

Our English Section

Answer to Musatti

When the Fascist regime collapses in Italy a crisis of first magnitude will open up. The more one tries to figure out what will happen then, the more one is struck by the enormous difficulties which will confront those on whose shoulders the burden of leading post-war Italy will fall. Such a burden will not be lighter than the one which now rests on Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin or Chiang Kai Shek.

The demobilized Italian soldiers will not only have suffered the horrors and deprivations of war, but will come back humiliated by the military defeat. If in the last war which ended victoriously the popular masses remained resentful against the upper and middle classes who had taken them into the war, what will happen this time when not only the lower classes but the great majority of the middle class have been bludgeoned into war at the side of Hitler? Those objective conditions which, according to historians and politicians — Lenin included — did not exist in Italy in 1919 and 1920 will most likely exist in 1944 or 1945.

The Government which will take Mussolini's place, either conservative, democratic, or communist, will find Italy on the brink of starvation, will have to fight epidemics. Financial bankruptcy, agrarian problems, first of all the old promise repeatedly made in time of stress of "Land to the peasants" and never lived up to will haunt them. There will be the problem of relations between capital and labor in the industrial field to be faced. Such institutions as Unions, Cooperatives, Societies, Chambers of Labour, built up in thirty years of working-class movement and destroyed by Fascism will have to be rebuilt. In case a democratic Government succeeds Mussolini, the leaders will have to revive political parties and a Free Press. Sweeping changes will have to occur and a democratic life will have to be infused in the Judiciary, in the Armed Forces, and in the different branches of a corrupted bureaucracy. The loyal Government will have to be reorganized from scratch, because the population has been accustomed to depend on "Prefects" and "Podestas" and to receive orders from the Central Government. These are only a few of the major problems which will have to be confronted if Italy is to return to normal life which was abandoned some thirty years ago now.

One fact is clear. To weather the post-war crisis Italy will need all her best men. The best Italians are those thousands of men who are in jail, in the Penal Islands or engaged in underground activities in Italy. To these we must add all those who in Italy or in exile stuck to other guns and refused to become Mussolini's henchmen. Young Italian Antifascists lack administrative experience, but they are men of vision, of courage and will make up for it when the moment arrives, and they will be helped and advised by the men who took active part to political life in Prefascist Italy.

There are now in Italy millions of disillusioned Fascists. They must certainly be utilized in the new Italy. But it is difficult to see how they can take the lead in post-war Italy. They are utterly confused. They cannot get rid of Fascist ideas and methods which have been their daily bread for a generation. While the old antifascists kept their eyes open on what happened outside Italy and studied the latest democratic and socialist experiences, the Fascists, were brought up in the cult of nationalism and in the systematic disparagement of

democratic and socialist ideals. They saw world politics through the deformed lenses of fascist propaganda. It is difficult to imagine that in the midst of this terrible war they have had the time and opportunity of informing themselves and of thinking organically and systematically. The Antifascists lack practical experience but at least have ideals. The Fascists lack both practical experience and ideals. They will be an obstacle and not a help.

If we had any doubt about that it was destroyed by the article published by Raimondo Musatti in the August, 1942 issue of "Il Mondo" under the title "Divagazioni sulla ricostruzione morale italiana." This man admits he was a fascist until a few years ago. (As he is racial refugee we can presume that his conversion to antifascism must have taken place in 1938). After having lived two years in a free country, he has not yet been able to rid himself of the nationalistic pride instilled in him by Fascism. He still has in his blood a deep contempt of everything which happened under the Democratic Regimes in Europe and in the United States while Mussolini ruled Italy. He hates everybody and everything: the Prefascist Italian Regime, the old Antifascists, Fascism, democracy, Communism. He is wholly ignorant of the history of Antifascism inside and outside Italy.

Here are Musatti's principal ideas.

In the last twenty years the "outer world" didn't offer anything which might appeal to the Italians. The European political world left Fascists and Antifascists alike disconcerted and resentful. The younger generation didn't feel in the least attracted to the Prefascist Regime. Italians considered the emigrés deprived of all moral prestige. The young people who have recently become antifascists feel no gratitude whatsoever to the democratic world and to the survivors of the old antiFascism. The recent converts to anti-Fascism have a feeling of distrust for everything and everybody outside Italy. They are very little inclined to tolerance and collaboration. Italy wishes to be left alone. The main characteristic to be found in Italy is a general apathy. The Italians are not interested in the present war. The simple perspective of victory for the Axis or for the United Nations doesn't move them. Recollections of the old liberal period "if ever there was a real one" are dead. "Some fetishes of democratic institutions" exist only in the deformed memory of generations which have become outmoded. The Democracies are brushing up the old Italian anti-Fascism and are using it as their tool, but this maneuver is well understood by the Italians and leaves them cold. The "moral devastation" among the majority of Italians is their only illness. In the post-war period the Italians will be an uprooted feeble and divided people. Italy needs only a "moral revolution". How Fascism will be overthrown, who will overthrow it is completely irrelevant. The "moral revolution" advocated by Musatti must precede the collapse of Fascism and Pease itself. What would seem the most important task of the Italian emigrés in democratic countries, namely, to strive to obtain for Italy a decent place in the new family of Nations, appears to Musatti a trifling matter. The main task of the anti-Fascists abroad must be that of convincing the Democratic Powers that the "Organization of Peace" and not the attainment of an "Anti-fascist victory" must be the

principal end. The Allies must give up all vindictiveness, every wish for reparations. If violence has to be used in Italy, it will not be against Fascists because of past wrongs, but rather against everybody who opposes future developments, whatever his past, whatever his antifascist merits may be.

Musatti appears to be the spokesman of a large number of people who grew up under Fascism and believed in Fascism until the moment when shaken by the antisemitic legislation or by the entrance of Italy into the war on the side of Germany. There is no doubt that there are in Italy many disappointed people who see the situation as Musatti does.

But his view of the situations is dangerously onesided. He seems concerned only with one fact, namely that there are a great many people in Italy once Fascists like himself; that they do not plead guilty for having supported Fascism; that they should be entitled to take an active part in the regeneration of Italy once the war is over. Although converted to antifascism he remains under the influence of the Fascist propaganda which branded the "fuoriusciti" as being anti-Italians and good for nothing.

Some of the emigrés share the responsibility for the victory of Fascism in 1922 and in the following years. It is true that, as it always happens among groups of political exiles, they sometimes wasted time fighting each other instead of collaborating in fighting Fascism. But only a man completely ignorant of the history of antiFascism abroad can pass such a superficial judgment. The Italian exiles have written many heroic pages between 1926 and 1940. With books, magazines and newspapers they agitated the Italian question. They tried to awake the too-complacent democrats in France and in the Anglo-Saxon countries to the danger presented by Fascism to International Peace. They kept in touch with Italian anti-Fascists inside Italy. Many of them re-entered Italy defying the Fascist police to smuggle in books and leaflets. Musatti seems to forget or to ignore the heroism of De Bosis, De Rosa, Rosselli. The participation of Italian exiles to the Spanish Civil War in the International Brigade is nothing for him. Thanks to the courageous stand of those anti-fascists who, instead of bowing to the Dictatorship as the Ansaldos the Missirolis and the Prezzolinis did, preferred to carry on the struggle from abroad, we can now claim on solid ground that Mussolini is not Italy.

With the pride typical of a man, whose brain has been stuffed for years with Fascist propaganda, Musatti lectures on the wish of the Italians to be left to themselves, as they are supposed to have no hope whatsoever in help from abroad, and in democratic ideals and institutions. He completely forgets that every Italian antifascist with a bit of political education, hating Fascist ideas, laws and institutions, looked outside Italy for hope, guide and inspiration. To be sure the Italian antifascists were disappointed and discouraged by the policies of nonintervention and neutrality in Spain and by the appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini. On the other hand every attempt of liberal groups in France, England and in the United States to fight appeasement found the Italians hopeful and enthusiastic. The first timid steps in the direction of collective security, the blocs to bar the way to Fascism, the negotiations for a

the mentality of a people.

It would be absurd to say that all the Italians who have been Fascists must be excluded from the work of political reconstruction once Fascism will collapse. The disappointed Fascists are millions today and they must be called upon to help in the task of reorganization and to share in the political life of post-war Italy. But the lead, at least in the initial most delicate and dangerous phase of reconstruction must be taken by the old antifascists inside and outside Italy.

Musatti states that Italians must be left to themselves to stew in their own juice, better to accomplish their moral revolution which alone will make valuable the political and institutional revolution. Everybody knows that decades and not years are required to change

LA PAROLA DEL MEDICO

LA PARALISI INFANTILE

Qualche tempo fa una madre mi ha chiesto delle spiegazioni sulla paralisi infantile, questa malattia che tanto interessa e preoccupa tutte le famiglie. Credo che sia quindi d'interesse generale di parlare oggi qui.

La paralisi infantile è una malattia infettiva, contagiosa, che colpisce di solito i bambini, specialmente tra il primo ed il quarto anno di vita, raramente gli adulti. Essa è causata da un germe, che probabilmente è un virus filabile, cioè un germe di proporzioni piccolissime. Lo si trova sulla mucosa nasale, sulla faringe, sulle tonsille, sulla mucosa bronchiale e su quella intestinale degli ammalati o dei convelescenti di paralisi infantile, ma spesso esso soggiorna anche negli organi sumministrati di individui sani, i cosiddetti portatori di germi. Cogli starnuti o coi colpi di tosse esso viene lanciato nell'aria, e penetra quindi nelle alte vie respiratorie, e probabilmente anche in quelle digerenti, propagando così la malattia.

La paralisi infantile si riscontra purtroppo ancora con una frequenza eccessiva: l'anno scorso si sono avuti circa 73000 casi negli Stati Uniti. Di solito, in una data località o in una data zona, esistono pochi casi isolati, finché a volte la malattia acquista una diffusione larga, tumultuosa, a carattere epidemico, spargendo il terrore nelle famiglie; in seguito il numero dei casi nuovi diminuisce un'altra volta, e l'epidemia si spegne, pur manifestandosi ancora qualche cosa isolata qua e là.

Il decorso della paralisi infantile

I primi sintomi consistono in un'elevazione febbil, talvolta anche notevole, che può accompagnarsi a un raffreddore banale, a un'angina, o a una bronchite. Altre volte i bambini colpiti si lamentano di mal di testa, associato a malestere diffuso, a dolori alle giunture, a sonnolenza. Può accadere anche il contrario: i piccoli pazienti cioè possono entrare in uno stato di agitazione insolita e possono sopravvenire delle convulsioni. Spesso a questi sintomi si aggiungono la disperazione, i vomiti, la diarrea. Come si vede, tutti sintomi comuni a molte malattie, e che di solito non fanno pensare i genitori al grave pericolo della paralisi infantile; però quando nella località ci sia un'epidemia di questa malattia, bisognerà subito pensare a questa possibilità e chiamare il medico colla massima urgenza.

Dopo qualche giorno, mentre il bambino talora, ha ancora febbre, di solito al mattino, i genitori osservano che il loro bambino non muove più, o muove in modo incompleto, un braccio o una gamba, o non è più capace di rizzarsi a sedere sul lettino, o lascia ciondolare giù la testa. La paralisi può colpire dapprima uno qualunque di questi territori e propagarsi.

Il dottor ANTONIO.

Italo-Canadesi!

Sostenete "La Vittoria"

ABBONATEVI!

ADESSO!

Triple Alliance between France, England and Russia which alone might have prevented the Second World War from breaking out, stirred hundred of thousands of Italians deeply.

But Musatti is only concerned with the Fascist masses and their nationalistic and self-sufficient idealogical outlook. In his "divagations" it doesn't happen to him to remember that Fascism could never claim complete victory inside Italy as it is shown by the thousands who were jailed or sent to the Penal Islands for underground antifascist activities.

It would be absurd to say that all the Italians who have been Fascists must be excluded from the work of political reconstruction once Fascism will collapse. The disappointed Fascists are millions today and they must be called upon to help in the task of reorganization and to share in the political life of post-war Italy. But the lead, at least in the initial most delicate and dangerous phase of reconstruction must be taken by the old antifascists inside and outside Italy.

Musatti states that Italians must be left to themselves to stew in their own juice, better to accomplish their moral revolution which alone will make valuable the political and institutional revolution. Everybody knows that decades and not years are required to change

our forefathers of the Risorgimento used to say with more practical sense than Musatti: "Now that Italy is made we must make the Italians". To carry out Musatti's thought to the extreme one should say: Let us hope, for Italy's sake, that the present war will last twenty years. So, the Italians will have plenty of time to accomplish their "moral revolution" without external interference! Thanks to God there are thousands of Italians inside as well as outside Italy who completed their "moral revolution" fifteen or twenty years ago, and are now ready to be the leaders of the political and institutional revolution. Men like Musatti and his colleagues who waited for the antisemitic legislation or for the Steel Pact to see Fascism in its true light are not in the best position to lecture on "moral reconstruction". Rather they should follow than lead the antifascists of the old guard.

Musatti is terribly afraid that the old antifascists would think of revenge rather than reconstruction. His intentions and ideals of what post-war Italy should be, are shrouded in mystery. Nevertheless he desires to use violence to punish sinners against "future" (that is dreamers of an impossible democratic restoration) rather than Fascist higher ups who were responsible for the atrocities perpetrated during and after the period of the Italian Civil War.

In poco più di tre anni — dalla primavera del 1938 all'inizio dell'estate del 1941 — Hitler aveva ottenuto trionfi maggiori di quelli conseguiti da Napoleone in 16 anni: dal 1796 al 1812.

L'Italia, l'Ungheria, la Rumania e la Bulgaria avevano accettato, senza lotta, vendute dai propri governi, il controllo e il dominio hitleriani.

Gli eserciti dell'Austria, della Cecoslovacchia, della Polonia, della Danimarca, della Norvegia, dell'Olanda, del Belgio, della Francia, della Jugoslavia e della Grecia,

non avevano opposto alcuna resistenza alle truppe tedesche, oppure erano stati schiantati, nel corso di pochi giorni o di poche settimane.

L'eroismo dei soldati, quasi inermi, di Jugoslavia e di Grecia si era dimostrato più efficace delle moderne divisioni blindate della Francia, comandate da generali incapaci o traditori.

La Croce gammata sventolava dall'Atlantico alla Vistola, dall'Oceano Artico al Mar Egeo.

Più significativa, e più sicura di qualsiasi corona imperiale, l'aureola della invincibilità e dell'onnipotenza circondava la fronte del "Führer".

I popoli oppressi, sfruttati e affamati dal conquistatore, non osavano neppure sperare nella possibilità di una rapida rivincita e tacevano, passivi.

Un incubo pesava, non soltanto sui popoli vinti, ma quasi sull'intera umanità: la potenza e la ferocia del dittatore tedesco; la potenza e la ferocia della Germania hitleriana; la potenza e la ferocia di un esercito che non sapeva cosa fossero una sconfitta, un insuccesso, una ritirata, nemmeno parziale e momentanea.

La libertà avrebbe dunque piegato, per lunghi anni, le sue bandiere di fronte alla tirannide?

La civiltà, il progresso avrebbero dunque ceduto, per lunghi anni, di fronte alla barbarie? La luce dell'avvenire sarebbe dunque offuscata, per molti anni, dalle tenebre del passato?

Molti, realmente, lo pensavano, nel giugno 1942.

Oggi, dopo meno di un anno e mezzo; oggi — nel 25. anniversario della Rivoluzione d'Octobre — l'incubo che pesava sull'Europa e sul mondo è scomparso.

Ancora la guerra tormenta e dissangua l'umanità e ancora il brutale tallone hitleriano calpesta enormi estensioni di terra. Gridi d'angoscia e gemiti di dolore risuonano ancora nei campi di battaglia e nello spaventoso carcere di popoli a cui è ridotta l'Europa, e ancora la fame ed il freddo torturano e uccidono milioni di esseri umani.

Quasi ovunque, in Europa, le bandiere della libertà sono ancora nascoste, e il sole della vittoria non le ha ancora baciate.

Ma la certezza della redenzione

è rinata in milioni di cuori che erano, ieri, chiusi ad ogni speranza.

Dall'Atlantico alla Vistola, dall'Oceano Artico al Mar Egeo i popoli sono risorti, e nonostante le loro catene, colpiscono e minacciano, ad ogni istante del giorno e della notte, ed ovunque, il crudele oppressore.

Già è il "vincitore" che trema, ed i vinti già non senton più la paura, ma l'odio soltanto.

Il soldato moribondo nella trincea, il martire steso sul tavolo di tortura, l'eroe legato al palo d'esecuzione, la madre il cui figlio è caduto lottando, già non san più che sia la disperazione, poiché la luce di un radioso, imminente avvenire per tutta l'umanità li conforta nella loro agonia.

La notte è ancora oscura, ma tutti sanno che l'aurora è vicina.

* * *

L'Unione Sovietica ha compiuto il grande miracolo.

L'Unione Sovietica: il suo Esercito Rosso e le sue guerreglie, i suoi operai e i suoi contadini, i suoi tecnici e i suoi intellettuali E, con essi, le donne, i vecchi e i fanciulli: tutto un popolo unito in un blocco d'acciaio intorno al suo governo, ai suoi capi e al suo Capo.

"In sei settimane saremo a Mosca e a San Pietroburgo", aveva affermato il foso "Führer" nella notte del 22 giugno, scatenando, a tradimento, le sue innumerevoli orde di al di là della frontiera sovietica.

E molti, anche nel campo degli avversari della Germania, non dubitarono neppure per un istante, che il "Führer" invincibile e onnipotente potesse sbagliarsi.

Ma non credettero, neppure per un istante, alle parole del "Führer", i popoli di tutto il mondo.

Essi compresero invece, immediatamente, che l'umanità poteva ancora essere salvata dagli orrori delle tenebre e dalla barbarie e che l'Unione Sovietica — purché non fosse lasciata sola — l'avrebbe salvata.

E rinacque in tutti i paesi soggiogati, la lotta eroica contro l'odiato nemico. Guerrieri, sabotatori e franco-tiratori, da un estremo all'altro d'Europa, resero la vita impossibile ai predoni hitleriani.

Inano, folli di paura, i nostri nazisti scatenarono la più tremenda ondata di terrore che la storia ricordi. Invano compierono contro i vinti le più spaventose rappresaglie.

L'eroismo sublime del popolo sovietico, che faceva e fa fallire tutti i piani di Hitler fu ed è, a tutti di esempio, di incitamento e di guida. Davanti a Leningrado ed a Mosca; ad Odessa, a Kerch, a Sebastopoli e a Stalingrado; sulle coste del Mar Nero e nelle valli del Caucaso, le sorti dell'umanità sono state decise.

Hitler ha perduto la guerra.

L'umanità è stata salvata. Dall'Unione Sovietica.

* * *

Un irrefrenabile sentimento di gratitudine e di ammirazione verso il popolo della U.R.S.S. solleva tutta l'umanità.