

Da "Time", 24 maggio 1943

Foreign News: Where is Signor X?

Almost 21 years of Fascism has taught Benito Mussolini to be shrewd as well as ruthless. Last week he toughened the will of his people to fight, by appeals to their patriotism, and by propaganda which made the most of their fierce resentment of British and U.S. bombings. He also sought to reduce the small number of Italians who might try to cut his throat by independent deals with the Allies.

The military conquest of Italy may be no easy task. After the Duce finished his week's activities, political warfare against Italy looked just as difficult, and it was hard to find an alternative to Mussolini for peace or postwar negotiations.

No Dorlans. The Duce began by ticking off King Vittorio Emanuele, presumably as insurance against the unlikely prospect that the sour-faced little monarch decides either to abdicate or convert his House of Savoy into a bargain basement for peace terms. Mussolini pointedly recalled a decree of May 10, 1936, which elevated him to rank jointly with the King as "first marshal of Italy." Thus the King (constitutionally Commander in Chief of all armed forces) can legally make overtures to the Allies only with the consent and participation of the Duce.

Italy has six other marshals. Mussolini last week recalled five of them to active service.* Most of these men had been disgraced previously to cover up Italian defeats. Some of them have the backing of financial and industrial groups which might desert Mussolini if they could make a better deal. But on active duty, whether they like it or not, they must share with Mussolini the burdens and onus of final disaster. The five:

- Egg-bald, bocce-loving Marshal Pietro Badoglio, generally accounted Italy's best soldier, loyal supporter and honorary "cousin of the King." After taking the blame for the debacle in Greece, Badoglio was allowed to retire to his red-haired Russian mistress and his gaudy palace in Rome.
- Rough, tough Rodolfo Graziani, second Viceroy of Ethiopia, who was chased by Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell across Egypt and Libya during the winter campaign 1940-41.
- Marshal Enrico Caviglia, World War I hero of Vittorio Veneto, a spokesman for such industrialists as Count Volpi di Misurata.
- Stubby-legged, barrel-bellied Marshal Ugo Cavallero, who succeeded Badoglio in Greece, was dismissed after Tripoli fell. Before the war he accumulated a fortune while he was Under Secretary in the War Ministry.
- Aged (77) Marshal Emilio De Bono, a bumbler who was the first Army general to join Mussolini's "March on Rome." He was head of Government police when Italy's socialist martyr, Giacomo Matteotti, was murdered just 19 years ago.

Feeble Alternatives. Only a few non-Fascist political figures, liberal or conservative, have survived Mussolini's more than 20 years of one-man rule. Among the few in Italy are Vittorio Orlando and Ivanoe Bonomi, both pre-Mussolini premiers; bearded Count Dino Grandi, onetime Ambassador to London, and intellectual Giuseppe Bottai, former Minister of Education. All are ineffective and out of touch with the Italian people.

In Italian jails are probably 30,000 political prisoners, including impassioned Pietro Nenni and Cipriano Facchinetti, who were picked up recently in France and returned to Italy. Both have a popular following in northern Italy at the moment, but they are as useless to the Allies as are Italy's underground leaders, or Italians outside the homeland.

There are two leading "Free Italy" spokesmen in the U.S.: scholarly Count Carlo Sforza and fiery, crusading Don Luigi Sturzo. Sturzo represents the remnants of the outlawed Christian Popular Party. Sforza, Italian Foreign Minister after the Treaty of Versailles, is more widely known. But in the U.S. and at a conference in Montevideo Aug. 14-17, 1942, Sforza has failed to gain any mass following. Like other exiles concerned with Italy's future, he is unknown by the Fascist-born generation at home.

Anonymous underground leaders have made some surprising showings of strength (TIME, May 3). But they face difficulties: in decentralized and provincial Italy, their propaganda seldom spreads beyond their own localities; to date they have received little or no support from Allied propaganda. From one of the three main underground parties—Socialists, Liberal-Republicans, Communists—a Signor X might arise as a national leader. But he could show himself only after a successful Allied invasion.

*The other: General Giovanni Messe, who was made marshal after his surrender in Tunisia.

Da "Time", 2 agosto 1943

After Mussolini, Who?

When Italy follows Benito Mussolini out of the war:

> The Germans must choose between defending all of a hostile mainland, withdrawing to northern Italy, or withdrawing entirely into Germany itself.

> In either event, Adolf Hitler will be confronted with a true second front. German troops will face Allied troops at the very gates to Germany and to France.

> Southern Germany, now almost immune to air attack, will be within range of Allied bomber bases (see p. 40).

> Germany's defenses in southeastern Europe will be disrupted by the loss of the Italian Army. Italian troops, weak in battle, nevertheless do garrison duty in guerrilla-torn Yugoslavia, Greece and Crete. Algiers heard that Marshal Badoglio had ordered the withdrawal of 22 divisions from garrison duty. If this was true, the Germans will have to garrison these countries, or else abandon them. The German chances of holding the Balkans against their own heartened rebels, much less against invasion, will be lessened. Said A.P. Correspondent Wesley Gallagher, recently returned from Allied Headquarters in Algiers: "If Italy sues for peace, military moves will follow in the Balkans with lightning rapidity."

> If the Germans choose, they can pin down in Italy Allied planes and troops which otherwise would be free for further offensives. In any case, supplies for the Italians and occupying forces will take much Allied shipping.

Farewell, Fortress. The Swiss weekly *Weltwoche*, known for its authentic military information, said last week that the German idea of Fortress Europe was already dead. According to *Weltwoche*, even before Mussolini quit, the Germans had abandoned any hope of holding all the shores and lands of Axis Europe. Instead, they planned to turn Norway, Denmark and Belgium in the north, France in the west, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria and Crete in the south into rear-guard battlefields. As in Sicily, limited German forces would fight for those lands—not to hold them indefinitely, but to make invasion as slow and expensive as possible for the Allies. *Weltwoche* said that the Germans hoped only to hold an inner citadel—Germany itself, a part of Holland, and the eastern borderlands of the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary and Rumania.

If these were indeed the German plans they were plans of despair when they were conceived. Now, as never before, the Russians threaten the citadel from the east (see col. 2). The Allies move upon it, though slowly, by land and by air from the west and the south. In the end, inner Europe cannot be a citadel for the Germans. It can only be a trap.

Da "Time", 2 agosto 1943

ITALY: Duce (1922-43)

Over the Rome radio, at 11 p.m. of July 25, 1943, came 47 words:

The King has accepted the resignation from office of the Head of the Government, Prime Minister and State Secretary, tendered by His Excellency Cavaliere Benito Mussolini, and has appointed as Head of the Government, Prime Minister and State Secretary His Excellency Cavaliere Marshal of Italy Pietro Badoglio.

The crashing notes of Giovinezza did not end that evening's terse news. For the first time in more than two decades, the Fascist hymn was replaced by Italy's Marcia Reale.

The war had reached another of those points which Winston Churchill has called "climacterics."

Fifteen days after the Allied invasion of Sicily, three years and 45 days after the Italian hand stabbed its French neighbor in the back, three years, ten months and 24 days after the Nazi march into Poland, the Rome-Berlin Axis tottered, and Italy's 46,000,000 war-sick, word-sick, hungry people strained toward an exit from bombardment, bombast and blockade.

For the United Nations, heady over the mounting triumph on the battlefronts, this was the headiest political event yet. Now the war's end, distant though it might be, seemed a long stride nearer.

The First Operation. No longer was there a Duce. But more than 20 years of Fascist power and preachment could not be wiped out in a day. Mussolini, as much as any man, had planted the cancer that had spread beyond his homeland into Germany, Spain, Central Europe and the Balkans. The removal of the Italian dictator was, in a sense, preliminary surgery on the malignance still afflicting mankind.

In Mussolini's place stood no democrat. Aging (71), stiff-backed Martinet Pietro Badoglio had never been counted an extreme Fascist. When the Blackshirts were marching on Rome he looked on contemptuously, offered to clean them up. He had opposed Mussolini's war against Greece, had become the scapegoat for the abject Fascist failure there. He had sided with high Italians who resented the alliance with Hitler and the swelling Nazi arrogance in Italy. The camera's eye had once caught him, alone and defiant among a group of officers, declining to follow the Duce in the Fascist salute (see cut). Yet, since 1936, he had been a member of the Fascist Party. He had acted as the unofficial leader of its right wing. He had paid public tribute to the Duce, masterminded the Fascist victory in Spain, defeated the Ethiopians and accepted from a grateful Mussolini the title of Viceroy and Duke of Addis Ababa.

The Final Decrees. Now Pietro Badoglio accepted from his King the task of governing Italy. First Vittorio Emanuele proclaimed: "Italians! I take over . . . the command of all armed forces. . . ."

Then Pietro Badoglio proclaimed: "Italians! By order of His Majesty ... I take over the military

government of the country with full powers. The war goes on. . . Let us close our ranks around the King Emperor, the living soul of the fatherland. . . Long live Italy! Long live the King."

Swiftly the new Premier decreed martial law, with a ban against all public gatherings and a dawn-to-dusk curfew, over restive, smoldering Italy. He formed a new cabinet sprinkled with military and professional names. In every action Pietro Badoglio and the aristocratic, clerical faction he represented showed the core of their ambition: They wanted a conservative, disciplined, monarchical Italy. They were not averse to keeping the gains of their league with fascismo. They still spoke of the "King Emperor," a title bestowed on the head of the House of Savoy after the conquest of Ethiopia.

The diminutive, testy, puppetlike Vittorio Emanuele was the symbol of a legality shrewdly wrapped around the fasces. The King could have broken up the March on Rome in 1922; instead, he gave power to Benito Mussolini and to an iron hand against liberalism. The King condoned the assault on Ethiopia with a calculating sentence: "If we win, I shall be King of Ethiopia. If we lose, I shall be King of Italy." Now the contract between his house and the house of fascismo had become dangerous; he had broken it.

It was not the first time that the thousand-year-old House of Savoy (rulers of Italy since 1861) had broken a contract. In 1915 Vittorio Emanuele had shifted Italy from its alliance with the Hohenzollern and the Habsburg into the Allied camp. Now perhaps he was trying to repeat the past, trying to assure the future for himself and his son, tall, fast-living Crown Prince Umberto. The Rome radio told of popular demonstrations in the Italian cities against Fascism and for the King. This might be propaganda, designed to convince Washington and London that Italy had a truly fresh government. It might be the beginning of a bid for a peace with terms, despite the Allied insistence on "unconditional surrender." Many an allied citizen, still troubled by Darlanism in North Africa, had reason to be troubled lest Savoyism crop up in the Italian peninsula. The U.S. State Department would not say whether it classed the House of Savoy as Fascist; neatly it put that issue up to the Allied military command in Italy.

The Last Week. For Benito Mussolini his seven last days as Duce started somewhere in northern Italy. He met for the 14th time with Führer Adolf Hitler. No one knew for certain what transpired between the two men. Where past meetings had been flamboyant, this one was subdued.

Perhaps, as speculation presented the scene, the haggard, thinning Duce made a last impassioned plea for military aid, then listened to an equally impassioned refusal (see p. 30). Surely it was a rendezvous with frustration. From it the Duce had gone again to Rome.

Perhaps in the familiar echoing halls of the Palazzo Venezia he had summoned his cabinet and the tough, diehard party bosses, such men as Roberto Farinacci and Carlo Scorza, for a final tempestuous session. Then, perhaps, he had conferred with the King and Marshal Badoglio. One fact stood out: the Fascist Grand Council met the day before the resignation, its first meeting since Italy entered the war. Mussolini, the wily politician who had made just one big, but fatal, mistake in

his fustian career, might hope that lip service to legality would pay him. One unkind rumor had him relinquishing his power on condition that his personal safety be assured. Another rumor had him and his chief party colleagues arrested while seeking escape to Germany, then put under house guard near Rome.

From many sources came reports of Italy in upheaval. Bern and Stockholm told of peace riots in Bologna, Milan and Rome, of clashes between Italians and German soldiery. The Fascist Blackshirt militia, posted on the northern frontier, it was said, had been replaced by Badoglio's police; bad blood brewed between the factions; Italy might yet be plunged into civil war.

The Wheel of Fortune. If the ex-Duce were really under arrest, his political career had now run full cycle, and an old claustrophobia might be tormenting him. In his youth he had been a vociferous, stinging pleader for socialism and pacifism. For such views he had seen the inside of many a prison; he had come to loathe confining walls. In World War I his principles had shifted: he had become an imperialist and a nationalist; he had started on the path to lofty offices, an open balcony, spreading maps of empire and the windy vista of Fascism.

If, in a quiet moment now, Benito Mussolini's mind flashed back, what highlights might it dwell on? There were many: Varano di Costa, an old hamlet on a hill in northern Italy, where he was born 60 years ago; his schoolteacher mother and blacksmith father; the black columns of Popolo d'Italia, "my most cherished child"; the day in Milan when he needlessly barricaded his newspaper shop while his comrades elsewhere marched on Rome and waited until he arrived by railroad sleeper; the following day when, in black shirt and hip pistol, he stood before Vittorio Emanuele and said: "I have just come from a bloodless battle that had to be fought. I bring back to your Majesty the Italy of Vittorio Veneto, consecrated by a new victory."

For Benito Mussolini it had been a Latin pageant: the refurbishing of old Roman monuments and the building of new ones; marshland drained and colonies settled; a corporative state and the Balilla; adventure in Corfu, Ethiopia, Spain, Albania, Greece and Egypt; the dream of Mare Nostrum and the grandest of Mediterranean empires.

But on that glory the ashes were already thick. The dead face of more than one rival might flood by in Benito Mussolini's remembrance: Giacomo Matteotti, the murdered Socialist who defied castor oil and clubs; Italo Balbo, cut down when he grew too popular in the Fascist State. Then there was the dead face of his son, Bruno, a casualty of the war the father had glorified. Then the dead faces of those hundreds of thousands of men lost with the empire in Africa, the dead and fear-racked faces of millions of civilians fleeing their bombed homes.

The Rest Is Silence. Benito Mussolini had studded his gaudy years with gaudy phrases:

> "I shall make my own life a masterpiece."

> "I am desperately Italian. I believe in the function of Latinity."

> "Better to live a day as a lion than 100 years as a sheep."

> "Imperialism [is] the eternal and immutable law of life."

> "War is the normal state of the people."

> "[Democracies consist of] people who are in a decline."

> "If I advance, follow me; if I retreat, kill me; if I die, avenge me."

Benito Mussolini's people had had enough of such phrases. Of late the trains had not even run on time.

Da "Time", 9 agosto 1943

Foreign News: The Record

The Rome radio called Fascismo a bygone thing. Premier Pietro Badoglio said nothing. But in the past he had spoken thus:

> In 1936, to French Journalist André Rabache: "What you [French] want is one man, one lone man, respected and paternal, who will canalize and coordinate your energies and harness them to the immense task already undertaken by Hitler and Mussolini."

> In 1937, in his book *The War in Abyssinia*: "The Fascist Nation . . . has understood and followed the course of the war with passion and faith. [The Fascist Nation] has given to the . . . world, as never before, a vision of such endurance, of souls so ardent, of hearts so devoted alike to their country . . . to their Emperor, and to their Duce, whose hand guides them."

> In 1939, to Benito Mussolini: "I am sure that Imperial Italy's fortune will always be greater under your infallible leadership."

Da "Time", 9 agosto 1943

ITALY: State of Revolution

Fascismo's evil spell had been broken. Now through the streets and squares of Italy the people surged and strained to shape their destiny. It was a grand, awesome, chaotic hour in the life of a nation of 43,000,000.

War weariness, hatred and hope whipped the people on. Powerful voices lashed at them. Their own republicans and radicals, long dormant or underground, called for peace and liberty. Britain's Prime Minister Winston Churchill summoned them to yield swiftly lest their land "be seared and scarred and blackened from one end to the other." The Allied armies spoke through General Dwight Eisenhower: "You can have peace immediately and peace under honorable conditions. . . . Your part is to cease immediately any assistance to German military forces." But from the palace at Rome, where Benito Mussolini's onetime partners struggled to hold power, the voices said the war must go on, the people must not rage like lions but be calm like sheep.

Italy was a nation in transition, a nation in a state of revolution. Where would that revolution stop? At the Quirinal in Rome? In a republic? In workers' or peasants' Soviets? Would the Allies intervene to maintain order? Would they be able to intervene in time?

The People. From Milan, Italy's second city, Benito Mussolini had plotted the March on Rome. From Milan now came the fiercest revolutionary impulses.

The Badoglio Government had proclaimed martial law (TIME, Aug. 2), but the Milanese paid no heed. Report and rumor painted their temper as exuberant, mutinous. Into the great Piazza del Duomo they surged, defying the machine guns mounted in the shadow of the famed Cathedral. They hoisted anti-war placards. They stormed the Cellari jail and freed a batch of political prisoners. The soldiers of the Crown refused to fire on them. Once a column of the people, remembering the exiled maestro who would not play Giovinezza, rushed down the arcaded streets to La Scala and before the famed Opera House chanted: "Where is Toscanini? He must inaugurate the new Scala season." Thousands went on strike in the factories of Pirelli (tires), Bianchi (trucks), Breda (tanks) and Marelli (electrical equipment).

Around the offices of Popolo d'Italia, the newspaper child of Benito Mussolini, the Milanese displayed a long-pent hatred. Within the building an armed band of Fascists held out. Led by Vito Mussolini, a nephew of the ex-Duce, they had seized women and children as hostages. They tried to placate the angry crowd by tossing from the top floor a man thought to be Amerigo Dumini, one of the assassins of Giacomo Matteotti, the Socialist who long ago defied clubs and castor oil. Then the carabinieri came. After several days of rifle fire and tear gas, the Fascists surrendered. The crowd cheered wildly.

Their Temper. Milan's temper was the temper of northern Italy, industrial, agricultural, political and cultural heart of the nation. Here, 100 years ago, the principles of the French Revolution found ready soil. Here lived the patriots Giuseppe Mazzini and Count Cavour. From the Genoese coast bold, bearded Giuseppe Garibaldi had sailed with his "Thousand" to liberate Sicily. Here, after World War I, the people had stirred with unrest. Here, Fascismo tackled its first big job, what the Blackshirts called cleaning out the "Red Baronies" along the Po.

Now, in Turin, an arsenal city and the ancestral home of the House of Savoy, the women came out on the streets wearing red turbans. In Bologna Workman Antonio Cazzola went to jail; he had violated the decree against public assembly of more than three persons. In Genoa the military commander warned the citizens against carrying arms.

Much of this manifestation was spontaneous. But the underground political groups, united in an antiwar, anti-German, anti-Fascist program since last March (TIME, May 3), supplied a leaven of organization and leadership. Turin's Stampa boldly published a manifesto signed by a popular front of Actionists, Christian Democrats, Communists, Liberal Reconstructionists and Socialists: "Italians! . . . The tasks which now face us may be difficult. . . . We must unite all our strength. . . . The men responsible for the grave damage inflicted on the nation will be inexorably punished. Let our watchword be 'Liberty!' "

The Palace. In Rome's Quirinal, Chief of State, Premier and Secretary of State Marshal Pietro Badoglio presided over the first meeting of his new 16-man* cabinet. Most of the ministers were not internationally known; in the Duce's day they had been opportunist rather than die-hard Fascists. Now they:

- > Dissolved the Fascist Party, but kept the Fascist syndicates (trade unions forbidden to strike) and youth organizations.
- > Abolished the hand-picked Chamber of Fasci and Corporations and promised free elections for a substitute legislature four months after the war's end.
- > Carried on a purge of high-ranking, extreme Fascists; into the disgrace shared by Mussolini, Roberto Farinacci and Carlo Scorza went Count Galeazzo Ciano, the ex-Duce's sensual, self-seeking son-in-law, who resigned as Ambassador to the Vatican.
- > Prohibited political parties for the duration.
- > Clamped down a severe censorship after a few days of free press.
- > Put railway, postal, telegraph and radio workers under military control.

To the people the Rome radio broadcast: "The hour of military authority has been sounded. . . . All Italians must bend their energies to support the government . . . and not hinder it by pointless manifestations."

Its Temper. Italy's anti-Fascist groups wondered if Blackshirt Fascismo had merely given way to Whiteshirt Fascismo. Cried the underground: "Treason . . . betrayal. . . . We are going from one dictatorship to another. . . . The time has come for [the people] . . . to demand . . . a clear declaration

of [the government's] foreign and internal policy." *Giornale d'Italia*, no longer edited by Mussolini Mouthpiece Virginio Gayda (rumored a suicide), warned: "[Italy might have as much to fear] from her friends as from her enemies." Milan's *Corriere della Sera*, mutilated by the censor, voiced a widespread worry: "The limpid truths of the first few hours following the collapse of dictatorship have been succeeded by an atmosphere of perplexity and uncertainty, causing a feeling that the evolution has not reached the last stage."

But the "evolution," seemingly, had reached the stage at which the Quirinal wanted to arrest it. From Bern came this report, based on documentary sources:

"Badoglio's replacement of Mussolini is not an improvisation to meet a suddenly developed crisis; it is the first stage in a long-prepared plan aiming at securing Italy an 'honorable' peace with the United Nations. The Italian participants are the Royal House of Savoy, the Vatican (as mediator), and the 'Peace Party.' The Peace Party consists simply of Italy's traditional ruling classes, and their basic aim is to preserve their power. They had no essential quarrel with Fascism so long as it was successful. But when it became obvious that the Axis was losing the war and the United Nations would fight an Italy led by Mussolini until it was prostrate and thus perhaps make revolution inevitable, these individuals laid plans to oust Mussolini at the propitious moment and offer the Allies a cheaper victory for certain considerations."

The considerations seemed apparent: 1) a peace negotiated with the House of Savoy and the Badoglio Government; 2) economic assistance from the Allies; 3) Allied support in suppressing any revolutionary outbreaks; 4) neutrality for Italy and safe evacuation for the German forces.

The Pressures. But the Allies could not accept the last of these points. The war had reached a stage where Italy could not withdraw, could not be neutral. If she were not on the German side, she had to take the Allied side. For Italy had become a vital breach in *Festung Europa*, an avenue to, and a rampart of, the inner citadel of Germany. The Anglo-American and the German military machines were squeezing her hard.

For the same military reasons that barred Italian neutrality, the Allies could not contemplate the prospect of Italian "anarchy." "Unconditional surrender" was now qualified by new pronouncements :

> Said Prime Minister Churchill: "It would be a grave mistake . . . for the rescuing powers of Britain and the U.S. so to act as to break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian State. We certainly do not seek to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy, and find ourselves without any authority with whom to deal. . . . [But] we should let the Italians . . . 'stew in their own juice' for a bit and hot up the fire."

> Said President Franklin Roosevelt: He did not care with whom we dealt so long as he was not a member of the Fascist Government and could get the Italian troops to lay down their arms and could prevent anarchy.

> Said General Eisenhower, in a broadcast which must have had Washington's approval, if not London's: "We commend the Italian people and the House of Savoy for ridding themselves of Mussolini." To the Italians he offered "mild and beneficent" occupation, return of war prisoners, restoration of "ancient traditions and liberties."

To many an anti-Fascist Italian and many an Allied citizen, with North Africa in mind, it looked as though a deal with the House of Savoy might be in the making. But one thing was certain by this week: Marshal Badoglio and his faction in the Quirinal were not moving quickly enough.

From North Africa the Allied High Command broadcast: "Italians: [Your] new Government [has] temporized. . . . Had [it] acted speedily, Germany by now would be in full retreat. . . . We cannot tolerate this, and we issue to you this solemn warning: The breathing space has ended. Be prepared. Soon the air offensive will be resumed in earnest."

The Marshal haggled not only for terms but against time. The longer the men at the Quirinal held to war and their German alliance, the more restive the people grew.

* Member with least to do: General Melchiade Gabba, Minister for Italian Africa.

Da "Time", 16 agosto 1943

ITALY: Temporizing

The Government of Pietro Badoglio squatted on the Italian volcano between the German devil and the deep Allied sea.

The political dictatorship of Benito Mussolini had given way to a military dictatorship propped up by the generals, aristocrats and high clerics. But the people, having broken the bonds of 21 years of artificial national unity, did not want the new regime. From lukewarm collaboration they shifted now to bitter hostility. Italy had reached the opening stage of civil war.

Behind the immediate issue of peace or war pressed a greater issue: who would rule Italy in the future? The Volcano. To the people who cried for peace and liberty the Badoglio Government replied with a sop and a stick.

The crusade against Blackshirt Fascists continued. The Party and its trappings had vanished (TIME, Aug. 9). Now Party "profiteers," the big shots who had lined their pockets well, were rounded up, their property confiscated. Marshal Badoglio, erstwhile partner of the Blackshirts, hoped thus to convince the people of Fascismo's demise. But the rule now was comparable in harshness to the rule in Fascismo's harsh era. Saber-wielding carabinieri cowed peace demonstrators and strikers in northern Italy. New decrees muzzled the press. The jails filled with a new batch of political prisoners. Six Socialists were executed as traitors.

The people were told: "The Allies have no intention whatever of giving peace to our country." The Army was told: "Your duty includes the 'disciplining of the civilian population.'" High Churchmen lent their voices to the Palace's. Said Cardinal Fossati, Archbishop of Turin: "It is a crime ... to interfere with [Marshal Badoglio's] work in any way, even by criticism."

The people turned frustrated and sullen under the new repression. Those of their leaders who had not been seized by the Badoglio police in the first days of open jubilation over Mussolini's fall went underground again. Now by clandestine press and radio they declared civil war: "Italy arise! . . . Insorgere (revolt)! . . . The Government of Badoglio is Fascism without Mussolini." In the popular front against Italy's traditional rulers—the militarists, the aristocracy and the clerics—stood five parties: ^ Socialists, the biggest group, their ranks reformed three years ago.

> Actionists, second biggest group, composed of liberals from labor, industry, the army, the professions.

> Communists, decimated by the OVRA but the only party which kept a national organization through the Fascist era.

> Reconstructionists and Christian Democrats, numerically the two weakest groups.

The Devil. Bern reported that German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop had slipped into Italy for crucial talks with Italian Foreign Minister Raffeale Guariglia (see p. 23). In any haggling with Germany, the Badoglio Government stood at a disadvantage. The Nazis held as hostages for Italian conduct some 400,000 Italian workers in Germany, some 25 Italian divisions hemmed by the Wehrmacht in the Balkans. German troops had occupied the strategic sectors of northern Italy. The Nazi position seemed clear: if the Allies would not accept a neutral Italy, the Germans would accept nothing but Italy's continued alliance with the Reich. If Italy would not fight on with Germany, Germany would fight across Italy.

The Deep Sea. Since the Allies had made clear that they must have Italy as a base against Germany, the Badoglio Government faced an almost impossible situation. How could it keep Italy from becoming a battlefield? The Rome radio complained: "Fascism has fallen. What have [the Allies] offered Italy? . . . The velvet glove over the iron fist of unconditional surrender. . . . Our peace could be nothing but a continuance of war, with us or without us or over us."

In a flurry of activity, in secret meetings and high conclaves, the Vatican sought to mediate. The Catholic Italia spoke of the Church's "disinterested pacification mission" (see p. 55). A Swiss report had the Badoglio Government ready to demilitarize Rome, declare it an open city. But neither plaint nor plea yet budged the Allied High Command. At week's end Allied heavy bombers resumed the attack on the restive northern cities of Genoa, Milan and Turin.

Da "Time", 16 agosto 1943

INTERNATIONAL: The Sound of Doom

Somewhere in Valhalla an unseen hand struck a mighty cymbal note, and the sound of doom was heard across Germany.

All week long its clangor rang in Adolf Hitler's ears:

> In Sicily, resistance crumbling.

> In Italy, progressive collapse.

> In Russia, ominous summertime defeat.

> From Sweden, a blow that hurt as much as defeat in battle (see p. 25).

> From the bomb-shambles that once was Hamburg, civilian jitters spreading through the Reich—making it necessary to evacuate Berlin, sending a million homeless Germans shuffling down roads to nowhere, rousing scared German workers to strike, stirring imported foreign labor to clamor for repatriation.

> In all the conquered countries, ugly intimations that men thought the day of reckoning was close—a general strike in Salonika, daylight attacks on Nazi soldiers in Paris, new guerrilla outbreaks in Greece and Yugoslavia.

First Moves. How much longer would it be before the masters of Germany caught the contagion? Before they themselves believed the game was up? Doubtless they half believed it now, were groping for a way to silence the music, to halt the players, to darken the house, to pay off the audience, to rewrite Germany's destiny.

A Berlin dispatch announced the German Government in "permanent session" at Adolf Hitler's field headquarters. Present: Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, Ribbentrop, Munitions Minister Speer, Chief of Staff Keitel, Grand Admiral Doenitz, Air Marshal Milch, Generals Zeitzler and Jodl of the General Staff. (Notable absentee: General Walther von Brauchitsch, former CINC of the Wehrmacht, who disappeared from the Russian front last January. Might he become Germany's Badoglio?)

Spanish correspondents in Berlin, reporting the meeting, said that "powers of enormous magnitude" had been given to Hermann Göring; that a triumvirate of Göring, Field Marshal

General Wilhelm Keitel and Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz was now the "real head of Germany." Allied capitals were skeptical.

From the meeting Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and General Keitel reportedly hurried to Verona to talk with Italy's new Foreign Minister, Raffaele Guariglia. The Chief of the Italian General Staff, General Vittorio Ambrosio, joined them, "on the Germans' invitation," in "important discussions." From the German point of view these discussions had only two objects: maximum, to hold the Badoglio Government to its Axis alliance for war and/or peace; minimum, to keep Italy in the war long enough for Germany to get forces and matériel down through the Brenner to hold a defensive line south of the Po. But German broadcasts stopped using the word "Axis."

Which Way to Turn? For those who run _ trialists, Germany — Junkers — Nazis, the summer militarists, of indus 1943 posed one paramount problem: now that military defeat is growing closer, now that psychological defeat is imminent, could Germany still gain victory in the peace? There were two possibilities: 1) conditional surrender to Britain and America; 2) making terms with Russia.

If the way out of the dilemma was agreement with the west, the Germans' object would be to get an agreement that would save them from Soviet Russia. From London, Correspondent Frederick Kuh of the Chicago Sun cabled a plausible outline for such an Axis proposal: "Italy has intimated reluctance to conclude a separate peace and is urging a general peace settlement which will include Germany. ... The Italian suggestion has been made through Turkey. The feeler is reported to have come directly from Foreign Minister Guariglia. Germany's Papan is busy in Ankara . . . insinuating to anyone willing to listen that if the United Nations try to impose merciless terms upon Italy which might be a precedent against Germany, then Hitler might seek peace with Russia. . . ."

"Information that Guariglia is aiming at a general peace including Germany came to London from responsible Spanish and Portuguese as well as Turkish sources. Guariglia is said to have recognized in private conversation that such a climax is bound to involve the overthrow of Hitlerism and to have added that 'Russia will have to stay within her proper boundaries.' Furthermore, Guariglia is said to be receiving Vatican encouragement. . . ."

Last week the Pope (see p. 55) asked Catholics everywhere to pray for peace. And a Vatican spokesman, referring to the intense diplomatic activity in and around Europe, said: "It is a self-evident fact that the Holy See cannot remain indifferently inactive in the face of the possibility, however remote, of reaching a solution of the present international situation." But these things did not prove that the Pope would promote such a plan.

If Germany chose to try for peace with Russia, the object would be to avoid another possible Versailles. Germany might get such a peace by ousting the Nazis and on fairly easy terms if Stalin would accept the kind of democratic-capitalist regime urged by the Free German Committee in Moscow (TIME, Aug. 2). A peace allowing the German State to retain an army and to rebuild its economy, a peace along the endless, abrasive eastern front, would be by no means unattractive to millions of Germans, even to some conservatives and some of the military. To the Nazis and to those tarred with Naziism, such a peace offered no hope. The question of how much it would offer to others would depend on what concrete terms Stalin would accept.

"Whatever May Happen." The two ways out of the dilemma in which big Germans found themselves—east and west —were open to them only if the Allies split.

To their domestic audiences Nazi political commentators appealed for "condence" with the assurance that conflict among Washington, London and Moscow was unavoidable. Said one commentator: "We Germans are much better politicians than the Allied statesmen, and therefore we are going to win the peace — whatever may happen." This was now the German game. If it fails somewhere in Valhalla the unseen hand will strike a mightier note.

Da "Time", 23 agosto 1943

World Battlefronts: BATTLE OF ITALY: The Question

Two Allied bombings, 1,600 tons of bombs, were enough for Rome. The day after the second heavy U.S. raid on the Italian capital last week, the Government of Marshal Pietro Badoglio tried to call a halt by declaring Rome an open city. The broadcast announcement said: "Now all necessary measures in conformity with international law are being taken."

The great and only question for the Allies was: Are these steps being taken? The requirements for an open city are not clearly stipulated (the open-city concept is laid down in Article 25 of the Hague Convention of 1907). But clearly they include adequate guarantees from a neutral party that:

- > All ministries and government agencies have been removed;
- > All military organizations—garrison troops, artillery, anti-aircraft and other defenses—have been removed;
- > All war industries have been removed;
- > No military use is made of transport facilities.

Who Can Say? The Italian declaration was unilateral—there was no neutral power to back up Badoglio's assurances. There was, in fact, no party but Badoglio's Government to assure the Allies that the capital was being divested of all military usefulness to the Axis armies. But there was plenty of reason to doubt that it was:

- > Rome, as the capital of Fascismo and now of Badoglio's government, is almost as crammed as Washington with governmental offices and employes. At least 500,000 government workers and 100,000 officials were in Rome at the outbreak of war.
- > Rome, as a city of war industry, had aircraft, chemical and rayon factories, power plants, locomotive-repair yards.
- > Above all, Rome, as a center of Italian rail communications, forms an integral link between northern and southern Italy. It was to interrupt this vital line of supplies for Axis armies in the south that U.S. bombers twice blasted Rome's most important railway centers, the San Lorenzo and Littorio yards.

Until he had adequate guarantees of Rome's demilitarization, General Dwight D. Eisenhower could continue to bomb Rome. The Italian Government seemed to realize this: it put a damper on rejoicings of Rome's residents (see p. 32) by pointing out that "permanent relief from air attack" could be expected "only when the belligerents on the other side agreed that all terms had been met."

The demilitarization of Rome would be tantamount to an admission that southern Italy would not, or could not, be defended. To this extent, the Allied bombings of the Holy City and war capital had already brought victory.

Da "Time", 23 agosto 1943

ITALY: Two Wars

For Italy, as the Allied radio had warned, the breathing spell was over (TIME, Aug. 16). Now the big planes, winging through the night from England, crested the Alps, dropped their explosive and incendiary reminders on Milan and Turin. By day, up from Mediterranean shores came precision bombers to give Rome its second, searing assault.

Political objectives were meshed with the military. The bombardiers' sights aimed at railroad yards, aircraft plants, armament works and the will of the Italian people. The Allied High Command had had enough of temporizing by Premier Pietro Badoglio. With the bombs on Italy's cities fell leaflets goading the people: "The Mussolini Government is gone, but the Nazi war continues."

For Peace. The people responded with anger and dismay. In Milan, despite Premier Badoglio's ban against public assemblies, they gathered in shattered streets and cried: "We got rid of one tyranny; now we must remove another." In Rome crowds shouted "Peace!" and knelt to pray with Pope Pius XII who came from the Vatican to see the raid damage.

What Winston Churchill had called the Italian "stew" was bubbling fiercely. But the Badoglio military dictatorship still summoned the people to carry on the war to "an honorable peace. . . . Under no circumstances must our soldiers be betrayed by those behind the lines." A portentous answer came from the people.

Said Rome's *Lavoro Italiano*, in an issue printed and distributed before censor and police could intervene: "We want peace and liberty! And both are indivisible. . . . To continue the war signifies the suicide of non-Fascist Italy in a catastrophe to which Fascism would have led us. . . . To continue the war means to encourage and prepare an armed rebellion of the people."

Against Communism. The Government applied more terror, more arrest and executions, to hold the lid down. Premier Badoglio sought to split the five popular-front parties by weaning the liberal Actionists from the Socialists and Communists. The underground countered with mass "solidarity" demonstrations at the funerals of air-raid victims.

To frighten the Allies the Badoglio Government dressed up an old bogey. Said the Rome radio: "Every bomb razing a house to the ground opens the road to subversive ideas and creates a hotbed of revolution. . . . What victory . . . what security can the Anglo-Americans draw from a Europe in the throes of revolution, permeated through and through by the Communist virus?"

But Allied planes still came over: Then the Badoglio Government declared "formally and publicly . . . that Rome is an open city" (see p. 26). The Vatican radio gave glad approval, did not deny that the

Church was serving as intermediary to obtain Allied recognition of Rome's demilitarization. In rebellious Milan the crowds shouted: "Rome does not want any more raids! Neither do we!"

In Confusion. The Wehrmacht had used the interim since Benito Mussolini's passing to entrench itself in strategic Northern Italy. If the Allies had been ready to invade at that time, Italy might well have fallen like a ripe plum. Now they would face at least organized German resistance. Now Italy may not only be fought over by the Allies and Germans, but perhaps be torn first by civil war.

London's Daily Herald reported that Dr. Gaetano Salvemini and Count Carlo Sforza, exiled Italian liberals, had arrived in England from the U.S., perhaps to help form a new Italian regime. The report was promptly denied, but it showed one trend of Allied thought. Last week the pen of scholarly Gaetano Salvemini who is disappointed that the U.S. did not drop 10,000 parachutists on Rome the day that Mussolini fell, scoured Allied policy:

"Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are waging, in Italy, two simultaneous wars. One is aimed at achieving 'unconditional surrender'; the other is aimed at preventing revolution. If unconditional surrender had been their only aim in invading Italy, they would have made a real revolution inevitable when moral collapse brought about the downfall of Mussolini. In their minds and in their actions, war against revolution interferes with the war for unconditional surrender and paralyzes it."

Da "Time", 30 agosto 1943

ITALY: No Peace

One month after Fascismo's downfall the people of Italy still cried: "Pace! Pace!" But now they could not have peace. Their peninsula had become a battlefield, Air bombardment shattered its cities, lashed refugees over its countryside. Up the boot's length the Germans would probably fight a hard delaying action before an Allied invasion army. Up in the boot's flaps, perhaps in the strategic Po Valley, perhaps in the mountain passes to the Rhone and Danube Basins, the Germans would probably make a stand. Where would the Italians stand? Giustizia e Liberta, the underground coalition of five liberal and leftist parties, still spoke of "peace demonstrations everywhere . . . proceeding satisfactorily." But now a new note crept in. The clandestine radio called for a general strike in defiance of "the Badoglio dictatorship"; it referred to "the democratic peoples of the world whom Italians consider as their allies rather than enemies." No Comfort. The shaky Badoglio dictatorship still proposed to continue the war to an "honorable conclusion." Over the Rome radio came three voices:

>Said Vittorio Emanuele III, worried over a republican separatist movement in Sicily: "Brothers of Sicily. . . . Your King ... is the first ... to believe firmly in the unfailing recovery of your land . . . faithful under all circumstances to ... my dynasty."*

>Said Premier Marshal Pietro Badoglio: "No event can ever separate you [Sicilians] from Italy, for the tie which unites you with her is the power of blood."

>Said Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, 83, World War I Premier, one of the "Big Four" of Versailles and an off-&-on friend of Fascismo: "As an old Sicilian, I am sad . . . [but] no recriminations. . . . May I raise to the Lord, our Savior, the prayer: 'Lord let Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen the salvation and rebirth of my country. So be it.' " The people, reported Bern, were "dangerously disappointed" over these messages. Commented New York's Herald Tribune: the appeals "only deepened . . . the air of defeat, senility and decay."

*Cracked Sumner Welles in Washington: "The King must have in mind that the Allies will soon be occupying Italy as well as Sicily."