

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

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BARI CONGRESS
JAN., FEB. 1944

CONFIDENTIAL

HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
Public Safety Sub-Commission
APO. 394.

2 February, 1944.

ACC/114063/PS

Subject : Bari Congress.

To : Vice President.
Administrative Section.

1. Herewith report, in duplicate, with enclosures, submitted by Capt. Bonnie and Lt. Mastroianni, who, pursuant to instructions, were present in BARI during the Session of the Congress of Committees of Liberation.

PAUL C. HIRE
Colonel, Infantry.
Chief.
Public Safety
Sub-Commission.

Enclosures: (12)

- (1) Report by Capt. Bonnie & Lt. Mastroianni dated 2 February, 1944.
- (2) P.W.B. Report - 28 January, 1944 (UNN 55)
- (3) P.W.B. History of Bari Congress to 25 January (UNN 28)
- (4) P.W.B. Report re Demonstrations (UNN 38)
- (5) P.W.B. Report - Senator Croce's Congressional Speech. (UNN 34)
- (6) P.W.B. Report - 29 January, 1944 (UNN 21)
- (7) P.W.B. Report - Sforza Speech Excerpts (UNN 41)
- (8) P.W.B. Report - 27 January, 1944 (UNN 9)
- (9) "L'Unita" edition of 28 January, 1944.
- (10) "La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno" edition of 28 January, 1944.
- (11) " " " " " 29 January, 1944.
- (12) " " " " " 30 January, 1944.
- (13) Letter of 20 Jan 44 from Reg. III forward comm. from Mr. Langa of OSS.

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HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
Public Safety Sub-Commission
APO. 39h.

MR.

2 February, 1944.

SUBJECT : Bari Congress.

TO : Chief, Public Safety Sub-Commission.

In accordance with instructions, we visited BARI in connection with the Congress of Committees of Liberation, and arrived in the town at 1515 hrs on Friday, 27 January, 1944. We found that a square in the centre of the town was closed to vehicular traffic, with "no entry" boards and British Military Policemen at the end of each street leading to the square, and groups of Italian soldiers in the square and surrounding roads.

We made enquiries and discovered that the congress had opened that morning at the Teatro Comunale Piccinni and that, so far, there had been no public demonstration or attempt at a demonstration. The text of an inaugural speech by Senator Croce was on sale in pamphlet form in the streets.

The same afternoon we contacted Major Mattei, C.S.C.II I(b), H.Q. No. 2 District, and discussed the Congress with him. He said that the Italian Government was very perturbed regarding the possible outcome of the meeting, and had made many approaches to the Allied Military Authorities ostensibly with a view to quashing the arrangements; furthermore, they had repeatedly expressed the view that trouble would ensue, and that demonstrations would take place (it will be seen from the attached copies of P.W.B. reports that the Congress had given an undertaking to the Allied Military Authorities that such would not be the case), but Major Mattei viewed the whole situation with complete calm and expressed the view that the meeting was completely harmless, and a useful means of releasing pent-up emotions and an airing of views, and that whatever resolutions were passed (and he anticipated that a demand for the abdication of the King would be one of them), they could not, in any way, have any serious political significance at the present stage of development of the situation. We made arrangements to keep in touch with Major Mattei as he informed us that P.W.B. had a man covering the meeting and we would be receiving reports from them.

We found that the full details of the conference, speeches, resolutions, greetings, etc., were being published daily in "la Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno" and copies of this newspaper for the dates covering the conference are submitted herewith.

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The general tone of the meeting can be gathered from the final phase when an executive committee (consisting of Prof. Arangio-Ruiz, of the University of Naples, for the Liberal Party; Vincenzo Galace for the Action Party; Raffaele Jervolino for the Christian Democrats; Paolo Tedeschi for the Communists, and Francesco Chatana for the Labour Democrats) was elected and charged with finding the means of establishing a national government which will include representatives of all the six parties participating in the congress. The text for the final resolution, which was unanimously adopted (see P.W.B. report UNH.21 attached hereto) called for the immediate resignation of the King; expressed the need to form a government from the parties represented at the conference which would have as its first task the intensification of the war effort; attempts at a solution of the most urgent problems of Italian life, and the preparation for the holding of a constituent assembly as soon as hostilities cease. This final resolution was signed by Michele di Pietra for the Liberals; Angelico Venuti for the Christian Democrats; Andrea Gallo for the Labour Democrats; Adolfo Omodeo for the Party of Action; Luigi Sansone for the Socialists, and Paolo Tedeschi for the Communists.

As a matter of interest, a copy of "L'Unione", a Royalist paper, (which was on sale in the streets) is submitted. It will be seen that this paper bitterly attacks the Congress and the participants therein and accuses them of attempting to substitute one form of Fascism for another.

The gist and substance of the matters dealt with by the Congress are shown in the copies of P.W.B. reports, and full translations of the newspapers have not therefore been made; this will be done if considered necessary.

From our personal observation, there was no attempt at public demonstration during the time the conference was in progress, and the people apparently were apathetic and practically without interest in the meeting. Lt. Mastrolanni consulted friends in the town and gathered that the general feeling is that for the time being, any way, policy and political matters generally will be determined by the Allies and the people generally are content that this should be so.

W. RONNIE
Captain.

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ORRIZONTE G. A. MASTROLANNI
1st Lt.

W. Ronnie G. A. Mastrolanni
2.1.44

BARI CONGRESS

UNN 21 - 1/29

BARI, Jan. 29th (FAP) - The Bari congress adjourned today (Saturday) after electing an executive committee charged with finding the means of establishing a national government which will include representatives of all the six parties which participated in the congress.

At the suggestion of Count Carlo Sforza, former Italian foreign minister and a dominant figure at the congress, representatives of the parties were to meet later today to draft a statement to the Allied authorities the cancellation of previous arrangements to broadcast the full proceedings of the congress over Radio Bari. The executive committee chosen today is comprised of the following: For the Liberal Party, Prof. Arancio Ruiz of the University of Naples; for the Action Party, Vincenzo Calascia; for the Christian Democrats, Raffaele Ferrvoline; for the Communists, Paolo Tedeschi; for the Labor Democrats (a party which is local to the Bari region) Francisco Carabeni. The Sturalista were to choose their representative later. They indicated it would be Dr. Ernesto Lombardi, a Rome Socialist leader who recently escaped through the German lines and brought greetings to the congress from the Central Committee of Liberation in Rome.

The vote on the program adopted by the congress was unanimous save for the abstention from voting by two delegates from Sardinia, who said they personally favored the program but had been instructed not to participate in any action against the King. The program adopted today calls for the King's abdication. The closing speech was made by Count Sforza, who was frequently interrupted by fervent applause and cries of "Bravo".

The program adopted today was considerably more moderate than that proposed yesterday by the Action, Socialist and Communist Parties, which called for

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the congress (constitute itself into a Parliament for Liberated Italy, and to draw up an indictment against the king for alleged violations of Italian statutes.

Here is the text for the "order of the day" which was unanimously adopted, with two delegates from Sardinia abstaining from voting:- "The congress, having listened to the report presented by Arancio Ruiz on the interior situation and having approved it; believing that the present condition of the country does not allow immediate solution of the institutional question and that the unquestionable premise of the moral and material reconstruction of Italy is the immediate resignation of the king, who is responsible for all the misfortunes of the country; that this congress is the real and unique expression of the will and strength of the nation and has therefore the right and the duty of proclaiming this necessity on behalf of the whole of the Italian people, declares: The necessity of reaching the formation of a government endowed with the full powers that this exceptional time demands, formed with the participation of all the parties represented in the congress. This government must have as its first task to intensify the war effort to the utmost, to carry forward to solution the most urgent problems of Italian life with the support of the mass of the people for whose welfare it intends to work, and to prepare with the guarantees of impartiality and freedom the holding of a constituent assembly as soon as hostilities cease.

"The congress decides to form a permanent executive committee to which must be appointed representatives elected by the parties participating in the committee of National liberation and keeping in touch with the political personalities who are recognized as the high expression of anti-fascism, shall prepare the necessary conditions for the attainment of the aforesaid aims".

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SFORZA SPEECH EXCERPTS

UNN 41 - 1/29

BARI, Jan 29th (PVB): Here are excerpts from Count Carlo Sforza's speech which closed the Bari congress today:

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

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

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

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

Don't let us speak about the dead I will not speak long about the Brindisi government. You know what has happened yesterday and today. Brindisi men should _____ established in Brindisi a consultative assembly composed of people who always opposed the Fascist policy. Supported by it, the government could address the Allies with much more authority, saying: 'The country is with us. For this purpose let me recall to you that De Gaulle has established in Algiers a consultative assembly which has given him the grounds, to obtain recognition as the only representative of France by the western powers. But the Brindisi government could not this because, just the same as Fascism it can tolerate anything but free criticism.

Another reason is that if it had composed assembly with anti-Fascist people the largest part of the present officials of the Brindisi government could not participate in the assembly. It is not for hate that we want the elimination of the King and those like him who are no morally far from us. It is because they have become the symbol of the Fascist idea. After having eliminated them we can forgive the innumerable Fascists who committed this sin because of cowardice, ignorance or light-headedness.

Those who are really responsible for Fascism are such Kings of rubber, chemicals, steel, who though well acquainted with the horrors of Fascism did not hesitate to sell the whole of Italy to it to protect their own interests. After punishing those chiefly responsible we may also forgive with all our heart the millions of poor devils who adhered to Fascism in good faith.

The purge of the supreme guilty will allow us to attend the peace conference with clear conscience. I say to the King, how do you not understand that every day more you remain clinging to your throne you make more and more difficult for us Italians to demonstrate that we are a new and real Italy and that we have no responsibility for the errors and crimes of the past. If you remain longer on the throne, when at the peace conference we rise to defend the sacred borders of the fatherland and our old and honored colonies (not the fruits of the Ethiopian and Albanian adventures) some foreign diplomat could reply, "You were not even able to get rid of the King. He act only for Italy's sake, and for those institutions like the Army and the Navy whose honor is very dear to us. If we attend the peace conference with a new face, without traitors or oath-breakers in our ranks, we will be able to save what may be saved of Italy. The world knows it is a necessity _____ people remain with reasons for hate towards other peoples. It is necessary for peace that a new union of Italy to Germany is made impossible forever. The Italian people is for every collaboration and even for fair sacrifice, but on condition that the decisions are taken not on the grounds of Italian aspects of the European problems, not in a spirit of mere nationalism or local patriotism but in a spirit of internationalism and of feeling that above the fatherland there is a superior fatherland.

With these feelings we may again obtain international respect and the right to cooperation with other countries. We will soon heal the wounds of our country once we have reconquered our honor. You have established this morning the first steps to be taken for carrying out this basic condition. The Italy of tomorrow must be worthy of the thought of Mazzini and Cavour and of the martyrs suffered for her by the heroes of anti-Fascism, such as Don Minzoni, Amendoli, Matteotti and Gramsci.

The names of these martyrs make still more sacred our duty. The thought of these martyrs makes Italy still dearer to us.

We love Italy, and we want it eternal and immortal. Therefore, we must be uncompromising on matters regarding national honor.

BARI CONGRESS

USN/9 1.27

BARI Jan. 27 PAB - From all over Italy, occupied as well as liberated delegates of the five major liberation front parties were arriving in Bari today for their Congress which opens tomorrow - the first formal convocation of free men in Italy since the Fascist regime blotted out all freedoms 22 years ago.

The congress will open in an atmosphere of considerable tension, as the result of what the congress leaders charge is a series of systematic attempts by the present Italian government to "sabotage" the congress. They cite the following events in support of their charges:

The decree, on Jan. 25th, by the prefect of Bari - a government appointed forbidding the entry into the city of travelers from Naples by train or car unless they were provided with a health certificate. In the absence of such a certificate the travelers would be subjected to quarantine and prophylactic measures."

The action of General Gazzera, whom the government has given full powers over the province, in ordering troops to the city although the congress leaders, at the request of Allied authorities, had agreed to abstain from any public demonstrations.

The attempt of General Gazzera to place restrictions on the length and attendance of the congress, in violation of his previous agreement with Allied authorities not to interfere. The attempt of the liberal Democratic Party, which strongly supports the Badoglio Government, to hold a rival congress at the same time as the other five parties. This was forbidden by Allied authorities as being likely to provoke trouble. The liberal Democratic Party, which held a congress on Jan. 5th that was attended by 300 persons and addressed by four undersecretaries of the Badoglio Government was told that it could hold any meeting it desired subsequent to the present congress.

The holding at Taranto, on Jan. 25th, of a war veterans' congress, which praised the king and Badoglio Government and deprecated the Bari Congress. In today's Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno, Giuseppe Papalis and Lieut. Col. Domenico Rosierpi, leaders of the Bari veterans' organization, charge that the Taranto congress was not representative of any one save appointees of the Badoglio Government. The Bari socialist leader, Eugenio Laricchiuta, also charged that special trains were made available to take the delegates from Brindisi, the seat of the government, to Taranto.

The Bari veterans' leaders also charged that the Taranto meeting recognized one Ingegnere Marano as the Bari "delegate" although the Bari veterans abstained from participating in the congress.

Two leaders of the Italian liberation front, Benedetto Croce and Count Carlo Eforza, arrived in Bari today. They will make the principal addresses at tomorrow's congress.

Another arrival was Dr. Ernesto Longobardi, a leader of the National Liberation Committee in Rome, who got through the German lines several days ago. He brought a number of documents and messages to the congress from the underground committee in the capital. Dr. Longobardi said the Rome committee is well prepared to act in support of the Allied at the proper moment. The Bari liberal Party leader, Dr. Laterza, reported that the underground movement in

Rome has already formed a republican government ready to seize power when

the Allied enter the city.

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CROCE'S CONGRESSIONAL SPEECH

UNR 34 1/23

BERI, JAN. 28th (FEB) As the five parties of the Italian Liberation Front gathered in Bari today for the first congress of free men since Fascism came to Italy, the principal address was delivered by Benedetto Croce, Italy's venerable philosopher and historian.

Here are excerpts from his speech:

"This is a political meeting...but politics is only a side, not the whole of man. Were we acting politically when we felt our heart beating with the Spanish Republicans fighting for their liberty while Fascism was sending against them Italian arms and men?.. Or when our spontaneous sympathy was moving towards a far off country, towards the Chinese, striving to defend themselves against Japan? Or again when we were overcome with indignation and pain for the slandering of the Czechs, and meanwhile the leader of Fascism had moved to Munich to help in that deed his German accomplice? Or when in the following year after the outbreak of war, while Italy was not taking part in it and remained in a kind of suspense, we felt already, under an illusion of hope and even of confidence, to be allied with France and England, and suffered all the tragedy of the horrors that were falling on Poland and then on betrayed Norway, on Holland ensnared and overcome, on Belgium in vain raised in arms, finally on invaded France, on that France which was such a part in our life, not morally in our civil but I dare say in our personal life?

What a day of sorrow and shame to us was the day when the leader of Fascism, helped and followed by the king who had granted him the choice between war and peace, and the command of the Italian forces on land and sea, declared war on England and France.

"So, though we took great care not to utter a word that could discourage our soldiers, though we exhorted them, when they turned to us wishing to know our opinion, in our minds we anxiously started in search of a really better future for Italy, not visualizing it in the military successes of the so-called Axis, but in the slow and painful progress of England's fortunes, and then of Russia's and America's. The Allied powers were promising us that which the Axis had taken from us: liberty, and with it, the elimination of Fascism and Nazism from the world.

"Even among the air incursions and the ruin of our houses and our monuments and the human victims, though we felt the pignancy of our pain our right judgment was not shaken, and we could accept what was happening as a dire necessity.

"A link, therefore, has been woven between us and the Allied powers, a link different from and superior to that of political treaties, of armistices of surrenders, for it lays in a promise of a moral and religious character, religiously received by us. We well know that this time will not happen that which happened at other times in the history of Italy, when, after having exhorted the peoples of Italy to shake the Napoleonic domination and to vindicate liberty and independence, the winning powers reconsigned them to the old abhorred regimes. This time our lot is firmly connected with that of the whole world and of human civilization.

"I, who see Americans and Englishmen spending their energy for the sake of our country, giving continuous proofs of their best will and constantly showing us their friendly and cordial feelings, find it hard to remember

that they are the victors and we the vanquished, but consider them as collaborators in a common work.

But to our friends one must tell the truth, which in fact can only be told to friends that about the question which, before any other we are anxious to solve, our friends are acting politically, in a unilateral and narrow-minded way. This action seems to induce them to dally or to delay the full accomplishment of their promise, the radical extirpation of Fascism from Italy, a sanitary operation which it is impossible to execute if first, the surviving representatives of Fascism in Italy is not removed: all of you know whom, unfortunately, I have in mind. I say unfortunately because to me, and perhaps to other among you, the fallen confidence in the person of a sovereign of the dynasty that made the cause of the Italian Restoration her own, and has ruled over us in the first 60 years of our national unity, is a misfortune, an irreparable misfortune, one of the numberless destructions perpetrated by destructive fascism.

"I do not care to investigate the various motives that may appear united in this political attitude of the Allies. I limit myself only to hint for I found it on the lips of Americans, English and French alike--at a certain tendency of a misunderstanding political conservatism which induces some diffidence against liberalism and democracy, a tendency which seems already to have manifested itself, at least during the first moments of the occupation of French North Africa, by retaining in power persons of a fascist character and preferring them to liberals and democrats. I don't know whether this tendency, is still instrumental in keeping the present king in power in Italy. In any case this seems to me a secondary motive compared to another which is more patent and could be thus formulated.

"For the moment do not let us move things that are quiet, and let us solely attend to the fight against the Germans."

"The substantial point is, that what looks to the Allies as something secondary, and for the moment negligible or adjournable, for us Italians is the center of our vitality and the foundation of our future. If the question is not solved it will prevent us from taking in the war against the Germans the share that we would be able and willing to take. For the fallen prestige of the king and the diffidence spreading against him prevent the king himself from collecting Italian who would fight the Germans, so much so that, afraid of an adverse spirit, he has forbidden levies of volunteers. How many and how painfully I have seen them come they saw nobody was accepting them and dared to make them fight, disappointed and dispersed. While the person of the present king is at the head of the state, we feel that Fascism is not at an end, that it is still tied to us, that it continues to gnaw at us and unnerve us, that it will spring up again more or less disguised, and, in short, that in these conditions we cannot breathe nor live.

"Nor is it possible for us to have a government which be sane and sound. The king cannot form a cabinet for the men endowed with experience and reputation refuse to take the oath with him, and fear from him and the people around him ^{and} he has therefore had recourse to a collection of half ministers, undersecretaries of non-existing ministers destitute of all authority.

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"This means that the Italian state administration, once well disciplined and in a general way honest and capable, corrupted, since and polluted by Fascism, is getting always worse and faces collapse, failing to receive directions and orders, and to receive a sound support. On this point the too-fearing conservatives should meditate, that the most appropriate way to direct multitudes towards anarchy and the most terrible revolutions is the disintegration of the political government and the state administration.

"For what has happened in the world the responsibility is common to everyone, with this sole difference, that if the other peoples, now allied, were fools, the Fascists were criminals. But we have not been either criminals or fools, for we foresaw the evil towards which that regime was moving and we said and repeated warningly that it would end in a national disaster. And being neither criminals nor fools, we trust that our word, which is a word of exact truth, will be heard and understood by the Allied Nations. Italy is the first land of Europe going to be freed from Fascism and Nazism and from the German invaders. To the political shape she will take the peoples of the other European countries will look as an example of their life. Let us hope that this shape will be solidly framed on the most complete and decided liberal pattern, with no danger of residue or provisional adaptation of outspoken or disguised dictatorship, and that liberty will stand to provide, as she alone can, for true social conservations, which is inseparable from a continuous social progress. The Italians by the severe lessons of experience have well learned, and perhaps other peoples are still to learn completely, that the dictatorial regimes, however they be called and in whatever disguise they present themselves, are not conservators of a social order, as they try to make frightened and unthinking people believe but are impoverishing the social forces, by fostering incapacity and indifference, are producers of feariness and of intimate disorder, and provokers, they more than anything else, of revolutions. In restoring an Italy, a Europe, better knowing and more sincerely liberal than in the past, the peoples who have never lost the fundamental liberal institutions will purify and invigorate their faith in them, of which there is nowadays, for the safety of the whole world, a general need."

End of Speech.

Miller --- Bari Congress -- January 28, 1944

REPORT ON BARI CONGRESS

UNN 55

BARI, Jan 28 -- PWB -- The Action, Socialist and Communist Parties -- a majority of the five Liberation Front parties comprising the congress at Bari -- united today in proposing that the present congress proclaim itself the Italian Parliament and draw up an indictment of the king for his alleged violations of the Italian laws.

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

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

Earlier the congress adopted, with minor modifications, telegrams of greetings which Count Carlo Sforza, former Italian foreign minister, proposed the congress send to the Congress of the United States, the British House of Commons, the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet, Marshal Chang-kai-shek, Gen. Charles De Gaulle, and the peoples of Greece and Yugoslavia, countries invaded by Mussolini's armies.

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1st ad Berl congress -- 1/28/45

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

Following is the text of the proposal by the Action, Socialist and Communist Parties:

"The Italian people, particularly the people of the German-occupied territory, expect from the congress definite and basic action. The Action, Socialist and Communist Parties, acting as interpreters of the unanimous wish of the Italian people, affirm that the failure to form a national democratic government rests solely with the king and the Badoglio government, and propose that the congress adopt the following deliberations

"First, since neither after the 25th of July nor the Armistice nor after the declaration of war against the Germans the requested and expected abdication of King Victor Emmanuel III took place, to draw up a bill of indictment against the king based on all the violations of the statutes which he has committed ..

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

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

"Third, in the meantime, and until the liberation of Rome, to appoint an executive committee for liberated Italy which :

I. Carries out all the necessary acts to attain the aims

second anti-fascist congress -- 1/28/44

expressed in (b) and (c) of the previous article.

II. Represents the Italian people in their relations with the United Nations.

III. Carries out, on the basis of mass action to be immediately promoted in forms which the Executive Committee itself will decide, the legal foundation of the congress and the verification of its powers.

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

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

To Marshal Chiang-kai-shek: "The first Italian assembly to meet after twenty years of Fascist tyranny expresses to the Chinese people the admiration of the Italian people for China's heroic struggle against the Japanese invasion. Victor Emmanuel and Mussolini betrayed Italy and its noblest traditions when they made an alliance with feudal and militaristic Japan. The horrible Japanese cruelty in China has been as infamous as the German cruelty in Italy. The memory of our common suffering will be, we trust, a new bond of union between our two peoples, representing the two most ancient civilizations in the world."

To The American Congress: "The first free assembly of southern Italy, the islands and patriots from occupied Italy, representatives of all the anti-Fascist parties, salute the great American democracy in its supreme expression, its Congress."

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third add bari congress -- 1/28/44

We want to fight at the side of the Allied Allies for the liberation of Italy, and we desire also the reconstruction in our country of strong democratic institutions assuring the Four Freedoms, which are the supreme glory of America. Fascism is not dead, it is still entrenched in positions of power. We have confidence in the support of the United States for the final destruction of that danger which is not only Italian, not only European, but world-wide."

To the British House of Commons: "The first free assembly of southern Italy, the islands and patriots from the interior sends its fraternal greetings to the glorious, ancient British Parliament, champion of justice and of liberty in England and in the world. Having set to speed the liberation of Italy from the Germans, the Fascists and their poorly disguised accomplices, our wish is to cooperate with the Allies in the war and the reconstruction of Europe. But to do this, Italy must be guided by a government which has a claim to the confidence of the people, cleansed of every contact with Fascism and of its infamous wars. The assembly has confidence in the sympathy of the British parliament for the efficient reorganization of an Italian democracy that will be an element for security and progress in a pacified and liberated Europe."

To General De Gaulle: "Admiring the discipline, the cordial correctness and the courage of the French troops fighting in Italy against the Germans, regarding with horror the infamous war launched against you by Victor Emmanuel and his Mussolini, the first free Italian Assembly meeting after twenty years of Fascist silence expresses the ardent desire of the liberated Italian people to see created on unbreakable foundations fruitful collaboration between the two Latin peoples for peace, liberty and the democratic organization of Europe. "

more

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fourth add bari congress -- 1.28.44

To Soviet Union: "The first free assembly of southern Italy and the Islands and of the patriots from the whole of occupied Italy meeting after twenty years of Fascist tyranny, expresses to you and to your heroic people the admiration of the Italians for your victories against the German invader. The circumstances that the Nazis have accomplished in Russia the same horrible atrocities as Victor Emmanuel and his Mussolini to send Italian soldiers to fight in Russia against the real lasting interests of Italy. Such a crime will take place no more. We all wish a fruitful friendship between Italy and you for the sake of European peace and international cooperation among all free peoples."

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

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

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fifth add bari congress -- 1/28/44

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

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

"The Committees of Liberation in Occupied Italy are engaged with all their strengths in the struggle against the invader-- whom we must drive outside the Brenner-- and against its Fascist servants. The heroic guerrillas of the patriots, the large worker strikes in the north, the conspiracies and daily actions of the anti-Fascist parties are demonstrations of the indomitable fighting will of the Italian people. The martyrs of Savona, Brescia, Milan, Rome, Ferrara and as many other places of Italy, the thousands of patriots imprisoned by Germans, the valiant pride with which freedom's volunteers face the Nazi and Fascist firing squads, the resistance to bans and mobilizations, evidence the fighting will of new Italy. In this fight the government is not participating; the government which, after the king's flight from Rome was not able to organize the effective participation of the nation in the war, nor has contributed resistance in occupied Italy. This government must disappear.

"The positions you assumed, and that which was taken by our central committee for the appointment of an extraordinary government

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sixth add b congress - 1.28/41

of National Liberation, assuming all the constitutional powers of the state without putting on national peril national concord, and without prejudice for the free expression of the popular will on the institutional form, represent the basic conditions to enable Italy to wage the war until victory with the necessary strength, and to insure her own future.

"The Central Committee of National Liberation relies on the decisions of the congress in Bari to make it possible to intensify the mobilisation of all the energies in Southern Italy and the Islands, and to carry out all the initiatives which can help and increase the struggle in occupied Italy. "

REPORT OF THE BARI CONGRESS TO 25 JANUARY

UNN 28. 1/26

Bari 26th January. (PWB)

On the 17th December 1943 the Congress of the Italian political parties which was due to be held in Naples was forbidden by the Allied Military Government on the ground that Naples was too near the enemy lines. Allied Headquarters subsequently gave permission to hold the Congress a month later in any other town. Bari was selected.

Because wild rumours of impending violence were circulating in Bari, PWB approached the organising committee who at once agreed to abstain from any public demonstration, either at the opening or close of the Congress. On January 20th General Gazzera arrived in Bari with full powers over the province and he immediately began to order troops towards the city. On January 22nd the GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO published the decision of the Congress to abstain from any public demonstration.

On January 23rd the GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO published a declaration by Brigadier Palmer, welcoming the Congress and their decision not to use their right to a public demonstration, and announcing his determination to stop any disorder, from whichever quarter it might arise.

On January 23rd the editors of IDEAL LIBERALE wished to publish the announcement that the Demo-liberal Party would hold a counter-congress of 90 anti-fascist liberals, also to take place on January 28th. The PWB Press Chief, after consulting the local Military Authorities, informed the editor of IDEAL LIBERALE that in the interests of public order the counter-congress could not be held on the date mentioned and the announcement was not printed.

It should be noted that the Demo-liberal Party had already, on January 5th held a Congress attended by over 300 persons and addressed by four Under-Secretaries of the Badoglio Government.

On January 24th an agreement was reached between the Chief of Staff of General Gazzera and the local Allied Military Command regarding the mechanism to be used for control of admission to the Congress building, traffic control etc.

The organizers of the Congress were advised of the terms of the agreement and accepted them in toto.

On January 25th the "questore" informed the organizers of the dispositions ordered by General Gazzera. These were not in agreement with the arrangements made on January 24th and were rejected by the organizers.

On January 25th the Prefect of Bari, li Voti, published in the GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO an ordinance forbidding the entry into the city of travellers from Naples by train or car, unless they were provided with a health certificate. In the absence of such a certificate, the travellers would be subjected to quarantine and prophylactic measures.

URN/38 1/24 NO PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS PERMITTED DURING CONGRESS

Bari, Jan. 24 (PMB) - Allied Military authorities have notified the public that, in the interests of preserving freedom of speech, no public demonstrations will be permitted during the forthcoming anti-fascist Congress meeting here Jan. 26.

The Allied order, issued here yesterday by Brig. G. V. Palmer, commander of VI Base Sub-area, re enforces a pledge against public manifestations already made by leaders of the five parties that will participate in the Congress of provincial Committees of National Liberation.

The text of Brig. Palmer's order follows:

"In my capacity as military commandant at Bari, and in that capacity responsible to the Allied authorities for the maintenance of public order, I desire to make it clear that, while the holding in Bari of the meeting of the National Committee of Liberation is a demonstration of one of the four freedoms toward which the Allies are aiming--Freedom of Speech -- I am very pleased to learn of the declarations of the party leaders not to authorize any public manifestations during the period of the Congress, which must be free to carry out its deliberations without being disturbed.

"I do not foresee any disorder, but it is my duty to warn any ill-intentioned persons who might try to foment disorder, that the Allied authorities will give their complete support to the maintenance of order, and that no demonstrations whatsoever will be allowed -- regardless of the nationality or party involved."

(Signed) G.V. Palmer, Brig. VI Base Sub Area.

SECRET

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

20 January 1944.

MEMORANDUM

TO : Headquarters, ACC
Provincial Bldg.

1. Attached is a communication from Mr. Lanza of OSS.
2. Since this communication has to do with propaganda activities of Fascists alleged to have convened at Bari from various parts of Italy, it was felt by this Headquarters that it would be of interest to your headquarters.

WILLIAM A. S. DOLLARD
Captain, A. U. S.
Adm. Officer.

SECRET

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S E C R E T

Tel: 11.294

SPECIAL DETACHMENT C-2 X-2 BR

Naples, 19 Jan. '44.

TO : Col. Hume
 TO : Lt. Col. Timony
 FROM : Lanza
 SUBJECT: FASCIST "GERARCHI" AT THE SERVICE OF THE BADOLIO GOVERNMENT.

Attention should be given to the propaganda activities of a number of high ranking Fascists who have convened to Bari from various parts of Italy. They are giving their support to the Badoglio Government and to the King. Listed below are a few of them:

Among the Army officers:
FORTINATO VICARI, from Ravenna, once "Federale" of Parma and of Ancona, where he persecuted without pity the Jews. He was, until July 25, 1943, prefect of Potenza. He is now a Lt. Col. in the Italian Army with Headquarters in Bari, but he travels quite frequently. In Bari he is often seen in the company of an. Philipson (Jewish). In Naples he is in contact with Comm. Filippo Naldi.

IRFOLFO, once "Federale" of Milan, and most unpopular in that city. He is now a Capt. in the Italian Army, stationed in Bari.

CARLO BARSTRA DI MATTEOLA, once "Federale" of Avellino, volunteer on the Fascist side in the Spanish war, special envoy of the Partito Nazionale Fascista to the Ustachi at Zagreb. He is now a Lt. Col. Bersaglieri, and wears the Savoy insignia. With a few armed men of his regiment, he has recently threatened Avv. Dorso of Avellino, who had published in the newspaper "Irronia libera" an article against the King.

ADAMBERTO MARIANO, once prefect of Taranto, Mussolini's trusted friend. He took part in the polar expedition (l'Italia) of Gen. Nobile. He has now been promoted to an Admiralty, and commands with the Duke of Aosta the Harbor of Taranto.

ELACCA CARRETO, once "vice-Federale" of Reggio Calabria, squadrista, marcia su Roma. He is now in Naples at the Command of antiaircraft for the Italian Navy. He distributes propaganda leaflets in favour of the King.

Among the civilians.

MAX PUGNANI, squadrista from Bologna, Consul of the Militia for many years a member of the Commission for confinement of Bologna. He has always been a henchman of Farinacci. Now in Bari.

FERRUCCIO FERRONI, from Pesaro, squadrista, Now in Bari (alias: Gasperini)

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