

## The United States, Italy and the Origins of Cold War

This international history of the origins and nature of ‘cold war’ offers the first systematic examination of the complex relationship between the United States and Italy, and of American debates about warfare in the years between World War II and the Korean War. Kaeten Mistry reveals how the defeat of the Marxist left in the 1948 Italian election was perceived as a victory for the United States amidst a ‘war short of war’, as defined by influential planner George Kennan, becoming an allegory for cold war in American minds. The book analyses how political warfare sought to employ covert operations, overt tactics, and propaganda in a co-ordinated offensive against international communism. Charting the critical contribution of a broad network of local, religious, civic, labour, and business groups, Mistry reveals how the notion of a specific American success paved the way for a problematic future for US–Italian relations and American political warfare.

KAETEN MISTRY is Lecturer in American History at the University of East Anglia. He specialises in the history of American foreign relations, US–Italian relations, and intelligence.

# The United States, Italy and the Origins of Cold War

*Waging Political Warfare, 1945–1950*

---

Kaeten Mistry

*University of East Anglia*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment  
 978-1-107-03508-9 — The United States, Italy and the Origins of Cold War  
 Kaeten Mistry  
 Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)



**CAMBRIDGE**  
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom  
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India  
 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107035089](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107035089)

© Kaeten Mistry 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2014

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data*

Mistry, Kaeten, 1980–

The United States, Italy and the origins of Cold War : waging political warfare, 1945–1950 / Kaeten Mistry.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-03508-9 (hardback)

1. United States – Foreign relations – Italy. 2. Italy – Foreign relations – United States. 3. United States – Foreign relations – 1945–1953. 4. Cold War. I. Title. E183.8.I8M57 2014

327.73045 – dc23 2013048907

ISBN 978-1-107-03508-9 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-62033-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>Abbreviations in text</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations in notes</i>	xi
Introduction	1
1 Uncertain bonds (1945–1946)	20
2 Catalysts of convergence (1946–1947)	42
3 Italy in American visions (1947)	59
4 The consolidation of DC-centrists (1947)	76
5 Means short of war (1946–1948)	95
6 The 1948 election campaign	127
7 Rocky relationships (1948–1950)	153
8 Organising political warfare (1948–1950)	176
Conclusion	200
<i>Notes</i>	209
<i>Bibliography</i>	264
<i>Index</i>	290

## Acknowledgements

---

‘Writing a book is a very lonely business’, the author Mario Vargas Llosa commented; ‘You are totally cut off from the rest of the world, submerged in your obsessions and memories.’ While this is undoubtedly true, fortunately, one is never entirely alone thanks to colleagues, friends, and family, and it is my pleasure to be able to properly acknowledge them here. Their support and encouragement helped sustain me and played no small part in the completion of this book.

The project began as a doctoral thesis and my first intellectual and personal thanks are to Scott Lucas for guiding the work, for his inspiration and tremendous faith in a young student interested in American foreign policy. During this time Mario Del Pero quickly became a de facto supervisor and loyal friend. Mario has been a model scholar in every respect and I greatly appreciate his support, advice, and camaraderie over the years. Federico Romero was an exemplary examiner, offering constructive criticism and generous praise, and read subsequent drafts as the thesis developed into a book. I also owe a huge intellectual debt to Anders Stephanson for stimulating conversation, insight, and nurturing my naïve fascination with George Kennan. Bevan Sewell has been a faithful comrade, reading umpteen drafts and providing unflagging encouragement to make a meaningful contribution. The book has been greatly improved thanks to these individuals. Any errors are, of course, mine alone.

I am also grateful to Richard Aldrich, Richard Immerman, Mark Lawrence, Bill Miscamble, Caitlin Patrick, and my University of East Anglia colleagues David Milne and Geoff Plank, for thoughtful and persuasive commentary on draft chapters. David, in particular, read multiple drafts with a keen eye for detail. I was incredibly fortunate in Cambridge University Press’s choice of anonymous readers, who offered precise, cogent, and helpful recommendations that immensely improved the final book. At various stages in the development of the project, scholars and friends generously shared their time and resources, invited me to present findings, and provided critical feedback. Thanks to Emanuele

## Acknowledgements

vii

Bernardi, Alessandro Brogi, Frank Costigliola, Ennio Di Nolfo, David Dunn, David Ellwood, Matthew Jones, Leopoldo Nuti, Marco Mariano, David Mayers, James Miller, Andrew Preston, Linda Risso, David Ryan, Maria Ryan, Irwin Wall, Arne Westad, Steven White, and Marilyn Young. A period of study at the University of Padua helped give early shape to the project and introduced me to the (at times daunting) field of Italian history and politics. I am especially thankful to Danilo Ardia and Antonio Varsori for their guidance during this time.

The book was researched and written at several institutions that I have been fortunate to call home. Thanks to friends and colleagues at the University of Birmingham, the UCD Clinton Institute, University of Warwick, and UEA for their good cheer, especially Catherine Carey, Margaret Conway, Liam Kennedy, the School of American Studies, and fellow members of the Landscapes of Secrecy project. I am also grateful for comments and feedback from scholarly audiences at conferences and institutions that invited me to discuss the work: in Ireland, University College Dublin and University College Cork; in Italy, at the Universities of Bologna, Forlì, Padua, Roma III and American University of Rome, Turin, and Vercelli; in the UK, the Cambridge American History Research Seminar, the Universities of Cambridge, Leicester, Nottingham, and Reading, and the Italian Cultural Institute in London; in the United States, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) annual conferences and 2010 Summer Institute, and the Center for the Study of Force and Diplomacy at Temple University.

Research for this book received generous financial support from several institutions. For doctoral scholarships, post-doctoral fellowships, and travel awards, I am thankful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, University of Birmingham's School of Historical Studies, Harry S. Truman Library Institute, Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences, Leverhulme Trust, and SHAFR. Without their assistance, international historical research would not have been possible. For invaluable help accessing and navigating vast archival records, thanks to Randy Sowell and Liz Saffly at the Truman Library, Marvin Russell at National Archives and Records Administration, Patrick Kerwin at the Library of Congress, and Stefania Ruggeri and Andrea Visone at the Italian Foreign Ministry archive. Marco Carnovale, the Geary family, and Matteo Zoso provided kind hospitality during periods abroad. Parts of the research have appeared in *Cold War History*, *Diplomatic History*, *Modern Italy*, and *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, and I am grateful to the editors of the journals for permission to reuse selected material here. For sage advice and for guiding the book to publication with unrivalled expertise and professionalism, special thanks to Michael Watson and the

viii      Acknowledgements

team at Cambridge University Press. Samantha Richter shepherded the manuscript through production with great care and Karen Anderson Howes was a meticulous and incredibly helpful copy-editor. It has been a pleasure to publish with them.

Finally, my biggest debt is to my family. For making Italy a home from home, *un abbraccio forte* to the Piccioni clan. Sara has provided boundless love and support, while her belief in me and a seemingly never-ending book has given more than words can adequately express. None of this would have been possible without the Mistrys, above all my sister Taejal and parents, who have been a source of strength from the very beginning. I dedicate the book to my parents, Dhansukh and Savita Mistry, for their unconditional faith and love.

Abbreviations in text

---

ACLI	Associazioni cristiane lavoratori italiani (Christian Associations of Italian Workers)
AFL	American Federation of Labor
ARI	American Relief for Italy
AUSA	Aid USA
CC	Comitati civici (Civic Committees)
CFM	Council of Foreign Ministers
CGIL	Confederazione generale italiana del lavoro (Italian General Confederation of Labour)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations
CISL	Conferazione italiana sindacati lavoratori (Italian Confederation of Workers' Unions)
CLN	Comitato di liberazione nazionale (Committee of National Liberation)
DC	Democrazia cristiana (Christian Democrats)
DCI	director of Central Intelligence
ECA	Economic Cooperation Administration
ERP	European Recovery Program
EUR	Office of European Affairs, State Department
FCC	Federal Council of Churches
FDP	Fronte democratico popolare (Popular Democratic Front)
FIL	Federazione italiana dei lavoratori (Italian Labour Federation)
FTUC	Free Trade Union Committee
IALC	Italian American Labor Council
ILGWU	International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
LCGIL	Libera confederazione generale italiana del lavoro (Free Italian General Confederation of Labour)
MDAP	Mutual Defense Assistance Program
NAC	National Advisory Council



x	Abbreviations in text
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCFE	National Committee for a Free Europe
NSC	National Security Council
OPC	Office of Policy Coordination
OSO	Office of Special Operations, CIA
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PCI	Partito comunista italiano (Italian Communist Party)
PLI	Partito liberale italiano (Italian Liberal Party)
PPI	Partito popolare italiano (Italian People's Party)
PPS	Policy Planning Staff, State Department
PRI	Partito repubblicano italiano (Italian Republican Party)
PSB	Psychological Strategy Board
PSI	Partito socialista italiano (Italian Socialist Party)
PSIUP	Partito socialista italiano di unità proletaria (Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity)
PSLI	Partito socialista lavoratori italiano (Italian Socialist Workers' Party)
SANACC	State-Army-Navy-Air Coordinating Committee
SPG	Special Procedures Group, CIA
SWNCC	State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee
UIL	Unione italiana del lavoro (Italian Workers' Union)
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
VoA	Voice of America
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions

## Abbreviations in notes

---

ACS	Archivio Centrale Dello Stato (Rome)
ADGAP	Archivio della direzione generale affari politici (1946–50): Stati Uniti (MAE)
<i>ADG-SDP</i>	<i>Alcide De Gasperi: scritti e discorsi politici</i> , 4 vols., series ed., Paolo Pombeni (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006–9)
AFL-CIO	George Meany Memorial Archives (Silver Springs, MD)
AGDGS	Archivio di Gabinetto De Gasperi e Segni (1944–1952) (MAE)
AW	Ambasciata Washington (MAE)
AWDP	Allen W. Dulles Papers (Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ)
<i>CHCW</i>	Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., <i>The Cambridge History of the Cold War</i> , 3 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
Church Committee	<i>Final Report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities</i> (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1976)
CIG	Central Intelligence Group
CMCP	Clark M. Clifford Papers (HSTL)
DAPP	David Atlee Phillips Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, DC)
<i>DDI</i>	<i>Documenti Diplomatici Italiani</i> , Decima Serie: 1943–1948 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1992–2000)
<i>DDRS</i>	<i>United States Declassified Documents Reference System</i> (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications International, 1991)
ELP	Edward Lansdale Papers (Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, CA)

xii Abbreviations in notes

FAOHP	Foreign Affairs Oral History Project (Lauinger Library, Washington, DC)
FRUS	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States</i> , various volumes (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1967–)
FRUS Intel	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment, 1945–1950</i> (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1996) ( <a href="http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/intel/">www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/intel/</a> )
FRUS IC	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States: The Intelligence Community, 1950–1955</i> (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2007)
GEP	George Elsey Papers (HSTL)
GFKP	George F. Kennan Papers (Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ)
HFAP	Hamilton Fish Armstrong Papers (Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ)
HSTL	Harry S. Truman Presidential Library (Independence, MO)
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
JLP	Jay Lovestone Papers (Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, CA)
JRFP	J. Russell Forgan Papers (Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, CA)
JVFD	Walter Millis, ed., <i>The Forrestal Diaries: The Inner History of the Cold War</i> (London: Cassell, 1952)
JVFP	James V. Forrestal Papers (Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ)
MAE	L'Archivio Storico-Diplomatico, Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Rome)
Memcon	memorandum of conversation
MI-ASE	Italian Ministry of Interior, Historic Archives of Elections ( <a href="http://elezionistorico.interno.it/index.php">elezionistorico.interno.it/index.php</a> )
MSW-NWC	Giles Harlow and George Maerz, eds., <i>Measures Short of War: The George F. Kennan Lectures at the National War College, 1946–1947</i> (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1991)

NARA	National Archives and Records Administration (College Park, MD)
NSA	National Security Archive (Washington, DC)
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
ORE	Office of Records and Estimates, CIA
PCM: ADG	Presidenza del Consiglio Dei Ministri: Segreteria Particolare del Presidente del Consiglio Alcide De Gasperi, 1944–1953 (ACS)
PPP	<i>Public Papers of Presidents of the United States:</i> <i>Harry S. Truman</i> , various volumes (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1963–)
PPSS	Anna Kasten Nelson, ed., <i>The State Department Policy Planning Staff Series</i> , 3 vols. (New York: Garland, 1983)
PSF	President’s Secretary’s Files (HSTL)
RG	Record Group (NARA)
SMOF	Staff Member and Office Files (HSTL)
VCM	Aldo G. Ricci, ed., <i>Verballi del Consiglio dei Ministri</i> (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1997–8)
WHCF	White House Central Files (HSTL)
WPP	Walter Pforzheimer Papers (Beinecke Library, New Haven, CT)