

● PSF

Italy

1941

PSF: Italy

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1941

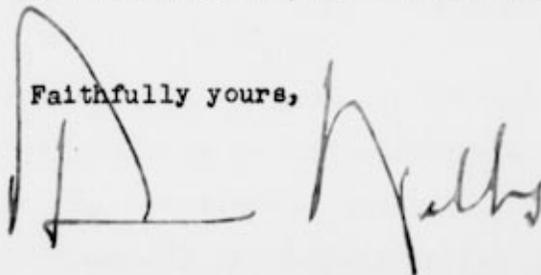
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My dear Mr. President:

I have received two confidential letters from Alexander Kirk, dated December 15 and December 17, which gave his first impressions upon returning to Rome. I believe you will be interested in the picture which he presents and I am, therefore, transmitting copies of these letters for your information.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Encs.
From Alexander Kirk,
Dec. 15, Dec. 17, 1940.

The President,
The White House.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ROME, December 15, 1940

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sumner:

It is rather pretentious of me even to send you a note in view of the fact that I have only been here a few days, but as I have absolutely no confidence in any of our codes, and as Reed is leaving tomorrow for Lisbon, I felt I could not refrain from taking advantage of an opportunity to write you even a half-baked impression.

I saw Ciano the day after I arrived and have seen some other people, but naturally my conversations have been entirely general and I must admit, more cordial than I had any right to expect. From a very superficial view it seems that the main fronts at present are Greece, Egypt, and the home front. I can say nothing about the first two except that the events there have naturally had a depressing effect here. As regards the home front I have been amazed at the outspoken anxiety and depression in regard to the future of Italy, but it must be remembered

The Honorable
Sumner Welles,
Under Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

remembered that the only people who have spoken openly to me are those who never have been violently pro-Fascist. The most reactionary of these elements see everything black and talk of open rebellion against the regime, and even of a military dictatorship. They admit, however, that such an event is difficult to envisage owing to the fact that any such attempt would bring a forceful suppression by Germany.

One of the groups of rumors, however, which seems important at many turns relates to Ciano, and I want to mention them in this way as again I dare not telegraph. In general the tendency seems to be to say that Ciano is largely to blame for the Greek difficulties, that he is losing out even with the Duce and is to be replaced. A day or two ago they even had him slated for the Embassy at Berlin, but in view of the fact that his chief enemies seem to be the Germans, and I have heard that even from German sources, that report has died a natural death. I must add that when I float around some more these reports may prove to be insignificant, but I mention them to you now as up to the present they are the most conspicuous of any.

Most of my time has been taken up with an attempt to resume old contacts and create new ones, and especially with administration matters in the Embassy itself. There

is a certain amount to be done in the latter line and I hope if I need support from home I shall have it. I feel there is no other way to handle the situation than to consider that this is an upstanding mission that must function without regard to the possibility that its activities may stop at any time. I must repeat, however, that I feel terribly handicapped by the insecurity in communicating to the Department without jeopardizing my own position here or harming others, and I hope that you realize that situation.

Yours ever,

ALEX. K.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ROME, December 17, 1940

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sumner:

I would have preferred to have waited before writing the following, but as I have already received fairly clear indications on the matter, and as Reed is leaving tonight and there is no definite assurance when the next courier may go to Lisbon, I am writing you now.

The matter in question relates to my work here. As I said to you in a previous letter, I think, the people whom I have known before have been extremely cordial, but I have received fairly clear intimation that this cordiality relates more to relations of the past than to my present status in Italy. I do not know whether this is actually the case or whether it will continue, or if in fact there has developed in the last few weeks here a desire on the part of the Italians to cultivate indulgence from our side. The
fact

The Honorable
Sumner Welles,
Under Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

fact remains, however, that I consider there is enough to go on to make it worth while to see just how far this goes and what use will be made of it. To that end I will have to play a lurking game, for if the expansiveness towards me on the part of the Italians, both official and non-official, is based solely on past relations, that expansiveness will be absolutely stopped if they find out the kind of reports which I would naturally send in and which they could not help but resent. As you know, I have no faith in any of our codes, and, consequently, my present plan is as follows: Unless there is something immediate and striking I shall cable no "think" pieces. I shall send in as much factual stuff as I can get but I shall reserve comment for written communications which I shall try to get through as quickly as possible to Lisbon for the Clipper.

I am increasingly amazed at the outspoken criticism which I hear among Italians and some say this has been noticeable only within the last few weeks. This criticism is frequently turned against Mussolini himself, who, it is insisted, has made the recent decisions which have brought such unfavorable results to Italy, and there seems to be an intimation on the part of former strong supporters that he has rather let them down. In fact, I have been told that Ciano himself has said that Mussolini has made all
these

these decisions without consulting him, Ciano, or anybody else. I must add, however, that so far this talk has not pointed up to anything definite, and from what I can judge from scanty information should in no way be taken as a preliminary to immediate opposition.

I realize fully that in carrying out the foregoing plan I am doing exactly what you do not want me to do, namely, to delay or hold back on information, but I feel convinced if I do not try out the lines I have described above I shall be merely lending myself to proving what I said in Washington, that anyone here could do the job as well as I can if not better.

Yours ever,

ALEXANDER K.

Study folder

File
personal



HUDSON S. MOSES, MANAGER

THE FAIRFAX HOTEL

300 ROOMS - ALL WITH BATH

2100 MASSACHUSETTS AVE.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Thursday January 16th

Dear Mr. President

Before leaving Washington I want to thank you very much for having tried to make it possible for me to see you, & I am sorry that the object of my visit here, the presenting Beatrice with the Croix de Guerre at the French Embassy, occurred at your only free time. Knowing how busy you are & how important your business is I would never have dreamed of asking you to receive me, unless you wished to send any message to William by me. I greatly appreciate your thought & the faithfulness of an old friendship lasting through so many years. These

lines are to wish you Godspeed in the
four years of great & crushing respon-
-sibility that lie before you. Already your
speeches, the Sunday night prelude speech
& your speech to Congress, have given new
hope to countless ^{in despairing Europe.} hearts. I have had
several letters from Canada comparing
your first speech to Lincoln's Gettysburg
address. And I can assure you of the
thrill it gave me & my children listening
to them. To hear you & Winston Churchill
dispel the greatest gloom, & I feel sure
that with this spring the tide will
turn. Did you see the cartoon of Winston
Churchill offering Hitler the dove of peace?
If you have not I will send it to you -
I should think he would help your
cause every time he opens his mouth!
Even talk that are their own undoing
like George Herbert's saying "The higher
the ape climbs the more he shows his tail"
The best of success. ^{God bless you}
Caroline Phillips

Italy Folder

PRIVATE AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 12, 1941.

Dear Bill:-

It is good to have yours of January twenty-first and to know that you are safely back in Rome. Since you wrote, we note that you have been under guard by police and troops -- but this is to be expected, and I take it that the feeling of disgust of the Italian people against present events is increasing rather than diminishing.

Here is something I should like to have your personal slant on: It is clear that we can get good information from the Vatican if we have someone there -- and the Vatican would like to have a personal representative from me. Myron Taylor is South and is regaining his health slowly, and I think he hopes to go back in the Spring. In the meantime, the Department suggests keeping Tittman at the Vatican, but obviously Tittman has not enough rank to talk with the Holy Father and the Secretary of State personally and confidentially as Myron did.

If in the course of another month or six weeks it appears that Myron cannot go back, what would you think of my asking Owen Young to replace him as my personal representative. I think Owen Young would do very well, and I think also that he would be

distinctly "persona grata" with the Pope.

The Lend-Lease Bill has passed the House and the Senate will take it up next Monday. I hope for definite favorable action by the first of March, if not a little sooner.

As ever yours,

Honorable William Phillips,
American Embassy,
Rome,
Italy.

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HOME
STACY

Rome, January 21, 1941.

Dear Mr. President,

I arrived in Rome a week ago, after a rather tedious trip from Lisbon, by train to Barcelona and by motor the rest of the way. My own car from Rome met me at the Franco-Spanish frontier. But before coming to Rome I made a tour of the Consulates in northern Italy to renew my contacts with them and to obtain the views of the Consuls on the internal situation. They all agreed that a great change had occurred in popular sentiment during the last few months, that the war had become intensely unpopular, and that the Greek expedition was known to have been a disaster in spite of the press and radio propaganda.

The winter in northern Italy has been unusually severe and the poor are suffering intensely from the cold and the high cost of living. Everywhere one heard complaints against the regime and even outspoken and bitter criticism of Mussolini himself. Ciano came in also for harsh criticism, because he is supposed to have encouraged

The President

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The White House,
Washington, D.C.

the disastrous attack on Greece before the army was ready to undertake it. While in Turin, an Italian officer whom I had known as a civilian was outspoken in his attack on the regime, and said to me several times "the present situation cannot go on; something will be done, you will see."

In Rome I have found the same general condemnation of the war and open criticism of Mussolini, not only for his conduct of affairs but for his private conduct. He is said to spend a good deal of his time with his two mistresses - "Mme. Pompador" and her sister, who are provided with an elaborate villa on the outskirts of Rome. For weeks the army did not see him. Today he is returning from his latest meeting with Hitler and may be expected to carry out whatever orders were given to him. Already Italy is under the heel of Germany, more than ever since the establishment of the big German airbases in Sicily and near Catania.

There is no telling how many German planes are already at these bases - some say 700, others 450, but all reports agree that the number is increasing steadily and will probably become a serious menace to British shipping in these parts.

Today

Today, a well known Italian with decided pro-German tendencies, came to me with the plea that you could stop the war if only you would agree to "retard deliveries to Great Britain" and at the same time offer terms of peace. I left him in little doubt.

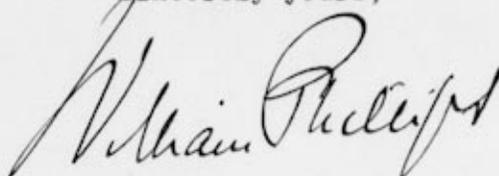
It is said that the Germans have our latest cipher and that therefore the Italians would have it too, and this adds greatly to my problem of keeping you and the State Department informed of internal developments. My Spanish colleague has just been recalled on the grounds, so it is said, that one of his cipher messages, which was not complimentary to the regime, had been read by the Italian authorities and therefore he was no longer "persona grata". On the other hand, the temptation to keep you fully advised by cable is very great, since the pouches take at least three weeks.

Last evening at seven o'clock (Rome time) your Embassy gathered together near the radio to listen to your inaugural address, which unfortunately came across rather feebly. And alas, our radio bulletin this morning had the same difficulty. As was to be expected, I suppose, the Italian press has carried very little of the address, so that we are left in ignorance of its substance.

I hope that the defense program is developing rapidly. Certainly the attitude of Italy and the Italian Government will depend much upon the speed of our output.

With kindest remembrances and all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William Phillips". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.

Portions of this letter published in
William Phillips, Ventures in Diplomacy
(Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952), pp. 296-
297.

RJ 5/8/56



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rome, March 4, 1941.

Dear Mr. President,

I have only one trend of any particular interest to report to you this week. We have been aware for some time that Germany proposes to dominate the entire heavy industry of Italy and is applying pressure upon the Italians to bring this about. In confirmation of these facts comes a report from Milan indicating that the Germans are actually acquiring ownership or control over the iron and steel industries, which in due course will be completely subordinated to German interests. Our Consul General in Milan informs me that the German authorities are acquiring the entire ownership or a majority of the stock of the iron and steel mills, and the payment is to be made therefor in "Italian Reichsmarks", a currency about which we know very little as yet. It is said to be similar to the "French Reichsmarks", with which the Germans are buying up supplies of every kind in France. After the ownership passes into the hands of the Germans, the mills are to be supplied with raw materials from Germany, and there is the inference that, if the owners of the mills refuse to sell, they can expect no raw materials from Germany or German controlled territory. Therefore, unless they yield, the owners will be compelled to close their mills, or at least reduce their activities to such raw materials as are obtainable in Italy, and these are becoming fewer and fewer.

While the Italians are invited to name the amounts of raw materials which they desire to have from Germany, in return they receive from the Germans a list of skilled workers whom the Germans demand immediately from Italy, and I am told that there is no hedging permitted the Italians in this respect.

The tightening of German control all along the line is becoming more evident week by week, and I understand from military sources that the direction of affairs in the Ministry of War is almost entirely in the hands of the Germans. Italians have begun to suffer from the activities of the Gestapo. Whereas formerly there was a great deal of laxity on the part of the Italian police, with the result that

The President,

The White House,

Washington, D.C.

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that freedom of speech to an astonishing extent was beginning to manifest itself, now the situation is reversed and the Gestapo is undoubtedly bringing about a change in this respect, for everyone is becoming fearful and hesitant to express his or her views.

Yesterday, at King Alfonso XIII's funeral, I sat for an hour and a quarter facing the King of Italy, whom I had not seen for many months. He looked old, shrunken, and feeble, and altogether I realized more poignantly than ever how little could be expected from him in the future. They say that he and Mussolini still see as one, but from appearances whatever spirit of independence he may have had in the past, old age and life as a King under the fascist regime has destroyed it.

The situation as I see it from here, is terribly serious for the British Empire. Already Italy has passed under German domination. One hears on all sides that the Germans are in Sicily presumably to stay, and now that the movement through Bulgaria to Salonika has begun, one does not expect Greece to last long as an independent nation. When that moment is reached, Yugoslavia's turn will come, as one by one the European nations have fallen into the Axis basket. It is not a cheery moment, and there is very little optimism to be found in this part of the world in anti-Nazi or anti-Fascist circles, *but it is all intensely interesting to watch.* Devotedly yours,

William P. Cliff

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1941

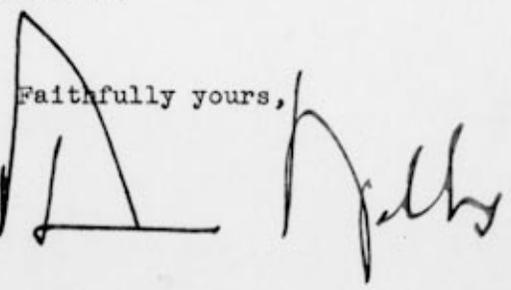
My dear Mr. President:

The information contained in the memorandum which you sent me with your memorandum of February 21 has been communicated to one or two appropriate newspaper commentators, bearing in mind the instructions contained in your memorandum to me.

I believe that Raymond Clapper has already written a story along the lines suggested.

In accordance with your request, I am returning herewith the papers you sent me.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,


Enclosure:
From Myron C. Taylor,
February 4, 1941, with
enclosures.

The President,
The White House.

MYRON C. TAYLOR
71 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

At Vita Serena
South Ocean Boulevard
Palm Beach, Florida
February 4 1941

Miss Marguerite A. LeHand,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss LeHand:

I am sending you a copy of
a note which I have received
from His Excellency Casimir
Papée, Ambassador of Poland,
together with the accompanying
memorial addressed by him to
the Vatican, which I would be
glad if you would place in the
hands of the President.

Thanking you, and with kind
regards, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Myron C. Taylor

C
O
P
Y

AMBASSADE DE POLOGNE
Pres le Saint-Siege

Citta del Vaticano,

November 28 1940

My dear Ambassador:

I am enclosing a copy of an aide-memoire which I presented to the Cardinal Secretary of State on November 8th. I hope it may interest you from a general point of view.

With kindest regards, and best remembrances, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

(Sd) CASIMIR PAPEE

His Excellency
Mr. Myron Taylor
Personal Representative of the
President of the United States of America
to His Holiness the Pope.

TRANSLATION
from
FRENCH
2/3/41

Vatican City, October 29, 1940

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SUPPORTING MEMORANDUM

The Sovereign Pontiff, raising his voice immediately after the start of the campaign by which Germany, with the aid of Soviet Russia, initiated an unjust war for the dominion of the world, in his memorable Encyclical "Summi Pontificatus" dedicated the following passage to Poland:

"... a well beloved nation, Poland, which by its fidelity to the Church, by its deeds in defense of Christian civilization, inscribed in indelible characters in the annals of history, has right to the human and fraternal sympathy of the world, and awaits, confident of the powerful intercession of Marie Auxilium Christianorum, the hour of its resurrection in accord with the principles of justice and of true peace."

What he meant by true peace was very soon stated by the Holy Father when, on December 24, 1939, speaking to the Sacred College, he defined, with incomparable clearness, the five fundamental points on which a peace "just and honorable, with assurance of the existence and independence of all nations" should be based.

The unjust aggression was only the beginning of a succession of iniquities. It was immediately followed by the occupation of Polish territories, illegal and abusive not only in its origin but also in the manner by which it was done by the Germans and the Russians.

Contrary to all divine and human rights, in manifest violation of the rights of the people, whole provinces were incorporated into the Reich and into the U.S.S.R. The Church (27 dioceses, more than 24,000,000 followers, 48 bishops, 14,000 priests) suffers humiliation in the treatment given to its representatives and in the restriction of its activities. Hundreds of thousands of people have been deprived of their property and expelled from their native land. The number of deportees from the "Warthegau" to the "Government General" amounted to 1,000,000 before March 1st, and towards August 1st reached close to 1,500,000. From the single town of Poznan, containing 272,000 inhabitants,

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more than 100,000 were deported. The "Gauleiter" Greiser admitted to have deported from a sole district 132,000 persons. It is estimated that 1,500,000 have been deported by the Soviets to the steppes of Central Asia (see memorandum of this Embassy "Ten months of Soviet occupation" of September 25 and "The condition of Polish deportees" of October 16, 1940). The confiscation of property in a single province, Poznanis, according to German reports, deprived 3600 families of their patrimony. (See memorandum "Latest information on the occupation of October 22, 1940.") The barbarous and impious procedure of the sterilization of the young (see same memorandum P. 3). The forced work inflicted on hundreds of thousands of persons, many of whom are incapable of manual labor, forcibly taken from their country (see same memorandum). In January 1940 Governor General Frank received orders to send a million laborers to Germany. The worst excesses and unpardonable crimes are committed against a defenseless people. A whole nation is to be changed into an amorphous mass of slaves through the extermination of the intellectual classes.

The entire world looks on with disgust at this spectacle.

It was the Vatican radio which towards the end of January 1940 spoke up and stigmatized, in a series of allocutions, the regime of occupation, covering the name of Germany with shame. The resultant powerful reaction of world opinion caused the German authorities to hesitate; the population of Poland benefited from the pause.

The Reich feels the need to react. M. Ribbentrop, who arrived in Rome on March 13, requested to be received by the Holy Father. One is authorized to believe that he was not spared anything; the august lips spoke; ne ponat lucem tenebras nec tenebras lucem, ne dicat bonum malum nec malum bonum.

But Nazi Germany has no need to concern itself with the truth. The mere fact that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Reich was received by the Sovereign Pontiff was presented as an act of approval of the German policy. The German authorities of occupied Poland announce to the unfortunate population that all further resistance is useless. This visit is made into a veritable "factum concludens." It is invoked with manifest bad faith to tell the Polish people that they must submit to the invaders because they represent the legal and acknowledged power.

On June 2d the Holy See performed still another act in favor of Poland. In his unforgettable allocution on the rights and duties of the occupants the Holy Father spoke of Poland. In the martyred country and abroad his words are taken as a denial of the lies spread by the enemies of Poland and of the Church. Despite all the barriers these words are known and are seen to be a reply to the iniquitous propaganda.

But the catastrophe of France takes place. Italy enters the war. Germany and the Soviets, joined by the pact of Moscow of August 23, 1939, continue their war to dominate successively the world.

The Bolscheviks add nothing new to the system of oppression which they perpetrate on a recently subjected catholic population, more numerous than that of the whole of Belgium. They seize all the property of the citizens, they continue the mass deportations. They occupy the Polish territory of Wilno which they had ceded, for a time, to Lithuania; now all of Poland is under the domination of militant atheists and neo-pagans.

German furor on the continent is unrestrained. It is unchained. The mask falls. The Third Reich believes that it can manifest itself freely by new acts contrary to justice and to the rights of men.

First it is indirect annexation. In this case it is a question of Polish provinces occupied by the Reich which up to now were not incorporated into Germany: central Poland, the "Government General" is declared by its chief, the "Governor General" Dr. Frank, to be a part of the "Machtgebiet" (domain) of Germany, and subject to the "Machthoheit" (sovereignty) of the Reich. This is the formula of definitive annexation despite its new and unpublished aspect.

Then there is the continuation of the misdeeds of the occupation, with a special point directed against the Church. In certain sections, such as the industrial regions of Silesia, where it is considered advisable not to exasperate the population, certain considerations are given to the Church; appearance is given in the "Government General" of tolerating it. But in the western part of Poland in the provinces "incorporated" in the various "Gau," in the dioceses of Gniezno, Poznan, Chelmo, Wloclawek, Lodz, Plock, and in parts of the neighboring dioceses, there is pitiless persecution. Nearly all the priests, more than 3000, are imprisoned, deported, or otherwise deprived of the possibility of exercising their

sacerdotal ministry; the churches may be opened only two hours per week, but are opened very much less owing to lack of officiating prelates; the lack of priests in general, and above all of priests speaking Polish, is aggravated by the prohibition of the use of the Polish language, even in confessions. Thus there is no catechism and no individual confessions; the custom has been introduced that German priests, when in the country, give general sacramental absolution, without hearing the confessions, as is done in case of imminent danger (see memorandum of the Polish Embassy "Religious life in the diocese of Culma" of September 12, 1940). In these dioceses the number of the Catholic population is greater than the population of Belgium. Furthermore, outside of these regions, in the remainder of the country subject to German occupation where the persecution is less complete and where the Church appears, in comparison, to be tolerated, bishops are imprisoned, they are deported, hundreds of priests are locked up, religious communities are dispersed, the church properties are expropriated, all religious teaching, from elementary schools managed by the congregations up to the Catholic University at Lublin, is suppressed, the entire Catholic press is muzzled, the Catholic action dissolved. It is another population, more numerous still, estimated at 12,000,000, which is the victim of this system.

Besides this persecution note should be made of the propaganda. For the foreigner it is the conjuration of silence. In fact it serves better to benumb the conscience of the Christian world than would lying statements which provoke if not denials at least reflections. A true conjuration of silence is formed by Germany in the whole of the regions controlled by the Nazis. Even the name of Poland disappears from the subject press, the cries of an oppressed people must be stifled. Docilely, the unfortunate clients of Dr. Goebbels obey everywhere. In the interior the procedure is different. Having suppressed all of the Polish press, having prohibited radio and broadcasting stations, having, in a word, made a clean sweep of all the means of publicity except their own they "enjoy a tranquil peace in crime." The Nazi occupants continue in Poland their work of extermination of the leading classes of a Catholic nation which is always faithful to the Holy See. They attack even the source of the national force and endeavor to persuade the Polish people that they have been abandoned by Rome. They try to take away their hope, their faith. They give a tendential interpretation to that which they denounce as "silence of the Vatican." In their "Flusterpropaganda" they never fail to pretend that the Supreme Authority of the Church is ready to recognize

the "new order established in Europe," that it is disposed to conform with the accomplished facts.

At the same time the German authorities have been able to bring under subjection "the Orthodox Church" of Poland. (See memorandum of the Polish Embassy "Submission of the Orthodox Church" of October 4, 1940). Lately there was created an "orthodox" diocese for Lemkowszczyzna, with an Orthodox bishop who will have a seat for the first time in history at Krakow. This was most certainly done for the purpose of making the Orthodox church a menace against the Catholic Church and to thus favor, and perhaps by other means, all tendencies towards a "national church" which they hope to bring about and to cause to grow.

Poland understands this "annexation," this perfidious propaganda, this manner of governing the country, without mentioning the direct anti-Catholic conspiracy, are a challenge to Christian principles and above all to the creative ideas of the "Summi Pontificatus" and the allocution of December 14 last. The independence of peoples exists no more; there is only "the dangerous individualism of small nations" that must be restrained. "The evolution in the civilization" of the "Summi Pontificatus" has become "necessity to be conducted, to entrust one's self to the protection and the direction of the great empires." The Third Reich would like in effect "to regulate the relations between nations by a new law, based on utilitarian interest, on other theories which are the denial of the eternal principles of justice" -- if it is permitted to us to use the words of a great prince of the Church. (Letter of Card. Rampolla of September 15, 1891.)

Poland knows what to think of all the anti-Roman suggestions of the occupants. However, it suffers while waiting for a reply to the question: "Why do we not hear the words of consolation, of moral aid in our fight for justice, of disapproval of the new misdeeds of the enemy, who are also the enemies of Christ? Has the Holy See no further means of restraining by a ray of light the dark conspiracy of the occupants?" The Vatican Radio which makes known to oppressed peoples the sentiments of the Holy See, by competent and forceful pronouncements on certain misdeeds committed in many occupied countries, speaks at times of Poland under Soviet occupation; up to the last days it said nothing or nearly nothing of the German occupation of Poland. "The Osservatore Romano" maintains silence on this subject to such a point that even the name of Poland disappears from its columns for months; one almost gets the impression that the unfortunate country is doomed to slow oblivion.

This fact has not gone unnoticed in Poland. The people do not believe in the tendential interpretation given to it but they suffer. The enemy suggests: "qui tacet, consentire videtur." A group of Poles of good faith and good Catholics writes to us: "It would be lacking in duty as a good Catholic not to call to the attention of the Holy See the great dangers which, despite the profound attachment of the Poles to Catholicism, may arise for the future of the relations between the Holy See and our people." Another letter contains the following phrase: "in certain regions there is spread among the people the idea that the Holy See has sacrificed Poland to Germany, and it is suggested that Poland should reply thereto by detaching itself from Rome." - "We no longer hear the voice of the Father raised in our defense," a fervent Catholic tells us, "and the enemies of Rome profit thereby."

The thirst for truth, which is felt in the entire world, is felt so much more in the occupied countries, where truth has been stifled.

Poland must not lack the moral support of the Holy See in the most horrible moments of its history. Ne vera rerum pereant nomina! Poland must be able to commence its future reconstruction with the firm conviction that the Holy See took as its own the just cause at the time of the greatest test.

The thesis that there is no point in exasperating the oppressor by revealing his crimes is rejected by the greater part of the Poles. First of all the Germans fear above all the truth and understand only forceful language. The good effects of the Vatican Radio communiques of the month of January have been seen. Besides, by treating the occupants with courtesy protecting thus, in appearance, the Poles from an excess of reprisals there is achieved, in reality, the burying of Polish Catholicism which is by nature firmly attached to national sentiment; it would render it accessible to all the most evil influences which it has been able to resist during centuries. Never has there been such a weakening of religious sentiment in Poland, never have there been so many defections, as after the Encyclical "Cum primum" of Gregory XVI, addressed to the bishops of Poland after the country had been drowned

in blood by Russia in 1831.

A great Cardinal said: "All the natural laws, divine and human, give the right to the oppressed to reject force with force and to throw off the yoke imposed on them without reason."

Never will Germany or Russia obtain from Poland the recognition of the accomplished fact; never will the Germans reduce the Poles to that conformity which they desire to bring about, nor to that collaboration, so greatly desired, with the authorities of occupation. The national front has nowhere been pierced; never, not even after the defeat of France, has the white flag been raised. Poland continues to fight, confident in the victory of the just cause, faithful to the laws of the fatherland, to the Chief of State and to the legal Government, to the banners of its armies and to its allies.

After one year of struggle, on the morrow of the anniversary of the "Summi Pontificatus," this fact must be recognized.



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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Dear Mr President

*The enclosed letter
from the Papal Delegate
will furnish evidence of
the attitude of the Vatican
toward the nazis in
respect to recently conquered
nations.*

*Respectfully
Myron Taylor*



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Nº 273/41

THIS NO. SHOULD BE PREFIXED TO THE ANSWER

3339 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.

May 19, 1941

His Excellency
Mr. Myron C. Taylor
Ambassador to the Holy See
Washington, D.C.

Your Excellency,

I beg to transmit to Your Excellency the enclosed memorandum regarding the recent audience of Duke Aimone of Spoleto and of delegates from Croatia with the Holy Father. Since these visits may give rise to erroneous interpretations, I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will make known the contents of the memorandum to the competent officials of the United States Government.

With sentiments of deepest consideration and esteem, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

+ *A. G. Cicognani*

Archbishop of Laodicea
Apostolic Delegate

MEMORANDUM

In regard to the audience granted by the Holy Father on Saturday evening, May 17th, to Duke Aimone of Spoleto, who had previously requested it, it is to be noted that the Vatican significantly avoided everything that might have even the appearance of a lessening of the attitude of absolute neutrality and impartiality which it maintains in the face of the changes and vicissitudes of the present war. In fact the Duke was received simply as a Prince of the House of Savoy, and before any act regarding his position in the new Kingdom of Croatia took place.

Mr. Pavelitch was likewise granted the audience which he had requested, but was received by the Holy Father simply as a Catholic and private personage, without any of the ceremonial and formality usually observed for the audiences of heads of States or heads of diplomatic missions. Neither the Duke of Spoleto nor Mr. Pavelitch were received the Cardinal Secretary of State, nor did he repay the visit which they had made to the Sovereign Pontiff, precisely because their visits were considered entirely private. Lastly, the persons composing the mission which accompanied Mr. Pavelitch, having asked

to see the Holy Father and being about to leave Rome, were admitted to the presence of His Holiness later in the evening, merely for the kissing of his ring, in the ordinary form of public audiences.

So also on this occasion the Holy See has not departed from its program of neutrality and impartiality, and in conformity to the same it has abstained from making any definite provision during the present state of hostilities.

May 19, 1941

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personal*

PSF: *Italy Folder*
Pages 1-41

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

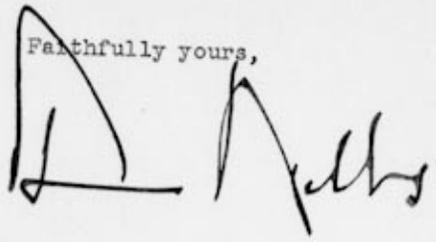
June 26, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing for your information a copy of
a letter I received from Bill Phillips under date
of June 10. I believe you will find it of interest.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.
From William Phillips,
June 10, 1940.

The President,
The White House.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rome, June 10, 1941

Dear Sumner,

In my letter of May 20th, I mentioned the gossip about Ciano's somewhat delicate position and loss of popularity, but he still seems to be holding on and is reported to have said the other day to Princess Colonna that he felt he was once more "firm in the saddle". However, other Ministers do not seem to have fared so well, for Starace and Guzzoni have just disappeared from public life. Starace's downfall was apparently the result of his highly immoral life and the improper accumulation of a large fortune. He will not be missed, for very few Italians have had a good word for him for a long time.

During my last call at the Foreign Office, I had a rather straight talk with Ciano in regard to a nasty rumor that has been in circulation here for some time to the effect that our consular officers in Naples were responsible for the sinking of two Italian troop transports in February last. The gossip runs that Bowman, or someone on his staff, tipped off the British to the departure of the ships, with the result that they were torpedoed and the troops lost.

The Honorable
Sumner Welles,
Under Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

This gossip came to my attention a few weeks after the reported event, and I went at once to Anfuso, who was then in charge of the Foreign Office, and denounced it as purely malicious, and it is only recently that the story has again been revived. This time a member of the Foreign Office told an American that the Foreign Office had proof of the activities in question. When I spoke to Ciano about it, he stoutly denied that he had ever heard the report, and he called in Vitetti, who, he said, might be aware of it. Vitetti followed Ciano's lead and denied ever having heard the gossip--which I do not believe. I accepted his statement, thanked them both, and said that I was now in a position to quote them and that that was all I desired.

With regard to more general matters, there is very little to report this week. Our contacts are becoming fewer and fewer and from now on I fear we shall be able to send you very little information of value. I did have an exceptionally good contact with the German Embassy through a mutual friend, but a day or two ago the Germans became suspicious and have dropped him. And, as you can well understand, I can get nothing out of the Foreign Office with regard to political or military matters, either from Ciano or from any of his subordinates.

As an example of our restricted life, I need only mention that on Saturday morning I informed the Foreign Office (according to protocol) that I intended to go to Nettuno on the following day for luncheon with a friend (Nettuno is about an hour by motor from Rome). At noon on Sunday the Foreign Office called up to say that the Ministry of War could not grant the permission, as I had not given them time enough to notify all their officers stationed along the route from Rome to Nettuno! The message went on to say that if in future I would give them more notice (and they ask for one week), the permission would be granted. It is of course difficult to advise the Italian Government a week or so in advance of what one intends to do on a given day.

I am glad to know that four daily broadcasts to Italy in the Italian language are being made from the United States, and I recently obtained from the Department the precise hours and wave lengths. This information has been furnished our Consuls with the request that they report to me with regard to the reception of the broadcasts. It is often more difficult in Rome than in other parts of Italy to receive broadcasts from America, and I think that a general report from us with regard to the conditions of the reception of these broadcasts will be of interest to the Department.

A high officer of the German army, recently in Rome, is quoted as saying that evidence had recently come to light of a considerable spread of communism among German workers with a consequent increase in communist underground activities in industrial matters. He added that, in his opinion, Germany could last out the coming winter should the war continue, but that the autumn of 1942 would find the people at the breaking point. He said that the only thing which would arouse public enthusiasm in Germany today was a chance to fight the Italians!

In case you have not seen it, I am sure you will be interested to glance through Vichy's despatch No. 187 of May 27th, containing the text of a treaty between the Government of Iraq and the Italian Minister at Baghdad signed on April 25th last. And of equal interest is the reported text of a speech made by Hitler on May 4th before a restricted group of Nazis, which is also an enclosure in this same despatch from Vichy. Hitler's reference to the establishment of the new order "not only in Europe and in Africa but also in America", and his remark that if Roosevelt decides on war it will not be conducted on this side of the Atlantic "but near the coasts and on the territory of South America", are both of interest. Hitler also stated that he has given Mussolini a promise of realizing "toutes les exigences italiennes envers la France".

I am very much worried about the strike situation at home and the report which we have today of conditions in the North American Aviation Corporation at Inglewood, California. Anything that you can send me from time to time about conditions at home and the actual assistance which is getting through to the British, would be of the greatest help, for here we are saturated with news of the inadequacy of American assistance to Great Britain and the sweeping victories of the Axis powers. We really need to be fortified as much as possible by the Department.

Hoping that you are standing the terrific Departmental grind with your customary patience.

Ever sincerely,

WILLIAM PHILLIPS

No. 187

Vichy, May 27, 1941.

Subject: Transmitting the purported text of a
secret treaty between Italy and Iraq.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to enclose, as of possible interest to the Department, what is purported to be the text of a treaty signed at Bagdad on April 25, 1941, by the Iraqi Government and the Italian Minister at Bagdad.

2/ There is also enclosed what is described as the text of a speech made by Hitler on May 4th before a restricted group of his partisans at Berlin.

The texts of the two enclosures were obtained by Vice Consul Bradford of the Consulate at Marseille who received them from a friend who told him that they had been given him by a member of the Italian Armistice Commission in that city. They are transmitted, of course, with all possible reserve as the Embassy has

no

no means of establishing the authenticity of this information.

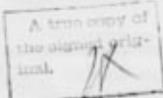
Respectfully yours,
For the Ambassador:

H. Freeman Matthews,
First Secretary of Embassy.

Enclosures:

1. Text of treaty signed April 25, 1941, between Italy and Iraq.
2. Text of speech said to have been delivered by Hitler on May 4th.

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In quadruplicate
DMacA/lhh



*Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch
No. 187 of May 27, 1941, from
the Embassy at Vichy.*

TRAITE SECRET SIGNE A BAGDAD le 25 Avril 1941, entre Rachid-Ali-Kailani, au nom du Régent du Royaume de l'Irak et sur pouvoir donné par ce dernier, d'un côté, et le Ministre de Sa Majesté le Roi et l'Empereur d'Italie et Abyssinie en Irak, sur pouvoir donné par son gouvernement et en qualité de représentant ad referendum du gouvernement du Rekh.

Le traité comprend 11 paragraphes. Le texte présent est une traduction du texte italien qui avait été entre les mains du transcripteur.

Paragraphe 1 - L'Italie et l'Allemagne reconnaissant le gouvernement de Rachid-Ali-Kailani en sa qualité de seul gouvernement national de l'Irak. Les deux pays sus-indiqués prennent l'obligation de donner au gouvernement sus-indiqué un appui entier dans ses efforts d'annuler le traité d'alliance anglo-irakois comme étant contraire au principe de la souveraineté nationale de l'Irak, si le gouvernement royal de l'Irak était obligé de commencer des hostilités militaires contre l'Empire Britannique pour atteindre ce but.

Paragraphe 2 - L'Italie et l'Allemagne reconnaissent la nécessité de la fusion de l'Irak et de la Syrie en un seul royaume sous la souveraineté de Sa Majesté le Roi de l'Irak.

Paragraphe 3 - L'Italie et l'Allemagne s'engagent à fournir au gouvernement royal une aide financière allant jusqu'à 10 milliards de liras sous forme de versements directs et aussi sous forme de crédits à long terme pour la fourniture des armements, d'avions, de chars d'assaut et de toutes sortes de fournitures militaires nécessaires pour la conduite d'une guerre contre l'Empire Britannique.

En garantie du remboursement de cette somme, le gouvernement royal de l'Irak s'engage à fournir une hypothèque sur les puits de pétrole se trouvant sur son territoire et admettre aussi les conseillers financiers italiens et allemands pour l'organisation et le contrôle du Ministère des Finances de l'Irak.

Paragraphe 4 - De la somme mentionnée, l'équivalent d'un milliard de liras est versé directement à son Excellence Rachid-Ali-Kailani à la signature du présent traité.

Paragraphe 5 - Le gouvernement royal de l'Irak s'engage à nationaliser toutes les exploitations pétrolières sur son territoire et créer une "direction spéciale de l'exploitation" de ces entreprises. L'Italie et l'Allemagne participeront à 75% dans la direction de cette organisation, sur la base d'une convention qui sera signée une fois la nationalisation réalisée.

Paragraphe 6 - Le gouvernement royal de l'Irak s'engage à octroyer à l'Italie et l'Allemagne des concessions pour la construction de pipe-lines vers les ports de la côte syrienne et qui seront remis en location à ces deux pays selon le paragraphe 7 du traité présent.

Tous les pipe-lines fonctionnant déjà sur le territoire de l'Irak seront remis à la "direction spéciale de l'exploitation des entreprises pétrolières".

Paragraphe 7 - Le gouvernement royal de l'Irak s'engage à mettre en location à l'Italie et à l'Allemagne, et ceci après la réalisation de l'union entre l'Irak et la Syrie en un seul royaume, au moins trois ports sur la côte syrienne, pour un délai de 40 ans et avec des zones adjacentes à un rayon de 25 kilomètres. Le paiement de la location sera mis au point par un accord spécial.

Paragraphe 8 - L'Italie et l'Allemagne auront le droit d'organiser sur les territoires pris par eux en location des bases militaires, navales et aériennes, et de construire toutes sortes de fortifications. Le territoire pris en bail de cette façon sera exclu de la compétence des organisations douanières irakiennes.

Paragraphe 9 - Le gouvernement royal de l'Irak re-connait/le droit spécial de contrôle et de défense des populations chrétiennes sur tout les territoires du futur royaume uni de l'Irak et de la Syrie. Ce droit sera exercé par un commissaire spécial désigné par le Gouvernement Italien et qui sera accrédité directement auprès de Sa Majesté le Roi de l'Irak et de la Syrie en qualité de représentant des populations chrétiennes du Royaume Irako-Syrien.

à l'Italie

Paragraphe 10 - Au cas où le gouvernement de l'Irak trouverait nécessaire de demander à l'Italie et à l'Allemagne une assistance directe militaire, pour la conduite de la guerre contre l'Empire Britannique, il fera à ce sujet une déclaration officielle annoncée. Le Gouvernement royal de l'Irak s'engage dans ce cas à exiger des puissances avec lesquelles il est lié par des traités d'alliance de donner au gouvernement italien une complète collaboration dans leur intention de donner l'assistance à l'Irak.

Paragraphe 11 - Le traité présent, sauf le paragraphe 4, devient valable seulement après avoir été complété par la signature d'un représentant dûment qualifié du gouvernement du Reich.

Le présent traité est secret mais sera remplacé, après la réalisation de l'union de l'Irak et de la Syrie, par un nouveau traité rendu public et basé sur le traité présent.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch
No. 187 of May 27, 1941, from the
Embassy at Vichy.

Texte du Discours prononcé par Hitler le 4 Mai,
quelques heures avant la Séance du Reichstag,
et en présence de 87 personnages les plus
importants du Régime.
La réunion a eu lieu à la Chancellerie du Reich.

Mes Camarades,

Vous allez entendre aujourd'hui à la Séance du Reichstag ma communication concernant le cours de la guerre et les derniers brillants succès de l'armée du Grand Reich. Nos drapeaux se sont couverts d'une nouvelle gloire, qui continuera à flamboyer d'une flamme éternelle dans l'histoire du peuple allemand et pendant des milliers d'années. Notre Wehrmacht a prouvé que rien ne lui était impossible et que le génie de notre peuple triomphe sur les armées de l'adversaire et sur les forces de la nature.

Mais j'ai toujours tenu comme indispensable de ne pas vous cacher et les certaines difficultés de la conduite politique de la guerre, qui n'ont pas encore été éliminées malgré la victoire militaire, et aussi certaines nouvelles perspectives qui pourraient nous obliger à apporter des modifications dans les plans de l'activité militaire, politique et économique.

Dans ce sens, j'attire votre attention sur le changement dans le sens du pire ces derniers temps, de nos relations avec le Gouvernement des Soviets. Quand nous signâmes un accord avec le Gouvernement soviétique en Août 1939, j'avais pris une décision ferme et sincère d'appliquer dans la vie cet accord. Lors de ma rencontre avec Molotov, qui avait produit sur moi la meilleure impression, je lui avais dit qu'il fallait oublier une fois pour toutes les vieilles frictions entre l'Allemagne et la Russie et notamment dans les Balkans, et que l'Allemagne n'avait aucune prétention territoriale dans ces régions. Molotov m'avait répondu qu'il accueillait avec satisfaction ma déclaration comme une base pour une amitié éternelle entre l'U.R.S.S. et l'Allemagne.

Malgré ceci nous avons été amenés à constater à plusieurs reprises dans ces derniers temps des actes politiques soviétiques dissimulés et ouverts dirigés contre les intérêts de l'Allemagne. La déclaration impudique (dreist) de Vichinsky au Ministre hongrois à Moscou et surtout les avances de certains cercles moscovites faites à la clique des conspirateurs militaires serbes à Belgrade, ont fait déborder la coupe de notre patience. Dans les instructions données par moi à notre ambassadeur à Moscou, j'ai exigé de Molotov non plus des paroles, mais des actes, qui auraient montré que le Gouvernement soviétique n'avait pas l'intention de se
mettre

mettre en travers de la route de la création du nouvel ordre en Europe, mais qu'il est prêt de collaborer avec nous dans cette tâche. J'ai exigé des actes diplomatiques qui auraient donné la possibilité d'oublier ces frictions d'hier. Mais j'ai également considéré nécessaire d'informer les dirigeants de la politique soviétique que le Reich ne tolérera pas dans l'avenir un jeu double et que ceux qui ne se placent pas de notre côté, ouvertement et sincèrement, seront comptés dans la catégorie de nos ennemis. L'Union Soviétique a la possibilité d'affirmer pour toujours une amitié avec nous en se joignant au pacte tripartite. Nous attendons de lui, et ceci dans le plus bref délai, qu'il se mettra dans la voie d'une collaboration avec nous et nous facilitera la destruction de l'Empire Britannique. Mais, si les dirigeants soviétiques persistaient dans un jeu double préconisé par une clique de conspirateurs, je pourrais donner l'ordre de marche à nos armées et nous rendrons au peuple ukrainien et aux peuples du Caucase leur indépendance dans une alliance avec le Grand Reich. J'espère que les dirigeants soviétiques comprendront le vrai sens des avertissements qui ont été transmis par notre ambassadeur à Moscou et que nous ne serons pas obligés de mettre à exécution les plans de notre Etat-Major préparés pour le cas d'une nécessité d'un conflit militaire avec l'U.R.S.S.

Le deuxième fait sur lequel je tiens à attirer votre attention, est l'activité toujours croissante de la bande d'incendiaires guerriers des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord. Vous savez bien que notre décision était prise de terminer la guerre contre l'Angleterre encore cette année, sans attendre que les Etats-Unis amènent leur réarmement à des limites qui leur permettraient de prendre part aux côtés de l'Angleterre à une guerre contre nous. Nous estimons qu'une fois la guerre terminée avec l'Angleterre les Etats-Unis n'oseront pas commencer une guerre isolée contre nous, puisqu'une pareille guerre, sans bases pour les Etats-Unis, auprès des côtes européennes, pourrait continuer pendant un temps illimité. Néanmoins, les dernières informations de nos organismes d'informations en Amérique affirment d'une manière catégorique que la bande des incendiaires guerriers de l'Amérique du Nord avec Roosevelt en tête avait décidé de provoquer une guerre avec l'Allemagne encore avant que nous ayons eu la possibilité de mettre l'Angleterre à genoux. Dans ce cas, même si l'Angleterre était écrasée, nous serons obligés de tenir compte des perspectives d'une continuation d'une telle guerre dont la durée ne peut être prévue déjà par personne.

Je ne doute pas que le peuple allemand sortira vainqueur de ce heurt militaire grandiose et que nous établirons le nouvel ordre, non seulement en Europe et en Afrique, mais aussi en Amérique. J'ai pris toutes les mesures nécessaires pour qu'une entrée en guerre des Etats-Unis ne nous prenne pas au dépourvu.

Je puis

Je puis vous informer que le représentant français, De Brinon, nous a donné une garantie formelle de mise à notre disposition de la base de Dakar et du Maroc en cas d'un conflit militaire avec les Etats-Unis. Les gens de Vichy (Leute von Vichy) (-n'a pas en allemand le sens péjoratif) ne pourront pas se dérober à la réalisation de cette garantie donnée par leur Ambassadeur. L'amitié de cercles influents de l'Argentine nous est garantie, et, si Roosevelt se décidait à la guerre, elle sera menée non pas près de côtes et sur les territoires européens, mais près des côtes et sur le territoire de l'Amérique du Sud.

Mais, je répète, que la durée de cette guerre peut être grande et que nous devons prendre toutes les mesures pour éviter les graves privations qui peuvent être réservées au sort des masses populaires allemandes.

Je ne veux pas cacher non plus à vos yeux encore une autre circonstance.

Quand nous avons reçu les informations inquiétantes des Etats-Unis, quelques uns de nos camarades dirigeants avaient tenté de me persuader de faire encore une fois une proposition de paix à l'Angleterre et de terminer cette guerre avant qu'elle ne soit encore devenue une guerre entre continents. Je ne puis faire de pareilles propositions puisque j'ai acquis la conviction que les dirigeants anglais n'ont rien appris et que chacune de mes offres d'apaisement ne crée chez eux qu'une illusion sur notre faiblesse et allonge ainsi la guerre. J'ai répondu à ces camarades que si le gouvernement anglais nous faisait une offre sincère de commencer des négociations de paix, en reconnaissant le principe de l'établissement du nouvel ordre sous la direction allemande, sur le continent européen, j'aurais donné immédiatement l'ordre d'arrêter les opérations militaires et de commencer des pourparlers de paix avec l'Angleterre, mais seulement avec elle, puisque je ne puis pas accepter de discuter les questions concernant le continent européen à une Conférence Internationale.

Les questions de nos relations avec la France, avec les autres pays vaincus par la force des armes allemandes feront l'objet de pourparlers de paix spéciaux entre le Reich et ces pays.

J'ai donné une promesse ferme à Mussolini de réaliser toutes les exigences italiennes envers la France et cette promesse sera accomplie par moi honnêtement, comme il le sied entre deux camarades, amis et alliés d'une lutte commune.

J'ai donné ma parole au Général Franco que les troupes allemandes n'entreront jamais en territoire espagnol sans l'accord du peuple espagnol et je tiendrai honnêtement cette parole quoique
l'entrée

l'entrée de nos troupes sur le territoire de l'Espagne aurait porté sans doute un coup terrible à l'Empire Britannique.

J'ai affirmé au Président de la République Turque que pour moi les Turcs sont avant tout des anciens co-combattants d'une lutte et que jamais je ne donnerai l'ordre d'attaquer la Turquie tant que celle-ci n'admet pas la présence sur son territoire de troupes anglaises. Je suis plutôt disposé à courir le risque d'une apparition directe de nos troupes en Syrie que contrevenir à la parole donnée par moi au Président de la République Turque.

Dans cette fidélité allemande à la parole donnée est notre force et aussi le gage de la confiance mutuelle entre les pays qui vont construire en commun le nouvel ordre. Nous allons montrer sur les faits à l'Espagne, à la France, à la Turquie et aux autres pays, qu'avec nous on peut s'entendre honnêtement et pour toujours et non pas comme l'on s'entendait autrefois, avec des affairistes juifs et les ploutocrates de la City, de la Bourse de Paris et de la soi-disante Société des Nations. J'ai choisi comme but non seulement de créer un nouvel ordre en Europe, en organisant le travail, l'industrie, l'agriculture et les échanges, mais aussi en greffant à tous les pays européens les règles allemandes de l'honneur, de la fidélité à la parole donnée et du travail consciencieux dans l'intérêt commun.

Nous apportons à l'Europe une rénovation dans tous les domaines de la vie des peuples, dans leurs moeurs, dans la politique, dans l'action sociale et économique. Le national-socialisme a vaincu le judéo-marxisme en Allemagne; il termine sa victoire sur le judéo-ploutocratisme en France et en Angleterre; il a réduit à zéro la menace du judéo-bolchevisme en Europe.

J'ai toujours fermement cru que quand nous aurons fini l'érection de la nouvelle Europe, l'Amérique accepterait bénévolement d'appliquer chez elle les mêmes principes sous la direction de plusieurs chefs nobles et raisonnables. Mais la bande d'incendiaires, avec Roosevelt à la tête, a décidé d'organiser une terrible guerre entre les continents et d'empêcher la reconstruction paisible du capitalisme en un système d'une solidarité sociale corporative excluant la bestiale lutte des classes.

Je prends à témoin la Providence et vous, mes camarades et compagnons de lutte, qu'il me coûte de durs efforts et des souffrances morales d'avoir à accepter ce défi. J'avais toujours été prêt à prendre sur moi la responsabilité d'un chef dans la lutte pour la renaissance de l'Allemagne et pour la correction des injustices révoltantes de Versailles. Je fus obligé de prendre la lourde responsabilité de la direction dans la tâche de la réorganisation de l'Europe et de la création du nouvel ordre sur le continent.

Et à

Et à présent, une bande irresponsable avec Roosevelt à la tête, veut me forcer à prendre sur moi une responsabilité illimitée du dirigeant de la nouvelle Europe dans sa lutte avec les ploutocrates d'Amérique.

Je n'élué pas cette provocation. Quoique je sache que la Providence ne m'a pas laissé de longues années à vivre, je sais fermement qu'il m'est destiné de voir la victoire de notre cause dans la lutte nouvelle et longue qu'on nous impose, et je demande à la Providence de prolonger ma vie jusqu'au moment de la victoire finale. A vous, mes camarades, je demande de commencer le travail grandiose de préparation matérielle du peuple allemand pour une lutte difficile et longue. Il faut expliquer à nos camarades du peuple (Volksgenossen) que nous ne voulons pas de la longue guerre qui leur apporte tant de souffrances et de privations. Il faut faire comprendre la nécessité d'une mobilisation de toute la population, des femmes et des adolescents pour une plus grande capacité de l'industrie militaire. Il faut obtenir que les ploutocrates des Etats-Unis ne puissent armer leurs propres troupes et celles de leurs alliés avec une plus grande quantité et avec de meilleurs avions, chars d'assaut, canons et mitrailleuses que les nôtres.

C'est un travail de titans.

Mais pour le peuple allemand, il n'y a rien d'impossible. Et si vous vous montrez des dirigeants dignes de notre peuple génial, notre victoire est assurée.

Nous apporterons de lourds sacrifices mais nous assurerons à l'Allemagne et au monde entier une paix de mille années.

Nos noms seront inscrits en lettres d'or dans le livre de l'Histoire Allemande et de l'Histoire mondiale.

Nous sommes des hommes du nouveau-monde, et la victoire est à nous!

Sieg, Heil!

file
personal

Italy Folder
1-41

August 25, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

Archbishop Mooney and Monsignor Ready called to see me on August 21. As you know, both the Archbishop and Monsignor Ready are whole-hearted supporters of the foreign policy of the Administration. They came to talk over with me some of the difficulties with which they had been confronted as a result of our announced policy -- with which they are fully in accord -- of giving assistance to Soviet Russia.

They expressed the very strong belief that it would be far easier for them and some of their associates in the Catholic Church to prevent protests against this policy of the Administration were the Government to continue to make it clear from time to time that the assistance we were rendering the Soviets in no way implied any support on our part of communism in any of its manifestations outside of Russia.

The President,

The White House.

I asked the Archbishop and Monsignor Ready to send me a letter which would give me clearly their views as to how this could best be done. I have today received a letter from Monsignor Ready, dated August 23, in which he gives me these views, and because of the importance of the problem, I am sending you a copy thereof for your information.

From what they told me, any clarification by you of this point in some address which might afford the appropriate opportunity would be more helpful than anything else.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

SUMNER WELLES

Enc.

August 30, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I have now secured a copy of the Constitution, or Fundamental Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Article 124 of which reads as follows:

"In order to insure to citizens freedom of conscience, the Church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the State, and the School from the Church. Freedom of religious worship, and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

This is not generally recognized. In fact, the clerical gentlemen whom I was talking with yesterday were not aware of it. The bad part, of course, is the freedom of anti-religious propaganda being recognized for all citizens.

It seems to me that it should be quite easy for your mission to persuade Mr. Stalin to make some kind of a declaration quoting Article 124, which would be broadcast all over the world, and might change opinions on this question in some places.

The general impression has been that the Soviets were anti-religion and atheistic.

BYRON TAYLOR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Locust Valley, L. I.
August 30, 1941

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM MYRON TAYLOR ...

As indicated on the telephone this morning, I asked Archbishop Mooney and Msgr. Ready if they would in a very brief statement indicate to me the substance of our conversation, and suggest a remedy for the situation that they described.

I have now received the following confidential statement: It is evident that the announced policy of aid to Russia creates a delicate situation in the United States. This is particularly true in regard to the reaction created in the minds of Catholic citizens. The irreconcilable opposition between atheistic Communism and Catholicity is of course well known.

It was indeed heartening that Mr. Welles in announcing this policy made it utterly clear that it involved no sympathy on the part of our Government with Communist ideology, but this statement of principle, or even its frequent reiteration will hardly be sufficient to meet the situation as it actually exists. One of its most difficult phases is the opposition to our Government's policy in all the elements of our population grouped around the America First Committee, and their willingness to exploit to the full every possible source of support.

The Catholic groups concerned have been quick to utilize an apparently clear and pertinent statement in the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Atheistic Communism:

"Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever."

The discriminating mind might argue from the context that this statement refers to the domestic rather than the international field. Those who are using the statement, however, are clever enough to attack any distinctions made in its regard as a compromise in principle and failure to accept a clear pronouncement of Papal authority.

This is the line followed by the Brooklyn Tablet, and some other Diocesan papers. This again is particularly exploited by "Social Justice", which is not in any sense a Catholic paper, because not subject to ecclesiastical authority, but does actually reach and influence many Catholics of a particularly emotional type.

One might say, why does not some bishop or some group of bishops take definite measures to counteract what is fast becoming a widespread

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Page 2 ...

movement of opposition to our national policy, and therefore a serious threat to the unity of mind and endeavor urgently necessary at this time?

The difficulty, of course, is that any academic or unofficial interpretation of the Papal statement in question bids fair to create a definite and disastrous cleavage in Catholic ranks, both clerical and lay. This is particularly true in view of the clever but hardly praiseworthy tactics to which the above-named opposition will inevitably resort.

The one thing that would make impossible any further exploitation of the Pope's statement for partisan interests and disruptive purposes would be some word or gesture on the part of the Holy Father himself that will evidently show whether or not their argument is in accord with the mind of the Holy See.

PSF: Italy Folder

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PSF: Italy Folder

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
September 1, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HONORABLE MYRON C. TAYLOR

I think it worthwhile for you to stress the following points:

basis of (a) Disarmament. I put this first in a post war world because German, Italian and Japanese official policy and also psychology places control of other nations and peoples *in the* ~~by~~ armed force.

It is worthwhile for Christianity to strive for the elimination of all weapons of war which can be used for aggression against a neighbor.

It will take many years -- perhaps generations -- to accomplish this by uniform voluntary methods. Therefore, for sometime, nations which hold to the non-aggression for themselves must be in a position to enforce non-aggression by the Axis Powers.

(b) The self-determination of boundaries and forms of government was the most substantial contribution made by the Versailles Treaty -- i. e., the plebiscite method, which, on the whole, was successful. This method can be extended in the case of certain populations and areas which have conducted century-old feuds. As an example, the people of Croatia should not be forced into a government with the Serbs, or with the Italians, or with the Hungarians, or compulsory independence by themselves, without an expression of their own views. If there was in ~~any~~ other places a plebiscite resulting in a close vote, with resulting recriminations, arrangements could be made for a later plebiscite or later plebiscites -- the thought being that the method is not of necessity a final one, but in case of need or desire is a continuing one. The whole point of this is that peaceful determination is a continuing process and thereby eliminates determination by war.

(c) In world economics the thought is that freedom to trade in all parts of the world will encourage self-sufficiency and a greater general prosperity, and will assure general access to the necessary raw materials of the world.

It will be well worthwhile to consider in many instances the development of the American idea of the "ever normal granary". In other words, for example, the machinery should be established to prevent huge excesses in the production of wheat or rubber because over-production can bring poverty prices and suffering just as easily as non-production of necessities. World need is the criterion.

(d) With practically no thought of restoring the mandate principle adopted at Versailles, it seems possible to substitute the trustee principle. This would apply to certain phases of (a), (b) and (c). In the present complete world confusion, it is not thought advisable at this time to reconstitute a League of Nations which, because of its size, makes for disagreement and inaction. There should be a meeting place of nations for the purpose of full discussion, but for management there seems no reason why the principle of the trusteeship in private affairs should not be extended to the international field. Trusteeship is based on the principle of unselfish service. For a time at least there are many minor children among the peoples of the world who need trustees in their relations with other nations and peoples, just as there are many adult nations or peoples which must be led back into a spirit of good conduct.

(e) In all of this, the freedom of religion and freedom of expression are necessary parts. The objectives are based on the teachings of the New Testament and call for spiritual leadership in opposition to the extremely pagan views and objectives of the Axis Powers.

In the case of Russia, it is worth noting that the attack on the churches from 1918 on was based on the primary objective of removing the Orthodox Church from politics -- just as this was also the primary motive in the attack on the churches by Hitler since 1933.

It is also worth noting that our best information is that the Russian churches are today open for worship and are being attended by a very large percentage of the population. The example in Mexico is worthwhile remembering. Eight or nine years ago most of the Mexican churches had been closed. Hate in the United States and elsewhere called for a war by the United States on Mexico, in order to open the churches. The Government of the United States took the position that by constant peaceful pressure the churches could be re-opened. As is well known, this has taken place from small beginnings until today the Mexican Government itself no longer adopts an attitude of atheism. Definite progress is still being made.

The President is definitely bearing in mind the possibility of persuading the Government of Russia ultimately to accept freedom of religion -- but it must be remembered that the Russian Government is essentially a dictatorship, and that Russia is defending its own soil. At the present time Russia is in no sense the aggressor nation -- Germany is.

F. D. R.

Grace:

This came
from Mr Hopkins
office but with
no explanation.

Dot

In accordance with arrangements, I met Admiral Leahy at Barcelona on Sunday September 7, 1941. Ambassador Weddell was also present. We had a lengthy conversation. Later in the evening Admiral Leahy and I had a private conversation of adequate length.

The following points illustrate the field of our discussion:

- I. Marshal Pétain is an elderly man, kindly, upright and very religious (Catholic), but a man quite incapable of carrying for any length of time the great burdens of state. No successor with the requisite characteristics of a real leader of France, is in sight.
- II. The psychology of the French nation is of scarcely suppressed anger at its former leaders, doubt of its present leadership, uncertainty as to its future, dislike of the British and deep and enduring hatred of the Germans. Unexpected but successful British resistance has buoyed the flagging spirits of the nation. The Libyan campaign was encouraging, the Balkan campaign disheartening.

Russian

Russian resistance a surprise and most welcome and helpful. Even the Press the last few weeks has seemed to reflect a better feeling for future of France. Its former Government leaders. It is

III. The French are unarmed, disinclined to rise against the invader unless and until a hopeful prospect of victory presents itself. In that case arms, munitions and supplies including clothes and food in adequate quantities must be forthcoming. The French would rise against the Germans in that event.

IV. It must be borne in mind that one and one-half million soldiers, the flower of the French armies, are in German captivity. This weakens the nation in a vital sense for aggressive action.

V. There is in France, recruited among the higher classes, an assassination group who have undertaken to dispose of undesirable leaders. Laval is foremost in the list of intended victims. It is expected that these attempts will continue (since leaving Admiral Leahy, at least one such assassination has taken place, this time a German,

for which the Germans are alleged to have retaliated by executing French.

The present regime have not thought it opportune to put on trial its former Government leaders. It is considered that it is best to hold them in custody. It is not considered wise to allow them to expose many matters which might be embarrassing. The Germans do not favor early trial.

VI. Darlan is a dangerous, ambitious and unreliable man.

The Marshal does not fully trust him but he does nothing openly to oppose or infuriate him. For example, Admiral Leahy cannot now see the Marshal alone as he formerly did. Darlan is always present. The Marshal explained this by saying Darlan was suspicious of their private conferences and asked to be present. The Marshal consented. Admiral Leahy said this had not deterred him from expressing our country's policy and his own opinions on matters as they arose. He did not believe Darlan had any great following in France and would not be accepted as the country's leader.

VII.

- VII. Weygand is a popular military hero - nearly seventy years of age - is strictly a soldier. Not qualified for leadership - a fanatical Catholic - attends mass every morning and before every important action - devoted and loyal to Pétain - but holds a deep hatred for Darlan, which is fully reciprocated. He believes Weygand will remain loyal to Pétain under all conditions. If in due course developments ensure revolt against Germany, he has no doubt but that Weygand would be found prominently in leadership of the military - but not if in opposition to Marshal Pétain. He believes the French North African army is in good condition and fairly well armed. It would need supplies if engaged in an active campaign.
- VIII. It was suggested by the Admiral that Murphy was fully acquainted with General Weygand's day to day attitude and the particulars of the North African French army - that Murphy had done and was doing excellent work at his post.

- IX. The Admiral felt the Papal Nuncio to France was not a helpful influence as not equipped for his position, but spoke most enthusiastically of the Bishop of Lyon as more able man and helpful.
- X. No agitation in religious circles re communism upon Russia being involved in the war. Relief and satisfaction scarcely concealed at any discomfiture to the Germans. The hope of the French people is that Germany and Russia will exhaust one another.
- XI. Supplying food for children is helpful to morale and to friendliness to America - such food reached its destination without being diverted to Germany's benefit. Should be continued - on too small a scale to relieve the nation but helpful and a good gesture.
- XII. The Admiral is very emphatic in asserting it would be a mistake to close the Embassy - as destructive to French morale - That if he is
withdrawn

withdrawn the Embassy should remain. It is one of the few remaining hopes of the French people that America sympathizes with them in their distress and renders some assistance. Germany takes from France all the "food she dares". "No doubt if America sent food, generally Germany would take equivalent? "Babies' food an exception." He praised the efficient work of the Red Cross and the Quakers.

Amvontata

Spain

Consul General Frost of Barcelona met us on arrival at the airport at Barcelona. We traveled by special plane Sunday noon September 7th as no regular plane was available until Tuesday, too late for the convenience of Admiral Leahy, who arrived Sunday morning and was scheduled to leave by train for Vichy on Monday. Consul General Frost impressed us as an unusually well-educated (Harvard), energetic and competent officer. Upon arrival at the Ritz Hotel, Barcelona, we were met by Ambassador Weddell and Ambassador Leahy. My conversations with Admiral Leahy will be separately summarized. From Ambassador Weddell I obtained the following impressions:

I. That he is not on favorable terms with General Franco nor Foreign Secretary Serrano Suner.

II. Both Franco and Suner entertain a dislike for the United States, and an emphatic loyalty to Germany.

III. That Spain is very poor, short of food, with no surplus of any goods, sends to Germany all she can.

IV. Dislikes the French; hates the Russians for their part in the Spanish Revolution. Hatred of Russia on religious grounds secondary and not even mentioned in Spain.

V. If Germany sought passage through Spain for her army Spain would not resist. If Germany is successful elsewhere, can control harbor of Gibraltar from a Spanish base (which would be accorded her) without using a large army of occupation in or through Spanish territory, which would be difficult to supply with food and munitions. To cross unoccupied France would be an additional hardship

for

for Germany. Our supplying even in a small way a quantity of wheat for Spain helped to improve the public attitude toward America. The press of Spain is dominated by Germany and nothing friendly to the British or United States gets into print or on the radio. The Spanish, as indicated, hate the British.

The Prado is reestablished; all its finest pictures, with some additions, have been restored. The Revolution is recalled as the most cruel and bloody since the Inquisition. It was a period of tragedy and horror, possible only when a basically cruel people give rein to their passions. No anti-Russian agitation on religious grounds has been noted but, as stated, an active hatred of the Soviet Government for her part in the Spanish Revolution. Red Cross and Quaker activities have been effective and should be continued. The coming winter promises to be a very hard one for the Spanish people.

W. J. ...

Rome, September 21, 1941.

Memorandum for the President and Secretary Hull.

Copies to Ambassador Phillips and Mr. Harold Tittmann.

I arrived in Rome by air on September 8 from Barcelona. On the morning of September 9, I had a long conference with Cardinal Maglione, Papal Secretary of State, lasting nearly two hours, and at six o'clock had my first audience with Pope Pius XII, lasting over an hour, to whom I presented the letter from the President. On Wednesday, I had a further audience with the Cardinal Secretary of State, lasting about an hour. In these conferences I made use of the points in the attached memorandum, and received the impressions as recounted therein.

I. I first presented the question of the 8-point declaration of the President and the Prime Minister, suggesting that at an appropriate moment the Pope make a further declaration upholding in substance these points. I sought as early a declaration as possible. The Pope promised to consider the matter and to give me an answer at my next audience, which was fixed for Tuesday, September 16. This audience took place at 10.30, lasting more than an hour. The
Pope

Pope readily agreed to make such a pronouncement at an opportune moment. He was of the opinion that it would be harmful rather than helpful, his role of independence concerned, to make such a statement immediately without a suitable occasion to inspire it. He agreed, however, to do so at a reasonably early date. He exhibited no reluctance in so doing.

II. Interpretation of Encyclical of Pope Pius XI as not condemning the Russian people, but directed against Soviet practices in respect to individual liberty. The Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State displayed great interest in this point. I made the suggestion following:

"One might say, why does not some Bishop or some group of Bishops take definite measures to counteract what is fast becoming a widespread movement of opposition to our national policy and therefore a serious threat to the unity of mind and endeavor, urgently necessary at this time?

"The difficulty of course is that any academic or unofficial interpretation of the

Papal

Papal statement in question bids fair to create a definite and disastrous cleavage in Catholic ranks, both clerical and lay. This is particularly true in view of the clever but hardly praise-worthy tactics to which the above-named opposition will inevitably resort.

"The one thing that would make impossible any further exploitation of the Pope's statement for partisan interests and disruptive purposes would be some word or gesture on the part of the Holy Father himself that will evidently show whether or not their argument is in accord with the mind of the Holy See."

Upon my second meeting with the Cardinal Secretary of State the following day, he advised me that action had been taken by the Pope in a message to the Papal Delegate in Washington, interpolating the Encyclical declaration in the sense indicated. In my second audience with the Pope several days later, he confirmed this statement.

III. Interpretation of Russian Constitution Articles 124

and 125, and assurance by Russia that religious freedom would in fact be observed. Both the Pope and Secretary displayed great interest in this subject. The undercurrent of distrust of the Soviet regime was of course

present

present throughout. I enlarged on the condition of the people under the Czars - under the Soviets, and their probable fate under the Nazis, if conquered; that since the Czar was the head of the orthodox church, and now the State had divorced itself from religious observances, the people might well welcome a new religious revival in which the Catholic Church might adapt itself in a useful way to the Russian situation. These thoughts, vague and undeveloped as they must necessarily be, aroused undoubted interest in the Pope and the Vatican group with whom I have talked. It was evident to me from a subsequent talk with Mons. Tardini that this possibility had already been under consideration.

IV. So far as the situation of the United States is concerned, the following points might be considered:

- (a) That in our view Hitler cannot win the war;
- (b) That while America is a peace-loving country, the spread of the war and general opinion that Hitler is unreliable leads America to

feel

feel insecure, and thus to arm on a vast scale for defensive purposes;

- (c) A large majority are in favor of aid to Britain and her allies. This aid, supported by Congressional action and the appropriation of large sums of money, is being given.
- (d) If Germany interferes with American shipping by attack and sinking of ships, American opinion, which is volatile, will quickly support retaliation.
- (e) It is confidently asserted by authoritative American opinion that if the defenders of civilization were in desperate need to save the world from Hitlerism, America would use every means to prevent its accomplishment.
- (f) America has no hatred of the Italian people. American feeling for the German people is tempered by the growing conviction that they uphold the aggressions of their leaders. American opinion is one of sympathy for the

Russian

Russian people but it is particularly Russia's alleged propaganda in other countries which public opinion in the United States disapproves.

- (g) The vituperative Italian press, and particularly that of Gayda, which is in contrast to the present attitude of the American press, does much harm to American and Italian relations, and is therefore harmful to Italy's future interests.
- (h) Preparedness in America has progressed by leaps and bounds. Today in practically all items it is at or above scheduled anticipations.
- (i) A few points for discussion:
 - (1) Self-determination of peoples;
 - (2) The four freedoms as described by the President;
 - (3) Trusteeship in place of mandate;
 - (4) Substitute for League of Nations;
 - (5) Police Power to enforce decrees of new body;
 - (6) Disarmament;
 - (7) Economic collaboration.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL COPY FOR HIS HOLINESS

POPE PIUS XII AT HIS REQUEST

September 17, 1941.

Personal Notes of the Hon. Myron Taylor as
an Aide-mémoire

- I. Reaffirmation by His Holiness of the bases for peace.
- II. Interpretation of Encyclical of Pope Pius XI as not condemning the Russian people, but directed against Soviet practices in respect to individual liberty.
- III. Interpretation of Russian Constitution Articles 124 and 125, and assurance by Russia that religious freedom would in fact be observed.
- IV. So far as the situation of the United States is concerned, the following points might be considered:
 - (a) That in our view Hitler cannot win the war.
 - (b) That while America is a peace-loving country, the spread of the war and general opinion that Hitler is unreliable leads America to feel insecure, and thus to arm on a huge scale for defensive purposes.
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- (6) Disarmament
- (7) Economic collaboration

Hyman Taylor

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

I called on Dr. Salazar this afternoon at his request and had a most cordial and interesting interview of an hour and fifteen minutes. I was accompanied by Minister Fish and Mr. Hibbard, the Counselor of the Legation, who acted as interpreter.

After an exchange of pleasantries, during which he expressed his best wishes for President Roosevelt's health and happiness, Dr. Salazar enquired whether I was satisfied with my trip to Rome and if I felt that peace was nearer. I replied that my conversations with the Holy Father had been most satisfactory, but I could only say as I had said to journalists in Barcelona that I prayed for peace. He remarked that this was not sufficient and more active measures must be taken. If we want peace we must work for it. The logical consequence of present developments is the entry of the United States in the war. He hoped we would not enter the war, as this would prolong it indefinitely. When asked why, he continued that Hitler was now practically master of Europe, that the combined naval strength of Great Britain and the United States could not alter this since no point of contact, no real battlefield, was possible at present. Europe could maintain herself, though forced to a greatly lowered standard of living, but that the blockade was not sufficient to reduce her without an additional military engagement unless there was a moral collapse in Germany. Asked if he had any information as to the imminence of such a collapse, he said that while the German people were not enthusiastic, there were no signs whatever of collapse.

I inquired what he considered the prospects of German victory in Russia. He replied that he did not think that once Germany had gained control of the Ukraine the campaign would be continued during the winter, but that Germany would delimit that area and take measures for its defense. With Russia deprived of the essential war industries located in the Ukraine, it would be impossible for her to continue the struggle effectively. I said I had understood that the Russians had established large war industry plants in Siberia and that these could probably be drawn on. He answered that it was true that the Soviets had divided their military forces into two separate armies, one for the West and one for the Far East, and that industries had been established for the maintenance of the Far Eastern army. However, unless the United States were able to make some agreement with Japan which would remove that threat to the Soviets, they could not move the 120 divisions they now maintained on that front and the war industries would be needed to supply them. In reply to a query as to the number of German losses in Russia, he said they were very large, his latest information being that there were over a million casualties in killed, wounded and prisoners. Asked if he did not feel that these casualties combined with the necessarily severe rationing in Germany during the winter might not bring about a collapse in German morale, he said no. His reports were that while there was no choice in food and the supplies were very limited, it was still adequate, particularly as the German people had been accustomed to rationing long before the war, and that casualties would have no effect on a military people as long as they continued to be victorious.

Asked.

Asked how Hitler could establish order in Europe, in view of his ruthless aggression on independent nations such as Belgium, Holland, and Norway, which would continue actively hostile, he said he believed these countries would be allowed their independence in most matters but that Germany would maintain an economic control.

To an inquiry as to whether he had seen the eight points announced by Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt after their Atlantic Conference, he said he had read them but considered them too vague a basis on which to build, that they were in essence but a repetition of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which had not brought peace to the world in 1920. Asked if he had a substitute for the League of Nations, he said, with a smile, that the other had been such a failure he did not believe it worth considering.

I asked him how he thought it were possible for Great Britain to negotiate peace at the present time when she had announced as her aims to her own people and to the world the liberation of independent countries now occupied by Germany and the complete destruction of Nazism. With regard to restoration of occupied territory, he stated that at the time of Hitler's entry into Austria there was scarcely a protest, as it was realized that with the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire Austria could not exist alone, since she had no economic resources. As for the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia, Chamberlain himself had admitted Germany's rights there as it was inhabited by German nationals. If England agreed to Germany's occupation of territory in the East, that is the Ukraine, which Germany considered her "vital space", the independence of

all

all the other countries would be restored, even in Poland, although in this case the area would be reduced since it was felt that Poland had been given in 1919 territory to which she had no historic nor ethnic claim. The destruction of Nazism presented a more difficult problem. There had been throughout Europe in the past twenty years a social, political, and economic evolution in which England had not participated as she was separated from the continent and because any evolution made much slower progress in England due to her traditional conservatism. Certain major tenets of the German National Socialist Party were now shared by all the countries in Europe and it would therefore be impossible for England to destroy the system completely. The best she could hope for, if that would satisfy her, would be to discard Hitler himself. This is a possibility but still very difficult. He added that were certain methods or practices of the Nazis abolished the basic principles of the German and British political systems were the same and that the struggle today as in the past is for the hegemony of Europe, that is, whether it will be under Germanic or Anglo-Saxon direction.

I mentioned a conversation I had had some years ago with Mr. Briand and asked Salazar if he were familiar with Briand's plan for a European Federation of States and if so if this were in accord with Hitler's plan for the new order in Europe. He replied that no one knew exactly what Hitler's plans were for a new Europe, a fact which caused all European statesmen great anxiety. Hitler was now in control of Europe in a military sense. Obviously there were some independent nations left such as Switzerland and Sweden, but
they

they were surrounded by superior forces against which they had no adequate defense. With the German army at the Pyrenees the situation of Spain and Portugal was equally precarious. Some loose federation under German tutelage leaving a large portion of autonomy to all nations might be possible but any attempt to amalgamate Europe into one state would inevitably fail, as the continent is composed of too many diverse peoples with widely varied cultures, customs, religions. Furthermore, each country in Europe had a part of itself outside the continent - the British Empire was scattered all over the globe, Portugal had her African colonies and her ties with Brazil; Holland ~~and~~ the East Indies, Spain her interests in South America, so that any close union in Europe would necessarily be broken from outside. He believes, however, that Hitler will go as far as he possibly can in this direction and that only force from outside Europe or the diverse disruptive elements within the continent will prevent him from attempting to dominate even though he is a realist in his approach to most problems. He repeated that nothing was known of Hitler's plans and his concern at this situation.

I told Dr. Salazar that he was highly respected abroad as well as in his own country as a scholar and statesmen and that I felt sure he would be able to contribute much to any settlement of the present difficulties. He replied that Portugal was a small country and he could do little. He did feel, however, that it was of great importance to keep some small part of the world free from the emotional stress of war, a "reservoir of peace" from which could be drawn the strength and inspiration to restore order.

In thanking him for his courteous and friendly reception

I said there were four points about my own country which I would like to impress upon him.

1. The American people and Government are peace loving and have always been so.

2. American public opinion is convinced that our institutions and our way of living are now seriously threatened and we are arming for the defense of those things on a tremendous scale at a rapid rate.

3. If American public opinion feels that our national honor has been smirched, the United States will fight.

4. If American public opinion is convinced that the civilization of the world is being destroyed the United States will fight.

Following the interview I conferred at some length with Minister Fish and Mr. Hibbard and we were all very much impressed by the frankness and evident sincerity of Dr. Salazar and his willingness to discuss these questions so fully. His political philosophy differs in some points from that of the Democracies, as can be seen by the nature of the regime he has set up in his own country, but on the other hand he is by no means a complete adherent to the Nazi system. One fact remained clear in all his conversation, though perhaps not fully expressed - he ardently hopes by all means short of the sacrifice of the national honor to keep his country outside the present conflict.

Myerson Taylor

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
personal Italy
Folder*

September 12, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR CORDELL HULL:

What do you think?

F.D.R.

LET
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (Br)

Barcelona

Dated September 10, 1941

Rec'd. 6:50 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

104, September 10, 10 a.m.

TO THE SECRETARY FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM MYRON
TAYLOR.

Left for Rome September 9 conversations here sug-
gest useful on return to Lisbon September 21 if convenient
for Murphy to meet me there for one day.

UNSIGNED

GW

TELEGRAM SENT

KD
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (br)

September 13, 1941

5 p. m.

AMERICAN EMBASSY

ROME.

936.

FOR MYRON TAYLOR

Your telegram September 10, 10 a. m., from
Barcelona.

Regret it is not practicable to have Murphy
leave his North African post at this time.

HULL.

EU:JWJ:NNB



AVIZ HOTEL
AVENIDA FONTES
LISBOA PORTUGAL

July Folder
1-41

Wednesday -

Dear Mr President, Sept 24/51.

Owing to the plan for a short visit to London. I feel you should know my notes on the visit to Rome.

My talk with Admiral Leahy, and with Ambassador Maddox. There are in addition,

some matters of a purely confidential nature which will not be touched by postponement until I return.

The notes are being carried by Dr Daniel Palmy - who has explained to me



AVIZ HOTEL
AVENIDA FONTES
LISBOA PORTUGAL

v

The nature of his errand.
We expect to return here on
Monday or Tuesday - 29th
at 30th and to leave for home
Thursday Oct. 2.

My last audience on Sunday
20th was quite interesting.
In view of the information
received I do not believe one
can expect an uprising in
Germany for the present.

Believe me

Yours,

Richard S. Appointer
Pierre Minuter Salazar
has just sent word he would like
to present me with his book this afternoon.

Confidential file

To

The President -
White House.

Washington.

PSF: Italy Folder
1-41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. MYRON TAYLOR

I thought you might like
to see the enclosed.

F. D. R.

file

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 20, 1941

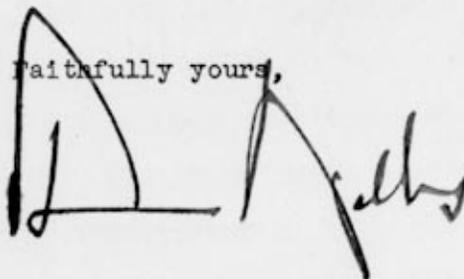
*copy sent to
Mr. Taylor*

My dear Mr. President:

I believe you will be interested in a letter dated October 7 which I have received from Rome with regard to Myron Taylor's recent visit to the Vatican. I am enclosing a copy of this letter herewith.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,
The White House.

VIA AIR MAIL

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rome, Italy, October 7, 1941.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Mr. Welles:

I thought you might like to know that I have heard from several chiefs of Mission accredited to the Holy See, as well as from personalities within the Vatican itself, that Mr. Myron Taylor's visit to Rome has had a definitely heartening effect upon the Pope. In view of the doubts regarding the international situation with which the Holy Father is known to be beset, it seems to me that this should be considered as an important accomplishment and, in itself, well worth the trouble Mr. Taylor took to make the voyage.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD H. TITTMANN

American Foreign Service Officer
on Special Duty

The Honorable
Sumner Welles,
Under Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington.

Italy Folder
1-41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 25, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR MYRON TAYLOR:

I think you should see
this, if you have not already done
so.

F.D.R.

Cable (Plain) Oct. 22 to Secy of State
from Wadsworth No. 1645 re article
in Giornale d'Italia publishes in
which Archbishop Curley of Balto is
quoted as saying that the belief that
England is fighting for Christian
civilization "is merely material for a
funny story".

*file
personal*

71 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

November 3 1941

THE WHITE HOUSE
Nov 5 9 10 AM '41
RECEIVED

My dear Mr. President,

I have transmitted to the
Apostolic Delegate in Washington
a copy of the attached message
from Rome which purports to quote
the remarks of Archbishop Curley
of Baltimore, with the request
that it be made the basis for such
procedure as he may feel to be
justified.

I am, dear Mr. President,

Faithfully yours,

Byron E. Taylor

Italy Folder
1-111

The GIORNALE D'ITALIA of October 21 publishes an article under a New York dateline in which Archbishop Curley of Baltimore is quoted as saying in an address before the Association of Lay Brothers that the belief that England is fighting for Christian civilization "is merely material for a funny story." The Prelate continued "It should not be said - and you should not allow anyone to try to tell you - that England is fighting to uphold democracy and christianity. The history of England and her subjugated peoples is too well known for the claim to be admitted that she is the saviour and guardian of Christianity. England turned against God and is now being punished for it. There isn't a single country among the so-called democracies that will not have to answer to God for its sins."

*file
personal*

71 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

November 3 1941

Italy Folder
THE WHITE HOUSE
Nov 5 9 17 AM '41
RECEIVED

My dear Mr. President,

I have sent in confidence to the
Apostolic Delegate in Washington,
with the request that he transmit
it to His Holiness the Pope, a copy
of the accompanying confidential
statement of the Nazi religious plans.

I do not know why I use the word
"religious" because there is nothing
religious about them. I might better
have said "pagan"!

I have the honor to be,

Yours faithfully,

Myron C. Taylor

C
O
P
Y

This program emanates from the intimate circle of Alfred Rosenberg and I am informed that practically nothing is known of it abroad, it having arrived only a few days ago through trustworthy channels. The influence of Rosenberg is reported to be on the increase due to the turn of the Russian campaign.

The 30 points of the program follow:

First. The National Reich's Church of Germany (hereinafter called the N.R. and represented in this telegram by the symbol "N.")

Categorically claims the exclusive right and the exclusive power to control all churches within the borders of the Reich; it declares these to be national churches of the German Reich.

Second. The German people must not serve the N. The N. is absolutely and exclusively in the service of but one doctrine: race and nation.

Third. The field of activity of the N will expand to the limits of Germany's territorial and colonial possessions.

Fourth. The N does not force any German to seek membership therein. The N will do everything within its power to secure the adherence of every German soul. Other churches or similar communities and unions particularly such as are under international control or management cannot and shall not be tolerated in Germany.

Fifth. The N is determined to exterminate irrevocably and by every means the strange and foreign christian faiths imported into Germany in the ill-omened year 800.

Sixth. The existing churches may not be architecturally altered, as they represent the property of the German nation, German culture and to a certain extent the historical development of the nation. As property of the German nation, they are not only to be valued but to be preserved.

Seventh: The N has no scribes, pastors, chaplains, or priests, but National Reich orators are to speak in them.

Eighth. The N services are held only in the evening and not in the morning. These services are to take place on

Saturdays with solemn illumination.

Ninth. In the N German men and women, German youths and girls will acknowledge God and his eternal works.

Tenth. The N irrevocably strives for complete union with the state. It must obey the state as one of its servants. As such it demands that all landed possessions of all churches and religious denominations be handed over to the state. It forbids that in future churches should secure ownership of even the smallest piece of German soil or that such be ever given back to them. Not the churches conquer and cultivate land and soil but exclusively the German nation, the German state.

Eleventh. N orators may never be those who today emphasize with all tricks and cunning verbally and in writing the necessity of maintaining and teaching of christianity in Germany; they not only lie to themselves but also the German nation goaded by their love of the positions they hold and the sweet bread they eat.

Twelfth. N orators hold office, government officials under Civil Service rules.

Thirteenth. The N demands immediate cessation of the publishing and dissemination of the Bible in Germany as well as the publication of Sunday papers, pamphlets, publications and books of religious nature.

Fourteenth. The N has to take severe measures in order to prevent the Bible and other christian publications being imported into Germany.

Fifteenth. The N declares that to it, and therefore to the German nation, it has been decided Fuehrer's "Mein Kampf" is the greatest of all documents. It is conscious that this book contains not only the greatest, and that it embodies the purest and truest ethics for the present and future life of our nation.

Sixteenth. The N has made it its sacred duty to use all its energy to popularize the coeternal "Mein Kampf" and to let every German live and complete his life according to this book.

Seventeenth. The N demands that further editions of this book, whatever form they may take, be in content and pagination exactly similar to the present popular edition.

Eighteenth. The N will clear away from its altars all

crucifix plural Bibles and pictures of Saints.

Nineteenth. On the altars there must be nothing but "Mein Kampf," to the German nation and therefore to God the most sacred book and to the left of the altar a sword.

Twentieth. The N speakers must during N services pro-
pound this book to the congregation to the best of their
knowledge and ability.

Twenty-first. The N does not acknowledge forgiveness of
sins. It represents the standpoint which it will always
proclaim that a sin once committed will be ruthlessly
punished by the honorable and indestructible laws of nature
and punishment will follow during the sinner's lifetime.

Twenty-second. The N repudiates the christening of German
children particularly the christening with water and the Holy
Ghost.

Twenty-third. The parents of a child (or if a new born
child) must only take the German oath before the altar, which
is worded as follows: The man: "In the name of God I take
this Holy oath that I the father of this child, and my
wife, are of proven Aryan descent. As a father I agree to
bring up this child in the German spirit and as a member of
the German race."

The woman: "In the name of God I take this Holy oath that
I (name) bore my husband a child and that my husband is the
father of this child and that I its mother am of proven
Aryan descent. As a mother I swear to bring up this child
in the German spirit and as a member of the German race."
The German diploma can only be issued to newly born children
on the strength of the German oath.

Twenty-fourth. The N abolishes confirmation and religious
education as well as the communion and religious preparation
for the communion. The educational institutions are and re-
main the family, the schools, the German youth, the Hitler
youth, and the Union of German girls.

Twenty-fifth. In order that school graduation of our
German youth be given an especially solemn character all N
must put themselves at the disposal of German youth, the
Hitler youth, and the Union of German girls on the day of
the state's youth, which will be on the Friday before Easter.
On this day the leaders of these organizations exclusively may speak.

Twenty-six. The marriage ceremony of German men and
women will consist of taking an oath of faithfulness and
placing the right hand on the sword. There will not be any
unworthy kneeling in N ceremonies.

Twenty-seven. The N declares the tenth day before Whit Sunday to be the national holiday of the German family.

Twenty-eight. The N rejects the customary day of prayer and atonement. It demands that this be transferred to the holiday commemorating the laying of the foundation of the N.

Twenty-nine. The N will not tolerate the establishment of any new clerical religious insignia.

Thirty. On the day of its foundation the Christian cross must be removed from all churches, cathedrals and chapels within the Reich and its colonies and it must be superseded by the only unconquerable symbol of Germany, the "Haken Kreuz."

PSF: Italy ~~San Carlo~~ 4-41
S

file
personal

December 12, 1941.

Dear Count Sforza:

I acknowledge your letter of December second and thank you cordially for the information which you give respecting the Italian aspect of the world political situation.

It would be well for you to be in touch with the Coordinator of Information, and I suggest that you call on Colonel Donovan when you are next in Washington; his office is at 25th and E Streets.

Very sincerely yours,

Count Carlo Sforza,
131 East 93rd Street,
New York, N. Y.

dj

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 5, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

COLONEL WILLIAM J. DONOVAN

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

7.05 - Welles

Dear Count Sforza:

I acknowledge your letter of December 2nd and thank you cordially for the information which you give respecting the Italian aspect of the world political situation.

It would be well for you to be in touch with the Coordinator of Information, and I suggest that you call on Colonel Donovan when you are next in Washington; his office is at 25th and E Streets.

Sincerely yours,

Carlo

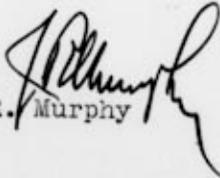
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 11, 1941

Dear Miss Tully:

I am returning the Sforza papers
with a suggested draft of reply for the
President's signature.

Sincerely,


James R. Murphy

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Private

KENYON COLLEGE

GAMBIER, OHIO Dec. 2 1941

(At Kenyon until Dec. 11; later on, 131 East 93d Street,
New York City) THE PRESIDENT

Dear General Watson,

Out of respect for his time I wrote as short and as matter of fact as possible the enclosed letter and memo for the President.

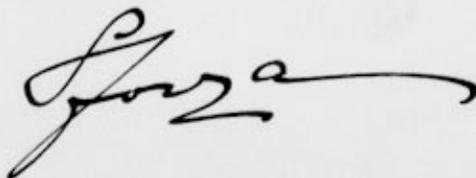
But both documents may have far reaching results. That is why I beg you to submit them to the President as soon as he has a free moment. I spoke of all that with Mr. Stimson. But, although he warmly approved, he finds that only the President may decide.

And my best thanks to you!

As a curiosity for you and for Mrs. Watson, to whom I send my best regards, I enclose copy of a letter I have been obliged to write about a silly important New York Englishman. I must add that even Lord Halifax wrote and thanked me for the "lesson".

I'll be most grateful for letting me know as soon as the President has read the enclosed two most secret documents.

Sincerely yours,



Urgent.

~~SECRET.~~

My sojourn in the Middle West has convinced me that a German-Italian danger exists in the U.S. I am afraid that only Hoover shares my impression. But pessimism and optimism are equally necessary.

The Italo-Americans are not pro-Nazis, not pro-Fascists, as a whole. They are only convinced that Hitler will win, and that, therefore, it is safer to stay on the fence.

Many Italians who came secretly to me in Cleveland, in Pittsburg, told me so, to explain their passivity; no hopes, they were sincere.

The Progresso of Pope is read by all the Italo-Americans. And the most intelligent among them comment: "Pope says that he'll obey the President; but he does not say the only thing which might move our masses: 'I love America, I love Italy; too late have I realized that Fascism is not only the enemy of the U.S. but also of Italy'".

Pope's policy of treason was evident in the LaGuardia election; he did his best to have him defeated, as I might easily prove. But Pope is sure that American optimism and his own verbal "Americanism" will save him.

Meanwhile millions of Italo-Americans are poisoned or not converted.

WHY IS THE ITALIAN DANGER GREAT? Not only because the Germans are already planning to use them as their first Fifth Columnism; but because Italians not converted to democracy increase the force of a certain Anglo-phobe Catholic clergy. A change among the Italians, an evident change, would soon mean a change of style among certain Catholic pastors. We must never forget that the Catholic Church is what its periphery wants it to be.

REMEDIES AT HAND. Just because the Italians in America are now in a state of uncertainty, two comparatively small things might bring immediate prodigious results; but they are urgent:

a) Since I have here two of the most honest and ablest Italian journalists, exiles from Italy (Tarchiani, Cianca), impose to Pope (through some immediate moral pressure, as a service to this country) to give over to them or to the Mazzini Society the political direction of IL Progresso, while he would keep his position as owner and publisher. He might easily save his face by saying the truth: "Those who always exposed Fascism have to take the place of my miserable hired ex-Fascist scribes".

b) Equally necessary, even with the transformation of IL Progresso, is the immediate infusion of some much needed financial force into two most useful organizations, the Mazzini Society, for the U.S., and Italia Libre for Latin America. The two organisms have proved so useful that, in order to destroy them, Fascism has sent here some "super-Fascists" entrusted with the task to sow division - a strategy so successfully used with the Free French. - That is why the two societies need now an immediate financial help to fortify their action, starting meetings through the Americas and publishing a weekly (for which everything is ready except money) to complete the campaign of a renovated Progresso (or to check the Progresso in case Pope's submission proved impossible). To do all that, what is needed is \$50000 for 1942 and 50000 for 1943, or, even better, 100000 at once; and a little more if the Progresso is not given over to us.

Giannini's past Fascist illusions are heavy. Just because of that it seems that, if invited at once to come from California to Washington, he might be led to give this money at once.

In any case, or from this source or another, we would welcome the most severe control of all expenses.

But it is urgent not to lose a week. The satanic work of Fascist divisions exists already.

I am ready to add any detail or explanation, verbally.

At Kenyon until Dec. II; after: 131 East 93d
street, New York. (ATwater 9.4861).

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

KENYON COLLEGE
GAMBIER, OHIO

December 2 1941

urgent
Dear Mr. President,

Even if it is war in the Pacific, I must ask you to look at the enclosed memo: it contains the key to remove Italian Fifth Columnism (about which I am even more pessimistic than Hoover) and to improve certain states of mind among the Catholics.

You know that I almost never used your permission to write you...

What I submit you today is necessary and urgent. And it may become the essential part of more important moves if and when an "Italian" Embassy disappears, and the creation of an "Italian National Council" may be considered imperative.

In a wider field, a battle of Africa (the present one or another on a bigger scale) will probably be the turning point of the war.

From North Africa victory may go to Italy, if victory has an idea.

This idea cannot be represented by Fascists or pseudo-Fascists (Grandi, Aosta, etc.) despised in Italy even more than the authentic Fascists are hated, - a fact which until recently was not quite understood in London, out of a tory fear for an inexistent "red" danger in Italy.

(The fact that Mussolini allows his press to speak of Aosta or of Grandi and that only my name is strictly forbidden shows where his terrors are).

In case of complete victory in North Africa, I am ready to go and proclaim a free ~~Government~~ Italian Government in Lybia.

But, to do so, I must be sure to speak also for the ten million Italians living out of Italy.

This can be, if you give at once the orders I am suggesting in the enclosed memo.

I ask very little - because I know that it is only with small means and honest purposes that things are done, not in an atmosphere of extravagant expenses.

But there is danger, serious danger, in waiting.

I am ready, of course, to come and offer any additional information.

We are at a turning point, for a complete transformation of Italian atmosphere.

If I receive at once the very small means I think indispensable, we may make miracles, now. But if not.... These are no times to take risks.

Believe me, as ever,

yours sincerely,

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
CLEVELAND, OHIO

GRADUATE SCHOOL

November 10, 1941

Dear Professor Quincy Wright,

I learn from your letter of October 20, which I have seen only today, Mr. W.'s complaints about my criticisms in the first issue of FREE WORLD, not of "Britain and France" - as he says - but of the shortsighted policy of Simon and Neville Chamberlain in England and of the criminal policy of the Laval and Bonnets in France.

What matters now is only Britain's victory and the liberation of the invaded countries, Italy included. Does it help victory or does it harm victory to recall in certain cases the blind and sometimes squalid history of old diplomacy? This is the problem. Nothing else matters.

And that is why I answer Mr. W.; certainly not because he shows that he never heard - which is quite natural - that his "irresponsible" Sforza gladly underwent the heaviest sacrifices in order to defend the human freedoms now personified in the British heroic awakening.

Had he known of the position I have been led to assume among the Italians, he would have understood that my duty, even more than my right, is to show to fifty-five million Italians or sons of Italians that if I pray and work for the victory of Britain it is because only through this victory we may save Italy's future; and that I do so with a freedom allowing me to quote when it is necessary - also to Italy's defence - the errors of a sad period of British policy.

About Manchuria, where the militaristic gangsters of the future Axis first tried their force, I know perhaps a little more than Mr. W. who forcibly has drawn his information from Blue Books et similia which since

1914 can only give the tenth part of the picture, even with the most honest intention. Having been Extraordinary Ambassador to Japan, having long lived in China, having had, among the Chinese, true friends, and not mere diplomatic acquaintances as most of us do, I might give some strange evidence of the joy of the Japanese when they discovered what Simon's policy was and would be.

Apart from the fact that a great lawyer is always a most unfortunate Foreign Minister (see also Poincaré), even some subordinate gentlemen of the Foreign Office greeted the Manchuria episode with the same mentality which allowed Mussolini to find in London his best defenders - as when Austen Chamberlain came to Italy, after Matteotti's murder, to protect the murderer from the fury of the Italians.

Why, even in two books of mine just out, Les Italiens tels qu'ils sont (Montreal) and The Totalitarian War (University of Chicago Press) did I briefly allude (as in the Round Table of Free World) to old British responsibilities, but at the same time I did not enlarge upon them?

I did not enlarge because so many Englishmen who heavily erred from 1931 to 1938 behave now in a splendid way (which, alas, did not happen in France). It was with pleasure that I refrained from reproducing in my recent books some crushing documents, like, for example, the letters I wrote to Austen Chamberlain, when he came to Italy to help the "Duce," warning him that Mussolini meant war, in the long run, and war to England. Austen Chamberlain was an honest man, and years later he said to me frequently: "How right you were," which his more conceited brother never did, after having been confronted by equally prophetic warnings.

But if I did not recall the worst, I said enough, all the same, to show to the Italians - with whom my primary duties rest - that I wish England's victory out of cold reason and not only out of sentimental impulses,

Professor Wright

November 10, 1941

-3-

since I do not ignore previous British responsibilities as I saw them in Manchuria, at the League of Nations (where Drummond acted always as a Fascist agent), in Ethiopia, in Spain, in Czechoslovakia.

A few days ago 300,000 Italians asked me to express to the American President their horror at the executions carried out by the Fascists against Yugoslavs and Greeks guilty only of the same heroic resistance with which Italy opposed the Germans during the Risorgimento. Hundreds of letters are now telling me that many of these Italians have been deeply moved by certain pages of The Italians as they are where I make mine Garibaldi's words in 1854: "England is enemy to despotism, the only safe refuge for the exile, friend of the oppressed...; cursed be the Italian who would not step forward in her defence." But these Italians believed me because in the same book and in The Totalitarian War I have shown how foolishly (not to speak of morally) certain British leaders behaved when - blinded by the fear of a "red danger" which never existed in China or in Italy - they became the friends of the oppressors.

Is it so difficult to realize that being an Italian, a most loyal Italian, I can only help England as a free friend, as an independent ally, not as a flatterer or a courtier?

But even in relation with the United States, it seems to me dangerous for any British to assume certain satisfied "holier-than-thou" attitudes. It might revive old unjust American prejudices. When a great honest man like Halifax admitted certain errors in an important American gathering he served more the cause of his country than by legalistic defences or nationalistic boastings.

Sincerely yours,

SFORZA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Italy Folder
-1-11
file
personal*

10:10 A.M. December 13, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MYRON TAYLOR

In respect to the Vatican, Mr. Harold Tittmann, who acted as my assistant and in my absence is now acting as Charge, has, through the arrangement we concluded when I was there in September, now moved into the Vatican and will remain there for the duration. His family has gone to Switzerland. The Papal Delegation in Washington have a direct wireless with the Vatican which is still open and through which appropriate messages may be transmitted. This plan has been fully completed in accordance with arrangements.

PSF: Italy Folder
1-41

SW
OK
FOR

December 17, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing for your information a copy of a memorandum I have received from the Apostolic Delegate.

In this memorandum Archbishop Cicognani indicates that the Italian Government may raise strong objection to the continued residence of Tittmann in the Vatican City unless Tittmann receives some official diplomatic status such as Chargé d'Affaires.

The Secretary agrees with me that it is of very great importance that Tittmann remain in the Vatican City so that we may continue contact through him with the Holy See. If we ascertain that the Vatican will have to give in to Italian pressure and agree to have Tittmann leave, it seems to me that you will wish to consider favorably Tittmann's designation as Chargé d'Affaires in order to avoid this result.

Will you let me know if the Department has your authorization to confer the rank of Chargé d'Affaires upon Tittmann should we have word that it is absolutely

The President,

The White House.

necessary in order to avoid his departure?

Until we can find some safe way of getting a code to Tittmann we shall communicate in code with him through the British Legation in Vatican City.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

SUMNER WELLES

Enclosure:
From the Apostolic Delegate,
December 13, 1941.

COPY

MEMORANDUM

His Eminence Cardinal Maglione, Secretary of State, has informed this Apostolic Delegation of the present situation of Mr. Harold Tittman, and directs that the Department of State be informed on behalf of Mr. Tittman.

Mr. Tittman has made known to the Secretariate of State his instructions to remain in service at the Holy See, and in order to continue in this office has requested permission to reside in Vatican City. However, strong objections have been raised by the Italian Government regarding his diplomatic status, evidently with the intention of preventing Mr. Tittman from remaining at his post. He states that if the Department of State wishes him to continue at the Vatican, it would seem necessary to make a formal appointment, designating him as Minister to the Holy See, or at least Chargé d'Affaires, if the former proves impossible, in order to establish his position before the Italian Government.

Mr. Tittman is presently without a Code, and fears that it will be impossible to receive one safely from another country, even in the future. He states that consequently the value of his correspondence will be greatly limited.

The Honorable

Sumner Wells,

Under Secretary of State.

-2-

This Apostolic Delegation repeats the assurance of its willingness to cooperate in assisting Mr. Tittman.

Apostolic Delegation

Washington, December 13, 1941

655/41

A. G. Cigognani,

Apostolic Delegate.