

ACC 10000/143/2643

199/05

MOVIMENTO COMMUNISTA d'ITALIA

JAN. 1945 - MAY 1946

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED COMMISSION
PUBLIC SAFETY LIAISON OFFICE
NAPLES

Ref: PS/ 9.8

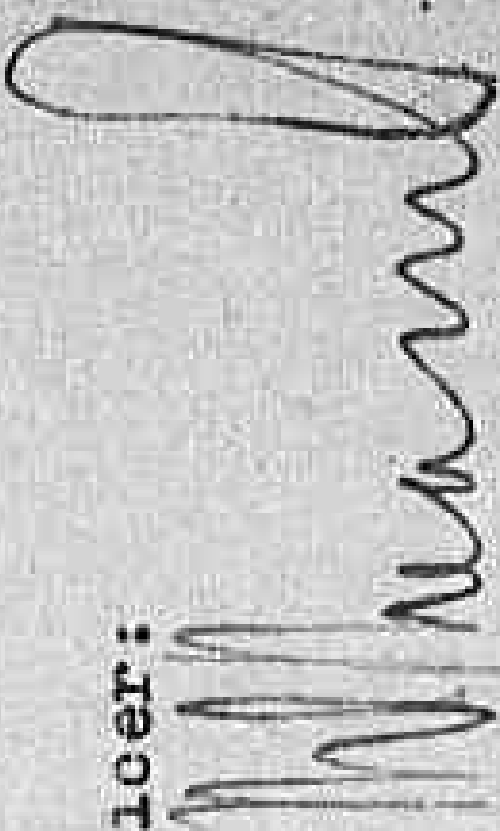
9th May 1946
Tel: 20444

SUBJECT: Political meeting.

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

1. I enclose a translation of a Questura report
respecting the meeting held at San Carlo Opera House,
Naples, on 8th May 1946. The speaker was Sig. TOGLIATTI,
Communist Party.

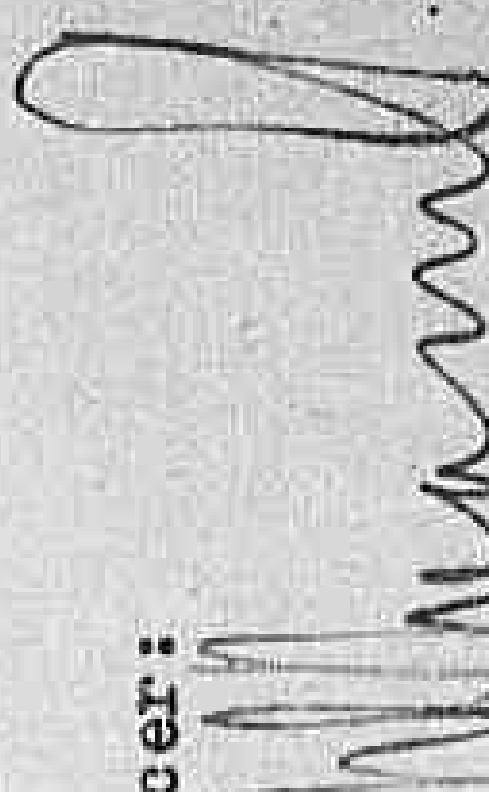
For the Chief Liaison Officer:


E. S. HARRIS
Major,
P.S. Liaison Officer
Naples.

HSH/tp.

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For the Chief Liaison Officer:


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Major,
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HSH/vp.

28

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199.05

S. Carlo Theatre
8 May 1946 - 1030 hrs.

The Hall of the San Carlo Theatre was crowded. Shouts

TOGLIATTI appeared and was... He was accompanied by the Communist candidates for the Provinces of Naples and Caserta. Amongst others we noticed: AVV. MANCINI, AVV. INGANGI, AVV. MAGLIETTA and General NOBILE. TOGLIATTI started his speech, saluting

With a loud voice TOGLIATTO STATED:
first the French poet Paul ELUARD, who was in the theatre and
who was warmly applauded, then he greeted General NOBILE and
the Minister of Southern Italy.

He stated that the South of Italy, of which Naples is the guide and example, with its attitude will influence and the parties.

The Communist Party aims to unite all the workers and aims to the proclamation of an Italian Republic and tied to the belief that the South is against the republic and the Monarchic Regime must end once and for ever. The Monarchic Regime has been for the South the cause of the lowest standard of life in comparison to the North and has been damaged by Fascism which was born in the North and by the Monarchy which had supported Fascism. Communism is republican in order to protect freedom. With the continuation of Fascism would return.

The incident which occurred in Rome a few days ago in a monarchic procession points it out: The monarchic and aristocratic gentlemen armed with sticks threatened the passers by as in the Fascist time.

the Fascist time.

The Monarchy is tremendously compromised.

- SHAWNEE -
HELPED AND FAVORED THE RISE OF THE MATTHEW WHITE

--FOR ADVANCE TO THE INFORMATION OF THE BOARD OF THE

(4076) 21.11.1981

THE PAYING DEBTED WAR.

- The Navying declared war.
The Republic, it is said, is a step into the unknown, the war not wished
out the real step into the unknown was the war not wished
by the population. And now the verdict of the population
will be inexorable.

It is said that Vittorio Emanuele III wished to abdicate but due to his relations with the nation and the government it was not possible such a decision on his part. He has retired.

A humorous saying, says that in all the world there will be only ten kings: the King of England who can consider him- self three Magi Kings, the Two

first the French poet Paul Eluard, then he greeted General NOBILE and who was warmly applauded, the capital of Southern Italy.

He stated that the South of Italy, of which Naples is the guide and example, with its attitude will influence and the decision of the parties.

weigh on the final decision of the parties. The Communist Party aims to unite all the workers and aims to the proclamation of an Italian Republic of workers. The belief that the South is against the republic and tied to the Monarchic Regime must end once and for ever. The Monarchic Regime has been for the South the cause of the lowest standard of life in comparison to the North. The South has been damaged by Fascism which was born in the North and by the Monarchy which had supported Fascism. Communism is republican in order to protect freedom. With the continuation of Monarchy Fascism would return.

The incident which occurred in Rome a few days ago in a monarchic procession points it out: The monarchic and aristocratic gentlemen armed with sticks threatened the passers by as in the Fascist time.

the Fascist time.
Monarchy is irremediably compromised:

The Monarchy is irretrievably compromised
-- for having helped and favoured the rise of Fascism;
-- for having left unopposed the MATTEOTTI murder which
-- for having left unopposed the SATURNI TOFFI
conspiracy with the complicity of the head of the
Government;

GOVERNMENT, - THE DRYING SECTION WAS.

- the Navy declared war. The Republic, it is said, is a step into the unknown, the war not wished out the real step into the unknown was the war not wished by the population. And now the verdict of the population will be inexorable.

It is said that Vittorio Emanuele III wished to abdicate but due to his relations with the nation and the government it is not possible such a decision on his part. He has retired to private life and now awaits the decision of the polls.

A humorous saying, says that in all the world there are only ten kings: the King of England who can consider himself a President of a Republic, the Three Magi Kings, the Two Kings and the Four Card Kings.

For the south the forming of a Republic will be the beginning of its redemption.

The Communist program admits the following principles:-
beginning of its redemption.

- The Communist program admits one revolution. It is:
- 1) Private initiative in the economical field
 - 2) Acknowledgment of small and medium estates
 - 3) Development of the regional autonomy
 - 4) Only the large industries and banks will be absorbed by the Government

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5) Agricultural reform - one must not say the land must be given to the peasants, but one must fight the absent land owners, fight the semi feudal estates.

6) Defence of the small and medium estates.

7) Fight with any means the unemployment, amongst so many ruins and with so many houses and industries to be rebuilt it is absurd that there are unemployed workers.

In the international field our policy can be expressed with the following principles:-

- Nothing more must be paid for the war damages.

Italy has already paid with A.M. Lire, its products, its factories, its requisitioned houses. If the Allied Nations consider Italy still as an enemy the damages have already been paid; if they consider her as co-belligerent nothing is due to them.

- For the frontiers, after having decided the intangibility of the Brennero frontier, we proclaim the Italianity of Trieste, which must remain to Italy. Italy must be the friend of the Allied Nations but must not neglect the friendship of the Balkan nations. A real democratic policy is necessary, and we must not take advantage of the disagreements of the big nations.

Italy must not be a pawn to be used against the Soviet Republic or against the block of the United Nations. We are grateful to the Allies who liberated us, but also to Russia who has shed so much blood.

But we want no more occupation troops. We wish an Italy really independent and peaceful. We wish for no more wars. We do not wish that our peninsular become a depot for atomic bombs or for big air plane carriers.

Going around your city you notice the poverty of the people. The real responsibility for this poverty is Fascism and Monarchy.

The present Government has done something, but there is still more to be done. Work must be given to everyone. Salaries and wages must be increased. Help the rebuilding of damaged houses. Confiscate the war and fascist profits. Seize the large fortunes. Renew the tax system.

To obtain all this it is necessary to form a government of the people, in which there is the collaboration of the large labour parties: the communists, the socialists, the christian democrats. The other parties can help. It is necessary to create a republican government, which must be a solid one.

To vote for communism means to vote for democracy, the

republic and liberty.

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File - 199.05

Movimento Comunista d'Italia = Sorto clandestinamente nel 1943, prima
 del 25 luglio, per iniziativa di Enzo De Luca, vecchio comunista bor-
 dighiano. Professa un marxismo estremista di colore quasi anarchico,
 affine a quello dei vari movimenti trozkisti sparsi per l'Europa (nel
 l'Italia Settentrionale rappresentati dal Partito Comunista Interna-
 zionalista). Non risulta, però, che a differenza del movimento mila-
 nese, che rappresenta ufficialmente l'Internazionale trozkista, il
 M.C.I. abbia rapporti con tale Internazionale. Antistaliniano, il
 M.C.I. è in continua polemica col Partito Comunista Italiano, il qua-
 le nella polemica ha il gioco facile, dal momento che il M.C.I. -
 avendo attratto nelle proprie file molti elementi che più che al
 proletariato appartengono alla feccia ed addirittura alla delin-
 quenza (v. Gobbo del Quarticciolo) - al finire del periodo clande-
 stino (in cui questi elementi potevano anche essere utili) non se-
 n'è affatto liberato; anzi essi, approfittando dei poteri relativa-
 mente indipendenti lasciati alle sezioni regionali, hanno preso più
 sempre più piede. A questa immissione di persone infide hanno con-
 tribuito non poco due esponenti in vista del Movimento nel periodo
 clandestino, esponenti che il M.C.I. accolse nei suoi ranghi per
 bisogno di danaro: Umberto Salvatorezza (che portò mezzo milione per
 il giornale "Bandiera rossa") e Vincenzo Sofia Moretti (che portò
 una ventina di milioni: persona molto equivoca, ex spia tedesca nella
 guerra del 1915-18). Il Salvatorezza si staccò dal Movimento per fon-
 dare il Partito di Unione Proletaria. Il Sofia Moretti continua a
 far parte dell'esecutivo, ma si sta allontanando, per avvicinarsi
 alla monarchia. Altro che si è staccato dal M.C.I. è Natdeo Matteot-
ti, attualmente "leader" della gioventù socialista. Attualmente di-
 rigono il M.C.I. De Luca, Sbardella, Cretara, ed Antonino Pace, uomo
 di grande intelligenza e coraggio. In genere questi uomini - specie
 i primi due - possono essere definiti come degli idealisti e dei mi-
 stici: sono essi le prime vittime del M.C.I.
 Il M.C.I. conta molti aderenti nelle borgate più povere di Roma:
 Primavalle, Formello, eccetera. I giornali hanno parlato spesso

di atti illegali e violenti di aderenti del M.C.I.

Partito Socialista Rivoluzionario Italiano = Non è altro che la rappresentanza del M.C.I. a Napoli, dove ha sede in Via Port'Alba 33, e dove pubblica il settimanale la "Fiaccola". Esponenti in vista sono De Luca (trasferitosi a Napoli da Roma recentemente), Rocco D'Amico, Bra, Landolfi, Margiotta.

Niente a che vedere con l'omonimo P.S.R.I. dell'Italia settentrionale - Esisteva di questo movimento una sede a Roma in Via Nazionale 230 nei primi giorni della liberazione.

Frazione di sinistra dei comunisti e socialisti italiani - Svolge un'attività completamente clandestina, pubblicando i giornali "Il proletario" e la "Sinistra proletaria", datati da Bari ma probabilmente redatti a Roma o Napoli. E' l'unico movimento dell'Italia Liberata che abbia contatti con l'Internazionale trozkista e col Partito Comunista Internazionalista di Milano. Ne è a capo il vecchio duce del comunismo estremista italiano, Armando Dordiga, il quale in questi ultimi mesi si è molto agitato per tutta l'Italia meridionale al fine di costituire una concentrazione estremista formata da:

Movimento Partigiano, Movimento Spartachista, Movimento Comunista d'Italia, Partito Socialista Rivoluzionario.

Pare che il tentativo abbia trovato opposizioni nel M.C.I.

Comunque il Dordiga ha ancora un enorme ascendente sulla massa operaia.

Movimento Partigiano - Già Comando Superiore Partigiano. Fondato da elementi che nel periodo clandestino svolsero azione militare ed ora svolgono azione politica tendendo anch'essi una unificazione delle sinistre dissidenti. Pare che il M.P. attraverso il suo giornale "Il proletario" abbia svolto fatto o tentato ricatti tipo Salvatore. Ne sono esponenti Carlo Andreoni, un medico milanese, magnifico soldato, uomo veramente eccezionale, e Bruno Valerj, un aristocratico intellettualoide che per molti anni è vissuto a Roma ai margini dell'industria cinematografica. Quest'ultimo ha costituito un piccolo gruppetto (che non s'intende perché sia distinto dal M.P.) denominato "Movimento Spartachista".

Partito della Sinistra Cristiana - E' uno dei movimenti politici più seri ed importanti dell'Italia di oggi. Nato come "Movimento dei Cattolici Comunisti", esso procede da un'esigenza di rinnovamento della politica cattolica che ha origine in Francia nell'opera di uomini insigni come Maritain, Berdiaeff, De Bos, Mauriac, Daniel Rops ecc. Ha mutato nome in seguito ad atteggiamenti aspri del Vaticano, ciononostante è stato condannato anche recentemente dall' "Osservatore". Si è fuso coi quattro quinti del vecchio Partito Cristiano Sociale, guidati da SElvio Orlandi, mentre una piccola frazione non ha voluto fondersi. Ha attratto a sé alcuni dei migliori elementi della giovane cultura italiana ed influisce molto sul mondo della cultura. Conta su organizzatori sindacali di prim'ordine, come Adriano Ossicini. E' soprattutto un movimento di giovani? Sta per uscire il quotidiano "Voce operaia". Esponenti principali Franco Rodano, Lele d'Amico, Eduardo Rossi, etc. - tutte persone di prim'ordine e di alta levatura morale.

Partito Cristiano Sociale - E' rappresentato dalla frazione di destra del vecchio Partito Cristiano Sociale, guidata da Gerardo Druni, professore in lettere, uomo ambizioso e scontentatore. Pubblica il settimanale "Azione sociale" ma è ormai ridotto allo stato delle chiacchiere in famiglia.

Comunismo cristiano - Sorto a Napoli, dove ha sede in Via Cesare ²¹ ~~69~~, è un movimento assolutamente insignificante. Marxista, cattolico, anticlericale, tipica creazione di avvocatucci meridionali.

Federazione Comunista Libertaria - E' il classico movimento anarchico italiano, ormai ridotto allo stato della polemica giornalistica e dei piccoli comizi. Agisce d'accordo col Movimento Partigiano e col M.C.I. Fortemente appoggiato dal gruppo di "Democrazia Internazionale". Pubblica il giornale "Umanità nuova". Composto quasi esclusivamente di vecchi seguaci di Malatesta, dinamitardi a parole. ²⁰ ~~18~~ *Piazza Financiera*

Unione Antifascista Intransigente - Associazione di tutti coloro che non sono mai stati iscritti al P.N.F., e che sono fautori dell'epu-

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razione integrale, si esercita soprattutto nel mandare lettere anonime ai giornali contro questo o contro quello, e nel trovare aderenti nelle pubbliche amministrazioni al fine di agire sull'epurazione delle stesse. E' prevalentemente un movimento di impiegati, che si dichiarano "apolitici" (?). Sede in Via Toscana 5.

SECRET

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
A.P.O. 394
PUBLIC SAFETY SUP COMMISSION
SECURITY DIVISION

REF : SD/199.05

25 September 1945

SUBJECT : Movimento Comunista d'Italia

TO : G-2 (CI) AFHQ

1. The following information has been obtained from a reliable source on the present position of the above political organization.

2. The Chief offices of this body are situated at 230 Via Nazionale Rome.

3. A meeting of the newly formed Committee recently took place and the Chief item discussed was the falling off of membership and the immediate future of the party. It was pointed out to the Committee that the dissension in the ranks was brought about by the underground propaganda spread by the Partito Comunista Italiano alleging that its members were drawn from the fascist and criminal classes. It was alleged that the P.C.I. were assisted in this by the Russian Embassy. Source reports that some members of this Movement have been arrested in recent months for serious crime. In Rome its members are chiefly from the outskirts.

4. The aim of the P.C.I. is said to be to destroy the smaller Communist organisations and so add to their membership and strength.

5. It is said that BARDELLA Filiberto a former important member of the movement's Committee is one of the Communists' agents responsible for the spreading of the propaganda.

6. The Movement when first formed numbered 60,000 the membership today is reported to be 5,000. In Rome the number of sections has dropped from 38 to 14.

7. A certain POZZI Antonio has been responsible for the Party's propaganda programme in Sicily and in the Northern Provinces. A man named BARDELLA has been charged to further the Movement's interests, it is reported that both have failed. In Milan only a few members have been enrolled whilst in Trento the section hardly totals 100.

18

SECRET

11. Our informant states that POC the so called spiritual leader of the Movement told the Committee that due to unemployment etc., some civil disturbances might be expected in the ensuing months but these would be easily checked as the "popular masses" collaborated with the present Government, therefore any revolution of the proletariat had already failed in Italy.

12. The line of discussion taken at this meeting appears very similar to the aims and policy of the Federazione Comunista Libertaria (Anarchists).

13. The policy of the Movimento Comunista is atheistic, international and revolutionary. Its activities are somewhat mysterious and of a clandestine nature. Members are admitted after they have been vouched for by others already enrolled. Funds for its activities have been obtained from its members and from subscriptions extracted under the guise of anti-fascism.

14. The WEEKLY paper "BANDIERA ROSSA", published without authority, was used for propaganda. This paper has been out of circulation recently owing to lack of funds.

15. One section of this Movement known as "Movimento Comunista-Gruppo Rivoluzionario Indipendente" has ceased its central direction. It has its Hq. at Via Cincinnati, No. 36 or 37 Rome. This group has several hundreds of members drawn chiefly from the QUADRANTE-CAV and TUSCOLANO districts. It is reported that its members have shown a preference to follow individuals who have been expelled by the main Movement for indiscipline, as against being opposed to the Movement's policy. This group is a body of criminals and suspected persons living off the proceeds of crime.

16. The chief members of the above mentioned group appear to be:

- a. Avv. Salvatore RISO, who has already been charged with crime, an intellectual and violent Communist.
- b. Agg. Costantino ROSSI, recently arrested and charged with theft at the Senatoric Ramezzini.
- c. Giuseppe PALMIGLI, a building manager, fervent revolutionary and previously charged with crime.

17. The present leaders of Movimento Comunista d'Italia are:-

- a. PODI Antonio, an old revolutionary.
- b. BRACCIATTI Attore, an old Communist previously charged with crime.
- c. GRUPPA Francesco, painter a Communist revolutionary not very well known to party members.
- d. BUCCI Orfeo, a fervent Communist.
- e. Avv. SCOCI, lawyer and intellectual well considered by the Movement.

AHE/nh

S. J. Harvey
Major,
Security Division.

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15. One section of this Movement known as "Movimento Comunista-Gruppo Rivoluzionario Indipendente" has ceased its central direction. It has its Hq. at Via Cincinnatti, No. 36 or 3 Rome. This group has several hundreds of members drawn chiefly from the QUARTO ROMANO and TRICOLANO districts. It is reported that its members have shown a preference to follow individuals who have been expelled by the main Movement for indiscipline, as against being opposed to the Movement's policy. This group is a body of criminals and suspected persons living off the proceeds of crime.

16. The chief members of the above mentioned group appear to be:

- a. AVV. Salvatore RISO, who has already been charged with crime, an intellectual and violent Communist.
- b. Reg. Costantino RUGGI, recently arrested and charged with theft at the Senatorio Ramazzini.
- c. Ginsoppe PALMIGGI, a building manager, fervent revolutionary and previously charged with crime.

17. The present leaders of Movimento Comunista d'Italia are:-

- a. POCA Antonio, an old revolutionary.
- b. BARBISOTTI, an old Communist previously charged with crime.
- c. FRANCESCO, painter a Communist revolutionary not very well known to party members.
- d. MUCCI Orfeo, a fervent Communist.
- e. AVV. COCCO, lawyer and intellectual well considered by the Movement.

AME/nb

S. J. Harvey
S. J. HARVEY,
Major,
Security Division. 17

SECRET

Subject : Present position of the Italian Communist Movement
Hqs. at Via Nazionale 230 P.P.

SD 19905
File Movimento Comunista

Recently a plenary meeting of the new Committee of the Italian Communist Movement has taken place. Its program was the discussion about various questions which are dividing and compromising the very existence of this Movement.

The Committee pointed out the absolute dissension between this Movement and the Italian Communist Party, by noticed that in this last period the Communist Party, by means of an underground and hostile propaganda, has cast an unfavourable light upon the organization of the Movement, and denounced as fascist or criminals all the members. Such a manoeuvre was done with the authorities, the population and especially the Russian Embassy. Many members of this Movement have actually committed in these last months serious crimes against properties and persons, casting discredit upon the whole Movement. As a matter of fact many members failed in renewing their membership cards.

The interest of the Communist Party is to destroy the organization of the movement in order to induce all the members into its sphere and reach a number higher than that of other parties.

With this propaganda have been entrusted some Communist agents and members of this Movement, as SPARDELLA Filiberto, formerly important member of the Committee and now expelled.

When the Movement was formed there were 60.000 members. who at present have been reduced to 5.000 in all Italy.

In Rome the sections from 38 have been reduced to 14, since the others have passed ~~to~~ the other parties of the masses.

The propaganda spread in Sicily by the well known POCE Antonino and in the Northern provinces by SPARDELLA Filiberto has completely failed. In Milan only a few tens of members have been collected, in the Southern provinces there is the Section of Taranto alone with hardly one hundred members.

What is more serious and worrying is the financial position of the Movement. In fact it has no funds at present and a deficit of more than 300.000 Lires, so that the direction is unable for this month to pay the wages of the employees and to face ordinary expenses.

During the secret discussion SPARDELLA has been charged with the theft of several thousands of Lires, ~~whthax~~ having received instructions by the Communist Party and ~~he~~ served

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During the secret discussion SPARDELLA has been charged with the theft of several thousands of Lires, ~~without~~ having received instructions by the Communist Party and ~~he~~ served a foreign nation; CRETARA, another member of the Committee, with the theft of 30.000 Lires and the famous POCE with the receipt of 80.000 Lires, the employment of which he was not able to justify.

The help of the reds during these last months has given them only a few thousands Lires. Russia, evidently informed by her many agents and by the Communist Party, has suspended every financing. In such a way the movement lacks the main means for propaganda.

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The spiritual leader of the movement POCE informed the congress that in next months, owing to misery and unemployment, some riots were to be expected in various towns of Italy, which, at any rate, would be easily checked, since the parties of masses, which collaborate with the Government and those of the bourgeoisie do not exercise any control upon their own members. Therefore he pointed out that revolution and predominance of proletariat has already failed in Italy.

During the discussion the likeness of the opinions and aims between this movement and Communist Libertarian Federations (Anarchical Movement) has been noticed.

The program of the Communist Movement is still atheist, internationalist and revolutionary, with elements of the old Communist associations and the outcast opinions of the society. Its activity is rather mysterious and clandestine. Members are being admitted into this Association, each giving security for the other. Its charitable institutions (red help) are borned to its members and live on spoiliations, concealed under antifascism.

Its members in Rome are mainly from the ~~xx~~ outskirts. They own arms but less than the Communist Party.

I Its propaganda is being spread through the weekly paper ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "Bandiera Rossa", published without authorization. This paper has been suspended for some weeks, due to lack of funds.

In this Movement there ^{are} Youth Associations, with a Newspaper, called "Gioventu' Leninnista".

It advorses the present Government and the Liberation Committees.

Its present leaders are:

POCE Antonino - Old syndagalist - revolutionary - demagogue:
BARONCINI Ettore Old Communist - formerly charged with crimes -
He would like to get rid of this Movement, but he is induced to remain by his personal ambition.
CRETARA Francesco - painter. He leads a moral life. Communist revolutionary but little known by the members.
MUCCI Erfeo - thoroughly communist - demagogue.
COCCO - lawyer - intellectual man and well considered by other members.

One of the sections of the Communist Movement has ~~XXXXXX~~ been cut off from the central direction, constituting the "Communist Movement - Independent Revolutionary Group". Its Hqs. is in Rome at Via Cincinnato 36 or 6.

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BARONCINI Ettore Old Communist - formerly charged with crimes -

He would like to get rid of this Movement, but he is induced to remain by his personal ambition.

CRETARA Francesco - painter. He leads a moral life. Communist revolutionary but little known by the members.
MUCCI Orfeo - thoroughly communist - demagogue.

COCCO - lawyer - intellectual man and well considered by other members.

15

One of the sections of the Communist Movement has ~~XXXXXX~~ been cut off from the central direction, constituting the "Communist Movement - Independent Revolutionary Group". Its HQ. is in Rome at Via Cincinnato 36 or 6.

They ~~are~~ consist of a few hundreds of members, most of whom living in the zones, Quadraro-Cave and Tuscolano. As a matter of fact they left the central direction less owing to differences in the program than in order to follow representative persons, who had been expelled in consequence of their indiscipline.

This group has become the den of criminals and suspected persons, who are living on theft and other crimes.

AS

The above mentioned movement has no importance in political life but for the personal ambitions of its leaders/

Here is a list of the most important leaders:

Avv. RISO Salvatore - already charged with crimes - intellectual
/and sharp man. Violent communist.

Mag. ROSSI Costantino - He has no consideration. He was recently
arrested, charged with theft at the Ramazzini
Sanatory.

PAIMIDORO Giuseppe di Francesco - manager of building industry.
Fervent revolutionary. He has been charged with
several crimes.

The above mentioned people were members of the Communist
Movement and particularly of the Committee.

0904

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14

AS

Extract from the File 63603 N.52

PART III. A. CIVILIAN POPULATION → 199.05 12

1. The situation in the city still remains quiet with considerable sense of relief and an increase in general pro-Allied feeling with regard to the solution of the TRIESTE problem.

The Communists are still losing ground and are having difficulty in recovering from their embarrassment over the TRIESTE question.

Other parties, particularly the Democrazia Cristiana are losing no time to turn the situation to their advantage by pressing home a discreet propaganda campaign carried out largely, it is believed, by parish workers. From a good source it has also been reported that the clergy have also been urged to make every use to their vote when the time comes and that an attempt is being made to get the vote even of enclosed orders of nuns!

EXTRACT FROM FILE 636.3-41

C. SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT

iii. An interesting sidelight on the activity of the Movimento Comunista in Rome is provided by an incident reported in the press (*Italia Nuova* and *Il Tempo*) on 3 Mar 45. On 2 Mar 45 the Squadra Mobile raided premises in Corso Vittorio 349 occupied by the Movimento Comunista and found a gambling den combined with arrangements for clandestine prostitution involving minors. Some 300 people were found on the premises. Membership of the "club" costs 50 lire and 10 lire entrance fee was charged.

A contact states that this method of obtaining funds is one much favored recently by the Movimento Comunista which it is reported have been using section H's for such purposes for some time past.

A further indication of the unpleasant activities of the Movimento Comunista was also quoted by source. On 2 Mar 45 ten men appeared in a warehouse near Pza Navona and said that they were from the Movimento Comunista. They then carried out a search of the premises and examined the merchant's authority for holding stocks of food in his possession. The papers were all in order and the squad retired disappointed. Source states that it is a common practice for such persons to indulge in searches of this kind with a view to blackmail and seizure of property.

C O P Y

EXTRACT FROM FILE 610.1 N:4

Note on the Communist Organization and Propaganda in
Tuscany.

194.05

This note is based on conversations with the Communist leader Giuseppe Rossi and the industrialist Luigi Alemanni.

Rossi has been a Communist for many years and during the Fascist Period worked for the Communist party underground. He lived abroad in France, Switzerland and Germany and made many trips to Italy on behalf of his party. He belongs to the select band of thirty or forty thousand Italians who suffered persecution at the hands of Fascism for their political convictions. In his case it was a 15 years imprisonment sentence by the Special Tribunal of which he had served 9 when he was released soon after July 25th/46. He, with other Communists, was for a time in the Civitavecchia gaol in charge of the ill-fated Carrota who in September last was torn to death by a Roman mob. Rossi describes Carrota as having been a most inhuman prison director who delighted in imposing special punishments such as a bread and water diet on his prisoners.

Giuseppe Rossi is still a youthful man but his hair has gone quite white. He gives an impression of great self-confidence and quiet a lot of reserve.

He said that when Italian territory is liberated there is in every centre an already flourishing Communist organization. During the clandestine period the organizer were not sent to their own regions. He himself, being a Tuscan, was never sent to work in Tuscany but always carried on his propaganda activities in the North - Milan, Turin and the Veneto. At the present time he is leader of the party in Tuscany though he does not belong to the C.T.I.N. or any official organization.

Rossi was confident that Communists possessed an absolute majority of the workmen in Florence. He thought the party had a considerable following among the peasants in the province of Florence, more so that in Siena province where he declared the country districts were less well organized.

Luigi Alemanni is Managing Director of the Olivetti Typewriter Company in Tuscany. He is a Milanese businessman who throughout the Fascist dictatorship maintained an attitude of independence to politics, and who during the German occupation was in close contact with members of the C.T.I.N. by whom he is

leader Giuseppe Rossi and the industrialist Luigi Alemanni. Rossi has been a Communist for many years and during the Fascist Period worked for the Communist party underground. He lived abroad in France, Switzerland and Germany and made many trips to Italy on behalf of his party. He belongs to the select band of thirty or forty thousand Italians who suffered persecution at the hands of Fascism for their political convictions. In his case it was a 15 years imprisonment sentence by the Special Tribunal of which he had served 9 when he was released soon after July 25th/46, with other Communists, was for a time in the Civitavecchia gaol in charge of the ill-fated Carrota who in September last was torn to death by a Roman mob. Rossi describes Carrota as having been a most inhuman prison director who delighted in imposing special punishments such as a bread and water diet on his prisoners.

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Luigi Alemanni is Managing Director of the Olivetti Type-writer Company in Tuscany. He is a Milanese businessman who throughout the Fascist dictatorship maintained an attitude of independence to politics, and who during the German occupation was in close contact with members of the C.T.I.N. by whom he is trusted. After 25th July, he was appointed a member of the Committee of the Industrial Workers Trades Union, and during the period up to 8th September when the factory Councils were once again set up in many works he came into contact with many Communist leaders. He has maintained his acquaintance with a number of these up to the present time and claims that they discuss politics quite freely and openly with him. Some of these leaders and propagandists of the party have told him that the first requirement in their campaign to capture the workers is to divest themselves completely of their bourgeois education. Then they can go to work, and their first job as propagandists in the factory or village is to build up among the workmen a feeling of trust and comradeship for themselves. In this phase it is

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- 2 -

scarcely necessary for politics to enter in. You must find out the needs of the people and convince them that you serve those needs. Alemanni declared that the Communist propagandists he had met were mostly people of outstanding personality, dedicated to their cause, many of whom had served long prison sentences under Fascism. This in itself is of great advantage to them since it sets the stamp of sincerity upon their activities. In the early stages of the propaganda campaign, said Alemanni, the communist apostles insist that inscription in the party is not enough to merit the name of communist. Until the neophytes are willing to sacrifice time and take trouble, until they mark their spiritual adhesion by some form of continuous action, they cannot be communists. Until they have reached this stage they are mere sympathizers not "activists" of the party. Thus the early formation of the new party members consists of a strong personal attachment to a leader and a spirit of dedication which results in action. From this early formation the party undoubtedly draws its strong discipline and spirit of self-sacrifice. There follows a period of serious study of party politics and political tactics.

One point of great importance stressed by Alemanni is that all party organizers are now paid quite a good salary. They are made to overcome any scruples as to this, and it is found in fact that the paid organizer who can devote his whole time to the job secures much better results than the spare-time volunteer who can only serve intermittently. In this respect the Communist Party once again takes the lead over the other parties.

Alemanni did not hide his admiration for the devotion, self-abnegation and seriousness of the party leaders whom he had met. Not being communist himself, he deplored the fact that these good qualities would inevitably lead up to another dictatorship, for the felt that in Italy communism necessarily spells dictatorship. He was of the opinion, however, that the communists represented the most living political force in Italy today. Other parties like Christian Democrat might gather many votes through the force of habit or tradition, but none had the dynamism of the Communist Party.

199.05

Extract from Security Summary No. 7

(9)

(X) It is reliably reported that some of the more hot-headed elements among the Communist Libertari faction of the Movimento Comunista and of other extremist groups are contemplating the formation of a terrorist organisation to be called the "Movimento NICHILISTA Italiano" whose main aim would be the elimination of the members of the Royal Household. Information at present available is not sufficiently detailed to determine whether or not there is any serious foundation for this project. Enquiries are proceeding.

SD/199.05

Extract from Routine report 1 January 1945 to 7 Jan. 1945

8

SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS

The following information on Communist activity in the Italian Armed Forces has been confirmed from two sources.

"It is clear that the Communists are urging elements of the Party to enrol in the Italian Armed Forces with a view to carrying on subversive and seditious propaganda. It is understood that before enrolling these trusted elements receive special instruction from specialists on their secret mission. One of their first tasks appears to be that of trying to discredit the offrs, blaming on their corruption and venality all the inefficiency and disorganization of the unit. The Communist agents will spread rumours amongst the soldiers that the offrs are speculating on the rations and misappropriating them, and by these and other rumours will produce a general feeling of mistrust and hostility towards the offrs. Starting from this basis they will then pass to more direct Communist political propaganda but this will definitely be left till later and will be skilfully disguised. This forms part of the general plan whereby Communist hope to corrode the State organisation from within rather than attack it at present violently from without."

In the light of the above, it is interesting to note the following information (being passed in full to No. 1 SA (L of C) FSS) to the effect that on 31 Dec. 44 there was considerable disorder in the Italian combat group "LEGNAME" arising out of a question of leave permits to ROME which were first promised and then later denied. In this unit the soldiers are said to be very discontented with their offrs, especially the Colonel, and are reported to claim the abolition of the salute. They are also discontented with their rations and a large number of Northerners among them are reported to have said that they have no wish to fight. It is also believed that a delegation from this unit was to come to Rome to make representation to TOGLIATTI but it is not yet known whether this actually took place.

Extract from file No. 636/I

Movimento Comunista d'Italia. This dissident Communist organisation has as its programme the organisation of ITALY "for revolutionary action on a Marxist basis with a view to class revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Movimento is distinct from the Official Partito Comunista and is engaged in active independent propaganda. It has its own organisation of sections, consisting of Secretariat, Administration, Propaganda, Assistance and Discipline cells. A military cell is also reported to exist but is at present secret and never mentioned in writing. Circular letters addressed to all "Commissari Straordinari di Sezioni" by the Hq. of the Movimento and dated 18 July contain instructions to start a "Centre of Marxist Culture" and to take particular care in choosing the members of the propaganda cell. The Movement is reported to number 24 Sections in ROME and district with a membership of about 4,000. Its executive committee is said to consist of POCE, SEARDELLA, F. FERRO, BELLI, GRADARA, and VINCIGLIO. POCE Antonio, who is the chief organiser is a personal friend of ANDREONI Carlo of the Movimento Partigliano, the absorption of which into the Movimento Comunista is stated to be now the subject of negotiation.

COPY

Extract from file n. 636/3 sheet n. 15.

Subversive Movements.

A special report has been prepared and furnished on the origin & subsequent history of the ARMATA ROSSA which arose during the clandestine period as a unified military grouping of various Communist armed bands operating in the ROME Area. After the Allied occupation of Rome, the ARMATA ROSSA split on an issue with the Partito Comunista Italiano who objected to its connections with the dissident Movimento Comunista. As a result most of the ex-ARMATA ROSSA personnel, led by ANTONINO FOCÀ, went over to the Movimento Comunista, the backbone of which they now form. It is also extremely doubtful whether these elements gave up their arms under AMI proclamation.

As has been indicated before in these reports, the situation of the partisans in both AOT and EOT is one which deserves close examination, as it contains elements which may easily result in subversive tendencies. Various political bodies, realising the value of the partisan movement as a possible mass backing for the implementing of their own programmes, have been trying hard to obtain control of the Partisan elements in liberated territory. As is well known, the dissident Communists may already be said to be in control of the Movimento Partigiano. An attempt to counterbalance this is being made by the Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale which sponsors the official Associazione Nazionale Partigiani d'Italia. So far however this Association has made little progress beyond setting up a head office at the Campidoglio (principally because it contains few, if any, real Partisans). A reliable contact reports that a government circular was recently sent round to all Prefects instructing them to form sections of this Association in their respective provinces.

The whole danger of these manoeuvres both by GIN & leftist groups is that the ex-Partisans may be developed into, and possibly later used as, political party militia.

Attempts to counteract this tendency are being made by Doctor MORETTI of the Associazione Partigiani di Italia (a body distinct from the a/m Associazione Nazionale). Moretti sensibly points out that the real partisans, i.e. men who have actually fought the Germans & the Fascists clandestinely should be given some proper forms of recognition and assistance, without distinction of political tendency, and that, if rightly handled, this vast body of men whose partisanship is the best proof of their sincere anti-Fascism could be used as the best element of stability in resolving the present chaotic situation where an attempt is being made to restore Italy by parties which have little comparative numerical backing and no real roots in the country.

Another reliable source reports that from a conversation with a partisan who recently arrived from N Italy, he gathered that partisan elements in EOT have already set up the framework of a clandestine government which will be ready to operate when the territory is finally freed. This organisation does not recognise the authority either of TOULIATTI or NESSI. Its programme is republican with marxist tendencies and it admits of no compromise, however slight, with the Monarchy. Moreover in view of the reports received in North Italy of the treatment given by the Allies to partisans in AOT (i.e. disarmament & few words of thanks but little material assistance or moral support), this clandestine Northern organisation is becoming more and more anti-Allied.

Extract from file n.645.08 Security Summary n.6 page 7. (5)

The Movimento Comunista d'Italia This dissident Communist organization is reported recently to have absorbed the "Sinistra Proletaria" and the "Comunisti Libertari". The latter is a fanatical anarchist group of Trotskyist tendencies which aims at the destruction of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of things by Robin Hood tactics which provide for the "elimination" of rich landowners provided their wealth is put at the disposal of the proletariat.

Information now received indicates that SBADELLA and FERRO previously reported as members of the Executive Committee of the Movimento Comunista are one and the same person. SBADELLA signs the "tessere" of the Movimento and other official documents with the name "FERRO" presumably for motives of cover best known to himself.

Extract from file No. 636.3 sheet No. 24

MOVIMENTO COMUNISTA CRISTIANO. About a week ago arrived in Rome Padre Angelo D'ALESSIO, a cleric and professor of philosophy and theology, whose address is given as Via Cesare Rossariol 69, NAPLES, and who is reported to be the head of a curious movement entitled the above. Padre D'ALESSIO is reported to have been suspended from his priestly functions for his suspect political activity. It is reported that he came to Rome in order to make contact with the leaders of the extreme left parties. His talks with the official Partito Comunista were not successful as Padre D'ALESSIO could not by his very position accept the P.C.I.'s thesis that the Church should not be attacked openly at the moment. Padre D'ALESSIO therefore contacted the heads of the Movimento Comunista and the Movimento Partigiano where he was received with open arms and promised support for his movement, and was invited to undertake propaganda and organisational sections for the Movimento Comunista and the Movimento Partigiano in the NAPLES area. The figure of Padre D'ALESSIO is important as not only has he a powerful influence on the ordinary population but he is reported to be a man of considerable culture and political preparation and firmly convinced of the theory of Communist Christianity. He is also said to be running a clandestine newspaper. The Movimento Comunista Cristiano is distinct from the Movimento dei Cattolici Comunisti now known as the Partito della Sinistra Cristiana, to which it is openly opposed.

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Extract from file () 656/3 sheet n.22 -

C - Subversive Movements.

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

Indeed, "Il Partigiano" becomes more and more provocative and No. 16 dated 23 October 1944, was particularly anti-British in two of the front page articles, one entitled "Chiara e Monarchia" and the other referring to the Spanish troubles in which the following passage occurs (foot of col 4) - "Naturally we are only at the beginning. Our Spanish comrades will certainly have formidable obstacles to overcome since in favour of the Caudillo and his gang will not fail to be brought into play those same forcing influences which in Italy have entered the lists to support the Fascists and reactionary Monarchy."

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

Meanwhile it has been discovered that two of the names of the Executive Committee of the Movimento Comunista given in RS/1/19 of 23 October Part II Subversive Movements (i), are in reality one and the same man. The SPARD-MA referred to signs the tessere of the Movimento and other official documents with the name FERRO, a manoeuvre which has apparently adopted as cover in case of unpleasant surprises.

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Extract from file 636/3 sheet N. 21

SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS

A reliable informant has reported that during the course of a recent conversation with a senior Italian police official, the latter expressed his concern and that of the general staff of the police at the present situation in regard to the clandestine military organisation of the extremist parties. Apparently the police are convinced as indeed are most other security agencies - that these clandestine organisations are extremely active and that they dispose of considerable quantities of arms and man, which are either a residue from the old Partisan days or have since been collected from the battlefields round ROME.

The task of discovering where these arms are hidden is well nigh impossible as they are most probably not in dumps of any considerable number but are dispersed among the members of the organisations. In its present state the police force is highly sceptical as to its chances of dealing effectively with any serious outbreaks of popular violence. As has been noted before in these reports, the police themselves are only too conscious of their own weakness arising from the following causes - a) "epuration", which has either removed or threatens to remove large numbers of police officials, many of whom were, technically, extremely competent, b) the psychological inferiority due to popular hostility which brands the police either a Fascist or Monarchist when it attempts even minor operations like arrests etc. c) completely inadequate pay of even senior police officials. Speaking of the activity of the Communist Party, the senior officer referred to above said that the PCI had a police organisation more effective than his own.

Extrat from file No636.3 sheet No19

SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS

i Ref previous routine report this para Sec (1) on organisation of the Movimento Comunista. It has now been confirmed in conversation with a reliable contact that the "military cell" in Communist organisation does in fact exist but is at present secret, as was suspected, and is never mentioned in any written directives on organisation. The names of the executive committee of the Movimento Comunista are now given as POCE, STAMBELLA, PERRO, BELLI, GRADARA and NINGRINO. Further details are being sought about these personalities, Nos. 3, 4, & 5 of whom have not previously come to this Sec's notice.

ii Further to previous notes by this Sec to the effect that the Movimento Partigiano was coming more and more into the sphere of Communist influence through the contact of its leaders with those of the Movimento Comunista, the following information has been obtained. The Movimento Partigiano began as an apolitical association of ex-Partisans. However, under the guidance of the ANDREONI family and in particular of Luigi ANDREONI, a former member of the Socialist Party, a political programme was introduced, particularly after the resignation of ANDREONI from the Socialist Party which did not wish to be associated in any way with the Movimento Partigiano. According to Claudio ROCCHI, one of the chief assistants of ANDREONI, the political aims of the Movimento Partigiano are republican, and it is desired to absorb into the movement all those who are disillusioned with the six official parties, as well as all ex-Partisans, ex-soldiers and also repatriated prisoners. Like the Movimento Comunista it appears to be counting on the growing forces of disillusionment and discontent in the country and therefore tending more and more to the Extreme Left. At the moment Claudio ROCCHI who is also director of the newspaper "IL PARTIGIANO", is making a propaganda tour in the ABRUZZI. Incidentally, a recent leader in IL PARTIGIANO devoted to the theory of the legitimacy of popular risings in certain circumstances was perhaps the most outspoken and revealing indication of the tendencies of the Movimento Partigiano towards the extreme revolutionary left.

iii According to a fairly reliable source the present state of the Official Partito Comunista Italiano is the following in the provinces named: SALERNO 44 sections, total 5600 official members: PESCARA 33 Secs, total 4000 members: CAMPOTASSO 27 secs, total 2000 members: FOGGIA 67 Secs, total 7000 members. The previously noted propaganda tactics of the Extreme left, i.e. the exploitation and amplification of small incidents to increase tension and resentment in public opinion has been notably to the fore this week not only in the reporting by L'UNITA of the Palermo riot, which was presented as a spontaneous, murderous attack on the population (no mention was made of the preliminary bomb-throwing from the crowd as reported in other papers) but also in reports of other small local incidents, e.g. land disturbances at AVEZZANO which are all presented as violent attacks by the "forces of reaction" on the innocent proletariat, the whole campaign implying that before long such violence will have to be countered by violence,

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