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TELEGRAM INFORMATION REPORT TELEGRAM

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Bundy Station

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COUNTRY	ITALY	REPORT NO.	TDCS DB - 3/654,973 <i>Weekend</i>
SUBJECT	SUCCESSOR TO JOHN XXIII. SITUATION APPRAISAL AS OF 6 JUNE 1963	DATE DISTR.	7 JUNE 1963 <i>Weekend</i>
DATE OF INFO.		PRECEDENCE	ROUTINE
PLACE & DATE ACQ. APPRAISAL	ITALY, ROME	REFERENCES	IN 54289 <i>(Taken from Pres Week-end Reading)</i>
		FIELD REPORT NO.	<i>It 6/15-16- Sat 20.</i>

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION. SOURCE GRADINGS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE.

SOURCE STAFF OFFICER OF THIS ORGANIZATION. COMMENTARY.

1. FOLLOWING IS A FIELD APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. IT IS NOT AN OFFICIAL JUDGMENT BY THIS AGENCY OR ANY COMPONENT. IT REPRESENTS THE OBSERVATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF A STAFF OFFICER BASED ON INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO HIM AT THE TIME OF ITS PREPARATION. PREPARED FOR INTERNAL USE, THIS COMMENTARY IS DISSEMINATED IN THE BELIEF THAT IT MAY BE USEFUL TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN ASSESSING THE SITUATION FOR ITS PURPOSES.

2. BASED ON BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE, EXHAUSTIVE SCANNING OF THE PRESS, AND DISCUSSIONS WITH PERSONALITIES IN VARIOUS FIELDS, THE FOLLOWING SPECULATIONS CONCERNING THE SUCCESSOR TO POPE JOHN XXIII ARE OFFERED.

3. A COMPLICATING FACTOR IN PREDICTING WHO THE NEXT POPE WILL BE IS THE INCREASED SIZE OF THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS, WHICH IS NOW 82, COMPARED WITH 55 IN 1958. THE AVERAGE TIME THAT THE 1958 GROUP HAD BEEN

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GROUP 1
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STATE/DIR (HUGHES ONLY) DD/I, AD/CI, AD/NE EXO

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Declassified Under Authority of the Interagency Security Classification Appeals Panel, E.O. 13526, sec. 5.3(b)(3) ISCAP Appeal No. 2019-058, document 2
Declassification Date: January 2, 2025

CARDINALS WAS MUCH LONGER THAN THE AVERAGE FOR THE PRESENT GROUP. MOREOVER, IN 1958, IT WAS EASIER TO IDENTIFY EACH OF THE CARDINALS WITH ONE OF THREE MAJOR CATEGORIES: LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE, OR MODERATE. THE PRESENT COLLEGE CONTAINS 44 CARDINALS CREATED BY POPE JOHN XXIII, BUT SOME ARE FAR FROM BEING IN THE LIBERAL GROUP.

4. ANOTHER PROBLEM FOR OUTSIDE OBSERVERS IS THAT NO ONE CARDINAL, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MONTINI, HAS STOOD OUT ABOVE THE OTHERS IN THE PUBLIC MIND IN RECENT YEARS. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE CARDINALS THEMSELVES HAVE NOT FORMED SOME DEFINITE IMPRESSIONS ABOUT THEIR COLLEAGUES.

5. AN ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE TO ELIMINATE CERTAIN CARDINALS A PRIORI, TO HIGHLIGHT SOME OF THE FACTORS THAT MAY WEIGH ON THE FINAL DECISION, AND TO POINT OUT A NUMBER OF POSSIBLE SUCCESSORS.

6. THE POSSIBILITY OF A NON-ITALIAN POPE MIGHT BE EXAMINED FIRST. AS IN 1958, THIS IS A SUBJECT OF GREAT SPECULATION IN THE PRESS AND AMONG "EXPERTS." IN OUR OPINION, SUCH AN EVENTUALITY IS UNLIKELY. POPE JOHN'S REIGN HAS SHOWN THAT RENOVATION, WHICH HAD BEEN SOUGHT FOR YEARS AND WHICH HAD OFTEN BEEN IDENTIFIED WITH THE POSSIBLE ACCESSION OF A NON-ITALIAN, CAN TAKE PLACE WITH AN ITALIAN. THE PROBLEM IS NOW SEEN TO BE THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CURIA, WHICH CAN BE UNDERTAKEN BY ANYONE FOLLOWING IN POPE JOHN'S FOOTSTEPS. IT THEREFORE SEEMS LESS LIKELY THAN IN 1958 THAT A NON-ITALIAN WILL BE ELECTED. WE BELIEVE THAT THE DESIRE FOR A NON-ITALIAN POPE IS NOT REALLY STRONG AMONG CARDINALS, WHO ARE NOT

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INTERESTED IN RESURRECTING NATIONAL PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS THAT HAVE BEEN BURIED FOR CENTURIES. THE ITALIAN POPES OF THIS CENTURY HAVE NOT GIVEN CAUSE TO REGRET THAT THEY HAVE BEEN NATIONALISTIC AND CONTINUATION OF THE ITALIAN TRADITION NOW WOULD SAVE THE CHURCH FROM NEW DIFFICULTIES. EVEN THE CURIA PROBLEM IS NOT ONE OF ITALIAN NATIONALITY, BUT RATHER OF ITS NARROW TRADITION IN CONNECTION WITH ROMAN BUREAUCRACY. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW NON-ITALIANS COULD AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES WHO SHOULD HAVE THE HONOR OF BEING THE FIRST TO BREAK ITALIAN TRADITION, AND SUCH AN ATTEMPT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY CAUSE ITALIANS TO CLOSE RANKS AND BLOCK IT.

AGAGIANIAN, OF COURSE, REPRESENTS A SLIGHT OUTSIDE CHANCE FOR A NON-ITALIAN. HE APPARENTLY HAD A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF VOTES IN THE EARLY BALLOTS IN 1958. HE IS IN FACT ALMOST AN ITALIAN. HOWEVER, MANY NEW POSSIBILITIES HAVE COME TO THE FORE IN RECENT YEARS AND AGAGIANIAN HIMSELF BECAME OVERLY IDENTIFIED WITH CONSERVATIVE WING DURING THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE FIRST SESSION OF VATICAN COUNCIL II. THE SELECTION OF ALFRINK OF UTRECHT, ONE OF THE NON-ITALIANS WITH THE RIGHT STATURE, WOULD CARRY WITH/A NICE TOUCH, IN THAT THE LAST NON-ITALIAN (400 YEARS AGO) WAS ALSO A DUTCHMAN.

7. A PRIME CONSIDERATION IS CERTAIN TO BE THE NEXT POPE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD VATICAN COUNCIL II AND POPE JOHN'S POLICIES IN GENERAL. WE THINK THAT THE PREVAILING MOOD WILL BE TO CONTINUE THEM, BUT PERHAPS TO CHECK CERTAIN ASPECTS WHICH MANY CARDINALS, INCLUDING SOME ITALIAN, THINK HAVE GONE TOO FAR. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE WITH RESPECT TO CHURCH RELATIONS-

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WITH THE COMMUNIST WORLD, WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE CREATED SOME CHINKS IN THE NON-ITALIAN LIBERAL FRONT. EVEN IF POPE JOHN'S SUCCESSOR IS COMMITTED TO HIS GENERAL POLICIES, THE TENDENCY IS USUALLY TO GO MORE SLOWLY AND TO TAKE STOCK. IT MIGHT ALSO BE SAID THAT WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS NOT FURTHER INNOVATION, BUT IMPLEMENTATION. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE CONCLAVE CAN IGNORE THE FACT THAT POPE JOHN'S REIGN HAS CREATED A DEFINITE WORLD-WIDE IMAGE OF THE PAPACY AND OF GREAT EXPECTATIONS AND THAT THEY NOW MUST IN SOME MANNER BE CARRIED FORWARD. IT MIGHT BE ARGUED THAT CARDINALS HAVE NEVER SHOWN THEMSELVES OVERLY CONCERNED WITH PUBLIC OPINION, BUT PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING THE CHURCH HAS NEVER BEEN BROUGHT TO BEAR NOR STIRRED UP TO THE EXTENT IT HAS IN RECENT YEARS. JUST AS THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY NEW COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA, VIEWS OF THE CHURCH HAVE BECOME THE SUBJECT OF EVERYDAY DISCUSSION AMONG LARGE SECTORS OF THE POPULATION, AS IN THE DAYS OF EARLY CHURCH COUNCILS.

8. A NUMBER OF CARDINALS PROBABLY WOULD BE RULED OUT AT ONCE BECAUSE OF AGE OR INFIRMITIES. IT DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY THAT AN INTERIM CANDIDATE WILL BE SOUGHT, BARRING AN UNBREAKABLE DEADLOCK, SINCE WHAT POPE JOHN'S POLICIES NEED NOW IS CONTINUITY. IT IS FELT THAT THE AVERAGE AGE OF SERIOUS CONTENDERS WILL BE AT LEAST LOWER THAN JOHN'S WAS AND THAT IT WILL TEND MORE TO RETURN TO WHAT HAS BEEN THE AGE OF POPES OVER THE LAST 150 YEARS. WHILE THIS MIGHT APPEAR ARBITRARY, IT WOULD ELIMINATE 15 OF 28 OF THE ITALIANS, SOME OF WHOM ARE NOT LIKELY CANDIDATES FOR OTHER

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CONSIDERATIONS OF HEALTH AND POLICIES ALSO: MORANO, FOSSATI, PIZZARDO, MICARA, MASELLA, BRACCI, CHIARLO, CICOGNANI, VALERI, CENTO, DI JORIO, CIRIACI, BACCI, TESTA, AND RUFFINI. ALL OF THE FOREGOING ARE OVER 75.

9. OF THE 13 REMAINING ITALIANS, CASTALDI, OTTAVIANI, AND TRAGLIA MIGHT BE ELIMINATED BECAUSE THEY ARE KNOWN AS DEFINITE OPPONENTS OF POPE JOHN'S POLICIES. THE ONE REMAINING WELL-KNOWN CONSERVATIVE, SIRI OF GENOA, MIGHT ALSO BE ELIMINATED BECAUSE OF HIS RELATIVE YOUTH, AS WELL AS HIS OPPOSITION TO POPE JOHN. HOWEVER, THE CONSERVATIVE GROUP AMONG ITALIANS IS STRONG AND SIRI HAS MANY FRIENDS ABROAD. THIS, TOGETHER WITH HIS UNDOUBTED PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS AND HIS PROVEN ABILITY TO LEAN TOWARD THE MORE MODERATE WING OF THE CONSERVATIVES, GIVES HIM SOME CHANCE.

10. AMONG THE STRONGLY COMMITTED LIBERALS, MONTINI OF MILAN STANDS OUT AND ALMOST EVERYONE QUERIED COMES UP WITH HIS NAME SOONER RATHER THAN LATER. MONTINI IS CERTAINLY GOING INTO THE CONCLAVE AS THE FAVORITE OF THE MASSES. AGAINST MONTINI THERE MIGHT BE THE CONSIDERATION THAT HE IS TOO COMMITTED AND HAS OVER-EXTENDED HIMSELF ON THE ITALIAN SCENE. ALSO, THE COUNCIL MUST HAVE GIVEN ALL THE CARDINALS OPPORTUNITIES TO GET TO KNOW EACH OTHER AND, UNLIKE IN PAST CONCLAVES, IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO FORM OPINIONS AT THE LAST MINUTE. PERHAPS SOME OF THE ALLEGED PETTINESS THAT HIS FELLOW ITALIAN CARDINALS HAVE REPORTEDLY FREQUENTLY OBSERVED IN MONTINI HAS ALSO BEEN APPARENT TO NON-ITALIANS. MONTINI'S RECORD AT MILAN HAS ALSO NOT APPEARED BRILLIANT WHEN COMPARED WITH RECORDS OF OTHER HEADS OF LARGE DIOCESES, PARTICULARLY FOREIGN ONES. IN ADDITION,

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MONTINI IS CERTAINLY GOING TO BE OPPOSED TO THE END BY THE MAJORITY OF ITALIANS, WHO CAN PROBABLY FORCE A COMPROMISE CANDIDATE THROUGH IF THEY INSIST. IN THIS EFFORT THEY ARE ALMOST CERTAIN OF THE SUPPORT OF THE SPANIARDS, MANY LATIN AMERICANS, AND PERHAPS TWO NORTH AMERICANS.

URBANI OF VENICE, A LIBERAL, IS ALMOST TOO YOUNG AND SUFFERS FROM COMING FROM THE SAME CITY AS POPE JOHN. THE STOCK OF THE OTHER LIBERAL DIOCESAN CARDINAL, LERCARO, HAS GONE DOWN CONSISTENTLY IN RECENT YEARS.

11. IN THE CURIA THERE ARE A NUMBER OF UNKNOWNNS, IN THE SENSE THAT THE PUBLIC AT LEAST HAS NOT HAD AN OPPORTUNITY IN THE RELATIVELY SHORT TIME THEY HAVE BEEN CARDINALS TO FORM FIRM JUDGMENTS ON WHERE THE CARDINALS STAND ON THE ISSUES AT STAKE. ABOUT GIOBBE, FORNI, AND FERRETTO, WE KNOW NOTHING AT PRESENT. THEY HAVE NOT BEEN MENTIONED WITH ANY PROMINENCE IN THE PRESS AS POSSIBILITIES. CONFALONIERI OF THE CONSISTORY, MARELLA, ARCHPRIEST OF ST. PETER'S, AND ANTONIUTTI, WHO SERVES ON A NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS, ARE THREE DEFINITE POSSIBILITIES. ALL THREE ARE ACCEPTABLE TO THE CONSERVATIVES, BUT ARE OPEN MINDED AND INCLINED TO FOLLOW POPE JOHN'S IDEAS WITH CERTAIN MODIFICATIONS THAT WOULD NOT PREJUDICE LIBERALS AGAINST THEM. MARELLA AND ANTONIUTTI PARTICULARLY HAVE WIDE EXPERIENCE ABROAD IN PAPAL DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, BUT ANTONIUTTI MAY SUFFER FOR HIS SERVICE IN SPAIN. MARELLA, ON THE OTHER HAND, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN POPULAR IN PARIS, HIS LAST POST, AND IS REPORTEDLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRENCH.

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12. IN BRIEF, THE FOLLOWING SEEM TO BE THE MOST PROBABLE CANDIDATES: SIRI, LIKELIEST OF THE CONSERVATIVES; MONTINI, FAVORITE OF THE LIBERALS; CONFALONIERI, MARELLA, ANTONIUTTI, THREE LOGICAL COMPROMISE CANDIDATES FROM THE CURIA; GIOBBE, FORNI, AND FERRETTO, THREE UNKNOWNNS WHO ARE AT LEAST IN THE RUNNING, BASED ON AGE. TO THIS GROUP MIGHT BE ADDED AGAGIANIAN AND ALFRINK AS THE MOST LIKELY NON-ITALIANS.

13. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH VARIOUS PERSONS, PREDICTIONS VARIED. AN AMERICAN ARCHBISHOP BELIEVED THAT MONTINI WOULD BE ELECTED: SOME PERSONS IN 50X1 [REDACTED] CIRCLES CHOSE SIRI, WHILE OTHERS IN ^{the} 50X1 [REDACTED] GROUP PREDICTED THAT MONTINI WOULD BE SELECTED (THE LATTER WOULD PREFER A CURIA MODERATE); PERSONS IN LABOR GROUPS WAVERED FROM DAY TO DAY BETWEEN MARELLA AND MONTINI; CATHOLIC ACTION INTERVIEWEES WANTED SIRI, BUT PREDICTED THAT MARELLA WOULD BE SELECTED; GONELLA REGRETTED THAT MONTINI WOULD PROBABLY MAKE IT; JESUIT CIRCLES PREDICTED A CURIA MODERATE.

14. FIELD DISSEM: NONE.

END OF MESSAGE

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