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STATEMENTS, ITAL GOV'T OFFICIALS
OCT. - DEC. 1945

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HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
Office of the Chief Commissioner
APO 394

CC 225-B

15 December 1945

DEC 15 1945

SUBJECT: Statement by Italian Prime Minister.

TO : G-5 Section, AFHQ.

1. There is forwarded herewith a copy of the first official statement of Prime Minister DeGasperi to the Council of Ministers which was subsequently broadcast by radio.

2. The second paragraph of DeGasperi's statement refers to abolition of the armistice and refers to the creation of a "modus vivendi". In my conference of 12 December with him, this question was raised only incidentally, in connection with the drafting of his press announcement with regard to the handover of additional territory.

W. H. Stone

WILLIAM H. STONE
Vice Admiral, USNR
Chief Commissioner

Copy to:

U.S. Polad, AFHQ
British Legation, AFHQ

cc: U.S. Ambassador
British Ambassador
Exec Comar
U.S. Polad AC
British Polad AC
CA Section
CC

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*True
18/12.*

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17/12
[Signature]*

DR CASPERI'S RADIO SPEECH

The official announcement issued yesterday by Admiral Stone in the name of the Allied Governments, that all the Italian territory from Pantelleria as far as the Brenner will be handed back by the end of the month to the Italian Administration, with the exception of the provinces of Udine which will be maintained under the direct responsibility of the occupying authorities, because of the military communication lines, and of Venezia Giulia, whose final territorial settlement depends on an agreement that was started at the London conference, is for our Government a favourable omen.

It is not by chance that this Government is headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs; this signifies that, above the various tendencies, the Italians feel today that they must unite in a supreme effort in order to reconquer their territory, their independence and their unity, and to re-affirm, among the free nations, Italy's individuality which is contrary to all nationalistic tendencies, and open to cultural, labor and economic exchanges, but conscious of the particular contribution that her manual workers and the brains of its intellectual workers of her century old civilisation can offer the world for the progress of freedom, democracy and fraternity among Nations.

We are still far from this goal of our rebirth, particularly so if we keep in mind the armistice regime under which we are at present living. And this is why, during the conference I had yesterday with Admiral Stone, together with the satisfaction which I expressed to the Allied Governments for the good news, and together with the dutiful words of gratitude for the good will and the friendly cooperation of the Chief Commissioner and his collaborators, I reaffirmed our request that, to take a decisive step towards this goal, and should peace not yet bear near, a "modus vivendi" be created which, by abolishing the out-dated clauses of the armistice, might replace the dead letter of a war measure by a live spirit of cooperation and friendship with the United Nations, and which would give back to our people the full sense of dignity and responsibility which they need in order to decide for themselves the form of their self Government.

But it is not merely a political-moral question, it is a question of freedom to negotiate and carry out commercial and financial agreements and to be able to decide the export of these agricultural and industrial products which the Italian Government judges it can dispense with, always keeping in mind the necessary reservations of the United Nations; this concerns industrial plants which, now that all war activity is over, can be handed back to their owners; it is necessary for the Italian Government and for Italian ship-builders to buy, sell and rent merchant ships - even should the Italian merchant ships form part of "the pool" - under the same conditions as the United Nations; it is a question of stopping the issue of *As-lire*, by an agreement with the Italian Government on the availability of the lire towards an equal credit in Allied currency. Should these and other economic postulates related to the armistice, be granted us, we would be in a position to

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 We say that the three greatest Allies are meeting in Moscow, the new Italian Democratic Government - which was formed by re-establishing with great difficulty a bridge between the major political currents of the Nation - hopes that the meeting will represent the preliminary to a new general agreement between all the Nations, which will lead to peace. As for what concerns herself Italy does not speculate on disagreements and misunderstanding, but she merely asks that the equity, the moderation, the good will with which, though recognising the rights of others, she intends to defend her own rights, be recognized, and she is particularly grateful to those powers - specially so to France - which have recognized the work of civilization carried out by Italian administration in pre-Fascist colonies and the social exigency that Italian workers and peasants may be allowed to continued their labour under the aegis of the national Government.

We are quite conscience that we cannot win a just peace merely by recalling the contribution that we gave with our navy, our army and our partisans, through the victims in the lines of communications, through the sacrifice of our lovely towns where the German resistance was hiding and where it was subsequently destroyed, but also by supplying the proof that through our constructive capacity we can create a new democratic Italy. And as for my part I see those problems of internal police in relation to the problems of foreign policy, though they have their own independent existence.

We must not allow any doubt to arise that we feel ourselves pledged to oppose any attempt or tendency to reestablish Fascism under whatever for it may take, and to defend against all internal dangers the freedom won through the costly and victorious collaboration of the Allied armies. Meanwhile, having made justice and taken all the necessary precautions, the Government understands that, in order to defend free democratic development, and while the time is approaching when all Italians will be called on to vote, it is a right and a duty to move, after so much war and civil discord, towards a policy of lessening tension and strengthened concord and national unity.

The coming administrative and jurisdictional unification will impose on us immediately the need for application of the directives which during the crisis had the approval of all the parties of the coalition.

Many of our valorous friends, through the providential intervention of the CLNA (which during the struggle for liberation and following the collapse of the functioning of the state machinery had delegated (to them) the functions of Government) find themselves today still in posts of provisional character, incumbents of prefectures or Questure; this condition, appropriate to the period of transition, will of course have to come to an end in order to make way for the normal organs of the state, nominated by the state as representatives of the will of the state, superior to the parties; which does not of course preclude the State calling upon the contribution of men of political origin if the need arises, but it is quite clear that particularly in the electoral period the impartiality of such organisms as the prefectures and the Questure must be assured in every way and above all other considerations.

And here too it must be added that that Government will take care to put behind it the commissarial period in the other bodies as well and in the various administrations, reestablishing the statutory organs and normal administrations as soon as possible.

We have observed how in the crisis itself the CLN at a certain moment was able to serve as a bridge for reestablishing the coalition, a function of political mediation which is appropriate to it, while the administrative functions are naturally absorbed by the proper organs; this process will be facilitated and completed by holding the administrative elections as rapidly as possible.

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Into our program too comes the plan of bringing to an end as rapidly as possible exceptional measures and organisms; under this heading will fall the abolition of the High Commission and the conclusion of separation before the elections for the Costituente and in any case before March 31; as for the return to the traditional procedure of the penal courts with peoples juries and with their scope extended to political crimes, the present Minister of Grace and Justice has already stated that an appropriate measure is under study and in advanced state of preparation and we trust that the Council of Ministers may soon take up the matter.

Furthermore there is also in preparation a reform of the law of public safety that will shortly be submitted to the discussion of the Consulta and to the deliberations of the Council, its aim is to keep the measures of security within the limits of democratic liberty.

Another measure of understanding and pacification concerns the Italian citizens of a language different from our own. In the scholastic field our laws already provide for perfect equality for such citizens; another law is submitted to you today regarding the Alto Adige with some emendations suggested by the Consulta with the purpose of obtaining, in setting up the details of its implementation, the support of those citizens concerned in the Alto Adige region and the Consulta is soon to take under consideration another project concerning options.

As soon as we have obtained the approval of the Allied authorities we shall set up a committee which will outline in the region itself a project for administrative autonomy, making use of the preliminary work already accomplished in Bolzano and Trent. Representatives of both nationalities will be invited to take part in the work of this committee and I, in the name of the government, wish to make a cordial and brotherly appeal that such a cooperation may result in a work of true pacification.

In the background of these political problems there loom however three great economic-social problems, and these too are closely connected with foreign policy. These are alimentation and allied to it the agrarian agitation which we must overcome, and industrial renewal which calls for the cooperation of workers and entrepreneurs and is conditioned on foreign credit and foreign trade. In all these fields President Parri leaves us noteworthy elements of preparation or of solutions already under way; after having taken summary notice of this I feel obliged to express to him our gratitude for his meritorious efforts as we all remember with gratitude the contribution to our past labors given by Luini, Picci - successor of Boleri whose passing we all mourn - Arangio-Luiz and Jacini. The nomination of new ministers to the departments of Treasury, Reconstruction and Alimentation preclude me from entering today into the particulars of economic-financial measures which are the initial responsibilities of these ministers.

However, the general directive of the financial policy of the government I believe may be outlined as follows:

Adoption of all measures of monetary and financial policy necessary to the defense of the lira in such a way as to lead to normalization of the price system and to a consequent stabilization which may permit us to adhere to international monetary agreements. A rigorous restraint on the expenses of the state and other public bodies and a reinvigoration of the normal intake will lay the basis for a policy of gradual return to a balanced budget, while in order to take on the burden of reconstruction and the deficits in the ordinary budget we shall have recourse to special taxes (confiscation of profits of the (Fascist) regime and of the war, special capital taxes) to various revenues and to public loans.

A necessary premise to this financial policy is a renewal in the productive field to which all our efforts must be bent not only to combat unemployment but also to render efficient our maximum labor potential.

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A necessary premise to this financial policy is a renewal in the productive field to which all our efforts must be bent not only to combat unemployment but also to render efficient our maximum labor potential.

It is clear that we shall have to give to labor the place which it is entitled to in order to make an appeal to all social and private enterprise. The formation of new savings is also a traditional element of our economy; the wealthier classes must feel more than ever the moral obligation to moderate their own tenor of life for the sake of social solidarity.

Meanwhile, pledged as we are to accelerate the administrative elections, I wish to make a fervent appeal to the Consulta to approve the electoral law. Our Common pledge to hold the political elections for the Costituente within the term specified by the Farri Government remains in force.

After that the Italian people will speak and it will speak consciously, decisively and solemnly as never before in its history if it obeys the laws of liberty, banishing in purpose and in deed all recourse to violence, that sad heritage of fascist totalitarianism.

It is in the service of this ideal of substantial and not merely formal democracy, that we shall ask parties, organizations and individuals, for the most loyal and constructive discipline, for respect of law, for solidarity in maintenance or, where it is necessary - establishment of public order.

Those who fail, betray the cause of the Italian people, endanger the necessary cooperation of the Allies in the economic field and compromise the efficiency of our foreign policy.

Above the parties by which it is formed the Government is and wants to be the faithful interpreter of the supreme common exigencies of the Nation. He who speaks has done all he could in order to give to this character of the Government a visible and symbolic manifestation through the valuable cooperation of men who should appear as guarantors of a will stronger than the parties; I have not been successful in this, for reasons not depending on my own good will, but at the end of crisis we all agreed that this attempt should be made again at a more favorable moment.

In this attitude we can see a lively and true desire for unity, which is at the basis of ministerial solidarity between the men of different origin who form our Government. We intend to maintain and to increase this solidarity so that Italians and foreigners may see in us not the ideologies which distinguish us but the union of action and labour that, on the eve of its second Risorgimento, the Italian people claims and imposes.

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Chief Commission

Approval
signature
information
Attached is submitted for your

OCT 25 REC'D
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Mr. L. X

File 1325

De Gasperi's statement at the ⁹²⁷⁹meeting of the Council
of Ministers of the 18th

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The Italian Govt does not intend to raise any objection
Tox the publication of the Armistice. On the contrary, says
De Gasperi, we have asked more than once even since the
Bonomi Govt for this publication. ??

The Foreign Minister then said that Italy ~~has~~ wishes and
needs her international status to be changed.

There can be three solutions he said; a definitive peace,
for which we can hardly hope; a provisional peace which
would grant everybody liberty of action and would return to us
a partial international personality; or, (and this should be
possible and I think that Italy has deserved it) a change~~ment~~
of the conditions of the Armistice which will put us in a
juridical state of parity as concerns direct relations.

De Gasperi, under the pressure of our demands, informed
us that in his report, he tried to explain some points of our
policy which, up to now, have been less discussed, such as
reparation and colonies problems.

"The first point-he says-has not yet been ^{stated} ~~sed~~ in its
concrete terms. We only know that no total reparations will
be asked from us, as they were instead asked from Germany by
the Versailles treaty. It will be more a question of ^rreaching
bilateral agreements of compensations with the various States
with whom we have been at war or with those who suffered in
consequence of our war. This will afford us to reach solutions ¹³²³
of compromise with some States and even reconciliation with
some of them, which would be a deed of justice and humanity in

our respect.

As far as the colonial question is concerned, we are in the counter-proposition phase. We do not want - says De Gasperi - to raise a question of abstract sovereignty. We only lay down a social problem, trying to show the capacity and necessity of colonizing of the Italian people and we are quite ready to recognize, later on, the right to self-decision of the native populations, even should ^{we} be the first to do so, provided that the other nations would follow our example.

Our diplomacy is labouring in this direction in order to illuminate and prepare tomorrow's conclusions; this is particularly difficult inasmuch as we want to follow a honest policy and not a policy of petty intrigues. We want to speak openly: we are not a great military or political power, but we are a great power as far as manpower is concerned and nobody can deny it.

Asked whether the Americans had exerted any pressure to the end that at least administrative elections be held promptly in Italy, De Gasperi confirmed the fact saying that this had been done three times, and, more authoritatively, on the eve of the London Conference.

"The reason of it is evident, says De Gasperi, Americans, who look towards Italy with great friendliness, want to have her democratic rebirth guaranteed; particularly so when they defend our interests with other Powers less inclined to judge us favourably."

As regards the elections the Minister ¹ says that the fact that we are the only ones who have not started them is very serious, but that it is hoped that the administrative elections can be held in some provinces before the end of the year, although it is difficult to determine in which provinces.

To the question whether it is true that the Allies have imposed some conditions to Italy for the alteration of the Armistice regime, De Gasperi answers that this has not been done officially, but that it is natural that it should be "in the ~~air~~ air".

It is natural, he said, that the Allies should expect from Italy internal order and disarmament. Anyhow Americans have a wrong idea of the Italian situation. I don't believe any insurrectional movements are on the point of breaking out, as for instance, in Greece. Nobody would have any interest in such a thing to happen.

On the matter of the proportional and single-member constituency systems De Gasperi affirmed that the proportional system is better for the creation of the Costituente for it is advisable that the complete revision of the Italian State be made through political blocks, as they alone have the strength and the authority which are necessary.

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