

Da "Time", 11 ottobre 1943

ITALY: Accumulation of Dignity

To cliff-girt Malta Harbor, still showing the scars of Axis bombs, royalist Marshal Pietro Badoglio and a retinue of aides went last week. They were piped aboard H.M.S. Nelson.

To rally the Italian people and army "against the common enemy," the Allied High Command seemed to have worked out this pattern at Malta: >The U.S. and Britain would accept the Badoglio regime as a cobelligerent. But the line between cobelligerent and ally was hard to draw. Allied soldiers were already finding Badoglio officials unwilling to be treated as defeated enemies.

>Vittorio Emanuele III would stand as the legitimate fountainhead of Italian authority. Over the radio from Allied-held Bari the King spoke last week: "Italians, follow me!"

>The Badoglio Government would be asked to take in liberals and other oppositionists.

Italy's fate could not be determined by a simple choice between "Democracy" and "Fascism." Many an Italian realized that, like German Naziism (see p. 25), Italian Fascism sprang from the national body, and that the nation would have to make full retribution. In the first days after the Duce's downfall Milan's Sette Giorni said:

"It is not possible in a single day for an accumulation of dignity to reenter the soul through the tiny hole through which it went out drop by drop for 20 years. The fact is that after the last war we were so unworthy of liberty that we deserved the dictatorship. . . . Liberty must be deserved."

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ITALY: Look Homeward!

Travel-worn leather bags stood ready last week in a modest Manhattan apartment. Count Carlo Sforza, urbane, white-bearded, was about to begin a long trip home. Sixteen years ago he and his family were hounded into exile by Fascismo's bullyboys, who burned down their villa and might have murdered them. Now, at 70, Italy's distinguished liberal refugee had been granted Allied permission to go home.

Hour of Tragedy. When Benito Mussolini, the proletarian, marched on Rome in 1922, Carlo Sforza, the aristocrat, 17th count of a venerable line, was Italian Ambassador in Paris. He had reached that post after diplomatic service from London to China and a spell as Foreign Minister. With the Blackshirt government he would have no truck. He resigned as Ambassador, returned to Rome, denounced Fascismo and its dangerous "adventurers" from his seat in the Senate. The Duce said that he could have twelve bullets put into Count Sforza. The Count replied that political murder was inadvisable. But the time came, during the aftermath of the Matteotti murder, to go abroad. From exile—in France, then England, finally the U.S.—Carlo Sforza crusaded against Benito Mussolini ("a demagogue, a charlatan, a cheap egocentric, a quisling of Hitler") and Fascismo ("an artificial and corrupt house of cards which will fall some day in a few hours"). A patient, humane man, with historical perspective, he believed that his nation had strayed into its most tragic hour, but that in good time the countrymen of Dante and Galileo, Michelangelo and Mazzini, Verdi and Ferrero, would come out all right. "They are grand, they are grand!" he said as the little people of Italy turned from the Blackshirts and their alliance with the Germans.

Exiled Italians looked to him as a leader, chose him last summer as one of the heads of the liberal Action Party that now, under the home-front guidance of doughty Emilio Lussu, is one of the united underground groups struggling to shape Italy's destiny. When chafing Carlo Sforza last week showed Cordell Hull an urgent summons from the Italian underground, the Secretary of State gave permission for the trip home. Said Cordell Hull: "I see, your moral duty is to go. We will be glad if you do. But, of course, you go as a private citizen, without any mission, at your own risk, under your own responsibility."

Hour of Hope. Count Sforza shaped a program for Italy:

"The first task before all Italians is a union to drive the Germans from the country." To that end he would cooperate with the Allied-supported Badoglio regime. But he preferred to act in Italy as a "private citizen." said that he would not want to serve in the Marshal's cabinet if he could.

"For the unanimity of the war effort, it is necessary to put the problem of the King and his family on ice for the duration." Carlo Sforza agreed with his old friend, Philosopher Benedetto Croce, who had told an American correspondent in southern Italy that the Royal Family was "ignoble." Said Carlo Sforza: "The greatest mistake of Allied policy is to support the discredited House of Savoy. An attempt by the Allies to force the monarchy on the nation, or to repair its prestige, will cause resentment and future trouble."

"As soon as the task of liberation permits, there must be free elections. I do not doubt that Italians will vote for a progressive republic." Carlo Sforza had an old man's vision: "When the time comes, there must first be agrarian reform, an end of landless peasants and great estates. The economy of Italy might well be patterned after that of prewar Czecho-Slovakia. A thriving Catholic nation of small landowners and busy workers is the best bulwark against communism."

Carlo Sforza spoke for a group of liberal exiles. How closely he reflected the temper and opinion of Italy's people, and how he might fit into the Allied plan for Italy, he would soon know.

Da "Time", 25 ottobre 1943

ITALY: About Face

The place of Italy was settled for the duration. Pietro Badoglio completed a maneuver begun last July when Vittorio Emanuele had him seize Mussolini: Italy had been eased from the losing to the winning side without so much as the loss of a king.

Unwittingly, Badoglio had done the Allies a great but indirect service. His declaration of war against his former ally last week had the approval of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin; their joint acceptance of Italy as a cobelligerent was the first three-way declaration on the record. It meant more to the future of Allied military and political operations than any weight which cobelligerent Italy might some day bring to bear against the Nazi.*

Carefully Badoglio rehearsed his intention to respect the "untrammelled right of the people of Italy to choose their own form of democratic government when peace is restored." Carefully the Big Three repeated after him their understanding that "nothing can detract from the absolute and untrammelled right of the people of Italy by constitutional means to decide on the democratic form of government they will eventually have."

Inside Italy the news produced consternation. Where a month earlier the news of armistice and an end to fighting brought smiles, flowers, wet and fervent masculine kisses for embarrassed Allied soldiers, now there were stricken faces and listless shrugs. Around Allied camps, surging crowds begged for food and cigarets. Each morning ragged soldiers, shuffling aimlessly homeward, queued up wherever Allied operations might offer a day's work and a square meal. Fighting was out of the question for most. In Sorrento and in other picture-book resorts tucked away around the Bay of Naples, wealthy, well-dressed Fascists ate and drank abundantly of black-market goodies, frowned at rambling U.S. and British officers seeking respite from battle.

Brother v. Brother. In the north, beyond the German lines, the premature anti-Fascist risings of the summer had a painful aftermath. In Milan the Archbishop, Alfredo Ildefonso Cardinal Shuster, found it necessary to threaten excommunication to those who denounced their anti-Fascist brothers to the Germans. Mussolini's Republican Fascist Government, speaking from a still-undisclosed capital, bawled new threats of death and imprisonment to all who wavered in their love for the Duce.

German motorized troops dashed from point to point. Yet some saw that the occupying force was incredibly small, took courage at evidence that the few were being shuttled to look like many. Partisan bands began to take shape in the foothills of the Alps. Against them, the Germans offered

42 times the normal pay of an Italian soldier to those who would sign up under Hitler and the Duce. There were few takers.

Profit & Loss. Militarily, the apathetic but now secure south could be a plus for the Allies, the restless north a burr beneath the German saddle. But, economically, cobelligerent Italy looms as a headache.

Food and fuel must be provided for the winter—fruit and vegetables are plentiful now, tiding most districts over the fall. Coal must come from U.S. stocks. Germans would no longer have to use 300 locomotives and 15,000 coal cars to transport 12,000,000 tons of coal to Italy each year.

The one clear gain for the Allies is the speedy but largely untried Italian fleet. Some 100 interned war vessels will now be available for patrol duty, if fuel can be supplied. Reportedly royalist to the core, the Italian Navy would probably be kept in the Mediterranean. But at least the ships would release U.S. and British units for service elsewhere.

Trial Balance. If Badoglio's cobelligerent Italy was a military plus and an economic minus, politically it was a plain enigma. In declaring war against Germany, Badoglio said that representatives of all political parties will be asked to participate in the Government. But liberal Count Carlo Sforza, on the eve of entering Italy, was still saying he could not enter a Cabinet headed by Badoglio.

Outside Italy there were increasing signs of disquiet among neighboring Frenchmen, Yugoslavs, Greeks and Ethiopians. All were remembering earlier experiences with the Italians, wondering what the Big Allies would propose next.

* As a cobelligerent, Italy remains a defeated enemy nation, subject to control but fighting with the Allies, until a peace is signed.

Da "Time", 1° novembre 1943

ITALY: For Better Terms

Badoglio said that it was all Mussolini's fault. He said that the Duce explained plunging Italy into the war with the words: "In September everything will be over, and I need some thousands of dead to be able to sit at the peace table as a belligerent." Badoglio said that Mussolini had not consulted anyone before writing Hitler at the end of May 1940 that he would declare war by June 10.

The old Marshal wanted the record straight. To make sure, he gave an interview last week to the New York Times's Herbert L. Matthews, the Baltimore Sun's Mark S. Watson and a correspondent of the London Times. He told them that Mussolini had sought to dissuade Hitler from war in 1939, but that the swift advance of the Germans through Belgium and France in May 1940 changed his mind. In placing the blame, Badoglio omitted to mention King Vittorio Emanuele's signing of the declaration of war.

Turning to the future, Badoglio again proclaimed his intention to invite representatives of all political parties to join his Government. Said he: "The whole life of Italy is now dominated by a single thought—to free the country from the Germans. . . . This aspiration . . . silences any difference of ideas and principles. . . . The various political parties . . . [have] sent me a declaration of sincere and complete collaboration, reserving for themselves, however, full liberty of action once the Germans have been driven from Italy." Flatly he announced that he would resign when hostilities cease.

Wrote Timesman Matthews at the end of the interview: "But one could see where [Badoglio's] heart lay when the writer reminded him of our last meetings in Addis Ababa . . . in 1936. 'Those were better times for Italy,' he said. . . . 'Do you remember Termaber Pass,' he asked eagerly, 'and those three days we waited while . . . the Negus [Haile Selassie] fled?' " And as a soldier Badoglio scorned Il Duce's folly in dispersing his army so that only twelve divisions were in Italy when the invasion came.

For Moral Purification. Two days later Matthews talked with Count Carlo Sforza, newly landed in Italy after 16 years of exile by Fascists, heard the white-bearded onetime (1920-21) Foreign Minister declare a need for a "moral purification [of] the whole Italian atmosphere." Said Sforza: "What is dangerous and morally intolerable is the malicious whispering carried on by Fascist-minded persons who have been kept in official positions by the Badoglio Government or by Allied authorities. . . . I am sure [Badoglio] hates and loathes Fascism. The evil comes mainly from . . . 'court circles' where everything is tried . . . to set the stage for a general acquittal of Fascists."

Da "Time", 8 novembre 1943

Foreign News: Italia Irridenta

An elder statesman and an aging marshal made news in Italy last week :

> In his villa at Sorrento, Senator Benedetto Croce, philosopher, literary critic and anti-Fascist intellectual, told U.S. correspondents that Italy's best immediate hope would be the abdication of King Vittorio Emanuele and his son Umberto, followed by a regency under 72-year-old Marshal Pietro Badoglio for Umberto's son, the six-year-old Prince of Naples.

> According to the A.P., Marshal Badoglio broke the news to Vittorio Emanuele that no representative government could be formed while he, the King of Italy for 43 years, remained on the throne.

Da "Time", 15 novembre 1943

ITALY: What Says the King?

Two tired old men met last week in a three-story, brindle-yellow villa at an obscure and dirty Italian town. The men were King Vittorio Emanuele, who is 74 and has ruled for 43 years, and Marshal Pietro Badoglio, who is 72 and has been his King's most obedient follower. The question they met to discuss was whether the King should abdicate, or the Marshal should resign as the head of what passes currently for the Italian Government.

Orange marigolds flirted in a brittle wind. Between the villa, a tennis court and an ancient castle, bougainvillea sprawled purple over faded garden walls. Carabinieri in tricorne hats, Italian sailors in blue woollens guarded the villa. By the grace of the U.S. and Britain, the King and the Marshal held power in four of the liberated provinces 'in Apulia, the heel of Italy.* Given power by the Allies, they were no more than puppets charged with the task of fashioning a government that would cause the Allies no trouble, and, incidentally, provide stability until all Italy is liberated.

The King's Men. The King of Italy is a small man with a Savoy chin, a fat income, an unfortunate record, and the backing of constitutionality as interpreted by the Allied military mission which operates in the present "capital" of Italy. Badoglio has the stocky build of a peasant, the twinkling blue eyes of Northern Italy, a soldier's sense of duty and the current sympathy of U.S. and British military men and diplomats.

The Allied mission is headed by steel-grey Lieut. General F. N. Mason-MacFarlane ("Mason Mac"), Governor of Gibraltar; its Chief of Staff is 42-year-old U.S. Brigadier General Maxwell D. Taylor. The mission, the King and Badoglio all profess to have Italy's best interests at heart, but insist that their actions be judged first by the immediate necessity of driving out the Germans. Their joint plan is to broaden the flimsy base of the Badoglio Government by including in it the top leadership of the six political parties which have survived or sprung up in the wake of the German retreat.

The King's Messenger. There is humor in Badoglio, a nostalgia for the past days of "glory" in the Italian campaign against Ethiopia, and a well-meaning sincerity. He usually speaks in Italian, although he knows French and a little English. Recently he flew to Naples to invite new strength into his Government. Particularly, he asked bearded, 70-year-old Count Carlo Sforza, who had returned to Italy after 16 years of exile, and the potbellied, stubby-haired philosopher and elder statesman, 77-year-old Benedetto Croce, to join with him.

For himself and for Croce, Sforza indicated a willingness to join the Government—but only if the King were thrown out. A Regency which skipped Crown Prince Umberto and alighted on the six-

year-old Prince of Naples might be acceptable, he said, pending the day when all of Italy could decide on a monarchical or republican government. But what the beaten and heartsick people of Italy needed most of all, said Sforza, was at least one dynamic and truly democratic act that would fan the flames of hope and national pride. That act, he plainly implied, was abdication.

Badoglio was turned down by Sforza, by Croce, and by Dr. Orangio Ruiz, chairman of the Fronte Nazionale di Liberazione, which includes the six patriot and "opposition" parties. The meaning seemed clear: the King must go. That was the Marshal's message when he returned to the King's villa.

The King's Hope. Last week correspondents in Naples reported that the Allies—with some help from the King—may have saved Vittorio Emanuele for the time being. Shaken by war and defeat, stained by Fascism and alliance with Hitler, the King suddenly visited Naples. Street crowds ganged around his open car, cheered him lustily, made many wonder whether his appeal to the masses of Italy had been underestimated. Next day, on the 28th anniversary of Italy's armistice with Austria in World War I, some 2,000 Neapolitan students chanted "Away with the King!", cheered speakers who denounced the monarchy's ties to Fascism. Still unanswered was the large question: Could Vittorio Emanuele III keep his crown?

Manifestly annoyed by the King's disruption of occupation routine, Allied authorities were thankful when he thereafter remained indoors. They announced the dismissal of "several hundred" Fascist officials in Naples, otherwise forwarded the scrubbing of Italy's Fascist face. But the consensus in Naples at week's end was that the cleanup, at least for the duration, would probably not extend to Vittorio Emanuele.

*Occupied Italy is under two regimes. The departments of Calabria, Lucania and Campania—the toe and ankle of the Italian boot—are administered by Italian officials responsible to the Allied Military Government. The Apulian provinces of Lecce, Brindisi, Bari and Foggia—the Adriatic heel of the boot—are ruled directly by the Badoglio Government.

Da "Time", 27 dicembre 1943

ITALY: Free Speech in Naples

Expediency celebrates an anniversary this week. In Algiers a year ago, Admiral Jean Louis Darlan's assassination precipitated the first great crisis in Allied rule of conquered territories. In Italy last week expediency was still in trouble.

The Italian Committee of Liberation, representing the six major non-Fascist political parties, insisted on the right to denounce the King and the Badoglio government. For expediency's sake, Badoglio was needed to keep order until the Allies captured Rome. In the name of expediency, and on orders from above, AMG had banned political assemblies in Naples; a students' anti-Fascist rally was broken up by the police. The Liberation Committee stormed AMG with protests, charged "neo-Fascism" and violation of the Moscow Conference guarantees of free speech and assembly. To Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, the Committee sent a message outlining their grievances.

Ultimately both sides yielded ground: the Committee apologized for the neo-Fascist charge; AMG permitted a mass meeting in Naples. There was no trouble at the meeting. No one protested the mass conclusion that "the King must go."

Meanwhile Monarchist Badoglio's authority was spreading. The Allied Advisory Council for Italy decided to put all southern Italy under his control.