti, he thinks, because they also are anxious to see Italy governed in a stable manner. Naturally, as Nitti is not a great diplomat, he would find men to assist him in this function, but - the sergeant continues - I am certain that his government would be of great value at the present time. Much discord would be eliminated and under his guidance people would find again that tranquillity so much desired.

7. Public Opinion on the "Republican Congress"

An Italian collaborator of the PWB reports as follows: The full session of the Italian Republican Party has not left any strong impression on public opinion, such as usually happens when sensational events take place. In fact, it has not been an event of national interest. It was not a national congress, but rather a reunion of all the regional representatives, including those from the North. The meeting ratified the general principles of the Party and decided upon a more precise line of action and the preparation of the programme for the national congress due to take place shortly.

The meetingswent as follows: On May 26th. all the reports of the various representatives on the work done between 1943 and May 1945 were approved, while on Sunday, May 27th. the future programme was discussed, and in particular two points deliberated were:

1. The nomination of a provisional directive council composed of Pacciardi, (General Secretary), Conti, Franchini, Zuccarini, Bardanzellu, Grisolia and Perri (representative from the North).
2. The unanimous decision not to take part in the "Consulta Nazionale" called "the last of the luogotenente's Government's tricks".

With regard to the first point, it should be specified that the directive Council is a provisional one only, as the heads will be elected at the National Congress. As for the second point, it can be said that the following sums up public reaction:

A University student, aged 24 (republican): "I warmly applaud this do-

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A University student, aged 24 (republican): "I warmly applaud this decision of my Party, inasmuch as it confirms the spirit of the Party itself, and has convinced me definitely of the purity of the Party's methods and programme. In fact, what Party in this moment of extreme egotism and opportunism has refused the possibility of getting a seat in the Government rather than waver from its line of conduct? This decision has also strengthened the will to be unmovable as far as the question of the monarchy is concerned.

I more than ever abhor the manoeuvres of some Parties, such as the Communist, who do not mind wavering from their political programme if it procures them seats in the Government."

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Another republican, a building expert, aged 45, says: "While on the one hand I approve of the line of conduct which made us refuse to take part in the "Consulta Nazionale", on the other I think it is bad for ourselves and harmful to the Nation. By doing this we appear to want the others to make the Republic for us without our help. If we limit ourselves to leaving the Government whenever the Luogotenente's Government or the monarchy enters into public life, we contribute nothing. I believe that it is necessary to fight with any means whatsoever, even making an alliance with the Communists, Socialists and others who at the moment want a republic for their own ends. Then, having obtained this, if we find that the Government still is rotten, then we can leave it. But at least our main object will have been achieved. I am sure that if we interpret and put into practice Mazzini's doctrines in the idealistic manner in which he conceived them, Italy will never become a Republic."

8. Opinion as to the most Essential Materials for Italy.

An Italian collaborator of PWB collected the following statements:

An electrician, about 23 years of age, finds that the raw material in Italy is not enough to cover Italy's needs. Copper and rubber for covering electric wires is lacking. Rubber sheeting for tyres is also necessary. There are workshops well fitted up for transforming raw rubber into motor tyres, but we have no raw material.

A tailor, 30 years old, said that materials sold as being English were nothing but stuffs made up of English or Dominion wool, worked up in Italy and then sent to England. Italy has not an urgent need for wool or cotton, although both needs exist. It is reported that in the North of Italy the factories are almost intact and could easily begin work at once and if they have not done so it means that something is lacking. The absence of machines for weaving is more important than the high cost of raw material. For instance, although the "Cotoniere Meridionale" of Naples has a sufficient supply of thread, they cannot begin production on account of la ck of frames. We should certainly be grateful to the Allies if they would send us wool and cotton without making us wait too long, but there are also other very necessary raw materials such as coal, paraffin, motor tyres, and locomotives.

An electromechanical expert, 57 years old, finds that raw material is very necessary but that the machines would be of more use for economic rebirth. We have enough iron and steel but not the machines for making the necessary tools for work. The steel foundries in Terni are completely destroyed, and it will be some time before the FIAT in Turin, Milan and Monza will be ready to begin work again. We have a great need to work in order to recover from our grave calamity. Passing from the industrial to the agricultural field, we need corn, because we never had enough of this even in normal times. We must improve the physical condition of our people, and give to the peasant the agricultural machines which have been destroyed, and the fertilisers which have become almost unobtainable. We need everything: from needles to locomotives, from paper to machinery for our heavy industries.

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PUBLIC OPINION (contd.)

9. Public Opinion on the Formation of the British Government and Predictions as to its Aims.

An Italian collaborator of PWB writes as follows: I must say first of all that in general the people are ignorant about the elections in England and, therefore, they can only form an opinion from what they read in the newspapers. To tell the truth, everyone was rather shaken by the news of Churchill's resignation, particularly because this also coincided with a critical period in European politics, being at the height of the tension between conservative England and revolutionary Yugoslavia. From this one may suppose that, although ignorant of the manner in which the elections are conducted in a democratic regime, the population have a great faith in Churchill, and hope that he and he alone will be looking after Italian interests, particularly with regard to Trieste - this perhaps because his aims and our interests coincide here. At the beginning there was a fear that the Labour Party would attack the Government on the grounds that Churchill was incapable of making a lasting peace with the heads of other States. Many are partial to Churchill's re-election, as conservative, but also because they are afraid that if the Labour Party goes into power it will automatically favour the regime of the Russian revolution which through Tito and certain Italian representatives might overcome the other political currents in Italy.

A professor of the Lice o, 45 years, says: "The question of the elections in Great Britain is very important, not only because they are the first for ten years, but also because the result, on account of the actual conditions of the whole of Europe, will affect the whole world. In my opinion, the Labour Party have a great chance, because their plans for political and social renewal are more modern, and conform more to the general aspirations."

A high-school professoress, 37 years, says: "I think that a re-awakening of the Liberal Party is not to be at all excluded, whether for the not inconsiderable popularity gained by this Party on account of the famous social insurance plan of its member Beveridge, or on account of the authority it would derive from the fact that Field Marshal Montgomery would probably be a member."

An Italian Army officer, 35 years, also a lawyer, says: "According to what I have heard about the political situation in England, it seems to me that the Conservative Party is losing ground to the others and especially to the Labour Party. But I think that if it is a question of "revolution or bureaucracy" the well-known British attachment to tradition and above all the immense popularity and prestige of its great representative Churchill, will enable the Conservative Party still to have a say. And we are watching the effect in Italy, as England is doing everything to back up the Monarchy, although popular feeling here is contrary to this."

10. Interview with a Partisan from the North.

During a conversation between an officer of the PWB and a professor from the North who has taken part in the Partisan movement in Piedmont, in discussing the political situation in Northern Italy the latter said that the working masses are prevalently inclined towards the left, with a distinct Communist majority and a good percentage of socialists. Christian Democrat groups are strong too, but the Liberal nucleus is insignificant. On account of these leftist elements epuration has taken on a particularly violent character, at times without discrimination between fascists and anti-fascists. Although these acts of violence have diminished, they still occur, and create a great longing for a return to orderly life amongst the masses, and this constitutes a favourable ground for rightist propaganda. The professor asserted that the political ideas of the Partisans are very vague, whilst it is very clear that they are only wanting to get to work. Very few of them want to be absorbed by

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They consider in the North that the present Government is unauthoritative and inefficient and the demand is made for capable men who can meet the situation, a lessening of the tension between political Parties, peace and work.

He certifies that the Allied troops had a very good reception, although without much public demonstration, and that the feeling in the North is that they came really as liberators.

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According to him, the appearance of the degaullist troops in the Aosta, Susa and Stura valleys created great discontent amongst the people of the valleys and the intervention of the English and American authorities was very much appreciated, after which it seems that the French disbanded and withdrew their troops to the villages and small towns on the Roja river between Ventimiglia and the Colle di Tenda.

As regards the industrial and economic situation, he says that as the electric power stations and industrial machinery are safe, experts calculate that it will need at most about three years to return to normalcy.

The cost of living according to him is much less than in Rome, especially in certain fields. A bottle of medicine which costs 19 lire in Turin, is sold in Rome for 350 lire. The difference in price is particularly noticeable in wearing apparel.

He says that after the sad sight of all the ruins and of the destroyed towns, he was most unpleasantly struck in Rome by the tenor of life: the black market, the immorality, the lack of dignity, the lack of common sense, and the excessive inclination to quarrel and make useless speeches. He complains that it is useless to go to the Ministries for advice, as they are quite incapable of giving it. For instance, Palermo, undersecretary for war, when asked about the eventual instructions for the admittance of the Partisans into the regular Army replied that he didn't know anything precise, and at the Ministry of Public Works they do not know what kind of work would have priority. To sum up, an indispensable central direction is missing. He says also that the avalanche of daily papers and weekly reviews makes a disagreeable impression, especially as their usefulness is doubtful, and the race for important posts, the existence of associations (usually Partisan) which have no raison d'etre whatever, and the number of useless people (especially superior officers of the War Ministry) in the corriders of the Ministries, are all things to be deplored.

11. Opinion Regarding the Possibility of the Creation of a "Mussolini Myth".
(The following reactions were collected at the request of PID, London)

A PWB officer has gathered the following information on this subject: Although only a few weeks distant, public interest in the execution of Mussolini and his Fascist high priests seems exhausted. After the many and varied particulars of the death of the Duce, of Clara Petacci and of the hierarchs which appeared in all newspapers, the Press (with the exception of "scandal sheets" which appeal to the morbid curiosity of the uneducated) has ceased to interest itself further in this subject, which it now considers to belong for ever to the past.

Inasmuch as the doctrines of all political Parties of the centre and of the left and the declared doctrines of the Parties of the right are definitely democratic and anti-Fascist, Party members have expressed satisfaction with these executions. Here and there objections have been raised to the elements of ferocity or brutality which showed themselves. People are pleased that these incidents are closed and that future prolonged and troublesome trials and legalities are now unnecessary. In Parties of the extreme right such as the Democratic Party, however, there are undoubtedly many who fear the implications of these executions and who refrain from any public expression of their real opinions relative to them.

Among the inert and inarticulate mass of people who are non-political and who are interested solely in their own private lives and affairs: workmen and clerks engaged in the constant struggle for existence, and others who are implicated with Fascism, there are many who unquestionably look back with regret to the relative order and security of Fascist days, but it is difficult to evaluate the opinions and thoughts of these people. During recent incidents between Communists and nationalists at commemorative services at the Altar of the Patria, many of these people became articulate, however, and openly spoke of

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He says that after the sad sight of all the ruins and of the destroyed towns, he was most unpleasantly struck in Rome by the tenor of life: the black market, the immorality, the lack of dignity, the lack of common sense, and the excessive inclination to quarrel and make useless speeches. He complains that it is useless to go to the Ministries for advice, as they are quite incapable of giving it. For instance, Palermo, undersecretary for war, when asked about the eventual instructions for the admittance of the Partisans into the regular Army replied that he didn't know anything precise, and at the Ministry of Public Works they do not know what kind of work would have priority. To sum up, an indispensable central direction is missing. He says also that the avalanche of daily papers and weekly reviews makes a disagreeable impression, especially as their usefulness is doubtful, and the race for important posts, the existence of associations (usually Partisan) which have no raison d'etre whatever, and the number of useless people (especially superior officers of the War Ministry) in the corridors of the Ministries, are all things to be deplored.

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Actually, in spite of the fact that differing versions of his end might give the opportunity to certain elements of spreading versions of a noble and dignified death, the weakness and decadence that characterized the last hours of the Duce constitute an insurmountable obstacle in the way of any interesting confection in the way of a "Mussolini myth", and any elements that might awaken (in an Italian) reasons for admiration are completely lacking.

A Roman Merchant - aged 42 years - in commenting on these events stated:

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

"In fifteen days no one will ever speak of Mussolini again."

A Professor, aged 50 years, stated:
"Mussolini lacked both the knavery and ability to save himself intelligently, and the dignity to enable him to end his life in a noble manner."

A bank employee, aged 50 years, stated:
"In general, after having felt the weight of oppression for so many years which prohibited the expression of an opinion divergent from those officially imposed (a grave imposition for an individualistic people like the Italians) the present ruin of the Country, for which he was responsible, is far more vividly associated with Fascism than any recollection of well-being or happiness. Therefore, it is difficult to find anyone with nostalgia or regret for the epoch of which Mussolini is the symbol, except those who have something to fear, such as financial loss or punishment - from the new state of things."

Commercial employee, aged 45 years, stated:
"There exists, of course, that amorphous mass of people who without convictions or ideals love a quiet life, who are alien to any and all national problems, and who, because of this mentality, disapprove of the ferment of new life which accompanies every revival, and they look back with regret to the past of "order". They forget that this so-called "order" was oppression. The opinions of this type of Italian are rather the expression of a mental pattern, and are of no value as a national evaluation."

A housewife, aged 45 years, stated:
"It is symptomatic that among all the versions of the end of Mussolini the only one told by a woman from the North sought to spread the idea of the suicide of Mussolini at the time of his arrest. I should say that the creation of a "Claretta Myth" is more likely than a "Mussolini Myth."

A tailor and former Fascist, aged 47 years, stated:
"Today we weep for Fascism and its head and realise the disastrous conditions into which we have fallen as well as the other nations of Europe. We cannot deny that Fascism had its faults but they were faults of application rather than of principle. We cannot deny that Fascism gave the country order."

A mother of a family, aged 45 years, stated:
"It is not out of pity that I lament the fate of these Fascist chiefs in the Piazza in Milan by the hands of the patriots, but because I believe they were victims of personal hatred as exemplified by Clara Petacci's death. People now all call themselves communists, and commit the most unjust crimes in its name."

An officer of General Staff (recently released from prison) aged 55 years, stated:
"Fascism had the task of restoring order to Italy, and we who lived under it cannot deny it this contribution. Strikes were stopped and the economic and industrial life of the country grew considerably. In Milan, Mussolini created the Fascist programme which was socialist in nature and intended for all parts of Italy, but with the

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"In general, after having felt the weight of oppression for so many years which prohibited the expression of an opinion divergent from those officially imposed (a grave imposition for an individualistic people like the Italians) the present ruin of the Country, for which he was responsible, is far more vividly associated with Fascism than any recollection of well-being or happiness. Therefore, it is difficult to find anyone with nostalgia or regret for the epoch of which Mussolini is the symbol, except those who have something to fear, such as financial loss or punishment ... from the new state of things."

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"There exists, of course, that amorphous mass of people who without convictions or ideals love a quiet life, who are alien to any and all national problems, and who, because of this mentality, disapprove of the ferment of new life which accompanies every revival, and they look back with regret to the past of "order". They forget that this so-called "order" was oppression. The opinions of this type of Italian are rather the expression of a mental pattern, and are of no value as a national evaluation."

A housewife, aged 35 years, stated:
"It is symptomatic that among all the versions of the end of Mussolini the only one told by a woman from the North sought to spread the idea of the suicide of Mussolini at the time of his arrest. I should say that the creation of a "Claretta myth" is more likely than a "Mussolini myth."

A tailor and former Fascist, aged 47 years, stated:
"Today we weep for Fascism and its dead and realise the disastrous conditions into which we have fallen as well as the other nations of Europe. We cannot deny that Fascism had its faults but they were faults of application rather than of principle. We cannot deny that Fascism gave the country order."

A mother of a family, aged 45 years, stated:
"It is not out of pity that I lament the fate of these Fascist chiefs in the Piazza in Milan by the hands of the patriots, but because I believe they were victims of personal hatred as exemplified by Clara Petacci's death. People now all call themselves communists, and commit the most unjust crimes in its name."

A Fascist General Staff (recently released from prison) aged 55 years, stated:
"Fascism had the task of restoring order to Italy, and we who lived under it cannot deny it this contribution. Strikes were stopped and the economic and industrial life of the country grew considerably. In Milan, Mussolini created the Fascist programme which was socialist in nature and intended for all parts of Italy, but with the passing of time, the "sga dristi" brought Italy to ruin. We cannotdeny the accomplishments of Fascism, its trade instruction, its deve-

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lopment of the railroad system and the highways, and its intensification of agriculture to a point never reached before in Italy. He became a nation respected by the world, the conquest of Ethiopia was the high point of the Mussolini epoch, but the initiation of autocracy in the industrial and labour fields, the waste of millions of lires, turned the people from him. However, this dislike was less for Mussolini than the hierarchy. These were not his only mistakes because, although he did well in foreign affairs in the beginning, he deceived himself in his good-neighbour policy and was wrong in retaining the monarchy as part of the government of the country. If he had followed the points of his programme from the beginning and had eliminated the House of Savoy, Italy could have been saved. His entry into war was enormous treason he had no army, no navy or airforce, or clothes, and the generals instead of explaining the actual position to him, made everything seem alright so as not to lose their posts. They listened to enemy propaganda and betrayed their country and it was not a matter of either Fascism or anti-Fascism when the country was invaded. Those who threw away their arms and proclaimed themselves anti-Fascists to ingratiate themselves with the victors deserve an ignoble end.

"Mussolini's death saddened me not because he was killed but because of the ignominy of his end. The Italian will know their loss and will regret the man who gave his life for the weal-being of his country."

Note: This last opinion has been given to show latent opinion still held by certain members of the general staff and high officers in the army as well as by many former office-holders in the government.

ATTITUDE OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO EX-FASCIST

COMMUNIST PARTY

Ex-fascists are found to some small extent in the Communist Party. These possibly believe that if they join an extreme leftist party, their antecedent activities will either be overlooked or forgotten.

THE COMMUNIST EXPULSION RULES

These contain few known ex-fascists because they are intransigent in their hostile attitude towards Fascism, and their rules for membership are definitely opposed to the enrolment of ex-fascists. Sporadic suggestions about modifying these rules are violently discarded in party meetings.

THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

This being a Catholic Party includes members of varying opinions from left to right, and therefore, includes ex-fascists.

THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY;

This is quite small and contains few ex-Fascists, and is some-

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THE LABOUR DEMOCRATIC PARTY;

This is quite small and contains few ex-Fascists, and is somewhat less intransigeant in its attitude towards them.

THE LIBERAL PARTY

This contains some ex-Fascists and is less intolerant in its attitude towards them than other parties because many of its members

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are large property owners, bankers and industrialists - people who like "order - many of whom are somewhat sympathetic to Fascism.

The Democratic Party is the haven for Monarchists and ex-Fascists and its "raison d'etre" seems to be the fact that it provides an "ambiente" for those who have something to fear or something to lose if the Parties of the left succeed in overthrowing the Monarchy and establishing themselves in control of the Government.

The Republican Party contains few known ex-Fascists because of its rigid and intransigent rules for membership.

C U L T U R A L

12. The Savelli Exhibition at the "Ritrovo"

In the Italian-Allied club "Ritrovo" Savelli presents a series of drawings and colour sketches, the inspiration for which is to be found in contemporary European art, more or less of the modern school, principally impressionist. One cannot say, however, that he lacks personality on that score, because his works have a lively autonomous spirit, demonstrated in the particular dramatic sense which characterizes his very concise works. His scrawny horses are full of life, his nudes are solid, and his compositions are dominated by a vigilant synthetic spirit. In his use of colour, Savelli likes bright tints placed daringly together. The disharmony is, however, never unpleasant. In these pictorial experiments he is, perhaps purposely, rather more designer than painter. Although some of his paintings may be described as decorativism, this does not diminish the value of his work and Savelli may be placed among the number of artists in which modern Italian painting can put its faith and hope.

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERATED ITALY

Introduction

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

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

The clandestine war activity of the anti-fascists increased before the war and after 1940 was organized and extended throughout Italy. Two clandestine groups had never ceased to function in Italy;

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

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

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

Apart from these two groups there was no organized resistance to fascism after the suppression of the freedom of the press in 1926. The old parties finally disappeared in 1929 when the fascists held their first totalitarian elections. Liberals like Giolitti, Orlando and Soleri had continued to oppose the fascists in the Chamber of Deputies until the suppression of free elections in 1929. The old parties evaporated, though many of the older generation still remained staunch supporters of the particular parties to which they had belonged.

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

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

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

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

During the 45 days between the fall of Mussolini and the announcement of the armistice, the parties were hampered

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During the 45 days between the fall of Mussolini and the announcement of the armistice, the parties were however able to improve their organization, as they were strengthened by the return of many eminent anti-fascists who were released from the "confino" or from imprisonment. A few also returned from exile, mostly from France. 304

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

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

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

In addition to these six major parties, there are a number of others. Some are the expression of purely personal ambition, while others probably have a more considerable following, as they are traditional Italian parties. Among the latter is the Republican party, which before the advent of fascism had a maximum of 2[illegible] deputies. This party was revived during the clandestine period and is reported to be particularly strong in the Maremma and the Romagna. It has refused

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liberated and German-occupied Italy. Freedom of the press was introduced into Apulia in November, 1943, and each of the six parties was allowed to have a weekly newspaper. This system was gradually extended to other areas until in May, 1944, in each large city the six parties were allowed weekly newspapers. With the liberation of Rome, these parties were allowed daily newspapers in the capital, and later, also in Naples and other cities. In the winter of 1943-44, the parties were also given facilities to speak on the radio. Thus through the press and radio the parties were able to address large groups and greatly to improve their organization.

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In addition to these six major parties, there are a number of others. Some are the expression of purely personal ambition, while others probably have a more considerable following, as they are traditional Italian parties. Among the latter is the Republican party, which before the advent of fascism had a maximum of 20 deputies. This party was revived during the clandestine period and is reported to be particularly strong in the Maremma and the Romagna. It has refused to become part of the Committee of National Liberation and has always adopted an attitude of intransigent republicanism. As the leaders refuse to compromise themselves with the monarchy, they criticise and oppose the gtogernment, and in particular those parties which have a republican programme and have nevertheless consented to accept the

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

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

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

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

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

An attempt has been made to trace the development of the various political parties in Italy today; but it would be hazardous to try to predict their relative strength until elections have been held. Many of the parties are in a fluid state. Almost all the principal parties are still in a chrysalis stage and will be subject to considerable development and change in the near future. Almost all have a left

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

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

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

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

15 February 1945

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

PARTITO LIBERALE ITALIANO

Headquarters: via Frattina 89, Rome.

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

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

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

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

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

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Youth Organisations, (male): These are set up as subsections of the regular Party sections, with the exception of the student

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

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

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

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

The founders of Italian Liberalism are D'Azeglio, Gioberti, and above all, Cavour. From 1849 - 1876 the Liberals of the Right were in power and it was they who by constitutional means brought about the unification and independence of Italy. Outstanding names in the Liberal movement of that time are Ricasoli, Lanza, Spaventa, Sella, Minghetti and De Sanctis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reform and local autonomy of welfare institutions.

12. Establishment of a sound budget. Stabilisation of the currency.

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

Reform and local autonomy of welfare institutions.

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

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

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

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

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

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II. PARTITO DEMOCRATICO DEL LAVORO

HEADQUARTERS: Piazza Augusto Imperatore 32, Rome

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

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

ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP: The Party is directed by a Central Committee which was self-constituted during the underground period. A National Congress of the Party will subsequently elect a new Central Committee. Special sub-committees function in Rome, charged with various duties such as press, propaganda, recruiting, administration, etc. The work of the Central Committee and of the sub-committees is coordinated by the Party Secretary. There are in addition a certain number of provincial and communal committees in the liberated areas. The Party has allegedly 5000 inscribed members and claims some 200,000 adherents in liberated Italy, with numerous applications not yet passed upon. The Party appeals more particularly to the middle-age groups, to the middle-classes, to public and private employers, artisans and small tradespeople.

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

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

The following are the Party weeklies:

"IL LAVORO D'ITALIA", Naples. Editors: A. CERABONA and S.CIAMPA.
"LA DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO", Lecce. Editor: P. MASSARI
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Reggio Calabria. Editor: P. SICILIANO
"L'AZIONE", Potenza. Youth Movement publication: circulation 5000.
"RICOSTRUZIONE", Foggia. Editor: GARGATO.
"LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO", Palermo
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Perugia.

HISTORY: In August, 1944, the Democratic Labour Party emerged as

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

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

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

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

The following are the Party weeklies:

"IL LAVORO D'ITALIA", Naples. Editors: A. CERABONA and S.CIAMPA.
"LA DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO", Lecce. Editor: P. MASSARI
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Reggio Calabria. Editor: P. SICILIANO
"L'AZIONE", Potenza. Youth Movement publication: circulation 5000.
"RICOSTRUZIONE", Foggia. Editor: GARGATO.
"LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO", Palermo
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Perugia.

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

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

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

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

3rd Badoglio Government

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

1st Bonomi Government

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

Present Bonomi Government

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

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

PROGRAMME: The Party stands for the elimination of all traces of

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CERABONA	Minister of Communications
BASSANO	Undersecretary of Justice
SCIALOJA	Undersecretary for Air
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Present Bonomi Government

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

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

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Some of the planks of its political platform are:

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

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

3) Simplification of the bureaucracy.

4) An independent magistrature, safeguarded against political pressure.

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

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

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

8) Greater regional autonomy.

9) Agrarian reform.

10) Freedom of syndical organizations from political influences.

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

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

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PARTITO D'AZIONE

Headquarters: Via Sistina 72, Roma

Office bearers:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Dott. Lcc.	Alberto TARCHIANI
Prof.	Guido DE RUGGIERO
Dott.	Riccardo BAUER
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In addition the party distributes pamphlets and brochures for its propaganda.

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

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

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

History : The party is a new party, born of present-day world conditions, proposing new solutions to the problems arising from the collapse of out-moded Italian parliamentary democracy and from the negative experiment of totalitarianism. It traces its origin to i) the Sardinian Partito d'Azione of 1918 under Emilio Lussu, a left movement which advocated regional autonomy. This movement was broken up by the Fascists and its adherents driven into exile; ii) the "Italia Libera" movement (a left movement with post-Fascist doctrines) which after 1922 rallied young and leftist elements, such as Rossetti and Randolfo Pacciardi, and a certain number of dissident Fascists. Its influence was considerable among Italian emigrants in the Americas and France. At the same time Carlo Rosselli was following a parallel course with his "Giustizia e Libertà" movement in France. Although his group was dispersed after the murder of the Rosselli brothers, its ideas and experience profited the founders of the present party. By July 1943, the party was already active undergound and soon after, its clandestine paper L'ITALIA LIBERA appeared. The party organized cells and bands which operated in liaison with the military giunta of the C.L.N. In August 1944, a party congress was held at which the left tendenceis within the party became apparent and the basic doctrine of the party was defined as "autonomistic, liberal and anti-totalitarian socialism."

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

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The following members of the party held cabinet posts in the third Badoglio government: 298

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

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and the following in the first Bonomi government:

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

Programme :

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

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Sergio PENDARIES - Under-Sec. to the Presidency
Luigi RAMIREZ - Under-Sec. of the Navy

Programme :

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12. Agrarian reform, with modernization of agricultural technique; expropriation in favour of peasants of uncultivated holdings of large land-owners; state improvement of backward areas; widespread formation of agricultural cooperations;
13. Expropriation without indemnity of reactionary Fascist plutocracy.
14. Sliding-scale taxation, while safeguarding the productivity of small and medium business.
15. International free trade; more rational distribution of raw materials and manufactured products; free circulation of labour.
16. Looks to the Church for spiritual aid in the work of reconstruction, but demands its non-intervention in politics.

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

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

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

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PARTITO DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA

Headquarters: Piazza del Gesù 46, Rome.

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

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

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

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

Membership: The Party claims some 78,000 inscribed members, of whom 60,000 are in Sicily and 18,000 are in Rome. Exact figures are not at present available at the Party's headquarters for the other regions of liberated Italy. Some hundreds of thousands of applications for membership have allegedly been received in Lazio. These are being carefully examined in order to guard against the infiltration into the Party of dubious Fascist elements. Adherents are to be

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Avv. Gennaro CASSIARI
Prof. Guido GONELLA
Avv. Giuseppe FUSCHINI
Avv. Giulio DI RODINO
Rag. Pier Carlo RESTAGNO

Other leading personalities are:

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

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

"Il Domani d'Italia" daily, Naples.

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

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

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

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

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

The following members of the Party hold posts in the [illegible]

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"Il Domani d'Italia" daily, Naples.

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

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

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

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and the following in the two Badoglio governments:-

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

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

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

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

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

Programme: The Party's programme has a religious basis: the moral and material forces of Christial charity. It looks upon the family as the keystone of the social structure of the State. The family must therefore be protected against State oppression (one of the characteristics of

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

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The Party advocates:

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

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

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

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

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

7. Freedom of religion.

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

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

10. Protection of the consumer against capitalistic cartels.

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

12. Expansion ofSocial insurance, with simplification and decentralization.

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

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

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

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

17. Severe but essentially just epuration.

18. General international disarmament.

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

The Party has an anthem.

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PARTITO SOCIALISTA ITALIANO DI UNITA PROLETARIA

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

Office bearers:

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

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

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

Membership: The Party claims a total inscribed membership in the whole of liberated Italy of approximately 120,000. This figure, owing to difficulties of communication and the incompleteness of the party's organization should be accepted with great caution. The figure of 70,000 adherents south of the Garigliano has been given, and the Party has allegedly received 12,000 applications in Rome, of which only 7000 have been accepted to date. Before Fascism the registered membership of the Party was about 300,000 and it controlled about one million votes. It unquestionably has strong roots in Northern Italy, particularly in the big cities. Its leaders hope ultimately to win over adherents from the "Right" fringe of the Communists,

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

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Newspapers: "Avanti", daily, Rome. Authorized circulation: 90,000. Published by Pietro NENNI, editor-in-chief, and SARAGAT.

"La Voce", Naples, daily.
"Il Lavoratore", Potenza. weekly;
"Il Lavoro", Salerno "
"La Parola Socialista", Cosenza "
"Il Tribuno Salentino", Lecce "
"La Voce Socialista", Palermo "
"La Luce", Reggio Calabria "
"Il Risveglio", Pescia "
"L'Avanti", Bari "
"La Giovane Umbria", Spoleto
"La Rivoluzione Socialista".(Youth Movement organ, Editor: M. Matteotti). "
"La Donna Socialista". (Women's Organization publication. Director: L. Usellini) "
"Pettirosso". Humorous publication, Rome.

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

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

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

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

History: The present Socialist Party is the outgrouth of the old Italian Socialist party which dates from the days of Bakunin and Marx in 1865. Numerous labour congresses in the 80's and 90's showed two trends, one favouring the attainment of socialist ends by violent and the other by parliamentary means. In 1894, under Crispi, the Parliament adopted a number of anti-socialist laws which largely drove the movement under-ground. In 1895 the

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

Under Fascism, the Socialists led the opposition in Parliament under Matteotti. Upon the latter's assassination in 1924, their deputies withdrew from the Chamber. After 1929 when the Fascists suppressed all political parties, most of the Socialist leaders were imprisoned, or driven underground or into exile. During the next 10 years, Italian Socialism became virtually extinct in the Peninsula, but was kept alive abroad by such men as Pietro Nenni and Bruno Buozzi. By 1939, various clandestine socialist movements, with publications in Turin, Milan etc., began to form. It was from these movements, both in Italy and abroad, that the present Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria emerged in July 1943. Nevertheless, the present party may be said to be political heir of the majority group of 1921, the Partito Socialista Massimalista.

The basic similarity of the political doctrines of the Socialists and Communists, led both parties in August 1944, to form a pact for joint political action of the working masses against the forces of reaction. In the international field, the Italian Socialists, as far back as 1934, had come to an understanding with the Russian Communists, which however came to an end with the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939 ... after the

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Internazionale.

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

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

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

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

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

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

While the basic Marxist doctrines of the Socialist and Communist Parties are almost identical, the Parties differ on one issue which is rather more conjectural than factual. The Socialists want a democratic form of Government free from foreign influence. They have misgivings as to what the fundamental intentions of the Communists are in this respect- whether the affirmations of anti-totalitarian and democratic

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and three Communists; Togliatti, Di Vittorio and Pellegrini.-

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

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

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

In addition to the question of the CLN, the Socialists withheld their support from the present Bonomi Cabinet because they consider the premier weak and ineffectual, and

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

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

The principal planks of the Socialist platform are as follows:

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

The Party emblem is a red flag.

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PARTITO COMUNISTA ITALIANO

HEADQUARTERS: Via Nazionale 243, Rome.

OFFICEBEARERS:

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

Vice-Secretary Mauro SCOCCIMARRO

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

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

MEMBERSHIP: The Party claims 300,000 adherents in Liberated and 60,000 in occupied Italy. It also claims great potential strength in the North, where it is better organized than any other party. In Liberated Italy, during 1944, the Party made considerable gains, attributable to efficient leadership and its recent doctrinal and political moderation which has allayed many fears. The Party represents a large section of the working masses which constitute the great majority of its membership. It has also found many adherents from among the new student generation, from those who have lost faith in the democratic parties, and are attracted by a Party which they feel will be successful, and others who find it easier to change from fascist to Communist disciplined authority; or again from intellectuals who think Russia a paradise for such as they, and some peasants who, overcoming their Catholic prejudices, hope for benefit by Communist agrarian reform.

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

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

NEWSPAPERS: "L'UNITA", daily, Rome. Authorized circulation: 90,000. Editor in Chief: Velio SPANO. "LA VOCE", daily, Naples, combined organ of the Socialists and Communists. Authorized circulation, 70,000. "LA VOCE COMUNISTA", daily, Palermo. Authorized circulation, 30,000. There are a number of other Communist papers in the part of Italy

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Vice-Secretary Mauro SCOCCIMARRO
Members, Central Committee,(in addition to the above)

Celeste NEGARVILLE	SILVATI Alessandro
Eugenio REALE	NULLO Mara
Velio SPANO	Ruggiero GRIECO
Giuseppe DI VITTORIO	MONTAGNANA Rita
NOVELLA Agostino	PELLEGRINI Giacomo
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YOUTH MOVEMENT: "Movimento Giovanile Comunista", headed by Celeste Negarville, one of the Party's ablest organizers. Membership is open to youths from 14 to 21 years of age. A "Federazione Giovanile Comunista" functions under each Party Provincial Federation.

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

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

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

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

3rd Badoglio Cabinet

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

1st Bonomi Cabinet:

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

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1st Bonomi Cabinet:

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

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

Present Bonomi Cabinet

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

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

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

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

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

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

4) Greatest possible military participation in the war.

5) Betterment of living conditions of the masses, unemployment relief, control of the black market. 291

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

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PARTIES OUTSIDE THE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

AND OTHER GROUPS

PARTITO DEMOCRATICO ITALIANO

Headquarters: Piazza Montecitorio 121, Rome.

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

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

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

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

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

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

History: The Party was formed in Rome on 6 June 1944 by the fusion of the Centre of Italian Democracy, the Union Party and the Social Democratic Party, groups which had existed from the early years of the War to carry on propaganda aimed at the creation of a democratic conscience amongst the Italian people. After the Armistice they acted against the Germans not only with Propaganda, but with their own armed bands. After the liberation of Rome, three other groups joined the Party: Democratic Union Party, Movement of Democratic Renewal and Italian Progressive Party. The Union Party was originally formed in Brindisi and Sicily; Prince Borghese was then believed to be a member. The Social Democratic Party was originally formed in Calabria and Lucania. The Secretary of the Democratic

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Officials: Acting Secretary: Dr. Enzo SELVAGGI
Head of Economic Section: Giorgio CLAROTTI
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Programme:

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

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

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

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PARTITO REPUBBLICANO ITALIANO

Headquarters: Via Dei Prefetti 46, Rome.

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

Avv. Pacciardi was born at Grossetto in 1889. While still very young he published a pamphlet on Mazzini. He fought during World War I. and was recommended for the Gold Medal for Bravery. He studied law in Rome under Giovanni CONTI (see above) and in 1923 formed the association "L'Italia Libera". In 1927 he left Italy to escape from Fascist persecution, going first to Switzerland and then to Spain, where he fought in the Republican Army, reaching the rank of Colonel and commanding the Italian "Garibaldi" Brigade. In 1938 he was in Paris where he founded the anti-Fascist Movement "Giovane Italia" and directed, along with CIANCA and SARGAT the anti-Fascist newspaper "La Liberta". In 1940 he offered to recruit a legion of Italian volunteers to fight for the Allies, but his offer

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founded the anti-Fascist Movement "Giovane Italia" and directed, along with CIANCA and SARAGAT the anti-Fascist newspaper "La Liberta". In 1940 he offered to recruit a legion of Italian volunteers to fight for the Allies, but his offer was not accepted. In New York he founded the newspaper "La Legione" with the same object; later it changed its title to "Italia Libera" and counted among its contributors Borgese, Salvemini, Venturi, Sturzo and Toscanini. On his return to Italy he again tried to recruit a volunteer unit, but was not allowed to do so. Sig. Pacciardi gives the impression of a sincere, wholehearted idealist rather than a political tactician.

Membership: The Party is pretty well organised in Rome, which is divided into fifteen sections with a total membership of 3,500 as early as August. In all liberated Italy "from Sardinia to Bologna" it claims a membership of 30,000 - 50,000. It has never been strong in the South, its greatest hold being

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

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

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

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

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

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

Programme:

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

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

3. No office to be filled without popular election.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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MOVIMENTO COMUNISTA D'ITALIA

HEADQUARTERS: Via Nazionale 230

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Filiberto SBARDELLO
Francesco CRETARA
Calogero PULLARA
Ettore BARONCINI
Giovanni GLORIOSO
Attilio BELLI

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

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

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

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

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Ettore	BARONCINI
Giovanni	GLORIOSO
Attilio	BELLI

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

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

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

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

But neither hypothesis has been by any means proved.

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

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

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

4) No collaboration with bourgeois parties or governments.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^

PARTITO CRISTIANO SOCIALE

HEADQUARTERS: Via del Tritone 2.1

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

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

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

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

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

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

HISTORY: From a group founded in 1941 by Dr. BRUNI, librarian at the Vatican, there eventually emerged both the Partito Cristiano Sociale and the Partito della Sinistra Cristiana (q.v.) The group's self-imposed task was to reconcile labour with Catholicism; with this aim it carried on clandestine anti-fascist propaganda and later armed anti-German activities both in Rome and Tuscany. The actual party was constituted in March, 1943, at a meeting which adopted the present programme. In October, 1944, the Rome branch of the Party split.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

PARTITO DELLA SINISTRA CRISTIANA

HEADQUARTERS: Via Agostino De Pretis 86

OFFICEBEARERS:

Secretary	Giuseppe MIRA, Prof., University of the Sacred Heart
Vice-Secretary	Adriano OSSICINI, Doctor of Medicine
Director "VOCE OPERAIA"	Fedele D'AMICO
Editor, "VOCE OPERAIA"	Filippo SACCONI, Prof. Pontifical Institute.
Delegate, Agrarian Problems	Gino BARBIERI, Prof. University of the Sacred Heart.
Delegate, Propaganda	Franco RODANO, Doctor of Letters and Philosophy.

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iversity Faculty Committees.

PR.GR..TE: 1) Decentralizati.n. Reduction of the power of the State in favor of labour and ec nomic associations, Communes and Regi.ns, Family and Church.

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PARTIT. DELL. SINISTR. CRISTI.NA

HE..DQU..RTERS: Via .gostin. De Pretis 86

.FFICEBE..RERS:

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

Vice-Secretary — .drian. .SSICINI, Doctor of Medicine

Director "V.CE .PER.I." — Fedele D'.MICO

Editor, "V.CE .PER.I." — Filippo S.CC.NI, Prof. Pontifical Institute.

Delegate, .grarian Problems — Gino B.RBIERI, Prof. University of the Sacred Heart.

Delegate, Propaganda — Franc. R.D.N., Doctor of Letters and Philosophy.

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The leaders of the Party appear t. be y.ung, sincere idealists in the main, with a few older advisers.

Fedele D'.MICO is a y.ung man of letters in his early 3.'s, the son of .ne of Italy's best dramatic critics. He is a highly cultiv-

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ated person whose primary ability is perhaps literary and artistic rather than political. With him Catholicism (not clericalism) comes first, and Communism second. He professes to feel himself in sympathy with Bidault and the members of the Left Catholic party in France, centered round "L'Aube, and to have a great admiration for Peguy. The Christian Democrats, he considers, are reactionary in practice, and he feels that the distrust of the parties of the Right towards the Communists will produce a violent revolution in Italy, which will be the responsibility of the Right.

MEMBERSHIP: The Party claims about 32,000 members in liberated Italy, plus considerable strength in occupied territory. There is a cellular organization of the Communist type.

NEWSPAPERS: "VOCE OPERAIA", weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation, 10,000. Director: Fedele D'AMICO; editor, Filippo SACCONI. Since 22 Jan. 45 this paper has been authorized to appear as a daily, with a circulation of 10,000. There is also a clandestine edition printed by the Milan and Turin branches of the Party.

"LA TERRA", monthly for peasants.

Party Bulletin, fortnightly, Rome.

YOUTH ORGANIZATION: The Youth Federation of the Party includes Girls' Sections which adhere to the Unione Ragazze d'Italia (See Unione Donne d'Italia.)

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION: The Women's Section of the Party adheres to the Unione Donne d'Italie (q.v.)

LABOUR ORGANIZATION: The Workers' Movement within the Party supports the single trade union as advocated by the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro.

HISTORY: The movement was founded under fascism with the purpose of healing by Catholicism the schism in the working classes, regarded as the root of all their troubles. It sprang from the Partito Cooperativista Sinarchico founded in 1941 by Dr. BRUNI, librarian at the Vatican (see Partito Cristiano Sociale). It was originally called the Partito Comunista Cattolico (+). It carried on clandestine propaganda, printed a paper called "PUGNO CHIUSO" and organized the first anti-fascist manifestations. In September 1944 it changed its name because the word "Communist" had atheistic associations. In November 1944 it absorbed a fair number of dissidents from the Rome branch of the Partito Cristiano Sociale (q.v.) On 2 and 3 January 1945 the "OSSERVATORE ROMANO" contained an unsigned statement referring to the Party in the following terms: "...the principles and tendencies (of the Partito della

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(+) There exists in Naples a distinct group also called "Movimento Comunista Cristiano", headed by a Father Angelo D'ALESSIO, Prof. of Philosophy and Theology. It is said to have contacts with the Rome Communist and Partisan movements.

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Fedele D'AMICO, in the course of a private conversation, expressed the opinion that the attack was inspired by the Christian Democrats. At the same time he could not understand on what grounds (documents) the Party had been condemned. What attitude did the Vatican intend to adopt towards the French Catholics of the Left and Bidault, French Foreign Minister? In any case it seemed that the present Vatican attitude, if adhered to, would ruin any chance his Party had of obtaining a hold over substantial bodies of Italian opinion. Its appeal was to town workers and country people, all firm Catholics but repelled by the present weak and colorless programme of the Christian Democrats.

PROGRAMME: 1) To incorporate the needs and aspirations of the workers, who find set forth in the Gospels their will to concrete democracy and justice.

2) Progressive and popular democracy to protect labour from every form of exploitation.

3) Single union of all workers.

4) Help for the small landholder by the cooperative use of mechanical farm equipment. Breaking up of big estates. Creation of farm cooperatives.

5) Support for the Government and the CLN.

6) Support and working out in practice of the broad lines of policy announced by the Church, as the latter cannot itself interfere in politics.

7) Democratization, not Communism. The Party is anti-Monarchist.

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PARTITO SOCIALISTA RIVOLUZIONARIO ITALIANO (P.S.R.I.)

Headquarters: Port'Alba 33, Naples.

Leaders: Vincenzo DE LUCA, Secretary of the Party.
Avv. Rocco D'AMBRA. Former Secretary of the Party. Has a long history of anti-Fascist activities.
Prof. Ugo BELLANCA.
Ugo MARGIOTTA. An experienced revolutionary anarchist, one-time exile in Mexico and U.S.A. He is said to have resigned from the Party, but his resignation is not considered genuine in many Neapolitan circles.
Avv. Antonio LANDOLFI, Secretary of the Campania Section.
Giovanni D'ANTONA, Administrative Secretary of the Party.
Alfredo CIMINO. Anti-Fascist of long standing.

Membership: The Party has its largest following in Campania and the city of Naples. There are many other branches in Southern Italy and Sicily, but connection with the Party headquarters is not efficient. No membership figures are available.

Newspaper: "La Fiaccola", weekly, Naples.

History: The Party claims to have been founded in the North in 1940 and was the first to be formed in Naples after the city had been liberated. In 1943 it gathered in liberated territory a number of dissidents from among the Left-wing groups who were dissatisfied with the policy of the C.L.N. In Naples the weekly paper "Bandiera Rossa" of the paper was published without authorisation, and attained a fair circulation possibly because of its violent tone. Subsequently "Bandiera Rossa" started criticizing the Allies, who banned the paper. Later the Party was allowed to publish "La Fiaccola" in its place. When strikes and meetings were organized in Naples by the other Left Wing Parties as a protest against the Crown, the attitude of the P.S.R.I. was interpreted as being philo-monarchist, since it took no part in the demonstrations, but maintained that discussions regarding the institutional question and responsiblity of the Crown and the anti-Fascist groups in the advent of Fascism, should be postponed. This interpretation was further confirmed by the attitude of the Party, by the relations of some of its members with Allied officers and by the development of a political movement which, without traditions behind it and without leaders worthy of the name, yet managed to swell its ranks so considerably.

After Togliatti's arrival in Italy, and especially after he had declared himself in favour of postponing the institutional question until the whole of Italy was liberated, the P.S.R.I. endeavoured to get closer to the Communists. When, however, Togliatti advocated the collaboration of all political parties with the Monarchy to intensify the war effort and consolidate national unity, the Party returned to its violent opposition and also of the new democratic government. On that occasion a very violent article by Gaetano Salvemini was published in the Party's weekly "Bandiera Rossa", insulting Togliatti and harshly criticizing Stalin and other leaders of the United Nations, who had allowed and even encouraged

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After the liberation of Rome, the Party tried to establish its headquarters there, but failed to do so. Later on there was a move to merge the Movimento Comunista and the P.S.R.I., but nothing came of it.

Politics and Programme: The Party has always been anti-Monarchist and has upheld Sicilian separatism. In October 1943 the Party reprinted some propaganda pamphlets which were allegedly drawn up during the clandestine period, and which stated that the Party was of the Left Wing, but contrary to proletarian dictatorship.

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The following are the main points of its programme (valid December 1944):

1. A Socialist Republic, under a President chosen by a national assembly of electors representing free workers' associations.
2. A two-Chamber legislature: Chamber of Economics and Legislative Body.
3. Minister appointed by and responsible to the Chambers. The President to coordinate and unite the Government.
4. Obligatory suffrage restricted to members of the workers' associations.
5. Complete separation of Church and State.
6. The institution of divorce with restrictive laws safe-guarding the family.
7. Abolition ofthe death penalty.
8. Recognition of all freedoms, speech press etc. emigration, abortion.
9. A single state tax.
10. Abolition of large and medium properties.

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MOVIMENTO PARTIGIANO

Headquarters: Direzione Centrale in via Sistina, 48.
Direzione Provinciale & Assistance Office, in Torre dei Conti, Via dell'Impero,

The Movement is directed by the Direzione Centrale consisting of 14 to 20 members and in each province by a Direzione Provinciale consisting of 3 to 5 members.

Office Bearers: Secretary: Alfredo PACCARA (has a long anti-fascist record among workmen of Terni.)
Welfare Supervisor: Rag. BRUNELLI.

Membership: 4000 enrolled members. 12,000 applications being examined.

The Movement has 13 branches in Rome and others throughout Italy.(e.g., Florence, Viareggio, and Sicily. It is organized into groups, Sections and Zones, and aims at establishing centers in every 'commune. The members claim to be unarmed and desirous of co-operating zith the Allies. 50,000 (?) if supplied with arms and food would be willing to cross over into North Italy to fight.

Newspapers: "Il Partigiano", weekly. Rome; authorised circulation 10,000 286

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Newspapers: "Il Partigiano", weekly, Rome; Authorized circulation 10,000 286
Directors: Carlo ANDREONI and A. Claudio ROCCHI,

"Lotta Partigiana", weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation 30,000. Published by Partisan H.Q. (Comando Superiore Partigiano).

Organizations: There is a Woman's Branch, a Young People's Sports Association and a Labour Office.

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History: The movement was formed by Dr. Andreoni in Rome before the Allies arrived, and came into the open in the early days of June 1944.

Programme: The movement as set out in an 8 page leaflet aims at giving moral and material support to the Partisans, and assistance in every way to demobilized partisans. It welcomes all who have taken an active part in the fight against Nazism and fascism. It claims to be a movement of the nation and to constitute the moral reserve of the nation, and it defends the ideas for which anti-fascists suffered. These are:

1) Defense of the just boundaries of Italy, which have been compromised by the monarchy through participation in an anti-national anti-democratic, anti-European war.

2) Defense of democratic ideas, which are now shown to be incompatible with the monarchical institution in Italy. A Democratic Republic was the dream of "our fallen" and is the invocation of the survivors.

3) The defense of social systems, founded on popular liberties which ensure to manual and intellectual workers the entire fruit of their labours.

4) Universal brotherhood of Partisans beyond the frontiers. They represent the popular, idealistic, revolutionary element in the present war.

"The reference to the 'just boundaries of Italy' is an indication of possible friction and subversive activity in the future, and the appeal to 'universal brotherhood' is only too reminiscent of Communism." (Extract from FSS report). The movement appears to include extremists from the Communist Party, with Anti-British sentiments. Republican and anti-Royalist feeling is high.

The Movement is in touch with the Garibaldi Brigades in North Italy by means of Couriers (e.g. Adolfi, Braccialarghe and Speranza) who pass the lines on the Bologna front. After the war the Movement intends to see that the Partisans are treated fairly in a Republic organized on a co-operative basis..

Funds are obtained by voluntary donations to the movements bank accounts, or directly to its offices or from proceeds of social evenings.

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

ASSOCIAZIONE PARTIGIANA D'ITALIA

HEADQUARTERS: Piazza Adriano 2 Casa Madre dei Mutilati.

GENERAL SECRETARY: Vincenzo Sofia MORETTI.

Dr. Moretti was active as leader of an armed band (bands of Via Marguta) during the German occupation of Rome. His band eventually joined up with others to constitute the Movimento Comunista d'Italia (q.v.) in which Moretti was considered a moderating influence. He has now left the Movimento and withdrawn from active political life (his present Association being "non-political").

The Association has no newspaper and no youth or other organizations. The Secretary refused politely to give even approximate figures for its membership.

PROGRAMME: 1. Welfare among Partisans.

2. Rallying of all Partisans in a single non-political group, in order to avoid the dispersal of the most vital and valuable force in present-day Italian life.

According to 276 FSS, this Association, officially non-political, is in fact Monarchist. It occupies offices in the building of the official Disabled Ex-Servicemen's Association, a Government service presumably under army control or influence. Moreover, Moretti's former connection with the Movimento Comunista d'Italia is not without interest, as that group has been at times sustpected of being, like the Unione Proletaria, an instrument of the right masquerading as a left-wing party.

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ASSOCIAZIONE NAZIONALE PARTIGIANI D'ITALIA

Headquarters : Scala Aracoeli 1 (Campidoglio)

National Committee : Carlo LEPRI - General Secretary
Alessandro VAIA
Michele JANNARONE
Alfredo MONACO
Arturo MONDOVI'
Felice SALVIETTO
Domenico PALADINO

Membership : No figure available. The Association claims to have adherents in all parts of liberated Italy.

Newspaper : LA VOCE PARTIGIANA. Clandestine.

Programme :

1. To unite in a single association all who have played an active part in the partisan war.
2. To promote in Italy a democratic regime and guard against any recurrence of absolutism or tyranny.
3. To continue the fight against the Nazis and Fascists in cooperation with the regular armies.
4. To publicise both at home and abroad the efforts and achievements of the Partisans in order at once to encourage them and to secure their recognition as the direct heirs of Garibaldi's armies.
5. To preserve the memory of the Partisan dead.
6. To uphold the right acquired by the Partisans to play a leading part in the reconstruction of Italy.
7. To supply moral and material relief to its members and the families of its dead.
8. To relieve unemployment by the creation of organizations for production and labour.

According to 276 F.S.S. this association, officially non-political, is in fact Monarchist.

FEDERAZIONE COMUNISTA LIBERALE

Headquarters : Piazza Fiametta-11.

Office bearers : Anselmo PREZIOSI - Secretary
Ugo DI BERNARDINO
Camillo PORECCA

Membership : In Rome there are 15 groups, mustering about 500 picked members. The Federation claims to work in "free collaboration" with the "federalist movement" in various parts of Italy.

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Membership : No figure available. The Association claims to have adherents in all parts of liberated Italy.

Newspaper : LA VOCE PARTIGIANA. Clandestine.

Programme :

1. To unite in a single association all who have played an active part in the partisan war.
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Membership : In Rome there are 15 groups, mustering about 500 picked members. The Federation claims to work in "free collaboration" with the "federalist movement" in various parts of Italy.

Newspaper : UMANITA' NUOVA, weekly, Rome. Authorized circulation: 2,000. Provisional Director: Anselmo PREZIOSI.

Organizations : Young people's movements are only at the blue-print stage. Members adhere to local trade unions.

History : The Federazione has the most ancient tradition of any Left party, being in fact the Italian Anarchist Party. It also perpetuates the doctrine of the pre-Fascist Unione Sindicale Italiana, that the government should be chosen by the people

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through its labour organisation. It has very little contact with any other political party.

Programme :

1. Libertarianism or anarchy, with Communist economy.
2. Emancipation and perfectioning of peoples by the system of pure democracy.
3. Socially, a levelling-up from below to produce true social justice.
4. Revolution not evolution.
5. Opposition to the Monarchy.
6. Opposition to the parties of the C.L.N.

PARTITO AGRARIO SOCIALE

Headquarters : Via Liguria 40.

Office Bearers : Dr. Erminio RIGHI, Rome
Dr. Angelo FABRI "
Conte Ludovico CERIANO, Siena
Ing. Nicolò MARTTI-CUSA, Palermo
Dr. Salvatore DE MARTINO, Naples
Umberto CORTI, Cremona
Prof. Emanuele MORSELLI, Messina
Conte Antonio TOSTI DI VALMINUTA , Rome
Ludovico PATERNO DI BISSA, Rome
Prof. Cesare GRINOVERO, Milan -Agrarian Expert
Prof. Achille MANGO, Rome " "

Membership : No figure available.

Newspaper : The party hopes to publish a paper to be called L'AVVENIRE DEL POPOLO and directed by Dr. De Martino.

Youth Movement : Unione Agraria Giovanile. Office bearers - Dr. Costante Prosperi, Secretary; Dr. Paolo Sylos Labini, Rome; Dr. Domenico Viggiani, Naples.

History : The party was formed at the time of the liberation of Rome, and disclaims any connection with previous parties of the same name.

Programme :

1. Union of all democratic forces in Italy. International relations based on democracy and mutual respect.
2. Establishment of the Government on a firmer basis by means of the above-mentioned union to enable it to represent the Italian people and defend democracy.
3. Rapid organisation of the State. The constitutional question to be settled by referendum.
4. Rapid economic reconstruction, free from political inter-

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2. Establishment of the Government on a firmer basis by means of the above-mentioned urion to enable it to represent the Italian people and defend democracy.
3. Rapid organisation of the State. The constitutional question to be settled by referendum.
4. Rapid economic reconstruction, free from political interference; this freedom to be guaranteed by the Government over the whole period of reconstruction.
5. Support for the Allied war effort, chiefly through national unity and order.

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This programme differs from that put out in June 1944 in the emphasis on political problems. The original programme, addressed to farmers, stressed rather the agrarian problems of land reclamation, irrigation, "latifondi", re-afforestation and improved living conditions for farm labourers. The party appears to belong to the right-centre.

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ALLEANZA CONTADINA ARTIGIANA E MARINARA

Headquarters : Via Due Macelli 97.

Executive Committee : On. Enrico INSABATO
Avv. Domenico CASAMASSIMA
Comm. Lelio RAVA'
Col. Francesco Saverio ORLANDO
Ing. Renato ANDREINI
Avv. Enzo MERCURIO - General Secretary

General Committee : This consists of 16 members with a strong army-navy flavour and includes:

Sen. Gen. Fidenzio DELL'ORA
Gen. Alessandro DE GUIDI
Barone Paolo LANGHEIM
Mons. Dr. Antonio PELLIZZOLA

Membership : No figure available.

Newspaper : The group published a paper called L'ITALIA LIBERA during the clandestine period in Rome. They have applied for it to be authorised.

Organizations : The alliance sponsors cooperatives and sees in their development the solution of the country's economic and social problems.

Programme :

1. The great mass of peasants (agricoli), constituting the economic and social basis of the nation, has the right to play the leading role in directing the country's policy.
2. Regional autonomy as the only sure guarantee of national unity. Regional assemblies to be elected by universal suffrage.
3. The granting of regional autonomy to be followed by the election of a Constituent Assembly to decide on the Constitution, the Statute and the Charter of the State.

In pursuance of the above programme a Partito Autonomista Contadino has been set up within the framework of the Alliance, which still continues to control directly the other two sectors - Sailors and Artisans.

An earlier version of the programme emphasises more the economic side:

1. Curtailment of industrialism in favour of a return to an ecoromy prevalingly agricultural.
2. Creation of cooperative societies of all kinds.
3. Decentralisation of public administration.

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55
(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

PARTITO DEL REDUCE ITALIANO

Headquarter: Via Curtatone, 6.

Secretary: Avv. Edgardo NICOLETTI.

Newspaper: None. It is hoped to publish a paper to be called: "La Patria".

Membership: No information available.

Organisation: The Party sponsors a co-operative society.

History: The Party was founded by the present Secretary in September, 1944.

Programme: 1) Union of all ex-Service Men, returned PWs, forced labourers, political refugees etc.
2) Anti-Fascism and anti-Nazism, but also anti-Nihilism. Democracy but not demagogism.
3) Sovereignty of the people. Avoidance of dictatorship either of individuals or parties.

According to 276 F.S.S. the Party is suspected of being Monarchist or reactionary. A weak pun greeted the appearance of its first posters in Rome, by which it became the "Partito del Re e del Duce".

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LEGA PER LA LIBERTA'

Headquarters: Via Tommaso Salvini 33.

Secretary: Alighiero CIATTINI.

Membership: There are no regularly enrolled members, merely "adherents".

Newspaper: The League hopes to publish a paper to be called: "Il Nuovo Patto".

Organisations: Nil.

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Programme: 1) To set up a federal Republic.
2) To bring in a great Government-sponsored

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

Secretary: Avv. Edgardo NICOLETTI.

Newspaper: None. It is hoped to publish a paper to be called: "La Patria".

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Secretary: Alighiero CIATTINI.

Membership: There are no regularly enrolled members, merely "adherents".

Newspaper: The League hopes to publish a paper to be called: "Il Nuovo Patto".

Organisations: Nil.

283

Programme: 1) To set up a federal Republic.
2) To bring in a great Government-sponsored scheme of social insurance calculated to re-establish the balance upset by economic liberalism and to work in favour of the working-classes.
3) To re-introduce gradually economic liberalism.
4) Italy to join a Society of Nations based on multi-lateral undertakings and guarantees.

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CENTRO ITALIANO DI RINNOVAMENTO.

Headquarters: Corso Umberto, 333.

Membership: The Welfare and Cultural Centre groups about 50 people. These are almost all professional workers who belong to no political party.

Programme: This group is non-political. It concentrates on:-
1) Welfare and cultural activities.
2) Consumers' co-operative: 'Fratelli d'Italia'.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

COMITATO PER LA RICOSTRUZIONE NAZIONALE

Headquarters: Via Quattro Fontane, 142 and 143.

Office-bearers: Capt. Giorgio STARO SANTAROSA.
Dr. Mario RUGGERO
Dr. Giancarlo GIODANI
Capt. Achille RIBONI
Dr. Pirongelli BRUZIO - Press

Membership: About thirty groups and parties send representatives to the Committee's meeting.

Newspaper: "Lavoro" periodical, Rome. Director: Carlo PINNA FRANCESCO.

Organisations: The Committee sponsors a youth movement and a women's movement. It proposes to form workers' co-operatives.

Programme: 1) The Committee is not a political party, but aims at co-ordinating the policies and activities of groups, parties and organisations opposed to dictatorship either by individuals or parties and striving for democracy, liberty, justice and order.

2) Member parties are free to follow their own political and economic programmes; but the Committee provides them with preliminary studies prepared by experts of the problems of the hour.

3) The Committee maintains that Italian reconstruction may be attained with abolishing the Monarchy.

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PARTITO DI RICOSTRUZIONE CRISTIANA.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785021

Programme: This group is non-political. It concentrates on:-
1) Welfare and cultural activities.
2) Consumers' co-operative: 'Fratelli d'Italia'.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

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Headquarters: Via Quattro Fontane, 142 and 143.

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3) The Committee maintains that Italian reconstruction may be attained with abolishing the Monarchy.

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PARTITO DI RICOSTRUZIONE CRISTIANA.

Headquarters: Via G. Avezzano, 51.

Office-Bearers: Directing Committee: Avv. Alberto SABATINI
(head of the Party)
Cte. Paolo PIELLA
Avv. Giovanni SILVESTRELLI

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 178502

CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55
(Passages market with a line at the side are for information only)

The Party has the slogan "To Christianize the state and to co-operate in a new Christian order in the world". It is monarchical and clerical.

The Party has no inscribed membership, adherents are found and maintained by means of meetings. It has no Youth, Feminine or Syndical organizations. It claims to have applied for authorization to publish a party newspaper.

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PARTITO DI UNIONE PROLETARIA

Headquarters: Via Fornova, 12.

Theseoffices are somewhat palatial for a minor, proletarian party. The Secretary's desk bears a formidable battery of bell-buttons, which are answered with almost disconcerting rapidity. There is also a very efficient 'escort' service for seeing visitors to and fro from their cars.

Office-bearers: Umberto SALVAREZZA, General Secretary
Renato BIANCHI
Lt. Carlo CONCARI
Count Pietro JONIGRA
Arnaldo MARAPODI
Vittorio ANACLETI
Anacleto BALLA

The only person on the above list who held office in the Party in August 1944 is Salvarezza, the founder and Secretary of the Union. An ex-Communist, he has a police record reaching back for twenty years, including several convictions for theft and fraud. He is believed to have belonged to the "Bandiera Rossa" (Movimento Comunista, q. v.) group during the German occupation, and to have formed his own band only when the fall of Rome was imminent. He was imprisoned by the Germans, but released. In November, 1944 he quarelled with On. Umberto Bianchi, ex-deputy and co-leader of the Party and the latter unveiled Salvarezza's past and accused him of using the Party to obtain sums running into millions of lire from various industrialists and ex-Fascists in operations which sounded suspiciously like blackmail. At about the same time Salvarezza claimed in public to be working for the British Secret Service- a claim which he was compelled to withdraw in a newspaper statement. He was recently, according to a reliable source, been seeing a good deal of Navy Comm. Montezemolo, a member of Prince Humbert's household.

Membership: Independent sources confirm Salvarezza's claim to have 40,000 members in Liberated Italy; but the figure is passed on with all due reserve. The Party claims to have 710 branches.

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Headquarters: Via Fornova, 12.

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Membership: Independent sources confirm Salvarezza's claim to have 40,000 members in Liberated Italy; but the figure is passed on with all due reserve. The Party claims to have 710 branches. It is stated by the police to have its own partisan bands operating in the North, several hundred members of which are said to be now in Rome for the winter, and to be secretely armed. It claims to be su-ported by all the parties and movements of a body called the "Congresso Democratico Anti-Comunista".

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

Newspapers: "Unione Proletaria": editor: Umberto SALVAREZZA. Authorized by PWB 14th August, 1944, later suspended by the Under-Secretary for the Press and Propaganda. It was claimed by his opponents that Salvarezza numbered the first issue 61 to make believe that it had appeared during the German occupation and that he used it as an instrument for his black-mailing activities.

History: According to Salvarezza he founded the movement in Paris in 1936 but it remained very small until after the Armistice when it was joined by many young people. It had its own bands -the "Gruppi Romagnoli" under General Vannetti and Luigi Sabatini- which carried on sabotage, propaganda and help for political refugees and escaped Allied PWs. In the autumn of 1944 Salvarezza was the soul of the so-called "Democratic Congress", a gathering of small parties and groups ranging from extreme Right to extreme Left united only in opposition to the parties of the CLN. He then claimed to control the Liberal-Social Party, the Communist Libertarian (Anarchist) Party (q.v.) and the Communist Movement, (q.v.), and was in close touch with Dr. Strazza, secretary of the Collaborationist Constitutional Movement, a well-backed party of Right leanings, as well as the Partisan and the Volunteer Garibaldi movement under General Peppino Garibaldi ("the Spaniard"). The Party has never lacked funds and may even be subsidised by the Monarchy and reactionaries.

Programme: This has varied considerably since June 1944, but the more constant factors may be summarised as follows:

1) A republic, to be proclaimed by the free vote of the people through a Constituent Assembly.
2) Regionalism.
3) Solution of political problems by technical and economic means.
4) Full satisfaction of the claims of the workers, combined with anti-Communism and opposition to the Socialist Party. Salvarezza claims to possess incriminating evidence against Togliatti, Nenni and Reale and to be prevented from publishing it; but when invited to produce it, starts to talk in terms of thousands of dollars.

The latest sensational incident in the chequered career of the Party was the shooting by the police on 16th January of Giuseppe Albano, as he was leaving the Party offices. Albano, known as "Il Gobbo", the Hunchback of the Quarticciolo, was a seventeen-year old gang leader, with whom Salvarezza was implicated. The following day 97 persons, including seve-

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

APPENDIX I. No. 55

UNIONE DELLE DONNE ITALIANE

Headquarters: Via IV Novembre 144, Rome.

Board of Directors: Emilia SIRACUSA CABRINI
Luigia COBAU
Egle GUALDI
Rita MOGNANA TOGLIATTI
Bastianina MUSU MARTINI
Giuliana NENNI
Maria ROMITA
Marisa CIANCIARI RODANO

Note: Bastianini Muso Martini (of the Partito d'Azione) is said to be the "guiding spirit and soul" of the Unione which is apparently composed of representatives of many political parties as well as independent opinion. The secretarial offices comprise one representative of each political party plus one non political member. The Christian-Democratic Party has refused to associate itself with the Union on the grounds that it is doing its own charitable work through religious organizations.

Membership: The Unione states that it has fifteen branches (circoli) in Rome, and has branches in fifty six towns and villages in Liberated Italy and that its total membership is not known. The Unione is growing rapidly.

Newspaper: "Noi Donne" bi-monthly, Rome, has a circulation of 20,000. Directresses: Laura Bracco and Vittoria Giuntu.

Youth Movement: The Unione has an active youth movement called "Ragazze d'Italia".

Workers Movement: The Union appeals the women of all classes.

History: In 1943 the Unione was initiated, clandestinely with the formation of "Women's Defence Groups" during German occupation. Its chief present interests are assistance to children and the poor, moral and material help for soldiers and repatriated prisoners and votes for women. They allow complete freedom of religion and political beliefs in their members. Various political Parties have given contributions to the Unione (Liberal Party, etc.) and also banks and private citizens but the Unione is handicapped by a great shortage of funds.

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Rita [illegible] TOGLIATTI
Bastianina MUSU MARTINI
Giuliana NENNI
Maria ROMITA
Marisa CIANCIARI RODANO

Note: Bastianini Muso Martini (of the Partito d'Azione) is said to be the "guiding spirit and soul" of the Unione which is apparently composed of representatives of many political parties as well as independent opinion. The secretarial offices comprise one representative of each political party plus one non political member. The Christian-Democratic Party has refused to associate itself with the Union on the grounds that it is doing its own charitable work through religious organizations.

Membership: The Unione states that it has fifteen branches (circoli) in Rome, and has branches in fifty six towns and villages in Liberated Italy and that its total membership is not known. The Unione is growing rapidly.

Newspaper: "Noi Donne" bi-monthly, Rome, has a circulation of 20,000. Directresses: Laura Brecco and Vittoria Giuntu.

Youth Movement: The Unione has an active youth movement called "Ragazze d'Italia".

Workers Movement: The Unione appeals the women of all classes.

History: In 1943 the Unione was initiated, clandestinely with the formation of "Women's Defence Groups" during German occupation. Its chief present interests are assistance to children and the poor, moral and material help for soldiers and repatriated prisoners and votes for women. They allow complete freedom of religion and political beliefs in their members. Various political Parties have given contributions to the Unione (Liberal Party) etc.) and also banks and private citizens but the Unione is handicapped by a great shortage of funds.

Programme: 1) Active participation in the political and social life of the country, and education of workers by conversation and conferences in the principles of Unions for the defence of their economic rights.

2) To continue and to increase the work of assistance to the soldiers and their families, to victims of German and Fascist terror and to victims of the war.

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3) Collaboration with action of epuration of the Government, to fight the Black Market and to nominate women as delegates on the Epuration Commission.

4) Social work for mothers and children of workers with free medical service and help with their problems.

5) Cultural and recreational activities by organization for women, free education for children in rural districts and villages, and to help women improve their knowledge of life and of the world and to prepare them for full participation in political elections and administration.

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AZIONE CATTOLICA ITALIANA

Headquarters: Via della Conciliazione, 3.

Office-bearers: Director General: P. GILLA GREMIGNI, M.S.C.
Deputy " " : Mons. Giuseppe MORGHINO
General Secretary: Avv. Vittorio VERONESE.

Membership: The organisation claims a membership of approximately 2,000,000. It has Regional, Diocesan and Parish Councils throughout Italy, and is recognised as "an established channelfor Church charity" (Cardinal [illegible]).

Newspaers: "Il Quotidiano", daily, Rome. Authorised circulation: 37,000. Director: Igino GIORDANI.
"Bollettino Ufficiale dell'Azione Cattolica", monthly, Rome. Authorised circulation: 2,500. Director: Mons. Giuseppe BORGHINO, for group leaders.
Thirteen other papers and magazines are published in Rome alone. (see also 'Organisations' below).

Organisations.
Men's Catholic Action Union. Newspaper "Noi Uomini", monthly; 20,000.
Women's " " " " "In Alto", fortnightly, 5,000.
Catholic Action Youth Movement, " "Gioventù Nuova", weekly; 5,000.
Catholic " Girls " , " "Squilli.
" " Students " " "Azione Fucina", fortnightly, 6,000.
Catholic Action Graduates' Section. Magazine: "Studium", monthly; 3,500.
Catholic Action Schoolmasters' Section. Magazine: "Il Maestro" quarterly; 4,000.

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Catholic Action Schoolmasters' Section. Magazine: "Il Maestro" quarterly; 4,000.
ACLI (Christian Workers' Association of Italy). Newspaper: "Il Giornale dei Lavoratori"; daily; not yet authorised. The ACLI unions adher to the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro in which, pending forthcoming election, the direction is shared by representatives of the Christian Democrats (q.v.), Socialists and Communists. They have considerable strength. Avv. Mario MONTINI, brother of Mons. MONTINI, is active in the Association.
AGE (Associazione Giovani Esploratori). Catholic Boy Scouts' Association.
AGI (Associazione Guide Italiane). Catholic Girl Guides' Association.

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The Catholic Scouts' Association was founded in 1916, adhered to the Boy Scouts' International Bureau and, at the time of its supression in 1928, had several thousand troops throughout Italy. It was revived almost simultaneously in the late summer of 1943 in Sicily, under the patronage of Cardinal LAVITRANO, and in Rome, where Prof. GEDDA, President of the Central Youth Organisation of Catholic Action, was authorised by the Badoglio Government to revive the movement. It has now regional and diocesan organizations throughout liberated Italy and has published manuals and magazines, run courses for scoutmasters and resumed normal scouting activities to some extent.
Note: There is also a non-religious scouting association in liberated Italy called CEI (Corpo Nazionale Giovani Esploratori Italiani).

History: The Movement, born in the nineteenth century, received a great impetus from the support of Pius XI. Although recognised in the Concordat of 1929, however, it was subjected to attacks by the Fascists from 1931 on. During the German occupation of Rome it suffered some actual persecution, due probably to the action of the Catholic clergy in sheltering anti-Fascists and Jews. Father GILLA and Mons. BORGHINO were both arrested by the Germans, and other arrests were carried out in the offices of the movement.

Since the liberation of Rome full-scale lay action in the religious sphere has been resumed. Good instances are ACLI, ACI, AGE and ICAS (Istituzione Cattolica di Attività Sociale) an organization headed by Avv. Vittorio VERONESE (vide sopra) which runs libraries and educational as well as charitable activities.

Programme: Militant action of the laity in support of the hierachy of the Catholic Church in the accomplishment of the latter's apostolic misson, as interpreted by itself.

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The following parties, groups or units, also in existence in Italy, are not dealt with in this document. This further list is not final or exhaustive.

1.	Lega Democratica	Rome	
2.	Free Democratic Front	Rome	
3.	National Voluntary Garibaldi Movement.	Rome	
4.	Free Social Party	Rome	Left Centre
5.	Italian Liberal Constitutional Party.	Rome	Right
6.	Union for Democratic Collaboration	Rome	Right
7.	Centro della Ricostruzione		

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7.	Centro della Ricostruzione	Rome	
8.	Risveglio Democratico Popolare Italiano.	Naples	
9.	Partito Comunista d'Italia	Naples	Dissident
10.	Libera Unione degli Uguali	Naples	Left
11.	Partito dei Lavoratori	Bari	Left ?
12.	Partito Separatista Siciliano	Sicily	
13.	Partito Democratico Agrario	Sicily	Republican
14.	Partito Siciliano del Lavoro	Sicily	Separatist
15.	Partito Federale Comunalista	Sicily	
16.	Lega Italiana	Sicily	Regionalist
17.	Unione dei Siciliani	Sicily	

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26 MAY 1945

CONFIDENTIAL NO.69.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit No.12 APO 512.

Rome "D" Section, Liberated Italy 24 May, 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY NO.69.

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2. Trieste 2.

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3. Speech by General Azzi 3.

POLITICAL

4. Reports of Ferruccio Parri and Leo Valiani to the Partito d'Azione at the Eliseo Theatre 4,5,6.

5. Young people's Meeting organized by the Socialist and Communist Parties at the Botanical Gardens 7.

LABOUR

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A. CURRENT EVENTS.

1. Press Reactions to the Events of the Week.

With the Trieste question still much to the fore, Italians are very concerned by what they consider to be the predatory dismemberment of their territory, and view with alarm the French announcement that they wish to make frontier adjustments so as to have a strong defensive frontier.

Sylvia Sprigge (Manchester Guardian correspondent), was granted an interview by UNITA' (Communist) on May 17, and this was published under the title "The Truth on the Trieste Question". It has been the subject of wide comment. "No mass deportations, no hunting down of Italians", declared Mrs. Sprigge to one of our editors on her return from Trieste. (UNITA').

Under a headline, "Our Poor Frontiers are Contested by All" (Il Popolo - independent right wing) of 18.5.45. says: "Today Paris recounts that the peoples of the Italian territories occupied by them have welcomed the French troops with enthusiasm, happy to be able to speak their own tongue and to listen to religious services in the churches in French.....These "strategic" frontier adjustments desired by the French cannot possibly be made without entailing territorial modifications, because one cannot move a frontier without affecting a territory". IL MOMENTO, of the same date, reminds France of her noble message at the time of Mussolini's aggression, in which she affirmed before the world that she would never have claimed from Italy an inch of her territory. "France today, fired by the wind of victory which De Gaulle has felt from the Alps, wishes to deny her promise, eluding it with tortuous distinctions between frontier adjustments and territorial revindications". LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA (Republican): "The Italian people ask De Gaullist France if she wishes to be part of the Society of Nations or whether she prefers to act by herself, independent of international treaties. It would be neither intelligent nor in good taste to pay back the Fascist and Monarchist stab in the back to anti-Fascist Italy.".

ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) publishes an article called "Italy a Sphere of Influence?" which attacks those who, taking advantage of the Trieste question, say to the Allies: "Anglo-Saxon friends, take us under your protection, make Italy your sphere of influence". In this way, comments the paper, another war is risked. The belief is expressed that it is necessary to reach agreement with the Soviet Union. The writer comments that the Trieste question has revealed three very different tendencies in Italy: 1) Communist and Slavophile 2) Ultra-nationalistic, 3) A desire for the revindication of Trieste's "italianita'" in conjunction with a firm desire not to break good relations with the Slav world (backed by the Socialists and the Action Party).

ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) seeks to prove that Sylvia Sprigge's statements

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ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) seeks to prove that Sylvia Spriggo's statements in her interview with UNITA' will have the opposite results to those desired. "No Roman paper published accounts of such atrocities in Trieste as are referred to in UNITA'..." comments Baboef in an editorial entitled "The Eloquent Mrs. Spriggo".

All the Sunday papers (20.5.45) gave the full text of Marshal Alexander's message to the Allied armed forces, and Marshal Tito's reply. Editorials on the subject, however, appeared only in the Monarchist paper "Italia Nuova" and the Christian Democrat "Il Popolo", and were on the usual lines.

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B. GENERAL REPORTS

PUBLIC OPINION

2. Trieste.

The Trieste question in the past few days has become more acute because of succeeding events and because of apparent efforts of some newspapers and right groups to use these events as major propaganda to divert Italian public opinion from basic political problems which should be confronted by Italy at present. They are appealing to the patriotic instincts of the great mass of people relative to the "unquestionable Italianity" of Trieste, and thereby attempting to create a national issue great enough to confuse Italian thinking and to weaken the political parties of the centre and left. An extremely interesting problem has been created for the Communists and Socialists: that of being consistent with their party doctrines and at the same time coping with the natural attitude of Italians towards Trieste.

Many of the opinions heard, especially those of youth, seem to indicate that the nationalistic spirit has become more definite and consolidated and reacts against the Socialists and Communists with resulting resignations of members of these Parties. The question of Trieste has decreased the sympathy of many people for the Russians and has increased sympathy for the Americans and especially for the British, because of their naval squadron which is said to be at the port of Trieste "to put an end to the arbitrary actions of Marshal Tito and the Yugoslavs". Many of those interviewed believe that the question of Trieste is "the spark that will ignite a great Anglo-American and Russian conflict" and they are, therefore, worried and apprehensive.

A state employee (age 27) stated: "Previously I was interested in extremist Parties and believed in their ideals but, because of their present attitude towards Trieste, I have now resigned from my Party, because I do not believe that a Party should sacrifice its own Country in order to uphold its doctrines. Probably the best solution to avoid [illegible] conflict would be to make Trieste a free port open to all nations".

A mechanic (Republican, age 25) stated: "While my Party rightly preaches fraternalism, I desire and hope, because of patriotic sentiments, that Trieste may remain Italian, but I believe that the Yugoslavs and the Italians should be on a basis of parity from an international point of view. I was on the Balkan front when Italy still fought the Allies, and I know from experience our conduct towards the Yugoslavs. I also believe, however, that they are indebted to us for the truly heroic work of our soldiers who after the 18th. September became Partisans under Tito".

A Partisan Brigade commander from Piedmont (Communist, age 35) stated: "Pre-Fascist Communism no longer exists in the Italian Communist Party, and the entire pragmatic line has been turned upside down. Partisans believe that the present policy of UNITA' is not acceptable to the people or to the masses when it blames Fascism for proclaiming the Italianity of Trieste. This is not the moment to provoke another conflict, but our own position should be immediately clarified so that Trieste does not become another Danzig. In Northern Italy the masses are inclined to Communism, but many are now dissident because of the recent policies of Togliatti and other Party leaders, and this might suffocate Communism. In Northern Italy also there are many soldiers who have fought in Yugoslavia who were affected by anti-communist propaganda and who, rightly or wrongly, believe the reports of atrocities by the Partisans. This

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ARMED FORCES

3. Speech by General Azzi.

The hall of the Unione Spartaco in Via Giustiniani was literally full half an hour before the conference began. About 400 people were present, representing the Partito Repubblicano del Lavoro, the Unione Comunista Libertaria, the Movimento Partigiano, and also the Partito d'Azione. The father and brother of Carlo Andreoni were also present.

At precisely 5 pm. General Azzi, introduced by a member of the Unione Spartaco, commenced his discourse on the "Military Problem". General Azzi did not review the actual military situation, but suggested what should be the position of the armies of all nations, and especially of Italy, after the present conflict. In Italy, he said, it is not necessary to have a large army as in past years - an army which was, indeed, completely disarmed, demoralized and entirely without material comfort. Italy should have a small but well ordered army; officers should be of a type showing physical and intellectual superiority over the men, in order to be able to win their respect and inspire confidence in time of war. Above all, the Stato Maggiore should be less bureaucratic, less numerous, and the directive organs should be less inflated.

But in order to arrive at this, the whole of the old construction must be destroyed before rebuilding could commence.

Soldiers must no longer be asked to bear the burden of long marches, sleepless nights and privation with regard to food. Soldiers should be prepared by physical training and then a brief military course of about two months. Recruits should receive instruction from military elements which would then form the nucleus of the permanent army.

But the point most emphasized by General Azzi was the necessity for epuration in a categoric sense among officers and administrators. The Italian soldier, he maintained, is second to none. The struggles for our independence, the war of 1914-1918 have proved this. The condition in which we find ourselves in the present war is due not only to Fascism, but also to that military caste with which the War Ministry had surrounded itself. If the Italian soldier is well-armed, well equipped, and commanded by men who think only of the good of the country, he is capable of surmounting any obstacle.

General Azzi concluded by saying that militaristic ideas must disappear, but not completely. A small but strong army must always be watching the Italian frontiers and interests.

General Azzi was several times interrupted by applause, and at the end he was [illegible] by people who wished to offer him their congratulations.

In the middle of the speech, when epuration was referred to, there were cries that epuration must be carried out at the Quirinal and in the War Ministry.

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POLITICAL

4.

REPORTS OF FERRUCCIO PARRI AND LEO VALIANI TO THE PARTITO D'AZIONE AT THE ELISEO THEATRE.

On Sunday morning, May 13th, Ferruccio Parri and Leo Valiani gave an account of the resistance and fight of the Partisans of the North to the Partito d'Azione at the Eliseo theatre. The ground floor and first balcony were filled with members and friends of the Party, and all the local party leaders were seated on the stage.

Vincenzo Baldazzi introduced the speakers whom, he said, had come to Rome as delegates of the CLNAI to demand a new national life in the name of the patriots who had liberated themselves under their leadership.

The entire audience stood up and applauded Parri when he approached the speakers' table. He is a striking and distinguished looking man of about 55 with bushy white hair. He has a diffident and shy manner, his speech is quiet and rhetorical but his extreme simplicity, humanity and obvious sincerity are dramatic in their effectiveness. His simple manner and gestures controlled the reactions of his audience who sat in rapt respectful attention but who periodically stood as one man to fervently applaud his statements.

In his speech, he said that the applause of the audience humbled him, that neither he nor Valiani had come to Rome for any personal glory at that difficult time in which so many problems had to be solved. Valiani's and his sole merit had been to know when to assume responsiblilty and when to act and that it is the Dead who commanded and who will continue to command in our last paths of action. Our companions in the North are not only of our party but of all colours, and fought with us with the same valour and spirit.

The speaker continued by saying that according to him there was no distinction between North and South and that there is only one Italy, all are Italians and the only distinction that can be made is between the Italians who desire liberty and those who do not. The present struggle for liberty has united the people into a moral unit in a way never known since the "Risorgimento".

Parri then said that, because of the "regime of declamatory inflation" which exists today, he would try to be as factual as possible in speaking of the Partisan Movement. This movement "spontaneously germinated" in the days of the collapse was joined by many soldiers and some officers of independent spirit. To the first nuclei came professional students, workers and others who wished (by arms) to cleanse Italy of her national shame. In this way from alpine bands the first committees of national liberation were formed. They had their points of contact in Milan where they received military discipline and orders. Similar less organized developments took place in other regimns, especially in Piedmont, where the resistance movement was very vigorously directed.

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Parri then spoke of the first Partisan battles, of their cruel losses, of the ferocious reprisals of the Nazi-Fascists, of their growing self-confidence after the first moment of uncertainty, of their failures and successes, and of the increase in their numbers from 9000 to over 200,000 men, to which were united citizens formations etc. The military commission of the early days which soon organised the Partisans on military lines were transformed into a provisional command with an intelligence service worthy of a regular army, in spite of many

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difficulties and dangers, until it became(according to the Germans) a "thorn in their flesh".

Parri then told how all Northern Italy was divided into zones under this command, how every zone had a regional military command taking orders from the General Command, and each zone had a political commissar, a vice-commander and a head of general staff. This arrangement, he said,was not rational from a military point of view but was necessary to control the various political factions represented in our partisan army.

Parri then told how the Communists in the Partisan movement, were able through selection and discipline, to function easily and effectively and how much more difficult it was for the Action Party, which was loosely organised,to develop an effective organisation, and how despite this the latter was able to play a principal role in the fight. He also spoke of the great contributions given by the Socialists, Christian-Democrats, and Liberals in full cooperation with the others together with young people of all kinds with magnificent results and true comradeship, which, in the north, has created a new spirit that will spread throughout Italy. In the creation of this new army, a clear precise character originated because it was an army of the people, born of the common efforts of all political parties with neutral leaders taking orders from its General Command.

After the early diffident stages this army became so unified that it was considered necessary to give a still more military character to its organisation, therefore, in cooperation with the Allies in the autumn of I944, General Cadorna became the Commanding General of the movement. In general, Cadorna represented (for us) the better and more honourable Italian military traditions, which might be salvaged and used in this new army born of the people.

Parri then said that in spite of the fact that the Allies did not want a partisan army but wanted partisan groups to carry out sabotage and minor attacks against the enemy, a partisan army was formed, for the purpose of liberating the country from the Germans. Therefore, in the first phases relations between the Allies and Partisans were difficult but subsequently improved and resulted in the creation of two organisations one British and one American, to supply arms and ammunition to the Partisans and with whom there was an exchange of ideas and information. It is difficult, he said to give an idea of the complexity and magnitude of the work achieved, such as, for example, radio transmission so searched for by the Nazis and Fascists. "Who will ever know the number of our comrades killed in this work?" The Allied Central Nucleus who dealt with the Partisans can espress a sincere and conclusive judgment on the results obtained, never surpassed by any other people situated in the particualarly unfavourable condition in which we found ourselves. From a military standpoint our assistance was noteworthy, and we are proud to be able to say that with the blood shed by the British and Americans, Italian blood was the first to flow. A heavy price has been paid for this help, greater than can be imagined. Young boys and youth generally have paid most dearly. "How much blood, oh, how much blood has been shed". At this point Parri stopped overcome with emotion and then

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He then spoke of the sufferings in the Appennines, in Modena and in Piedmont, of futile campaigns, of bestial reprisals no different

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from those unhappily perpretrated in other regions, he spoke of the death of "Marco" in the liberation of his native city, Marco, whom he he loved as a son. (Parri again stood silently for many minutes before resuming his speech). These losses, he said, continued until the last day when our best had fallen. Many of these are so young "they still had need of a mother's care".

Therefore, he said, when we speak of Victory and we think of these dead, we speak of joyless victory - a bitter victory. Our dead have shown us the road which we must follow if their lives are not to be lost in vain. Victory has given us something that is difficult to describe, has raised our personal dignity as well as our national dignity and has been accomplished by the people who will know how to keep what they have paid for in so much blood. He then spoke of Partisan demobilization, of their retaining their arms and of their rehabilitation in civilian life or in the new progressive army, and the necessity of Italian politics to be in accord with the new situation.

Parri concluded his discourse by saying that the road to be followed will be long and difficult and filled with disillusions but that "we intend to fight to the last street" for our supreme work - the second Risorgimento. (Everyone stood, [illegible] applauded the speaker and shouted "Viva l'Italia".)

V A L I A N I

Leo Valiano, after an ovation by the audience, stated that Parri had already told most of the story but that he would speak of the insurrection of the cities of Upper Italy where the movement of the people had been so vast that contact was lost between the directors of the insurection and its command. At Milan this contact was not lost because of the work of a youth named Laurentis. The preparation for the insurrection, he said, was long and difficult but the organization of the workers was decisive and their first battles were fought in the factories of Milan and Turin. The preparation in Milan had been difficult because of the presence of 30,000 well armed Fascists and in spite of these difficulties a general strike took place in May, 1944 in Upper Italy much to their surprise. Twenty percent of these workers were subsequently deported to Germany but the work of the organization continued until Victory.

Valiani said that now the consequences of the Victory should be realized by the formation of a new regime in Italy based on regional provincial communes and that the present relations between city and country should be adopted through out all Italy.

Valiani concluded his address with a reaffirmation of the necessity of a new truly democratic government in Italy. [illegible] ovation to Parri and himself followed.

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

5. YOUNG PEOPLES MEETING ORGANISED BY THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES AT THE BOTANICAL GARDENS ON SUNDAY, May, I3th.

On Sunday May I3th, at about I0,30 in the morning, several hundreds of young Socialists and Communists gathered in the Botanical Gardens. The square was full of red flags and banners bearing inscrip tions in praise of the republic, and saying "Death to the King and to the Monarchy", and calling for a new democratic government, etc.

The meeting was held by an exponent of each party: LEO SOLARI for the Socialist Party and GIULIO SPALLONE for the Communist. The speeches were applauded with great enthusiasm, and covered all the problems concerning the young with particular regard to their moral position in the country's current politics.

Leo Solari spoke first, on the following subjects:

a) He recalled the merits of the young people who fought with the Partisans for the liberation of Italy.

b) Prisoners returning from concentration camps, he said, would be treated as victims of the war and not responsible for it.

c) All young people of whatever tendency should take an active part in political life, so that their indifference should not be taken advantage of by unscrupulous persons.

d) He made a resumé of all the measures taken to date in favour of youth, such as the revindication of syndicalism, political organi-sations, etc.

e) Lastly, and most important of all, he stated the Socialist policy regarding Triest. He said that the Socialist Party had made a stand against the neo-imperialistic tendencies that threatened to contaminate the patrimony of the Jugoslav Partisan Movement. He indirectly implied that the Socialist Party considers Triest Jugoslav, and regards the manifestations of the students as a part of the nation wide monarchist propaganda.

The Communist Party representative GIULIO SPALLONE declared his accord with the Socialist speaker on the Triest question, and spoke on similar lines.

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L A B O U R

6. Italian workers for Ceylon

After the signing of an agreement between the British Admiralty and the Ministry of Labour, Industry and Commerce, a call has been made by the "Ufficio Provinciale del Lavoro" for workers up to the number of 15,000 (manual labourers from 21 to 45 years old, professional up to 50) for work in Ceylon.

In a conversation with a P.W.B. officer Ing. Bernini, who is dealing with this matter, gives particulars of conditions offered and the results of the appeal.

He says that the contract offers quite good conditions. The employment of 15,000 workers is divided into 10 autonomous groups and is for constructing [illegible] buildings which will not be for purposes of war. There will be directors, medical assistance will be provided and messes with Italian personnel. This is to create an Italian atmosphere for those working in a foreign land and among strangers, and to keep up the morale of the workers.

The contract is for a three year term, with repatriation in case of illness or very serious family affairs. On the other hand the British Admiralty cannot promise renewal of the contract or permission to remain longer than the above mentioned period. The general conditions of the contract are: food, clothing, lodging and medical assistance gratis. The same treatment as English workers and employees of the same category; and the same protection in case of illness or accident due to work.

A fifth part of the salary will be paid to the workers and the rest will be paid into account sterling to the Bank of Italy and put at the disposal of the family or of the worker himself on his return to Italy. This condition and the desire to provide against unemployment which is sure to be widespread when the army and the partisans are demobilised, has encouraged the Government to contribute in part to the pay of the workers.

Bernini says he hopes that this offer will absorb a part of the unemployed (at the moment 37977 men and 15068 women are on the unemployment list; of which 7213 belong to the building trade). He said that building was normally one of the most flourishing occupations in Rome and the cessation of all activity was causing much suffering.

A detailed examination reveals that the biggest demands are for the following categories:

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A detailed examination reveals that the biggest demands are for the following categories:

Manual workers ; . .	3,200
Mechanics . . .	400
Bricklayers . . .	530
Bricklayer assistants	530
Carpenters . . .	900

Directors and professional personnel are also required:
70 engineers, 26 doctors, 40 administrative clerks are wanted.

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(Passages sidelined are for information only)

L A B O U R (contd.)

The salaries very from a minimum of 322,000 lires for the ordinary workers (for three years) to 900,000 for the higher personnel.

i.e. Bricklayer ; . L. 338,000 for 3 years
about 113,000 a year
308 a day

According to the minimum trade union rates in Italy the wage would be L.239 per day with family allowances etc. added. Wages are actually, however very much higher as the men demand and receive a great deal more.

Mechanic L. 371,000 for three years
about 124,000 a year
330 a day
In Italy 243 with allowances added (in practice no mechanic however earns less than 300 - 350).

Doctors and Engineers L.750,000 for three years
252,000 a year
670 a day

Chief engineers and specialists (Medicine) L;906,000 for three years
302,000 a year
805 a day

Bernini believes that this kind of contract is more suitable for unmarried men and youths in general but in the beginning a large percentage of married men arcunf 35 to 40 years asked to be enrolled. They are all anxious to know if it is a real offer and when they would have to embark which they hope will be very soon! They appear to be people in very urgent need of work. Some make enquiries on the climate and eventual destination, but the majority appear ready to accept anything as long as it is real employment. It is clear that they are honest workers incapble of stooping to dishonest Black Market activities. Up to now about a thousand have applied to go, (about 50-60 a day), among whom there are 3 architects, 4 doctors, and 2 or three engineers.

C U L T U R A L

7. "Adieux a Via Po"

In Présence of 20th May appears an "Adieux à la Via Po" by Captain Jaques Heurgen in which he writes that "if Montaigne had been

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7. "Adieux a Via Po"

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marvels of social life (comparable only to the Loges of Milan or the salons of Bologna) the Mess of PWB, "D" Section at 27 Via Po which now closes its doors to the consternation and great regret of all".

"There, there reigned a spirit of friendliness, a horror of fanaticism, an indifference to titles and to the great, an amused respect for human diversities, a sympathetic curiosity for the opinions of others which, while material and moral ruins accumulated everywhere by war, already rehabilitated the values of peace."

"The little groups of Allied Officers who founded the Mess came from distant places, from Algiers, Bari Naples, where they had shared their rations with intellectuals of liberated regions and where they had inhaled together their first breath of pure air. Rome was the goal of their travels and there, for nearly a year Americans who seemed to come out of a novel by Edith Wharton (but who prefer Steinbeck) and the English with their Authentic Oxford accent who bitterly criticize the Public Schools, invited to their Mess great numbers of celebrated men and young men, ministers and painters, partisans and duchesses, Monsignors and poets, communists and liberals. Around a long waxed wooden table covered with rustic goblets, it seemed (but only seemed) that chance alone decided where one sat and providential meetings occurred with unexpected neighbours, the most opposite doctrines were reconciled with the soup, one never heard guests quarrel or become rebuffed and the only loud voices were those of Neapolitans who dominated the conversation with amusing stories until dawn. Such was the spirit of the place and such are the forms of civilization."

"PWB departs and the French, who were always received by them with touching attention and with a sort of fraternal complicity, admire and rejoice in their truly extraordinary success and hope that a Latin plaque will soon eternalize the merits of these generous adepts of the new "Psychomachie"".

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CONFIDENTIAL SUMMARY NO.69

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
Psychological Warfare Branch
Unit NO.12 APO 512.

Rome "D" Section, Liberated Italy. 24 May 1945.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY
NO.69.

PART I - SUMMARY

Political activity during the week has shifted to the North, where discussions have been taking place between members of the central Committee of Liberation and those of the Committee of Liberation for Northern Italy. The principal political personalities of the different Parties have been in Milan, and as a result there has been a lull in the political situation in Rome. Bonomi also visited the North, although it is reported he did not go to Milan. Instead, he went to Mantua (his native city) and other places in Venetia. A rumour was current that Bonomi was about to retire on account of illness, but this was denied by Government spokesman.

From reports published in the Press, it would appear that the political discussions taking place in Milan have resulted in the Parties drawing nearer to an agreement and it would, therefore, seem possible that a coalition Government embracing the six Parties of the CNL would shortly be formed. At present the Government continues to function, but the crisis could be opened at any moment by the resignation of the Communists, who have made it clear that they would like a fundamental change in the Government rather than a reshuffle. Leaders of the principal Parties are expected to return to Rome quite shortly and then, it is reported, a crisis may be precipitated.

Government activity has also been at a standstill during the week, as many important ministers have been in Northern Italy. Considerable interest is still felt by Italians in the question of Trieste, and the Press has given great prominence to the developments in that area. Most of the newspapers and many Italians were pleased with the message of Field Marshal Alexander to the forces under his command. Apart from the fact that the majority of Italians regard Trieste as an essentially Italian city, there is also a general feeling that such problems as these must not be prejudged or decided by "fait accompli" of the kind which disturbed the peace of Europe before the war. Most Italians would prefer Italian territory in Venezia Giulia to be under Allied Military Government until the Peace Conference, when it is hoped that in the calmer atmosphere of that period it may be possible to come to a lasting agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia.

The alarm felt by many Italians at the reports that Trieste and Venezia Giulia were being administered by the Yugoslav army and that their fellow countrymen were being maltreated decreased as the week advanced and the tension in that area seemed to be relieved. Great pleasure was felt that the Anglo-American forces were taking over areas in Venezia Giulia. British and American prestige rose considerably in Italian public opinion. The Communist Party, on the other hand, it is reported, has been considerably weakened by its attitude towards the Trieste question. It is even said that many Italians who sympathized with the Communis t Party had ceased to do so because they now felt that they had proof that it is a Party which does not represent the national interests of Italy, but which obeys the orders of Moscow.

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From reports published in the Press, it would appear that the political discussions taking place in Milan have resulted in the Parties drawing nearer to an agreement and it would, therefore, seem possible that a coalition Government embracing the six Parties of the CNL would shortly be formed. At present the Government continues to function, but the crisis could be opened at any moment by the resignation of the Communists, who have made it clear that they would like a fundamental change in the Government rather than a reshuffle. Leaders of the principal Parties are expected to return to Rome quite shortly and then, it is reported, a crisis may be precipitated.

Government activity has also been at a standstill during the week, as many important ministers have been in Northern Italy. Considerable interest is still felt by Italians in the question of Trieste, and the Press has given great prominence to the developments in that area. Most of the newspapers and many Italians were pleased with the message of Field Marshal Alexander to the forces under his command. Apart from the fact that the majority of Italians regard Trieste as an essentially Italian city, there is also a general feeling that such problems as these must not be pre-judged or decided by "fait accompli" of the kind which disturbed the peace of Europe before the war. Most Italians would prefer Italian territory in Venezia Giulia to be under Allied Military Government until the Peace Conference, when it is hoped that in the calmer atmosphere of that period it may be possible to come to a lasting agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia.

The alarm felt by many Italians at the reports that Trieste and Venezia Giulia were being administered by the Yugoslav army and that their fellow countrymen were being maltreated decreased as the week advanced and the tension in that area seemed to be relieved. Great pleasure was felt that the Anglo-American forces were taking over areas in Venezia Giulia. British and American prestige rose considerably in Italian public opinion. The Communist Party, on the other hand, it is reported, has been considerably weakened by its attitude towards the Trieste question. It is even said that many Italians who sympathized with the Communis t Party had ceased to do so because they now felt that they had proof that it is a Party which does not represent the national interests of Italy, but which obeys the orders of Moscow.

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Nervousness continues to be expressed by Italians at the presence of French troops on Italian territory in Piedmont. Rumours were circulating to the effect that the French intended to retain such territory after the war. The French denial that this was so had, however, a calming effect.

Unity between the Socialist and Communist Parties, at least on the surface, is still being emphasized. Nenni, in an article which was published in "Avanti" Milan on May 22 and reproduced in "Avanti" Rome on May 24 made it clear that he considered it essential for the welfare of the working classes and for the development of democracy that the pact of unity between the Socialists and Communists should be the basis of the policy of the Socialist Party. He argued that the Socialists represent the interests of the working classes, and that as the Communists also represent the workers, unity must be achieved between all of them. He added that the Party of Action had understood the need for such unity and that he hoped that the Liberals and Christian Democrats would also understand this necessity. He pointed out that if unity between Socialists and Communists were broken, it would not be the democratic-liberal elements who would gain, but the conservatives and reactionaries. He asserted that the Socialist Party is not a centre Party around which anti-Communists can form themselves, but rather it is the centre of the democratic forces which are resolved to solve not only the Government crisis, but, through the Constituent Assembly, to arrive at a solution of the crisis of the State and of society, dealing a death blow to the past and giving the nation a political, social and economic order related to the interests of national collectivity.

It is also reported that at a joint meeting of the Socialist-Communist Youth Movements in Rome Leo Solari made it clear in a speech that in his opinion the Socialist policy towards the Trieste question was not very different from that of the Communists. On the other hand, those Socialists who believe in democracy and abhor dictatorship and totalitarian methods take the view that international Socialism may save democracy and ensure its success. At the same time, they believe that by the example of its success they may induce many who are at present sympathizers of the Communist Party to return to the fold of the Socialists. They also believe that the example of successful democratic socialism may have a decisive influence on Russia and lead to a real understanding between the Anglo-Saxon world and Russia. These ideas are developed in a leading article in "Avanti" written by the novelist Ignazio Silone. He points out that the Socialists are in power in the Scandinavian countries, in Holland and in Belgium and they form part of the Government in France. Now that the Labour Party in England have decided to leave the coalition Government, he says that many people believe they will win at the forthcoming election, in which case, the larger part of Europe would be governed by Socialists. He declares that the existence of the Socia list Party in Italy is dependent on two political conditions: a) that the political liberty of the individual citizen is at this moment reconcilable with the boldest economic and social reforms, b) that the understanding between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon world should be lasting because democratic Socialism can only thrive in an atmosphere of peace.

Great interest is being displayed in the forthcoming elections in England, as it is felt that their result may have considerable influence on Italy's future.

During the week 23 tons of gold were deposited in the vaults of the Bank of Italy. This gold was discovered in Northern Italy, where the Germans had hold it. The Italian Press hopes that this gold may be part of that which was taken by the Germans from the Bank of Italy, but so far the ownership has not been announced.

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CONFIDENTIAL No. 68

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit No. 12 APO 512

21 MAY 1945

Rome D Section, Liberated Italy 17th May 1945

REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY No.68

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Explanation of reliability rating:

Source (reliability)		Report (probability)	
A	Always reliable	1	Confirmed
B	Usually reliable	2	Probable
C	Sometimes reliable	3	Possible
D	Frequently unreliable	4	Doubtful
E	A bad source	5	Improbable

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A. CURRENT EVENTS

1. Press Reactions to the Events of the Week

Despite the fact that the war in Europe ended during the week under review and this was commented on at length and with great satisfaction in the press (special editions with huge headlines appeared on Tuesday afternoon 8 May), the sustained subject of interest and discussion is still that of Trieste. Accounts of conditions prevailing there were given in all papers. Grave concern was expressed. Relief was, however, felt when it was announced that General Alexander was conferring with Marshal Tito and subsequently meeting Premier Bonomi and Admiral Stone. Later (13 May) came the announcement from Washington that Trieste would be under the Control of the Allies until the peace treaty was signed.

The visit and pronouncements of the representatives of the C.L.N.A.I., have been widely publicised in the press and the 'cordon sanitaire' has come in for further criticism.

ITALIA NUOVA (Monarchist) on 11.5.45 under large headlines YUGOSLAV METHODS IN VENEZIA GIULIA and "POGROM" AT TRIESTE, their Special Correspondent writes: "The raids ('grande razzia') began three days ago. An ordinance from the Military Command signed by 'General' Dusan Kveder orders all men between 16 and 60 years to present themselves immediately for incorporation in the voluntary army of liberation. Those who do not will be considered Fascists and deserters... The hunt is on for leaders of the local Committee of Liberation. Yesterday it was said that two of them the Demo-Christian and Socialist representatives were caught by the Croats and shot. It was learned later, however, that those who were shot were a workers' organiser and a director of a local bank, who had been trying to contact the Allied Command ..."

In a leading article in AVANTI (Socialist) 13.5.45, under the title "Agitators" Pietro Nenni, referring to the transitory stage between war and peace says that at the moment there is no longer a Europe. "There are European states, each jealous and distrustful of the other, and what the other may gain..... We ourselves have among those who make an issue (zibaldone) of Trieste and Dalmatia, even of the Dodecanese, without bearing in mind that we cannot defend that which is Italian without taking into account the right of self-determination for all.... The partisans (Tito's) in Trieste are behaving as if they were in their own house, attempting to present to Europe and to us a 'fait accompli', which is after all the method by which Hitler solved territorial problems and that applied by Mussolini at Lubliana."

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UNITA (Communist) breaking a long silence on this subject, on 13.5.45, published a leading article entitled "Irresponsibility and Provocation" in which an attempt is made to justify Jugoslav activities in Trieste and to prove that the accounts of repression of Italians recounted by correspondents of other papers is false or exaggerated. "At one time this type of paper was full of fantastic stories of Russian Bolsheviks tearing babies to pieces and eating them." According to UNITA, the only people in Trieste who have anything to fear are the Fascists. The number of Fascists who have been brought to justice, are however, far fewer than those in Milan, Turin and other places. The article goes on to say that they be-

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ieve in the "Italianity" of Trieste but when Fascism, whether Slav or Italian, is being destroyed, they can only applaud whoever destroys it, whether they be Slavs or Italians.

RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE (12.5.45) gives a long account of conditions in Trieste under a headline SANGUE NELLA VENEZIA GIULIA (Blood in Venezia Giulia). They recount how Italian partisans of the Garibaldi Brigade, who since December 1944 have fought under the IX Slav Corps, were disarmed whilst the fight against the Germans was in progress and how a Captain Bolla of the Italian partisan "Osoppo" division was tortured before being shot. In a leading article entitled "Trieste Without Peace" they write: "There is an Italian city for which the war did not end on 8 May 1945. We do not need to name it. There is an Italian city in which the greatest fault is not that of being a Fascist or a collaborator with the Nazis, but being Italian...."

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B. GENERAL REPORTS

POLITICAL

2. Socialist Assembly at the Teatro Brancaccio

A Socialist Assembly was held on Thursday morning 10 May in the Teatro Brancaccio which overflowed with people. Loud speakers were installed in nearby streets to enable those who were unable to enter to hear the addresses. Delegates from many political parties were on the speakers platform including Liberals and Christian-Democrats. Lussu, Fancello, La Malfa and Berlinguer of the Action Party were present and Togliatti, Scoccimaro, Negarville and Reale were greeted with applause when they appeared.

Rodolfo Morandi, President of the C.L.N.A.I., opened the assembly (amidst great applause) with a calm unimpassioned address in which he affirmed that honour should be rendered to the people instead of to individuals, that the purpose of the meeting was to solve a grave crisis at a grave moment and that the question of a new government should be solved by the nation and the working classes of all Italy. The objectives should be "liberation from Fascism, the conquest of liberty not only in name but reality for the people, the conquest of a new democracy, the conquest of a State open to the working classes." (Great applause).

Sandro Pertini of the C.L.N.A.I., the second speaker, in a fiery address, saluted all Italians in the name of the people of the North, denounced the weakness of the Bonomi government, demanded a new democratic republican government through a constituent assembly and denounced the Luogotenente who, he stated, would receive the same fate as Mussolini if he appeared openly in Milan. (Very great applause).

Pietro Nenni, the third and principal speaker, stated that the meeting was the first in a series of great popular reunions to study the most grave political problems that had ever been confronted by Italy, that an epoch in Italian history is finished and that a new epoch begins and that the greatest of Fascist crimes is that today hundreds of thousands of Italian mothers, in this hour of peace, mourn the loss of their sons who died uselessly in the most vile of wars. (Applause). He then paid homage to the victims of the war and referring to the problem of Trieste, which he said existed today because of the Fascists and Monarchy, who followed their acts in Spain by aggression against France and against Yugoslavia and Greece. Italy has wrongs to account for to Yugoslavia, but just as she does not wish to oppress Slavs or Croats, she in turn intends to defend the Italians of Trieste.

Nenni then spoke of what the country desires in the new government which will evolve from the Constituent Assembly. He spoke of the weakness of the Bonomi Cabinet and of how it humiliated the C.L.N. by dealing with the prefects and questore of Mussolini. A plan is needed for the new State. Vast cooperative organisations must be set up and the fiscal system renewed. The schools must be re-organised.

He then spoke of the hope of the reactionaries to exploit Italian sentiments re-... ing Trieste into a "political speculation" to re-establish themselves by exploiting differences between the North and South which without unity can never be solved. He stated that the union of the farm labourers of Sicily and the metal workers of Turin would be the salvation of all Italy. (Great applause).

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The speaker then discussed the institutional problem, the regency and possible efforts to delay the holding of the Constituent Assembly. This will never be considered by the Socialist who insist that the government of tomorrow be determined by the Constituent by the sovereignity of the people (great applause) and this will obviate, by the expression of the will of the people, the cruel test of a civil war. (Great applause).

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The Constituent Assembly should today become the basic topic of all of our publicity and should be the platform of our political activities. Much will depend upon the Christian-Democrats whom the speaker exhorted to place themselves on record for the republic. Nenni stated that it was "our duty" to prevent the problem of a religious war in Italy, to respect the Church in its religious functions. (Great applause).

Nenni then expressed the demands of the Socialists to the Constituent Assembly for a republic because today a republic is the only element of unity in the Italian people. (great applause) and the monarchy could only be maintained by means of a military or neo-Fascist dictatorship.

Nenni then spoke of the programme of the republic, agrarian reform, socialization of heavy industry etc.

The entire audience listened with great attention to the speaker, applause was frequent and fervent, and he was given an ovation at the conclusion of his address.

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3. MANIFESTATION AT THE PIAZZA SANTI APOSTOLI

A manifestation for the Victory and in honour of the representatives of the Committee of National Liberation of the North took place on Tuesday afternoon, May 9th, in the Piazza Santi Apostoli [illegible] which was filled with people chiefly of the working or lower middle classes. Delegations of all of the political parties of the Center and of the Left (including the Christian Democrats) with numerous flags grouped themselves under the speakers balcony. While awaiting the appearance of the speakers, the crowd sang patriotic and leftist songs interspersed with chants of "Death to the King", "Viva la Repubblica", "Out with Bonomi", "We want the Constituent" etc. Many anti-monarchist pamphlets were thrown from the windows of adjacent buildings and by members of the crowd.

The meeting was opened by Constantino Preziosi, Secretary of the Provincial C.L.N. who saluted the representatives of the North and called for unity in the fight against Fascism. (applause and cries against the monarchy).

Cesare Massimi, Secretary of the Camera del Lavoro of Rome then spoke of Italy's ruin result of an imperialistic war, of the necessity of eliminating reactionary influences from Italian political life and of the readiness of Roman workers to make all necessary sacrifices to achieve these ends. (great applause and chants of "Death to the King", "Viva la repubblica".)

Rodolfo Morandi (Socialist) President of the C.L.N.A.I. and the third speaker, spoke of the uprising in the North, of the fight that had ended in a popular victory which was filled with heroic episodes similar to those in Naples and Florence and said that Italy had given proof to the world of her ability to fight against tyranny and to construct her country of tomorrow by the strength and valour of her people. The speaker then stated that the words "North and South" were without significance to all those who were fighting or who had fought for liberty and that the representatives of the C.L.N.A.I. were in Rome to solidify in full accord the aspirations of the entire nation. (applaused). These were the demands of a people who were determined to obtain a democratic government. (cries of "Out with Bonomi"). "We want a new government that will bring to the work of reconstruction the same spirit of sacrifice and the same enthusiasm which animated the people in their fight for liberation. We have come to remake the government and have but one formula - to give Italy liberty through the constituent assembly - Viva l'Italia". (great and prolonged applause)

The crowd then disbanded without incidents or disorder. No carabinieri or police were to be seen. N°68

4. MANIFESTATION AT THE ALLIED EMBASSIES.

On Tuesday morning, May 8th, the General Confederation of Labor organised an impromptu parade of workers to salute the Allies

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The crowd then disbanded without incidents or disorder. No carabinieri or police were to be seen. 268

4. MANIFESTATION AT THE ALLIED EMBASSIES.

On Tuesday morning, May 8th, the General Confederation of Labor organised an impromptu parade of workers to salute the Allies after the announcement of the unconditional surrender of Germany. All political parties of the Center and of the Left were represented. Two truck-loads of armed carabinieri, a police tank bristling with guns and many motor-cycle police followed the marchers.

After assembling in the Piazza Esedra, the cortege marched to the Russian Embassy where the Soviet Representative, Kostejlev, appeared on a balcony to wave to the crowd who shouted "Long live the

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Red Army" Viva Stalin" etc. Kastylev responded with a few words and the band played the workers' anthem.

The parade then proceeded to the British Embassy and to the American Embassy where the Ambassadors also appeared on their balconies to acknowledge the applause of the crowd.

The cortege then marched to the Piazza Venezia and warmly cheered the Ambassador who waved from the balcony where he appeared with members of the CGIL who made brief addresses. Afterwards the crowd remained to hear impromptu speeches of various speakers in their midst, including a partisan chaplain who extolled France and denounced the House of Savoy and the Fascists (great applause and shouts of "death to the King".

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5. REGIONAL C L N ASSEMBLY , ROME.

On Sunday morning, May 6th, the regional centres of Rome of the C N L assembled in the Lyceo Visconti under the presidency of Avv. Preziosi (Labour Democrat). All the political parties belonging to the C N L were represented as well as the Republican Party and the Christians of the Left. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the role and functions of regional groups of the CLN and their reorganisation.

Delegates from all the parties represented spoke and discussions which were lively and animated, dealt with the abolition of the monarchy through the constituent assembly. The actions of the House of Savoy were bitterly denounced. An order of the day was finally passed in which the Roman Regional Centre of the CNL sent their greetings to the CNL of the North "who had organised and directed the victorious popular insurrection against the Germans and the Fascists", voted against any sort of "Cordon Sanitaire" of a political nature between the two parts of Italy, asked for the formation (as soon as possible) of a truly democratic government, and called for the immediate initiation of the Constitutional Assembly through a democratized Commission which would give votes to the soldiers and would exclude all ex-Fascist gerarchs. All comunes with a population of less than 20,000 should be excluded from voting. More energietic measures for the confiscation of Fascist property and illegal wealth, the publication of the names of all members of the OVRA, the initiation of a Corte d'Assise and the recognition of Regional centres as consultive organs of the CLN were also demanded.

The Assembly then voted and passed a measure to include [illegible] of the Left in the Provincial CLN.

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and the band played the workers' anthem.

The parade then proceeded to the British Embassy and to the American Embassy where the Ambassadors also appeared on their balconies to acknowledge the applause of the crowd.

The cortege then marched to the Piazza Farnese and warmly cheered the Ambassador who waved from the balcony where he appeared with members of the CGIL who made brief addresses. Afterwards the crowd remained to hear impromptu speeches of various speakers in their midst, including a partisan chaplain who extolled France and denounced the House of Savoy and the Fascists (great applause and shouts of "death to the King".

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The Assembly then voted and passed a measure to include the Christians of the Left in the Provincial CLN.

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INTERVIEWS

6. Interview with Dr. Valiani of the C.L.N.A.I., Milan

At an interview with w P.W.B. officer on 8th May, Leo Valiani, delegate of the Partito d'Azione of Milan in the commssion sent by the CLNAI to Rome, talked freely of the opinions and intentions of the commission and of the conditions in northern Italy. Dott. Valiani was in Salerno at the time of the armistice and subsequently passed through the front lines to reach Milan where he became a leader in clandestine activities. He appears to be an energetic, strong willed man of about forty years of age.

When questioned about differences which might cause misunderstandings between the North and South, he replied, "I was in southern Italy in September, 1944, and I have seen the destruction and the misery of the people there. The role of the north has been more brilliant and satisfying but the South has had the greatest suffering. There is not and should not be any factious comparisons, or divisions between these two parts of Italy. We desire today to translate Northern energy into action for the benefit of all Italy and we demand a government capable of assimilating this energy and using it for the solution of our present problems."

Dott. Valiani then stated that the South is in a state of inertia, that any fruitful initiative by the people is impossible and that the men who now control the government wish to impose their own slowness of decision on the representatives of the north. The present crisis is latent but it exists and will be solved within a month through the formation of a new government.

The risk of losing the fruits of immediate adtion in futile discussion and bickering is not understood by the present government. He said that the North wishes through an efficient government to realize the program for which it has worked and struggled and then affirmed that all political parties in the North, including those of the extreme left, are inspired by a real democratic sense, are in accord, are prepared for a revolutionary change in the form of government by pacific means.

Unless this change is made rapidly the Communists will be strengthened.

As to the advisability and efficiency of a "Cordon Sanitaire" Valiani believes that this measure which is intended to avoid and prevent all types of speculation shouldn't preclude the realisation and extreme necessity of recipricol comprehension andthe resumption of work that is needed by the North. He thinks that all men of all parties now in the government shouldn't attempt to

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The permission granted to the Luogotenente to visit newly liberated territory is considered unfair. He received a hostile reception by the people and he was ignored by the C.L.N.A.I.

Valiani stated that Parri was not present in the delegation* because his presence was most necessary in the North where, among other problems, the absorption and demobilization of the Partisans (of which he is the head) occupies his entire attention. He stated that it was not intended to condider Parri as a candidate for a place in the government (as Prime Minister) unless a rapid solution in the present conversations resulted in a guaranty of efficiency in the new government. Parri will never be mentioned for a post in a government that is discredited in advance.

In reply to a question relative to the attitude of the Northern Italians to the Allies, Valiani stated that the latter had been received with great enthusiasm and that the Allies now seem disposed not to treat the Italians any longer as a conquered people but seem inclined sincerely to collaborate with them. If this attitude is maintained, it will produce happy results and he insisted that the energy , character and practibility of the people of the North who are essentially "business men" in conjunction with similar qualities of the English and Americans should be a hope and guaranty of understanding.

*(Parri, however, arrived in Rome on 11 May, with General Cadorna, newly appointed Chief of Staff of the Army and Luigi Longo of the Communist Party).

7. Note on Ferruccio Parri (From an Italian PWB collaborator)

Ferruccio Parri who commanded, together with Longo the Partisan groups in the North, is without doubt the most remarkable and popular man in the Action Party. An anti-Fascist of long standing and a friend of Carlo Rosolli, with whom he organised Filippo Turati's escape, he underwent numerous trials and years of imprisonment and "confino" during the Fascist regime.

After 8 September he organised the resistance movement in the North and was the greatest leader in the fight carried on by the Partisans. He has the consideration and estoem of the other members of the Action Party, and they all look on him as one of the men destined to play a leading role in the new government.

Aldo Garosci speaking of him says: "Parri's prestige is, before political, a moral and personal one. As a demonstration of his personality, it suffices to remind one that it was his influence which decided the Socialist Rosselli, already a democrat by inclination, to become a liberal, according to the formula of "Liberal socialism". His personal fascination takes its hold on very different kinds of men as shown by the fatherly affection with which Salvemini has al-

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administration, in which he showed the same capacity he had formerly shown in other fields. Probably this change to the Edison, in giving him contact with the problems of the organisation of modern industry, has with the experiendes of war, in which he took part as a technician, revealed his natural gift of organisation".

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8. FAILURE OF THE REPUBLICAN FASCIST ATTEMPT AT INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISATION IN THE NORTH.

The following is the translation of an interview with Dr. A. Bodrero of the C.L.N.A.I. published in "Il Globo" (Economic daily) May IIth, 1945.

"The attempt by the Fascist Republican Government to socialise the industries was a complete failure. Owners and workers - these last certainly not averse to socialisation - combined to boycott any measure taken by the Fascists", declared Dr. Alessandro Bodrero of the C.L.N.A.I., representative of the Christian Democrat Party on the Industrial Commission of the Committee, to a reporter of "Il Globo".

PROBLEMS TO BE STUDIED: "In connection with the socialisation laws - continued Bodrero - the heads of companies were asked to present the required documents (balance sheets etc;) for April 2Ist or May 5th. Many took no notice of the request, and in spite of the intervention of the competent ministries, the matter was drawn out month after month. I recall this episode to illustrate the stupidity and lack of conscientiousness of the Fascis leaders on the eve of the insurrection.

On the other hand, as has already been said, out of 20,000 workers of the F.I.A.T. of Turin who were invited by the Fascist Government to vote in favour of the socialisation of the industries, only I67 filled in the ballot paper in a proper manner; the others either left it blank or voted for Greta Garbo, Clara Calamai etc., openly ridiculing the whole thing. The voting results in other companies were more or less the same, and even though the voting percentage may not have been quite so low, the opposition to the Fascist Government was none the less decided. It was a plebiscite against the Fascist socialisation and a definite proof of the discredit in which the Fascist Government was held.

There is, however, no doubt that the working masses of the North very rightly claim the right to socialisation; it is merely a case of studying form, extent and application very carefully: industry today needs to get on to its feet again with alacrity, and to return to a productive and normal level, without surprise and counter blows. Some key industries will probably be State controlled, and this is a question to be studied with the utmost care. An exchange of views between the North, Centre and South of Italy should lead to a profitable pooling of resources for the reconstruction of the country. 266

In the North the competent inter-party Commissions, assisted

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In the North the competent inter-party Commissions, assisted by the Economic Commissions of the various parties, have cooperated to collect information and resources, which were in part already transmitted to Rome and which had made it possible to be ready for the most important problems. In the clandestine period, contacts were also made with the organs of the Fascist Republican Party.

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At the time of liberation the food and transport situations were very grave - added Bodrero - but the more urgent problems were dealt with at once and production was not hit as hard as it might have been.

INTERVENTION OF THE C.L.N.A.I.

The intervention of the CLNAI was particularly valuable, because the Fascist Government, with an almost incredible lack of foresight, left Genoa on several occasions without supplies of any kind, and Milan with black bread for a 24 hours supply only. The Archbishop of Milan and others near to him were able to arrange the institution of a transport convoy under the Vatican flag.

The proofs given by the Northern Italians of all classes during the period of conspiracy and insurrection of their capacity for recuperation and of their spirit of initiative cannot fail to induce the Allies to help us to get upon our feet again - concluded Bodrero - first by sending us coal, and then other primary necessities. The contacts already made in Rome in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding lead us to hope that before long some concrete results may be achieved."

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P U B L I C O P I N I O N (v. also p. 11)

9. REACTION TO WINSTON CHURCHILL'S MESSAGE TO THE ITALIAN PEOPLE
As was to be foreseen this message, directed specifically to the Prime Minister , Bonomi, in person, was very well received, because it was a semi-official recognition of the contribution of the Italians to the ending of the war. Of course there were the usual critics and pessimists who greatly undervalued Churchill's words., retaining that this was another English manoevre to placate public opinion.
Here is the opinion of one who received the Premier's words with enthusiasm. He is a civil servant (aged 35):
"Churchill's statements comfort us in the belief that Italy will have the place she merits in the new international order, because of the trials she has undergone and the capacity she has shown. Should,however, the doors of S.Francisco remain shut to Italy, it will be evident that one of the greatest injustices in history has been perpretrated against us.

10. L O C A L C O N D I T I O N S

PRICES AND COST OF LIVING IN ROME
The economic statistical division of the "Ufficio Provinciale del Lavoro in Rome, has,taken into consideration the prices on the Black and legal markets and compiled a balance sheet of monthly expenses for a normal family.
The sum reported for the month of March, gives an increase of L. 1725,30 on the preseding month. In fact in the month of February the sum necessary for the average family for food was L. 10,574,95 and in March 12,300,25. The needs of the average man are 3,297,65 as compared to 2,835,10 reported in February. What could be bought with L.100 in 1940 would now cost 2833,93, and comparing with a more recent period, last five months Aug.-Dec. 1944 L 141,41.

The following table shows the enormous differenced in price of legal rations and other foodstuffs.
It is noteworthy that the prices on the free market are not so different from those on the Black Market.

	Legal rations	Free Market	Black Market	Total
Aug.-Dec; 1944	572,22	2678,10	5453,50	8703,90
January 1945	474	3573,20	6560,80	10608
February 1945	502, 35	4228,50	5844,10	10574,95
March 1945	985,80	5331	5983,45	12309,25

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The larger amounts necessary in March for legal rations, is not that they were more plentiful but because of the increase in the price of bread and pasta.
After the publication of these figures numerous protests arrived at our office especially from newspapers saying that the figures mentioned were much inferior to the real cost of living.

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PUBLIC OPINION.

II. REACTIONS ON THE QUESTION OF TRANSFER OF BOLZANO AND THE TYROL TO AUSTRIA.

It is not considered likely that Austria will put forward a claim at the Peace Conference for the Tyrol provinces and Bolzano As Austria fought on the side of Germany she has her share of responsability for the war. It is thought that she should be regarded in the international field as in a rather similar position as Italy who, although liberated is not entitled to put forward any claims.

In general discussions of political and post-war politics, it is noticed that not a few people see many things in common between the future Peace Conference and the Congress of Vienna 1815, after the defeat of Napoleon, especially regarding the tendency of the present political men (and Churchill's name is often mentioned), to restore monarchical regimes in Europe, as a reaction to the revolutionary instincts which always prevail after a war.

A University student (about 26), republican, said:
"I don't think that Austria has any rights, as she is in the same political position in the international field as Italy. The Jugoslav claims are justified as they fought with the Allies against the Germans. The Tyrolese population may show by plebiscite a desire to be annexed and to become part of the Austrian Republic which will probably be formed at the Peace Conference. Although the population is mostly of German origin, speak German and have German customs etc. foreseeing the destiny of the German race, perhaps they will not opt to be Germans."

An ex-Professoressa:

"I don't think that such a thing is possible, as it would be of no interest to the Allies. It would only bring trouble to England, because it would not be expedient for them to make enemies of a people who could be useful in a future conflict between the east and west (Russia and England), and I don't think that they would do it just to punish Italy by dividing her territory."

PRESS AND PUBLICATION

12. How I Produce my Paper

The following is a translation of an article in "Cosmopolita" (weekly political-cultural paper) in which the directors of three Rome weeklies were asked how they produced their paper.

CANTACHIARO. (weekly satirical paper). "Cantachiaro" is a good title, but it is the sub-title which gives character to the paper. I chose it myself: "ANTIGIORNALE" (anti-newspaper). The idea of an "antigiornale" came to me after the last world war. I even managed to have one number printed, but it never saw the light because I had no money to pay the printers.

An "antigiornale" is the opposite to a newspaper; it goes against current events, ridicules the main features, attempts to show up what goes on behind the scenes, tries to make people think for themselves. Of course, such a paper must have and has, a very personal touch, and this is given at the last moment by [illegible]

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An "antigiornale" is the opposite to a newspaper; it goes against current events, ridicules the main features, attempts to show up what goes on behind the scenes, tries to make people think for themselves. Of course, such a paper must have and has, a very personal touch, and this is given at the last moment by myself when the principal articles and sketches are ready. The appearance of the paper is born when the modifications and cuttings of the last moment are introduced. My main preoccupation is that all themes should be touched with the lightest hand possible and according to a subtle political line. When the verses have been arranged on the first page, the rest falls into place. But the reader cannot imagine how everything has to be cut in order to make it fit onto two pages. My chief rule is - nothing heavy.

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I don't deny that "Cantachiaro" has given me great satisfaction: I receive a large and amusing correspondence. Praise (putting modesty on one side) is frequent and seems sincere, but threats and curses are not lacking. I received letters from notabilities such as V.E.Orlando, and Benedetto Croce (the latter appreciated the fact that "Cantachiaro"is not a humorous but a serious satirical paper).

I dislike "Cantachiaro" being taken for a humorous paper, and even more so a scandalous one. On the other hand I am very touched when I feel I am understood and appreciated by many people who write to me.

In spite of this I realise that it is rather a waste of time, and I think I would do better to dedicate myself to the young, or to those who retain the freshness and ingenuity of childhood: "to the children of all ages". Raffaello Feruzzi, Director.

N U O V A E U R O P A .

The make-up of the Nuova Europa is so obvious that it seems useless to me to explain how I produce my paper. The first part is dedicated to topical politics, the second dedicated to literature and the arts; the third to what I would call moral-history, (storico-morale) or to use a wider term - social. In it ideas and questions not included in the field of politics or literature are discussed. There are no decided limits between one part and another, and I don't wish to make them. I try to find a common idea at the bottom of all contributions to the paper (idea, that is not a rigid doctrine), and also in this way a link with realities. Luigi Salvatorelli.

L' I T A L I A I L L U S T R A T A .

The production of "Italia Illustrata" is not very different from any other paper.

The public expects a lot in a paper like "Italia Illustrata" it expects excellent paper, very good photography and that it should be encyclopædic. As regards the contents, they should be up to expectations, but good paper and very clear photographs are a thing of the past.

However, as it is the public which decides the success of a paper one must do ones best to please it by falling in with the wishes and inclinations of the majority, although trying to improve taste and bringing to the people as much as possible of what is new in the world of science, letters, and thought.

As "Italia Illustrata" is published in very large numbers, and 264 is mainly for the masses, this is a very difficult task. But with a little good will one manages - not always, unfortunately - to succeed.
Renato Umbriano.

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faction. I receive a large and amusing correspondence. Praise (putting modesty on one side) is frequent and seems sincere, but threats and curses are not lacking. I received letters from notabilities such as V.E.Orlando, and Benedetto Croce (the latter appreciated the fact that "Cantachiaro"is not a humorous but a serious satirical paper).

I dislike "Cantachiaro" being taken for a humorous paper, and even more so a scandalous one. On the other hand I am very touched when I feel I am understood and appreciated by many people who write to me.

In spite of this I realise that it is rather a waste of time, and I think I would do better to dedicate myself to the young, or to those who retain the freshness and ingenuity of childhood: "to the children of all ages". Raffaello Feruzzi, Director.

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CONFIDENTIAL

SUMMARY NO. 69

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
Psychological Warfare Branch
Unit 12 APO 512

Central D Section, Liberated Italy 17th May, 1945

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY No. 69

PART I - SUMMARY

During the week discussions have taken place between the representatives of the Committee of National Liberation for Northern Italy and representatives of the Central Committee of Liberation in Rome. The delegates from Milan have also had discussions with Bonomi and other members of the government. Arpesani and Vochieri represented the Liberal Party, Bodrero and Mabazza the Christian Democrats, Valiani the Party of Action, Sandro Pertini and Rodolfo Morandi the Socialists and Sereni and Bosi the Communists. After their arrival they made it clear that as a result of the liberation of Northern Italy they thought that a change in the government should take into account the aspirations of the political forces of the North. They immediately published five points of a programme on which the five parties had come to an agreement a few days before: 1) the extension of epuration from the field of politics to that of administration and economics, 2) the clarification in a democratic sense of the relations between the Prefects and the regional and provincial Committees of Liberation: 3) the formulation of a programme of economic reconstruction, the burden of which would be born naturally by all citizens but particularly by all those who have derived the greatest advantages from the autarchic policy of the Fascist regime and from the collaboration with the Republican Fascists and the Germans: 4) the acceptance in principle of agrarian reform: 5) the carrying out of a foreign policy free from the taint of nationalism.

All the delegates seemed agreed on the necessity for a change of government; but while the left wing parties made it clear that they wanted a complete renewal rather than a reshuffle, the Liberals and the Christian Democrats were more cautious and gave the appearance of being prepared to accept something less than a complete change. From reports received it would appear that the Communists, although insisting like the other parties on a complete change, are more pre-occupied with obtaining key ministries than with changing the Prime Minister. The Socialists and the Party of Action on the other hand are reported to desire that Bonomi be replaced by someone younger and more energetic and more representative of the Left. It is reported that the representatives of the Christian Democrats and the Liberals from the North were invited by their party leaders in Rome to moderate their attitude in view of the experience of Central and Southern Italy during the last few months. The parties do not seem to want to act precipitately but prefer to engage in long discussions in the hope that these may result in agreement on a minimum common programme on which the future coalition government could work. Rather than provoke a crisis and the consequent resignation of Bonomi, all parties seem anxious to find agreement amongst themselves first, so that after this a government may be formed rapidly.

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Pietro Nenni, the Secretary of the Socialist Party, inaugurated a series of public meetings to press for the early summoning of a Constituent Assembly. In addition to Nenni, Sandro Pertini and Rodolfo Morandi, the Socialist delegate

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Pietro Nenni, the Secretary of the Socialist Party, inaugurated a series of public meetings to press for the early summoning of a Constituent Assembly. In addition to Nenni, Sandro Pertini and Rodolfo Morandi, the Socialist delegate from the North, spoke. Nenni's speech was moderate in tone and many Italians of other parties suggested that the speech was designed to pave his way to the premiership. He said that Italy had wronged Yugoslavia and would now have to make amends. Although he thought that Italy should be prepared to do this, he claimed that Trieste was essentially Italian and that Italians should be defended there. He criticised the Bonomi Government for humiliating the Committees of Liberation by dealing with the prefects and questori of

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Mussolini. He said that a plan was needed for the new state. He suggested that vast cooperative organisations should be set up, the fiscal system completely renovated and the schools reorganised. The government of tomorrow he added, must be decided by the Constituent Assembly through the sovreignty of the people. Only in this way, he declared, would civil war be avoided. During the course of his speech he made overtures to the Christian Democrats and pressed them to declare themselves in favour of a republic. He insisted that there would be no religious war and that the church should be respected in its religious functions. He made a plea for agrarian reform and the socialisation of heavy industry. His speech received great applause.

Before Nenni spoke, Portini made a more violent speech in which he hinted that if the Lieutenant General of the Realm visited Milan he might suffer the same fate as Mussolini in Piazza Loreto.

Rumours were rife that Nenni would be the Premier in succession to Bonomi. It was reported that his candidature would have the approval of the Socialists and the Party of Action and the acquiescence of the Communists. The latter were however, reported to be more preoccupied as to who would become Minister of the Interior, since they regard this as the key position in the Government. The Liberals were reported not to be hostile to the idea of Nenni as Prime Minister, provided that agreement was established beforehand on a common programme for the coalition. It is not known whether the Christian Democrats agree to serve under Nenni, although Nenni and De Gasperi had conversations together.

The Committee of Liberation organised a meeting in the Piazza Santi Apostoli in Rome in celebration of the Victory of the United Nations, and so that the delegates from the North could be welcomed by the people. The Piazza was not very crowded, although most of those who came seemed to have come voluntarily. As usual, flags were a prominent feature in the crowd and the Christian Democrats brought a number of white flags to counter balance the red flags of the Communists, Socialists, Actionists and Republicans. Morandi, the President of the Committee from the North, made a speech in which he insisted on the need for a new government, representative of the democratic forces in Italy. He insisted that there should be no cleavage between North and South. Most of the delegates from the North have taken care to emphasise that there must be no division between South and North and that the country must be united in its efforts towards reconstruction. At this meeting the speakers were constantly interrupted by cries of "Down with the King" and "Long Live the Republic". Republicanism and hatred of the monarchy would seem to be the two dominating feelings at this meeting.

Some Liberals and members of the Party of Action, as well as some Socialists at one time suggested that Ferruccio Parri might become Prime Minister. Parri is one of the principal organisers of the resistance movement in Northern Italy and is a member of the Party of Action. It is reported, however, that he himself is not prepared to accept such a post.

May 16th the representatives of the Central Committee of Liberation and some members of the Government went North to continue the discussions in Milan. It is expected that the discussions will continue for some days and the newspapers suggest that as a result a new government will be formed.

The delegates from the North returned to Milan on Monday and on Thursday

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Ferruccio Parri the Party of Action organiser of the Partisans in the North and Luigi Longo the principal Communist organiser of resistance, arrived in Rome during the week, together with General Cadorna. Their main concern was to discuss what was to happen to the partisans now that the war was over.

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The Government has declared that those partisans who so desire may enter the army or the police force. The Cabinet also agreed to the provision of financial means to ensure for every demobilised partisan immediate help, and the Cabinet also promised that partisans would be assisted to return to the productive and civil life of the nation.

On Sunday May 13th, Ferruccio Parri addressed a meeting organised by the Party of Action at the Teatro Eliseo. He described the birth and growth of the partisan movement and he paid tribute to the leaders of other parties who had played a prominent part in the organisation of resistance such as Luigi Longo (Communist) and Franchi (Liberal). He spoke in simple unrhetorical language and at intervals broke down with emotion. Reports received from Italians present at the meeting say that his speech was very moving. He stressed the heavy cost in young lives of the victory achieved by the partisans. He paid particular tribute to the younger members of the resistance movement who had followed his orders but had given up their lives while he had survived.

The end of the war was greeted with a sense of relief by the average Italian in Rome. It was not an occasion for wild rejoicing among the Italians however. The anti-Fascists generally felt that Italy had contributed to the victory and that the result was a victory for Italians just as it was for the Allies, but it had been achieved at a cost of immense destruction to the country, which came as a result of Mussolini's declaration of war.

The press has turned its attention from the end of the war to San Francisco and the establishing of peace. There is a general feeling that it will be difficult to build up a lasting peace and there are very few illusions. Many Italians no doubt still consciously or unconsciously influenced by the Fascist propaganda of the last 20 years still believe that it will be impossible to create a lasting understanding between Russia and England and America. They repeat all thetime worn arguments against "Bolshevism" and "Russian Imperialism" and seem convinced that war will result.

The press has devoted much space to Trieste. Reports have been printed of maltreatment of Italians by Yugoslavs, deportations and arrests of many Italians in Trieste and it is generally stressed that there is a feeling of tension in that city. In particular "Italia Nuova" (Monarchist and Right-Wing) "Risorgimento Liberale" (Liberal) and "Il Popolo" (Christian Democrat) lay emphasis on the fact that the Yugoslavs are administering the city. All parties with the exception of the Communists, however, feel strongly about Trieste and feel that its future should not be decided until the peace conference but that in the meantime it should be occupied by the Anglo-Americans. In fact the Italian Government issued a statement in which they asked the Allies to occupy and administer Trieste in the same way they had other territories in Italy. There is a feeling among many Italians that if Tito's government is allowed to get away with a "fait accompli" in Trieste this would create a dangerous precedent for the future of Europe. The Communists have shifted their ground during the last two weeks, possibly in view of the strong feeling among the public. They now state that they regard Trieste as an Italian city but add that the problem must be solved by discussion with the Yugoslavs. The Socialists and Party of Action, while sharing the feeling that Trieste is essentially an Italian city, do not want this question to absorb the attention of Italians at the expense of other more urgent problems. Above all, it must not be allowed, they say, to become a weapon in the hands of the reactionaries, who are anxious to stir up trouble between Britain and America on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other.

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A meeting of the District Committees of Liberation in Rome was held on May 6th. An order of the day was passed in which the C.L.N. sent their greetings to the C.L.N. of the North for the victory against the Germans

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and the Fascists, and in which the hope was expressed that political barriers would not be created between north and south. The Committees asked for the formation of a truly democratic government and that steps should be taken immediately to prepare for the Constituent Assembly. They proposed that energetic measures should be taken for the confiscation of Fascist property and illegal wealth as well as publication of the names of members of the OVRA. The assembly voted and passed a measure to include the Christians of the Left in the provincial C.L.N.

It was reported that prices had come down in the Black Market for many goods as a result of the liberation of the North and particularly for automobiles and textiles. It was also reported that there had been a drop in the price of certain foodstuffs.

Mr. Churchill's message to Bonomi was warmly welcomed by the Italians as a whole. In it they saw a recognition of Italy's contribution to the war effort and a promise that Italy would be restored to a position of friendship with Great Britain. Mr. Churchill's speech of Sunday 13th May was also well received. In particular many Italians welcomed the fact that he made it clear that Great Britain would continue to be interested in a system of government set up in Europe.

The Government has promulgated new measures for the sequestration of profits and property acquired by leading Fascists during the Fascist regime.

The Socialists were pleased with the messages of congratulation and goodwill sent to Nenni by Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Morgan Philips (the secretary of the Executive of the Labour Party)

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CONFIDENTIAL

NO.67

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit No.12 APO 512

15 MAY 1945

Central D Section Liberated Italy 10 May 1945

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY NO.67.

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Explanation of reliability rating:

Source (reliability)		Report (probability)	
A	Always reliable	1	Confirmed
B	Usually reliable	2	Probable
C	Sometimes reliable	3	Possible
D	Frequently unreliable	4	Doubtful
E	A bad source	5	Improbable

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CONFIDENTIAL

No.67.

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit No.12 APO 512.

Central D Section, Liberated Italy

10 May, 1945.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY No.67.

A. CURRENT EVENTS

1. Press Reactions to the Events of the Week.

On 3 May 1945 huge headlines announced the unconditional surrender of the Germans in Italy. AVANTI (Socialist) in a brief editorial entitled "End of an Incubus" by Pietro Nenni, wrote: "From 14.00 hours yesterday, the guns have been silent in Italy and the aircraft flying over will no longer drop hundreds of tons of bombs on our cities. It is the finish of an incubus. It is peace. The insurrection of the Patriots of the North has given greatness and honour to this ending. But even so, it is an ending without joy". After saying that the American and English mothers, at least, know in their sorrow that their sons have not died in vain, he asks who is to console Italy's mothers. "Their blood (her sons) is on the heads of the leaders, Fascism, the Monarchy, on the old bourgeoisie leaders, and it is drowning them."

IL LAVORO (organ of the C.G.I.L.), writes that the unconditional surrender of the Germans closes for unfortunate Italy an era of sorrow and sacrifice. "Honour to the victorious, and our reverent salute to those who have fallen who came from all over the world to fight and make the supreme sacrifice on our soil, to give to us, and with us Europe, and with Europe the world, liberty.....".

LIBERA STAMPA (Independent) carries a similar tribute to Allied soldiers who gave their lives fighting in Italy.

On the 4th. May the Rome press commented widely on Mr. Churchill's message to Bonomi. ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party), saw in Churchill's message the hope that the same ideals of liberty, justice and humanity which had guided the peoples throughout the horror of the war would actuate the peace. "Churchill's declaration, which interprets the feelings of the great British people, comforts us in our hope that Italy will find in the new international order the place which the trials undergone and the capacity she has demonstrated entitle her."

Under a title "Optimism", Guido Gonella, in IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat), writes that the Churchill letter is an historic document of the greatest importance, and it is impossible for it not to have an influence on the international position of Italy.... "Does it not perhaps seem from the text" writes Gonella, "that the words of Churchill give a clear allusion to the future entry of Italy into the group of United Nations with all the enormous moral and material consequences, political and economic results entailed/.... The country must thank the patriots of Northern Italy because all Italy will gain by their sacrifice.".

2. The Question of Trieste (see also POLITICAL, para.5).

Throughout the week feeling has been running high over the question of Trieste and Venezia Giulia, which the majority of Italians consider indisputably Italian. There have been demonstrations, mainly by students, and on Friday, 4 May, there was a clash between Communists and soldiers, war veterans and students, during a manifestation for the "Italianity" of Trieste.

a). The Italian Government Statement. The Italian Government, at the meeting of the Consiglio on 3 May, made the following statement:

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IL LAVORO (organ of the C.G.I.L.), writes that the unconditional surrender of the Germans closes for unfortunate Italy an era of sorrow and sacrifice. "Honour to the victorious, and our reverent salute to those who have fallen who came from all over the world to fight and make the supreme sacrifice on our soil, to give to us, and with us Europe, and with Europe the world, liberty.....".

LIBERA STAMPA (Independent) carries a similar tribute to Allied soldiers who gave their lives fighting in Italy.

On the 4th. May the Rome press commented widely on Mr. Churchill's message to Bonomi. ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party), saw in Churchill's message the hope that the same ideals of liberty, justice and humanity which had guided the peoples throughout the horror of the war would actuate the peace. "Churchill's declaration, which interprets the feelings of the great British people, comforts us in our hope that Italy will find in the new international order the place which the trials undergone and the capacity she has demonstrated entitle her."

Under a title "Optimism", Guido Gonella, in IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat), writes that the Churchill letter is an historic document of the greatest importance, and it is impossible for it not to have an influence on the international position of Italy.... "Does it not perhaps seem from the text" writes Gonella, "that the words of Churchill give a clear allusion to the future entry of Italy into the group of United Nations with all the enormous moral and material consequences, political and economic results entailed.... The country must thank the patriots of Northern Italy because all Italy will gain by their sacrifice.".

2. The Question of Trieste (see also POLITICAL, para.5).

Throughout the week feeling has been running high over the question of Trieste and Venezia Giulia, which the majority of Italians consider indisputably Italian. There have been demonstrations, mainly by students, and on Friday, 4 May, there was a clash between Communists and soldiers, war veterans and students, during a manifestation for the "Italianity" of Trieste.

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a). The Italian Government Statement. The Italian Government, at the meeting of the Consiglio on 3 May, made the following statement with regard to Trieste: "On learning with great satisfaction that the German troops in Trieste have surrendered to the British General Freyberg, we send our special greetings to the city which is unquestionably Italian, towards which, in these last days of the war, the soul of the nation turns and applauds the Allied and partisan forces who contributed to its liberation.

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"We reaffirm that all territorial questions relative to the Eastern Frontier should not be judged before the end of the war, nor until the valid constitutional governments, elected by these two neighbouring peoples, can decide in reciprocal accord their respective rights in the spirit of re-born democratic international "rapports". We request that the provisional military administration which was set up in the provisions of the armistice between Italy and the Allied powers should guarantee neutrality and impartiality and ensure free co-operation of the local populations."

The newspaper INDIPENDENTE (Government organ) of 4th.May gave an account of the declarations of Bonomi and De Gasperi to the leaders of the Venezia Giulia provinces of which the following is a translation:

b). Declarations by Bonomi and De Gasperi and the Political Parties.

The leaders of the Venezia Giulia provinces were received by Bonomi and expressed to him their anxiety concerning the consequences of the announced occupation of Italian territory by the Yugoslavs. This anxiety is increased by the declaration of the Yugoslav Committee of Liberation on 30 Nov., which manifested a Yugoslav desire to proclain the annexation of these zones, together with other sections of Italian national territory.

The President of the Council reminded the Giulian Committee that the operations referred to must naturally be considered within the framework of the present military plan which is, in agreement with the Allies, directed towards the final defeat of the common enemy.

Minister De Gasperi also, in the statements he made to the correspondents of "Time" and "Life" concerning the surrender of the German armies in Italy, said, amongst other things:"The surrender does not apply to territories beyond the Isonzo, but there also it cannot be long delayed. Our hearts go out to our brothers of the Venezia Giulia, and we hope with a hope that is almost a certainty, that their fate will not be decided or prejudiced until the Italian people has been able, in complete freedom, to find the basis for peaceful and democratic understanding with the new Yugoslavia."

The Italian right to Trieste and to the Venezia Giulia territories was reaffirmed yesterday in an order of the day of the Italian Liberal Party. The order of the day, after recalling the sacrifices which the Italian people sustained in the last war at the side of the Allies for the liberation of that territory, cites the principles of the Atlantic Charter which established the aims of this war, and after reaffirming the right of the Italian populations of Venezia Giulia to remain united with their Mother country, it invites the Government to preserve an attitude of firm defence of the rights of Italy.

The Christian Democrat Party also issued an order of the day on the Trieste question, affirming the necessity for the provisional military administration ot Venezia Giulia to be in the hands of the Allies, and expressing the hope that Trieste, always Italian, will be allowed to revert to and develop her function of commercial centre for all the Countries which form her natural hinterland.

The Christian Democrat order of the day considers it is the duty of all Parties, and especially of those who carry the responsibility of government, to see that doubts are not allowed to arise as to the decided and unanimous will of the Italian people.

AVANTI (Socialist), published the following statement on 4.5.45.: At their first meeting after the cessation of hostilities in Italy, the Socialist Party, after saluting the national insurrection in Northern Italy, and calling

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"With regard to the problems raised by Yugoslav revendication of Trieste, the directorate of the Socialist Party, firmly resolved not to allow the new European democracy to be poisoned by unilateral initiative and force, affirms that the only possible solution is that which takes into account the indisputable Italian character of Trieste and her European functions, and harmonizes these two exigencies by free agreement between the peoples directly concerned."

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B. GENERAL REPORTS.

POLITICAL

3. Trieste Demonstration.

On Friday morning the 4th. of May the Piazza Esedra was filled with people and with groups organized by "Il Fronte per l'Integrita' d'Italia" and others with the manifest purpose of depositing wreaths and garlands on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier (The altar of the Patria) in the Piazza Venezia, but with the evident intention of staging a nationalistic demonstration to demand that Trieste remain Italian. On the previous day leaflets had been dropped in the central parts of Rome to invite all citizens to take part in this manifestation of the Italianity of Trieste, and incidents had occurred in front of the Communist headquarters on the Via Nazionale. A large part of these groups apparently were students, generally of high school age, with other groups of the working classes (probably communists), and many simple spectators. In these groups many speakers attempted to explain to the students that there was no reason for the demonstration, because Trieste and Gorizia were now under Allied control. A number of incidents occurred between various factions present, and several people were wounded. An Italian Red Cross burse was present to administer first aid to the victims.

Two groups left the Piazza Esedra for the Piazza Venezia, the first chiefly of leftist members and the second representing "Il Fronte per l'Integrita' d'Italia", which was composed of delegations of Alpini accompanied by their wounded veterans of the war.

Melchiorre (socialist), Novello and Spallo (communist) and Solari made brief addresses at the Altar of Liberty, and received great applause by the audience, with many cries of "Down with the monarchy" "Death to the King", etc.

The second column then arrived and mounted the steps of the monument carrying their mutilated and wounded and deposited their wreaths. In the meantime groups of the first column continued to shout "Death to the King" with responses of the second of "Viva l'Italia", and many isolated fights occurred between conflicting groups. Many of the provocateurs were armed with sticks and cudgels which were freely used, but the incidents were of short duration.

The columns then proceeded back to the Piazza Esedra by way of the Piazza Quirinale (which was blocked by carabinieri) and then past the Communist headquarters on the Via Nazionale. There were many incidents and fights between the various groups, and probably many bruises. Another delegation composed of the Alpini and war wounded went to the Viminale and staged another demonstration. A small group of the latter were permitted to enter and were greeted by Undersecretary Dolo of the Interior, who stated that he could not speak for the Government. This group was headed by Colonel Benedettini, a member of the Italian Parliament.

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4. Celebration of 1st.May, Piazza del Popolo.

For the first time in twenty three years the General Italian Confederation of Labour (CGIL) was free to celebrate openly its yearly holiday on 1st.May. The Piazza del Popolo was filled with masses of people (possibly 100,000) consisting of delegations from all industrial groups. There were many Italian flags (without the cross of Savoy),hundreds of red flags, a few white flag s of the Christian-Democrats, a nd many placards containing inscriptions such as "Long Live the North Wind", "Down with the Monarchy", "Long Live the Republic" and "Long Live our Partisans" etc.

At the base of the speakers' platform stood a wounded veteran of the CGIL Division which fought with the Allies, a soldier of the Garibaldian Partisan Division, and workers w ith red handkerchiefs around their necks with their red flags, and there was one man with the white flag of the Christian Democrats. One of this group held a placard aloft containing a caricature of Mussolini with a noose around his neck, entitled "North Wind" and an adjacent empty noose with a question mark next to a caricature of the King, entitled "South Wind". Almost everyone had some article of red on their clothing, such as red tie, handkerchief or flowers, and everyone seemed to be in a happy mood. Enrico Molo, Undersecretary of the Interior, and Mario Berlinguer, High Commissioner for Epuration, were on the speakers' platform.

The ceremony was opened by Ferruccio Bigi with music and singing by the crowd. The speeches which followed were marked by great moderation but were definite in their repeated demand for a constituent assembly and for a new and changed government. All of these statements were followed by enthusiastic applause by the audience, who seemed unanimous in their desire to obtain a republic by legal methods.

Among those who addressed the crowd were Signor Bigi, President of the CGIL, Nazzareno Buschi, and Giulio Pastore, directors, and the On. di Vittorio, Communist Secretary of the CGIL.

The On. di Vittorio, who spoke last, said that the present celebration was not only for Labour, but was a celebration of the resurrection of Italy to which Labour had made its full contribution; in the liberation of the North the Italian people had played the principal role (great applause). He exalted the beginnings of justice in the execution of Mussolini (prolonged whistles and cries of "Down with the Monarchy"), stated that this execution was but the commencement, and that where the people we re freely able to express themselves, justice would not only punish the Fascist gerarchi, but would also reach the industrialists and financiers who had made Fascism possible. He demanded a truly democratic government and an equitable re distribution of wealth, and stated that the people had shown themselves to be the true strength of the nation in the partisan fight (great applause).

The crowd dispersed in an orderly manner and part of it marched down the Corso Umberto, where they cheered the American flags on a balcony of the Red Cross Soldiers' Club. Wherever Italian flags with the arms of Savoy were hung, the crowd with calls and whistling insisted that they be removed, a nd when this was not done, the flags were destroyed by the crowd. There were no police or carabinieri visible, and good order prevailed.

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A R M E D F O R C E S

5. General Raffaelo Cadorna appointed Chief of Staff of the Army

General Cadorna, Commander in Chief of the Corpo Volontari della Liberta' has been promoted, on the recommendation of the Minister for War (Casati), Chief of Staff of the Italian Army. LIBERA STAMPA, on 4.5.45., announcing the appointment, said that "In this way fusion between North and South is realized in the highest ranks of the army, and it is a recognition of the common task of the army and the patriots...."

General Raffaelo Cadorna was born in Pallanza in 1889. He is son of the Chief of Staff of the 1915/18 War, Luigi Cadorna. He served in the Italo-Turkish war and first World War, a nd has been several times decorated. 1920/24: took part in an Allied Military Mission, and later served at the Inter-Allied Commission in Berlin. 1929/34: Military attache in Prague. Jan.1941/April 1943: Commander of the Cavalry School. 1943: Commander of the armoured division "Arioto". He was among the first to take part in partisan warfare. After the liberation of Rome he returned to occupied Italy to continue the war against the Germans. Commander of the Copro Volontari della Liberta'. Promoted Major General, March 1945.

P U B L I C O P I N I O N

6. Summary Justice in the North -(Naples)

a). The Opinion of an Italian High Official. When he read the description of the execution of Mussolini and other Fascist leaders and of the exposure of the bodies to the contempt and insults of the pupulace, he was overcome by a feeling of horror and the most profound regret that a civilized people like the Italians should have thus given vent to their lower instincts.

He even strongly disapproved of the manner in which justice had been done: the men were undoubtedly guilty and should most certainly have been sentenced to death, but not with the summary procedure which had been adopted. In his opinion they should have been tried by a proper court; they were not only war criminals, but also political criminals; they should have stood in the dock face to face with the nation they had ruined, and the world they had so tragically disrupted.

In his opinion, the course followed by the patriots might have one advantage, if the executions were stopped immediately now, and reprisals against Fascists were abandoned, except perhaps in very special cases. The destruction of human lives should stop, and the whole nation should dedicate itself to the colossal task of reconstruction. A.1.

b). A Prominent Neapolitan criminal lawyer on the present political situation in Italy. Referring to the execution of Fascist leaders in Northern Italy, he considers first of all that Mussolini should have been delivered to the Allies for trial. In any case, he said, the manner in which justice has been meted out is not only most deplorable and discreditable, especially as regards Mussolini, but what is still more grave is that it points to a return to Fascist methods of violence. * (* v. N.B)

"Indeed", he said "the political situation, especially that of Northern Italy, requires the closest attention by the Allies, as I am afraid that the Left Wing Parties are gaining ground. The Demo-Christians, who to our mind

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"Indeed", he said "the political situation, especially that of Northern Italy, requires the closest attention by the Allies, as I am afraid that the Left Wing Parties are gaining ground. The Demo-Christians, who to my mind are ambitious, think that their friendly attitude towards the Communists will lead them to power, and do not realise that it is the Communists and the Socialists who will, instead, gain the upper hand. I trust that the Allies, in their own interests and those of Italy, will, therefore, find ways and means of supporting the Centre and Right Wing Parties and at the same time disband the so-called Committees of Liberation."

To the suggestion that Communism had lost ground as the result of

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Togliatti's declarations in regard to Trieste, he agreed that this was so, but expressed the opinion that in the end either a plebiscite would be held, or the Allies would declare Trieste an open city.

He is of the opinion that the people of Trieste will probably elect against remaining Italian, because, economically, they were better off before.

So, in either case, the decision is not likely to react against the Communists.

7. Some Views of an Italian Banker (Naples)

a). Italian Elections. The banker is rather doubtful as to the independence of the coming administrative and political elections. He said that he had recently been in Tuscany to inspect some of his property there, and told his farmers that they and their w omenfolk should - as a national duty - go and vote. He refrained from recommending a Party, but insisted that they go and vote according to their personal convictions. They replied that they were anxious to do so, but feared that unless they voted in a certain direction, they were going to be beaten up.

b). Trieste. He felt very doubtful on the matter, which he considered as extremely serious and dangerous, because he is convinced that if an attempt is made to wrest Trieste from Italy, the Italians would not take it lying down. On the other hand, he did not ignore that, in the days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the bulk of the port's trade was done with the Empire and other neighbouring countries. Perhaps the best solution would be to leave Trieste city to the Italians, a nd internationalise the port, making it a free port for the benefit of all nations.

A.2.

* NB. General public opinion on the execution of Mussolini is one of satisfaction; although the manner of the killing is not always approved, there is a profound feeling of relief because justice has been done and what might have developed into a lengthy trial has been avoided.

8. Partisan Activity and the Allied Press in Italy - FS Section report 3.5.45.

Adverse comment has been made on the treatment of Allied Partisan news this week in the "Union Jack". It is perhaps not realised that this paper is widely read by Italians, many of whom were distressed to find in Saturday's issue only a small column on the partisan liberation of northern cities, while in "Stars and Stripes" the news was given a front page splash.

This links up with reports of continued suspicion in many Italian circles of Britain's real intentions with regard to Italy. Many people are still convinced that Britain is out to cripple Italy for a long time or permanently. The "Cordone Sanitario" between North a nd South is seen as a fair indication of this intention.

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PUBLIC OPINION

9. The Question of Government Employees who went North.

Although nothing definite has been done about the Government employees who went willingly or were forced to go North, their position, based on the sanctions taken by various epuration committees is not a happy one. There are many hypotheses.

A clerk (Communist), thinks that the only solution and just punishment is to dismiss them without right of pension, or to make them work for a certain time as prisoners. If the employee has a family, they should not be held responsible for the head, and should be supplied with food rations, and work should be found for some members of the family.

This is a very prevalent idea, especially among the lower grades of civil servants. Others believe, however, that it is not possible to starve hundreds of thousands of people. They would constitute a strong anti-Government group who would hamper the initiative and work of the people.

A young man who had taken a degree (aged 30 years) believes that only the higher grades should be punished. The employees who, during their stay in the North have had huge salaries, six times their usual pay and a lump sum of six months' pay as a reward, should be kept in employment and pay off little by little every month the excess salary received. Of course, other sanctions should be taken against such employees, such as denying them promotion and the right to vote.

A young employee (aged 22 years), very liberal in his ideas, thinks that such a large number of employees cannot be dismissed and suggests that they be divided into two groups: those who went willingly, (and they are very few, at the Ministry of Treasure only six) should be very severely punished, and the second and larger group, that is to say, those who were compelled to go by fear or avarice, if they cannot be absorbed in their former work, should be sent to the most badly damaged areas to help on reconstruction. They should, of course, be paid according to the current wage for the work done (as bricklayers, labourers, workmen, etc.).

FOOD SITUATION

10. Opinion of a SEPRAL Director relative to the Economic Condition of Central and Southern Italy after the Liberation of the North. (In an interview with an Italian FAO collaborator)

The director of the SEPRAL said that officially, little is known of the economic conditions in Northern Italy. Present information indicates that almost everything is intact. According to Italian parachutists' statements, in the zone extending from Bologna to the Po the grain harvest will certainly be high. The same may be the case in Lombardy and Piedmont. Because of their proximity to the Brenner Pass the situation in the Veneto may be different, but even there the destruction should not be serious. It is hoped that the grain fields and orchards are intact. It is believed that it will be unnecessary to send food from the South except during the initial period, because in Northern Italy the people are certainly not dying of hunger, and because the Allies will help even if only partially. As to the possibility of sending food-stuffs from the North to the South, it will be very difficult at present because:

a). all the liberated zones are not under Italian but Allied control and time will be needed to get things straight and running smoothly.

b). the gulf between the old regime and the new democratic government must be manifest, and this can only be made apparent by Southern Italy showing a new

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hypotheses.

A clerk (Communist), thinks that the only solution and just punishment is to dismiss them without right of pension, or to make them work for a certain time as prisoners. If the employee has a family, they should not be held responsible for the head, and should be supplied with food rations, and work should be found for some members of the family.

This is a very prevalent idea, especially among the lower grades of civil servants. Others believe, however, that it is not possible to starve hundreds of thousands of people. They would constitute a strong anti-Government group who would hamper the initiative and work of the people.

A young man who had taken a degree (aged 30 years) believes that only the higher grades should be punished. The employees who, during their stay in the North have had huge salaries, six times their usual pay and a lump sum of six months' pay as a reward, should be kept in employment and pay off little by little every month the excess salary received. Of course, other sanctions should be taken against such employees, such as denying them promotion and the right to vote.

A young employee (aged 22 years), very liberal in his ideas, thinks that such a large number of employees cannot be dismissed and suggests that they be divided into two groups: those who went willingly, (and they are very few, at the Ministry of Treasure only six) should be very severely punished, and the second and larger group, that is to say, those who were impelled to go by fear or avarice, if they cannot be absorbed in their former work, should be sent to the most badly damaged areas to help on reconstruction. They should, of course, be paid according to the current wage for the work done (as bricklayers, labourers, workmen, etc.).

FOOD SITUATION

10. Opinion of a SCIFAL Director relative to the Economic Condition of Central and Southern Italy after the Liberation of the North. (In an interview with an Italian FSB collaborator)

The director of the SCIFAL said that officially, little is known of the economic conditions in Northern Italy. Present information indicates that almost everything is intact. According to Italian parachutists' statements, in the zone extending from Bologna to the Po the grain harvest will certainly be high. The same may be the case in Lombardy and Piedmont. Because of their proximity to the Brenner Pass the situation in the Veneto may be different, but even there the destruction should not be serious. It is hoped that the grain fields and orchards are intact. It is believed that it will be unnecessary to send food from the South except during the initial period, because in Northern Italy the people are certainly not dying of hunger, and because the Allies will help even if only partially. As to the possibility of sending food-stuffs from the North to the South, it will be very difficult at present because:

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a). all the liberated zones are not under Italian but Allied control and time will be needed to get things straight and running smoothly.

b). the gulf between the old regime and the new democratic government must be manifest, and this can only be made apparent by Southern Italy showing a new spirit of independence from Northern Italy, and self-reliance.

Transport is the first necessity. Foodstuffs will be sent first to those populations which have been most heavily hit. Another problem is that of the returning refugees . We have great faith in the Allies, and we are sure they will give us a great deal more transportation than they have done up to now, as the war is now over in Italy. The trucks that were necessary up to now for the transport of troops, munitions, arms and other necessities of war, could be used for food. It is hoped that unemployment will decrease. We are sure of being able to feed the people and to effect exchang of produce between the provinces, without bitterness or rancour.

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L O C A L C O N D I T I O N S

11. Events of the Week - Naples.

The reports in the papers that the news of the execution of Mussolini and his henchmen has caused jubilation among the people is not accepted at its face value by Neapolitans: they are glad, of course, that Mussolini is now beyond the possibility of inflicting further harm on Italy, but the manner of his trial and execution are criticised, and the details of the approbrium with which the dead body was treated, are considered revolting: Neapolitans have great respect for the dead. "Cowardly" they te rm the behaviour of the populace inveighing against the dead body of the man before whom, when he was living, they trembled.

Among local happenings there appears to be a small gleam of hope in the matter of cost of living: it is reported that the shop-keepers are having a quiet time; everybody who possibly can is refraining from buying, and it is thought that if the authorities now saw their way to intervening by clipping the w ings of the profiteering retailers, there might be quite a drop in prices, or at all events a stop in their ascension. Wholesale prices are said to be on the downward grade.

Another matter for local rejoicing is the arrival of long-expected rain, after many w eeks of a drought which threatened to ruin crops. A great d eal of the almost meraculously fertile land in the low lying ground around Naples is given up to the cultivation of greens, which are shallow-rooted and, therefore, s ensitive to surface conditions. The gentle, persistent rain is a blessing to many cultivators.

12. Black Market Prices - Naples, 2.5.45.

Pasta	180	lire per kilo.
Flour (brown)	160	" " "
" (white)	210	" " "
Sugar	900	" " "
Coffee	1200	" " "
Potatoes	45/50	" " "
Beans	180	" " "
Green peas	45	" " "
Broad beans	20	" " "
Salame	1000	" " "
Ham	1000	" " "
Mozzarella	350/390	" " "
Cheese	600	" " "
Lamb	450	" " "
Charcoal	26	" " "
Fish Anchovies	100/200	" " "
Mullet (white)	300/400	" " "
Cod	450	" " "
Oranges	45/50	" " "
Apples	80/90	" " "
Oil	390	" " "
Eggs	24	" each
Cigarettes (American)	220	" per packet
(British)	180	" " "
(Italian)	100	" " "
Matches	25/30	" " box.

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P R E S S A N D P U B L I C A T I O N

13. POPULARITY AND CIRCULATION OF "IL MESE"

An enquiry has been made by a P.W.B. officer on the circulation of the magazine "Il Mese".

Sig. Giorgi, wholesale newsagent, said that "Mese" was a great success. "From an initial circulation of 3,500 copies, we have gone up to 12,000 copies this month, and for next month we have booked 15,000", he said.

The wholesale newsagent distributes them to 350 bookstalls in Rome, and the sale is very rapid. Only 200 copies are sold in book shops. Sig. Giorgi says that the demand increased after the publication of the volume of the first six numbers. Those who bought this volume and were interested, wanted the following numbers from 7 on, and there is a continual demand that cannot be coped with. The same house distributes 500 copies of the Italian magazine "Aretusa", and there are always returns of this, but not even one copy of the "Mese" is sent back.

He considers the magazine very interesting, well compiled and edited with great care. The variety of subject matter appeals to a wide public.

All the salesmen at the bookstalls interrogated said that the sale of "Il Mese" is very easy and quick.

A Book-stall in Via Emanuele Filiberto: The salesman took 75 which were sold in two days. The same saleman takes only 10 copies of the Italian magazine Mercurio" and sells 7-8, but very slowly.

A Book-stall in Piazza Vittorio: The saleman orderes 25 copies and sold 21 in two days. He ordered only one copy of "Mercurio", which he still has.

A stall at the station: Ordered 75 copies which were sold in 3-4 days. He took 10 copies of "Mercurio" and 10 of "Aretusa" and sold 6-7 of each.

A Stall in Via Merulana: Ordered 50 copies first and having sold all in one day, he sold a further 25 with the same facility. The sales woman said that there is a great demand for back numbers and for the volume contadning the first six numbers. She orders as a rule 10 copies of "Mercurio" of which she usually sells about 8.

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A Stall in Corso Trieste: Ordered 100 copies of which only 5 are left. Some of the readers opinions:

A cultured, 27 year old lawyer: "Il Mese" is a well produced review, and one of the reasons for its success is the fact that it covers such a wide field, so that everyone can find something of particular interest.

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Its merit lies in the fact that it is not a propaganda publication , or at least if it is, this is not apparent. For example when it publishes articles about the war- let us say in the Pacific - its tone is very measured, and the information is of general interest, not things which should be known because they are of interest in Amreica or England.
He enjoys also the passages from English or American books, and the fact that besides giving Italian readers knowledge of recent books by new or well-known writers, it reveals judgement of Italian needs and helps them in the solution of their problems.

A writer: likes the review which is very popular but complains that there is slight adherence to general problems of interest in Italy. In general the literary choice is rather good,but it could be wider and more informative in order to enlighten and guide opinion, and show the attitude of the United Nations towards European problems. The review is of great interest to those who have no other sources of information. This is evidently the the class for which it has been created.

A professor of the Licen: "Il Mese" is amongst the best reviews in Italy to-day. Above all the part which deals with the war is well produced. It throws light on the preparation for war and the participation of America. He would like more space to be devoted to literature and more examples of English and American literary productions of the last few years. He thinks that Italy requires knowledge of the philosophical speculations of the world from which she has been cut off for such a long time, a,d that "Il Mese" should try to satisfy this need. As regards the scientific part, although interesting, this would be better in a special scientific review, for which the scientist feels a great need.
The magazine could instead deal with questions of wider interestof to-day, syndical trade-unions organisations in England and America etc.

A Doctor: was very interested in an article on penicellin in one of the first numbers.

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14. "EUROPA", New fortnightly Political Review

The first number of "Europa" which appeared on April 30th, was devoted mainly to the San Francisco Conference. Under the title "The Absence of Italy from San Francisco" statements were made by the following: Meuccio Ruini, Benedetto Croce, Luigi Sturzo, Pietro Nenni, Francesco Fancello and Enzo Selvaggi.
The editor of the review is Pier Fausto Palumbo.

15. Bonaiuti leaves "Il Risveglio"

Ernesto Bonaiuti has left the direction of "Il Risveglio" because of dissension on political cultural matters. Part of the editorial staff have also left with him in sympathy.

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C U L T U R A L

16. The Decline of De Chirico

An exhibition of recent pictures by Giorgio De Chirico was opened on May 3rd at the Galleria del Secolo, Via Veneto, Rome.

It was the first general exhibition of the new style of painting of Which De Chirico announced the discovery a few years ago, saying that he had unearthed the lost technique of the Rennaisance masters.

De Chirico has for some time been perturbing admirers of his earlier work by his refusal to discuss pictures he painted as a younger man, and at times he has shown anger when they were even mentioned innocently. He considers that he is now painting better than he ever did before. In several self portraits he has signed "Pictor Optimus" after his name.

It would be impossible to guess that many of these sombre oils were by De Chirico were they not sighed. There are hors-

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It would be impossible to guess that many of these sombre oils were by De Chirico were they not sighed. There are horses, a fair number of them, bit now these lack the redeeming vigour of imagination and form part of semi-historical scenes with Rubens-like cavaliers. Foreign admirers of the earlier De Chirico will certainly get a shock if these pictures are exhibited in Paris , London, and elsewhere.

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SUMMARY No. 66

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
Psychological Warfare Branch
Unit No. 12 APO 512

Central D Section, Liberated Italy

1 May 1945

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY No. 66

PART I - SUMMARY

There has been great excitement during the week throughout liberated Italy at the news of the successful revolt in Northern Italy of the partisans and the rapid advance of the 5th and 8th Armies. In particular, attention has been devoted to the risings of the patriots in Genoa, Milan and Turin and the subsequent liberation of these cities. After the long wait during the winter months the liberation of the important cities of the North seemed to come with unexpected rapidity. The Rome press became frantically excited, and splashed the news in large headlines. Both the newspapers and public opinion emphasised the part played by the partisan forces, pointing out that it was one of the largest and best organised movements of its kind in Europe. The success of these risings has done much to restore the self-respect of Italians.

Many articles in the press point out that Italy by this effective popular rising has contributed to the war effort and the people have shown on which side their sympathies lie. They add that the success of such risings proves that Mussolini's war was an unpopular one and that the Germans were considered by the majority of Italians as the real enemy. Italians are specially pleased that so much of their heavy industries, electric plants, radio stations and other material have been saved by the action of the patriots. For days people in Rome have been carried away with enthusiasm and many now long for reunion with the North. The news that Mussolini, Farinacci, Pavolini and other prominent Fascists had been captured and executed by the patriots met with general approval as Italians in Rome were nervous that if such people were tried by the courts for Epuration such trials would have been prolonged and would have ended in a mockery.

On Sunday April 29, the Rome Committee of Liberation organised a meeting in the Piazza Santi Apostoli to express their delight at the liberation of the North. Many thousands of people attended and the representatives of the Six Parties addressed the crowd who were in a highly excited condition. The Communist, Socialist and Party of Action spokesmen (Negarville, Nenni and Cianca) were applauded, but when Mario Scelba, the representative of the Christian Democrats spoke, and said that one man and one man alone was responsible for the disaster in Italy, there were violent interruptions and the crowd insisted that the King, the Royal Family and Badoglio, besides others, were also responsible. Feeling against the Monarchy ran high at this meeting and later the Labour Democrat had first to assure his audience that he agreed with them that a Republic was necessary before he was able to continue.

Pietro Nenni in his speech, criticised the idea of a 'cordon sanitaire' between the North and the South, and asked that the patriots be allowed to retain their arms. He also criticised the Monarchy severely and blamed it for being responsible for many of the disasters.

The desire of the politicians to go North and establish contact with the Committee of Liberation there, is becoming more and more vocal and finds expression in the various party newspapers. Representatives of the Committee of Liberation called on the Chief Commissioner of A.C. and asked that they be allowed to go

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The desire of the politicians to go North and establish contact with the Committee of Liberation there, is becoming more and more vocal and finds expression in the various party newspapers. Representatives of the Committee of Liberation called on the Chief Commissioner of A.C. and asked that they be allowed to go to Milan to establish contact with the Committee there, or that representatives of this Committee should be allowed to come to Rome for discussions. The latter alternative was agreed to and the Rome delegates proposed that the following representatives of the Committee of Liberation in Milan should come to Rome: Arpesani for the Liberals, Parri for the Party of Action, Pertini for the Socialists, Sereni for the Communists and Marazzi and De Gasperi (brother of the Minister for Foreign Affairs) for the Christian Democrats. It appears that the Labour Democrat party has no representative on the Committee of Liberation of Milan.

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There are various signs both in speeches and in articles in the press that a change in the government is hoped for at least by the Left Wing politicians. Togliatti made three speeches during the week, one on Friday in commemoration of Gramsci, one on Saturday in a broadcast giving his ideas on the present situation and the third in Naples on Sunday when he again commemorated Gramsci. In each of these speeches he made it clear that from the point of view of the Communist Party a new political direction was necessary for the country. He praised the organisation of the Committees of Liberation throughout Italy and said that they must have the place they deserve in the political life of the country. He also said that the volunteers of liberty (the patriots) must also be represented in the government of the country. He said that arrangements must be made as soon as possible for consulting the people in order to elect the Constituent Assembly. The country must free itself from its links with the past and establish the foundations of the new Italy. It was not a question of a re-shuffle in the Government, he continued, but of a profound renewal. Referring to Mussolini's capture (speaking before the execution) he said that he and his henchmen should pay for their crimes with their lives and that for this purpose it was sufficient to establish their identity.

On the occasion of the 1st May, the Socialists and Communists issued a joint message to the workers. After auguring the solidarity of the workers throughout the world and especially the fraternity between the people of the Western powers and those of the Soviet Union, they sent their wishes to the General Confederation of Labour and to the Committee of National Liberation in Northern Italy. They also praised the Popular Tribunals for having begun to carry out justice. They expressed their hope that the structure of the state should be renewed through the Constituent Assembly and declared that the three principal points which the Socialists and Communists will present in their programme to the Constituent Assembly are:- 1) Proclamation of a Republic, 2) Socialisation of the great monopoly industries, 3) Agrarian reform.

What form the new Government (if such a Government is formed) will take it is difficult to say, until more is known of the intentions of the Committee of Liberation of Northern Italy. Various reports received during the last few weeks in liberated Italy make it clear, however, that there is a growing discontent with the older generation of pre-Fascist politicians. There is an increasing desire among politically minded Italians that their country should be represented by younger and more energetic people who have taken an active part in the resistance to Fascism. Criticism of the pre-Fascist politicians is heard more and more frequently and they are accused of having been responsible for the situation which produced Fascism. The minimum programme laid down by the Socialist and Communist Parties would certainly have approval of the Party of Action but to what extent it would receive the support of the Liberals and Christian Democrats in the North is not yet clear.

The "Osservatore Romano" differed from the other papers in Rome in its reaction to the execution of Mussolini. It deplored the use of force and the fact that hatred was animating the spirits of many Italians in the North. The Vatican organ appealed for a greater spirit of understanding between the Italians rather than rancour, as well as constructive proposals rather than turbulent distructive ideas.

During the last few days the press has also been carried away by the rumours that the end of the war is imminent. In fact on various occasions the press has announced that the war is over and that the Germans have already surrendered. There is a general feeling that at most the war can only last for another few days.

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Although the Communist and Socialist Parties have agreed to a minimum programme which they intend to present to the Constituent Assembly, they are divided on the issue of Trieste. The announcement that Yugoslav troops had entered Trieste has disturbed all political parties with the exception of the Communist Party, particularly in view of the fact that Marshal Tito only recently laid claim to both Trieste and Istria. The Government issued a communique in which they declared that

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a solution of the outstanding problems between Italy and Yugoslavia should not be precipitated by contingent military operations. Such problems the communique added, should only be confronted and solved when both governments had the authority which they would derive from the liberation of all their national territory and from a democratic assembly. In the meantime the communique hoped that Venezia Giulia would be put under Allied administration, as had happened with the rest of Italian territory. It is clear from many reports that Italians feel very strongly about the question of Trieste, which they consider an Italian city. They also feel that they can do little to prevent Yugoslavia from taking Trieste unless the Allies support Italian claims. They point out that if Trieste went to Yugoslavia a permanent wound would be opened which would never be healed. They further point out that the result of such a transfer would be that nationalism would be greatly strengthened in Italy. There is a widespread fear that if Tito's forces take Trieste they will not easily be persuaded to leave the city. The "Popolo" (organ of the Christian Democrats) gives expression to this feeling. Guido Gonella in his leading article declares that Trieste is Italian and that the Italian people and the government know that the immense sacrifices endured in so many wars for the unity of Italy, above all in the war 1915-18, cannot be nullified by a fait accompli which interferes with the liberty of men to decide their own destiny. Gonella pleads that the right to self-determination of peoples should not be ignored.

On the other hand the Communist Party has sent a message to the workers of Trieste asking them to welcome Tito's troops as liberators and to collaborate with them in every way possible to destroy the Germans and Fascists. At all costs they are told they must avoid being victims of agents provocateurs who are interested in sowing discontent between the Italian people and democratic Yugoslavia. The Party points out in their message that if the workers in Trieste collaborate with the Yugoslavs to drive out the Germans and destroy the Fascists and in the punishment of those who were responsible for the crimes committed against Yugoslavia, they will without doubt succeed in solving together all the problems which interest the two countries.

In the Neapolitan press two articles appeared pleading that the colonies should be returned to Italy. Silvio Gava in "Il Domani d'Italia" the organ of the Christian Democrats expresses the desire of Italy to recover her colonies. He also makes a defence of the Italian colonial administration and points out that it is in the interest of Great Britain that Italy should regain her colonies. Manlio Lupinacci in "Il Giornale" (Liberal) also expresses the desire for the return of the colonies and the certainty that this will come about. He describes further, how the Ministry of Italian Africa are still carrying on looking after the interests of Italians in the colonies. He says that Morelli, the Under-Secretary for Italians Abroad, is in charge of such interests.

The Concentrazione Nazionale Democratico, a group of Liberal Monarchists who work closely with the Partito Democratico Italiano, held a congress early in April in Rome. The Concentrazione Nazionale Democratico claims to represent a fusion of several monarchist forces. They have the support of some old Senators and were presided over by Senator Borgamini. They have formed a youth movement called the Fronte Monarchico Giovanale and they planned an organisation which is to be active in the North after the liberation. They regard the Monarchy as the safeguard of democratic liberties and are determined to combat any separatist tendencies. Their programme is one of vague Christian-Liberalism.

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No. 66

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit No. 12 APO 512

Central D Section Liberated Italy 3 May 1945

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY No. 66

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Explanation of reliability rating:

Source (reliability)		Report (probability)	
A	Always reliable	1	Confirmed
B	Usually reliable	2	Probable
C	Sometimes reliable	3	Possible
D	Frequently unreliable	4	Doubtful
E	A bad source	5	Improbable

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ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
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Central D Section, Liberated Italy

3 May 1945

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN LIBERATED ITALY No. 66

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1. Press Comment on Events in Northern Italy

On Sunday 29.4.45 the Rome press announced the execution of Mussolini in huge headlines. The following leading Fascists were also executed:

PETACCI, Claretta
PAVOLINI, Alessandro, Secretary of the Republican Fascist Party.
BARRACU, Francesco, Vice-President of the Republican Fascist Party.
ZERBINI, Paolo, Minister of the Interior.
MEZZASOMA, Fernando, Minister of Popular Culture.
ROMANO, Ruggero, Minister of Public Works.
LIVERANI, Augusto, Minister of Communications.
PORTA, Paolo, Party Inspector.
GATTI, Luigi, Prefect.
COPPOLA, Goffredo. President, Institute of Fascist Culture.
DAQUANNO, Ernesto. Director of the Stefani Agency.
NUDI, Mario, President, Fascist Federation of Agriculture.
CASALNUOVO, Vito, National Republican Guard.
SALUSTRI, Pietro, Mussolini's personal pilot.
HINTERMAYER, Publicist.
PETACCI, Marcello, of the espionage service.
BOMBACI, Nicola, Arch-traitor.

The report quickly spread round Rome and excited crowds gathered round the newsstands, anxious for details. On Monday several special editions appeared (the Rome newspapers do not normally appear on Mondays) giving details of the executions.

ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party) in an editorial entitled "Justice" writes: "Justice has been done. Justice of the people. Swift, full, inexorable. It is right that justice against the author of our great misfortune be prosecuted by the Italian people; that no power outside that of Italy has intervened in the last act of a tragedy which before it became European and world wide was our tragedy...."
RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE in an editorial entitled "Death of a Dictator" writes: "Mussolini has been shot. Northern Italy through insurrection has regained her liberty. Germany is on the point of collapse. This is the news of the past extraordinary days. These events are almost too much for us to grasp. Mussolini executed; this fatal event is the one which for us has a significance which transends the expiation of a guilty and damned man."

Before the momentous news of Sunday, the freeing of Genoa and other areas in Northern Italy by the patriots had been the main theme of interest and had acted as a tremendous fillip to Italian morale. Many Italians feel that they are rehabilitating themselves in the eyes of the world at last. Satisfaction is also felt because of the rapidity of events in Northern Italy. It is hoped that, because of this, destruction will be relatively light. Further articles on the "Economic Barrier" imposed between Southern and Central Italy and the newly liberated area, expressed the hope that it will not develop into a political barrier. All the morning

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PORTA, Paolo, Party Inspector.
GATTI, Luigi, Prefect.
COPPOLA, Goffredo. President, Institute of Fascist Culture.
DAQUANNO, Ernesto. Director of the Stefani Agency.
NUDI, Mario, President, Fascist Federation of Agriculture.
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Before the momentous news of Sun day, the freeing of Genoa and other areas in Northern Italy by the patriots had been the main theme of interest and had acted as a tremendous fillip to Italian morale. Many Italians feel that they are rehabilitating themselves in the eyes of the world at last. Satisfaction is also felt because of the rapidity of events in Northern Italy. It is hoped that, because of this, destruction will be relatively light. Further articles on the "Economic Barrier" imposed between Southern and Central Italy and the newly liberated area, expressed the hope that it will not develop into a political barrier. All the morning papers of 27.4.45 featured under large headlines the liberation of nearly the whole of Piedmont and Lombardy by the Italian patriots.

AVANTI (Socialist) said "The Italians reconquer their own towns". IL TEMPO (Independent) "The proudest army in the world retreats to the passes over which they so arrogantly descended."

"The anti-Fascists in the North are ridding themselves of the Germans before the Allies arrive" writes the Demo-Christian POPOLO. "The cities of the North

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pass into the hands of the patriots.... When the Allied armies arrive they find that life is normal, the public services are in working order - the war correspondents themselves have stressed this fact. There are no shoe-shine boys, women begging for cigarettes or girls ready to jump into jeeps. The people are serious. This is the North Wind."

In an article in AVANTI (Socialist) entitled "North Wind" Pietro Nenni wrote: "The uprising in the North has in truth saved our country. At the same time, while the San Francisco Conference is in progress without the participation of Italy... Democratic and anti-Fascist Italy is proven to be not the illusion of a few believers, but a real force with the will, the energy and the courage of the people behind it." Nenni ends by protesting against the presence of the Luogotenente in Bologna, when Premier Bonomi and Scoccimarro, Minister for Occupied Italy was not allowed to go. UNITA (Communist) in an article entitled "Liberation and Democracy" writes: "The organised and relatively orderly manner in which the C.L.N. is taking charge in the North, and at the same time dispersing and disarming enemy formations, is inspiring and is a guarantee for the future of Italy...."

Huge headlines on 28.4.45 announced the capture of Mussolini and the further activities of the patriots and the C.L.N. (National Committee of Liberation). AVANTI (Socialist):- MUSSOLINI IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE. CAPTURED AT NESSO - RODOLFO GRAZIANI AND BUFFARINI GUIDI ALSO ARRESTED. ALL AT THE SWISS FRONTIER. "Radio Milano Libera yesterday announced that Mussolini, Farinacci, Pavolini and Graziani were arrested. The leaders of the ex-Republic of Salò who had sworn to resist to the last, took flight at the turn of events and were on their way to Nesso" (on the Swiss frontier). ITALIA LIBERA (Action Party).... PAVIA, VERCELLI, BRESCIA AND ALESSANDRIA FREED BY THE PARTISANS.... A COMMISSION OF JUSTICE (Commissione di Giustizia) WITH SUMMARY POWERS SET UP AT MILAN... Commenting on the arrest of the ex-Duce and other leading Fascists the paper said: "As to what is to happen to the five Republican Fascist chiefs captured by the patriots, Radio Milano Libera has announced that they will be handed over to a People's Tribunal for immediate trial (giudicati per direttissima)."

RICOSTRUZIONE (Labour Democrat) in a leading article entitled "Joy of Liberation" writes "This is a moment of joy, of Beethoven's 5th. All other preoccupations are forgotten and the almost magical collapse of the Germans and the Fascist framework exhalts the spirits of Italians tried by every misfortune and gives them hope in the future. A light is shining on the hard way which has still to be traversed."

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2. Manifestation at the Piazza S.S.Apostoli

An immense crowd of all classes and types of people filled the Piazza dei S.S.Apostoli on Sunday morning, 29th April, to hear addresses by speakers of the various political parties, who are part of the National Committee of Liberation, in the celebration of the liberation of their "heroic brothers of the North" by the Allies and by themselves. Many groups from these political parties carried tricoloured and red flags and placards. The latter contained inscriptions calling for a new democratic government, new political policies and some stated: "We don't want a 'cordon sanitaire'" etc.

Costantino Preziosi before introducing the various speakers said that the manifestation was intended to be a "vibrant salute" from the people of Rome to the people of the North and also confirmed the news of the execution of Mussolini and some of his followers. The roar of exultation from his listeners was followed by rythmic chants of "Death to the King".

Celeste Negarville of the Communist Party, the first speaker, stated that the Northern Italians, in liberating themselves, had symbolically liberated all Italy, that their struggle was but part of the common struggle to achieve Liberty by all the peoples of the world. That partisan squads had executed the leaders of Fascism and that, from these beginnings a renewal of Italian life would emerge which would result in the rebirth of Italy. The speaker concluded his discourse by stating that the victorious insurrection of the North had created a new situation for the constitutional assembly and that the Communist Party is prepared for the battle for the creation of a new Italy under the flag of the Italian Republic. (great applause)

Alberto Cianca of the Action Party, the second speaker, stated that the collapse of the most monstrous dream of domination of Europe was also a victory for the Italian people who by a magnificent gesture had shown the capacity of Italians to liberate and to govern themselves and refuted the Fascist propaganda that Italy had desired and had supported the war. He then stated that it is necessary to translate into action the complete renovation of political instututions, of social classes, and of moral customs. (applause)

Mario Scelba of the Christian-Democratic Party, the third speaker, began by quoting a statement of Churchill in which the latter said that only one man in Italy is responsible for the war. These words aroused a roar of protest from the crowd who then again began chanting "Death to the King". After silence had been partly restored, the speaker continued by stating that the Italian people never wanted war, that the insurrection of the North took place at the same time as the San Francisco conference where Italy was denied the right of partecipation and that a new period of Liberty for the people now begins in Italy. (slight applause)

Guido Laj of the Labour Democratic Party was the next speaker. He stated that one voice could be heard among the many of the National Committee of Liberation which said that no one could or would accept slavery again." In reply to the cries of "La Repubblica" from the crowd he smiling ly replied: "We hope"., The speaker then stated that Northern Italy had liberated itself through the common sacrifice of all its people, that the Fascists had gained control of Italy in the past by their abuse of liberty and with the complicity of those(the royal

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Under-secretary of State Medici-Tornaquinci of the Liberal Party, the fifth speaker, made an able and eloquent resumé of the liberation of North Italy from domestic and foreign tyrannyand praised the work accomplished by the National Committee of Liberation. He stated that the real battle of the people begins today with their impending reunion with the peoples of the North who have demonstrated their ability to fight and to govern themselves. (applause)

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The last speakder was Pietro Nonni of the Socialist Party who re-affirmed the guilt and responsibility of all those (the Monarchy) who fled in Sept. of 1943, with the resulting twenty months of blood, grief and destruction and said that the process of justice has not yet ended and that other battles are yet to be won. Nenni then praised the Allies who for five years had fought the evil forces who sought to suffocate every breath of liberty and justice in the world. He asked for complete support by all Italians for the Committee of National Liberation and also demanded the right of the partisans to retain their arms and to be separate from the army. He stated that any idea of a"cordon sanitaire" should be discarded and ended his discourse by asking all Italians to maintain their unity and to prepare for the constituent . assembly from which the Italian Republic will emerge. (great applause)

The meeting ended with shouts of "Evviva l'Italia". The crowd was orderly and there were no visible incidents or disturbances.

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B. GENERAL REPORTS

P O L I T I C A L

3. The Right Wing "Concentrazione Nazionale Democratica Liberale" and its Youth Organisation, the "Fronte Monarchico Giovanile".

The following information was received from several reliable Italian sources. The Concentrazione is of strong rightist tendencies. Its leader is Senator Bergamini, a prominent anti-Fascist who was imprisoned during the Nazi -Fascist occcupation and who is a well-known author. Also interested in the organization isDr Senator Giorgio Pitacco a prominent citizen of Trieste who was made Minister of State in 1939 but who is not believed to have been a Fascist Party man. Long before the last annexation of Trieste was active in local politics in Trieste. He served as Podestà of that city from 1928 to 1933.

The Concentrazione is in close touch with the Partito Democratico Italiano, (Monarchist) and with the latter's leader, Selvaggi, who is the director of the newspaper "L'Italia Nuova". The group has no press organ of its own. It recenthy absorbed the group "Comitato per la Ricostruzione Nazionale, which is authorized to publish a semi)monthly Magazine "Lavoro", which ceased to appear after its fourth number. The "Concentrazione" is therefore in a position to have a publication of its own, the "Lavoro" which it can publish under that or under another name, whenever the group so desires. The group, as well as its youth movement, for the present supports and uses as its press organ "L'Opinione" which is a weekly paper directed by Armando Zanotti and run by Bergamini. Early in April 1945 the "Concentrazione"held a congress,which was attended by Sen. Pitacco, and others. It has organized a Youth movement, the "Fronte Monarchico Giovanile", which also uses "L'Opinione" for its propaganda. The "Fronte" is said to be planning an organization which is to be active in the north after liberation. It states in its propagandathat it owes its origin to a fusion of several monarchist youth movements.

According to a leaflet published by the "Fronte", the following are its policies and programme:

"It recognises the Catholic Church - the inextinguishable torch of Christian brotherhood of peoples - as one of the principal safeguards of the inviolable moral forces of humanity and of the Sanctity of family ties.

It hopes that, freely united in spirit and in an atmosphere of democratic liberty, our country will rapidly be reborn

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It hopes that, freely united in spirit and in an atmosphere of democratic liberty, our country will rapidly be reborn and will recover its dignity as a great nation and as a leader of civilization.

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It proposes:

1. To unite in a common effort the activities of all young men and women who have faith in the monarchical principle and who firmly believe in the foregoing ideals.

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2. To develop an active propaganda to keep alive the ideals which will lead to the unity of our country.

3. To combat separatist tendencies, which we consider to be disintegrating and anti-nationalist forces.

4. To organize, cultural, artistic and athletic association to further the moral, physical and intellectual rehabilitation of the younger generation and to prepare it for its future responsibilities.

At the recent congress of the Concentrazione Nazionale Democratica Liberale, the "Fronte" presented the following order of the day.

"The Fronte Monarchico Giovanile", having reviewed the present politicalsituation, expresses the hope for the union, in a renewed atmosphere of liberty, of all liberal forces in a single bloc in order to oppose all attempts to undermine law and order in the country: reaffirms its faith in the monarchical institution which to-day gives a sure guarantee of democratic development and, through administrative decentralisation, consitutes the indispensable safeguard of national unity: condemns all attempts against the integrity of the country's frontiers which have been determined by nature and by history: reaffirms the necessity of not disturbing the religious peace of the Italian people which is the foundation of the moral rehabilitation of the nation.

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4. COMMEMORATIVE CEREMONIES AT MONTE SACRO.

On Sunday morning, the 22nd April, ceremonies were held by the Committee of National Liberation in the Piazza Sempione in Monte Sacro (a garden city development near Rome) in honour of thirteen victims of the Nazi-Fascists. These ceremonies began with a mass in the Chiesa degli Angeli Custodi which dominates the Piazza and were followed by the blessing (by a patriot priest) of a symbolical catafalque placed before the High Altar and surrounded by the relatives of the victims and representatives of political parties including Signor Scoccimarro, Minister for Occupied Italy. The church was filled with standing men and women and children.

After the religious services, a procession headed by the priests and followed by the congregation marched across the piazza to the Licee Orazio where a memorial plaque in honour of the victims was unveiled and then blessed by the patriot-priest . The crowd then re-assembled in the Piazza beneath the balcony of the school, [illegible] . Signor Scoccimaro and the widows of the dead.

In the discourse which followed Scoccimarro spoke of the heroism and sacrifices of the victims of Monte Sacro , which formed part of so many heroic acts in the common strggle against Fascism by all classes of society, and which were here exemplified by an Italian general, a merchant, craftsman, office employees and students of all ages equally united by common sacrifices in the struggle.

Scoccimarro then spoke of the atrocities of the Germans in Rome and elsewhere, of their ever increasing ferocity at the present moment, and of the danger confronted by the world from their bestiality etc.

The speaker concluded his address with a salute to the victims, and stated that the plaque which had been unveiled was an admonishment to all Italians in their public and private lives. The attentive audience, with their many party flags and placards, frequently warmly applauded the speaker. There were no incidents or disturbance of any kind.

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5. THE ITALIAN COLONIES - Press comment -

(I) Silvio Gava in "Il Domani d'Italia" Naples.

Silvio Gava in the daily "Il Domani d'Italia", organ of the Christian Democrats, has an article of which the following is an abridged translation:

"At the Manchester Reform Club on May 9th, 1944, the Labour Member Thomas stated that the Colonies of Eritrea, Somaliland (Italian) and Libya had been acquired by Italy "honestly". This statement is true. The history of the "acquisition" - in preference to "conquest" - of Italy's colonies, differs greatly from that of other powers who trampled on clearly-established rights, and frequently resorted to acts of brigandage devoid of even the appearance of a justification.

When the Italian flag was hoisted on the Bay of Assab or along the Somali beaches, it did not proclaim the overthrow of actually existing sovereignties, or the extermination of politically organized native populations; it was unfurled instead, over tribes which were living in a condition of social anarchy and which needed the guidance of a superior people which would organize and lead them towards civilisation.

In the same way when, with the approval of the greater European powers, Italy/landed on the Libyan coast, she was merely drawing the consequences of a historical phenomenon which had reached the concluding stage of its development: the collapse of the Turkish Empire which threatened to leave, if it had not already left, the backward peoples of Tripolitania and Cirenaica in such a state of abandonment and political confusion, that they would fall an easy prey to the first occupant.

Italy who had courageously followed the policy of "clean hands" in her colonial problems, declining the temptation of fat and not impossible conquests, did not forsake this policy when she decided on the acquisition of Eritrea, Somaliland, and Libya. There actually were, according to established rules of international morale, evident presuppositions which legitimised the "acquisitions" of these territories: the inexistance in fact - of a solid sovereignty - (or at all events its imminent and certain downfall) - able to organize them into an efficient political body, and the incapacity of the native tribes to exploit their lands and advance along the road of progress. The civilizing influence that Italy unceasingly developed in favour of the populations, found its return in the dependable loyalty of the people, which was the political expression of their gratitude for the well-being they had reached and which confermed the original hpnesty and legitimacy of the acquisitions.

It can be rightly said, therefore, that previous to the unfortunate Ethiopian enterprise, Italy really had kept aloft and unsullied the flag of international morale which the best of exponents of our Risorgimento, from Gioberti to Mazzini, had left us as an heir-

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It can be rightly said, therefore, that previous to the unfortunate Ethiopian enterprise, Italy really had kept aloft and unsullied the flag of international morale which the best of exponents of our Risorgimento, from Gioberti to Mazzini, had left us as an heirloom of veritable greatness; and Thomas's valuable appraisement, for us, a cause of sacred pride, is nothing but a courageous recognition of the truth.

All this would be sufficient to ease our minds as to the fate of our colonies, if decisions in the international field were to be based on the principles of right. Unfortunately this is not so.

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When on January 17th last, in answer to a question of Southby asking him to explain precisely what he meant in his previous statments concerning Italy's colonies, Eden stated that the Italian Government had no "right" to the return of "any" of her colonies. It is evident that he referred, not to the real right which arises from the honest manner of "acquisition" and the efficiency of the administration, but to the so-called right of war which subjects the vanquished to the arbitrary will of the victor.

In the face of this sort of right, our good reasons, which were set forth with so much human and convincing eloquence by Bonomi in his recent interview with the "Daily Herald", will not be of much value. Vice-versa, what will count and will be determining factors even today, will unfortunately be the relative strength and anxiety to occupy favourable strategic positions in view of eventual fresh conflicts.

The truth is that the fate of Italy's colonies is subject to the antagonism over the Mediterranean which is beginning to show between Britain and Russia.

Among the many new serious problems which the war is bringing to the British Empire, is how to curb and equalise (bilanciare) the overflowing Russian power in the central-eastern section of the Mediterranean.....

"Our colonies have the misfortune of being placed along the sea-route which leads to the British possessions in the east, and it is natural that they should lead into strong temptation ancient Albion which, as Churchill warned, has no intention of putting the Empire into liquidation."

The determination of our people for autonomy appears to us to be also the best guarantee which Italy can offer Britain for the security of the Mediterranean. It is up to Britain to strengthen and not to weaken or to destroy it by threatened injustices. Likewise, in our opinion, Britain should definitely abandon her old canon principle which consists in preventing a close and friendly agreement between the Latin nations.

The return of her colonies to Italy is not only demanded by her undisputable right, but it is also advisable in Britain's well-considered interest; therefore, we do not despair of receiving justice in the end.

(II) MANLIO LUPINACCI in "IL GIORNALE".

Manlio Lupinacci in an editorial in "Il Giornale" April 22nd, under the title "Oltremare" (Overseas) also deals with the problem of Italy's colonies. 246

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He starts from the enormous palace in Rome which, prior to the war, was being built to house the Ministry of Africa, and which the war has left as an empty shell, unfinished. "A monument to the régime which was unable to choose between the irreconcilable realities which are open to despots: a magnificent and pompous opulence but peaceful and merchantile, and the spirit of conquest which is agressive and violent, but sober strict and severe. Mussolini, instead, tried to blend the two, and is now recorded by buildings which are dead without having lived, and by heroic soldiers who have died without having won."

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The colossal organisation of the Ministry of Italian Africa was reduced at Bari to "four officials housed in a couple of rooms, and many thousands of refugees disseminated all over Italy." Shortly after the liberation of Rome the Ministry was lodged ina small old hotel near the Piazza Venezia and now, at last, it is established im the Palace of the Consulta, next to the Quirinal Palace, where it is looking after the many Italians who were working in Italy's African possessions, and are anxiously awaiting the chance to return there.

This latest installation in the Consulta, says Lupinacci, is regarded by these Italians as the first step towards their return to their homes in Africa. The Under-secretary Morelli is busy reorganising the Ministry's staff as it originally stood. "All is ready", writes Lupinacci, "to carry on its former functions, as soon as Italy gets back her colonies, and is able to send her workers there and to other friendly lands. Is this day still far away? Perhaps, and we must be sble to await it with the same obstinate endurance with which we have cultivated the African soil, but that it will come is a certainty. There are signs already which lead us to hope that the victors will know how to honour the labour of several generations, the vestiges of which lie not in sumptuous palaces and marble stairs, but in the fields where even the nomad natives halted to learn and take a share in the Italians' work."

PUBLIC OPINION.

6. TRIESTE.

Reference was made to the question of Trieste in a recent conversation between P.W.B. Officers and a well-known Neapolitan University Professor who is a member of the Liberal Party. This serious problem is, he said, giving rise to great apprehension here, considering the substance and tone of the declarations which the Jugoslav Ministers have been making concerning North-eastern Italy.

In fact he went on to say, they not only claim that Trieste Gorizia and Istria are not Italian, and, therefore, they do not intend to discuss the matter with anyone, but the Jugoslav Minister of Finance has thought fit to go further and, in Mussolinian language, spoke of bayonets.

The Neapolitan Professor said that, even if Italy were willing to consider amicably making some sacrifice, such as the acceptance of the Wilson demarcation line, she will never agree to Jugoslavia's incorrect and unjust declarations.

An Italy who protests and appeals for justice in order to defend Trieste cannot be considered by anyone to be nationalistic but, instead, must be recognised as a nation which is still alive and nas not fallen so low as to supinely sbmit the severance of her territories the redemption of which cost her 600,000 lives when, in the last war, she fought on the side of the Allies.

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As to Togliatti, (Communist, Vice President of the Italian Government), he went on to say that he could not thank him enough for his readiness to consider Jugoslavia's views, since by his attitude he has isolated his own Party and reawakened in all Italians of other creeds, that sense of patriotism and unity which had, perhaps, been shaken by the destruction, sufferings and discouragement of a war they had not desired.

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7. The Question of Trieste and Venezia Giulia

What an Italian lawyer thinks: H e takes an extremely serious view of the matter and hopes that America and Britain will uphold Italy's rights. The question is one which lies very near the heart of every Italian. Trieste is an integral part of Italy; it has cost her an immense sacrifice in lives during the previous world war, and any interference would be violently resented by all Italians, all, except perhaps Togliatti. Indeed, how the leader of a political party can brazenly declare his willingness to hand over to another nation a vital part of his country, like Trieste, is beyond understanding. But what is even more shocking is the fact that his followers do not turn against him, and that other members of the Government do not throw him out or refuse to work with him. This shows how low our political parties have sunk. The only consolation is that this attitude of Togliatti will no doubt throw so much discredit on him that a number of his followers will probably forsake him, and this is all to the good.

A.2.

8. Public Opinion on Italian Broadcasting.

Listening to the wireless today is rather difficult for the following reasons:

1. The 10 kilowatts of electricity allowed is not even enough for lighting purposes.
2. Many people have had to sell their radios because of economic necessity.
3. The new rich are not interested in political programmes and better music.
4. There is not the same interest in the Allied stations as the Italian stations. The newspapers give ample news and comments on national and international events.
5. Radio Londra is the only Allied station listened to, more out of habit than from int erest.

An assistant in a bar and tobacconist's shop listens to the wireless from London at 10.30 on the short wave of 49 meters, which transmits news from the war front. I asked him why he listens to London and he said that their news was about 10 hours in advance. The same assistant also listens to the Voce dell' America.

A professor of mathematics , of about 28 years, listens to the London wireless at 10 o'clock because they transmit dance music and syncopated music in general, which he likes. He prefers the London radio because the "jazz" is better.

The other foreign stations listened to are the Fascist Radio, especially at nine o'clock,when the news is given. Thos e who listen to the Fascist wireless do so in order to verify Allied news.

I N T E R I O R

9. Fascist Centralization and the Communes.

In last week's issue of "Il Lavoro d'Italia", organ of the Democratic Party of Labour, Lelio Cappello points out that the persistent centralizing mania of Fascism contributed in no small way to aggravate the bureaucratic and administrative situation in Italy.

This mania first showed itself by the abolition of the Sub Prefectures and was a serious mistake since, by such abolition, even the mos t insignificant

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This mania first showed itself by the abolition of the Sub Prefectures and was a serious mistake since, by such abolition, even the most insignificant matters had to be referred to and dealt with by the provincial Prefecture, which thus became a miniature Ministry, from which the Fascist Prefect could dominate all the communes of the Province.

A further great mistake was the abolition of some Provinces (e.g. that of Caserta) and the consequent absorption of the areas involved by the neighbouring Provinces. This led, not only to the creation of bureaucratic and anti-historical organisms but, at the same time, brought about the enlargement of various Provinces as, for instance, that of Naples, which today includes no less than 135 Communes.

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A third mistake was the annexation of many small Communes to larger neighbouring Communes: in this way the six Communes of Ischia were unified, as were also the Communes of S.Agnello, Meta and Piano absorbed by that of Sorrento, etc. This created very considerable discontent among the inhabitants of the suppressed Communes, since the longer distances involved and the loss of time, etc., caused much inconvenience.

The Government should now see to the prompt abolition of such Fascist measures, which are neither reasonable nor economic. In doing this, the Government would not encounter serious difficulties: it would be enough to refer to the "status quo" of 1915 which the Government has, as it is, recalled in the case of the electoral laws.

This should be done as soon as possible before the administrative elections; dangerous situations might otherwise arise for the elections.

L O C A L C O N D I T I O N S

10. Events of the Week - Naples.

The event which, this week, has struck Neapolitan public opinion and political circles most, and which threatens seriously to affect Italy's future political situation, is the occupation of Italian territory (Cherso Island, etc.) by Tito's forces, and their advance in the Istria zone.

This has created a great sensation: people regretfully say that if matters go on like this, Italy will lose some of her best and most Italian territories. Furthermore, Neapolitan political circles point out that it is ominous that Tito, instead of giving primary attention to the Jugoslav zones which are still occupied by the common enemy, is advancing towards those Italian territories to which the Jugoslav Government has so frequently referred.

It is felt in Naples that the only way out would be either a quick advance by the Allies towards Trieste, or an Allied landing in the area between Trieste and Venice, so that the zone so coveted by Tito may be under Allied military control before it can be occupied by Tito's armed forces.

Another event which has had deep repercussion in Naples, has been the liberation of Bologna. Neapolitans are well satisfied, not only because Bolognese patriots have contributed to the liberation of the city, but also, above all, because among the Allied Armed Forces taking part in the battle, there were various Italian fighting units who had distinguished themselves.

Neapolitan political circles have further pointed out the effectiveness of the organization of the forces of resistance, and also the joyful but dignified attitude of the Bolognese.

With reference to the interview which Nenni, Secretary General of the Italian Socialist Party, granted to the Roman Press, the following are the points which have been mainly discussed by Neapolitan circles:

a). Nenni's statement that the time has not yet come for a fusion of the Left Wing Parties into one Left Wing bloc.

b). His view that the future participation of the Socialist Party to the Government would depend on the decisions which the National Congress of the Committees of Liberation will take after the Liberation of Northern Italy.

c). His reiteration of the fact that the pact of unity between Socialists and Communists is the fundamental policy of the Socialist Party.

d). Nenni's conclusion that, for the time being, a fusion of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party is excluded.

Other events of some importance have been the announcement of an economic barrier between liberated Italy and the Northern part which is gradually being liberated and, as regards Naples, the speeches made by Tupini,

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As to the economic barrier between liberated Italy and that part of the Country which is gradually being liberated, Neapolitan Commercial circles have remarked that the measure is just, inasmuch as many speculators in Liberated Italy were getting ready to go to the liberated areas in order to buy goods of any kind and bring them South to sell them at astronomical prices.

It has, however, been pointed out that the measure will not reach its aim, because there are many roads by which speculators can get to the areas in question, and it will be found difficult to close them all.

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11. Official Communists versus Dissident Communists

In various local factories there have been recently some rather serious differences between groups of official Communist workers and dissident Communist workers.

It is reported that among the mass of Communist workers, there is a certain amount of ill feeling against Togliatti, who is accused of collaborating with the middle class, of having made too many concessions to the Monarchy, and to the old governing classes, and of worrying too much about the immediate socialization of all means of production.

In this respect it may be mentioned that, among the Naples mass of workers, there is today much expectancy for the liberation of Northern Italy, just as if it were to bring about in itself a social revolution.

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L O C A L C O N D I T I O N S

12. BLACK MARKET PRICES IN ROME

The following are the average blackmarket prices current in Rome at the present time for certain food supplies and other items:

Bread	Lire 120	per kg
Pasta	" 160	" "
White flour	" 120	" "
Cheese	" 1000	" "
Meat (beef)	" 500	" "
" (Mutton)	" 450	" "
" (Horse)	" 400	" "
" (pork)	" 850	" "
" (Poultry)	" 1100	" "
Fish	" 500	" "
Sugar	" 1400	" "
Coffee	" 2300	" "
Salt	" 70	" "
Tomato extract	" 300	" "
Milk	" 80	" Litre
Oil	" 400	" "
Kerosene	" 100	" "
Matches	" 35	" box
Eggs	" 23	each
Candles	" 18	"
Cigarettes Italian	" 90	(20 cigs)
" British	" 160	"
" American	" 200	"
Woollen textiles (men)	"10,000	per metre
" " (women)	" 6,000	" "
Thread	" 100	" 100 metres
Men's shoes	" 4,500	to 10,000
Women's "	" 3,000	to 5,000

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P R E S S A N D P R O P A G A N D A

13. PARTY OF ACTION DAILY

The Party of Action is busy making final arrangements for the conversion of "L Azione" from a fortnightly to a daily paper.

The publication of this new daily will have a certain importance in Neapolitan political life, because the Party of Action is one of the few important political Parties which still had no daily of its own in Naples. There is therefore, much expectation among Neapolitans.

The management of the paper will very probably be entrusted to two co-editors: Guido Dorso and Emilio Scaglione. The first is an expert on economic and political problems of Southern Italy. He lives at Avellino and has always been an anti-Fascist. The second is an experienced Neapolitan journalist and writer. It seems, however, that in the last few years of Fascism he got entangled with that régime by accepting a salary from the Ministry of Education. Of demagogic tendencies, he had for some months, been the chief editor of "Il Risorgimento", until recently the organ of P.W.B. in Naples.

With regard to the situation of the Naples Parties, it is interesting to note that when "L'Azione" starts its publications, the only two other Parties without a daily of their own will be the Democratic Party of Labour and the Republican Party.

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P U B L I S H I N G

The Casa Editrice Bompiani Publishing House.

The director of the above firm, Dott. Raguzzi, was interviewed by a P.W.B. Officer on April 7th 1945. According to him; the firm is one of the best known in Italy. The main office is in Milan, and the two branches in Rome and in Florence are being run by Raguzzi, since the liberation of these two cities. The difficulties facing publishers to-day are the shortage of various materials and the high scale of wages.

Raguzzi was severe in his criticism of the business ethics of some of his Rome competitors, whom he accuses of being publishing adventurers and black marketeers. They are speculating in translations of foreign books whose authors' rights are not theirs. Certain publishers, either through ignorance or bad faith have had foreign books translated, with the result that the author has been forced to put a stop to the sale or come to an agreement with the political publisher. The Bompiani Firm has had to take action on several occasions when translations of books whose Italian rights belonged to it were published or were on the point of being published. He cited the following cases of such breeches of business ethics. "La Editoriale Romana" which was on the point of publishing a book by Cronin, and "Dr Luigi", and"La Contemporanea" who published translations of books by Cain and Raigurti, repectively, and other firms among which "La Mondadori" who are less active in the publishing business than in trafficking inauthors' rights. "La Mondadori" already heavily tainted with Fascism, allegedly has opened a branch in Switzerland (probably for the purpose of exporting capital), through which it is said to have acquired the Italian rights fornumerous books. In Switzerland there are two other firms which are reported to be active: the Casa Schorz which is buying authors' rights for Italy for the purpose of re-sale, and the "Humilitas" which is planning to develop a publishing business in Italy after the war. Raguzzi fears the foreign competition of the latter, for it is well run and is financially strong. As for Schorz, it has already sold the rights of a book by Cronin,"The keys of the Kingdom" to the Campitelli firm.

A farther difficulty facing the Italian Publishers is that of the instability of the lire which virtually precludes all financial agreements abroad.

The following books have been recently published or are in the hands of the printers:

Arrigo Benedetti - Una Donna all'Inferno.
Alberto Moravia - Agostino
Dino Garrone - Sorriso degli Etruschi
Fratelli - Dea senza Volte.

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Alberto Moravia - Agostino
Dino Garrone - Sorriso degli Etruschi
Fratelli - Dea senza Volte.
P.Masino - Nascita e morte della Massaia - Romanzo.

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Schalom Asch - Il Diluvio
Tomas Raucat - L'onerevole gita in Campagna
Cain - Il postino suona sempre due volte
Harry Brown - Passeggiata al sole
Ramuz - Se il sole non tornasse

Sandro Contini Bonacossi - Amuleti Racconti
Arnaldo Fratelli - La donna segreta ed altre avventure notturne

Filippo Fredia - Il Mare - Vedute moderne
Herbert Fritsche - Il Primogenito

A.F. Grazzini - Le Cene
O. Di Balzac - Due Studi di donne
Keller - Lettere d'Amore perdute
Moriche - Viaggio di Mozart a Praga

Sacchetti - Trecento novelle

N.P. Comneno - Suggerimenti per la pace

Basseshes - l'Esercito Russo

C.Alvaro - L'Italia rinuncia
A.Savinio - Sorte dell'Europa
A. Guerriero - La politica estera Italiana

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"PARTITO OPERAIO COMUNISTA BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST" : its attitude on labor syndicalism.

The following is the translation of a report circulated by the above party on the Naples Congress of the C.G.I.L.,(Italian General Confederation of Labor) last January. The report was printed on paper bearing the following rubber-stamped letter-head:

"PARTITO OPERAIO COMUNISTA
BOLSCEVICO - LENINISTA."

Sezione d'Italia della IV Internazionale
Sezione Romana - Largo Corrado Ricci 34I.

The title and text of the report follow in translation:
"The Trotskyists at the Naples Congress of the C.G.I.L."

The Congress of the C.G.I.L. of January 28th, 29th, 30th and 3Ist achieved no forward step in the problem of syndical unity, nor has it convinced the workmen of Italy or of the world of its stability or of its ability to develope along class lines the present Syndical movement in Italy.

A confederation of Labor such as that of the three parties not only cannot win the confidence of the great majority of workmen who belong to no political party, but its policy will never be able to reach the masses and guide them in meeting the problems of reconstruction.

The "syndical unity achieved" by the C.G.I.L. remains an experimental phase of the"Pact of Rome" of June I944 entered into by the three parties, the Communists, the Socialists and the Christian Democrats; hence the working masses are not guaranteed, through syndicalism, the class unity which they need to defend themselves against the reactionary employers, and the "bourgeois" state, and to attain an adequate social and economic standard of living and thus emerge from the present state of low wages and unemployment, with a soaring cost of living in the midst of desolation, ruins, misery and hunger.

This syndical unity "achieved" in Italy by the three Parties without allowing the syndical currents existing within said parties to express themselves, while alienating the great masses, amounts to nothing more than a formalistic and bureaucratic structure, permeated and dominated from above by the three "Secretaries", themselves under the influence of the Italian bureaucracy, and neutralizing and paralizing each and every movement of the masses, stifling every possibility of discussion, of liberty, or of democracy, raising the ghost of dissension, adding to the exasperation and suspicion of the working classes, which unless checked will in turn lead the reactionary employers and middleclasses to adjourn all economic-social problems to a time more favorable to them.

By means of this syndical unity, Stalinism has introduced into Italy police terrorism directed against all forms of liberty, all expression of thought, all democratic syndical tendencies, and against all opposition. When it fails to convince or dominate the masses with lies corruption, threats or promises, it turns to persecution by libel and false accusations against the militants and revolutionary elements who speak out in defense of the interests of the working masses and who are trying to point out to the workmen, the true situation and the

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Syndical unity in Italy therefore remains a mere promise, but from the practical point of view of the interests of the working classes, it amounts to a mere union resulting from non-class political agreement between the three parties, and from a policy of collaboration which is useful only to the employer-class, which even though it has made a few concessions with regard to wages which are still basically

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attuned to the intersts and advantage of capitalism, in exchange has nevertheless succeeded in paralyzing the workmen's movement through the political-syndical [illegible] of the present leaders of the C.G. I.L.

The laws determining the sliding-scale of wages are based on the margin of profits of the employer, and whatever improvements have been gained, were not wrested by the federation, but were conceded by the employers who felt they were necessary and who are tied to their "democratic" policy of industrial expansionism. Such is the policy of the C.G.I.L. with reference to the Italian economic situation.

It is logical that it should arouse criticism, opposition and discontent among all workmen.

Coming at this time, after the last Syndical Congress, the policy is a challenge to the patience and the misery of the working masses.

The opinion is general that this union is doomed to disintegrate as and when the proletariat of the Northern provinces join the workmen of Central and Southern Italy, because the "reformed" and bureaucratic policy of the Federation is alienating the great masses from the syndical organizations, which are paralyzing the work of the militants within the ranks of the three parties.

One cannot speak of syndical "unity" when the advanced elements of the parties are excluded, and when every expression of opinion coming from below is stifled by undemocratic methods.

The Congress of Naples was nothing more than a four day Convention called for the purpose of ratifying and finding headings for decisions previously reached by the "Three", with no consideration given to the suggestions or the wishes of the congress.

Although a commission was appointed to check the credentials of the delegates to the congress, no secret ballot on any question was based on a roll-call of the forces of the respective groups present.

The Secretariat of the Three and the Directorate, previously designated by the high bureaucracy of the three parties, were proposed and voted for by the count of hands, not of the delegates, as a body, who demanded to vote, but of a group of some of them who had received previous instructions. When the delegates wished to discuss the question of the appointments, the "Three" adjourned the session amid protests and disorder.

However, the Congress did not take place without interventions from the militant Trotskyists, who were accused of being schismatic by the leaders of the three parties.

It was thus that our comrade Nicolo Di Bartolomeo, backed by the mass and in the name of a group of delegates, intervened and proposed a resolution, which is hereinafter reproduced, and which should be brought to the knowledge of all workmen throughout the world so that a clear picture may be had of the false policies of the leaders of the Italian confederation of labor who did not dare, because of their negotiations with their employer friends, to put to vote a resolution which portrayed the tragic conditions of the masses and pointed outthe only conditions which could adequately further the interests of the working classes.

RESOLUTION.

"The Congress of the CGIL sitting in Naples from the 28th to the 31st January, 1945, after hearing the report of the Secretariat and

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RESOLUTION.

"The Congress of the CGIL sitting in Naples from the 28th to the 31st January, 1945, after hearing the report of the Secretariat and having taken note of the work accomplished from the Pact of Rome to-date, passes to the order of the day:Whereas syndical unity represents the greatest victory as yet achieved by the workmen of Italy, which unity should be internationally formalized, as an international syndical federation by means of a world congress by which general directives should be given or syndical policy regarding the great problems of a just peace for all peoples, regarding equal distribution of raw materials, the organization of world markets for and of imports and exports between all nations, in order to guarantee to workmen justice, security in peace, work and liberty.

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Decides to exploit and broaden this victory by amalgamating into a single organization all manual and intellectual workers, from those exercising a liberal profession down to the factory hand, for the purpose of safeguarding and defending their class interests.

Declares it to be of fundamental importance to proclaim that true syndical democracy and liberty of thought and speech for those of all political beliefs - from the most extreme right to the most extreme left - are conditioned on the maintenance of the principle of class struggle and of the independence of political parties.

Affirms that syndical unity cannot be an effective instrument for the emancipation of the workmen from the exploitation of capitalism if it is not based on the relative force of the proletariat compared to that of the middle-classes, and if it is not determined to place the working class in a position, face to face with the employer class, where it can obtain decisions which will further the interests of the masses.

Repudiates all thought of class collaboration, demanding for all workmen freedom of action and the right to strike - which are the sole means of not being involved in negotiations directed and influenced by big business.

Proclaims the principle of free syndicalism, and rejects all forms of syndicates made obbligatory by law or common practise.

Affirms that the conception of syndical unity must also include a determination to obliterate all vestiges of economic and social inequality between the workmen of the North and those of the South, who by means of a single organization must be guaranteed uniform and material conditions.

Approves the syndical programme based on a uniform national agreement for all categories of working-classes and in the principle of a sliding wage scale adjusted to the cost of living.

DECIDES.

That equal work shall be equally remunerated for men women and children; that professional schools shall be provided for the children during off-time, and paid for by the employers and the state.

That the food problem for the workmen will be solved by means of factory messes and cooperative shops.

That the economic reconstruction of heavy industry shall be controlled by the workmen through factory committees. That the same principle shall apply to banks, other industries, public utilities whether private or partly state-owned, through nationalization.

That the economical and social level of the industrially backward regions of the South shall be raised by introducing a system of fair division of labor and by more modern and scientific methods of work, and by assigning to women and children tasks commensurate with their physical and professional aptitudes.

That the land shall be distributed to the peasants who work the soil through the expropriation without compensation of the great land-owners, whether Fascists or not.

That the unemployed while awaiting employment in future public works undertaken by collective government agencies, will be paid a dole equal to two-thirds of their normal wages.

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DECIDES.

That all Social Insurance and Social Welfare organizations shall be reorganized and grouped into a single agency under syndical control.

That all employment offices, which because of their technical character, must be politically neutral, shall function through syndical organizations.

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RESOLVES.

I) That the directorate of the C.G.I.L. shall consist of 27 members, elected by secret ballot according to the principles of syndical democracy, with proportional representation for the minority.
2) That said directorate shall thereupon elect, by a majority vote and secret ballot, a secretariat or executive committee of five or three members.
3) That the appointment of the present General Council is purely provisional pending the National Congress of all Italy, because the delegates to the present Congress were restricted in their voting ability due to the fact that the various congresses of Syndicates, Federations and Chamber of Labor were not previously informed of the agenda of the Congress by any means whatsoever. The wish is expressed that the foregoing, and the reasons therefore, be brought to the attention of and discussed by all syndicates, federations and chambers of labor which within three months will put the same to vote.
- The congress affirms that syndical unity presupposes class structure and disciplined obedience to all majority decisions, with the minority entitled, without prejudice of ideology or religious faith, to express and defend its own opinions.
Takes note of the formation of Provisional Councils of the National federations hitherto organized, and instructs them to proceed with their task of preparing respective national congresses for the election of permanent councils for said federations.
Expresses the hope that invitations will be extended to all syndical unions in all countries to send representatives to a world Labor Congress which will have for its agenda international reconstruction".

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX II, No. 66

VELLETRI - WAR DAMAGE AND RECONSTRUCTION

The town of Velletri lies on the southern slopes of the Alban hills, some twenty miles south-east of Rome and approximately the same distance north of Anzio. It was heavily damaged after the Anzio landings. Some weeks ago a PWB officer visited the town and interviewed the local government civil engineer, who on request prepared a report of which the following is a translation.

Prior to the Allied landings at Anzio, Velletri's population numbered 33,000. During the military operations which lasted from 22 Jan to 30 May 1944, 641 buildings were completely destroyed or were so badly damaged as to necessitate their demolition, 446 were seriously damaged, 194 were damaged to a less extent but were rendered uninhabitable, while 482 suffered damage to roof and fixtures. Out of a total of 2027 houses and buildings, only 264 remained habitable. The water-mains, the sewage system and the streets were destroyed or heavily damaged. The damage to buildings is estimated at a maximum of 600 million lire; while that to the water, sewage and street networks is about 10 million lire.

Only a small proportion of the inhabitants are living today in the town. Most of them are living in the country nearby, where sometimes as many as eight or ten people share two rooms.

Agriculture has suffered heavily and the wine industry, the most important in the region, has been heavily hit as most of its equipment has been destroyed.

Under the initiative of the communist administration, in the early days of the liberation, the work of clearing the streets, which had literally disappeared under the rubble, was begun, and the aqueducts were repaired, at least sufficien y to bring the water to the outskirts of the town. The local authorities were ceaseless in their activities even after the government engineers, who had greater means at their disposal, arrived upon the scene.

Today, drinking water is available in abundance, the streets are adequately cleared, and light and power is available. Repairs to the sewage system are under way.

Quarters for the administration services have been repaired or new ones improvised. The various courts (Regia Procura del Regno, Tribunale, Pretura), the schools, the police, the tax administration, are functioning normally. Five churches including San Clemente, which is the cathedral, are open.

Neither the railroad nor the electric trams, which were Velletri's means of communication with Rome, are yet in operation. The railroad, however, is under repair.

To provide shelter for those who are homeless the Government gives priority to the repair of the less damaged buildings. The Government Commission for refugees has begun the construction of a series of small houses - part of a housing project to accomodate those of our townspeople who are still in the refugee camps.

The work of reconstruction has proceeded more slowly than we had hoped due to the shortage of transport and to the fact that the Italian iron and brick industries have not yet been able to resume normal production. Everything that has been accomplished up to date has been done with materials salvaged from the destroyed buildings of the town. The financial problem is discouraging. Small

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It was heavily damaged after the Anzio landings. Some weeks ago a PWB officer visited the town and interviewed the local government civil engineer, who on request prepared a report of which the following is a translation.

Prior to the Allied landings at Anzio, Velletri's population numbered 33,000. During the military operations which lasted from 22 Jan to 30 May 1944, 641 buildings were completely destroyed or were so badly damaged as to necessitate their demolition, 446 were seriously damaged, 194 were damaged to a less extent but were rendered uninhabitable, while 482 suffered damage to roof and fixtures. Out of a total of 2027 houses and buildings, only 264 remained habitable. The water-mains, the sewage system and the streets were destroyed or heavily damaged. The damage to buildings is estimated at a maximum of 600 million lire; while that to the water, sewage and street networks is about 10 million lire.

Only a small proportion of the inhabitants are living today in the town. Most of them are living in the country nearby, where sometimes as many as eight or ten people share two rooms.

Agriculture has suffered heavily and the wine industry, the most important in the region, has been heavily hit as most of its equipment has been destroyed.

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The work of reconstruction has proceeded more slowly than we had hoped due to the shortage of transport and to the fact that the Italian iron and brick industries have not yet been able to resume normal production. Everything that has been accomplished up to date has been done with materials salvaged from the destroyed buildings of the town. The financial problem is discouraging. Small property owners represent the majority in the region. These earn their living by manual labour and it is impossible for them to find the money needed for the reconstruction of their homes. If the reconstruction of the town is to be left to private initiative, government financing will be essential so that small property owners are not forced to sell their land which is the sole source of their livelihood, or mortgage it, in order to rebuild or repair their houses.

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

Health conditions are satisfactory. The birth and mortality rates are normal. A small hospital capable of looking after 30 patients has been organized outside the town. As for food, local resources are extremely limited. The Vatican has been a great help and distributes daily 2500 rations of soup. The local Food Administration office (Ufficio Annonario Communale) distributes the meagre allotment made to it.

Certain supplies are available on the Black Market at the following prices:-

	Lire	(a Kilogram)
White Flour	90 - 100	
Maize flour	100	
Bread	100 - 110	
Pasta	210 - 240	
Fresh cheese	300	
Dry cheese	800	
Fresh meat	600	
Potatoes	55	
Tomatoe paste	400	
Charcoal	14	
Salt	60	
Fruit (oranges)	55	
Salted pork meat	800	
Oil	400 - 450	
Milk	40	
Wine	50 - 80	(a litre)
Eggs	20	(each)

The above prices are in marked contrast with the following wages which are at present current in Velletri:

Manual labour	150 - 160	(daily wage)
Technical workman	200 - 250	
Office employee	100 - 150	

Two months ago the allotment for the region was increased by the SEPRAL. As a result the rations of oil and of pasta are now 5 and 40 grams, respectively per person per day.

There are no textiles whatsoever. In the free market, a pair of leather shoes costs from 5000 - 7000 lire, a shirt between 3000 and 6000 lire, and a suit of clothes between 15,000 and 30,000.

There are plenty of people who ask nothing better than to work, but until Italian industry can obtain the necessary power and equipment, this potential production capacity will be wasted. Unemployment is and will long remain one of the greatest evils which have resulted from the Fascist war.

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CONFIDENTIAL

No. 65

ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE BRANCH
Unit No. 12 APO 512

27 APR 1945

Central D Section, Liberated Italy 26 April 1945

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Explanation of reliability rating:

Source (reliability)		Report (probability)	
A	Always reliable	1	Confirmed
B	Usually reliable	2	Probable
C	Sometimes reliable	3	Possible
D	Frequently unreliable	4	Doubtful
E	A bad source	5	Improbable

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ITALIAN THEATRE HEADQUARTERS
Psychological Warfare Branch
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Central D Section, Liberated Italy 26th April 1945

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Part II - Annexes

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The long-awaited fall of Bologna was joyfully though quietly received. It was rather over-shadowed by what is felt to be the imminent fall of Berlin, and in fact, rumours that Berlin had actually fallen were widespread on the afternoon of the day Bologna fell. The following press reactions appeared on Sunday 22.4.45. LIBERA STAMPA (indipendent) "Bologna is practically intact. Only the outskirts and suburbs have been damaged by the bombardments. It is the usual scene of ruined houses, heaps of rubble, twisted railway lines. The centre of the city is practically untouched, at least as we write we have seen no serious damage. ....Armed partisans have come out from all over the place with the tricolour flag. Some of them drive around Bologna in trucks searching for any remaining Fascists. It seems that not many have stayed. The last, the most zealous, left yesterday evening with the Germans. The others went in the direction of Milan in their powerful cars a few days ago. They had saved petrol for the purpose. A Partisan said: 'We will find them. There will be a final corner of Italy where all the Fascists and Alfa-Romeos will be found'."

AVANTI (Socialist) has a leading article by Pietro Nenni. After speaking of the history and traditions of Bologna, which was in the advance guard of Socialism, he goeson to say..... "the liberation of Bologna, although it may not be immediately apparent because of the Allied military occupation, is a political fact of great importance which neither the parties nor the government will be able to disregard. With the fall of Bologna the agricultural workers of the Valley of the Po will re-enter national life and they will bring a weight of socialist experience and political maturity which will give a new impulse to the struggle for democracy."

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IL POPOLO (Christian Democrat) "Italians, Americans, English, Poles, Brazilians, New Zealanders, Indians, South Africans, Jews, all the world, with their flags and their heroic warriors are today in the city which was the heart of Italian culture and which today is the expectant and hopeful heart of all nations. With Bologna commences the last act of the tragedy

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which is now illuminated with the light of victory".

UNITA' (Communist) "We salute the liberation of Bologna as a great, a propitious, national event... With the return of Bologna to Italy, one of the most shining lights of our culture returns. A city which was the cradle and one of the greatest centres of the development of democracy and the workers movement.".

2. The San Francisco Conference.

"Fighting Italy and San Francisco". (By the Hon. Aldobrando Medici Tomaquinci, Min. for Occ. Territory).

(i) The Under-Secretary to the Ministry for Occupied Territory the Hon. Ald. Medici Tornaquinci has just returned from a mission in the North. In an article in "Il Giornale del Mattino" of 19.4.45, entitled "Fighting Italy and San Francisco" he appeals for Italian participation in the San Francisco Conference especially from the point of view of those who have for so long been struggling against the Germans in the North. The following is a resume of his article:

"In a few days the San Francisco Conference will open. Forty or more nations large and small will be present and among them will be those who have fought bitterly and won and those who prudently remained neutral and at the end, with a scarcely moral symbolic gesture, which can have no substantial bearing on the final issue, bought the right to participate".

He goes on to say that at this stage of the war, which might end during the conference, greater issues may be at stake than were originally envisaged. Although the reason for Italy's exclusion may be due to the fact that she fought on the side of the Axis for three years he points out "that Fascism was not Italy and that therefore the errors and crimes of Fascism cannot be blamed on the real (autentico) Italian people is proved by the fact in Italy, unlike in Germany, opposition to Fascism has always been active, which is shown by the sacrifice of thousands and thousands of men of every political colour who in prison and concentration camps, during the twenty years, have given their lives or sacrificed the best years of their youth for the cause of freedom".

"Alone among the nations of Europe, as she was alone when she rebelled against Fascism and the Germans, Italy today fights a double war; on the front with her Army divisions and partisan formations and in the line with the Allied armies: in the north with more than 100,000 armed men with the people solidly behind them, who from hour to hour and day to day fight the Nazi and the remnants of the savage Fascist squadrons.

"At the cordial meetings I had with the men engaged in the terrible fatigue of partisan warfare and with those who in the

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"At the cordial meetings I had with the men engaged in the terrible fatigue of partisan warfare and with those who in the midst of the terror which stalks in the cities under the vigilance of the German and Fascist police, direct with ardent and stoical courage the resistance movement, I was often asked: "Why? Why, is Italy still treated like an international pariah?" And to this question, asked by men who have suffered so much and have struggled and still struggle so bitterly it was not easy

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to reply.

"If one thinks of Italy, defeated but never an enemy, who has now been fighting two years on land sea and in the air, with her soldiers and her people still in ignorance as to what is to be her final lot, surrounded on all sides by those who wish to appropriate the most legitimate parts of her territory, all the time patient and silent, tenacious and heroic, fighting the common enemy with all her strength in the interest of all humanity dedicated to reconquer little by little her liberty and independence, and reconstitute little by little her democracy, one must conclude that Italy is wide-awake and ready for all contingencies".

"There is still time to invite Italy to the Conference of San Francisco, especially if at San Francisco questions regarding Italy are discussed. But even if Italy must be materially absent nobody can stop her being present in spirit. Her sincere friends, who will be numerous among those present, will feel her presence as expressed by her rebellion against Fascism, her detestation of the Germans, will think of the ruin and destruction which have convulsed her lovely country and of all her dead in the war of liberation, of her sons who fight in every corner where there is an enemy to strike, of her resolute populace and will be inspired to be just because....of her example and the great light of humanity that will again shine from her.."

(ii) Luigi Sturzo on San Francisco.

The Naples daily "Il Domani d'Italia" in its issue of April 18th, publishes an article over the signature of Luigi Sturzo under the heading "Perchè non si ha fiducia nell'Italia".

Concerning Italy's non-admission to San Francisco while admission has been granted to a number of neutrals at the eleventh hour, Sturzo says that Italy has not remained a defeated enemy but has acted as an ally. She has declared war against Germany, and has given the Allies everything: fleet, airforce army, the resources of the country, even those required for the sustenance of her own people. She has shrunk before no sacrifice. There is no doubt that the Allies proclaimed themselves, when they entered Italy, as 'Liberators'; "Liberators from the tyrant and from the enemy". But what was their object? To continue to treat them as enemies? Sturzo says that elementary logic and the actions of the Allies go to show that such is not the case. What is lacking is the courage to recognise the truth, and to take the action which has been awaited for a year. It is not a case of ill-will, but of lukewarmness and lack of a clear-cut agreement; of petty cowardly

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"Italy's presence at the conference", writes Sturzo, "would in no way be an obstacle to the other Powers coming to a decision concerning her frontiers or her colonies, because if it is written in the ledgers of Fate that Britain will demand the colonies for herself or her friends, and that Russia, through Yugoslavia, will claim a door (or a port) on the Adriatic, no Italian delegate, no matter how loud his protests, will succeed in changing by one iota their determination. Just as no Polish Government, nor any fraction of the Polish people disseminated over the world, were able to persuade the Big Three to put off all decisions concerning the fresh amputations of that unfortunate country. So far in the settling of the post-war world, it is not democratic system which has prevailed, but that of the right of the strongest. What will be the effects of this system on democratic countries and the world, the future will show: at present it is a fact."

(iii) Rome press on Sicilian note to San Francisco Conference.

Various editorials in Rome papers are still being written about the note sent by the Sicilian Separatists to the San Francisco Conference.

RICOSTRUZIONE, (Democrazia del Lavoro) under the title "Uneasy Island", declares that the Separatist leaders are deceiving the Sicilians: "They know full well that the island cannot survive alone, and yet spread the idea and hope that Sicily could be a paradise; they promise liberty and have no expression for it other than putting off democratic progress; they speak of Allied sympathy while the United Nations have clearly announced their disinterest in the Separatist movement." The paper declares that one cannot believe in the good faith of the Separatist leaders who dare to compare the Vespers, through which the island was freed from foreign invasion, with a hypathetical battle with their Italian brothers.

IL GIORNALE DEL MATTINO (Independent) invites On. Bonomi to put an end to Finacchiaro Aprile, by ordering his imprisonment. "On. Bonomi," asks the author of the article, Arrigo Jacchia, "when will we find a corner in which to put the traitors who invoke foreigners to dismember the land? Is there only one liberty in our unfortunate Italy and that the freedom to betray?

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B. GENERAL REPORTS

P O L I T I C A L

3. Soleri's Speech on Finance, Naples

A very representative audience at the San Carlo Theatre on 15 April heard Minister Soleri's propaganda speech for the new loan. The assembly was regarded as much of a success for the Liberal Party who organized it.

Soleri began by paying a very warm yet solemn tribute to the memory of President Roosevelt, the audience standing during its delivery and showing by its deeply respectful attitude the very genuine sorrow which all felt at the loss of the great, good man.

After a brief interval, the speaker took up the subject of the meeting by giving a short history of Italian finance from the days when after the battle of Novara, Cavour was able to obtain from the Rothschilds sufficient money to carry on the building up of the country where everything had to be created. The recital came down rapidly to the period when after the war against Turkey which gave Italy her North African possessions, the lira was actually at a premium over gold; the currency depreciated during the 1914-18 war, but had almost regained parity. And then came disaster in the form of fascism.

Soleri said that in 1915 Italy had joined the Allies with enthusiasm in the first world war because she knew that the outcome would be the securing of Trento and Trieste within her sacred and unquestionable frontiers.

After touching on the drain on Italy's finances which the wars in Spain, Ethiopia and Albania had been, he referred to the catastrophic decision which had brought Italy into the present war which nobody in the country had wanted.

The Minister said that he must refer to the 20 years of the fascist regime which had been characterized by ostentatious megalomania, by propagandist spectacular public works, and by Mussolini's sin of pride when, in his Pesaro speech, he fixed the lira rate of exchange at 90 lire to the sterling, which was untenable. To this must be added the corruption and the unchecked lavish expenditure of the fascist regime.

Soleri next gave some figures as to the country's financial position; the public debt had risen from 96 milliards in 1922 to 405 milliards in 1943, plus another 100 milliards of outstanding amounts. Circulation from 20 milliards had now reached 170 mil-

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He then referred to the heavy burdens which Italy has had to bear since the fall of fascism, including the maintenance of four armies: the German, which is sacking northern Italy, the Republican-Fascist units in the North, the Allied occupation forces, and the Italian troops and patriot forces.

The speaker went on to say that after the Salerno landing, one of the Government's great preoccupations was the increase in prices and in circulation. Not many remedies were available; it was a question of saving expenditure, increasing taxation, printing more notes or securing loans.

After much consideration it was decided that, since owing to the destruction of war, fiscal demands should not be increased, war profits and black market gains were not easily seizable, the only method left open was through the nation's currency. Fresh notes must be printed or the old ones drawn in so as to become available to the Treasury; the latter method was chosen, hence the present loan.

Soleri then quoted from a paper written by Luigi Einaudi, the present Governor of the Banca d'Italia, on the subject of inflation and the spiral rise of prices and wages which, if allowed to run unchecked, would lead straight to ruin.

The speaker explained that a favorable moment had to be awaited before launching the loan; the American declaration last October about AM lire and MacMillan's statement that the goods delivered to Italy included raw materials and transport for reconstruction, were the first signs that the time was ripe. Then came the return of the Quintieri-Mattioli financial mission bearing the official note from the American Government which opened the way to trading and friendly economic collaboration with the American democracy, and it was decided to issue the loan.

Soleri next stated that the recognition of the counterpart for AM lire so far is partial and has come only from America, but the Italian government has asked that all Allied military expenditure should not be charged against Italy. Either the AM lire which are being spent are destined for the prosecution of the war and should, therefore, not be considered as connected with armistic terms, or these AM lire are entirely occupation expenses and a fresh position has arisen from Italy's declaration of war against Germany, and her co-belligerency. There is to be considered Italy's contribution in the bloodshed of her soldiers who are fighting for the common cause and in the destruction of Italy's ancient and illustrious cities, and of her highly-developed industrial organization, through Italy

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an-Fascist units in the North, the Allied occupation forces, and the Italian troops and patriot forces.

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Soleri then briefly recalled the friendly attitude which Britain had always shown towards Italy, and especially all through the period of Italy's unification. "These are memories," he said, "which cannot be effaced by 20 years' parenthesis of the fascist regime!"

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

Italy cannot do without the assistance and good will of the great nations, but she must earn both, and in order to do this she must show her firm determination to rise again at the cost of any sacrifice and to contribute to the general welfare, thus regaining in the world's economy, the honorable if modest place which she held. To accomplish this there are two essential requisites: economic and political stability.

To achieve economic stability it will be necessary for Italy to reconstruct her industrial machinery, her transport, her public buildings, and this will require money. It will be necessary, besides an increase in ordinary taxation, also to resort to a capital levy and to important public loans. Everybody will have to make sacrifices for the recovery of the lira and these sacrifices should be made cheerfully, since it is for the welfare of the Fatherland.

In order to secure international confidence, political stability is required. No foreigners will be prepared to risk their capital in a country which does not offer solid proof of order and political quiet. "On this terrain", said the speaker, "all parties should be able to agree because it is simply the putting into practice of real democratic principles, which means respect for the law by which the individual liberties of all are protected, and to this political liberty must be added social liberty -- that is, freedom from want, because the individual who is hungry has no use for political liberty." Soleri then explained that people should not be frightened by the enormous figures of the public debt, because from one century to the other, public debts have steadily increased in a measure which was terrifying to the contemporaries, yet the difficulties have not proved unsurmounteble. Italy is especially privileged because, besides all other resources, she is in possession of two which even the Germans cannot take from her. One is a gift of God, her sunshine; the other, the quality of her people, their industriousness. The industry of her artisans, of her workmen, of her agriculturalists, of those millions of Italians who emigrated to all parts of the world, linking their name in every country to the greatest public works, and who will again have to follow the same road in the future, carrying with them the qualities which have gained for them the esteem and goodwill of all the peoples among whom they have worked. "The first voice of solidarity with us, "said Soleri, "was raised by the six million Italians who are working in the United States, and who have brought a considerable contribution to the fortunes of that great country."

The Minister closed his speech, inviting all Italians to drop the remnants of scepticism and egotism, and devote themselves entirely to the resurrection of Italy, in order that she may again speak to the world the language of political dignity and human justice.

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4. Soleri and the War Victims Association, Naples

Some excitement was caused among war victims of the city of Naples and province prior to the visit of Soleri, Minister of the Treasury.

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The Minister had, in fact, adopted in favor of War Victims certain measures which are thoroughly disliked by the mass of War Victims. Among these unpopular measures is the suspension of payments for war damages caused by the Germans and the restricted time limit for presentation of claims for war damages, etc.

Such reasons explain the general discontent against Soleri, which was clearly shown during the meeting of the Naples section of the Union of War Victims, when many of those present criticized the Minister and a rumor circulated to the effect that the War Victims of Naples intended to be present, en bloc, to voice their protests, when Soleri spoke at the San Carlo on 15 April. However, the leaders of the Union of War Victims, and particularly the President, Dr. Capozzi, succeeded in calming the irritation.

The Liberal Party was anxious for Soleri's speech to be a success and that Soleri himself should maintain his prestige; at the same time the Party wished to keep on friendly terms with the Union of War Victims.

The assembly at the San Carlo went without a hitch and the speech is considered to have been very successful. Immediately after, Soleri received the entire Committee of Directors of the Union of War Victims at the Prefecture; the Under Secretary of State, Morelli, and the Prefect, Selvaggi, were present. Dr. Capozzi, President of the Union, then submitted to the Minister the requests and complaints of the war victims, as follows:

a) that the order be revoked for the suspension of payment to those who had suffered war damages caused by the Germans;

b) that the measure of the Ministry of the Treasury be revoked by which the Association of War Victims is authorized to issue certificates in favor of War Victims, stating the nature and extent of the damage suffered, and having the validity of a Notary's certificate.

There was, on this latter point, a long and rather lively discussion between Soleri and the leaders of the Union of War Victims. Soleri definitely refused to revoke the measure which, he maintained, is intended to save considerable red tape; he offered, however, to extend also to the Union of War Victims the authority to issue the certificates already described.

Dr. Capozzi refused the offer, saying that by issuing such certificates, the Union of War Victims would debase itself and lose its character of a mass organization to become a speculative concern.

As a result of the stand taken by Doctor Capozzi, the discussion ended without any practical conclusion being reached; there is still, therefore, some excitement among the War Victims and

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As a result of the stand taken by Doctor Capozzi, the discussion ended without any practical conclusion being reached; there is still, therefore, some excitement among the War Victims against Soleri, the Minister of the Treasury.

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P O L I T I C A L

5. Who's who information on the staff of Saragat, Italian Ambassador to France.

The following information was obtained by a P.W.B. officer from a well-placed and reliable Italian source.

The appointment of the following members of the staff of Ambassador Saragat is official:

PAOLO TREVES. Private Secretary. Comes from a Jewish Milanese family. Son of Claudio Treves, one of the founders of Socialism in Italy. Thoroughly imbued with the ideas of his father who was a close friend of Turati and who helped Mussolini in his early days. The latter ultimately rewarded Treves by driving him into exile in France. Treves was brought up in liberal circles in Milan where he was in touch with such men as Casati, Ruffini and Benedetto Croce. He was a contributor to the newspaper "La Giustizia" which his father directed in Paris. When anti-semitic laws began to be enforced in Italy, Paolo Treves went to London. He was himself interned (June 1940) by mistake, and almost at once liberated. He then worked for the BBC as translator and broadcaster ("La Voce di Londra"). He was an active member of the association "Libera Italia" in London, from which he resigned after quarrelling with Umberto Calosso on the question of founding a "Mazzini Society" in New York.

He is the author of two books "What Mussolini did to us", and "Italy yesterday, today and tomorrow". He wrote articles for the press (e.g. The Sunday Times), and was active in anti-Fascist propaganda.

His wife is an Austrian, of Socialist background and ideas. He is a convinced anti-Fascist, and a Socialist with rightist tendencies and an anti-communist from the days of his youth when his father partecipated in the Socialist-communist struggle. After his return to liberated Italy his connection with "Avanti" was viewed as indicating the formation of a right wing within the Socialist party grouped about men such as Saragat Modigliano and Silone.

His recent quarrel with Corrado Alvaro, of the R.A.I., as in the case of that with Calosso in London, was largely due to vanity and ambition which often lead him to subject political to personal considerations. He is generally considered to be a man with whom it is difficult to get on.

Saragat wished to leave him as assistant director of "Avanti" in order to carry on his policies. Treves refused however, because Nenni wished to restrict his activities to those of editor of the paper and eliminate him as an active member of the directorate of the party. It was only then that Saragat

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He will probably be well received in France where his father is still remembered.

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GIORGIO BENZONI, Councillor. Born in Padua, Aug 28th 1896. Law degree University of Rome 1920. Appointed Consular Attaché 1923, and Vice Consul (2nd Class) 1925. Served in Athens 1925, promoted Vice Consul (1st class) 1926, Consul (3rd class) 1927, and Consul (2nd Class) in 1928 when he was sent to Damascus. Served at Katowice 1933. Appointed Consul 1st class 1936. Was Consul General in Sarajevo in 1939 until May 1941 when he was transferred to the Foreign Office. At the time of his nomination to Paris he was Consul General in Zurich.

Army career: 2nd Lieut. in the Cavalry (reserve) 1916, 1st Lieut. Jan. 1917. Fought in the world war 1915-1916.

Cav. della Corona d'Italia (1925)
Cav. dei S.S. Maurizio e Lazzaro 1931
Ufficiale della Corona d'Italia 1932
Comm. della Corona d'Italia 1935

PIETRO SOLARI, First Secretary. Born in Genoa 1904. Law degree University of Genoa, 1926. Degree in Political Science, University of Pavia, 1928. Student at University of Grenoble 1928-1929. Entered Consular-diplomatic Service 1930 and spent a year at the Foreign Office. Consular Attaché 1931. Secretary of Italian Delegation to the Commission on Research for a European Union at Genoa 1931. Vice-Consul in Alexandria 1932, and then in Lugano, 1934. Returned to Foreign Office 1935, and attached to the Foreign Minister 1936. Second Secretary in Moscow 1937, and then in Tirana, 1938 and in Ankara later the same year. Promoted to Consul 2nd class 1939. In August 1941, left Tirana to return to Foreign Office.

Lieutenant (reserve) of Artillery
Cav. della Corona d'Italia 1927
Uff. " " " 1933

ALDO BERANTONI, 2nd Secretary. Born in Brescia, 1911. Degree in Commercial and Political Science, Genoa 1932. Entered Diplomatic Service 1935. Vice-Consul in Zurich 1936. Promoted Vice-Consul 1st class and sent to Djibuti, Jan. 1939. In Bucarest as 3rd Secretary 1940. Sent on mission to Zagreb 1943.

2nd Lieut. (reserve) in the Infantry.
Cav. della Corona d'Italia 1936
" dell'ordine Coloniale della Stella d'Italia 1936.

ETTORE STADERINI, 3rd Secretary. Born in Rome 1913. Law degree. Entered Diplomatic Service 1937. Consular Attaché 1938. Vice Consul Istambul 1939. Promoted Vice Consul, 1st class 1940. Feb. 1942 left Istambul for assignment to Foreign

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ALBERTO GHEZZI. Born in Rome 1916. Law degree. Entered Diplomatic Service 1940. Named Consular Attaché 1941.

CONSULAR STAFF.

MARCELLO CAVALLETTI, 1st Vice-Consul. Born in Rome 1915. Entered Diplomatic Service 1940. Vice Consul in Sarajevo 1941. Named Consular Attaché 1941.

CARLO CALENDA, 2nd Vice-Consul. Born in Naples 1916. Law degree. Diploma in Political Science. Entered Diplomatic Service 1940. Consular Attaché 1941. Thereafter served in the army.

E P U R A T I O N

6. People's Tribunals to try the men who brought Italy to ruin?

In a short article in its issue of April 13th, the "Voce" bitterly criticises the excessive indulgence of the Military Court of Rome which sentenced to only eight months, (which are included in the recent amnesty and therefore not to be served), General Negro who abandoned his troops at Cattaro at the time of the armistice.

The Public Prosecutor demanded 30 years on the plea of high treason, whereas the Military Court practically exonerated him, ordering his immediate release.

The "Voce" writes that similar indulgence is highly to be deplored. Public opinion is losing faith because it sees that the sentence confirms the public belief that the higher military authorities are still closely linked to the treacherous generals who, at the time of the armistice, betrayed their country and abandoned their forces to the Germans.

The article concludes by demanding on behalf of the Italian people, that people's tribunals be set up to deal severely with all individuals who brought Italy to her ruin.

R E C O N S T R U C T I O N

7. The buildings of Naples Colonial Exhibition.

This show was intended to be held every three years to advertise Italy's possessions across the sea.

Avvocato Maglietta, the Government Commissioner to the exhibition, gave an interview which "Il Risorgimento" published in its number of April 13th. Maglietta was a militant antifascist for which he was persecuted, and expelled from the Order of Advocates. He has been the Show's Commissioner since the libera-

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ARCHILLE CAVALLETTI, 1st Vice-Consul. Born in Rome 1915. Entered Diplomatic Service 1940. Vice Consul in Sarajevo 1941. Named Consular Attaché 1941.

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The exhibition grounds were a creation of Mussolini's, who was anxious to exhibit to foreign tourists what he had done for the Colonies, and were inaugurated in May 1940, one month before Italy entered the war. Most of the buildings, which are of considerable size and cover about one million square metres, were erected between 1938-40 in the plain of Fuorigrotta just outside Naples. The whole structure cost about 500 million lire, the bulk of which was charged to Naples Province and Communa and to the Banco di Napoli.

Maglietta said that, since the fall of Fascism (and the empire), the problem of the exhibition had become one of chiefly Neapolitan interest, consisting above all in establishing the best way to make use of this important block of buildings. He said that he is in agreement with the members of the Government, and that owing to the marked shortage of building land in Naples area, it is necessary to take the utmost advantage of the exhibition buildings.

The first thing to be done is to repair the damage but after the war he thinks the premises might be used to give technical training to the mass of labour which is at present unemployed and leading a hand to mouth existence owing to shortage of work.

Maglietta hopes that the people of Naples will give some thought to the subject and assist in producing a working plan.

PUBLIC OPINON AND REACTIONS

(a) 8. President Roosevelt's Death.

All persons interviewed expressed their grief at the loss of a real friend of Italy. They consider it a very serious loss. Of the persons interviewed only one expressed fear of harsher treatment by England. Several persons saw Russian influence in international affairs increased, but only three or four expressed fear. Not one felt that the United States would return to isolationism. Most of them see increasing Yugoslav irredentism, but the majority are of the opinion that she will not get Trieste. Most consider Yugoslavia to be a pawn of Russia, and that the pact gives Yugoslavia Russian protection and backing, which in fact she already had.

The following are some of the opinions expressed:

1) A professor of Mathematics, Turin University; age 48:

"I believe that Truman is more anti-communist than Roosevelt and I do not fear that Russia will derive any great advantage by Roosevelt's death. I don't think there will be any change in Yugoslavia's expansionism. Italy should attempt to come to terms with Yugoslavia. The Yugo-Russian pact is the out-come of clever Russian policy. I do not think the United States will want Russia predominant in Trieste. Nationalism of

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2) A surveyor, age 37:

"Roosevelt was a moderating influence between England and Russia. I do not think England intends to tyrannize Italy. She needs us to maintain a certain equilibrium in Europe. She needs us to maintain a certain equilibrium in Europe. I

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I feel that Churchill and Stalin will gain influence, while the United States will lose a certain amount of prestige. As for Yugoslavia, the pact with Russia proves publicly that she is a pawn of Stalin. With his support she will probably get Istria, but Trieste itself will probably become another Danzig.

I am certain America will not return to isolationism because she needs Europe for the expansion of her commerce".

3) A publisher, age 42, Communist:

"Roosevelt's death will have unfortunate repercussions for us. What worries Italians is whether Truman will be capable of carrying out Roosevelt's policies. He is unknown to us. We fear that the predominance the United States would have had at San Francisco will pass to England and Russia, which will be bad for Italy. Even Russia had a great friend in Roosevelt. There is no doubt that Russia will seek greater influence in European affairs. Even though the Yugo-Russian pact furthers the security of democracy, Yugoslavia will become more ambitious in her territorial demands. Having no great statesman of our own we relied a great deal on Roosevelt. Who knows what will happen now! "

4) A glove manufacturer, age 40:

"Italy has nothing to fear from England. On the contrary, England is interested in gaining Italy's friendship because she herself fears Russia. Many Poles are being deported to Siberia: Why doesn't England do something about it? I feel that Russia will gain tremendously in Europe. The Yugo-Slav pact is a sign of this. Yugoslavia is already under Russian influence and will increase her demands. But I believe England will intervene in favour of Italy."

5) A woman writer, age 60:

"I think England will treat Italy fairly. But if Churchill should die and Eden become Premier, God help Italy!

There is no danger of America reverting to Isolationism. She has gone too far to go back."

6) An industrialist, age 55:

" If Truman possesses the strength and energy of Roosevelt things will be all right. But Russia is seeking increased influence in world affairs as is evidenced by her sending Molotoff to San Francisco. He is a very shrewd man.

7) Marchese Lucifero, of the Democratic Party and of the newspaper "Italia Nuova":

"I and with me all Italians, feel a sense of personal loss in the death of the President. He was looked up to and counted on by the Italian people for understanding and for help in the reconstruction of their country. He was not so much President of the United States as of the world, or rather, one might say, President of all humanity. His benevolence and understanding transcended worldly barriers. His speeches were such as could

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e. Reactions to the recent speech of Togliatti, head of the Italian Communist Party.

Togliatti recently made an important speech at the Communist Party Convention in Rome, in which he reviewed the present political situation and outlined the party's policies.

The following opinions were expressed to a PWB officer by three individuals who were interviewed on the subject:

1) A reserve officer, who though interested in politics, belongs to no political party. Age 40:

"It was an able speech in which one detects, however, an attempt to reconcile the present policy of the party with reality and with its proclaimed idealogy. In view of the imminent liberation of the North, Togliatti has had to take a stand on certain questions, notably on that of Trieste, which he would have preferred to defer. In this the Catholics have been clever in forcing the Communists into the open and leading them to make admissions and give precisions."

2) A professor (Liberal) age 30:

"An able but ineffective speech - the Communists are forced to conceal their own weakness, and the speech, even down to its boasting of alleged growing membership, resembles Fascist Oratory. When one hears Concetto Marchesi say that one should thank Heaven for having given us Togliatti, one cannot help comparing him with Achille Starace and other Fascists stricken with idolatry. In spite of the loudly trumpeted National unity, it is difficult to reconcile Communist principles with Communist participation in the Government.

3) A business man, age 40:

One of the purposes of the speech was to reassure the Allies of the intention of the Communists to respect law and order. Togliatti also wished to create the impression that his party was the party best qualified to group about itself all the democratic forces of the country. The speech, though weak in spots, was an able one because it leaves open many doors, including the survival of the Bonomi government."

(c) 10. Tito's Moscow Declaration on Territorial Claims.

Several persons were invited by a PWB officer to discuss the recent declaration made by Gen. Tito in Moscow concerning Yugoslavia's claims to Italian territory, especially in view of the fact that such declaration was made in Moscow, after the Yugoslav-Russian pact and President Roosevelt's death.

The persons interviewed were anxious over the possibility of losing Trento, Trieste and Venezia Giulia, but not many attach any particular importance to the fact that the declaration was made at that particular time and under the above circumstances. A few felt that decisions have already been

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The following are some of the opinions expressed:

1) A dry-goods store owner, age 64:

"The loss of Trento and Trieste would be a terrific loss

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to us. I fought in the last war, and I know the price we paid for them. We do not know what Stalin will do; we are completely in the dark. The fact that Tito has made these claims in Moscow doesn't necessarily mean that Stalin approves them. If great political leaders want a lasting peace, they must be fair."

2) A merchant, age 40:

"This is a bitter pill for Italians. Yugoslavia is a small state, and small states today have little to say. They do not move without the knowledge and consent of those under whose protection they are. What we Italians think means nothing. What really counts is what the big powers will do. If they allow Italy to keep Trento and Trieste they will earn the gratitude of all Italians.

3) A jeweler, age 38:

"It would be a great mistake to give Venezia Giulia to Yugoslavia, for it will lead to trouble later on. I am rather inclined to think that Yugoslavia has Russia's backing in her demands. However, the inhabitants should be allowed to express themselves by a plebiscite".

4) A Communist (doctor) age 38: "Marshal Tito rendered a disservice to Yugoslavia, to Italy and to the world by his declaration that Trieste wants to be Slav because he thereby aroused the spirit of Nationalism at a moment when internationalism alone should be considered. The ultimate fate of Trieste is more an economic than a political problem. could serve Italy,

As a free port, Trieste, the Danube Valley, and Yugoslavia. It would become economically of great importance. Age-old rivalries and problems would disappear and a new spirit of cooperation between Italians and Yugoslavs would be born. A problem that will otherwise threaten the future peace of the world will thus be solved".

5) Carlo Andreoni, Head of the "Movimento Partigiano":

"Tito's declaration should not be taken lightly. Having been made in Moscow, Tito probably had previously obtained Stalin's approval. We cannot embark upon another war; we are too weak and we must think of reconstruction. But if it is a question of defending our fellow Italians, we will be ready to fight".

6) A workman, age 50: member of the Federazione Comu- 230

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6) A workman, age 50: member of the Federazione Comunista Libertaria: **230**

"I am opposed to the cession of Trieste and of Istria. I believe in a Federated Europe, and any new frontiers which might now be established will inevitably vanish. But we anarchists will never permit that the Yugoslav language and Yugo-Slav traditions be imposed on Trieste, Trento, Gorizia, and the Istrian towns and cities. As for the Italian Communists, they are mere creatures of their Russian master".

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L O C A L C O N D I T I O N S

11. Events of the Week - Naples

The sudden death of President Roosevelt was the leading and saddest event of the week.

Solderi's speech on the country's finances at the San Carlo Opera House was the subject of general comment locally.

Marshal Tito's statement concerning Yugoslavia's claims on Trieste and Venezia Giulia has caused considerable excitement and anger among Neapolitans, as it is realised that it reflects not individual opinion, but the views of the Yugoslav Government. A very serious view is taken of the matter, since the statement came from Moscow and appeared on the day following the signing of the Soviet-Yugoslav pact. The extensive comments of the Moscow press have led people to believe that behind Tito stands Stalin: people are looking with misgiving towards the future peace of Europe, against which Russian designs may constitute a serious threat. In Naples, people hope for an energetic intervention by the Allies to save Trieste and Venezia Giulia for Italy. The Allies are well aware that Italy fought in the last war for the sake of Trieste and Venezia Giulia, and that she lost six hundred thousand of her best sons in the fight. Italy's claim, the Neapolitans say, cannot and must not be ignored by the Allies. Meanwhile public opinion has been favourably impressed by the Italian Foreign Minister's statement at the Cabinet meeting on April 17, to the effect that the Italian Government is desirous that Italo-Yugoslav relations should be clarified and improved. Such a desire is considered here as both wise and proper.

Epuration and punishment measures for Northern Italy as adopted at the Italian Cabinet meeting of April 17, have likewise met with general approval in Naples, where they are regarded as fair and necessary. The Government, people say, have realised that in Northern Italy epuration and the punishment of Fascist crimes will have to be severe and prompt, but some doubt is expressed as to whether this will be the case. At all events, in certain local political circles the theory is advanced that the patriots in the north and the Liberation Committees will see to it that justice is meted out to the culprits.

Marshal Messe's removal from the post of Chief of the General Staff is due, it is said, to the fact that he was not popular with Italian anti-Fascists on account of his philo-Fascist attitude until he was captured by the Allies. Neapolitan political circles believe, however, that his removal was due to pressure from Left Wing parties where Messe was regarded as too devoted to the Monarchy.

12. The Carabinieri

Among the many criticisms directed against the government for weakness, it has been often said that the Carabinieri are under standing orders never to shoot to kill. There have been two recent events in Rome which refute such accusations. There was the first large-scale meeting last week at the Regina Coeli prison when nearly a thousand prisoners broke out, and suffered numerous casualties in the neighbouring streets from rifle, revolver, and sub-machine gun fire from the carabinieri. On Saturday April 14, in the Via Sovina there was an affray between a small group of gangsters and the carabinieri which led to a fusillade in which one caribiniere was killed.

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13. Foreign Exchange Blackmarket

The local foreign exchange black market is reported as having been stagnant during the past week, the only events being a rise of some twelve points in the "quotation" of Swiss currency and the first appearance on the market, (in small quantities) of the Portuguese scudo.

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Average prices on April 17 were as follows:

Pound Sterling	(Gold)	L. 9,400
" "	(Paper).	1,000
" "	(Occ.)	800
Blue Seal dollar	. . . . .	375
Yellow "	. . . . .	270
Swiss franc	. . . . .	144
French "	. . . . .	1.60
Portuguese Scudo (5 scudo coins)	. . .	16

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Pound Sterling	(Gold)	L.	9,400
" "	(Paper)		1,000
" "	(Occ.)		800
Blue Seal dollar	. . . . .		375
Yellow "	. . . . .		270
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PUBLIC SECURITY

14. ACTIVITY OF THE ITALIAN POLICE IN NAPLES PROVINCE.

An Italian collaborator of P'B writes:-

Until the time of the armistice, anti-social action in the various Provinces of Southern Italy had remained within ccomparatively restricted limits, in spite of air attacks and general and growing misery. But when the armistice came, this anti-social action at once sprang to the forefront owing, pe rhaps to the temporary inactivity or the absence of many public officials, to the collapse of the army, to poverty and unemployment.

After the liberation of Naples the position became steadily worse, which is explained by the fact of the masses of unemployed in consequente of damaged or destroyed factories, the cost of living rising out of all proportion with starvation wages and salaries, which prompted many people to engage in Black Market activities rather than in regular work, the mass of currency at the disposal of Allied troops to be spent on pleasure, and to the high price of certain portable articles of prime necessity which were easily smuggled out of Italian and especially Allied depots.

Under these conditions three sorts of anti-social offences took a marked development; Thefts and burglaries, Prostitution, and Black Market. Some figures will give a better idea of the seriousness of the position; in Naples the number of prostitutes is estimated at nearly 40,000 which is about 10 per cent of Neapolitan women; about one third of Naples daily food supplies comes from the Black Market; Naples Province has several dozen armed bands.

These figures give some idea of the conditions under which people are living and of the difficulties which face the Italian Police with its shortage of men and means.

The Police, under the orders of the Questore (Chief of Police) Broccoli, have laboured unceasingly to bring about some order in Naples Province, and have been most efficiently assisted in the job by the British and American Military Police who have supplied the Italian Police with many means which they lacked completely.

The most difficult task was the repression of the armed bands which operated, and partly still operate, in the city and Province of Naples; the job has been done chiefly by the carabinieri in the Province and by the Police Flying Squad in the City.

As a rule these armed bands have 5 to 20 men, and are provided with machine-guns and hand-grenades of Italian, Allied and German origin, and they have the support of a whole organisation which includes prostitutes, receivers, Black Market specialists, etc. Some have even used chloroform and motor lorries.

In the city of Naples the Flying Squad, under the command of Commissioner Gaiano, have operated against these bands and have done wonders, in spite of shortage of men (less than 100) and means. Only in the armed bands category the police have defeated about 15 of the more important ones, after pitched battle with machine-guns and hand-grenades. These achievements have contributes to the elimination of many among the most dangerous criminals and bands, and the fight goes on against the minor bands which are still operating.

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15. CULTURAL.

Address of Prof. Marchesi on Man as an individual in a Communist Society.

The lecture hall (Sala Capizucchi) was so overcrowded that the meeting which took place on April 16th was transferred to the courtyard of the building, where a table was used as an improvised speakers platform.

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15. CULTURAL (Contd.)

Prof.Marchesi is a well known Communist and was formerly the Rector of the University of Padua. He is the outstanding Latin authority in Italy. During Fascism he was unswerving in his attachment to Communist ideology, and under the German occupation before he escaped from the North was active in clandestine propaganda. He is a man of great erudition.

In his address he advanced the theory that the development of man as an individual is furthered and not retarded by Communism, and cited in support of his theory examples drawn from the Russian experiment. He spoke with almost religious fervour and gave the impression of being deeply sincere. In spite of occasional dissenting remarks, his address was received with repeated and enthusiastic applause. "Although Communism does not believe in universal goodness, it is enough if men will only inflict the least possible injury upon the lowest possible number of his fellows, that men should no longer organise themselves into packs of ravenous wolves, that monied interests sh ould cease to aid and equip vast armies, and that poverty should no longer be considered a disgrace."

During the open discussion which followed several speakers expressed ideas analogous to those of Prof.Marchesi. Per contra, Father Lombardi of the Society of Jesus, contrasted the Christian conception of the "spirit and the flesh' of man with the Marxist conception that man is purely material. When he had finished, Prof.Marchesi with great gentleness and charm, added a few words to the effect that he was not cualified to reply to a proponent of "the revealed faith" for he "had never been and probably never would be touched by Grace".

16. The Theatre - "Napoli Milionaria".

"Napoli Milionaria" is the first comedy written by the well-known playwright Eduardo since the liberation of Central and Southern Italy, and is now pla ying at the Salone Margherita. According to a PWB officer who attended one of the early performances, the small theatre was filled to capacity by an appreciative audience.

T e first act of the play occurs during the Fascist regime when Naples was under Allied bombardment and shows a family of the humblest ranks of society engaged in petty black-market operations which develop (in the second act) into the "big business" market of today. It is the mother instead of the father(who has been removed to a German labour camp) who runs the family. When the father returns from the camp he can hardly recognise his family - his wife bejewelled and painted, his son who has become an automobile thief and his beloved daughter who is now a trollop in the ascendant.

From his tragic exreriences in the labour camp, the father returns with a new sense of moral and human values which in the end triumph over the facile cynicism of his "parvenu" family. The play closes on a note of confidence in humanity and in the future.

This production is perhaps indicative of early though confused signs of a renewed vitality of the Italian theatre and is extremely well acted, the scenery is good and the characters are very true to life.

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(Further copies of this Appendix available on application)

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APPENDIX I, No. 65

MINOR POLITICAL PARTIES, MOVEMENTS AND GROUPS

(Information as to their personnel, activities, etc.)

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(Information as to their personnel, activities, etc.)

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MINOR POLITICAL PARTIES MOVEMENTS AND GROUPS.
(Miscellaneous information as to their personnel, activities etc.)

The following information, contained in paragraphs numbered I, 2, and 3, hereinafter, were furnished a P.W.B. officer by a well-placed and quasi official Italian source.

I) UNIONE SPARTACO(sometimes called "Movimento Spartaco")
Headquarters: N° 5 Via Giustiniani, Rome.
Bureau: Avv. Roberto Secondari, Carlo Andreoni, Lino Dina, Giovanni Forbicini.

The Unione has no newspaper of its own, but uses "Il Partigiano" and "Democrazia Internazionale" for its articles and propaganda. It receives financial support from "libertarian" political organizations in America. It may be said to be a coordinating organization for various revolutionary groups to which it issues directives or gives advice in their struggle against the government. It has circulated a manifesto-programme appealing to all for a world wide revolution, for the formation of a world federation of free states, and for the abolition of all forms of slavery and tyranny. Above all, it insists upon the necessity of revolutionary action. It accepts as members not only individuals but groups, movements and parties.

Of the political groups in Italy, the "Federazione Comunista Libertaria", the "Movimento Partigiano" and the "Partito Comunista Italiano" are those which contribute to the Unione Spartaco the largest number of members.

The Unione is promoted by a group of anarchists. In December 1944, it established its headquarters at N° 333 Corso Umberto. These were later moved to N° 48 Via Sistina, near the "Comando Superiore Partigiano", and are now on the 5th floor of N° 5 Via Giustiniani.

Its programme is to assist all people to benefit by the infinite possibilities of education, instruction and general improvement which modern civilization offers. All should be given the opportunity of sharing in these blessings. In this way complete social liberty will be attained, which will guarantee to mankind all the public and private rights of a modern super-democracy. Thus will the seeds of war, rebellion, corruption and decadence be forever eliminated.

In the international field, the Unione Spartaco sees a new society transcending political frontiers and barriers of race and tongue, and leading to political and economic unity. Its goal is a universal republic of labor which will go beyond any mere league of nations or union of continents. We stand today at the cross-roads, and humanity's problems, whether political, economic, social or cultural, can no longer be viewed from a local or national point of view - Their solution alone is to be found if approached from a universal point of view, and with a single and united purpose — the destruction of tyranny and oppression.

As to internal politics, the Unione accuses the Committee of National Liberation (and all its ramifications) of fraud and deception because it has come to terms and is cooperating with the heirs to Fascism, and has identified itself with the opponents of liber-

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As to internal politics, the Unione accuses the Committee of National Liberation (and all its ramifications) of fraud and deception because it has come to terms and is cooperating with the heirs to Fascism, and has identified itself with the opponents of liberty. It wants the Monarchy to be abolished and all traces of it to disappear. All laws adopted since Oct. 28th 1922 should be at once repealed, and all enactments of the post-armistice Italian government which infringe upon the liberty and sovereignty of the people should be invalidated. A provisional government should be immediately constituted to assume the temporary administration of the country,

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relinquishing its powers progressively to the representatives of the people as and when political and administrative elections are held.

The Unione urges its followers to refuse obedience to such decrees and regulations of the present government as curb or interfere with the essential freedoms of speech, of the press and of public meeting. It preaches intransigeant non-cooperation with the Church, the Monarchy, capitalism and any other reactionary forces.

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2) THE "PARTITO COMUNISTA INTERNAZIONALE" (Trotskyist).

This party is said to be organizing in Northern Italy. For its propaganda it uses a clandestine sheet, "Prometeo".

In Rome the party is affiliated with the "Frazione di Sinistra dei Comunisti e Socialisti Italiani". The latter is in touch with the "Comando Superiore Partigiano" (i.e. "Movimento Partigiano") at N° 48 Via Sistina.

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3) "FRAZIONE DI SINISTRA DEI COMUNISTI E SOCIALISTI ITALIANI".

This group publishes clandestinely "La Sinistra Proletaria". The most notable figure in the party in Rome is Frederico Valenzani, editor of "Democrazia Internazionale".

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An Italian contact who is considered reliable gave a P.W.B. officer the information in the paragraphs which follow and are numbered 4, 5, and 6.

4) ADDRESS OF ING. LUIGI ANDREONI, OF THE UNIONE SPARTACO.

Luigi Andreoni who is one of the leaders of the Unione Spartaco, addressed a meeting held at N° 5 Via Giustiniani on April 5th 1945. The audience consisted of about a hundred people - a few young men, a score of middle-aged women, with the balance composed of older men, apparently of the educated classes. Among the latter were Prof. Busacca and General Azzi. "Il Partigiano", "La Montagna", and propaganda publications were distributed. A certain atmosphere of diffidence, not to say suspicion seemed to prevail, for an incident took place during the course of which the P.W.B. contact was accused of being first a policeman and then a spy, and was threatened with eviction.

Andreoni spoke for only a quarter of an hour. He pointed out the danger of interference by the Church in politics, and attacked in turn the Republican Party, Fascism and Communist totalitarianism. He ended by saying that the Unione Spartaco would take every step

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with the essential freedoms of speech, of the press and of public meeting. It preaches intransigeant non-cooperation with the Church, the Monarchy, capitalism and any other reactionary forces.

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Andreoni spoke for only a quarter of an hour. He pointed out the danger of interference by the Church in politics, and attacked in turn the Republican Party, Fascism and Communist totalitarianism. He ended by saying that the Unione Spartaco would take upon itself to point out to the Italian people and to the Government the error of the Concordat and the Lateran Treaty.

During the open discussion which followed, a woman, who said that she had been a political prisoner under Fascism, spoke of a bishop who was a fellow-prisoner and who had told her that the Church

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persecuted priests who opposed Fascism, and proceeded to criticize members of the clergy who were campaigning for the Christian Democratic Party. Thereupon a Partisan officer in uniform told of the persecutions by priests during the Spanish civil war. Next, a youth rose and demanded that all chaplains be eliminated from the Army. Prof. Busacca then spoke more mildly, saying that even though one might not be a Christian, one could not deny the great work accomplished by the Church for all peoples, and above all for the Italian people.

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5) UNIONE SPARTACO.

At a meeting sponsored by the Unione Spartaco held at N° 5 Via Giustiniani on April I4th, I945, Dott. Matteo Pistone addressed an audience of some I50 people, of whom about thirty were women. There were present a number of anarchists from N° II Piazza Fiammetta, and some members of the Partito Repubblicano del Lavoro. Luigi and Carlo Andreoni, and Attilio Busacca were also present.

After tracing the history of the Russian Revolution, Pistone said that Lenin's successors had strayed from the road, and had followed a path similar to that of Fascism. Russians, while not required to join the Communist party are infact forced to do so in order to find employment and not to be treated as pariahs. In Russia, Anti-Communists are relentlessly persecuted. Where people were killed by the Nazis and the Fascists, Russians with independent views are tortured and sent to die in Siberia. After having thus dealt with the Russians Pistone turned on the Italian Communist Party and attacked Togliatti, who is but a tool of the Kremlin. He closed with the appeal to all present to propagandize all open-minded Communists, endeavouring to open their eyes to the errors of present day Russian Communism and to lead them back to the pure doctrines of Lenin.

During the open discussion which ensued, three individuals vented their approval of Pistone's addredd, while a fourth took up the defence of the Italian Communist Party. When the latter had finished he was asked to leave the meeting.

There were distributed copies of "La Sinistra Proletaria", the organ of the "Federazione di Sinistra dei Comunisti e Socialisti Italiani"

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6) MEETING AT THE "ISTITUTO PER LA POLITICA ESTERNA": address of Dr. Andreoni of the Unione Spartaco.

A woman's meeting was held on April 4th I945, at N° 230 Via Nazionale in the appartment of Prof. Giovannucci. There were present some 25 women, and five men of whom some were recognized as frequenters of the headquarters of the "Movimento Partigiano (48 Via Sistina)".

After attacking the Comunist Party, the speaker, Andreoni, praised the "Movimento Comunista" & the "Frazione di Sinistra dei Comunisti e Socialisti Italiani", citing Poce, Russo and others by name. In speak-

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After attacking the Comunist Party, the speaker, Andreoni, praised the "Movimento Comunista" & the "Frazione di Sinistra dei Comunisti e Socialisti Italiani", citing Poce, Russo and others by name. In speaking of the anarchist movement, he made the elogium of Bordiga, Zaccaria and Berneri. Of the three currents discernible within the Socialist Party, the middle one is headed by Pietro Nenni who "seems to have been a member of the Communist Party for about IO years". He mentioned the "Partito Socialista Rivoluzionario Italiano", of Naples which is viewed with suspicion by politicians because of its American origin. He spoke with sympathy of the Christian Democrats and Liberals. He urged women to take an interest in the activities of the various parties and particularly of those of the left, but to bear in mind that their clear cut programmes are never consistently adhered to.

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It is a differnet matter with the Unione Spartaco which has a definite objective in view which it will certainly attain.

A woman distributed copies of "La Montagna", of which she had a supply of some 200.

Prof. Busacca of the Partito Repubblicano del Lavoro was present.

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7) PARTITO LABORISTA ITALIANO.

According to an Italian source who is believed reliable, the headquarters of this party are located at N° 7 Galleria Regina Margherita, on the fourth floor, apartment N° 8. The premises consist of about ten well-furnished rooms. During the course of a political discussion with a female secretary, the latter virulently attacked the "Movimento Comunista", saying that it swelled its revenues by black-market transactions and by prostitution, stating that she had frequently seen women accompanied by Allied soldiers enter and leave the "Movimento's" local section headquarters. The woman, perhaps thinking that she had gone too far, added that these were purely her own personal opinions.

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8) "MOVIMENTO ANTIFASCISTA INTRANSIGENTE."

According to a reasonably reliable Italian source, the above movement originated in Sept. 1944. Its first "presidente", Prof. Scintu wished to cooperate with the Party of Action, but after his resignation the movement turned more and more towards the extreme parties.

The Rome headquarters are at N° 37 Piazza Poli, 2nd floor, appartment N° 3.

At present (April 10th, 1945) the party is directed by a provisional Executive Committee composed of the following members: Bruno CIOLFI, Tancredo TIZI, Guiseppe CICCATELLI, Quirino ROSINI, Attilio PATRUNO and Giulio MEZZANI.

The movement is viewed with disfavor by the Government and agents are continually calling to demand information. It hopes before long to have a party organ (a weekly). It claims 600 members in Rome, and somewhat surprisingly, 16 sub-sections in liberated Italy.

It seems to be in the nature of a union , for its members for the most part belong to other parties, with which, the movement is allegedly in good standing. The movement seems to have close ties with the "Unione Spartaco" and with the "Federazione Comunista e Libertaria". It seems to be at odds with the "Movimento Comunista".

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9) THE "COMITATO SINDACATI UNIFICATI".

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9) THE "COMITATO SINDACATI UNIFICATI".

A reasonably well-informed and reliable Italian source informed a P.W.B. officer that this organization has its headquarters at N° 19 Via Grottapinta in Rome. The premises consist of two large halls, and seem to have been at one time a"dopolavoro".

According to source, a meeting was held at the above address on April 9th 1945. It was attended by some 15[illegible] people of whom the majority were mem of the humblest classes. Pamphlets and other forms of propaganda were distributed or were on sale.

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A man named Righini presided, and Preziosi, of the "Movimento Libertaria", and Poce and Andreoni of the "Movimento Partigiano" were scheduled to speak. A man named Aldo Luzzi of the "Partito Repubblicano del Lavaro" was present. (Source was called away on other business so that no information is available on subsequent proceedings).

The organization finds its members among workmen belonging to the various movements represented in the Unione Spartaco.

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IO)"PARTITO DELLA SINISTRA CRISTIANA."

From a well-informed and reliable source:

The party has its headquarters at N° 86 Via Agostino de Pretis (2nd floor) in Rome. It has occupied said offices since the liberation of the city.

Quoting Adriano OSSICINI, one of the party's tw political secretaries, the party is organized as follows:

I. a central directorate of II members.
2, a Political Bureau (Segretaria), composed of two secretaries appointed by the directorate.
3, a Central Executive Committee of 6members, appointed by the directorate.

The committee attends to administrative matters, membership, propaganda etc. etc.

From the directorate depend Provincial Federations with, under them, lower echelons in the communes.

The membership of the directorate are: Paolo MORUZZI, Cesare GRANDICELLI, Antonio RINALDINI, Filippo SACCONI, Roberto ZAPELLONI, Franco RODANO, Marisa RODANO, Antonio TATO, Giuseppe MIRA and Pio MONTESI.

According to Ossicini, in February I945, the party counted about 25,000 members. It publishes a weekly, "Voce Operaia", with an authorized circulation of IO,000, recently reduced to 7,000. Having obtained the necessary authorization, the paper will shortly become a daily. It has a sufficiently large allotment of newsprint, none of which it purchases in the black-market.

The party fused (Nov. I5th I944) with the "Partito Cristiano Sociale", with ten of the eleven leaders of the latter fully approving the fusion. The IIth and dissident member, Gerardo BRUNI, remains at the head of the "rump" Partito Cristiano Sociale, which still has active"sections" in Tuscany and Umbria. In Rome, Bruni virtually stands alone. The leaders of the "Partito Cristiano Sociale" were allegedly opposed to Bruni's holding office because of "an obscure and inacceptable" past.

The ten former members of the directorate of the "Social Christians" are: Pio MONTESI, Silvio ORLANDI, Gabriele DE ROSA, MARCHESI, SAPONARO COMOLLI, MINGARDI, LONGHI, TISEI, and LAPPONI.

Relations between the "Partito della Sinistra Cristinan" and the Christian Democratic Party are somewhat strained as the latter's leaders view with disfavor the former's revolutionary ideas. The party however, is in close relation with the Christian Democratic left wing members such as, for instance, FUSCHINI.

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section in Via Bixio.

The Congress met to consider and review the accomplishments of the movement since July 1944, and to adopt a general plan and directives pending the convening of a national congress.

The following is a list of the speakers who addressed the congress and brief summaries of what each said, as reported in the article:

COCCO: Paid tribute to those members who had lost their lives in the war.

DE LUCA: Unable to attend owing to ill-health.

SBARDELLA: Secretary of Executive Committee, appealed to all members to devote all their energies to further Communism.

ROTOLO: Of the movement's administrative section, spoke on administrative problems.

BARONCINI: Outlined the "Soccorso Rosso" (i.e. "Red relief") organization.

CRETARA: Said that the "Soccorso Rosso" must have the same autonomy (in Italy) as it had all over the world, and that it would be a political force of fundamental importance.

BETTINARI: Spoke of the importance of maintaining contact with the other sections in liberated Italy, but added that it was often difficult to do so.

MUCCI: Suggested a reorganization on the same basis as the old "Comitato Romano" of the clandestine period. In the debate which followed it was decided to retain the programme for reorganizing the movement inside the "Soviet dei Segretari".

At the close of the first session it was decided to convene during the week the "Soviet dei Segretarii" and the organizing committee. The second session was held at Via Torino 125. After a discussion on administrative matters:

POCE, Antonio: Spoke on the Trade Union and Cooperative problems confronting the movement and reviewed the work already undertaken.

TOMBARI: Suggested that a Trade Union organization outside the CGIL should be formed. To this POCE replied that the Libertarians, who had at one time prepared the reformation of the "Unione Sindacale Italiana", had now discarded the idea. To-day it was necessary, he went on to say, that the working masses be strongly united, and at the same time they should be induced to join the large unitarian organizations.

CRETARA: Spoke on press matters and of the Government's opposition to the authorization of the Movement's paper.

SBARDELLA: Outlined the history of the "Movimento" since the foundation of the Russian Bolshevik Communist Party.

MUCCI and ROSSI also spoke.

The next and final session of the 3rd Citizens Congress was set for March IIth 1945.

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12) "UNIONE PATRIOTI D'ITALIA".

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SBARDELLA: Secretary of Executive Committee, appealed to all members to devote all their energies to further Communism.
ROTOLO: Of the movement's administrative section, spoke on administrative problems.
BARONCINI: Outlined the "Soccorso Rosso" (i.e. "Red relief") organization.
CRETARA: Said that the "Soccorso Rosso" must have the same autonomy (in Italy) as it had all over the world, and that it would be a political force of fundamental importance.
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MUCCI: Suggested a reorganization on the same basis as the old "Comitato Romano" of the clandestine period. In the debate which followed it was decided to retain the programme for reorganizing the movement inside the "Soviet dei Segretari".

At the close of the first session it was decided to convene during the week the "Soviet dei Segretarii" and the organizing committee. The second session was held at Via Torino I25. After a discussion on administrative matters:

POCE, Antonio: Spoke on the Trade Union and Cooperative problems confronting the movement and reviewed the work already undertaken.
TOMBARI: Suggested that a Trade Union organization outside the CGIL should be formed. To this POCE replied that the Libertarians, who had at one time prepared the reformation of the "Unione Sindacale Italiana", had now discarded the idea. To-day it was necessary, he went on to say, that the working masses be strongly united, and at the same time they should be induced to join the large unitarian organizations.
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12). "UNIONE PATRIOTI D'ITALIA".

Like many analogous organizations which are sprouting up in liberated Italy like mushrooms after a thunder-storm, the above unione has a high-sounding name, and worthy principles and purposes, and while seeming to offer certain advantages to its adherents, its organization and activities remain somewhat nebulous things of the future. What is really definite and practical is the fixation of dues or other financial contributions, coupled with an organization to collect them.

According to a reliable Italian source the above organization has its headquarters at N° II Viale Giulio Cesare.

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

The following information was furnished source by the Union's secretary.
The Union was organized in September 1944. During the clandestine period, it assumed the name of "Fronte Clandestino di Resistenza" and its members, all of them Partisans, were allegedly active in Rome and its neighborhood. It is not a political but a relief organization which proposes to unite all patriots and help them economically. Ten cooperative shops have allegedly been formed and are run by members of the union. "Shares" in the cooperatives cost 100 lire . But the shops are not a sucess for want of shareholders.

The ex-president of the union, Signor Vito VAVELLI, outlined the union's organization as follows: a president and two vice-presidents, a national assembly with attendant national committee, and section assemblies with attendant section committees. A council of regency has actually been set up, composed of four members, viz: Avv. Francesco MELITO, Col. Enzo MESSINA, Dott. Salvatore CIRINNA, and Dott. Salvatore MEZZANA. The council will in the course of time elect a new president.

There are alleged by Vavelli to be sections throughout Italy and more especially in the South. About 1000 members are claimed for the province of Rome.

The "Unione" has no contact with the political parties, nor is it in touch with other organized Partisan groups. It claims to be viewed with favor by the Ministry of War, through which it is in touch with Partisans in Sardinia.

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13) "MOVIMENTO COLLABORAZIONISTA COSTITUZIONALE".

(now absorbed by the "Partito del Reduce Italiano").

The following information was furnished a P.W.B. officer by a well-placed and highly reliable Italian source.

The movement has only been mildly active politically, and only counted few members, most of whom were army officers, with a few Carabinieri officers.

The president formerly was H.E. Donato Antonio di Leonardo Tommasi, a very distinguished retired army officer, decorated with the Congressional Medal of Honor during or immediately after the last war. He was elected Deputy of the "Partito Popolare Italiano". He was later removed as such by Achille Starace, and became the target of bitter attacks in the Fascist press for having drafted the famous decree proclaiming a state of siege in Rome (Oct 1922) which allegedly would have prevented the March on Rome, and which the King refused to sign.

The programme of the movemnt was the abolition of class struggle and the promotion of the cooperation of capital and labor under the guarantee of the State, which should act as supervisor and mediator. It advocated the loyal collaboration with whatever constitutional movement might be in power, and claimed to be apolitical. It undoubtedly was of monarchist and catholic tendencies.

On Sept. 18th 1944, the movement was absorbed by the "Partito del "Reduce Italiano".

The latter's bureau consists of the above-mentioned Tommasi as

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The latter's bureau consists of the above-mentioned TOMMASI as president, of Avv: Edgardo NICOLETTI as secretary general, and of Comm. Alessandro Strazza as assistant secretary general. The party's headquarters are in the Palazzo Brancaccio, Via Merulana 248.

It boasts of 15,000 members, and is authorized to publish a daily paper, "Patria", if it can obtain the necessary newsprint.

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX II, No. 65

The Economic Barrier Between North and South

Translation of a leading article from "Il Globo", 22 April 1945.

There are many people in liberated Italy who are awaiting the liberation of the North, but not in order to embrace their dear ones or to celebrate the union of Italy which will be the signal for national reconstruction, but to conduct shady business transactions.

The prices in Northern Italy are lower than in liberated Italy. Also, as in the midst of our misfortune we have had the good fortune to have all the machines of the mint in the North destroyed by bombs, the Nazi-Fascists have not been able to print million lire notes at their pleasure.

Certain speculators had calculated on invading the North immediately on its liberation with their wallets crammed full of bank notes (lire and AM lire) to buy up large stocks of goods which are relatively abundant in the North, paying a price which would seem high to the northeners, then either selling these goods in Central and Southern Italy, where the prices are higher, or later on in the North when prices go up.

The Minister for Occupied Italy, Scoccimarro, announced yesterday that there will be no communication between Southern and Central Italy and the newly liberated territory for some time. Southern and Central Italy will be divided from Northern Italy an an economic barrier ("cordone sanitario economico"). Gusts of the economic wind from the North will not be felt. There will not be any exchange of goods between the two parts of the country, and no passage of people. Speculation will be impossible. The economic Sub-Commission of A.C. has made this decision.

From one point of view this measure is a good thing. It means that the liberation of Northern Italy will be rapid. Otherwise the economical justification would not be comprehensible. If we are dealing with a slow liberation like that of the Tuscan and Emilian provinces the economic equalisation could take place in Lombardy, Piedmont and in the Veneto in the same way, slowly and smoothly.

From another point of view, however, the economic barrier is perplexing. Preventing the Southern and Central Italians from going North will not prevent speculation. The Northeners (and there is no lack of speculators among them) know that the prices are high in the South and that sooner or later there will be an equalisation (because the circulation of AM Lire will increase the price of goods) can block all the none perishable goods and keep them in store until the barrier is lifted and prices have soared.

On the other hand this roping off will retard reconstruction which can only take place in a territorially, commercially, administratively and socially unified Italy. Liberated Italy is not made up solely of speculators, but also of people who have their businesses, their homes and their dear ones in the North. For all of them, and they are the majority of those who are awaiting the liberation of Northern Italy, the economic barrier will be a cruel measure, a hindrance to their preparations for furthering their work, and a cold douche on their enthusiasm. The division of Italy should therefore be considered an injustice, especially for those who left their homes and families on 8 September to join the patriots in the South.

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Italy has given enough proof of her earnestness both in the liberated and occupied areas. In the South with her new army and in the North with her patriots. She has suffered cold, hunger and privations in the North as well as tortures and executions. We hope that, if it is not possible or desirable to avoid this measure, it be at least of short duration. The Italians want to work, to reconstruct, to produce and to return to their homes and join their dear ones. This barrier will tie them down.

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