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ACC 10000|143|2623 150/A INTELLIGENCE POLITICAL - GENERAL

DEC. 1943 - FEB. 1945

No. sheet	Date	File No. of Ans'd Ltr	From to	Subject
24.	18 Jan.	- - - - -		Unofficial Political Groups.
25.	21 Jan.	- - - -		Political situation in Puglia.
26	- -	- - -		Subversive mov. (extract from
27				Front. report 22 Jan.)
28	15 Feb.			SUBVERSIVE MOV.
				POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERATED ITALY.

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SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

FILE

MINUTE SHEET

No. of sheet	Date	File no. of Ans'd Ltr.	From whom	Subject
1	—	———	———	"Labor Front" - Italian and translation - See labor front file - 158
2	—	—	—	"Compact front for Liberty" - Italian and translation. See Liberal Party file # 155
3 ...	5 Dec.	Memo	From HINKEL	- List of other Intelligence Officers in Palermo.
4	2 Dec.	Memo	From Scottens	on Proposals of meeting of all the political parties in Palermo
5	11 Nov.	Report	By Mineo —	on LABOR FRONT PARTIES etc.
6		Report	By CANZIANI	POLITICAL situation in Sicily
7	...	information	- ——— -	About Fascist officials still in office.
8	....	List of Names	—	of Paties - leaders and address
9	..	- - — — —	— - -	Questions on Sicily & South Italy
10	- - -	- - —	— - ..	POLITICAL PARTIES - (NEVAGNINI)
11	...	- — —	- - - -	Anti Allied propaganda - Pro fascist.
12	....		To General Headq.	- listing all the fascist in the region by Mineo.
12	—	— —	—	Scottens Report on POLITICAL SITUATION of SICILY
13.				Press Digest on AMG -
14				Political Summary.
15				Political Activities
				Political Parties in occupied Italy.

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4	2 Dec.	Memo	Scottens	on Reposeds of ... political parties in Palermo
5	11 Nov.	Report	By Mines	on LABOR FREE Policies- etc.
6		Report	By CANZIANI	Political situation in Sicily
7	---	information	- ——— -	About Fascist officials still in office.
8	....	List of Names	—	of Paties- leaders and address
9	-.	- - - — —	—— - -	Questions on Sicily + South Italy
10	- - -	- - —	- - --	Political Parties - (EVAGNINI)
11	- - -	- — —	- - -	Anti Allied propaganda- Pro fascist.
12	....		To General Report - listing all the Fascists in the Person of Mines.	
12	—	—	—	Scottens Report on POLITICAL SITUATION of SICILY
13.				Press Digest on AMG -
14				Political Summary.
15				Political Activities
16.	-	- -	-	Poltical Parties in occupied Italy.
18				Political meetings
19.				SUSI Franco 139 MISURI Alfredo - #NTIOCO PORCU RUIN.
20	- -	- —	- -	Party disagreement at FERENTINO ZANFRAMUNDO MICCINELLI Torino BETTINI Edoardo.
21	- -	- —	- —	UNOFFICIAL Political GROUPS.
23				UNOFFICIAL Political GROUPS.

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERATED ITALY

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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

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The clandestine war antivity of the anti-fascists increased before the war and after 1940 was organized and extended throughout Italy. Two clandestine groups had never ceased to function in Italy; one was the Communist party, and the other was the movement known as "Giustizia e Libertà" (an organization which attracted to its ranks liberals, socialists and democrats). The Communist party under the leadership of Antonio Gramsci opposed fascism actively in the Chamber of Deputies until its final suppression by Mussolini. The party then retired underground and throughout Italy cells were organized. During

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the early years of fascism most of the leaders of the party were imprisoned or forced into exile. Gramsci, Scoccimarro and Terracini were imprisoned, and Togliatti, Negarville and Reale went into exile. Gramsci (the recognized leader of the party) died in prison in 1937. Scoccimarro and Terracini were not released until August, 1943. Togliatti directed the party from Moscow where he was also one of the secretaries of the Comintern. After the leaders had been eliminated, it appears, the party was forced to concentrate on building up its organization, and, apart from the occasional distribution of a clandestine newspaper or the writing on walls of anti-fascist slogans, there was little apparent sign of Communist activity in the years before Italy declared war. From time to time there were attempts to organize strikes, or sabotage the fascist war machine (both during the Ethiopian war and the Spanish Civil War) but generally a certain number of Communists were rounded up and the prisons swelled still further. After the enty of Italy into the war, and particularly after the German attack on Russia, the Communists intensified their organization which reached the point where they were able to stage the general strike in Northern Italy of Spring, 1943. This was the largest strike of its kind which occurred in any occupied or satellite country in Europe during the war. The Communists were almost entirely responsible Both for the organization of this strike and the one which took place in the following year under the eyes of the Germans. It is reported that the Communist party during the clandestine period of the struggle against fascism, received both financial and moral support from Russia.

In the meantime the "Giustizia e Libertà" movement had been carrying on its opposition to fascism during the same period. Leaflets and newspapers were printed and circulated throughout Italy. Contact was maintained with the outside world, through the central headquarters which were in Paris. The escape of Emilio Lussu, Carlo Rosselli and others were planned and successfully executed by the "Giustizia e Libertà" movement. The dominating figures in exile were Alberto Tarchiani, Alberto Cianca, Emilio Lussu, Carlo Rosselli and Giuseppe Saragat.

Apart from these two groups there was no organized resistance to fascism after the suppression of the freedom of the press in 1926. The old parties finally disappeared in 1929 when the fascists held

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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 of

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During the 45 days between the fall of Mussolini and the announcement of the armistice, the parties were however able to improve their organization, as they were strengthened by the return of many eminent anti-fascists who were released from the "confino" or from imprisonment. A few also returned from exile, mostly from France.

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 partiest 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 So-

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In addition to these six major parties, there are a number of others. Some are the expression of purely personal ambition, while others probably have a more considerable following, as they are traditional Italian parties. Among the latter is the Republican party, which before the advent of fascism had a maximum of 2 deputies. This party was revived during the clandestine period and is reported to be particularly strong in the Maremma and the Romagna. It has refused to become part of the Committee of National Liberation and has always adopted an attitude of intransigent republicanism. As the leaders refuse to compromise themselves with the monarchy, they criticise and oppose the gtogernment, and in particular those parties which have a republican programme and have nevertheless consented to accept the

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compromise of the Lieutenant-General. It is reported that this party has gathered round it many of the former republicans as well as some of those who are discontented with the government and, in particular, with the armistice terms.

The Demo-Liberal party, which was powerful, especially in the south, before fascism, and remained outside the Committee of National Liberation, and provided the main support for the Badoglio government in Apulia, was fused with the Liberal Party in August, 1944.

The Italian Democratic Party represents the conservative, monarchical forces in the country, and has a daily newspaper, ITALIA NUOVA, in Rome. Many of the smaller monarchical parties later fused with this party.

Most of the other parties, it is reported, have little real following in the country, and very often they are founded to satisfy the personal ambition of a few individuals. No free elections have been held in Italy for more than twenty years, and it is therefore difficult to asses the exact strength of any party. There is however, a group of dissident left-wing parties which are rather Trotskyist in character. Among these are the Movimento Comunista, and the Revolutionary Socialists. They may have a certain following, as it is believed that the Trotskyist movement in the north may be not altogether negligible. In addition there is the Anarchist party which has a weekly newspaper in Rome, UMANITA NOVA. This party is also a traditional one and is reported to be strong in certain areas of Italy.

The Party of the Christian Left is a development of the Catholic Communist Party, and is reported to have a following among Catholic workers. Many of its members are young intellectuals. It has however been reprimanded by the Osservatore Romano, and this may have frightened away many Catholics. The Christian Social party has fairly good relations with the Christian Democrat party, and in Central and Northern Italy is reported to have many followers. There, it seems, it would form the left wing of the Christian Democrat party. In addition to all these parties there is the Separatist movement in Sicily which is led by Finocchiaro-Aprile, a former member of parliament. As this movement is reported to be strong, a separate appendix

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An attempt has been made to trace the development of the various political parties in Italy today; but it would be hazardous to try to predict their relative strength until elections have been held. Many of the parties are in a fluid state. Almost all the principal parties are still in a chrysalis stage and will be subject to considerable development and change in the near future. Almost all have a left wing and a right wing, and the fusion of elements in one party with those in another is more than likely at a later stage. It is however possible to say with some certainty that the four strongest parties in Italy will be the Christian Democrats, the Socialists, the Communists and the Liberals. Of these the first three are generaly considered to have a following among the masses, whereas the liberals

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(and the Party of Action) draw their supporters mainly from the middle and upper classes. Moreover the Trade Unions are organized by the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and the Communists. This means that the vote of the working classes will go in the main to these parties. The Liberals are however strong in certain areas of Italy and will attract to a large extent the Conservative vote. It is difficult to assess the relative strength of the other parties although it would appear certain that they have nothing like the following of the four main parties.

Finally these four parties (the Christian Democrats, the Liberals, the Socialists and the Communists) are all parties with a nation-wide following and organization. The principal political leaders of these parties are all in liberated Italy and it is probable that the members of these parties in the occupied zone will follow the instructions of the central executives of these four parties which are in Rome.

The parties continue to be reinforced by the return of distinguished Italians who generally belong to one or another of the parties. Gradually a greater degree of understanding and tolerance has developed in the relations between the principal parties. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that the various anti-fascist, although holding different political views, have come to know each other in the past twenty years in the poverty of exile or in the tragic conditions of fascist prisons. And during the last few months they have given an example of cooperation by forming a coalition government, where they have begun to know each other more intimately. It is impossible to predict the course of democracy in Italy, but if it continues along the lines it has followed during the last eighteen months, then there will be little reason for despondency.

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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.

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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 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 precluded 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:

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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
Marcello SOLERI	Minister of the Treasury
Alessandro CASATI	" of War
Vincenzo ARANGIO-RUIZ	" of Education
Giambattista RIZZO	Under-Secretary of Transport
A. Medici TORNAQUINCI	" " for Occupied Italy
Renato MORELLI	" " " Italians Abroad
Franco LIBONATI	" " of the Press

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Politics: The Liberal Party is the furthest to the Right of the Six Parties (now reduced to four) which have participated in the Bonomi Governments. It is a centre party and essentially a party of order, moderation and conciliation, distrusting all organized mass movements because of the violence which usually accompanies them, and fearing too sharp a swing to the Left which might lead to dangerous reaction such as occurred in 1919 and resulted in Fascism. The Party in general stands for freedom of thought, of expression and association, and of religion. It wants the settlement of political struggles by peaceful means, and seeks a democratic government by the majority, and the safeguarding of the rights of the individual and the minority. The dignity of the individual must be protected, and while the primary duty of the state is to further not curb, the development of individual personality, it admits that individual excesses must be curbed and a compromise between personal liberty and state absolutism must be sought and found. Its leaders believe that the authority of a government can alone be derived from the willing consent of a free people, and, in contrast to the totalitarian theory, that its stability and efficiency are not impeded by parliamentary processes.

The Party is progressive and realises that far-reaching social reforms are inevitable and necessary. These will involve a general levelling of fortunes, and retribution for the capitalists who, in spite of their often admirable individual initiative, are to be blamed for their greed and excessive conservatism.

Although traditionally monarchist, the Party demand the removal of King Victor Emmanuel III because of his complicity with Fascism and betrayal of Italy at the time of the 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

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Although a redistribution of land is necessary, the liberals favour State control of the great estates as against splitting them up among the poor and helpless peasants who could not exploit their holdings efficiently. Agriculture should be industrialised along the lines adopted in Russia.

The Liberals demand epuration, which however, must be limited to the Fascist leaders and accomplices, and officials holding key positions in the administrations. The innumerable involuntary and helpless victims of a system over which they had no control must be spared, and it must be borne in mind that it will be difficult to find replacements if too many trained officials are dismissed.

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.

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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. 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. Alfio BOZZI

ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP: The Party is directed by a Central Committee which was self-constituted during the underground period. A National Congress of the Party will subsequently elect a new Central Committee. Special sub-committees function in Rome, charged with various duties such as press, propaganda, recruiting, administration, etc. The work of the Central Committee and of the sub-committees is coordinated by the Party Secretary. There are in addition a certain number of provincial and communal committees in the liberated areas. The Party has allegedly 5000 inscribed members and claims some 200,000 adherents in liberated Italy, with numerous applications not yet passed upon. The Party appeals more particularly to the middle-age groups, to the middle-classes, to public and private employers, artisans and small tradespeople.

PARTY MOVEMENTS: The Youth organization of the Party, under Roberto JAPPICI, as also the syndical movement directed by the Party show tendencies which are considerably to the left of those of the Party's leaders. The Syndical movement is active in propaganda among the working classes. The Party has no women's organization.

NEWSPAPERS: "RICOSTRUZIONE", daily, Rome. Authorized circulation, 36,000. Editor: Eucardio MOMIGLIANO. Publishing offices: Via del Tritone 61, Rome. "IL PUNGOLO", daily, Naples; director: G. PATRUNO.

The following are the Party weeklies:

"IL LAVORO D'ITALIA", Naples. Editors: A. CERABONA and S. GIAMPA

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Vice Secretaries — Avv. Achille LORDI
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The following are the Party weeklies:

"IL LAVORO D'ITALIA", Naples. Editors: A. CERABONA and S.CIAMPA. 128
"LA DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO", Lecce. Editor: P. MASSARI
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Reggio Calabria. Editor: P. SICILIANO
"L'AZIONE", Potenza. Youth Movement publication: circulation 5000.
"RICOSTRUZIONE", Foggia. Editor: GARGATO.
"LA TRIBUNA DEL POPOLO", Palermo
"LA DEMOCRAZIA", Perugia.

HISTORY: In August, 1944, the Democratic Labour Party emerged as a fusion party of several former parliamentary political groups, all of which were of social-democratic tendencies. The most important of these was the Democracy of Labour which itself was the outgrowth of the Italian democratic "left." The movement traces its origin to 3 currents: 1) The democratic radicalism of Bertani, Cavallotti and Sacchi; 2) Reformed Socialism (Bonomi-Bissolati) which arose in 1911

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when the then ultra-revolutionary Mussolini expelled the right-wing socialists from the party: 3) a group of younger men, who having experimented fascist "corporationalism" and found it wanting, turned to freer political ideals, while still advocating a controlled economy favoring the less privileged classes at the expense of the plutocratic groups.

Among the parties and movements which merged in 1944 to become the present day party, were "Il Partito del Lavoro", which is strong in Southern Italy, "Il Partito Progressista" and "Il Partito Democratico Sociale", which has many adherents in Sicily. All these parties were active during the underground period, with clandestine publications, and in organizing bands which operated in the winter of 1943-44 in the area between Rome and the front.

The Party participated in the last Badoglio government and in the two Bonomi cabinets as follows:

3rd Badoglio Government

CERABONA	Minister of Communications
CILENTI	Under-secretary of Public Works
LOMBARDO	Under-Secretary of Justice

1st Bonomi Government

RUINI	Minister without Portfolio
CERABONA	Minister of Communications
BASSANO	Undersecretary of Justice
SCIALOJA	Undersecretary for Air
MANES	Undersecretary of the Treasury

Present Bonomi Government

RUINI	Minister of Public Works
CEVOLOTTO	Minister of Communications
CERABONA	Minister of Transportation
SCIALOJA	Minister of Air
(Resigned, later, and is replaced by Luigi GASPEROTTO)	
BASSANO	Undersecretary of Navy
MOLE	Undersecretary of Interior
PARESCE, Eugenio	Undersecretary of Labor, Industry and Commerce.

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Present Bonomi Government

RUINI	Minister of Public Works
CIVOLETTO	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 progressive, liberal and democratic-socialist. It wants to be the vanguard of a new and broader labour party on the British model. It seeks the rapid evolution by legal means of capitalistic economy into an economy of labour. It advocates cooperative and associated production, free from the shackles of bureaucratic despotism.

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Some of the planks of its political platform are:

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

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

3) Simplification of the bureaucracy.

4) An independent magistrature, safeguarded against political pressure.

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

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

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

8) Greater regional autonomy.

9) Agrarian reform.

10) Freedom of syndical organizations from political influences.

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

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

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PARTITO D'AZIONE

Headquarters: Via Sistina 72, Roma

Office bearers:

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

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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.

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

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

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

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Workers' Movement : Directors: B. Pierleoni and D. Gentile. Members of the Italian General Confederation of Labour are free to join the organization.

History : The party is a new party, born of present-day world conditions, proposing new solutions to the problems arising from the collapse of out-moded Italian parliamentary democracy and from the negative experiment of totalitarianism. It traces its origin to i) the Sardinian Partito d'Azione of 1918 under Emilio Lussu, a left movement which advocated regional autonomy. This movement was broken up by the Fascists and its adherents driven into exile; ii) the "Italia Libera" movement (a left movement with post-Fascist doctrines) which after 1922 rallied young and leftist elements, such as Rossetti and Randolfo Pacciardi, and a certain number of dissident Fascists. Its influence was considerable among Italian emigrants in the Americas and France. At the same time Carlo Rosselli was following a parallel course with his "Giustizia e Libertà" movement in France. Although his group was dispersed after the murder of the Rosselli brothers, its ideas and experience profited the founders of the present party. By July 1943, the party was already active undergound and soon after, its clandestine paper L'ITALIA LIBERA appeared. The party organized cells and bands which operated in liaison with the military giunta of the C.L.N. In August 1944, a party congress was held at which the left tendenceis within the party became apparent and the basic doctrine of the party was defined as "autonomistic, liberal and anti-totalitarian socialism."

The party participated, as one of the Six Parties, in the third Badoglio and in the first Bonomi governments. Its leaders refused to join the second Bonomi government in December 1944, partly out of loyalty to Sforza whome they considered Bonomi had sacrificed to British pressure, but chiefly because they demanded more rigorous epuration and the recognition of greater powers in the C.L.N. On the two latter issues the party sided with the Socialists and Communists. In spite of this and of the party's left tendencies, it has been dubbed a "bourgeois party" by the Socialists and Communists, who in the past excluded the party from the directorate of the Italian

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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 PENOALTEA	-	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

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12. Agrarian reform, with modernization of agricultural technique; expropriation in favour of peasants of uncultivated holdings of large land-owners; state improvement of backward areas; widespread formation of agricultural cooperations;
13. Expropriation without indemnity of reactionary Fascist plutocracy.
14. Sliding-scale taxation, while safeguarding the productivity of small and medium business.
15. International free trade; more rational distribution of raw materials and manufactured products; free circulation of labour.
16. Looks to the Church for spiritual aid in the work of reconstruction, but demands its non-intervention in politics.

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

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

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

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PARTITO DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA

Headquarters: Piazza del Gesù 46, Rome.

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

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

Other leading personalities are:
Umberto TUPINI
Giovanni GRONCHI
Salvatore ALDISIO
Bernardo MATTARELLA
Angelo Raffaele JERVOLINO
Prof. AGNELLO (Siracusa)
Prof. SEGNI (Sardegna)
On. BUONOCORE (Caserta)
On. PISCITELLI (")

Organization: The Statutes of the Party, adopted at the Party congress held in Naples 29th July 1944, call for a national council of 27 members, representing the various regions and the syndical, professional and cultural groups of the Party, and provide for a provincial directorate for each province, and a "segretario comunale" for each commune. At present there are trustees ("fiduciari") in each province; Candidates for party offices are elected. The Party has offices in the principal cities of liberated Italy, and local elections are held for the Regional Committees, each of which send three delegates to the central Executive Committee. Theorganization of the Party is necessarily still in its early stages. It seems to have proceeded satisfactorily in Rome where it has large offices with reception

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Avv. Giuseppe [illegible]
Avv. Giulio DI RODINO
Rag. Pier Carlo RESTAGNO

Other leading personalities are:

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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
	Under-Secretary of the Treasury

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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 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

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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.

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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

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Membership: The Party claims a total inscribed membership in the whole of liberated Italy of approximately 120,000. This figure, owing to difficulties of communication and the incompleteness of the party's organization should be accepted with great caution. The figure of 70,000 adherents south of the Garigliano has been given, and the Party has allegedly received 12,000 applications in Rome, of which only 7000 have been accepted to date. Before Fascism the registered membership of the Party was about 300,000 and it controlled about one million votes. It unquestionably has strong roots in Northern Italy, particularly in the big cities. Its leaders hope ultimately to win over adherents from the "Right" fringe of the Communists, and from the "Left" wing of the Christian Democrats, both of whom are numerically strong in the North. 70% of the Party's members are workmen, technicians and employees, with the remaining 30% made up from the middle classes, intellectuals, students, clerks, artisans, etc.. It counts very few members among the peasants, most of whom are fervent Catholics.

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.

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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 and exile of numerous Socialist leaders. These persecutions resulted in an extreme left alliance between the Socialists, Republicans and Radicals. In the 1900 elections the Socialists won 30 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, showing, in spite of vicissitudes, a steady growth of the party's political influence.

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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.

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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 German attack on Russia in 1941, relations between the two were resumed. At the present time, the Italian Socialists are thinking in terms of International Socialism, and are proposing an International Socialist Conference to which representatives of all organized labour movements in the world are to be invited and which is to function contemporaneously with and along side of the Peace Conference. They seem to have in mind a Socialist Internazionale, or perhaps cooperation with a future Fourth

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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 [illegible]

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COSTA	"	"	of Labour, Industry and Commerce.
CORSI	"	"	of Merchant Marine

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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 face value or are merely attributable to political opportunism. In spite of their misgivings, in August 1944 they made a pact with the Communists for joint political action; setting up at the same time a coordinating committee; composed of three Socialists, Nenni, Lizzadri and Villani, and three

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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

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In addition to the question of the CLN, the Socialists withheld their support from the present Bonomi Cabinet because they consider the premier weak and ineffectual, and bitterly criticize his delaying action in the matter of epuration.

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Programme: The Party's programme is based on Marxism, of which the principles are to be extended to meet the economic and social needs of present-day Italy. Italy's sole asset is its capacity for work, and it will be the workers who will be called upon to reconstruct the country's means of production. Hence they may justly demand that the same, once restored, be exploited by and for the benefit of public interests, and not returned to private speculation. The Party openly advocated a class struggle by the proletariat (without excluding the middle class) as a mean to its ends.

The principal planks of the Socialist platform are as follows:

1) Destruction of Fascism and democratization of the economic and political life of the country.
2) Inflexible epuration, striking officials in key positions, prefects and police and army chiefs. Punishment and confiscation of property of Fascist leaders and profiteers.
3) Socialization of industry and big business; united and autonomous syndicalism; workers' participation by means of committees, in the management of industry and big business.
4) Workers' participation in the planning and direction of reconstruction, the financial burden of which is to be borne by the propertied classes which were responsible for Fascism and the war.
5) Improvement of living conditions for the working classes, with adjustment of wages and pensions to the cost of living.
6) Work for, and aid to the unemployed.
7) Reform of the administrations.
8) Agrarian reform.
9) Equal political and social rights for women.
10) A Republic for Italy.

The Party emblem is a red flag.

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PARTITO COMUNISTA ITALIANO

HEADQUARTERS: Via Nazionale 243, Rome.

OFFICEBEARERS:

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

Vice-Secretary Mauro SCOCCIMARRO

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

Celeste NEGARVILLE
Eugenio REALE
X Velio SPANO
Giuseppe DI VITTORIO
NOVELLA Agostino
MASSOLA Alessandro
SILVATI Alessandro
NULLO Mara
Ruggiero GRIECO
MONTAGNANA Rita
PELLEGRINI Giacomo

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 per-

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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. There are a number of other Communist papers in the rest of Liberated Italy, for the most part weeklies and including "CIVILTA PROLETARIA", Bari.

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APPENDIX I No. 54

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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

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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
Mario PALERMO	Undersecretary of War
M. LUNELLI	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. 113

4) Greatest possible military participation in the war.

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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. MARGARINI

Dr. Selvaggi is an energetic Calabrian of 30. He left Italy at the age of twelve, studied in S. America, at Princetown, in Switzerland and at Aberdeen. He returned to Italy for his military service, and stayed on. It is worth noting that Selvaggi is at the head of the Party, editor of its two newspapers and formulator of its doctrines. He gives the impression of being a very able and intelligent but also very ambitious man.

Membership: The Party claims to have 237 Sections in Liberated Italy with a membership of about 142,000. It draws its strength from middle-class salaried workers and professional people. There is a high percentage of young people.

Newspapers: "L'Italia Nuova", daily Rome. Authorised circulation 36,000 (this is probably exceeded by purchases of paper on the black market). Director and leader-writer: Dr. Enzo SELVAGGI. "La Voce dei Giovani", bi-weekly, Rome, Director: Dr. Enzo SELVAGGI.

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

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

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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 Naples as early as 1939. The founder of the Italian Progressive Party was Comm. JUAN GATTI; this Party claimed to attract dissident Christian Democrats and to have the support of LOJACANO and TUPINI. Three of the victims of the Ardeatine massacre were members of the Party. It has consistently opposed the parties of the C.L.N., alleging that they are "a resurrection of the ideas and policy which paved the way to Fascism".

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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 Profetti 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 BRACCI LANGHE
Nicola SIGISMONDI
Oliviero ZUCCARINI

112

Avv. Pacciardi was born at Grossetto in 1889. While still very young he published a pamphlet on Mazzini. He fought during World War I. and was recommended for the Gold Medal for Bravery. He studied law in Rome under Giovanni CONTI

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Victor Emmanuel III. Institutional question to be settled by referendum.

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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 contributors Borgese, Salvemini, Venturi, Sturzo and Toscanini. On his return to Italy he again tried to recruit a volunteer unit, but was not allowed to do so. Sig. Pacciardi gives the impression of a sincere, wholehearted idealist rather than a political tactician.

Membership: The Party is pretty well organised in Rome, which is divided into fifteen sections with a total membership of 3,500 as early as August. In all liberated Italy "from Sardinia to Bologna" it claims a membership of 30,000 - 50,000. It has never been strong in the South, its greatest hold being

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in Tuscany, Umbria, the Marches and Romagna. In occupied Italy it is traditionally strong in Veneto, but not in the large cities.

Newspapers: "La Voce Repubblicana", daily, Rome. Authorised circulation: 44,000 (this may be increased by purchases of Black Market newsprint) Director: Giovanni CONTI. Leader-writer: Randolfo PACCIARDI. "L'Alba Repubblicana", bi-monthly, Rome, Youth Movement organ. "La Repubblica", weekly, Naples, 10,000. "L'Amico del Popolo", weekly, Catanzaro: 4,000.

Youth Movement: Directive Council: Mario GUGLIELMOTTI, Libero MASTROCCHI, Alberto RONCHEY, Gianfranco MANTEGAZZA, Bruno GARIBALDI, Idomenio BARBADORO, Filiberto BARDELLONI. There are fifteen youth centres in Rome; they had an aggregate membership of 2,400 in August. Newspaper: "L'Alba Repubblicana" (see above).

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

Programme:

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

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

3. No office to be filled without popular election.

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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.

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 [illegible]

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a) An instrument of the Right masquerading as a left-wing party;

b) A convenient through officially disowned "strong-arm" instrument of the Communist Party;

But neither hypothesis has been by any means proved.

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

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

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

4) No collaboration with bourgeois parties or governments.

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PARTITO CRISTIANO SOCIALE

HEADQUARTERS: Via del Tritone 201

CENTRAL COMMITTEE: Dr. Gerardo BRUNI (founder)
Conte Lucangelo BRACCI
Lidio BAZZINI
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

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PARTITO CRISTIANO SOCIALE

HEADQUARTERS: Via del Tritone 241

CENTRAL COMMITTEE: Dr. Gerardo BRUNI (founder)
Conte Lucangelo BRACCI
Lidio BOZZINI
Dr. R. BERTOLI
Dr. Aldo SPADA
Signora Silvestra SESINI
Comm. Ernesto APUZZO (administrator)

MEMBERSHIP: Not even approximate figures are available. The greatest strength is in Tuscany, where the Party is in some districts stronger than the Christian Democrats, and has a big following among the young intellectuals. Condiderable strength is claimed among the working masses of the North. In Rome before the split (see History below) there were 1000 members.

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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. Bruni was expelled by the Executive Committee, which then went over practically en bloc to the Partito della Sinistra Cristiana. Bruni promptly reconstituted the Party. The causes of the split appear to have been Bruni's insistence on personal leadership, the abstruse nature of his political doctrines and his inability to cooperate with the parties of the Left.

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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

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OFFICEBEARERS:

Secretary — Giuseppe MIA., Prof., University of the Sacred Heart

Vice-Secretary

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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".

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HEADQUARTERS: Via Agostino De Preiis 86

110

OFFICEBEARERS:

Secretary — Giuseppe MIRA, Prof., University of the Sacred Heart

Vice-Secretary — Adriano OSSICINI, Doctor of Medicine

Director "VOCE OPERAIA" — Fedele D'AMICO

Editor, "VOCE OPERAIA" — Filippo SACCONI, Prof. Pontifical Institute.

Delegate, Agrarian Problems — Gino BARBIERI, Prof. University of the Sacred Heart.

Delegate, Propaganda — Franco RODANO, Doctor of Letters and Philosophy.

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,

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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.

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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 Finarchico founded in 1941 by Dr. BRUNI, librarian at the Vatican (see Partito Cristiano Sociale). It was originally called the Partito Comunista Cattolico (+). It carried on clandestine propaganda, printed a paper called "PUGNO CHIUSO" and organized the first anti-fascist manifestations. In September 1944 it changed its name because the word "Communist" had atheistic associations. In November 1944 it absorbed a fair number of dissidents from the Rome branch of the Partito Cristiano Sociale (q.v.) On 2 and 3 January 1945 the "OSSERVATORE ROMANO" contained an unsigned statement referring to the Party in the following terms: "...the principles and tendencies (of the Partito della Sinistra Cristiana)...are not in conformity with the teachings of the Church, and hence those who promote them have not the right to speak as representatives of Christian thought and still less to pretend that those Catholics who wish for the true good of the people should adhere to their movement."

(+) There exists in Naples a distinct group also called "Movimento Comunista Cristiano", headed by a Father Angelo D'ALESSIO, Prof. of Philosophy and Theology. It is said to have contacts with the Rome Communist and Partisan movements.

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

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

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

3) Single union of all workers.

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

5) Support for the Government and the CLN.

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

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

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Italian 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.

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PARTITO SOCIALISTA RIVOLUZIONARIO ITALIANO (P.S.R.I.)

Headquarters: Port'Alba 33, Naples.

Leaders: Vincenzo DE LUCA, Secretary of the Party.
Avv. Rocco D'AMBRA. Former Secretary of the Party. Has a long history of anti-Fascist activities.
Prof. Ugo BELLANCA.
Ugo MARGIOTTA. An experienced revolutionary anarchist, one-time exile in Mexico and U.S.... 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 CIAMINO. 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 this 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

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Giovanni
Alfredo CLEMINO. Anti-Fascist

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 philomonarchist, 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.

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

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

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

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

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MOVIMENTO PARTIGIANO

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

The Movement is directed by the Direzione Centrale consisting of 14 to 20 membersm and in each province by a Direzione Provinciale consisting of 3 to 5 members.

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Office Bearers: Secretary: Alfredo PACCIER (has a long anti-fascist record among workmen of Terni.)

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3. Minister appointed by and responsible to the Chambers. The President to coordinate and unite the Government.

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Office Bearers: Secretary: Alfredo PACCARA (has a long anti-fascist record among workmen of Terni.)
Welfare Supervisor: Rag. BRUNELLI.

Membership: 4000 enrolled members. 12,000 applications being examined.

The Movement has 13 branches in Rome and others throughout Italy.(e.g., Florence, Viareggio, and Sicily. It is organized into groups, Sections and Zones, and aims at establishing centers in every commune. The members claim to be unarmed and desirous of co-operating zith the Allies. 50,000 (?) if supplied with arms and food would be willing to cross over into North Italy to fight.

Newspapers: "Il Partigiano", weekly, Rome; 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 Women's Branch, a Young People's Sports Association and a Labour Office.

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History: The movement was formed by Dr. Andreoni in Rome before the Allies arrived, and came into the open in the early days of June 1944.

Programme: The movement as set out in an 8 page leaflet aims at giving moral and material support to the Partisans, and assistance in every way to demobilized partisans. It welcomes all who have taken an active part in the fight against Nazism and fascism. It claims to be a movement of the nation and to constitute the moral reserve of the nation, and it defends the ideas for which anti-fascists suffered. These are:

1) Defense of the just boundaries of Italy, which have been compromised by the monarchy through participation in an anti-national anti-democratic, anti-European war.

2) Defense of democratic ideas, which are now shown to be incompatible with the monarchical institution in Italy. A Democratic Republic was the dream of "our fallen" and is the invocation of the survivors.

3) The defense of social systems, founded on popular liberties which ensure to manual and intellectual workers the entire fruit of their labours.

4) Universal brotherhood of Partisans beyond the frontiers. They represent the popular, idealistic, revolutionary element in the present war.

"The reference to the 'just boundaries of Italy' is an indication of possible friction and subversive activity in the future, and the appeal to 'universal brotherhood' is only too reminiscent of Communism." (Extract from FSS report). The movement appears to include extremists from the Communist Party, with Anti-British sentiments. Republican and anti-Royalist feeling is high.

The Movement is in touch with the Garibaldi Brigades in North Italy by means of Couriers (e.g. Adolfi, Braccialarghe and Speranza) who pass the lines on the Bologna front. After the war the Movement intends to see that the Partisans are treated fairly in a Republic organized on a co-operative basis.

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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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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 PEZZIOSI - Secretary

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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.
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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.

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 MONTELLI, 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.

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Programme :

1. Union of all democratic forces in Italy. International

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PARTITO AGRARIO SOCIALE

Headquarters : Via Liguria 40.

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

103

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 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.

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.

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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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APPENDIX I. No. 55

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 CIAMPINI.

Membership: There are no regularly enrolled members, merely "adherents".

102

Newspaper: The League hopes to publish a paper to be called: "Il Nuovo Patto".

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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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Headquarters: Via Tommaso Salvini 33.

Secretary: Alighiero CIAMPINI.

Membership: There are no regularly enrolled members, merely "adherents".

102

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.
3) To re-introduce gradually economic liberalism.
4) Italy to join a Society of Nations based on multi-lateral undertakings and guarantees.

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CENTRO ITALIANO DI RINNOVAMENTO.

Headquarters: Corso Umberto, 333.

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

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

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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 pro-

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2) Consumers' co-operative: 'Fratelli d'Italia'.

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2) Member parties are free to follow their own political and economic programmes; but the Committee provides them with preliminary studies prepared by experts of the problems of the hour.

3) The Committee maintains that Italian reconstruction may be attained with abolishing the Monarchy.

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PARTITO DI RICOSTRUZIONE CRISTIANA.

Headquarters: Via G. Avezzano, 51.

Office-Bearers: Directing Committee: Avv. Alberto SABASTIANI (head of the Party)
Cte. Paolo PIELLA
Avv. Giovanni SILVASTRELLI

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CONFIDENTIAL APPENDIX I. No. 55
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The Party has the slogan "To Christianize the state and to co-operate in a new Christian order in the world". It is monarchical and clerical.

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

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PARTITO DI UNIONE PROLETARIA

Headquarters: Via Fornova, 12.

Theseoffices are somewhat palatial for a minor, proletarian party. The Secretary's desk bears a formidable battery of bell-buttons, which are answered with almost disconcerting rapidity. There is also a very efficient 'escort' service for seeing visitors to and fro from their cars.

Office-bearers: Umberto SALVAREZZA, General Secretary
Renato BIANCHI
Lt. Carlo CONCARI
Count Pietro JONIGRA
Arnaldo MARAPODI
Vittorio ANACLETI
Anacleto BALLA

The only person on the above list who held office in the Party in August 1944 is Salvarezza, the founder and Secretary of the Union. An ex-Communist, he has a police record reaching back for twenty years, including several convictions for theft and fraud. He is believed to have belonged to the "Bandiera Rossa" (Movimento Comunista, q. v.) group during the German occupation, and to have formed his own band only when the fall of Rome was imminent. He was imprisoned by the Germans, but released. In November, 1944 he quarelled with On. Umberto Bianchi, ex-deputy and co-leader off 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 Ser-

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Headquarters: Via Firenze, 42

These offices 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
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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 off 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.

100

Membership: Independent sources confirm Salvarezza's claim to have 40,000 members in Liberated Italy; but the figure is passed on with all due reserve. The Party claims to have 710 branches. It is stated by the police to have its own partisan bands operating in the North, several hundred members of which are said to be now in Rome for the winter, and to be secretely armed. It claims to be supported by all the parties and movements of a body called the "Congresso Democratico Anti-Comunista".

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

(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 issued 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.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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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 police, remained in hiding for more than a week, and was finally discovered on 4th February by a journalist of the Communist newspaper "Unita". He was arrested and is now in prison.

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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 CORBU
Egle GUALDI
Rita MOGNANAL TOGLIATTI
Bastianina MUSU MARTINI
Giuliana NENNI
Maria ROMITA
Marisa SIANCIARI RODINO

Note: Bastianini Muso Martini (of the Partito d'Azione) is said to be the "guiding spirit and soul" of the Unione which is apparently composed of representatives of many political parties as well as independent opinion. The secretarial offices comprise one representative of each political party plus one non political member. The Christian-Democratic Party has refused to associate itself with the Union on the grounds that it is doing its own charitable work through religious organizations.

Membership: The Unione states that it has fifteen branches (circoli) in Rome, and has branches in fifty six towns and villages in Liberated Italy and that its total membership is not known. The Unione is growing rapidly.

Newspaper: "Noi Donne" bi-monthly, Rome, has a circulation of 20,000. Directresses: Laura Brecco and Vittoria Giuntu.

Youth Movement: The Unione has an active youth movement called "Ragazze d'Italia".

Workers Movement: The Unione appeals the women of all classes. 99

History: In 1943 the Unione was initiated, clandestinely with the formation of "Women's Defence Groups" during German

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Maria ROMITA
Marisa CINCILLRI RODINO

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Workers Movement: The Unione appeals the women of all classes. 99

History: In 1943 the Unione was initiated, clandestinely with the formation of "Women's Defence Groups" during German occupation. Its chief present interests are assistance to children and the poor, moral and material help for soldiers and repatriated prisoners and votes for women. They allow complete freedom of religion and political beliefs in their members. Various political Parties have given contributions to the Unione (Liberal Party, etc.) and also banks and private citizens but the Unione is handicapped by a great shortage of funds.

Programme: 1) Active participation in the political and social life of the country, and education of workers by conversation and conferences in the principles of Unions for the defence of their economic rights.

2) To continue and to increase the work of assistance to the soldiers and their families, to victims of German and Fascist terror and to victims of the war.

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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.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

AZIONE CATTOLICA ITALIANA

Headquarters: Via della Conciliazione, 3.

Office-bearers: Director General: P. GILLA CREMIGNI, M.S.C.
Deputy " " : Mons. Giuseppe MORGHINO
General Secretary: Avv. Vittorio VERONESE.

Membership: The organisation claims a membership of approximately 2,000,000. It has Regional, Diocesan and Parish Councils throughout Italy, and is recognised as "an established channelfor Church charity" (Cardinal [illegible]).

Newspaers: "Il Quotidiano", daily, Rome. Authorised circulation: 37,000. Director: Igino GIORDANI.
"Bollettino Ufficiale dell'Azione Cattolica", monthly, Rome. Authorised circulation: 2,500. Director: Mons. Giuseppe BORGHINO, for group leaders.
Thirteen other papers and magazines are published in Rome alone. (see also 'Organisations' below).

Organisations.
Men's Catholic Action Union. Newspaper "Noi Uomini", monthly; 20,000.
Women's " " " " "In Alto", fortnightly, 5,000.
Catholic Action Youth Movement, " "Gioventù Nuova", weekly; 5,000.
[illegible] " "Scuilli.

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

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 GEI (Corpo Nazionale Giovani Esploratori Italiani).

History: The Movement, born in the nineteenth century, received a great impetus from the support of Pius XI. Although recognised in the Concordat of 1929, however, it was subjected to attacks by the Fascists from 1931 on. During the German occupation of Rome it suffered some actual persecution, due probably to the action of the Catholic clergy in sheltering anti-Fascists and Jews. Father GILLA and Mons. BORGHINO were both arrested by the Germans, and other arrests were carried out in the offices of the movement.

Since the liberation of Rome full-scale lay action in the religious sphere has been resumed. Good instances are ACLI, ACI, AGE and ICAS (Istituzione Cattolica di Attività Sociale) an organization headed by Avv. Vittorio VERONESE (vide sopra) which runs libraries and educational as well as charitable activities.

Programme: Militant action of the laity in support of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the accomplishment of the latter's apostolic misson, as interpreted by itself.

^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

97

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

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97

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

26

SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS

At the 9th assembly of the Unione Spartaco on 16 Jan at Via Giustiniani 5, were present representative of the directing committee of the Partito Rivoluzionario Progressista, of the Movimento Partigiano, of the Movimento Anti fascista Intransigente, of the Movimento Anerchico and of a new body called Movimento Nationale di Difesa Economica Proletaria. (See below para ii) According to a reliable source, this meeting was notable for bringing out the internationalist and anti-British 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 protecting British Imperialism and Capitalism.

A new body, the Movimento di Difesa Economica Proletaria, Hq. at present in Via Michelangelo Poggioli 1, has recently been formed. As indicated above in para i., this movement is also affiliated to the Movimento Partigiano and the Unione Spartaco. Little is known about the actual programme or leaders beyond the fact that one of the latter a certain G. RIGHINI 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 change of success owing to the presence of the Allies. Further information is being sought about this person.

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2694

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

P SAFETY S/C
8522

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS
G-5 Section
APO 512

KPM/mls

G-5: 313.3

21 January 1945

25

SUBJECT: Intelligence Report on Puglia.

TO : Headquarters, Allied Commission, APO 394.

The enclosed copy of an Intelligence Report on Puglia is forwarded for your information.

For Acting Asst. Chief of Staff, G-5:

K. P. MANNOCK,
Jr.Comdr.

1 Incl:
Ref K/0428 as above.

HEADQUARTERS
22 JAN 1945
A. C.

Security
Division
Rec'd 26 Jan
Book No 7426
File No 650
Section

2693

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

RECEIVED
21 JAN 1945
G-5 Sec.
A.F.H.Q.
73-19-1

FROM :- Intelligence Section,
Headquarters, Mediterranean Allied Air Forces, C.M.F.

TO :- A.F.H.Q. G-5.

DATE :- 19th January, 1945.

REF :- MAAF/S 6885/5/INT

Political Situation in Puglia

For your information I am passing you a copy of a report received from Intelligence Officer of the Air Forces Sub Commission. If you wish to retain this, please do so.

J.C.E. LUARD, Group Captain,
for Air Commodore,
Chief Intelligence Officer,
Headquarters
Mediterranean Allied Air Forces.

ENCL.

2693

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

From : AIR FORCES SUB COMMISSION, H.Q. A.C.

To : C.I.C. M.A.A.F. H.Q., C.M.F.

Date : 18th January 1945

Ref. : AFSC/INT/10/ I 606

Spare Copy

Political Situation in Puglia

The enclosed report received from the I.A.F. Intelligence Branch has no bearing on Air Force matters, but may prove none the less interesting and if it does not interest you, you may care to pass it on.

P. de Haan

P. DE HAAN W/CDR INT
AIR VICE MARSHAL
AIR OFFICER COMMANDING

TRANSLATION

From : Italian "I" Office

To : Air Forces Sub Commission

Date : January 10th 1945

Ref. : K/0428

POLITICAL SITUATION IN PUGLIA

In the course of certain enquiries into problems regarding the I.A.F. (which is at the moment closely connected with economic conditions in Puglia) certain considerations emerged of which it is opportune to inform you.

The Italian population, due to scarsity of clothes and general living conditions, is growing particularly morbid, and is further aggravated by the new economic wealth of those social categories which take illegal advantage of conditions.

These advantages are more easily abused by the Allied regulations as they stand.

At least 30% of the population of Puglia is in possession of Allied equipment and supplies, bought on the black market. This fact is due in large part to American troops, particularly negro troops, who sell entire truck loads of goods to middle-men who in turn supply the markets.

The Allies, instead of arresting the real racketeers send out mobile squads of Military Police into the various localities with instructions to take away all Allied clothes and equipment found in anybody's possession. Such a measure generates bad feeling in those who have to suffer, which approaches hatred.

91

When these measures degenerate, by abuse of authority on the part of M.Ps., into violation of homes, the result is an unfortunate incident such as happened at BITONTO.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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When these measures degenerate, by abuse of authority on the part of M.Ps., into violation of homes, the result is an unfortunate incident such as happened at BITONTO.

In the region of ANDRIA and its surrounding villages there is reliable evidence of the formation of an organisation whose purpose will be to take direct action to interfere with Allied traffic. Various sources have confirmed this.

It is of course difficult to track down the origins of this talk, but it appears to be of the same type as the Fascist squads so familiar to everybody.

The workers of Puglia are not sufficiently educated to hold any specific political views, and in general they tend towards conservatism. The Communist party elements are not politically very effective in general.

In Puglia the middle-class tenant farmers predominate, and they enjoy considerable economic well-being, which in turn affects also the hired labourer who earns from 200 to 250

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lire per day.

The Liberal Party has many followers, amongst which many ex-fascist gerarchs who hope thereby to blanket their past activities.

The Action Party holds the professional class, and though this class is small it has a disproportionate influence.

The Socialist Party appeals to a wider audience, particularly the agricultural elements. However, in case of an election these elements will be guided by their women, who, though taking no active part in politics, are convinced that the well-being of their homes depends upon the priests - the Christian Democrats.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

2701.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

CONFIDENTIAL

To: AC of S, G-2, HAAC

No 1 SCI Unit(att Capt KERR)
Major HARVEY, M.G. H.Q. A.C.
CIC Det HA.A.C.

270 FS Section
Phone 470445 Ext 17
Ref: 270/10
18 Jan 45

Subject - Unofficial Political Groups

1. Further to our 270/10 of 30 Nov 44, attd is a list of two further unofficial parties operating outside the six official parties.

2. For your information.

BRefts
Capt.,
Int Corps.

Security Division
20/Jan.
4268
150.

2701

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

NEW PARTIES

1) PARTITO RADICALE ECONOMICO ITALIANO

2) PARTITO ITALIANO D'UNITA'

This Party was founded in VENEZIA. Awaiting the liberation of this city the COMITATO PROMOTORE has charged Dott. Vincenzo MAGGIO with the launching of the new Party in liberated Italy.
Dott. Vincenzo MAGGIO is an old militant antifascist.
He lives in Via CRESCENZIO 62 (tel. 363330).

88

2702

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

CONFIDENTIAL

To: AC of S, G-2
R.A.A.C.

276 FS Section
Phone 478445 Ext 17
Ref: SEC/10

No 1 SOE Unit(att Capt KER) Dec 44

Major Harvey, Public Safety,
H.Q. A.C.
CIC, RAAC

93

Subject - Unofficial Political Groups

1. Further to our SEC/10 of 30 NOV 44, att is a list of a further 12 unofficial political groups now operating outside the six official parties.

2. For your information.

Capt.,
Int Corps.

FILE.

DS/12
3768
150

87

PARTITI POLITICI

1) PARTITO LIBERO SOCIALE - Sede: Galleria Regina Margherita 7
In questo partito si sono fusi anche il PARTITO LABURISTA ITALIANO e il PARTITO DEMOCRATICO D'AVANGUARDIA.

2) PARTITO DEMOCRATICO COSTITUZIONALE - Tendenze clericali.

3) UNIONE NAZIONALE GIOVANILE INDIPENDENTE - Sede: Via Lucrezio Caro N.12

4) DEMOCRAZIA INTERNAZIONALE - Esponente: VALENZANI.

5) UNIONE PATRIOTTI D'ITALIA - Presidente: VAVALLI Vito - Viale Giulio Cesare N.11.

6) CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE REPUBBLICANO DELLA GIOVENTU' - Sede: Via Piemonte 40 -
E' stato costituito in questi giorni e comprende:

a) Federazione Giovanile del Partito d'Azione
b) Movimento Giovanile Cristiano Sociale
c) Movimento Giovanile della Democrazia del Lavoro
d) Federazione Giovanile Repubblicana
e) Federazione Giovanile Socialista

Sino ad oggi non ha aderito il Movimento Giovanile Comunista.
Nel suo programma è stata chiaramente ribadita la necessità di "opporsi a qualsiasi tentativo interno e internazionale di rimettere nel Governo uomini e forze che ripugnano alla coscienza democratica del Paese".

7) PARTITO DEMOCRATICO RADICALE - Segretario: CAES Casimiro

8) PARTITO INDIPENDENTE DEMOCRATICO

9) UNIONE MONARCHICA ITALIANA

10) MOVIMENTO MONARCHICO

11) UNIONE NAZIONALE DEMOCRATICA

12) LEGA DEGLI INDIPENDENTI - Ultima in ordine di tempo, creata in quest'ultima settimana allo scopo di "tutelare gli interessi di tutti gli uomini veramente liberi, di colo-
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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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86

Oltre ai Partiti già segnalati esistono anche altri gruppi politici minori di poca importanza.

C'è solo però da tener presente la possibilità e il pericolo che qualcuno di questi innumerevoli e non controllati gruppi politici serva a mimetizzare agenti dello spionaggio tedesco. Mi risulta infatti, per informazioni datemi verso la fine di maggio personalmente dal dott. MAYER, che i tedeschi avevano infarcito loro agenti (alcuni provenienti dal Sud) di creare dopo l'arrivo degli Alleati movimenti politici, fra cui anche movimenti comunisti e estremisti allo scopo di funzionare, al momento opportuno, da quinta colonna.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

File 150

The permanent crisis of the Bonomi Government has reached a new phase. The parties are trying to overcome the contests by writing public statements. In fact the declarations stay the necessity of the unity of the six parties, and the necessity to reinforce the authority of the State. So we shall only see some change of men among the Bonomi Government, because the people has already understood that these men are too much attached to their seats of Minister and Undersecretary, to realize their own incapacity to rule. Practically the unity of the C.L.N parties is irremediable. The peculiar conditions which suggested the compromise of the C.L.N parties, are now failing, because the events have been much different than

the foresights, and the complete liberation of Italy is unfortunately very far. The compromise accepted by the marxists gave them the possibility to be at the power and to gain all the possible advantages of a swift development of the situation. As soon as the events relaxed the non marxist parties became rigid in their actual positions.
Nevertheless the coalition must meet face to face infinitive, practical problems as the Public Safety, the stability of the value, the food supply, the transports, all problems that are pressing every day more.
Moreover not only the opposition of the parties that did not accept the political monopoly of the C.L.N, is raising now against the Government, but also the enormous mass of people that, obliged for during the fascist regime to apply itself to politics in an only and obliged sense, to attain now their reconquered freedom, being disinterested of politics, and restricting by this way the base of the common consent that the Government boasts to have. So this Government is now obliged to rule by the unavoidable violence of the events, but it is also obliged to take some terrible responsabilities. Moreover the Government cannot do anything because each party does not want to be and cannot be responsible of a politic completely or in part in opposition with its own ideology.
Therefore the Government reels in the darkness for what concerns the war and the Costituente. But the Government has also another task: epuration. which is another source of dissension among the parties and the ministers. In fact the social-comunists want to epurate not only the Fascism, but the whole social classes, which certainly is not the point of view of the liberals, demo-christians, and democratics. So the epuration is now a mean of high revolutionary politic used by the social-comunists not as a sabre that definitively thrusts an evil, but as subtile and sharp bistoury that pierces in any cavity of the state and of the highest institutions.
Sometimes to drive away the fascists, but above all to place thier own men in all the nervous centers of the state. So it happen that any person who has a strategical post in the State, unless a member of the two left parties, is chargeable of fascism.
Socialists and comunists are using a sharp, piercing politic, because with the impossibility of a swift liberation of the Country, they missed the possibility to conquer the power by force.
With special regard to the High Commissariat of Epuration, we can say that, if in a first time Count Sforza, who wanted his non dependance from any party, could give a certain sense of objectiveness, now that Count Sforza disappeared, H.E. Scoccimarro is there with all his arrogance, and nobody will accuse the "compagnon" Scoccimarro of ambiguity or of nebulosity, because he has declared that his intention is to epurate with an absolute uncontrolled and unappealabel power; that is to say that he wants to be the

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the real judge of all the Italian life.We can find examples of the social-comunist tactics in any place.For inatance in the Banco di Roma,in the INCE, in the attacks against the Armed Forces, and the Ministry of Treasury.
In fact,while the Bonomi Gove rnment,pressed by the Allies,is obliged to perfom an appearance of authority,the epuration politic of the social-comunists turns against the various institutions;against the Police,the Army,the Navy.And while,little by little the forces of the State are really purifying themselves,H.E.Scoccimarro calls out the sabotage,the interferences,the pressures,forgetting that all the means of the epuration are in hands of that C.L.N Government of which are member the "companions" of the "companion" Scoccimarro.
The non marxist parties illuded themselves thinking that the social-comunists would have put their power at the disposal of the Country; now,as a reward,they are dying without pain,it is their sweet euthanasy.
May be that socialists and coqunists will became the gardeners of the leafy and green tree of Bonomi,perhaps they will also prune it,but in the meanwhile they shall do some injections in its roots and some day the green leaves shall become red.
It is a fact that also twenty years ago the green tree of Bonomi was at the same place,and some day it was found all black.....

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

- CONFIDENTIAL -

Secret

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED COMMISSION
PUBLIC SAFETY LIAISON OFFICE
NAPLES

92

Ref: PS/9.7(x)

2 February 1946
Tel: 53296

SUBJECT: Political Parties - Partito Comunista Internazionalista Trotskista. (International Trotsky Communist Party).

TO : Headquarters, Allied Commission, APO 394, (Director, Public Safety Sub-Commission).

1. Transmitted herewith is a copy of a letter (No.101945 dated 28th January 1945) which has been received from the R. Questore of Naples on the subject quoted above.

For the Chief Liaison Officer:

W L Lawson Capt
for H.S. HARRIS
Major,
P.S. Liaison Officer
Naples.

WLW/tp.

Enc. 2
Letter referred to
(with translation).

83

Security
Division
Rec'd 5/2
Book No. 3014
File 150
Action

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

TRANSLATION

R. QUESTURA di NAPOLI

File N. 101945 Div. U.P.

Naples, 28 January 1946

SUBJECT: International Trotsky Communist Party.

Reference to letter N. 09008 dated 9th January 1946 from the Questura of Rome, concerning the Workmen Communist Bolshevic Lenin Party, I communicate the International Trotsky Communist Party was formed by Bartolomeo Nicola di Aniello and di Scognamillo Teresa, born in Resina on 12 March 1901, resident there, a mechanic. A few dissident communists have adhered to the party.

Said party which made propaganda by means of the periodical "Quarta Internazionale" printed in Rome, with office in Via Giordano Bruno N. 47, did not flourish, and with the death of BARTOLOMEO on the 10 January 1946 everythign has ended. The office in this city in Via Solitaria N. 5 has been closed.

IL QUESTORE
(M.Broccoli)

2709

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Deputy

Ba/Eo

R. QUESTURA DI NAPOLI

N. di prot. 10365 *Divisione* A.G.

Napoli, 28 novembre 1946

Risposta a nota

Allegati

OGGETTO: Partito Comunista Internazionalista Trockista

ALLIED COMMISSION
LIAISON OFFICE
NAPLES
1/2/46 File 9.4(x)

On/le Ministero dell'Interno
Direzione Generale della P.S.
Divisione A.G.P.S.
ROMA

per conoscenza
R. Questura di
ROMA

A.C.C. Il Prefetto
NAPOLI

Headquarters Allied Commission
Public Safety Liaison Office
Palazzo Provincia
NAPOLI ←

C.I.C. Baron di Napoli
NAPOLI

P.C.S. Riviera di Chiaia 237
NAPOLI

Comando 5° Distretto
NAPOLI

In relazione al foglio della questura di Roma N. 05208 del 9 corrente relative al partito Operaio Comunista Bolscevico Leninista comunico che in Napoli si costituito il partito Comunista Internazionalista Trockista ed iniziativa di Di Bartolomeo Nicola di Amelio e di Boggiamelio Teresa nato a Roma il 15 marzo 1921, ivi domiciliato, meccanico, al quale sarà quindi dovuta la commissione di commissi delitti.

Tale partito che svolgerà propaganda a mezzo del periodico quindicinale " Quarta Internazionale " edito a Roma con ufficio in Via Giacomo Leopardi n. 47, non ebbe sviluppo e con la morte del Di Bartolomeo, avvenuta il 10 corrente, ha cessato ogni attività. La sede in questa Via Solferino 81 è stata chiusa.-

Il Questore
(N. Procopio)

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

CONFIDENTIAL

ZTG 23 Section
Phone 478445 Ext 17
Ref: 3203/10

To: AG of G, G-2
RHAG

30 Nov 44

No 1 SCI Unit (attn Capt ADR)
Major HARDY, Public Safety, HQ AC
[illegible] Det, P. & O., RTC (attn: Lt. HOWARD)

Subject -- Unofficial Political Groups

1. Att are copies of a list of 23 unofficial political parties operating outside the six official parties, compiled by a reliable contact of this Sec.

2. For your information. Additions will be circulated as they occur.

BBRyle
Capt.,
Int Officer.

Yield.

Security
Evaluation
1/2
3288
150
Seen

80

PARTITI POLITICI A ROMA

A tutt'oggi esistono a Roma, oltre i sei partiti riconosciuti dal Comitato di Liberazione, i seguenti altri partiti e movimenti:

1) PARTITO DEMOCRATICO ITALIANO - Sede: Piazza Montecitorio 121. Tendenza politica: Monarchico (Nel P.D.I. sono fusi i seguenti Movimenti già esistenti nel periodo clandestino: Centro della Democrazia Italiana; Partito d'Unione; Partito Sociale Democratico; Partito d'Unione Democratica; Movimento di Rinnovazione Democratica; Partito Progressista Italiano.

2) PARTITO REPUBBLICANO ITALIANO - Sede: Via dei Prefetti 46 Tendenza: Antimonarchico con tendenza verso l'estrema sinistra. In ottimi rapporti con il Movimento Partigiano

3) PARTITO CRISTIANO SOCIALE - Sede: Via del Tritone 221 Antimonarchico: tendenze socialiste.

4) PARTITO D'UNIONE PROLETARIA - Sede: Via Fornovo 12 Ufficialmente: tendenze socialcomuniste; in effetti sovvenzionato dalla Monarchia e dalla reazione.

5) PARTITO DELLA SINISTRA CRISTIANA - Sede: Via A. De Pretis 86. Antimonarchico. Tendenza comunista (Già Movimento dei Cattolici Comunisti).

6) CONCENTRAZIONE NAZIONALE LIBERALE DEMOCRATICA - Sede: Via della Croce N. 78 - Monarchico - Fondato in questi giorni dal Senatore Bergamini, già del Partito Liberale.

7) PARTITO SOCIALISTA RIVOLUZIONARIO - Sede: Via Nazionale 230 Estrema sinistra.

8) MOVIMENTO COMUNISTA D'ITALIA - Sede: Via Nazionale 230. Estrema sinistra.

9) PARTITO COMUNISTA INTERNAZIONALISTA (Trotzkista) - Sede: ignota. E' collegato con il Movimento Partigiano e con la Frazione di sinistra dei comunisti e dei socialisti. Molto forte nell'Italia Settentrionale dove è noto come il Gruppo del "Prometeo". Tendenze anarchiche.

10) PARTITO AGRARIO - Sede: Via Liguria 40.

11) PARTITO DEL REDUCE ITALIANO - Sede: Via Curtatone 6 Dichiaratamente apolitico. Si compone [illegible]

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Centro della Democrazia Italiana; Partito d'Unione; Partito Sociale Democratico; Partito d'Unione Democratica; Movimento di Rinnovazione Democratica; Partito Progressista Italiano.

2) PARTITO REPUBBLICANO ITALIANO - Sede: Via dei Prefetti 46
Tendenza: Antimonarchico con tendenza verso l'estrema sinistra. In ottimi rapporti con il Movimento Partigiano

3) PARTITO CRISTIANO SOCIALE - Sede: Via del Tritone 221
Antimonarchico: tendenze socialiste.

4) PARTITO D'UNIONE PROLETARIA - Sede: Via Fornovo 12
Ufficialmente: tendenze socialcomuniste; in effetti sovvenzionato dalla Monarchia e dalla reazione.

5) PARTITO DELLA SINISTRA CRISTIANA - Sede: Via A. De Prestis 86.
Antimonarchico. Tendenza comunista (Già Movimento dei Cattolici Comunisti).

6) CONCENTRAZIONE NAZIONALE LIBERALE DEMOCRATICA - Sede: Via della Croce N. 78 - Monarchico - Fondato in questi giorni dal Senatore Beigamini, già del Partito Liberale.

7) PARTITO SOCIALISTA RIVOLUZIONARIO - Sede: Via Nazionale 230
Estrema sinistra.

8) MOVIMENTO COMUNISTA D'ITALIA - Sede: Via Nazionale 230.
Estrema sinistra.

9) PARTITO COMUNISTA INTERNAZIONALISTA (Trotzkista) - Sede: ignota.
E' collegato con il Movimento Partigiano e con la Frazione di sinistra dei comunisti e dei socialisti. Molto forte nell'Italia Settentrionale dove è noto come il Gruppo del "Prometeo". Tendenze anarchiche.

10) PARTITO AGRARIO - Sede: Via Liguria 40.

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11) PARTITO DEL REDUCE ITALIANO - Sede: Via Curtatone 6
Dichiaratamente apolitico. Si sospetta invece che sia monarchico o reazionario.

12) PARTITO DI RICOSTRUZIONE CRISTIANA - Sede: Via G. Avezzana 51 - Monarchico.

13) ALLEANZA CONTADINA ARTIGIANA E MARINARA - Sede: Via F.Crispi 69

14) MOVIMENTO DEL COMUNISMO CRISTIANO - Sede: Napoli, Via Cesare Rossaroi 69 - Estrema sinistra.

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15) FEDERAZIONE COMUNISTA LIBERTARIA - Sede: Piazza Fiammetta 2 - Anarchici.

16) MOVIMENTO PARTIGIANO - Sede: Comando Superiore: Via Sistina 48 Direzione Provinciale e Ufficio Assistenza: Via Torre dei Conti. Estrema sinistra.

17) MOVIMENTO PARTIGIANO D'ITALIA - Sede: Via dei Condotti (?) Ufficialmente apolitico, in effetti monarchico.

18) ASSOCIAZIONE NAZ.PARTIGIANI D'ITALIA - Sede: Piazza SS.Apostoli 73 Ufficialmente apolitica, in effetti manarchica.

19) LEGA PER LA LIBERTA' - Sede: Via Tommaso Salvini 35 Repubblicani.

20) CENTRO ITALIANO DI RINNOVAMENTO - Sede: Corso Umberto 33. Problemi economici.

21) UNIONE DEMOCRATICA DEGLI ITALIANI SENZA PARTITO - Sede: Via Tanaro 14

22) UNIONE ANTIFASCISTA INTRANSIGENTE - Sede: Via Toscana 5 Propugna la lotta contro i residuati del Fascismo. Ha aderito al Movimento Partigiano.

23) FRONTE LIBERO DEMOCRATICO - Sede non nota. Si ignorano ancora dettagli su questo nuovo partito annunciato dall'"AVANTI". Potrebbe essere quello capitanato da Torreggiani e di cui già feci cenno nella Nota N°2 del 13/10.

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2714

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

20 Feb 50

PARTY DISAGREEMENT AT FERENTINO

The writers state that in the Commune of Ferentino (Province of Frosinone), some elements of the republican, socialist, communist and actions Parties decided to co-operate to the reconstruction of the Country. However, the Demo-Christian Party refused to take part to this union. Besides, said party abusing of the return to liberty, has a very provocative attitude towards all the left parties, and especially towards the communist party, and is helped by the Prefect ZANFRAMUNDO who doesn't care about the communist party's opinions and wishes. All the local parties, except the demo-christian one have therefore decided to found an administration with their representatives, but the Prefect didn't give his approval yet. Besides he has also resumed in service the fascist officials who, commanded by MICCINELLI-BETTINI, continue to tyrannise the population as under the Fascist Republic.
Count MICCINELLI Tonino, Podestà under the Republican Fascist Government, great friend of the German, who didn't deliver the grain to the people's granary, is now trying, with the help of the clergy, to get his post back and is even asking for the help of some authorities in Rome, this in order to open the way to a new Fascism. The author of all this is EDOARDO BETTINI who has been, together with Micinelli, an authority in the jails under the German domination. BETTINI is an important member of the demo-christian party and an equivocal person. He spends a lot of money and it is not known where he gets it from. Following the order of Prefect ZANFRAMUNDO, the "Commissario Prefettizio" must report to BETTINI for all the questions regarding the Communal Administration.

MDF Carla

Mod. 6

CIVIL CENSORSHIP GROUP - ITALY

RISERVATA

UFFICIO DI CENSURA

LUOGO Roma

N. di prot. 6207

MITT.

[redacted]

Ferentino

DEST.

[redacted]
Direzione del Partito Socialista
Via Gregoriana 21
Roma

Indicare il luogo del timbro postale quando manca l'indirizzo.

DATA DI COMUNICAZIONE O DEL TIMBRO POSTALE SE LA LETTERA E' SENZA DATA	TIPO DI POSTA	NUMERO DELLA RACCOMANDATA	LINGUA	PERVENUTA CENSURATA DA	ALLEGATO
5/2	ord.	/	Ital.	/	/

ANNOTAZIONI PRECEDENTI	SEGNALAZIONI LOCALI	SEGNALAZIONI DEL C. C. S.	PROVVEDIMENTO ADOTTATO:	
	[illegible]		TRATTENUTA	INOLTRATA
			RECISA	TOLTA DAL CORSO
			FOTOGRAFATA	AL MITTENTE
ORIGINE			INVIATA CON COMMENTI A:	
CENSURA ITALIANA I.				
CENSURA ALLEATA				

OSSERVAZIONI

I firmatari dichiarano che nel Comune di Ferentino Prov. di Frosinone eletti dei partiti repubblicano, socialista, comunista, e partiti d'azione hanno deciso di unirsi per provvedere alla ricostruzione del paese. A questa unione non ha preso parte il Partito Democratico Cristiano, il quale partito farebbe un deplorevole abuso del ritorno alla libertà, mediante provocanti diatribe dall'alto dei suoi pulpiti, contro i partiti di sinistra in genere, e il partito comunista in specie -spalleggiati in questo dal Prefetto ZAMPRETTO il quale non tiene in considerazione che questo partito è ciò che esso fa e dice di fare.
Per rimediare a questo inconveniente tutti i partiti locali, tranne il Demo-cristiano-hanno deliberato la costituzione di un'amministrazione con rappresentanze paritetiche - ma il Prefetto ancora non approva.
Egli poi ha procurato che nella prefettura di Frosinone si ripristinasse al completo l'aberrita accozzaglia di funzionari fascisti, che, capeggiati dal binomio [illegible], continuano a tiranneggiare come al tempo della repubblica.
Il Conte [illegible] Torino, già potestà repubblichino, duce grande dei tedeschi, disertore della nobile battaglia dei confederati al grido [illegible] il popolo, sostenuto dal clero, brigа per torna-

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

ANNOTAZIONI PRECEDENTI	SEGNALAZIONI LOCALI	SEGNALAZIONI DEL C. I. S.	PROVVEDIMENTO PRESO	
	[illegible]		TRATTENUTA	INOLTRATA
	[illegible]		RECISA	TOLTA DAL CORSO
	[illegible]		FOTOGRAFATA	AL MITTENTE
ORIGINE	[illegible]		INVIATA CON COMMENTI A:	
CENSURA ITALIANA I				
CENSURA ALLEATA				

OSSERVAZIONI

I firmatari dichiarano che nel comune di Peretto Prov.di Frosinone elementi dei partiti repubblicano, socialista, comunista, e partiti d'azione hanno deciso di unirsi per provvedere alla ricostruzione del paese. A questa unione non ha preso parte il Partito Democratico Cristiano, il quale partito farebbe un deplorevole abuso del ritorno alla libertà, mediante provocanti diatribe dall'alto dei suoi pulpiti, contro i partiti di sinistra in genere, e il partito comunista in specie -spalleggiati in questo dal Prefetto [illegible] il quale non sa in considerazione che questo partito è ciò che esso fa e dice di fare.
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Egli pod ha procurato che nella prefettura di Frosinone si ripristinasse al completo l'aborrita accozzaglia di funzionari fascisti, che, capeggiati dal binomio [illegible], continuano a tiranneggiare come al tempo della repubblica.
Il Conte [illegible] Torino, già podestà repubblichino, amico grande dei tedeschi, disertore della nobile battaglia dei conferimenti di grano ed agli ammassi per il popolo, sostenuto dal clero, brama per tornare alla ribalta, cercando anche l'appoggio di persi [illegible] Roma e operare così di spianare la strada al nuovo fascismo.
Il Sous ex machina di queste manovre è Edoardo [illegible] il quale indegno al [illegible] fu un'autorità nel governo al tempo dei tedeschi.
Il [illegible] è l'artefice del partito Democ-cristiano-figura equivoca,- menavita dispendiosa trando i topi non sa se da dove.
A lui che il Commissario Prefettizio deve rendere conto, per ordine del Prefetto [illegible] delle pratiche dell'Amministrazione Comunale.

74

CENSORE 4051/4100 *REVISORE* 4066 *Data d'esame* 15/11/44

Avviso speciale **RISERVATA**

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Mod. 6

CIVIL CENSORSHIP GROUP - ITALY

RISERVATA

UFFICIO DI CENSURA

LUOGO ROMA F/A

N. di prot. 5730

MITT. UNIONE MONARCHICA ITALIANA
Comitato Centrale
R O M A

DEST. Marchese SUSI FRANCO
Viale Trinosa SASSARI

19

Indicare il luogo del timbro postale quando manca l'indirizzo.

DATA DI COMUNICAZIONE O DEL TIMBRO POSTALE SE LA LETTERA È SENZA DATA	TIPO DI POSTA	NUMERO DELLA RACCOMANDATA	LINGUA	PERVENUTA CENSURATA DA	ALLEGATO
10.10.44	ORD.	--	ITAL.	--	1 lettero

ANNOTAZIONI PRECEDENTI	SEGNALAZIONI LOCALI	SEGNALAZIONI DEL C. C. S.	PROVVEDIMENTO ADOTTATO:	
1965/M	CIC PWB INFO. DIV. ACC	--	TRATTENUTA RECISA FOTOGRAFATA INVIATA CON COMMENTI A:	INOLTRATA X TOLTA DAL CORSO AL MITTENTE

ORIGINE

CENSURA ITALIANA I

CENSURA ALLEATA

OSSERVAZIONI

COSTITUZIONE MOVIMENTO MONARCHICO "NUOVA ITALIA" A SASSARI

Il mittente Alfredo MISURI informa che in Sardegna esiste un movimento monarchico denominato "Nuova Italia" capeggiato dal cott. Antioco PORCU SUSI ed allega una lettera ricevuta da quest'ultimo (Dalla lettera allegata).

"Il movimento è sorto a Sassari senza influssi continentali, povero e senza mezzi alcuni; contrastato da tutti i partiti, spesso con mezzi illeciti. Ciò nonostante si è già affermato in provincia di Sassari ove conta diverse sezioni con numerosi iscritti": " ma non abbiamo, e non possiamo sviluppare tutta la propaganda necessaria perchè assolutamente privi di mezzi. Fra gli iscritti al nostro movimento vi sono oltre a dei studenti universitari, giovani decisi e pieni di buona volontà. Il successo ottenuto, sebbene ma promettente, m'incoraggia per un maggior lavoro." Il mittente conclude chiedendo un incontro con un esponente dell'Unione Monarchica Italiana onde esaminare le condizioni economiche del movimento e la possibilità di una fusione.

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ANNOTAZIONI PRECEDENTI	SEGNALAZIONI LOCALI	SEGNALAZIONI DEL C. C. A.	PROVVEDIMENTO ADOTTATO:	
1965/R	CIC PPB INFO. DIV. ACC	—	TRATTENUTA RECISA FOTOGRAFATA INVIATA CON COMMENTI A:	INOLTRATA TOLTA DAL CORSO AL MITTENTE

ORIGINE

CENSURA ITALIANA
CENSURA ALLEATA

OSSERVAZIONI

COSTITUZIONE MOVIMENTO MONARCHICO "NUOVA ITALIA" A SASSARI

Il mittente Alfredo MISURI informa che in Sardegna esiste un movimento monarchico denominato "Nuova Italia" capeggiato dal cott. Antioco FORGIA SPIN ed allega una lettera ricevuta da quest'ultimo (Detta lettera allegata).

"Il movimento è sorto a Sassari senza influssi continentali, povero e senza mezzi alcuni; contrastato da tutti i partiti, spesso con mezzi illeciti. Ciò nonostante si è già affermato in provincia di Sassari ove conta diverse sezioni con numerosi iscritti": " ma non abbiamo, e non possiamo sviluppare tutta la propaganda necessaria perchè assolutamente privi di mezzi. Fra gli iscritti al nostro movimento vi sono oltre a dei studenti universitari, giovani decisi e pieni di buona volontà. Il successo ottenuto, sebbene ma promettente, m'incoraggia per un maggior lavoro." Il mittente conclude chiedendo un incontro con un esponente dell'Unione Monarchica Italiana onde esaminare la consistenza economiche del movimento e la possibilità di una fusione.

73

CENSORE *REVISORE* *Data d'esame*

Avviso speciale 4096 RISERVATA 4036 28.10.44

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Mod. 6

CIVIL CE..SORSHIP GROUP - IT..LY

RISERVATA

UFFICIO DI CENSURA

LUOGO Roma

N. di prot. 5730

MITT. UNIONE MONARCHICA ITALIA
Comitato Centrale
ROMA

DEST. Marchese GINI Franco
Via Mazzini
SASSARI

Indicare il luogo del timbro postale quando manca l'indirizzo.

DATA DI COMUNICAZIONE O DEL TIMBRO POSTALE SE LA LETTERA E' SENZA DATA	TIPO DI POSTA	NUMERO DELLA RACCOMANDATA	LINGUA	PERVENUTA CENSURATA DA	ALLEGATO
10.10.44	ordinaria	=	italiano	=	1 lettera

ANNOTAZIONI PRECEDENTI	SEGNALAZIONI LOCALI	SEGNALAZIONI DEL C. C. S.	PROVVEDIMENTO ADOTTATO:
1965/R	C I C PWB INFO.DIV.GC		TRATTENUTA / INOLTRATA RECISA / TOLTA DAL CORSO FOTOGRAFATA / AL MITTENTE INVIATA CON COMMENTI A:

ORIGINE

CENSURA ITALIANA X
CENSURA ALLEATA

OSSERVAZIONI

CONSTITUTION OF THE MONARCHIC MOVEMENT "NUOVA ITALIA"
AT SASSARI

The sender - Alfredo MISURI - informs that in SARDINIA there is a monarchic movement called "NUOVA ITALIA" (New Italy) whose leader is doctor Antioco DORGU - NUTI; and he enclosed a letter he received from the letter. (From the enclosed letter).

The movement started at SASSARI - without being in any way influenced by the continent - poor, with no means at its disposal, often using illicit means. Notwithstanding this, the movement already asserted itself in SASSARI's province, where it has several sections, each having many members.

....."But we have not carried out, nor are we able to carry out, the necessary propaganda because we are absolutely void of any means. Amongst the persons who adhered to our movement there are, besides University Students, some young men bold and full of good will.
The success we met with, although little is promising, and it spurs me to more working."

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

ANNOTAZIONI PRECEDENTI	SEGNALAZIONI LOCALI	SEGNALAZIONI DEL C. C. S.	PROVVEDIMENTO ADOTTATO
1965/A	C I C FBI INFO.DIV.ACC		TRATTENUTA / INOLTRATA RECISA / TOLTA DAL CORSO FOTOGRAFATA / AL MITTENTE INVIATA CON COMMENTI A:

ORIGINE

CENSURA ITALIANA X

CENSURA ALLEATA

OSSERVAZIONI

CONSTITUTION OF THE NOMINATED MOVEMENT "NUOVA ITALIA" IN SARDINIA

The sender - Alfredo MINURI - informs that in SARDINIA there is a monarchic movement called "NUOVA ITALIA" (New Italy) whose leader is doctor Antioco PORCU - NUORO; and he enclosed a letter he received from the latter. (From the enclosed letter).

The movement started at SASSARI - without being in any way influenced by the continent - poor, with no means at its disposal, often using illicit means. Notwithstanding this, the movement already asserted itself in SASSARI's province, where it has several sections, each having many members.

....."But we have not carried out, nor are we able to carry out, the necessary propaganda because we are absolutely void of any means. Amongst the persons who adhered to our movement there are, besides University Students, some young men bold and full of good will. The success we got with, although little is promising, and it spurs us to more working."

The writer concludes asking to have a meeting with one of the leaders of the ITALIAN LOW-KOMIC UNION, in order to examine the earnest economic conditions of the movement and the possibility of melting together.

72.

CENSORE 4096 REVISORE 4036 Data d'esame 26.10.44

Avviso speciale RISERVATA

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Security Branch

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
R.C. & M.G. SECTION
APO 394

Ref/266/12/CA

26 May 1944

SUBJECT: Political Meetings.

TO : R.C. Regions I, II, III, IV, V, VIII and IX.
S.C.A.O's. 5th and 8th Armies.

1. Permits to hold public meetings in occupied territory will be issued only in accordance with General Order No. 25. The permits will be in the form contained in Exhibit "A" attached. Proper records of all such permits issued will be maintained by P.C's. and S.C.A.O.'s.

2. Arrangements will be made for important meetings to be reliably reported in order that the trend of public opinion may be assessed. A reference to this matter will be made in the monthly reports under the heading "Political Reactions and Popular Opinion".

3. Whenever an application to hold a public meeting is refused, this Headquarters will be informed by cable without delay of:

i. the nature of the banned meeting.

ii. auspices under which it was to be held.

iii. date, time and place proposed.

iv. brief reasons for prohibition.

such cables will be followed by a full report.

4. Regional Commissioners Regions I and II will note that under these instructions any statement given to the public stating the reasons for the banning of a meeting, must now be issued by R.C. & M.G. Section of Hq. Allied Control Commission and thus they alter the instructions contained in para 4 of AMG/202 of 18 January 1944 under which the responsibility for issuing such a statement rested with the Regional Commissioner.

71

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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71

M.S. LUSH
Brigadier
Executive Commissioner

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less " " 56
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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

Exhibit "A"

No. _____

Permit to hold a Public Meeting

+ Region _____
+ SCAO _____th Army

Date _____
Province of _____

The person or persons named below are authorized to hold a public meeting in accordance with the provisions of General Order No. 25 and the terms and conditions detailed below:

TERMS

Name of Person (or Persons) authorized to hold meeting _____

_____

Identity Card No. _____

Address _____

+ Name of Party, Society or Group _____

Authorized date of meeting _____

Time meeting is scheduled to commence _____

Place where the meeting is to be held _____

Object of the Meeting _____

CONDITIONS

1. The meeting shall be conducted throughout in an orderly manner, and no person shall do or say anything:

(a) Which supports, or encourages any other person to support, any of the enemies of any of the United Nations, or any of the Fascist or Nazi parties.

(b) Which leads or may lead to public disorder.

(c) Which causes or may cause, or encourage or may encourage any other person to cause, any interruption of or interference with the military effort of Italy or any of the United Nations.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

(or persons) authorized to hold meeting _____

_____

Identity Card No. _____

Address _____

+ Name of Party, Society or Group _____

Authorized date of meeting _____

Time meeting is scheduled to commence _____

Place where the meeting is to be held _____

Object of the Meeting _____

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(a) Which supports, or encourages any other person to support, any of the enemies of any of the United Nations, or any of the Fascist or Nazi parties.

(b) Which leads or may lead to public disorder.

(c) Which causes or may cause, or encourage or may encourage any other person to cause, any interruption of or interference with the military effort of Italy or any of the United Nations.

2. Where the meeting is held outdoors, traffic, whether pedestrian or vehicular, must not be interefered with in any manner whatsoever.

3. This permit must be returned to the Questore of the province in which the meeting is to take place within three days after the authorized date of the meeting.

4. (Insert any additional conditions required) _____

_____

Stamp

_____

+ Provincial Commissioner
+ Senior Civil Affairs Officer.

+strike out if not applicable.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

INFORMATION DIVISION
ACC
Room 46 Tel: Vapor 145 - "Provincia"

MEMBERS MENTIONED IN CONNECTION WITH NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

(From PWB)

ACTION PARTY

Alberto Cianca — A journalist and very intelligent, well-known anti-fascist who has been living out of Italy for some time. He was director of Amendola's paper "Mondo" until 1926.
He spoke at a public meeting held at Politeama theater, Naples, to commemorate Giovanni Amendola.
Spoke at political mass meeting held at the Galleria Alberto in Naples on March 13, 1944 as a representative of the Action Party.
He has spoken at student and political meetings at various times.
His attitude toward the formation for new government has been decidedly against any government sponsored by Badoglio. Cooperating with Sforza.

Prince Caracciolo — Age about 35. Tall, slender, rather sickly looking but friendly and courteous. Answers questions freely and without hesitation, although at first he appears diffident. Seem to know a great deal about Italian political life and gives the impression he enjoys talking.
Dec. 1943. Appointed leader of the party of Action in So. Italy.
Jan. 27, 1944. Appointed secretary to the Giunta Esecutiva at the Bari Congress.

Count Gaisando Cravieri — Son-in-law of Croce. He one of the managers of the Banco Commerciale Italiana in Rome, where he used his banking connections to organize resistance against the Fascist government. One of the leaders of the Action Party in Rome.

He was a close collaborator with the Allies at the time of the Salerno landings. Comes of a monarchist family in Piedmont, which has long been connected with the House of Savoy. He used the name of Bando in public, as his children are at the present in Piedmont. He is a fervent republican. Speaks excellent French and English.

Michele Cifarelli — Born in 1913. Magistrate at the Bari Tribunal. Imprisoned for anti-Fascist activities in 1943, together with one of founders of the liberal Socialist movement in Apulia in 1942. Secretary of the Party of Action in Bari and the Committee of National Liberation in Bari since Sept. 1943. Resigned his post as magistrate in March 1944.
Secretary of the Bari Congress. Is interested in the organization of Labor.

69

Tarchiani

One of the

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without hesitation, [illegible] seen to know a great deal about Italian political life and gives the impression he enjoys talking.
Dec. 1943. Appointed leader of the Party of Action in Bo. Italy.
Jan. 27, 1944. Appointed Secretary to the Clandestine Executive at the Bari Congress.

Count Raimondo Craviari

Son-in-law of Croce. Is one of the managers of the Banco Commerciale Italiana in Rome, where he used his banking connections to organise resistance against the Fascist government. One of the leaders of the Action Party in Rome.

He was a close collaborator with the Allies at the time of the Palermo landings. Scion of a monarchist family in Piedmont, which has long been connected with the House of Savoy. He used the name of Rendo in public, as his children are at the present in Piedmont. He is a fervent republican. Speaks excellent French and English.

Michele Giua elli

Born in 1913. Magistrate at the Bari Tribunal. Imprisoned for anti-Fascist activities in 1943, together with one of founders of the liberal Socialist movement in Apulia in 1942. Secretary of the Party of Action in Bari and the Committee of National Liberation in Bari since Sept. 1943. Resigned his post as magistrate in March 1944.
Secretary of the Bari Congress. Is interested in the organisation of Labor.

69

Tarchiani

One of the most prominent of the exiles. Lived for many years in France and then latterly in the U.S.
Connected with both the Giustizia e Liberta' movement in Paris and the Mazzini Society in the U.S.
Returned to Italy in Sept. 1943, in whose flat he is now living. Is not a member of the Action Party.
Editor of the "Corriere della Sera".

Adolfo Omodeo

Appointed Rector of Naples Univ. by Badoglio, election confirmed by Univ. Senate, Feb. 1944. Held the Chair of History of the Church in the Univ. of Naples. Formerly professor of Ancient History at Univ. of Catania. Author of many critical and historical works, including a study of the Risorgimento. Has collaborated on "La Critica" since 1928. Has a son a prisoner of war in Egypt. Is profoundly pro-allied. One of the few scholastic figures of importance in this part of Italy. Never had the party Badge.

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MATTERS RELATED TO OR CONNECTED WITH NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

MARINIAN ACTION PARTY

Mario Bonfinger — One of the leading members of the Marinian Action Party.

SOCIALIST

Mario Palermo
Avv. di Napoli — Leader of strong Socialist Party at Nelfi, in the Basilicata. Said to incline towards the Communists. Has organized the cooperatives at Melfi. Criticized as a man of irregular life and equivocal character (by the Questore of Potenza)

Eugenio Lurecchiata — Member of General Directorate of National Council of Socialist Party. About 50 years old.
Secretary of Socialist Party, Bari.
Editor of "Avanti" in Bari. Good orator

Avv. Pietro Nenni — Former Socialist Deputy for Cosenza. An outspoken anti-fascist and twice "confinato". Leader of Socialist Party in Cosenza. Appointed Prefect of Cosenza by Alf. Re-elected at Cosenza dig. Nino Philipson, who offered his on behalf of Badoglio portfolio of Justice or Labor. Refused as acceptance would have been against party discipline. Much criticized at Cosenza by the Action Party and the Parties of the right for nepotism and exclusively favoring his own party.
Nenni has weak eyes protected by tinted spectacles, and this with his long nose have made him an easy victim for the Cosenza Separatists.

DEMOCRACY PARTY

Presenti

Paolo Pedercini — A Sardinian. At school with the young Mancini. Served various terms of imprisonment in Sicily for Communist activities. Served against the Fascist during Abyssinian war and with the Republican during the Spanish Civil War. Was in Tunisia in 1939 married "prisoner" to a Tunisian Italian. Condemned to long term of imprisonment by Vichy for Communist activities in Tunis after the armistice, but managed to remain in hiding. Worked for the Allied during the Tunisian and Sicilian campaigns. Communist member on the Giunta Esecutiva and deputy leader of the party in Naples. Until the arrival of Togliatti the moving spirit in the Communist party in liberated Italy.
Is now in Melfi, where he has been sent to amuse the Communists from their burger.

Avv. Ugenio Gale

party in Cosenza. Appointed prefect of Cosenza by C.L.N. on liberation at Cosenza Dic. nine thousand, six offered [illegible] on behalf of religious [illegible] of Cantini or Labor. refused as necessary would are both against party discipline. Such criticized as Cosenza by the action Party and the setting of the right for negotiation and successfully forming his own party.
Amendola has weak eyes protected by tinted spectacles, and this with his long nose have made him an easy victim for the Cosenza Longobards.

~~Communist Party~~

Pressanti

Paolo Pacciardi

[illegible] Socialism. [illegible] served with the young Socialis- served various terms of imprisonment in Italy for Communist activities. Served against the fascist during Ethiopian war and with the Republican during the Spanish Civil War. Was in Turin in 1939 married [illegible] to a Russian [illegible] confined to long term of imprisonment by Fascists for Communist activities in Turin after the armistice, but managed to revolt in hiding. Worked for the Allied during the Tunisian and Sicilian campaigns. Communist member on the Giunta Esecutiva and deputy leader of the Party in Naples. Until the arrival of Togliatti the moving spirit in the Communist party in liberated Italy.
Is now in Italy, where he has been sent to rouse the Communists from their torpor.

68

Scott. Ingenio Emilio (not related to ex-Minister of Interior)

Born 1905, Surgeon. 1924. belonged to the Socialist party.
1929. Joined the Communist party in Naples.
1931. Arrested and condemned to 10 yrs. Imprisonment.
1934. Released after serving 5½ years.
1937. Appointed leader of the Neapolitan Communist party.
1939. Was in prison with P.C.I. 1940. Was arrested and spent 2 years in a military prison and concentration camp near Salerno, thereafter a year in a State of Prisoner in Italy. Released after the signing of the armistice. Reappointed leader of the Neapolitan Communist party, a position he continues to hold (Dec. 1943)

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NAMES MENTIONED IN CONNECTION WITH NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

Christian Democrat Party

On. Aldisio — Ex-deputy. Elderly, respected personality in Sicily. Family well to do. Leader and president of the Christian Democrat Party. He does not belong to the group of big landowners in Sicily, who look on the Christian Democrats with mistrust, as a primary plank in their party platform is to break up the big estates. He was a deputy in parliament febore the fascists.

Avv. Giulio Rodinò' Barone di Miglione — Minister of war under Bitti and previously minister of Justice. Member of Don Sturzo's Partito Popolare which he represented in Parliament. A prominent figure in Neapolitan social and political life. Never a member of the Fascist Party. Administrator of various charitable organisations. Made a moving and effective speech at the Bari Congress. The best-known figure of the Christian Democrat party in Liberated Italy.

Liberal Party

Avv. Ugo Forti — Formerly professor of International Law at Naples University, now holds the chair in Administrative Law at Naples. An authority on institutional and administrative law. Mentioned in connection with the Ministry of Grace and Justice. Member of the Liberal Party.

Renato Morelli — Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party. Close friend of Croce. His father is one of the directors of the Bank of Naples. Lawyer for the Bank of Naples.

Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz — Profess of Roman law at University of Naples. Author of various important treatises on Roman law and greco-Egyptian papyri. Leader of the Liberal Party in Naples. Represents the Liberal party on the Giunta Esecutiva. Nominated after the Bari Congress (Jan. 28-29). Head of Purge Committee for Naples area.

67

LABOUR PARTY

Avv. Francesco

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A prominent figure in Neapolitan social and political life.
Never a member of the Fascist Party.
Administrator of various charitable organizations.
Made a moving and effective speech at the Bari Congress.
The best-known figure of the Christian Democrat Party in Liberated Italy.

Liberal Party

Avv. Ugo Forti — Formerly professor of International Law at Naples University, now holds the chair in Administrative Law at Naples.
An authority on institutional and administrative law.
Mentioned in connection with the Ministry of Grace and Justice.
Member of the Liberal Party.

Benito Morelli — Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party.
Close friend of Croce.
His father is one of the directors of the Bank of Naples.
Lawyer for the Bank of Naples.

Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz — Profess of Roman law at University of Naples.
Author of various important treatises on Roman law and Greco-Egyptian papyri.
Leader of the Liberal Party in Naples.
Represents the Liberal party on the Giunta Esecutiva.
Nominated after the Bari Congress (Jan. 28-29)
Head of Purge Committee for Naples area.

67

LABOUR PARTY

Avv. Francesco Cerabona — Former deputy for the Basilicata, his native province.
Has a deep scar over the left eye. Is a criminal lawyer and is typical of the southern Italian "Avvocato".
29.10.32 Became member of Fascist Party.
23.4.34 Become member of Fascist syndicate.
In October 1943, leader of the Naples branch of the Democrazia del Lavoro and in January of this year became leader of this party in liberated Italy.
Represents his party on the Giunta Esecutiva.

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MEMBERS IDENTIFIED AS CONSPIRATORS WITH THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

Dr. Leopoldo Piccardi

served in the artillery in the Great War.
formerly a high ranking civil servant.
pre-Fascist minister of Commerce and Industry.
was resigned as Minister of Labor as reported
by Fascist fascists (Dec. 6, 1943)
was been removed from the office of State Councillor
by the Fascist authorities. Feb. (1944)

rehabil party
of Action

P.M.
Ministers without portfolios.

De Nicola
Croce
Sforza

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ACC
Room. 46 Tel. Vapor 46 "Provincia"

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(16)

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File # 150

65 16

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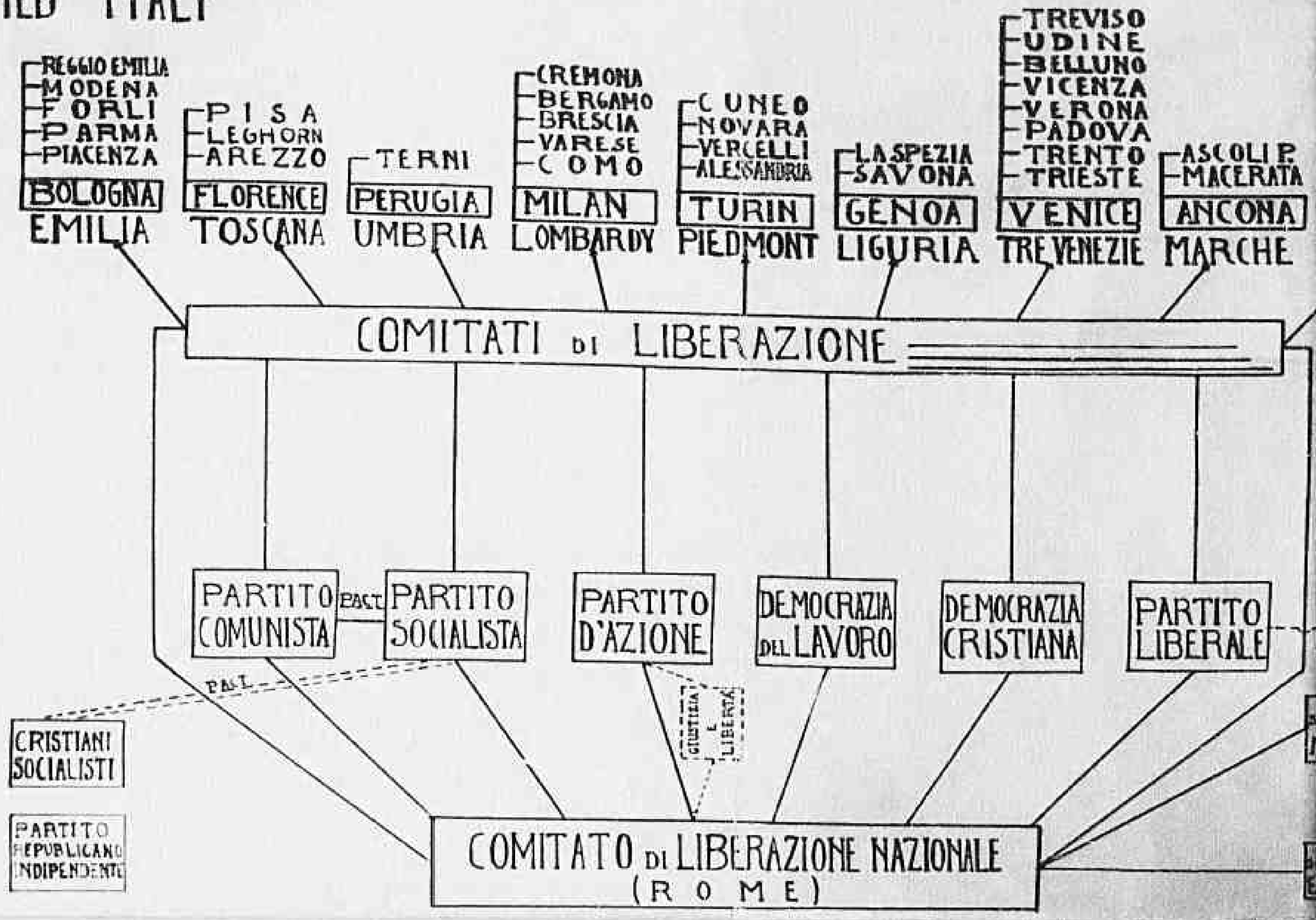
OCCUPIED ITALY



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ALY

TOSCANA	UMBRIA	LOMBARDY	PIEDMONT	LIGURIA	TREVENEZIE	MARCHE	LAZIO
PISA LEGHORN AREZZO FLORENCE	TERNI PERUGIA	CREMONA BERGAMO BRESCIA VARESE COMO MILAN	CUNEO NOVARA VERCELLI ALESSANDRIA TURIN	LA SPEZIA SAVONA GENOA	TREVISO UDINE BELLUNO VICENZA VERONA PADOVA TRENTO TRIESTE VENICE	ASCOLI P. MACERATA ANCONA	RIETI VITERBO ROME

COMITATI DI LIBERAZIONE

PARTITO COMUNISTA — PACT — PARTITO SOCIALISTA

PARTITO D'AZIONE

GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTÀ

DEMOCRAZIA DEL LAVORO

DEMOCRAZIA CRISTIANA

PARTITO LIBERALE

INDEPENDENT RIGHTEST BIG BUSINESS, ETC.

LIBERAL DISSIDENTS

SOTTOCOMITATO MILITARE

PARTITO AZZURRO

SOTTOCOMITATO ESECUTIVO

DISBANDED ARMY GROUPS

COMITATO DI LIBERAZIONE NAZIONALE
(ROME)

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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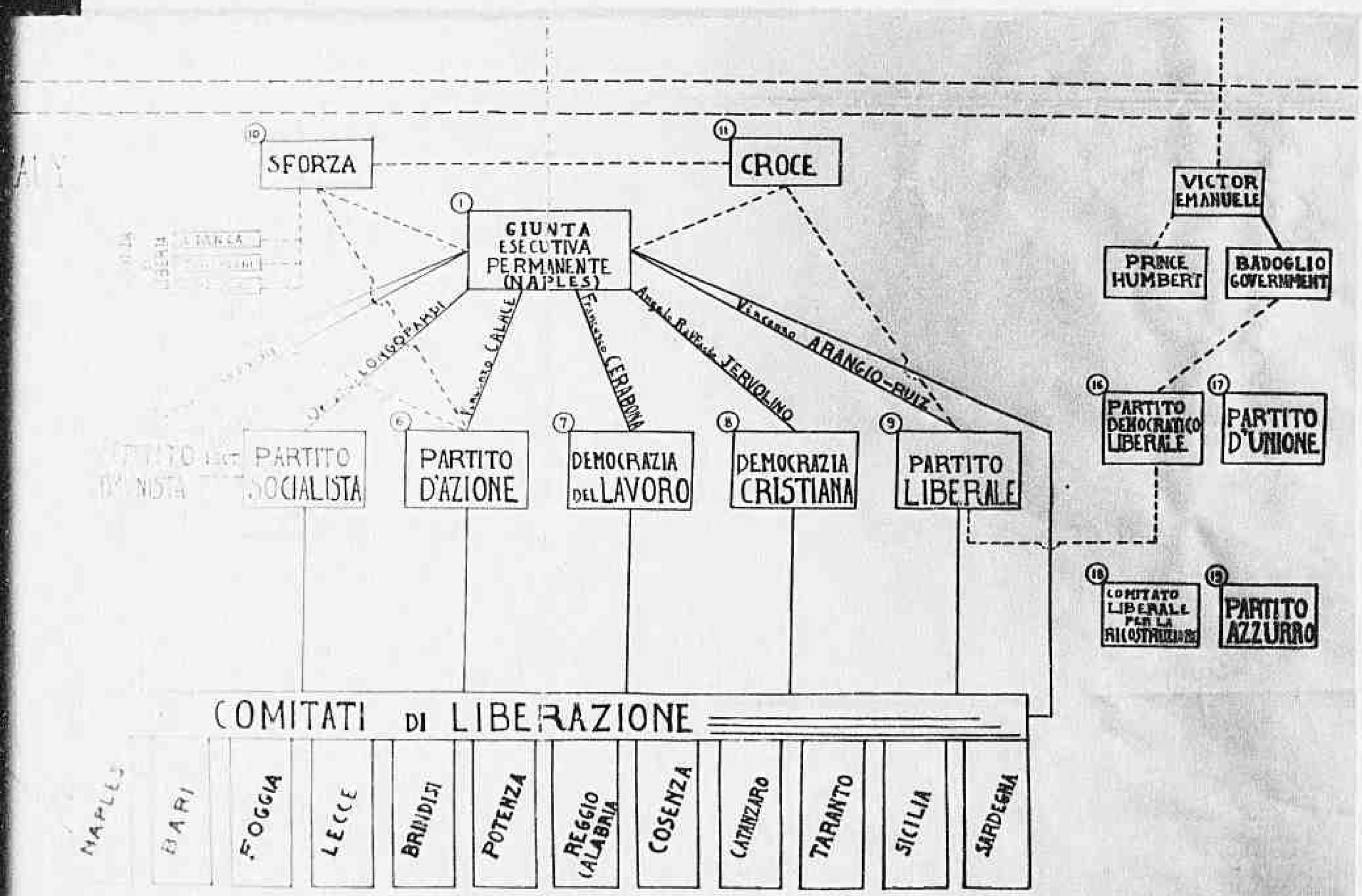
Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016



2739

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

Security Info (15)

CONFIDENTIAL

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
APO 394

WDW/AMG/mrd
18 January 1944

Ref/AMG/202.

SUBJECT: Political Activities

TO : R.C.A.O., Region I
R.C.A.O., Region II

1. The revised policy of the Combined Chiefs of Staff has been communicated by A.F.H.Q. in the following terms (copies of which you have already received):-

(a) "Within your discretion, the Italian people may be permitted to participate in such political activities (other than Fascist) as do not lead to rioting and disorder".

(b) "These will include the right of peaceful assembly, attendance at meetings of political committees, publication and distribution of political works and such other activities of similar nature as you may determine to be advisable."

(c) "Upon their release, political prisoners shall be cautioned that political activity on their part which gives rise to or tends to give rise to rioting or disorder will not be tolerated."

2. Although paragraphs 1 (a) and 1 (b) above call for a substantial modification of policies which have heretofore been observed in the enforcement of the provisions of Section I, Article IV and Section 2, Article V of Proclamation No. 11 those provisions are not abrogated by the terms of the revised policy.

3. Permits for meetings may be granted with more freedom. Discretion to withhold permits still remains with Regions.

4. (a) The following instructions have been received from A.F.H.Q. regarding cases where it is found necessary to withhold permits for political gatherings:

"When important political meetings are banned, short official announcements should be made, giving reasons and the text wired to this Headquarters. This should combat unfavourable comments and propaganda".

CONFIDENTIAL

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-1-

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CONFIDENTIAL

(Political Activities - Cont'd.)

(b) Whenever, in the exercise of your authority and discretion action involving the denial of authority for any political meetings has to be taken, you are requested to inform this Headquarters by cable without delay:

(1) Nature of meeting which will not be authorized.
(2) Auspices under which it was to be held.
(3) Date, time and place proposed.
(4) Brief reasons for prohibition
(5) Text of official announcement made.

(c) Cables sent in accordance with paragraph 4. (b) above will be followed by full report.

5. Publication of Newspapers: A programme of control is being formulated by the Allied Publications Board and a directive on the licensing procedure will be issued shortly.

6. The instruction in paragraph 1. (c) above must be carefully and rigidly observed in all cases of political prisoners released, particularly those who were imprisoned or otherwise detained by the former Fascist Government.

7. Acknowledge by wire.

CHARLES M. SPOFFORD
Colonel, G.S.C.
D.C.C.A.O., AMG, HQ.

Distribution:

R.C.A.O., Region I	(20)
R.C.A.O., Region II	(15)
Political Sect.	(2)
Econ.& Admin.Sect.	(6)
Security Int.	(2)
A.C.C. (Fwd.)	(2)
A.C.C. (Rear)	(2)
AFHQ, (MGS)	(5)
AFI (AMG)	(1)

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785016

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SECRET.

HEADQUARTERS,
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION,
APO 394
++++++++++++++++++++++++++

Ref: 59/2 /CA.

15th February 1944

Subject: Political Summary.

Cd Young Lieut Obg

Capt Scutter Pl

To : Regional Commissioner, Region I
" " Region II
" " Region III
" " Region IV
" " Region V
" " Region VI
" " Region VIII
" " Region IX
S.C.A.O., AMG, Fifth Army.
" " Eighth Army.

In order to keep you in touch with the political situation a summary compiled by the Political Section will be issued to you twice a month. I attach the first, with sufficient copies for distribution to Provincial Commissioners.

M. S. LUSH,
Brigadier,
Executive Commissioner.

MSL/JG.

S.E.C.R.E.T

POLITICAL SUMMARY
February 1-14, 1944

The Congress of the Six Parties of National Liberation, which met in Bari on January 28 and 29, adopted a resolution calling for (1) the immediate abdication of the King, (2) the formation of an extraordinary government with full powers and with the participation of all parties, and (3) the constitution of a permanent Executive Committee of the Six Parties to prepare conditions necessary to give effect to the foregoing. The resolution further signalized the agreement of the Congress to postpone settlement of the institutional question until a Constituent Assembly could be convened as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.

Whereas unanimity was achieved in respect of the foregoing program, it nevertheless represents a compromise designed to conceal the lack of agreement with regard to how the proposed extraordinary government should function. The Rome delegate, Signor Longobardi, indicated that the desire of the six parties in the capital was that the government should assume all powers for the interim before the Constituent Assembly, shelving the monarchy for this period, but it was not clear whether this in fact represented the considered view of the Parties there or merely his interpretation and that of his party, the Socialists. Three of the parties at Bari, the Liberals, the Labor-Democrats, and the Christian Democrats refused categorically to accept proposals put forward by the Action Party, the Socialists and the Communists which would have led to an indictment of the King and the immediate creation of a self-styled government to rival the authority of Badoglio. The unwillingness of the three first mentioned parties to accept such a radical program brought about the compromise which leaves the way open for the succession of the Prince of Piedmont if agreement can be reached upon the extent of powers he should delegate to the government for the interim period.

Upon the return to Naples of the delegates the Executive Junta was formed to include Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz, Liberal; Francesco Corabona, Labor-Democrat; Angelo Raffaele Jervolino, Christian Democrat; Vincenzo Calace, Action Party; Oreste Longobardi, Socialist; and Paolo Tedeschi, Communist. The junta has met several times in Naples, one of its first acts being the dispatch of a communication to the King, which recited the decisions of the Bari Congress and invited him to abdicate forthwith. This communication was made on February 6, but has up to the present elicited no apparent action from the monarch or his government. Pending further developments in this respect, which are however not anticipated, the Junta is endeavoring to reach a greater degree of agreement in respect of the points not clarified at Bari. Count Sforza and Senator Croce, with whom the Junta's terms of reference require it to maintain close association, are likewise attempting to bring about a compromise, which will enable the opposition to present a united program of action to the Badoglio Government and the Allies.

In the meanwhile as previously scheduled the transfer of administration of the southern mainland provinces, Sicily and Sardinia to the Italian Government took place as of 0001 hours February 11, and the Badoglio Government with the exception of the defense ministries began to operate from its new temporary capital of Salerno. No incidents or demonstrations have been reported to ACC

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before the Constituent Assembly, shelving the monarchy for this period, but it was not clear whether this in fact represented the considered view of the Parties there or merely his interpretation and that of his party, the Socialists. Three of the parties at Bari, the Liberals, the Labor-Democrats, and the Christian Democrats refused categorically to accept proposals put forward by the Action Party, the Socialists and the Communists which would have led to an indictment of the King and the immediate creation of a self-styled government to rival the authority of Badoglio. The unwillingness of the three first mentioned parties to accept such a radical program brought about the compromise which leaves the way open for the succession of the Prince of Piedmont if agreement can be reached upon the extent of powers he should delegate to the government for the interim period.

Upon the return to Naples of the delegates the Executive Junta was formed to include Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz, Liberal; Francesco Cerabona, Labor-Democrat; Angelo Raffaele Jervolino, Christian Democrat; Vincenzo Calece, Action Party; Oreste Longobardi, Socialist; and Paolo Tedeschi, Communist. The junta has met several times in Naples, one of its first acts being the dispatch of a communication to the King, which recited the decisions of the Bari Congress and invited him to abdicate forthwith. This communication was made on February 6, but has up to the present elicited no apparent action from the monarch or his government. Pending further developments in this respect, which are however not anticipated, the Junta is endeavoring to reach a greater degree of agreement in respect of the points not clarified at Bari. Count Sforza and Senator Croce, with whom the Junta's terms of reference require it to maintain close association, are likewise attempting to bring about a compromise, which will enable the opposition to present a united program of action to the Badoglio Government and the Allies.

In the meanwhile as previously scheduled the transfer of administration of the southern mainland provinces, Sicily and Sardinia to the Italian Government took place as of 0001 hours February 11, and the Badoglio Government with the exception of the defense ministries began to operate from its new temporary capital of Salerno. No incidents or demonstrations have been reported to ACC Headquarters in this connection, although various rumors had been current that the transfer would not be welcomed by the people in many sections.

At Taranto two manifestations of labor distrubances occured during the 60
first week in February which resulted in the removal of the Prefect and Questore but did not take the form of the threatened strike among the dock workers. Although the alleged cause had been lack of food and dissatisfaction with working conditions, investigation indicates that the underlying reason was political in order to discredit the government.

S.E.C.R.E.T

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With the compliments of the

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER,

ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

19 Feb 44.

Col Young
Col Haines
Col Parker
to see. Sec
1st/43

(150) (13)

DIGEST OF BRITISH PRESS OPINIONS

January 22nd - February 3rd 1944

CA3b/9/3.

U.N.R.R.A.

Within the last fortnight, since the issue of its outlined plans, U.N.R.R.A. has had only minor publicity as it is now accepted as working out the details to be made known later. One question which has arisen is that of transportation, which has aroused interest in all quarters. It is considered unfortunate that no single plan for transportation has been laid down, for use in Europe during the period immediately after liberation when everything will be in a chaotic state. When it is realised that 20 million people have been moved from their homes and will want to go back as soon as possible, the terrific problems to be solved will be understood, and the fact that there must be rigid control of all movement appreciated.

The U.S.S.R., have expressed some fears that the relief given by U.N.R.R.A., may be used as a political weapon, in view of the fact that food and relief supplies will be essential to a denuded Europe and that those having control of the supplies also have control of politics. This viewpoint has been accepted as reasonable, but at the same time, it is emphasised that although there can be no absolute guarantee, the United Nations are determined that each country shall decide its own future and there shall be no political blackmail.

It is considered a very good sign that the House of Commons received the news that Britain was to contribute 80 million to U.N.R.R.A's funds with enthusiasm, and the general feeling is one of generosity towards the suffering population of Europe. There has been some unfortunate criticism of Congress's attempt to cut down the U.S. share of U.N.R.R.A's expenses. This has been deplored as economic selfishness in some papers, but others have realized that America still feels rather far from Europe and that a spirit of isolationism is still widely abroad when the question of post war policy is brought up. It is unfortunate that this quibble should have arisen at such a time, when co-operation and feelings of mutual trust should be strongest between the Allies, but the Presidential elections are already looming large on the horizon and causing political dissension where none might otherwise have been forthcoming.

A.M.G.O.T.

A.M.G.O.T. still continues to reap criticism as an anti-democratic body and Sir James Grigg in the House of Commons, answering a question asking why the results of free elections have been overruled, has promised investigation. An extremely interesting and instructive article on education in Italy has appeared in the "Times" and provided some welcome news of A.M.G.O.T's good work. The question has arisen as to what type of military government will be set up in

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Fears have been expressed that the Military Government to be set up in France will be more reactionary and anti-democratic than the Anglo-American body. It is pointed out that the resistance movement in France is largely composed of Ex-Army officers who will naturally come from underground to assist in the government when France is liberated, and these are unfortunately the possible supporters of a military dictatorship. It is also much regretted that the French underground paper "Resistance" should choose this, of all times, when the invasion seems to be drawing near, for attacking ostensibly the Communists, but in reality all Left Wing parties.

PRISONERS/

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PRISONERS OF WAR

A storm of protest and indignation has been aroused by the disclosure of horrifying Japanese atrocities committed against British and American prisoners of war given by Mr. Eden to the House of Commons. This question has had more publicity than any news since the Teheran Conference, and public feeling has been appalled by the tale of horrible crimes committed on defenceless and even wounded men. Both British and American Ministers have sent notes protesting in strong terms against the inhuman behaviour of the Japanese and the general public has been stunned by the callous reply from Japan, stating that she did not intend to change her policy.

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Col Spofford
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HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

10 December 1943.

Questions relating to political, social, and economic forces in Sicily and South Italy. (See Note *)

1. Are there signs of a Catholic political movement among the peasants and/or the lower clergy?

There are no perceptible signs among the peasants of any political movement, Catholic or otherwise. After twenty-years of Fascism, which successfully eliminated all other political movements, the rural masses were left without political consciousness, except for opposition to the regime itself. This was expressed in the form of passive resistance to certain Fascist agricultural policies directly affecting them, such as the consorzi and the ammassi. Under the Allied occupation, so far as Sicily is concerned, political activity has not been permitted officially, though small private meetings and the publication and distribution by hand of a few unauthorized newspapers and broadsheets has been tolerated in various areas. None of this activity, however, has yet been on a scale, or had the facilities, necessary to reach any appreciable number of the peasants themselves. Its effect has been felt, if at all, only by the more intellectual elements, from whom the leaders may

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* Note:
The answers to these questions furnished by the Security-Intelligence Subsection, AMG - HQ must necesserily be based only on observations made in the island of Sicily and more particularly in the Palermo area. However, it is probably safe to say that the extent of political awakening in South Italy is probably similar.

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If a Catholic movement is to develop, it will doubtless be formed around the Christian-Democrat party. This party exists in the mainland as well as in Sicily, though present lack of communications renders difficult the coalescence of the various isolated groups into a single organization, formation of a common policy, or concerted action. It is the political heir of the left-wing of the old Popular party, founded and formerly headed by Don Sturzo, which had a progressive agrarian program and made direct appeal to the peasants. The Christian-Democrat party is receiving strong, if not open, support from Catholic Action, and its leaders are being drawn from the ranks of the latter organization, which, though religious in character, is capable of exercising great influence politically. There is no doubt, likewise, that high-ranking church-men are advising the Christian-Democrat leaders, in spite of the recently reported prohibition of the Pope against participation in the present political situation.

The Christian-democrat party represents an effort to attract both peasants and industrial workers by advocating in its program cooperative and labor-union movements and socialistic reforms of a decidedly Leftist tinge, taking as its point of departure, however, Christian-Socialist principles. Although it contains certain reactionary elements who hope in this way to wean the working class away from

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* Note:
A coalition of the Social-Republican, Socialist, and Communist parties.

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The organization of the Christian-Democrat party, while not so closely knit as that of the Communists, is probably further developed than that of any other party in Sicily with the exception of the latter. It has the advantage also of counting among its leaders a number of men with considerable pre-fascist political experience whose former electoral constituencies can be restored. While no dependable basis of estimate is, of course, available, it is believed that the numerical strength of Christian-Democrat supporters in the Western part of Sicily is inferior only to that of the Labor Front. Reports from Eastern Sicily indicate that it can probably count more followers than any other single group in that area. A party organ known as "Vita Nuova" is appearing more or less regularly at Gela, owned and managed by Oner. Salvatore Aldisio, one of the principal exponents of the party in Sicily.

There is no evidence of any political activity at present on the part of the lower clergy. They will be in a position naturally to influence, especially through Catholic Action, any movement developing later. But such activity as exists now has not yet penetrated down to levels where their influence could be brought to bear. On the other hand, evidence of activity on the part of the higher clergy does appear.

2. What signs are there of other types of political movement, e.g., Liberal, Socialist, Communist in the

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The statements made in answer to question (1) above regarding the absence of political consciousness in the rural districts and the inability of the embryonic party organizations emerging in Sicily to reach the people through the press or otherwise - will suffice to indicate why no political movement of any sort can be said to exist in the country.

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The same situation obtains with respect to the smaller centers of population. There exists in these centers considerable anti-Fascist feeling, directed especially against the entrenched and generally corrupt Fascist bureaucracy, much of which has been permitted to remain in office because of the absence of, or unwillingness to serve on the part of, suitable replacement or because of the success of the actual incumbents in concealing or explaining away their Fascist past. Opposition to these elements is quite unorganized, however, and as the people for so many years have been without means of political expression and the local government continues to be imposed from above as in the past, their general attitude is one of apathy, beneath which lies a smouldering resentment against petty officialdom and the police, who continue to exploit their positions at the expense of the lower levels of the population. With regard to broader political questions or national policies there seems to be little, if any, public opinion forming, nor has any evidence of party alignments appeared.

In the larger population centers and the cities the situation among the lower classes is very much the same as in the smaller towns and in the countryside. However among the small middle and upper classes, particularly among intellectuals, professional men, and a handful of pre-Fascist professional politicians, there is in progress a considerable

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It is not likely that the latter will be capable of producing any strong popular movement but will in the course of events become the tools of more sophisticated and experienced leaders.

The principal well-spring of this, as yet, limited political revival is, therefore, as might be expected from the social conditions present, to be found among the classes mentioned above. The intellectuals comprise for the most part university and secondary school professors and a few writers and idealists, most of whom were identified with anti-Fascist activity and suffered persecution under the regime. As a group they are theoretical rather than practical, possess no experience in government, and are unlikely to produce any outstanding political leadership other than that of the agitative sort. Although their inclination and doctrine is well to the Left, they are far from being men capable of putting into effect by violent processes the reforms which they often brilliantly argue. They are devoid of financial resources except for the small contributions of their, as yet, few supporters. Together with this group may be considered the university students. The natural tendency toward revolutionary ideas among the students is not found to the degree that might have been anticipated, and there exist fairly strong beginnings of organized conservative groups sponsored by outside elements and even a considerable remnant of Fascist sympathy, possibly of the sentimental "lost cause" variety. This is not surprising, of course, in view of the intensive

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Among the professional classes, principally lawyers, there is to be found somewhat more solid material for the rebuilding of a political structure. Some of those who are now interesting themselves in politics are actuated by personal

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ambition, many are genuinely patriotic. They are generally conservative and are attracted largely toward the Christian-Democrat movement, in a lesser degree toward the less radical branches of the Labor Front, depending largely on age, financial situation, and temperament.

The professional politicians of the pre-Fascist era are few in number, aging and cynical, but they have the enormous advantage of political experience and the skeletons of former machines at their disposal. They are particularly active rebuilding their political fences and choose to pursue an independent course, tending to form parties of their own or to align themselves with the smaller groups such as the Liberals, the Action Party, or more particularly with the Separatists. They are cautious, non-committal and are following a policy of waiting to see which way the wind blows. Some are flirting with the remnants of old political Mafia. A few are already committed to the Christian-Democrats.

Finally, appearing as a solid group, few in number, but with a well-developed political consciousness and a strong bond of mutual political interest, there are the large landed proprietors. These are of necessity opposed to any political program which would disturb their privileged social and economic position and particularly to agrarian reform of any sort. This brings them in direct conflict with all of the Liberal and Democratic movements beginning to find expression in the island and especially with the Christian-Democrats and the

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Mafia is or is not, it will suffice to say that Mafia may be described as a system of political racketeering on the higher levels and criminal racketeering on the lower levels. There are signs that the landed proprietors and their Separatist associates are preparing to make use of this peculiarly Sicilian institution for political ends and for the defense of their special interests. How successful they may be in this remains to be seen, as the old Mafia leaders are not willing to be caught on the wrong side and are negotiating also with other political elements, even with those of the Left.

Before listing summarily the various political groups, which call themselves parties, it must be made clear that these groups are still very much in the formative stage and can in no sense rightly claim to be representative of any considerable body of the population, large or small. In the nature of things, this is impossible, since they have had no opportunity to place their program before the people by means of the printed or spoken word and of course there is no measure of the potential support which any of their doctrines might draw forth. Furthermore none of the self-styled leaders have any real mandate from even their own immediate following to present themselves as such. Also, the various groups of the same political color in various parts of the island are still comparatively isolated from one another by the lack of communications, as pointed out above. Still, all these groups are beginning to recognize one another and their respective

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The following are the principal party groups recognized in Sicily with their corresponding leaders:

<u>The Christian-Democrat Party</u>.

(the color of this movement is sufficiently well indicated under question (1) above).

Avv. Giuseppe Alessi (Caltanissetta)

Arcangelo Cammarata (Caltanissetta)

Dott. Pasquale Cortese (Palermo)

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Prof. Mario Petroncelli (Catania)

Avv. Bernardo Matterella (Palermo).

The Action Party.
(In program differs somewhat from that of the same name on the mainland in that its economic policy is somewhat attenuated, represents a fusing of liberal with socialist ideas, advocates absolute respect for liberty and democracy and at the same time nationalization of large properties - a party of personalities rather than ideologies - has few supporters and exists only in the Palermo area).

Onor. Giuseppe Scialabba (Termini Imerese).

Avv. Vincenzo Purpura (Palermo).

Avv. Nicola Maggio (Palermo).

Avv. Antonino Ramirez (Palermo).

The Liberal-Reconstruction Party.
(An out-growth of the old Liberal party, with a new republican tinge; again a group of personalities without following, more in the nature of a political club.)

Onor. Giovanni Saviera.

Avv. Francesco Orlando.

Onor. Enrico La Loggia.
(The last named is said to be attempting to form his own group under the name of the Socialist-Reformist Party.)

The Labor Front.
(a) The Social Republican Party.
(Based on the old party of Mazzini and Garibaldi, became Republican and anti-monarchical, has a mediocre following at Palermo, Enna, and Caltanissetta, mildly socialistic.)

Avv. Angelo Causa (Altavilla).

Ernesto Valenti (Palermo).

Dott. Vittorio Calajanni (Enna).

Rag. Salvatore Troia (Palermo).
(The last named has not followed the Social Republican group into the Labor Front and is publishing a clandestine Leftist newspaper called "La Riscossa".)

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Avv. Antonio Ramirez (Palermo).

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(b) The Socialist and Communist Group.
(This group admits of no distinction as between Socialists and Communists but, so far as known, those of more Communist tendency will be marked thus * in the list of exponents below.- The coloring of these elements is definitely leftist, but they are far from being extreme and are drawn mainly from the intellectual type already described).

Prof. Giuseppe Montalbano (Palermo).

* Dott. Nicola Cundari (Siracusa).

Avv. Luigi Castiglione (Catania).

* Giuseppe Sessa (Raffadali).

Prof. Gaetano Canziani (Palermo).

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* Dott. Mario Mineo (Palermo).

* Dott. Antonino Graffeo (Palermo).

Prof. Giuseppe Drago (Palermo).

Avv. Millemaggi (Messina).

Ing. Paolo Diana (Agrigento).

(c) Separatist Group.
This is a movement rather than a party and has many lines of cleavage within its ranks based upon former party affiliation and upon the degree of Separation from Italy advocated. With the exception of the large landowners, its followers are individual opportunists who seek to further their own personal ambitions in the local political situation which separation would produce. In answering question (4) below an attempt will be made to outline some phases of the movement. Some of the prominent men said to be identified at one time or another with Separatism are the following: (Western Sicily)

Avv. Guarino Amelle (Agrigento).

Onor. Pinocchiaro Aprile (Palermo).

Onor. Corta (Trapani).

Conte Alessandro Tasca (Palermo)

Lucio Tasca "

Avv. Salvatore Levatino "

Prof. Cascio Rocca "

Dott. Michelangelo Cipolla "

Gino di Piazza "

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3. How strong is Nationalism?

The feeling of Italian Nationalism among the Sicilians is largely one of sentiment for cultural and historical ties and is probably found strongest among the middle classes, but within this class probably to a greater degree among the in-

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3. How strong is Nationalism?

The feeling of Italian Nationalism among the Sicilians is largely one of sentiment for cultural and historical ties and is probably found strongest among the middle classes, but within this class probably to a greater degree among the intellectuals and professional people, a less degree among the commercial class. The lower classes cannot be said to hold any particular opinion and could be swayed toward or away from Nationalism without much difficulty, though the disillusionment of the Fascist debacle and a disastrous war, which affected them all more or less directly, would tend to swing the balance away from Nationalism at present. Among the upper classes, the landowners are doubtless, for reasons of

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interest, colder toward the idea of Italian unity than any other group. Decay of regard for the monarchy, which was a real unifying influence in the past, has contributed to loss of national feeling to a considerable extent among all classes. The only balancing factor in favor of unity is the church, which apparently has never shown any color of favor toward the idea of separatism.

4. Is there any sign of a desire for local autonomy?

There is a great deal of feeling among all classes of the people for autonomy of one kind or another, ranging from local economic and administrative autonomy to outright independence as a sovereign, or at least a protected, state. Even those Leftist elements who at present are most bitterly against Separatism have in the past and might again in future be brought to accept a form of limited autonomy of the former type. All classes who are able to grasp such ideas are agreed that Sicily would be better off if not part of a national economic system in which they are obliged to bear the burden of supporting the industrial North of Italy and to see their export trade in agricultural products penalized by the necessity of maintaining foreign exchange rates and Tariffs favorable to the Northern industrial interests. There is much bitterness at what is often called the colonial position of Sicily, even before the Fascist regime, whereby the area was exploited for the benefit of interests on the mainland. Blame is laid on the Central Government for consistent appropri-

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W. E. SCOTTEN,
Captain, M. I.

10 December 1943.

WES/vvs

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Pol. Gen. 15 (11)

TRAPANI
H. M. E. Porter
Aboard Oct. 15

ATTENZIONE !

Alla propaganda quanto mai lusinghiera degli Stati Alleati, noi del popolo, abituati a tutti i soprausi, abbiamo prestato la nostra ingenua fede, attendendo pazienti il sorgere della decantata aurora di libertà e di benessere. Tre mesi son passati nell'attesa dov'è questa aurora?

Roosevelt, le radio, i giornali, con pompose parole, l'hanno annunziata; sà il mondo intero che per noi Siciliani è finita la fame, la miseria, la tirannide, che abbondanze di tutti i generi sono state sbarcate sulle nostre terre. DOVE SONO ? PER CHI SONO ? Giù le maschere! Noi vogliamo la realtà, non vogliamo parole, non viviamo di parole: -ci manca il pane; ci mancano la pasta, l'olio, i tessuti, le scarpe; ci manca tutto, perfino il lavoro. Il mercato nero ingigantiace-. E' ora di finirla con le chiacchiere! Noi siamo gli scemi creduti; anche se in disgrazie, siamo ancora e sempre Siciliani, figli orgogliosi del Vespro, pronti a ripeterne le gesta in qualunque momento e contro tutti. Siamo stanchi di promesse e di beffe e siamo una gente intera. ABASSO GLI AFFAMATORI!

VIVA IL POPOLO!

VIVA LA SICILIA RIVOLUZIONARIA!

30 Fascists apprehended.
Trial recommended.
Were going to attack airport at Trapani October 28
Freedom of new Fascist movem[illegible]

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT : Translation.

The people of Sicily, accustomed to all abuses and arbitrary acts, have lent their ingenious faith to the all appealing propaganda of the Allies and have patiently waited for the rising of the boasted aurora of liberty and wellfare.

Three months have passed and in the meantime where is this aurora?

Roosevelt, broadcasts, newspapers, with magniloquant words have announced. The whole world knows that hunger, misery, tiranny no longer assail the Sicilian people; that great quantities of food stuffs and goods have been landed on our soil. Where are they? Whom are they for?

Down with the masks!

We want facts and not words, we do not feed on words! We lack bread, maccaroni, olive oil, clothing, shoes; we lack all - even labor. The black market prospers gigantically. It's time to put an end to void speeches. We are the fools, as they would believe. Even in misfortunes, we are still and all the times Sicilians, the proud children of the Vespers, ready to repeat the event at any moment and against everybody.

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for the rising o[illegible]

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We are tired of promises and of scorns and we are a compact people.

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Down with the hunger mongers!
Hurrah for the People,
Hurrah for Revolutionary Sicily!

* Note: Thirty (30) Fascists apprehended.
Trial recommended.
Were going to attack airport at Trapani October 28.
Founders of new Fascist movement.

FPR/vvs

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Translation

Political Parties - Sicily (Levagnini)

I am not able to reply to your questions as set in your inquiry on the political parties. Or better I reply with some preliminary considerations;

1. It is to be assumed that the past regime, in 20 yrs. or more, may have destroyed the germ of any organized political party;

2. Only the Catholic Action Organizations, protected by the Church, could constitute a powerful nucleus of a Catholic Party or better yet a Party of Catholics.

3. Together with this, only a sporadic and underground action of the so-called subversive parties, can be admitted.

4. Fascism was still a long way off from having created the spiritual unity of the Italians. Under the exterior apparent uniformity, a latent opposition to the regime permeated deeply into the national life.

5. Nevertheless, a potential, individual, not organized opposition, not defined with any party ticket.

6. This situation, even now fluid, will assume concrete form as soon as more normal conditions of life will be re-established, including in them liberty of the press.

7. The most urgent problem is not the political but the practical and economic ones: To free the country from the German occupation and re-establish the possibility of

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5. Nevertheless, a potential, individual, not organized opposition, not defined with any party ticket.

6. This situation, even now fluid, will assume concrete form as soon as more normal conditions of life will be re-established, including in them liberty of the press.

7. The most urgent problem is not the political but the practical and economic ones: To free the country from the German occupation and re-establish the possibility of material living actually disorganized.

8. If there actually is a political problem, that of eliminating from national life the influences of the residuals of the past regime is the very one. 42

9. To these more urgent tasks, the actual Badoglio Ministry appears to fit in the best of ways because composed of Technicians, and administrators instead of political men.

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Political Party-Lavagnini(Cont-)

10. Aside the common denominator of anti-Fascism, the actual situation of the parties may be countersigned, as for programs and methods, by the word: Disorientation.

11. It must not be forgotten that the decisive impulse to disorientation of the parties must come from Northern and Central Italy, better progressed and organized. It is to be assumed that in those regions the mass parties will prevail.

12. In the South, owing to extreme individualism, which is in the tradition and character of the inhabitants, the birth of the parties, that may be the masque face of old political men and their clients or affiliators, is to be awaited.

13. It is to be assumed that in the North the actual conversion to the left of republican fascism will accentuate the orientation toward the left of new political parties.

14. It cannot be assumed that sympathy for the Americans and English be about universal, especially in Northern and Central Italy, where Germany has always been considered a danger, conformant to the tradition of our "Risorgimento".

15. I believe, in conclusion, that a part some elements, the actual situation is a political chaos and that tendencies and orientations may be talked about rather than real and true parties.

A policy (behaviour) of extreme reserve is to be imposed upon except the case of some party that may have real consistence.

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A policy (behaviour) of extreme reserve is to be imposed upon except the case of some party that may have real consistence.

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(Signed) BRUNO LAVAGNINI.-

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PARTITI POLITICI - SICILIA (LAVAGNINI)

Non sono in grado di rispondere alle domande poste nella vostra inchiesta sui partiti politici. O meglio, rispondo con alcune considerazioni preliminari.

1) - E' da ritenere che il passato regime, in venti e più anni, abbia distrutto in germe ogni partito politico organizzato.

2) - Solo le organizzazioni della Azione Cattolica, all'ombra della Chiesa, potevano costituire in potenza il nucleo di un partito cattolico o meglio di un partito di cattolici.

3) - Accanto a ciò si può ammettere solo azione sporadica e sotterranea di partiti cosidetti sovversivi.

4) - Il Fascismo era tuttavia lungi dall'avere creato l'unità spirituale degli italiani. Sotto l'apparente uniformità esteriore una latente opposizione al Regime permeava in profondità la vita nazionale.

5) - Opposizione, tuttavia, potenziale, individuale, non organizzata, non definibile con etichetta di partito.

6) - Questa situazione, attualmente ancora fluida, prenderà forma concreta appena si ristabiliscano condizioni di vita più normali, compresa in esse la libertà di stampa.

7) - Il problema più urgente non é politico, ma pratico ed economico. Liberare il paese dall'occupazione tedesca e ristabilire la possibilità della vita materiale attualmente disorganizzata.

8) - Se vi é un problema politico attuale é quello di eliminare dalla vita nazionale le influenze dei residui del passato regime.

9) - A questi compiti più urgenti sembra rispondere nel modo migliore, in questo periodo di necessaria transizione, l'attuale Ministero Badoglio, composto di tecnici e

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di amministratori, anziché di politici.

10) - A parte il comune denominatore dell'antifascismo la situazione attuale dei partiti può essere contrassegnata, nei programmi e nei metodi, dalla parola disorientamento.

11) - Non bisogna dimenticare che l'impulso decisivo al l'orientamento dei partiti dovrà venire dall'Italia settentrionale e centrale, più progredite e meglio organizzate. E' da ritenere che in tali regioni prevarranno i partiti di massa.

12) - Nel mezzogiorno, dato l'estremo individualismo che é nelle tradizioni e nel carattere degli abitanti, é da attendere la nascita di partiti che siano soltanto maschera di vecchi uomini politici e delle loro clientele o consorterie.

13) - E' da ritenere che nel Nord l'attuale conversione a sinistra del fascismo repubblicano accentuerà l'orientamento verso sinistra dei nuovi partiti politici.

14) - Si può ritenere che la simpatia per gli Americani e gli Inglesi sia pressoché universale, specie nell'Italia settentrionale e centrale, dove la Germania é stata sempre considerata un pericolo, conforme alla tradizione del nostro Risorgimento.

15) - Ritengo in conclusione che, a parte alcuni elementi, la situazione attuale sia di caos politico e che si possa parlare di tendenze e di orientamenti, piuttosto che di veri e propri partiti. Si impone dunque un atteggiamento di estrema riserva, tranne il caso di qualche partito che abbia vera consistenza.

Firmato: BRUNO LAVAGNINI.

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Pol. General 19

Questions relating to political, social and economic forces in Sicily and South Italy

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Political.

1. Are there signs of a Catholic political movement among the peasants and/or the lower clergy?

2. What signs are there of other types of political movement, e.g., liberal, socialist, communist, in the towns and the country?

3. How strong is nationalism?

4. Is there any sign of a desire for local autonomy?

Social and Economic.

1. Is there any definite information on the views of Italians in (a) Sicily, (b) South Italy, (c) Sardinia on Emigatati on after the war? Have the Italians great expectations about the possibilities of emigration?

2. What has been done in (a) Sicily, (b) South Italy, (c) Sardinia during the last seven years (1) to improve the water supply, (2) to drain the land, (3) to check malaria?

3. When the latifondi are broken up, would some form of co-operative farming among peasant-owners be desirable? e.g., a Co-operative Society for purchase of machinery, seeds, fertilizers etc. and for sale of produce?

4. Is there a strong movement for (a) State-ownership of land?
or (b) Co-operative Society ownership?
or (c) Peasant ownership?

5. Have any new industries taken root in Sicily or South Italy during the last seven years or as a result of the war?

6. Has electrification made any progress in South Italy or Sicily during the last seven years?

7. What are the conditions of the sulphur industry as regards (a) output, (b) conditions of labour?

8. Is there any evidence of the economic effects of Allied occupation? (e.g., Has the fruit-juice industry been encouraged?)

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9. Are there signs of a wish to establish regular Trade Unions among (1) agricultural (2) industrial workers?

10. Do the South Italians expect that all their economic difficulties are going to be solved rapidly by the United Nations?

11. What is the food situation like? Are relief measures urgent?

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PARTITI POLITICI IN SICILIA

1. Partito Socialista Italiano. - Prof. CANZIANI. Piazzo Lolli 8.

2. Partito Comunista d'Italia. - Prof. GRASSO.

3. Partito Democratico Cristiano. - Avv. MATTARELLA. Via Segesta 9.

4. Partito d'Azione. - AVV. PURPURA. Via Stabile 169.

5. Movimento per l'Indipendenza(Separationists). -
On. FINOCCHIARO - APRILE. Via Cavour 104-108.

6. Partito Liberale. - Prof. ALBEGGIANI. Piazzo Vittoria.

7. Partito Siciliano del Lavoro. - Prof. CIPOLLA. Via Stabile 127.

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9 b 3

Catania I8 novembre I94

(7)

Al COMANDO delle FORZE ALLEATE,
Comando Generale per la Sicilia

P A L E R M O

e per conoscenza:
Al Comando Forze Alleate - Catania-
A S.E.Il Prefetto _ Catania
Al Sig.Sindaco _ Catania

Nella conferenza testé tenutasi a Mosca fra i Rappresentanti delle Potenze Alleate é stato,fra l'altro,disposto che tutti gli squadristi,prefascisti e profascisti dovranno immediatamente essere licenziati dall'impiego che in atto occupano preso gli Uffici Pubblici.Contrariamente,però,a quanto é stato fatto in altre zone occupate dagli Alleati,a Catania pare che la disposizione di cui sopra non garbi tanto alle Autorità responsabili,in quanto al Comune e presso altri Enti ed Uffici Pubblici prestano tuttora servizio individui assunti in passato per benemerenze fasciste e i di cui sentimenti e l'attività svolta in favore del cessato partito sono qui a tutti noti.
Ecco i nominativi:

Ingegnere Priolo=Ingegnere Capo della Provincia di Catania,assunto a tale carica da semplice ingegnere di sezione senza concorso poco dopo l'avvento fascista.
Lo Giudice-impiegato al Comune di Catania-

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Sélerno -impiegato al Comune di Catania dal cartel=
lino penale poco pulito!
Libra - squadrista e volontario nella guerra di
Spagna ed Africa Orientale.
Amoroso-impiegato al Comune di Catania-
Sindona- " " "
Jannizzotto" " "
Termini-impiegato,assieme alla moglie,al Comune.
Fonte- impiegato pure al Comune.
Di Blasi-maresciallo di Pubblica Sicurezza nonché
Cavaliere della Corona d'Italia,onoreficenza
concessagli come premio alle angherie e soprusi
commessi quale appartenente all'OVRA.
Molina-tuttora Questore di Catania e tanti altri an=
cora.Il Vostro intervento energico può solo porre
fine ad uno stato di cose increscioso e nauseante
onde spazzare via dagli Uffici Pubblici ogni resi=
duo del disciolto partito anche perché trattasi di
elementi che anelano(poveri illusi!)un ritorno della
passata tirannide.

2 7 8 21

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To the Head Command of the Allied Forces in Sicily. P a l e r m o

and for knowledge

To the Command of allied Forces Catania

To the Prefect of Catania

To the Mayor of Catania

After the conferences of Mosca, the representants of the Allied Nations established that all fascist hieraches must be immediately dismissed from the employ that they occupy in public offices. Contrary to what has been made in other occupied territory by Allied Forces, in Catania this rule is not observed, because by the commun of Catania and by other public offices, fascist citizens occupy yet their employements. These persons have yet fascist sentiments and arewellknown to all.

Here are their name;

Engineer Priolo : Chief engineer of the protnce of Catania, entered there without examination;

Lo Giudice : employeer by theCommun of Catania

Salerno: " " " " "

[redacted] Amoroso " " " " "

Sinatra " " " " "

Janizzotto " " " " "

Fonte " " " " "

Libra Fascist and volounteer in Spanish and Africain war

Termini eplcyeer with his wife by the Commun

Di Blasi: Master sergeant of Police, knith of Italian crown, who received this honour becausemember of the CVRA.

Molina: Yet Quator of Catania.

and many others.

Your intervention can only expel all these fascists who hope to revive the died fascismus.

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(6)

CONFIDENTIAL

Political S ituation in Sicily

Outline of political situation in Sicily as of 20 October 1943 furnished by professor Canziani, of the University of Palermo, local leader of the Socialist group.

* * * * *

For an exact picture of the present position of the political parties in Sicily it is necessary to premise some data on:

The position of the political parties in Italy during the Fascist tyranny.

In the first years of the Fascist regime, up to 1926, the anti-facist political parties, persecuted and reduced to skeletons, were still able to maintain their organization. After 1924 there took form in Italy only a few clandestine political organizations, of which the most important are: the "Justice and Liberty" (Giustizia e Libertà) movement (S œialist) and the communist movement, which maintained with a great deal of tenacity its cellular organization. In 1939, and particularly in 1940 and 1941, still moreso in 1942, there were constituted here and there all over Italy "anti-fascist concentrations" formed of individuals of all political tendencies, which were unifed with the single objective of combating fascism. In Sicily, as in the rest of Italy, this concentration of parties was formed under the name "Single Front for Liberty" (Fronte Unico per la Liberta')

During this conspirational period there began to manifest itself among the Sicilian antifascists a tendency which had

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which had as its fundamental demand the separation of Sicily from the rest of Italy. The adherents of this idea, called "Separatists", began to detach themselves little by little from the other antifascists, until finally, believing themselves sufficiently strong, on the 20 th of July 1943 they separated themselves officially from the other antifascist parties in order to constitute the Committee for Sicilian Independence (Comitato per l'Independenza Siciliana).

Position of the parties upon the entry of the American troops in Palermo.

(1) The Separatist Party (Partito Separatista)

This party under the name of"Committee for Sicilian Independence" was able to issue and post on the walls of the city the first of the numerous manifestoes which were issued in Sicily at this period. It appeared on the walls of the city a few hours before the American troops came in. In this manifesto it was proclaimed: (1) that Sicily, economically flouted by Northern Italy, should set herself up as a sovereign state (Sicilian Republic), (ii) that the Sicilian Republic should be represented at the peace conference, and (iii) that the Committee had been for some time in communication with the Allied authorities.

As regards this third affirmation, it is to be noted that it had long been said in antifascist circles that in 1942 the head of the separatist movement, the ex-Honorable Finocchiaro

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Aprile, had presented a memorial to the Ambassadors of the United States and England at the Vatican requesting the recognition of Sicilian independence.

Strength and Composition of the Party.

The separatists had no concern other than to gain strength. Hence: (i) they received into their ranks men of every political tendency, from the landed proprietor to the Catholic and the dabbler in Socialism; (ii) they accepted in their movement even men who were strongly compromised with Facism. (iii) they obtained the support of "Mafia", and are, from this point of view, the principal parties guilty of the revival of this criminal organization.

Evolution of the Separatist Party.

The adherence to the party of many landed proprietors, who subscribed large sums for the expenses of the Committee, the unconditional support of Mafia, the fact that they were the first to succeed in issuing a manifesto to the Sicilians who were politically disoriented by the effects of twenty years of tyranny, gave to the separatists an enormous initial advantage over the other parties, to whom, in the first week of the military occupation, they appeared as the strongest party. Subsequently, however, they did not receive from the Americans the support expected nor any favored treatment as compared with

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the other parties; numerous adherents of the party detached themselves from it, because they saw the inconsistency of the movement and because they were scandalized by the unconcealed Mafia coloring of the Committee; a very large group of original adherents, who before Fascism were inscribed as members of other anti-fascist parties, abandoned separatism in order to re-enter the parties to which they had belonged. Thus there was observed an exodus of Catholics, who re-entered the "Christian Democratic Party" (Partito democratico cristiano), of socialists who re-entered the socialist party and so forth.

This fact together with the fact that all the other anti-fascist parties proclaimed themselves violently anti-separatist and that the great mass of intellectuals did not desire to adhere to the movement, weakened the Separatist Party to such an extent that today separatism can be considered as the weakest of the movements existing in Sicily.

Various tendencies existing within the Separatist Party.

The decadence of the party brought about a certain split within the party ftself. There was discernable in it on the one hand an intransigeant tendency, which maintained the original program and formed within the party a subcommittee called "Sicily and Liberty" (Sicilian E Liberta'), and on the

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other hand a less intransigeant doctrine. To the second doctrine this same Finocchiaro Aprile subscribes. It may be summarized as follows: there must be constituted a Sicilian Republic which will detach itself from the rest of Italy if the monarchy remains, but which if the monarchy falls, will unite itself to the rest of Italy under conditions to be determined later.

Situation today.

The Separatist Party through party meetings and political activity violated the orders of the Allied authorities, who forbade political assemblies and activity. When the exponents of the various political parties were "given notice" by the Allied authorities to refrain from carrying on their activity, the Separatists were the loudest in complaining. This gave every one to understand: (i) that the Americans were not supporting separatism and (ii) that the question of separatism represented a problem of international policy and could not be settled by local men. At present the Separatists represent a group of "generals without and army". But they have a great deal of practical sense and their reasoning is as follows: (1) personally, each one of us on his own lands enjoys the support of Mafia and at the plebiscite Mafia will vote for us, -hence we do not need an army; (2) at the present juncture, what does matter is that the appointments to government positions fall into our hands, and therefore we must stick together, so as to assist one another in the obtaining of these appointments.

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Perhaps only in this manner can it be explained how a man who is in sympathy with the separatists, although not officially compromised in the movement, has become Prefect of Palermo, how an out and out Separatist has become Mayor (Sindaco), and how 80% of the government positions have been given either to separatists or to men who were originally separatists or who have no particular aversion to separatism.

Separatism in the other provinces of Sicily.

Separatism had its greatest strength at Palermo, where the men who created the movement lived. These men almost all possess lands outside of the province. The movement had a certain amount of strength in the province of Trapani. At the moment of the landing of the Allied troops, separatism did not have any considerable strength in eastern Sicily. Today there is talk of a separatist movement at Catania, but we at Palermo have no definite information concerning it.

2. Single Front for Liberty (Fronte Unico per la Liberta')

This is not a party. It is a concentration of all anti-facist parties. It existed before the arrival of the Allied troops in the form of a clandestine organization. It existed

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likewise in the rest of the peninsula. It is composed of representatives of all the parties existing in Sicily, similarly to that found in the peninsula. The following, are in fact, its adherenets:

a. The Action party (Partito d'Azione);

b. T he Communist Party (Partito Commista);

c. T he Christian-Democratic Party (Partito Democratico - Cristiano);

d. T he Liberal- Reconstruction Party (Partito Liberale della Ricostruzione);

e. The Social - Republican Party (Partito Repub-licano - Sociale);

f. The Socialist Party (Partito Socialista).

In the Liberty Front the coalition is based on the following three poi nts:

(1) Abolition of the Monarchy.

Hence all the political parties are today anti-monarchial.

(2) Collaboration with the Allied Authorities with the object of Combatting the Residue of Facism.

(3) Opposition to Separatism.

All these parties desire to maintain the unity of Italy. When it appeared that the forming of

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a Sicilian Republic was inevitable, the six parties, for the sake of saving the unity of Italy, proclaimed themselves "federalists". Their reasoning was this; "If the Sicilian Republic must be formed at any cost, we shall strive for this republic to be federated with the other regions of Italy in such manner as to constitute an organism similar to the United States of America. (United States of Italy or Federation of the Democratic Italian Republics)." Hence federalism is not a party but is only a compromise to which the above- mentioned parties would adapt themselves against their will. Today, since the decadence of Separatism, these same parties describe themselves as Unionist.

(a) The Action Party.

This party arose, or at least developed in 1942. It appeared in Rome, Florence, and Bologna. It was born, therefore, during the period of Fascist domination as a clan destine party. It published a clandestine newspaper, called "Italia Libera", which was well presented, well written, and which circulated all over Italy and outside of Italy. The London radio read certain extracts

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from this paper in 1942 in its broadcasts directed toward Italy. The party has a program which is the result of fusing certain liberal with certain socialist ideas. It advocates absolute liberty and respect for democracy and, at the same time the nationalization of large properties. It was called in the beginning the Liberal-Socialist Party. The program of the Party at Palermo was somewhate modified in the sense of a noticeable attenuation of the economic aspect of the program. It is a party which has a certain numerical strength at Palermo, but in the other provinces counts very few followers. It is naturally anti-monarchial.

(b) The Communist Party.

It was well organized, clandestinely, so much so that it was able in 1943 to hold in secret a general assembly in Caltanissetta. It is formed by elements who in other more cultured regions would have entered the democratic parties or at most the Socialist party. Its leaders are, for the most part, inexperienced youths, though they are serious and well prepared as regards educational background for politics. This is due to the fact that, before Fascism, Communism was not strong in Sicily, where the socialists were more prevalent. It has, however, considerable 17

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possibilities for the future. It is, naturally, anti-monarchial.

(c) The Christian - Democratic Party.

The old Papular Party (Partito Populare) founded by Don Luigi Sturza, now in America (?). It had great strength in Sicily before Fascism. During the Fascist period, an organization for religious educations and propoganda founded by the former Pope, "Catholic Action" (L'Azione Cattolica) sub-stituted in disguise for the suppressed Popular Party. It is believed that it will become a strong party, but at present the strength of its fabric has not yet been revealed in a definite manner, It is republican; its program calls for the calling of a constituent assembly.

(d) Liberal - Reconstruction Party.

Has no solid substance and it is represented by few men, without any following. It is the Former Liberal Party, which, having become republican, is now called that of "reconstruction."

(e) Social-Republican Party.

The old party of Mazzini and Garibaldi. At present it has a mediocre following at Palermo, Enna, and Caltanissetta.

(f) Socialist Party.

This is the party to which Giacomo

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Matteoti belonged. It exists all over Sicily. It has a very serious tradition. It is very strong at Palermo, Trapani, Catania, and Caltanissetta.

The Labor Front (Fronte del Lavore)

This is not a party but a coalition of parties which have united for the purpose of realizing a laborite program in Italy. It is formed for the moment by a coalition of three parties: The Social-Republican, the Communist, and the Socialist. But to this will accede also even other parties who accept a minimum labor program. It is a serious and very powerful organization which holds in its orbit the mass of the peasants and workmen. It is an organization existing only in Sicily. This party has an enormous importance because it tends to maintain a solid block of all the workers of both the city and the country and hence constitutes a force of honest workmen with which to oppose Mafia, in the elections and in the cooperatives. The strength of the Labor Front is derived from: (1) the fact that it is formed of a coalition of these parties which, fused together, attain to an absolute majority of all those enlisted in the various parties; (2) the fact that anyone may adhere to the Labor Front even if he is not enrolled in one of the three parties which compose it, so long as he accepts a minimum labor program. Persons so enrolled are called "adherents" and form an overwhelming majority, when it is considered that through

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them a laborite party can be constituted in Sicily. At Palermo the Front is functioning exceedingly well. At Enna, where the organization is strong, it is being managed by young men who are a little rash and inexperienced. In the provinges of Trapani and Agrigento it is strong, though in the city of Agrigento itself, it is very weak, due to discord which has arisen between the leaders. On the whole it exists, more or less well- managed, in every town of Sicily.

Regarding Certain Problems of General Application.

1. The Monarchy.

All political parties in Sicily are republican. This is a most important consideration in view of the fact that before the advent of Fascism Sicily was the most monarchistic region of Italy. All political parties in the Peninsula are republican. The following points are to be noted:

(1) That after the message of the King to the Italian people, acts of sabotage agains the Germans either diminished or stopped altogether. This fact was forseen in Sicily. Workers and soldiers who came to Sicily from the North by devious means confirmed the fact that after the manifesto by the King the watchword circulated among the people was, "Better remain Fascist than fight for the King";

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(2) If the monarchy falls, separatism in Sicily loses whatever importance it may have had; if the monarchy remains, even the most rabid unionists will become separatist;

(3) If the monarchy remains, a revolution in Italy is inevitable;

(4) Badoglio is despised by everyone, to the same degree as the King.

(5) In Italy it was being said, "The English may favor the monarchy but the Americans, no." T oday there has spread a certain distrust in this connection, even with respect to the Americans. It is feared that they have not sufficiently well understood the republican spirit of Italy.

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C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

General (5)

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

11 November 1943.

Exposition of Labor Front Policies.
(Furnished by Doctor Mario Mineo,
Socialist-Communist leader at Palermo).

Dear Sir;

From our conversations of recent days, the following salient points have emerged:

1. That, even though there should be no instigation or involvement on the part of foreign powers, it is my opinion that there will be a revolution in Italy, - intending the word to signify in this instance a radical change in the political, economic and social system;

2. That such revolution will carry Italy toward the "left" (though up to the present, despite the jabbering of the Fascists, it has held rather toward the "right");

3. That this does not necessarily signify on the part of Italy, a foreign policy oriented in a pro-Russian direction;

4. That Italy has need of this revolution in order to live as a strong and independent nation;

5. That, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that England and Russia will seek to bring influence to bear on Italian internal questions, and that hence an attitude of neutrality on the part of the United States would constitute a most serious error;

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6. That the United States have every interest in seeing that Italy, free and restored to health, assume her role as mediator between the two worlds of tomorrow, the American and the Russian;

7. That it will not be possible to prevent Russia and England from following out and bringing to fruition their designs, except by supporting Italy at the moment of making the peace treaty and by allowing her to effect her revolution, which means taking at this time, a position favorable to the revolutionary parties; and that such should be, in fact, the policy of the American Government towards Italy.

Since all these questions are now live issues in Sicily, since the handing over of Sicily to the Italian Government at this time and under present conditions constitutes a veritable betrayal of the interests of the anti-fascist parties - which after all are the revolutionary parties; since grave incidents may occur in Sicily, and they must needs be avoided at any cost, for all these reasons, therefore, I have several times declared that the American Government should repair the mistakes it has made and place the anti-fascist parties of Sicily at least in a position of parity vis-a-vis the forces of Fascism or in any case those of reaction.

This can be accomplished in two ways: First, give to the parties, without discrimination, liberty of the press and of organization. This would not constitute as regards the Labor Front, lacking the financial means which are so very

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necessary, sufficient support. The American Government needs must finance secretly, not the movement, but a newspaper for the movement (which for that matter could be useful to the American Government itself), and provide certain small facilities of a contingent nature.

The second way is somewhat more complex and probably less readily susceptible of realization. In view of the fact that Sicily has had its own peculiar problems since time immemorial and that these problems have become more aggravated during this period of "solution by continuity" (X) in the administration of the island as represented by the Allied Military Government, it would be necessary to create a Governing Commission, composed of at least ten members chosen from among the representatives of all of the anti-fascist parties (taking into account the fact that careful choice of persons is an essential element in the success of the plan).

Such a commission:

(a) - would be established for a period of not less than six months or more than one year;

(b) - should have at its disposal a daily newspaper;

(c) - would assume the following functions, with both deliberative and executive powers;

1. - purging of Fascists from the public administration and from public office, in accordance with criteria which should be given the form of law;

2. - purging and reorganization of the police (publica sicurezza, carabinieri, guardia di finanza);

Note:
(X) i.e.: Dr. Mineo means a policy of transition through maintaining in office the quo anté incumbents and of disturbing to a minimum degree the existing forms of government.

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3. - drawing up of laws governing political activity, the press, and the communal elections (the latter in accord with the Central Italian Government);

4. - Municipal (or regional) ownership of public utilities, that is: water, light, gas, tramways, trolleys, and busses (which could be realized preferably in the form of cooperatives);

5. - solution of the food distribution problem (in accord with the Central Italian Government and possibly with the representatives of the Allied Government).

What is essential, beyond the choice of men most fitted by honesty, capability, and genuine anti-fascist sentiment, is that such a commission be able to act effectively without being impeded or controlled. Appeal to an Allied Commission or to the Central Italian Government from decisions of the commission could and ought certainly to be permitted.

In my opinion these are the only two ways by which the American Government can repair the errors committed by the Military Government of Occupation, as the result of which serious discontent has been aroused among the population in general and among the anti-fascists in particular. I believe that the second would be more straight-forward and more apt to succeed, and if you deem it opportune I could obtain the adherence of the other parties. Even if this were not possible, we of the Labor Front feel ourselves strong enough - if we had a newspaper, a couple of automobiles, and the possibility of organizing ourselves withqut fear of treacherous and illegal attacks - to fight our adversaries undaunted by the advantageous position which they have acquired and without the need of having recourse to violent agitation.

Yours,
(signed) Mario Mineo

Palermo, 11 novembre 1943

Dear Sir,

dalle conversazioni così interessanti, almeno per me, che abbiamo avuto in questi giorni, mi pare che siano emersi in modo abbastanza chiaro i seguenti punti:

1. che, QUALORA NON SI VERIFICASSERO INGERENZE DA PARTE DI POTENZE STRANIERE, in Italia vi sarà una rivoluzione - intendendo con tale parola un radicale cambiamento nel sistema politico, economico e sociale;
2. che tale rivoluzione porterà l'Italia (che sino a questo momento, nonostante le chiacchere dei fascisti, era abbastanza "a destra") verso sinistra;
3. che ciò non comporta necessariamente una politica estera italiana orientata in senso filo-russo;
4. che l'Italia ha bisogno di questa rivoluzione, per potere vivere come nazione indipendente e forte;
5. che, d'altra parte, è da ritenere che l'Inghilterra e la Russia cercheranno di influire sulle questioni interne italiane, e che quindi un atteggiamento di neutralità da parte degli Stati Uniti sarebbe un gravissimo errore;
6. che gli Stati Uniti hanno tutto l'interesse a che l'Italia, libera e risanata, assuma la sua funzione di mediatrice tra i due mondi di domani: quello americano e quello russo;
7. che non si potrà impedire alla Russia ed all'Inghilterra di seguire e portare a compimento i propri disegni, se non appoggiando l'Italia al momento della firma del trattato di pace, e lasciandole fare la sua rivoluzione - il che significa prendere sin da ora una posizione favorevole ai partiti rivoluzionari - e che questa dovrebbe proprio essere la politica del governo americano nei riguardi dell'Italia.

E poichè tutte queste quistioni si pongon attualmente in Sicilia, poichè la consegna della Sicilia al governo italiano in questo momento in queste attuali condizioni significa un vero e proprio tradimento ai danni dei partiti antifascisti - che sono poi i partiti rivoluzionari -, poichè gravi incidenti potranno sorgere in Sicilia, e bisogna ad ogni costo che siano evitati; - per tutte queste ragioni, insomma, io Le ho più volte dichiarato che il governo americano dovrebbe riparare gli errori commessi e mettere gli antifascisti in Sicilia almeno in condizioni di parità di fronte alle forze fasciste o comunque reazionarie.

Ciò può farsi in due modi. Primo, dare ai partiti, senza discriminazioni, la libertà di stampa e di organizzazione. Questo nei riguardi del Fronte del Lavoro, che difetta di mezzi finanziari pur così necessari, non sarebbe sufficiente appoggio. Bisognerebbe, quindi, che il governo americano finanziasse segretamente, non il movimento, ma un giornale per il movimento (il che del resto potrebbe anche essere utile al governo americano stesso), e dasse alcune piccole agevolazioni di carattere

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lia vi sarà una rivoluzione-intendendo con [illegible]
nel sistema politico,economico e sociale;
2.che tale rivoluzione porterà l'Italia(che sino a questo momento,nonostante le chiacchere dei fascisti,era abbastanza "a destra")verso sinistra;
3.che ciò non comporta necessariamente una politica estera italiana orientata in senso filo-russo;
4.che l'Italia ha bisogno di questa rivoluzione,per potere vivere come nazione indipendente e forte;
5.che,d'altra parte,è da ritenere che l'Inghilterra e la Russia cercheranno di influire sulle questioni interne italiane,e che quindi un atteggiamento di neutralità da parte degli Stati Uniti sarebbe un gravissimo errore;
6.che gli Stati Uniti hanno tutto l'interesse a che l'Italia,libera e risanata,assuma la sua funzione di mediatrice tra i due mondi di domani:quello americano e quello russo;
7.che non si potrà impedire alla Russia ed all'Inghilterra di seguire e portare a compimento i propri disegni,se non appoggiando l'Italia al momento della firma del trattato di pace,e lasciandole fare la sua rivoluzione-il che significa prendere sin da ora una posizione favorevole ai partiti rivoluzionari-e che questa dovrebbe proprio essere la politica del governo americano nei riguardi dell'Italia.

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L'altro modo è un po' più complesso e,probabilmente,meno facilmente realizzabile. Bisognerebbe-dato che la Sicilia ha dei problemi suoi particolari da tempo immemorabile,e che questi problemi si sono riacutizzati durante quel periodo di "soluzione di continuità"nel governo dell'isola che è rappresentato dal governo militare alleato- creare una COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO,composta da almeno dieci membri scelti tra i rappresentanti di tutti i partiti antifascisti(tenendo conto che la buona scelta delle persone è un elemento essenziale per la riuscita del progetto medesimo)

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Tale commissione
a)durerebbe per un periodo minimo di sei mesi e massimo di una anno;
b)dovrebbe avere a sua disposizione un giornale quotidiano; esecutivo
c)assumerebbe i seguenti compiti,con potere deliberativo [redacted]
- 1) epurazione dei fascisti dalle pubbliche amministrazioni e loro esclusione dalle cariche politiche,secondo criteri che dovrebbero essere sanciti in forma di legge;
- 2) epurazione e riorganizzazione della polizia(pubblica sicurezza,carabinieri guardia di finanza);
- 3) formulazione delle leggi sulla attività politica,sulla stampa,sulle elezioni comunali (ciò in accordo col governo centrale italiano);
- 4) municipalizzazione(o regionalizzazione) dei servizi pubblici-cioè acqua, luce,gaz,linee tramviarie,filoviarie ed automoblistiche (il che potrebbe preferibilmente avvenire sotto la forma di società cooperative);
- 5)risoluzione dei problemi annonari(in accordo con le autorità del governo centrale italiano ed eventualmente con i rappresentanti dei governi alleati).

Ciò che è essenziale,oltre alla scelta degli uomini più adatti per onestà,capacità e vero antifascismo,è che tale commissione POSSA EFFETTIVAMENTE AGIRE SENZA ESSERE INTRALCIATA O CONTROLLATA. Si può e si deve certo ammettere,però,che contro alle decisioni della commissione stessa si possa ricorrere ad una commissione alleata o al governo centrale italiano.

A mio parere,son questi i due soli modi con cui il governo americano può riparare agli errori [redacted] commessi dal governo militare d'occupazione,in seguito ai quali un gravissimo malcontento è nato nella popolazione in genere e negli antifascisti in particolare.Io credo che la seconda soluzione sarebbe più integrale e più atta allo scopo,e se Lei lo crede opportuno potrei raccogliere le adesioni anche degli altri partiti.Ma se ciò non fosse possibile,noi del Fronte del Lavoro ci sentiamo abbastanza forti-avendo un giornale,un paio di macchine e la possibilità di organizzarci senza temere degli attacchi proditori ed illegali-per controbattere i nostri avversari,senza lasciarci impressionare dalla posizione di vantaggio che essi hanno acquisito e senza dover ricorrere alla agitazione violenta.

Con molti saluti

Suo Mario Mineo

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(4)

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

2. December 1943.

MEMORANDUM:

TO : Colonel Young.

SUBJECT : Text of joint Proposals to AMG made by various Political Parties, 30 Nov. 43.

1. Reference is made to the memorandum of the undersigned dated 30 November 1943 on the Subject: "Discussions between Local Political Leaders and Provincial Authorities, etc."

2. There is attached the text in translation of the proposals mentioned in paragraphis (3-5) of the memorandum under reference.

3. Party representatives state they have been informed that a reply to their proposals will be made to them by AMG authorities at 10:00 hrs, 3 December 1943.

W. E. SCOTTEN,
Captain, M. I.

WES/vvs

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C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

The undersigned, representatives of the Action Party, the Christian Democrat Party and the Labor Front, expressing likewise the opinion of the representatives of the Liberal Party, absent in this time,
Considering the gravity of the situation which is the result in particular of the insolved-and even aggravated- problems of food, public safety and the purging of the public offices of Facisim:

Considering that this has brought about a lack of confidence in free institutions and even regret for the unhappy fascist regime on the part of the people, through the instigations set on foot by traitors toward the Fatherland and toward Democracy:

Taking into account that, for the solution of such problems (which are mutually interdependent); it is above all indispensable that the various parties at last undertake their task of re-education and political direction of the masses, which is impossible without freedom of press, the principal means of disintoxicating the people, who have been poisoned by pro-fascist and anti-democratic propaganda, and of avoiding ill-advised movements:

Considering that the Badoglio Government has already granted all political liberties to the various parties:

P R O P O S E:

1. That the Allied Authorities grant to every party, which is national in character and which possesses a substantial following among the public, the right to publish a regional newspaper:

2. That,at least, internal activity within the various parties be permitted:

3. That - in accordance with proposals which have been made by the undersigned since the first days of Allied occupation - there be formed regional and provincial committees, composed of representatives of all the aforesaid parties, which will be consulted concerning measures of a political and administrative nature, having to do with the purging of the public offices of elements compromised with Fascism and will furnish appropriate advisory opinions on appointments which have been made in the past and those which are to be made in the future:

4. That measures be taken without delay against the revival of Mafia, which is being made use of and restored to power by the group of so-called separatists, which has become the refuge of dangerous reactionary and fascist elements:

5. That, with this object in view, the police, which have become greatly degenerated as a relult of time-honored systems incompatible with what is required for political and moral regeneration in the present day, be purified:

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been poisoned by pro-fascist and anti-democratic propaganda, and of avoiding ill-advised movements:

Considering that the Badoglio Government has already granted all political liberties to the various parties:

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4. That measures be taken without delay against the revival of Mafia, which is being made use of and restored to power by the group of so-called separatists, which has become the refuge of dangerous reactionary and fascist elements:

5. That, with this object in view, the police, which have become greatly degenerated as a relult of time-honored systems incompatible with what is required for political and moral regeneration in the present day, be purified:

AND ARE AGREED:

That the concession of a greater measure of political liberty may contribute to a considerable extent toward the solution of the food crisis, which - in addition to its being an economic problem - has also its political aspects, having been made to appear (through ignorance or bad faith) to be the result of a condition worse than that which was brought about by the former fascist regime.

For the purposes of solving this urgent problem, the undersigned intend to submit concrete proposals of a technical nature.

Palermo, 30 November 1943.

Signed:

FOR THE ACTION PARTY---------- ------Avv. Vincenzo Purpura
FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY----------Avv. Bernardo Mattarella
FOR THE LABOR FRONT- ----------Prof.Giuseppe Montalbano
(Communist, Socialist and Dott.Mario Mineo
Social Republican Par ty)

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

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HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Political Intell

5 December 1943

MEMORANDUM TO COLONEL YOUNG: (For Information)

SUBJECT: Local agencies engaged in collecting political intelligence.

1. In the course of routine duties with the Allied Intelligence Committee, the undersigned officer has discovered that, in addition to AMG (ACC) Security Intelligence, the following Allied agencies are engaged in collecting political intelligence in Sicily:

a. Office of Strategic Services, Research & Analysis Branch, 188 Via Vittoria Emanuele, Palermo; Telephone: 14499. Mr. Donald McKay is in charge. His assistants are Ensign Roberts, USNR, and a Mr. Fales. Mr. McKay expects to leave shortly for Naples, where O.S.S. has a considerable staff, presumably doing the same sort of work for the Italian mainland.

b. Office of Strategic Services, Secret Intelligence Branch, 51 Via Dannisinni, Palermo; Telephone: 12023. Captain Max Corvo, USA, in charge, assisted by a Mr. Russo, etc. Collection of political intelligence is a secondary function of this office. Such intelligence is used in OSS espionage and other operational work in Italy (and Sicily).

c. 401st Counter-Intelligence Company, Island Base Section, 2 Via XII Gennaio, Palermo; Telephone: Clover 137. Major Snowden in charge, assisted by Agent Murphy, etc. This office collects political intelligence in connection with military security matters. (Incidentally, it has a file of some 5,000 to 10,000 dossiers of prominent Fascists in Sicily. This file probably could be secured, either on loan or outright allocation, by Security Intelligence.)

d. 7th Army Counter-Intelligence, 7th Army Hdqts, PO Bldg. Telephone: Cadet exchange. Major Bruskin in charge, assisted by small staff. This office also collects political intelligence in connection with military security matters.

e. The Joint Intelligence Collecting Agency (JICA), a US Army-Navy collecting agency operating directly under G-2, AFHQ. Major Pumpelly in charge, assisted by Captain Bruno, Agents Tancred and Driscoll, etc. 5 Via Sabotino; Telephone: 18476. This office collects all sorts of economic, political, technical, etc. intelligence reports, and makes weekly report to AFHQ on political situation in Sicily. Major Pumpelly now in Brindisi setting up JICA office there. Captain Bruno in charge temporarily.

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f. Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), Naval Operating Base, Palermo; Commander Murphy, USNR, in charge, assisted by Ensigns Brucia and Flubacher, USNR. Ensign Bruscia, in particular, is well-versed on local political intelligance. Tel. 23 NAVY

g. Psychological Warfare Branch, 1 Via Giostra. Captain Cosgrove, (B), im charge, assisted by Lieutenant DeGrassi, (A), Mr. Eugene Warner (A), and between 30 to 33 others. Makes weekly political report on conditions in Sicily to Algiers. Tel. 14591.

h. S-2 Office, Island Base Section. Lieutenant Spielman in charge, assisted by several non-commissioned personnel. Works in close collaboration with 401st C.I.C. (Major Snowden). Telephone: Clover 2

i. S-2 Office, Twelfth Troop Carrier Command, Via Liberta. Telephone Invader 2. Major Louis Salomon in charge, assisted by several other officers. Nominal interest only in political situation in Sicily. Extent of political reports, if any, unknown.

j. Mr. Alfred Nestor, former U.S. Consul-General at Palermo, and slated to be next US Consul-General here. Office: 5 Via Sabotino (with JICA) Tel. 18476. Residence: Hotel Excelsior. Now In Malta for short time; thence to Naples; thence to Palermo. Makes frequent political reports to US State Department on situation in Sicily.

k. Security Office, Military District No. 1. Headquarters: Catania. Major Coventry, Security Officer. Interested in political intelligence principally from security viewpoint.

John V. Hinkel

John V. Hinkel,
Major, M.I.
Acting Secretary,
Allied Intelligence Committee