

Index

- Acheson, Dean, 23, 28, 63, 124, 193, 197
 aid for Italy, 62, 65, 66
 and NATO, 172
 and NSC 68, 194
 and political warfare, 198
 and PPS, 105
 and Program A, 192
 Action Party, 12, 45, 85
 Adams, John C., 70, 159
 Aid USA, 113, 114, 131, 141, 161
 Allen, George V., 180
 Allied Commission, 25, 57
 Allies
 liberation of Italy, 10
 post-war tensions, 27, 29
 Alsop, Joseph, 13, 61, 84
 American Chamber of Commerce, 52
 American Federation of Labor, 33, 70, 115–16, 134, 152, 160, 161, 164
see also Free Trade Union Committee
 Andreotti, Giulio, 32, 184
 Angleton, James Jesus, 97, 114, 136, 162
 Antonini, Luigi, 35, 46, 61, 70, 133, 151
 Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, 118
 Ascoli, Max, 35
- Bathurst, Charles R., 90
 Berle, Adolf A., 35, 61
 Bevin, Ernest, 147, 149, 186
 blowback, 8
 Bohlen, Charles, 55, 195, 206
 Bonner, Paul, 133
 Bonomi, Ivanoe, 12
 Bretton Woods, 13
 Brown, Irving, 116, 121, 133, 160–1, 163, 164, 165, 201
see also American Federation of Labor;
 Lovestone, Jay
 Brussels Pact, 149
 Bundy, McGeorge, 204
 Butler, George, 107, 123, 180, 186
- Byrnes, James F., 25, 30, 38, 39
 De Gasperi invitation, 50
 and peace treaty, 27–30
- carabinieri*, 93, 139
 CC (Civic Committees), 120, 143, 155, 201
see also Gedda, Luigi; Vatican
 Central Intelligence Agency, 106, 156, 159, 180, 195
 covert activities in Italy, 135–6, 138, 177, 205
 covert operations, 8, 121, 186
 Italy analysis, 17, 108, 136, 145, 146
 and labour, 164, 165, 201
 ‘lessons learnt’ studies, 205
 myth of, 7, 179, 205
 Office of Special Operations, 122, 180
 and OPC, 182, 183, 188, 195
 sidelining of, 181–2
 Special Projects Group, 122, 180
see also OPC; political warfare
 CGIL (Confederazione generale italiana del lavoro), 70, 107, 158, 159–61, 162–3, 165
 Churchill, Winston, 38
 CISL (Conferazione italiana sindacati lavoratori), 163–4
 Clay, Lucius, 144
 Clayton, William L., 22, 23, 47, 50–1, 57, 69
 assisting Italy, 67–8, 71–3
 Clifford, Clark, 63, 105, 189
 CLN (Comitato di liberazione nazionale), 11
 cold war (as concept), 4–5, 7, 99, 104
see also political warfare; Kennan, George F.
 Committee for a Just Peace for Italy, 39, 201
 communism, *see* PCI Soviet Union
 Confindustria, 157

Index

291

- Congress (US)
 1946 election, 43, 44
 and Marshall Gap, 73
 and Marshall Plan, 84, 144, 170
 and peace treaty, 60
 propaganda funding, 103, 112, 205
 Congress of Industrial Organizations, 70,
 160, 164
 Connally, Tom, 61
 Corbino, Epicarmo, 23, 33, 45, 78
see also liberali
 covert action, *see* Central Intelligence
 Agency; political warfare; OPC
 Cox, Oscar, 14, 36, 116
 Croce, Benedetto, 1
- Dante, 4
 Davies, John Paton, 186, 199
 DC (Democrazia cristiana), 12, 31–3,
 44–5, 77, 91–3, 166
 break with Marxist left, 46, 81–3
 and Catholicism, 12, 31
 counter-insurrection plan, 92
 factions, 32–3, 157
 mass appeal, 12, 31
 national party, 31, 129, 148
 DC-centrism, 13, 33–4, 40, 77, 84, 90–1,
 139, 148
 De Gasperi, Alcide, 4, 12, 30, 44, 45, 76,
 89, 91–3, 139, 202
 arrest, 32
 De Gasperi–Gruber accord, 37
 early political career, 32, 34
 Europeanism, 80
 and fascism, 32
 as foreign minister, 30
 foreign policy, 21, 40, 52–3, 76, 79–80
 and fourth party, 77–80
 government coalitions, 57–8, 69,
 78
 and Italian Christian (Italia)
 civilisation, 4, 79
 and Latin link, 34
 national identity, 34
 national leader, 34
 and national sovereignty, 14, 129, 154,
 167, 202
 and NATO, 171
 no-confidence vote, 88–9
 partner to United States, 13, 84
 personal faith, 31
 protecting Italian democracy, 197
 resisting US pressure, 70–1, 85, 138,
 148
 seeking US protection, 90, 138
 trip to United States, 20, 48–53
 and US aid, 20, 64, 79, 91
 and Vatican, 31, 32
see also DC; DC-centrism; Italy
 Department of Defense, 180
 military unification, 106
 Di Maggio, Joe, 141
 Donovan, William, 121, 181
 Dos Passos, John, 16
 Dossetti, Giuseppe, 32, 33, 92, 157
 and *dossettiani*, 33, 83, 92
 Dowling, Walter, 29, 42–3, 49, 50–1, 61,
 138, 157, 172
 Dubinsky, David, 46, 70, 133, 160
 Dulles, Allen, 14, 97, 181, 183, 195
 and Frank Wisner, 183
 and Italy, 50, 136, 180
 and political warfare, 121, 178, 180–1,
 205
 Dulles, John Foster, 2, 148
 Dunn, James C., 18, 43, 60, 64, 66, 69,
 81, 87, 94, 111–12, 113, 117, 127,
 130–1, 145, 149–50, 156, 161, 197
 book, 151
 career, 53–4
 at CFM, 55–6
 conservatism, 54
 and covert funding, 133, 134, 151
 and DC-centrists, 56, 89–90
 family, 54, 55
 fascist sympathies, 54–5, 111
 influence of, 53, 55, 57, 170
 and propaganda, 112, 116, 131–2, 144,
 151
 and secretaries of state, 54
 speeches, 112, 131, 144, 151
 support of De Gasperi, 71, 86, 89, 138
see also Rome Embassy; Tasca, Henry J.
- Economic Cooperation Administration,
 161, 170
Country Study, 170
 Economic Recovery Program (ERP), *see*
 Marshall Plan
 Einaudi, Luigi, 23, 33, 69
 Bank of Italy, 23
liberale policies, 78–9, 88
 as president of Republic, 169
see also fourth party; *liberali*
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 109
 Eisenhower administration, 191, 196
 and political warfare, 203, 206
 election (18 April 1948)
 legacy of, 7, 200
 lessons of, 152, 178

292 Index

- election (18 April 1948) (*cont.*)
 myth of, 205
 result, 1
 symbolism, 176
see also Italy; United States
- Export-Import Bank, 65
 1947 loan, 51–2, 110
- Faravelli, Giuseppe, 133
- fascism, 10
 purge of, 12
 Red Fascism, 28
- FDP (Popular Democratic Front), 1, 127,
 130–1, 134, 244
 propaganda, 144
 and Unity of Action Pact (1946), 45
see also PCI; PSI
- FIL (Federazione italiana dei lavoratori),
 163
- Formigoni, Guido, 53, 77, 84
- Forrestal, James V., 106, 121, 122,
 189
 and Italy, 90, 107, 109, 136, 140
 and political warfare, 178, 180, 181,
 186
- fourth party, 76, 77–9, 169
see also Einaudi, Luigi
- France, 27, 28, 39
 and 1948 election, 146
 and colonies, 172
 customs union with Italy, 147
 elections, 69
 removal of Marxist left, 68–9
- Free Trade Union Committee, 159, 163,
 164
- Gedda, Luigi, 143, 202
 and CC, 143, 201
 and labour, 161
 and United States, 161–2, 165
see also Pius XII (pope); Vatican
- Gotshal, Sylvan, 134, 151
- Graziano, Rocky, 141
- Great Britain, 147
 and 1948 election, 147
 wartime policy towards Italy, 25
- Grew, Joseph, 28, 54
- Gronchi, Giovanni, 32, 74, 92, 157
- Harriman, W. Averell, 28
- Hemingway, Ernest, *A Farewell to Arms*,
 16
- Hickerson, John D., 47, 61,
 138
 and Atlantic security, 172
- and De Gasperi visit, 50–1
 and Manila telegram, 123
- Hillenkoetter, Roscoe, 121, 138, 181
 and OPC, 188
- Hull, Cordell, 54
 inspiration of, 22
- International Hudson Company, 116
- International Ladies' Garment Workers'
 Union, 70, 134
- Italian Embassy in Washington, 84
see also Tarchiani, Alberto
- Italian peace treaty, 10, 26–30, 37
 protest against, 39–40, 46
 ratification, 60, 79
 reversal of clauses, 174
- Italian-American exiles, 14, 35
see also Italy lobby
- Italian American Labor Council, 46, 57,
 115, 134
- Italy
 1946 elections, 44
 1948 election, 1, 3–4, 129, 149
 border disputes, 37–9
 foreign policy, 14, 20, 21, 34–40, 52–3,
 64, 76, 79–80, 81, 82–3, 84, 93, 149,
 169
 political parties, 45
 purge of fascism, 12
 reform, 154, 155–7
 western choice, 94, 171
 and World War II, 11
see also DC; DC-centrism; De Gasperi,
 Alcide
- Italy lobby, 14, 27, 28, 35, 39, 61,
 116
- Jacini, Stefano, 32
- Jackson, C.D., 116
 and political warfare, 206
- Jervis, Robert, 9, 205
- Joint Chiefs of Staff, 105
- Joyce, Robert, 194
- Keeny, Spurgeon M., 24
- Kennan, George F., 2, 55, 121, 128, 137,
 162, 178, 189, 191, 193, 194
Abendland, 101, 191
 and atomic weapons, 98, 236
 and authoritarianism, 101, 124
 and bandwagon effect, 101, 102, 123,
 124
 and Clausewitz, 98
 and cold war, 8, 95, 99, 198
 'containment', 95, 98, 100, 199

- and covert operations, 186
- on Europe, 73, 103, 173, 191
- exit from government, 207
- and Hickerson, 123, 172
- and illness, 125
- influence of, 107, 125
- and international 'health', 101, 173
- and Italy, 68, 71, 99–100, 107, 109, 110
- 'Latins', views on, 102, 124
- Long Telegram, 98
- Manila Telegram, 123–5, 141, 180
- and Marshall Plan, 67–8, 103
- and military power, 99, 100, 109
- National War College, 95, 98
- and NATO, 123, 172, 173
- NSC, 96, 107
- and NSC 68, 195
- and nuclear weapons, 100
- and OPC, 183–4, 207
- as policy-maker, 105–8, 110, 125, 188–90
- and political warfare, 2–3, 8, 10, 19, 95–6, 98–104, 109, 122–3, 124, 125–6, 177–8, 181–3, 184, 186, 192, 198–9, 208
- and PPS, 105–6, 107, 182, 188, 207
- Program A, 101, 192
- and propaganda, 101, 103–4
- and rapid response forces, 100
- and religion, 124
- response (unsent) to Lippmann, 125–6
- on Soviet Union, 104
- as thinker, 98
- and Truman Doctrine, 64
- and UN, 109
- 'X' article, 104, 106
- on Yugoslavia, 187
- see also* political warfare; PPS
- Key, David, 24
- Keynesianism, 22
- Italian opposition to, 154, 169
- transnational influence of, 9
- Kirk, Alexander, 26, 29
- Kissinger, Henry, 204
- Korean War, 195
- and Italy, 197
- Krock, Arthur, 2
- La Guardia, Fiorello, 35, 36
- La Malfa, Ugo, 85–6
- Lane, Thomas, 159, 160, 163–4
- LCGIL (Libera confederazione generale italiana del lavoro), 162–3
- lessons of history, 9
- liberali*, 23, 33, 74, 78, 169
- see also* Corbino, Epicarmo; Einaudi, Luigi; fourth party
- Liberty Ships, 116
- Lindsay, Frank, 184
- Lippmann, Walter, 26–7, 52, 167
- and 'X' article, 104
- Little Entente, 14, 76, 87, 201
- attacks by, 80, 85–6
- inclusion in government, 93
- US opinion of, 86, 156
- Lombardo, Ivan Matteo, 83, 115, 156
- Lovestone, Jay, 116, 134, 152, 160, 164, 165
- Lovett, Robert A., 73, 75, 105, 107, 109, 134
- and political warfare, 186
- Luce, Clare Boothe, 203
- Luce, Henry R., 14, 36, 49
- De Gasperi invitation, 49, 50
- Lundestad, Geir, 15
- McCloy, John, 28
- McCormick, Anne O'Hare, 2, 84
- Maier, Charles, 15
- Marshall, George C., 57, 61, 69, 81, 82, 90, 105, 107, 122, 131, 135, 146, 161, 179
- Marshall Plan, 59, 65, 74, 83–4, 85, 115, 130, 160, 168, 169
- allure of, 8, 75
- counterpart funds, 170, 187
- Harvard speech, 59
- Marshall Gap, 60, 71–3, 88, 91
- promoting American model, 168
- psychological impact, 103
- Marxist left, 94
- and political warfare, 158
- propaganda, 111, 112
- strength of, 137, 158
- see also* FDP; PCI; PSI
- Matthews, H. Freeman, 82–3, 112
- Mazzini Society, 35
- Menichella, Donato, 51, 88, 110, 169
- Merzagora, Cesare, 74, 156
- Miller, James E., 52, 135
- Milward, Alan, 24, 62
- Molotov, Vyacheslav, 29
- Montana, Vanni, 35, 163
- Montini, Giovanni, 119, 146
- Murphy, Raymond, 134
- Mussolini, Benito, 10
- American views of, 10, 17
- Mutual Defense Assistance Program, 174, 197

294 Index

- National Advisory Council, 23
 National Security Council, 6, 179
 creation, 106, 126
 NSC 1 series, 108, 113, 140–1
 NSC 4 series, 122, 136, 180
 NSC 7, 189
 NSC 10/2, 182–3
 NSC 20/4, 190–1
 NSC 67 series, 196, 197, 198
 NSC 68, 178, 193–5, 197, 199, 206
 policy-making, 97, 106–9
 and political warfare, 181, 182
 NATO, 171, 173
 and Italy, 155, 172, 176, 198
 Nenni, Pietro, 45, 203
 marginalisation of, 40–1, 50
 New Deal, 36
 influence of, 22, 36
New York Times, 2, 14, 18, 52, 56, 146, 156
 Nitze, Paul H., 178, 193
 and political warfare, 198, 207

 Office of Strategic Services, 97
 see also Angleton, James Jesus; Donovan, William; Dulles, Allen
 OPC (Office of Policy Coordination), 164, 178, 182–3, 186, 188
 expansion, 188, 192
 merger into CIA, 195
 operations in Eastern Europe, 188
 and political warfare, 184, 186, 187
 and ‘stay-behind’ networks, 184, 195
 see also CIA; Wisner, Frank
 Ortona, Egidio, 51

 Pacciardi, Randolfo, 35, 86, 87, 93
 Parri, Ferruccio, 12
 Parsons, J. Graham, 117
 Pastore, Giulio, 32, 92, 157
 labour split, 161, 162–4
 PCI (Partito comunista italiano), 1, 44, 70, 254
 challenge of American modernity, 168
 as enemy, 202
 and Marshall Plan, 130, 146, 158
 paramilitary force, 130
 and PSI, 45
 and Soviet Union, 15, 145, 251
 and Trieste, 39
 see also FDP; Togliatti, Palmiro
 Pella, Giuseppe, 78, 156, 169
 perception of success, 5, 200, 205
 in historiography, 8–9
 Pescara election (1948), 134

 Piccioni, Attilio, 33, 46, 92
 Pius XII (pope), 85, 118–20, 130, 143, 150, 159
 letter exchange with Truman, 119
 political warfare, 7, 19, 68, 101, 109, 125–6, 131, 155, 158–9, 164, 173, 174, 183, 184, 186–7, 192, 197, 198–9, 202, 206–7, 208
 ad hoc Italian campaign, 110–18, 128
 and cold war, 4, 126, 158, 200
 concept of, 2–3, 95–6, 98–9, 100–1, 126, 206
 and covert funding, 129–35, 136
 in France, 116, 121
 and NSC 68, 196, 206
 and organisation, 96, 106, 121–3, 176–83, 203–4, 206
 perceived success of, 152, 158, 176, 180, 200, 204–5
 and propaganda, 103–4
 and psychological warfare, 7, 158
 rollback in Eastern Europe, 177, 184–6, 187–8, 199
 and strategy, 188–92
 see also Kennan, George F.; National Security Council; PPS; Rome Embassy
 Pope, Generoso, 35, 116
 Potsdam Conference (1945), 27
 PPI (Partito popolare italiano), 31
 PPS (Policy Planning Staff), 68, 95, 96, 108, 187, 207
 and covert operations, 177, 184
 and Italy, 71, 73, 107, 108, 113, 140
 planning, 103, 105, 107, 188–91
 and political warfare, 2, 19, 122, 173, 176, 177, 181, 184, 185–6, 194
 see also Kennan, George F.; State Department
 PRI (Partito repubblicano italiano), 85, 118, 150
 PSI (Partito socialista italiano), 45, 89, 94, 203
 see also FDP; Nenni, Pietro
 PSIUP (Partito socialista italiano di unità proletaria), 44
 PSLI (Partito socialista lavoratori italiano), 69–71, 85
 and American labour, 45–6, 134, 151
 in government, 156
 and Italian labour, 159–61, 163
 socialist split, 45
 US covert support of, 133–4, 140
 US support of, 66, 69, 70, 115, 132, 164

Index

295

- Psychological Strategy Board, 203, 206
- Quaroni, Pietro, 37, 168
- Rome Embassy
analysis, 66–7, 81, 85–6, 149–50, 153–4, 155
and political warfare, 110–15, 129–35
and *Rome Daily American*, 113
supporting DC-centrists, 85–91
see also Dunn, James C.; Tasca, Henry J.
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 20
administration policy-making, 23, 24
Italy policy, 27
- Salvemini, Gaetano, 35
- Saragat, Giuseppe, 45, 46, 69–70, 87, 111, 156
see also PSLI
- Scelba, Mario, 32, 78, 156
counter-strategy, 92–3
- Schlesinger, Arthur Jnr, 14
- Scoccimarro, Mauro, 78
- Sforza, Carlo, 13, 33, 35, 48, 117
in exile, 35
as foreign minister, 58, 79–80, 156
and Marshall Plan, 84
and NATO, 171
- Sinatra, Frank, 141, 148
- Smith, Walter Bedell, 195
- Soviet Union, 15, 27, 29, 38, 148
and Berlin, 185
and Cominform, 121
funding PCI, 145
and Italian colonies, 147
and Marshall Plan, 71, 87
and Tito, 187
- Spellman, Francis, 52, 142–3
- Stalin, Josef, 38
attitude to Italy, 39, 146
- State Department, 25, 50, 66, 73, 90, 109, 163, 192
EUR, 23, 24, 47, 52, 69, 108, 172
and information programmes, 97, 112
and labour, 70, 115, 164
mid-level planners, 13, 22–3, 31, 42, 49, 72
and NSC, 107, 122
policy-making, 105, 140
and political warfare, 177, 181, 182, 185, 187
see also Kennan, George F.; Marshall Plan; PPS
- State-Army-Navy-Air Coordinating Committee, 107, 121
- State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, 105, 107
- Stephanson, Anders, 5, 194
- Stettinius, Edward R. Jnr, 28, 54
- Stimson, Henry, 28
- Stone, Ellery W., 17, 26, 29, 61
- Tarchiani, Alberto, 13, 33, 37, 52, 81, 138, 148
and American officials, 40
appeals for US aid, 35, 38, 62, 82, 84, 88–9, 137
De Gasperi in United States, 49–50, 52
in exile, 35
and James Dunn, 56, 112
and Marshall Plan, 84–5, 156
and NATO, 171
networks in United States, 36–7, 84
- Tardini, Domenico, 32, 117, 118–19
- Tasca, Henry J., 24, 47, 66–7, 74, 176
and political warfare, 114–15
see also Rome Embassy
- Taylor, Myron, 20, 21, 30–1, 40, 52, 117, 143, 166
American Relief for Italy, 21
and Protestant dissent, 120, 165
religious alliance, 118, 143, 165
- Thayer, Charles, 184
- Thompson, Llewellyn, 185
- Thorp, Willard, 51, 65, 135
- Time Inc, *see* Henry R. Luce
- Tito, Josip Broz, 38
- Togliatti, Palmiro, 1, 81, 83, 111, 117
assassination attempt, 158
and Moscow, 145
and Tito, 39
- Trieste, 38–9, 146–7
and containment, 100
Yugoslav claims on, 29
- Truman, Harry S., 24–5, 29, 61, 73, 105
decision-making, 25, 141
and Italy, 20, 27, 39, 61
and Korean War, 195
letter exchange with Pius XII, 119
and NSC, 107
and Protestant dissent, 120, 165
and religion, 30
religious alliance, 31, 118, 143, 165
Truman Doctrine, 62–3, 64, 106
- UIL (Unione italiana del lavoro), 163
- Union Club of New York, 52
- Unità*, *L'*, 1, 111

296 Index

United Nations, 20, 109

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

Administration, 11, 24, 46, 65

United States

and 1948 election, 1–2, 127–9, 141–3,
144, 145, 149–51

and fascist Italy, 10

foreign policy, 15–17, 26–7, 59, 62,

105–7, 121–2, 172, 182, 189–95

and NATO, 173

policy towards Italy, 10–11, 13, 17–18,

20–1, 22–4, 25–6, 27–30, 42–4, 47–8,

50–2, 59, 62, 65–8, 69–70, 73, 82, 86,

90, 107–9, 113, 131–2, 136–41,

153–4, 170, 175, 196–7, 203–4

and Vatican, 30–1, 117–20, 143–4

and World War II, 10

see also cold war; election (18 April

1948); Marshall Plan; National

Security Council; political warfare;

Rome Embassy; State Department;

Trieste

Uomo Qualunque, 45, 83

Vandenberg, Arthur, 49, 52, 61, 85

Vatican, 5, 7, 112, 119–20, 146, 150

and CC, 120, 143–4, 201

and covert funding, 134

and DC, 118, 129

and De Gasperi, 32, 143, 162

and Guelf Italy, 120

and Ireland, 144

and propaganda, 144

and United States, 15, 31, 117–19, 165,
201*see also* CC; Gedda, Luigi; Pius XII

(pope)

Venezia Giulia, 29, 37

see also Trieste

Victor Emmanuel III, 12

Voice of America, 112, 141

and political warfare, 187

budget cuts, 112

Walshe, Joseph, 144

Welles, Sumner, 14, 61, 83, 111

Wisner, Frank, 183, 186

and CIA, 188

see also OPCWorld Federation of Trade Unions, 160,
163

Zellerbach, James, 170