

acc 10090/143/2070

171 /10

PARTISANS (PARTITO PARTIGIANO)

Jan. 1945

Extract from File "Liberated Italy" n. 65

(c) Tito's Moscow Declaration on Territorial Claims.

(5) - Carlo Andreoni, Head of the "Movimento Partigiano":
Tito's declaration should not be taken lightly. Having been made in Moscow, Tito probably had previously obtained Stalin's approval. We cannot embark upon another war; we are too weak and we must think of reconstruction. But if it is a question of defending our fellow Italians, we will be ready to fight.

C O P Y

Extract from the file 836.08C. Subversive movements.

12/99.10

ii. A reliable contact has informed this Sec. that there has lately come to Rome an Italian Partisan with the special mission of receiving instructions from the Movimento Partigiano to convey to his comrades in a partisan brigade at present fighting in Yugoslavia. The instructions he received were to assist Tito's armies and to try to enter Italy together with the Yugoslav forces. Once in Italy they were not to allow themselves to be disarmed and to do everything possible to remain united, opposing any more to split them up among other units. The emissary was told that the manoeuvres of the Allies and the Govt. are directed towards dismembering partisan forces to preclude them from forming a compact and dangerous entity. The case of the 200 partisans of Terni was cited as an example. Here, it was explained, they had been enrolled on the understanding that they would remain together, but instead they were split up among battalions located far from each other. Thereafter they would go to the front with arms to the handling of which they were unaccustomed and probably 70% of them would be massacred.

C O P YEXTRACT FROM FILE 621.03 - 3 District Security Intelligence Summary n.13

The activities of the Reggio Calabria section of the Movimento Partigiano is viewed with suspicion by the local Italian authorities. It is believed to have arms at its disposal and to be in the hands of politically unstable elements lead by Musolino Agostino who claims to have fought the Germans as a partisan on the Garigliano. About 19 Jan., Rocco Emilio, alleged to be leader of the Movement in Rome, visited Reggio-Calabria and appears to have affected some re-organisation of the local movement. The general political tendency of the movement locally is left-wing and anti-Monarchist.

Extract from Routine Report 22 Jan. 45 to 28 Jan. 45.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

At the 9th assembly of the Unione Sportiva on 16 Jan at Via Cavour 5, were present representatives of the directing committee of the Partito Rivoluzionario Progressista, of the Movimento Partigiano, of the Movimento Anti Fascista Intransigente, of the Movimento Anarchico and of a new body called Movimento Nazionale di Difesa economica proletaria. (See below para ii) according to a reliable source, this meeting was notable for bringing out the internationalist and anti-imperialist tendencies of all these "Movements". The principal accusation against Britain is that in all occupied or "liberated" countries she is supporting the conservative elements with a view to restoring British imperialism and capitalism.

A new body, the Movimento di Difesa economica proletaria, was present in Via Michelangelo Pericoli 1, has recently been formed. As indicated above in para i., this movement is also affiliated to the Movimento Partigiano and the Unione Sportiva. Little is known about the actual programs or leaders beyond the fact that one of the latter is certain G. NICHINI is described by source as a revolutionary firebrand engaged on very active propaganda among the "Movements" of the extreme left, inciting them to popular violence. He is reported to have expressed the view that some form of revolutionary action is now necessary even if at this particular moment wider revolutionary action has little chance of success owing to the presence of the allies. Further information is being sought about this person.

EXTRACT FROM ROUTINE REPORT 8 JANUARY - 14 JANUARY 1945

ii. Further to last report Part II C (1), same source also reports that most of the leftist movements, led by the Mov. P Partigiano, are engaged in an active campaign to incite young men not to respond to the present call-up of classes and to continue to incite those already under arms to desert or to refuse service in combat zones. This because they say that the attitude of those responsible for British foreign policy has shown itself to be anti-Italian and anti-proletarian. Most outstanding example of this attitude is a declaration of the front page of "IL PARTIGIANO" for 6 Jan 45 in which the central committee of the Mov. Partigiano, having declared its intention of destroying the very foundation of "the old reactionary world" declares the absolute impossibility of responding to the call to volunteer for service in the Italian Army and in the armies of the United Nations as long as there exists a situation in which they would be asked to fight Fascism in the firing line while allowing it to remain in existence in the rear areas. They also declare that the "erroneous policy applied to Italy hitherto by the Foreign Office" has split the common front and introduced divided aims, and unity can only be regained if the armistice is abolished and an alliance sanctioned between the United Nations and the Italian people.

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Extract from Security Summary No. 7

(IX) The latest reliable report on the Central Executive Committee of the Movimento Partigiano indicates that its present composition is as follows: - Carlo ANDREONI; Alfredo IACCARAI; Rodolfo PACCIARDI; Matilde PASSINI; Beniamino COHEN; Giorgio BRACCIALARGHE; Finocchi DOLFI; Ettore SIGHIERI. The latter, who is a member of the Partito d'Azione, was until recently in command of an active partisan group. He is reported to be of Anti-Allied sentiments and has written some very outspoken articles in "Italia Libera" criticising Field Marshal ALEXANDER's proclamation to the partisans of the North.

C - Subversive Movements

a. Further to previous reports under this heading on the Movimento Partigiano and its extreme leftist tendencies, the following is of interest. During a recent conversation with a member of the present Government, Carlo ANDREONI, the director of the movement's newspaper "Il Partigiano", openly declared his adherence to the classic revolutionary doctrine that the Movimento and other leftist parties must make their own headway by the old tactics of stirring up popular discontent by playing on grievances and doing everything possible by propaganda to create a revolutionary atmosphere in Italy.

Indeed, "Il Partigiano" becomes more and more provocative and No 16 dated 23 Oct. 44 was particularly anti-British in two of the front page articles, one entitled "Chiesa e Monarchia" and the other referring to the Spanish troubles in which the following passage occurs (foot of col 4) - "Naturally we are only at the beginning. Our Spanish comrades will certainly have formidable obstacles to overcome since in favour of the Caudillo and his gang will not fail to be brought into play those same foreign influences which in Italy have entered the lists to support the Fascist and reactionary Monarchy".

b. Movimento Comunista d'Italia. Further to previous notes on this body dissident from the official Partito Comunista, the following is to hand. The Movimento has recently absorbed two other groups of the left, the Sinistra Proletaria and the Comunisti Libertari. The latter is an anarchist group of Trotskyist tendencies and aims at the destruction of the bourgeoisie and the established order by means of Robin Hood tactics which admit that a rich landowner may be "eliminated" provided his wealth is put at the disposal of the proletariat. LUCETTI a former would be assassin of Mussolini, belonged to this group and though it contains mostly fanatics, it is reliably reported that there are a few of the leading members who have courage and intelligence.

Meanwhile it has been discovered that two of the names of the Executive Committee of the Movimento Comunista given in RS/I/19 of 23 Oct. 44 Part II Subversive Movements (i), are in reality one and the same man. The SBANDELLA referred to signs the tessere of the Movimento and other official documents with the name FERRO, a manoeuvre which he has apparently adopted as cover in case of unpleasant surprises.

6 THE PARTISANS FOR THE ELAS COMPANIONS.

File

SD/109.10.

The Directorate of the 'Movimento Partigiano', interpreting the sentiments of all the combatants for Liberty, who are now fighting on the Italian Front of Resistance and redeeming with their own blood the Honour and Destiny of Italy, faithful to a principle of human solidarity which unite all men against Injustice, against Power of arms, against the lies of Diplomacy, expresses all its admiration and solidarity to the heroic partisans of ELAS, example to anybody of the highest military virtues and of the highest sacrifice to the ideals of Liberty. The ELAS partisans have been obliged to a fight, which is not only an episode, but represents the Right that all man has to get his own Liberty. While Churchill and Eden are going to Athens for the solution of this strife, due to an incorrect comprehension of the real problems of Peace, the Partisans of Italy are ideally with their ELAS companions, because they are fighting for the same reason which is the future as highest social Justice for the respect of all those national interests that unite all men, considering them citizens of the world.

From "Vice Repubblica", dated
3rd December 1944.

C O P Y

EXTRACT FROM FILE N. 625/3 n. 10.

SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS.

12. In two recent numbers of IL PARTIGIANO, 11 Dec. 44 and 18 Dec. 44, have appeared manifestos by the UNIONE ANARCHICA. This body is apparently another of the extremist anarchist groups and takes its name from ANARCHICO, the Thracian gladiator who in 70 B.C. headed the slaves' revolt in DAKIA and who is considered a symbol of the oppressed breaking the chains of slavery by force. The "Spargemur" have apparently been in existence for some time but, like the Comunisti Liberatori, not in any large numbers although it is reported that they aim at quality rather than quantity. The spokesman of the Unione Anarchica is at present ROBERTO ROBERTO who like most of the other anarchist group leaders is also a member of the Movimento Partigiano.

The two manifestos of the Unione Anarchica in IL PARTIGIANO are the usual examples of fiery demagoguery but contain significant passages which are both anti-Allied and one of which can be construed as a direct incitement to disobey the present Italian Govt. (Issue of 18 Dec. 44, page 1 col 7 part 3, sec 3 - "To refuse obedience to every act or order of the Govt. of the Lieutenant-General which constitutes usurpation or negation of the civil liberties..... and to exercise in fact these liberties with an absolute disregard for the tyrannical measures which may try to impose their use").

The above is a further indication of the tendency previously noted for the Movimento Partigiano to become a focal point of anarchist revolutionary groups.

13. It has also been noted that a curious body formerly known as the Unione Indipendente Antifascista has now changed its name to Movimento Antifascista Indipendente and has now become affiliated to the Movimento Partigiano.

14. The latest reliable report on the Central Executive Committee of the Movimento Partigiano indicates that its present composition is as follows: Carlo Ali GRONE, ALFREDO PARRA, RANDOLFO PARRA, MATILDE BARRI, ETIENNE COHEN, GIORGIO BRACALANZI, PIROCHI DOTTI, ETTORE CIGHERI. The latter, who is a member of the Partito D'Azione, was until recently in command of an active partisan group. He is reported to be definitely anti-British and has written some very outspoken articles in "ITALIA LIBERA" criticising Marshal ALEXANDER's proclamation to the partisans of the North.

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(4)

The Movimento Partigiano - ROCCO Giulio, one of the chief assistants of ANDREONI, is reported to have declared that the political aims of the Movimento Partigiano are republican and that it desired to absorb into the movement all those who are disillusioned with the six official parties as well as ex-partisans, ex-soldiers and repatriated prisoners. Like the Movimento Comunista, the Partito Comunista and to some extent the Socialist Party, it appears to be trading on, and even encouraging the growing forces of disillusionment and discontent in the country. A leading article, entitled "Il diritto di insurrezione" which recently appeared in "Il Partigiano", the organ of the Movimento Partigiano, propounded the theory of the legitimacy of popular risings in certain circumstances and was an outspoken indication of the way left-wing opinion is moving.

Extract from file n. 645/08 Security Summary n. 6 page 4.

(3)

The "Movimento Partigiano" The following additional information, believed to be reliable, has been obtained on the Movimento Partigiano. The Movimento is directed by a Direzione Centrale of 14 to 20 members with an inner executive committee of 7 members. At present the Direzione Centrale consists of the founders of the Movimento, principally the AMBROGI family and friends. It is, however, proposed to hold at some future date and thereafter yearly a national congress at which the Direzione Centrale will be elected or reelected. In each province there is a Direzione Provinciale of 3 to 5 members elected by the Assemblea Provinciale which is made up of delegates from each group or section.

The groups or sections are constituted in each comune, a group consisting of 3 to 20 members and a section of 20 or more. The following is the official programme of the Movimento partigiano taken by a reliable contact from official circulars.

1. The defence of the true frontiers of Italy which the Fascist Monarchy compromised by entering an anti-national, anti-democratic, anti-European war.
2. The defence of democratic ideas which now reveal themselves incompatible with the institution of the Monarchy.
3. The defence of a social system founded on popular liberty and assuring for manual and intellectual workers the full fruit of their labours.
4. The universal brotherhood of all Partisans, disregarding national frontiers. The Partisans represent the popular, idealistic, revolutionary element in the present war. Far more than national or mercenary armies, the of brotherhood on which can be built a true confederation of nations and international justice for all.

Para 1. of this programme may well contain the seeds of future agitation while in para 4 the basic idea of international brotherhood provides the main point of contact between this movement and the more orthodox forms of international communism.

During a recent conversation, Carlo AMBROGI is reported to have openly declared his adherence to the classic revolutionary doctrine that the Movimento and other leftist parties must make their own headway by the old tactics of stirring up popular discontent by playing on grievances and doing everything possible by propaganda to create a revolutionary atmosphere in ITALY.

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There has also come to light another personality in the central direction of the Movimento Partigiano, a certain PACCAIA Adolfo who is a man of 58 with 20 years of active anti-fascist political life behind him. He was formerly a leftist member of the Camera del lavoro at TRI. Though outwardly inoffensive in aspect PACCAIA is reported to be a man of initiative and vigour, fiercely anti-monarchist and a fervent agitator for armed insurrection.

Extract from File No. 636.3 Sheet No. 24

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MOVIMENTO PARTIGIANO DETAILS. This body, which is distinct from the Movimento Partigiano previously commented on these notes, has offices in Via Agostino de Perdis 47, and is headed by Emilio ROCCO, a former member of the Movimento Partigiano, who was dismissed for incompetence. He has now set up an office at the a/n address and it is reliably reported that that he now disposes of a fund of 500,000 lire which are believed to have been provided from secret funds of the Ministry of the Interior. ROCCO is believed to be backed by the Undersecretary of the Presidency of the Council. His activities are being kept under observation.

A special report is being prepared on certain observation made by a reliable contact to the effect that the local Questura in has been so successfully "penetrated" by elements of the extreme left parties that the police have in fact no secrets from these parties. A perusal of the leftist press recently reveals an astonishing number of articles representing or internal directives issued in the Questura and which it is unmistakable were intended to be made public. Contact states that he personally has seen in the Head Offices of the Movimento Comunista and Movimento Partigiano copies of numerous secret Questura documents, which can only be the result of abstraction from the files by police functionaries who are members of the leftist parties. As source also comments, the interesting thing about the publication of articles based on, and referring to, such restricted documents can only be attributed either to foolish revelation from motives of bravado or of the fact that leftist informers do exist in the Questura, or what is more probable, to a sense of complete security and power among the parties of the left whose adherents and informers among Questura officials are so numerous that they discuss in the newspapers official police secrets.

The parlous state of the Italian Police has been previously commented on in these reports and these recent revelation merely serve to confirm the widespread opinion that it would be far better to dissolve the present organization and start again from the beginning with well-paid, reasonably honest elements not connected with any political party.

ii. The following information considered to be reliable has been obtained on the Movimento Partigiano previously referred to in these reports. The Movimento is directed by a Direzione Centrale of 14 to 20 members with an inner executive committee of 7 members. At present the Direzione Centrale consists of the founders of this Movement principally the ANDREOTTI Family and friends, but it is proposed to hold at some future date and thereafter yearly a National Congress at which the Direzione Centrale will be elected, or re-elected. In each province there is a Direzione Provinciale of 3 to 5 members elected from the Assemblies Provinciali which is made up of delegates from each group or section.

The groups or sections are constituted in each comune, a group consisting of from 3 to 20 members in a section of 20 or more. Some of the larger sections are divided into zones. Each of these smaller units has a directing committee of 3 to 5 members. The following is the official programme of the Movimento Partigiano taken by a reliable contact from official circulars.

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Two paras are worthy of note in this, i.e. para 1 with its ambiguous references to the true frontiers of Italy which might open horizons of anti-allied agitation at some future date, and para 4 where the basic idea of an international brotherhood gives the main point of contact with this movement and the more orthodox forms of international Communism.

This week has come to light another personality in the central direction of the Movimento Partigiano, one PASCARA Rodolfo, a man of 58 with 20 years of active anti-fascist political life behind him. He was formerly a leftist member of the Camera del Lavoro at MIHI. He is now a member of the Movimento Partigiano, and though outwardly inoffensive in aspect, is reliably reported to be a man of initiative and vigour, fiercely anti-monarchist and a fervent agitator for armed insurrection which he has vigorously asserted in the hearing of a contact of this section to be the only means of solving the present situation, and one in which the Partisans will take a prominent part at a date not so distant in the future as many would think.

iii. In spite of rumours and information to the effect that arms were distributed to the Communist squadre d'azione on 8 Nov 44 in preparation for the Communist insurrection at the stadio Domiziano on 12 Nov 44, the

inner executive committee of 7 members. At present the Direzione Centrale consists of the founders of this Movement principally the ANDREONI Family and friends, but it is proposed to hold at some future date and thereafter yearly a National Congress at which the Direzione Centrale will be elected, or re-elected. In each province there is a Direzione Provinciale of 3 to 5 members elected from the Assemblée Provinciale which is made up of delegates from each group or section.

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iii. In spite of rumours and information to the effect that arms were distributed to the Communist squadre d'azione on 8 Nov 44 in preparation for the Communist/Socialist demonstration at the Stadio Domiziano on 12 Nov 44, the meeting passed off without incident and was notable for the orderly manner in which the Communists and the Socialists arrived, listened to speeches by Nenni and Togliatti, and then dispersed. It was curious to note that Nenni appeared to excite more enthusiasm by his disparaging references to the monarchy than did Togliatti who spoke after him. Estimates of the attendance at this celebration of the 27th anniversary of the October Revolution vary between 80,000 and 120,000. The latter cold may have been a factor in the orderliness with which the meeting broke up.

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