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BARI CONGRESS

Dec 1943. Feb 1944

Form 125D

061829A

Signal Corps, United States Army

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Military Government Section

WGS: 319.1

5 February 1944

SUBJECT: Report on Italy, Number 2.

TO : The Chief of Section, MCS, AFHQ.

Political

1. The outstanding political event of the period covered by this report was the Congress of the Provincial Committees of Liberation which was held at Bari on the 28th and 29th of January. A brief description of certain political events may be useful in appreciating the nature and purpose of the Congress.

2. The six political parties which were officially represented at the Congress were the following:

1. Partito Liberale Italiano
2. Democrazia Cristiana
3. Partito D'Azione
4. Partito Socialista
5. Partito Comunista
6. Democrazia del Lavoro

Before the Armistice of September 8th, these parties operating as underground movements, had come together in the Fronte Nazionale D'Azione with two principal aims: 1, to effect the cessation of Italian participation in the war on the side of Hitler and 2, to reestablish essential democratic liberties in Italy. At the fall of Mussolini, the parties began to exercise their activities openly and in spite of wide differences in doctrines and programs, they continued to maintain a common front before the Badoglio Government on the one hand and the Germans on the other.

3. On the 16th of October, 1943, the Central Committee of the National Front met secretly in Rome and decided to change its name to the Committee of National Liberation. Other Committees of the National Front in liberated Italy followed the example. By the beginning of December, a sufficient number of Committees of Liberation had been organized on a provincial basis in liberated Italy to justify a Congress of their representatives. Naples was chosen as the place and December 20th as the date on which the Congress would be held. Permission, however, was refused by Allied Military Authorities for military reasons. It was subsequently agreed that the Congress should be held in Bari, on January 28th and 29th. Reference is made to Report Number 1 of this series paragraphs 8-11 for a more detailed description of these events.

4. On January 22nd the Bari Committee which was in charge of local arrangements made a declaration which was published in the Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno. It stated categorically that there would be no public demonstrations, urged rigorous obedience of all regulations on the part of all citizens and emphasized that the first democratic assembly of the Italian people would increase the importance of its deliberations if they were made in an atmosphere of calm and order. This declaration was noted with satisfaction by Brigadier Palmer, O.C. 6th Base Sub Area, in a statement published in the Gazzetta on the following

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5. Security regulations concerning the Congress were established between Brigadier Palmer and General Gazzera who arrived in Bari on January 20th with full powers over Bari Province. At the same time the Demo-Liberal Party was making plans to hold a counter Congress of 90 representatives in Bari on the day the Liberation Congress was scheduled to open. At its Congress on January 5th, this Party had resolved that the Monarch should not be discussed for the present and had pledged its support to the Badoglio Government. The Demo-Liberals were informed by the Sub Area Command that considerations of public order made it impossible for the two rival Congresses to be held at the same place and time and that they (the Demo-Liberals) would have to hold their Congress at a later date.

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6. In making their original request for permission to hold the Congress, the organisers of the Congress had stipulated that the number of persons attending would be 90. In the minds of the organisers, this number referred to the delegates alone and not to guests including Correspondents. The number 90, however, was interpreted by the Italian authorities as referring to all persons who would attend the meeting regardless of function or capacity. At the last moment, owing to the intervention of Allied Authorities, the interpretation of the organisers prevailed and guests who had been duly accredited were admitted to the Session. Members of the Allied Forces were forbidden to attend.

7. On January 25th, the Prefect of Bari issued an order that travellers from Naples would not be allowed to enter the Province of Bari unless they had a health certificate in their possession. Those not in possession of such a certificate would be subject to prophylactic treatment followed by a detention of 12 days for observation. It was feared that some of the Neapolitan delegates might be prevented from attending the Congress by this sanitary measure. The fear proved groundless.

8. The Congress was held in the Teatro Comunale Piccinni. Present were delegates, guests and representatives of the Italian and foreign press. The first session was called to order at 1000 hours on January 28th by Michele Cifarelli, Secretary of the local committee. After greeting the delegates, Cifarelli reminded them of the interest with which their deliberations were being watched throughout the world and expressed his gratitude to the United Nations. He expressed the hope that the meeting would soon be able to reconvene in Rome.

9. Professor Arangio-Ruiz, President of the Neapolitan Committee of Liberation, next read a message of sympathy from 76 members of the British Parliament and other messages of support from various Communes of liberated Italy. He then invited the Congress to choose its president. Zaniboni and Cianca were chosen joint presidents after Arangio-Ruiz had declared that he could not accept the presidency inasmuch as he was scheduled to report on the political situation.

10. The first formal address was made by Benedetto Croce. Croce began by describing the sympathy which Non Fascist Italians had felt toward the democratic peoples who had suffered under totalitarian aggression. He spoke of the day of mourning and shame when Mussolini declared war on Great Britain and France. He dwelt upon the inner struggle between the loyalty which a citizen owed his country in time of war and the devotion which he felt for the liberal ways which his country's victory would be certain to destroy. He described the increasing recognition in Italy of the Allied cause as the cause of liberty and civilization.

11. After speaking of Allied generosity and good will which he had witnessed in Naples, Croce turned to the problem presented by the King. While criticising a noticeable tendency on the part of some of the Allies to seek a solution of the problem in a conservatism which kept Fascist elements in power, he stated the argument, which he attributed to the Allies, that disturbing changes in Italian political life should await the military victory on which the salvation of all depended. In answer to this, Croce stated categorically that so long as the present king remained at the head of the State, the liberal citizen would feel that Fascism was not ended, that it was continuing its work of corruption and that it would arise again in a more or less

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12. Croce then undertook to criticise the present government. He asserted that it lacked strength because men of experience and reputation would not take the oath of loyalty to the present king. He pointed out the need of an honest and competent administration under the present difficult circumstances in order that disorder might be avoided and the Allies receive true and loyal support.

13. Croce ended his address with references to the Italian liberal tradition, the guilt of peoples in permitting the rise and propagation of Fascism, and the elements in Italy who opposed it. As the first nation of Europe to be liberated from the Nazi-Fascist yoke, Italy was being watched by

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other peoples for indications of what their own future might be. In the restoration of a liberal Italy and Europe and in a renewed faith in liberal institutions in these countries which had never fully lost them, Croce saw the fulfillment of a universal need and the world's salvation.

14. Croce was hailed by Rodino as an interpreter of the thoughts of the Congress and of all Italians. He recalled some outstanding Anti-Fascist leaders, spoke of the sentiments entertained by the Italian people toward the Allies as liberators and made particular mention of the Italian Navy which had joined the Allies in spite of Fascist orders to the contrary.

15. Count Sforza continued Rodino's eulogy of Croce. He then denounced the manoeuvres of those who had attempted to impede the Congress and ended by reading a series of proposed messages to the Congress of the United States, the House of Commons, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Marshal Chiang Kai Shek, General De Gaulle, the Yugoslav people and the Greek people.

16. The Socialist Laricchiuta then read a communication which had been approved by the National Council of the Italian Socialist Party. It was addressed to the Labor Party in England, the Trade Unions, the American Federation of Labor and the labor associations of Soviet Russia. The morning session ended shortly after noon.

17. The afternoon session opened at 1500 hours with a political report by Arangio-Ruiz. The speaker recalled the rejoicing with which the fall of Fascism had been greeted and the subsequent disappointment at the attitude and actions of an administration which he accused of having attempted to establish an ambiguous continuity between the Fascist regime and the resumption of the national life. The chief aim of this administration, he claimed, was to save the person of the King.

18. Arangio-Ruiz continued by enumerating some of the King's unconstitutional acts which made his abdication imperative. This abdication alone would allow the Italian people to stand before the bar of History as innocent of the rascalities which would have made of Italy the garden of the German Empire. It was necessary, he continued, that a government of moral and economic reconstruction should not be impeded by subversive activity calculated to protect those most guilty of the past. The contract between King and people had become invalid and the principle now prevailed that power which came from the people returned to the people. The speaker concluded by urging the parties to continue their profitable collaboration which guaranteed the achievement of their common ends.

19. The report of Professor Tommaso Fiore began with a long indictment on many charges of the Monarchy which he termed Fascist and the Badoglio Government. The speaker denounced their inability to resolve the most important problems confronting the country, especially those of the rehabilitation of the Army and defascistization. The King had remained a Fascist and found himself without army or honor. Italy by expelling Fascism had earned the right to reacquire liberty through the honor of her arms. The Congress was reconstructing for the future, for civilization, liberty and life. **5555**

20. Doctor Longobardi who had come from Rome as a representative of the Roman Committee of National Liberation read a message from that body addressed to the Congress. This message concerned the violent struggle by the Committees of National Liberation against the Germans and their Fascist puppets in the

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20. Doctor Longobardi who had come from Rome as a representative of the Roman Committee of National Liberation read a message from that body addressed to the Congress. This message concerned the violent struggle by the Committees of National Liberation against the Germans and their Fascist puppets, in the areas still occupied by the enemy. The contention was made that the present government had neither been able to assist such resistance nor to organize the nation for effective participation in the war. The present government must therefore give way to an extraordinary government which would be a government of National Liberation. Such a government would assume all constitutional powers without prejudicing the right of free expression of the will of the people with respect to the institutional question. National unity would thus, be, not endangered, but buttressed, and Italy would be enabled to wage effective war and to insure its future as a free nation.

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21. After a break of a few minutes, the various parties presented their proposals for action to the Congress through their chosen representatives. Professor Omecdec spoke for the Party of Action, Venuti for the Christian Democrats, Sansonetti for the Liberal Party and Dr. Longobardi for the Socialists, Communists and Party of Action.

22. Longobardi's speech may be summarized as follows:

"Blame for the failure to form a national democratic government was assigned to the KING and the RADICAL governments, and it was maintained that the three parties were merely interpreting the unanimous will of the people of Italy when they made the following proposals:

- (a) Since the KING had not abdicated, that a bill of indictment should be drawn based on his violation of the statutes.
- (b) This body, i.e., the Congress, should proclaim itself to be the representative assembly of free Italy. Representatives from other provinces should be admitted when those provinces were liberated. This assembly would reconvene at Rome as soon as possible, and would sit until a constituent assembly could be formed. It would be the function of this interim assembly to form an extraordinary government on a wide base, in which the powers of the crown and of the dissolved Parliament would be united. It would also be the duty of this assembly to intensify the war effort and to protect the newly-won liberties.

(c) Until such time as Rome should be liberated, an Executive Committee for free Italy should be constituted to prosecute the war and to guard the liberties of the people. Such an Executive Committee would also (1) act for the Italian people in relations with the United Nations and (2) determine the forms for promoting mass action to establish the legal foundation of the Congress and the verification of its powers; (3) necessary measures to make up for the ineffectiveness of the RADOGLIO government in dealing with the food situation, the Black Market, and unemployment should be taken by the Executive Committee through the local and provincial organizations and trade unions set up by Anti-Fascists in areas freed from the enemy.

23. It was decided that before the Congress took any action on the proposal above, two representatives from each party should confer and draw up a definite program which could then be accepted unanimously. This was to be done during the night of the 28th. The agreed program was to be submitted to the Congress for approval on the 29th. Before adjourning the Congress approved the messages to the United Nations which had been previously read by Count Sforza.

24. The meeting of the 29th convened at 1030 hours under the presidency of Cianca. Cianca announced that the representatives of the different parties had agreed upon a program during the preceding night and that the delegates would be called to vote on it individually. The program was read to the Con-

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25. Before proceeding to the individual voting each party was invited to express its views on the principal motion through a representative. The following spoke: Bell for the Liberal Party, Sansoni for the Christian Democrats, Omodeo for Party of Action, Fioritto for Socialists, Massari for the Democracy of Labor and Tedeschi for the Communists. The speakers emphasized

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the importance of the Congress as a free expression of the will of the Italian people and the unity of purpose and action which had been maintained throughout its deliberations. Each speaker concluded by pledging his party's support to the program.

26. With the exception of two Sardinian delegates who abstained from voting, having been instructed to take no action on questions involving the monarchy, the program was approved unanimously by the delegates voting individually. The program embraced the following points.

- a. It was agreed that prevailing conditions did not permit an immediate solution of the constitutional question (future form of government).
- b. It was agreed that the immediate abdication of the King, responsible for the country's misfortunes, was an essential condition of the moral and economic reconstruction of Italy.
- c. It was agreed that the Congress was the true expression of the will and forces of the nation.
- d. It was declared that it was necessary to arrive at the composition of a government with full emergency powers and the participation of the parties represented at the Congress. Its aims would be to intensify the Italian war effort to the maximum, to undertake a solution of the most urgent problems of Italian life with the support of the masses for whose welfare it would work, and to make preparations for a constituent assembly to be convoked upon cessation of hostilities.
- e. It was voted that a permanent Executive Committee should be established composed of representatives from all parties constituting the Committee of Liberation. This Committee in agreement with the Central Committee and in consultation with political personalities who represented Anti-Fascism should take the necessary measures to achieve the aims outlined above.

27. The concluding formal speech of the Congress was an address by Count Sforza. Having congratulated the Congress upon its deliberations and its demonstration that the spirit of liberalism had never been crushed in Italy, Sforza spoke of the contribution which a new Italy could make to the world by finding new, just and liberal solutions to prevailing social and economic problems. Pointing out that there are certain things on which Italians cannot compromise as matters of supreme necessity, he placed the abdication of the King among them whom he blamed for submitting to the corrupting influence of Mussolini in order to frustrate and oppress the Italian people. He criticized the Badoglio Government for not having established a consultative assembly on the model of the one sitting in Algiers which would have been composed of persons who had always opposed Fascism.

28. Speaking of the removal of Fascists from office, Sforza insisted on the inefficacy of the measure taken by the Government. Fascists at the top were being protected while scapegoats were made of those at the bottom. The latter deserved to be reprimanded but not those including the King with whom the

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28. Speaking of the removal of Fascists from office, Sforza insisted on the inefficacy of the measure taken by the Government. Fascists at the top were being protected while scapegoats were made of those at the bottom. The latter deserved to be pardoned but not those including the King with whom the principal responsibility rested.

29. Sforza then mentioned a letter which he had written to the King on May 30th 1940, ten days before Italy's declaration of war on France and Great Britain. In it he had foretold the disaster which the war would bring to the Italian people and their armed forces. Would it not be more difficult, he asked, for the Italians to make just claims at the Peace Conference if the country still had at its head the person who was responsible for past disasters? Would the reproach not be made to the Italians that they had been incapable of getting rid of their King? To those who saw in the King a conservative element Sforza replied that his record made him the essential cause of an inevitable revolution.

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30. Sforza next dwelt on the aspect of the post-war world and Italy's place in it. He proposed an internationalism in which Italy would collaborate patriotically for the common good. Guided by this concept, Italy could undertake her reconstruction within the framework established by Cavour and Mazzini. Instead of Fascist conquests, there would be a patriotism placed at the service of humanity. The address was concluded with reference to the Anti-Fascist martyrs who had suffered for Italy.

31. Cifarelli, Secretary of the local Committee, then read messages of sympathy and support from the following groups: The Libera Italia of Cairo, Palma and Corda Prates.

32. The President followed him with an announcement of the individuals chosen by the various parties to represent them on the new Executive Committee. They were:

Arangio-Ruiz
Calace
Gerabonn
Jervolino
Longobardi
Tedeschi

Liberal Party
Party of Action
Democracy of Labor
Christian Democracy
Socialist Party
Communist Party

33. Dr. Longobardi, speaking on behalf of the delegates thanked President Cianca for his energetic leadership. As the delegates left the hall after adjournment, they sang the hymn of Manelli and directed enthusiastic ovations toward Croce, Sforza and other outstanding personalities.

34. From its proceedings and resolutions, it is clear that the Congress was overwhelmingly in favor of the King's immediate abdication. It is not clear, however, whom the Congress would like to see take the King's place in the event of the latter's abdication. The normal constitutional succession would place Crown Prince Umberto on the throne, but it is far from certain that he would be persona grata with some of the political groups. On the other hand, since it was agreed that the constitutional question of the future form of government should be deferred to a more appropriate time, a continuation of the monarchy under Umberto or a Regency acting for the Prince of Naples are the only two possibilities which can be reasonably envisaged in view of the Congress' own declarations.

35. Presumably the "political" government which the Congress desired to have established, would function constitutionally under Umberto or the Regency. But in view of the repeated claims of the Bari Congress that it represented the will of the Italian people and the desire of certain parties that the Congress should proclaim itself to be the representative assembly of free Italy, it appears that Italians who did not agree with the views of the Congress or belonged to one of its parties would find small place in the kind of "political" government which the Congress envisaged.

36. The King, at any rate, has given no indication of a willingness to abdicate under the pressure of self-appointed political groups, regardless of the extent to which they may represent the popular will. The situation is now at a deadlock. Possibly the Roma leaders with

chosen by the various parties to represent them on the new Executive Committee. They were:

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Cerrabona
Jervolino
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Tedeschi

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Communist Party

33. Dr. Longobardi, speaking on behalf of the delegates thanked President Cianca for his energetic leadership. As the delegates left the hall after adjournment, they sang the hymn of Mameli and directed enthusiastic ovations toward Croce, Sforza and other outstanding personalities.

34. From its proceedings and resolutions, it is clear that the Congress was overwhelmingly in favor of the King's immediate abdication. It is not clear, however, whom the Congress would like to see take the King's place in the event of the latter's abdication. The normal constitutional succession would place Crown Prince Umberto on the throne, but it is far from certain that he would be persona grata with some of the political groups. On the other hand, since it was agreed that the constitutional question of the future form of government should be deferred to a more appropriate time, a continuation of the monarchy under Umberto or a Regency acting for the Prince of Naples are the only two possibilities which can be reasonably envisaged in view of the Congress' own declarations.

35. Presumably the "political" government which the Congress desired to have established, would function constitutionally under Umberto or the Regency. But in view of the repeated claims of the Bari Congress that it represented the will of the Italian people and the desire of certain parties that the Congress should proclaim itself to be the representative assembly of free Italy, it appears that Italians who did not agree with the views of the Congress or belonged to one of its parties would find small place in the kind of "political" government which the Congress envisaged.

36. The King, at any rate, has given no indication of a willingness to abdicate under the pressure of self-appointed political groups, regardless of the extent to which they may represent the popular will. The situation is now at a deadlock. Possibly the Rome leaders will make a compromise possible when they can speak and act. A fundamental solution on a democratic basis will not be achieved until the Italian people have had the opportunity to express their wishes at the polls.

37. The Congress took place in an orderly fashion. The seats reserved for guests were all filled and the speakers were frequently applauded. A number of stupid rumors circulated in Bari as the time for the Congress approached. There was dark talk of conspiracy and violence, all of which proved to be entirely groundless. It is however, a sad commentary on some 20 years of Fascism that a meeting in which citizens gathered to express their views and aspirations without constraint should seem a dangerous thing to so many people.

U.S. CONFIDENTIAL EQUALS BRITISH CONFIDENTIAL

ADMINISTRATION OF LIBERATED ITALY

38. The following changes in administration are to be noted:

- (a) General Sir Harold R.L.G. Alexander G.C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., M.C. while serving as G.O.C. in C Allied Central Mediterranean Force has been designated from 24 January 1944 the Representative in Italy of the President of the Allied Control Commission and is to act for, and on his behalf carry out, the functions of the President of the Allied Control Commission in respect of such matters as may be delegated to him. General Alexander continues to be the Military Governor of such occupied territory in Italy and Sicily as remains under AMG.
- (b) Lt. General Sir Frank N. Mason MacFarlane K.C.B., D.S.O., M.C., took over on January 17 from Major General Kenyon A. Joyce and officially became Deputy President of the Allied Control Commission on that date. In that capacity he is the Chief Commissioner of the Allied Control Commission and also serves as Chief Civil Affairs Officer of occupied territory under AMG.
- (c) Effective 24 January AMG 15 Army Group (now Allied Central Mediterranean Force) was disbanded. HQ. AMG Fifth and Eighth Armies now operate under the operational command of Commanders Fifth and Eighth Armies and are under the technical control of HQ. ACC.
- (d) With effect from 31 January 1944 HQ. ACC, and not AFHQ, was made directly responsible for Civil Affairs in SARDINIA and as a result the Allied Regional Commissioner (SARDINIA) came under control of HQ. ACC on that date.
- (e) It has been determined that the executive control of food distribution in Italy should now be exercised by HQ. ACC and not by the Central Economic Committee. The Central Economic Committee will however remain in being to co-ordinate Civil and Military requirements in Italy and to advise on diversion of Military resources.

- (f) In order to co-ordinate policies and executive action to implement the rehabilitation of the Electrical Power System in Italy it has been decided to create a special body to be known as the AMG Central Electricity Board, the Chairman being appointed by CINC ACIF. This body is necessary in order that the work of rehabilitating the electrical power system may be best allocated between ACC and the Military

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- (f) In order to co-ordinate policies and executive action to implement the rehabilitation of the Electrical Power System in Italy it has been decided to create a special body to be known as the ACNG Central Electricity Board, the Chairman being appointed by CINC ACME. This body is necessary in order that the work of rehabilitating the electrical power system may be best allocated between ACC and the Military Engineering Agency. The Electricity produced will be ⁵⁵³³ ~~5533~~ by a sub-committee of the local Resources Board. (Italy).

RESTORATION OF ITALIAN TERRITORY

39. The detailed working out of the hand over to Italian administration of the Italian peninsula South of the Northern boundaries of the provinces of Salerno, Potenza and Bari, together with Sicily and Sardinia has proceeded and efforts are being made for the handover to take place on the 10th of February. A draft of the press announcement to this effect has been sent to C.C.S. for approval.

U.S. CONFIDENTIAL EQUAIS BRITISH CONFIDENTIAL

U.S. CONFIDENTIAL EQUALS BRITISH CONFIDENTIAL

LABOR

40. The labor unions are developing along democratic lines. Leaders are elected and the unions organized by trades rather than skills (railroad workers, dock workers, etc.). The unions of a particular locality belong to the local Camera di Lavoro which in turn sends representatives to the Confederation of Labor. Employers have been slower to organize but a few associations have already been constituted. There is as yet no association corresponding to the Confederation of Labor for employers.

EDUCATION

41. Arrangements have been made for the re-opening of elementary schools in twenty communities in the province of Naples. In Naples itself some schools were scheduled to re-open on the 27th January and others on 1st February. Schools in the province of BENEVENTO and AVELLINO re-opened 10 January.

42. It is claimed that all teachers of Fascist conviction have been eliminated from the school system and all text books of Fascist doctrines or methods have been withdrawn from curriculum. New appointments, which have been approved, include that of Dr. Francesco Scaglione as superintendent of studies for the province of Naples, who has under him teaching personnel of some 10,000. Other new appointments are those of C. M. Albanese and Gerardo Albano as Superintendents of Studies in BENEVENTO and AVELLINO respectively.

EXPORTS

43. The chief limitations are Shipping facilities, internal transportation, lack of coal to provide industrial power, packing material, and essential materials which have to be imported. But in spite of these many difficulties more than 14,000 tons total have actually been exported up to mid-January, mostly to the United Kingdom. Items include Lemons, Nuts, Sumac, Sulphur, Pumice, Wine, Citric Acid, Tartaric Acid, Essential Oils, Mustard Seed. Of these the chief item to date is Lemons and it is expected that 20,000 tons of Lemons alone will have been shipped by the end of March to the United Kingdom. This is approximately 225 million lemons or nearly 1½ lbs. for every man, woman and child.

44. An emergency demand for specially quarried Talc required for manufacture of radio tubes has been met. A trial shipment of wine has already been made to the United Kingdom. A similar shipment is being made to the United States and if reports are favourable, which is anticipated, substantial shipments are expected to result.

45. Good progress has been made in developing production to U.S. and U.K. standards of Citrus Fruit Juices (orders already placed for 75,000 gallons), Lemon Oil (orders placed for 85,000 lbs) and substantially increased export will be possible when conditions permit supply of adequate containers, packing materials, industrial power, and transportation. Many other items are being developed including Hemp and Silk - which will eventually provide Exports much needed for the war effort.

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HEALTH

46. The typhus rate in Naples has fallen to an average of 10 to 15 new cases a day.

U.S. CONFIDENTIAL EQUALS BRITISH CONFIDENTIAL

MONEY MATTERS

47. Negotiations have been continued with the Italian Under Secretary of Finance concerning the discontinuance of the use of Allied Military Lire and substitution of Italian Government Lire. The Deputy Chief Finance Officer went to the U.S.A. to discuss this matter with the C.C.S. A scheme to permit the resumption of remittances from Great Britain and the United States to dependents in Italy has been worked out and agreed. Negotiations are under way to extend the privilege to the Argentine and other countries.

48. The request of the Italian Government to increase passenger fare rates by 100% has been considered, but no decision has been taken because of inadequacy of information produced in support of the proposal.

Henry T. Powell
HENRY T. POWELL,
Major, C.M.P.

COPY.

OUTGOING

SR/dad

3 February 1944.

SECRET

PRIORITY

FARGO SIGNED MACEVLANE

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF CIVIL AFFAIRS AND BRITISH RESIDENT MINISTER.

WITH THE RETURN TO NAPLES OF THE HARI CONFEREE DELEGATES IT IS NOW POSSIBLE TO GIVE A MORE COMPLETE ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF ALTHOUGH THE FINAL RESOLUTION OF WHICH WAS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY ON REPRESENTS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE PROPOSALS PUT FORTH BY THE ACTION ONA COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES PARTIS (SEE BY FARGO NUMBER FIVE EIGHT NINE OF JANUARY TWO NINE PARTIS) AND THE VIEWS OF THE LIBERAL ONA CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT AND LABOUR DEMOCRAT PARTIES ONA IN REVENUEMENT. LEAVES UNRESOLVED THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF HOW TO CARRY ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY AFTER THE KING HAS ABDICATED TO PARA THE COMPROMISE WAS ACHIEVED ON THE SECOND DAY TO PREVENT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE THREE LATTER PARTIES WHO WERE NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL WHICH IN THEIR OPINION WOULD HAVE MEANT THE END OF THE MONARCHY AND THE CREATION OF A RIVAL GOVERNMENT ONA THIS BRINGING CHAOS AND EVEN THE RISK OF CIVIL WAR TO THE COUNTRY TO IN THEIR OPINION ONA THE COMPROMISE MEANT THAT AFTER THE KING'S ABDICATION ONA THE CROWN PRINCE WOULD AUTOMATICALLY SUCCEED ONA BUT AT THE SAME TIME WOULD DELEGATE SUCH POWERS TO AN EXTRAORDINARY GOVERNMENT AS WOULD ENABLE IT TO FUNCTION UNTIL THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY COULD DETERMINE THE INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION AT THE END OF THE WAR TO PARA ON THE OTHER HAND THE ACTION PARTY GROUP DOES NOT ENVISAGE THE AUTOMATIC SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN PRINCE ONA BUT CONSIDERS THAT THE SIX PARTIES WOULD ASSURE ALL THE POWERS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR CREATION TO FUNCTION UNTIL THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO WHICH CONVENED WHETHER THIS EXTRA-ORDINARY GOVERNMENT WOULD INCLUDE OTHER REPRESENTATIVES THAT THOSE OF THE SIX PARTIES ONA THEIR REPLY INDICATED THAT THEY PROPOSED TO EXCLUDE ANYONE WHO WAS

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NOT A MEMBER OF THESE QUOTE ANTI DASH FASCIST PARTIES UNQUOTE PD THE REASON
 THEY GAVE WAS THAT IN SIX PARTIES REPRESENTED THE ONLY ELEMENTS IN ITALY
 TODAY THAT COULD FORM THE HOMOGENEOUS GOVERNMENT WHICH THE SITUATION DEMANDED
 PD PARA FROM OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE PARTIES IT EMERGES THAT
 NONE OF THE PARTIES ARE AT PRESENT PREPARED TO FORCE A SOLUTION UNTIL AFTER
 ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH THE ROSS LEADERS PD WHEREAS THE COMMUNISTS SUPPORTED
 THE ACTION PARTIES PROPOSAL CIA THEY DO NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF ENTERING
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 THEIR PARTY CIA TO ITALY PD WE CONCLUDE THAT THE ONLY INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE
 PRESSING FOR AN IMMEDIATE SOLUTION BEFORE ROSS ARE COUNT SPORZA AND CERTAIN
 MEMBERS OF THE ACTION PARTY PD PARA THE EXECUTIVE JUNTA CREATED BY THE CONGRESS
 WILL HAVE AS ITS MAIN TASK THE DUTY OF TRYING TO RESOLVE SUCH DIFFERENCES IN
 ORDER TO ESTABLISH AGREEMENT ON THE PRACTICAL MEASURES TO BE ADOPTED PD IT IS
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 LABOUR DEMOCRAT SMCIN TEDESCHI CIA COMMUNIST SMCIN AND MONCORARDI CIA SOCIALIST
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 TIME AS THE PARTIES CAN RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES WHICH MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE
 WITHOUT THE HELP OF THE ROSS LEADERS CIA IT IS CLEAR THAT ANY SUCH ACTION
 NOW MAY RAISE DIFFICULTIES FOR WHICH NO SOLUTION IS AVAILABLE PD THUS WE ARE

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FACED WITH AN AWKWARD PERIOD ED THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT YET AT HAND
ED BUT THERE IS THE INCREASED POPULAR DEMAND FOR THE KING'S ABDICATION AND
INCREASING DISATISFACTION WITH THE LACK OF ENERGY AND WILLINGNESS OF THE BADOLLO
GOVERNMENT IN CARRYING OUT THE PROGRAM TO WHICH IT IS COMMITTED

SAMUEL ROSEN

Director, Political Section

5549

OUTGOING

BR/dmd

701, 3 February 1944

SECRET

PRIORITY

FARGO SIGNED MACFARLANE

FREEDOM FOR CGS CMA CIVIL AFFAIRS AND BRITISH RESIDENT MINISTER

WITH THE RETURN TO NAPLES OF THE DARI CONGRESS DELEGATES IT IS NOW POSSIBLE TO GIVE A MORE COMPLETE ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS PD ALTHOUGH THE FINAL RESOLUTION CMA WHICH WAS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY CMA REPRESENTS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE PROPOSALS PUT FORTH BY THE ACTION CMA COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES PAREN SEE MY FARGO NUMBER FIVE EIGHT NINE OF JANUARY TWO NINE PAREN AND THE VIEWS OF THE LIBERAL CMA CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT AND LABOUR DEMOCRAT PARTIES CMA IT NEVERTHELESS LEAVES UNRESOLVED THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF HOW TO CARRY ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY AFTER THE KING HAS ABDICATED PD PARA THE COMPROMISE WAS ACHIEVED ON THE SECOND DAY TO PREVENT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE THREE LATTER PARTIES WHO WERE NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL WHICH IN THEIR OPINION WOULD HAVE MEANT THE END OF THE MONARCHY AND THE FORMATION OF A RIVAL GOVERNMENT CMA THUS BRINGING CHAOS AND EVEN THE RISK OF CIVIL WAR TO THE COUNTRY PD IN THEIR OPINION CMA THE COMPROMISE MEANS THAT AFTER THE KINGS ABDICATION CMA THE CROWN PRINCE WOULD AUTOMATICALLY SUCCEED CMA BUT AT THE SAME TIME WOULD DELEGATE SUCH POWERS TO AN EXTRAORDINARY GOVERNMENT AS WOULD ENABLE IT TO FUNCTION UNTIL THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY COULD DETERMINE THE INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION AT THE END OF THE WAR PD PARA ON THE OTHER HAND THE ACTION PARTY GROUP DOES NOT ENVISAGE THE AUTOMATIC SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN PRINCE CMA BUT CONSIDERS THAT THE SIX PARTIES WOULD ASSUME ALL THE POWERS NECESSARY TO ENABLE A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR CREATION TO FUNCTION UNTIL THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PD WHEN QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS EXTRAORDINARY GOVERNMENT WOULD INCLUDE OTHER REPRESENTATIVES THAN THOSE OF THE SIX PARTIES CMA THEIR REPLY INDICATED THAT THEY PROPOSED TO EXCLUDE ANYONE WHO WAS NOT MEMBER OF THESE QUOTE ANTI DASH FASCIST PARTIES UNQUOTE PD

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BADCOLIC GOVERNMENT IN CARRYING OUT THE PROGRAM TO WHICH IT IS COMMITTED

SAMUEL RUBER
Director, Political Section

5546 55

OUTGOING

JN/dmd

3 February 1944

SECRET

PRIORITY

FARGO SIGNED MACFARLANE

FREEDOM FOR CGS CMA CIVIL AFFAIRS AND BRITISH RESIDENT MINISTER

WITH THE RETURN TO NAPLES OF THE BARI CONGRESS DELEGATES IT IS NOW POSSIBLE TO GIVE A MORE COMPLETE ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS PD ALTHOUGH THE FINAL RESOLUTION CMA WHICH WAS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY CMA REPRESENTS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE PROPOSALS PUT FORTH BY THE ACTION CMA COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES PAREN SEE BY FARGO NUMBER FIVE EIGHT NINE OF JANUARY TWO NINE PAREN AND THE VIEWS OF THE LIBERAL CMA CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT AND LABOUR DEMOCRAT PARTIES CMA IT NEVERTHELESS LEAVES UNRESOLVED THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF HOW TO CARRY ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY AFTER THE KING HAS ABDICATED PD PARA THE COMPROMISE WAS ACHIEVED ON THE SECOND DAY TO PREVENT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE THREE LATTER PARTIES WHO WERE NOT PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL WHICH IN THEIR OPINION WOULD HAVE MEANT THE END OF THE MONARCHY AND THE FORMATION OF A RIVAL GOVERNMENT CMA THUS BRINGING CHAOS AND EVEN THE RISK OF CIVIL WAR TO THE COUNTRY PD IN THEIR OPINION CMA THE COMPROMISE MEANS THAT AFTER THE KING'S ABDICATION CMA THE CROWN PRINCE WOULD AUTOMATICALLY SUCCEED CMA BUT AT THE SAME TIME WOULD DELEGATE SUCH POWERS TO AN EXTRAORDINARY GOVERNMENT AS WOULD ENABLE IT TO FUNCTION UNTIL THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY COULD DETERMINE THE INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION AT THE END OF THE WAR PD PARA ON THE OTHER HAND THE ACTION PARTY GROUP DOES NOT ENVISAGE THE AUTOMATIC SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN PRINCE CMA BUT CONSIDERS THAT THE SIX PARTIES WOULD ASSUME ALL THE POWERS NECESSARY TO ENABLE A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR CREATION TO FUNCTION UNTIL THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PD WHEN QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS EXTRAORDINARY GOVERNMENT WOULD INCLUDE OTHER REPRESENTATIVES THAN THOSE OF THE SIX PARTIES CMA THEIR REPLY INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD TO EXCLUDE ANYONE WHO WAS NOT A MEMBER OF THESE QUOTE ANTI FASH FASCIST PARTIES UNQUOTE PD

Minister continues:

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ADGOTIC GOVERNMENT IN CARRYING OUT THE PROGRAM TO WHICH IT IS COMMITTED

SAMUEL REBER
Director, Political Section

55543

Reference #505

2 February 1944

After speaking to General MacFarlane I arranged to see Signor Alberto Ciance, the president of the Bari congress, in order to hand to him the message from the 74 members of Parliament. I was careful to explain that the Government were not in any way associated with the message and had only consented to act as a channel of communication. Signor Ciance said that he fully understood this. He said that the text of the message had actually appeared in the Bari newspaper, *MEZZOGIORNO*, before the congress took place. The fact that the authenticated text had not arrived until after the congress closed would therefore cause no disappointment; on the contrary he was very grateful to know that the press had been accurate on this occasion and looked forward to receiving the names of the senders of the message when they arrive by bag.

St. Hon. Harold MacMillan
British Resident Minister
at Allied Force Headquarters
5 Rue Professeur Curtillet,
Algiers

541.1
105 - Ciance

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1 FEB 1944

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The Congress of Parties in Bari 28/29 January 1944

It may be useful to give a short summary of the political aims of the Congress and the results achieved. They may be tabulated as follows:

<u>Aim</u>	<u>By which party desired</u>	<u>Result of Congress-</u>
1. Abdication of King Victor Emanuel III	By all parties taking part in the Congress	Approved in motion which was proposed and carried unanimously
2. Setting of an extraordinary government with full powers (including executive powers of the Crown) The Crown to be in abeyance till a plebiscite could decide for monarchy or republic. To be done by any means even by force.	Communist and some numbers of Socialist and "Partito d'Azione". Opposed by Christian Democrats and Liberals.	Not proposed
3. Setting up an extraordinary government with members of all parties. The powers of the Crown to be exercised by the acceptable*successor to Victor Emanuel III.	Christian Democrats and Liberals.	Implied in the "declaration" of the motion which was unanimously carried at the Congress

It will be seen from the above table that during the discussions which took place in and out of the Congress sittings, the centre parties (Christian Democrat and Liberal) acted as a moderating influence upon the left-wing parties.

I have had a long talk with Prof. Tapaldini of the Christian Democrat party in Rome who left there on January 19 to attend the Bari Congress. He said that the motion approved at the Bari Congress is a fairly true expression of political opinion of the Committees of Liberation in Rome and in Northern Italy. He is himself not one of the leaders of the Rome Committee but says he knows them all well and as he was entrusted by them with the mission of attending the Congress he is presumably trusted by them. He says that the Rome Committee is in constant touch with the North Italian Committees.

* Prince Umberto might be an acceptable successor if he would guarantee the prospective government a free hand in carrying out the necessary reforms.

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Prof. Tapaldini said that during the speeches at the Congress the person of the Crown Prince was not attacked by any delegate so that the door might be left open for the succession if the King should abdicate. He went on, however, that if the King did not abdicate on Rome being freed it was probable that the Christian Democrats and perhaps the Liberals would follow the left-wing parties in taking an extreme line.

Prof. Tapaldini had not heard of General Amellini. He did not know of contact between the Rome Committee and Badoglio emissaries and thought that one or two of these had gone to Rome but were looked askance at by the Committee. The parties in Rome, particularly the Communists and Christian Democrats, had organized bands of resistance who were armed.

Count Sforza's speeches are said not to have had much effect on the Congress while Corbo's were highly praised.

My evaluation of the work of the Congress is based upon newspaper material, my being present at the Lateran house after dinner on 28 January when I heard a number of members of the Partito d'Azione with Corbo and Sforza discuss the work of the Congress, and talks with Prince Respighiosi who attended the Congress and some of the Eari party meetings prior to the Congress. Prof. Tapaldini helped to fill in the picture and confirmed the general correctness of the table I have worked out above.

In conclusion I am of the opinion that the parties hope for no immediate effects from the Congress but look to the fall of Rome as being the time when there will be a change.

W. HOWARD
Captain

5540

General

Please refer to

Political

Section

British Press Comment on Bari Congress.

30/1/44

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Little reference in British Sunday Press to Bari Congress and no editorial comment. Observer "Italian correspondent" writes supposedly from London that telegram from 76 British Members of Parliament and four Peers was read to cheering opening session, that the meeting was attended by party delegates from the North including a Director General of Democrats and Marquess di Rodino who had crossed the front line to attend. The correspondent points out that it is ^{no} more coincidence that in Southern Italy where the aristocracy and landed interests were unadulterated by organized proletariat, it is the educated middle class who must now take the political lead. The correspondent says Croce in the opening speech paid tribute to the Allies but maintained his view that allied indifference to the political issues is hindering war effort by preventing Italians from taking full part. Croce also disclosed that the King backed by the Allies had forbidden the formation of volunteer forces outside the regular army who would not be bound by the oath to the throne, that young subversives left German occupied territory under great difficulties to offer their services only to be disappointed and dispersed. The correspondent ends with few words about the re-emergence of Zaniboni and Cianca as joint chairmen of the Bari Congress.

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Sunday Times also from London gives much briefer mention of Congress saying some representatives from occupied North are said to be attending and that although not expecting that Congress will take any immediate political decisions concerning future Italian constitution it will provide some guidance for Allied Advisory Council and will indicate how far these progressive parties who desire to take a lead in moulding their country's future have advanced towards competence and unity.

Sunday Dispatch quoting Reuter version of Bari Radio says that Congress unanimously adopted resolution calling for the King's abdication as necessary preliminary to reconstruction and also quotes Croce on collapse of King's prestige. Dispatch further quotes Associated Press regarding trial to be heard by special tribunal of five admirals and seven generals on charges of high treason and complicity in capitulation.

Reynolds News in short paragraph also quotes above Bari Radio report of Congress demand for King's abdication.

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British Press Comment on Bari Congress.

31/1/44

Very few references in British Monday morning press to Bari Congress. "Times" gives one paragraph to telegram from 77 Members of House of Commons and Lords with brief selection of signatories' names. News Chronicle briefly quotes Algiers Radio regarding Congress demand for abdication of King and formation of a new Government. Daily Herald also gives few lines abdication demand. Slightly larger paragraph in Manchester Guardian refers to abdication demand and states that meeting called for summoning of constituent assembly at the end of hostilities and immediate formation of a permanent executive committee composed of representatives of all parties taking part in Congress. Guardian goes on to quote Naples radio as having broadcast an attack on the King by Sforza. Daily Worker in front page paragraph says creation of new Italian Government was unanimously demanded, that Congress also demanded abdication of the King and that the Executive Committee was elected including Longobardi, Socialist, and Tedeschi, Communist, and representatives of the other parties. On inner page Daily Worker has half a column by diplomatic correspondent beginning "While Amgot clings to power like limpets and Badoglio tries to put stopper on all politics until after the fall of Rome representatives of Italian anti-fascist parties have met in lively conference at Bari". After meeting Members of Parliament message to Congress and presence of Delegates from behind the German lines correspondent says that conference has been held despite serious restrictions still imposed by Anglo-American authorities acting contrary to the terms of famous Moscow Declaration which constituted real charter of anti-fascist liberty. Correspondent describes Croce's charges that allied attitude to Italian political problems was hindering the war effort and preventing Italian people from being fully mobilized in the struggle.

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MESSAGE (PAGE FOR SECRETARIES)

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AFM, FOR CGS, CIVIL AFFAIRS, AND BRITISH RESIDENT MINISTER
INFO HQ ACME FOR INFO FATIMA REAR FOR INFO

The Six Party Congress at Bari has today unanimously accepted a compromise program which calls for (a) the prompt creation of a government to include representatives of all the six parties and endowed with the powers necessary at this critical period. (b) the creation of a constituent assembly as soon as hostilities cease. (c) the abdication of the King. The Congress then voted to establish an executive committee composed of representatives of all parties for the purpose of bringing about the foregoing aims. It was further agreed that the present situation does not allow the immediate solution on the institutional question, but the Congress considered that the King's abdication was an essential condition of the unification of Italian effort. This compromise was reached after the Christian Democrat and Liberal Parties refused to accept the program put forward by the action, socialist and communist Parties. It is expected that the Congress will adjourn shortly with a resolution to reconvene within 20 days at which time it is hoped Rome may be freed. Please inform Messigli and Vishinsky.

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MESSAGE /afe

SVC/RELAY NO.

M/C NO : 32/29

CLASS: SECRET

REF NO: PES 6698
FARGO 589

PREC : OF-PRIORITY

FILED : Jan 291658A

FROM : PENEASE (FARGO FOR MACTARIANE)

REC'D : Jan 300005A

TO : AFHQ FOR CGS, CIVIL AFFAIRS, BRITISH RESIDENT MINISTER RPTD
ACCT FOR INFO FATIMA REAR FOR INFO

The Bari Congress met yesterday under the presidency of Alberto Cianca. In the opening address, Croce criticized the King's position and the tendency on the part of the Allies to maintain in power "persons of a Fascist character". He admitted however that the anti-Fascists, while deploring the war had taken "great care not utter a word that could discourage our soldiers".

The Socialist delegate from Rome, Longobardi (see my 489 of January 25) brought a message from the Central Committee of National Liberation in Rome which referred to the fight in which the Committees of Liberation in occupied Italy were engaged with all their strength against the invader and his Fascist servants. It was then stated that in this fight the present government had not been able either to organize the effective participation of the nation or to contribute to resistance in occupied Italy. Therefore it must disappear and an extraordinary government of National Liberation should be created to assume all constitutional powers of the State without endangering national units and without prejudice to the free expression of the popular will as regards the institutional question thus enabling Italy to wage the war and to ensure its own future.

Based on the position taken by the Rome parties, proposal of the action, Socialist and Communist parties was then presented to the Congress which maintained that since the failure to form a national democratic government rested solely with the King and the Badoglio Government, the three parties were acting

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FBS 6698, FARCO 589, fr c MacFarlane, 29 Jan 44, cont'd:

as interpreters of the "unanimous" wish of the Italian people in putting forward the following program:

First: Inasmuch as King Victor Emanuel has not abdicated, a Bill of Indictment against the Government, based on all violation of the statutes which he has committed, should be drawn up. Second: The Congress should proclaim itself the representative assembly of liberated Italy and reconvene as soon as possible in Rome, completing itself with representatives of the other provinces in Italy as liberated, to sit in permanence until the formation of a constituent assembly. Its tasks would be: (a) to proceed to the formation of an extraordinary government which unites the powers of the dissolved parliament and of the crown, taking care to give it immediately a wide base. (b) to intensify the war effort. (c) to ensure that ^{no} one takes away newly won liberties.

Third: Meantime and until the liberation of Rome, an executive committee for liberated Italy should be appointed. (1) to perform all acts necessary to attain the aims expressed in (b) and (c) above. (2) to represent the Italian people in their relations with the United Nations and (3) to carry out, on the basis of mass action to be immediately promoted in forms which the executive committee will itself decide, the legal foundation of the Congress and the verification of its powers. (4) "Measures necessary to compensate the ineffectiveness of the Badoglio Government in order to alleviate the food situation, eliminate unemployment and destroy the black market" should be taken through the Communal, Provincial and Trade Union organizations established by anti-Fascists in liberated territory.

Before any action was taken by the Congress on the proposal, it was decided that two representatives from each of the parties should meet to prepare a **5525**

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PBS 6698, FARGO 589, fr (MacFarlane, 29 Jan 44, cont'd.)

program to be accepted unanimously. This group was to meet last night and to submit any agreements to the Congress today for its approval.

The Congress likewise adopted messages of greeting to the United Nations' Governments, the texts of which will be transmitted when received officially. According to all reports no disorders took place during the first day's meeting.

Please inform the French and Russian Members of the Advisory Council of the foregoing. The Russian member return to Algiers today.

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The first Congress met yesterday under the presidency of Alberto Clante. In the opening address, Croce criticized the King's position and the tendency on the part of the Allies to maintain in power "persons of a fascist character". He admitted however that the anti-fascists, while exploring the war had taken great care not utter a word that could discourage our soldiers.

The Socialist delegate from Rome, Longobardi (see my copy of January 29) brought a message from the central committee of National Liberation in Rome which referred to the fight in which the Committee of Liberation in occupied Italy were engaged with all their strength against the invader and his puppet servants. It was thus stated that in this fight the present government had not been able either to organize the effective participation of the nation or to contribute to resistance in occupied Italy. Therefore it must disappear and an extraordinary government of national liberation should be created to assume all constitutional powers of the state without endangering national unity and without prejudice to the free expression of the popular will as regards the institutional question thus enabling Italy to wage the war and to ensure its own future.

Based on the position taken by the Rome parties, proposal of the nation, Socialist and Communist parties was then presented to the Congress which maintained that since the failure to form a national democratic government rests solely with the King and the Fascist Government, the three parties were

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 FBI 6098, TADPO 989, FY (MSP) 1948, 20 Jan 48, cont'd.

as interpreters of the unanimous wish of the Italian people in putting forward the following program:

First: Inasmuch as King Victor Emmanuel has not abdicated, a Bill of Indictment against the Government, based on all violation of the statutes which he has committed, should be drawn up. Second: The Congress should proclaim itself the representative assembly of liberated Italy and reconvene as soon as possible in Rome, completing itself with representatives of the other provinces in Italy as liberated, to sit in permanence until the formation of a constituent assembly. Its acts could be: (a) to proceed to the formation of an extraordinary government which unites the powers of the dissolved parliament and of the crown, taking care to give it immediately a wide base. (b) to intensify the war effort. (c) to ensure that ^{no} one takes away newly won liberties.

Third: Pending and until the liberation of Rome, an executive committee for liberated Italy should be appointed. (1) to perform all acts necessary to attain the aims expressed in (b) and (c) above. (2) to represent the Italian people in their relations with the United Nations and (3) to carry out, on the basis of mass action to be immediately promoted in forms which the executive committee will itself decide, the legal foundation of the Congress and the verification of its powers. (4) Measures necessary to compensate the ineffectiveness of the Badoglio Government in order to alleviate the food situation, eliminate unemployment and destroy the black market* should be taken through the communal, provincial and Trade Union organizations established by anti-Fascists in liberated territory.

Before any action was taken by the Congress on the proposal, it was decided that two representatives from each of the parties should meet to prepare a definite

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MSG 6698, PAKO 589, FR (Macarlan, 29 Jan 44, cont'd:

program to be accepted unanimously. This group was to meet last night and to submit any agreements to the congress today for its approval.

The congress likewise adopted messages of greeting to the United Nations' Governments, the texts of which will be transmitted when received officially. According to all reports no disorders took place during the first day's meeting.

Please inform the French and Russian members of the Advisory Council of the foregoing. The Russian member return to Algiers today.

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FARGO

30 JANUARY 44

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URGENT

FREEDOM (ACTION) HQ ACOMF (INFO) PATIRA (REAR) (INFO)

BY FARGO FIVE EIGHT NINE JANUARY TWO NINE
 REFERS TO MESSAGE FROM FARGO TO MACFARLANE FROM TO AFHQ FOR COS
 CMA CIVIL AFFAIRS CMA AND BRITISH RESIDENT MINISTER REFD HQ ACOMF FOR
 INFO PATIRA REAR FOR INFO PD CITE FARGO SIX ZERO TWO PD THE SIX PARTY
 CONGRESS AT HARI HAS TODAY UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPTED A COMPROMISE PROGRAM
 WHICH CALLS FOR FAIR ABLE FROM THE PROMPT CREATION OF A GOVERNMENT
 TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE SIX PARTIES AND ENDOWED WITH THE
 POWERS NECESSARY AT THIS CRITICAL PERIOD TO FROM FROM FROM THE
 CREATION OF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AS SOON AS HOSTILITIES CEASE PD
 FROM CHARLIE FROM THE ABDICATION OF THE KING PD THE CONGRESS THEN
 VOTED TO ESTABLISH AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES
 OF ALL PARTIES FOR THE PURPOSE OF BRINGING ABOUT THE FOREGOING AIMS
 PD IT WAS FURTHER AGREED THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION DOES NOT ALLOW THE
 IMMEDIATE SOLUTION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION CMA BUT THE CONGRESS
 CONSIDERED THAT THE KING'S ABDICATION WAS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF THE
 UNIFICATION OF ITALIAN EFFORT PD THIS COMPROMISE WAS REACHED AFTER THE

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D.F. FICHEL, 5529
 Lt. Col. AGN
 Adjutant General

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30 JANUARY 44

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URGENT

FREEDOM (ACTION) HQ ACEF (INFO) PATIKA (REAR) (INFO)

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT AND LIBERAL PARTIES REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE PROGRAM
 PUT FORWARD BY THE ACTION OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES
 IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE CONGRESS WILL ADJOURN SOON WITH A
 RESOLUTION TO RECONVENE WITHIN TWO ZERO DAYS AT WHICH TIME IT IS
 HOPEFUL THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO RE-CONTACT MADWICK AND VISHINSKY

L.F. NICKEL, 5529
 Lt. Col. ASD
 Adjutant General

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Jan 30 1944

BARI, Jan. 29 (PWB). Here are excerpts from Count Carlos Sforza's speech which closed the Bari Congress today:

"We are the Italy of tomorrow. We are the parliament of tomorrow. From inside us you will select the men who will rule Italy. This is the first free Italian assembly. The whole trend of the Congress has been a high demonstration of Italian maturity. This means that Fascism has not been able to stupify the Italians who worship truth in their hearts.

"The problem of tomorrow is this. We shall face new gigantic problems in a capitalistic society near to bankruptcy. We must create new methods, organisms, collective forms of production of administration, of organizations of the peoples.

"It will be glorious for Italy if we offer, once we are free, this marvellous contribution of expressing new political conceptions, different conceptions from those on which are based super-capitalism and salacious forms of economic liberalism.

"A peculiar characteristic of our nation is its ability to compromise, but no compromise is possible on such supreme necessities as require moral punishment. You have reached unanimous decisions as to the King. You have made an act of indictment for which Benedetto Croce was the prosecutor. We hope the King will listen to us, not for Italy's sake, because he does not love Italy, but for his own sake. Many ask me, 'Was the King always so?' And they mean, 'So false, so disloyal, so egotistical?' No, he was not always so/ when he was surrounded by honest statesmen of liberal Italy. His tragedy was in meeting and forming comradeship with Mussolini. He found in him his master, and as he did not love Italy--no Monarch loves his country--he felt he had found a marvellous remedy to keep ~~Italian~~ Italians in subjection. He was connected with the Italian people by free agreement, and the connection between the Savoy ~~ex~~ family and the Italian people can exist only so long as the contract is performed. Broken, it has fallen to the level of Hapsburg, Hohenzollern, etc.

"Do not let us speak about the dead. I will not speak long about the Brindisi government. We know what happened yesterday and today. Brindisi men should have established in Brindisi a consultative assembly composed of the people who always opposed Fascist policy. Supported by it, the government could address the Allies with much more authority saying, 'The country is with us.' To this purpose let me recall to you that de Gaulle has established in Algiers a consultative assembly which has given him the grounds to obtain recognition by the Western Powers as the only representative of France. But the Brindisi government could not do this because, just the same as Fascism, it could tolerate ~~not~~ anything but free critics. Another reason is that if it had composed an assembly with anti-Fascist people the largest part of the present officials of the Brindisi government could not participate in the assembly.

"It is not for hate that we want the elimination of the King and those like him, who are so morally far from us. It is because they have become symbols of the Fascist idea. After having

- 2 -

because they have become symbols of the Fascist idea. After having eliminated them we can forgive the innumerable Fascists who committed the sin because of cowardice, ignorance or light-headedness. Those who are really responsible for Fascism are such kings of rubber, chemicals, and steel who, though well acquainted with the horrors of Fascism, did not hesitate to sell the whole of Italy to it to protect their own interests. After punishing those chiefly responsible we may also forgive, with all our hearts, the millions of poor devils who adhered to Fascism in good faith. This purge of the supreme guilty will allow us to attend the peace conference with clear conscience. I say to the King, 'How do you not under-

~~stand~~ stand that every day more you remain clinging to your throne you make more and more difficult for us Italians to demonstrate that we are the ~~new~~ new and real Italy, and that we have no responsibility for the errors and crimes of the past?'

"If you remain longer on the throne, when at the peace conference we rise to defend the sacred borders of the Fatherland and our old and honored colonies (not the fruits of the Ethiopian and Albanian ventures), some foreign diplomat could reply, 'You were not even able to get rid of the King.' ~~xxxxxx~~ We act only for Italy's sake and for those institutions like the army and the navy, whose honor is very dear to us. If we attend the peace conference with new faith, without traitors or liars or oath-breakers in our ranks, we will be able to ~~save~~ save what may be saved of Italy. The world knows ~~that~~ it is a necessity for a lasting peace that no people remain with reasons for hate toward other peoples. It is necessary for peace that a new ~~union~~ union of Italy and Germany is made impossible forever. The Italian people is ready for every collaboration, and even for fair sacrifice, but on condition that the decisions are taken, not on the grounds of Italian problems, but on Italian aspects of ~~the~~ European problems, not in a spirit of mere nationalism or local patriotism, but in a spirit of internationalism and feeling that above the Fatherland there is a superior fatherland.

"With these feelings we may again obtain international respect and the right of cooperation with other countries. We will soon heal the wounds of our country once we have reconquered our honor.

"You have established this morning the first stage to be taken for carrying out this basic condition. The Italy of tomorrow must be worthy of the thought of Mazzini and Cavour and the martyrdom suffered for her by the heroes of anti-Fascism, such as Don. Minzoni, Amendola, Matteotti and Gramscini. The names of these martyrs make still more sacred our duty. The thought of these martyrs makes Italy still dearer to us. We love Italy and we want her ~~to~~ eternal and immortal. Therefore, we must be uncompromising on matters regarding national honor."

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BARI, Jan. 29, (PWB): The Bari Congress adjourned today, Saturday, after electing an executive committee charged with finding the means of shaping a national Government which will include representatives of all the six parties which participated in the Congress.

At the suggestion of Count Carlos Sforza, former Italian foreign minister, and the dominant figure at the Congress, representatives of the parties were to meet later today to draft a statement to the Allied authorities on the cancellation of previous arrangements to broadcast the proceedings of the Congress from Radio Bari. ~~THAT~~

The executive committee chosen today is comprised of the following: for the Liberal party, Prof. Arancio Ruiz of the University of Naples; for the Action party, Vincenzo Calascia; for the Christian Democrats, Raffaele Jeervoline; for the Communists, Polo Tedeschi; for the Labour Democrats, the party which is local to the Bari region, Francesco Cerebana. The Socialists will choose their representative later. They indicated that it would be Dr. Oreste Longobardi, the Rome Socialist leader who recently escaped through the German lines and brought greetings to the Congress ~~xxx~~ from the central Committee of Liberation in Rome.

The vote on the programme adopted by the Congress was unanimous, save for the abstention of voting by two delegates from Sardinia who said they personally were in favour of the programme but had been instructed not to participate in any action against the King.

The programme adopted calls for the King's abdication. The closing speech was made by Count Sforza who was frequently interrupted by fervent applause and cries of "Bravo". The programme adopted today was considerably more moderate than that proposed yesterday by the Action Socialist and Communist parties, which called for the Congress to constitute itself into a parliament for liberated Italy and to draw up an indictment against the King for the alleged violation of Italian statutes.

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APRIL FOR CGS, CIVIL AFFAIRS, AND BRITISH RESIDENT MINISTER RPED FILPOT FOR INFO
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The Bari Congress met yesterday under the presidency of Alberto
Gianca. In the opening address, Croce criticized the King's position and the tendency
on the part of the Allies to maintain in power "persons of Fascist character". He ad-
ditionally stated that the anti-Fascists, while deploring the war had taken "great care not to
utter a word that could discourage our soldiers".

The Socialist delegate from Rome, Longobardi (see my 48) of January 25) brought
a message from the Central Committee of National Liberation in Rome which referred to
the fight in which the Committees of Liberation in occupied Italy were engaged with all
their strength against the invader and his Fascist servants. It was then stated that in
this fight the present Government had not been able either to organize the effective
participation of the nation or to contribute to resistance in occupied Italy. Therefore
it must disappear and an extraordinary Government of National Liberation should be
created to assume all constitutional powers of the state without endangering national
unity and without prejudice to the free expression of the popular will as regards the
institutional question thus enabling Italy to wage the war and to insure its own future.

L.F. NICKER 5525
Lt. Col., AGO,
Adjutant General.

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Based on the position taken by the Rome parties, a proposal of the Action, Socialist and Communist Parties was then presented to the Congress which maintained that since the failure to form a National Democratic Government rests solely with the King and the Badoglio Government, the three parties were acting as interpreters of the "unanimous" wish of the Italian people in putting forward the following program:

First: Inasmuch as King Victor Emmanuel has not abdicated, a bill of indictment against the Government, based on all violations of the statutes which he has committed, should be drawn up.

Second: The Congress should proclaim itself the representative assembly of liberated Italy and reconvene as soon as possible in Rome, completing itself with the representatives of the other provinces in Italy as liberated, to sit in permanence until the formation of a Constituent Assembly. Its tasks would be:

(a) To proceed to the formation of an extraordinary Government which unites the powers of the dissolved Parliament and of the Crown, taking care to give it immediately a wide base.

(b) To intensify the war effort.

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FARGO 589

(c) To ensure that no one takes away newly won liberties.

Third: Meantime and until the liberation of Rome, an Executive Committee for Liberated Italy should be appointed.

(1) to perform all acts necessary to attain the aims expressed in (b) and (c) above.

(2) to represent the Italian people in their relations with the United Nations and

(3) to carry out, on the basis of mass action to be immediately promoted in forms which the Executive Committee will itself decide, the legal foundation of the Congress and the verification of its powers.

(4) "Measures necessary to compensate the ineffectiveness of the Badoglio Government in order to alleviate the food situation, eliminate unemployment and destroy the black market" should be taken through the Communal, Provincial and trade union organizations established by anti-Fascists in liberated territory.

Before any action was taken by the Congress on the proposal, it was decided that two representatives from each of the parties should meet to prepare a definite

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FAIGO 589

program to be accepted unanimously. This group was to meet last night and to submit any agreements to the Congress today for its approval.

The Congress likewise adopted messages of greetings to the United Nations Governments, the texts of which will be transmitted when received officially. According to all reports no disorders took place during the first day's meeting.

Please inform the French and Russian members of the Advisory Council of the foregoing. The Russian member returns to Algiers today

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page 1

Bari - January 29th PWB

All six parties attending the Bari Congress - including the five national ~~part~~ parties and the Democratic Labour Party of the Bari Region - unanimously agreed today on a programme which was considerably more moderate than that proposed yesterday by the Action, Socialist, and Communist parties. The compromise programme demands the creation of a Government with the participation of all the parties represented at the Congress; the holding of a constituent assembly as soon as ~~host~~ hostilities cease, and a resignation of the King. The conference voted to appoint a permanent executive committee, representing all the parties, to bring about the above aims. Agreement on this programme was reached this morning after the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Party had opposed the Action, Socialist and Communist proposal as too extreme. This proposal was that the Bari Congress constitute itself ~~as~~ into an Italian parliament and bring charges against the King. The Christian democrats cheered to-day when their spokesman announced their party's adherence to the compromise programme. The Congress is expected to end shortly with a closing speech by Count Carlo Sforza, former Italian Foreign Minister. The delegates who are discussing the holding of another Congress within 20 days, within which period they expect Rome to be liberated.

Following is the text of the "Order of the Day" which was approved by all the Parties; Liberal, Christian Democrat, Socialist, Communist, Action and Democratic Labour:

"The Congress;

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Page 2
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The Congress, having listened to the reports ~~of~~ presented by Arrangio Ruez on the interior situation and having approved it, believing that the present condition of the country does not allow immediate solution of the institutional question and that the unquestionable premise of the moral and material reconstruction of Italy is the immediate resignation of the King who is responsible for all the misfortunes of the country: that this Congress is the real and unique expression of the will and strength of the nation and has, therefore, the right and the duty of proclaiming this necessity on behalf of the whole ~~people~~ Italian people declares;

The necessity of reaching the formation of a Government endowed with the full powers that this exceptional time demands formed with the participation of all the parties represented in the Congress: This Government must have as its first task to intensify the war effort to the utmost; to carry toward solution the most urgent problems of Italian life ~~as~~ ^{with} the support of the mass of the people for whose welfare it intends to work and to prepare with the guarantee of impartiality and freedom the holding of a constituent assembly to be held as soon as ~~the~~ hostilities cease: The Congress hopes to form a permanent executive Committee to which must be appointed representatives selected by the parties participating in the Committees of National Liberation which, in agreement with the Central Committee of National Liberation and keeping in touch with the Political personalities who are recognised as the ⁵⁵²⁰ ~~high~~ expression of anti-Fascism; shall prepare the necessary conditions

- 2 -

for the attainment of the aforesaid aims:

Bari - January 29th PWB

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Bari

Bari, Jan. 28, PWB. The Action, Socialist and Communist Parties - the ~~majority~~ majority of the five Liberation Front parties comprising the Congress of Bari - united today in proposing that the present Congress proclaiming itself the Italian parliament, draw up an indictment ~~xxx~~ of the King for his alleged violation of the Italian laws.

Before any action was taken on the proposal it was decided at the suggestion of the Congress President, Alberto ~~xxxxxx~~ Cianca, that two representatives from each of the five parties would meet tonight to try to make whatever action is taken unanimous. He announced that any agreement reached would be submitted to the whole Congress tomorrow for approval.

Dr. Oreste Longobardi, the Socialist leader, who recently escaped from Rome, was chosen by the three parties to read their proposal. Under it the Congress would reconvene at Rome when it is liberated to form a "extraordinary Government". Prior to Rome's liberation it is proposed to set up an ~~xx~~ "executive committee" to "represent the Italian people in their relations with the United Nations", to "intensify the war effort and to guard against the destruction of Italy's new-won liberties."

Earlier the Congress adopted with minor modifications telegrams of greetings which Count Sforza, former Italian Foreign Minister, proposed that the Congress send to the Congress of the United States, the British House of Commons, the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet, Marshal Chiang Kai Chek, General Charles de Gaulle and the peoples of Greece and Yugoslavia, countries invaded by Mussolini's armies.

Dr. Longobardi read a message of greetings to the Congress from the Liberation Committee in Rome.

The following is the text of the proposal by the Action, Socialists and Communist parties:

The Italian people, particularly the people of German-occupied territory, expect from the Congress definite and basic action. The Action, Socialist and Communist parties, acting as interpreters of the unanimous wish of the Italian people confirm that the failure to form a national democratic government rests solely with the King and the Badoglio Government and propose the following deliberations:

"First, since ~~xxxx~~ neither after the 25th of July, nor the Armistice, nor after the declaration of war against Germany,

- 2 -

the requested and expected abdication of King Victor Emmanuel III took place, to draw up a bill of indictment against the Government based on all violations of the statutes which he has committed.

"Second, that the Congress proclaims itself the ~~xxx~~ representative assembly of liberated Italy and decides to reconvene as soon as possible in Rome, completing itself with representatives of provinces which are not yet liberated. There it shall sit in permanence ~~xx~~ until the formation of a constituent assembly, carrying out temporarily the following tasks:

- a) to proceed to the formation of an extraordinary government which unites the powers of the dissolved parliament and of the crown, taking care to give it immediately a large mass base.
- b) Intensify the war effort.
- c) Ensure that no one takes away our newly won liberties.

"Third, In the meantime and until the liberation of Rome, to appoint an Executive committee for Liberated Italy which

- i) Carries out all necessary acts to attain the aims expressed in b) and c) of the previous article.
- ii) Represents the Italian people in their relations with the United Nations.
- iii) Carries out on the basis of mass action to be immediately promoted in forms which the Executive Committee itself will decide, the legal foundation of the Congress and the verification of its powers.

"Fourth, to take through the communal, provincial and trade union organizations which the anti-fascists have established in liberated territory the measures necessary to make up for the ineffectiveness of the Badoglio Government in order to alleviate the food situation, eliminate unemployment and destroy the black market."

Following are the texts of the greetings to ~~the~~ other nations adopted by the Congress:

To Marshal Chiang Kai Check: "The first Italian Assembly to meet after ~~xxxxxx~~ 20 years of fascist tyranny expresses to the Chinese people the admiration of the Italian people for their heroic struggle against the Japanese invasion."

- 3 -

Victor Emmanuel and Mussolini betrayed Italy in the best traditions when they made an alliance with feudal and militaristic Japan. /Horrible Japanese cruelty in China has been as infamous

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as the German cruelty in Italy. The memory of our common suffering will be, we trust, a new bond of union between our two peoples, representing the two most ancient civilizations in the world. "

To the American Congress:

"The first free assembly of southern Italy, islands and patriots of occupied Italy, representative of the anti-fascist parties, salute the great American democracy in its supreme expression, its Congress. We want to fight at the side of the Allied armies for the liberation of Italy and we desire also the reconstruction in our country of strong democratic institutions assuring the four freedoms which are the supreme glory of America. Fascism is not dead. It is still entrenched in a position of power. We have confidence in the support of the United States for the final destruction of that danger which is not only Italian, not only European, but world wide.

To the British House of Commons.

"The first free assembly of Southern Italy, the Islands and patriots from the interior sends its fraternal greetings to the glorious, *ancient* British Parliament, champion of justice and of liberty in England and in the world. *Having met to speed* the liberation of Italy from the Germans, the Fascists and their poorly disguised accomplices, our wish is to cooperate with the Allies in the war and in the reconstruction of Europe. But to do this Italy must be guided by a government which has a claim to the confidence of the people, cleansed ~~with~~ of every contact with fascism and its infamous wars. The Assembly has confidence in the *power* skill of the British parliament for the efficient re-organization of an Italian democracy that will be an element for security and progress in a pacified and liberated Europe."

To General de Gaulle:

Admiring the discipline, cordial correctness and the courage of the French troops fighting in Italy against the Germans, and regarding with horror the infamous war launched against you by Victor Emmanuel and Mussolini, the first free

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- 4 -

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"The first free assembly of Southern Italy and the Islands and the patriots from the whole of occupied Italy, meeting after 20 years of Fascist tyranny, expresses to you and to your heroic people, the admiration of the Italians in your victories against the German invader. The fact that the Nazis have accomplished in Russia the same horrible atrocities as in Italy, makes our horror increase at the decision taken by Victor Emmanuel and his Mussolini to send Italian soldiers to fight in Russia against the real and lasting interests of Italy. Such a crime will take place no more. We desire a fruitful friendship between Italy and you for the sake of European peace and international co-operation among all free peoples."

To the people of Yugoslavia:

"The first free Italian assembly meeting after 20 years of Fascist tyranny, expresses to all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes its horror at the savage aggression that Victor Emmanuel and his Mussolini perpetrated against them. History and Geography demanded of us a policy of cordial and loyal understanding. This policy will be secure and fruitful if on both sides all Fascist, semi-fascist and savagely nationalistic elements are eliminated, which for years have poisoned national morale both at Rome and at Belgrade."

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"The first free Italian assembly gathered after 20 years of Fascist tyranny undertakes its work by expressing to the brave Hellenic people its horror of the cruel and unjustified aggression by Victor Emmanuel and his Mussolini against the Greeks. The Italian people want, and intend to see the old friendships between the two very old peoples resurrected as soon as possible. In order to do so it will be enough for the people, tomorrow, to be completely free from any Fascist residue of the past."

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- 5 -

Following is the text of the message Dr. Longobardi brought from the Rome Liberation Committee:

"The Central Committee of National Liberation addresses the Bari Congress in brotherly salute. The Congress is being held when the decisive battle is waged in Italy; the battle which will give victory to the nations which have been fighting under the flag of freedom. In this battle Italy is by the side of the United Nations. Italy cannot rise again to the position of a free nation and cannot recover her position in Europe unless she proves, by the sacrifices of her children, that she has been directed against her will into the alliance with Germany and into the war against the United Nations.

"The Committees of Liberation in occupied Italy are engaged with all their strengths in the struggle against the invader - whom we must drive outside the Brenner - and against its fascist servants. The heroic struggle of the patriots, the large worker's strikes in the north, and daily action of the anti-fascist parties are demonstrations of the indomitable fighting will of the Italian people. The martyrs of Savona, Brescia, Milan, Rome, Ferrara and many other places in Italy, of thousands of patriots imprisoned by Germans, the valiant pride with which freedom's volunteers face the Nazi and Fascist firing squads, the resistance to band and mobilization, evidences the fighting will of new Italy. In this fight the Government is not participating, the Government which after the King's flight from Rome, was not able to organize the effective participation of the nation in the war nor has contributed resistance in occupied Italy. This government must disappear. The positions you assumed and that which was taken by our Central Committee, for the appointment of an extraordinary government of national liberation, assuming all the constitutional powers of the state, without putting on national peril national concord, and without prejudice for the free expression of the popular will on the institutional forms, represent the basic conditions to enable Italy to wage the war until victory with the necessary strength, and to ensure her own future.

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 U.S. S.B. USSR, Greece, 5511
 Yugoslavia, China, 5512

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(S/257) 44903/106380, 12,000M. 3/41. D. & S. Ltd. 51-8877.

NAVAL MESSAGE.S 1320L.
(Established, October, 1935.)To: W.O.M.I.N. Ser C in C WED,
(1) W.O.M.I.N. Ser C in C WED (1935)
ADMIT,
As Secy.

FROM:

SECRETARY OFFICE, EMERGENCY.

MOST URGENT.

The forthcoming political meeting of 1935 on 20th JANUARY is causing considerable concern to Italian Naval Authorities. There is much irresponsible propaganda and loose talk by Communist and other anti-King parties which is having effect on the large number of Italian seamen in ALGERIA who have little to keep them busy or content.

Italian C in C informs us he has little faith in some of his Petty Officers and that the morale of some of his younger officers has noticeably deteriorated in past few months. He fears BEXLEY might be the Navy as a result of the meeting on the 20th but has no set grounds for this except the general atmosphere of current.

Minister of Marine is more optimistic but considers trouble is likely and Marshall Badoglio is holding a Council of Ministers on 24th January to decide what measures are necessary. Minister of Marine also mentioned general deterioration in morale of Italian Navy in last few months as the result of incessant propaganda. I have also had reports of talk of neutralizing or sailing to Neutral Ports should the King be forced to abdicate but Italian Naval Authorities do not consider this likely.

I am investigating what can be done to call up any Italian warships as possible from TARIFF as far as to be away on active employment between 25th - 10th January which is the crucial period. Proposals follow to C in C WED.

I find it difficult to believe that it is necessary to permit such explosive political meeting at this juncture especially as it must be entirely irresponsible. If it must be held I consider a definite official statement from the Allied Governments should now be made to remind the Italian that defeat of the enemy is the first consideration and the fact of Government will not be changed until enough of Italy has been liberated to enable a really representative representation of the people to be elected.

T.O.O. 221727 January
T.O.O. 221727 January

Dist. 230, 2/20/35, 230.

T.O.O. 221727 January

2.4. 1935.

5504

5507

5111
27 JAN 1944HEADQUARTERS ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394

EWS/dfa

26 January 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR: General MacFarlane

Re the attached. I had a very satisfactory interview with Reali who assures me that:

1. Although the application to the Bari Prefect for the holding of a meeting stated that the meeting would be concluded on January 28th, he would advise the committees tomorrow that the government had no objection to its continuing over to the following day or to the 30th, if this were necessary in order to conclude their deliberations, and word will also be given to the Gazzetta Del Mezzogiorno to that effect.
2. The typhus regulations will not be enforced against delegates to the convention.
3. A rigid application of the 90 persons limit will not be followed; that is to say, that an additional 10 to 20 persons will not be challenged.
4. Orders have already been issued that Italian guard troops will not patrol the streets but will be kept in barracks until such time as they are called out by Brigadier Palmer in aid of the Carabinieri.

Reali is going to Bari tomorrow to button up all loose ends and will call on Brigadier Palmer. I will appreciate it if you will pass this on to Harold Caccia.

E.W.S.

5506

CA

File

FARGO 498

FARGO
SECRET
PRIORITY

25 JAN 44
10050 MACFARLANE

FREEDOM HQ ACMF (INFO)

EBS 6316 IN AN EFFORT FURTHER TO STRENGTHEN HIS GOVERNMENT CMA
BADOGLIO RECENTLY ASKED THE LEADERS OF THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST
PARTIES IN NAPLES TO SERVE IN THE CABINET UNTIL ROME COULD BE FREED
AND A NEW GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED PD BOTH REFUSED ON THE GROUNDS THAT
THE SITUATION AS REGARDS THE KING HAD NOT ALTERED SINCE BADOGLIOS
PREVIOUS REQUESTS TO THE PARTIES IN OCTOBER AND THEY SAW NO REASON TO
COMPROMISE THEIR POSITION IN REGARD TO THE KING FOR THIS INTERIM PERIOD
PD IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT AN APPROACH WAS ALSO MADE TO THE CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATES WHO MIGHT HAVE ACCEPTED IF IT COULD HAVE BEEN AGREED TO
SUBSTITUTE HUMBERT FOR HIS FATHER PD PENBASE PAREN FARGO PERSONAL
FROM MACFARLANE PAREN TO AFHQ FOR MGS RPT HQ ACMF FOR INFO PD CITE
FARGO FOUR NINE EIGHT PD NEW PARA PD CONVERSATIONS WITH BADOGLIO
AND PARTY LEADERS IN NAPLES PRIOR TO THE BARI MEETING INDICATE THAT
CMA WHEREAS THERE HAS BEEN SOME TENSION FOR FEAR LEST THIS FIRST FREE
POLITICAL MEETING IN TWENTY YEARS MIGHT LEAD TO DISORDERS CMA THE
GOVERNMENT IS RESOLVED TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC ORDER AND THE MORE
RESPONSIBLE PARTY LEADERS TO AVOID ANY ACTION THAT MIGHT PREJUDICE THEIR
FUTURE POSITION PD SPEECH WILL BE FREE BUT SFORZA ASSURES US THAT HE AND C
CROCE WILL USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO KEEP THE MEETING IN LINE AND PRESERVE
THE AGREED POLICY THAT NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE
WILL BE MADE UNTIL THE ENTIRE COUNTRY IS FREE TO MAKE ITS OWN CHOICE PD
IT IS CLEAR CMA HOWEVER CMA THAT THE TREND OF THE MEETING WILL
DOUBTLESS BE DIRECTED AGAINST THE PERSON OF THE PRESENT KING AND HIS
UNWILLINGNESS TO WITHDRAW UNTIL AFTER THE WAR PD PAREN SEE MY TWO ONE
ONE FIVE JANUARY TWO FOUR FROM FATIMA PAREN PD NEW PARA PD THREE RE-
PRESENTATIVES OF THE ROME COMMITTEE HAVE ARRIVED TO TAKE PART IN THE
DELIBERATIONS BEARING A MESSAGE FROM THE COMMITTEE PD IT IS UNDERSTOOD

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THAT THIS MESSAGE RECAPITULATES THE OCTOBER ONE SIX DECLARATION WHICH CALLED FOR THE FORMATION OF AN EXTRAORDINARY GOVERNMENT TO ASSURE^H ALL CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE STATE PD THIS PHRASE IS PURPOSELY VAGUE SINCE IT SEEMS THAT THERE IS NOT FULL AGREEMENT AMONG ALL MEMBERS OF THE ROME COMMITTEE WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD ITSELF ASSUME THESE POWERS OR WHETHER THEY SHOULD BE DELEGATED TO IT BY THE MONARCH PD NEW PARA PD IT HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED WHO WILL PRESIDE CMA TO IT BY THE MONARCH PD NEW PARA PD IT HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED WHO WILL PRESIDE CMA BUT THE MEETING WILL OPEN WITH AN INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY GROCE PD EACH OF THE SIX PARTIES COMPOSING THE PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES REPRESENTED AT THE CONGRESS WILL HAVE ONE VOTE PER LOCALITY

L.F. NICKEL
Lt. Col., AGD
Adjutant General

5508

secret

1/24/48
~~SECRET~~
 PRIORITY

FATIMA

outgoing

FHM/

/24

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JAN 240901A

174-3

Col Spofford

FREEDOM RPTD FARGO RPTD FILPOT

I STRESS TO RADOGGIO TONIGHT REGARDING THE URGENT NECESSITY OF
 MAINTAINING ORDER IN BARI ON TWO EIGHT JANUARY WHEN THE PLITICAL
 MEETING TAKES PLACE BAREN TO FREEDOM RPTD FARGO RPTD FILPOT
 PERSONAL FROM MACFARLANE FROM FATIMA PRAHN THERE HAVE BEEN
 MANY RUMORS AND EVEN FORECASTS FROM OFFICIAL QUARTERS THAT DISTUR-
 BANCES ARE LIKELY PD MADOGGIO ASSURED ME THAT HE HAD TAKEN EVERY
 POSSIBLE PRECAUTION AND THAT HE WAS SATISFIED THAT LAW AND ORDER
 WOULD BE MAINTAINED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY PD AND NECESSARY
 ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE BY A RECENT MEETING IN BARI OF THE ITALIAN
 O C TROOPS CMA THE COMMANDER OF THE CARABINIERI CMA THE PREFECT
 AND THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR PD THERE WILL BE ABLE FORCES
 OF CARABINIERI AND POLICE AVAILABLE PD ADMISSION THE MEETING WILL
 BE LIMITED TO DELEGATES ONLY WHO MUST PRODUCE THEIR CARDS PD IN E
 RECENT ANNOUNCEMENTS BY OUR LOCAL BASE AREA COMMANDER HAVE HAD A
 GOOD EFFECT PD COMMENT PD I STRESSED THE FACT THAT ANY MAJOR
 TROUBLE IN BARI ON THE EVE OF THE RETURN OF ITALIAN TERRITORY TO
 THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT COULD NOT FAIL TO HAVE A MOST DEPLORABLE
 IMPRESSION ON THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS PD I THINK MYSELF THAT THE
 DANGER OF SERIOUS DISTURBANCES IN BARI DURING THE MEETINGS HAS
 PROBABLY BEEN EXAGGERATED

AUTHENTICATED:

DISTRIBUTION

2 AG Files
 1 Diary
 1 Gen M.

dg
 F. N. MASON MACFARLANE
 Lieutenant General
 Deputy President

5503

AME DIST
 Col Spofford
 Political Section
 Adm. Div (2)

Il Comitato Centrale di Liberazione Nazionale invia al Congresso di Bari il suo (fraterno saluto. Il Congresso si riunisce mentre si sostiene la battaglia decisiva che darà la vittoria alle nazioni che si sono battute sotto la bandiera della libertà. In questa battaglia l'Italia, dal fascismo condotta al più grande disastro della sua storia, è a fianco delle nazioni alleate. Essa non può risorgere a nazione libera e non può riacquistare il suo posto in Europa se non provando col sacrificio dei suoi figli come sia stata trascinata contro la sua volontà alla alleanza con la Germania e alla guerra contro le Nazioni Unite. I C. di L. dell'Italia occupata sono impegnati con tutte le loro forze nella lotta contro l'invasore che bisogna scacciare oltre il Brennero e contro i suoi servi fascisti. L'eroica guerriglia dei patrioti, i grandi scioperi operai del nord, la cospirazione e l'azione quotidiana dei partiti antifascisti, sono il segno della indomita volontà di lotta del popolo. I fucilati di Savona, di Brescia e di Milano, di Roma e di Ferrara e di tante altre terre d'Italia, le migliaia di carcerati che popolano le galere, la fiera con cui i volontari della libertà affrontano il piombo nazista e fascista, la resistenza ai bandi ed alle leve attestano davanti al mondo la volontà di lotta della nuova Italia. In questa lotta è assente il governo che, dopo la fuga del re da Roma non ha saputo organizzare la partecipazione effettiva della nazione alla guerra, né ha contribuito alla resistenza de l'Italia occupata. Questo governo deve sparire. La posizione da voi presa e quella assunta dal nostro Comitato Centrale per la costituzione di un governo straordinario di liberazione nazionale che assuma tutti i poteri costituzionali dello stato, senza compromettere la concordia della nazione e senza pregiudicare la libera espressione della volontà popolare sulla forma istituzionale, rappresentano la condizione indispensabile perché l'Italia conduca, col necessario vigore, la guerra fino alla vittoria e assicuri il proprio avvenire. Il C. C. di L.N. conta sulle deliberazioni del Congresso di Bari per intensificare nell'Italia Meridionale e nelle Isole la mobilitazione di tutte le energie e prendere le iniziative atte ad aiutare e potenziare la lotta dell'Italia occupata.

Roma 19 gennaio 1944

Democrazia Liberale
" Cristiana
" del Lavoro

5502

P. d'A.
F. S.I.
P. C.I.

HEADQUARTERS
REGION 3 ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
APO 394 U. S. Army

21 January 1944

SUBJECT: Convention of Committees of National
Liberation.

TO : DCCAO, AMG HQ.

1. Attached is a list of the delegates of the Committee of National Liberation of Naples and their guests who are to attend the convention authorized at Bari 28-29-30 January 1944.

2. This Headquarters has made every effort to assist the Naples group to get transportation for the convention.

3. Through the TCU and Police Sections, AMG, Region 3, arrangements are being made for personal passes to be issued for the trip and for accommodations on the train which leaves Naples 26 January 1944 and arrives in Bari 27 January 1944.

4. The group will leave Bari on the train of 31 January 1944 and arrive in Naples on 1 February 1944.

5. The Secretary of the Naples Committee of National Liberation, Mr. Rosalbino Santoro, has been told of the measures we have taken and instructed in the procedures which he, as representative of the Committee, should take to secure the passes and the tickets both for the trip to Bari and the return trip to Naples.

Carl Kraege 5001
CARL A. KRAEGE
Lt. Col. Sig. Corps Res.
Regional Civil Affairs Officer

WASD/em

DELEGATES FOR BARI CONVENTION
ELENCO DELLE PERSONE CHE DEVONO RAGGIUNGERE BARI PER IL CONGRESSO DEI C. DI L. FISSATO
PER IL 28 GENNAIO 1944

ARANGIO RUIZ Vincenzo	President of the Comitato & Delegate of the Partito Liberale Via Tasso 480
ROSSI Scipione	Delegate of the Partito Socialista Via Andrea d'Isernia 16
R. J. Eugenio	Delegate of the Partito Comunista Via Domenico di Gravina 20
CERABONA Francesco	Delegate of Labor Democrat (Democrazia del Lavoro) Via Filangieri 21
RODINO' Ugo	Democrazia Cristiana Via F. Crispi 74
VENUTI Angelico	Second Delegate Democrazia Cristiana Via Vittoria Colonna 14
OMODEO Adolfo	Partito d'Azione Via Caccavallo 16
FERMARIELLO Gennaro	Associazione dei Combattenti Via Morghen 33
SANTORO Rosalbino	Associazione dei Mutilati di Guerra Via Caracciolo 17
EL J. I. Arduino	Political Refugees of Occupied Terr. (German) Via Roma 106
BROSIO Valentino	Political Refugees of Occupied Terr. (German) Via Medina 5
SFORZA Carlo	Guest (party?) Via Carducci 6
CROCE Benedetto	Guest (liberal) Sorrento
CIANCA Alberto	Guest (party?) Via Carducci 6
TARCHIANI Alberto	Guest (party?) Via Carducci 6

0313

- 2 -

RODINO' Giulio	Democrazia Cristiana
TEDESCHI Paolo	Via T. Crispi 14
SCAGLIONE Emilio	Guest of Communist party
DE FEO Italo	Via S. Tommasi 62
PORZIO Lelio	Press (Azione?)
PICARDI Ciro	Via S. Tommasi 62
PATRUNO Giuseppe	Press (Communist)
CASSANDRO Giovanni	Villa Lucia -Vomero-
DE RITIIS Ruggero	Second Delegate of Socialist Party
RUSSO Enrico	Via Roma 106
SCIUCCA Costantino	Second Delegate of Communist Party
FRANCISE Paolino	Via S. Tommasi 62
CARDILLO Raffaele	Second Delegate Democrazia del Lavoro
ARMINO Antonio	Via Roma 317
COLASANTI Domenico	Second Delegate of the Partito Liberale
PARENTE Prof.	Via Salvatore Rosa 353
	Second Delegate of the Partito D'Azione
	Via Bonito 23
	Confederazione del Lavoro
	Via S. Tommasi 62
	Confederazione del Lavoro
	Via Roma 106
	Representative of the Unione Lavoratori Agricoli
	Via Filangieri 21
	Representative of the Unione Lavoratori Agricoli
	Via Medina 5
	Representative of the Unione Lavoratori Agricoli
	Via Mezzocannone 53
	Representative of the Unione Lavoratori Agricoli
	P. Leonardo 1
	Secretary of Senator Croce
	Sorrento.

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
APO 912

14/6 January 1946

Ref/202.

SUBJECT: Convention of Committees of National Liberation

TO : A.C.A.S., Region I
A.C.A.S., Region II

1. Attached is a copy of letter from the Chairman, Naples Committee of National Liberation dated 21 December 1943.
2. No objections having been raised by any of the authorities concerned, (vide copies of telegram and letters attached) permission to convene the meeting for the date and place named has been given.
3. You are requested to give to the delegates any travel facilities possible provided that all necessary security measures are covered. Travel at Allied Government expense or in Allied military transport is not to be authorized. Use may, however, be made of military transport that is proceeding in the required direction in the course of normal duties.
4. Names and addresses of delegates will be sent to you as soon as notification is received here.

CHARLES F. SCOTT
Colonel, U.S.A.
A.C.A.S., AMG, HQ.

Dist:

Hq. AMG, 15 Army Group
Hq. AMG, Brindisi

511.1
511.1

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
APO 512

14 JAN/1945
14 January 1945

Ref/203.

SUBJECT: Convention of Committees of National Liberation

TO : R.C.A.C., Region III

1. Reference your letter of 23 December 1943 to 15 Army Group and 15 Army Group letter AGO/30/67 of 2 January 1944. This is to confirm telephone conversation of 5 January 1944 wherein it was notified that so far as this Headquarters is concerned there is no objection to the meeting of committees in Bari from 28 to 30 January for which permission was requested in a prior letter of 21 December 1943.

2. It is suggested that when notifying the grant of permission, the Chairman of the convention should be requested to furnish a list of the names and present addresses of the delegates to be invited. This will be of assistance in connection with paragraph 4 of our letter to Regions I and II, copy of which is enclosed for your information.

CHARLES E. BOWEN
Colonel, G.M.G.
D.C.A.C., Bari, Ita.

Dist:

15. AGO, 15 Army Group
AG. AGO, Airhead

5457

HEADQUARTERS REGION III
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
A. P. O. 324, U. S. MIL

23 December 1943

SUBJECT: Convention of Committee of National Liberation.

TO: 15 Army Group.

1. Attached hereto is the original text of the official request by the Committee of National Liberation for permission to hold a convention of Committee of National Liberation at Bari, on the 28th of January 1944.

2. This subject was taken up with Brigadier General in Naples recently.

3. It is recommended that the above permission be granted.

W. G. A. Smith,
Lt. Col. S. G.
A. P. O. 324, Region III.

5486

SUBJECT: Convention of Committee of National Liberation.

15 Army Group,
15 Army Group,

TO: Mr. SAC, Criminal.
 Mr. SAC, Saigon.

15/30/67.
 2. Con. 111.

1. Forward herewith copy of a letter received from Region III together with a request from the Republic Committee of Liberation.

2. In view of telegram no. 15 1500 of 21.12.67 from Zone 10 and telegram of 20.12.67 from Zone 10 to 15 Army Group, and to Region III, there is no objection from this H.Q. to the meeting taking place at 1500 hrs and 1500 hrs, and a letter has been sent to Region III informing them of this fact.

3. Region III has also been informed that you are being consulted on this matter and that permission should not be granted until your views are obtained. All you please signal your observations direct to Region III, via 1500 hrs to 1500 hrs.

Colonel,
 Chief Staff Officer.

BEST COPY POSSIBLE

3 January, 1943

TO:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

RE:

DATE:

TIME:

PLACE:

FILE:

RECEIVED BY AND I AM ADVISED THAT NO FURTHER ACTION IS REQUIRED.

THIS MATTER IS BEING HANDLED BY THE BUREAU OF THE ARMY.

THE BUREAU OF THE ARMY IS CURRENTLY REVIEWING THE MATTER.

SECRET

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526

HEADQUARTERS PENINSULAR BASE SECTION

8 JANUARY 1964

SECRET

ROUTINE

TO (ACTION) : FREEDOM FOR AMR RPTD PAKISTAN, CG-PHM FOR REGION 3
AND, CG PBS FOR FAROE

(INFORMATION) : NONE

FROM : 15 ARMY GROUP FROM AMG

DATE TIME SIGNED : 071130A
DATE TIME RECD : 072325A

REF: HR. : 239 NORMAL

CITE : FA 764

REFERENCE: PHOE SIGNAL PBS 2960 OF 20 DEC AND PAKISTAN 1812 OF 4 JAN
AND YOUR 16890 OF 20 DEC. PROPOSED INFORM LIBERATION COMMITTEE NO OBJECTION
TO HOLDING MEETING IN BARI FROM 28 TO 30 JAN. NO OBJECTION BY HQ 2
DIST IOP. TO YOU AGREE.

ACTION: AMG REGION 3

INFO. : AMG HQS.

G-2
SECY
CIC.SECRET

5 52

Form 12SD
051137ASignal Corps, ^{N-549} United States Army RADIO
SECRET Telegram **PRIORITY**

435

Received at

19

PENINSULAR BASE SECTION
SIGNAL MESSAGE CENTER~~5 JANUARY, 1943~~

• SECRET

• PRIORITY

TO (ACTION) : FARGO FOR GUETERBOCK FOR KRAEGE
(INFORMATION) : FILPOT FOR AMG FOR LUSH, AND FREEDOM
FROM : FATIMA SIGNED JOYCE

DATE TIME SIGNED: 041812A

DATE TIME REC'D : 051137A

REFERENCE NR. : 1812

CITE : NONE

No OTHER
DISTRIBUTION

SO FAR AS ACC IS CONCERNED THERE IS NO OBJECTION TO MEETING
OF LIBERATION COMMITTEES IN BARI FROM 28 TO 30 JANUARY FOR WHICH
PERMISSION WAS REQUESTED IN RUIZ LETTER OF 21 DEC

No trace

Info - Aug 14, 1944 - 2
H-2
C.H.
Lush

5491

Copy sent by hand
to Reg Th

FORM #18-A

SECRET

CRYPTO

General Taylor

I have
drafted telegram
as requested in
AME letter of 21
Jan below.

Macaria

Jan 4

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Espionage - Foreign
SECRET

OUTSIDE

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18/04
1812

SECRET
PRIORITY
FATIMA

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041812A
IRN

PARCO FOR OUTSIDE FOR HAVING REMOVED FROM
FOR AND FOR LATE

SO FAR AS THIS IS CONCERNED THERE IS NO CONNECTION TO ANYTHING OF INTEREST OR IMPORTANCE IN
AND FREEDOM FROM FATIMA SORNO JOYCE
PART PARTIAL TO OUTSIDE FOR HAVING REMOVED FROM FOR AND FOR LATE
FROM TWO NIGHTS SINCE THERE WERE JANUARY FOR WHICH THERE WAS/SHOULD BE IN THIS LETTER OF
TWO ONE DECEMBER

ADVERTISED:

ARMY R. D. D.
Major, A.C.D.
Secretary of the Commission

- DISTRIBUTION:
2 - AG Files
1 - Mary
1 - Mr. Caccia

541.1
1010

5490

Cacciari
 SUBJECT: Convention of Committees of National Liberation

2 JAN 1944
 1710

H.Q., A.M.G.,
 15 Army Group,
 C.M.F.

TO: HQ. ACC. Brindisi.
 HQ. AMG. Naples.

AMG/30/67.
 2 Jan. 44.

I forward herewith copy of a letter received from Region III together with a request from the Naples Committee of Liberation.

2. In view of telegrams No. PMS 2960 of 20. Dec. 43 from Pence to MRS and No. 15890 of 20. Dec. 43 from A.P.M.G. to Burgo rptd to this H.Q. and to Region III, there is no objection from this H.Q. to the meeting taking place at the time and place requested, and a letter has been sent to Region III informing them of this fact.

3. Region III has also been informed that you are being consulted on this matter and that permission should not be granted until your views are obtained. Will you please signal your observations direct to Region III, with a copy to these H.Q.

W. S. Lipp
1

Colonel,
 Chief Staff Officer.

5183

COPY.

HEADQUARTERS REGION III
ARMED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
A.P.O. 394, U. S. ARMY

23 December 1943

SUBJECT: Convention of Committees of National Liberation.

TO: 15 Army Group.

1. Attached hereto is the original text of the official request by the Neapolitan Committee of National Liberation for permission to hold a convention of Committees of National Liberation at Bari, on the 28th of January 1944.

2. This subject was taken up with Brigadier Lush, when in Naples recently.

3. It is recommended that the above permission be granted.

CARL A. KRAVCE,
Lt. Col. S.C.,
R.C.A.O., Region 3.

5488

COPY.

TRANSLATION.

NAPLES COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

To the Senior Civil Affairs Officer,
Ird Region, NAPLES.

Subject:- Convening of the Liberation Committees.

Naples, 21 Dec 45.

By the verbal instructions issued by you yesterday, 20 November, we ask you for authority to convene at Bari a meeting of the Liberation Committees which are in liberated Italy, for the days 28 - 30 January 46.

We wish to invite to this meeting the representative of any party which is in this Committee (from 3 - 6 in every Province) and also some refugees from North and Central Italy, who, in their places of residence were members of similar Committees and some outstanding Anti-Fascist personalities. There will not be more than 90 persons attending the meeting.

We sincerely ask that when the authority be issued you and your Officers will arrange so that the travel of members from their places of residence to Bari and return thereto, will be facilitated, bearing in mind that there will not be more than 6 persons from each Provincial Capital at the most, and that they will travel to Bari on 26 January.

The Provincial capitals concerned are as follows :-

Naples, Salerno, Benevento, Avellino, Campobasso, Potenza, Matera, Cassano, Catanzaro, Reggio Calabria, Foggia, Lecce, Taranto, Brindisi, Palermo.

I remain,

Yours respectfully,

The Chairman,
VINCENZA ARANCIO RUIZ.

5-27

U.S. SECRET

Equals British SECRET

ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

INCOMING

MESSAGE

/mar

21 DEC 1943 381

SSC/RELAY NO. R 206/21

CLASS: SECRET

PREC: PRIORITY

FROM: PBS (FENCE) HUMB 5 ARMY AMG

TO: EISENHOWER FOR MGS FOR HOLMES ACTION, AMG 15 ARMY GR AND ACC BRINDISI INFO

M/C NO: 6/21

REF NO: 2960

FILED: DEC 201936A

REC'D: DEC 210904A

Herewith as requested is additional information and recommendations for action political situation in Naples.

1. First knowledge AMG Naples of proposed 20 December convention of Committees of National Liberation Groups came in directive from 15 ARMY Group ordering us not to permit meeting to be held.

2. We notified Committee President in writing that under instructions from higher authority we would not permit "Political on such a scale" to be conducted at this time in this area which is so close to the scene of current military operations".

3. The Committee, with Croce and Onoddeo present, met with AMG Officers Friday evening and presented letter to Roosevelt - Churchill - Stalin protesting against action and implying we were misled by Badoglio and King. We expressed distaste over latter insinuation and Committee immediately withdrew it. Meeting was on most friendly plane, was never "stormy". Words "Neo-Fascism" quoted in Associated Press dispatch were not in letter at all. Most happy relations exist between Onoddeo and AMG Officers, the latter having just today accepted Onodeos invitation to have Xmas Tea at University.

4. AMG Officers agreed to recommend to our higher Hq, a proposal to permit convention to be held anywhere in area south of northern boundary of Salerno, Potenza and Bari provinces, including Kings Italy. The Committee to choose city, subject only

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Equals British SECRET

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U. S. SECRET
 Equals British SECRET

20 DEC 1943 381

ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION INCOMING MESSAGE

SVC/RELAY NO.

M/C NO : 6/21

CLASS :

REF NO : 2960

PREC :

-CONTINUES-

FILED :

FROM :

REC'D :

TO :

to possible objections due to local conditions. Committee is eminently satisfied with this suggestion and will indicate choice of city if AFHQ signifies approval of plan.

5. Brigadier Lush recommends for AMG 15th Army Group approval of proposal. Colonel Spofford on behalf of AMG Regions 1 and 2 has read this telegram and likewise recommends approval. General Joyce has notified Brigadier Lush he is agreeable to meeting being held in Kings Italy.

6. Meeting will include members of local groups of Committee of National Liberation from all parts of occupied Italy up to possible total of 100.

7. Request concurrence AFHQ and authority for us to approve meeting.

DISTRIBUTION:

2 - AG
 1 - Diary
 1 - Gen. Taylor INFO
 1 - Mr. Caccia INFO

5483

U. S. SECRET
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ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION INCOMING

MESSAGE

2796

27 JAN 1944

/afe

SVC/RELAY NO.

M/C NO : 26/26

CLASS: IN CLEAR

REF NO: 0 2237

PREC : IMMEDIATE

FILED : Jan 261815A

FROM : DISTWO

REC'D : Jan 270600A

TO : ACTION 71 SUB AREA; INFO 26 B L U ATT POLCORES, ALLIED CONTROL
COMMISSION, MMIA

C-in-C ACMF direct that no member of the Allied Forces shall attend Italian Democratic Party meeting at Bari on 28 Jan. Comd 6 Base Sub Area will ensure compliance with this instruction. As a matter of general principle members of Allied Forces must refrain from any participation in Italian politics.

Ack all informed.

Dune
aff.
0900
27 Jan.

DISTRIBUTION:

2 - AG
1 - Diary
1 - MMIA

1 cgs

✓ 5

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27 JAN 1944 7814

EWS/hjp/hd

File

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MEMORANDUM:

Captain Howard, of PWB, together with Major Fielden, PRO, of the Commission, met with me to discuss certain questions with respect to the political meeting to be held at Bari on January 28th.

Captain Howard presented a letter from Colonel Lander, of PWB Bari, addressed to General MacFarlane and dated 25 January. The letter is attached.

In discussing the letter, with particular reference to the action of the Italian Navy in stopping shore leaves, I reminded Captain Howard of the dispatch from FOTALI, which I had shown him a few days ago, pointing out that FOTALI had made plans to have as many Italian naval vessels as possible at sea to avoid any repercussions among the crews, and stated that I imagined that instructions for stopping shore leaves have been issued by the Italian Navy under similar direction from FOTALI.

I also showed Captain Howard, General MacFarlane's Telegram of January 14th to Freedom setting forth the precautions taken by the Italians to avoid disorders, and pointed out that General MacFarlane apparently did not disapprove of them.

Captain Howard stated that the organizers of the meeting had pointed out that General Gazzera's instructions that the meeting is to be concluded on the 28th, i.e. one day only, and was limited to a total of 90 persons, was contrary to permission given by Allied Authorities. In the course of discussion, during which a telephone conversation was held with Mr. Caccia in Naples, the copy of Arengio Riuz's letter of 21 December was reviewed from which it was pointed out to Captain Howard that "there will not be more than 90 persons attending the meeting" (copied from the Riuz letter).

Captain Howard discussed the limitations on the size of the meeting with both me and Mr. Caccia, and argued that a larger number be permitted to attend. Mr. Caccia advised that the Commission could not receive an application for such a meeting thru PWB, that the terms requested have been complied with, and that he felt the matter was closed.

Captain Howard stated that the Bari newspaper had carried a report on the 25th imposing certain health restrictions on persons arriving from Naples and stated they would have the effect of denying admission to the

091.1

553

meeting to the Naples delegates. He subsequently learned and advised me that Under-Secretary Reale had stated that these measures would not be invoked prior to the political meeting but felt that it would be helpful that this fact would be made generally known and the instructions in question were communicated to all Carabinieri Control Posts. I suggested that it might also be helpful if word to this effect were published in the Bari paper, to which he agreed, and I stated that I would communicate this to Under-Secretary Reale.

In the telephone conversation with Mr. Caccia, he stated that he thought it would be unwise not to permit some flexibility as to the number authorized to attend.

I told Captain Howard that I would bring to the attention of the Government the Commission's view as to the typhus regulations, as set out above, the question of rigid adherence to the size of the meeting, the fact that approval had been granted to let the meeting run from January 28th to January 30, and our feeling that guard troops, both Allied and Italian, should be kept off the streets unless called out to quell disturbances.

In the course of the telephone conversation with Mr. Caccia, he stated that he understood that an Army order was to be issued forbidding Allied personnel in uniform from attending this meeting, which I repeated to Major Fielden and Captain Howard.

EWS 1/26/44

See letter to Gen. M.M., 1/26/44
re conference with Under Secy Reale
on this subject.

TRANSLATION

CHIEF OF THE GOVERNMENT
No. 127 Prot.

13 January 1944

To General Kenyon A. Joyce
Chief of the Allied Control Commission
Headquarters

Dear General Joyce:

The Allied government has extended permission to those political parties under the leadership of Sforza and Benedetto Croce to hold a reunion at Bari on the 28th of this month, limiting the number of persons to 90.

I am sure that while actually only 90 persons will attend the meeting many others will proceed by train to Bari to give strength to the meeting.

I am not worried by the question of public safety since all necessary arrangements will be made to avoid any disorder, but there is at Naples an epidemic of typhus and it does not seem advisable that many people should leave Naples for Bari.

If typhus cases should then break out in Bari, what would our responsibility be if we did not point out these special conditions to the Allied government?

I refer this matter to you, dear General, for you to make those decisions which you may deem necessary, after which I feel my responsibility for whatsoever may occur ceases.

Most cordially,

BADOGLIO

511-1

1340
14 JAN 1944

13 January 1944

To His Excellency Marshal Pietro Badoglio -

Dear Marshal Badoglio:-

In reply to Your Excellency's letter of January 13 relative to the meeting in Bari, I have taken occasion to request that Military Government authorities cooperate in making effective the precautions you desire.

Most sincerely,

0511-27

5480

OUTGOING

FHM/hjp

3/24

2119

JAN 24 0901A

SECRET

Priority

FATIMA

FREEDOM RPTD FARER RPTD FILMOT

I SPOKE TO BADOLATO TONIGHT REGARDING THE URGENT NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING ORDER IN BARI ON THE EIGHT JANUARY WHEN THE POLITICAL MEETING TAKES PLACE UNDER THE FREEDOM RPTD F. RPTD FILMOT POLITICAL FROM BADOLATO AND FIVE FATIMA FARER THERE HAVE BEEN MANY SUMMERS AND EVER FORECASTS FROM OFFICIAL DARTHEM THAT DISTURBANCES ARE LIKELY TO BADOLATO ASSURED ME THAT HE HAD TAKEN EVERY POSSIBLE PRECAUTION AND THAT HE WAS SATISFIED THAT LAW AND ORDER WOULD BE MAINTAINED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY PD ALL NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE BY A RECENT MEETING IN BARI OF THE ITALIAN G. C. TROOPS CMA THE COMMANDER OF THE CARABINIERI CMA THE PREFECT AND THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR PD THERE WILL BE AMPLE FORCES OF CARABINIERI AND POLICE AVAILABLE PD ADMISSION TO THE MEETING WILL BE LIMITED TO DELEGATES ONLY WHO MUST PRODUCE THEIR CARDS PD THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT BY OUR LOCAL BASE AREA COMMANDER HAVE HAD A GOOD EFFECT PD COMMENT PD I STRESSED THE FACT THAT ANY MAJOR TROUBLES IN BARI ON THE EVE OF THE RETURN OF ITALIAN TERRITORY TO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT COULD NOT FAIL TO HAVE A MOST DEPLORABLE IMPRESSION ON THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS PD I THINK MYSELF THAT THE DANGER OF SERIOUS DISTURBANCES IN BARI DURING THE MEETINGS HAS PROBABLY BEEN EXAGGERATED

AUTHENTICATED:

540

F. H. HADON MAGPAGARE
Lieutenant General
Deputy President

DISTRIBUTION:

- 2 - AG Files
- 1 - Diary
- 1 - Gen. M.

SECRET

INDEX

9 JAN 1944

Amid

Abstract

1/9

PRIORITY

25705

FREEDOM BOMBING CASE CITE NUMBER
REFERENCE YOUR 237 OF 7 JANUARY
15 ARMY ORDER FOR AND FIVE FIVE
THE FOR AND FOR REGION VII, 1960,
FANIE

DATE 051751A

2AE 0900154

new Directive from Combined Chiefs of Staff permits Political Meetings in Italy which do not lead to rioting and disorder within discretion of CINC. We agree to Meeting of Liberation Committees in Bari from 28 to 30 January current.

IDENTIFICATION:

- 2 - AG
1 - History
1 General Taylor - INFO

$$KTYI - 7.160$$

5443

U. S. SECRET
Equals British SECRET

SUBJECT: Convention of Committee of National Liberation

466

D-13
(106)H.Q., A.M.G.,
15 Army Group,
C.M.F.TO: HQ. ACC. Brindisi.
HQ. AMG. Naples.AMG/30/67.
2 Jan. 68.

I forward herewith copy of a letter received from Region III together with a request from the Naples Committee of Liberation.

2. In view of telegrams No. PBL 2960 of 20 Dec. 65 from Pence to HQ and No. 16890 of 20 Dec. 65 from A.F.H.Q. to Fargo rptd to this H.Q. and to Region III, there is no objection from this H.Q. to the meeting taking place at the time and place requested, and a letter has been sent to Region III informing them of this fact.

3. Region III has also been informed that you are being consulted on this matter and that permission should not be granted until your views are obtained. Will you please signal your observations direct to Region III, with a copy to these H.Q.

Edw. G. Gipp
106

Thence Col. K. 105 hrs. 6 Jan.

Confidentially Allen

Colonel,
Chief Staff Officer.

5-177

C O P Y.

HEADQUARTERS REGION III
ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT
A.P.O. 394, U. S. ARMY

23 December 1945

SUBJECT: Convention of Committees of National Liberation.

TO: 35 Army Group.

1. Attached hereto is the original text of the official request by the Neapolitan Committee of National Liberation for permission to hold a convention of Committees of National Liberation at Bari, on the 28th of January 1946.

2. This subject was taken up with Brigadier Lush when in Naples recently.

3. It is recommended that the above permission be granted.

CARL A. KRAIGH,
Lt. Col. S.O.,
R.C.A.O., Region 3.

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5426

COPY.

TRANS. 100

NAPLES COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

To the Senior Civil Affairs Officer,
3rd Region, NAPLES.

Subject:- Convening of the Liberation Committees.

Naples, 21 Dec 43.

By the verbal instructions issued by you yesterday, 20 November, we ask you for authority to convene at Bari a meeting of the Liberation Committees which are in liberated Italy, for the days 28 - 30 January 44.

We wish to invite to this meeting the representative of any party which is in this Committee (from 3 - 6 in every Province) and also some refugees from North and Central Italy, who, in their places of residence were members of similar Committees and some outstanding Anti-Fascist personalities. There will not be more than 30 persons attending the meeting.

We sincerely ask that when the authority be issued you and your Officers will arrange so that the travel of members from their places of residence to Bari and return thereto, will be facilitated, bearing in mind that there will not be more than 6 persons from each Provincial Capital at the most, and that they will travel to Bari on 26 January.

The Provincial capitals concerned are as follows :-

Naples, Salerno, Benevento, Avellino, Campobasso, Potenza, Matera, Cosenza, Catanzaro, Reggio Calabria, Foggia, (Lecce, Taranto, Brindisi), Palermo.

I remain,

Yours respectfully,

The Chairman,
VINCENZA ARANGIO RUIZ.

5475

1014/23-12

DB Col. [Signature] ✓
 [Signature]
 [Signature]

HQ AND REG 3

20 DECEMBER 1943

SECRET

12166

PRIORITY

FREEDOM (ACTION) FILPOT (INFO) FATIMA (INFO)

HERewith AS REQUESTED IS ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
 AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION POLITICAL SITUATION IN NAPLES PD PENCE PAREN RUME
 FIVEARMY ABLE MIKE GEORGE PAREN TO EISENHOWER FOR MIKE GEORGE SUGAR FOR HOLMES
 ACTION PD ABLE MIKE GEORGE FIFTEEN ARMY GROUP AND ABLE CHARLIE CHARLIE BEMINDISI
 FOR INFORMATION PD PARA ONE PD FIRST KNOWLEDGE ABLE MIKE GEORGE NAPLES OF PROPOSED
 TWENTY DECEMBER CONVENTION OF COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION GROUPS CAME IN DIRECT
 FROM FIFTEEN ARMY GROUP ORDERING US NOT TO PERMIT MEETING TO BE HELD PD PARA TWO PD
 WE NOTIFIED COMMITTEE PRESIDENT IN WRITING THAT UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIGHER
 AUTHORITY WE WOULD NOT PERMIT QUOTES POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON SUCH A SCALE AND QUOTED TO
 BE CONDUCTED QUOTES AT THIS TIME IN THIS AREA WHICH IS SO CLOSE TO THE SCENE OF
 CURRENT MILITARY OPERATIONS AND QUOTES PD PARA THREE PD THE COMMITTEE CMA WITH CROCE
 AND OMDED PRESENT CMA MET WITH ABLE MIKE GEORGE OFFICERS FRIDAY EVENING AND PRESENTMI
 LECTER TO ROOSEVELT DASH CHURCHILL DASH STALIN PROTESTING AGAINST ACTION AND IMPLYING
 WE WERE MISLED BY BADOGGIO AND KING PD WE EXPRESSED DISTASTE

5411

L.F. NICKEL
 Lt Col, AGD
 Adjutant General

5411

CONTINUED

OVER LATTER INDICATION AND COMMITTEE IMMEDIATELY WITHIN IT PD MEETING ALL ON MOST
 FRIENDLY PLACE ONE WILL NEVER QUOTE STORMY ONE QUOTE PD FORM QUOTE AND DARK MOONSHINE AND
 QUOTE QUOTE IN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH WERE NOT IN LETTER AT ALL PD MOST HAPPY
 RELATIONS LATEST BETWEEN CROGG AND ABLE NINE GEORGE OFFICERS ONE THE LATTER HAVING JUST
 TODAY ACCEPTED CROGG'S INVITATION TO HAVE CHRISTMAS PAE AT UNIVERSITY PD PARA FOUR PD
 ABLE NINE GEORGE OFFICERS AGREED TO ACCOMPANY TO JOE HICKER HEADQUARTERS ONE A PROPOSAL
 TO PERMIT CONVENTION TO BE HELD ANYWHERE IN AREA SOUTH OF MOUTH RE BOUNDARY OF SALERNO
 ONE POTENZA AND BARI PROVINCES ONE INCLUDING KING'S ITALY PD THE COMMITTEE TO CROGG
 CITY ONE SUBJECT ONLY TO POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS ONE TO LOCAL CONDITIONS PD COMMITTEE IS
 CURRENTLY SATISFIED WITH THIS SUGGESTION AND WILL INDICATE CHOICE OF CITY IF ABLE FOR
 HIS QUOTE SIGNIFIED APPROVAL OF PLAN PD PARA FIVE PD BRIGADIER LEAH RECOMMENDS FOR
 ABLE NINE GEORGE FIFTH ARMY GROUP APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL PD COLONEL SPOFFORD ON BEHALF
 OF ABLE NINE GEORGE REGIONS ONE AND TWO HAS READ THIS TELEGRAM AND LITTON RECOMMENDS
 APPROVAL PD GENERAL JOYCE HAS NOTIFIED BRIGADIER LEAH HE IS AGREEABLE TO MEETING BEING
 HELD IN KING'S ITALY PD PARA SIX PD MEETING WILL INCLUDE MEMBERS OF LOCAL GROUPS OF
 COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION FROM ALL PARTS OF OCCUPIED ITALY UP TO POSSIBLE TOTAL
 OF ONE HUNDRED PD PARA SEVEN PD REQUEST CONCURRENCE ABLE FOR HOW QUICK AND AUTHORITY
 FOR US TO APPROVE MEETING

5-3
 D.F. FICKEL
 Lt Col, AGS
 Adjutant General

To Filpot (AMG 14 Army Group)

Nat. Cong. 2500 of Lib. in Naples
on Dec. 20

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

SECRET

SECRET FOR THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTH

1434

131710A

A NOTICE HAS BEEN RECEIVED TO CONSIDERATION OF A TROUBLE SHOOTING ABOUT A
SOLUTION OF THE ALLOCATION OF ALL THE PROPERTIES AS WELL AS OF
REPRESENTATION FROM OTHER COUNTRIES THAT WOULD BE HAVING AN INTEREST IN THE
TO BEING MADE IN THE FUTURE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE OF THE
INTERNAL POLICE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE OF THE
UNITED STATES AND TO THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE OF THE
STATE

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ADMINISTRATIVE

MAJOR, R. D. D.
Major, R. D. D.
Secretary of the Commission

5472

RECEIVED:
1 - Mr. Filpo
1 - Mr. Gary
1 - Mr. Goben

U. S. GOVERNMENT
E. S. GOVERNMENT

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