

6.15 6.15 6.15 6.15 6.15
09.25 09.251 09.252 09.257 09.5

RAPPORT :
Van : KA-RA - H.
Aan : Hoofd B.
No. : E. 1127

9 MEI 1951.

5-5-51.

ACD/109129

OP KRAKT
ACD/ 46
DATE: 18-5-51
PAR: [initials]

ONDERWERP : Communisme in Italië, Duitsland (Russische zone), Duitsland, Triëst, Joegoslavië en het Verre Oosten.

U gelieve hierbij aan te treffen de copieën van 6 rapporten betreffende het communisme in Italië, Duitsland (Russische zone), Duitsland, Triëst, Joegoslavië en het Verre Oosten, die Sardine ons ter informatie en om te behouden deed toekomen.

bijlage rechtstreeks naar B getuurd

Korath 9.5.51.

D

Our representative in Trieste has forwarded the following report on the 3rd Congress of the P.C.T.L.T. which took place from February 9th to February 11th. Paragraphs 1 - 14 summarize the proceedings and speeches made, and paragraphs 15 - 26 contain comments on the main points emerging from the speeches. A list of the new Central and Executive Committees and Control Commission is also attached.

FREE TERRITORY OF TRIESTE

Political/Communism

Third Congress of the P.C.T.L.T.

1. General

895
The Third Congress of the Cominform Communist Party of TRIESTE was held on 9/11 February, two weeks later than was planned. It seems to have been a rather monotonous gathering, all the old slogans were repeated and the speeches of the delegates became so repetitive that it was necessary for the Chairman to ask the delegates not to copy the remarks of other speakers. There are, however, some conclusions to be drawn from the Congress. In the first place there was much more pro-Russian propaganda and STALIN worship was more in evidence. A new twist to the Peace Campaign, opposition to German rearmament, was given great prominence. There was a promise of greater activity against what were called the "Tito Fascists". Lastly there was more than the usual amount of breast-beating and self criticism. At the end of the proceedings a new Central Committee was elected and within a week a new Executive and Control Commission were nominated.

2. The Delegates

About 400 people were present on the first day of the Congress. Most of the fraternal delegates were from ITALY, headed by Giancarlo PAJETTA from ROME, Giacomo FELLEGRINI, from the Veneto Region, GADDI from PADOVA, LIZZERO, Secretary of the VENICE Federation, ZULIANI from UDINE and a delegate named Hans KAZIANKA: a Slovene speaking Austrian from CARINTHIA also attended.

3. The International situation and TRIESTE problem

VIDALI, the General-Secretary of the POTLT, began a three hours speech with a review of the international situation. This took the form of denunciation of the "war-mongering American Imperialism" but continued with a sharper attack on the "Tito Fascists" than usual and dwelt at some length on the danger to peace represented by German rearmament. Both VIDALI and PAJETTA went to great pains to convince their hearers that fidelity to SOVIET RUSSIA was the best form of patriotism. VIDALI then went on to connect the general international situation with the TRIESTE problem. Here again he merely went over the already familiar points of local communist policy; the application of the Peace Treaty, the unification of the two Zones, the evacuation of all occupation troops and the guarantee of "open city" status for the Territory. He did stress, however, that all of this was a struggle to eliminate one of the four hundred war bases of the imperialists.

4. The Peace Movement

Summarising the Peace Movement in TRIESTE, VIDALI announced that a new campaign is being organised against rearmament of GERMANY. He ordered all communists to support this and also to assist in expanding the "TRIESTE Open City" Movement which, he asserted, had not been sufficiently developed. He expressed the opinion that the Peace Movement in TRIESTE offered great possibilities but insisted that more propaganda should be devoted to the

/peaceful....

peaceful policy of SOVIET RUSSIA and the SOVIET attitude to the TRIESTE question. Above all the working classes must be given more information about SOVIET RUSSIA because, he said, from the better knowledge of the USSR among the masses, the party would obtain the maximum assistance. The "Tribuna della Pace" meetings are to be pushed, and particular attention is to be paid to interest non-communists in these discussions. Dealing with party activity in the Peace Committee, VIDALI was very critical. He said there were many deficiencies in the party, when dealing with the struggle for Peace. These deficiencies, he said, were, sectarianism, bureaucracy and general lack of comprehension by party members of the importance of the Peace Campaign. He quoted as an example of a good piece of work the action of the MUGGIA Communist Council, when it condemned the use of the atomic bomb and obtained unanimous approval of the Council for its resolution on this subject.

5. Internationalism

Great stress was laid upon the need to internationalise the proletariat especially in TRIESTE. Italian and Slav nationalists, cosmopolitan leaders of every kind who pass themselves off as "independentists", and the Titoists are united in the struggle against communism despite the contradictions which exist between them. Therefore, said VIDALI, the struggle to give an internationalist education to the working masses is one of our main tasks. This was particularly necessary to bridge the gap between the two trade unions. Only a single, central trades union, based on Italo-Slav brotherhood, is able to conduct victoriously the struggle of the working classes.

6. The Administrative Elections

This year, said VIDALI, we shall have the second electoral battle. Various parties are already busy and Allied Military Government is sympathetic to the Independent movement because victory for them would be a help not for the future solution of the FTT problem, but for the maintenance of the status quo. At the same time Allied Military Government is endeavouring to give proof of its good will towards the DE GASPERI Parties as a result of which more than 11,000 exiles will be included in the election lists. VIDALI stated that General AIREY wanted the elections not to take place under the sign of Italo-Yugoslav enmity, but that old rancours should be forgotten, having regard to the common interests of the free world in the face of the present menace. "This" said VIDALI "is the "new" factor of the elections. The real object is to isolate us, to unite Italian and Slavenationalists, Titoists and Independentists so that they may have a common platform - hate for Communism and Democracy, hate for peace". It is not yet possible to say how the various parties will line up, but among the Italians the only one to gain ground in the situation will be the MSI. Evidence seems to show that the republican and socialist democratic leaders of the PSU are a silent appendix of TRIESTE clericalism. The communist programme is fundamentally this: defence of Peace, Italo-Slav brotherhood, democratic liberties, freedom of labour. The basis of the communist electoral campaign is to be the work done by those groups of councillors and a precise programme of administration will be drawn up for each commune. The Communist Party is to make the Peace Movement part of its electoral campaign and in this it will be assisted by the pro-communist PSI.

7. The industrial situation

Most of VIDALI's speech on the situation of local industry was spent in underlining the fact that the present situation is transitory. He arrived at the conclusion therefore that the cause of the misery in TRIESTE is American policy, ERP, and rearmament. Communist Party industrial policy

/was to....

was to reconstruct the TRIESTE Mercantile fleet for service with its hinterland, so that TRIESTE could renew its industry and once again present its products on the international market.

8. Working Class unity

VIDALI asserted that great progress had been made regarding unity of action between the working classes. All trades union actions at present are taken on the basis of unity and this unity is always stronger at the base. The fundamental problem of the Communist Party therefore is the consolidation of trades union unity. The PCLIT has always agreed with the proposals made by Ernesto RADICH to the C&L Congress for a single trades union which would unify the working classes. The party has decided to be untiring in its efforts to arrive at organisational unification.

9. Mass Organisation

VIDALI deplored the sectarianism of many communist members in the field of mass organisation. He urged a policy of alliances through which the Communist Party would be able to induce all other workers to unite.

10. Party strength

The reorganisation of sections and increase in the number of cells had, according to VIDALI, enlarged and strengthened the party. The membership of the party had been trebled since the Cominform resolution. There were nevertheless deficiencies, and he said, it was his duty to discover the causes and find the remedies. The biggest deficiency was in the matter of criticism and self-criticism which should be made constructively. It was essential to recruit new members for the Party especially among the working people, women and youths. The party must struggle with all its energy against sectarianism. Another deficiency which had to be overcome was absenteeism, to remedy which, tasks must be better distributed, education must be developed, and meetings better prepared. Among the elementary tasks of a Party member the foremost is that of paying subscriptions and supporting the Communist Press. For the good functioning of the Party a lot depends on its cadres, in directing committees; from the centre to the base it must function well with efficient work commissions. Today the change in party formation had been radical. Thus the application of democratic centralisation and discipline has given the party the character that a communist party must have. Of vital importance for the party was the reinforcement of vigilance in the organisational, political and ideological fields. He urged that the party should react with greater speed to events, always be at the head of the working class, increase its combativeness and dedicate the maximum attention to the mass organisations.

11. Organisation

Alessandro DESTRADEI, Organisational Secretary, dealt with the problem of cadres and recruiting. Until November 1949 the party maintained an organisational structure based on regional committees and cells which at a certain time no longer responded to the organisational and political needs of the party which had increased its ranks and its influence. Therefore an organisation on the basis of sections was arrived at. This was more elastic and extensive and the party improved because of it. One of the fundamental tasks of the cadre is that of improving the links between the commissions of the central apparatus and the representatives on the sectional commissions. Methods of direction and work are also problems which must be

/dealt with....

dealt with by the cadre and in this respect it must be noted that the methods of some of the sections hinder and put a break on the development of the party organisation and the putting into practice of the party line.

A general defect that has been met with everywhere is that of absenteeism. The causes of this are bad preparation of meetings and the fact that these are often bureaucratic, long and inconclusive. Another cause is the bad distribution of the work and tasks and this has been eliminated in the sections where the problem has been faced and discussed. Another problem of the cadre is that of the functioning of the section committees on cell and work commissions, section and cell committees although they are also operative organs which must above all be organs of political direction. Yet in many cases this is not so.

The enlargement of the party and its reorganisation have given an impulse to the formation of new cadres which have been doubled in the section areas. New cadres have been revealed during the last two years and efficacious contributions to their formation has been given by the possibility of passing many of our cadres through the PCI central Cadre School. The setting up of sections has meant that there are dozens more collectors in the field. Concerning the Slovenes, the situation is not yet satisfactory although the party has stimulated the formation of cadres in this centre. One of the fundamental factors for a good cadre policy is that of revolutionary vigilance which must be extended all over the political, organisational and ideological plane but so that this may become properly assimilated it is necessary in its turn that there should be political and ideological education of the members of the party. Regarding recruiting, after the big action of July to September 1949, all sections and cells slept on their laurels not understanding that recruiting is a constant necessity for the party. The Identity Card campaign has also not been understood as an action to enlarge the party. There are great possibilities for a continuous influx of new members into the party, particularly among workers of the small and medium industries and Slovenes living on the Carso plateau, but to do this a fight must be made against the remnants of sectarianism which still permeates the party.

12. Finance and Administration

Aurelio URSIC, party treasurer and administrative secretary gave a very short report on administration and finance. Since the new party structure was inaugurated he said party members more or less adapted to administrative work were chosen. They lacked experience however and did not understand the importance of their job. And there still are more who regard the question of administration as something separate from the rest of the political and organisational work. This he blamed on pro-Titoism. Section administration has been radically changed and a filing system was set up with good results. The cadre section administration has also been modified but it is not good enough yet because it does not control the situation at the base. This is to be attributed to the fact that cadre commission in the section does not work well. The central administration on the agit-prop controls all the material put out but it has not yet taken enough care to give proper instruction to the section agit-prop representatives.

Thus it is impossible to find out where the material being sent to the Sections has gone and it is not regularly paid for. There are also deficiencies regarding the distribution of the press.

The financial administration following the new method of working gives an exact view of the section strength and of the number of contributors. An analogous situation exists in the sections through which the centre of the party has an exact record of the position cell by cell. In contrast to past years when it was difficult to know the percentage of absentions, nowadays we have a good knowledge of how much every member of the party pays in, and the expenses and assets for every section. These results have been possible

/because....

because those representing the administration of the sections have had better relations with the cell collectors and because in some cells it has been possible to set up a net of collectors which has given good results. Although we have set the subscription quota at a maximum of 100 lire and a minimum of 10 lire, in many sections this quota has been surpassed". He then went on to give examples from various sections.

Another of the gains of the party has been the raising of the cadres. It should be noted that before, in XII Rione, we had seven active administrative sectors, today we have 21 and between cell cashiers and collectors we have put 307 comrades to work. Previously this figure was 125. Despite these good results not all members understand the necessity of collectors nor do they feel the usefulness of these people with all party members. To try and correct this state of affairs seventeen meetings have been held with section administrative representatives and twentyeight meetings in the sections with the chief cell collectors. Generally speaking we have noted more activity and interest on the part of the sections and administrative secretaries, not only regarding subscriptions but for the administration generally. In this field the deficiencies of the following sections should be noted:-

PROSECCO, KOLONKOVEC, MADDALENA, DOLINA.

In the sections we have noticed reduction of expenses from 10 to 50 per cent which is due to a slimming of the party apparatus and it is a fact that there are no longer useless expenses and that there is more care of party funds. He then went on to condemn sectarianism which he said was rife. Regarding the press he said when an appeal for "Il Lavoratore" was made in 1949, 2,184,886 lire was collected. Regarding the Press in 1950 he complained that not all comrades were interested. Nevertheless some people contributed more than the set figure.

He then gave the figures for the year. The balance sheet is as follows:-

<u>Credit</u>	<u>Debit</u>
Money from Party	Press & propaganda ... 10,542,860
subscriptions 8,924,420	Organisational
Gifts, Festas and	expenses 2,242,300
subscriptions 4,424,305	Miscellaneous 1,433,105
Credit for material	
issued and	14,218,265
miscellaneous 1,184,350	
	Balance 14,535,255
Credit: 314,990	

In general in 1950 expenses increased by 5%. Miscellaneous expenses were reduced by 9% and costs of propoganda increased 14%.

At the last Congress the objective was to build up the administration and find useful cadres for administrative work and not to reduce income despite the difference in subscriptions. Something has been done. They have consolidated the administration in the center in the sections and in the cells. Now the objective is:-

- (a). to increase the number of collectors and give them proper orientation fixing periodic meetings,
- (b). to try and eliminate completely non-payment of subscriptions
- (c). to increase voluntary contributions and to seek party supporters.

/To realise....

To realise this objective it is necessary that the administrative secretaries in the section keep in close contact with the chief collectors of the cells and see that of every five party members, one becomes a collector.

13. The struggle against TITO

SISKOVIC began his report on the struggle against TITO with the following statements. "The function of Titoism is that of a watch-dog of imperialism, its most advanced agency for espionage and provocation". He then went on with what purported to be a criticism of Tito ideology, he quoted the renegades from BERNSTEIN to BUKHARIN and from KAUTSKY to TROTSKI. SISKOVIC divided the action against the Titoists into three phases. The first was throwing them out of all sections of the party at the time of the Cominform resolution. The second, general action against Titoism in TRIESTE and more particularly in ALBANIA, HUNGARY and BULGARIA and their dismissal from international trade union organisations. SISKOVIC did not say what the third phase is and it is presumed that he had forgotten it. In conclusion he said Tito-Fascism is not a plant of YUGOSLAVIA. It is a plant of foreign origin and cannot grow nor flower on Yugoslav soil. "We are convinced of this since the Yugoslav people is on the way to mete out social justice to these vile assassins and spies in the service of the Anglo-American war mongers and we must help them by intensifying the struggle against the TRIESTE agents in BEIGRADE. We are certain that very shortly YUGOSLAVIA peoples will free themselves from Tito-Fascism."

14. Yugoslav Zone

A speech on the Yugoslav Zone was given by POSTOGNA who gave a creditable imitation of any CLN of ISTRILA orator but whose invective against TITO was more powerful.

15. There is little to be said about the delegates except that the choice of KAZIANKA from CARINTHIA enabled the party to put the anti-TITO Slovenes on show. PAJETTA made a very brief reference to MAGNANI and CUCCHI.

16. It was obvious from the remarks of both VIDALI and PAJETTA on the international situation, however, that they were taking great pains to avoid any suggestion of fidelity to RUSSIA above that of the individual country. They tried to get around this by emphasising that the best form of patriotism i.e. revitalising national economy and instituting democracy, was to be found in service under Russian leadership. There was nothing new in Communist declaration of policy on the Free Territory.

17. The rearmament of GERMANY is being given considerable prominence at the moment and is being used by the Peace Committee. It would appear that this campaign is likely to die down soon after the meeting on the question between the Great Powers. From then on it is expected that TRIESTE "Open City" will become one of the main Peace slogans. In connection with the Peace Movement the increased emphasis on Russian leadership is interesting and in this connection it is worth noting that the recent interview given by STALIN to "Pravda" reporter is being printed in ITALY and very widely diffused. It would seem that STALIN's speech might well mark the beginning of an even more intensive Peace campaign.

/18. Internationalism

18. Internationalism

It is difficult to see how VIDALI is going to reconcile internationalism and Italo-Slav brotherhood with his attacks on the Slav communists who were so well known in TRIESTE until two years ago. Among some of the party leaders there is some cynicism on this as there is also on the question of the defection in the PCI. The decision to continue the attempts to penetrate the pro-Italian Camera del Lavoro union is a triumph for Ernesto RADICH. Before the Congress RADICH's opponent of the Sindacati Unici, Benomo TIMINEZ was hostile to RADICH's policy and wanted communist political direction in all trade union disputes. For the moment RADICH's moderation has triumphed but this is only because of the weakness of the SU and the fact that were RADICH to be thrown out it would very nearly ruin the SU.

19. Regarding elections VIDALI summed up the position fairly accurately. It does seem at present that the only Italian Party which will gain in strength will be the neo-Fascist MSI but here he may be underestimating the capacity for intrigue possessed by the Demochristians. The communist party election programme is much the same this year as it was in 1949 except that the Peace Campaign is to play a more prominent part.

20. Dealing with the industrial situation VIDALI was correct in asserting the present situation in TRIESTE was transitory but instead of supplying a reasoned remedy he was merely demagogic.

21. The mass organisations referred to by VIDALI are still moribund and only in the Communist Youth organisation has there been a serious effort at revival. Here, as in every other phase of party activity the deficiency was acknowledged to be sectarianism.

22. Regarding the strength of the party VIDALI was fairly frank. The party has a membership of about 10,000 and the worst deficiency, as revealed by informants in cells and sections has been and still is absenteeism. The POTLT leaders' remarks indicating that the biggest deficiency was in criticism and self-criticism must be taken as part of the current tendency to confess everything as a fault which is not in accordance with the line laid down by MOSCOW. There is, of course, nothing new about this self-criticism as a part of communist conduct but it is felt that the present emphasis on this aspect of communist life is due to the critical attitude of the Russians regarding the conduct of communist affairs in the non-satellite countries. The remedy for absenteeism through the better distribution of tasks and the development of ideological education has been a feature of party speeches for some time. It is obvious however, that the number of real activists has not increased with the enlargement of the party and it is to remedy this situation that party tasks are to be more widely allotted. Subscriptions and income generally are of particular importance now that a new headquarters has to be found. It is significant that with all the boost for a more efficient party that VIDALI should complain that it reacted slowly to event and this would appear to infer not only an excess of bureaucracy but a fall in morale.

23. DESTRADE was much more forthright than VIDALI on the evidence of reorganisation. He, too, lamented the fact that the main defect was that of absenteeism but his remedy was the same as VIDALI's. It seems from DESTRADE's remarks that the cadre problem is far from solved. This is the first time, incidentally, that there has been a public announcement of the fact that cadre members have been passed through the Central PCI Cadre School in ITALY. One of the most important things perhaps was the mention of "revolutionary vigilance" the name for an inter-party police organisation which has the task of seeking out "deviationists" and generally informing on the actions of other party members. It will be remembered in this

connection that the PCI answer to the recent defections is increased "revolutionary vigilance". On the subject of recruiting, DESTRADI was very circumspect. Another lesser member of the party rather indiscreetly revealed that although 400-plus members were recruited during a year, about 400 others ceased to be members after a short time. 08
87

24. It seems extraordinary that only during the last year has the communist party set up a proper filing system. By inference the cadre administration is not yet efficient as it does not control the membership: the Agitation and Propaganda section is not efficient because it cannot account for expenses on its material at the lowest level, nor apparently does the agit-prop section have the ability to control press distribution. The increase of collectors and cashiers means that more people have been enlisted for the purpose of surveillance and checking on fellow members. URSIC's remarks on the Press in 1950 tend to confirm reports in this office that it was far from a success even though the 'month' lasted seven weeks.

The party balance sheet is interesting in its omissions, for instance, the accounts of 'Il Lavoratore' and 'Delo' for the last five months in the year show that the principal newspapers alone had to be subsidised to the extent of six million lire. The subsidy to 'l'Unita' is excluded as it can be assumed that losses on 'l'Unita' are covered by MILAN. On this basis alone more than the amount allotted to press and propaganda was spent in subsidy. This figure, therefore, does not take into account the very considerable sums spent on pamphlets such as VIDALI's study of Titoism, manifestoes, posters and other propaganda material. Organisational expenses at 2,240,000 indicate that paid party members i.e. VIDALI, BERNETICH, JAKSETIC, RADICH, TOMINEZ, MUSLIN, URSIC, JURAGA, POGASSI, and SAJOVEZ - to give at least ten of them, are in receipt of less than 19,000 per month each. This is demonstrably insufficient. It will be noted that even on his own arithmetic URSIC, or maybe the typographers, cannot add up. It must be concluded therefore that URSIC's accounts were window dressing.

25. SISKOVIC's speech on the struggle against Tito-Fascism was rubbish. It undoubtedly went over big with the crowd at the meeting but ideologically and factually it had nothing to support it.

26. Source's own feeling is that from VIDALI's point of view it was a good conference. Everybody said what they should have said and from VIDALI downwards they all appeared to be afraid. Many, if not most, of the statements on communist party progress were it is thought, made to impress the delegates and those members of the general public who sympathise with the party. There has been a lot of whistling in the dark by the communists.

27. The following new committees were elected:-

Central Committee

Vittorio VIDALI	Vera HUSU
Maria BERNETICH	Giorgio JAKSETICH
Stane BIDOVEC	Venceslav KRECICH
Angel BLAZINA	Albert KOSUTA
Giuseppe BURLO	Mario KOLENO
Arturo CALABRIA	Zora LEGISA
Pina CATTARUZZI	Dusan LOVRIHA

Maria CASALI
Slava CEBULEC
Giordano CERMELJ
Lino CREVATIN
Mario DESANTI
Alessandro DESTRADI
Oscar FERLAN
Leopoldo GASPARINI
Francesco GASPERINI
Dario GRUSOVIN
Giuseppe GUSTINCICH
Ado SLAVEC
Bonomo TOMINEZ
Spartaco VALENTINIS
Laura WEISS

Executive Committee

Vittorio VIDALI
Maria BERNETICH
Alessandro DESTRADI
Giorgio JAKSETICH
Karel SISKOVIC
Laura WEISS

Control Commission

Maria BERNETICH
Giuseppe GUSTINCICH
Spartaco VALENTINIS

Henrik MAJALAN
Luigi MARKOVICH
Nereo MARTINELLI
Gastone MILLO
Giordano PACCO
Alois PIRC
Giuseppe POGASSI
Giovanni POSTOGNA
Ricciotti SANTALESÀ
Emilio SEMILLI
Darel SISKOVIC
Albin SKRK
Aurelio URSICH
Pietro VIOLA
Armida ZOBEC

Angal BLAZINA
Lino CREVATIN
Leopoldo GASPARINI
Giuseppe POGASSI
Bonomo TOMINEZ

Leopoldo GASPARINI
Bonomo TOMINEZ