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OCT., NOV. 1944

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PRESS CUTTINGS, COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION,
TRANSLATIONS
OCT., NOV. 1944

MINUTE SHEET NO. 1.

Page

DATE

(from the " Italia Libera" of the 11th of November)

LET US RECONSTRUCT DEMOCRACY

The problem that the National Committee of Liberation of Tuscany has placed in the national order of the day, is the central problem of the moment, it is the problem of the democratic reconstruction of the Country. Much has been already said on the urgent necessity of a radical and deep change in the structure and institution of the State, which will allow and efficient and lasting democracy to realise with success her function: but now we find ourselves for the first time faced with a decisive about-face, with a concrete fact where we must precisely choose between old forms of State organizations who have favoured the destruction of liberty and the new democratic institutions, which have spontaneously arisen from the struggle to liberate the Country.

These institutions, the only really creative and original ones, that the Italian revolution has created are the National Committees of Liberation. They represent the original cellule of the new State of democratic liberty, the voluntary and organic confluency of all the political forces, who have effectively fought, in an effective unity, whose function will not be that, a rather ^{trivial} one we must admit, of connecting the different parties, but of expressing ^{through} the individualistic yet harmonious relationship between the various political ideologies the real, democratic and reconstructive will of the Country.

The Committees of Liberation have directed and are directing the struggle against the invader: in the hardy and bloody experience of this struggle, these organizations have bettered themselves through a natural and severe selection: and doubtlessly no representation, in the actual state of affairs in Italy could claim greater democratic stability: for it draws its roots in the security with which the fighting patriots entrust the direction of the common battle to the better ones amongst them, to the better men of all the parties. Lacking any other form of popular consultation, only the National Committee of Liberation is capable to interpret the prevailing popular will, as it directly represents that part of the Country, which through the parties, recognise and face the necessities of the struggle: therefore the only part of the Country who has a right to guide its destiny.

How true this happens to be, is very well known by anyone who has just come out from the honest fight. In Northern Italy, as in Tuscany, the Italian people do not recognise any other guide, in their suffering and martyrdom, apart from the N.C.L. who reflects ~~the~~ special democratic needs, their aspirations to liberty and of the effective renewal of the structure of the State. In the occupied regions the N.C.L. is already Government, because it has the consent of the people, forms the Arms of liberation, makes loans, and therefore has all the authority of the State.

Not to recognise these facts does not only mean not to see; it means not to want to see. It means an attempt to "escamotage" the only effective democratic organization, revolutionary and original, that has come out of the tragic Italian experience. Whoever is responsible for this must not speak of wanting democracy: in Italy democracy will base itself on the National Committees of Liberation or will not exist at all.

To believe, that with all this, the N.C.L. must limit themselves to direct the clandestine struggle, to thrust thousands and thousands of men to ~~the~~ be sacrificed, ~~to~~ to take upon themselves very heavy responsibilities, only to draw back and abdicate, after the liberation, to the prefectural authority, this is a

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The Committees of Liberation have directed and are directing the struggle against the invader: in the heavy and bloody experience of this struggle, these organizations have bettered themselves through a natural and severe selection: and doubtlessly no representation, in the actual state of affairs in Italy could claim greater democratic stability: for it draws its roots in the security with which the fighting patriots entrust the direction of the common battle to the better ones amongst them, to the better men of all the parties. Lacking any other form of popular consultation, only the National Committee of Liberation is capable to interpret the prevailing popular will, as it directly represents that part of the Country, which through the parties, recognise and face the necessities of the struggle: therefore the only part of the Country who has a right to guide its destiny.

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To believe, that with all this, the N.C.L. must limit themselves to direct the clandestine struggle, to thrust thousands and thousands of men to the sacrifice, to take upon themselves very heavy responsibilities, only to draw back and abdicate, after the liberation, to the prefectural authority, this is simply childish. The Committees must not do this, they will not do it, especially because they know that the new democracy that they have founded and that they legitimately represent, must go on being defended with the same absolute resolution already shown in the clandestine struggle. The forces of reaction are ready to come in and fight, under different appearances but with an only aim, just in the moment, when after the heroic and bloody phase of the battle, it is necessary to re-systemise, reconstruct and collect oneself: and it would be too easy for them to use such

(from " Let us reconstruct Democracy" of the Italia Libera of the 11th of November)

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such valuable help, till the necessary conditions for their revival are created, and then throw them away as if it was useless ballast !

We all agree that the Central Government has the urgent and essential need of greater ~~spiritual~~ adherence to the spirit of the people, of greater prestige, of a more direct and continuing contact with the real aspirations, needs and sufferances of the various Italian regions. Now, the only organization which is capable to represent effectively the will of the Government, which is the will of concentration and common effort, is the National Committee of Liberation: Because the Government is formed by the identical forces that constitute the N.C. of I. The Government would make an unpardonable error of evaluation if they consider that the State power can be represented, or reinforced by the prefects. The truth is that the prefectural institution, strictly connected with a conception of a centralized and bureaucratic State, does not represent the Government, because the Italian people see in it, the outline of that centralized and reactionary regime which destroyed once liberty and is threatening to-day to bring the democratic effort of the Country to complete ~~bankruptcy~~ failure. Either we succeed very soon in reforming the organization of this institute, so that it would become the direct expression of the will of the people through the N.C.I. or this essential link between the center and the outlying districts will show itself - in very short time - incapable of maintaining the State authority and prestige. It is, as we said before, a problem of democracy and liberty: the Government, which was formed as a safeguard to democracy and liberty, must know how to reply in time to this call of the people, who are fully aware of the situation.

Fristano Codignola

Translation no. 385

(From l'Unità of 10th November, 1944)

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THE MEMORANDUM OF THE C.L. IS PRESENTED TO THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

The President of the Council, in the presence of the Ministers without portfolio and the Under-Secretaries of the Presidency and of the Interior, received this morning at 9 hrs. the Tuscan Committee of National Liberation headed by its President Carlo I Ragghianti.

Besides the President of the Committee, there were present the Vice-President Medici Tornaquinci and the members Codignola, Rossi, Montelatici, Piccioni, Berti, Mariotti, Lombardi, and Artoni.

THE MEMORANDUM OF THE C.L.

A particular purpose of the directors of the antifascist movement during their visit to Rome was to present to the Government a series of considerations and proposals contained in a memorandum, which is divided in three parts.

In the first are examined the problems connected with the organization of a National Consultative Body, its formation and its tasks.

In the second are examined the problems of the political life of the province and in particular it is declared that:

"Within the boundaries of the present-day 'Province' the T.M.C.L., having considered all the difficulties of the present solution given to the problem, admits that the most simple, practical and sure solution is that which the provincial N.C.L.s - which during the depression were delegated powers of government and political representation - in all cases in which they satisfy the same requirements and conditions which have permitted the present democratic government as the expression of the Central Committee of National Liberation, reproduce in the outlying districts the same situation as that of the capital, thus becoming the organs representing provincial self-government and the executive bodies of the central government.

"The Tuscan N.C.L. subsequently proposes that the powers at present held by the Prefects be devolved to the N.C.L. and to their presidents or at least that the prefects be chosen by the government in accord with the provincial N.C.L.s."

"The Committee then demands that the N.C.L.s be given in some way by the Government a precise juridical position as spontaneous organizations and not to be eliminated by the young democracy; and that they be granted consultative functions - in exercising the authoritative powers deferred by law to the Prefects - and the strict collaboration with the Prefects (officials of the central executive power chosen in accord with the N.C.L.), thus reproducing in the outlying districts the relations to be held between the Government and the National Consultative Body."

The third part of the memorandum discusses the jurisdiction and the formation of the Regional organs.

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The Discussion

The members of the Tuscan Committee who came to Rome and on whose behalf spoke the President Righianti of the Action party, particularly emphasized the dispute arisen between the population of Florence and the Prefect nominated by the Allied Authorities who shows an obstinate will to resist every measure to bring democracy to the city and provincial life. The Prefect was strongly criticized for his reactionary attitude, which led him to propose to the Allied Authorities the dissolution of the General Italian Confederation of Labour.

We are informed on this matter that the Government has promised to uphold before the Allies the necessity of removing the prefect, although the Province of Florence does not yet come under its jurisdiction.

The majority of the Ministers without Portfolio spoke in favour of the vindications presented by the

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whose
antifascists of Tuscany ~~be~~ undeniably express the will of the majority of the northern populations. Ragghianti read to the meeting of Ministers a report received from the north in which the extent of national insurrection is given, and the necessity of granting full power to the N.C.I.s in Italy is clearly expressed, this Committee being the only united force organized by the people.

At the end of the meeting the Ministers without Portfolio heard a report given by Marshal Messe and discussed the power of the war effort of the country. The discussion will continue this afternoon.

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(from the "Avanti" of the 10th of November)

THE TUSCAN COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION ASKS THAT THE POWERS SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE C.L.N.

Yesterday morning the Tuscan Committee of Liberation was received by the President of the Council, also present were all the Ministers "senza portafoglio" and of the Under Secretary of the Presidency and of the Interior. The Committee was composed of the President, Carlo Ludovico Raglianti, of the Vice President Medici Tornaguinci, of the comrades Mariotti and Lombardi of Our Party and of the members Codignola, Rossi, Montelatici, Piccioni, Berti and Artoni. They represented the socialist, communist, action, liberal and demo-christian partys, as in Tuscany the Democrazia del Lavoro ^{is} / missing.

The Committee presented a petition in which they particularly insisted on the necessity that the National Committees of Liberation, which received from the Democratic State during the oppression delegate power of Government and political agency, should become representative Bodys of the provincial self-government and executive ones of the Central Government.

The members of the Tuscan National Committee of Liberation have pointed out to the serious inconveniences one incurs when prefects, who do not represent the new democratic forces of the Country, and are even in opposition with them, are put at the head of the liberated provinces. In regard to this matter, they pointed out to the situation that has come about in Florence, situation that we commented upon in our paper of yesterday.

Consequently, the Tuscan National Committee of Liberation proposed that, the powers which are granted now to the Prefect should be passed on to the Na-

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Consequently, the Tuscan National Committee of Liberation proposed that, the powers which are granted now to the Prefect should be passed on to the National Committee of Liberation and their Presidents, or that at least the prefects should be appointed by the Government in agreement with the Provincial National Committees of Liberation.

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This thesis was efficiently supported by the members of the Committee, who proved explicitly the necessity that the Government should draw up as soon as possible the exact juridical situation of the National Committees of Liberation, spontaneous organizations which cannot be eliminated from the Italian democratic life.

The propositions of the National Committee of Liberation gave place to a vast exchange of ideas between the President of the Council and the Ministers who were present.

The members of the Government have recognised the importance of the problems exposed by the Tuscan National Committee of Liberation and have decided to bring them to be discussed in the Council of Ministers.

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T. CAETANI
TRANSLATOR

11 Nov 44

(Translated from *La Mazine del Popolo* dated 4/19/44)

INTERVIEW WITH TOGLIATI

"Florence has given to all Italy and to the whole world the proof that the Italian people want their own liberty and not only to receive it from the outside."

We have questioned Palmiro Togliati, secretary of the Italian Communist Party and Minister without "portfolio" of the National Government, on some topics of particular interest in the present moment. We give you here the text of the questions and answers.

1. Q. What value and what function do the National Comitys of Liberation have in the actual political situation? Till what degree can the Comitys be considered organs of the local self-government? In regard to the Government shall they be considered as consultative or as local parliaments?

A.

Your question concerns an extremely important political problem and from it's right solution greatly depends the fulfilment of the serious tasks that the Allies and Italian Government will have to face in the near future when the Provinces of Northern Italy are liberated.

It is a fact that in Southern Italy the Comitys of National Liberation did not have a direct function in the direction of popular struggle against the German invaders and the fascist traitors. In some localities, even, they arose after the liberation. In Rome already, the situation was different. The Central Comity of Liberation in Rome had fulfilled on a national plan the function of directing the Italian people in their fight for liberty; and this function was solemnly and officially recognised. In fact it was in the middle of the Comity of Liberation that the Government formed itself. It's President, the Hon. Bonomi, became the President of the Council. To-day, from Florence upwards we shall find ourselves facing the Comitys of Liberation who have directed themselves the fight of the people for the expulsion of the Germans and the destruction of the fascists.

Hence their authority on the people as a whole. It is inevitable that during this struggle the Comitys of Liberation will assume real and proper governing functions, as the National Tuscan Comity of Liberation have already done. And it would be ridiculous to think it possible to liquidate these functions and the organisations that have carried them out after the liberation. If this occurred, serious risks would be incurred, the first one being to run up against the will of the people who see in the National Comitys of Liberation a real power. In this instance it would be very difficult.

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2) Q. Shall the Government be able to put into effect the engagement of Salerno? And in this case shall the consultative organs have to be directed by the sole Comitys of Liberation or even by other organizations?

A. For the moment the Government has no yet faced the problem of the Consulta. It's solution depends largely from the position of the single parties. What is certain is that everyone feels the necessity of taking new steps to re-enforce the the Government's authority with democratic methods, that is to say asking the parties to support and back this work with regularly established organs or elected and in any case recognised by the people.

3.) Q. What influence will the political situation in the north of Italy have on the above-mentioned problems? and on the formation of the Government?

A. I consider that all the population and working masses of Northern Italy will want the Government, whatever may be it's composition, to take an energetic action in destroying any remains of fascism and undertake to bring the country rapidly on the way of democratical renewal.

4.) Q. What importance have the Comitys of Liberation as organs of a Unitarian policy? Don't you consider that the National Front represents a new political reality, characterised by a simple tactical alliance of parties?

Our Party hopes that the democratic movement, that is beeing organised in the National Comitys of Liberation, shall be for a long period of time the axis of the Italian politics. I have said for a long time, and that is to say till the Constituent Assembly and even afterwards.

5.) Q. What influence can this new political reality, represented by the National Comity of Liberation, that always augments as the armies proceed from south to north, have on the Allie's politics in our regard?

A. I think that in their own interest the allied authorities should support strongly the National Comitys of Liberation and their action.

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6.) Q.

What effect can it have on the movement of resistance in the still occupied Italy and in the other European nations under the German domination?

A.

It is certain that it would make a very bad impression on our combatants in the North of Italy and on all the countries of Europe, the fact that the National Comitys of Liberation, exalted and invoked, not only by us, but also, for example by the allied Radio, should be discarded after the expulsion of the Germans.

7.) Q.

Is it possible for our partisan divisions should be completely reconstituted, as organic unities of the new Italian army, naturally enrolled by their commandants

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that have always been freely chosen by the parties with democratic elections?

A.

Infact, our Party asks that this should be done not only for the Division "Arno" but also for all the other partisan formations

8. Q.

Do you consider that the recent declaration of Washington represents the first step towards a full recognition of the struggle of the Italian people side by side with the Allies? How do you interpret the substantial difference between the conditions of the Rumanian and firm armistice and those which are known of our armistice?

A.

Without doubt this is the first step, and the Italian people are right in thinking that they are not more responsible of the fascist war than the people of Rumania and Finland.

9. Q.

Does the National Government realise of the extreme requirements of political and administrative autonomy that are the best conditions for a political renewal and a reconstruction in the country and that must not be confused with separatist movements or even regional ones, but that must mark the general trend of the national life?

A.

Yes, all the parties understand to-day and assert that it is impossible to reconstruct Italy if it is not based on a regime of regional autonomies that must be particularly large especially for Sicily and Sardinia, the regions who have suffered the most of the ~~xxxxxx~~ bureaucratic centralization of the old reactionary Italian State.

10. Q.

Wouldn't the suppression to the institution of Prefects be in conformity of the new democratic political reality?

A.

The question of the Prefects is a very delicate one. To suppress this institution, many features of which are no longer in existence (for example, it does not exist in England nor in the United States) can be done only by a Constitutional Assembly (Costituente) what is necessary to-day is to have Prefects who, having forsaken any fascist concept and practice, will not prove an obstacle to the destruction of fascism and

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11. Q.

What do you think of the initiative for the epuration made by the National Committees of Liberation and in particular of the Control Commissions of the various organizations, particularly that of the Questura?

A.

Excellent initiative; that proves with facts that if

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if the movement of the National Committee of Liberation will be supported, it will be possible to effect the epuration quickly and well, as it is absolutely necessary so that the Ceun try can live a normal political life.

12. Q. What value do you consider the taking of power by force on the part of the National Committee of Liberation and of partisan forces and action squads directed by it, has had ?

A. A very great value, not only moral but also political. Florence has proved to the whole of Italy and to the whole of the world that she wants her own liberation and not only to receive it from the outside, but that she is ready to do all the necessary sacrifices to cooperate for the conquest of her liberty.

PALMIRO TOLLATI

Topazia Caetani

Translator

ARTICLE ON "ITALIA NUOVA" OF 19th October signed

by SELVAGGI

To whom the power?

The political crisis which passed through the country some weeks ago, as result of the increasing contrast between the Social Communist Alliance and the Christian Democracy sometimes backed up by the Liberal Party, and the Democracy of Labour, is finished with a truce. A certain satisfaction has been given to the parties who set themselves against the social communist thesis of an immediate marxist and republican revolution.

The principle of waiting the end of the war before raising the institutional problem, has been confirmed.

The C.L.N. parties promised that also their newspapers would respect the truce. Therefore one could presume that the revolutionary ~~push~~ of the parties of the left, and the protest of the non-marxist parties could find a balance which ought to guarantee the maintenance of public order.

An organized government is not conceivable without a proper police ~~able~~ able to enforce the law. But the organic vice of the C.L.N. and of the Government which is its expression, has turned up again, showing that a coalition of parties who have utterly different views and diametrically opposed funds of social ideas, cannot materially have any authority whatsoever.

In fact, the social communist alliance has begun to discuss the thesis of a marxist and republican light which has to come from the North, hoping so to obtain the revolutionary superiority with the northern people, and showing that the truce was nothing but a delay in the struggle.

Whilst the "Popolo" was pointing out with extremely moderate language

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Whilst the "Popolo" was pointing out with extremely moderate language the violences and outrages done by the Social Communists to the Christian Democrats, the two Siamese brothers have launched a new attack in strength.

In fact the "Avanti" and the "Unità" have claimed the necessity to give all the power to the C.L.N. considered as expressions of two parties and not of all, although they affirm that it would be necessary to come to an agreement with the Christian Democracy; evidently the Social Communists deem that its support is, at least in the beginning, indispensable. Now the Social Communist plan is

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evident: to have the Prefects and the public strenght depending from the C.I.N. and thefore give all the power to the two extreme parties. The Christian Democracy should therefore be isolated, the other parties eliminated, the Government brought to a merely consultive body and in consequence in Italy, with a circumstantial somersault, it would be inaugurated a real and proper regime of Committees, that is of Councils, that is of Soviet. The "Comitati di Liberazione", according to "L'Unita" might, in this way, eliminate the fascists and destroy the reaction. The Monarchy is being identified with the reaction itself and the suppression of the monarchical tendencies is therefore requested.

On the other hand the leader of the Socialist party has assumed, towards an attitude the Anglo Saxons, which reminds the man of the 8 millions of bayonets. With demagogical contempt he has spoken about Sterlings and Dollars, and in name of the Italian people has stated that he does not want to abandon his ideals in change of alms from Wall Street. Now Pietro Nenni, imitating the other DUCE, wants^{to} be the representative of the Italian people, speculating upon his tragedy, and his hunger, and presenting him to the Allies in a rather non-correct edition.

The "Popolo" organ of the Christian Democracy, answers to such manoeuvres, listing a new series of violences and rejecting determinately that pretention, that we might think the previous agreement, is now denounced.

These are the facts; and now here are the considerations: a truce never had existed, neither in Salerno, nor in Rome, therefore it could not expire,

And the idea which we have supported since the clandestine period, is now being strenghtened and ~~strengthened~~ by what is happening to day.

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The Bonomi Government, monopoly of six coalition parties and expression of the National Committee of Liberation assumed the power after the liberation of Rome. The consequence of this logically, was ^{that} the task of the Committee of Liberation in regard to the State Powers could consider itself fulfilled, as the Government, who was the Committee's expression, had taken them over. Now, if all the parties to-day make a great cry, only with the object of reinforcing the National Committee of Liberation, we should have to infer that the Government, that is it's expression has proved to be, even in the eyes of it's own members, technically

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unable of governing. Hence the necessity of referring this to the National Committee of Liberation, that is to say to the source from which sprung the Government. If instead, as it is now occurring, it is the extremist parties who want to strengthen the National Committee of Liberation it is evident that they tend to undermine the Government and the National Committee of Liberation as an expression of six parties and strengthen it instead as a sole socialist communist expression with the transfer of exclusive powers to them.

In reality the Italian people, who interpret them all as to be, has lost five months of life, and this because the National Committee of Liberation definitely does not represent and cannot represent the Italian People. This was demonstrated with the incident of the nomination of the Sindaco of Naples when the Allied Military Government rejected the designation made by the Committee, asserting that at this organization represented only the 20% of the population.

Substantially, what can ~~the National Committee of Liberation~~ adduce to his credit? Not the epuration with a political basis, because it has instilled in the people a sense of injustice. Not the Commissioners, because these have proved themselves capable only of disorganising and damaging the various industries to which they had been assigned. No real improvement in our relations with the Allies, because what has been obtained has been a concession on the part of the Allies, ^{unknown to the Italian Government,} this is made evident by their single and joint declarations. Not an improvement in the economic conditions of the workmen, because the granting of higher wages is only derisive demagoguery. In the space of eight days the economic price of bread instead of the political one, and the rise of expenses in public utilities nearly annuls the ^{increase} of salary. Not the security of the properties or the life of the citizens, because these are at the mercy of bands of villains. Hunger is increasing, unemployment is augmenting, demoralisation

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Italy needs an homogenous Government capable of enforcing the laws because the laws must be equal for all, capable of fighting against the external enemy and the internal one, capable of obtaining an effective consideration from the Allies and of working in the sole and exclusive interest of the Italian People, of all the Italian People.

T. Caetani
Translator

47/2 (8)
(From "La Nazione del Popolo" 19 October 1944)

TRANSLATION N. 378

The Judgment of a Minister

In reporting part of an article by Minister Togliatti in our Tuesday issue, we omitted three lines through a typographical error (but even errors, according to Freud, have a deep significance). Out of love of precision we now give the complete extract:

"The present Prefect of Florence", one of the members of the C.d.L. told me, while speaking of these problems, "may be an intelligent person, but he hasn't the slightest understanding of our present critical situation, for the solution of which all the old routine schemes and beaurocratic pedantry are inadequate. And the appraisal is probably a correct one. The head our administrations we need men who are not bound to the past by ties of any kind, who understand what the wishes of the people are, and who are capable of working in the closest cooperation with those political organs created by the people themselves, in order to satisfy those desires. And let us bear in mind that from Florence on this need will be more strongly felt."

From the complete text, therefore, it follows that the judgment referred to above not only reflects the personal opinion of Togliatti, but that of some members of the C.d.L. and perhaps also that, even if subconscious of the printer.

Efc. V. Bonanni

Translator

(7)

(Translated from "La Nazione del Popolo" dated 16-10-44)

- 1) - When the Allies remind us of the sacrifices of their Armies for the liberation of our country from Germans and fascists, we bow respectfully, but in the meantime we want that a chance ~~be~~ given also to the Italian youth who are quite prepared to give their lives for the revival of the freedom in Italy.
- 2) - We ask also that a greater autonomy of Government ~~be~~ granted to the Italian people, who having given so far such proofs of seriousness, discipline patriotism certainly cannot interfere with the Allied war effort.
- 3) - CHURCHILL's speech: we have read it with deep interest, we have appreciated the benevolent sentences towards Italian people and its future reorganization, but, at this point it is our duty of Italians to point out the necessity that this problem should be entirely left to the Italian people and to the parties which represent him.
- 4) - The Italian situation is still very complicated, also owing to the fact that after the 25th July the fascism has not been utterly swept out from the Italian administration. Institutions and appointments of the old regime are still in life and kept at their place. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that all the democrats and the antifascists who belong to the great movement of C.L.N. remain united to face the great difficulties of the moment.
- 5) - Task of the Comitato di Liberazione of Tuscany; two are the main problems: The land and the plutocracy. For the first we have to settle the question, giving full satisfaction to the secular aim of the huge masses of the Italian peasants; as for the second, we must not any more allow any plutocrat group, who collected all the riches of the country, to dominate and restrain ~~the movement~~ of the freedom of the nation.
- 6) - We claim that the C.L.N. not only must continue to live, but also must be strengthened, be officially recognized, as a body which supports and helps, the action of the government, giving him the popular confidence and consent of a truly democratic rule.
- 7) - The wish that the C.L.N. be kept and strengthened is the basic policy of the communist party. We cannot conceive any other possibility of ruling, until the Assemblea Costituente is not instituted.
- 8) - We intend to reinforce more and more the friendship with the Socialist Party, because the unity of action between Communism and Socialism means political unity of the working class.

l'Unita 11 October 1944

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FROM FLORENCE UPWARDSl'Unita

In the political atmosphere of antifascist unity and of fervent desire for a democratic renewal in the country, that I have already described in my preceding article of florentine impressions, the problem that seems most urgent is that of the Liberation Committees of their function, and of the manner in which the Italian and Allied Authorities recognise them. The problem is anything but simple, not in itself, but because from every side pressure is made so that these functions should not be recognized. It is therefore necessary for us to consider this subject seriously, because only through these channels we shall be able to create in the regions of Northern Italy, when liberated, a normal democratic political situation.

The Liberation Committees, it has often been said, are in majority "Committees of after the Liberation". That is only true for the Southern Provinces and Islands and not all of these even. At agree however that the Liberation Committees in Southern Italy and the Islands were only created after the Allies' arrival and generally speaking, they took no part in organizing direct fighting, with or without arms, against the German invaders or the fascist traitors. It would be a great mistake to conclude from this that, south of the Garigliano, the Committees are of no importance and must be of no importance, that they are a "volunteering organization" which the Authorities can disregard (let us take as an actual example the nomination of the "sindaco" of a big town like Naples). First of all it is the Committees' merit that, even in Southern Italy, immediately after the Liberation, they were the only serious centre of po-

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political organization. In a moment when everything went to pieces, broke down, the people saw in these Committees the only Italian Authorities worthy of such a name. But secondly, for months the Committees of Southern Italy have fought a political fight, known the world over, for the democratic renewal in Italy. Lastly, who can believe it possible to govern a country with different criteria in different parts.

But let's proceed from South to North. Already in Rome the situation was very different, because the Committee of Liberation had exercised in Rome a national function and had directed the resistance and fight against the Germans, in all the occupied regions. For in fact it was in this Committee (by initiative of General Mac Farlane) that the composition of the government was discussed, and the Committee itself, with slight modifications, became the Italian Government. If we had to proceed analogy, in each Province the Committee's President should become the Prefect. This has been done with an excellent result only in one Province. In others the Liberation Committees have each had a different fate according to the dispositions of the Allied Commanders and of the intelligence of the Prefects. But since the latter (I am talking of the political intelligence) is hardly ever at the level of the situation, and that they are often varied and changeable, the result is that North of the Garigliano, till Florence, the situation is terribly confused and perilous. The tendency that is now appearing to ignore the Committees of Liberation, not asking their assistance, their advice, their help in organizing democratization of the operated regions. Since, in the meantime, the populations see that in

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the Provinces the epuration has not even begun, that the fascists therefore, regain countenance and some Prefects not only do not observe this but attack the more advanced Democratic Parties, there is a serious discontent in the country.

X What has happened in Florence? The Committee of Liberation headed by the Command of Partisans, had in fact the power in its hands for a few days. Upon the arrival of the Allies the power passed, by right, to them; notwithstanding the Committee helped the Allies intelligently and efficiently. It contributed in maintaining the Public Order and helped to solve some of the most difficult civilian problems. It reorganized the Police, it began the epuration, so necessary in a town called "fascistissima", it designated commissions and commissioners, etc. It did, in a certain measure, what actually is being done by ^{many} ~~the~~ other Committees in the Northern Provinces held by the Partisans and that which will be done on a much greater scale in all the big towns. And it is ridiculous to think that, by merely preventing all this, the problem is solved. This action of the Liberation Committees is, in fact, the organized form of national revolt against the Germans and the Fascists and, after the arrival of the Allies, the only one which can guarantee to the State authorities the support of the whole population, and therefore assure order and tranquility. It is absurd to think, that in towns like Milano, Bologna, Genova, it is possible for fascists to remain in their

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places, or return to bully, without this causing a burst of popular feelings. It is absurd to think that the northern populations will tolerate epuration on such a stunted measures, as some would like?

Recognizing the functions of the Liberation Committees besides the other Government Authorities, will become an absolute necessity, the more so as we shall advance in the regions where the people have really fought and suffered greatly, and through suffering and struggle have conquered the right to govern themselves, through the unity of their great political parties. An attempt to do what is now being done in Florence, that is to say, to liquidate the Committee of Liberation as one of the governing organization, will be considered fatal for the country.

[One of the members of the L. C., talking about these problems said to me:] the actual Prefect of Florence, is perhaps an intelligent man, but he certainly does not understand anything about our actual critical situation, that cannot be solved with old systems of "routine" and pedantic bureaucracy? [This statement is probably correct.] We need at the head of our administrations men who are not tied to the past in any way, who will understand which are the aspirations of the people and shall satisfy them, working in close collaboration with the political organization created by the people themselves.

And let us be quite certain that, from Florence onwards, the necessity for this will make it self felt more & more acutely. X

T. Gaetani
Translator

NB - Passage X - X reprinted in Firenze "Nazione del Popolo" 17 October (4) *has* passages [] *plus* words in blue pencil at end. *622*
21/10/44

From "AVANTI" 14th of October 1944

ON THE POWER TO THE NATIONAL COMITTEE OF LIBERATION

The necessity of providing our Government and our administration in general a greater independence is officially admitted in America and also in the English government circles who have been the most unfavourable in this respect. Not only is this necessity admitted and recognised, but the huge machine of the A.C.C. should begin to change accordingly following the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration.

One could cite a hundred cases of the vexing and harassing nature of the political control. It is sufficient to state the case of the appointment of the Mayor of Naples.

The Committee of Liberation had presented our comrade Hon. Prof. Lombardi as candidate. This was opposed by the Allied Command because the candidate being seventy years old, was considered unsuitable for that office. This very youthful and sportive idea of the active age-limit for public officials, would have been regarded with indignation by a Guglielmo Ferrero when the study of ancient and modern history had induced to praise gerontocracy. In this case however it was very probably only a manoeuvre proposed to the Allied Military Authorities in order to discard from the supreme magistrature of Naples not a seventy-year old but a socialist. For in fact as the National Committee of Liberation had proposed the communist Avv. Palermo, who is lucky enough to be 47 years-old as candidate, the result was that the Military Authorities insisted on their own candidate and practically imposed him, if not as Mayor, at least as Prefect Commissioner.

The gravity of the incident goes further than the local incident to embrace the general problem of the function of the Committee of Liberation and of their relations with the Allies.

The authority of the National Committee of Liberation is opposed by the fascists and by the friends of the fascists; the southern agrarians oppose it, the northern industrialists oppose it, that is to say all the people that for 20 years have accepted the authority of the fascist "governor" or even have used and abused of it. This authority is opposed at times by minority movements in polemics with, or excluded by the parties of the antifascist coalition.

We ourselves recognise that in the present manner of nominating there is an arbitrary and deceitful element, so much more serious in the South where the Committee of Liberation have not arisen from conspiration and warfare, than in the North and Center of Italy where they are the expression of that part of the country who put their candidature in power by serving the people in struggle, in conspiration, in war. And this is the reason why we have posed and insist in posing the problem of the administrative elections to break with any monopolistic tendency, any beginning or old "camorra".

But there is one fact that breaks forth in the history of our country and from the history of the countries of the whole world: and that is that one cannot discuss the legitimacy of movements that have formed themselves spontaneously through long years of fight and sacrifice and that have subscribed with blood the parchment of legitimacy.

In some regions of Southern Italy the National Committee of Liberation have appeared as mushrooms under the rain. From Abruzzo onwards no one can contest that they have been the interloper and guide of the popular will.

Therefore, under the Nazi-fascist domination, our press-word was "complete" 621

respect. Not only is this necessity admitted and recognised, but the huge svelt-Churchill declaration.

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The Comity of Liberation had presented our comrade Hon. Prof. Lombardi as candidate. This was opposed by the Allied Command because the candidate being seventy years old, was considered unsuitable for that office. This very youthful and energetic idea of the active age-limit for public officials, would have been regarded with indignation by a Guglielmo Ferrero whom the study of ancient and modern history had induced to praise gerontocracy. In this case however it was very probably only a renouveau proposed to the Allied Military Authorities in order to discard from the supreme magistrature of Naples not a seventy-year old but a socialist. For in fact as the National Comity of Liberation had proposed the communist Avv. Palermo, who is lucky enough to be 47 years-old as candidate, the result was that the Military Authorities insisted on their own candidate, practically imposed him, if not as Mayor, atleast as Prefect Commissioner.

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We ourselves recognise that in the present manner of nominating there is an arbitrary and deceitful element, so much more serious in the South where the Comitys of Liberation have not arisen from conspiracy and warfare, than in the North and Center of Italy where they are the expression of that part of the country who put their candidature in power by serving the people in struggle, in conspiracy, in war. And this is the reason why we have posed and insist in posing the problem of the administrative elections to break with any monopolistic tendency, any beginning or old "camorra".

But there is one fact that breaks forth in the history of our country and from the history of the country of the whole world: and that is that one cannot discuss the legitimacy of movements that have formed themselves spontaneously through long years of fight and sacrifice and that have subscribed with blood the parchment of legitimacy.

In some regions of Southern Italy the National Comitys of Liberation have appeared as mushrooms under the rain. From Abruzzo onwards no one can contest that they have been the interpreters and guide of the popular will.

Therefore, under the Nazi-fascist domination, our pass-word was "complete power to the National Comitys of Liberation" and such it must remain: giving to this expression the most extensive interpretation possible, that is to say including in the Comitys all the forces all the energies that contributed to the fight. (For this reason we are glad to find in the provincial National Comitys of Liberation republican, Christian, socialist or any other anti-fascist movements, though some denounce this as a contradiction, it is only such in appearance)

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"Complete power to the National Committee of Liberation" is a pass-word that sent out from a province who remained an outsider in the risks and sacrifices of the armed struggle against the invader could seem arbitrary. In Rome it acquired its full sense. In Florence a little more. In Milan Turin or Trieste much more.

Not to recognize the National Committee of Liberation would mean on the Allies part not to recognize the Italy that is fighting since months and months with them, if not for them, or even worse, to recognize her through the radio appeals to the patriots, and then to renegade her after the sacrifice.

Not to recognize the National Committee of Liberation means to remain with fascist Italy, because this is the stage in which, as the American journalist of the "New York Times" Anne O'Hara Mac Cormick said, the old ruling class is dying and the new is in gestation, and no other political reality exists outside of the National Committee of Liberation, that is to say of the working masses, the peasants and of the forces who fought with them against the Nazi-fascism.

From Florence onwards the affair will become much more serious

INTERNAL DISCUSSION

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PIETRO NERVI

T. Cactani
Translator

FROM FLORENCE UPWARDS

(Translation of article in "C'Unità" dated 11th October 1944)

In the political atmosphere of antifascist unity and of fervent desire for a democratic renewal in the country, that I have already described in my preceding article of Florentine impressions, the problem that seems most urgent is that of the Liberation Committees, of their function, and of the manner in which the Italian and Allied Authorities recognise them. The problem is anything but simple, not in itself, but because from every side pressure is made so that the same functions should not be recognised. It is therefore necessary for us to consider this subject seriously, because only through these channels we shall be able to create in the regions of Northern Italy, when liberated, a normal democratic political situation.

The Liberation Committees, it has often been said, are in majority "Committees of after the Liberation". That is only true for the Southern Provinces and Islands and not all of these even. But we agree however that the Liberation Committees in Southern Italy and the Islands were only created after the Allies' arrival and that generally speaking, they took no part in organising direct fighting, with or without arms, against the German invaders or the fascist traitors. It would be a great mistake to conclude from this that, south of the Garigliano, the Committees are of no importance and must be of no importance, that they are a "volunteering organisation" which the Authorities can disregard (Let us take as an actual example the nomination of the "sindaco" of a big town like Naples). First of all it is the Committees' merit that, even in Southern Italy, immediately after the liberation, they were the only serious center of political organisation. In a moment when everything went to pieces, broke down,

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(FROM FLORENCE UPWARDS) CONTD

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But let's proceed from South to North. Already in Rome the situation was very different, because the Comity of Liberation had exercised in Rome a national function and had directed the resistance and fight against the Germans in all the occupied regions. For in fact it was in this Comity (by initiative of General Mac Farlane) that the composition of the new government was discussed, and the Comity itself, with slight modifications, became the Italian Government. If we had to proceed analogously, in each Province the Comity's President should become the Prefect. This has been done with an excellent result only in one Province. In others the Liberation Comitys have each had a different fate according to the dispositions of the Allied Commanders and of the intelligence of the Prefects. But since the latter (I am talking of the political intelligence) is hardly ever at the level of the situation, and that they are often varied and changeable, the result is that North of the Garigliano, till Florence, the situation is terribly confused and perilous. The tendency that is now appearing is to ignore the Comitys of Liberation, not asking their assistance, their advice, their help in organizing the democratization of the liberated regions. Since, in the meantime, the populations see that in the Provinces the epuration has not even begun, that the fascists therefore, regain countenance and that some Prefects not only do not observe this but attack the more advanced Democratic Parties, there is a serious discontent in the country.

What has happened in Florence? The Comity of Liberation headed by the Command of Partisans, had in fact the power in its hands for a few days. Upon the arrival of the Allies the power passed, by rights, to them, notwithstanding the Comity helped the Allies intelligently and efficiently. It contributed in maintaining the Public Order and helped to solve some of the most difficult civilian pro-

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Comities

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(FROM FLORENCE UPWARDS) CONTD

Comitys is, infact, the organized form of rational revolt against the germans and the fascists and, after the arrival of the Allies, the only one which can guarantee to the State authorities the support of the whole population, and therefore assure order and tranquillity. It is absurd to think, that in towns like Milano, Bologna, Genova, it is possible for fascists to remain in their places, or return to bully, without this causing a burst of popular feelings. It is absurd to think that the northern populations will tolerate epuration on such stunted measures, as some would like.

Recognising the function of the Liberation Comitys besides the other Government Authorities, will become an absolute necessity, the more so as we shall advance in the regions where the people have really fought and suffered greatly, and through sufferance and struggle have conquered the right to govern themselves, through the unity of their great political parties, An attempt to do what is now being done in Florence, that is to say, to liquidate the ^{Committees} Comitys of Liberation as one of the governing organizations, will be considered fatal for the country.

One of the members of the L. C. , talking about these problems said to me: the actual Prefect of Florence, is perhaps an intelligent man, but he certainly does not understand anything about our actual critical situation, that cannot be solved with old systems of "routine" and pedantic bureaucracy. This statement is probably correct. We need at the head of our administrations men who are not tied to the past in any way, who will understand which are

one which can guarantee to the State authorities the support of the whole population, and therefore assure order and tranquillity. It is absurd to think, that in towns like Milano, Bologna, Genova, it is possible for fascists to remain in their places, or return to bully, without this causing a burst of popular feelings. It is absurd to think that the northern populations will tolerate epuration on such stunted measures, as some would like.

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TRANSLATED FROM "CORRIERE DI FIRENZE" DATED 4th OCTOBER, 1944.

The Minister TOGLIATTI speaks to the communists of Florence.

"It is not a matter of demanding vengeance, but justice."

Yesterday morning in the "Casa del Popolo del Madonnone", Palmiro Togliatti, Minister without portfolio, held a meeting of the provincial directors of the Communist Party. The Minister made a long vigorous speech on the political, economical and social situation of the Communist Party in the present general situation in Italy.

Again in the afternoon in the Teatro della Pergola, the Minister spoke to a large crowd which literally filled every row of seats. All the directors of the Florence Federation of the Party, the representatives of the Provincial Sections, the representatives of the National Committee of Liberation, and the representatives of the "Brigata Garibaldina" were present. In a box near the stage were many representatives of the Allied Governments.

The Minister, after saying how fortunate he was to be the first politician to speak in liberated Florence, greeted those present, and all the citizens of Florence, declaring that this greeting had a particular significance, for it was not meant to be only a communist expression, but the expression of its feelings of solidarity toward all the democratic parties arisen and active in Italy which has at last been liberated from the German invaders and the fascist yoke.

He then expressed satisfaction for having found Florence, although battered, at the head of that movement which shall give back peace, work and liberty to the whole of Italy. After stating that his speech which took place on a day of mourning for Florence, a day which recalls one of the most tragic episodes of the fascist violence against the people, against honest and righteous citizens, the Minister spoke of the fallen, of the martyrs of the twenty years of slavery, declaring that they would never be forgotten and would be revenged. He then began speaking in particular of the activities of the Communist Party, of its programme, of the aims of its directors. "I believe that today", said the Minister "the citizens of Florence have come to know our party better, having seen in the ranks of the partisans and those fighting for liberty, communists who swam across the Arno to bring the torch of liberty a day earlier, an hour earlier, to your city. They have seen our comrades in the first lines among these soldiers, they understood what our party is today, and what it was during the many years in which the Country was oppressed and humiliated by the fascist tyranny, and what its ambition is: the ambition to fight in the first lines for the complete liberation of our country, to chase out the barbarous Germans from our Country, and to exterminate the fascist traitors." In order to accomplish this, the Party requests most of all a wider participation of the communist youth in the war against the Germans. After stating that the situation of our Country is difficult under every aspect, Togliatti said that to meet and solve this situation, the unity of all parties and of all the democratic forces of the Country is essential.

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Only in this way will it be possible to remove the parasitic and egoistic forces which aim at bettering their own interests to the detriment of the national society. But we must sit down and discuss, leaving to justice and to justice only, the task of epuration, of healing and of strengthening.

Agreements to this effect have been made with the Italian Socialist Party, and the Christian Democratic party; but with the other parties also the solidarity will be complete. "It is not a matter, oh Comrades and Citizens, of speaking words of hate and demanding vengeance, because if there were vengeance, there would be too much bloodshed. We ask justice for the Italian people."

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After speaking of the political maturity revealed by our people during the latter period, the Minister vindicated the right of this people to govern itself, asking the Allied authorities a wider liberty in that direction. The Italian people will never forget the profound obligation it owes to the Allied powers for its liberation, but today it demands self-government.

Coming to the end of his speech the Minister declared "We present ourselves as the party which wants to guide the whole people of workmen to create in Italy a regime of liberty and of progressive democracy, in democratic form, according to the desires of the great majority of Italians, of all the Italian workers.

We well know that fulfilling this duty, uplifting this great party of the workers' class and of the Italian people, we put the party on a national standing giving it its place in the political government of the Country and of the fight for the liberation of Italy and its reconstruction. We know that in striving toward the construction of this party we are fulfilling a duty toward the Italian Nation and towards the party. Today Italy has need of such a party, which, having suffered illegal suppression and persecution, has shown the capacity to know and understand the duties toward the nation: take up arms for the creation of a national government and strive toward the solution of all the Italian problems. Without the Communist Party, a democratic rebirth in Italy is not possible. Thus we will certainly succeed not only in rapidly liberating Italy from foreigners and fascists, but in opening to Italy the great roads to resurrection.

The significant speech ended in a vigorous applause.

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