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So. 3. 1943

File 475
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Dear Mr. Dallas:

It seems to me that your search for an eventual leader of the forces of Free Italy is, on the one hand, the transposal of a military necessity into the political field, and, on the other hand, the projection of an American political custom into European affairs. The anti-fascist movement in Italy is too differentiated in its present phase, to allow of a single leader. Besides, could you tell me who is the leader of the Swiss democracy? or of the Swedish democracy? Something inconceivable in America, namely a democratic public opinion represented by a large number of men, parties and newspapers, is on the contrary possible in Europe. The problem must therefore be stated as follows: what are the motive forces of the Italian democratic revolution, and how can they be coordinated? In broad terms it may be answered that, in the present pre-revolutionary phase, the political currents tending towards democracy in Italy are these: -

1. The Socialists, who represent the democratic and active part of the working class in the North and Centre of the Peninsula, and the poor peasants in the South.
2. The Catholics, who represent the peasants, more especially the small landed proprietors.
3. The "Action Party" (Partito d'Azione), "Justice and Liberty" (Giustizia e Libertà), the Republican Party, and a large number of other groups of the same kind, representing the urban lower middle class and the intellectuals.

If the political crisis ripens into a civil war, the solution will be with the working class, and there will be either a democracy or a dictatorialship according to whether the Socialists or the Communists take the upper hand among the workers. The party of the petite bourgeoisie is the weakest, being heterogeneous and disorganised and lacking a leader; if Forza could let himself be accepted as leader of this party, he could serve as intermediary between the Catholics and the Socialists and work towards a Democrat-Catholic-Socialist political coalition, which could play a certain part in the transition period. But Forza cannot do so. He cannot be accepted as leader either by the Catholics or by the Socialists, which at present are the two strongest parties in Italy; he could, I