

nating in their divergence. For the Americans, Nazism was the original menace. Under John McCloy, the Americans have probably waged the most sincere and effective anti-Nazi campaign of all the occupying powers. With the industrial recovery, so largely financed and controlled by the United States through its critical years, has come a seeming political healthiness that has made Americans—at least on high levels—consider their policy successful. Americans have ceased to shudder at the words “Dachau” and “Prussian militarism”; they turn to face the greater immediate menace to the east.

The French attitude is different. Remove the Nazis, say the French, and you still have Germany. The term they use to describe what has happened in Germany since the war is one they borrow from the *avant-garde* German intellectuals: They call it the Restoration. What has been restored is the solid, meaty *bürgerliche* Germany of pre-Hitler days, where democracy functioned through interlocking systems of authority. In form, the German



trade unions are the most democratic in Europe; in practice, they are the most authoritarian and boss-ridden in the western world. The churches—both Evangelical and Catholic—rest on pyramids of authority, as in a lesser way do schools and families. The Restoration has restored, too, the sense of Germany’s latent greatness, the sense of *Deutschtum* that goes back a century. Germany has no borders today, and thus the Restoration mind preoc-

cupies itself with the question of borders. The French are certain that the Restoration mind will demand the return of the Saar; beyond that, say the French, the Restoration seeks Austria and the eastern provinces; and beyond them, perhaps Africa, unless the Schuman Plan proves a satisfactory outlet.

### The Great Gamble

The Americans in Bonn are inclined to agree with the French that this summer is the time of the great gamble. They disagree only on what the wager is. The Americans feel that the gamble is on Russia—the peace contract is a bet that the Russians will stand still while the West stops to pick up the prize for which the war was fought. The French feel that the gamble is on Germany—it is a gamble that Germany will not sweep its new allies into war for the recovery of lost territories; it is a gamble that German co-operation is permanent and will not be replaced by arrogance and dominance ten years hence. It is not easy to say which version is correct.

# Italy: A Fighting Chance

CLAIRE STERLING

**A**N HOUR after the urns were sealed in the recent Italian elections, Prime Minister De Gasperi left for Paris to sign the treaty for a European army. “No matter what happens,” he told reporters at the airport, “we will never take a step back.”

When he returned he found that some of his supporters were indeed contemplating several steps back—back from the Atlantic alliance and back toward the prewar past.

These were local elections for town and provincial councils, but they were regarded universally as a trial run for

the Parliamentary election next year. The vote, largely in central and southern Italy, confirmed and heightened a trend that had been registered in the north during a similar test last spring. The combined returns indicate that, although the Communists are still far from winning an absolute majority, they have been inching up steadily since 1948, when the present Parliament was chosen. In the face of this, the formerly powerful democratic coalition headed by the Christian Democrats is rapidly losing its strength: Large sections of its followers are turn-

ing to a neo-Fascist movement which, declaring itself “equidistant” from democracy and Communism, attacks the western powers with as much enthusiasm as it does the Soviet Union.

The neo-Fascist victories in three of the most important southern cities—Naples, Bari, Foggia (population of Naples alone: 1,029,805)—have given the impression that the right wing in Italy has now become the Third Force and that it holds the balance of power. This is not yet true; it can become a fact only if the Italian democrats and their friends concede defeat.

According to figures released by the Ministry of Interior, a Parliamentary election taking into account the results of the municipal elections of last year in north and central Italy as well as this year's results in the south would produce the following results:

Leftist Bloc.....	8,000,000
Christian Democrats.....	8,020,000
Minor democratic parties.....	3,200,000
Neo-Fascists and Monarchists .....	2,500,000
Scattered independents and blank ballots.....	2,000,000

By putting up a stiff fight, the democratic parties could win absolute control of the next Parliament. The margin would be small; the Ministry of Interior puts it at 51.5 per cent. The Christian Democrats are no longer the majority party that they were in 1948, but it is also true that together with their allied Center parties they have more than a fighting chance to keep control.

Under the present circumstances, the Communists would probably move up a little more by next year. During last month's campaign, they reached hard for the independent voters. The hammer and sickle disappeared, along with the party's customary truculence; and Communist candidates were carefully camouflaged and purposefully mingled with aspiring officeholders, aging Parliamentarians preaching peace and "neutrality," uncompromising anti-clericals, and former anti-Fascist Partisan fighters who were stirred at the threat of neo-Fascism posed by Mussolini's old disciples. The Communist tricks had some measure of success, particularly among anti-Fascist voters.

As things stand now, the Left has very little chance of maneuvering itself into power. The slim chance that it might, however, is a terrifying prospect in democratic circles. It is even more paralyzing to Luigi Gedda's Catholic Action, desperately bent on avoiding a Communist Government's ruling the nation from Rome, the world capital of the Church. It was this fear that led Gedda to urge the Christian Democrats to negotiate some kind of alliance with the National Front (neo-Fascists and monarchists), even before the May elections. The effort failed, but it is being renewed.

It is a matter of serious doubt whether a stratagem of this sort would not

actually help the Communists. Neither the neo-Fascist M.S.I. (Italian Social Movement) nor its partner, the P.N.M. (National Monarchist Party), would agree to be used to serve as a sort of subordinate rear guard in an anti-Communist coalition: Their objective is not collaboration with the democrats, but taking power away from them. Moreover, they are queer kinds of anti-Communists. Their propaganda line is sometimes indistinguishable from that of their Red opponents. During last month's campaign, their speakers jeered the Christian Democrats and their "paymasters, the barons of Manhattan," and their candidates went so far as to form joint lists of candidates with the Communists in seventy small towns to defeat the Government bloc.

Above all, the inclusion of one or both of these parties in a right-wing coalition Government would almost inevitably mean the end of Italy's collaboration with the West; at best it would make this collaboration entirely nominal.

For the leaders of the new Fascist movement have consistently voted against the Atlantic alliance in Parliament. They have no qualms about proclaiming, as one of them actually did, that what they want is to "have the two rivals—the United States and Russia—destroy each other."

The M.S.I. paper *Il Secolo* said, shortly after this election: "The Americans, or rather, the small ruling class

which makes policy for that empire, are absolutely in the dark about Italian affairs. Their informers are correspondents . . . who are mummified anti-Fascists, for whom Italy is only a place for military tourism. . . . In spite of the fact that America has imposed the most frightful policies on Europe, the rulers in Washington will soon learn that in the breasts of conquered nations, the generation which fought the war in 1939 and lost is now allied with a younger generation that will wrest justice from their conquerors."

### 'Mussolini Was Right!'

It is only natural that, if the M.S.I.'s ambition is to "avenge Italy and rebuild her empire," it must regard Britain, France, and America as Italy's natural enemies—and it does. According to Augusto de Marsanich, one of the outstanding M.S.I. leaders, Mussolini was entirely justified in going to war against England, because it was "determined to keep Italy out of her rightful place in Africa"; France had been trying persistently to "shrink Italy's northern borders"; and America "had no business interfering." The Atlantic pact, de Marsanich concluded, is an unfortunate example of this irrepressible interference, and "reflects all of Roosevelt's efforts to dominate European affairs."

What the M.S.I. is really heading for is an aggressive Latin alliance, starting with Perón, and, as its news-



paper says, "going on to humble Portugal, extending to heroic Spain, and finding its animating spirit in Italy, with a régime of authority and order which will give Italy unquestioned supremacy in Europe."

For the time being, however, the M.S.I. is willing to "consider" supporting the Atlantic pact. Its conditions have been outlined explicitly by Valerio Borghese, M.S.I. president and former commander of the 10th M.A.S. Flotilla (Mussolini's body of naval shock troops which harassed the Allied forces until the last day of the war). Borghese is referred to in his party's press as "the glorious violator of all British ports in the Mediterranean, and the great sinker of American and British battle-ships."

He demands the following terms from the West: complete abrogation of the *Diktat* (peace treaty); satisfaction of Italian rights, "starting" with Trieste—which he thinks should be seized by the Italian Army, anyway; return of all Italy's former African territories and restoration of its "natural borders"; abolition of the European army; the right to full rearmament within Italy, leaving it free to create sixty to seventy military divisions [*sic*] entirely under its own control.

### The Royalists

The case for and against the other member of the National Front, the P.N.M., is somewhat less distinct. The latter claims to be interested solely in restoring the Royal House of Savoy by national referendum, as it was deposed by national referendum in 1946. Since it has this presumably respectable purpose, and is much less rancorous than the M.S.I., many people have assumed that it can be counted on the democratic side.

No one, including the P.N.M.'s leaders, believes that a monarchy can be reinstated in Italy. If there is any chance at all, however, it lies in arousing the Italian people to such a mystical pitch of nationalism that the House of Savoy can ride in as a symbol of the country's past glory.

While this party counts heavily on the profound monarchist sentiment prevailing in southern Italy, its success in the last election was largely due to the energy and personal treasury of its new president, Achille Lauro. Lauro owns a huge merchant fleet and is the

richest man in the south. When the Americans landed in Naples, they sent him to the Padula Concentration Camp for his complicity with the Fascist régime; and he now claims that this experience forced him into public life. "Suffering refines the spirit," he explained to crowds of Neapolitans last month, "and I meditated profoundly in Padula about how to make the life of my people a little easier."

Lauro's first step in this direction was to form an electoral alliance with the M.S.I. last year. He says it was formed "on the common ground of invigorating the Italians' sense of nation,



after a lost war and the [Allied] occupation."

The P.N.M.'s leader claims to support the Atlantic pact, and to have already "persuaded" the M.S.I. to support it with him. Like Borghese, however, he regards the pact as offering Italy bargaining power for reacquiring its lost empire. "The West needs us," he says, "and we must decide who can give us most before making alliances with anybody." His rehearsal of Italian demands is the familiar one: Trieste, Pola, Istria, Fiume, and Dalmatia (which would mean war with Yugoslavia), Briga and Tenda (war with France), and the African colonies (war with practically everybody, including Ethiopia again). "Our war with Ethiopia was not imperialism," he says. "It was a just war, to give vent to our

excess population. . . . Now, we must submit to . . . humiliations. . . ."

### Dangerous Alliance

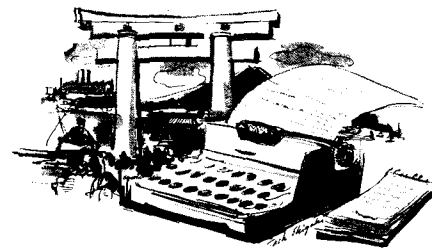
If the Christian Democrats want Lauro's assistance, they will have to accept at least part of his terms. He will insist on maintaining his alliance with the M.S.I. Indeed, that is just what happened before the last municipal elections in Naples. At that time Lauro refused to join the Christian Democrats and break with the M.S.I. He won the election.

Although the rightist front did not get the four million votes that Lauro expected last month, it marked an enormous progress over the last election. In the opinion of both M.S.I. and P.N.M. leaders, all they need now is time. Anti-Communist fears might throw the country into their laps. If not, they count on finding new supporters in practically every layer of Italian society—aristocrats who want a royal court to go to; rich landowners who are annoyed with democracy for daring to tamper with their estates; a fearful middle class which welcomes "protection" against the Communists; young intellectuals who want to feel courageous; poor peasants who dream of prosperity in the colonies; and the very, very poor who miss the pomp of a king, the splendid, useless monuments of a dictator, and the vaguely remembered paternalism of both.

The National Front has aggressiveness; although so far only a few of the great Italian industrialists have given it their support, it has means. But there are still millions of Italians—Christian Democrats, right-wing Socialists, liberals—entirely willing to resist Fascism by force of arms. They did it once before when they fought Mussolini's "Republican" Army, which was supported by the Germans.

As of now, Gedda and the right-wing leaders of the Christian Democratic Party are trying desperately to bring into their fold as many monarchists—or neo-Fascists—as they can. It is a very risky undertaking, for De Gasperi, the only Italian leader the western Allies trust and respect, can never consent to head a right-wing coalition. Moreover, there is a chance that every right winger who is persuaded to join forces with the Center will drive an erstwhile middle-of-the-roader toward the Communist Left.

# Press Freedom Vs. Army Regulations



ALLEN RAYMOND

A NEW SET of regulations governing the accreditation of war correspondents to our military commands overseas and their operations in the field was drafted not long ago by the Defense Department. According to Senator Pat McCarran (D., Nevada), this new code, which is to go into effect this year, "so impinged upon human liberties and human rights" that it should have been referred for possible revision to the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which he is chairman.

"I hope that members of the press will read these regulations carefully, so they will get some idea what they may be up against if their duties take them afield with the Armed Forces," the Senator said in an interview with the United Press. "If . . . a correspondent should be arrested . . . under [this code] he cannot be admitted to bond or brought before a grand jury for indictment, nor does he have any unrestricted right of appeal on conviction by the court of military appeals." The Senator is gravely concerned because correspondents have been made subject to military law when serving with our troops overseas.

I read the Senator's grave warning at first with some bewilderment and then with a series of chuckles. I happen to have been a war correspondent, serving with several branches of U.S. and other armed forces in combat areas for several years. I had always supposed myself to be subject to martial law, since no other American law rules in a combat area where American troops are fighting.

Several times during those years I

heard that one or another of my fellow correspondents had been threatened with court-martial. I never heard of anyone actually being tried, however, by any military court, even though it seems to me now that possibly a few of my colleagues should have been.

But as an ex-war correspondent I have followed Senator McCarran's advice. I have read this new code a half dozen times, and have checked on its contents with some top-flight newspapermen who as Reserve officers helped to frame it, and with other correspondents and with officers in the Pentagon.

## Classification vs. Curiosity

Probably the new code is as fair a compromise as can be reached at this moment between military and civilian minds. But it still seems to me to hold

several provisos that are completely unrealistic in the light of my wartime experience—some fantastic and funny, and others absolutely contrary to the public interest.

Take this one, for instance: Correspondents "are expected . . . to refrain . . . from discussing or soliciting information known to be classified." In my view, any correspondent once accredited to our armed forces after receiving the approval, as he must, of five security agencies would be derelict in his duty to his employers if he did not find out all he could about what was going on all around him that might conceivably be in the public interest. Just because some Army officer has momentarily classified some fact as **SECRET** certainly should not halt the normal operation of a reporter's curiosity. If Army officers really expect reporters to refrain from asking all questions that seem to them pertinent, they are going to be grievously disappointed—under this new code or any other under which nonmilitary reporters work in the field.

Some officers of the armed services, in dealing with a great many matters having nothing whatever to do with national security, have taken the attitude that these are none of the public's business. They have tried on occasion, for instance, to keep from newspaper readers the price they pay for military supplies, which is certainly the public's business.

Correspondents who have long dealt with military officers could fill volumes with instances of the abuse of the secrecy power. Recently I heard of one

