

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

785017

ACC

10000/109/155

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

785017

10000/109/155

ITALIAN INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION  
JUNE 1945 - JULY 1946



EC II

Please prepare  
acknowledgment  
to De Gasperi  
Gordian copy  
letter to  
SAC (ME)  
Br Ambassador  
US "Ima  
for my sig. Im

28

C.S.O.

Action as prescribed

C.C. will sign

W (276)

3-2-50

103

C.S.O.

Sub and at letter for signature on serials also



DNCH  
Ba Ambassador  
US  
to my sig. Im a

28

C.S.O.

Action as prescribed

C.C. will sig

W/276

3400

103

C.S.O.

Ref min 97 letter for signature opposite please

Aug 11/7



PRO

91

Please let me see the communique mentioned  
in page 90 - it was not submitted to me before  
publication.

DS/29/v.

SC

92

The Communique was sent to you as required by Paper 662  
9/11/66  
— DS/2/6

3459



0200

Chief Commissioner. 63

I think you will agree that even for an Intelligence report the article's <sup>(62)</sup> Referendum on the Italian Monarchy (Part II Page 1.) comes from the Weekly Intelligence Sheet of No 2 District in Milan is not a very objective or constructive document. You may wish to call attention

of C. S. AREA to it. → 178 (16/13)  
Daguer 76  
MAR 18 1955

69

65-68 seen by CSO REC. 1/4

F.L.

✓ WMD

30/11

7/12/55

7/12/55

79.



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

MAR 18 1969

1015  
Daguer 11/13

69

65-68 seen by also vtc *[initials]*

F.C. ✓ *[initials]*

30/11

*[initials]*

79.

Ex Comm.

77, 78 for info. *[initials]*

*[signature]*  
EC *[initials]*



53

ACIO

Polad B comment at 52. VP, CAire, whom I saw this evening in receipt of above, said that, to his mind also, the question had become rather academic. He suggested that, prior to drafting a reply, it would be as well to ring 55 as an annex of para 6 of 52. Is this approved please.

54.

Exec Comm.

I do not think you have seen the ~~the~~ file on this matter which was first raised at 1 44. Do you approve of draft comments at 48 (as amended by 49) being sent in reply to 44, or do you think we should adopt the other alternative suggested in para 4 of Polad (B) & memo at 52. You will note at 53 that V.P. CAS suggests ringing 6.5 before replying.

55.

C.S.O.

A redraft should be made, in consultation with Polad A, embodying the views of H.M.C. as suggested. Please see

8/2

8/2



54.

Exe Comm. I do not think you have seen the file on this matter which was first raised at 44. Do you approve of draft comments at 48 (as amended by 49) being sent in reply to 44, or do you think we should adopt the other alternative suggested in para 4 of Polad (B) to memo at 52. You will note at 53 that V.P. CAS suggests ringing 6-5 before replying. J.H. 9/12

55.

E.S.O.

A redraft should be made, in consultation with PDad A, embodying the views of H.M.C. as suggested by PDad B - i.e. second alternative. Please see PDad A quickly a further redraft made. J.H. 9/12

56.

We discussed (B.S.-H.C.) PDad A does not agree with second alternative. Send: original draft amended accordingly. J.H. 10/12

PDad B has amended forwarded herewith to equalize Polad (B) further para 4 cover points raised in 52. 13/12



37

C.S.O.

Phase (a) mins 32 & 33  
(b) also 38

4 Aug 45

M. P. S. by Sam Paul

BH 7/8  
Q 1/8

40

Ex lme

38 p 4 am hi/um abm

4 7/8

7/8/45

✓

3456



25-27

Executive Commission

Trace / how <sup>24</sup> ~~22~~ <sup>26</sup> ~~24~~ p. 4

(2)

ES  
CBB

24/7

28

Chief Commissioner

P26

Attached is submitted for your signature/information/approval.

We have already agreed, on p. 2, but a good deal has happened since & I am not sure that any public statement should

now be made. <sup>29</sup> 7/2/2017 gms  
F.L. I am not sure, either. JMC 25-26

30

Nothing

Polars to see. 26-29. 11/2/87

31

Part A (A)  
Part A (B)

26 + minutes 28 34 29



Attached is submitted for your signature/information/approval.

We have already agreed, on p. 2, but a  
good deal has happened since & I can  
not see that any public statement should

| E.C. how be made. <sup>29</sup> 7/2/47 July 25 1947  
I am not sure, either. GWS

~~Not for~~ 30-  
Polads to rec. 26-29. 7/2/47

31

Part A (A)  
Part A (B)

To see June 26 - minutes 28:34:29

Established  
CSO

To Executive Committee (24)

32

I suggest this be held in any case until  
AFHQ has received a reply to NA 71043 of Jul. 21/45

I give <sup>33</sup>

W. H. H. (for)

Pat. (ad. Am.) 8/3  
AP 9/5



Chief Commissioner.

1. Since preparing your letter on the future role of government in Italy (first draft at Folio 3), two things have happened:

(a) Political Adviser (A) states that Mr. Mark thinks it desirable to omit that part of para 3 beginning "this feeling.....to.....institutional question". I think he would prefer to have no reference to NERI.

(b) AFHQ have sent Page 7 which I think can be answered by inserting an extra paragraph at the end of para 2.

2. Submitted for approval.

29 June 45.

Brigadier,  
Executive Commissioner.

MSL

MIN 30 5PM  
CC 1055

Chief Commissioner.

Attached is submitted for your signature/information/approval.

Note: CC directs that - a. one copy of the letter be delivered to Sir Noel Clarke at the Palazzo Orsini, his residence Sunday morning. (CC office will do.)  
b. 20 copies for submit to C-S AFHQ. *cc*



MSL

Signature  
Executive Commissioner.

NOV 30 1955  
CC 1055

2

Chief Commissioner.

Attached is submitted for your signature/information/approval.

10

MS (3810) *[Signature]*

Note: CC directs that - a. one typewritten copy be delivered to Sir Noel Charles at the Palazzo Orsini, his residence Sunday morning. (CC office will do.)  
b. 20 copies for airmail to G-5 AFHQ. *[Signature]*

2325

CSO

I believe EC has seen <sup>24</sup> in draft  
but he may care to note its despatch

*[Signature]*

21/7/45



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

785017

310

105

COPY

Ref.: 310/105/80

8 July 1946

JUL 13 1946

SUBJECT: New institutional form of the Italian State.

TO : Yugoslav Delegation.

Owing to the absence of Italian Diplomatic Representative in Yugoslavia the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has requested this office to bring to the knowledge of the Yugoslav Government the text of the following official note.

"By virtue of the act of March 16th, the Italian people have been called to decide, through a referendum, on the institutional form of the State (Republic or Monarchy).

The Supreme Court of Cassation have proclaimed the final results of the referendum which took place on June 2, 1946; the majority of the voting electors have declared themselves in favour of the Republic.

Consequently the Italian State has taken the form of a Republic.

In compliance with the same act on the institutional referendum the President of the Council of Ministers in office, On. Alcide DE GASPERI, shall exercise the functions of Head of the State up to the election of the temporary Head of the State, which shall take place on the 25th of June at the meeting of the Constituent Assembly elected on June 2nd, 1946. The temporary Head of the State, who is to be elected by the Constituent Assembly, shall exercise his functions until the Head of the State is elected, under the terms of the new Constitution passed by the same Assembly.

The Italian Diplomatic and Consular Representatives abroad shall continue their functions in the name of the Italian Republic".

FOR THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER,

S/ P.H. TURNARD for

Brigadier  
Executive Commissioner

3453



310

COPY

MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI

6/2602/1029

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ALLIED COMMISSION

SUBJECT: New institutional form of the Italian State.

Owing to the absence of Italian diplomatic Representatives in Yugoslavia, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs would be grateful to the Allied Commission if they kindly could bring to the knowledge of the Yugoslav Government the text of the following official note:

"By virtue of the act of March 16th, the Italian people have been called to decide, through a referendum, on the institutional form of the State (Republic or Monarchy).

The Supreme Court of Cassation have proclaimed the final results of the referendum which took place on June 2, 1946; the majority of the voting electors have declared themselves in favour of the Republic.

Consequently the Italian State has taken the form of a Republic.

In compliance with the same act on the institutional referendum, the President of the Council of Ministers in office, On. Alcide DE GASPERI, shall exercise the functions of Head of the State up to the election of the temporary Head of the State, which shall take place on the 25th of June at the meeting of the Constituent Assembly elected on June 2nd, 1946. The temporary Head of the State, who is to be elected by the Constituent Assembly, shall exercise his functions until the Head of the State is elected, under the terms of the new Constitution passed by the same Assembly.

The Italian diplomatic and Consular Representatives ~~abroad~~ shall continue their functions in the name of the Italian Republic".

Rome, June 24th, 1946

3451

See 103



102

xxxx 794

Ref: 319/102/EC.

2. July 1946.

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question.

TO : Supreme Allied Commander,  
ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS.

96

I enclose for your information letter No. 3/650  
dated 22nd June 1946 from the Italian Prime Minister containing  
a copy of the communication that has been sent to all Italian  
Representatives abroad regarding the institution of the Italian  
Republic.

/s/ ELDERY W. STONE  
Rear Admiral, USNR  
Chief Commissioner

11/103

PA 5/27



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

10D

Ref. : 310/101/NO.

2 July 1946.

My Dear Mr. Key,

I am forwarding for your information a copy of letter No. 5/690 dated 22 June 1946 from the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs containing a copy of the communication that has been passed to all Representatives of the Italian Government abroad regarding the proclamation of the Italian Republic.

Yours Very Truly,

/s/ KENNETH W. STONE  
Rear Admiral, USNR  
Chief Commissioner

Mr. David MacL. Key,  
U.S. Charge d'Affaires ad interim,  
Rome.

449



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

785017

100

Ref. : 310/100/12.

2 July 1946.

My Dear Sir Noel,

I am forwarding for your information a copy of letter No. 3/650 dated 22 June 1946 from the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs containing a copy of the communication that has been passed to all Representatives of the Italian Government abroad regarding the proclamation of the Italian Republic.

Yours Very Truly,

/s/ HENRY R. STONE  
Rear Admiral, USN  
Chief Commissioner

Sir Noel Charles, Bt., KCMG.,  
British Ambassador,  
Rome.

3448



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

99

XXX 794

Ref: 310/99/83.

2 July 1946.

95

My Dear Dr. de Gasperi:

Thank you for your letter No. 3/650 dated 22 June 1946 containing a copy of the communication that has been sent to all Italian Representatives abroad regarding the institution of the Italian Republic.

I have forwarded a copy of this to the Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean Theatre of Operations.

Yours very truly,

/s/ HENRY W. STONE  
Rear Admiral, USNR  
Chief Commissioner

Dr. Alcide de Gasperi,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Italian Government,  
ROME.

3446



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

IN Stereo Dept. Affair - Stere

3/150

ROUGH TRANSLATION

Rome, June 22nd, 1947.

JUN 28 1946

Dear Admiral Stone,

I beg to transcribe here below the written communication which all the Italian Representatives abroad have been instructed to notify immediately to the Governments where they are accredited:

"By virtue of the act of March 18th, the Italian people have been called to decide, through a referendum, on the institutional form of the State (Republic or Monarchy).

The Supreme Court of Cassation have proclaimed the final results of the referendum which took place on June 2, 1946: the majority of the voting electors have declared themselves in favour of the Republic.

Consequently the Italian State has taken the form of a Republic.

In compliance with the same act on the institutional referendum, the President of the Council of Ministers in office, On. Alcide DE GASPERI, shall exercise the functions of Head of the State up to the election of the temporary Head of the State, which shall be decided on the 25th inst. at the meeting of the Constituent Assembly elected on June 2nd, 1946.

The temporary Head of the State, who is to be elected by the Constituent Assembly, shall exercise his functions until the Head of the State is elected, under the terms of the new Constitution passed by the same Assembly.

The Italian diplomatic and consular Representatives abroad, shall continue their functions in the name of the Italian Republic."

I should be grateful if you would kindly bring the foregoing matter to the knowledge of the Allied Authorities.

Believe me, dear Admiral Stone,



which all the Italian Representatives abroad have been instructed to notify immediately to the Governments where they are accredited:

"By virtue of the act of March 1st, the Italian people have been called to decide, through a referendum, on the institutional form of the State (Republic or Monarchy).

The Supreme Court of Cassation have proclaimed the final results of the referendum which took place on June 2, 1946: the majority of the voting electors have declared themselves in favour of the Republic.

Consequently the Italian State has taken the form of a Republic.

In compliance with the same act on the institutional referendum, the President of the Council of Ministers in office, On. Alcide DE GASPERI, shall exercise the functions of Head of the State up to the election of the temporary Head of the State, which shall be decided on the 25th inst. at the meeting of the Constituent Assembly elected on June 2nd, 1946.

The temporary Head of the State, who is to be elected by the Constituent Assembly, shall exercise his functions until the Head of the State is elected, under the terms of the new Constitution passed by the same Assembly.

The Italian diplomatic and consular Representatives abroad, shall continue their functions in the name of the Italian Republic.

I should be grateful if you would kindly bring the foregoing matter to the knowledge of the Allied Authorities.

Believe me, dear Admiral Stone,

very sincerely yours  
(srd) DE GASPERI

Admiral Ellery W. Stone  
Chief Commissioner  
Allied Commission

= ROME =

*See memo 97-98*  
*Folio 99-100-1-2*

*(11)*





*Ministro degli Affari Esteri*

3/650

ROMA, 22 GIU 1946

95.

Signor ammiraglio,

Trascrivo la comunicazione che tutti i Capi Missione italiani all'estero hanno avuto istruzione di fare immediatamente per iscritto a tutti i Governi presso i quali sono accreditati:

"In virtù della legge 6 marzo 1946 il popolo italiano è stato chiamato a decidere, mediante referendum, sulla forma istituzionale dello Stato (Repubblica o Monarchia). La Corte Suprema di Cassazione ha ratto la proclamazione dei risultati definitivi del referendum, che ha avuto luogo il 2 giugno: la maggioranza degli elettori votanti si è pronunciata in favore della Repubblica.

"Lo Stato italiano ha per conseguenza assunto la forma di Repubblica.

"Conformemente alla stessa legge sul referendum istituzionale il Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri in carica, On. Alcide De Gasperi, eserciterà le funzioni di Capo dello Stato fino all'elezione del Capo provvisorio dello Stato, che sarà fatta dall'Assemblea Costituente eletta il 2 giugno e che si riunirà il 25 giugno. Il Capo provvisorio dello Stato, che sarà eletto dall'Assemblea costituente, eserciterà le sue funzioni fino a quando sarà nominato il Capo dello Stato a norma della nuova Costituzione deliberata dall'Assemblea medesima.

"I rappresentanti diplomatici e consolari d'Italia all'estero continueranno ad esercitare le loro funzioni in nome della Repubblica italiana."

Le sarò grato se alla vorrà cortesemente portare quanto precorre a conoscenza delle autorità alleate.



signor ammiraglio,

Trascrivo la comunicazione che tutti i Capi Missione italiani all'estero hanno avuto istruzione di fare immediatamente per iscritto a tutti i governi presso i quali sono accreditati :

" In virtù della legge 10 marzo 1946 il popolo italiano è stato chiamato a decidere, mediante referendum, sulla forma istituzionale dello Stato ( Repubblica o Monarchia ). La Corte Suprema di Cassazione ha fatto la proclamazione dei risultati definitivi del referendum, che ha avuto luogo il 2 giugno : la maggioranza degli elettori votanti si è pronunciata in favore della Repubblica.

" Lo Stato italiano ha per conseguenza assunto la forma di Repubblica.

" Conformemente alla stessa legge sul referendum istituzionale il Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri in carica, On. Alcide De Gasperi, eserciterà le funzioni di Capo dello Stato fino all'elezione del Capo provvisorio dello Stato, che sarà fatta dall'Assemblea Costituente eletta il 2 giugno e che si riunirà il 25 giugno. Il Capo provvisorio dello Stato, che sarà eletto dall'Assemblea costituente, eserciterà le sue funzioni fino a quando sarà nominato il Capo dello Stato a norma della nuova Costituzione deliberata dall'Assemblea medesima.

" I rappresentanti diplomatici e consolari d'Italia all'estero continueranno ad esercitare le loro funzioni in nome della Repubblica Italiana."

Le sarò grato se ella vorrà cortesemente portare quanto precece a conoscenza delle autorità alleate.

La prego di credere, signor Ammiraglio, ai sensi del mio vivo ossequio

Ammiraglio Ellery M. Stone U.S.N.R.  
Capo della Commissione Alleata

M. O. M. A.

*Longamy*



0 2 2 1

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

310 4

94

TRANSLATION

IL PRESIDENTE DEL CONSIGLIO  
DEI MINISTRI

Rome, 29 May 1946

3/587

MAY 31 1946

88

Dear General,

Reference your letter 310/92 with which you inform me that the Allied Government in view of the imminent elections, will consider dissolved the engagement took by the a/m Government, concerning the institution truce.

AM A press communique will be published on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

s/ De Gasperi

Brigadier M.S. LUSH  
ALLIED COMMISSION  
ROME

3422

18 *[Signature]*

P.C.  
(150) 31/5





*Al. Presidente  
del Consiglio di Ministri*

*3/387*

Caro Generale,

Le ringrazio della Sua lettera N.310/R.C. con la quale mi comunica che i Governi Alleati, in vista delle elezioni imminenti, considerano decaduto l'impegno assunto dai successivi Governi Alleati relativo alla tregua italiana. Un comunicato stampa sarà pubblicato in proposito.

Mi creda cordialmente

*W. Depp*



Caro Generale,

La ringrazio della Sua lettera N. 310/M.C. con la quale mi comunica che i Governi Alleati, in vista delle elezioni imminenti, considerano decaduto l'impegno assunto dai succeduti Governi Alleati relativo alla tregua latitudinale. Un comunicato stampa sarà pubblicato in proposito.

Mi creda cordialmente

*W. J. P. 1*

Brig. Gen. W.S. LUSH  
Comandante Alleato

W. J. P.

3441



RG 331

ACC-Study

Box 199

Folder 10000/109/155

1 document/1992  
"3440"

WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

ACCESS RESTRICTED

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|                  |                      |
|------------------|----------------------|
| File Designation | <u>10000/109/155</u> |
| Date             | <u>6/20/96</u>       |
| From             | <u>151</u>           |
| To               | <u>4848</u>          |

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- ☒ Security-Classified Information  
☐ Otherwise Restricted Information

105 not 4/6 9/23/96

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File Designation 100-400100  
Date 5/20/46  
From 1A  
To 4-45

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100-400100 Authority

9/23/46 Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA FORM 7117 (2-52)



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\_\_\_\_\_  
Authority \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

File 89

Ref. : 310/SC.

28 MAY 1946.

88.

I enclose herewith for information of His Majesty the King, copy of a letter which by direction of the Supreme Allied Commander, I have addressed to the President of the Council of Ministers on the subject of the institutional truce.

M. S. LUSH

ROB. FAIDONE DEI MANIPOLI INCIPESIO,  
Ministero della Real Casa.

M. S. LUSH

5409

✓



RG 331

ACC-22a

Box 199

Folder 10000/109/155

1 document / 1 page

"3438"

ACCESS RESTRICTED

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|                  |                      |
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| File Designation | <u>None file 103</u> |
| Date             | <u>5/20/96</u>       |
| From             | <u>2014</u>          |
| To               | <u>CC</u>            |

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105 months 0/10/10 0/10/10



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File Designation 100-426/153  
Date 5/29/76  
From 2504  
To CC

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JCS Authority  
06/16/76 Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

CSA FORM 7117 (2-72)



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To \_\_\_\_\_

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☐ Otherwise Restricted Information

Authority \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

Ref. : JHQ/EC.

10 May 1946.

83  
Dear Sir Noel,

I enclose for your information as Chairman of the Advisory Council for Italy and for notification to the Council, copy of a letter which by direction of the Supreme Allied Commander I have addressed to the President of the Council of Ministers forwarding the decision of the Allied Governments to relieve the Italian Government of their pledge regarding the institutional *Problema*.

I have been instructed to inform the Italian Government of this decision at the earliest possible moment and am therefore handing it to the Prime Minister at 17.30 hours today, an hour and a half after notifying you.

Yours sincerely,

/s/ H. DRELL.

Sir Noel Charles, Bt., KCB.,  
Chairman of the Advisory Council for Italy,  
Rome.

3437



RG 331

ACC - Study

Box 199

Folder 10000/107/155

1 document / 2 pages

" 3435 - 7436 "

# WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

## ACCESS RESTRICTED

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File Designation

1000 107/155-

Date

5/25/44

From

AFHQ

To

4C

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☐ Otherwise Restricted Information

105 rec'd

Authority

Date

9/25/64



WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

11-3435-3436

ACCESS RESTRICTED

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File Designation 1000 per 103-

Date 5/25/46

From 45-119

To 4C

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KS per 46 Authority

9/23/61 Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA FORM 7117 (2-72)



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To \_\_\_\_\_

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310

Niger

84

PA

Plan extract from PRO

(1)

text of Lugotenante's declaration that he

would abide by terms of Referendum (made

when he signed decree setting date for Elections?)

(2) his declaration as becoming known

NY 16/5

Sir,

Attached:

Yours (1) - 'A' English Text

'B' Italian Text

Yours (2) - 'C' English Text

'D' Italian Text

3/11/5

2/5



83  
A

Da Cesare, the President of the Council, Signor Presidente, I send back, bearing my signature, the decrees establishing the referendum on the institutional form of the State, and convoking the Constituent Assembly which will have to decide the new Constitution. In doing so I feel that I am establishing a fresh link with the glorious traditions of the National Risorgimento when, as the result of memorable events indissolubly bound up with the history of Italy, the Monarchy was able to put the seal on the unity of the country and the plebiscites were the expression of the people's will and the foundation of the new united State. This respect for the will of the people also inspired the decision of my august father to retire irrevocably from public life in order to facilitate - as he himself stated - national unity. The same thought induced me to approve the decree of June 24th 1944 which conferred to the Italian people the choice of the institutional form. Italy's approval is therefore the crowning of a tradition which is at the basis of the pact between the people and the Monarchy, a pact which, if it is confirmed, must constitute the foundation of a reformed Monarchy which will make popular self-government and social justice fully operative. At this solemn moment I cannot fail to address a heartfelt thought to our brothers who are still prisoners of war and interned, to all the citizens of every Italian land who - for reasons outside our control and which, in fairness, must be regarded as contingent - will not be able to take part in the consultation of the nation that is to decide their future. I trust that the Government will be able to take steps to ensure that the elections will be held in the utmost freedom of persons and conscience: in order to make sure of the latter I have given, with the decrees just approved, freedom to vote to all who are bound by an oath.

"I, being profoundly linked with the vicissitudes of my country, will respect, like every Italian, the free decisions of the people which, I am sure, will be inspired by the best future for the country. So good enough, Signor Presidente, to communicate to the Ministers this letter of mine which I consider necessary contribution to the serenity of the consultation of the popular will. (Signed), Umberto di Savoia."



new United State. This respect for the will of the people also inspired the decision of my August father to retire irrevocably from public life in order to facilitate - as he himself stated - national unity. The same thought inspired me to approve the decree of June 24th 1944 which conferred to the Italian people the choice of the institutional forms. To-day's approval is therefore the crowning of a tradition which is at the basis of the pact between the people and the Monarchy, a pact which, if it is confirmed, must constitute the foundation of a reformed Monarchy which will make popular self-government and social justice fully operative. At this solemn moment I cannot fail to address a heartfelt thought to our brothers who are still prisoners of war and interned, to all the citizens of every Italian land who - for reasons outside our control and which, in fairness, must be regarded as contingent - will not be able to take part in the consultation of the nation that is to decide their future. I trust that the Government will be able to take steps to ensure that the elections will be held in the utmost freedom of persons and conscience: in order to make sure of the latter I have given, with the decrees just approved, freedom to vote to all who are bound by an oath.

"I, being profoundly linked with the vicissitudes of my country, will respect, like every Italian, the free decisions of the people which, I am sure, will be inspired by the best future for the country. In good enough, Signor Presidente, to communicate to the Ministers this letter of mine which I consider a necessary contribution to the serenity of the consultation of the popular will. (Signed), Umberto di Savoia."

3433



# Il proclama

Ecco il testo del proclama che Re Umberto II ha rivolto al popolo italiano.

ITALIANI

Il mio Augusto Genitore, effettuando il proprio dovere come Re, ha oggi educato di fronte alla storia il mio popolo italiano, ha oggi educato di fronte alla storia il mio popolo italiano, ha oggi educato di fronte alla storia il mio popolo italiano.

Nell'assumere da Re questi stessi poteri che già esercitavo come Luogotenente Generale, ho la piena consapevolezza delle responsabilità e dei doveri che mi attendono.

Fiero e commosso ricordo i Caduti della lunga guerra, i morti nei campi di concentramento, i martiri della libertà e della vita, il mio primo pensiero agli italiani della Venezia Giulia e delle terre d'oltremare che invocano di rimandare il ritorno, ai reduci a cui dobbiamo ogni riconoscenza, a tutte le ineluttabili vittime della immane tragedia della guerra.

La volontà del popolo espressa nei comizi elettorali determinerà la forma e la nuova struttura dello Stato, non solo per garantire la libertà del cittadino e l'attuazione delle parti al potere, ma per porre oltre la Costituzione di riserva da ogni pericolo e da ogni violenza. Nella rinnovata monarchia costituzionale, gli atti consentiti dalla tua volontà saranno subordinati alla volontà del Parlamento, dal quale verranno anche le iniziative e le decisioni per attuare quei progetti di giustizia sociale che, nella ricostruzione della Patria, unanimi perseguiamo.

Io non desidero che di essere primo fra gli italiani nelle ore dolorose, ultimo nelle liete, e nelle une e nelle altre restare vigile custode delle libertà costituzionali e dei rapporti internazionali che siano fondati su accordi onorevoli e accettabili.

ITALIANI

Mentre nel mondo sussistono divergenze e divisioni e agghiacciamenti si ricerca la via della pace, diamo esempio di concordia nella nostra Patria martoriata, con quella tolleranza che ci è suggerita dalla nostra civiltà cristiana.

Sitighiamoci tutti intorno alla bandiera sotto la quale si è unificata la Patria e quattro generazioni di italiani hanno saputo laboriosamente vivere ed eroicamente morire.

Davanti a Dio giuro alla Nazione di osservare fedelmente la legge fondamentale dello Stato che la volontà popolare dovrà rinnovare e perfezionare. Confermo altresì l'impegno di rispettare, come ogni italiano, le libertà determinanti dell'imminente suffragio che, se sono certo, saranno ispirate al migliore interesse della Patria.

B. 82



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

Il mio Augusto Genitore, effettuando il proposito manifestato da oltre due anni, ha oggi obbedito al trono nella fiducia che questo suo atto possa contribuire ad una più serena soluzione dei problemi nazionali nella pace internazionale.

Nel assumere da Re questi stessi poteri che già esercitavo come Luogotenente Generale, ho la piena consapevolezza della responsabilità e dei doveri che mi attendono. Fiero e commosso ricordo i Caduti della lunga guerra. I morti nei campi di concentramento, i martiri della liberazione e riempio il mio primo pensiero agli italiani della Venezia Giulia e delle terre d'oltremare che invocano di rimanere cittadini della Patria romana, ai prigionieri di cui aneliamo il ritorno, ai reduci a cui dobbiamo ogni riconoscimento, a tutte le insospettabili vittime della immane tragedia della Nazione.

La volontà del popolo espresso nei comizi elettorali determinerà la forma e la nuova struttura dello Stato, non solo per garantire la libertà del cittadino e l'asservimento delle parti al potere, ma per porre altresì la Costituzione al riparo da ogni pericolo e da ogni violenza. Nella rinnovata monarchia costituzionale, gli atti fondamentali della vita nazionale saranno subordinati alla volontà del Parlamento, dal quale verranno anche le iniziative e le decisioni per attuare quei progetti di giustizia sociale che nella rinascita dello Stato, unanime perseguiamo.

Io non desidero che di essere primo tra gli italiani nella ore dolorose, ultimo nelle liete, e nella una e nella altra rendere vigile custode delle libertà costituzionali e dei rapporti internazionali che sono fondati su accordi onorabili e accettabili.

#### ITALIANI

Mentre nel mondo sussistono divergenze e divisioni e sfiduciosamente si ricerca la via della pace, diamo esempio di concordia nella nostra Patria mortificata, con quella tolleranza che ci è suggerita dalla nostra civiltà cristiana.

Sringiamoci tutti intorno alla bandiera sotto la quale si è unificata la Patria e quattro generazioni di italiani hanno saputo laboriosamente vivere ed eroicamente morire.

Davanti a Dio giuro allo Nazione di osservare fedelmente le leggi fondamentali dello Stato che la volontà popolare dovrà rinnovare e perfezionare. Confermo altresì l'impegno di rispettare, come ogni italiano, le libere determinazioni dell'imminente suffragio che, se sono certo, avranno l'apoteosi di migliore avvenire della Patria.

UMBERTO

0242



4. King Umberto II addressed yesterday the following proclamation to the Italian people:

Italians,

carrying out the intention expressed two years ago, my august father has remembered the those trusting that his aid will help in a calmer valuation of the national problems in the coming peace.

By assuming as a King the same powers that I performed as Luogotenente, I am fully aware of the responsibilities and duties which I shall have to face.

With pride and emotion I recall those who have fallen in the long war, the dead in the concentration camps, the martyrs of the liberation, and I think especially of the Italians of Venezia Giulia and abroad who are trying out to regain citizens of the common country, of the prisoners the return of whom we are longing for, of the veterans to whom we owe all gratitude, to all the innocent victims of the Nation's tremendous tragedy.

The will of the people, as expressed in the elections, will determine the form of the new structure of the State, so that not only will the freedom of the citizens as the enshrined in the Charter is never be guaranteed, but also the Constitution will be protected against all danger and violence. In the renewed Constitutional Monarchy, the fundamental acts of the National life will be subjected to the decision of Parliament, which will also take steps and make decisions to implement the ideals of social justice which we all follow in the reconstruction of the Country.

I only wish to be first among the Italians in their hours of grief and last in their hours of joy, and to remain in both cases a vigilant guardian of the Constitutional liberties and of the international relations to be based on honorability and acceptable agreements.

Italians,

while divergences and divisions still exist in the world which is laboriously seeking the way to peace, let us give to all an example of harmony in our martyred country with the tolerance which our Christian civilization would require.



which I shall have to face.

With this emotion I recall those who have fallen in the long war, the dead in the concentration camps, the survivors of the liberation, and I think especially of the Italian people of Venezia Giulia and abroad who are crying out to repair the wrongs of the common country, of the prisoners the return of whom we are longing for, of the veterans to whom we owe all gratitude, to all the innocent victims of the Nation's tremendous tragedy.

The will of the people, as expressed in the elections, will determine the form and the new structure of the State, so that not only will the freedom of the citizens and the changes in the parties in power be guaranteed, but also the Constitution will be protected against all danger and violence. In the renewed Constitutional monarchy, the fundamental acts of the National life will be subjected to the decision of Parliament, which will also take steps and make decisions to implement the ideals of social justice which we all follow in the reconstruction of the Country.

I only wish to be first among the Italians in their hours of grief and last in their hours of joy, and to remain in both cases a vigilant guardian of the Constitutional liberties and of the international relations to be based on honourable and acceptable agreements.

Italians,

while divergences and divisions still exist in the world which is laboriously seeking the way to peace, let us give to all an example of harmony in our martyred country with the tolerance which our Christian civilization would require.

Let us all rally around the flag under which Italy accomplished her unity and 4 generations of Italians learned to live industriously and to die gallantly.

I swear before God to the Nation to observe loyally the fundamental laws of the State which will be renewed and perfected by the will of the people.

I further confirm my pledge to respect, as any other Italian, the free decision of the coming referendum, which will be inspired in the best interests of the Country.

UNESCO.



80

La politica verso i popoli di Capo Verde...

Il Presidente del Consiglio... ha fatto pervenire ambasciatore...

Il testo della lettera... del Presidente al Parlamento...

La restituzione, muniti della... di una sanzione, i provvedimenti...

# Segreti Persiani

continuano su vasta scala  
incie di Kars e Ardakan

## una risposta da Mosca

La politica non favorisce... Russia politica di aggressione e fac...

ferendum sulla forma istituzionale dello Stato e al contempo l'Assemblea Costituente...

Nel compiere quest'atto con... di riconferma alle gloriose tradizioni del Risorgimento nazionale...

Questo ossequio alla volontà popolare dell'anno anche la decisione del mio Augusto Genitore di ritirarsi irrevocabilmente dalla vita pubblica per facilitare — come egli stesso affermò — l'unità nazionale...

La sanzione di oggi è dunque il coronamento di una tradizione che sta a base del patto fra popolo e monarchia...

In questo adempimento monarca non posso fare a meno di rivolgere un commosso pensiero ai nostri fratelli ancora uni giulietti e internati al citta dini tutti di ogni terra italiana...

teroni al svolgimento nella storia della libertà degli individui e della coscienza delle coscienze per assicurare che dovrà decidere della nostra Costituzione.

Io, profondamente unito ai suoi legati del giuramento, le vicende del Paese, risponderò come ogni italiano le debbo determinazioni del popolo, che ne sono certo saranno ispirate al migliore avvenire della Patria.

Roma, 16 marzo 1916.  
Affmo  
UMBERTO DI SAVOIA

# GLISTA PER L'ITA DELLA VENE

WASHINGTON, 15. — Il Corriere del 14 aprile 1916 con l'italia, al presidente Charles Hughes, ha...

## Myron Taylor rappresentante personale di Truman presso il Vaucado

WASHINGTON, 15. — Il Casa dell'ufficio stampa della Casa Bianca ha annunciato che il Presidente Truman invierà prontamente a Washington Myron C. Taylor, quest...



Nel complesso quest'atto en-  
to, libertà di voto a quasi-  
sono legati dal giuramento.  
Io, profondamente unido al  
le, vivendo nel Paese, ripes-  
tero come ogni italiano le di-  
belle determinazioni del popo-  
lo, che ne sono certo saran-  
no ispirate al migliore avve-  
nire della Patria.

Vuole, signor Presidente,  
comunicare ai signori Minis-  
tri questa mia lettera, che  
considero un dovere conside-  
rabo alla serenità della con-  
sultazione popolare.

Roma, 16 marzo 1914.

Affmo

UMBERTO DI SAVOIA.

# GLISTA' PER L'IT/ DELLA VENE

WASHINGTON, 14. — Il Con-  
gresso, per aver pace con l'Italia, e  
per il presidente Wilson, ha  
adottato il progetto di legge  
che, sulla base della lettera di  
Carter, di Washington, il Con-  
gresso di una risoluzione per  
dare ad ogni l'ordine, ecc.

Myron Taylor rappresentazione  
personale di Truman  
presso il Vaticano

WASHINGTON, 14. — Il  
Caro dell'Ufficio stampa del-  
la Casa Bianca ha annunciato  
che il Presidente Truman  
avrà un appuntamento a No-  
vembre, probabilmente con  
Myron C. Taylor, quale  
rappresentante personale del  
Presidente Truman.

qualche moneta della stampa.  
Non da 1. mezzo, estraneo politico-  
religioso, oggi o domani, sulla «Grai-  
ma» della «Grai».

Fino al resto della lettera  
del Presidente, al Presidente  
dei «Grai» con la quale  
si è conclusa la «Grai».

Signor Presidente,

La restituisco, munita della  
sua firma, e spero, l'averneimen-  
to con i quali si induce il re-

## segreti irsiani

continuano su vasta scala  
incie di Kars e Ardacan  
i una risposta da Mosca

La politica non favorisce la  
Russia, politica di aggressione, la  
scopo per far cessare l'attuale ter-  
mine sono intermedie.  
Il discorso pronunciato da  
Kerenski a New York ha avuto  
un grande successo, e l'opinione  
pubblica ha dato la sua dimissione  
avendo in quale di Stato  
la Russia non intenzione di  
e non intenzione di  
Russia contro la Gran Bretagna  
che non ha con la Gran Bretagna  
no un conto a Russia, verso con-  
stato a Londra come un  
ministro di Stato.

Chiarito così le intenzioni  
degli Stati Uniti, e della Gran  
Bretagna, si attende a Londra  
la risposta da Mosca.

0246



RG 331

Acc Study

Box 199

Folder 10000/109/155

6? documents/p6 pages

" 3715? — 2420?"

| From   | to      | Date    |
|--------|---------|---------|
| 1. SAC | 5/10/46 | 5/10/46 |
| 2. PC  | 6/5/46  | 6/5/46  |
| 3. AC  | 6/10/46 | 6/10/46 |
| 4. HMG | 6/10/46 | 6/10/46 |
| 5. AC  | 6/10/46 | 6/10/46 |
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| From             | <u>AC</u>           |
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| Date             | <u>5/24/44</u>       |
| From             | <u>State</u>         |
| To               | <u>Dr. G. G. G.</u>  |

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| From             | <u>TCFF</u>         |
| To               | <u>LC54</u>         |

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105 per 46  
Authority ghb Date 1



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R 61 331  
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Document 1-1 page  
" 34/3 "

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| File Designation | <u>10000/109/155</u>                |
| Date             | <u>3/24/66</u>                      |
| From             | <u>Subj. of <del>document</del></u> |
| To               | <u>6-5</u>                          |

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1  
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Authority  
Date  
9/23/66



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File Designation 100-104-100

Date 1/28/44

From Sub B

To 6-5

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100-104-100 Authority 1/28/44

1/28/44 Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA Form 7117 (10-72)



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RG 331  
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1 ? document / 12 page  
"3412"

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|                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| File Designation | <u>10000/109/155-</u> |
| Date             | <u>3/4/06</u>         |
| From             | <u>AC</u>             |
| To               | <u>GS 21-49</u>       |

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| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Security-Classified Information |
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Authority  
Date



WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

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File Designation

100-104735-

Date

3/2/66

From

CC

To

65-4049

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Authority

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Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA Form 7117 (2-55)

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017



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Date \_\_\_\_\_



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ACC Italy

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Folder 1000/109/155

Document/5? pages

"3407 - 3411"

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*1000/109/155*

Date

*1/27/68*

From

*1000/109/155*

To

*C.C.*

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*3407 - 3411*  
*1000/109/155*



WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

11 3467-34117

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File Designation

100-107-105

Date

9/27/46

From

100-107

To

C.C.

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Date

9/28/46

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA 1000 7117 (10-11)

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017



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Date \_\_\_\_\_

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA FPMR 7117 (2-72)



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

CC 300

19 March 1946.

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question - Transmittal of  
letter from Luogotenente concerning.

TO : G-3, AFHQ.

There is forwarded herewith translation of letter  
dated 16 March 1946 from the Luogotenente to the President of the  
Council of Ministers which was published in Italian newspapers  
today.

/s/ Ellery W. Stone

ELLERY W. STONE  
Rear Admiral, USNR  
Chief Commissioner

Enc.

Copy to: U.S. FLEET, AFHQ  
British REBIN, AFHQ

DISTRIBUTION:

US Ambassador  
BI Ambassador  
US Polad  
BI Polad  
VF CA Section  
Ex Commr ✓  
CC

3466

52  
(cso)

A  
12/3  
2



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017DECLARATION

March 1946

Dear Mr. President,

I return to you, with my approval, the decrees with which the referendum on the institutional form of the State is proclaimed, and in which the Constitutional Assembly, which will decide the new Constitution, is convened.

In taking this step I feel I am recalling the glorious traditions of the national Risorgimento, by means of which unforgettable events inseparably tied with the history of Italy the monarchy was able to seal the unity of the Country and plebiscites were the expression of popular will and the foundation of a new unitarian State.

This respect for the people's will inspired the decision of my August parent to irrevocably retire from public life, in order to facilitate -- as he himself affirmed -- the National Unity. This same thought induced me to sanction the decree of the 24th June 1944, which gave the Italian people freedom to choose their own institutions.

The sanction of today is therefore the fulfilment of a tradition, which is at the base of the pact between the people and the monarchy; a pact which, if confirmed, will constitute the foundation of a renewed monarchy which may fully actuate popular self-government and social justice.

In this solemn moment I cannot help but turn a thought to our brothers who are still prisoners or internees, to all the citizens of all Italian territories, who, for reasons wholly independent of our will, and whom, in respect of justice, must be considered contingent, will not be in a position to take part in the consultations which will decide also their own future.

I trust that the Government will be able to ensure that the Elections take place in the greatest liberty, both of individuals and of consciences; in order to assure this I have given, with the dispositions that I have just approved, freedom of vote to all those who are bound by the oath (to the Crown).

I, profoundly united to the destinies of the Nation, will respect, as any other Italian, the free choice of the people, who, I am sure, will be inspired for the best future of the Nation.

I will be grateful to you, Mr. President, if you will communicate to the Ministers this letter, which I consider a faithful contribution to the calmness of the popular consultations.

/s/ UMBERTO DI SAVOIA

Dr. Alcide DE GASPERI,  
President of the Council of Ministers,  
Rome.

See 7-62

345



RG 331  
ACC - Italy  
Folder 10009/109/155  
Box 179  
1 document / 2 pages  
" 3403 - 3404 "

WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

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The item identified below has been withdrawn from this file:

File Designation 10009/109/155 -  
Date 2/18/96  
From 8' 203H  
To 6-37-4742

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U.S. post-1945  
2/18/96



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File Designation

100-109150-

Date

2/3/86

From

§ 11511

To

6-11-4745

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA FORM 7117 (11-73)

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017



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DEPT

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question

TO: G-5 AFHQ

1. Reference your G-5:091.1 ITALY dated 13 January 1946.
2. The following comments are made on the points raised in your letter:

(a) Para 2 (a)

NAP 1043 clearly envisages the possibility of holding a referendum without Allied supervision and therefore circumstances in this respect have not changed.

(b) Para 2 (b)

It is considered that there has been no change in circumstances which alters the basic opinion that a referendum would provide "the best chance of a fair decision". The word "essential" is not used in this connection in NAP 1043.

(c) Para 3

It is agreed that a Constituent elected without the institutional question having been publicly aired beforehand would not be fully representative.

The undertaking given by the Italian Government precludes the institutional question being reopened without Allied consent "until such time as Italy has been liberated and Italian people have the opportunity of themselves determining the form of Government". Italy has now been liberated and it is felt that sooner or later the Italian Government will make an approach with a view to their being released from the undertaking given. It is considered that the initiative in this matter should be left with the Italian Government.

Moreover it would be highly undesirable for the Allies to take the initiative in releasing the Italian Government from its undertaking at a time when the law for the national elections and the question of the powers of the Constituent are under consideration by the Italian Government and are shortly to be debated in the Consulta.

Please type SS



the basic opinion that a referendum would provide "the best chance of a fair decision".  
The word "essential" is not used in this connection in NAF 1043.

(c) Para. 3

It is agreed that a Constituent elected without the institutional question having been publicly aired beforehand would not be fully representative.

The undertaking given by the Italian Government precludes the institutional question being reopened without Allied consent "until such time as Italy has been liberated and Italian people have the opportunity of themselves determining the form of Government". Italy has now been liberated and it is felt that sooner or later the Italian Government will make an approach with a view to their being released from the undertaking given. It is considered that the initiative in this matter should be left with the Italian Government.

Moreover it would be highly undesirable for the Allies to take the initiative in releasing the Italian Government from its undertaking at a time when the law for the national elections and the question of the powers of the Constituents are under consideration by the Italian Government and are shortly to be debated in the Consulta.

In terms of the proposed national electoral law the Italian Government, <sup>Page 2</sup> officially give 70 days' notice to the people before the actual date of the election, that an election is to be held. It is considered that such notice-date might be a suitable time for releasing the Italian Government from its undertaking not to raise the institutional question ~~but~~ but in any event the views of the Italian Government should first be obtained. It may be that the Italian Government will wish to be relieved of their undertaking earlier than this but if so they should be left to raise the matter.

See 60



(d) Para 4

It is considered for the reasons given above that the Allies should not take the initiative now in the matter of releasing the Italian Government from its undertaking.

3. I would like to point out that the above is the view of the Allied Commission <sup>only</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~. It is understood <sup>however</sup> ~~that the Foreign Office has already made its position clear, and have instructed the British Resident Minister at Caserta as to the line to be taken when the matter comes up for discussion.~~ that this is not entirely in accordance with what are known to be the views of the British Government. As, however, the Foreign Office have instructed the British <sup>Political Advisor at AFHQ</sup> ~~Resident Minister at Caserta~~ <sup>views he is to state</sup> as to the line to be taken when the matter comes up for discussion I <sup>feel that</sup> ~~do not think~~ <sup>not appropriate</sup> it is ~~an order~~ <sup>to</sup> transmit ~~such~~ <sup>views</sup> in a letter emanating <sup>from</sup> the Allied Commission.

Brig.

Copy to: Poked A  
Poked B  
CA Section.



310

52

Office of British  
Emigration Service

FEB 6 1946

Executive Commission, etc.

I am personally in agreement with the draft memorandum from Chief of British Emigration of January 24th on the Institutional question, subject to United States Policy's comments. I said what Mr. Cowley, I think, is I decided at the meeting, the British Office have already made their position clear, i.e. that they do not consider it desirable to give any formal advice to the Italian Government on the question of a referendum though they have let it be known informally that in their opinion there would be much to be said for the suggestion put forward in private conversation with Sir Noel Charles by Signor De Gasperi that the institutional question should at some stage be referred to the will of the people.

2. I reported our recent discussion to the Foreign Office, and they have confirmed that this is the line to be taken by the British Policy of Canada when the matter comes up for discussion there. The Foreign Office added that they presumed that the main purpose of this discussion was to enable Supreme Allied Commanders to follow up May 1943 with a further telegram to the Combined Chiefs of Staff explaining that May 1943 was now out of date and that there was no mention of him or the Chief Commissioner giving any advice to the Italian Government. They went on to say that such advice could only be given through the diplomatic channel and the British Policy was asked to advise accordingly. In the light of this, AMN enquiry and our draft reply seems to be somewhat premature.

3. In regard to the removal of the line on the discussion of the institutional question the Foreign Office consider that it is for the Italian Government to take the initiative and that no action should be taken by the Allied Governments at this time in the absence of such an Italian initiative. Even when the Italian Government asks to be relieved of their undertaking to amend the latter will naturally refer to the Combined Chiefs for instructions. At that stage the Foreign Office think that it would be appropriate for the question to be considered by the two Governments in consultation and for their decision to be conveyed to the Italian Government through the diplomatic channel. The Foreign Office are not prepared at this stage to say that the view of the British Government would be in such a eventuality but if it were decided that the Italian Government should be relieved of their undertaking, the question of abrogating or amending Decree Law No. 131 would naturally be one for the Italian Government to solve. They think, further, that the Italian Government should not abrogate or amend the Decree Law until they are relieved of their undertaking.

No. 1-0

see 760

see 11.53.4  
55,481

(CAPT O)



8 8

4. In the circumstances, there seem to be two alternatives, the first to send off the draft substantially as it stands but pointing out that it is in the view of the Allied Commission only and is not entirely in accordance with what are known to be the views of the British Government. The other alternative would be to make a draft embodying the above views provided they are also acceptable to the United States Ambassador and of course to the Chief Commissioner.

J. H. Hopkinson

7.11.45

Encl. (2)

cc: Encl. (1)  
Civil Affairs Section.



HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION  
APO 394  
CIVIL AFFAIRS SECTION

Ref: 9/26 A/OA.

Tel. Ext. 525.

29 Jan 46.

SUBJECT: Institutional question.

TO: Office of the Executive Commissioner.

Reference your 310/45/83 of 17 Jan 46.

1 The AFHQ letter, G-5: 019.1/Italy of 13 Jan 46 was examined and discussed at a meeting held by me with Legal and Local Government Sub-Commissioners on Jan 22nd. Polads (A) and (B) were also present.

2 The following comments are made on the points raised in the AFHQ letter.

These comments were circulated in draft to Polads on 24 Jan 46 but they have NOT yet been approved by Polads whose replies are still awaited.

3 (a) Para 2(a)  
NAF 1083 clearly envisaged the possibility of holding a referendum without Allied supervision and therefore circumstances in this respect have not changed.

(b) Para 2(b)  
It is considered that there has been no change in circumstances which alters the basic opinion that a referendum would provide 'the best chance of a fair decision'. The word 'essential' is not used in this connection in NAF 1083.

(c) Para 3.  
Polads (A) and (B) gave as the views of the IS and IK Governments, that the interpretation of Decree Law 151 of June 1944 and any modification or supersession of that Decree are entirely the responsibility of the Italian Government.

It is agreed that a Constituent elected without the Institutional question having been publicly aired beforehand might well not be fully representative.



50

The undertaking given by the Italian Government precludes the institutional question being reopened without Allied consent "until such time as Italy has been liberated and Italian people have the opportunity of themselves determining the form of Government." Italy has now been liberated and it is felt that sooner or later the Italian Government will make an approach with a view to their being released from the undertaking given. It is considered that at this stage the initiative in this matter should be left with the Italian Government.

Moreover, it would be highly undesirable for the Allies to take the initiative in releasing the Italian Government from its undertaking at a time when the law for the national elections and the question of the powers of the Constituent are under consideration by the Italian Government and are shortly to be debated in the Consulta.

In terms of the proposed national electoral law the Italian Government must officially give 70 days notice to the people before the actual date of the election, that an election is to be held. It is considered that such notice-date might be a suitable time for releasing the Italian Government from its undertaking not to raise the institutional question and that the question should then be thrown open to discussion. It may be that the Italian Government will wish to be relieved of their undertaking earlier than this but if so they should be left to raise the matter.

- (2) Para 4.  
It is considered for the reasons given above that the Allies should not take the initiative now in the matter of releasing the Italian Government from its undertaking.

*M. L. R. B. R.*  
H. CARR. B. R. B.  
VF 2A Section.

3396



HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION  
Office of Political Adviser (A)

URGENT

To : Executive Commissioner

Subject: Italian Institutional Question

With reference to the Executive Commissioner's communication on this subject (310/46/EC) of January 24, asking for my comments on the draft of the following meeting on January 24 (reference 9/26A/CA), I should like to state that the Ambassador has approved this draft with the exception of paragraph 3C, which it is recommended be omitted altogether. Other slight modifications which are suggested are in paragraph 3, where the phrase "might well" should, I believe, be substituted by "would"; the phrase "at this stage" in next to last line of paragraph 4, which I believe should be eliminated; while in paragraph 6 I should like to suggest the substitution of the phrase "but in any event the views of the Italian Government should first be obtained" for the phrase "and that the question should then be thrown open to discussion".

*Robert McBride*

Robert McBride  
Assistant Political Adviser (A)

Rome, January 30, 1946

Copy to Polad (B)

*As carried in 9/26.A/CA. Jan 31 (48)*



785017

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 "3395-3396"

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| Date             | <u>4/24/96</u>     |
| From             | <u>CARL</u>        |
| To               | <u>SC</u>          |

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 AG 331  
 ACC Study  
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 Folder 10000/109/155  
 1 document / 2 pages  
 "3395-3396"



ACCESS RESTRICTED

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File Designation 100-108100  
Date 4/24/76  
From CACB  
To RC

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100-108100 Authority  
4/24/76 Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

310 *86*  
HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION  
APO 394  
Office of the Executive Commissioner

47

Ref: 310/46/83

25 JAN 1946  
24 January 1946

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question.

TO: ~~Polad (A)~~  
~~Polad (B)~~  
CA Section. ✓

An early reply to this office's 310/45/83 of 17 January 1946 on the above subject would be appreciated.

*b. Sampson*

*for* Brigadier  
Executive Commissioner

Office of Ex Comm. 2

This matter was discussed at a conference on January 22nd and draft reply is now under examination by Polad whose views are awaited. Reply should be available very shortly.



25/1

*Manby*  
*V.P.O.M.*

*P/A*  
*Will 11/23/46*

*(miss)*

See 48



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

46

Ref: 340/46/80

24 January 1946

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question.

TO : Folad (A)  
Folad (B)  
CA Section.

45

An early reply to this office's 340/45/80 of 17 January 1946 on the above subject would be appreciated.

AD

Brigadier  
Executive Commissioner

See Folio 48-49  
+ 51

5353



RG 331

ACC - 12-24

Box 179

Folder 1000/109/155

17 document / 2 pages

( 3392-3391 )

WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

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The item identified below has been withdrawn from this file:

File Designation

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From

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To

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*KS past 44*

*9/23/81*

Authority

Date



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The item identified below has been withdrawn from this file:

File Designation 100-100-103-  
 Date 1/10/84  
 From 1/17  
 To 2/1/82

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8-2-74 Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA FPMR 7117 (2-72)

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To \_\_\_\_\_

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Authority \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA FORM 7117 (7-72)



AG 331

ACC Study

Box 199

Folder 10000/109/155

Document 11 page

43390 - 3389)

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|                  |                      |
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| File Designation | <u>10000/109/155</u> |
| Date             | <u>11/3/86</u>       |
| From             | <u>Harvard</u>       |
| To               | <u>AC</u>            |

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100-119150 Authority gls/74  
Date

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GSA FORM 7117 (10-72)



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## WITHDRAWAL NOTICE

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Authority \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

APHA for G-5, Wm. Folad, British Remain

9240

12 December 1945

PRIORITY

RESTRICTED PD

ORIGINAL COPIES OF DECLASSIFIED LETTERS ON INSTITUTIONAL MATTERS AND AGREEMENT  
TO AMBITIOUS OBLIGATIONS BEING FORWARDED TO THE U.S. TODAY PD  
PAID TO AIR MAIL FOR GEORGE FIVE UNTIL 1945 FOLAD BRITISH REMAIN FROM THE AIRMAIL  
FROM AIRMAIL 12-12-45 (12) 12-12-45

DISTRIBUTION:

US Ambassador  
UK Ambassador  
FOLAD (A)  
FOLAD (B)  
Exec Comm  
IC

Chief Commissioner

222

MILTON H. STONE  
Rear Admiral, USN  
Chief Commissioner

338

12/12



EXTRACT from the Minutes of SACMED's  
Conference (2nd Meeting) - 2.Aug.1945.  
-----

MINUTE No.5.

5. ITALIAN INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION - SPEECH BY SIGNOR NENNI.

(Previous reference SAC 45, 1st Meeting, Minute 8).

REAR ADMIRAL STONE reported that, in accordance with the directions given at the last conference, he had called on the Italian Prime Minister, and informed him that Signor Nenni's recent speech in MILAN was a violation of his oath as an Italian Minister, and such conduct was not likely to induce confidence in the Italian Government on the part of the United States and British Governments. The Prime Minister had readily agreed and had undertaken to express this view to Signor Nenni. The Chief Commissioner added that he had taken the opportunity at the same time of expressing similar concern regarding an unconfirmed report of a speech along the same lines made by Signor Togliatti, the Minister of Justice.

THE SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER:

Took note, with approval, of the above report.

Copy to: File 510/EC.  
" 6520/EC.

3356  
PA  
u/s



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

**SECRET**

P 31793  
AUG 031907B

F/2613  
AUG 041300B  
ROUTINE

From: AFHQ SIGNED SACRED CITE FHGEG  
To: AFCCOM ROME

**Confidential**

**SECRET**

Ref our NAF 1043 repeated you. Italian institutional question is now subject discussion on diplomatic level between UNITED STATES - UNITED KINGDOM according to TAM 649 today received. CCS premise notify decisions when reached.

Dist

Action - S.O. to Chief Commissioner  
Info - Exec Comar 2  
CA Sec  
POLAD A  
POLAD B  
File

**SECRET**

HEADQUARTERS  
1 AUG 1945  
A. C.

1030 + 100  
3385  
PA  
88

(S. K. M. R. C. R.)



C O P Y.

(Original - 6530/50)

37

Orig. Ref : FX 28252  
Date & TOO : JULY 26121CB

M/Centre No: F/1458  
Date/Time Rec'd: July 271000B  
Precedence: ROUTINE.

FROM : ALEXANDER CITE PHISCO

TO : AGWAR FOR COMBINED CHIEFS OF STAFF AND  
TO AMSSO FOR BRITISH CHIEFS OF STAFF  
INFO ALCOM

Confidential

SECRET.

34-36 refer

Pursuant to policy permitting political meetings in AMG territory, NENNI, Italian vice Premier and minister responsible for preparation of the Constituent Assembly, was allowed to address large meeting in MILAN 22 July purpose of which was announced as Treasury bond campaign and wheat amassing. This is RAF 1046. In fact NENNI campaigned for a Republic.

Such action contravenes the oath taken by NENNI on taking office.

I instructed the Chief Commissioner Allied Commission to protest to the Italian Prime Minister emphasising that Signor NENNI has violated his oath and that such action by an Italian Minister is not likely to induce confidence in the Italian Govt on the part of the UNITED STATES and BRITISH Govts.

Above reported for your information.

Dist

Info-Action - Ex.Com 2  
Info - C.Com  
Polad A  
Polad B  
CA Sec  
File

3300



SECRET

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF SACRED  
CO. RENEE (Meeting) held on 24  
July 1945.

MINUTE No. 8.

8. ITALIAN INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION - SPEECH BY SIGNOR NENNI.

(Paper No. SAC (45) 6)

35

THE CONFERENCE had before them a paper, recommending that the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, should be instructed to protest strongly to the Italian Prime Minister in regard to a speech by Signor Nenni in which he campaigned for a republic, and attaching a draft cable to the Combined Chiefs of Staff reporting the incident and the action taken.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL MORGAN said that it appeared from the press reports of Signor Nenni's speech that the undertaking not to raise the institutional question had been violated. It seemed desirable, therefore, that the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, should approach the Italian Prime Minister and register a strong protest, especially as Signor Nenni was the Italian Minister charged with the responsibility for preparing impartially the Constituent Assembly which was to decide between a republic and a monarchy.

REAR ADMIRAL STONE said that he had now been able to obtain confirmation of the exact words used by Signor Nenni, which he read to the Conference. While these words were undoubtedly most improper the Associated Press report had clearly exaggerated his actual statement. It was incorrect to state that Signor Nenni had campaigned vigorously for a Republic, and he (Rear Admiral Stone) did not consider this statement could be construed as a violation of the undertaking of the Italian Government. It was, however, a violation of his oath by an individual minister. He doubted whether, under the current directive of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, the Allied Commission had a right to caution the government in the manner indicated in the paper. Moreover, the legal situation was complicated by the fact that the speech had taken place in AMG territory. He suggested, therefore, that his representations to the Italian Prime Minister should take the line of suggesting that such violations of his oath by an Italian minister were not likely to induce confidence in the Italian Government on the part of the United States and British Governments.

MR. KING agreed that this speech by one minister did not constitute a violation of its undertaking by the entire Italian Government. He did not consider it advisable to stress the fact that the speech took place in AMG territory, as this would only invite the making of similar

X



reports of Signor Mennd said that it appeared from the press institutional question had been violated. It seemed desirable, therefore, that the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, should approach the Italian Prime Minister and register a strong protest, especially as Signor Mennd was the Italian Minister charged with the responsibility for preparing impartially the Constituent Assembly which was to decide between a republic and a monarchy.

REAR ADMIRAL STONE said that he had now been able to obtain confirmation of the exact words used by Signor Mennd, which he read to the Conference. While these words were undoubtedly most improper the Associated Press report had clearly exaggerated his actual statement. It was incorrect to state that Signor Mennd had campaigned vigorously for a Republic, and he (Rear Admiral Stone) did not consider this statement could be construed as a violation of the undertaking of the Italian Government. It was, however, a violation of his oath by an individual Minister. He doubted whether, under the current directive of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, the Allied Commission had a right to caution the government in the manner indicated in the paper. Moreover, the legal situation was complicated by the fact that the speech had taken place in AMG territory. He suggested, therefore, that his representations to the Italian Prime Minister should take the line of suggesting that such violations of his oath by an Italian Minister were not likely to induce confidence in the Italian Government on the part of the United States and British Governments.

X

MR. KILK agreed that this speech by one Minister did not constitute a violation of its undertaking by the entire Italian Government. He did not consider it advisable to stress the fact that the speech took place in AMG territory, as this would only invite the making of similar speeches in territory which had been handed back to the Italian Government.

MR. BROAD, agreeing with the remarks of the United States Political Adviser, considered that the form of protest suggested by the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, would be preferable.

#### THE DEPUTY SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER:

- (a) Directed that a protest should be made to the Italian Prime Minister by the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, on the lines of his remarks at 'X' above.
- (b) Instructed the Chief of Staff to revise the draft telegram circulated under Paper No. SAC (45) 6 to conform with this direction at (a) above and subsequently to despatch it.

Despatched as MAP 1048 of 26 July 45

Copy in 6520/EC

See 37 42

37



C O P Y.

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS  
Supreme Allied Commander's Secretariat.

SAC (45) 6.  
24th July 1945

SECRET

SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER'S CONFERENCE

ITALIAN INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION - SPEECH BY  
SIGNOR MENNI.

Note by Chief of Staff.

1. It is reported by Associated Press that Signor Menni, the Italian Vice Premier and the Minister responsible for preparing Constituent Assembly and for anti-fascist sanctions, in an address to a large political meeting in MILAN on 22nd July 1945, campaigned vigorously for a republic. Such action contravenes the undertaking not to raise the institutional question, signed by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Italian government as a whole and the oath which was taken by Signor Menni on assuming office.

2. If the report by Associated Press is confirmed, the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, should be instructed to protest strongly, on behalf of the Supreme Allied Commander, to the Italian Prime Minister. He should emphasise that Signor Menni has violated his oath and that any repetition of such action would be viewed with the utmost gravity by the Allied Governments.

3. The Supreme Allied Commander is requested:

(a) To approve the course of action recommended in paragraph 2 above.

(b) To authorise the despatch of the signal at Appendix "A" reporting to the Combined Chiefs of Staff the incident and the action taken in regard to it.

(intd) W.D.M.

Ex.Com's Distribution:



1. It is reported by Associated Press that Signor Menndi, the Italian Vice Premier and the Minister responsible for preparing Constituent Assembly and for anti-fascist sanctions, in an address to a large political meeting in MILAN on 22nd July 1945, campaigned vigorously for a republic. Such action contravenes the undertaking not to raise the institutional question, signed by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Italian government as a whole and the oath which was taken by Signor Menndi on assuming office.

2. If the report by Associated Press is confirmed, the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, should be instructed to protest strongly, on behalf of the Supreme Allied Commander, to the Italian Prime Minister. He should emphasise that Signor Menndi has violated his oath and that any repetition of such action would be viewed with the utmost gravity by the Allied Governments.

3. The Supreme Allied Commander is requested:

(a) To approve the course of action recommended in paragraph 2 above.

(b) To authorise the despatch of the signal at Appendix "A" reporting to the Combined Chiefs of Staff the incident and the action taken in regard to it.

(Intd) W.D.M.

Ex.Com's Distribution:

Copy No. 31 - Chief Commissioner  
" No. 32 - Ex. Commissioner  
" No. 33 - Political Advisers

Cop. to: 6520/6c.

3381



SECRET.

APPE X "A".

34

TO : AMWAR for Combined Chiefs of Staff.  
AMSSO for British Chiefs of Staff.

Confidential

This is NAF \_\_\_\_\_

1. Pursuant to policy permitting political meetings in AMG territory, NENNI, Italian Vice Premier and Minister responsible for preparation of the Constituent Assembly, was allowed to address large meeting in MILAN 22 July purpose of which was announced as treasury bond campaign and wheat assessing. In fact NENNI campaigned vigorously for a republic.
2. Such action contravenes the undertaking not to raise institutional question signed on behalf of Italian government as whole and the oath taken by NENNI on taking office.
3. I have instructed Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, to protest strongly to the Italian Prime Minister, emphasising that Signor NENNI has violated his oath and that any repetition would be viewed with the utmost gravity by the Allied Governments.
4. Above reported for your information.



for preparation of the Constituent Assembly, was allowed to address large meeting in MILAN 22 July purpose of which was announced as treasury bond campaign and wheat amassing. In fact NENNI campaigned vigorously for a republic.

2. Such action contravenes the undertaking not to raise institutional question signed on behalf of Italian government as whole and the oath taken by NENNI on taking office.

3. I have instructed Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, to protest strongly to the Italian Prime Minister, emphasising that Signor NENNI has violated his oath and that any repetition would be viewed with the utmost gravity by the Allied Governments.

4. Above reported for your information.

3380



0313

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 735017

310.4

Ex Am 6392

26

19 July 1945

JUL 21 1945

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question

TO : The Office of the British Resident Minister

1. With reference to your memorandum 150/9/3 of 25 June, no objection is seen to the issue of a statement from the State Department and Foreign Office referring to the present stand-still arrangements concerning the institutional question.

2. It is felt, however, that the Italian decree referred to, while not specifically passed at Allied request, was in fact enacted because of Allied requirements that the institutional question should not be discussed.

3. In these circumstances it is considered that any statement should be so phrased as to make it clear that Italy has not yet been capable of settling her future form of government, owing to the recent liberation of the country and the extensive political preparations necessary. Reference should also be made to the fact that the Italian decree suspending consideration of the institutional question was passed because of these factors.

4. The substance of your memorandum and this reply is being sent to the Combined Chiefs of Staff for information.

5. The question of ultimate settlement of the institutional question by referendum, advocated by Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, in his 310/11/EC of 30 June, of which you have a copy, is being studied separately.

2

W. D. MORGAN,  
Lieutenant General,  
Chief of Staff.

Copy to: U.S. Political Adviser.  
Headquarters, Allied Commission,  
APO 394.

See M.O.

22 JUL 1945

See M.O. 27

(Mr. Hadden)



SECRET

PX 25466

F/627  
JUL 21 0930

JUL 21 1945

FROM: AFHQ SIGNED ALEXANDER CITE PHCEG

TO: ACTION AGWAR WASHINGTON (FOR CCS) AMEMB LONDON (FOR BRITISH CHIEFS OF STAFF) INFO ALCON BOMB (PERSONAL FOR ADMIRAL STONE) TERMINAL

SECRET.

(Personal for FIELD MARSHAL ALEXANDER).

Consideration of Italian Institutional question. This is NAF

1043.

1. Liberation of north ITALY and setup of FARRI Government which includes representatives of north ITALY makes it obvious that question of ultimate settlement of Italia Institutional question is one which will come rapidly into increasing prominence. Undertakings signed by Italian Government preclude question being re-opened without Allied consent "until such time as ITALY has been liberated and Italian people have the opportunity of themselves determining the form of Government." It is probable however that Italian Government will shortly press question. Guidance as to line of action to be taken is therefore desirable.

2. It is clear to me and my political advisers that when it is decided to allow the institutional question to be re-opened the best chance of a fair decision on the issue between monarchy and republic would be a referendum or plebiscite - preferably under Allied supervision. Even if Allied supervision is not deemed expedient a referendum under Italian auspices would still be preferable to the present assembly with the double duty



FROM AFHQ SIGNED ALEXANDER GITE PHGES

JUL 21 1945

TO: ACTION AGAR WASHINGTON (FOR GCS) AMSSO LONDON (FOR BRITISH CHIEFS OF STAFF) INFO ASOM WOME (PERSONAL FOR ADMIRAL STONE) TERMINAL

SECRET.

(Personal for FIELD MARSHAL ALEXANDER).

Consideration of Italian Institutional question. This is RAS 1043.

1. Liberation of north ITALY and setup of RASHI Government which includes representatives of north ITALY makes it obvious that question of ultimate settlement of Italian Institutional question is one which will come rapidly into increasing prominence. Undertaking signed by Italian Government preclude question being re-opened without Allied consent "until such time as ITALY has been liberated and Italian people have the opportunity of themselves determining the form of Government." It is probable however that Italian Government will shortly press question. Guidance as to line of action to be taken is therefore desirable.

2. It is clear to me and my political advisers that when it is decided to allow the institutional question to be re-opened the best chance of a fair decision on the issue between monarchy and republic would be a referendum or plebiscite - preferably under Allied supervision. Even if Allied supervision is not deemed expedient a referendum under Italian auspices would still be preferable to the election of delegates to a constituent assembly with the double duty of deciding both the principle and exact form of government. The reason is simple.

SECRET Dec 38 Du Mar 25  
11 (As. Record) 11  
1732



CONTINUATION PAGE 2**SECRET**

(23)

In countries such as ITALY with limited experience in recent years of Democratic Government and under the circumstances existing here it is unrealistic to expect that no improper attempt will be made by domestic or external interests to secure the result desired by them. It will clearly be far more difficult to manipulate a referendum throughout the whole country than to influence the members of a constituent assembly.

3. However, communique published 23 June 1944 by Italian Government referring to an Italian decree which was published on the institutional question states "this measure establishes by legislative process that after the liberation of the national territory the institutional question will be decided by the Italian people who, for this purpose will elect by universal direct and secret ballot a constituent assembly to decide the new constitution of the state."

4. While the decree stands in its present form it does not provide for the settlement of institutional question by referendum. The following methods of obtaining a referendum in spite of this situation however present themselves.

(A) To advise the Italian Government that they should consider the revision of the present decree and its substitution by a new decree designed to achieve settlement by referendum. It could be indicated to the Italian Government that such revision would be a sign of the governments desire to assist the Allied governments in discharging their declared commitments to enable the Italian people to choose freely their permanent form of government.

(B) If it is considered impolitic to ask the Italian Government to modify this decree that government could be requested that when passing a supplementary decree setting up the machinery and

**SECRET**



CONTINUATION PAGE 3

**SECRET**

(22)

procedure of the constituent assembly (as will be necessary in any case) a clause should be included requiring that the decision of the constituent assembly on the institutional question should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection by means of a national referendum. The objection to this course is that the prior decision of the constituent assembly is likely to affect that result of the referendum.

(C) An appropriate clause might be inserted in the Peace Treaty or any other instrument which terminates the current relationship with ITALY (should this be negotiated soon enough) or an appropriate undertaking required of the Italian Government in negotiations preliminary to the signature of such a treaty or instrument to the effect that the institutional question would be decided by referendum rather than by a constituent assembly. Actually such a demand on the part of the Allies would not be objected to by many Italians.

5. It is improbable that complete voters list will be available before mid-November and it is doubtful if a proper referendum could be held before next January at the earliest.

6. It is felt that Allied intervention if considered desirable might well be made through diplomatic channels but that this matter should be reported to you at this stage for information and guidance.

7. Directions are accordingly requested.

DIST

3375

ACTION - SO TO CHIEF COMMISSIONER  
INFO - EXEC COMMISSIONER /  
POLAD (A) (FOR THE AMBASSADOR)  
POLAD (B) (FOR THE AMBASSADOR)  
FILE (S&K)

**SECRET**



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

SECRET.SECRET.

(21)

EXTRACT from the Minutes of SACMED's  
Conference (Political) 16th Meeting,  
held on 20th July 1945

~~Confidential~~Minute No. 10.10. ITALIAN INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

(Paper No. SAC (P) (45) 35)

THE CONFERENCE had before them a paper stating that, when the Italian institutional question was reopened, it was desirable that the choice between the monarchy and republic should be made by a referendum rather than by a decision of a Constituent Assembly, and attaching a draft cable to the Combined Chiefs of Staff reporting this view, suggesting certain action <sup>which</sup> might be taken to produce a referendum, and requesting guidance.

REAR ADMIRAL STONE said that the paper erred in stating that voters' lists would not be completed till next Spring. These lists would in fact be completed by mid-November. However, for a number of reasons it was unlikely to be possible to hold a plebiscite before the Spring. He considered that there was no doubt that the solution of the problem by referendum would ensure a more democratic result, as in the present state of ITALY it was certain that undemocratic influences would be brought to bear on the members of a Constituent Assembly. If the matter were to be settled by a Constituent Assembly their decision would probably be in favour of a republic. It was, however, quite impossible to predict what the result would be if the matter were settled by plebiscite, as there had been no free expression of opinion in ITALY for such a long period.

MR. KIRK agreed with the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, and considered that a freely held referendum or plebiscite was the only way by which the United States and British governments could carry out the undertakings they had given to the Italian people.

MR. BROAD also agreed that a referendum was a more desirable method of solution.

REAR ADMIRAL STONE, referring to the draft cable to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, said that the reasons for preferring a referendum had not been expressed at sufficient length. With regard to the proposal that the Allies might advise the Italian government to revise the existing decree (which stated that the decision would be made by a Constituent Assembly), he observed that the political liaison officers attached to his Headquarters in ROME had advised him that it might be impolitic to ask the Italian government to modify this decree. He had further been advised that the Foreign Office and State Department would not view the revocation of the existing decree with favour as they considered it went some way towards meeting what was required. He therefore tabled an amendment to the proposed telegram to the effect that the decision should



-2-

20

be made by a Constituent Assembly but that the decision of that Assembly should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection by means of a national referendum, and that this procedure should be laid down in a supplementary decree which would in any case be necessary to set up the machinery for the Constituent Assembly.

MR. KIRK observed that this would involve an additional process in deciding the question. Moreover the fact that a proposal had already been agreed by the Constituent Assembly would be likely to affect the free choice of the people at the referendum. He did not believe the State Department's views had yet been clearly determined in the direction suggested by the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission. Mr. Kirk thought, therefore, there could be no objection to putting up the original proposal if it were considered desirable.

ADMIRAL CUNNINGHAM suggested that, as the object of the cable was to ask for guidance, the two possible methods of solution which had been suggested should be put forward as alternatives.

THE DEPUTY SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER, agreeing with Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, thought that a third possible method of solution should be mentioned. This would be that the Italian government would be required in the peace treaty, or in the negotiations preliminary to the peace treaty, to undertake to settle the matter by referendum.

THE DEPUTY SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER:

Instructed the Deputy Chief of Staff to redraft for his approval, in the light of the above discussion, the cable circulated under Paper No. SAC (F) (45) 35, and subsequently to despatch it as amended. %

19

% Despatched as NAF 1043 of 20 July 1945.

74

20th July 1945.

6372

Executive Commissioner's Distribution.

Civil Affairs Section (Info).  
File 310/EC.



C O P Y.

SECRET.

K 207

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS  
Supreme Allied Commanders Secretariat.

SAC (P) (45) 35  
17 July 1945

SECRET.  
COPY No. 35.

SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER'S CONFERENCE  
(POLITICAL)

ITALIAN INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION

1. Now that the North of ITALY has been liberated and the Parri Government, including representatives of the north, has been formed, the ultimate method of settlement of the Italian Institutional question is clearly a matter which will come into rapidly increasing prominence both in ITALY and abroad. In this connection the British and United States Governments have pledged themselves that the Italian people shall have a "free and untrammelled choice of the permanent form of their government" and have guaranteed that "in so far as possible, the will of the majority of the Italian People shall be carried out". ++

2. The Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, considers that, in order to allow the Italian people such a free choice, it will be best if the question is ultimately solved by a referendum or a plebiscite rather than by a vote passed by a Constituent Assembly. The following are extracts of the arguments which lead him to this conclusion: -

- (a) "In countries such as ITALY, with limited experience in recent years of democratic government, and under the circumstances presently existing here, it is unrealistic to expect that no attempt will be made by domestic or external interests to secure the result desired by them. It will be clearly far more difficult to manipulate a referendum throughout the whole country than to lobby and cajole the members of a Constituent body".
- (b) "Signor Borromi expressed after the Yalta conference the hope that the Allied Governments would require in the peace treaty or otherwise that the Italian Institutional question be determined by referendum rather than by constituent assembly 'in order to avoid the danger of having this question decided by less than a majority of the Italian people'".

3. The settlement of the matter by a referendum is, however, ~~being~~ <sup>being</sup> allocated by the fact that in June 1944, the Italian government passed a decree



clearly a matter which will come into rapidly increasing prominence both in ITALY and abroad. In this connection the British and United States Governments have pledged themselves that the Italian people shall have a "free and untrammelled choice of the permanent form of their government" and have guaranteed that "in so far as possible, the will of the majority of the Italian People shall be carried out". \*\*

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(a) "In countries such as ITALY, with limited experience in recent years of democratic government, and under the circumstances presently existing here, it is unrealistic to expect that no attempt will be made by domestic or external interests to secure the result desired by them. It will be clearly far more difficult to manipulate a referendum throughout the whole country than to lobby and cajole the members of a Constituent body".

(b) "Signor Bonomi expressed after the Yalta conference the hope that the Allied Governments would require in the peace treaty or otherwise that the Italian institutional question be determined by referendum rather than by constituent assembly 'in order to avoid the danger of having this question decided by less than a majority of the Italian people'".

3. The settlement of the matter by a referendum is, however, complicated by the fact that in June 1944 the Italian government passed a decree the purport of which was announced as follows:-

"This measure establishes, by legislative process, that after the liberation of the national territory the institutional question will be decided by the Italian people, who, for this purpose will elect by universal, direct and secret ballot a Constituent Assembly to decide the new Constitution of the State".

4. The Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, considers that this decree precludes the Italian Government from taking action on its own initiative so as to decide the institutional question by referendum. However, he is of the opinion that:

\*\* - Aide Memoire of British Embassy in Washington to Department of State on May 15, 1945 and Department of State's reply of May 26.



18

-2-

- a. The decree would be abrogated by another, arranging for a referendum, and that it would not be inappropriate for the Allies to suggest to the Italian Government that the legislation should be revised in this manner in order to assist the Allied Governments in carrying out their commitments regarding "the free and untrammelled choice of the Italian people of their permanent form of government".
- b. The revised legislation might provide for the referendum to take place when the voters lists have been completed for the whole of ITALY, less VENEZIA GIULIA. It is not, however, envisaged that these lists will be ready before the spring of this year.
5. The Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5, the British Resident Minister and the United States Political Adviser, suggest that the arguments put forward by the Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission, have considerable weight and recommend that the policy which he has suggested should be approved.
6. The Supreme Allied Commander is accordingly requested:
- (a) To approve the despatch of the draft cable at Appendix "A" reporting the matter to the Combined Chiefs of Staff for information and guidance.
- (b) To invite the United States Political Adviser and the British Resident Minister to report the matter in a similar sense through their diplomatic channels.

J.G. SWEETMAN,  
LIEUTENANT COLONEL,  
SECRETARY.

AFHQ Distribution:

Chief Commissioner, HQ AC - Copy No. 34-36.

Executive Commissioner's  
Distribution:

|                        |   |             |
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| Chief Commissioner     | - | Copy No. 34 |
| Executive Commissioner | - | Copy No. 35 |
| Political Advisers     | - | Copy No. 36 |

3870



(a) To approve the despatch of the draft cable at Appendix "A" reporting the matter to the Combined Chiefs of Staff for information and guidance. X

(b) To invite the United States Political Adviser and the British Resident Minister to report the matter in a similar sense through their diplomatic channels.

J.G. SWEETMAN,  
LIEUTENANT COLONEL,  
SECRETARY.

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Typewritten copy to CA Section.  
(21 35 45)

3370

X II IS RECORDED - SEE 22



COPY.

SECRET.

K 207

D R A F T.

TO : AGWAR FOR COMBINED CHIEFS OF STAFF  
AMSSO FOR BRITISH CHIEFS OF STAFF

INFO : ALCOM

This is MAP \_\_\_\_\_.

Consideration of Italian institutional question.

1. Liberation of North and set up of Parri Government which includes representatives of North makes it obvious that question of ultimate settlement of Italian institutional question is one which will come rapidly into increasing prominence. Undertakings signed by Italian Government preclude question being re-opened without Allied consent "until such time as ITALY has been liberated and Italian people have the opportunity of themselves determining the form of government". It is probable, however, that Italian Government will shortly press question. Guidance as to line of action to be taken is therefore desirable.

2. I consider that institutional question, when allowed to be re-opened, could best be solved by referendum to Italian people rather than by vote of a Constituent Assembly. This advocated on grounds that first Constituent Assembly elected might not be truly representative of Italian people and that referendum would give best chance to all to state their desires.

3. Communiqué published 23 June 1944 by Italian Government referring to an Italian decree which was published on the institutional question states:

"This measure establishes, by legislative process, that after the liberation of the national territory the institutional question will be decided by the Italian people, who, for this purpose, will elect by universal, direct and secret ballot a Constituent Assembly to decide the new Constitution of the State".

4. While the decree of itself precludes settlement of institutional question by referendum we consider there is nothing to prohibit Italian Government passing



re-opened without Allied consent "until such time as ITALY has been liberated and Italian people have the opportunity of themselves determining the form of government". It is probable, however, that Italian Government will shortly press question. Guidance as to line of action to be taken is therefore desirable.

2. I consider that institutional question, when allowed to be re-opened, could best be solved by referendum to Italian people rather than by vote of a Constituent Assembly. This advocated on grounds that first Constituent Assembly elected might not be truly representative of Italian people and that referendum would give best chance to all to state their desires.

3. Communiqué published 23 June 1944 by Italian Government referring to an Italian decree which was published on the institutional question states:

"This measure establishes, by legislative process, that after the liberation of the national territory the institutional question will be decided by the Italian people, who, for this purpose, will elect by universal, direct and secret ballot a Constituent Assembly to decide the new Constitution of the State".

4. While the decree of itself precludes settlement of institutional question by referendum we consider there is nothing to prohibit Italian Government passing new decree to achieve settlement by referendum. The Italian Government might be appropriately advised that they should consider the revision of the present decree; and that such revision would be a sign of the Government's desire to assist the Allied Governments in discharging their declared ~~commitments~~ commitments to enable the Italian people to choose freely their permanent form of government.

5. It is improbable that complete voters lists on which proper referendum could be founded could be ready before next Spring.

6. It is felt that Allied intervention, if considered desirable, might well be made through diplomatic channels but that this matter should be report to you at this stage for information and guidance.

7. Directions are accordingly requested. (original at 22)



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS  
G-3 Section  
APO 512

9 July 1945

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question.

JUL 17 1945

TO : Chief of Staff.

THRU : Chief Administrative Officer.

I. Discussion

1. Now that the North of Italy has been liberated and the Parri Government, including representatives of the North, has been formed, it is obvious that the question of the ultimate method of settlement of the Italian institutional question is one which will come rapidly into increasing prominence both in Italy and abroad. A separate Staff Study is before you on the question of the desirability of a public statement being made by the Foreign Office and State Department to allay criticisms on the basis so far imposed by the Allies on the solution of the institutional question.

2. The Chief Commissioner has recently submitted to SACRED a letter on the question of determination of the Italian institutional question. In this he comes to the conclusion that the question would best be solved ultimately by a referendum to or plebiscite by the Italian people, rather than by vote passed by a Constituent Assembly. This letter has been passed to this Section for action and is attached at TAB A.

3. In submitting the letter the Chief Commissioner makes reference to previous documents on the institutional question and those in possession of this Section appear at TABS B and C. These are referred to in more detail in succeeding paragraphs of this Study where considered appropriate.

4. The Chief Commissioner's reasons for preferring a referendum to a vote of a Constituent Assembly, are summarized as follows:-

a. "In countries such as Italy, with limited experience in recent years of democratic government, and under the circumstances presently existing here, it is unrealistic to expect that no attempt will be made by domestic or external interests to secure the result desired by them. It will be



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 385017

clearly far more difficult to manipulate a referendum throughout the whole country than to lobby and cajole the members of a Constituent body" (para 4 of TAB B).

b. "It is hardly necessary to add that events and public statements over the past year have shown that, if the institutional question were to be decided by the constituent assembly, stray political interests would undertake a concerted campaign to ensure the result desired by them, perhaps without sincere reference to the needs of the Italian people. Without in any way whatsoever taking sides in this question, it would seem that these utterances seriously prejudice an impartial solution thereof". (para 3 of TAB A).

c. Signor Bonomi expressed to the Chief Commissioner after the Yalta conference the hope that the Allied Governments would require in the peace treaty or otherwise that the Italian institutional question be determined by referendum rather than by constituent assembly "in order to avoid the danger of having this question decided by less than a majority of the Italian people". (Para 2 of TAB C).

5. In discussing the question of holding a referendum the Chief Commissioner refers to the decree passed by the Italian Government in June 1944. The purport of this decree as stated in the Italian Government communique of 23 June 1944 is as follows:-

"This measure establishes, by legislative process, that after the liberation of the national territory the institutional question will be decided by the Italian people, who, for this purpose will elect by universal, direct and secret ballot a Constituent Assembly to decide the new Constitution of the State."

The Chief Commissioner expressed the opinion that the decree in question, of itself, precludes the Government from deciding the institutional question by referendum, but expresses the opinion that this decree can well be abrogated by another decree which would allow a referendum to be held. The Chief Commissioner is of the opinion that it would not be out of the question to suggest to the Italian Government "that a revision of this legislation might be desirable as an expression of the will of the Italian Government to assist the Allied Governments in carrying out their commitments regarding the free and untrammelled choice of the Italian people of their permanent form of Government".

The Chief Commissioner suggests that the revised legislation might provide for the referendum to take place when voters' lists have been completed for the whole of Italy less Venezia Giulia. In this connection a signal from ALCOM at



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

785017

SECRET

(14)

TAB D envisages that these would not be ready before the Spring of next year.

Not true

6. It is considered that the arguments put forward by the Chief Commissioner have considerable weight and that a substantial policy question is involved. It is felt that Allied intervention in the matter, if such is considered desirable, might well be made through diplomatic channels but that the matter should now be reported to CCS by cable in NAF series for information and guidance.

## II. Action Recommended

That the draft cable at TAB E be approved and returned to this Section for despatch in NAF series.

## III. Concurrences

Brit Res Min \_\_\_\_\_

U.S. Polad \_\_\_\_\_

Incls:  
as above

CHARLES M. SPOTFORD  
Brigadier General, G.S.C.  
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5

3366

-3- SECRET



C O P Y

SECRET

ROUTINE

TO : All NAF addressees

INFO : ALCOM

Confidential

This is NAF\_\_\_\_\_.

Consideration of Italian institutional question.

1. Liberation of North and set up of Parri Government which includes representatives of North makes it obvious that question of ultimate settlement of Italian institutional question is one which will come rapidly into increasing prominence. Undertakings signed by Italian Government preclude question being re-opened without Allied consent "until such time as Italy has been liberated and Italian people have the opportunity of themselves determining the form of government". It is probable, however, that Italian Government will shortly press question. Guidance as to line of action to be taken is therefore desirable.

2. Chief Commissioner Allied Commission considers that institutional question, when allowed to be re-opened, could best be solved by referendum to Italian people rather than by vote of a Constituent Assembly. This advocated on grounds that first Constituent Assembly elected might not be truly representative of Italian people and that referendum would give best chance to all to state their desires.

3. Communique published 23 June 1944 by Italian Government referring to an Italian decree which was published on the institutional question states:

"This measure establishes, by legislative process, that after the liberation of the national territory the institutional question will be decided by the Italian people, who, for this purpose, will elect by universal, direct and secret ballot a Constituent Assembly to decide the new Constitution of the State."

4. While the decree of itself precludes settlement of institutional question by referendum we consider there is nothing to prohibit Italian Government passing new decree to achieve settlement by referendum. The Italian Government might be appropriately advised that they should consider the revision of the present decree: and that such revision would be a sign of the Government's desire to assist the Allied Governments in discharging their declared commitments to enable the Italian people to choose freely their permanent form of government.

5. It is improbable that complete voters lists on which proper referendum could be founded could be ready before next Spring.

6. It is felt that Allied intervention, if considered desirable, might well be made through diplomatic channels but that this matter should be reported to you at this stage for information and guidance.

7. Directions are accordingly requested on the matter.



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

G-5 AFHQ

1267

5 July 45

Confidential  
Priority

## Summary

REFERENCE GEORGE FIVE ZERO NINE ONE ONE ITALY OF TWENTYSIXTH JUNE AND  
GEORGE FIVE ZERO NINE ONE ONE ITALY OF SECOND JULY 19

PARCE TO GEORGE FIVE AMPR FROM HEADQUARTERS ALONG CITE ACROSS PARK.

SUBJECT ITALIAN INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION TO WE CONSIDER <sup>13th</sup> ~~THE~~ THE POSITION ~~THE~~ SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH THREE OF MR HUNNELL'S MEMORANDUM OF THE THIRTYFIFTH JUNE REFERENCE ONE FIVE ZERO OBLIQUE NINE OBLIQUE THREE TO

Copy to: Commissioner

3364

Office of Executive Commissioner

340

E. Talbot

Lt. Col.

Scan by E.C. - See 7107

BU 10

1A



Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017Miss Russell

Any reply to  
this please? See  
potter's red-lined  
on Page 3.

J. 26  
6.



310  
ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS  
G-5 Section  
APO 512

EC  
14538

C-5: 091.1 ITALY

2 July 1945

JUL 4 1945

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question

TO : Headquarters, Allied Commission, APO 394.  
(Attention Chief Commissioner)

1. Reference is made to G5:091.1 Italy of  
26 June.

2. It is requested you will indicate when  
you expect to be in a position to reply.

*for distribution of*  
CHARLES M. SPORFORD  
Brigadier General, G.S.C. 3303  
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5

(50)



SECRET

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION  
120 394  
Office of the Chief Commissioner

Ref: 310/11/33.

30 June 1945.

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question.

TO : Supreme Allied Commander,  
Allied Force Headquarters.

1. In discussing the question of the method of determination of the future form of government of Italy, it is assumed that the primary consideration is the maintenance of the pledges of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain toward the Italian people of a free and untrammelled choice of the permanent form of their Government, and the guarantee that, insofar as possible, the will of the majority of the Italian people shall be carried out (aside from the British Embassy in Washington to Department of State on May 15, 1945 and Department of State's reply of May 26).

2. Under present conditions in Italy, it would appear that the ultimate decision affecting the institutional question might be most justly brought about by means of a referendum rather than by entrusting the decision to the constituent assembly. Although it is the opinion of the Legal Sub-Commission of the Allied Commission that Decree Law 151 of June 25, 1944, precludes the Government from deciding this question by a referendum (ACC/4005/2 of 6 Oct 1944), paragraph 4 of the same opinion points out that this decree law can be at any time abrogated by the enactment of a subsequent similar piece of legislation. Furthermore, since the original legislation was passed without consultation with the Allied Commission, it would appear to be not out of the question to suggest to the Italian Government that a revision of this legislation might be desirable as an expression of the will of the Italian Government to assist the Allied Governments in carrying out their commitments regarding the free and untrammelled choice by the Italian people of their permanent form of Government. The revised legislation might provide that the referendum should be held as soon as the lists of voters for the whole of Italy other than Venetia Giulia have been completed - in other words, that it might take place at the same time as the provincial and communal elections and not await the election for the Constituent Assembly.

2



1. In discussing the question of the method of determination of the future form of government of Italy, it is assumed that the primary consideration in the maintenance of the pledges of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain towards the Italian people of a free and untrammelled choice of the permanent form of their Government, and the guarantee that, insofar as possible, the will of the majority of the Italian people shall be carried out (Aide-Memoire of British Embassy in Washington to Department of State on May 15, 1945 and Department of State's reply of May 26).

*file 6505/EC Feb 15*

2. Under present conditions in Italy, it would appear that the ultimate decision affecting the institutional question might be most justly brought about by means of a referendum rather than by entrusting the decision to the constituent assembly. Although it is the opinion of the legal sub-committee of the Allied Commission that Decree Law 151 of June 25, 1944, proclaimed by the Government from deciding this question by a referendum (405/405/L of 6 Oct 1944), paragraph 4 of the same opinion points out that this Decree Law can be of any time abrogated by the enactment of a subsequent similar piece of legislation. Furthermore, since the original legislation was passed without consultation with the Allied Commission, it would appear to be not out of the question to suggest to the Italian Government that a revision of this legislation might be desirable as an expression of the will of the Italian Government to assist the Allied Governments in carrying out their commitments regarding the free and untrammelled choice by the Italian people of their permanent form of Government. The revised legislation might provide that the referendum should be held as soon as the lists of voters for the whole of Italy other than Venezia Giulia have been completed - in other words, that it might take place at the same time as the provincial and communal elections and not await the elections for the Constituent Assembly.

2

3. Were an effort of this nature to be undertaken, it would be important to review the reasons, not necessarily those of a legal nature, why a referendum would ensure to the Italian people, in practice, a freer and fairer choice in this important matter. In this connection, the President of the Council, Signor Borrelli, expressed to the Chief Commissioner subsequent to the Yalta Conference, the hope that the Allied Governments would require in the peace treaty or otherwise that the Italian institutional question be determined by referendum rather than by constituent assembly "in order to avoid the danger of having this question decided by less than a majority of the Italian people" (6506/308, 30200 of 31 March 1945) while as early as July 3, 1944, the Chief Commissioner, in commenting to the Supreme Allied Commander on Decree Law 151, stated that it was clear to him and to his advisers that a referendum offered the best chance of a fair decision on the institutional question since it was unrealistic to expect that an attempt would be made to interfere with the result and since it would be immeasurably more difficult to interfere with a referendum (see AEC memo of July 3, 1944 to SACMED). It should further be pointed out that the same memorandum contains the result of conversations between the Allied Commission and members

*file 6505/EC Feb 15*

*MA*

*MA 9-10*

*See Feb*



-2-

of the Italian Government in which the latter offer assurances that because Law 151 does not, in its intent, offer any closed solution to the matter of determination of Italy's permanent form of Government. It is hardly necessary to add that events and public statements over the past year have shown that if the institutional question were to be decided by the constituent assembly, strong political interests would undertake a concerted campaign to ensure the result desired by them, perhaps without sincere reference to the needs of the Italian people. Without in any way whatsoever taking sides in this question, it would seem that these utterances seriously prejudice an impartial solution thereof.

4. Therefore, it would appear that only through a properly supervised referendum can the Italian people be assured of the freest expression of their will, and that this would be the most desirable line of action, given the present circumstances and conditions in Italy.

*Henry W. Stone*

HENRY W. STONE  
Rear Admiral, USNR  
Chief Commissioner

Copy to: US Ambassador  
Br Ambassador  
US Polad, AFMC  
Br Dunsin, AFHQ  
G-5, AFMC (2) Your (G-5: C51.1 ITALY of 26 June 45 refers). X  
Pol Adv (A)  
Pol Adv (B)  
CA Section (2)  
File  
Plot  
Specs (5)

X 20 copies sent  
(See Minutes 10)

NOTE RE: EXECUTIVE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

Original document signed and mailed



present circumstances and conditions in ITALY.

*W. H. Stone*

WILLIAM W. STONE  
Rear Admiral, USN  
Chief Commissioner

Copy to: US Ambassador  
US Ambassador  
US Polad, AFHQ  
Dr. Egan, AFHQ  
G-5, AFHQ (2) (Your G-5: C91.1 ITALY of 26 June 45 refers). X  
Pol Adv (A)  
Pol Adv (B)  
CA Section (2)  
File  
Flot  
Spam (5)

*x 20 copies made  
(See Minutes 10)*

NOTE FOR EXECUTIVE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

Original ribbon copy signed and sealed  
to SACRED by Chief Commissioner's Office.  
Will go on courier, morning of 1 July.

1 carbon copy delivered to Sir Noel  
Charise at his residence morning of 1 July.

*E. J.*  
T/3 Edmiston

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

310  
~~SECRET~~

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS  
G-5 Section  
APO 512

JUN 28 1945  
CC 1027

Chief Commissioner

G-5: 091.1 ITALY

26 June 1945  
JUN 28 1945

SUBJECT: Italian Institutional Question

TO : Headquarters, Allied Commission, APO 394  
(Attention Chief Commissioner)

1. Attached is a copy of Memo 150/9/3 of 25 June.

2. It is requested you will forward your comments urgently on the above.

*for* *C. J. J. J. J.*  
CHARLES M. STOFFORD,  
Brigadier General, U.S.A.,  
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-5.

Incl: As above.

*see MB*  
*from*  
SECRET 3351

*(CSO)*

C O P Y

JUN 28 RECD  
CC 1427

URGENT

Office of the Resident Minister,  
Central Mediterranean,  
AFMC.

**Confidential**

150/9/3

TO: C-5

FROM: Mr. A. Russell

Copy: US Polad.

Subject: Italian Institutional Question.

His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington has notified the Foreign Office that the State Department feel that the subject of the ban on the "institutional" question requires urgent reconsideration. They feel that the British and American Governments are bound to be the object of considerable criticism if the present ban is maintained and point out that the "New York Times" correspondent in Rome has already reported in despatches that Allied action is preventing the Italians from exercising a free choice in the matter of the kind of Government under which they wish to live.

2. To forestall such criticism, the State Department are tentatively considering a public statement pointing out that the present stand-still arrangements as regards the institutional question are in fact sanctioned by an Italian decree law (Decreto-Legge Inogotenenziale No. 151 of June 25th 1944) and does not represent a state of affairs proposed by the Allies alone by virtue of the military position they occupy in Italy.

3. The Foreign Office instruct me that, subject to the views of AFMC and HM Embassy Rome, they see no objection to the public statement suggested by the State Department. The Foreign Office add that indeed they see some advantage provided that the statement makes it clear that the present stand-still arrangement was intended to safeguard the interests not only of the Allies but also of the Italian people who have hitherto been unable freely to express their wishes. The Foreign Office have instructed me to obtain your urgent views on this question.

Sgd/ A. RUSSELL

0334

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785017

Chief Commissioner

Secret

Attached is submitted for your signature/approval/information.

Draft Memorandum by Political Advisor (A) -

Reference. PD. A (B) agrees

O.K. I think it should be addressed to MS (26/6)  
SAC (H) - 113 TO Ambassador  
Br. 113 Min. Div. Polad.

5359



SECRET

PRELIMINARY DRAFT

SECRET (3)

MEMORANDUM:

In discussing the question of the method of determination of the future form of Government of Italy, it is assumed that the primary consideration is the maintenance of the pledges of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain toward the Italian people of a free and untrammelled choice of the permanent form of their Government, and the guarantee that, insofar as possible, the will of the majority of the Italian people shall be carried out (~~Aide Memoire of British Embassy in Washington to Department of State on May 13, 1945 and Department of State's reply of May 28.~~).

Under present conditions in Italy, it would appear that the ultimate decision affecting the institutional question might be most justly brought about by means of a referendum rather than by entrusting the decision to the constituent assembly. Although it is the opinion of the Legal Subcommittee of the Allied Commission that Decree Law 151 of June 25, 1944 precludes the Government from deciding this question by a referendum (ACC/4005/L, 6 Oct. 44), paragraph four of the same opinion points out that this Decree Law can be at any time abrogated by the enactment of a subsequent similar piece of legislation. Furthermore, since the original legislation was



permanent form of their Government, and the guarantee that, insofar as possible, the will of the majority of the Italian people shall be carried out (also Memorandum of British Embassy in Washington to Department of State on May 13, 1943 and Department of State's reply of May 20, 1943).

Under present conditions in Italy, it would appear that the ultimate decision affecting the institutional question might be most justly brought about by means of a referendum rather than by entrusting the decision to the constituent assembly. Although it is the opinion of the Legal Subcommittee of the Allied Commission that Decree Law 151 of June 25, 1944 precludes the Government from deciding this question by a referendum (ACC/4005/L. 6 Oct. 44), paragraph four of the same opinion points out that this Decree Law can be at any time <sup>abrogated</sup> by the enactment of a subsequent similar piece of legislation. Furthermore, since the original legislation was passed without consultation with the Allied Commission, and since the Legal Subcommittee was not consulted on the implications of this law until October, 1944 (ACC/4112/L. 29 Nov. 44) it would appear to be not out of the question to suggest to the Italian Government that a revision of this legislation might be desirable as an expression of the will of the Italian Government to assist the Allied Governments in carrying out their

commitments...

-2-

commitments regarding the free and untrammelled choice by the Italian people of their permanent form of Government.

Were an effort of this nature to be undertaken, it would be important to review the reasons, not necessarily those of a legal nature, why a referendum would ensure to the Italian people, in practice, a freer and fairer choice in this important matter. In this connection, the President of the Council, Signor Bonomi, expressed to the Chief Commissioner, subsequent to the Yalta Conference, the hope that the Allied Government would require that the Italian institution question be determined by referendum rather than by constituent assembly.

"In order to avoid the danger of having this question decided by less than a majority of the Italian people" (CSOG/CCS,

CC200, 21 March, 45) while as early as July 3, 1944, the ~~Chief~~ <sup>Deputy</sup> Chief Commissioner, in commenting to the Supreme Allied Commander on Decree Law 151, stated that it was clear to him and to his advisers that a referendum offered the best chance of a fair decision on the institutional question since it was unrealistic to expect that no attempt would be made to interfere with the result and since it would be immeasurably more difficult to interfere with a referendum (see ACC memo, July 1944, 3 to SACMED). It should further be pointed out that the same memorandum contains the result of conversations between the

Allied Commission and members of the Italian Government in 1944

Signor Bonomi, expressed to the Chief Commissioner, subsequent

to the Yalta Conference, the hope that the Allied Government  
*in the Peace Treaty or otherwise*  
 would require that the Italian institutional question be

determined by referendum rather than by constituent assembly

"in order to avoid the danger of having this question decided

by less than a majority of the Italian people" (6506/CCS,

CC200, 31 March, 45) while as early as July 3, 1944, the ~~Chief~~ <sup>*Chief*</sup>

~~Chief~~ Chief Commissioner, in commenting to the Supreme Allied

Commander on Decree Law 151, stated that it was clear to him

and to his advisers that a referendum offered the best chance

of a fair decision on the institutional question since it was

unrealistic to expect that no attempt would be made to inter-

fere with the result and since it would be immeasurably more

difficult to interfere with a referendum (see ACC memo, July  
 1944

3 to SACMED). It should further be pointed out that the same

memorandum contains the result of conversations between the

Allied Commission and members of the Italian Government in 1944

which the latter offer assurances that Decree Law 151 does not,

in its intent, offer any closed solution to the method of

determination of Italy's permanent form of Government. It is

hardly necessary to add that events and public statements over

the past year have shown that if the institutional question

were to be decided by the constituent assembly, strong

political...

①  
-3-  
political interests would undertake a concerted campaign to ensure the result desired by them, perhaps without sincere reference to the needs of the Italian people. This feeling has been intensified by the recent events of the cabinet crisis leading up to the formation of the Parri Government, and it would again be unrealistic (AVANTI, May 11), to expect Nenni, who is Vice President of the new cabinet and Minister in charge of the Constituent Assembly, to disregard his own editorial statements that the "Costituenti" must be packed in order to ensure a republican solution to the institutional question. Without in any way whatsoever taking sides in this question, it would seem that these utterances seriously prejudice an impartial solution thereof.

Therefore, it would appear that only through a properly supervised referendum can the Italian people be assured of the fairest expression of their will, and that this would be the most desirable line of action, given the present circumstances and conditions in Italy.

RMCE

2358



editorial statements that the "Costituyente" must be packed in order to ensure a republican solution to the institutional question. Without in any way whatsoever taking sides in this question, it would seem that these utterances seriously prejudice an impartial solution thereof.

Therefore, it would appear that only through a properly supervised referendum can the Italian people be assured of the fairest expression of their will, and that this would be the most desirable line of action, given the present circumstances and conditions in Italy.

RMCE

3358

Copy to: L-5, ARMC (2)

US Ambassador

Br Ambassador

US Polad, ARMC

Br. Rasmussen, ARMC

42 Pol Adv (A)

Pol Adv (E)

0 3 4 6