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POLITICS, ITALIAN, GENERAL
(FROM 25 NOV. 1944)
NOV. 1944 - JAN. 1946

224/CC

LIST OF PAPERS

Office of the
Chief CommissionerFile under No. 224 POLITICS, ITALIAN, GENERAL
(From 25 Nov 44)

=ALLIED COMMISSION=

~~Confidential~~

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29	Ltr, Informer F.X.	Sep 45	Stone, Kir, et al	Secret Informer F.X. views Italian politics.
30	Ltr Union, Monarchic	5 Nov 45	CC	Italian Union Movement
51	Memorandum	9 Jan 46	Ambasciati di Vettor	German An-nat-socialist- Associ

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~~Confidential~~

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16	6530/9/EC, Talbot	30 Jun 45	LO Palermo	Palermo's Matteotti commemoration.
17	SC, It Union Movement	30 Jun 45	Stone	Italian Union Movement.
18	CC 224, Stone	6 Jul 45	SC, IUM	Italian Union Movement.
19	Parri in Giornale del Mattino	14 Jul 45		"Parri denies It asking Allies for another juridical treatment."
20	Ltr Sante Garibaldi, Gen	23 Jul 45	Stone	G.A.P.I. - Union of partisan & Garibaldi antifascists, to request representation in IG.
21	Ltr, Stone	27 Jul 45	Parri	Parri's views requested on G.A.P.I. Movement - Garibaldi's antifascists.
22	Ltr Gen Sante Garibaldi	16 Aug 45	Stone	G.A.P.I.-Union of partisan & Garibaldi antifascists, to request rep on IG.
22a	Ltr Ferruccio Carli	25 Aug 45		Carli comments on It political situation
23	Ltr, Parri	27 Aug 45	Stone	Parri's talk at Allied Forces Commemorative Ceremonies, Campidoglio, 28 Aug.
23a	Memo, Bergin	2 Sep 45	CC	Article from "L'Uomo Qualunque" - Fascist newspaper in Rome. (Giannini). "Crisis threatens still-split Italy - Brigandage widespread," etc.
24	Newspaper Article by Herbert Matthews			
25	6519/EC, Stone	10 Sep 45	Carli	Carli comments on It political situation
26	de Gasperi 6/3309/1571	12 Sep 45	Stone	De Gasperi to talk politics in Trento
27	Ltr, Stone	14 Sep 45	de Gasperi	De Gasperi to talk politics in Trento
28	"L'Uomo Qualunque"	18 Sep 45		"Uscire dall'equivoco."

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SERIAL NUMBER	FROM—	DATE	TO—	SYNOPSIS
1	Cbl Palermo Anti-Fasc Union	29 Nov 44	Stone	Committee calls for intervention of AC so that Ital Govt will be composed of honest anti-Fascists
2	Ltr Pavoni Democrat Py	27 Nov 44	Stone	Request for new party: passed to Pol Sec for retention, 29 Nov 44.
3	Article JDM Maple Leaf	16 Dec 44		Strong objection to Ital slogan scribblers & Ital complaints
4	Story by Osborne			Muddle in Italy bodes ill for US in Europe
5	Col Valenzano		Info Stone	Italian Association: terms of ref
6	Ltr 224/CC Stone	2 Feb 45	AFHQ G-5	Non-Participation of Allied Forces in Italian Politics
7	Ltr 224/CC Quayle	5 Feb 45	G-5 AFHQ	Copy of AAI signal directing non-participation by AF in Ital Politics, fwd'd
7a	P/520.1, Schott	11 Feb 45	CC	IG Min Foreign Affrs' pol tendencies
8	Ltr, Stone	13 Feb 45	Bonomi	News Sheet of Fascist Party distributed in Palermo, copy forwarded.
9	Article "L'Unità"	13 Feb 45		Togliatti's answer to 'Calumniator' Luigi Antonini's remarks in US Press.
10	CC 224, Quayle	2 Mar 45	Upjohn	Lists of reliable (Christian Democrat) Party members in the North.
11	Memorandum	? 29 Mar 45		"Problem of the Senate with re present political situation in Italy".
12	Cbl AC EXC 9813	15 Jun 45	LO Palermo	Palermo's Matteotti commemoration.
13	Cbl AC LO Palermo	17 Jun 45	AC	Palermo's Matteotti commemoration.
14	6530/EC, Talbot	18 Jun 45	LO Palermo	Palermo's Matteotti commemoration.
14a	Article in "AVANTI!!"	21 Jun 45		HEFT Editorial "The meaning of the Struggle for the Costituente".
15	Cbl AC LO Palermo, 36	26 Jun 45	AC	Palermo's Matteotti commemoration.

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Partito Unitario Cristiano Internazionale

Via Diaz, 46 - TERLIZZI (Bari)

ITALIA

(Data timbro postale).

Il Partito Unitario Cristiano Internazionale ha il seguente programma:

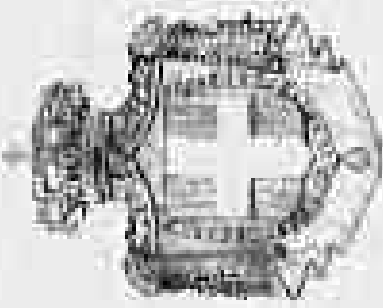
- I - Cooperare alla ricostruzione cristiana della società e degli individui;
- II - Unificazione politica mondiale mediante una vera e giuridica confederazione di nazioni grandi e piccole;
- III - Unificazione economica internazionale mediante l'adozione del sistema economico degli Ordini Religiosi.

Nel campo immediato dell'azione vuole la libertà, l'ordine e il rispetto alle leggi, la pacifica risoluzione di ogni questione politica, economica e sociale.

Si richiede che gli iscritti siano di buona condotta, morale e civile e immuni da società segrete.

La quota annuale d'iscrizione è di Lit. 100 (cento). Si accettano offerte volontarie per l'incremento e la diffusione del Partito.

p. Il Comitato Promotore
Prof. PASQUALE GUASTAMACCHIA



Ministero degli Affari Esteri

6/130

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. BOMBASSEI DE VETTOR

Subject: German Anti-national-socialist Association.

1. Reference is made to the telephonic communication made by you to the Political Affairs Section of this Ministry to the effect that Dr. Nix, President of the Anti-national-socialist Association, has expressed the desire to be received by Admiral Stone to report on the organization of said Association and on its activities.

2. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs, who had already the occasion to express their views on the a/m Association with memo 6/3119 dated September 1945, addressed to Marquis Cittadini-Cesi (copy of which is enclosed herewith for ready reference), is of the opinion that Dr. Nix ought to confer with a subordinate official of the Allied Commission and not with the Chief Commissi oner himself. ^{224/cc}

1 encl.

Rome, January 9th, 1946



2851

Handwritten signature and notes

0319

Subject: German Anti-national-socialist Association.

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1 encl.

Rome, January 9th, 1946



28.1

For the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

151

Rough translation

6/3119

NOTES FOR MARQUIS CITTADINI-CESI

Subject: German Anti-national-socialist Association.

The Political Affairs Section has informed that two letters have been sent to this Ministry by the German Anti-national-socialist Association.

In the first one dated August 8th and addressed to Minister De Gasperi, said Association, while thanking for the "official recognition by decree of the Council of Ministers".

- a) informs that, in agreement with the Ministry of the Interior, the establishment of new branches of the same association in the main Italian cities, is being planned;
- b) requests that the title of "Commissioner Consul General" be granted to its directors, Dr. Nix and Mr. Todd-Rohrer;
- c) insists in the request concerning the Via Piave n° 9 building (see memo to the A.C. n° 6/3020/1401, dated August 29th).

In the second letter, dated August 11th and addressed to the fifth office of the Political Affairs Section, the Association in question, following alleged conversations "with competent Italian and Allied Leaders" states that, in accordance with the wish by the Allied advisers, it will separate "from that office which as provisional Consulate General" takes care of relief and vital-statistic services. Furthermore the consent of this Ministry is asked as to some formalities the Anti-Nazi Association intends to make compulsory not only for its own members, but for all Germans in Italy.

It appears useful to point out on this subject, that the aforesaid Association has not been officially sanctioned by Presidency of the Council of Ministers, which only acknowledged the Association's formation inasmuch as its ends were confined to relief and vital-statistics services for its members. It is well to keep in mind too, that according to reliable information received, it appears that the above mentioned Association shows signs of disintegration and that the president, Mr. Nix, would no longer enjoy the full confidence of the members.

The Section of Political Affairs has added that none of the proper and responsible Italian Governmental Agencies have expressed their assent to the numerous requests by the German Anti-national-socialist Association.

The above mentioned Section of Political Affairs - while expressing the opinion that such requests are to be rejected and that the Association's ends and organization must be defined without possibility of misunderstanding - points out that it would be very interesting to know what ground exists for the assertion by

p.t.o.

Hough translation

EX-119

Dr. Nix as to the Allies' consent - or rather as to their desire - that the Association be divided into two different units.

NOTES FOR MARQUIS GUSTAVI-CESTI

Will you please, at the earliest opportunity, sound out the Allied Commission on this matter.

Subject: German Anti-National-Socialist Association

The Political Affairs Section has received two letters have been sent to this Ministry of the German Anti-National-Socialist Association.

In the first one dated August 8th and addressed to Minister De Gasperi, said Association, while thanking for the "official recognition by decree of the Council of Ministers".

a) Inform that, in agreement with the Ministry of the Interior, the establishment of new branches of the same association in the main Italian cities, is being planned;

b) requests that the title of "Commissioner General" be granted to its directors, Dr. Nix and Mr. Todd-Rohrer;

c) include in the request concerning the Via Pieve no. 9 building (see memo to the A.G. no. 23000/1401, dated August 22nd).

In the second letter, dated August 11th and addressed to the fifth office of the Political Affairs Section, the Association in question, following alleged conversations "with competent Italian and Allied leaders" states that, in accordance with the wish by the Allied advisers, it will separate "from that office which as provisional Commissioner General" takes care of relief and vital-economic services. Furthermore the consent of this Ministry is asked as to some formalities the anti-national association intends to make compulsory not only for its own members, but for all Germans in Italy.

It appears useful to point out on this subject, that the above said Association has not been officially sanctioned by Presidency of the Council of Ministers, which only acknowledged the Association's formation inasmuch as its ends were confined to relief and vital-economic services for its members. It is well to keep in mind too, that according to reliable information received, it appears that the above mentioned Association shows signs of disintegration and that the president, Dr. Nix, would no longer enjoy the full confidence of the members.

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UNIONE MONARCHICA ITALIANA
COMITATO CENTRALE
ROMA VIA DELL'OMILTA 83C

The Italian Monarchic Union, after having worked for a year in silence, notes today with pride that its faith is ~~unshakably~~ comforted by the support of the many who in every part of Italy are sincerely devoted to the National cause and seriously dedicated to the reconstruction of the ~~xxxx~~ Country.

Strengthened by this unanimous agreement which proves that the great majority of the Italian people sees in the Savoy Monarchy the real stronghold of order and liberty & the Union raises its voice aloud in order to celebrate the recurrence of the auspicious day on which Victory crowned our banners, thereby crowning our sacrifices and the age old aspirations of all Italians united around a soldier King who from May 1915 with the firm ^{assembly} decision reached at the Peschiera conference had succeeded in leading the Army to the heroic resistance of the Piave and to the triumph of Vittorio Veneto.

ITALIANS

Against the mad attempt to unhinge free institutions consecrated by the will of the people as expressed in a plebiscite and confirmed by the blood of its soldiers, the Italian Monarchic Union calls upon you today to gather around that same banner which was the supreme love of martyrs and heroes, under the aegis of the Savoy Monarchy which now more than ever represents the fulcrum of the Unity and the rebirth of the Fatherland.

The Central Committee

Rome 4 November

2819

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

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NOV 5 1968

For the Chief Commissioner

TGB DPA

Translation

To Admiral Stone,
Chief Commissioner of the Allied Commission - Rome

and to the attention of:

Ambassador Kirk
American Embassy - Rome

Sir Noel Charles
British Embassy - Rome

Mic Holiness Pius XII
(Through the channel of the Substitute of State, Mr. Montini) - Vatican City

H. E. Alcide De Gasperi
Foreign Office - Rome

Dr. Guglielmo Giannini
Editor of 'Uomo Qualunque' - Rome

Diplomatic Note

The writer, as from the documents in possession of the Embassy, is the man who foretold Mussolini's end in the place where he created the fascio.; he also foretold - unfortunately - Churchill's electoral defeat; he foresaw political events which did happen.

He is now making a general picture of the political situation which will lead to a European catastrophe if no action is taken.

Considering what is happening in Italy because of the ill-famed Menni and Togliatti, it is easy to see that an attempt is being made to blockvize Italy, to form an armed alliance under Stalin's orders, and against democratic and capitalistic countries.

Stalin aims at ruling the world and is therefore sending delegates all over Europe to prepare a favourable political situation.

Consequences can easily be deduced!

However, to return to Italy, Parri is an instrument that has been chosen only to prevent the collapse of the so called C.L.N.s, and make it possible to reach through them a republican dictatorship, which can be but social communist. To this end, the above mentioned party leaders receive plenty of weapons through the channel of Yugoslavia; by sending revolutionary agents they have organized a system of propaganda and boycotting among the ranks of the rebels; they hand over money and weapons and inspire them with hatred against the glorious Allies, England and America.

At present, thanks to a secret cypher brought by hand by the miserable M. Vittorino, just back from Russia, Stalin's orders are clandestinely being carried out,

Dr. Guglielmo Giannini
Editor of 'Uomo Qualunque' - Rome

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At present, thanks to a secret cypher brought by hand by the miserable Di Vittorio, just back from Russia, Stalin's orders are clandestinely being carried out, chiefly regarding the following plans:

Organize a mass attack of all barracks, armaments depot, and police stations, and getting hold of the weapons and armaments to be found there; then get rid of the honest citizens of the opposition, invade the Quirinale, murder the lieutenant of the Kingdom, and establish a social communist republic in the name of the people. There are also instructions for attacking at the same time all basilicas and churches to set the population against the Pope. This is to be done by a powerful crowd, amounting to about 100,000 armed rebels, generously paid, this for the sole town of Rome; 10 or 20,000 people are to take action at the same time in all the towns and villages of Italy. The date had been fixed for September 23rd; it has now been postponed to a later date not yet decided.

Meanwhile, they are making propaganda among the citizens, and setting them against the monarchy and the forces of order, by means of the leftist press.

The population is terrified, and shivers at the thought that liberation from fascism was but a dream, and that they have now a new and worse dictatorship.

The government commits such crimes as make your hair stand on end: (ullo issues decrees on agriculture, and at the same time, denies them by ordering the rebels to invade the land.

Nenni drags Attlee in the argument, says he is a comrade, leaves those who trusted him in a state of surprised indignation.

The true people, and the majority are fond of the lieutenant of the kingdom and hopes for the liberation of Italy and the restoration of a monarchy.

His Holiness should tell De Gasperi that Italy will never have a Christian democrat republic. Nor a social communist or Mazzinian republic. In both cases, there would be an attack against religion, or a complete indifference towards it. Thus, even religion would come to an end in Italy.

It would be well to take a position; this could be done by De Gasperi; he might discuss the matter with Cattani (liberal) and Giannini, and form the following block: Christian democrats, Italian democrats (Selvaggi or Lucifero), liberals and monarchists, tending towards a monarchy. There is no other way out if Italy, Europe and religion are to be saved.

It isn't true that the people does not want the monarchy; it is only a false propaganda to install a dictatorship. The true Italian people wants a monarchy and likes America and England.

Action must be taken before it is too late; the C.L.Ns. must be dissolved.

No one wants the present self appointed government. Nenni is a traitor.

Secret informer, initials E.I.

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Secret informer, initials R.M.

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ALL'AMMIRAGLIO ELLERY STONE
Capo della Commissione Alleata

R O M A

e p.c.

ALL'AMBASCIATORE ALESSANDRO KIRK
Ambasciata Stati Uniti
Via Veneto

R O M A

ALL'AMBASCIATORE SIR CHARLES NOEL
Ambasciata Britannica
Via XI Settembre

R O M A

A S.S. PIO XII
Pontefice Massimo (Tramite Sostituto di Stato
S.E. Mons. MONTINI)

CITTA' DEL VATICANO

A S.E. ALCIDE DE GASPERI
Ministro degli Esteri

R O M A

AL DR. GUGLIELMO GIANNINI
Direttore dell' "Uomo Qualunque"
Via Frattina

R O M A

NOTA DIPLOMATICA

Chi scrive come risulterà dagli atti in possesso all'Ambasciata, è l'uomo che predisse la fine di Mussolini làdove creò il fascio; prevede altresì - purtroppo - la sconfitta elettorale del valoroso Churchill; avvertì tempestivamente eventi politici che poi si sono verificati.

Oggi nuovamente inquadra la situazione politica attuale in un quadro generale che porterà se non si correrà ai ripari ad una catastrofe europea.

Esaminando quello che accade in Italia per opera dei famigerati Kenni-Togliatti, si può desumere facilmente che si tende a bolscevizzare tutta l'Italia per formare poi un'alleanza armata agli ordini di Stalin contro i paesi democratici e capitalisti.

Il miraggio di Stalin è quello di governare il mondo e perciò attuare e ramificare in tutta Europa suoi delegati con il compito precipuo di preparare il terreno politico favorevole.

Da ciò è facile trarne le conseguenze!

Torniamo all'Italia. Parri è uno strumento scelto unicamente per non far crollare i cosiddetti C.L.N. e poter attraverso essi giungere a una dittatura repubblicana che non potrà essere che social-comunista.

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A tale scopo i predetti capi partito ricevono tramite la Jugoslavia armi in abbondanza; hanno già disposto coll'invio di agenti rivoluzionari un sistema di propaganda e di boicottaggio nelle file dei fascisti distribuendo denari ed armi ed inculcando un odio non sentito verso i gloriosi Alleati Inghilterra ed America.

Attualmente in base ad un cifrato segreto portato brevi mano dal famigerato Di Vittorio reduce dalla Russia vengono attuate clandestinamente le direttive di Stalin concernenti fra l'altro i seguenti piani di azione:

Predisporre un attacco in massa a tutte le caserme, depositi di munizioni e posti di polizia impadronendosi delle armi ivi esistenti e delle relative munizioni; con esse sbaragliare i cittadini onesti all'opposizione, invadere il Quirinale, assassinare il Luogotenente del Regno ed instaurare una repubblica social-comunista facendo figurare volere del popolo. Parallelamente sono contenute istruzioni per l'assalto contemporaneo a tutte le basiliche e chiese onde abbinare un artato stato d'animo popolare contro il Pontefice. Ciò verrebbe attuato da una massa potente che si aggirerebbe su una media di circa 100.000. = fascisti armati e ben retribuiti per la sola Roma, ed un'altra percentuale dei 10 ai 20.000 uomini che dovrebbe agire contemporaneamente in tutte le città d'Italia e paesi. La data era stata stabilita per il 23 settembre. Ora è rimandata a tempo da fissarsi.

Intanto si agisce coartando tutti i cittadini ed alzandoli attraverso la stampa di sinistra contro la monarchia e contro le forze dell'ordine.

La popolazione è terrorizzata e pensa con raccapriccio che essersi liberati dal fascismo è stato un sogno che li riporta alla realtà di una nuova e più famigerata dittatura.

Si comettono al governo nequizie da fare raccapriccio: decreti fatti da Gullo riguardanti l'agricoltura e contemporaneamente smentiti dando ordini ai fascisti d'invadere le terre.

Nenni si fa forte di Attlee dicendo che è un compagno e indirizzandolo alla sorpresa indignazione di quanti avevano fiducia in lui.

Il vero popolo e la maggioranza ama il Luogotenente del Regno e auspica per la liberazione d'Italia il restauro di una monarchia.

S. Santità ne tenga parola con De Gasperi avvertendolo che mai si avrebbe in Italia una repubblica democristiana. Di contro una repubblica social-comunista o mazziniana. Nell'evento dei due casi si avrebbe un indirizzo contro la religione; oppure glaciale ed indifferente nei riguardi della religione. Finirebbe così in Italia anche la religione.

Sarebbe bene prendere una posizione, ciò che potrebbe fare De Gasperi: consigliarsi con Cattani liberale, con Giannini e formare un blocco come segue: democratici cristiani, democratici italiani (Selvaggi o Lucifero) liberali e monarchici onde indirizzarsi verso la monarchia. Non c'è altro scampo se si vuol salvare l'Italia l'Europa e la religione.

Non è vero che il popolo non vuole la monarchia è solo una falsa propaganda per instaurare una dittatura. Il vero popolo italiano vuole la monarchia ed ama sinceramente l'America l'Inghilterra e la religione.

Provvedere prima che sia troppo tardi. Sciogliere i C.L.N.

L'attuale governo non lo vuole nessuno si è autonominato. Parri è un traditore. = Segreto rivelatore sigla F.X.

(L' mo Qualunque)

USCIRE DALL'EQUIVOCO

(Let us get out of an Equivocal Situation)

This was the situation; in order to win the war the Anglo-Americans had to land in Europe, the easiest landing place was Italy; once masters of Italy, and not wanting to come to agreement with the pre-existing Government, they looked for something else (In Japan instead, after the Italian and the German experience, they have agreed to make terms with the incumbent Government) The pre-existing power in Italy was Fascism; they looked for anti-Fascism, and therefore contacted those people who, only after the landing, had formed the C.L.N. The enthusiasm of the people, who greeted them with manifestations of sincere joy, made the Allies believe they had found the right issue and led the C.L.Ns. to believe that they were masters of the situation. As a matter of fact, that was the beginning of a huge misunderstanding which must be straightened as soon as possible unless we want to intensify the series of misfortunes which, by aggravating the restless disorder of Italy, might lead to serious repercussions throughout the whole of Europe.

What and whom were the Allies fighting in Italy? Fascism. But what was Fascism? A tyranny imposed by an oligarchic minority, with great damage to the whole Italian people, against its interests and its will. Parri today accuses the Italian people of having a bad memory; but the same accusation might be made of him; because if it is true that a great number of Italians believed in Fascism and gave it their support, it also true that they abandoned it and speeded its fall when they no longer believed

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What caused the enthusiasm of all Italians after the Allied landing? The certainty that Fascist tyranny was over and that

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File

this was due to the Allies and to the C.L.Ns. Owing to three long years of propaganda on the radio and skillfully helped by the Osservatore Romano, Italians knew that they could at last "GIVE THEMSELVES" a democratic constitution. EPURATE from among themselves all remains of Fascism, FREE themselves from all impositions. But has all this happened? No. People who want to GIVE US THEIR democratic constitution, have appeared; who want to EPURATE US as they like, not from Fascism - which they accept in their various parties - but from anti-Fascism which they fear, who want to FREE us giving us THEIR kind of freedom, which is no freedom whatsoever.

This is the misunderstanding, and it is necessary to remove it, no matter what the sacrifices might be. We want - and we must deserve it - to GIVE OURSELVES a democratic order, we want to EPURATE ourselves from all the dirt, we want to FREE OURSELVES from all masters; but it is us, the Italian people, who want and must and deserve to obtain this, owing to all our suffering. We have not asked for and we do not want a new minority, different only in name from the other one, free to teach us what we must do, to impose upon us its own ideas. OURS IS THE ONLY ITALIAN POLITICAL MOVEMENT BASED ON ELECTIONS. Fascism is within the C.L.Ns. and within the parties that are temporarily in power. These, like the Fascists of 1943, are an oligarchic minority which want to impose upon us their ideas; should even these ideas be right, and we just don't want them imposed upon us. This new minority, just like the old one, fears discussions and tries to suppress the freedom of the press by all means, arriving even to the point of drafting a special law against one only man, who

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is a good enough example of this. The whole administration of the State is based on this paradoxal reality. We have learned that near Milan the truck that was transporting North the copies of our paper was stopped for four days; on whose orders we do not know; in Andria some people who called themselves Communists ORDERED not our premises to be closed down; in Caltagirone, it seems - but we would rather not believe it - the order appeared to cancel from the electoral list all those people who had joined the "UOMO QUALUNQUE". All this proves that those who are oppressed must themselves defend their own liberty.

This misunderstanding influences also what little foreign policy Italy is allowed to have. The Allies, who were ready at the beginning to help us in every possible way, had to bridle their own interests, because they DO NOT KNOW with whom they should deal in Italy; and now they are waiting for a REAL POLITICAL FORCE to manifest itself with which they may be able to establish contact. It is, therefore, necessary to have a Government which will really respect the clauses of the Italian Armistice and which will lead us to the elections, without attempting anything else. The elections may give us a monarchic solution, therefore, the Government must not be Republican, or they may give us a Republican solution and therefore, the Government must not be Monarchic. L'uomo qualunque - the ordinary man - who is the only one that counts, may not want epuration, or may want it in a certain way. Who has given the C.L.N. the right to leave out from epuration those Fascists of before 1919? Why can some Ministers of the first Mussolini Government be now in the present, while

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democracy, must EPURATE herself from Fascism, must FREE HERSELF from tyranny. Italy must do all this by herself, according to her own capacity, to her own will. The misunderstanding of a minority which is Fascist in methods and in pretensions, which profits by a victory which is not its own, to satisfy its own pretensions and its own ambitions, must cease. WE CANNOT STAND IT ANY LONGER.

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

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14 September 1945

Dear Doctor De Gasperi:

In reference to your letter of 12th September 1945,
file 6/3309/1571, the Commission has no objection to
your proposed trip to Trento on the 16th and 17th of
September. The Regional Commissioner, Venetia Region,
has been notified.

Yours very truly,

ELLERY W. STONE
Rear Admiral, USNR
Chief Commissioner

Doctor Alcide De Gasperi
The Minister for Foreign Affairs
Italian Government
R o m e

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El.
See in direction
Ministro degli Affari Esteri CC

Rome, September 12th, 1945

Dear Admiral Stone,

I wish to inform you that on Sunday and Monday next, September 16th and 17th, I shall be in Trento.

While there, I have the intention of speaking in public, indoors and outdoors, in connection with the organization activities of the Christian democratic party of which, as you know, I am the secretary.

Believe me, dear Admiral Stone,

Very sincerely yours,

Lynni

See (27)

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Thou (Dd) de Carpeni

no objection. Confirmed by

Admiral Ellery W. Stone

Chief Commissioner

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

785015

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Admiral Ellery W. STONE
Chief Commissioner
Allied Commission

ROMA

*Thon 6-22 de Gasperi
no objection. Confirmed by
Telephone to RC Ven. R.*

OK 5

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This was
written & filed
in London after
Herb's return; it
appeared on August 13.

EC For info
Em

CRISIS THREATENS

STILL-SPLIT ITALY

Economic and Political Factors
Intermingle -- Government
Lacks Strong Control

Quite good
except the headline
MM 28/8

BRIGANDAGE WIDESPREAD

Almost Everyone Seems Armed
Allies' Plan to Withdraw
Troops is Opposed

By Herbert L. Matthews

ROME, Aug. 12- Revisiting Italy after five months one finds cause for alarm. There is no doubt that the most critical period since the armistice two years ago is fast approaching and laying a great responsibility on the United Nations as well as on the good sense and patriotism of the Italian people.

It is obvious, too, that the approaching meeting of Foreign Secretaries in London is coming none too soon, and everyone here fervently hopes that the formulation of a peace treaty with Italy will not be one of those interminable affairs of settling disputed frontiers, disposing of colonies, reparations, military establishments and the like that could easily go on for many months.

All the authorities agree that there is not much time to lose. Winter holds as serious threats for Italy as for any European country. Food shortages, lack of coal, crippled transportation and unemployment are certainties. It is only too possible that sporadic disturbances will result, and they can be serious, because almost everybody seems to be armed. Captured German and Fascist Republican arms, those

RETURN TO
Chief Commissioner

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dropped by the Allies to the Partisans and not turned in and those already existing make a formidable threat in case of civil strife.

LAWLESSNESS WIDESPREAD

Brigandage and lawlessness in all forms are very serious in every part of Italy and the police are still far too weak to handle the situation. However, Premier Ferruccio Parri told me that the situation was gradually improving, except in the Province of Romagna, which, he pointed out, is under the Allies' military control.

He claimed not to be too worried about the prevalence of hidden arms, for he said that they were not being held for political purposes, even by the Communists, but for defense against criminals. Yet he and other Ministers whom I saw, as well as the Allies' authorities, all confess to being worried in varying degrees about that feature of the situation. It impinges on two vital factors -- the proposed withdrawal of the Allies' troops and the forthcoming elections for a constituent assembly. Even the firebrand Socialist leader and Vice Premier Pietro Nenni agrees that it would be better if the Allies' troops remained through the elections, although he would like to see them clear out immediately afterward.

Among the Allies' diplomats there is genuine dismay because American and British troops have been ordered home. It is felt ²⁸⁷ the terribly costly Italian campaign will have been fought more or less in vain if the greatest factor for stability in the country is withdrawn. According to present plans, the British will have only two divisions in Venezia Giulia by the end of September and the Americans will have ⁽²⁴⁾ only one division by Dec. 1.

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REGIONALISM STRONGER

Italy has far from settled down. The north has been liberated only three months and is still in ferment. That regionalism that is so much a part of the Italian tradition is stronger now than at any time since the Risorgimento. The lack of transportation and the inability to circulate news and newspapers aggravate the situation.

Political dissension has by no means ended. The six parties of the Committee of National Liberation have merely agreed to disagree until the elections. They hold on to the Government with one hand and pummel one another with the free hand. Roughly, there is the same division of Right and Left that there was last winter -- the Christian Democrats, the Liberals and the Democracy of Labor on the right and the Communists, the Socialists and the Actionists on the left -- but within those larger groupings there are minor frictions.

Signor Nenni almost split the Socialist party last month by trying to create a fusion with the Communists, and he partly succeeded. But, when I asked him about it this week, he showed that his present position was far more cautious. There is no hurry about the fusion, he said, and the Socialists want to be very sure that they will not be swallowed by the Communists in the usual fashion of such combinations.

It was clear that the Vice Premier was worried about Communist links to Russia. So are millions of other Italians, and it was significant that almost everybody remarked on the fact that the Russians ²⁸ did not possess the secret of the atomic ~~bomb~~ bomb.

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STALIN OPPOSED TREATY

It is also fast becoming common knowledge that Premier Stalin

- 4 -

blocked the decision to grant Italy a peace treaty for two days in Berlin and yielded only under great pressure. Where last year Britain was considered the most unfriendly power, now Russia is in that category and is considered anti-Italian.

The Italian Communist party has not gained ground and has probably lost, but that means little since strength or weakness is partly a matter of tactics and there are powerful leaders for the well-organized and rich Communist party. The Christian Democrats have gained great strength, particularly in the three Venezias, but they are sharply split between the left and the Right. It is generally considered a pity that the two strongest parties should be linked to outside forces -- one to Russia, the other to the Vatican.

On the whole, there is no clear orientation. The vacuum left by fascism has become a vortex and Fascist elements still hover on the edge. Hence it is hardly an orderly, coherent, settled country that is having elections that are by their very nature going to doom the monarchy.

It would take columns to go into the intricacies of the elections for the constituent assembly, and indeed the Cabinet has been discussing them all week. Signori Parri and Nenni told me that they wanted the elections in November so that Italy could have a strong Government. The Premier, in fact, is obviously very tired and bewildered and does not feel that he can carry on indefinitely under present circumstances. Signori Nenni and Premier Togliatti, Communist leader and Minister of Justice, want to take advantage of the anti-monarchic feelings in the newly liberated north before it weakens, as it did in southern and central Italy. Crown Prince Humbert, when I saw him, would not discuss

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- 5 -

the matter except to say that it seemed only fair to him to wait until the million or so Italian prisoners now abroad had been brought home and have had a chance to vote, "I want only to see a fair election," he said.

The Allies were divided, the British wanting the elections quickly and the Americans preferring next spring, but now both seem agreed that it would be better to wait. Both the State Department and the British Foreign Office have been studying the form of the election and wondering whether it might not violate the Yalta agreement, since it is a foregone conclusion that the monarchy will go if, as seems necessary, there is a constituent assembly and not a referendum. However, the Allies do not want to interfere and be put in the position of bolstering the monarchy once more. Humbert's greatest hope is to gain time, for sentiment among political personages has gradually been swinging his way.

In general, there is a keener American and British realization that Italy is a potential bastion and represents a type of western European civilization that Europe could ill do without. It is also realized that if a nation of 45,000,000 were left to physical and moral distress, as well as civic strife, it could poison the whole of Europe.

Hence one finds a genuine desire to achieve two things, as far as the Americans and British are concerned: first, to get the armistice abolished, admit Italy into the United Nations and turn back internal jurisdiction to the Italians, and, second, to help the country materially through the winter, after which the worst will be over.

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Summary of article in L'uomo qualunque 15 Aug.

Party of these of no party.

The "Cry of pain" has had great repercussions. After having asked in vain for the Liberals to make room for our party the Common Man has decided to act for himself.

Thus a new political situation has been created. The middle class, exploited, harassed, taxed, never given recognition or consideration, has awakened. Through Italy the Common Man has come to his senses and has realized the truth: We Common Men, we without party WE ARE THE MAJORITY. With the arms that our oppressors - the professional politicians - are preparing for our subjection (i.e. the Costituyente) with these very arms we shall resist and triumph.

Naturally no paper speaks of this recent event ~~the~~, the rising awareness of the common men, the formation of this majority bloc, because the papers serve the parties which serve the politicians. Like Fascism the leaders of Italian political life today prefer to follow the example of the ostrich. Yet we know our paper is read and our point of view is making an impression if only from the fact that our paper is often bought up en bloc to keep it from circulating. However we shall go on printing and we shall reprint the "Cry of Pain" twenty times if necessary.

The personal position of Guglielmo Giannini should be made clear. People come to him for guidance and leadership. But he does not want to be another duce. He is just another Common Man. This paper which is his will of course express his views but it will express the views of all other Common Men who care to write. He does not want to indulge in any spiritual tyranny. At the first Congress of the Common Man, where the Provisional Committee will appear with its resignation in hand, we shall bring thousands of letters to prove that we are THE ONLY LEGITIMATELY CONSTITUTED POLITICAL FORCE. For neither Togliatti, nor Nenni, nor Craxi nor De Gasperi has been elected to represent his party. Those parties have been formed by self-constituted authority radiating down from the head; our party will be the only one wherein the mass has ELECTED - even though it be through letters - their leader. Nor do we intend to pervert this principle. If, at the Congress of the Common Man, the Common Man Giannini finds that his ideas meet with general assent he will be content, if the ideas of any other Common Man prevail and meet with the approval of the Congress that will be very well too. In that congress and in our party there must never be any attempt to IMPOSE opinions on others.

Meanwhile to work. In every city and every town let nuclei be formed under the leadership of a Provisional head whose sole task will be to collect ideas and proposals and forward them to the Central Political Office. All - except professional politicians - are free to join us, all are free to leave us. Our victory will come when the votes are in.

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L'Uomo Qualunque 22 Aug

The Administration of Italy.

Some Fascists have been killed and others have fled but it is untrue to say that Fascism has been overthrown. Its spirit and mentality linger on and the new politicians are merely playing the same roles as the Fascist leaders. It is the same old story of the struggle for power, power to batten on the people. We who have called attention to this find ourselves under fire from both sides, the conservative Opinione no less than the Communist Unita. Which is after all logical since we are the political force of the Center. The rapid development of our political organization will yet make the Liberals sorry they did not understand this and indeed many Liberals are joining our ranks.

Italy is like a ship with many ^{leaks} holes and the crying need is for all to man the pumps. Actually we get everything but real work or a real chance to work. Opportunities abound, even the matter of housing reconstruction could provide employment for millions and set the economic machinery running again. Payment in money is not indispensable for labor. Once our economy was sound and vigorous we could reasonably be expected to interest foreign capital. But this cannot be done because a few thousand politicians bar the way. What is needed to build a house for example is someone who knows building. But with the pretext of epuration the people who really know how are debarré and all Italian industry is paralyzed so that a few receivers (sequestering agents) may prosper. Let us face facts. If we confiscated all the so called Fascist profits of the Vasselli etc. we could not get enough capital to make any lasting difference in the economy of the country. It would be a drop in the bucket. What we are accomplishing therefore by the sequestration of all Italian industrial plants is simply the ruin of our economy. Furthermore the charges that these great companies have worked with Fascism are absurd. Fascism was in Italy for 23 years - and often encouraged by outside powers too. With and for whom could Italian industrialists be expected to work - the Republic of Andorra? As it is this mad intention to get rid of the industrialists who really know their business and replace them by political agents who are quite incapable is ruining Italy. We need people like Donegani, Pirelli etc, we need capable entrepreneurs and employers. Two years of experience have left the common man with this one conviction - and have taken from him even the sentimental sympathy for Leftist remedies which in the early days of liberation had a certain emotional appeal. The policy of the Common Man will be to accept into his ranks - which are daily swelling - not one of the old men who are dominated by these absurd political motives. The policy of the Common Man will be to administer Italy himself by calling on all who can help to lend their aid - without privilege or exclusion. The Common Man is convinced that even at worst he doesn't need the politicians; he could have made all the

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L'Uomo Qualunque 29 Aug

Details on Il Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque (Party of the common man)

Friends, our new movement has grown amazingly and may now be said to represent the strongest force in political life, superior to the united strength of the six parties. Its organization is growing spontaneously as its manifestation was spontaneous. Our job in Rome is to serve as a clearing house for opinions pouring in from the provinces. So far the letters we have received are unanimous in their expressed political objectives. All want to live freely and all want an Administrative State. There is a strong minority for a Monarchy and an equally strong minority for a Republic but the majority want the question postponed. We have adopted the name FRONTE DELL'UOMO QUALUNQUE as provisional title for our movement until we can have a Congress and settle on a name that all will approve. We now list the basic principles for which we stand:

- 1 Italy belongs to all Italians.
- 2 The Italian state is an administrative organ. Its functions are to administer the country - through its officials - for the benefit of the proprietors of the country (the Italians) and not for the benefit of political parties.
- 3 The head of the state - whether elected or hereditary - represents the country and guarantees the Constitution and sees that it is respected through the Armed Forces which he commands.
- 4 Collaborating with the head of the state are: Parliament (which has legislative power), the Government (which has executive power) and the Magistracy (which has judicial power).
- 5 These elements are assisted by the Supreme Court composed of outstanding jurists selected by competition. This Court is in permanent session, passing on the constitutionality of laws, executive acts etc. It may - when supported by two of the three powers mentioned above - modify or amend the Constitution or depose the Head of the State, taking over his powers.
6. Laws regulating Italian life must be made only by parliament, applied only by the magistracy, carried out only by the properly qualified officials.
7. The Italian Government is a control organ of the State Administration whose functioning it must make clear, rapid and smooth.
8. In case of emergency the government can suggest to the Head of the state that he issue decrees of urgency which must become laws within ninety days or be nullified.
9. In no case may the Head of the State or the government ^{and} declare war without the consent of two thirds of Parliament or

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9. In no case may the Head of the State or the government declare war without the consent of two thirds of Parliament or without or against the advice of the Supreme Court.
10. All Italians may freely and without payment appeal to the Supreme Court in the interest of the Constitution or of other laws of the state.

We ask our friends to express their minds freely on the above program.

On the subject of organization. We do not want duci or professional leaders but we do need to organize. The following system may be provisionally adopted. In this we imitate the best organized parties the C.D.s and the Communists by beginning with cells.

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Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No. 785015

The first unit is the NUCLEUS. This may consist from 5 to 50 members based either on a basis of locality or a workers unit such as a factory. Head of the nucleus will be the PROMOTOR and anyone may take this task upon himself without further authorization. But when the membership reaches fifty there must be an elected head to be called the caponucleo. Two copies must be made of the election report, signed by all voting. One copy will be kept by the Caponucleo, the other forwarded to the Political Office of the Common Man.

Two or more nuclei (for the moment not exceeding seven) form a Group. Any Caponucleo can make himself the promotor of a group. The group which must have its seat in the principal town of a manda nuclei must have a Group Secretary and a Directive Council on which all must be elected by equal representation. The Secretary and the Council remaining with the majority vote. Two copies of the vote as above, one the Common Man.

All the Groups of a province form a Center. There will be a Secretary of the Center and a Directive Council. The seat of the center will be the capital of the province. Choice of Secretary and Council is by election in which the Group secretaries will vote. The Groups must have equal representation on the Council of the Center. Two copies of the votes etc as above.

All the Centers of a province form a Regional Union with seat in the capital of the Region. The Regional Union will have a President, a Secretary and a Regional Council in which the provincial centers will have equal representation. The President of the Regional Union is nominated by the Secretaries of the Centers who are properly members of the Directive Council of the Regional Union but he must be elected by majority vote of the capinuclei of the Region who must vote in accordance with the mandate they receive from their nuclei. For example let us suppose that in Puglia the secretaries of the provincial centres propose two or more candidates for president of the Regional Union, then all the capinuclei of the Puglia must consult their nuclei and get authority to vote for that candidate who has the blessing of the majority. They cannot vote for anyone else. Copies of the records of the vote as above.

The heads of the Regional Unions will form the Directive Council of the Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque. In its proper time the First Congress will designate the head of the Fronte who will be elected following the machinery which the first congress will devise.

Welfare, sporting and syndacal groups will be created beside the political organization according to the advice and will of the members.

No responsible post either in the nuclei or upper echelons will go to any one who had any political responsibility in the previous regime.

All the above is to form the heads of the movement

All the Groups of a province form a Center. There will be a Secretary of the Center and a Directive Council. The seat of the center will be the capital of the province. Choice of Secretary and Council is by election in which the Group secretaries will vote. The Groups must have equal representation on the Council of the Center. Two copies of the votes etc as above.

All the Centers of a province form a Regional Union with seat in the capital of the Region. The Regional Union will have a President, a Secretary and a Regional Council in which the provincial centers will have equal representation. The President of the Regional Union is nominated by the Secretaries of the Centers who are properly members of the Directive Council of the Regional Union but he must be elected by majority vote of the capinuclei of the Region who must vote in accordance with the mandate they receive from their nuclei. For example let us suppose that in Puglia the secretaries of the provincial centers propose two or more candidates for president of the Regional Union, then all the capinuclei of the Puglia must consult their nuclei and get authority to vote for that candidate who has the blessing of the majority. They cannot vote for anyone else. Copies of the records of the vote as above.

The heads of the Regional Unions will form the Directive Council of the Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque. In its proper time the First Congress will designate the head of the Fronte who will be elected following the machinery which the first congress will devise.

Welfare, sporting and syndacal groups will be created beside the political organization according to the advice and will of the members.

No responsible post either in the nuclei or upper echelons will go to any one who had any political responsibility in the ~~regime~~ previous regime.

All the above is to form the basis of discussion in the first congress. A committee of sindaci will be elected at this first congress to account for the funds that we have received. Meanwhile no one is authorized to collect funds for us. We will answer only for what is sent to us by postal order.

23a

Translation

Ugu. 103

The President of the Council of Ministers

R o m e,

Dear Admiral,

I enclose a detailed summing up of the speech
which I shall make to-morrow, August 28th, at the Campidoglio.

I remain,

Yours very truly,

a. Ferruccio Parri

Admiral Ellery W. Stone
Chief Commissioner
Allied Commission
R o m e

3157

Ital Original & 1 copy of
translation 2 Mr. Brown

28/8

trans. e/c

23

2700

224/CC

Translation

In memory of your dead, in honour of all the combatants of the United Nations, I speak in the name of Italy, of the Italian people which, with emotion and cheers, rose to meet the allied armies at every step of their difficult and dearly paid for advance, from the furthest end of Sicily to the Po Valley, this nation, which, wherever it could, rose against nazi oppression, in the ranks of the partisans, and ever since the days of Cassino, when it was given means, lined up its best soldiers with the fighting forces of the XVth Army Group. As chief of the Italian Government born of the fight for liberation and of the revenge, I know to be interpreting the feelings of the nation, if, carried away by my feelings, I disregard juridical distinctions, and hail in the armies which are being commemorated to-day, the greatest victory that mankind remembers, the heroic champions of a common cause, consecrated by so many sufferings and so many mistakes, by a war fought on our very ground, by our wish to participate in final redemption. Sufferings, mistakes, martyrdom which are now being blessed and will always be blessed by future generations, for they saved Western civilization, from which come all the conquests of thought and labour, the whole history of freedom, which is at the same time the marvellous history of the creating power of human individuality and of progress towards forms of cohabitation based on the sole measure of ability and work. After twenty years of lies and betrayals the Italian nation realized where courage and justice were; it saw the combined and gigantic efforts of the Western powers, which risked everything to give back freedom to mankind, and the indomitable pride of the Russian nation so vilely attacked. The sudden ending of war in the Far East, where a new vortex of fighting and sacrifices seemed about to start, is a compensation for the efforts which fill with joy all peace-loving people, as well as hardly tried and suffering mankind. With a tremendous discovery, science contributed to hasten this end. The goodwill of mankind must now allow these extraordinary discoveries of intelligence to be used for progress and welfare; the temptation to use them as instruments of conquest and destruction must now die in the hearts of men.

The Italians are a nation of workers that own little besides their brains and arms. Its greatest hope has been sustained by the words once said by the great President Roosevelt: by the solemn promise of the four freedoms, which will not remain a sentence void of meaning, if answered by the generous zeal of all united nations. However, the Italian nation knows that, above all and before anything else, it must hope in its ability and desire for rehabilitation, which the benevolent powers won't deprive of their help. The reasons for life win and assert themselves after destruction and death; the action of the governments, the zeal of the citizens will have to aim at a return to hard-working and peace-loving life against despair and egoism which can weaken or deviate human energies. Italy, nation of humble people feels the sacredness of this return, and, after the most painful experience in her story, she sees her final redemption in the simple works of peace, in salutary tiredness, in a harmony of feelings and desires, where violent ambitions disappear, and where only the legitimate pride of the accomplished task remains.

trans. e/c

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Noted by PRB
Noted by CC [signature]

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*Il Presidente
del Consiglio dei Ministri*

Roma,

Caro Ammiraglio,

Le trasmetto un ampio riassunto
dell'allocuzione che terrò al ricevimento fissato
per domani, 28 agosto, in Campidoglio.

Mi è grato porgerle i miei più cordiali salu-
ti.

Giulio E. Grandi

Al sig. Ammiraglio
Ellery W. Stone
Capo Commissione Alleata

R O M A

*Noted by
PBB*



2707

In memoria dei vostri morti, in onore di tutti i combattenti delle Nazioni Unite, si leva per mio mezzo, la voce dell'Italia, la voce del popolo italiano che le schiere alleate hanno visto accorrere incontro a loro, commosso e plaudente, a ogni passo della loro faticosa e costosa avanzata, dall'estremo della Sicilia alla Valle Padana, di quel popolo che è insorto dovunque ha potuto contro l'oppressione nazista secondo la fila dei partigiani e che, quando gli ne furono dati i mezzi, fino dei giorni di Cassino, ha allineato reparti dei suoi migliori soldati con le forze veterane del XV gruppo d'Armata. Come capo del governo italiano che è nato dalla lotta di liberazione e dalla riscossa, so di interpretare l'animo del popolo, se, oltrepassando nello slancio del sentimento le distinzioni giuridiche, saluto, negli eserciti oggi commemorati la più alta vittoria che l'umanità ricordi, gli eroici campioni di una causa comune, consacrata da tante sofferenze ed anche da tanti errori, da una guerra combattuta sul nostro stesso suolo e dalla nostra volontà di concorrere alla redenzione finale. Sofferenze, errori, martirio che sono benedetti oggi e saranno sempre benedetti dalle generazioni venturose, poiché hanno salvato quella civiltà occidentale in cui si assommano tutte le conquiste del pensiero e del lavoro: tutta la storia della libertà, che è insieme, storia meravigliosa del potere creativo dell'individualità umana e di progresso verso ²forze con-

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tica e costosa avanzata, dall'estremo della Sicilia alla Valle Padana, di quel popolo che è insorto dovunque ha potuto contro l'oppressione nazista secondo la fila dei partigiani e che, quando gliene furono dati i mezzi, fino dei giorni di Cassino, ha allineato reparti dei suoi migliori soldati con le forze veterane del XV gruppo d'Armata. Come capo del governo italiano che è nato della lotta di liberazione e dalla riscossa, so di interpretare l'animo del popolo, se, oltrepassando nello slancio del sentimento le distinzioni giuridiche, saluto, negli eserciti oggi commemorati la più alta vittoria che l'umanità ricordi, gli eroici campioni di una causa comune, consecrata da tante sofferenze ed anche da tanti errori, da una guerra combattuta sul nostro stesso suolo e dalla nostra volontà di concorrere alla redenzione finale. Sofferenze, errori, martirio che sono benedetti oggi e saranno sempre benedetti dalle generazioni venturose, poiché hanno salvato quella civiltà occidentale in cui si assommano tutte le conquiste del pensiero e del lavoro: tutta la storia della libertà, che è insieme, storia meravigliosa del potere creativo dell'individualità umana e di progresso verso ~~forza~~ ^{forza} con-

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- 2 -

vivenza fondate sull'unica misura della capacità e del lavoro. Dopo venti anni di menzogne e di tradimenti il popolo italiano ha visto dove era il valore e la giustizia; ha visto gli sforzi concomitanti e giganteschi delle potenze occidentali, che tutto hanno rischiato per rendere agli uomini le libertà conculcate e l'indomabile fiera della nazione russa così vilmente aggredita. La subitanea fine della guerra nell'Estremo Oriente, là dove sembrava che dovesse aprirsi una nuova voragine di lutti e di sacrifici, è un compenso a quegli sforzi che riempie di gioia tutti i pacifici, tutta l'umanità provata e sofferente. L'indagine scientifica, con una sua tremenda invenzione, ha concorso ad affrettare questa fine. La buona volontà degli uomini deve ora ottenere che questi nuovi, straordinari ritrovati dell'intelligenza siano volti al progresso e al bene e che si spenga nei cuori la tentazione di usarne come strumento di conquista e di sterminio.

Il popolo italiano è un popolo di lavoratori che poco possiedono oltre la mente e il braccio. Le sue più profonde speranze sono state alimentate dalle parole che un giorno pronunziò il grande presidente Roosevelt: dalla promessa solenne di

276
Lavoratori-

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Il popolo italiano è un popolo di lavoratori che poco possiedono oltre la mente e il braccio. Le sue più profonde speranze sono state alimentate dalle parole che un giorno pronunzierà il grande presidente Roosevelt: dalla promessa solenne di quelle quattro libertà, che non resterà un vuota frase retorica, se vi corrisponderà il generoso ardore di tutte le nazioni

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- 3 -

concordi. Ma il popolo italiano sa anche che deve sperare, sopra tutto e prima di tutto, nella sua capacità e volontà di ripresa e che a questa non può mancare l'ausilio benevolo delle potenze maggiori. Dopo tanta distruzione e morte vincono e si impongono le ragioni della vita; provvidenze di governi, alacrità di cittadini dovranno essere rivolte a suscitare il ritorno alla vita laboriosa e pacifica, contro agli scoraggiamenti e agli egoismi che possono fiaccare o sviare le energie umane. L'Italia, nazione di umili, sente quanto vi è di sacro in questo ritorno, e, dopo la più dolorosa esperienza della sua storia, vede il suo definitivo riscatto nelle semplici opere della pace, nella salutare fatica, in un'armonia di sentimenti e di desideri, dove scompare le ambizioni violente e solo permane il legittimo orgoglio del dovere compiuto.

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Ref: 6519/EC

10 September 1945

My dear Professor Carli:

Thank you for your letter of 25 August.

I have read with interest your comments on the Italian political situation, and you may rest assured that I will pass your letter to the appropriate subcommission for study.

Yours very truly,

Elmery W. Stone

ELMERY W. STONE
Rear Admiral, USNR
Chief Commissioner

Professor Ferruccio Carli
Cameriere d'on. di Spada e Cappia di Sua Santita
Segretario Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei
Via Marcello Prestinari 13
Rome

28.9

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0365

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

785015

SEP 12 1945

cc-1045

cc

Ref: 6519/96/EC

11 September 1945

MEMORANDUM:

TO : Civil Affairs Section

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a letter received
by the Chief Commissioner from Professor Ferruccio Carli.

A. E. ARNOLDY.

Chief Staff Officer
To Executive Commissioner

1 Incl:
as above

7

224/2

2702

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C O P Y

To the Admiral ALLERY W. STONE
Chief of the Allied Commission
Rome

Via Ma. 10 Prestinari 13
Rome, 2, August 1945

SEP 12 1945
CE 1045

Excellency:

Lately I have spent two months in Northern Italy and have thus completed my knowledge and estimate of Italy's conditions.

In Italy only about 10% of the inhabitants are inscribed to political parties; the rest belongs to no party. And this 90% is surely not communist because the communist party has already regulated in its ranks all the men and women that could be taken.

Nobody in Italy pays attention to this huge apolitical mass. Communists, socialists and other parties pretend for instance (to cite just one example) to make others believe that the majority of the Italians are for a republic. There lies no truth in this assertion: it is quite the reverse.

For the republic are the noisy blustering politicians who want to deprive the greatest part of the citizens of the liberty to express freely their ideas on the institutional problem and on other essential political questions.

It is obvious that no other mean as much as the referendum (pleaded so warily in these last months by the *democrazia cristiana*) would be fit to prove if the Italians are more favorable to the monarchy or to a republic. But knowing the social communists as they know that they reckon only a minority, they are against this quite natural and logic form of consultation and try to upset it by imposing first the "constituents" which the greatest part of the Italians not even know what it is. (Typical in our country are the referendums convoked after 1870 in order to decide if the Italians were for or against the union under the House of Savoy).

Now Mr. Nenni, who feels not at all sure to succeed, bawls, gives troubles, and has already annoyed England, threatens the end of the world if we don't here elect first the constituents, thus identifying his personal interests with those of the Nation.

England and America, teachers of liberty and true democracy ought, I believe (a lot of non-politicians think the same), to study the real situation and suggest in our chief problems that solution which is according to justice, to common sense, and to the nature of the Italians. Otherwise there's the risk that the free will of the people will be suffocated and he made a slave of a communist minority.

Much has been done to root up fascism, and now we run the risk to throw the Italian people in the arms of another fascism, because the methods used by the Italian communists, particularly in the countries are even more violent and intolerant.

Italy's interest (as well as the interest of England and America) is in a sane and democratic political constitution reflecting the sane and really more numerous opinions prevailing among us. Therefore I believe it is the task of the Allies to hinder (with their enlightened judgment and advice) that our country falls into the

make others believe that the majority of the Italians are for a republic, when in fact the reverse is true. It is quite the reverse.

For the republic are the noisy blustering politicians who want to derive the greatest part of the citizens of the liberty to express freely their ideas on the institutional problem and on other essential political questions.

It is obvious that no other mean as much as the referendum (pleaded so warmly in these last months by the Democrazia Cristiana) would be fit to prove if the Italians are more favorable to the monarchy or to a republic. But knowing the social communists as they know, that they reckon only a minority, they are against this quite natural and logical form of consultation and try to upset it by imposing first the "costituente" which the greatest part of the Italians not even know what it is. (Typical in our country are the referendums convoked after 1870 in order to decide if the Italians were for or against the union under the House of Savoy).

Now Mr. Menni, who feels not at all sure to succeed, bawls, gives troubles, and has already annoyed England, threatens the end of the world if we don't here elect first the costituente, thus identifying his personal interests with those of the Nation.

England and America, teachers of liberty and true democracy ought, I believe (a lot of non-politicians think the same), to study the real situation and suggest in our chief problems that solution which is according to justice, to common sense, and to the nature of the Italians. Otherwise there's the risk that the free will of the people will be suffocated and he made a slave of a communist minority.

Much has been done to root up fascism, and now we run the risk to throw the Italian people in the arms of another fascism, because the methods used by the Italian communists, particularly in the countries are even more violent and intolerant.

Italy's interest (as well as the interest of England and America) is in a sane and democratic political constitution reflecting the sane and really more numerous opinions prevailing among us. Therefore I believe it is the task of the Allies to hinder (with their enlightened judgment and advice) that our country falls into the arms of a few ambitious and wicked politicians and thence in anarchy.

I have spent some twenty years of my life abroad, and knowing, as I know, very well my beloved country, I feel it is my duty to appeal, full of hope, to your Excellency. You appear our only salvation.

Believe me, Excellency, respectfully yours

/sgd/ Ferruccio Carli
Prof. FERRUCCIO CARLI
Cameriere d'on. di Spada e Carpa di Sua Santita
Segretario Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei

2720

See 272

G. A. P. I.
MOVIMENTO GARIBALDINO ANTIFASCISTA

PARTIGIANO D'ITALIA
VIA ANTONIO SALANDRA, 14 - TEL. 44377

ROMA

Prot. N. SG/74

OGGETTO: G.A.P.I.

Rear Admiral ELLERY W. STONE,
Chief Commissioner
Allied Commission
Via Vittorio Veneto, ROMA.

Sir:-

I beg to acknowledge due receipt of your letter dated 27 July 1945 informing me that you have been good enough to refer my letter of 23 July 45 to the President of the Councils of Ministers of the Italian Government for an expression of his views.

While awaiting the pleasure of hearing from you further on this subject, I have the honour to enclose herewith a printed programme of our movement.

Believe me to be, Sir,
Yours sincerely,

Sante Garibaldi

(General SANTE GARIBALDI)

May I take the opportunity of expressing my best congratulations for the well deserved high Decoration recently granted to you by the Italian Government.

Roma, li 16 August 1945

224/4

2731

Rear Admiral ELLERY W. STONE,
Chief Commissioner
Allied Commission
Via Vittorio Veneto, ROME.

Sir:-

I beg to acknowledge due receipt of your letter dated 27 July 1945 informing me that you have been good enough to refer my letter of 23 July 45 to the President of the Councils of Ministers of the Italian Government for an expression of his views.

While awaiting the pleasure of hearing from you further on this subject, I have the honour to enclose herewith a printed programme of our movement.

Believe me to be, Sir,
Yours sincerely,

Sante Garibaldi

(General SANTE GARIBALDI)

May I take the opportunity of expressing my best congratulations for the well deserved high Decoration recently granted to you by the Italian Government.

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File 11111111

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

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File

General Garibaldi encloses a letter of his wife who is in France and asks for his return, and a booklet containing the political program of the Garibaldi Antifascist Movement.

e/c

22

27 July 1945.

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have received a letter, of which
the attached is an exact copy, from General Sante
Garibaldi. I should be grateful for an expression
of your views on this subject.

Very truly yours,

ELLERY W. STONE
Rear Admiral, USNR
Chief Commissioner

Professor Ferruccio Parri,
President of the Council of Ministers,
Italian Government,
Rome.

Copy to: Exec. Commr.
Pol. Adver. (A)
Pol. Adver. (B)
CC Files

224/1

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MOVIMENTO GARIBALDINO ANTIFASCISTA

PARTIGIANO D'ITALIA

VIA ANTONIO SALANDRA, 1A - TEL. 44377

ROMA

JUL 26 RECD
CC 1433

Roma, li 23 July 1945

Prot. N. SG/74

OGGETTO: G.A.P.I.

Rear Admiral ELLERY W. STONE,
Chief Commissioner
Allied Commission
Via Vittorio Veneto, ROME.

Sir:-

I have the honour to inform you that the union of Partisan and Garibaldian antifascist forces has now been attained. This Group is formed by the complete union of our Garibaldian Group, that of the Partisans of Italy and that of the Italian Antifascist Centre, with headquarters in Palermo where it has met with great support and sympathy especially from the Allied Authorities.

This powerful concentration of antifascist forces is already, as a starting point, a not unimportant contribution to the renewal of our national democratic life. Moreover, due to its anti-dictatorial aims, it is felt certain that it will continue to have increasing support and sympathy. This is indicated by the fact that numerous political groups have applied for admission.

In consideration of the above, I would point out that such a Group, which intends to carry out its activity in an orderly fashion and with the object of safeguarding of order, cannot continue to exist in a purely unofficial manner devoting its interests entirely to opposition. I feel it essential that it should be represented in a Government which puts forward through its component six parties the principles of antifascism, liberalism and patriotism, which are the democratic ideals of the Garibaldian and Partisans adherents.

./.

MOVIMENTO GARIBALDINO ANTIFASCISTA**PARTIGIANO D'ITALIA**

VIA ANTONIO SALANDRA, 1A - TEL. 44377

ROMA

Roma, li 23 July 1945

Cont.2.

(To: Rear Admiral ELLERY W. STONE,
Chief Commissioner, A.C.)

Prot. N. SG/74

OGGETTO: G.A.P.I.

This is particularly so, as 80% of Italians, who are inspired with these three ideals, do not belong to any of the officially constituted political parties of the present day, and I feel that these people will undoubtedly find in our programme the aims which they have at heart.

Art. 3 of the Moscow Conference of the Big Three held in October 1943 laid down that:

" in addition to the various political Parties who might
" constitute the Government of the Italian people, those
" anti-fascist groups, who for so long have devotedly
" opposed fascism in spite of all obstacles and persecut-
" ions, should be permitted official participation. "

It would seem that now, at last, as a result of the combination of Groups, referred to in paragraph 1 above, a representative body of these anti-fascist influences has been formed and, as such, ought to be allowed a voice in the Government, as was contemplated by Art.3 of the Moscow Conference referred to above.

In view of this, it is my intention to ask, on behalf of this Group, for official representation in the Committee of National Liberation.

Feeling confident, as I do, that my movement and aims are entirely consistent with the ideals, political and social, of the United Nations, I would ask for your support and approval of the application that I intend to put forward to the Italian Committee of National Liberation.

Believe me to be, Sir,
Yours sincerely,

*Sante Garibaldi*SANTE GARIBALDI
General.

20

cc

JUL 16 1945

Giornale del Mattino, 14 July 1945

Pres. Parri denied that Italy asked the Allies for another juridical treatment.:

'I must now state that these news do not correspond to the real facts; no such action has been taken. The Government is following a dignified and discreet line of conduct which it never abandoned in this international matter. The news of the action attributed to us has nevertheless a great importance for it obviously expresses a widely spread conviction, a truth, a moral truth, which are now in the opinion of foreign observers: that Italy deserves this act of justice, if I may call it so.

.....

'I have some particulars, some figures at least, concerning our losses. I am only summing up these particular figures. As for the regular military forces, the dead are supposed to amount to 20,000; taken as a percentage, these 20,000 dead represent a considerable loss, a great sacrifice. If we add the soldiers and civilians who fell in the partisan war, excluding of course the victims of the bombardments, we reach a total figure of about 40,000 dead. It is not yet possible to give a precise figure. To these dead you must add those who won't come back from Germany, and there are many of them; we already know that we will never see again most of those of our friends who were interned for political motives. A large number of soldiers interned in the German lagern for they would not serve Hitler and Mussolini, and there are several hundred thousand of them, will not come back. Of those who went to Russia, a great many died, and they also amount to many thousand. I cannot even give an approximate value, but they certainly amount to various ten of thousand.....

Appealing to you, I appeal to the world; I ask the world that Italy be given a juridical condition which enables her to start seriously her reconstruction and rehabilitation work. Moral reconstruction before all, political reconstruction and possibility of material reconstruction. The Italian nation is in a state of destitution, but when in this misery we will have had justice the Italian people will astonish the world with the rapidity of his rehabilitation.

A propos of economic negotiations, the President stated:

'We cannot carry on negotiations and we cannot sign them. We are like underage children, that have no juridical capacity for signing, and who require the signature of their guardian for everything.

19

Miss Chalandon translated
this for Admiral. Admiral
has seen it. E.

16-7-45

EWS/ejj

CC 224

6 July 1945

The Secretary General:

I have received your report on the purpose and projected activities of the Italian Union Movement. It is regretted that in my position it will not be possible for me to give any support to your organization.

Very truly yours,

19/ Ellery W. Stone
ELLERY W. STONE
Rear Admiral, US NR
Chief Commissioner

The Secretary General
Italian Union Movement
Via Nizza, 158
Rome

DIST.
CHIEF COMM. FILES

EX COMM.

POL. ADV. (A)

POL. ADV. (B)

224/ -
2787

Translation

CHIEF COMM

Italian Union Movement
 Via Nizza, 158 - Rome
 Honorary President : Vittorio Emanuele Orlando

CC 1535

367/R

Rome, 30 June 1945

enclosures : 3

To : President Harry M. Truman

and for the attention of:

H.E. Alexander Kirk
 American Ambassador

Rome

H.E. Admiral Stone
 Chief Commissioner, Allied Commission

Rome

We enclose a short report on the activity of the Council of Administration, as well as a copy of the constitutive act, the Statute and booklet n. 2 which sum up the program of the Italian Union Movement.

The Organization means to collect, within the year, a hundred thousand members; in today's meeting, this Council of Administration decided to ask the Government of the United States to authorize its activity for the spreading of the union idea, not only among the Italians of America, but also among the citizens of the United States.

We therefore ask for an official acknowledgement from your Excellency and the American Authorities residing in Rome; this moral support would be a compensation for our efforts, and an encouragement; thanks to it, the number of the Unionists in Italy and in the world might before long be large enough to realize before long the dream of Mazzini, Roosevelt, Y.E. and ourselves.

We wait for an answer, even if only a simple word or encouragement, and we remain,

Yours sincerely,

for
 THE COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATION

THE SECRETARY GENERAL

(Cesare Lippi)

(Santi Paladino)

s. Cesare Lippi

s. Santi Paladino

17

e/c

Sec 18

EC Dist - 2 July 45

CHIEF COMM

EXEC COMM

POU ADV (A)

POU ADV (B)

224/c ✓

TranslationR E P O R T

Activity of the Italian Union Movement from its foundation (12 October 1944)
till June 30th, 1945

Foundation and Constitution

The Italian Union Movement, founded on October 12th 1944, on Columbus day, has been legally formed on April 10th 1945; Act by notary Antonelli, n.6212, Rep. 13149.

During the first six months, the central Seat in Rome was organized, and we received over a thousand adhesions without making any propaganda.

Soundings

On May 1st 1945, we started making soundings in various regions of the Centre and South of Italy.

We sent a circular to the Sindaci, the Secretaries of the Communes, the Medical officers and parish priests of a 100 communes. This circular sent with the program of the M.U.I. asked to organize an Intercommunal Executive Committee, composed of eleven members for every zone. On a hundred communes, 97 groups of people answered with great enthusiasm, saying they were ready to take charge of the spreading of the unionist idea in their respective centres. Towards the middle of May, they were sent the necessary material to start their propaganda.

Adhesions

At the beginning of June 1945, many adhesions to M.U.I. were sent to the central Seat.

On June 20th, 1945, according to the lists and to the reports of the 97 Committee, M.U.I. had over 50,000 members, though it didn't have the financial means required for a wider spreading of the program and a quicker collecting of adhesions.

As the Movement is only supported by the modest voluntary contributions of its members, it has not yet been possible to have a newspaper which would be the official organ of the M.U.I., nor enough pamphlets, nor a single means of transport to undertake and efficacious work for the spreading of the idea. However, considering the fine results already obtained, this lack of means shows that the Movement is welcome in all the centres consulted and in all social classes.

Mass Movement

Among all the members, there is a percentage of 32% of intellectual and professional workers; 47% tradespeople and employees; 21% artisans and workers. This shows how insufficient our means are for propaganda among the masses.

Thanks to the sacrifices of all the leading personnel, (whose work is unpaid) and gathering all the energies and resources of the various committees,

(17)

- 2 -

the propaganda campaign had been intensified ever since June 20th 1945, and all the unionists are now working to make M.U.I. known to their friends and acquaintances, stressing its aims.

We hope that this very simple propaganda will enable us in a few months to come before any other mass party, and this will be possible, for unless all other ideologies, the program of M.U.I. is most appealing and convincing. To all the Italians endowed with common sense, it means the only possibility of safeguarding peace and welfare among nations, in a democratic atmosphere.

Rome, 30 June 1945

THE SECRETARY GENERAL

(Santi Paladino)

s. Santi paladino

a/c

278*

17

Statute of the Italian Union Movement

*Italian

Art. 1) The Italian Union Movement was formed on Columbus day on the initiative of intellectual and professional workers, employees and workmen, of various political opinions and religious faith, without support or encouragement on the part of any government whatever, to contribute to the materialization of universal brotherhood in the light of sound democratic principles.

Art. 2) M.U.I. suggests that Italy be united with the United States of America as a united state, safeguarding the integrity of her territory and of her interior sovereignty, to start the formation of one superstatel organism which would really guarantee the peace and welfare of the nations.

Art. 3) M.U.I. therefore wishes the other States of Europe also to unite with U.S.A. in a confederal pact, thus realizing an intercontinental Superstate where the law of the Union will reign supreme.

Art. 4) waiting for the union between Italy and the United States, M.U.I. wishes economic, demographic and cultural exchanges to be intensified between both nations.

Art. 5) In particular, M.U.I. suggests the public authorities take a continuous interest in the fate of the Italian who emigrated abroad.

Art. 6) M.U.I. suggests that the Italians be taught by every means a) freedom and such virtues as make it eternal; b) the idea that the only legitimate source of riches is work; c) the principle that charges and functions must be given according to competence and ability.

Art. 7) M.U.I. suggests that by right and fact, it be made possible for all citizens to accede the institutes for instruction of every degree.

Art. 8) In the economic field, M.U.I. asserts the necessity to protect work so as to realize the principle of freedom from need.

Art. 9) M.U.I. suggests a decentralization of public life, which would benefit the regional energies and resources.

Art. 10) To realize its program M.U.I. will be able to present its own representatives to the National Parliament.

e/c

2880

CONFIDENTIAL

HQ/Allied Commission
Office of Pol. Ad. (A)

TO: Chief Commissioner
SUBJECT: Movimento Italiano Unionista

With reference to the attached file on the above-mentioned movement, representatives of this group have visited the Embassy and have expressed as their ultimate aim the incorporation of Italy into the United States, and have requested official support. I need hardly say all such support was refused. Insofar as transmitting any message to the President was concerned, we merely informed them in writing that the Embassy was not the appropriate medium for transmission of messages of this type.

I should suggest a bare acknowledgement of their letter expressing regret that no support can be given.


H. McBride
Pol. Ad. (A)

July 4

JUL 2 1945

C.C.

Ref: 6530/2/88.

30 June 45.

Subject: Meeting at Palermo theatre.

To: Liaison Officer, PALERMO.

Reference your signal No:36 of 26 June 45. The fact that the hall in question is under US Navy requisition does alter the position and in the circumstances no approach should be made to the US Naval Commandant.

Thank you for drawing our attention to this point.

B. Talbot

Brigadier,
Executive Commissioner.

224/0000

(No)

224/0000

RESTRICTED

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JUNE 261002BJUN 27 RECD
1036
E/6826
JUNE 262025
ROUTINEMORTON ALCOM PALERMO
ALCOM ROME FOR ACEXC.

RESTRICTED.

Your letter 6530/EC of 18 June refers.

Did my wire of 17 June make clear that the hall is under USNAV requisition? Am delaying approach to commandant pending your reply in order to be sure there has been no misunderstanding. Does AFHQ policy go so far as to call for affirmative action on our part to provide place ~~for political meetings~~? If ~~hall~~ had been given for Socialist meeting all the other parties would of course have equal rights.

DIST

ACTION - EX COMMISSIONER 2
INFO - CHIEF COMMISSIONER
FILE 2
FLOAT

RESTRICTED

The meaning of the struggle for the Costituente, by Nenni

(Avanti, June 21st, 1945)

If the moderates were intelligent, they might have understood that it was the political interest of the whole nation not to oppose a government representative of the working classes. However intelligence is not the chief quality of tired and worn out classes; their main quality is selfishness. This is why the moderates made a campaign to impress the middle class and small bourgeois with the dangers of a socialist candidature. The moderate wing of the Christian democrats assumed the task of opposing the socialist candidature, thus revealing the existence within the parties of two forces: one of them interprets bourgeois fears and interests, the other one, composed of workers, peasants and employees has no fear of a socialist leadership.

This meant the following problem: either save at all cost the unity of the C.L.N. to bring them to power, increase their authority and their functions, or make a breach and try to reach the Costituente not lawfully, but by a struggle which might have brought about civil war.

To entrust the State to men who did not belong to the parties, but who were selected as the agents of the landowners, the manufacturers and the monarchy would have been a political effort. We must not forget that our bourgeoisie will speculate on every inferior difficulty to ask for foreign help.

When the socialist party was offered to assume the power jointly with the On. De Gasperi, we refused, for it seemed to us that after a struggle in which the function of Christian democracy ~~had~~ appeared as a conservative function, it would be politically immoral to show to the country a compromise between the Socialist party and the Christian Democrat party.

We told the Christian democrats that we didn't exclude a solution of this kind, but only if Christian democracy pledged itself, for what concerns the Costituente, to bring about the only possible democratic solution, i.e. the republican solution.

It was impossible to take in serious consideration the return of former statesmen. The duty of the socialist party was to support Perri, the man of the resistance. Perri does not share our opinions on the social plan, but he agrees with us about the republic, and he is ready to fight for the republic whenever it will be necessary.

Insisting on the need to save the unity of the C.L.N., Nenni adds that the crisis once more proved the necessity of unity of action between communists and socialists. With this weapon we will achieve, sooner or later, the government of the workers for the workers.

The socialists will have to establish contacts with the Lieutenant, ~~Perri~~ Nenni, but these contacts will never degenerate into compromises. Our republican will is strong and intransigent and nothing can alter it.

The Costituente will have to be summoned within a few months. All the provinces which are still occupied must come back under Italian administration; the reactionaries are the only people who object to this.

thus revealing the existence within the parties of the bourgeoisie, the other one, composed of workers, interprets bourgeois fears and interests, the other one, composed of workers, peasants and employees has no fear of a socialist leadership.

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To entrust the state to men who did not belong to the parties, but who acted as the agents of the landowners, the manufacturers and the monarchy would have been a political effort. We must not forget that our bourgeoisie will speculate on every in-errior difficulty to ask for foreign help.

When the socialist party was offered to assume the power jointly with the On. De Gasperi, we refused, for it seemed to us that after a struggle in which the function of Christian democracy /N/s appeared as a conservative function, it would be politically immoral to show to the country a compromise between the Socialist party and the Christian Democrat party.

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Insisting on the need to save the unity of the C.L.N., Nenni adds that the crisis once more proved the necessity of unity of action between communists and socialists. With this weapon we will achieve, sooner or later, the government of the workers for the workers.

The socialists will have to establish contacts with the Lieutenant, ^{224/1} ~~Salvatore~~ Nenni, but these contacts will never degenerate into compromises. Our republican will is strong and intransigent and nothing can alter it.

The Costituente will have to be summoned within a few months. All the provinces which are still occupied must come back under Italian administration; the reactionaries are the only people who object to this.

We must carry out a policy which will link the people to the Government.

The Minister of the Costituente will have to bear the burden of the problem of this assembly, arbiter of the fate of the country, from the point of view of agitation as well as from the technical point of view. Three large commissions are to be organized: for regional and communal autonomy, agrarian reform, and for the socialization of monopolistic industries.

For what concerns the sanctions against fascism, Nenni said that the socialist party will strike mercilessly high ranking fascists and prevent personal vengeance against unimportant ones. Those who stole from the people will have to return what they have stolen to the people.

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0383

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

785015

- 2 -

The success of our mission greatly depends on what we will be able to do in this field.

The socialist assume the power, meaning to be the representatives of the people. They are going to work in close collaboration with the communist party.

e.c.

2779

0386

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

785015

2779

From Gen. Infante:

to be brought to the attention of

Admiral Stone

✓

(15)

Ref: 6530/EC.

18 June 45.

Subject: Meeting at Palermo theatre.

To: AC Liaison Officer,
PALERMO.Reference your signal of 17th June replying to our
9813 of 16th.

Will you please approach the U.S. Naval Commandant who issued the instruction restricting the use of the hall to a meeting of a non-political character and inform him that it is the policy of the Allies, laid down by AMTC, to allow complete freedom in the expression of political views and in the holding of political meetings. The action taken was not in accordance with this policy and the Commander's attention should be drawn to the fact.

E. Talbot

Brigadier,
Executive Commissioner.

Copy to Com Zomb
+ sig
Done
20/6

Sec (15)

224/c

2778

(14)

JUN 18 RECD

JUN 171300Z

E/5457

JUN 171425Z

ROUTINE

MORTON ALCOM PALERMO
ACTION ALCOM ROME FOR ACEXC

UNCLASSIFIED.

Your wire seems to indicate ROME press reports about MATTEOTTI meeting are essentially correct. Upon request Mayor PALERMO US Navy commandant gave permission to use Navy theatre for meeting to "Commemorate anti Fascist martyr MATTEOTTI". Commandant informs me that on discovering that Socialist Party was sponsor he demanded assurance that meeting be entirely nonpolitical in character. Such assurance not being given he issued orders to prevent meeting if in fact it developed political tone. Commandant states presence of massed Communist flags and complete political tone of prepared speeches caused permission for theatre use to be withdrawn. Dispersal of assembly was accomplished quietly and without any disorder. Meeting was then resumed at Socialist headquarters.

DIST

ACTION: Ex Commissioner 2
INFO: Chief Commissioner
File 2
Float

Commodore Zisoli

224150

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(13)

See 14

ALCOM LIAISON OFFICER PALERMO

9813

15 June 45.

Routine.

ROME PRESS REPORTS THAT AT MEETING IN PALERMO THEATRE FOR COMMEMORATION
MATTEOTTI KILLED OFFICER POINTED OUT THAT CEREMONY SHOULD HAVE NON-POLITICAL
CHARACTER AND CAUSED MEETING TO BREAK UP PD

PAREN ALCOM LIAISON OFFICER PALERMO FROM HEADQUARTERS ALCOM CITY ACRMC
PAREN

PLEASE FURNISH US PARTICULARS THIS OFFICER AND REASONS FOR HIS ^{ALLEGED} ACTION PD

See (18)

cc: Commodore Girali

Office of Executive Commissioner

300

E. T. Hall

Lieut. Col.

(12)

224/CC
2770

VP-CA Section

Is There any-
thing to the
"legal" arguments
advanced in
the attached?

EWS

$\frac{30}{3}$

From "L'Unità" (Communist), 13 Feb 1945

REPLY TO A CALUMNIATOR

I hear from a press agency release that Mr Luigi Antonini has published in America an article, containing the usual stupid calumnies against myself and the Communist party, as to the so-called origin of the "funds" of communist propaganda & organization in Italy. (Vide on this subject the documented denial which I gave, after an enquiry ordered by Sig. Soleri, to an other calumniator, Mr Bullitt). I do not know how Mr Antonini could pretend to take a favourable interest in our country and at the same time start such a stupid and disgraceful campaign of calumnies against one of the outstanding leaders of modern Italy and against the foremost party among the working masses. Anyhow, Mr Antonini has been in Italy some time ago and he had every opportunity to publish his accusations on an Italian paper, or on an AC paper if all Italian papers had refused him their hospitality for such dirt. This would have afforded me the opportunity of having him condemned as calumniator by a tribunal of democratic Italy. When we met at the presence of workers' delegations, he displayed towards me a friendliness which I was not looking for, and now he publishes his calumnies in America : this shows that he wilfully tries to avoid the responsibility of his actions, i.e. that he behaves like a coward. Maybe he thinks, as many think throughout the world today, that because Italy has been lead to disaster by Mussolini, now any crook has the right to trample down the honour of those Italians who have devoted their life to the struggle against Mussolini and who are now fighting above all for Italy's rebirth. Defending my dignity against Mr Antonini's calumnies means defending the dignity of anti-fascist proletarianism, of Italian working classes and of my country, that he tries to drag in the mud.

PALMIRO TOGLIATTI

224/CCS

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Risposta ad un calunniatore

Apprendo da una informazione di agenzia che il signor Luigi Antonini avrebbe pubblicato in America un articolo contenente contro di me e contro il Partito comunista italiano le solite stupidissime calunnie circa la cosiddetta origine dei « fondi » della propaganda e organizzazione comunista in Italia. (Si veda in proposito la documentata smentita data da me, dopo un'inchiesta ordinata dal ministro Soleri, a un altro calunniatore, il signor Bullitt). Non so come il signor Antonini possa conciliare il suo preteso interessamento favorevole al nostro Paese con una così stupida e spregevole campagna di calunnie contro uno dei dirigenti più in vista dell'Italia d'oggi e contro il partito che ha maggior seguito nelle masse operaie. Ad ogni modo, il signor Antonini è stato tempo fa in Italia e aveva tutte le possibilità di render pubbliche le sue accuse su un giornale italiano o su un giornale della Commissione alleata qualora tutti i giornali italiani gli avessero negato, per simili porcherie, la loro ospitalità. Ciò mi avrebbe offerto la possibilità di farlo condannare come calunniatore da un tribunale dell'Italia democratica. Il fatto che egli, dopo aver dimostrato verso di me, quando ci trovammo assieme alla presenza di delegazioni operaie, una cordialità da me non sollecitata, pubblichi ora le sue calunnie in America, dimostra che egli sfugge consapevolmente alla responsabilità delle sue azioni, cioè si comporta come un vile. Forse egli pensa, come molti pensano oggi nel mondo, che poiché l'Italia è stata portata alla rovina da Mussolini, è oggi lecito a ogni lestofoante di calpestare l'onore degli italiani i quali hanno consacrato tutta la loro esistenza alla lotta contro Mussolini e oggi combattono prima di tutto per la salvezza e la rinascita d'Italia. Difendendo la mia dignità contro le calunnie del signor Antonini io difendo la dignità dell'antifascismo proletario, della classe operaia italiana e del mio paese, che egli tenta di trascinare nel fango.

PALMIRO TOLLATI

una cosa che può solo far ridere. Il vero problema che è aperto davanti al Paese e alla cui soluzione lavoreranno gli uomini dell'Assemblea costituente, è di creare un nuovo sistema di controllo amministrativo, il quale, per il modo stesso della sua organizzazione, non possa fare un ridicolo fallimento, come fece la Corte dei Conti col fascismo. Approfondire questo problema e delinearne le possibili soluzioni sarebbe cosa molto più utile che la esaltazione di un organismo il quale non ha più, e non può più avere, nessuna autorità.

A proposito di Trieste

A proposito della questione delle frontiere orientali italiane e di Trieste, la prova di posizione del signor Luigi Antonini in America conferma in pieno le nostre preoccupanti osservazioni. E' evidente, tenuto dal contenuto quanto del tono della campagna iniziata da questo signore, che a lui non importa un bel nulla né di Trieste, né dell'Italia. Quello che gli importa è di scagliarsi contro il movimento comunista, di screditare il movimento comunista, di calunniare il movimento comunista. Agitando la questione di Trieste, il signor Antonini crede di aver trovato l'ideale argomento e il terreno per isolare i comunisti italiani, denunciarli come antinazionali, e così stroncare lo sviluppo del nostro partito. Povero italiano! Per metterlo a posto basta pensare a questo: che se un giorno il partito comunista diventerà veramente o positivamente uno degli ispiratori ascoltati, in un largo fronte di forze democratiche, della politica nazionale italiana, quel giorno Antonini proporrà di farla pezzi, l'Italia. Quest'uomo non è infatti né un italiano né un antifascista, né un americano né un italoamericano. Egli è solo un anticomunista. All'Italia egli non è in grado di proporre altro che quello che dicevamo l'altra volta: di diventare una specie di colonia o bordello dell'anticomunismo internazionale. Ed è faribondo perché vede che la enorme maggioranza degli italiani hanno ormai capito che questa sarebbe non solo la degradazione, ma anche la rovina del nostro paese. Che faranno? lasciamo che Antonini consumi dentro sé della sua rabbia, e andiamo avanti per la nostra strada, che è quella del popolo e della salvezza d'Italia!

BELFAGOR

CC.

In the absence of the VP. I submit the following notes. The pencil marginal notes refer to particularly relevant parts of the document referred to.

Under the Armistice Terms the fascist government has to be removed. The senate is part of that government. Senators are appointed for life. To this extent there is justification for the suggestion that the allies require the removal of senators from office but that does not amount to persecution. To this extent also there is justification for the allegation that a constitutional change has been made, life appointments cannot otherwise be terminated.

Removal is not by whim but by decision of a Court. "composed of ~~six~~ a President and eight members chosen by the Council of Ministers from among high ranking judicial officials either serving or retired and from other persons of unquestionable rectitude" that is by legal procedure.

The denunciations referred to, merely means that Count Sforza has decided that those persons must appear before the Court. it is for the Court to decide whether or not "by their votes or actions (they) contributed to the maintenance of the fascist regime and made war possible"

Count Sforza informed us that his principle in deciding had been that he would not denounce Senators who had had spirit enough to vote against the Government but only those who had shown complete subservience. ^{There are exceptions that with relatively few exceptions} is no doubt that over the last 20 years ^{only fascists} were appointed Senators.

30 MAR 1946

H. W. H. H. H.

30 MAR 1945

cc 826
MAR 29 RECD

THE PROBLEM OF THE SENATE WITH REGARD TO THE PRESENT POLITICAL
SITUATION IN ITALY

It is not easy for the man in the street, especially if he is not Italian, to give the right importance to the problem that has arisen through the unjust and unconstitutional treatment received by the Senate, in the present political situation of Italy, by the law for Sanctions against Fascism.

In June 1944 the Italian Government was composed of six self-elected parties of the "Committee of Liberation" (Comitato di Liberazione) who occupied all the principal seats, but it is not known how much following they had with the people.

This Government formally promised the Allies and the Italian people not to touch the question of the laws of the nation, this question to be deferred to the decisions of an established government, which would be legally elected, as soon as, the whole territory had been liberated.

But at the same time they refused to take the oath to the King, deciding that the ministers should no longer swear loyalty to the crown, but only to keep the solemn obligations shown hereafter.

Thus the Government of the Committee of Liberation became a government of compromise, swayed by doubts, and unsustained by either democratic or historical lawfulness. It has neither dared to make new laws or the to abide by the old ones; trying to justify itself and its attitude in the provisional and transitory nature of its government, which should, however pave the way for future reconstruction.

It drifts under the influence of the extreme parties; who through their powerful means and audacious ideas are in the majority; and has not even been able to keep the obligation it took with regard to the crown, deeply injuring the monarchy, in spite, of its promise to the Italian people to keep their laws intact. Among others, through the deceptive order, inserted in art. 8 of the Decree No, 159 July 29th, 1944, by which it abandoned to the impeachment of a High Commissioner

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- 2 -

and to the judgement of an extra-ordinary High Court of Justice, such members of the Senate who were guilty of having "by vote or by their acts helped to maintain the Fascist regime, and aided the entry of Italy in war".

This unheard of order not only violates the primary rights of liberty, but also the guarantee of a just legal procedure to the prejudice of each single Senator; and is in complete derogation of the irrevocable principle voted by Parliament (art. 51 of the statute) and of the decree No 151 by which the provisional government had made an act of law the obligation taken by them not to change the laws of the nation.

As a matter of fact, 308 out of the 420 existing Senators have been denounced by Conte Sforza, High Commissioner for Sanctions against Fascism, for removal from their posts; while he did not even condescend to justify his action in calling some and leaving others free from judgement.

The High court of justice has little by little made known the decisions made with regard to the presumably guilty parties, issued in the Council Chamber without any regular legal procedure, and on insufficient grounds, while the official press and theatrical reviews take advantage of the situation to deride Senate and Senators, who up to now were held in great esteem by the Italian population.

The Senate and senators only real fault is that they carry in their denomination the outward sign of the constitution of that monarchy, which even Mussolini acknowledged to be the only great vital force of the nation..... besides himself.

The followers of the existing Italian Government, alleged that it is the United Nations that want the persecution of the Senate and Senators, justifying the fact by the statement that the Senate is mainly composed of fanatical and zealous Fascists, who are a danger to justice and liberty.

- 3 -

The first statement disgusts anyone familiar with the respect the Anglo-saxon nations have for law and legislation, the rights of individuals and the traditional laws of their country;; the second is completely untrue and only sponsored by the extreme parties, who under the convenient formula of "progressive democracy" mask their efforts to promote a total subversion.

By reason of its constitutional form, the Italian Senate is composed of the best the country can provide from civil, military, scientific, artistic, literary, agricultural, industrial, commercial, and political circles.

The Senatorship is a life-appointment made by a royal decree they were intended to aid the Crown in its high office of defending the highest and everlasting forces of the nation, of preventing party quarrels invading the vertex of the State, and securing a gradual development of a sane democracy.

The Italian Senate has done everything it could to this end. Never has it created any obstacle against the successive social and political reforms that Italy, has been second to none, in introducing into her country. One should remember, that in Italy, universal suffrage for men was introduced long before Great Britain or Ireland ever thought about it, and that social legislation has reached a very high peak, in spite of the very modest resources of the country. It was a rule with the Senate never to be responsible for a cabinet crisis and to concentrate all its energies in the examination of the technical side of law. It has always strived to be, and has been, an element of order, never of regression or reaction, not even those members who came from political circles. (ex Ministers, exx or Deputies etc.)

The members of the Senate also conformed to the spirit of perfect impartiality, which has always been the counter-sign of their body. The Assemblies of the Senate were never evident for their political sidings, but at the same time the independance of their personal views

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- 4 -

was more marked and imposing, than any that were expressed in the elective House.

The Senate never lost its particular characteristics even under the Fascist regime, and it is quite an abutary assumption to say that the Senate was a palladium of that regime.

When Mussolini appeared in Parliament immediately after the "march on Rome" asking for a vote of confidence in him Parliament granted him unrestricted power on Nov. 17th, 1922, although it was the old elective House of Commons.

The first list of Senators proposed by the Fascist Government was made in 1924, and no qualified members of the party appeared in it. The Senate has never been completely won over to Fascism and the criterion used in the selection of the nominees for the Senate has never been modified. Nobody has ever noticed any difference in the behaviour of Senators before or after the 20th Oct. 1922.

Wanting to be quite fair, one must admit that when Mussolini appeared in Parliament, the majority of the ~~main~~ members of the non-subversive parties were very well disposed towards him. Even Benedetto Croce judged Fascism as follows: "Fascism is not an infatuation or a joke. It has filled a serious need and done a great deal of good, as every fair-minded person must admit. It progressed amid the applause of the nation. So that on one hand, it was the public wish, not to lose the fruits of Fascism, and return to the indolence and inconclusiveness that proceeded the movement; and on the other hand, is the feeling that the interests created by Fascism, even those neither praiseworthy or beneficial, are all the same a fact that cannot be ignored".

Then Mussolini's rule became an unlimited dictatorship, and the rift between the Senate representing the Monarchy and the Duce was inevitable.

They could not be expected to oppose him openly, as that would have been in contrast with political constitution of the Senate. Not even Senators who were notoriously anti-Fascist like Conte Sforza made any

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- 5 -

formal protest, though safe from any retaliation by means of the prerogatives of the Statute of the Senate. It is true on the contrary that the Dictator showed his growing insufferance of the Senate more and more, going so far as to disdain to appear at the meetings of the House.

One of the first measures taken by Mussolini in his last great adventure, was that, of suppressing the Senate, decreed 16th Sept, 1943.

All these considerations have, however, to do only with the past, but we must now front the problems of the future of this very unfortunate Italian Nation, called upon to decide its destiny while it still groans under the burden of its disasters, and struggles in the throes of desolation, inflation, and disoccupation. Quite bereft of the calm necessary to be able to make such momentous decisions. Still worse: it is considered opportune to put the people in front of the accomplished fact, that is to say, the virtual liquidation of the Monarchy, presenting them with a dynasty without an army, a king without a crown, and a Senate without senators.

All of which is neither legal nor loyal, worse, it is extremely dangerous for Italy from a political point of view, and also for the peace of Europe.

One should understand what Monarchy means to a country like Italy, of ancient lineage, but of recent constitution. No nation can play with impunity with its constitution. Least of all Italy, where the Monarchy, alone, was capable of bringing about its union, giving it its independence, and assuring it the democratic development of its civil life. Two examples show the prosperous compatibility between Monarchy and Democracy, that of England, and that of Italy. The Monarchy has during the 85 years of its very seamy life, saved the modern Italian State from the dearth needs of national economy, the emotions of an overstrung people, and the immaturity of its political parties.

One cannot estimate the usefulness of democracy as a party government, every where, on the basis of what happens and what has happened in Anglo-saxon countries. There the political parties are of an imme-

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- 6 -

nently national origin, and follow the elementary logic of self-preservation and progress. They seem to grow side by side with the State, of which they take from time to time the lead or control. Here on the contrary, especially in Italy, the political parties are nearly always a copy of some foreign or artificial organization, whose components abandon themselves to the pursuit of personal power and lose themselves in demagogic competitions, and personal objectives. They have no fundamental doctrine and leave the idea of the nation, as a whole, too much out of their programmes.

One must admit that Democracy is the most fertile, beneficial and richest of expectations of all ideas of government for a nation; even if one cannot expect it to yield, in every case, as much as it does in Anglo-Saxon countries who are blessed with great riches, a part from their common-sense and worth well known to all nations. It is essential, however, that the idea of Democracy go hand in hand with that of Monarchy, or better that of law and order, so as not to fall into anarchy.

This result was brought about in Italy by the Monarchy, strengthened by the ~~two~~ institutions of the Crown and the Senate of royal denomination. Less than ever today are the Italians able to do without Monarchy, if they do not wish to regress to the necessity of re-establishing their unity under the lash of one of the decisive dictatorships, that in our modern society, appear inexorably in the trail of defeat, such as was the case of Russia, Germany and other nations, after the first world war. Such as may be feared, and with better reason at the end of this war, that is far superior to the last in its destruction and carnage.

The considerations made here-with, are not dictated by private motives, or attachment to the privileges enjoyed by ~~stages~~ class, cast or rank; and even less by dislike of a system worthy of the name "Government of the people". Rather from a clear conscience of common good and a profound knowledge of our national constitutional problem,

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which has always been in the hands of the Senate.

Italy needs three things to enable her to take her place in the new order of the world. To save her people from famine, and pestilence, and from terror. The re-estabishment of cordial relations not between parties who have taken possession of the power, but between the whole suffering people of the nation. The reintregation and respect of the grounds, feelings and energies spent for the historical institutions of the country, all of which can be summed up in the Monarchy.

For this reason the members of the Senate loudly demand an ending of the persecution they are subjected to, and their re-instatment in their legal rights and dignity, so as to be able to remain, until the sovereign decisions of the people can be made know, the defenders of the high cause entrusted to them the day of their royal investiture, and from which no court of justice either ordinary or extra-ordinary can legally relieve them.

2783

(11)

CONFIDENTIAL

JAQ/dfo

CC 224

2 March 1945

MEMORANDUM TO: Brigadier Upjohn

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward to you the attached letter and lists of names from the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Chief Commissioner wishes you to note that the names are only those of members of the Christian Democrat party.

/s/ J. A. Quayle

J. A. QUAYLE
Major, R. A.
Staff Officer to CC

cc: Exec. Comm'r.
CC Files

* Lists of names of reliable
party members in the North.

224/cc

2725

(10)

CONFIDENTIAL

13 February 1945

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am sending you herewith a copy of a translation of a News Sheet of the Republican Fascist Party - Palermo Section which has appeared in Palermo and to which you will no doubt desire to give attention.

Very truly yours,

/s/ Ellery W. Stone

ELLERY W. STONE
Rear Admiral, USNR
Chief Commissioner

His Excellency Ivanoe Bonomi,
The President of the Council of Ministers,
Italian Government,
Rome.

cc: C05
Political Section
CC files

224/cc

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TRANSLATION"FOR US"9.1.1945- XIII.

Newsheet of the Republican Fascist Party -
Palermo Section

STRENGTHENED by the pains of an unjust Slavery and in the cult of an Idea that the vileness of the present time enobles and purifies, the voices of the free Italians of Sicily is raised today working in secret revolt. To the disgrace of the traitors and the outrages of the enemy these voices will oppose what still survives the spoilation of the Fatherland: the untouchable dignity the utmost strength of the souls.

While the democrats, slaves to the foreigner, arbitrarily clothed as a pretender, imposes on the people of Italy an unending series of humiliations and sufferings that the lying tongues of the rhetoricians, far from relieving, exasperates; while a criminal reversal of values, on the tattered symbols of the old and only ideals, is hoisted the dishonored banner of renunciation and fraud; while the name of the fatherland is profaned every day by men who never worked for its greatness but who besmut it and who speed it towards disaster; while political life based on corruption and persecution in the name of national exigency organizes hate and vendetta, and the foreigner raised to the state of master without struggle has taken advantage of an exhausted and divided people, now thanks to his superciliousness and his rancour, this voice rallied round the symbols of our redemption the free forces of the fatherland reborn, working in the dark.

Those who have understood what it means to guard honour, have had strengthened in their hearts during the changing vicissitudes of fortune, intact the culture of the Italian Fatherland, the desire to remake it free and great and the certainty of reconquering some day the honour and the respect of the world, the duty of rededicating the true liberty and of imprinting on a future destiny the instinctive forces of their revolt.

We want to guard in the darkness which has come over our Country that which the enemy seeks in vain to destroy; our past and our future, our threatened national unity, our ransomed independence, our Italian name.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AND OF ITALY

I SWEAR

TO FOLLOW THE ORDERS
OF THE DUCE

2700

survives the spoilation of the Fatherland: the untouchable dignity the utmost strength of the souls.

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IN THE NAME OF GOD AND OF ITALY

I SWEAR

TO FOLLOW THE ORDERS
OF THE DUCE

AND TO SERVE WITH ALL MY STRENGTH
AND IF NECESSARY WITH MY BLOOD
THE CAUSE OF REVOLUTIONARY FASCISM.

WHY WE ARE FASCISTS.

OFTEN we feel the urge to ask ourselves: Why are we Fascists? Why are we the defenders of a party that has already lost the last battle?

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At the same time it is necessary to add: At bottom you are right. You can't be wrong, when one thinks of the twenty profitable years work, of true well-being all to the credit of fascism, while two years of so-called "liberty" have already disillusioned the most rabid anglophile and Americanophiles.

We often feel the urge to say this. But we answer, No, dear sir, no, dear friend, we are not the defenders of a party that has lost the last battle. Because it is necessary to observe that the last battle has not yet been fought, that the issue of this cruel conflict - you must admit it - is to say the least very uncertain.

But that which we want to make clear at the moment is that we are not defending a party. The National Fascist Party is dead; on this we are completely at one. But the original Ideal is not dead, the revolutionary spirit of fascism is not dead; and of this Ideal, of this spirit, we feel ourselves the custodians, precisely us, young men of an incorruptible faith, who have made of Fascism a religion since boyhood, of our strength.

We are Fascists not because of a nostalgic yearning for an era of well-being and of tranquility, neither by reason of the fact that we remember a regime which is above all praiseworthy for the indefatigable work for the people.

These are secondary motives; because we are Fascists because Fascism is perennial youth, heroic morale of life, audacity without confine; because Fascism is honour and dignity of the Fatherland, sure sign of every victory; in a word, because Fascism means ITALY!

"DIES IRAE!"

D.N'T worry yourselves too much, silly old fools of all pseudo-parties! Just follow the advice which your anglo-saxon so kindly offer you. This is our disinterested advice: don't worry too much. Save your energies a little; because the day when you will need them is not, perhaps, very distant. Spare your breath; you may need it.

But perhaps you won't even need it. Your dear "liberators", preoccupied with their leaving, certainly won't have much time to spare for you! And it will then be our exquisite pleasure to deal with you ourselves....!

Then we will make you eat your words. Pray heaven that you won't have to eat the words you have actually written. 278 *

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But perhaps you won't even need it. Your dear "Liberators", preoccupied with their leaving, certainly won't have much time to spare for you! And it will then be our exquisite pleasure to deal with you ourselves....!

Then we will make you eat your words. Pray heaven that you won't have to eat the words you have actually written - literally. Then we should ask you to take a good dose of castor oil to help your digestion and a salutary massage with a truncheon.

And you, judges of all the commissions of defascistization; instead of venting your spleen on some poor devil of a clerk, instead of venting your stupid annoyance against some officer who has sought only to do his duty, remember what the gospels say: "Judge not that ye be not judged!"

No mercy for all the outrages you have perpetrated against our people; to please your masters you have deprived families of the pensions which are justly due to the fallen of this war; you have forbidden the heroes the right to wear the ribbons which they have won by their courage; you have renounced, in the name of a people whom

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you do not represent, all the conquests of twenty years, which fascism, or no fascism, has cost the sons of Italy much suffering and much blood.

We have a steel will and a memory like an elephant. And we won't forget! it will come, then, it will come, for you "Dies Irae!"

PLAIN WORDS

At last has appeared the first number of "FOR US" which seeks to be, among all the base cringing to the foreigner, the sincere and free voice of all true Italians.

Around it, symbol of every hardihood, mark of purest faith, gather the comrades of yesterday and today, the most faithful of every hours, those who never give up. Now is the hour to sound our battle-cry, because the hour of decision is at hand!

We say this to the uncertain ones, the too luke-warm ones, to the diffident ones, not to push them or force them into our ranks, who are for the rest strong enough for any battle, but to warn them that now is the time to abandon certain purposely ambiguous positions, certain convenient masquerades, certain sitting-on-the-fence attitudes through cowardice or calculated self-interest. Enough of hypocrisy! You must choose one side or the other of the fence. We can't stand any more of this shilly-shallying, playing safe, this waiting-and-seeing or this "you never know" attitude, those who, in a phrase, always stand behind the blind!

Today there are no more concessions, there is no more waiting allowed: The Fatherland is in danger and calls its sons to the death-struggle in defence of the race, tradition, honour. Those who turn a deaf ear to the cry of the Great Mother are unworthy to be called Italians and should tremble for the just and inexorable fate that awaits them.

Against the evil genius of those who betrayed and still betray or sell themselves to the enemy or who merely help the enemy by their pretended cooperation, whose lack of faith paralyses all attempts at resurrection, against all that ignoble company the youth of Italy considers that the time is ripe.

Now at the dawning of what cannot fail to be day of our redemption we point out to every Italian worthy of the name the sacred path of sacrifice of thousands and thousands of fallen: the way of

Around it, symbol of every hardihood, mark of purest faith, gather the comrades of yesterday and today, the most faithful of every hours, those who never give up. Now is the hour to sound our battle-cry, because the hour of decision is at hand.!

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The Legionaire.

Ben

JAG/dfe

CC 224

5 February 1945

Subject: Non-Participation in Italian Politics

To: Lieutenant Colonel T. B. Jackman, G-5 Section, AFHQ

With reference to our telephone conversation I
enclose a copy of the signal under reference in letter CC 224,
dated 2 February.

J. A. QUAYLE
Major, R. A.
Staff Officer to CC

1 Incl.

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224/CC
2782

CG 224

2 February 1945.

SUBJECT: Non-Participation of Allied Forces in Italian Politics.

TO : Allied Force Headquarters, APO 512
(Attention: Chief of Staff)*copy attached*

1. On the occasion of the Bari Six-Party Conference last year, the Commander-in-Chief, A.A.F., by signal No. DCAC 112 on 26 January 1944, directed that no member of the Allied Forces should attend that meeting and that as a matter of general principle members of Allied Forces must refrain from any participation in Italian politics.

2. In view of the interest shown in the Sicilian Separatist movement by certain officers, and in order to forestall any partisanship being shown in the political conflict which will probably attend the liberation of the Northern Provinces of Italy, it is submitted that the Supreme Allied Commander might feel it desirable to issue an order along similar lines for the attention of all services under his command in the Italian Theater.

/s/ Ellery W. Stone

ELLERY W. STONE
Rear Admiral, USNR
Chief Commissioner

224/CC

cc: COS
pol. sec.
cc files

(6)

224/CC

C O P Y

REF: DCAO 112.

26 Jan. 1944

FROM: 15 ARMY GP.

TO: 2 DISTRICT INFO FIFTH ARMY - Rear EIGHTH ARMY - Main
EIGHTH ARMY - PRS. Copy to: DCAO (By hand)

Commander in Chief directs that no member of the Allied Forces shall attend Italian Democratic Party meeting at BARI on 28 Jan (.). GOC 2 DISTRICT will ensure compliance with this instruction (.) as a matter of general principle members of Allied Forces must refrain from any participation in Italian politics.

(SGND)

B. H. ROBERTSON,
Major General.

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(5) APP

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

785015

C O P YS E C R E TC O P YHEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION
POLITICAL SECTION
AFO 394

Ref: F/520.1

11 February 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR Chief Commissioner:

From conversations with officials of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs there is detected an increasing manifestation of a spirit of conservatism and but tepid sympathy with the political ideals of Western democracy. It does not appear that a return of Fascism is desired, but there is rather a hope for the constitution of a strong centralized Government under the Monarchy. Reference is made to Spain where Franco is seen to be setting a course towards a Liberal Monarchy which will have popular support, which will be able to live in harmony with the Western Powers and with which Italy could have intimate idealistic and cultural relations.

Undoubtedly, the political attitude of these officials in large measure is based on the belief that the politicians now in power are suspicious of, and inimical to, career diplomats, and that the present form of Government does not further their position nor their future.

WILLIAM W. SCHOTT
Vice President, Political Section

cc: CC files ✓

Original on C.O.S. file 6505/cos.

224/cc

2780

C O P YC O P Y

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S E C R E T

ITALIAN ASSOCIATION

Over the partisans there hangs death. Some will not be able to escape capture, that is torture and the execution squads. Others will die of wounds, hunger and cold. These that remain will be exhausted by sickness and privations.

Those who have not taken up arms are subject to troubles and reprisals from the enemy, who is becoming always more ruthless owing to his defeats; and the destructions, which continually are expanding, aggravate the hardships.

In the liberated territories, with the exception of the speculators, we live a life of want and misery.

Who lives in the ruined countries has no house, fire, food, clothes, shoes, medicine.

In the less damaged places, employees, workmen, pensioners, priests, small professionalists, modest proprietors, agricultural workers - in fact the greater part of the people - are either unemployed or barely remunerated, and they also suffer cold and hunger. Having sold what they had, they feel their energies failing day by day; they assist in despair to the pining away of their children who, for want of nourishment and care, are threatened with tuberculosis, and they often see their women-folk dishonouring themselves without having the strength to react.

Harder still is existence for the fugitives, and not much better that of the prisoners who return to their country.

Our international situation is very black. We are despised, hated, with only few exceptions. There are also those who think of possessing themselves of the ground so dear to us.

We have been helped by the Allies, to whom we must be grateful for many reasons. We shall still obtain help from them, but same is not adequate to our needs and also they cannot last for ever. It is necessary above all to help ourselves.

The present is very hard, and worse still looms the future. Many houses have been demolished or rendered uninhabitable; the greater part of the industrial plants are in pieces, we lack the means of transport, we are without machines and raw material; the agriculture is lacking animals, mechanical means, manure; the lira is nearly pulverized. And greater than the material ruins are the spiritual ones.

224/CC

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Crime is spreading. Bloody outrages, pillages, black market, prostitution, egoism are the principal manifestations of our existence. Especially exorbitant is the intoxication of the new generations.

File ←
(Submitted by
Col. Valentini
for info. C.C.)

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The moral collapse deprives us of the source from which we ought to draw up our energies which are so necessary to us.

.....

To remedy these terrible catastrophes we must unite, with one, very firm will, in one organic, tenacious effort to reconstruct. Instead, as though invaded by a suicidal madness, we lose the time which we should employ in work, in assailing each other and in disputing what we will do within a year or two, under the illusion that we will gain proselytes, not perceiving that by tearing each other to pieces and disputing we alienate consciences and provoke more and more general reactionary ferment against all the exponents of the actual political situation.

This confusion is the natural consequence of a long series of crimes and errors, which have culminated in the most unpopular of wars and in the disaster by which we have been crushed; but now, after several months of our liberation, the moment has come to silence - at least for a short time - the rumours that can separate people and to bind ourselves together for the time being in a program of concrete works comprising only that which is indispensable to save us from death, if we wish to prevent Italy from going to pieces. And, if we wish to keep at a distance the spectre of a civil war, let us do our best to make our misfortunes shorter and less bloody and irremediable if we wish to save our sons.

What is really essential? Which are the problems that are really undelayable, on which we all agree?

- 1) Collaborate with the United Nations, to whom we must show our faithful loyalty and our democratic maturity.
- 2) Help the partisans and intensify the warlike efforts.
- 3) Food and transports.
- 4) Houses, clothes, medicines.
- 5) High prices, black market.
- 6) Agricultural products, re-functioning of the industries, work, remunerations adequate to vital necessities.

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- 3) Food and transports.
- 4) Houses, clothes, medicines.
- 5) High prices, black market.
- 6) Agricultural products, re-functioning of the industries, work, remunerations adequate to vital necessities.
- 7) Protection of moral order, liberty, respect of the law, defense of the democratic principles, punishment of crimes, repression of crimes, development of the purification with more concrete and univocal laws.
- 8) Remit every other question, truce to party competitions.

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- 3 -

This program is so great that it will absorb all the strength of the nation. To put other problems would mean rendering impossible all collaboration and wasting all energies; and just this cannot be borne any more.

.....

We do not intend in the least to form a fifty-first party. It would be absurd to organize it on a so fortuitous program. We only want to form a temporary, free, association, without hierarchy without identity papers, without insignias, without contributions, without discipline obligations, with adhesions that can come to us not only from those who have not bound themselves to any political groups - thus binding their liberty of thought and action - but also those subscribing to parties, whatever they be.

We do not propose to fight against parties or ministries. We shall second this Government, provided it goes to work immediately to alleviate the trials of the poor people.

We'll not discuss the future while the ship is sinking. We shall form immediately, independently from political ideas, technical commissions, which will indicate how to begin to resolve as soon as possible the mentioned problems.

All the United Nations are giving proof of solidarity during this conflict. Only Italy, which finds itself in particularly desperate conditions, is discordant. Our divisions are criminal. We must eliminate them until, having surpassed this Winter, peace will once more be with us and then we shall appeal to the nation that it may decide the political order to be reestablished. Then each one will go his way and will adopt the resolutions suggested by his conscience or fixed by his party. In the meantime we shall have alleviated the sorrows of those who are in unbearable conditions, and we shall have done our duty.

This is what the Italian people want. We, interpreting her sentiments, appeal to all those who are sturdy of heart and brain.

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.....

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A Story of a failure

The muddle in Italy bodes ill for U.S. in Europe

By John OSBORNE

John Osborne, a senior editor of Time magazine, went to Italy last August as a correspondent for Time and Life. During the next three months he talked to Italians and Americans and Britons, to high officials and plain citizens, in an endeavor to define the curve of events in Italy and the influence exerted by the Allies on Italy's political destiny. He wrote this article on his return to the U.S. last month. Some of his conclusions were underlined last week by the fall of Premier Ivanoe Bonomi's government.

My friend Giuseppe, a mild little man who is always hungry began my introduction to the unknown Italy.

Giuseppe showed me through the Gestapo prison in Rome. There, in an old school building on the Via Tasso, many hundreds of Italians had been confined and tortured. Giuseppe knew the place well. He led me straight to a room on the fourth floor. This room, Giuseppe said, had been his home for 40 days.

It had been a bathroom. All the fixtures had been removed, the window had been bricked up and the room was utterly bare when the Germans threw Giuseppe into it. Now, remembering the room and himself in the room, Giuseppe was a man in a dream. Smiling a little, he stepped to the door lintel, twisted the light switch in the wall and removed it. He reached into the hole and pulled out a rusty iron spike, bent at the sharp end. He turned, walked across the narrow room to the opposite wall and began to hack at the brown cement between the tiling. Something came away and fell into his hand. He gave the fragment to me and I saw that it was a piece of brown bread, very dry and very hard. Giuseppe hacked and hacked and many more pieces of bread fell out of the wall. During the long days and nights in the room Giuseppe had chipped out the cement and filled the crevices with the bread. The Germans, seeing the unbroken wall, had never noticed the little heap of rubble in one corner. And they probably had not heard the sound of Giuseppe's hacking. In the corridors, at that time, the screams usually drowned out any other sounds.

Sometimes they were Giuseppe's screams. Every day the Germans came to Giuseppe's room. Sometimes they beat him there. Sometimes they took him to a big room on the second floor which they had fitted up for their more formal tortures. Always they beat him on the same place. Giuseppe had been shot through the chest when he was captured and the Germans beat him with fists and whips on and around the livid wound. He was a leader of one of the Socialist Party's underground units in Rome and he could have told the Germans

much that they wanted to know. He told them nothing. He was still enduring his special agony when the American Army approached Rome, bringing release to him and ~~as~~ as he then thought: fulfillment of all that he had suffered for.

Giuseppe and a few other Italians in the Via Masso owed their escape to a German mistake. When the Germans realized that they were going to lose Rome, they herded the Gestapo prisoners into vans, hauled them to the now famous Ardeatine Caves on the old Appian Way and machine-gunned them. One driver took a wrong turn, found himself on a highway near some advancing Americans and abandoned his van. Giuseppe was in that van. More dead than alive, barely able to walk, he left the van and made his way back to Rome. Now, in fits of extreme depression, he sometimes says that his friends who rest in the Ardeatine Caves are the lucky ones.

The Ardeatine Caves;

Every American in Italy should see those caves and the coffins which line the ~~dun=~~gray passages. The Italian Government has made the place a national monument. Temporary lights strung along the ceilings shed an ugly glare on the rows of wooden coffins. There are some 340 coffins. On most of them are flowers and pictures of the men and women who died in the caves. Most of the faces are young. Flowers die quickly in the dark air of the caves, and the acid odor of the withering wreaths is stronger than the odor of death. In good time, when materials can be had, the wooden coffins will be replaced with metal casket. But they will never be buried. They will be kept on view to remind all who visit the caves that there were Italians in Rome, hundreds of them, who died for their country and for the Allies.

At first, when the piles of bodies unburied or half buried, made the caves a stinking horror, many American and British soldiers visited the place. Now none go there. Outside by the gate where a bored carabinieri stands on guard an "Out of Bounds" sign warns them off. Our men, fighting their slow way up Italy, never meet Giuseppe and his kind and never know that such Italians exist. Our men see only the dirty, hungry beseeching face of an Italy which they shrink from and detest. 2700

And Giuseppe? His tragedy is the tragedy of Italy. As a socialist he never accepted Fascism. But he never did much about it until Mussolini fell, Badoglio signed the armistice with the Allies and the Germans took over Rome. Then, in common with thousands of other Romans he went underground. 4

He risked his life. He and his comrades sheltered hundreds of escaped British and American prisoners of war (upward 10,000 were hiding in Rome and in the Vatican City at the end). The Germans seized and shot or exiled more than 1,000 of Rome's finest young men and the leaders of the underground Brigades. But the Brigades survived. Mostly they were Socialist and Communist. But they expressed a deep longing among all Italians to prove to themselves, to the Germans and to the world that they could be brave, that they could do something and do it well when they believed in it. For Giuseppe, and for thousands like him that was a time of revival, a good time despite all that the Fascist police and the Gestapo could do. It was a time when the best men of Italy found a new faith in themselves, in Italy - and in America. To those Italians north of the Allied lines, all up Italy, the Americans seemed to come not as enemies but as friends. Perhaps the Italians were naive, perhaps they too easily forgot that Italy was a defeated enemy. Or perhaps they simply believed the American propaganda which told them, day in and day out, that the Americans did come as friends of the Italian people.

It all amounted to nothing. Somehow, on June 4, the day of liberation, Rome's underground brigades had very little to do. The Germans departed so swiftly and efficiently that it hardly seemed worth while to chase or harass them. Partisans did round up some of the blackest Fascists and a few stray Germans. But the Allies brought in their own police and Italian carabinieri. The vast wave of joy had hardly begun to recede in the streets before Giuseppe and his friends discovered that they were less than anonymous. Without distinction of party, of previous service, of goodwill toward the Allies, they were "Eyeties." They were useless. They were suspect. They were nuisances.

The fatal fact was not that the Allies humiliated Italians. The fatal fact was that the Allies were not intelligent in their handling of the underground. They were not intelligent in most of their dealing with Italians. Whatever else they may be, Italians are intelligent. They are too intelligent for their own good: they see themselves and their faults with devastating clarity and they tend to expect less of themselves than of others. This being so, they expect a high degree of intelligence from their friends. Simply because they value the friendship of America above that of all other countries, Great Britain and Russia included, the Italians expect - or expected - a particularly high degree of intelligence from Americans. 272

In this expectation the Italians have been disappointed. Americans and American democracy as it has been displayed by them in Italy, have not come up to the billing.

Now, reluctantly but unmistakably, the Italian people are turning away from us. They are turning to Russia. They are turning to Russia's instrument in Italy, the Communist

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Party (and to the Italian Socialist Party, which is allied with the Communists.) For us significance of this turn is not simply that Italy is " going Communist" or that Italy is rejecting the forms of democracy as we know it. After two decades of Fascism and the ravages of a losing war, Italy at best could hardly have adopted and sustained an all-out democracy on our exact model. The meaning for us is that the Italians are losing their confidence in us and in the democratic spirit which we represent. In this, our first test in Europe, we are failing to make sense to Europeans who must be for us or against is in the post war world.

The importance of this failure has very little to do with Italy or with Italians as such. America's real interest is not in Italy for Italy's sake; it is in Europe for America's sake. Italy is a part of Europe, the 46,000,000 Italians are 46,000,000 Europeans. America's failure began with the failure to recognize and accept that fact and with it the nature of our interest in Italy.

Our interest was to make and keep a friend for the U.S. and for democracy in Western Europe, and we had a chance to do so= a chance good enough to be worth working at. But it is dwindling every day.

We had the chance because the great majority of Italians wanted to be our friends and to deserve our friendship. With a longing which people who always had freedom can never quite understand, they wanted freedom. They wanted to make Italy an accepted, working member of a Western community of Nations.

We still have the chance because the majority of Italians still want these things. The chance is dwindling because more and more Italians now doubt that we want them to have these things. We have forced them to doubt it.

How could they help doubting it?

Italy is a political theatre.

After the armistice of Sept.8,1943, after the months of probably unavoidable adjustment and experiment with Marshal Badoglio and finally our acceptance of Premier Ivanoe Bonomi's government last June, our interest was clear. It was to tell the Italian people, by unequivocal word and act, the elemental truth: that under the armistice terms no Italian government could exist unless we allowed it to exist; that we therefore took responsibility for the Bonomi government and meant to see that it worked; that Bonomi, once accepted as premier, was our man.

Our whole experience up to that time cried aloud that our initial conception of Italy as a military theatre and nothing else was not good enough. The rise of the six parties which formed the Bonomi government, the writhings of the country, the manifold troubles of our administrators, all testified that Italy was also a political theatre which required some intelligent political decisions.

We have made no such decisions. We gave Bonomi a kind of weary, disinterested support which was worse than none. We refused to grasp his immense importance to us. That importance had nothing to do with his own capacities, which are respectable but limited. His importance lay in what he represented, his only reason for being at the government's head. He represented the latent but ~~xxxxx~~ tangible democratic spirit which was abroad then in Italy. He embodied the longing of Italians to have what they thought we had, to be what they thought we ~~were~~. It was self-evident that they could not have all this. But they wanted to try, and out of the trial in this transition from defeat to final peace might have come something acceptable and friendly to us.

We did not deliberately reject Bonomi and the opportunity he offered us. We merely drifted and let him drift. As though caught in some Wagnerian cycle of futility, we piled one mistake upon another.

In September, after their last Quebec conference, Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill said in a joint statement that the U.S. and Great Britain proposed to treat Italy not as a defeated enemy but as a nation earning its way back to respectability. None welcomed this "Hyde Park declaration" more than the Allies' principal representatives in Rome: Alexander Kirk, lately given the title of U.S. ambassador; Sir Charles Noel, Britain's high commissioner who still cannot call himself ambassador; and Comodore Stone, USNR, acting chief of the Allied Commission which is responsible for applying Allied policy in Italy. They welcomed the declaration because at first glance it seemed to state a tangible, understandable policy. The Italians outdid themselves in gratitude. Then came the reaction. The declaration turned out to be a masterpiece of overstatement and double talk. If it meant anything, it meant that in many important respects the only previous guide to Allied policy the harsh armistice terms had been set aside. But did it mean that? Normally the commission should have received a directive translating the declaration's generalities into specifics. No directive arrived. In early November nobody in Rome knew exactly what, if anything, the declaration did mean. Later, piecemeal gestures seemed to lighten some of the armistice restrictions. The Italian government was allowed to send diplomatic representatives abroad and to receive them in Rome. Steps were taken to lessen ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the inflationary effects of the Allies' occupation currency. But we had missed a chance to give the Italians and our own officials in Italy a clear statement of Allied pur-

We set up a great propaganda machine, the Psychological Warfare Branch. Sensibly enough, we supervised the vagrant Italian press. We saturated the country, liberated and unliberated, with the usual reams of printed matter. But to this day we have not given literate Italians the only American reading matter they really want. They want to read our current magazines and books, in English and in translation. They want to make up for the claustrophobic years when they were cut off from our thought and writing. They want our medical and technological works. They want to read A Bell for Adano and a Tree Grows in Brooklyn. Their publishers have tried, in every way they could think of, to get in touch with American publishers. There was no question of shipping space, of diverting military transport to Italian needs. All the publishers asked was a copy of a book, permission to translate and republish and some assurance that they would not get into copyright trouble after the war. Until lately, Italians were denied commercial communication abroad. Technically these restrictions have been lifted, but it is still all but impossible for Italians to do business with America by cable or letter. Their only channel is the PWB. And the PWB has declined to help.

Russian best sellers.

The Russians do it differently. Any Italian publisher of good repute can go to the Russian Embassy in Rome and get instant permission to translate and publish any approved Soviet work. Italy is short of paper and in some cases Italian publishers have even got paper from the Russians. The Russians do not ask pay; they sometimes subsidize reproduction and they always tell the publishers not to bother about authors and copyrights. The consequence, of course, is that Italy is flooded with recent translations of Russian novels, pamphlets, short stories, topical reviews. The Italians buy them and read them and make their American friends miserable with requests for American magazines and books.

Recently a Canadian correspondent, a South African army artist and a British conducting officer parachuted behind the German lines in north Italy. The group spent seven weeks with the Italian partisans, - about half the time with a Communist Brigade, the other half with a Rightist Brigade. Eventually the trio returned with vivid stories of partisan bravery and effectiveness. The Allied propaganda officials who had permitted this expedition were quite willing to have the story told, with suitable deletions, in the foreign press and on the foreign radio. These officials also went to great trouble to put the story in Italian pamphlets and drop the pamphlets in northern Italy where the story was already well known. But they discouraged its publication in liberated Italy where the people have an inkling of the heroic truth and desperately want to know more. The Allied reasoning was curious: if the liberated

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Italians heard too much about the exploits of their partisans in the north, their insistent request for permission to do more for the Allies would get out of bounds. Now General Alexander has told the partisans that they must cease fighting, dig in for the winter and prepare to live on their own resources. Because of the stalemate on the Fifth and Eighth Army fronts, these instructions are probably necessary. But they doom thousands of partisans and partisan sympathizers to starvation, capture and execution. The failure of our autumn offensive and the prospect of another winter of war constitute a major disaster for Italy; The Germans will have all the time they need to complete the looting and destruction of Italy's principal (and last) industrial resources. Our handling of the Italian partisans, who had come into the open at Allied orders, compounds the disaster. It may well be enough to defeat and turn away our last friends in Italy.

Of course we did not go into Italy alone and the responsibility for Allied performance and policy in Italy is not ours alone. We went in with the British, whose Eighth Army was first in Italy. But there is no alibi for Americans in that fact.

With the cynicism of old acquaintance, the Italians assumed that the British were after something. Just what, the Italians did not know at first, but they supposed that it would come down to the old question of Britain's position in the Mediterranean. As matters turned out, this assumption flattered British intelligence. When they first arrived in Italy they were looking for very little except a quick end of the war and the privilege of giving Italians a bloody good lesson. Burning with justified memories of Malta, North Africa and the stab in the back, they were slow to reflect that Italy is, after all, a place in the Mediterranean and that Britain needs all the friendship she can find in and around that sea. Winston Churchill had this geopolitical fact well in mind when he visited Italy this fall. He had been told that there was little or no use in trying to do anything with or for these rotters, the Italians. On the streets of Rome and in the provinces these rotters received him warmly and more than once during his tour he turned to his companions and exclaimed: "Why, these people don't dislike us!" Soon after Churchill returned to London a drastic change in British policy became apparent. Now, in their odd way, the British are trying to make a friend of Italy. They are late and they know it.

When we entered Italy we had neither the handicap nor the drive of obvious self interest. Perhaps we and the Italians alike would have fare better if we had been able to define our interest in the relatively simple terms of empire and of power of politics. As it was, in this encounter with our first defeated foe and with the first country of Europe reopened to democratic arms and democratic thought, our reception repelled us. We had forgotten a very important thing about ourselves

8

and our country: America is still an idea.

The Italians had not forgotten. They overwhelmed us with their reminders. Tragically for them and for us, their language all too often was the language of beggars and of none too attractive beggars at that. They expected American to bring food for empty bellies, machinery for wrecked factories, trains and trucks to quicken their dead economy, medicines for their sick. It was understandably hard for us to hear in this ugly cacophony the sound of a belief in Americans and in the American idea.

But the sound was there. The belief was there. It still is.

2751

(4)

From "THE MAPLE LEAF"

SCRIBBLERS

In the Trastevere (people's quarter) of Rome, walls are inscribed with the slogan: "Vogliamo il puzzone nostro" which roughly means: "If we're going to have a stinker, we want our own".

This can only be taken as aimed at the Allied Commission which has attempted to bring some semblance of liberation from Fascist Control to Italy. These slogan-writing Italians figure the Commission, in their language, stinks because it hasn't done enough for them fast enough.

And their average version of liberation is not so much concerned with form of government or politics. Pane, sigarette, cioccolata and lire are of more importance and unless the Allies supply same in quantities to satisfy the Italians, the Allies rate some name-calling.

These Italians who are so quick to scribble critical sentiments on their walls would do well to throw their chalk in the Tiber. This business of stirring sentiment against the Allies cannot be tolerated. We beat hell out of them once and, if need be, we can do it again.

The Italian memory seems very short. The Italian ability to understand seems very limited. They seem to ignore the fact that Allied victory must take first call on supplies and transport while the needs of liberated countries, and there are countries to which the adjective is more apt than Italy, must wait on fulfilment of war requirements.

War must have priority in factories and on ships. An Allied victory is the first necessity even if it means cold and hungry civilians.

Taken by and large, the average Roman citizen has hardly known what war suffering means. They have been spared the punishment which has levelled towns and villages as an unfortunate necessity to the Allied advance through Italy. They had better take what they can get and figure they're lucky to be around to get it.

J.D.M.

0428

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

785015

J.T. D.M.
BELL
Major Quarters 1

Saturday, December 16, 1944

224/88

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J.D.M.

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

785015

BUCK SLIP

DATE

FEB 1 1945

31 1/45

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED COMMISSION
FINANCE SUB-COMMISSION

From	To
☒ Col. A. P. Graffey-Smith	
Comdr. J. J. Lawler, USCGR	
Col. H. G. Crawshaw	
Lt-Col. J. H. Penick	
Lt-Col. P. D. Banning	
Lt-Col. E. P. Waters	
Lt-Col. A. J. Baxter	
Major B. E. L. Timmons	
Major J. Osmon	
Major E. J. Gits	
Major W. E. Price	
Major J. R. H. Hall	
Major M. M. Daugherty	
Capt. G. H. Tipping	
Property Control Division	
SSM Angibault	
Major Quayle	
Office of the Comm	☒
Economic Section	
Message Centre	

FOR:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Recommendations & Remarks | Necessary Action and return |
| ☒ Information & Retention | Perusal & Return |
| Approval or Disapproval | Filing |
| Investigation & Report | Despatch |
| | Necessary Action and retention |

REMARKS

A. C. - Gen. 1945

Translation

Constitutional Democratic Party

Rome, Piazza Esquilino, 2

27 November 1944

To Commodore Henry Stone
A.C. - H. O. M. U.

I enclose the program of the Constitutional Democratic Party; its long period of existence is linked with many demonstrations of consideration for the United Nations, England, America, France and Russia; I also enclose the account of the General Assembly, which is very important because of the demonstrations - on September 17th, 1944 - made by the General Assembly of the Party, for the approval of the said program.

We are asking for justice: we have been added to the six parties which, improvised and self-appointed, formed the so-called Italian Government.

Yours truly,

THE PRESIDENT
(Dr. Dr. Alberto Savoni)

Dr. Alberto Savoni

Trans. H.O.

(2)

2710

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

785015

A

Vol: 289

29 November 44.

Ref : 6502/12/003

SUBJECT : Constitutional Democratic Party.

TO : Political Section.

2. Attached letter of 27 November 44 from the Constitutional Democratic Party, with enclosed program, is passed for information and retention on your file.

Chief Staff Officer,
to the Chief of Staff.

Copy to: SC to Chief Commissioner.

(2)

FILES A

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0433

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

785015

INCOMING MESSAGE

HEADQUARTERS ALLIED COMMISSION

CA Sec

Originator's Reference:
 Date/Time of Origin: NOV 291310A

Message Centre No: C/2489
 Date Time Rec'd: DEC 011953A
 Precedence: ROUTINE

FROM: PALERMO

TO: COMMODORO STONE CAPO COMMISSIONE ALLEATA ROMA.

2 DEC. 1944

IN CLEAR.

National Union of Antifascists composed of 100 sections in all liberated ITALY calls for intervention of Allied Commission so that new Italian Govt might be constituted in conformity with Armistice and composed of qualified men, never inscribed in the Fascist Party.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE,
 CLE LOGIUDICE

ACTION

Dist

Action - CA Sec
 Info - SO to Chief Commissioner
 C o S
 Chief Commissioner
 Political Section
 File (2)
 Float

At/C/Note.

This is translation of cable
 received through Italian Signal Section.

5290

Copies were sent per C.C.'s instructions
 to Mr Kish & Sir Noel Charles.

①

Q.

HEADQUARTERS
 2 DEC 1944
 A. C.

CIVIL AFFAIRS SECTION

MINUTE SHEET

File :

SUBJECT : New States Gov.

No Date To

1. 2 Dec 44. Portland Sec. ✓

Although Message Center has sent
Action copy of the attachment to
this Section.

It must be yours if any action
is required.

G. P. Gifford
ad.

2 Dec. 5 S.D. to C.C.

I am in need of it

H. H.
Pol Sec. Dec. 3.

224/CC

2754

FILES A

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