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10000/141/570

POLITICAL PARTIES IN
FEB. 1945 – JAN. 1946

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10000/141/570

POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERATED ITALY
FEB. 1945 – JAN. 1946

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9 Jan 46

AFHQ

Political Party Strengths

Figures from AFHq:

Party	Estimated Membership	Potential Vote
Communist	1,750,000#	1,750,000
Socialist	1,000,000	1,000,000
Action	200,000	300,000
Christian Democrat	1,000,000	2,000,000
Labor Democrat	60,000	80,000
Liberal	450,000	500,000
Uomo Qualunque	200,000*	200,000
Anarchist	5,000	5,000

based on figure given by Togliatti at V Communist Congress
* based on circulation figures for weekly paper, Uomo Qualunque.

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

ALLIED COMMISSION
LIAISON OFFICE
BARI

21 DEC 1945

REF : LB/~~[illegible]~~ 34 14 December 1945

SUBJECT : Giunte Comunali

TO : HQ Allied Commission
for Local Government Sub Commission

The following extracts from the monthly reports for November of the Prefects of LECCE and BARI are forwarded for your information:-

(a) LECCE - "Owing to the ever-increasing discord between the various political parties, serious difficulty is being found in the reconstitution of the Giunte Comunali"

(b) BARI - "The functioning of the Giunte Municipali leaves much to be desired on account of the lack of agreement between the members and their unsuitability for the task, nominated as they are upon the recommendation of the Provincial Committee of Liberation"

HSH/cb

H.S.Hartley, Col.
Liaison Officer
AC BARI

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15/6

ALLIED COMMISSION
LIAISON OFFICE
BARI

21 DEC 1945

14 December 1945

REF : LB/113

SUBJECT : Size of Political Parties in APULIA and LUCANIA.

TO : HQ Allied Commission for Executive Commissioner

The attached documents which show the approximate size of the political parties in APULIA and LUCANIA on 30 November 1945 are forwarded for information.

H3H/cb

H.S. Hartley

H.S.Hartley , Col,
Liaison Officer
AC BARI

COPIES TO : Civil Affairs Section, AC (with attachment)
: Local Government Sub Commission, AC "
: Commander 52 Area "
: Commander 54 Area "
: 38 Port Security Section "

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"Approximate enrolled membership of Political Parties in"
"APULIA and LUCANIA on 30 November 1945"

PROVINCE	Comunista	Socialista	Azione	Repubblicano	Democrazia Lavoro	Uomo Qualunque	Demo-cristiano	L
BRINDISI	5.362	4.510	15597	-	3.324	1.500	10.575	
TARANTO	12.000	2.500	1.000	1.000	200	18.000	18.000	
BARI	24.000	24.000	6.000	1.000	20.000	70.000	24.000	
LECCE	11.000	9.000	3.500	-	6.300	30.000	22.000	
FOGGIA	20.000	7.500	1.000	-	1.000	5.000	20.000	
MATERA	2.700	1.400	700	525	1.500	3.000	4.000	
POTENZA	6.677	6.736	1.496	-	6.736	1.100	13.605	
.	81.739	55.646	15.293	2.525	39.060	128.600	112.180	

(The figures were supplied by the Prefects concerned and must be regarded as estimates only)

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785021

"Approximate enrolled membership of Political Parties in"
"APULIA and LUCANIA on 30 November 1945"

1954

alista	Azione	Repubblicano	Democrazia Lavoro	Uomo Qualunque	Demo-cristiano	Liberale	Monarchico
510	15597	-	3.324	1.500	10.575	5.431	-
500	1.000	1.000	200	18.000	18.000	4.500	500
000	6.000	1.000	20.000	70.000	24.000	12.000	-
000	3.500	-	6.300	30.000	22.000	6.500	18.000
500	1.000	-	1.000	5.000	20.000	1.000	-
400	700	525	1.500	3.000	4.000	2.700	1.000
736	1.496	-	6.736	1.100	13.605	2.459	442
646	15.293	2.525	39.060	128.600	112.180	34.590	19.942

pplied by the Prefects concerned and must be regarded as estimates only)

APP. "A"

"Approximate percentage of population in Apulia and Lucania enrolled as members of political parties on 30 November 1945"

PROVINCE	Population Sept.44	Left parties	% of Pop'n	Right Parties	% of Pop'n	Total Party Members	% of Population
BRINDISI	274.602	11.469	4%	20.830	7½%	32.299	11½%
TARANTO	336.725	16.500	5%	41.200	12%	57.700	17%
BARI	1.425.470	55.000	4%	126.000	9%	181.000	13%
LECCE	551.801	23.500	4%	82.800	15%	106.300	19%
FOGGIA	565.213	28.500	5%	27.000	5%	55.500	10%
MATERA	155.525	5.325	3%	12.200	8%	17.525	11%
POTENZA	399.166	14.909	4%	24.342	6%	39.251	10%
	3.708.502	155.203	4%	334.372	9%	489.575	13%

"The figures were supplied by the Prefects concerned and must be regarded as estimates only"

LEFT PARTIES

Comunista
Socialista
Azione
Republicano

RIGHT PARTIES

Democrazia del Lavoro
Demo-cristiani
Uomo Qualunque
Liberale
Monarchico

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LECCE	551.801	23.500	4%	82.800	15%	106.300	19%
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Comunista
Socialista
Azione
Republicano

RIGHT PARTIES

Democrazia del Lavoro
Demo-cristiani
Uomo Qualunque
Liberale
Monarchico

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

15 B^

CONFIDENTIAL

Special Supplement
"D" Section, PWB Unit 16, Milan

Report on the Political Parties in Lombardy

In presenting this report the compilers make no claim to have produced a complete picture of the political organisation in Lombardia or even to have included all the innumerable splinter, dissident, minority etc. parties of all colours and "isms" which go to make up the hotch-potch of political opinions constituting this organisation. Difficulties connected with the collection of material militated against the achievement of this desirable result, and not the least of these difficulties has been the reluctance of the parties to furnish information about themselves. This reticence, which was particularly noticeable when details regarding membership were asked for, is a consequence of the mutual distrust existing between the parties and is also indicative of a certain diffidence vis-a-vis the Allied authorities. However, efforts have been made to make the report as comprehensive as possible in order that it may serve as useful background material to anyone planning to pursue further his investigations in the political field in this eminently politically-minded part of Italy.

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Parties in most of the CLNs of Lombardia.
Partito Liberale
Partito Socialista di U.P.
Partito Comunista Italiano
Democrazia del Lavoro
Democrazia Cristiana
Partito d'Azione
Partito Repubblicano Italiano

Parties & Movements outside the CLNs.
Partito Comunisti Libertari
Partito Repubblicano Sociale
Partito Italiano del Lavoro
Movimento Federalista Europeo
Partito Comunista Internazionalista
Partito Democratico Italiano
Fronte Sociale
Fronte della Gioventù
Gruppi Difesa della Donna
Movimento Lavoratori Cristiani
Movimento Tricolore

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Fronte della Gioventù
Gruppi Difesa della Donna
Movimento Lavoratori Cristiani
Movimento Tricolore

ERRATUM: The second page of the Partito Comunisti Libertari has been backed on to the first page of the Partito Italiano del Lavoro and vice versa. L/109

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

CONFIDENTIAL 3.7.45.

PARTITO LIBERALE

HQ: Corso Venezia 40, Milan. Membership: ?

History of the Party.

From 1922 to 1925 its main activity consisted in carrying on a very lively anti-Fascist propaganda in the columns of the CORRIERE DELLA SERA, the RIVOLUZIONE LIBERALE and the weekly C..FFE. Those most active in this campaign were T. Gallarati Scotti, G. Mira, F. Parri (the present Prime Minister), Baner etc. After 1925 the Liberals had to work "underground". The leaders of the movement in this period were:- Gallarati Scotti, Count Alessandro Casati and Avv. Giustino Arpesani. Nearly every largish town of the province had its small Liberal Branch Office which somehow kept in touch with Milan. The voice of Liberalism could still be heard in Croce's writings and in his magazine CRITICA. Another magazine PIETRE appeared in Genoa but was soon suppressed in 1928; all its contributors were imprisoned or exiled.

During Badoglio's "45 days" the Party, which then called itself Movement for Liberal Reconstruction, and was only just beginning to organize itself, took part in the meetings of the six parties; the liberal signatures to the first manifesto were those of Gallarati Scotti, Casagrande and Vochieri. One of Badoglio's influential councillors in this period was the Milanese liberal Count Casati. After the 8th September the Party enlarged its organization and developed it according to present lines with regional organizations etc. At the head of the organization was placed the "Delegation for Northern Italy". Avv. Arpesani was in charge of it helped by Avv. Coda, Dr. Casagrande (who later directed the Libdral Movement in Switzerland amongst refugees), Gallarati Scotti (who was also later on forced to cross the border into Switzerland) and Avv. Vochieri. The first secretary of the Party in Milan was Angelo Scotti, who was arrested in December 1943 and deported to Germany where he died in July 1944. His successor was Avv. Luciano Elmol, who was also arrested with his collaborators in July 1944. This forced the conspirators to greater caution and meetings were subsequently held in public gardens, parks etc. Other meetings were, from time to time, held in the houses of Avv. Jacini, Ing. Tanci, Rag. Cattaneo and Avv. Spetrino (where Medici Tornaquinci met the "Delegazione Alta Italia" during his mission to Northern Italy in April).

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

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Press.

The newspaper RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE started coming out in January 1944 and numerous "regional" editions were also printed. The most important edition was always the Lombard edition. This was partly due to the fact that the CLNAI and the Liberal Party Delegation for Northern Italy were in Milan; in Turin the newspaper later changed its title to L'OPINIONE and in January 1945

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th[illegible] Milanese Liberal daily took on its old title of LA LIBERT[illegible]. During the months of July and August 44 it was impossible to produce any number of the newspaper owing to enemy interference.

Propaganda.

Some leaflets and pamphlets were printed during the clandestine period under the serial heading of QUADERNI DEL RISORGIMENTO LIBERALE. These were distributed by friends or left lying in trains or disseminated from cars or bicycles. Propaganda was also carried on by means of personal contacts. The partisan bands were responsible for the dissemination of many leaflets and newspapers.

Present Organisation and Personalities.

Theorganisation of the party follows the usual lines. There is a committee of party representatives for North Italy and under this a regional committee for Lombardy composed of fifteen members plus nine representatives from the various provinces. A select committee of three drawn from the regional body constitutes the executive. The three members in question are:- Eugenio Morandi, deputy Mayor of Milan, Ugo Borroni, professor in Commerce at Bocconi University, Milan; Mario Tanci, consulting engineer and party member since 1924.

After the regional committee come the various provincial committees and dependent on them are others of a special functional nature - financial, economic, welfare, syndical, press and propaganda etc. Juvenile and feminine movements complete the organization.

Points of Programme.

Croce and Einaudi are the spiritual leaders of the Liberal Movement in Italy.

Einaudi with his powerful economic background differs from Croce, however, on certain points and especially on the Crocian theory that Political and Economic Liberalism do not necessarily go together. Einaudi maintains that a free trade economy is absolutely essential for a full application of the doctrine of Liberalism and goes even further to state that the State should intervene to remove the obstacles in the way of free trade like monopolies, cartels etc., in order to facilitate the free play of supply and demand.

Gradual social reforms area firm point as these would tend to raise the standard of living of the working classes in-

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Gradual social reforms area firm point as these would tend to raise the standard of living of the working classes including the "intellectual proletariat". These reforms would be carried out in a democratic way without any utopian improvisations and violent methods. Strongly advocated is a decentralisation of state authority and a strengthening of Local Government. Further points are:- currency revaluation, budgetary reform, a new educational programme and the material reconstruction of the country.

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CONFIDENTIAL 3.7.45.

PARTITO SOCIALISTA

Organization.

a) Segreteria Alta Italia, which is shortly to merge with the Segreteria Generale in Rome under Nenni, who will move headquarters to Milan.

b) Executive Committee composed of Pertini, Basso, Bonfantini, Mezzali and Morandi.

c) Federazione Socialista Lombarda, HQ Piazza S. Sepolcro, Secretary Lelio Basso, rumoured that Regional offices will be dissolved after Party fusion.

d) Provincial Federation for Milan, secretary Valentino Clementi, worker who has been a refugee in France many years until return in July 1945. TheProvincial Federation is divided into sections, one for each town in the Province. Milan has nine sub-sections (one for each quarter). Main activities are obtaining subscriptions, holding classes in political education, free medical assistance to Section members etc.

Membership.

Members are presently considered as temporary, subject to final extensive "vetting" of political and moral character. New applicants for membership must be introduced by two senior members of the same sub-section who vouch for their character, then submitted to the Investigation Committee which gives final approval. Source estimated 20,000 members for Milan, plus presumable 500,000 for northern Italy alone.

Plans.

Lucio Luzzato, chief of Press and Propaganda for the Socialist Party said on July 3rd that all parties in the CLNAI had agreed as to the tasks of the Constituent Assembly which is to be formed by the present government. Lists will be presented to the people by the various parties, the people will elect the Assembly which will then have complete authority to deal with institutional and constitutional problems. The Assembly will be the first popular parliament in Italy, and as soon as the institutional and constitutional questions have been solved, the

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CONFIDENTIAL 3.7.45.

Personalities.

Guido MAZZALI, journalist. Born Mantova - aged about 40. Never a member of the P.N.F. After World War 1 published a book on the socialist programme L'ESPIAZIONE SOCIALISTA. During the clandestine period edited the clandestine paper AVANTI of which he is now editor and director. Member of the Executive.

Corrado BONFANTINI, born in Novara 1909. A surgeon. Always active anti-Fascist for which he was arrested several times and sent to "confino". During the clandestine period was political commissar of the Matteotti brigades and commander of all the Socialist military formations. Member of the Executive.

Rodolfo MORANDI, born Milan 1902. Active anti-Fascist. Joined the Giustizia e Libertà Movement but withdrew from it when the Socialists separated themselves from the Rossellis movement. In 1937 was arrested and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Liberated in 1943 and became a member of the Executive. Now President of CLNAI.

Lelio BASSO, born Varazze 1903. Law graduate 1925 and philosophy graduate 1931. Joined Socialist Party 1923. In 1928 was arrested and sent for 3 years to Ponza Island. Was arrested again in 1939 but released the following year. In 1939 took part in the Movimento di Unità Proletaria. Became one of the leaders of the Socialist Party in Lombardy during the clandestine period. Member of the Executive.

Sandro PERTINI, born Stella 1895. A law and political science graduate. In 1925 arrested for anti-monarchical activities. In 1926 organized Turati's escape with the Rosselli brothers. Went to France returning to Italy in 1928 with false passport to organize anti-Fascist propaganda. Arrested and convicted by Special Tribunal. Liberated in August 1943. Became member of the first Executive of PSIUP. Arrested in Rome in 1943. Escaped from Regina Coeli in 1944 and came to Milan where he reorganized the Party and began a number of clandestine publications. Member of the Executive Committee.

Antonio GREPPI, born in Angera (Lago Maggiore) 1894. A criminal lawyer. Joined PSI in 1919. Fought in World War 1. Contributed to several Socialist magazines and became a successful playright. From 1923-1925 member of the Executive of PSIUP. In 1938 was arrested and imprisoned for 7 months. In

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CONFIDENTIAL 3.7.45.

Fernando SANTI, born Parma. Aged about 45. Was active in Labour movement until 1924. Former secretary of the Socialist Youth Organization. Strong anti-Fascist was arrested shortly before July 25, 1943 and on release escaped to Switzerland, returning to Milan before the insurrection. One of the secretaries of the Camera delLavoro represents Milan in CGIL.

Angelo SARACENO, born Morbegno - about 40 years of age. Expert in economics represents the PSIUP in the Central Economic Commission of CLNAI.

Henri MOLINARI, born Milan - about 48 years of age. Industrial engineer. Member of the Directorate of PSIUP which he represents on the Executive Committee for northern Italy.

Lamberto JORI, born Milan 1905. Graduate in economics. In 1924 joined the Gruppi Gogliardici della Libertà (an anti-Fascist students' league). Was arrested in 1944 but released shortly afterwards. Joined the PSIUP in his early youth. Represents the Socialist Party on the CLN, Lombardy.

Aldo VALCARENGHI, born Milan 1913. A law graduate. Took part in the reorganization of the PSIUP in 1942. Arrested in April 1943 and released after July 25, 1943. Immediately became secretary of the Milan Section of PSIUP which office he held until March 1944 when he was arrested after the general strike which he organized. Deported to Fossoli and from there to Germany, where he was liberated by the advancing American troops. Now back in Italy.

Guglielmo GHISLANDI, born Valcamonica (prov. Brescia) - aged about 65. Fought in World War 1. Organized the Veterans' National Association of Brescia and was elected member of Parliament as representative of this Association. Joined PSIUP after the rise of the Fascist government. Was arrested in 1926 and released in 1930. Left Brescia in 1930 and came to Milan where he practised law. Took part, in 1942, in the reorganization of the Socialist Party. In 1944 was arrested by the famous Koch Band and taken to Villa Trists but later released. After the insurrection appointed Mayor of Brescia.

Lucio Mario LUZZATTO, born Milan 1913. Always an anti-Fascist. Joined Giustizia e Libertà when a high school student. A Law graduate. Arrested in 1937 and released after 7 months' confinement. Arrested again in the same year [illegible] condemned to 5 years "confino". Took part in the reorgani-

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

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Angelo SARACENO, born Morbegno - about 40 years of age. Expert in economics represents the PSIUP in the Central Economic Commission of CLNAI.

Henri MOLINARI, born Milan - about 48 years of age. Industrial engineer. Member of the Directorate of PSIUP which he represents on the Executive Committee for northern Italy.

Lamberto JORI, born Milan 1905. Graduate in economics. In 1924 joined the Gruppi Gogliardici della Libertà (an anti-Fascist students' league). Was arrested in 1944 but released shortly afterwards. Joined the PSIUP in his early youth. Represents the Socialist Party on the CLN, Lombardy.

Aldo VALCARENGHI, born Milan 1913. A law graduate. Took part in the reorganization of the PSIUP in 1942. Arrested in April 1943 and released after July 25, 1943. Immediately became secretary of the Milan Section of PSIUP which office he held until March 1944 when he was arrested after the general strike which he organized. Deported to Fossoli and from there to Germany, where he was liberated by the advancing American troops. Now back in Italy.

Guglielmo GHISLANDI, born Valcamonica (prov. Brescia) - aged about 65. Fought in World War 1. Organized the Veterans' National Association of Brescia and was elected member of Parliament as representative of this Association. Joined PSIUP after the rise of the Fascist government. Was arrested in 1926 and released in 1930. Left Brescia in 1930 and came to Milan where he practised law. Took part, in 1942, in the reorganization of the Socialist Party. In 1944 was arrested by the famous Koch Band and taken to Villa Trists but later released. After the insurrection appointed Mayor of Brescia.

Lucio Mario LUZZATTO, born Milan 1913. Always an anti-Fascist. Joined Giustizia e Libertà when a high school student. A Law graduate. Arrested in 1937 and released after 7 months' confinement. Arrested again in the same year was condemned to 5 years "confino". Took part in the reorganization of the Socialist movement in 1942. In 1943 became a member of the Directorate of PSIUP. After the armistice escaped to Switzerland returning to Milan during the insurrection. Now chief of the Propaganda Office of PSIUP in Northern Italy.

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PARTITO COMUNISTA ITALIANO

HQ: Via Filodrammatici 3-5-7, Milan.

Membership:

No details available. It is thought, however that at least as far as Milan is concerned the communists are largely outnumbered by the socialists. Communist influence on the masses may of course increase with a deterioration in the economic situation, but even then it will not be possible to measure the extent of this influence until the elections.

History:

The P.C.I. was founded in 1921 by elements which had broken away from the socialist party. It went underground with the advent of fascism and received a particularly hard blow in 1926 when many of its leaders, including Gramsci, were arrested. With Togliatti succeeding Gramsci as head of the party, it managed to keep a skeleton organisation going until the collapse of fascism in 1943. During the German occupation the P.C.I. was probably the most active force in the resistance movement, especially north of the Pisa-Rimini line during the enforced deadlock in military operations. South of this line Togliatti advised and directed the northern communists under the leadership of Luigi Longo who was Commandante della Delegazione Brigate d'Assalto Garibaldi and is at present communist representative on the Committee of Liberation for Northern Italy.

Press.

During the whole period of Nazi-fascist domination UNITA, the official organ of the party, appeared with surprising regularity. In addition, every provincial federation had its own weekly. Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets and leaflets addressed to all classes of the population were disseminated at grave risk to the distributors, and it was chiefly owing to this outpouring of rhetorical lava that the gigantic political strike of March 1944 was such a resounding success. UNITA is of course still printed, in Milan as well as in other large centres, and the usual communist literature, presumably printed on Black Market newsprint, is still being circulated.

Organisation.

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Organisation.

On the military side the communists, in addition to being the first in the field, were the best organised. The first detachments of the first Garibaldi Brigades in the mountains and the first nuclei of GAP (Gruppi di Azione Patriottiche) in the towns were formed as far back as September 1943. The presence

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of the communists was felt not only in these formations but also in the many bands which had come into being on the sporadic initiative of officers and men who had not surrendered their arms. It is worth noting that the unity of anti-fascist forces rather than communist propaganda was preached to the adherents of these formations and as a result of this wise policy it was possible to achieve a real unification of these forces in the Corpo Volontari della Libertà.

The political organisation of the P.C.I. is fundamentally the same as that set up in 1923. There is the factory, street or village cell at the base; a certain number of cells forms a section; and all the sections of a province are grouped together in a provincial federation. All federations north of the ex-gothic line receive their directives from the Delegazione per l'Italia del Nord.

Personalities.

The present heads of the P.C.I. in northern Italy are still the men who directed the fight during the German occupation with the exception of Eugenio Curiel who was assassinated by the fascists in the winter of 1945. They are:-

Luigi LONGO: Born Alessandria 1900. Interrupted studies in engineering to devote his activities to the anti-fascist struggle. From 1921 director of the communist youth movement and editor of its paper "Avanguardia": Inspector of International Brigades in Spain. Arrested in France and handed over to Italian fascists. Deported to Island of Ventotene and liberated in August 1943. Organised and directed all the Garibaldi Brigades after the German invasion and was vice-commandant of the Corpo Volontari della Libertà. Member of the managing committee of the P.C.I. and responsible for the Delegazione per l'Italia del Nord.

Bruno COLOMBI: Member of the managing committee of the P.C.I. Former editor of UNITA.

Giorgio AMENDOLA: Born Naples 1907. Son of Giovanni Amendola. Graduate in law. Escaped from the OVRA in 1930 and left Italy. Returned clandestinely and was arrested in 1932. Released in 1937 and went abroad again, engaging in anti-fascist journalism. Back in Italy in 1943. Member of the managing committee of the P.C.I. and the party representative on

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Giuseppe ALBERGANTI: Responsible for the Triumvirato Insurrezionale Lombardo.

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Pietro SECCHIA: Born Biella 1903. Member of worker's family; worked as mason. Was first in the socialist youth movement, but joined the communists after the Leghorn Congress. In 1924 was delegate to the congress of the Communist International. Arrested in 1931 for anti-fascist activity and did not leave prison until July 1943. Has since been busy with the organisation of the party in northern Italy.

Emilio SERENI: Born Rome 1907. Graduate in Agriculture. Did research work in southern Italy for Ministry of Agriculture. Arrested by OVRA in 1930. Received 15-years sentence from Special Tribunal, of which served five years, being released under a general pardon. Was in France engaged in anti-fascist activities. Arrested by Vichy government in 1943 and handed over to Italians. Tried by Military Tribunal and given eighteen years. Escaped but fell into hands of SS in 1944. Escaped again and became a member of CLNAI in September 1944. Now president of CLN Lombardy.

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DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO

HQ-Via Cesare Battisti 2. Membership 5,000 Milan City.

History.

Towards the end of 1942 a group of anti-Fascists, including GUERRINI, Avv. Edgardo LONGONI, and others, organized the "Gruppi d'Azione", whose programme, according to their manifesto of February 1943, was the overthrow of Fascism, the Monarchy and the declaration of war on Germany. They published a clandestine paper LA RISCOSSA, edited by Avv. Edgardo LONGONI. They planned for an insurrection to take place when Tunisia fell to the Allies. In May 1943 all the leaders of the "Gruppi d'Azione" were arrested: among them GUERRINI and LONGONI. They were, however, released by the Badoglio Government at the end of July 1943.

During the Badoglio Government in August 1943, all the anti-Fascist parties held a General Meeting, from which the "Gruppi d'Azione" were excluded on the grounds that they did not constitute a political party.

In October 1943 the "Gruppi d'Azione" resolved to organize themselves into a political party called "Partito Progressista" (Progressive Party). In December 1943 many members of the Partito Progressista were arrested: three of them, Avv. Vigorelli, Avv. Brioschi and Rag. Noè were deported to Germany. Of these only Noè has returned. Following these arrests, the Partito Progressista underwent a severe internal crisis.

In March 1944 Francesco GUERRINI was instructed by the Democrazia del Lavoro in Rome to organize party activities in Northern Italy, then under German control. He was to represent the Party in the CLNAI. LONGONI, at that time President of the CLNAI, refused to accept the Party's representation in the CLNAI, and the CLNAI has never since changed its decision.

At the beginning of 1945 the Partito Progressista decided to join forces with the Democrazia del Lavoro.

The CLNAI, although excluding the Democrazia del Lavoro from part of the CLNAI, supported it financially. This is proved by a subsidy of 100,000 lire which the Party received from the CLNAI towards the end of 1944.

[illegible] the Partito Progressista [illegible]-

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During the clandestine period, the Partito Progressista (later Democrazia del Lavoro) published a clandestine sheet printed in Milan called [illegible]. About 10 numbers appeared.

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When the insurrection took place, three brigades of Democrazia del Lavoro fought with the partisans.

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Organization.

Democrazia del Lavoro is organized into Regional Committees. Each Regional Committee is divided into Provincial Committees. The Provincial Committees in their turn, are sub-divided into Sections. Sections are formed wherever there are sufficient Party members. The Head Office of the Regional Committee for Lombardy is in Milan where the Executive Committee for Northern Italy also has its HQ. As is likely to happen with all other parties the directorate of the Democrazia del Lavoro for Northern Italy is likely to merge with the Central Directorate of the Party.

It is not possible to estimate the number of members of the Party in Lombardy. It is stated that there are 150 Sections throughout the region. There are 15 Sections in Milan, 35 in Bergamo and 46 in Brescia. In the province of Milan there are about 5,000 members. The provinces where the Party has met with most success are Brescia and Bergamo. The total number of membership in these provinces is, however, unknown.

Democrazia del Lavoro has taken a position at the Centre-Left. For this reason it most nearly approaches ideologically the Action Party.

In Lombardy Democrazia del Lavoro is anti-Monarchical, but, if it became clear that the only institution able to save the country was the Monarchy, the Party would probably swing towards the Monarchy.

Although many members of Democrazia del Lavoro are Freemasons (e.g. Avv. . LONGHILLO, Avv. E. LONGONI, RUINI etc.) it would be wrong to say that this Party is the mouthpiece of Freemasonry in Italy.

The Party is in favour of Socialism but against the socialization of industry, as it does not believe that, owing to the urgent need for reconstruction, it is the best means of speeding up production. It is therefore in favour of the maintenance of private property.

The relations between Democrazia del Lavoro and the other parties have been excellent. Lately, however, there has been some disagreement with the Demo-CHristian Party, especially in the province of Brescia, where Democrazia del Lavoro threatens to become the strongest Party. Brescia has always been considered a stronghold of the Demo-Christian...However the...

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At present the main activity of Democrazia del Lavoro in Milan, as well as in the rest of Northern Italy, is the organization

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of the Party. So far they have not conducted any propaganda activities, held any meeting or mass demonstration. The paper of the Party is the bi-weekly IL PROGRESSO.

PERSONALITIES.

The main personalities of the Party in Lombardy are:-

Francesco GUERRINI, born in Ferrara in 1888. Came to Milan about 1910. Before arriving in Milan he was very active in labour organization in the province of Ferrara. He was arrested in 1907 because he organized a strike among fe hands. In 1914 he was again arrested because of his non-in- ventionist activities. He was never a member of the Fascist Party. In May 1943 he was arrested with other organizers of the "Gruppi d'Azione". He was liberated on June 28, 1943 a is now a member of the Executive Committee for Northern Italy.

Professor Luigi RODELLI, a teacher at the "Liceo" of Monza. Member of the Executive.

Professor Alessandro ROSA, experti in agriculture. Former teacher at "Cattedre Ambulati".

Member of the Executive.

Dott. DI DONA, secretary of the Como Committee. A publisher.

Avv. VERCESI, Secretary of the Bergamo Committee. A judge.

Avv. BARBIERI, President of Brescia's CLN.

Avv. VALERIA, Secretary of the Brescia Committee.

Arturo COLOMBI, Editor of IL PROGRESSO.

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Professor Luigi RODINI, a teacher at the "Liceo" of Monza. Member of the Executive.

Professor Alessandro ROTA, experti in agriculture. Former teacher at "Cattedre Ambulati".

Member of the Executive.

Dott. DI BONA, secretary of the Como Committee. A publisher.

Avv. MARCHETTO, Secretary of the Bergamo Committee. A judge.

Avv. BAZOLI, President of Brescia's CLN.

Avv. MARTINI, Secretary of the Brescia Committee.

Arturo COLOMBO, Editor of IL POPOLO.

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DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA

HQ: Via Clerici, Milan.

Organization.

The Executive or (directing) Committee of the Christian Democrat Party in Northern Italy, headquarters Palazzo Clerici, Via Clerici 5, Milan, consists of the following:-

a) An Economic Commission presided over by Avv. Bursasca and Dr. A. Bodrero, the latter being Commissario of Milan Chamber of Commerce.
b) Financial Commission, presided over by Ing. Agostino Valtolina
c) Internal organizing commission, presided over by Dr. Giovanni Navone.
d) Press Commission, presided over by Rag. Piero Mentasti
e) Press and Propaganda Office, presided over by Prof. Giorgio Bo.
f) Segreteria Giovanile directed by Dr. Criconia
g) Various other offices.

Regional Lombardy Committee list:

ZANCHETTA, Ugo - Architect, Vice-Mayor of Milan
PERINI, Comm. Carlo
CLERICI, Avv. Edoardo
DE MARTINI, Rag. Antonio
MALVESTITI, Rag. Piero
CASTELLI, Avv. Edgardo
FEROLDI, Prof. Franco

"Membri aggiunti" representing

Women:	MILANI, Prof. Angela
CLN:	SOLA, Avv. Mario
Trade Unions:	MORELLI, Luigi
Press and Propaganda:	MEDA, Avv. Luigi

Provincial Committees: (no lists)

Citizens' Committees: (no lists)

Membership.

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Press and Propaganda:	MEDA, Avv. Luigi

Provincial Committees: (no lists)

Citizens' Committees: (no lists)

Membership.

Details not available as membership cards are not yet issued, each application being subject to severe scrutiny. According to number of applications it would seem that the Christian Democrat Party prevails in the Veneto, has a large following in Lombardy (in the Provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, Como and Varese) takes in the entire Province of Asti in Piedmont with

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strong groups in industrial centres such as Turin, Savigliano etc. does fairly well in the Province of Genoa and exists in each Ligurian province. During the clandestine period had roughly 70,000 partisans spread around northern Italy, mostly in the Veneto, was formed of isolated groups in 1942, united in 1943 after September 8th.

Newspaper:

IL POPOLO - editor GI.CCHI.

Personalities.

Notables of Christian Democrat Party in Northern Italy are:-

Avv. Achille MARAZZA	Under secretary of Public Instruction who led party for months in clandestine time.
Avv. Edoardo CLERICI	
Avv. Gianbattista MIGLIORI	Milanese
Avv. Gioacchino QUARELLO	
Avv. Andrea GUGLIELMINETTI	Torinese
Prof. Paolo Emilio TAVIANI	Genoese
Prof. Giovanni PONTI	Mayor of Venice
H.E. MICHELI	Parma - ex minister
H.E. Umberto MERLIN	Venice - ex minister

Conversations with local Milan exponents, BORIANI and CAPELLI of the Press and Propaganda Office on July 7 and 9 were on the polite side but unsatisfactory. They were both eager to put the Party accross but afraid of committing themselves. Both said there was a plan to make the Christian Democrat Party an international world wide affair, that they desired to keep their "masses" from contamination from the leftist organized masses, hence their withdrawal from the Fronte della Gioventù and the Unione Donne Italiane, and each said the party was doing very well, having a majority in many northern provinces, what majority they could not say as each applicant had to be very carefully checked, for they wished no irresponsible or subversive elements in their ranks, nor members whose past political affiliations could be held doubtful.

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PARTITO D'AZIONE

HQ: Via Monte Napoleone 18, Milan. Membership: ?

History.

The Action Party in Lombardy remains faithful to the seven-point programme approved at the time of the formation of the Party in July 1942. As the Action Party arose during the clandestine period of the fight against Fascism and Nazism, it has not yet been possible to hold a National Congress, at which will be decided, among other things, a definite Party programme.

After the 8th September 1943, owing to the German occupation and Fascist persecutions, the Action Party was obliged to divide its political organization into an Executive Committee for Central Italy, a HQ at Rome for South Italy and an "Esecutivo Alta Italia" for the north with HQ at Milan. Now, with the Liberation, the fusion of the two Executives into a National Executive has already been decided upon, but as long as the present difficulties of communication exist, the "Esecutivo Alta Italia" will continue to function.

During the Nazi-Fascist occupation the Action Party developed its clandestine organization. It published a fortnightly clandestine paper ITALIA LIBERA and periodically the following clandestine papers appeared:- VOCI D'OFFICINA for the workers; AZIONE CONTADINA for the peasants; GIOVENTU D'AZIONE for the youth; NUOVA DONNA for women, as well as the reviews NUOVI QUADERNI DI GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTA and ST. DO MODERNO. Partisan formations "Giustizia e Libertà", distinct from the Communist partisan formations, were active under the command of Ferruccio Parri.

After the liberation the Action Party started its organization on a vast scale in the urban centres as well as in the agricultural areas. Many of its members (among them Ing. Riccardo LOMBARDI, Prefect of Milan) were called to public office.

Organization.

Milan is the HQ in North Italy for the following sections of the Action Party:

L'Esecutivo Alta Italia - Via S. Andrea 6.

L. VALLI E. REGGI

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History.

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L'Esecutivo Alta Italia - Via S. Andrea 6.

L. VALIANI	M. PAGGI
R. LOMBARDI	G. BIGNARDELLI
E. ROSSI	M. DAL PRA
A. SPINELLI	B. MARMORI
V. ALBASINI	E. SCHIAVELLO
F. SOLARI	

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(N.B. PARRI was a member until he became Prime Minister).

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Segretaria Politica Alta Italia - Via S. Andrea 6.

L. VALIANI
A. SPINELLI
M. RAGGI
M. DAL PRA
B. MARIORI

Segretaria Organizzativa - Via Durini 9.

Vittorio FOA (Carli)
Vittorio ALBASINI
Arialdo BANFI

The various sections of the Party in Lombardy form part of the corresponding Provincial Federations, which in turn are under the direction of the Regional Union for Lombardy (Unione Regionale Lombarda), which has its HQ at Via Monte Napoleone 18, Milan.

The Secretariat of the Regional Union is composed of the following:-

Dott. Marco MONCALVI
Dott. Luigi BOLGIANI
Dott. Lionello F.BRIS
Avv. ZANOTTI
Avv. Arnaldo PIROLA

Press.

The Action Party's daily paper for Lombardy is the EDIZIONE LIBERA (Via Senato 38) directed by Leo VALIANI and F. SCHLAVINA.

Programme.

There is no particular programme for Lombardy, but within the programme and directives of the Executive, every Regional Union is free to deal with political, economic and administrative problems of local importance.

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PARTITO REPUBBLICANO ITALIANO

HQ: Corso Venezia 35, Milan. Membership: Estimated 5,000 members in Lombardy.

The head office of the Partito Repubblicano Italiano is in Rome. However, like all other parties, the patriots of Northern Italy organized during the clandestine period a "Direzione Alta Italia" of PRI, with headquarters in Milan which controlled republicans in the districts of Romagna and Marche as far south as Ancona who had joined the "Direzione Alta Italia" rather than the Roman PRI. This dual existence of a PRI in Rome and a "Direzione Alta Italia" is presumably merely temporary, and sooner or later the two authorities will merge.

Organization and structure.

The "Direzione Alta Italia" is organized in "consociazioni regionali". There is a "consociazione" for each region of northern Italy. PRI preferred the term "consociazione" to the word "federazione" adopted by other parties and formerly introduced by the Fascist Party. There are no provincial organizations. PRI stresses the fact that there is only a Regional (and no Provincial) "consociazione" as symbolic of the regionalistic tendency of the PRI. According to the programme of the PRI, the provinces are to disappear and the country will be organized on a regional basis, with an autonomous parliament for each region which will legislate on local matters. The "consociazioni regionali" are divided into local sections, one for each town having a sufficient number of party members.

In addition to this party organization there are several "Gruppi d'Azione", whose main job it is to aid and assist local labour. They do not have any connection with "Camere del Lavoro" and act entirely independently of this organization. PRI is not represented in the "Camera del Lavoro", although there are many republicans who are members of it. These "Gruppi d'Azione" also carry on propaganda activity which can be compared with the work of the old "Gruppi di Agitazione" of the Communist Party.

There is also a Women's Group of the PRI, and a "Federazione Giovanile Repubblicana" (Youth Organization), both affiliated to the "Fronte della Gioventù". The Fronte della Gioventù was organized on the initiative of the Communist Party, but the PRI, although strongly anti-Communist, decided to participate in order to allow of closer collaboration among the younger generation

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Press.

IL POPOLO NOVARESE published daily in Milan.

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Party Personalities.

The "Direzione Alta Italia" is constituted by the following members of the Party:-

Avv. Ernesto RE, veteran of the battle of the Argonnes in World War 1914-1918.

Gino BORDIGA, aged about 45, editor of IL POPOLO SOVRANO (the daily Party paper).

Ing. Pasquale GALLO, aged about 60, a native of Bari and an expert engineer. Was director of Alfa Romeo for many years until he was ousted by the Fascists. Served a prison sentence. He is now receiver for Alfa Romeo. He is also editor-in-chief of IL POPOLO SOVRANO.

Ing. COLOMBO, aged about 60.

Avv. Edoardo FRIGE, an old Milanese republican. He has a very good reputation in the town.

The Executive Committee of the "Direzione Alta Italia" is constituted as follows:-

Mario RAZZINI, political secretary of the "consociazione" for Lombardy.

Achille GROSSI, an expert in labour questions. He was member of the pre-Fascist "Commissione Provinciale Impiego Privato", a Board which used to settle labour disputes before the Fascist Government organized its "Magistratura del Lavoro". Grossi is now adviser to the Lombardy CLN on labour problems.

Avv. FRIGE (see above)

Avv. Achille MOCCHI, an old republican, aged about 58, very honest and dependable and never a member of the Fascist Party. His office was raided twice by the Fascist republicans and the furniture totally destroyed. During the clandestine period he worked actively with the partisans.

The CLN of Milan has the following republican representatives:-

Dott. PIRAINO, a physician

SILVIORI

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members of the Party:-

Avv. Ernesto RE, veteran of the battle of the Argonnes in World War 1914-1918.

Gino BORELLI, aged about 45, editor of IL POPOLO SOVRANO (the daily Party paper).

Ing. Pasquale GALLO, aged about 60, a native of Bari and an expert engineer. Was director of Alfa Romeo for many years until he was ousted by the Fascists. Served a prison sentence. He is now receiver for Alfa Romeo. He is also editor-in-chief of IL POPOLO SOVRANO.

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The CLN of Milan has the following republican representatives:-

Dott. PIRAINO, a physician

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Political Trend.

The Republican Party is not a "mass" party, as the Socialists, Communists and Demo Christians call themselves. It is a minority

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party in every region of north Italy, with the exception of Genoa, where the PRI has a large following.

Republicans are definitely anti-communist. They do not speak, however, of a "communist danger", as other anti-communist parties do. They would rather offset the strength of the communists by an equally well organized and popular political party. This, and the abolition of the Monarchy, about which the northern republicans feel more strongly than their southern confrères, are their chief aims.

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PARTITO COMUNISTI LIBERTARI

HQ: Rome
Regional HQ: Via Romagnosi 1, Milan.

Membership: Milan City, 6,000
Milan Province, 10,000

The party was first organised in Italy in 1892, and there was a branch in Lombardy from the very beginning. At the General Congress of the Socialist Party in that year a new group was formed calling itself "socialista libertaria" as distinct from the rest of the socialists whom they called "socialisti parlamentari". The latter thought that the class struggle could be peacefully conducted by means of Parliamentary debates and in accordance with the constitution of the country, whereas the new group felt that Parliament was not the proper battleground for the proletarian classes, who can gain their victory over the wealthy classes only by a direct clash between themselves and their employers. When in 1921 the Italian Socialist Party broke up into Socialists and Communists, the "socialisti libertari" became "comunisti libertari"; they kept themselves apart from the communists, claiming that while the Communist Party suppressed individual liberties the "comunisti libertari" stressed to the maximum the rights of the individual. "Comunisti libertari" are commonly called anarchists and with justification, since it is from this philosophical creed that they draw their inspiration.

The party has a central "Federazione Italiana Comunista Libertaria" with HQ in Rome. Subordinate to this are Regional Federations, while each of the latter is sub-divided into sections wherever the movement has a sufficiency of members. The Regional Federation of Lombardy has its HQ in Milan at Via Romagnosi 1. There are 13 sections within the city limits with about 6,000 registered members; the number in the Province of Milan probably amounts to 10,000. There are other important sections in Pavia, Cremona, Sesto S. Giovanni, Bergamo and Corbetta. They also have a women's organisation and a youth section. The movement is steadily growing since many people who had joined other parties during the clandestine period because they could not establish contact with a "comunista libertaria" cell are now going over to this party.

During the clandestine period the "comunisti libertari" had 8 brigades in Lombardy operating under the leadership of the larger and more numerous Matteotti formations. They were called "Brigate Malatesta-Bruzzi"; four operated in Milan, and one each in the Province of Pavia, in the district of S. Cristina, Corte Olona and Belgioioso. After the insurrection the "comunisti

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Before the rise of Fascism the communist-libertarian movement had a flourishing press in Lombardy. In 1919 they founded a daily paper UMANITA NUOVA; they also had a weekly IL RIBELLO and a fortnightly magazine PAGINE LIBERTARIE, all of which ap-

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the Liberation directed the anti-Fascist activity of the Party in Romagna.

CASADEI Giuseppe, born at Forlì in 1902. Long-standing anti-Fascist and one of the promoters of the Unione dei Lavoratori Italiani. One of the editors of LA VOCE DEL POPOLO. In Nov 43 was arrested at Forlì for his anti-Fascist activity. From Jan 43 to 25 Apr 45 directed the anti-Fascist activities of the Party in Emilia.

The present leaders of the Party are as follows:-

SPADA Pietro (see above)
Prof. DOLMETTA Gerolamo (nom de guerre "Dani")
Dott. DOGLIO Carlo (" " " "Sarpi")
Ing. ZANINI Bruno (" " " "Berti")

Clandestine Activity.

The chief clandestine activity of the Party was as follows:-

1) Anti-Fascist and anti-German activity (non collaboration, armed resistance, escape from enlistment and deportation to Germany.)

2) Assistance to political prisoners by printing false documents (identity cards, military and civilian documents etc.) - centres at Milan, Turin, Forlì. Economic assistance to political prisoners and their families.

3) Propaganda activities.

Present Position.

In the AVANTI of June 16th, 1945, it was announced from Forlì that the Partito Italiano del Lavoro had resolved to merge with the Italian Socialist Party. It appears that the main body of this Party, operating in Romagna, had joined the Socialist Party.

However, Pietro Spada, the Milan secretary of the Party, refused to follow the resolution of the headquarters of PIL, and declared that the fusion of the two parties was illegal, and that the Milan section of PIL would carry on its work. Only a small number of men have adopted Spada's attitude and the Partito Italiano del Lavoro can now be considered a negligible minority.

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THE REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

1. History of the Party. HQ: Via Clovassino 3, Milan.

The Republican Socialist Party, in existence throughout Italy, was originally founded in 1924. Owing to the continual persecution of its leading exponents, many of whom were imprisoned or sent to "confino", it was moved from Rola to Lombardy.

During the Fascist period the Party was active and set up various HQs at Rome, Bologna, Venice, Verona and Genoa etc. In June 1940 the Directive Committee met (the meeting was attended by the regional commissioners and the executive for North Italy) in order to draw up a programme of anti-Fascist propaganda and sabotage. Action squads worked with brilliant results; thousands of leaflets were printed and distributed though many members were arrested and convicted.

On 20 July 43 the Republican Socialist Party published a leaflet expounding its ideas and programme and inciting Italians to action which had wide repercussions throughout the country. In August the Committee set up its political HQ with the hope of acting openly. From this HQ they decided to publish their party newspaper "L'AZIONE". With the return of Fascism clandestine activity increased; the paper was widely distributed; contact was maintained with thepartisans and armed groups were formed. In Nov 44 arrangements were made for more active collaboration in the event of a popular armed uprising and the problem of union with the CLNAI was considered: complete independence of action was decided upon.

The Republican Socialist Party followed attentively the military situation and partisan activity, collaborating by means of the press and its armed groups.

On 25 April the first number of the daily paper "L'AZIONE DEL POPOLO" was published, which continued to appear regularly until it was suspended by P.W.B. and made a weekly publication.

2. Press and Membership.

The party is active throughout Italy, particularly in the North and in Central Italy. Owing to the lack of communications it is not possible,however, to give an exact figure of membership. In Milan and Provincethe number already reaches many thousands.

Thelack of a daily newspaper has considerably impeded the diffusion of ideas and propaganda and the 80,000 copies of the weekly newspaper are insufficient to meet the demands of members and sympathizers. Shortly publication of further papers will be

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[x]considered

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3. Party Personalities.

The following are members of the Directive Committee of the Republican Socialist Party for North and Central Italy:-

Conte Cattanee Onesti	President
Vatra Antonio	Secretary
Bononi Dott. Giovanni Battista	Director of "L'AZIONE DEL POPOLO"
Gnugnoli Elio	Chief Administrative Officer
Fabrizio Avv. Alessandro	President of the Press and Propaganda Committee
Colorni Prof. Ausonio	Foreign Affairs
Marangoni Dott. Francesco	Director and representative of the "International"

4. Programme.

The following are the most important points of the Republican Socialist Party's programme:-

1) Defence of the family as an institution with the exclusion of women from public life.

2) Creation of a cooperative economy with control of capital.

3) Reduction of bank interest.

4) Abolition of real estate speculation.

5) Defence of private property when such property is the fruit of labour.

6) European federalistic conception.

7) Legislative power divided between an economic and a political chamber.

8) Popular plebiscite for extraordinary measures.

9) Abolition of the national army or at least a reduction in its cadres.

10) Compulsory labour service for young conscripts.

11) Fullest guarantees for citizens against arbitrary police measures.

5 Supplementary notes.

It appears that the main backer of this party is the Borsellini family, owners of IL SOLE's printing press and paper. IL SOLE is an old financial paper which has been published in

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Milan for over 60 years. During the German occupation IL SOLE was converted from a daily paper into a weekly bulletin, whose publication was carried on (allegedly) against the will of the Bersellini family. The Bersellini family plans to start again IL SOLE as a daily paper.

The Republican Socialist Party took offices in the printing press building of IL SOLE, and L'AZIONE DEL POPOLO, the daily paper of the party, started its publication at the printing press of IL SOLE.

There is a contract between the party and IL SOLE, whereby the party pays to IL SOLE a daily fixed amount (40,000 lire) for the use of the printing press.

The Republican Socialist Party is independent of PSIUP and PRI. They claim that PSIUP is too radical and has not advanced with the times. They are somehow in competition with PRI. They claim that PRI never had a clandestine paper, except for a sheet which appeared only twice during theclandestine period.

According to thePRI L'AZIONE DEL POPOLO is nothing but a new edition of Prof. Chiesa's L'ITALIA DEL POPOLO, a fascist-republican daily which appeared for a few days in Milan during the German occupation and was later suspended by the German authorities.

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PARTITO ITALIANO DEL LAVORO

HQ: via Uberti 33, Milan. Membership: 2,000

History of the Party.

The Partito Italiano del Lavoro was formed in Bologna on the 1st January 1944 through the fusion of the Popolo e Libertà Movement with the Unione dei Lavoratori Italiani. The paper of the U.L.I. LA VOCE DEL POPOLO and the bulletin of the Popolo e Libertà movement passed over to the Partito Italiano del Lavoro who continued their publication.

Party Aims.

The chief aims of the Party are moral and educative. They aim at a transformation of present-day Italian society and intend to train from among the ranks of the Party itself a new governing class capable of bringing the Italian people to the level of all free peoples.

Personalities.

The founders of the Partito Italiano del Lavoro were the directors of the Unione dei Lavoratori Italiani and the Popolo e Libertà movements; and these three, who are as follows, constituted the Central Committee of the Partito Italiano del Lavoro.

SPADA Pietro (nom de guerre Roberto SALA). Born 1907 at Cesena. In 1929 worked with the Giustizia e Libertà disseminating clandestine propaganda in Romagna. In 1933 was arrested by the OVRA for anti-Fascist activity and sent to "confino". After being released continued his anti-Fascist activities and was one of the founders of the Unione dei Lavoratori Italiani. In 1943 organized the clandestine printing of LA VOCE DEL POPOLO at Cesena. After 8 Sep 43 organized the liberation of Allied Ps/W and took part in the plan for the escape of Generals Neame and O'Connell. From Feb 44 to 25 Apr 45 was leader of the Party for North Italy and director of LA VOCE DEL POPOLO, published clandestinely since Jan 44 in Milan.

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TOLLOY Giusto, born at Trieste in 1907. Major in the Army and on the outbreak of war started his anti-Fascist activities among the young officers of the Army, founding the Popolo e Libertà Movement. Marked by the OVRA was sent first to Greece (where he continued his anti-Fascist activities) and then to Russia, sending back writings which were mimeographed and circulated clandestinely. These were later collected by the Partito Italiano del Lavoro and published clandestinely under the title "Con l'Armata Italiana in Russia". From Sep 43 up to

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peared in Milan. They were all suppressed on the rise of Fascism, i.e. even before the freedom of the press was abolished by the law of 1925. The movement immediately began to issue clandestine papers and in November 1922 they published a "numero unico" in Milan entitled PER LA LIBERTA. During the Fascist régime they printed in France and brought their papers from there into Italy. It was not until the German occupation that they began to publish a regular clandestinepress in Milan, when they printed and circulated the two papers IL COMUNISMA LIBERTARIO and AZ ONE LIBERTARIA.

The original leaders of the movement were Enrico Malatesta, Pietro Gori and Andrea Costa. The executive of the Lombardy Federation now consists of Mario Mantovani, Geminale Concordia, Pietropaolo Perelli, Lidia Bellora, Romeo Isara and Amleto Astolfi. Mantovani is typical of the "comunisti libertari" of Lombardy. He was born in Milan in 1897 and was arrested for the first time in 1910 when only 13 during a demonstration against Italian intervention in the war against Turkey for the conquest of Libya. He was arrested again during the First World War for taking part in pacifist demonstrations. Shortly after the war he left Italy and spent some time in France, Spain, Hungary, Belgium and Germany. He was arrested in almost every country where he lived for anarchist propaganda. He also spent some time in Russia, and was there arrested for Trotzkyist propaganda. He took part in the Spanish Civil War, fighting in the International Brigade. In 1940 he was in Belgium, and when the Germans invaded that country he was immediately arrested and deported to Italy, where he was interned on Ventotene Island. He was freed by Badoglio in August 1943. During the German occupation of Northern Italy he devoted himself to the "comunista libertario" movement. He is a printer by trade, and has always worked for his living.

According to Mantovani, the most bitter opponents of the "comunisti libertari" are the communists. When Badoglio was in power in 1943 it appears that the communists, who were among the first to be liberated from the gaols, made every attempt to convince Badoglio's government to keep the anarchists in gaol as undesirable elements. But today, he said, the anarchists are the most orderly and peaceful political group in Milan. One thing which they strongly resent is the fact that the Allies have not given them authority to publish a weekly paper through which they can conduct their propaganda. If one considers the number of papers which they had during the pre-Fascist régime and the considerable circulation of their clandestine press during the

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MOVIMENTO FEDERALISTA EUROPEO

HQ: Via Monte Napoleone 27, Milan. Membership: 3,000.

The movement was founded in 1941 by a group of anti-fascists undergoing "confino" on the Island of Ventotene in the Aegean. It operated during the clandestine period, publishing a paper called "L'Unita Europea", which the promoters propose to continue if newsprint can be procured, and by 1943 had gathered together a sufficient number of adherents to hold a national congress in Milan in August of that year. The basic programme fixed at this meeting, which is reminiscent of that sponsored by Baron Coudenhove-Kalergi with his Pan-Europe movement in the between-wars period, would transfer to a European Federation all sovereign powers affecting interests common to Europeans. Thus, armaments, international traffic, currencies, delimitation of frontiers, administration of backward territories, intervention against possible attempts to re-establish authoritarian régimes, etc. - all these matters would be the business of the Federation. Although anti-Marxist in principle and holding the view that federation is possible only as between democracies, the movement is prepared to accept members of all shades of political opinion.

There are sections of the M.F.E. in Turin, Genoa, Florence, Rome and Naples, and although for all practical purposes they are independent units, it would seem that on the international plane they are represented by the Milan group. The movement is affiliated as a whole with federalistic groups in other countries. The prime mover in the international sphere is the French organisation, and at an international conference held in Paris in March of this year it was decided to constitute an international committee for European federation with a Paris address.

The Lombardy section has a rather modest setup - half a dozen voluntary female workers, a president (Luigi Gorini, socialist) and an editor (Mario Albert Rollier, Party of Action). In addition, there is the editorial committee comprising the following: Vittorio Foa, Giorgio Peyronel, Mario del Pra, Altiori Spinelli, Cerillo Spinelli and Guglielmo Usellini. All these men belong to the Party of Action with the exception of Cerillo Spinelli and Usellini, who are socialists. Usellini is also editor of Avanti. The predominance of members of the Action Party gives the obvious political tone to the movement, whose members at present number some 3,000 drawn from all classes but with a good sprinkling of students and youths belonging to the Fronte della Gioventu.

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Apart from propaganda, the work of the section consists mainly in supplying foriegn ex-internees who have drifted in - Italy with advice and also material help when finances, whic - to not seem to be too flourishing, permit.

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PARTITO COMUNISTA INTERNAZIONALISTA

HQ: Via Cerusio 12, Milan.

1. History of the Party.

The Partito Comunista Internazionalista dates back to 1927 when it broke away from thePartito Comunista Italiano and became a separate political body. It should be pointed out that the leaders of this opposition party (a minority group) numbered among their ranks the founders of the Partito Comunista Italiano.

The leader of the Partito Comunista Internazionalista was BORDIGA, former founder of the Italian Communist Party and Secretary of that Party from 1921-24. BORDIGA is at present in Naples where he represents the Partito Comunista Internazionalista, which has a large following in that town as also in Milan where the Party has its HQ.

Although this Party never had a great success in Italy, centres were set up in Lombardy and other parts of the country. It found a larger following, however, in France and Belgium, and since 1941 has followed a more active propaganda introducing into Italy publications printed abroad (PROMETEO and BILAN) and printing a periodical bulletin in Milan.

After the armistice the Partito Comunista Internazionalista increased its propaganda activities and continued the clandestine periodical PROMETEO, printed in Turin and distributed in Milan, of which 15 numbers appeared. During the same period the number of members of the P.C.I. steadily increased and the Party organized itself on a more solid basis. The total number of members in North Italy is estimated at 5-6,000.

The main centres in Lombardy were in the provinces of Milan, Como, Mantua and Bergamo, and in Milan province "cells" were formed in Milan, Sesto S. Giovanni, Monza, Melzo, Lissone, Cantù and Lodi.

2. Present Organization.

The Italian branch of the Partito Comunista Internazionalista has a Central Committee in Milan. Each province has a federation

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HQ: Via Ceresio 12, Milan.

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2. Present Organization.

The Italian branch of the Partito Comunista Internazionalista has a Central Committee in Milan. Each province has a federation which is sub-divided into sections for each commune where there are sufficient party members. The sections are sub-divided into "gruppi rionali" in the larger urban centres. Besides these "gruppi rionali" there are parallel units called "gruppi di fabbrica" in most large industrial plants: e.g. Falck, Ercole-Marelli, Breda, Caproni, Brown-Boveri, Olap, Salmoiraghi.

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3. Political Programme.

The Partito Comunista Internazionalista follows a programme of non-collaboration with the other parties. It is against the government and any form of compromise with the conservative classes.

ThePartito Comunista Internazionalista believes in class struggle and in the revolution. It has no faith in parliamentary debates and does not think that the proletarian classes will reach their aims with a parliamentary form of government.

Thisattitude was taken in 1927 when the Communist Party assumed a nationalistic trend. Members of the Partito Comunista Internazionalista accuse Stalin of having reduced the principles of Communism to a bourgeoise dictatorship.

The Partito Comunista Internazionalista is closely allied to Trotzkyism and it is planned to merge these two movements within a short time. In Naples, however, they are still separated owing to the trotzkyists calling themselves "dissident communists".

Although the Party did not take a leading part in the insurrection against the Germans, they are willing to cooperate with the CLN. They will also vote at the next elections. However, they do not have much faith in this organization, because they think that both the CLNs and the future parliament will necessarily have to come to an agreement with the reactionary classes.

The Partito Comunista Internazionalista supports the Camera del Lavoro, because, up to the present, it is the only active organ which wages the class war. On the other hand it does not trust the recently organized "consigli di gestione", whereby capital and labour will have a joint administration, because these "consigli" are just another form of compromise between capital and labour.

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PARTITO DEMOCRATICO ITALIANO

HQ: Via Cosimo del Fante, Milan. Membership: About 8,000 in Milan.

The Partito Democratico Italiano for North Italy was founded after 8th September 1943 by a small group led by Avv. Nicoletti in order to continue the fight against Nazi-Fascism.

Many of its members were arrested, among them Avv. Nicoletti who was imprisoned for 14 months.

The movement grew in strength and distinguished itself in various battles taking part in political police activity.

It was at first composed of apolitical elements, desirous only of fighting for the liberty of their country, and remained so until the programme of the P.D.I. became known, to which they gave their support without reserve. First contacts were made with Rome, but the official organization of the North Italian Delegation only came into being in early May. The leader of this was Avv. Benedetto Nicoletti and as Vice-head Lt. Col. Gerolamo La Neve, organizer of the partisan war and Commandant of the "BIANCARDI" Group.

Organization and propaganda work was started in all the northern areas, in particular in Lombardy. A Youth Movement and a Women's Organization have been set up, besides a Study Centre, for the examination of various political, economic and social problems, in direct contact with similar organizations in Rome.

Particular help was given to ex-internees from Germany and an office for this purpose was organized.

Press.

Permission has been asked to print a daily newspaper, but up to the present has been refused owing to paper shortage. Propaganda activities have been carried on, however, by means of leaflets and pamphlets.

The P.D.I. is in opposition to the C.L.N. as it disapproves of afew self-elected men guiding the Nation and monopolising the governmental activities of the country.

It upholds the following points:-

1) An order of international relations founded on the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

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1) An order of international relations founded on the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

2) A civil order which protects the family.

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3) A political order which guarantees full liberty to every citizen without distinction of race, class or creed.

4) An economic order which ensures a better and more equal sharing of goods and prohibits the accumulation of wealth by any one person which threatens public and private liberty.

5) A social order which guarantees social security for all citizens.

6) An order for educational reform.

7) A constitutional order, based on monarchical principles, which guarantees a democratic and free political régime - which can only come about through an agreement between the Monarchy and the people.

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FRONTE SOCIALE

HQ: Via Francesco Sforza 41, Milan. Membership: ?

The Fronte Sociale (Social Christian Communist Movement) has its HQ in Rome. It is an old anti-Fascist party which has been active both during Fascism and the clandestine period. It is popular in Southern Italy, which has suffered less from Fascism and consequently has fewer radical tendencies.

The leaders of the movement are as follows:-

Rome - University Prof. Avv. Salvatore FODERARO
Calabria - Dott. Vincenzo COSTA
Sicily - Prof. SAMPATARO
Milan - Captain ALGOZZINO (imprisoned by the Fascists)

Besides Capt. Algozzino in Milan the Party is directed by an Executive Committee composed of 10 members chosen from among all social classes.

In the partisan fight for liberation many members of the Fronte Sociale for north Italy fought with the partisan formations in the province of Bergamo.

The Fronte Sociale is completely separate from the Sinistra Cristiana and the Cristiani Sociali movements. The Sinistra Cristiana adheres strictly to the official Communist programme, while the Cristiani Sociali compromises between the Christian Democrats and the parties of the Extreme Left.

The Fronte Sociale calls itself a "political go-getter". Spiritually it advocates a strong ideological religious tradition characteristic of the Italian people.

The Fronte Sociale desires to reunite all those who do not wish to adhere to the programmes of the official parties, whether Communist, Socialist or Christian Democrats, considering that Communism and Socialism are dictatorial and monopolistic, while the Christian Democrat Party is reactionary.

The Fronte Sociale accepts the Christian religious ideology but desires a government to which all can have access without consideration of caste.

In practice the movement is anti-capitalist with a definite bias to the Left, but above all it is opposed to dictatorship under any form.

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The chief points of the programme are as follows:-

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1) A people's Republic

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2) Creation of a state-sponsored People's Guard.

3) Free education for all.

4) Creation of a Civil Health Body controlled by the State with free treatment for mothers and babies.

5) The right to work for all men and women.

6) Respect of small private property; agricultural reform of large properties and socialization of key industries.

7) Organization on cooperative basis of Italian handicrafts.

8) Freedom of religion, press and speech etc.

9) Peace policy and alliance with the United Nations.

10) Creation of a European Federation with representatives from every State and a Central Government freely and democratically elected.

The Fronte Sociale has no money and no reserves. The money for propaganda activities (through the press and conferences) has, up to now, been met by individuals interested in the movement.

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FRONTE DELLA GIOVENTU

HQ: Via Conservatorio 9, Milan.

History of the Party.

The "Fronte" was formed in October 1943 on directives drawn up by Eugenio Curiel, young Communist who was assassinated in February 1945 in Milan. It was formed as a mass resistance organization and takes in non-party members.

Organization.

The "Fronte" is headed by a Central Committee consisting of representatives of the Socialist, Communist, Action, Liberal, Republican and Christian Labourers parties and two young men who are non-party members. The Christian Democrats recently withdrew officially from the "Fronte", however, it is said that they are still taking part in the organization despite Party orders in Piemonte, Veneto and some parts of Lombardy. Under the Central Committee comes a Regional Committee and various Labour Groups, among them the Students' Association with representatives from all faculties and Scuole Medie from every zone in northern Italy.

Membership is estimated to be approximately 100,000 in Emilia, 180,000 in Lombardy and 150,000 in Piemonte.

Press.

Clandestine publications were as follows:-

Monthly Mimeographed Bulletin FRONTE DELLA GIOVENTU.
"f.d.g. - PER UNA VITA MIGLIORE" (Daily Sheet, Milan)

Since the Liberation the following publications have appeared:-

AVVENIRE D'ITALIA (weekly, Milan)
"f.d.g. - PER UNA VITA MIGLIORE"

These last two have appeared without PWB authorization.

The "Fronte", said Signor Cavalli, who represents the Socialist Party on the Fronte della Gioventù, intended to publish their literature with or without permission. Meanwhile, however, they have applied for publications permits for their official organs EPOCA NUOVA and f.d.g. PER UNA VITA MIGLIORE.

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Plans.

Cultural lectures, polit cal education of the masses, cultivation of sports, vote for youths of eighteen and an extension to

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welfare plan taking in ex-internees from Germany; aid to some 10,000 children in the Lombardy region and their education. Funds for this last could be unfrozen from the resources of the Fascist GIL, as arranged with the CLN, but this has as yet not been done.

Personalities.

Signor CAVALLI: Romagnolo by birth, son of a labourer and was a labourer himself, studying in his spare time. When his military service was over he was employed in the Associazione Mutilati where he quietly furthered his anti-Fascist activities within the organization, and from which he was dismissed in September 1944 for "political immorality". He is very young and rather brusque. He "refused" to furnish names of other FDG members.

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GRUPPI DIFESA DELLA DONNA

The Gruppi Difesa della Donna was founded in November 1943 and consisted of the Action Party, Communist and Socialist Party women. Its purpose was to organize all women of northern Italy in the resistance movement, organizing sabotage of production, strikes, slowdowns and mass demonstrations. HQ in Milan: Via Moravigli 2.

Press and Propaganda.

Clandestine period papers were NOI DONNE and VOLONTARI DELLA LIBERTA. NOI DONNE, it may be mentioned, is coming out in Novara and Liguria without PWB authorisation. Other UDI newspapers are:- Turin - LA DIFESA DELLA LAVORATRICE, Genoa - LA DONNA IN LOTTA, Emilia - LA DONNA IN LOTTA and LA RINASCITA DELLA DONNA, Veneto - LA DONNA FRIULANA. Milan has an organisational bulletin and a Research Centre paper IL PENSIERO FEMMINILE. The administration sends out typed articles and news into the provinces where they are reproduced in the local UDI organs, also directives, pamphlets, leaflets and proclamations on all subjects to be distributed to the various regions for propaganda purposes.

Clandestine activities.

GDD launched its agitations and demonstrations campaign in March and carried on up to the Liberation. It was well represented in all the general strikes and mass agitation organizing. Women rose up in Forli, Parma, Modena, Turin and in over a hundred Milanese factories demanding food, clothing, shoes, coal, wood, higher salaries and mass improvements. They joined in political demonstrations and strikes against deportations, executions and massacres all over northern Italy. Other activities of the Gruppi were marking Fascist stores of food, fuel and clothing to be put at the disposal of the CLNs for distribution to the people; organizing the peasants to preserve their farms from the nazi-fascists and to keep their produce for the resistance groups; liaison work with city groups; having wells dug in case of a water shortage and general assistance to partisans at all times.

Military activity.

Women worked with all armed partisan bands, GAP, SAP etc., as nurses, on the staff, carrying orders, washing, cooking, obtaining food and arms, liaison work, sabotage, wire cutting squads, scattering nails along highways and pushing over trees and telegraph poles to impede the enemy wherever possible. They also acted as stretcher bearers and on some occasions spirited wounded partisans away from hospitals where they were interned and awaiting execution. A recent report from GDD to UDI names

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25 women who were killed in the performance of their duty, among them an aged mother of 70 years shot for harbouring and feeding her partisan son and his companions in arms.

Organizational Structure.

With the aim of making the GDD, now united with the UDI, a mass organization the following organizational structure has been evolved:- Each "Group" - factory, housewives, intellectuals, peasants etc., is called by the name of a hero, heroine or martyr of anti-Fascism. Each group is under a committee of from 3 to 5 members, the member in charge of the group being under the directorship of one of the committee members. Zone, Section, Provincial and Regional committees follow the rule of the National Committee. In conjunction with the committees, labour commissions operate for organizational, press, propaganda and welfare purposes. Research Centres (Centro Studi) have been set up in all the principal cities for the study and solution of major reconstruction problems. The Zone and Section Committees send Weekly Progress Reports covering activities and plans to the Provincial Committees. Thus a monthly report is sent from the Provincial Committees to the Regional Committees and from there forwarded to Headquarters or the National Committee. They have and aim to maintain a large membership in the CLNs, the Agitation and Syndical Committees, the Giunte Popolari and all mass organizations.

The number of members of GDD are stated to be as follows:-

Piemonte	4,528
Lombardy	4,758
Emilia	11,402
Liguria	1,340
Veneto	2,000

In an interview in early June, however, Mrs. Gisella Florianini estimated membership in the north as running to 100,000.

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MOVIMENTO LAVORATORI CRISTIANI

The Movimento Lavoratori Cristiani was founded in Rome by Franco Roadano in 1941. The northern branch is known as the Catholic Communist Movement. Members number only a few hundreds in the north, but they are all very young and earnest intellectual "workers". The programme is as follows:-

1) Union of workers' forces and popular masses
2) Installation of a Republic
3) Socialisation of large financial and industrial monopolies.
4) Vigorous agricultural reform to remove the still existent feudal conditions.

The leader of the Party in Milan is Mario Motta, Piemontese literary man and said to be a brilliant young politician.

The Party representative in the Regional CLN is Giorgio Sebregondi, Milanese aged about 27, a doctor of law who professionally is a Health Officer. Another Party leader is Lisetta Giua, born in Turin of scientist parents. Her brother was killed at the age of 23 at Estremadura, fighting against the Franco forces. Her father was arrested in 1935 for his anti-Fascist activities and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. She took an active part in partisan activity and was arrested in September 1944 by the Banda Koch and imprisoned in the Villa Triste. She was transferred from there to the San Vittore prison whence she made her escape aided by an armed band sent by her husband.

The Party's first national meeting is to be held in Rome shortly.

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CONFIDENTIAL 3.7.45.

MOVIMENTO TRICOLORE

HQs Via Gioberti 8, Milan.

The Movimento Tricolore follows the Movimento Azzurro, founded by Paolo Carlo Cerri, army officer, in Pavia, declares itself apolitical, pro-monarchy and for the maintaining of order against extremes. It consists mainly of ex-army personnel. The first meeting at Pavia was attended by Dott. Moro Pollini (Lt), Mario Cocchetti (Lt. pilot), Rag. Zighetti (Col.), Avv. Luigi De Silvestri (Capt.), Dott. A; Chiodi (Lt. paratrooper) and N. Antonioli. At the following meeting there were also present from Lombardy and Piedmont regions:- Col. Barberis, Maj. Lozza, Capt. Banchi, Maj. Usmiani, Col. De Matteis, Col. Cocchi, Lt. Pusineri, Commandante Montani, Capt. Romano, Lt. Fadini, Avv. Mugnai, Mr. A. Guidetti, Capt. A. Marvelli, Avv. Guaita, Comm. R. Gatti; Dr. Barbieri, Rag. Antoniazzi, Dott. Gianni Chiodi, Dott. Nino Cavazza, Andrea Pagani. Nearly all of these men went into the mountains in command of apolitical Partisan Brigades and Divisions. In the Autumn of 1944 Cerri transferred his headquarters to Milan and went to work on the outlying Lombardy regions. He is now conducting a campaign in the northern provinces, supposedly sponsored by the Luogotenente, to bring back ex-partisan members and substitute them in the present army for the red elements. He says this can and is being done with the knowledge of General Cadorna.

The clandestine committee members were Col. De Mattei, Dott. Barbieri, Dott. Moro Pollini, Avv. Mugnai, Comm. Gatti, A. Guidetti, Dott. A. Chiodi, Capt. Marvelli. They had to take in a small monarchist group in the autumn of 1944, the leaders of which were Ing. Schiavocampo, Lt. Mondino and Lt. Paolo Solaroli.

The present committee of management consists of:-

Hon. President	General Litta Modigliani	80 year old Milanese military man.
Vice Presidents	C. Carnevale Carlo Schiavocampo	Latter 55 year old Sicilian. Cerri says partisans want him replaced.
General Inspector	Paolo Carlo Cerri	About 47, Pavese, mild monarchist bourgeois journalist whose career was cut

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General Inspector	Paolo Carlo Cerri	About 47, Pavese, mild monarchist bourgeois journalist whose career was cut short due to his anti-Fascist activity in 1925. Became theatrical manager to cover activities.

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Secretary	Nicola Bruno	Man about 50. Aide to Bonoivenga at Versaille last war. Has been out of the country for many years in diplomatic service.

The party strength is estimated at 30,000, but Corri says by the middle of July there will be a notable increase. The present membership is nearly entirely partisan.

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APPENDIX I NO. 55

15 FEBRUARY 1945

POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERATED ITALY

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Additional copies of this Appendix are available on request.

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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 tyranny 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; one was the Communist party, and the other was the movement known as [illegible] (an organization which attracted to its ranks

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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 Germens. 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. 1636

During the 45 days between the fall of Mussolini and the announcement of the armistice, the parties were however able to improve their

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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 experimant 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 however able to improve their organization, as they were strengthened by the return of many eminent anti-fascists who were released from the "confino" or from imprisonment. A few also returned from exile, mostly from France.

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

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

On 28 January, 1944, the Congress of Bari was held. This was the first free congress to be held in Liberated territory, and delegates of the Committees of Liberation throughout the liberated area attended. The congress expressed the unanimous hostility of the 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

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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. 1435

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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(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 certain 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 ALTAVILLA and Dott. Rafaele DE CARO. The Secretary General is Avv. Leone CATTANI. There is in addition a National Executive "Giunta", presided over by Count Avv. Nicolo CARANDINI. The Party has organised provincial sections, with subsections in the cities and towns. In Rome, the Party headquarters have branches which deal with publications, party discipline, propaganda, welfare, Occupied Italy etc.

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

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

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

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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.

Youth Organisations, (male): These are set up as subsections of the regular Party sections, with the exception of the student [illegible] "Italian per la Liberta", which is backed by the

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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 cooperation with other groups of liberal tendencies, published the clandestine "Il Risorgimento Liberale", which, even in those early days, advocated the expulsion of the Germans from Italy.

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

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

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

Manlio BROSIO	Minister without Portfolio
Cesare GABRIELE	Under-Secretary of Finance

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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 Armsitice. 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 1433 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

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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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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.

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

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

Reform and local autonomy of welfare institutions.

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

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

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

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

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

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II. PARTITO DEMOCRATICO DEL LAVORO

HEADQUARTERS: Piazza Augusto Imperatore 32, Rome

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

Official head of the Party is Avv. Dott. Prof. Meuccio RUINI (Minister of Public Works.)
Secretary " " " " Avv. Mario CEVOLOTTO (Minister of Communications)
Vice Secretaries Avv. Achille LORDI
Prof. Giuseppe PATRUNO
Chairman, Rome Committee Dott. 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 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 JAPPOCI, 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.CILMI
"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: GAROFATO.
"LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO", Palermo
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Perugia.

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scribed member.

Official head of the Party is Avv. Dott. Prof. Meuccio RUINI (Minister of Public Works.)

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Vice Secretaries Avv. Achille LORDI
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"L'AZIONE", Potenza. Youth Movement publication: circulation 5000.
"RICOSTRUZIONE", Foggia. Editor: GAROFALO.
"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 fascism and of totalitarianism of any form. Its doctrines are pro-

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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
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VERONI, Dante	Undersecretary of Justice.

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

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

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Some of the planks of its political platform are:

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

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

3) Simplification of the bureaucracy.

4) An independent magistrature, safeguarded against political pressure.

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

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

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

8) Greater regional autonomy.

9) Agrarian reform.

10) Freedom of syndical organizations from political influences.

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

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

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PARTITO D'AZIONE

Headquarters: Via Sistina 72, Roma

Office bearers:

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

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

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

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

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

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. Ecc. Alberto TARCHIANI
Prof. Guido DE RUGGIERO
Dott. Riccardo BAUER
Prof. Carlo MUSCETTA
Avv. Oronzo REALE
Dott. Manlio ROSSI DORIA

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

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

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

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

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Workers' Movement : Directors: E. 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 underground and soon after, its clandestine paper L'ITALIA LIBERA appeared. The party organized cells and bands which operated in liaison with the military giunta of the C.L.N. In August 1944, a party congress was held at which the left tendencies within the party became apparent and the basic doctrine of the party was defined as "autonomistic, liberal and anti-totalitarian socialism."

The party participated, as one of the Six Parties, in the third Badoglio and in the first Bonomi governments. Its leaders refused to join the second Bonomi government in December 1944, partly out of loyalty to Sforza whome they considered Bonomi had sacrificed to British pressure, but chiefly because they demanded more rigorous epuration and the recognition of greater powers in the C.L.N. On the two latter issues the party sided with the Socialists and Communists. In spite of this 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:

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 PENCALTEA	-	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 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.

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13. Expropriation without indemnity of reactionary Fascist plutocracy.
14. Sliding-scale taxation, while safeguarding the productivity of small and medium business.
15. International free trade; more rational distribution of raw materials and manufactured products; free circulation of labour.
16. Looks to the Church for spiritual aid in the work of reconstruction, but demands its non-intervention in politics.

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

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

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

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PARTITO DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA

Headquarters: Piazza del Gesù 46, Rome.

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

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

Other leading personalities are:
Umberto TUPINI
Giovanni GRONCHI
Salvatore ALDISIO
Bernardo MATTARELLA
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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 "segretaric comunale" for each commune. At present there are trustees ("fiduciari") in each province; Candidates for party offices are elected. The Party has offices in the principal cities of liberated Italy, and local elections are held for the Regional Committees, each of which send three delegates to the central Executive Committee. Theorganization of the Party is necessarily still in its early stages. It seems to have proceeded satisfactorily in Rome where it has large offices with reception rooms for visitors

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

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

"Il Domani d'Italia" daily, Naples.

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

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

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

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

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

The following members of the Party held posts in the first

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

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

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

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and the following in the two Badoglio governments:-

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

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

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

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

The Party leaders look to London and Washington rather than to Moscow for the aid essential to the salvation and rehabilitation of Italy. They have on occasion expressed friendly sentiments for the principal Catholic Allied countries, France and Poland. 1423

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)

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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..

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 1427 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

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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 Party first assumed the name of Partito Socialista. In the election of that year, 12 Socialist deputies were elected. An insurrection broke out in Milan in 1898 which led to the arrest

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"L'Avanti", Bari "
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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 held 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 ideologies and the assurances of independence from Moscow frequently made by Communist leaders are to be taken at their

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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 Democ Christians a formal pronouncement in favour of a republic and their repudiation of the monarchy. while the latter are opposed to the marxism of the Socialists. The parties moreover distrust each other on the question of the Church, with the Socialists accusing the 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.

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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

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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.

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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.

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

Vice-Secretary — Mauro SCOCCIMARRO

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

Celeste NEGARVILLE
Eugenio REALE
Velio SPANO
Giuseppe DI VITTORIO
NOVELLA Agostino
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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:

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

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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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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.

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

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

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

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

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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 BRACCIALARGHE
Nicola SIGISMONDI
Oliviero ZUCCARINI

Avv. Pacciardi was born at Grosseto 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 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

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Officials: On. Avv. Giovanni CONTI (Secretary)
Avv. Randolfo PACCIARDI
On. Avv. Gino MACRELLI
Avv. Ottorino PETRONI
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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 ABBATINA. In August the fifteen women's centres in Rome had an aggregate membership of 840.

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

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

Programme:

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

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

3. No office to be filled without popular election.

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

5. The family is the foundation of society. The Commune is the most important of all political and social organisms; the Region is also important. State control should be reduced to a minimum. Communes, 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, Liboro MASTROCOLA, Arborio 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"; attracting as it does both the dissidents and the orthodox Marxists, disgusted

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Calogero	PUGLIARA
Ettore	BARONCINI
Giovanni	GLORIOSO
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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 hyphothesis has been by any means proved.

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

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

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

4) No collaboration with bourgeois parties or governments.

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PARTITO CRISTIANO SOCIALE

HEADQUARTERS: Via del Tritone 201

CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

Dr.	Gerardo	BRUNI (founder)
Conte	Lucangelo	BRACCI
	Lidio	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. Considerable 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.

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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.
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The leaders of the Party appear to be young, sincere idealists in the main, with a few older advisers.

Fedele D'AMICO is a young man of letters in his early 30's, the son of one of Italy's best dramatic critics. He is a highly cultiv-

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ated person whose primary ability is perhaps literary and artistic rather than political. With him Catholicism (not clericalism) comes first, and Communism second. He professes to feel himself in sympathy with 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'Italia (q.v.)

LABOUR ORGANIZATION: The Workers' Movement within the Party supports the single trade union as advocated by the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro.

HISTORY: The movement was founded under fascism with the purpose of healing by Catholicism the schism in the working classes, regarded as the root of all their troubles. It sprang from the Partito 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 delle Sinistra Cristiana)...are not in conformity with the teachings of the

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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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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I No. 55

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Fedele D'AMICO, in the course of a private conversation, expressed the opinion that the attack was inspired by the Christian Democrats. At the same time he could not understand on what grounds (documents) the Party had been condemned. What attitude did the Vatican intend to adopt towards the French Catholics of the Left and Bidault, French Foreign Minister? In any case it seemed that the present Vatican attitude, if adhered to, would ruin any chance his Party had of obtaining a hold over substantial bodies of Italian opinion. Its appeal was to town workers and country people, all firm Catholics but repelled by the present weak and colorless programme of the Christian Democrats.

PROGRAMME: 1) To incorporate the needs and aspirations of the workers, who find set forth in the Gospels their will to concrete democracy and justice.

2) Progressive and popular democracy to protect labour from every form of exploitation.

3) Single union of all workers.

4) Help for the small landholder by the cooperative use of mechanical farm equipment. Breaking up of big estates. Creation of farm cooperatives.

5) Support for the Government and the CLN.

6) Support and working out in practice of the broad lines of policy announced by the Church, as the latter cannot itself interfere in politics.

7) Democratization, not Communism. The Party is anti-Monarchist.

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

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 CEMMINO. 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 the democratic ministerial combination with the Monarchy.

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After the liberation of Rome, the Party tried to establish its headquarters there, but failed to do so. Later on there was a move to merge the Movimento Comunista and the P.S.R.I., but nothing came of it.

Politics and Programme: The Party has always been anti-Monarchist and has upheld Sicilian separatism. In October 1943 the Party reprinted some propaganda pamphlets which were allegedly drawn up during the clandestine period, and which stated that the Party was of the Left Wing, but contrary to proletarian dictatorship.

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

The following are the main points of its programme (valid December 1944):

1. A Socialist Republic, under a President chosen by a national assembly of electors representing free workers' associations.
2. A two-Chamber legislature: Chamber of Economics and Legislative Body.
3. Minister appointed by and responsible to the Chambers. The President to coordinate and unite the Government.
4. Obligatory suffrage restricted to members of the workers' associations.
5. Complete separation of Church and State.
6. The institution of divorce with restrictive laws safe-guarding the family.
7. Abolition ofthe death penalty.
8. Recognition of all freedoms, speech press etc. emigration, abortion.
9. A single state tax.
10. Abolition of large and medium properties.

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MOVIMENTO PARTIGIANO

Headquarters: Direzione Centrale in via Sistina, 48.
Direzione Provinciale & Assistance Office, in Torre dei Conti, Via dell'Impero,

The Movement is directed by the Direzione Centrale consisting of 14 to 20 membersn 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.

1413

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.

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Newspapers: "Il Partigiano", weekly, Rome; Authorized circulation 10,000.
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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(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only.)

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 :

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2. To promote in Italy a democratic regime and guard against any recurrence of absolutism or tyranny.
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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 MANETTI-CUSA, Palermo
Dr. Salvatore DE MARTINO, Naples
Umberto CORTI, Cremona
Prof. Emanuele MORSELLI, Messina
Conte Antonio TOSTI DI VALMINUTA , Rome
Ludovico PATERNO DI SESSA, Rome
Prof. Cesare GRINOVERO, Milan -Agrarian Expert
Prof. Achille MANGO, Rome " "

Membership : No figure available.

Newspaper : The party hopes to publish a paper to be called L'AVVENIRE DEL POPOLO and directed by Dr. De Martino.

Youth Movement : Unione Agraria Giovanile. Office bearers - Dr. Costante Prosperi, Secretary; Dr. Paolo Sylos Labini, Rome; Dr. Domenico Viggiani, Naples.

History : The party was formed at the time of the liberation of Rome, and disclaims any connection with previous parties of the same name.

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-

1416

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social justice.
4. Revolution not evolution.
5. Opposition to the Monarchy.
6. Opposition to the parties of the C.L.N.

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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.

1416

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.

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. 1415
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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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.
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1415

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55
(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

CENTRO ITALIANO DI RINNOVAMENTO.

Headquarters: Corso Umberto, 333.

Membership: The Welfare and Cultural Centre groups about 50 people. These are almost all professional workers who belong to no political party.

Programme: This group is non-political. It concentrates on:-
1) Welfare and cultural activities.
2) Consumers' co-operative: 'Fratelli d'Italia'.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

COMITATO PER LA RICOSTRUZIONE NAZIONALE

Headquarters: Via Quattro Fontane, 142 and 143.

Office-bearers: Capt. Giorgio STARO SANTAROSA.
Dr. Mario RUGGERO
Dr. Giancarlo 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.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

PARTITO DI RICOSTRUZIONE CRISTIANA.

Headquarters: Via G. Avezzano, 51.

Office-Bearers: Directing Committee: Avv. Alberto SABASTIANI (head of the Party)

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

1) Welfare and cultural activities.
2) Consumers' co-operative: 'Fratelli d'Italia'.

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Cte. Paolo PIELLA
Avv. Giovanni SILVASTRELLI

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55
(Passages market with a line at the side are for information only)

The Party has the slogan "To Christianize the state and to co-operate in a new Christian order in the world". It is monarchical and clerical.

The Party has no inscribed membership, adherents are found and maintained by means of meetings. It has no Youth, Feminine or Syndical organizations. It claims to have applied for authorization to publish a party newspaper.

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PARTITO DI UNIONE PROLETARIA

Headquarters: Via Fornova, 12.

Thesecoffices 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.

1414

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

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

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785027

(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 several belonging to his gang were arrested. Salvarezza himself, after a press campaign lasting several days, was sought by the

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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.

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55
(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

UNIONE DELLE DONNE ITALIANE

Headquarters: Via IV Novembre 144, Rome.

Board of Directors: Emilia SIRACUSA CABRINI
Luigia COBAU
Egle GUALDI
Rita MOGLIANA 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 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.

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Programme: 1) Active participation in the political and social

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Rita [illegible]
Bastianina MUSU MARTINI
Giuliana NENNI
Maria ROMITA
Marisa CINCIARI RODANO

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1413

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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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No.55
(Passages marked with a line at the side are for information only)

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 ISCHLESI).

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.
ACLI (Christian Workers' Association of Italy). Newspaper: "Il Giornale dei Lavoratori"; daily; not yet authorised. The

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on for women, free education for children in 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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Headquarters: Via della Conciliazione, 3.

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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 suppression in 1928, had several thousand troops throughout Italy. It was revived almost simultaneously in the late summer of 1943 in Sicily, under the patronage of Cardinal LAVITRANO, and in Rome, where Prof. GEDDA, President of the Central Youth Organisation of Catholic Action, was authorised by the Badoglio Government to revive the movement. It has now regional and diocesan organizations throughout liberated Italy and has published manuals and magazines, run courses for scoutmasters and resumed normal scouting activities to some extent.
Note: There is also a non-religious scouting association in liberated Italy called CEI (Corpo Nazionale Giovani Esploratori Italiani).

History: The Movement, born in the nineteenth century, received a great impetus from the support of Pius XI. Although recognised in the Concordat of 1929, however, it was subjected to attacks by the Fascists from 1931 on. During the German occupation of Rome it suffered some actual persecution, due probably to the action of the Catholic clergy in sheltering anti-Fascists and Jews. Father 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, AGB 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 hierarchy 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	Rome	

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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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