

**The editors of 'La Nuova Alabarda' present
dossier No. 43:**

1974.

Traces of the strategy of tension.

by

Claudia CERNIGOI



Trieste, 2012

Supplement to n. 289 - 1/5/12 of
"La Nuova Alabarda e la Coda del Diavolo"
Reg. Trib. di Trieste n. 798 d.d. 16/10/1990
Editor-in-Chief Claudia Cernigoi

The cover photo is taken from the 'Meridiano di Trieste'.

"1974 is a decisive year, marking the culmination of a period and the start of another phase".¹

**PERSONAL PREMISE
(BUT, AS THEY USED TO SAY, THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL...).**

At the beginning of 1974 I was about to turn 15, I was attending the first class of the scientific high school, and my life was divided between school and the desire to get involved in politics in some way, but above all I listened to music, a lot of music, the music that the radio (then RAI) passed on to me, the music that I read about in the magazines *Qui giovani* (which was also a left-wing politicised magazine) and then *Ciao 2001*, when *Qui giovani* closed its publication in the spring of 1974.

Only a few months earlier, General Pinochet had shattered what had been the greatest dream of so many of us, Salvador Allende's Chilean revolution, namely how to achieve socialism by the electoral route and not through armed struggle. 'Nuestra sierra es la elección', the poet Victor Jara had sung, to clarify the concept of 'their' revolution, and had been horribly tortured and murdered by Pinochet's coup plotters.

With the usual exceptions, we teenagers in the first half of the 1970s were informed and aware of what was going on around us, regardless of whether our political ideas veered to the right or the left, or even to the centre: and engagement in politics, in all parties (even the DC had its youth militants!) was decidedly widespread at the time, unlike today, where the informed and politically engaged teenager is a rare beast.

A great friend of mine at that time was a schoolmate of mine (we had known each other since second grade), with whom I had also grown up politically, the only thing that distinguished us was that she was right-wing and I was left-wing (or, to put it bluntly, she was a fascist and I was a communist). We had discovered ourselves politically aligned in the spring of 1972, two years before, and we had debated together all those things that were happening in those years, the deaths of Feltrinelli and Calabresi, the bombs, coups and dictatorships, 'black' and 'red' violence. With the beginning of our militancy, she in the Front of Youth and I in the Party of Proletarian Unity, we grew apart, of course, but my political growth is also linked to the things I talked about with her.

Moreover, in the summer of 1974 I started a correspondence with a *pen pal*, a guy from the province of Brescia (as chance would have it...) whom I had contacted following his advertisement published in *Ciao 2001*: we became friends, we talked about music and politics, we continued to write for several years and it was one of the best things of my adolescence.

Many years later, I met Massimo who asked me to give him a hand in his investigations, which relate to that period in history, and so, looking for articles and news from that time, reconstructing the chronology of those months, I was reminded of how I was in 1974, in a year that meant a lot to Italian history, and during which I entered adolescence proper, with an awareness that had matured partly because of the events of that year, of the fears of a possible coup that I also felt, even in my unconsciousness as a young girl, of the desire to know more about what was happening around me and to make myself useful in some way to the cause of democracy and freedom.

Since the topics of national scope (the investigations into the coup attempts, the Rosa dei venti, the Brescia and Italicus massacres...) have already been dealt with (much better than I can do in this brief study) in other texts (referred to in the bibliography), I will limit myself to pointing out a few *traces* and investigating the local events in depth, framing them in the national and international situation. Trieste has always been a *hot* spot in the strategy of tension, and many Italian mysteries could probably be explained if they were investigated more thoroughly in our city.

¹ M. Franzinelli, "La sottile linea nera", Rizzoli 2008, p. 229.

This *dossier* is a bit of a follow-up to '1972. Memories of the Strategy of Tension', published in 2003. I skipped 1973, but plan to do so in the near future.

The soundtrack includes songs by Edoardo Bennato (from 'I buoni e i cattivi', 1974) and Claudio Lolli '(from 'Ho visto anche degli zingari felici', 1975).

*'There is a symbolic year in the history of massacres, terrorism and subversion that makes it possible to identify important constituent components and to draw some initial and well-founded considerations. The year is 1974...'*²

JANUARY: ALARM IN THE BARRACKS.

One o'clock in the morning,
there is a curfew, and to
think that at first it almost
seemed like a game...
Now there is no more time to
think everyone inside, locked up
waiting.... Everyone has had their
rations poor and rich, bad and
good everyone has made their
prayers now it's just a matter of
waiting...
Bravo... up! Good boys
but no need to fret.... Good
boys. # Be good boys and
girls #

you'll see that
we'll sort it out...
To deal with the situation
there was a programme on television
where all the lawyers spoke
of all flags, of all parties... And it was
really moving, seeing all those great
people sacrifice their ideas in the name
of the good of the people...
then they gave strict
instructions to be calm, to be
quiet...
Good... come on! Good
boys, but there's no need to
get excited... Be good...
Come on! Be good, boys!
you'll see that we'll fix everything...
(E. Bennato, 'Bravi ragazzi').

On **13 January 1974**, Adelino Ruggeri, a Freemason and informer in the political office of the Brescia Police Headquarters, attended a meeting of the MNOP (National Movement of Public Opinion) attended by Adamo Degli Occhi, Senator Piasenti, a certain Alberti from Milan and Cucentroli from Florence³. The MNOP (whose acronym curiously recalls that of the political movement Ordine nuovo, MPON) had been founded by the piduist 'prince' Giovanni Francesco Alliata di Montereale (who had been indicated by Gaspare Pisciotta as the instigator of the massacre of Portella della Ginestra in 1947), had among its

adherents the

² 'Terrorism and its Masks', edited by the Association of Relatives of Victims of Massacres, Pendragon 1996, p. 41.

³ From the chronology of the Cipriani Foundation (<http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>), officially edited by Vincenzo Vinciguerra (the neo-fascist who confessed to the Peteano bombing), although during a conference (Trieste, 9/12/10) the 'gladiator' Paolo Inzerilli stated that he was collaborating with the Cipriani Foundation precisely for the drafting of this chronology.

Retired General of the Bersaglieri Francesco Nardella and in Trieste his contacts were, in 1972, Ciro Manganaro⁴ and the lawyer Lino Sardos Albertini, one of the most prominent exponents of the associationism of Istrian exiles and defined by Gianni Flamini as a "Christian Democrat animator of the Union of Istrians", whose name appears among the "client files" seized during a search carried out at Freda's Ezzelino bookshop in Padua on 16/5/73⁵. Other "clients" of Freda's from Trieste were the founder of the MSI, Nino de Totto, the president of the industrialists' association and Christian Democrat exponent Marcello Modiano, and the MSI member of parliament Renzo de' Vidovich⁶; and let us add that on 24/3/71 Giovanni Ventura is said to have collected "books owed to de' Vidovich"⁷.

On **23 January**, an 'alarm was sounded in the barracks in Friuli Venezia Giulia, Milan, Pavia, Brescia, Monza, Cesena, Bologna and Pisa and in the Nato bases in the centre-north and exercises were taking place that seemed to prelude, according to many observers, a military intervention in the political life of the country'⁸. This news was published in *l'Unità* on **28 January**.

On **27 January**, 'in Moena, Paolo Emilio Taviani, who is in the Public Security School, records the alarm raised during the night of an imminent coup d'état, which was later denied. In any case, reinforced protective measures are taken to safeguard his person. At dawn, Mariano Rumor telephoned him and told him that he had heard from Nenni that several Socialists had slept outside the house. Taviani writes: *Certainly the climate is heavy. It resembles that of Chile before the advent of Pinochet*'.

On the same day, Edgardo Sogno⁹ met with Admiral Gino Birindelli¹⁰, Pietro Benvenuto and De Marchi (Rosa dei venti) to prepare the so-called *white coup*, planned for the middle of the month¹¹.

This was the situation at the beginning of 1974, but to better understand what was happening in January we need to take a step back, go back to 1973 and talk about the enquiry into the 'Rose of the Winds' (begun in October by Dr Tamburino of Padua) and the dissolution of Ordine Nuovo decided by the judiciary on **21/11/73**.

COUP PLOT OF THE 'ROSE OF THE WINDS'.

In **October 1973**, La Spezia doctor with neo-Nazi sympathies Giampaolo Porta Casucci confided to Commissioner Rodolfo Veneziani (head of his city's mobile squad) that *comrades* Eugenio Rizzato and

⁴ Ciro Manganaro, born in Vico Equense (NA), a nationalist close to the associationism of the Giuliano-Dalmatian exiles, in 1975 had joined the right-wing Constituent Assembly project promoted by Almirante and Covelli, together with Renzo de' Vidovich (see later) and Libero Sauro (commander of the 2nd MDT Regiment 'Istria' and then in the information services of the RSI, irredentist); while boasting a collaboration with the Trieste CLN, Manganaro collaborated with the magazine "Nuovo Fronte" (*the most widespread among RSI veterans*, we read on their site).

⁵ G. Flamini, 'Il Partito del golpe', Bovolenta 1982, volume II p. 347. This is a monumental study divided into four volumes: 1964 to 1968; 1968 to 1970; 1971 to 1974 (two volumes); 1975 to 1978 (two volumes). The quotations in this study (unless otherwise indicated) are taken from the third volume, tome II.

⁶ Renzo de' Vidovich, born in 1934, a Dalmatian refugee, was the secretary general of the Student Council, which in 1953 took responsibility for calling the 5 and 6 November riots to demand the return of Trieste to Italy, riots that caused 6 deaths and 153 injuries. CISNAL secretary since 1968, town councillor, MSI member of parliament since 1972, he was the organiser of the National Democracy faction that caused the MSI's collapse in the following elections. It was he who raised in Parliament the question of Almirante's financing of Carlo Ciccotti to enable him to have an operation on his vocal cords to prevent his identification as a 'telephonist' in the Peteano massacre (which resulted in the death of three carabinieri) for which he was nevertheless found guilty.

⁷ G. Flamini, 'The Coup Party', op. cit., p. 349.

⁸ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

⁹ During the Second World War, Edgardo Sogno Rata del Vallino was head of the 'Franks', a resistance organisation in close contact with the British Intelligence Service; the monarchist and anti-communist Sogno came to the fore with daring actions, but suspicions hung over him that the frequent arrests he suffered at the hands of the Nazis were a way of having ambiguous contacts with the enemy.

¹⁰ Birindelli, formerly in the Tenth Mas, a member of the MSI parliament, is on the lists of the P2 Lodge.

¹¹ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

Sandro Rampazzo was part of 'an organisation equipped with weapons and variously called GERSI¹², Rosa dei venti, Giustizieri d'Italia)' and 'planned the physical elimination of numerous personalities'.¹³ and handed over the contents of a bag entrusted to him by Rampazzo, a former paratrooper and ex-hierarch of Salò. This was the beginning of the investigation into the 'Compass Rose', opened by investigating judge Giovanni Tamburino of Padua at the beginning of 1974.

The main 'witness' was Roberto Cavallaro, who was arrested as part of the investigation; he began to collaborate on 21/2/74 and spoke of an 'organisation (that) exists in itself in a legitimate structure with the purpose of preventing disturbances to the institutions. When these disturbances spread through the country (riots, trade union tensions, violence and so on) the *organisation* sets out to try to restore order. This is what happened: that if the disturbances did not occur, they were artfully created by the *organisation* through all the extreme right-wing organs (but beware that there are also extreme left-wing ones) now on trial as part of the investigations into the so-called black plots (Rosa dei venti, Ordine nero, la Fenice, Fumagalli's Mar, i Giustizieri d'Italia¹⁴ and many others)'.¹⁵

The records of Tamburino's investigation show that there were some 'groups ready to intervene' in Tuscany and Sicily, specifically in Lucca, Grosseto, Palermo, Catania and Massa. So would Casucci have declared:

"In the Veneto region in Verona there was Spiazzi¹⁵, in Padua there was the Rosa dei venti, in Trentino Alto Adige there was Avanguardia nazionale¹⁶ and Ordine nuovo, in Trieste Avanguardia nazionale and the young military Rukavina in Verona¹⁷: according to Spiazzi, the Trieste group would be almost ready. In the east they were to launch proclamations, while in Valtellina they were to create a support group in case the insurrectional attempt failed. Rampazzo told me that they were connected with someone from Morbegno (...) a certain Martinelli, an ex-partisan who was still a hybrid between right and left, owner of a machine shop in Milan. His nom de guerre should be Giordan¹⁸. The men of the Rosa dei venti were supposed to be in contact with him and he was supposed to make military camps¹⁹.

Casucci added that the coup was to take place on 2 June 1973.

From the deposition of Torquato Nicoli 'a Ligurian neo-fascist (yet another SID spy)²⁰' in the records of the investigating judge (GI) of Brescia, Dr. Simeoni, it appears that the group existing in Valtellina had connections with Genoa, Padua and Verona and Cavallaro declared to Tamburino 'the Paduan group had to go to Valtellina which Rampazzo (Sandro) was supposed to take care of and also take care of the Venezia Giulia area; a civilian

¹² "Leaflets signed Giunta esecutiva riscossa sociale italiana (GERSI) proclaiming the need to *strike directly at all responsible leaders of the various parties* are circulated in Piedmont, Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna. Attached to some leaflets, sent to politicians, is a message: *You are one of those responsible and as such you will be hit*, signed La Rosa dei Venti".

(<http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>).

¹³ G. Flamini, 'The Coup Party', op. cit., p. 427. GI Tamburino enquiry.

¹⁴ The "giustizieri d'Italia" will claim on 2/6/74 the placement of explosive devices in Trento and Reggio Calabria; while later the "fucilieri d'Italia" will send threats to the Lombard PSI secretary Demetrio Costantino, with a death sentence and a bullet (see S. Limiti, "L'anello della Repubblica", Chiarelettere 2010, p. 114).

¹⁵ Amos Spiazzi, then an artillery major, is now a general. Born in Trieste, stationed in Verona, he was defined by M. Notarianni and G. Vidali "a character to whom an encyclopaedia on the strategy of tension should be dedicated" (*Liberazione* of 5 2/97); investigated for the Borghese coup, for the Rosa dei Venti, for the 1973 Milan massacre, and for the 1980 Bologna massacre, he was cleared of all charges. A contact person for the State Defence Nuclei and the Carlomagno Cultural Centre in Verona, he collaborated with the Sicilian extreme-right publishing house Thule. The ordinovista Elio Massagrando gave this description of him: 'Spiazzi, who was a friend and comrade of mine, never worked for the Rosa dei Venti but for the SID to which he did not limit himself to merely giving information' ('Panorama', December 1974).

¹⁶ In Trento in the AN was Cristiano De Eccher, investigated and acquitted during the Piazza Fontana investigation, now a member of parliament for the Popolo della Libertà, one of those who tabled a bill to cancel the crime of reconstituting the fascist party.

¹⁷ He may be Romeo Rukavina, born in 1952, but we have not found him in other documents.

¹⁸ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 342. As we will see later, this was Fumagalli, whose battle name was 'Jordan'.

¹⁹ G. Flamini, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

²⁰ Nicoli had participated in the Borghese coup and had been expelled from the National Front because he was discovered to be an informer.

some time earlier he had been in Croatia and Slovenia to try to sensitise nationalist groups by taking advantage of the aftermath of the 1971 Ustascia guerrilla war²¹ .

And again in the course of the enquiry conducted by Tamburino, Cavallaro, when confronted with Spiazzi, said: "Spiazzi said verbatim that the hunchback was about to make a coup d'état"²² . In the chronology of the Cipriani Foundation we read that on **7 March**, Cavallaro is said to have accused, during an interrogation, "Giulio Andreotti of wanting to pull off a coup d'état" and mentioned "a meeting, which took place in the Vicenza area, in which the American General Johnson and Michele Sindona were said to have taken part"²³ ". He also specified that at the top 'of the organisation' there would have been 'the Italian and American secret services, but also some powerful multinational companies'²⁴ .

Given that Versilia was 'an area of action of the Rosa dei Venti and the national revolutionaries of Avanguardia Nazionale'²⁵ we recall that on 26 August 1973, four *vanguardists* from Trieste (Giampaolo Scarpa, Dagmar Nolich, Alessandro Smoilis and Roberto Zuppello), who had travelled to Viareggio in a green '500' owned by another neo-fascist from Trieste, Remo Viezzoli, stabbed a young man who was circulating the communist daily *l'Unità*. The four were denounced for the assault, and Giampaolo Scarpa's elder brother, Claudio, was denounced for complicity. As the court of jurisdiction was in Lucca, I cannot say how the case ended, but we will find these names again and again in the following pages.

On **18/10/73** at Lido di Camaiore, Rampazzo and Sandro Sedona were arrested 'possibly in the process of committing a robbery', since black hoods and rubber gloves were found in the car, as well as a radio transmitter²⁶ .

Finally, Cavallaro asserted in an interview 'that he had pretended to be a military magistrate after having been trained in an internship organised by the SID in France, in order to maintain the connection between civilians and the military within the framework of the Wind Rose project'²⁷ .

In addition to the then Major Amos Spiazzi, neo-fascists such as Nico Azzi²⁸ , and several SID officers and non-commissioned officers were investigated. The investigation went on for a year and on 31 October 1974, the Padua judges Tamburino and Nunziante issued an arrest warrant against Vito Miceli²⁹ , charged 'with promoting, setting up and organising a secret association of military and civilians aimed at provoking an armed insurrection and an illegal change in the constitution of the State and the forms of government through the intervention, provoked by the activity of the association itself and partly guided by it, of the State's armed forces; making use of various armed groups with a hierarchical structure linked at the base by *liaison officers* and at the top by leaders spread in various localities including Veneto (Padua, Verona), Liguria (Genoa, La Spezia, Recco), Tuscany (Versilia), under various names (Gersi, Rosa dei venti, Giustizieri d'Italia etc.), financed to foment riots, commit attacks, carry out intimidating and violent activities, organising flanking groups setting up their own intelligence service; preparing parallel military and civil hierarchies'³⁰ .

²¹ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 427.

²² G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 335.

²³ The piduist fixer Michele Sindona was also indicated by Cavallaro as the financier of the Rosa dei Venti, together with the industrialist Mario Piaggio.

²⁴ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>

²⁵ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 401.

²⁶ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 422.

²⁷ Interview with journalist Corrado Incerti of 'L'Europeo', published in October 1974.

²⁸ On 7/4/73 Nico Azzi, a member of the Fenice in Milan (whose *leader* was Giancarlo Rognoni) was the protagonist of an attack (fortunately failed) on the Turin-Rome train; he had brought some copies of *Lotta Continua* to the scene to put the blame on the extreme left, but the device exploded in his hand and the truth came out. Azzi died in 2007, and at his funeral, amidst waving flags and fascist symbols, Ignazio La Russa, who a year later became Defence Minister in the Berlusconi government, was also present.

²⁹ General Vito Miceli, formerly a volunteer in Africa, was at the time head of the SID (Defence Information Service). A piduist, he was elected parliamentarian for the MSI in 1976.

³⁰ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

Following this arrest, 'rumours of military intervention multiplied after the arrest of General Vito Miceli. Many politicians stayed away from home, while the PCI put its security apparatus on high alert'³¹ .

On **15 November**, Tamburino also issued an arrest warrant for Prince Alliata di Montereale (who was also president of an organisation called the Free World Confederation of Trade and Tourism, based in Brussels, of which Rampazzo was a director³²), but he went missing (he had received a judicial notice on 1 October, and had therefore been put on notice)³³ .

Also in November, the Roman judge Filippo Fiore opened a conflict of jurisdiction with the Paduan magistracy in order to take over, after the Turin enquiry on the Borghese *coup* and Edgardo Sogno's *white coup* (which we will talk about later), also that on the Rosa dei venti (which ended up being 'practically dismantled'³⁴ . But that, as Lucarelli would say, is another story and we move on to another chapter.

INTERNATIONAL INTERLUDE.

Before continuing with our story, let's take a leap into the past, to explain the political origins of some of the characters we will meet.

In the 1950s, the Belgian Jean Thiriart (who had been a member of the SS in Wallonia, the French-speaking region of Belgium) had founded the *Jeune Europe* organisation (whose point of reference in Italy was Pino Rauti's Ordine Nuovo), which "at the beginning of the 1960s had been the flanker of the extreme right-wing organisation OAS"³⁵ . This first example of the 'black international', which developed in various countries and later gave rise to the movement known as 'communitarianism', was referred to in Italy by, among others, Claudio Mutti³⁶ , Ugo Gaudenzi, Claudio Orsi³⁷ and the Bolognese lawyer Marcantonio Bezicheri (who was Freda's defender and in the 1990s joined the Fiamma tricolore). From the Italian section of Giovane Europa then broke away from the *Lotta di popolo* group³⁸ , the so-called 'Nazi-Maoists'³⁹ .

FROM NEW ORDER TO BLACK ORDER.

³¹ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

³² A. Silj, 'Malpaese: criminality, corruption and politics in the Italy of the first republic', Donzelli 1994, p. 160.

³³ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

³⁴ 'Terrorism and its Masks', op. cit. p. 154.

³⁵ C. Palermo, 'Il Quarto Livello', Ed. Riuniti, 2002, p. 48. The OAS (Organisation de l'armée secrète) was a French clandestine organisation, nationalist and right-wing, formed in protest at the abandonment of colonial policy, its members carried out terrorist acts and after 1962 recycled themselves into other neo-fascist organisations.

³⁶ Claudio Mutti was one of the founders of the Ordine Nero together with Franco Freda; president of an Italy-Libya association set up in Ferrara in 1973 (an association that, according to Judge D'Ambrosio, was "aimed at propagating political ideas typical of the Freda group", see G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 481). Mutti, defined by former magistrate Carlo Palermo as "an extollers of Muammar Gaddafi's socialism, professor of Romanian language at the University of Bologna, translator (...) of Codreanu, founder of Italian Nazimaoism" (C. Palermo, op. cit, p. 47), he was a contributor to the magazine *Ordine Pubblico*, directed by the piduist prince Alliata di Montereale and today is one of the leading names in the area of the National-European Communitarist Circles that represent the heirs of Thiriart's 'old' communitarists.

³⁷ The Ferrara-born Orsi, nephew of Cesare Balbo, founded an Italy-China Association in the 1960s and in 1973 the Italy-Libya Association together with Mutti.

³⁸ "According to indiscretions from Yugoslavian sources, Settembre Nero (an organisation believed to have been infiltrated and manipulated by the Israeli secret services) formed solid alliances with the most fanatical groups of the European Right: Ordine Nuovo, Avanguardia Nazionale, Organizzazione Lotta di Popolo (which even copied in the acronym OLP the Palestine Liberation Organisation), German neo-Nazi groups and Ustaša exiles" (G. Flamini, op. cit., volume III, volume I, p. 207). The director of *Lotta di popolo* was Ugo Gaudenzi.

³⁹ In 1992, the Barbarossa publishing house (which refers to Maurizio Murelli, whom we will discuss later) published a text by Marco Battarra (one of the founders, with Murelli, of the *communitarist* right-wing magazine *Orion*) entitled "Da Jeune Europe alle BR" (From Jeune Europe to the R.B.), which would be interesting to read, also to assess whether and what fascination this type of right-wing, which today one could call *bipartisan* with an unfortunate expression, may have had on people who later sided openly to the left like Renato Curcio.

Let us return to 1974 Italy. After the sentence of dissolution of Ordine Nuovo, the movement continued its activities as Anno Zero (which was the name of a monthly publication printed in Verona and directed by the ordinovista Salvatore Francia, one of those who went into hiding after the sentence of dissolution of the organization), but immediately *comrades* of ON and Avanguardia nazionale organised themselves to give life to a new subversive association, Ordine nero (Black Order), which absorbed Anno Zero, the SAM (Squadre Azione Mussolini), and the Fenice of Milan (led by Rognoni) in order to flank a possible coup d'état organised by the military in the Northeast.

On **28/2/74**, a meeting of the leaders of the Ordine nuovo and Avanguardia nazionale began at the Hotel Giada in Cattolica and ended on 3 March. The meeting was attended, among others, by Marcantonio Bezicheri, Maria Crocco Massagrande⁴⁰, Clemente Graziani⁴¹, Claudio Mutti, Luciano Franci⁴², the 'professor' Paolo Signorelli⁴³. On this subject, the investigating judge of Bologna, Vito Zinca, wrote: 'The owner of the Giada boarding house, Caterino Falzari, was in fact a collaborator of the Italian secret services and, in any case, the promoters of the meeting declared themselves aware of this quality. Now, it is at least unusual for the leaders of an illegal movement to choose, as a meeting place, the very place where they know they can be watched... The only explanation left is that it was the only *safe* place where they could operate, relying on appropriate cover". On 13/6/74 the periodical *Il Mondo* wrote that the Cattolica meeting was the result of an 'initiative started by Carlo Fumagalli from Milan'.

Later Clemente Graziani (who had been given advance notice on the night of 23 November 1973 so that he could evade arrest after being convicted for the political movement Ordine nuovo) and Elio Massagrande gave an interview to describe this meeting, and Graziani began with this statement of principle:

"We are the true heirs of the Italian Social Republic and Nazism. We want to destroy democracy and politically eradicate Jews and Judaism, abolish the vote, entrust the leadership of the state to a few aristocrats of intelligence."

Graziani described the meeting as a meeting to open a pension and run it for self-financing purposes. Massagrande added: 'It's the truth. The head of the Verona political team, Lelio Di Stasio, to whom I went a month before leaving for Cattolica to tell him, in fact, that we had in mind to open a boarding house in that city to self-finance Ordine Nuovo, can testify to this"⁴⁴.

Again from Zinca's preliminary investigation, it appears that the Ordine nero in Milan was organised under the direction of Giancarlo Esposti and the support of Fumagalli, who, in anticipation of the NO vote's victory in the referendum on divorce, believed that the PCI would require more participation in the government area and therefore it would be necessary to 'establish a presidential-type government, triggering a rapid coup d'état and

⁴⁰ Wife of ordinovist Elio Massagrande, who was among those under arrest warrant and in Paraguay was involved in land purchases where places of refuge were created for neo-fascists fleeing Europe.

⁴¹ The son of Rodolfo Graziani (the war criminal governor of Libya and Minister of War in the RSI), he was one of the founders, with Rauti, of the Centro studi Ordine nuovo (in the 1950s); in 1969, when many ordinovisti rejoined the MSI following Almirante's election as secretary, Graziani founded the political movement Ordine nuovo. Struck by an arrest warrant, he took refuge in London, and then in Paraguay, where he died in 1996 (perhaps in one of the 'refuges' organised by Massagrande?).

⁴² Franci was a railway worker and was accused of being a 'lookout' for the Italicus bombing (see related chapter), but acquitted, like the other defendants (including Mario Tuti).

⁴³ Signorelli, one of the founders of Ordine nuovo, an exponent of Borghese's National Front, ideologist of *Costruiamo l'azione, Lotta popolare* and *Terza posizione*, was investigated in the NAR investigations of Mambro and Fioravanti, and for the Bologna massacre (where he was acquitted), while he was convicted of associative crimes. A history and philosophy teacher in a Roman high school, 'he used to enrich his lessons with speeches on fascism, Nazism, the purity of race and the prospects of a new fascism in Italy' (G. Flamini, 'L'ombra della piramide', Teti 1989, p. 7). He died in

2010.

⁴⁴ "Panorama", 19/12/74.

bloodless'. To achieve this they would use 'right-wingers by arming them and using them militarily'⁴⁵ .

Of Esposti and Fumagalli we shall speak at length later, in the meantime we take note of a note from the SID dated 30/5/74 in which it is noted that "those in charge of Ordine nuovo are committed to ensuring the survival of the organisation" and that "the manoeuvre has not escaped the attention of the Ministry of the Interior which, in the context of a policy of anti-fascism opportunely orchestrated also with political forces extraneous to the DC, intended to strike at the instrument for disseminating ideas (*Anno Zero*), presented not as a newspaper but as a political movement born only by changing its name from Ordine nuovo; the movement itself, creating a Black Order (referred to as the violent arm of *Anno Zero*) to which a series of violent and anti-democratic acts were to be attributed. All the criminal actions labelled by government bodies and the press as the initiatives of right-wing extra-parliamentarism should be interpreted in this context"⁴⁶ .

From Franzinelli's chronology we extrapolate a list of bomb attacks attributed to the Black Order in 1974: 12 and 13 March, bomb attacks in Milan against the *Corriere della Sera* and the "Gramsci" Social Studies Centre; 15 March, "Vittorio Veneto" High School in Milan; 22 April, Casa del Popolo in Moiano (PG); 23 April, Milan Municipal Tax Collector's Office and Socialist Federation of Lecco; 10 May, Milan, Regional Department of Ecology and Ancona Municipal Tax Collector's Office; 27 October, captured near Varese, Black Order militants Mario Di Giovanni and Fabrizio Zani, with three kilos of explosives; 16 November, railway line near Savona, fortunately the intervention of a farmer who had witnessed the explosion managed to stop the train in time.

Numerous attacks claimed by the Ordine nero were dealt with by the Court of Assizes of Bologna, which imposed very light sentences on five of the eighteen defendants found guilty, but concluding that it was in the presence of 'not real subversive terrorist attacks, but of an insistent protest expressed in violent forms'⁴⁷ .

THE PAST THAT DOES NOT PASS: FELTRINELLI, CALABRESI AND VARIOUS TRAFFICKING.

Giancarlo Esposti, one of the Milanese contacts of Ordine nero and organiser of the SAMs, was very young when he found himself involved in an episode involving another exponent of the armed right, Gianni Nardi.

On **18/2/74**, the trial of Gianni Nardi and Roberto Rapetti began in Milan for the murder of the petrol station attendant Innocenzo Prezzavento, killed in Piazzale Lotto on 10 February 1967, for the purpose of robbery. Giancarlo Esposti, who was still a minor at the time, was tried separately. Gianni Nardi was for a time suspected of being the killer of Police Commissioner Luigi Calabresi (he would have been very similar to the identikit circulated) and in fact, on 3/3/74, the deputy public prosecutor Riccardelli of Milan issued a new arrest warrant against Gianni Nardi, Bruno Stefano (who, on 7/6/74, would have been discovered to be the coordinator of a 'central unit for the manufacture of false documents' discovered in Rome: but the investigation seems to have ended in thin air⁴⁸) and Gudrun Kiess as part of the investigation into the murder of Luigi Calabresi.

At this point we move on to Trieste, where the weekly 'Il Meridiano di Trieste' wrote that the Milanese magistrates were investigating the 'movements of the trio Nardi Stefano Kiess' which apparently coincided with a series of attacks that took place between 1969 and 1971 in the peninsula. The former nurse Luigina Ginepro is said to have told the investigators that Kiess did not know exactly that they were going to kill Calabresi because she would have said 'I thought it was a matter like the one in Trieste'⁴⁹ ' (where the reference would be to the attack - fortunately failed - on the Slovenian school in November 1969, an attack that is considered a sort of 'dress rehearsal' for that of Piazza Fontana).

⁴⁵ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 431.

⁴⁶ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

⁴⁷ Judgment Court of Assizes of Bologna No. 3/5/78.

⁴⁸<http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

⁴⁹ "Il Meridiano di Trieste" (henceforth only "Meridiano"), "La bomba alla finestra", s.f., no. 12, 20/3/74.

A very serious event that took place on 30/1/74 in Milan should be included here: Judge Guido Viola⁵⁰ received a hand grenade in the post, accompanied by a note signed SAM: 'Calabresi insegna'⁵¹.

Nardi, Stefano and Kiess were also under investigation for arms trafficking that allegedly took place through Switzerland and on 1/6/74 Gianfranco Belloni (a MSI exponent from Rovigo, expelled from the party in 1972 and later identified as an informer for the Italian and Greek secret services) questioned by the examining magistrate Antonio Lombardi, stated that Commissioner Luigi Calabresi (whom he knew) was looking for "a connection between Feltrinelli and Count Pietro Loredan" in connection also with an arms traffic between Yugoslavia and Italy, in which MSI exponents were involved"⁵².

Count Loredan, known as the 'red count', was a former monarchist partisan who, in collaboration with another count, Giorgio Guarnieri, had financed Giovanni Ventura's publishing activities. It is worth remembering that Guarnieri, owner of the Burgo paper mills (one of the branches is located in the province of Trieste) had various economic interests in our city, he was also the owner of the Triestina football team and it seems that Calabresi, who came to Trieste with the prefect of Milan, Libero Mazza, and the Christian Democrat MP Giuseppe Caron (former treasurer of the CLN in Treviso, the same area of origin of Guarnieri and Loredan) on the Sunday before he was killed, would also go to talk to Guarnieri at the headquarters of the company of which he was a director.

A note from the SID dated **21/10/74** reported that Pietro Loredan had left his place of residence for 'unknown location', while another note (**16/11/74**) stated that he had been a militant member of Ordine nuovo in the 1960-62 period and that, in 1968, he had joined the Marxist Leninist Communist Party of Italy, the political movement in which Ventura had infiltrated in order to give himself credibility on the left.

Returning to Calabresi, let us recall that the commissioner (best known for the never-explained death of Giuseppe Pinelli, who fell from the fourth floor of the Milan Police Headquarters while in illegal detention in connection with the Piazza Fontana massacre) had been in charge of various investigations, some of them important. One of these was the mysterious death of the publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, nom de guerre Osvaldo, whose body was found under an electricity pylon in Segrate on 14/3/72. The 'official' version (also endorsed by exponents of the Red Brigades) speaks of an 'accident at work', which occurred while Feltrinelli was trying to undermine the pylon in order to cut off the electricity supply to the Palalido area, where the PCI congress that was to elect Enrico Berlinguer as secretary was taking place. But the circumstances of the discovery of the body rather suggest that it was a disguised murder aimed at eliminating an inconvenient person, who had already in 1969 denounced the risk of a coup d'état in Italy, who had gone underground perhaps not so much to dedicate himself to the armed struggle as to escape those who wanted to kill him.

In fact, on **22/2/74** the criminal Luciano Lutring revealed that, while detained in France, he had received from unidentified Italian and French figures an invitation to assassinate the publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli⁵³. And let us remember that against Feltrinelli, the extreme right had also been particularly fierce, as we read in Guido Salvini's investigation into Piazza Fontana⁵⁴. The first plan, described by Nico Azzi, was to introduce some *timers* into Feltrinelli's villa in order to put the blame for the Piazza Fontana massacre on him; but Azzi also claimed that he had been instructed to kill Feltrinelli while he was in Austria (the operation failed because the publisher could not be intercepted). In the same investigation we find the declarations of the former Venetian ordinovista Martino Siciliano: he and other neo-fascists, including the Venetian Marco Foscari had planned the kidnapping of the publisher in the

⁵⁰ Guido Viola, known as 'the magistrate with the colt' because he used to walk around armed, was in charge of the investigation into the death of Feltrinelli, but also of the death of Agent Marino that occurred during a demonstration in Milan on 12/4/73, for which the neo-fascists Vittorio Loi and Maurizio Murelli were later convicted. Viola left the judiciary to work as a lawyer but was disbarred in 1997 after plea bargaining a money laundering charge.

⁵¹ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

⁵² <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

⁵³ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

⁵⁴ "Sentenza ordinanza del Giudice Istruttore presso il Tribunale Civile e Penale di Milano, dr. Guido Salvini, nel procedimento penale nei confronti di Rognoni Giancarlo ed altri", d.d. 3/2/98. Henceforth 'Salvini Judgement'.

1971, when he (already a fugitive) was in Austria at a family property (a hunting lodge) with his third wife, Sibilla Melega⁵⁵. This property bordered a 'family castle' belonging to Foscari, whose guardian, having been a member of the Waffen SS, was willing to help them. 'We planned to surprise him,' Siciliano said, 'kidnap him, pack him up and take him across the border, making the Italian authorities find him'. But the plan failed, apparently because Feltrinelli was not seen in the area at that time⁵⁶.

And the so-called "Ring" or "Noto servizio", the "information service operating in Italy since the end of the war and created at the behest of the SIM chief General Roatta".⁵⁷, in the section organised by the chemical industrialist Boate (who kept the *Black Prince* Borghese and the veterans of the Decima under control) allegedly intended to kidnap, among other political figures, the publisher Feltrinelli after capturing him⁵⁸.

THE SEA OF CARLO FUMAGALLI.

Also supporting the Ordine Nero was Carlo Fumagalli, the creator of the Revolutionary Action Movement (MAR).

Fumagalli, writes De Lutiis, at the age of 19 'was recruited in a department of the RSI, but after five days he deserted'; he took refuge in the mountains of the Sondrio area and there, together with a group of former smugglers, he set up a grouping⁵⁹ that collaborated with a 'partisan formation' that operated 'autonomously' from the CLNAI, commanded by Alpine captain Giuseppe Motta (who had taken part in the anti-partisan repression in Croatia before 8 September 1943). "Fumagalli's 'strange partisan war', De Lutiis continues, developed 'between Sunday truces with the fascists' and 'an abundance of supplies parachuted in by the Americans'. When the war was over, both Motta and Fumagalli (as well as Edgardo Sogno) were awarded the *Bronze Star*, the honour that 'the Americans reserve for their friends'. In fact, on behalf of the USA, Fumagalli also went to South Yemen 'to organise guerrilla warfare against the left-wing government'⁶⁰.

Fumagalli himself said in an interview with 'Il Giorno' (18/10/72) that the MAR (Revolutionary Action Movement) was born in 1962 in Rome 'during a lunch in anticipation of the centre left'.

⁶¹ In April 1970, the MAR signed, together with the United Italy League, several attacks on pylons in Valtellina, but was also 'closely linked to the Milanese Silent Majority of Adamo Degli Occhi', a movement we mentioned at the beginning of this study.

In 1971, the investigating judge of Lucca Francesco Tamilia indicted a group of 'right-wing guerrilla fighters', adherents of the MAR of Valtellina (Carlo Fumagalli, Giulio Franchi, Gaetano Orlando⁶², Armando Carrara, Franco Romeri, Pietro Romeri, Albino Salatenna) and the United Nationalist Movement of Italy of

⁵⁵ Sibilla Melega had a brother, Carlo, who frequented right-wing circles and was heard uttering on the afternoon of 12/12/69 in a bar near Vicenza these words 'tomorrow we will read terrible things in the newspapers'. When questioned about this he claimed to have spoken by 'telepathy'.

⁵⁶ See C. Ernè, 'Objective: kidnap Feltrinelli', in the 'Piccolo' of 1/9/96.

⁵⁷ Memo 4/4/72, in S. Limiti, op. cit p. 23. Roatta, who was guilty of numerous war crimes in Yugoslavia (it was his phrase in the infamous Circular 3c "The treatment to be given to partisans should not be summarised by the formula: *tooth for tooth* but rather by that *head for tooth*') was on trial in Rome in March 1945 for the murder of the Rosselli brothers, when he escaped (apparently with the complicity of the carabinieri commanded by Taddeo Orlando, who had operated in Yugoslavia under Roatta's orders) and, after a few months in the Vatican, he was taken to Spain on a plane driven by former RSI airman Adalberto Titta, who was later tried (and amnestied) for the killing of partisans in the Limbiate area. De Lutiis believes that this 'flight' was the first operation organised by the Ring, which was later led by Titta himself.

⁵⁸ S. Limiti, op. cit p. 111. From the Brescia Public Prosecutor's Inquiry, Proc. pen. 91/97.

⁵⁹ Flamini mentions the partisan formation 'Grosotto-Valtellina', of which, however, no trace can be found in the Historical Dictionary of Resistance.

⁶⁰ G. De Lutiis, 'I servizi segreti in Italia', Editori Riuniti 1998, p. 128.

⁶¹ G. De Lutiis, 'Il lato oscuro del potere', Editori Riuniti 1996, p. 63.

⁶² A former mayor of Lovere in the PSDI quota, he had the autonomy of the Sondrio area in his political programme.

Versilia (Raffaele Bertoli, Franco Del Ranieri, Amedeo Birindelli, Enzo Salcioli, Gino Bibbi⁶³), 'all charged with political conspiracy, the organisation and execution of bomb attacks (those on pylons in Valtellina and Lombardy in the spring of 1970), possession of weapons and explosives plus a series of minor offences'⁶⁴. The only one convicted in Lucca was Orlando, considered the group's ideologue.

Fumagalli had joined the LIU a month before the April 1970 attacks "during the Milanese meeting at the Giuliano-Dalmatian club"⁶⁵. And it seems that Commissioner Calabresi kept notes on this League in relation to Fumagalli: we recall that Calabresi was investigating Feltrinelli's death and at this point we include the testimonies of Marcello Bergamaschi, who had been 'enlisted' in the MAR, and Francesco Piazza. According to these two, Feltrinelli had financed Fumagalli, who had only esteemed him for his financial capacity, and Piazza reported statements by a deceased fence, Giovanni Rossi⁶⁶, concerning a dialogue that had taken place the evening before Feltrinelli's death between the publisher himself and Carlo Fumagalli in the Arcobaleno hotel in Vimodrone, during which a pylon to be mined was discussed, but political differences also arose and 'the discussion had been very animated'. "Rossi said that Feltrinelli was at the pylon with a team from Fumagalli, but he did not say whether Fumagalli himself was there". Bergamaschi also added that Fumagalli showed that he also knew a lot about the death of the police commissioner Luigi Calabresi⁶⁷, 'he said among other things that it had been very well done and that no one would ever know who had killed him and yet from the way he said it, it seemed as if he knew very well'⁶⁸.

Let's move on to another witness, Giuseppe Baruffi, bankruptcy administrator of a company owned by Fumagalli: 'I remember that when the news of the body found under the pylon in Segrate spread, I had the feeling that it could have been Fumagalli (...) who made himself untraceable for five or six days during that period of time'. Fumagalli had a car demolition company in the vicinity of the pylon and Baruffi speculates that he may have been hiding there during that period, since he had noticed strange movements of people bringing food to the company.

We also note that in February 1972, the civil plaintiff's lawyer of the widow Pinelli had asked the magistrate D'Ambrosio, who was investigating the death of the anarchist, to question Fumagalli about the bomb in Piazza Fontana, since 'according to some indications' the manufacture of the bomb was attributed to Fumagalli himself, who allegedly used material from Switzerland⁶⁹; but we do not know whether Fumagalli was then heard by the magistrate.

In the above-mentioned Salvini judgment we also read that in 1973 a meeting was held, probably at the Centro Carlomagno in Verona⁷⁰, "to develop a common strategy for institutional change" attended by Carlo Maria Maggi (Ordine nuovo), Giuliano Bovolato (Milanese SAM), Carlo Fumagalli (MAR), Colonel Amos Spiazzi (Nuclei di difesa dello Stato) and General Adriano Magi Braschi⁷¹, the creator of the 'unorthodox war', who had participated in the conference on counterrevolutionary war organised by the Pollio Institute in Rome in May 1965 (at which infiltration techniques were fine-tuned), an event from which the history of the strategy of tension in Italy is conventionally based.

⁶³ The anarchist Bibbi, a former fighter for republican Spain, collaborated with Fumagalli's fascist subversive project, although he always declared himself to be consistent with his libertarian convictions; however, a large part of the anarchist movement distanced itself from him.

⁶⁴ From 'Democratic Counter-Information Bulletin', No. 7, 25 October 1971.

⁶⁵ We take note of the constant 'Dalmatian-Julian' in the events we narrate.

⁶⁶ Rossi had recently died in a car accident, so the statements are not verifiable.

⁶⁷ In Viola's indictment mentioned above, we read that 'on the evening of 14 March Feltrinelli was not supposed to be alone: from his notebook it is deduced that he had an appointment around 8.30 p.m. with two characters who were never identified and were referred to as Merx and Gallo Bruno. It is easy to assume that it was these two people who accompanied him to Segrate'.

⁶⁸ Brescia Giovanni Simeoni GI enquiry.

⁶⁹ 'The Little One' 11/6/74.

⁷⁰ The Centro Carlomagno referred to Amos Spiazzi.

⁷¹ 'Salvini ruling', cit.

In March, the 'Operation Basilico' took place in Brescia, organised by the Carabinieri commanded by the then Captain Delfino⁷², which can be defined as a *trap* into which two Brescian neo-fascists, Kim Borromeo and Giorgio Spedini, were lured. They were arrested in Val Camonica on **9 March** while they were riding in a car full of explosives.

This *trap* was reconstructed as follows by the Brescia GI Dr. Simeoni: Giovanni Maifredi, a provocateur managed by Delfino, gave Fumagalli, who was looking for weapons of war, a telephone number in Genoa that referred him to a letter of instructions from a certain 'Mr Basilico' who set the trap appointment to which the two neo-fascists went⁷³.

This was the starting point of the investigation that led to the arrests of Fumagalli and his collaborators. But let us go in order.

On **5 May**, the newspaper 'Lotta continua' published a report on the MAR, written in 1970 by the *Corriere della sera* journalist (but also an informer for the SID) Giorgio Zicari (who moved to our region in 1981). *Coincidentally*, four days later, on **9 May**, MAR, SAM, Avanguardia nazionale and Potere nero, through a press release, announce war on the State: but on the same day in Brescia "the investigating judge Giovanni Arcai issues a series of arrest warrants that disrupt the Movimento Azione Rivoluzionaria. Arrested were Carlo Fumagalli, Roberto Agnellini, Giovanni Bombardieri, Egidio Chiappa, Gianni Gianoli, Pier Danilo Martinelli, Gaetano Nuciforo, Diego Odelli, Antonio Squeo, Mauro Targher and Renato Girelli, and shortly afterwards Nicola Terzi, Giancarlo Nervi, Roberto Colombo, Antonio Sirtori, Angelo Falsaci and Mauro Colli. For all of them, the main charge is that of criminal conspiracy. Other adherents or sympathisers of the organisation abscond⁷⁴. On hearing the news of the first arrests, Gaetano Orlando went to a MAR base in Via Airolo 23, known as 'the red church, a sort of hostel for young dynamiters, to warn those who were being housed there to get to safety. There were 11 people there: Sussich and Scarpon (*Claudio Scarpa, known as Scarpon to distinguish him from his younger brother Giampaolo, known as Scarpetta, nda*) embarked for Greece, others took refuge with friends, four others decided to get in touch with the leaders and they were Esposti, D'Intino, Vivirito and Danieletti, who would later be found at Pian del Rascino'. This is what we read in the *Meridiano*, which adds that this happened while, in Trieste, people were convinced that Scarpa was in Norway and Giampaolo Sussich (known as 'Colera') was in Spain: "instead, the two evidently continued the activity they had always carried out in Trieste as the linking links of a right-wing extremist organisation with many faces: the official one of the street demonstrations with flags and the underground one linked to the strategy of tension"⁷⁵.

Let us now read what the press of the time wrote about the Fumagalli investigation. According to *L'Unità*, the operation of the 9th of May was called by the Carabinieri "Stella del Mar" (Star of the Sea), where the connection with the acronym MAR immediately jumps to the eye, but we also remember that the Gladio section of the Northeast (Trieste and Gorizia area) was the Stella Marina (or *Stella Maris*, like the name of the hotel of Chiavari where the Red Brigades joined in congress in 1969).

During this operation, we read, some SAM hideouts were also identified (and here we have a connection with Esposti): in Milan, in Via Poggi, acoustic panels were found with which to prepare soundproof rooms to be used as 'prisons', Astoria cigarette packets filled with explosives of the same type as those found on Feltrinelli, false passports and stamps, and a typewriter identified as that of the SAMs' claim messages; while in a car workshop in Via Folli (run by Pier Danilo Martinelli) was found a Land Rover equipped with food and spare parts and maintenance, parts of weapons, camouflage suits and boots, but also some promissory notes contracted by Martinelli with a

⁷² Francesco Delfino, then serving in the SISMI, had a rather glittering career (he reached the rank of brigadier general) until he was convicted of fraud in the Soffiantini kidnapping. Later, he was also a defendant (but acquitted) in the investigation into the Brescia massacre (see below).

⁷³ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 505.

⁷⁴ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 541.

⁷⁵ "Meridiano", Freda's 'Friend from Trieste', No. 31, 31/7/74.

accountant from Trieste, Gianni Seunig. Fumagalli was arrested in a flat in Via Giovanni da Procida⁷⁶.

Instead, the Sicilian Gaetano Orlando, owner of the flats used by the SAMs searched the day before, was not arrested because he had managed to escape. Orlando then took refuge in Spain, where in the summer of 1974 he was the victim of a kidnapping organised by Stefano Delle Chiaie, who suspected him of being in some way responsible for the death of Giancarlo Esposti, 'linked to Avanguardia Nazionale and infiltrated by Delle Chiaie into the MAR, a group with which he had operated in 1974 until his death in June of that year in Pian del Rascino', but had managed to convince his kidnappers (among whom was Vincenzo Vinciguerra) that he had no responsibility in the ambush on Esposti⁷⁷.

The terrorist plan prepared by the MAR included a series of terrorist actions for 10 May, 48 hours before the vote for the divorce referendum. The plan, as it would later be discovered, was known to the secret services. But already on 25 April, the MAR was planning the assassination of the Christian Democrat exponent Athos Valsecchi, during the demonstrations organised in Valtellina to mark the anniversary of the fall of Fascism, with the aim of triggering a series of riots that would end with the proclamation of a state of emergency⁷⁸. Another possible assassination attempt was mentioned by Aldo Aniasi⁷⁹, who reported what the journalist Grisolia had told him: 'Fumagalli had bought two sniper rifles to kill me while I was cutting a ribbon at an inauguration'⁸⁰.

The following **31 May**, Zicari wrote in *Corriere della sera* that the SID had been aware of Carlo Fumagalli's activities since 1970 and that 'certain institutional bodies of the State will now have to explain why Fumagalli was not stopped in time. Someone will have to say who helped him, what support he could count on and, above all, why. Everything has been known since the summer of 1970. We are able to prove it in the competent court'. Following these statements he was heard by the magistrate in Brescia on 22 June⁸¹. On 21 July, Zicari's revelations concerning the investigation into the Rosa dei Venti and the MAR were published in *L'Espresso*.

WARM SPRING.

Government crisis in Italy from 2 to 13 March, when a Rumor government was succeeded by another Rumor government (with Andreotti at Defence).

On **18 March 1974**, the trial against Pietro Valpreda, Mario Merlino and the other defendants for conspiracy in the attacks of 12 December 1969 began in Catanzaro. On 18 April came the sentence of the Court of Cassation that merged the Roman investigation on the anarchists with the Milanese investigation on the neo-fascists, granting the request of the plaintiff's lawyer Odoardo Ascari⁸².

On the same evening, the Red Brigades kidnapped the magistrate Mario Sossi in Genoa.

On **1 April 1974**, the trial of the Gorizian citizens accused of the Peteano di Sagrado bombing began in Trieste. They were acquitted for insufficient evidence on 7 June.

⁷⁶ "L'Unità", 29/5/74.

⁷⁷ 'Salvini ruling', cit.

⁷⁸ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

⁷⁹ Freedom fighter, socialist, mayor of Milan from 1967 to 1976, then parliamentarian.

⁸⁰ In S. Limiti, op. cit., p. 113: Aldo Aniasi's statements to ROS 2000, Brescia Prosecution Investigations 91/97.

⁸¹ "Il Piccolo", 23/6/74.

⁸² Considered the historical defender of the Carabinieri, Ascari came to prominence in the 1950s for having defended the proceedings for the murders of the so-called 'death triangle' (Castelfranco, Manzolino, Rastellino), then as civil plaintiff's counsel for the relatives of eleven of the sixteen who died in the Piazza Fontana massacre, for the murder of Commissioner Luigi Calabresi, the assault and hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship, and for the wives and children of the men in Aldo Moro's escort; he defended Edgardo Sogno against the charge of planning a coup d'état, obtaining his acquittal, just as another of his illustrious patrons, Giulio Andreotti, was acquitted.

(Biography at <http://gazzettadimodena.gelocal.it/cronaca/2011/08/30/news/morto-l-avvocato-ascari-e-stato-un-prince-of-the-forum-1.794079>)

Also in the spring, on **12 May**, people went to vote in the first abrogative referendum in the history of the Italian republic, the one on the divorce law. The event had a political, ripening significance that went beyond simply deciding whether to keep the divorce law. Opposing the law were the DC and MSI, where it should be noted that Giorgio Almirante, a convinced anti-divorce campaigner, lived separated from his wife and with a woman he had not married.

At the international level, some significant events must be mentioned. In Portugal, on **25 April 1974**, the Portuguese army led by General De Spínola, an officer dismissed by the General Staff for his criticism of colonial policy and leader of the Armed Forces Movement, launched the 'Carnation Revolution', an anomalous bloodless coup d'état that put an end to the dictatorial regime of Caetano, Salazar's successor, who had held absolute power in the country since 1926. The song that served as the signal for the uprising was 'Grândola vila morena', written by Jose Afonso.

GRÂNDOLA VILA MORENA. (Grândola Moorish town)

Grândola, vila morena
Terra da fraternidade
O povo é quem mais ordena
Dentro de ti, ó cidade
O povo é quem mais ordena
Terra da fraternidade
Grândola, vila morena.
Em cada esquina um amigo
Em cada rosto igualdade
Grândola, vila morena
Terra da fraternidade
Grândola, vila morena
Em cada rosto igualdade
O povo é quem mais ordena.
À sombra duma azinheira
Que já não sabia a idade
Jurei ter por companheira
Grândola a tua vontade
Grândola a tua vontade
Jurei ter por companheira
À sombra duma azinheira
Que já não sabia a idade.

(summary translation: Grândola, Moorish city, land of fraternity. It is the people who hold the power in you, city. In every corner a friend, on every face equality. In the shadow of a beech tree whose age I know not, I have sworn to have you for a companion, Grandola, according to your will).

With the dictatorship over, the new government began the cleansing of the country. On 23 May 1974 in Lisbon, a group of soldiers raided the headquarters of the 'Aginter Press' agency, thus uncovering a vermin of international neo-fascist links with *western* services.

The Aginter Press was founded by the Breton Yves Guérin Serac (real name Yves Felix Guillou, who like almost all members of the Aginter Press had participated in the Indochina war) in the late 1960s in Lisbon, was based in Rua Las Pracas and was 'anything but a press agency', according to material seized from its premises in 1974. In the 'instruction manual' for Aginter Press patrons we find

The following topics are covered: 'revolutionary techniques, security, intelligence, politics, propaganda. The chapter on revolutionary techniques is divided into nine paragraphs: elementary notions of strategy; revolutionary war, subversion; revolutionary combat technique, subversion; guerrilla combat technique, ambush, street fighting, violent demonstrations, explosives, booby traps, sabotage; special missions. The chapter on security is divided into six sections: cover; alibis; pretexts; tailing; dead letter boxes; meetings; couriers; choice of work premises; interrogations. The miscellaneous chapter is divided into four paragraphs: study of the Laminox, a light pencil; study plan of a weapon; codes; topography'. After the fall of the Caetano regime, the Agency moved for a couple of years to Spain, where the Franco regime was still in force and therefore it was 'a more favourable environment for certain activities'⁸³.

"The Aginter-Press concealed an international espionage organisation employed by the Portuguese military intelligence services and PIDE, a secret political police and, through them, linked to the CIA and other Western intelligence services, a recruitment and training centre for mercenaries and terrorists specialising in attacks and sabotage, a strategic centre for subversion and infiltration operations in Africa, Central and South America and Europe, at the service of various right-wing governments and secret services, an international fascist organisation called *Order and Tradition*, with a parallel military arm called the *Organisation for Action against Terrorism*. It turns out that the Aginter-Press' correspondent in Italy is the agency *Oltremare*, known to be controlled by the Italian secret services. Some documents published in Italy bring to light that the Aginter-Press had some thirty collaborators in Italy, among them key men of black terrorism'.⁸⁴

Here we add that the *Oltremare* agency was headed by Giorgio Torchia and Pino Rauti collaborated there.

Instead, we will have to wait until July for another dictatorship to come to an end: in Greece, the bloodthirsty regime of the colonels (later the generals) handed power back to the right-wing moderate Constantine Karamanlis, after a series of protest demonstrations, but above all after the military junta had attempted a coup on the island of Cyprus, an unsuccessful attempt that provoked the intervention of the Turkish government and was the initiator of a tense situation that is still ongoing today. Now, however, let us go back a few months to see what was happening on Italy's eastern border.

CRISIS RETURNED TO THE EASTERN BORDER⁸⁵.

On **11 March 1974**, in the interregnum between the two Rumor governments, a note attributed to *Ambassador* Roberto Ducci⁸⁶ created diplomatic problems with Yugoslavia, as a road sign laying in the former Zone B under Yugoslavian administration⁸⁷; this note read:

"Yugoslavia's sovereignty was never extended to the Italian territory known as zone B of the unrealized free territory of Trieste". Yugoslavia replied to this Italian note with another note, delivered to the ambassador in Belgrade, Walter Maccotta, which went "so far as to accuse the Italian government of being on the side of the extreme right and revanchist circles and to accuse it of wanting to subvert international relations and undermine peace, security and stability in Europe"⁸⁸.

⁸³ From the deposition of Lieutenant Colonel Massimo Giraudo, RG 3/08 - 18/03/2010 c/ MAGGI Carlo Maria + Others 106 available on the website of the Casa della Memoria di Brescia (RG 003/08), <http://www.28maggio74.brescia.it/>.

⁸⁴ <http://www.strano.net/stragi/stragi/crono/crono74.htm>.

⁸⁵ We reconstruct the facts through the press of the time ('il Piccolo' and the 'Meridiano di Trieste' of March and May 1974).

⁸⁶ Ducci, a volunteer in the Ethiopian War, bronze medal for military valour, was assigned to the Higher Command in Croatia after Italy's entry into the war. After the war, he was ambassador in Belgrade from 1964 to 1967 and Director General of Political Affairs from 1970 to 1975. He contributed to the periodical 'Il mondo' (at <http://baldi.diplomacy.edu/diplo/biogra/ducci.htm>).

⁸⁷ At that time, the borders had not yet been ratified; they were ratified in November 1975, with the Treaty of Osimo.

⁸⁸ "Meridiano" No. 12 of 20/3/74, 'Why do they do it?', s.f., which reported what the Ljubljana 'Delo' wrote, specifying: 'the Italian text remained confidential'.

It must be remembered that the situation in Yugoslavia at that time was not calm, in Kosovo the claims of the Albanians began, and it was on 21 February 1974 that the new constitution was passed, giving more autonomy to the republics and full autonomy to Vojvodina and Kosovo.

In the spring, German newspapers of the Springer network (Bild Zeitung and others, politically linked to the Christian Social Party, the CSU of Franz Josef Strauss⁸⁹) had spread the news that Warsaw Pact troops had massed on the border between Yugoslavia and Hungary. But, as the *Meridiano* wrote, this news was neither confirmed nor denied.

From **27 to 29 May 1974**, the 10th Congress of the League of Communists was held in Belgrade, a much-awaited moment in the country for the new-found balance after the tensions that had resulted in the new Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

For the first time, foreign representatives of non-communist parties were also invited: the Italian delegation was composed of representatives from the PCI (Carlo Alberto Galluzzi, who headed the delegation and the secretary from Trieste Antonino Cuffaro); the PSI (Bettino Craxi, head of the delegation, Pietro Lezzi, Roberto Villetti, Gianni Finocchiaro, the president of the regional assembly of Friuli Venezia Giulia Arnaldo Pittoni); the PSDI (Antonio Cariglia, called back to Rome after the Brescia massacre, and the journalist from Trieste Giorgio Cesare).

The Italian delegation had as liaison members to the assembly the former consuls of Yugoslavia in Trieste Oluić and Milutinović and in Gorizia Čigoj. Also present were the RAI journalists Fulvio Molinari, and for the *Meridiano*, Roberto Mayer Grego.

The delegation was accommodated at the Hotel Yugoslavia on the banks of the Danube.

At the congress, tensions over border claims were settled, the PSI message (brought by a then almost unknown Bettino Craxi) clarified the formal recognition of Yugoslavian sovereignty over the area between Koper and Buje and in the *Piccolo* of 31 May we read that in the final resolution of the League of Communists the statement about the Italian government having "solidarised and identified with the attitudes of the irredentist, revanchist, neo-fascist and other more reactionary Italian circles" had disappeared.

"Never has a more sincere toast been raised to peace than the one the people of Trieste made at the Italian Embassy as guests of Ambassador Maccotta," concluded the *Meridiano*⁹⁰.

On the margins of this congress, a polemical note appeared in *Il Mondo* (i.e. the same newspaper that Ducci contributed to, whose note had started the whole affair) signed by Marco Cesarini Sforza, which *Il Meridiano* commented on negatively, stating that it was intended to create new tension between states while the talks had been marked by mutual collaboration⁹¹.

SPRING BOMBS.

Between late April and June 1974, the plots of the bomb at the Slovenian school in Via Caravaggio in Trieste and the bomb in Piazza della Loggia in Brescia were intertwined. And just as it was said that the bomb at the Slovenian school in 1969 had been a sort of 'dress rehearsal' for the subsequent bomb in Piazza Fontana, so perhaps the 1974 bomb at the same Slovenian school may have been a foretaste of that in Brescia. In fact, as we shall see, the people and events between Brescia and Trieste show rather significant connections.

TRIESTE, RIONE DI SAN GIOVANNI.

⁸⁹ It may be an interesting coincidence that Strauss was Fumagalli's German 'political referent', who often met CSU political exponents in Munich (M. Franzinelli, op. cit., p. 152) and who declared to the magistrate "The MAR troops are centre extremists who think exactly as I do. Strauss-type people" (Gi Simeoni enquiry, in "Il terrorismo e le sue maschere", op. cit., p. 31).

⁹⁰ 'Meridian' no. 22 of 29/5/74, 'Disengagement Zone B'. s.f.

⁹¹ 'Meridian', no. 17, 24/4/74.

In the neo-fascist imagery of Trieste in the 1970s are the comic strips drawn by the then leader of the Fronte della Gioventù, the multi-denounced for acts of violence Almerigo Grilz⁹², where the 'Viale della Foresta Nera' i.e. Viale XX Settembre, a historic neo-fascist meeting place, led to the 'Contea di San Giovanni', i.e. the district where the Slovenian presence was strong, but where the Scarpa brothers, among others, lived, and neo-fascists often carried out their raids.

On Friday **19 April**, Giorgio Almirante came to speak in Trieste: we read an article in the *Meridiano* entitled "the show of the old guitto in piazza Goldoni"⁹³. The article begins by saying that "the former undersecretary of the post office in the Mussolini government", was supposed to speak on the referendum on divorce, but "in Piazza Goldoni in front of 1,700 chilly people the *bogeyman* gave up the double-breasted rally to put on the more congenial clothes (for him) of the old guitto easy on the stick". Some of the phrases quoted are 'we can't take it any more' and 'clean up the Slavic bacillus that has infiltrated Trieste'. But, reiterates the *Meridiano*, *one can't take it any more* 'of the old and new fascism, of the Almirante in video format, of the director of the strategy of tension, of the black plots, of the *guards* with green vests and flagpoles, transformed into bars to huddle around the podium'. Where among these 'guards' is perfectly recognisable a schoolmate (*comrade...*) of my age, in a photo with the caption 'De Vidovich and the new *balilla*'...

On Saturday, **27 April 1974** at 9.47 p.m., an alarm rang out at the police headquarters in connection with the Slovenian school in Via Caravaggio; a bomb had exploded in the San Giovanni district, presumably around 9.30 p.m. It was a rainy evening, the reporters wrote, and the area was poorly lit.

The investigations, coordinated by Doctor Claudio Coassin, led to the search of the headquarters of Avanguardia nazionale and Ordine nuovo, and "the exponents of the black squadristo, those who, last week, had rendezvoused in Piazza Goldoni in search of a *physical confrontation* for the Almirante rally" were "controlled". The *Meridiano* also wrote, in reference to this attack, that the police headquarters had sent a report to the magistracy identifying the phrases of Almirante's rally as the crime of 'incitement to class struggle'⁹⁴.

The bomb consisted of a metal casing, a tube filled with black powder and closed at the sides. An unsophisticated and home-made device, the investigators said, but one that nevertheless demonstrated a good knowledge of explosives.

Subsequently, investigations conducted by the Milan Public Prosecutor's Office came to the conclusion that the action had been conceived in the Lombard capital by Giancarlo Rognoni, leader of the *La Fenice* group, and executed by Alessandro D'Intino and Umberto Vivirito.⁹⁵

This was not the first bomb planted at the Slovenian school in San Giovanni, but while this one exploded without causing casualties, having been set for the evening, the first one, which did not explode due to a technical defect, would have caused a massacre of children, having been set for 12.30 p.m., the end of class time. The first bomb was set on 6 October 1969; at first the responsibility was attributed to a 'deranged' neo-fascist (who was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment plus 3 years in a criminal asylum as he was recognised as being 'partially mentally defective') and only after almost 30 years of investigations, carried out in connection with

⁹² Almerigo Grilz, charismatic leader of the Fronte della Gioventù (Youth Front), who was involved in several assaults, devoted himself to journalism after serving as a municipal councillor for a few years. Founder of the Albatross press agency together with his *comrades* Fausto Biloslavo (arrested for reticence as a witness in the investigation into the Bologna massacre in 1980), Gian Micalessin and Riccardo Pelliccetti (whom we will meet again in the section on Baia Sistiana), he lost his life in Mozambique on 19/5/87 while acting as *press-agent* for the anti-government and pro-South African guerrillas of Renamo. In the cover photo he is the first from the left.

⁹³ "Meridian" No. 17 of 24/4/74.

⁹⁴ "Meridian" No. 18 of 30/4/74.

⁹⁵ <http://sites.google.com/site/sentileranehecantano/cronologia/1974>.

the investigations into the Piazza Fontana bombing, the real culprits were identified, but in the meantime the statute of limitations had expired⁹⁶.

Also in this case, the deception began immediately: on the 2nd of May, the CS centre in Trieste sent to General Gianadelio Maletti⁹⁷ a note which stated: "the investigations into the attack on the Slovenian school on 27 April are oriented in extreme right-wing circles, but responsibility can also be sought *elsewhere* because the attack practically "only served to feed anti-fascist propaganda"; and on the following 5th, Maletti addressed a note to Colonel Giorgio Genovesi, stating that one of his personal sources confirmed that "the attack against the Slovenian school in Trieste on 27th April 1974 was carried out by extreme left-wing elements, and that others may have followed in order to create difficulties for the government and discredit the right wing"⁹⁸.

In this regard, it is worth taking a small leap forward in time and quoting part of a memoir written by Guido Giannettini (neo-fascist but also an agent of the SID), at the time of his extradition from Argentina, **14 August 1974:**

"First phase (1967-1970): the main extra-parliamentary circles instrumentalised by occult forces were of the left, since the right did not exist politically.... Rauti had contacts with Greece and Italian military circles; Graziani had contacts with Italian military circles; Avanguardia nazionale had contacts with Greece and the Ministry of the Interior. Second phase (1970-1973): the salient fact was the failed coup d'état of Prince Borghese on 7 December 1970. Related foreign circles: among the most involved were the British (the DI-6 service, Barclay's Hambro's banks) and apparently the Israeli military intelligence service Aman, headed at the time by General Yaariv. Third phase (1973-1974): both right-wing and left-wing groups operated: the former are the MAR, the SAM, Black Order (Graziani line), among the left-wing groups, the Red Brigades. Parallel manipulation by a single centre of the clandestine right and left groups cannot be excluded"⁹⁹.

And indeed, on the same day of Giannettini's extradition, the Brescian neo-fascists (later accused of the Piazza della Loggia massacre) Ermanno Buzzi and Angiolino Papa, failed an attack on a church in San Silvestro di Folzano, claiming it in the newspapers under the signature *Gruppo potere rosso, city section 28 May*¹⁰⁰.

THREATS TO THE MAGISTRATE.

On **2 May**, Deputy Prosecutor Claudio Coassin was threatened, as we read in the *Small*.

"An anonymous caller had telephoned 113 in the evening, claiming that a message was to be found in a phone box in Piazza Garibaldi, which was later found between the pages of the telephone directory. It was a photocopy of a handwritten sheet of paper in block letters marked 'communiqué no. 1' and signed Black Order. In it, with reference to the recent attack on the Slovenian school in San Giovanni, a threat is made to kidnap the deputy public prosecutor, Dr. Claudio Coassin, who is in charge of the investigation into the attack. To our knowledge, the flyer also contained another phrase: 'After San Giovanni we will strike again'.

⁹⁶ "Salvini Judgment, cit. Considering that the crime of massacre is imprescriptible and that Article 422 of the Penal Code considers 'massacre' to be the crime committed by anyone who 'with the aim of killing performs acts such as to endanger public safety' and this charge is triggered 'whenever a public danger is determined even where - due to fortuitous circumstances - there are neither victims nor wounded', evidently the magistrate had considered that the neo-fascists' action did not fall into this category.

⁹⁷ Maletti was at the time head of department D (counter-information) of the SID; a piduist, he was dismissed in 1975.

⁹⁸ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

⁹⁹ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

This flyer was signed Black Order, Codreanu section, an organisation that had claimed authorship of the terrorist action but 'of which no trace has been found in our city'¹⁰¹.

In the same article we read that 'a vast operation was underway, with roadblocks, arrests, interrogations', at the end of which a summit with the police forces was convened late in the night (Quaestor D'Anchise brought together the entire political team with Dr. Volpe and Carabinieri commander Marzella)¹⁰².

The text of the handbill was published the next day in a blurb: 'the threatening message'. The header was "Black Order - Codreanu section communiqué No. 1 for the Trieste area", followed by the text: "The Supreme Council for the National Socialist Revolution has decided, at short notice, to kidnap the deputy prosecutor Claudio Coassin so that comrade Giorgio Freda and like him all the other comrades unjustly imprisoned by the prisons of the bourgeois system will be freed. We have already struck once in San Giovanni, we will strike again to eradicate this anti-fascist system".

In larger letters 'Out of Italy the Slavic infoibators, freedom to the comrades' at the bottom of the sheet a swastika dripping with blood.

The article states that the caller was a youthful voice and that 'the leaflet is hand-written in the same characters as those used by the Black Order in similar leaflets circulated in Turin'¹⁰³.

Two hypotheses were then formulated: either the leaflets were compiled by the same hand or they were an imitation of messages reproduced in newspapers in the past few days; the opinion of the then head of the Political Squad, Giovanni Volpe, was that the fact that Freda was referred to by the name Giorgio instead of Franco could prove that the message was authentic.

Major Giovanni Ferrara of the Carabinieri, on the other hand, observed that 'to warn those you want to kidnap seems naive', while the threatened man, Dr Coassin, declared himself unconcerned by the threats, but added that he was an inconvenient character because he did not look to the right or left.

About this letter the *Meridian* wrote that it was signed New Order or Black Order 'as they now prefer to call themselves after the dissolution of the Father Order', and for the reference to Codreanu it published the cover of the booklet 'The Land of the Ancestors', whose editor-in-chief was the national avant-gardist Giampaolo Sussich (the one who was at the 'Red Church' in Fumagalli with the elder of the Scarpa brothers), a booklet that bore the same name as the Romanian Legionary Movement's newspaper of Codreanu's followers, in fact in it one finds the praise of Codreanu and the Iron Guard'. And he concludes: 'a well-plotted black plot is polluting Trieste, the city that after the dark years of the Cold War has become a symbol of peace and *Slataperian* (i.e. inspired by the ideas of the writer Scipio Slataper, nda) peaceful coexistence between different peoples. The hooligans act under different labels (Avanguardia nazionale, Ordine nuovo, Ordine nero, Europa civiltà) but they have the same matrix and are manoeuvred by the same hand, the one that tries to sow chaos in the country and undermine trust in the democratic system'¹⁰⁴.

These leaflets were also discussed during the trial for the Brescia massacre. Here is the testimony of Inspector Michele Cacioppo of the State Police:

"I also took the leaflet because there is this claim reference to the attack on the Slovenian school on 27 April, which is almost a month before the Piazza della Loggia massacre. More than anything else, to make a parallel also with the Piazza della Loggia massacre, which strangely enough, the proof is always made with an attack on the Slovenian school preceding that of Piazza Fontana.

All the flyers, unlike the second one, are written in runic type. According to the technical report of the Forensic Police Division of 7 October 1974, the three flyers were written with accentuated drawing efforts by the same person. The political bureau, among other things, considered that it recognised the voice of the anonymous person who had preannounced the first leaflet, the Slovenian school leaflet, to 113 in that of the well-known Francesco Neami. For this fact, Neami together with Luin and Viezzoli two

¹⁰¹ "Phone call to 113 flyer in the booth", 'Il Piccolo', 3/5/74.

¹⁰² 'Phone call to 113 flyer in the booth', 'Il Piccolo', 3/5/74.

¹⁰³ 'No trace of the authors of the flyer against the judge', 'Il Piccolo', 4/5/74.

¹⁰⁴ 'Meridiano', 'I brigatisti neri', No. 19, 8/5/74. It should be remembered that one of Codreanu's scholars was Mutti

from Verona.

right-wing extremists in Trieste were reached by judicial notice. I do not know how the affair ended. I do not know on the grapevine whether a real expert's report was ever carried out by the public prosecutor's office¹⁰⁵.

Jumping forward, we read that in early June, Manlio Portolan's book agency 'Edizioni Europa' in Via Mazzini 30, was searched as part of the investigation into the Slovenian school bombing conducted by prosecutor Alessandro Brenci¹⁰⁶. The agency represented 'a meeting point between Portolan, Francesco Neami and Ombretta Petronio, representative of the university group "Nazione Europa"¹⁰⁷.

Following the raid on Neami, MP de' Vidovich tabled a question together with other MSI parliamentarians against the PS leaders, who responded by filing a lawsuit, but I do not know how this all evolved.

Nor is it known how the investigation into this bombing came to an end: in *Meridiano* No. 31 of 31/7/75, we read that the enquiry had taken the Venice route because the investigating judge Coassin had been threatened and legitimate suspicion had been established. Some well-known exponents of the extra-parliamentary right had been summoned and interrogated in Venice, but here the news stops.

THE MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF DIEGO DE HENRIQUEZ¹⁰⁸.

Let us go back to the evening of 2 May, because at the same time and very close to the place where the Black Order leaflet was found, a fire ended the life of an extravagant and brilliant man at the same time, the Triestine scholar Diego de Henriquez, who had spent his life collecting weapons and military equipment of all kinds (from uniforms to tanks) to create a museum that, precisely by exhibiting war equipment, would be a warning for peace.

A mild-mannered and kind person, de Henriquez had one major flaw: he trusted everyone, anyone could go to him and ask to see his collection or ask him for information on how weapons and explosives worked, and many right-wing extremists contacted him precisely for this purpose, back in the 1950s. His son Alfonso reported that his father had told him, after the Peteano assassination attempt, that he 'believed he knew' those responsible for that crime, and regretted it because 'he had helped them for good and never for evil', and that Carlo Cicuttini himself (one of the Peteano assassins) had bought a pistol thanks to de Henriquez's contacts with antique and modern arms dealers¹⁰⁹.

On the evening of **2 May 1974**, de Henriquez was seen walking alone back into the warehouse in Via San Maurizio (where he lived, amidst his exhibits and paper archive, and used to sleep in a coffin, not so much out of a macabre sense of *memento mori*, but because the padding protected him from the dampness of the place) at around 10.30 p.m., after having taken a walk in the Largo Barriera area with his dog named Pax, and having stopped at a tavern near the warehouse. The fire was reported at 10.49 p.m. by two neighbours who had heard crackling flames and the sound of breaking glass, and the fire brigade arrived on the scene at 11.14 p.m.¹¹⁰, but too late to save the elderly scholar who had already suffocated to death.

¹⁰⁵ Transcript of the hearing of 20/5/10, available on the Casa della Memoria di Brescia website (R.G. 003/08) <http://www.28maggio74.brescia.it/>.

¹⁰⁶ PM Dr. Brenci presents a singular biography. According to his own statements he was, after 8 September 1943, included in the Trieste SS but 'in sleep' (Vincenzo Cerceo's testimony to the author); he is an officer of the Civic Guard (local collaborationist corps), commander of a group that operated in connection with the SS, but then included in the CVL at the time of the uprising. With this track record, he was in charge of investigations into the Risiera di San Sabba (the only Nazi concentration camp in Italy) and in the 1970s he conducted investigations into neo-fascists, often demanding their acquittal.

¹⁰⁷ "Il Piccolo", 5/6/74. Ombretta Petronio was called to testify in Brescia on the 27/4/74 bombing of the Slovene school in Brescia 6/3/09, on her relations with Abrami Franco, Neami Franco, Portolan Manlio and Fabbri Ugo - on the discovery of leaflets of "Ordine Nero, Sez. Codreanu" (R.G. 003/08, hearing 6/3/09, available on the Brescia House of Memory website <http://www.28maggio74.brescia.it/>).

¹⁰⁸ On the story of Diego de Henriquez, see V. Cerceo and C. Cernigoi, "The *Diaries of Diego de Henriquez*", La Nuova Alabarda 2006.

¹⁰⁹ In the investigation of Dr Mastelloni on Argo 16, Criminal Proc. 318/87 A GI, Court of Venice.

¹¹⁰ See C. Ernè, 'Henriquez was assassinated', in the 'Piccolo' of 30/4/94.

The first police officer to arrive on the scene was Carabinieri Major Giovanni Ferrara (the same man who minimised the threats to Coassin), and the competent magistrate was again Dr Coassin, who immediately dismissed the death as accidental, and did not even order an autopsy. Over the years, three different enquiries were opened (and closed), without the contradictions brought out by the press (especially by the *Meridiano* journalists) ever being clarified.

The scholar Livio Fogar, who reviewed the investigation files, noted a disturbing fact. In 1994, an anonymous *informant* contacted the police, recounting that he had frequented the headquarters of Avanguardia nazionale for a short time, in 1974, and that, just a few days before de Henriquez's death, he had picked up on some phrases exchanged between one of the organisation's most notorious beaters and 'two people' presumably from outside Trieste, quite distinct. The three allegedly mentioned 'ways of setting fire' to something and had concluded with this phrase: '*so much el xe zà morto, perché el dormi in una coffin*'.

How reliable these statements, made twenty years later by a person who has never been identified, are we do not know. It is true, however, that de Henriquez knew many 'comrades' (after all, the headquarters of Avanguardia Nazionale was located at the time in the street parallel to Via San Maurizio), and on the last evening of his life he strolled in the area of Largo Barriera, a square adjacent to Piazza Garibaldi, the one where the leaflets claiming the Black Order were found. Perhaps the elderly scholar had crossed paths that evening with someone he knew, whom he could have reconnected the next day with those mining leaflets?

TENSION IN BRESCIA.

The tense situation in Brescia in the early months of 1974 is described very well by Franzinelli¹¹¹, as well as by a series of publications by the student movement and Lotta continua of the period¹¹². We only recall the most important events.

On **15 February**, a bomb of considerable power was detonated at a supermarket, signed 'SAM - Long live Dachau', 'war on Communists, Freemasons and Jews'.

On **27 February**, two incendiary devices were thrown at the headquarters of the FLM, the united metalworkers' union, and on **14 March**, it was the turn of the CISL headquarters in Leno.

In addition to various findings of explosives in the most diverse locations, there were also pistol shots against the Coop (**8 April**), a hand grenade against the PSI headquarters (**22 April**), and the attack against the provincial CISL on **8 May**, which was foiled by pure chance because the bomber had fled before triggering the device.

On **19 May**, 'while waiting for the most opportune moment to plant an explosive device in a nightclub, riding around on a Vespa, Silvio Ferrari, a right-wing extremist, blew himself up in an early explosion¹¹³. At the funeral, held on 21 May, there was a wreath with the symbol of Ordine nuovo, sent by the 'comrades of Anno Zero'. The boy (he was 18 years old) was part of a group of neo-fascist extremists, including the homonymous but unrelated Nando Ferrari, coagulated by a magazine, "Riscossa" (which was for a period organ of the MSI in Brescia during the Scaroni secretariat and where Primo Siena, Rauti and Almirante also wrote), which had as its supplement "Riscossa giovanile" and in the issue published in January 1972 we read this sentence "we will follow the violence where it channels itself until it becomes a big river, accomplices of it, agitators, fomenting ever new forms of it". The editor-in-chief was Giuseppe Vincenzo (Beppino) Benedetti, arrested on **21 May** during an operation led by Captain Delfino. We read in *l'Unità* that Benedetti, from Verona, 'brought the SAM Fumagalli group close to Freda and Ventura'¹¹⁴. As a representative, he had been fired from 'Dreher' and 'Boscarini vini' in Verona because he did not pick up customer orders¹¹⁵.

¹¹¹ See 'The Thin Black Line', op. cit.

¹¹² See bibliography.

¹¹³ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹¹⁴ "l'Unità", 22/5/74.

¹¹⁵ We note here that the Scarpa brothers' father was a 'brewer' at the Dreher factory in Trieste, owned at the time by the Luciani family, originally from Belluno, which held the Pedavena brand.

Benedetti had published a year earlier in 'Riscossa' an interview with Marco Pozzan, a fugitive wanted as part of the investigation into the Veneto trail for Piazza Fontana, who attacked Judge Stiz.

Three other Fascists had been arrested the day before: Alfonso D'Amato and Francesco Pedercini (connected with Anno Zero) and engineer Ezio Tartaglia, a former republican, owner of the Ca' Bianca estate in Collebeato where there was apparently a paramilitary training camp. Tartaglia was another of the editors of 'Riscossa'¹¹⁶.

This is what Kim Borromeo said about it, while he was in prison: 'He also talked about creating a state of alarm, but without any major attacks: blowing up a few pylons, putting on a few bowler hats, doing it in the style of the Reds, i.e. leaving traces so that the responsibility would fall on the Reds'.¹¹⁷ This sounds exactly like the description of the discovery of Feltrinelli's body.

BRESCIA, PIAZZA DELLA LOGGIA, 28 May 1974.

It was following this *escalation of violence* that the anti-fascist Permanent Unity Committee of Brescia decided to call a city demonstration for 28 May, to coincide with the general strike proclaimed by the confederal trade unions.

Cittadini Bresciani

Ancora una volta il fascismo si manifesta nella nostra città e nella nostra provincia con i caratteri ripugnanti del terrorismo 'omicida, della provocazione e della violenza. Per richiamare i democratici all'unità ed alla vigilanza antifascista;

- ☒ perchè sia con fermezza colpita ogni trama fascista;
- perchè oltre agli esecutori materiali della violenza siano assegnati alla giustizia i mandanti ed i finanziatori,

Il Comitato Permanente Antifascista indice per
MARTEDI 28 MAGGIO ORE 10 IN PIAZZA LOGGIA

una manifestazione antifascista

in concomitanza con lo sciopero generale proclamato dai Sindacati

parleranno:

Franco CASTREZZATI

a nome delle organizzazioni sindacali

on. Adelio TERRAROLI

a nome delle forze politiche

PROGRAMMA

Ore 9 concentrazione a Piazza Garibaldi-Porta Trento-Piazza Repubblica.

Ore 9,30 partenza cortei per Piazza Loggia.

Ore 10 Comizio Pubblico.

Il comitato unitario permanente antifascista
DC - PCI - PSI - PSDI - PRI - CGIL - CISL - UIL
ANPI - FFVV - ANED - ANPPA - ACLI - Cogidas

But during the rally a bomb, planted in a rubbish bin under the arcades, exploded causing a massacre. The victims were: Giulietta Banzi Bazoli; Luigi Pinto; Clementina Calzari Trebeschi; Livia Bottardi Milani; Bartolomeo Talenti; Vittorio Zombarda; Eupio Natali; Alberto Trebeschi. 103 were wounded.

And immediately after the massacre, the deputy police commissioner Aniello Diamare had the square washed down with water cannons, thus eliminating not only the blood but also all traces of explosives, a fact that would make it impossible to

¹¹⁶ "l'Unità", 21/5/74.

¹¹⁷ Statements of 28/5/74, cf. M. Franzinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

know the type of explosives used. Diamare also asked for a meeting with the Milanese head of Avanguardia nazionale, but did not go to the scheduled appointment at a public venue¹¹⁸.

I remember that the day after the massacre my mother kept me home from school, I wanted to go to the square to the demonstration, but she told me that we would go together and practically prevented me from leaving the house, which hurt me very much at the time and even today I remember with regret, although I can understand her concerns for my safety (on the sidelines of the demonstration there was an attempt to storm the Youth Front headquarters in Via Paduina, with minor clashes).

I will not delve here into the history of the investigation into the Brescia massacre, which 38 years on and after endless trial phases, is still without a guilty party (except for the mythomaniac neo-fascist Ermanno Buzzi, who was convicted at first instance for the massacre¹¹⁹), referring you to the texts in the bibliography.

However, I would like to point out this article that appeared on **11/6/74** in the *Piccolo*.

"Perplexity on the developments of the investigations in Brescia". Declaration of the Questore of Brescia, Mastronardi: when the men of the political squad, after the death of Silvio Ferrari, carried out two searches at his house, they did not find any explosives, while during the search made by the Carabinieri after the massacre (8 June) explosives were found (the Carabinieri said in a cupboard, while "other sources" said "buried in the garden"). The Quaestor stated that it certainly could not have been in the cupboard in plain sight, otherwise they would have found it. He also pointed out that it was necessary to wait until after the massacre to interrogate the dozen or so young men, members of the 'Anno Zero' organisation, who had been reported to be present at Ferrari's funeral and that four of them had been arrested for reticence.

And again, on the subject of Buzzi, we read the following year in the *Meridiano*, in relation to the investigations into the Brescia massacre, that news had "leaked out" that "Buzzi was due to attend a conference in Yugoslavia" and "evidently, he would have had to pass through Trieste"¹²⁰. Let us remember that in the days when the Brescia massacre took place, a congress of the League of Communists was being held in Belgrade, during which relations between Yugoslavia and Italy were being developed. What if the *leaked conference* had been arranged to create an international incident?

Let us now take a step back and take the *Piccolo* of **29/5/74**. In Trieste, "Ordine nero reappears in the yellow pages": after an anonymous telephone call, a message was found in a telephone booth signed by ORDINE NERO section Codreanu, in which the organisation declares itself extraneous to the Brescia massacre, and which begins with the words "Fighting at the heart of the system.

The communiqué, written in blue red and black felt-tip pen, was taken over by Dr. Volpe.

Here is the text:

"FIGHT AT THE HEART OF THE SYSTEM. COMMUNIQUE NO. 2 CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU TRIESTE SECTION.

IN THE COURSE OF OUR POLITICAL BATTLE FOR THE NEW ORDER AGAINST THE SYSTEM WE ARE FORCED TO RESORT TO DYNAMITE! BUT IN THE CASE OF THE PROVOCATIVE BOMB IN BRESCIA WE OF ORDINE NERO REJECT ALL RESPONSIBILITY. NOW WE CAN ALSO call the usual anti-fascist demonstrations (*sic*) WITH THE WELCOME OF A HARD GOVERNMENT MADE UP OF THIEVES AND INVERTED. HAVE FUN! BOY WHO GIVES (inserted in the text bipenal axe) BLACK ORDER NO TO THE PROVOCAZIONI OF THE SYSTEM"¹²¹.

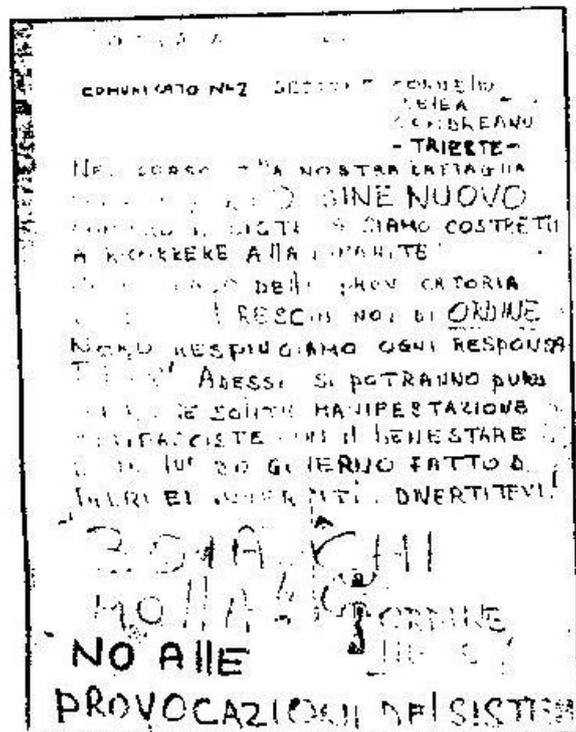
¹¹⁸ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹¹⁹ Buzzi, who had started talking to the investigators and could have revealed the reality of the facts, was transferred to the prison of Novara, where the multiple murderer Mario Tuti (investigated for the Italicus massacre and sentenced to life imprisonment because he had murdered the policemen who had come to arrest him) and the terrorist Pierluigi Concutelli (ordinovist sentenced for the murder of Judge Occorsio), who strangled him during the hour of air, were already in prison. This happened before the sentence of appeal (13/4/81), which, however, acquitted the other defendants, while for Buzzi, the non-prosecution clause 'due to death of the offender' was applied, which prevented legal clarity. Tuti and Concutelli subsequently killed in prison another neo-fascist considered 'infamous', Carmine Palladino (10/8/82), who was considered Delle Chiaie's 'lieutenant' and who seemed willing to talk to the investigators

about the Occorsio murder.

¹²⁰ "Meridian' No. 31 of 31/7/75.

¹²¹ The flyer was published in No. 23 of 5/6/74 of the 'Meridiano', from which we scanned it.



A fingerprint was found on this leaflet 'under investigation by the investigators'.¹²² but the next day, an editor of the *Piccolo* was found in a phone box in Piazza Libertà with another communiqué "number 2" signed by the Ordine Nero, which contradicted the one found the day before, describing it as "apocryphal". The text, handwritten in "runic characters", was said to be "very similar" to "number 1" left in the phone box in Piazza Garibaldi and was published in the *Piccolo*:

"Black Order section Codreanu communiqué no. 2 for the Trieste area. We would like to make it known that the message you received yesterday was not the work of the Black Order, but rather the work of a few people who did not know how to entertain themselves. Regarding the information and figures reported on the second page of your newspaper, you are completely off the mark. It is useless for anti-fascists to promote rallies, marches, waving red rags and chanting slogans: we do not surrender and moreover we do not fear them, on the contrary, we enjoy these idiocies. Let what happened in Brescia be an example to all those who take sides against us. We will only end up acting this way after the overthrow of the bourgeois communist system, the elimination of Zionism and the triumph of national socialism. We struck, we are striking, we will strike. Memento audere semper¹²³ .

We insert here, the affirmations of the SID confidant, Maurizio Tramonte ("Tritone", who passed on to the services the news relative to the movements of the Brescian neo-fascists, but *curiously*, he did not transmit any information in the period between 10 May and 6 June 1974, that is, in the period between the Piazza della Loggia massacre): "In commenting on the facts of Brescia, Maggi (*the Venetian ordinovista, Carlo Maria Maggi, nda*) affirmed that that attack must not remain an isolated fact because - the system must be brought down by means of continuous attacks that accentuate its crisis; - the objective is to open an internal conflict that can only be resolved by armed confrontation¹²⁴ .

¹²² "Meridiano" "Report on neo-fascism in Trieste", no. 24, 12/6/74.

¹²³ "Il Piccolo", 30/5/74.

¹²⁴ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

WATCH OUT FOR QUARRIES!

In the *Piccolo* newspaper of **29/5/74**, in the same article in which it mentions the Ordine nero leaflet declaring itself unrelated to the Brescia massacre, one reads about the investigations conducted by the political office of the Police Headquarters and the Duino police station into a theft of explosives from a quarry in Sistiana Mare. A "memorandum" from the police headquarters is reported with a list of the material removed: "482 normal detonators no. 8 (time of charge), of Yugoslavian manufacture, contained in five cardboard boxes; the aforementioned detonators branded Pobedagoradze (*sic: Pobedagoradze (sic: in reality it is the company Pobeda of Goražde, where also the Vitezit is manufactured, ed.)*) are made of aluminium and have a length of about 4.5 cm; 205 electric detonators also made of aluminium, with micro delay of Swedish manufacture, brand Nitro Nobel AB with times from 6 to 12, with a length of cm from 6 to 10 and with an attached copper wire insulator with red plastic material, m. 5.5 long; 450 lighters, also made of aluminium, with a length of about 5 cm, with a length of about 5 cm, with a length of about 5 cm. 5.5; 450 fuse lighters, 10 cm long, dark brown in colour'.

The article does not go into any other details about the theft, however, it does repeat the statements of Dr. Volpe (the head of the political bureau) that already 'on Monday evening' (i.e. 27 May) several house searches had been carried out in the city and suburbs, with negative results, without specifying the number and names of the searches, but he would have implied that cars had also been searched.

Regarding the theft we read an article in the *Primorski Dnevnik* of the same date ('Tatvina detonatorjev v Sesljanu in novo fašistično grozljivo pismo', i.e. 'Theft of detonators in Sistiana and new fascist intimidation letter'). Here is the summary translation.

Just one month after the attack on the Slovenian school in San Giovanni, unknown persons broke into the depot of the 'Casale' quarry, which is located exactly above the port of Sistiana. They opened the door of the first depot where the detonators are stored and which is about ten metres from the explosives depot.

They took away 482 Yugoslavian-made detonators, 205 aluminium electric detonators and 450 fuse lighters.

The quarry had been closed on Saturday afternoon (**24 May**) and just Monday morning the theft. The guard Renato Sevron from Sistiana did not notice anything and the investigators concluded that unknown persons climbed over the barbed wire fence during the night and went unnoticed next to the guardhouse. No trace of the thieves, it was only ascertained that they used iron bars to break through the wooden doors. The quarry manager Dr. Bruno Vidorno reported the theft to the Sistiana police station.

Up to this point, what has been reported in the press. A few considerations can be made at this point.

The theft was committed between the night of 24 May and the morning of the 27th. The next day (i.e. the 28th, the day of the Brescia massacre), the Trieste political squad decided to issue a communiqué in which, after pointing out that the investigations had been unsuccessful, they listed the stolen items with almost accounting precision. It is also interesting that the *Piccolo* published the full list, which did not appear in the *Primorski*, while the *Primorski* described in detail what the guard had reported, which the *Piccolo* did not. Where it is quite curious that the guard did not notice anything, although he was present at the guardhouse, just as it is interesting that the theft concerned only the detonators and not the explosives contained in the adjacent warehouse.

The warden Sevron (who was said to be an extreme right-wing sympathiser) passed away in 2004; the director, seaplane pilot Lieutenant Colonel Bruno Vidorno, passed away in 2008.

TOURIST DIGRESSION, SISTIANA BAY.

Upstream of the beautiful (but now unfortunately attacked by a devastating tourist project) Sistiana Bay is an old quarry (the 'Casale quarry'), now disused, whose ownership was transferred from the State to the Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region in 1965. The bay, desirable from a tourist point of view, changed hands several times, from Prince Raimondo della Torre e Tasso, owner of the adjacent castle of Duino, to a group of entrepreneurs who then passed it on to the Ediltur company (owned by CAM, the reference company of the Armenian Community), then to Novatur of Pordenone's Mario Azzano, and then to Quirino Cardarelli's Fintur (formerly Saragat's cuirassier), which went bankrupt in 1992 and was finally acquired by the SS.

Gervasio company

and Protasio of Mantua entrepreneur Carlo Dodi, with administrator Ivano Fari himself who was part of Fintur and Ediltur.

Over the years, a series of controversies also developed around these companies and the projects to "revitalise" the bay (an advocate of this "valorisation" was also, in the early 1990s, the former MSI deputy Renzo de Vidovich, then a municipal councillor in Duino Aurisina), exposés, articles published in the 'Borghese' by Riccardo Pellicetti (a right-wing journalist and former militant member of the Fronte della Gioventù in the 1970s), which were the subject of lawsuits by the persons named and accused of having collected money in an unclear manner. The judiciary acquitted the journalist, but no clarity was ever shed on how the funds were allocated and above all on the fact that the (public) ownership of the old quarry, which was a strategic point for the real estate development of the Baia, had passed to private individuals in a manner that we can only describe as *acrobatic*.

THE STRANGE DEATH OF BOJAN CLAUDI.

'Paramilitary camp on the Karst', headlines the *Meridiano* of **5/6/74**. In recent weeks, we read, some inhabitants of the outskirts of Aurisina had noticed groups of young men in paramilitary clothing carrying out exercises in an abandoned quarry near the village. Sentries were posted around the quarry to prevent outsiders from approaching; lighted signal exercises were carried out, presumably aimed at other groups operating in the area; rifles were also used for training in shooting, with compressed air so as not to attract too much attention with gunfire. They usually took place when the weather was bad. When the owner of the quarry (engineer Zaccaria of San Pelagio-Šempolaj) lodged a complaint with the Carabinieri of Aurisina, and it seems that he also warned the 'intruders' of his intervention, they disappeared and so it was not possible to ascertain their identity, although it seems that many came from outside, several cars were reported, some with German number plates.

In a later issue, one reads about investigations into explosions at the Santa Caterina cave (*recte* Grotta Caterina near San Pelagio)¹²⁵.

On **6 June** during RAI's regional news programme at 7.30 a.m., journalist Tullio Mayer read this note:

"A carabinieri died a few hours ago near San Pelagio, on the Trieste Karst, from gunshots. The soldier, whose identity is not known, was on a stakeout (...) the commander of the Udine legion, Colonel Mingarelli¹²⁶, the commander of the Trieste Carabinieri group, Lieutenant-Colonel Manzella, the deputy public prosecutor Tavella and other investigators went to the Aurisina Carabinieri station'.

The carabinieri's name was Bojan Claudi, he was from an Italian-Slovenian family and he was 24 years old. The soldiers had gone to inspect the Santa Caterina quarry after the complaints they had received (which spoke of the coming and going of cars, including a small car with Milan licence plates), they had found traces of petrol bombs and at first there was talk of an armed clash, then the blame was assumed by Claudi's comrade-in-arms, who claimed that his gun had accidentally fired a shot. The findings were made by the Carabinieri of Aurisina, directed by Lieutenant Chierogo.

But Mayer's article immediately aroused strong controversy. The CISNAL immediately reacted, issuing a communiqué signed by its representative Innocente Maccan (for many years a political exponent of the MSI and municipal councillor in Trieste) entitled 'RAI goes on a witch-hunt and finds ghosts', accusing the 'local broadcasting apparatus' of 'setting up the usual black trail'.

Mr de' Vidovich, a Member of Parliament, also took action and even submitted a parliamentary question to the Ministers of the Interior, of Justice and of Posts and Telecommunications 'to know whether they are aware of the fact that Radio Trieste (...) broadcast the news of the death of Carabinieri Bojan Claudi, who was accidentally shot by a comrade during a patrol in San Pelagio di Trieste as if it were a firefight between the Carabinieri and a non-existent fascist paramilitary group, despite the fact that

¹²⁵ 'Meridiano', 'Report on neo-fascism in Trieste', no. 24, 12/6/74.

¹²⁶ Remember that Dino Mingarelli was one of the architects of the *deception* in the investigation into the Peteano massacre.

the timely and accurate official communications given by the Carabinieri, creating a state of lively agitation in the factories and a profound disturbance in all public opinion in Trieste' and went on to say whether it might not be appropriate to charge the RAI office in Trieste with the offence referred to in Article 656 of the Italian Criminal Code (dissemination of false information likely to disturb public order) and requesting the removal of the director of the news service.

(In fact, the note had simply given the news of the death 'by gunshot' during a 'stakeout' and had not mentioned 'fascist paramilitary groups').

And this is how the *Meridiano* concludes: if it had been a set-up, 'the carabinieri would not have drawn their pistols at the first rustle of leaves, accidentally killing a comrade lying in the grass a stone's throw away with a shot that shattered the back of his head. The carabinieri, too, evidently felt that the people gathering up there were dangerous, armed people'¹²⁷.

THE COINCIDENCE OF THE 'MINIS'.

In the area of Sistiana, near Aurisina, there is also the cave where a weapons depot was discovered in February 1972, the famous *Nasco*, which twenty years later would be attributed to Gladio¹²⁸. It was said that it was not a fixed explosives and weapons depot, but a transit place, where goods were stored to be transported elsewhere, and that it served as a place of exchange between Yugoslavian explosives (the Vitezit) brought to Italy by the Ustasas and the NATO explosives that the Italians supplied to the Ustasas. But if we consider that Yugoslavian explosives were used at the Sistiana quarry, we can also assume that part of what passed through the *Nasco* di Aurisina could have come directly from the quarry, where it was relatively easy to go and get the material (one of the most common ways of acquiring explosives was to go and steal them from the quarries), rather than having them smuggled in from across the border.

Let us now discuss some strange 'incidents' that occurred in the period of interest to us in the area between Sistiana and Aurisina. For example, an article in *L'Unità* of **31/5/74** speaks of a red Mini Morris which 'on Thursday of last week' (**23rd May**) broke through a Carabinieri blockade near Aurisina, at the height of the Perič trattoria (there once existed in the hamlet of Slivia at no. 35 a trattoria in the name of Egone Perič: it may have been in the *Nasco* area); three people escaped and dispersed into the woods, the car was impounded but it is not known what was found inside, because after a week, the article points out, no official communiqué had yet been issued on the matter.

Another red Mini Minor appears in an earlier article, in the *Piccolo* of **19/10/73**, which reports the arrest by the Carabinieri near Fogliano Redipuglia of a minor from Verona who was driving the car, while two other youths, one from Mestre and another from Verona, had driven away before the arrival of the Carabinieri. "The hatchback had been stolen the other morning in Fogliano, where the same thieves had arrived on board a Mini Minor stolen also in Verona, on which they had applied the number plate of another Mini from Verona, so much so that the owner, traced precisely by virtue of the number plate, recognised the latter but not the car. The search is now on for a red Mini Minor with Verona number plate'.

And let us remember that Giovanni Ventura also drove around in a red Mini Minor...

TRAGEDY AT PIAN DEL RASCINO.

Let's go back to Flamini's text about the escape of Fumagalli's collaborators.

"They are all neo-fascists. The last four, plus Giancarlo Esposti, stop briefly in the office of the lawyer, Degli Occhi, warned of the arrest warrants by Giuseppe Picone Chiodo, then with an *off-road vehicle* obtained from Fumagalli and equipped with arms and explosives, they leave for the south. Gianni Colombo, who had preceded them by setting a rendezvous in Roiano di Campli, near Teramo, acts as relay. At the meeting, two days later, Colombo appears in the company of Luciano Benardelli and ex-carabiniere Guido Ciccone, neo-fascists from Abruzzo. Contacts will have been made with the Marche people Pier Giorgio

¹²⁷ 'Meridiano', 'Report on neo-fascism in Trieste', no. 24, 12/6/74.

¹²⁸ Curiosity: this Nasco is marked with the number 203, when instead there should have been only 139 deposits (R.

Bianchin and G. Cecchetti, "Gladio, non tornano i conti sui Nasco", "la Repubblica" 20/1/91.

Marini and Alba Nardi, sister of Gianni Nardi. The aim of the group led by Esposti is 'subversive action in areas of central Italy'¹²⁹.

On **9 May**, in the course of the night, Giancarlo Esposti left Milan in a Land Rover in the direction of Pian del Rascino, equipped with a map of the checkpoints set up by the police along the route. The map would have been provided to him by 'Colonel Carmelo', whom the investigating judge Giovanni Arcai would identify as PS Inspector General Giuseppe Musolino, but no judicial certainty was reached on this point¹³⁰.

In **May**, in Rome, Giancarlo Esposti met the PS officer Giovanni Davi, escorting magistrate Claudio Vitalone¹³¹. As part of the investigation into the Brescia massacre, it also emerged that the future Carabinieri General Mario Mori (at that time a lieutenant in service at the SID) had met several times with an informer called 'Piero', who was to give him information on Esposti, contacted through the mediation of the journalist (and SID collaborator¹³²) Gianfranco Ghiron, brother and business partner of the lawyer Giorgio, who was later *administrator* of the assets of the Mafia family Ciancimino¹³³.

On **30 May 1974**, at Pian del Rascino (Rieti), in an ambush set by the Carabinieri led by Marshal Filippi, Giancarlo Esposti is eliminated and Alessandro Danieletti and Alessandro D'Intino are wounded. The former was a repository of many secrets concerning Avanguardia Nazionale, of which he had been a member, and Carlo Fumagalli's Mar, with whom he collaborated¹³⁴. Danieletti, a former AN militant, confessed to being the author of the murder of Lucio Terminiello, which took place in Milan on 23/3/74, because he was (mistakenly) believed to be a plainclothes police officer.

D'Intino is said to have declared (this would appear from a note sent on the following 25 July to General Gianadelio Maletti) that Esposti maintained very close contacts with Giorgio Freda, Bruno Stefàno and Gianni Nardi; and, until a few years earlier, he had worked for Pide and had also taken part in the assassination of a Portuguese general¹³⁵. And also that 'Esposti was waiting for a political turning point after the referendum (...) he was ready to march on Rome'¹³⁶.

Here, too, we have connections with our city. In the article "Paramilitary Camp on the Karst" an article from the *Corriere della Sera* is quoted that, on the Brescia massacre "investigating the massacre and the terrorism of the SAM the investigators find themselves (...) in that Udine-Trieste-Brescia triangle". And 'it is no coincidence that Alessandro D'Intino and Salvatore Vivirito operated within this triangle (...) On the night between the 1st and 2nd of May, they were on their way to Trieste, according to what they themselves would have declared to the teller of a petrol station, and only a mechanical failure interrupted their journey'. The car was registered to Esposti. What were they doing in Trieste, the journalist asks, was there a precise plan for an attack or were they heading for the training camp in Aurisina? And the article concludes by writing that the police had a 'list of about 120 names of extremists considered dangerous'¹³⁷.

The connection with our city also appears from the statements of a transvestite with whom Esposti was having an affair, 'Marcella, an efebico modenese' (born Marcello Malagoli), who reported to Inspector Giordano Fainelli 'on trips with Giancarlo to Trieste to retrieve weapons'¹³⁸.

¹²⁹ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 542.

¹³⁰ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹³¹ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>. Eugenio Scalfari wrote: "Claudio Vitalone has for years been, as any judicial reporter practising his profession in Rome knows, the spokesman at the Palace of Justice of the Prime Minister" ("La Repubblica", 21/4/79). As we shall see, Vitalone then led the investigation into the Borghese coup.

¹³² In the witness examination of 12/7/75 Ghiron was more explicit, declaring himself to be a 'habitual informer of the Carabinieri'. We shall return to 'Piero's' revelations later.

¹³³ For this reason, Giorgio Ghiron was heard as a witness in the ongoing trial in Palermo in which General Mori is charged with aiding and abetting the Mafia.

¹³⁴ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹³⁵ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹³⁶ GI Simeoni investigation, (see 'Terrorism and its Masks', op. cit. p. 47).

¹³⁷ 'Meridiano', 'Report on neo-fascism in Trieste', no. 24, 12/6/74.

¹³⁸ M. Franzinelli, op., cit., p. 196.

Let us return to the informer 'Piero', born Amedeo Filiberto Vecchiotti (wanted because he had escaped from the Fermo prison at the time of the contact), whose sister, Maria Grazia, was Gianni Nardi's lover, notwithstanding she was married to a major of the PS, Mezzina, who, at the time, had been transferred from Frosinone to Pordenone, but who 'also had interests in Trieste'. And it was in the service quarters in Trieste that Maria Grazia allegedly met with Nardi (who was a fugitive at the time). Vecchiotti allegedly told Ghiron that Nardi 'was part of a terrorist organisation of which he was not the real leader'; that Marini was more involved in the organisation and that Rognoni was part of it; that it was necessary to catch all three of them together, but it was not possible to arrange an appointment with all three. That Nardi, who had denied "with people with whom he had nothing to hide" that he had "taken part in the assassination of police commissioner Calabresi", would however have been present at Pian del Rascino with Esposti, and that Esposti would have shot precisely to cover the *comrade's* escape, and that this circumstance would have been reported to him by Nardi himself.

"Piero" also wrote (in a letter dated **November 1, 1974**) that Calabresi had investigated an arms traffic that passed through Luino (where Esposti was supposed to have gone to collect T4 explosives) and would have involved, in addition to Esposti, a "Fossati di Legnano" and a German named "Konrad" or "Georg" Kunst, a "professional criminal on commission", who was supposed to have joined the "Bainhof Group" (*sic*: probably "Piero" meant the RAF or the "Baader-Meinhof"). This news was to be published in the issue of 'Europeo' that was to come out the following week¹³⁹. Through "Piero", Ghiron had also organised a meeting in Switzerland with Esposti, Rognoni and Marini (who, according to the informant, were interested in a meeting with the services), but in the meantime Bruno Stefano had been arrested in Barcelona and the three, sensing a trap, broke off contact¹⁴⁰.

Finally, we find the Honourable Renzo de' Vidovich again, as the author of a 'note' written on a towel in the Tergesteo bar, presented as the Honourable Member's 'judgement-denunciation' 'on the clash in Abruzzo between fascist *campers* and carabinieri as part of the investigation into the Brescia massacre' and published, anastatically, in the *Meridiano's* letters column.

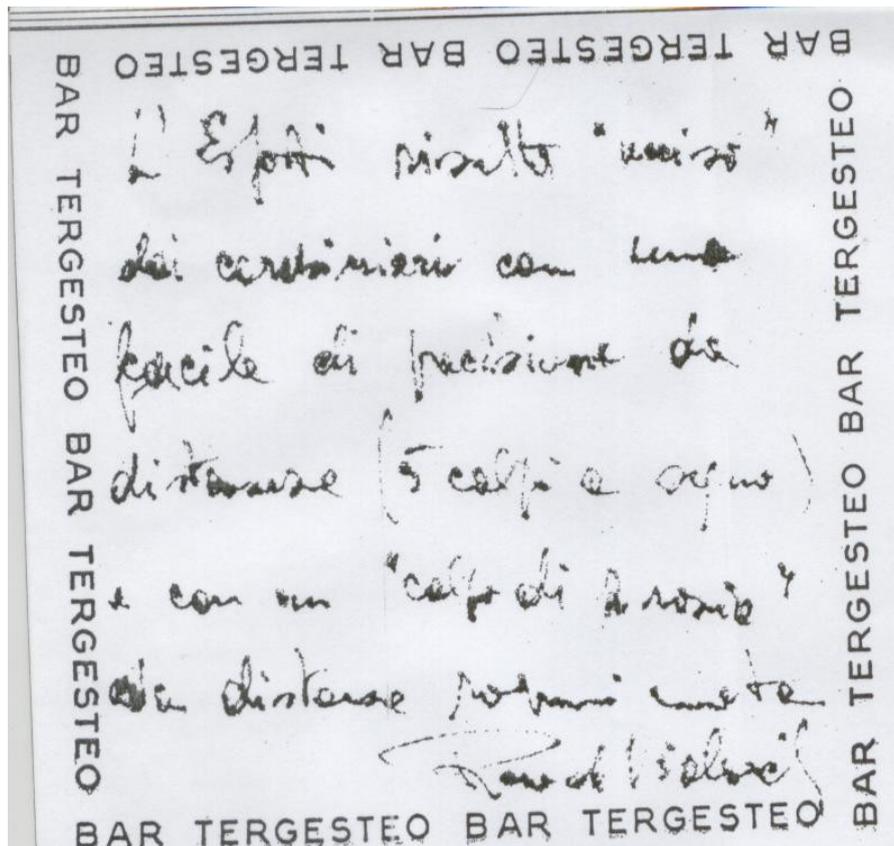
Here is the text: 'L'Esposti was 'killed' by the Carabinieri with a precision rifle from a long distance (5 shots on target) and with a 'coup de grace' at close range'. Signed: Renzo de' Vidovich.

The editorial note presents the text as a 'response to challenge jokes such as *vedemo se te ga coraggio de scriverlo*', but does not specify how and who would come into possession of the autograph sheet, in order to allow its publication¹⁴¹.

¹³⁹ Witness examinations of Gianfranco Ghiron, 12/7/75 and 22/7/75 Ufficio Istruzione di Brescia, and 13/1/85 Ufficio Istruzione di Bologna, in Atti procedimento c/ MAGGI Carlo Maria + Altri 106 R.G. 3/08 procura di Brescia.

¹⁴⁰ Witness examinations of Gianfranco Ghiron, 12/7/75 and 22/7/75 Ufficio Istruzione di Brescia, and 13/1/85 Ufficio Istruzione di Bologna, in Atti procedimento c/ MAGGI Carlo Maria + Altri 106 R.G. 3/08 procura di Brescia.

¹⁴¹ "Meridian", no. 25, 19/6/74.



WE TAKE STOCK OF TRIESTE'S NEO-FASCISM.

Before discussing the events of the summer of the bombs and the coup, let us take stock of Trieste's neo-fascism, as described to us by the *Meridiano* and Claudio Tonel¹⁴².

In the *Meridiano* we read that the *boom* year of Avanguardia nazionale was 1971, when the headquarters was in Via Martiri della Libertà and had a hundred or so members including a dozen girls. Then the move to Via Galilei, plastered with Hitler posters. The meetings were held twice a week and were aimed at proselytising in schools and infiltrating factories. They had a list of 'Reds', the 'enemies', also accompanied by photos. About a hundred attacks could be counted until the end of '73, when the organisation went into crisis: it split into two groups, one headed by Remo Viezzoli, Claudio Luin and Mario Orlando, the other by Gianfranco Sussich ('Colera'), Claudio and Gianpaolo Scarpa. In the absence of Viezzoli, who was doing his military service, the regency of the organisation was entrusted to Franco Abrami, but it seems that the group (which had found new headquarters in an attic in Via Maiolica 17, a few steps from de Henriquez's warehouse) was on the verge of disbanding, with one part intending to join the Front of Youth (Grilz¹⁴³ was about to start) and others in Anno Zero, the continuation of Ordine nuovo.

The 'secret sect' of Avanguardia nazionale Ordine nero, according to the investigators, was set up by Viezzoli and Luin; and Ordine nero is said to have inherited 'the military equipment of Avanguardia: pistols, explosives and hand grenades', which were never found in the headquarters but were 'kept safe in some cave in the Karst or in the attic of right-wing exponents above suspicion'¹⁴⁴.

On 10/6/74, Luin and Viezzoli, both military, the first in Verona barracks, the second on leave in Trieste, were arrested, accused of constituting a nucleus of the Black Order in Trieste. The arrest had followed the threats contained in the leaflet found on 3 May against magistrate Coassin, and the investigation was also aimed at ascertaining whether the two were involved in the attack on the San Giovanni school.

¹⁴² C. Tonel, 'Dossier on neo-fascism in Trieste', Dedolibri 1991.

¹⁴³ Almerigo Grilz, the cartoonist of the Youth Front.

¹⁴⁴ "Meridiano" "Report on neo-fascism in Trieste", no. 24, 12/6/74.

The police believed that the two were among the promoters of the Black Order in Trieste, they were military personnel on military service in Udine and Verona respectively, they came and went between Udine, Verona and Trieste on leave, but it is not known whether they were in barracks or on leave on the day the Brescia bomb was planted. This is how the article comments: 'military relations appear to be lacking', 'benevolence' and 'connivance' suggesting extension within the military organisation, taking into account the fact that Amos Spiazzi was stationed in Verona. Scarpa, too, while in the military (in Trieste) was caught drunk in a ¹⁴⁵.

In addition, 41-year-old Romano Ambroso, a native of Verona and resident in Trieste, was reported at large for having thrown six incendiary bottles near the Santa Caterina cave. Ambroso, a former member of GEST¹⁴⁶ and a firebrand by profession (therefore an expert in explosives), was linked to the National Vanguard and declared that four or five weeks earlier, after getting drunk with friends in the Karst, they had gone to throw the incendiary bottles into the cave, but the noise had alarmed the inhabitants of nearby houses who had alerted the Carabinieri.

Finally, we take note of a communiqué sent out in those days by the PSI, which in connection with these arrests highlighted the fact that one of those arrested was serving in the military in Verona 'where the black plot of the Rosa dei Venti' involving members of the military hierarchy was centred', demonstrating the need for the ongoing investigations to delve into the circles of the separate bodies¹⁴⁷.

LE SAM IN TRIESTE.

The SAMs were the reference group of Esposti, who we have already seen had close contacts with our city, but the only documentary reference to a SAM presence in Trieste was found in a note of the Political Squad dated 9/12/74 and attached to the investigation for the Brescia massacre, which lists 41 reports issued against right-wing extremists between 29/12/71 and 9/12/74.

Here we read that on 15/3/72 the member of Avanguardia Nazionale, Eugenio Vettini, was reported as the suspected author of a letter addressed to the Public Prosecutor's Office and signed SAM. The case was pending at the Court of Cassation at the time and there is no way of knowing what developments took place or the contents of the letter.

Vettini is reported in this report to have been denounced several times for acts of political intolerance¹⁴⁸; he was sentenced in the first instance, together with Claudio Scarpa, for the assault on the Germinal anarchist club on 4 August 1970, and on 19 October 1973, the *Piccolo* newspaper reported that he was recognised in Piazza della Borsa by the head of the Political Squad, Dr. Volpe, who invited him and the other 'notorious' person with him to follow him to the Police Headquarters, since Vettini was supposed to be in Alessandria where he was doing his military service. The two attempted to escape and were arrested for contempt and resistance and the complaint sent to the military prosecutor's office. But even of this fact we do not know the subsequent developments, and Vettini was never heard of again.

WHO COVERS THE EXTREMISTS?

"Black subversion has roots in Trieste and the region. It is now proven that the protagonists of the Ronchi hijacking had links with the subversive cell in Treviso. There is no doubt that the violence that the neo-fascists provoked in December 1970 in Trieste after an anti-slavery rally was part of

¹⁴⁵ "Meridiano" "Report on neo-fascism in Trieste", no. 24, 12/6/74.

¹⁴⁶ The Trieste Speleological Explorers Group, of which Ugo Fabbri was also a member, shared headquarters with the MSI in the 1960s. According to Fabbri (who described himself as a 'hardened subversive' in the 'Piccolo' of 3/1/99), they were involved in 'recovering' remains of 'infoibati', an activity for which they even received commendations from Borghese. Fabbri was also a founder of the Italian National Movement (MIN, in the name of which he threw paper bombs into the Trieste municipal council hall, set fire to Professor Schiffrer's house, and placed an explosive device at a boundary stone near Gorizia), a weapons keeper for the Italian city of Trieste, a member of the MSI, a labour consultant for CISNAL, and Borghese's contact person in Trieste; he wrote a *pamphlet* in which he maintained that the Risiera di San Sabba was a historical fake.

¹⁴⁷ In the article 'Arrested two young men of the National Vanguard', the 'Piccolo' 11/6/74.

¹⁴⁸ We will find it again later when we talk about the trial concerning the clashes of 8 December 1970, contemporaneous with Junio Valerio Borghese's *coup d'état*.

a coup plan in those days Borghese was preparing a Greek-style coup. Trieste was to be a link in the chain that would suffocate the Italians¹⁴⁹.

In March 1974, Fabio V., a 17-year-old boy who was part of the organisation, was attacked, beaten up, 'in fear', because he was threatened by AN members, as he apparently wanted to get out¹⁵⁰.

At the beginning of August, the *Meridiano* drew up a list of trials that were scheduled to be heard in Trieste in the autumn: from the transalpine oil pipeline bombing (4/8/72, where investigations had taken the Algerian track), to the attempted hijacking of Ronchi (6/40/72, in which 21-year-old ordinovist Ivano Boccaccio found death, and for which his accomplices Cicuttini and Vinciguerra were later convicted, after an acquittal at first instance, where Prosecutor Brenci had declared that "the political implications of this fact do not concern us"), to the publication of Freda's "little red book" (i.e. the booklet "Justice is like the rudder, where the turn goes", where the Paduan investigators investigating the black plots were accused).

In this regard, the *Meridiano* quotes a passage from No. 2 of the magazine "Confronto", where it was stated that "Freda had a friend in Trieste" and had announced the release of the booklet to him by telephone (August 1969), saying "Hi Franz, how are you? The booklet will be out soon... it could be called Faistakis (*after the name of Judge Fais, nda*)". No other names are mentioned in the article, except for the denial of Judge Gino Franz, who denies any contact with Freda, and only a hint that the mysterious "Franz" is someone who "masters jurisprudence"¹⁵¹.

In the following week's issue, published after the Italicus massacre, a Trieste is described as being kept strictly under control by the investigators in conjunction with the anniversary of the pipeline bombing (same date for the Italicus and the pipeline, 4 August). "The Triestine theorists of violence are under control", we read, in prison at the Coroneo Viezzoli and Luin, in Lucca Nolich and Giampaolo Scarpa, while Claudio Scarpa and Sussich are fugitives in Greece¹⁵².

(In October, an uprising broke out in the Coroneo prison, with Viezzoli and Luin among the promoters, as well as Dario Lisiach, Davide Cattaneo (who is reported to be a friend of Esposti). Lisiach transferred to Cagliari, Luin to Belluno, Viezzoli to Trento, Cattaneo to Monza).¹⁵³

The article goes on to talk about the investigations into the Ordine nero (Black Order) and takes up the subject of the mysterious 'Franz', Freda's contact in Trieste, speculating that he might be 'a character who, after being linked to Freda, clamorously broke with him: Gabriele Forziati'¹⁵⁴. And here we must open a new chapter.

THE FORCED CASE.

Let us go back in time to talk about the kidnapping that the Triestine lawyer Gabriele Forziati suffered at the hands of his comrades in 1972. Forziati, an exponent of the *pro-European* right (he had represented the Mediterranean Youth at the international convention of ANJO 'the organisation most qualified to represent the revolutionary youth of Northern Europe' and was president of Ordine nuovo¹⁵⁵) in early 1972 contacted Captain Rosario Lembo of the Carabinieri, former commander of the Trieste Investigative Unit, who had investigated the bombing of the Slovenian school on 4/10/69, and had recently been transferred to the security services of the Vicenza base, to tell him that he had had a conversation with Manlio Portolan, who had *recklessly* told him that the Veneto ordinovisti Martino Siciliano and Delfo Zorzi were responsible for the failed bombing. For this reason Forziati suffered an assault (**28/4/72**) and was then seized by the

¹⁴⁹ "Who covers the extremists?" No. 32, 8/8/74.

¹⁵⁰ 'Meridiano', 'next time', no. 9, 13/3/74.

¹⁵¹ "Meridiano", Freda's friend from Trieste, no. 31, 1/8/74.

¹⁵² "Meridiano", 'Who covers the extremists?' No. 32, 8/8/74.

¹⁵³ "Meridiano", 'Are they being framed now?', no. 41 of

¹⁵⁴ "Meridiano", "Who covers the extremists?" no. 32, 8/8/74. But Forziati denied this inference (letter published in No. 33 of the 'Meridiano', 15/8/74.

¹⁵⁵ "Meridiano", "the moment of fear", no. 47, 20/11/74. The quotation is from 'L'internazionale' edited by Gino Ragno (s.d.).

comrades who detained him for several months first in Venice, then in the houses used by Marcello Soffiati (another Veneto ordinovista) in Colognola dei Colli and in Verona (in Via Stella) and then he was taken to Spain. The affair, reconstructed in the above-mentioned sentence by Dr. Salvini, saw as protagonists, in addition to those already mentioned, the Veneto neo-fascists Carlo Maria Maggi, Carlo Digilio and Sergio Minetto (but from Digilio's statements it appears that the then Major Amos Spiazzi was also aware of the facts), while in Trieste those responsible for the 'abduction' of the lawyer were Portolan and Claudio Bressan. But in the text of the indictment of judges Fiasconaro and Alessandrini on Piazza Fontana, we read that at Forziati's home that evening there was also Ugo Fabbri¹⁵⁶, whose letter of *reassurance* on the fate of Forziati (of whom there had been no news for some time) was published in the *Meridiano* in September 1972, in which he wrote that he had "left Italy for good to go abroad in voluntary exile"¹⁵⁷.

In fact, the problem was that Forziati had been summoned by the GI of Treviso to testify about his relations with Freda and other members of Ordine Nuovo, and he could have made some interesting revelations. In fact, when Martino Siciliano decided to collaborate with justice in the 1990s, he said that Forziati had been right and that it was they who had set the device¹⁵⁸. Another detail must also be taken into account: that Forziati's estranged wife, Luisa Gatto, had been a health assistant at the Slovenian primary school.

Back in the city, the lawyer denounced his *comrades* Freda, Portolan and Neami for attempted extortion. The trial took place from **29 to 31 January 1973** in Trieste and the first hearing turned into a gazzarra because some of the public who attended had decided to show their solidarity with Freda, exhibiting themselves in the courtroom with Roman greetings and shouts of *Sieg heil*, while outside the courtroom leaflets were circulated signed 'Centre for Militant Solidarity in the National Vanguard', in which it was stated that Freda was 'guilty only of supporting the Palestinian cause against Zionism'¹⁵⁹. In the photos published in the newspapers of the time, many interesting people from outside the city are recognisable: Claudio Orsi from Ferrara, *Countess* Maria de Portada from Venice¹⁶⁰, Aldo Trinco (bookseller at the Ezzelino bookshop in Padua) and the future lawyer defending Berlusconi (but also Marco Furlan of the Ludwig group), the Veronese Paolo Longo. Of these, only their presence was reported by the *media*, but the following were denounced for their behaviour: Roberto Zuppello from Trieste, the minor Ernesto G., Alessandro Smoilis, Giampaolo Scarpa, Remo Viezzoli; Cristiano De Eccher and Mario Ricci from Trento; Claudio Calciolari from Mantua; Aldo Gaiba from Ferrara¹⁶¹; Tiziano Ferrandis from Monfalcone.

We note that the people from Trieste, except the minor, are the same ones who were involved in the Viareggio stabbing on 26 August.

The Court of Assizes decided to acquit the defendants of the charge of attempted extortion 'because the fact does not exist', but Forziati was then heard by the Milanese magistrates Alessandrini and Fiasconaro, who reconstructed the affair in the terms in which it was, many years later, ascertained by the Salvini investigation... but in the meantime the statute of limitations had run out.

¹⁵⁶ "Fiasconaro and Alessandrini accuse. La requisitoria sulla strage di piazza Fontana e le bombe del '69", Marsilio 1974, p. 240.

¹⁵⁷ "Meridiano", no. 32, 1/9/72. The letter was later declared apocryphal with another letter sent by Ugo Fabbri, but the editors of the 'Meridiano' raised doubts about this denial.

¹⁵⁸ 'Salvini ruling', cit.

¹⁵⁹ "Il Gazzettino", Trieste chronicle, 30/1/73.

¹⁶⁰ The *countess* had confirmed to the judiciary Freda's version that the timers he bought were destined for the Palestinian resistance, but was not believed (see "Fiasconaro and Alessandrini", op. cit. pp. 98, 99).

¹⁶¹ In Ferrara, Gaiba was in charge of Mutti and Orsi's Italy-Libya organisation.



Photo taken from *Meridian* No. 5 of 31/1/73.

NEO-FASCISTS ON THE STAND.

Ironically, Forziati again found himself summoned to a courtroom with Portolan and Neami, but this time as co-defendant for attempted reconstruction of the fascist party, on **9/12/74**.

'If he decided to spill the beans he would become a second prosecutor. But he never opened his mouth in court,' wrote the *Meridiano*¹⁶². And this time he did not even show up at the hearing (after all, the next day the appeal hearing for attempted extortion would take place).

The request for committal for trial of 14 right-wing exponents (the fugitives Sussich and Claudio Scarpa, and then Franco Bernardi called Franz¹⁶³, Fabio Palcich, Ernesto Franzutti, Vincenzo Chilà, Augusto Zuliani, Dario Fabris, Gabriele Forziati, Francesco Neami, Manlio Portolan, Ugo Fabbri, Walter Janesich, Giovanni Mauro) made by the GI De Falco, was consequent to what had happened on 30/5/70 during a rally of Almirante, a provincial election campaign. New Order symbols were present, Fabbri allegedly had *Giovinazza* sung, then an unauthorised procession followed to the Dreher brewery; furthermore, Scarpa was accused of slapping a young communist¹⁶⁴.

Only Fabbri (who appears in a photo with a copy of the newspaper *Ordine nuovo* in his pocket and the two-handed axe clearly visible), Portolan, Neami, Mauro and Janesich (who was already detained for robbery) appeared in court. Lawyers for the defence were the *federal* missino of Trieste Sergio Giacomelli, the 'independent' missino municipal councillor Antonino Barbagallo ('de' Vidovich's very good friend', wrote the *Meridiano*¹⁶⁵) and the Bolognese Marcantonio Bezicheri, who had in the meantime opened a professional studio in via Coroneo

3. Read the account of the hearing in the *Meridian*¹⁶⁶.

First of all, the prosecutor, Dr Brenci, called the defendants 'dangerous elements because they are fanatics', but specified that 'many crimes are statute-barred, and we are all to blame: files that accumulate, proceedings that intersect, diversity of competences'. According to Barbagallo, the press

¹⁶² 'Meridian', 'The Moment of Fear', no. 47, 20/11/74.

¹⁶³ Bernardi, a Missino municipal councillor in 1974, had been identified as having been present at the clashes in Milan on 12/4/73 during which Officer Marino had been killed (remember the Murelli case?), and acquitted because he was found not to have committed the crime.

¹⁶⁴ 'Meridian', 'the reckoning', no. 49, 4/12/74.

¹⁶⁵ "Meridian" No. 31 of 31/7/75.

¹⁶⁶"Meridiano', 'in the name of Scelba' no. 50 of 11/12/74.

would have written that 'you let the offences lapse', whereas these were facts within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate's Court. In fact, at the time, Judge Losapio, to whom the trial had been delegated, had considered that there was a single 'black' thread leading to the hypothesis of the reconstitution of the fascist party for those offences, and had therefore forwarded everything to the competent investigating judge. A trial had already been held once, with an acquittal confirmed on appeal, but the investigation was reopened by the Investigating Judge Gianfranco Fermo (who was at the same time working on another enquiry for violation of the Scelba law, with 24 notices already sent and about forty in preparation).

Losapio had also sent a judicial notice to Alfio Morelli, another MSI leader. because he was the owner of the vocal system from which the notes of *Giovinazza* had come out after the MSI rally: but the suspect had been acquitted in pre-trial proceedings. Giacomelli asked for an excision for the crime of assault (defendants Sussich, Scarpa and Franzutti), an excision accepted by the Prosecutor, while the civil plaintiff's lawyer Battello had declared himself against it, and the Court had rejected the request. This is the journalist's comment: 'if the request had been granted' it would have been 'more difficult for the defence to argue that singing *Giovinazza* or making Roman greetings does not harm anyone'. Noteworthy was lawyer Giacomelli's quip: the defendants 'perhaps meant to say see you at five o'clock' when they were giving the Roman salute. In conclusion, the sentence saw some convictions for disturbing the public peace for the Dreher 'rowdy', seven convictions for unauthorised marching (Fabbri, Bernardi, Chilà, Franzutti, Sussich, Mauro and Janesich), other charges prescribed in November.

Up to this point, a summary of Triestine neo-fascism at the end of 1974. Now let us take a step back, go back to June and try to reconstruct the political situation at the time.

TOWARDS A SCORCHING SUMMER.

One can summarise the Italian political situation in May 1974 in this way: up to that point the US services and part of the DC had used right-wing extremists in an anti-communist function, and a coup d'état was planned for the summer of 1974 (Sogno was to act); the plan would have been, after the attack in which Ferrari was killed (which was perhaps not an accident caused by the incautious terrorist but a murder deliberately provoked to unleash the reaction), to make a big action for 28 May, so as to create a climate suitable for an authoritarian turn (we recall here the mysterious silence of the *Triton source* in those days).

But the Brescia massacre was so heinous and aroused such horror in public opinion that the *coup party* changed *its* mode of operation, decided to discharge the fascists and not to proceed with the action that had been planned for 2 June (an attack to be attributed to the Left during the Republic Day ceremony, decided in retaliation for Brescia). In fact, in those days, Andreotti discharged Giannettini, the services rebalanced and the investigation into the Borghese coup decided who to keep and who to abandon to their fate.

1 June 1974: Giulio Andreotti appears in Parliament and denies the collaboration relationship between Guido Giannettini and Sid.

12 June 1974: Giulio Andreotti gives the journalist Massimo Caprara del *Mondo* an interview, which will appear on newsstands the following 20 June, in which he reveals that Guido Giannettini is actually a Sid agent. In the interview, Andreotti places the attack carried out by the journalist Giorgio Zicari in the pages of the *Corriere della sera* (31 May 1974) in the context of the ongoing clash between the civil and military security services, speaking explicitly of "a free informer of the SID in the meantime passed to the employees of the PS Confidential Affairs Directorate"¹⁶⁷.

We hear again from Gianfranco Ghiron, who reported "a piece of news given for certain within the services", namely that "the enmity between Andreotti and Miceli had been determined by the fact that, when Andreotti was about to become Prime Minister, Miceli was received by Leone, then President of the

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

Republic, and told him that he would never give *security clearance* to Andreotti because he considered him too closely linked, since 1972, to the Communist Party." ¹⁶⁸.

THE SUMMER OF BOMBS AND THE COUP.

The good guys arrive, they arrive,
they finally realise that
something is wrong here....
Vouchers arrive and say no more
the injustices that have
so far plagued humanity...
The good guys arrive, a new era
will finally begin So many mistakes, so
many mistakes,
so many wars and destructions, but finally
a new era will begin...
Without servants or
masters without guards or murderers
from now on
all equal, a new era for humanity... The
good guys arrive, and they have a clear
idea and have already made a list
of all the bad guys to
eliminate... But who would have
thought that there were so many bad
guys to eliminate...
So now the good guys have waged war
against the bad guys, but they have
assured that it is the last war that will
be waged...
(E. Bennato, 'Arrivano i buoni')

SUMMER GOLPISTS.

8 July: In Brescia, Carlo Fumagalli told the magistrates: 'The Americans would only support a Christian Democrat coup d'état or, in any case, a coup from the centre; but only if the Christian Democrats had more pulse and a complete programme. I would also like to point out that these contacts and these speeches took place in 1970 and for me they were sufficient even then because they coincided with what was my political belief and my programme'. And the following day, an informative note of the Sid reads: "Groups belonging to the disbanded National Front, connected with elements of the MAR, Democratic Resistance and New Republic, intend to carry out, in the coming month of August (from the 10th to the 15th), clamorous subversive acts aimed at provoking the restructuring of the State institutions and the constitution of a new government formed by technicians, the intervention of the armed forces or unspecified units in support of the new government"¹⁶⁹ .

19 July: arrested Adamo Degli Occhi, leader of the Silent Majority. At a parliamentary hearing on 25/6/97, General Delfino claimed to have found, during the 9/5/74 search, a letter written by Degli Occhi to Fumagalli in which he said: "Dear Carlo, it is time to move from words to deeds; we have the machine guns. Your Adamo Degli Occhi"¹⁷⁰ .

¹⁶⁸ Witness examination of Gianfranco Ghiron, 13/1/85 Ufficio Istruzione di Bologna, in Atti procedimento c/ MAGGI Carlo Maria + Altri 106 R.G. 3/08 procura di Brescia. This statement is taken from Dagoberto Husayn Bellucci, Editor-in-Chief of the Press Agency "Islam Italy" "l'tal'yà: A country with limited sovereignty" in

<http://www.italiasociale.net/alzero11/az180711-1.html>.

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹⁷⁰ (<http://www.parlamento.it/parlam/bicam/terror/stenografici/steno23.htm>)

On 28 July at the PLI National Council in Rome, Edgardo Sogno expressed the need for 'a liberal-inspired coup d'état'.¹⁷¹ and this is how his former collaborator, the provocateur Luigi Cavallo¹⁷² outlines it: "The coup must be organised with the criteria of the *Blitzkrieg* on Saturday, during the holidays, with the factories closed and the masses dispersed on holiday. The action must be prepared in the Indonesian, Chilean, Greek, Peruvian, Brazilian manner (*i.e. a massacre? nda*) ... it must be a right-wing *coup* with an advanced left-wing programme¹⁷³ .

The Roman GI Francesco Amato dismissed the investigation into the *white coup*, dismissing Sogno as 'vague' and Cavallo as a 'crass provocateur'¹⁷⁴ .

GOLPE BORGHESE: parenthesis opened and immediately closed.

24 August 1974: Junio Valerio Borghese is indicted for the alleged *coup* of 7/8 December 1970.

26 August 1974: Junio Valerio Borghese dies in Cadiz, Spain, officially from illness, in unclear circumstances while in the company of a Sid collaborator.

Thus ended the earthly adventure of the 'black prince', commander of the Decima Mas, a charismatic personality for the entire right wing, not only in Italy. Subsequently, the investigations into the *failed coup* attempt led to nothing concrete, all the suspects being acquitted for various reasons. Let us look at the evolution of the affair in 1974¹⁷⁵ .

On **3 September** in Rome, during a dinner in a public place, Giulio Andreotti handed the report drawn up by General Gianadelio Maletti on the *Borghese coup d'état* to the deputy public prosecutor Claudio Vitalone. The investigation was entrusted to the investigating judge Filippo Fiore and the deputy public prosecutor Claudio Vitalone, who on 2 December interrogated the Minister of the Interior Franco Restivo, who affirmed that he had not been in headquarters on 8 December 1970 but in Palermo, and that he had returned on 9 December 1970. And he added: "I was informed by the Chief of Police, Prefect Vicari, that in the night between 7 and 8 December, the Sid had informed the Questura and this in turn the Ministry of the Interior that a clamorous gesture was about to be made by extreme right-wing elements, whose target could also be the Ministry of the Interior".

It is worth reading an interview given by Amos Spiazzi (who was also accused of collaborating with the failed coup plotters) in 1984.

"On the evening of **8 December 1970**, Prince Borghese had been invited to organise a demonstration against Tito's arrival in Italy. It was Filippo De Jorio, councillor at the Lazio Region, a loyal follower of Andreotti, who had told him about it. The invitation - De Jorio himself wrote explicitly about *Borghese* in an article entitled *Judas is among us* - came from government political forces, which could not expose themselves directly, nor could the parties. Borghese recruited, in addition to his men from the National Front, various weapon associations, one of which, led by Sandro Saccucci¹⁷⁶ , took up residence in the gymnasium in Via Eleniana, and the men of the National Vanguard, who led by Stefano Delle Chiaie moved towards the Viminale. As far as I know, Borghese wanted to take advantage of the opportunity offered to him by the government to verify the possibility of coagulating a group of people around him. An exercise, in short, perhaps in view of a future coup d'état'. Then what happened? "What happened was that I put Borghese on notice at the last moment, together with Colonel Condò who died, I hope, a natural death. The fact is,

¹⁷¹ "Il Giorno", 29/7/74.

¹⁷² Cavallo, a collaborator of Sogno in the Peace and Freedom movement in the 1950s, carried out infiltration and provocation work in the PCI and within FIAT, from which he was allegedly paid for this *work*. He was with Sogno and Pacciardi the organiser of the so-called *white coup* that was to take place in the summer of 1974.

¹⁷³ GI Violante enquiry (see 'Terrorism and its Masks', op. cit. p. 49).

¹⁷⁴ Sentenza GI of Rome Francesco Amato, who published his own autobiography entitled 'Annali di piombo' (Annals of lead) in 2011 for the editions of 'Il Borghese' (in the same series as the memoirs of *donna Assunta* Almirante).

¹⁷⁵ The quotations are taken from <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹⁷⁶ Former paratrooper, ordinovista and MSI member of parliament Sandro Saccucci, during an election rally in Sezze Romano on 28 May 1976, shot into the crowd, killing a young communist and seriously wounding another. After a few years on the run, he was arrested in Argentina and extradited to Italy, but the sentence was quashed by the Court of

Cassation (at the request of lawyer Carlo Taormina) and Saccucci returned to live in Argentina a free man. According to the 'Meridiano', Saccucci's escape route passed through Trieste (No. 28/76).

At the same time, a public order plan, known as the triangle project, was to be triggered that night, involving the repression of any movement and the arrest of participants in any demonstration. In short, it was a matter of imposing an authoritarian regime by repressing the actions of alleged conspirators and posing as restorers of order. The conclusion is: it was me who gave the counterorder in practice (I had also warned the leaders of Ordine nuovo, a movement that in fact did not take part in the action), but the interesting thing would be to know for sure who gave the order¹⁷⁷.

The failed *coup d'état* of 8/12/70 can be linked to the MSI demonstration held on the same day in Trieste, which saw the participation of neo-fascists from the Triveneto region and also from Lombardy, which resulted in clashes and attacks for which a trial was held on **23/7/74**.

"MSI rally at the *Skyscraper* cinema against President Tito's announced visit to Italy. A few days earlier, the local press had spoken of strange links with Valerio Borghese (*Primorski Dnevnik* of 26 November). After the rally, attended by just over a thousand young people from Padua, Mestre, Treviso, Milan and Udine, a procession is organised. The MSI youth marched in squads and armed with helmets, clubs, batons and chains. In Piazza Sant'Antonio, four Slovenian students and a girl are surrounded. They are surrounded and beaten to a pulp. One is chased and repeatedly hit in St. Anthony's church as well. The police did not intervene, except to ask the bloodied students for their documents. In Via Mazzini, the PSI headquarters is stormed. A red flag is torn down and set on fire. Some cars with Yugoslavian number plates are damaged and roadblocks are set up. The police intervene when it is all over¹⁷⁸.

Those attacked in the churchyard of St. Anthony's were Miloš Budin, Vladimir Budin, Libera Haering, Borut Spacal, Dušan Udovič. The following people were charged with the assault: from Trieste Liliana Toriser, Ugo Fabbri, Claudio Scarpa, Francesco Neami; from Mestre Martino Siciliano, Giampietro Mariga; from Modena Alessandro Demarco; from Milan Pietro Cireddu; from Monfalcone Nicola Scattolin, Eugenio Vettini.

The process was complicated, as we read in Tonel's oft-quoted text.

For the events of 8/12/70 they were remanded for trial on the following charges: aggravated damage for the invasion of the PSI headquarters; road blockade, seditious assembly, voluntary injuries. After excising the injuries on 9/3/72, the trial ended with mild sentences (from 20 days to 1 year) against Neami, Fabbri, Scarpa, Sussich and Vettini. The sentence was cancelled on appeal (23/3/73) and the trial was renewed on 23/7/74 in front of the Court: in this case, the damage was written off and the case was acquitted.

Sussich was acquitted of the charge of injury for not having committed the act, sentenced for insults and threats to a fine of 65,000 lire. Scarpa was sentenced to 4 months and 10 days, Cireddu to 4 months.

Three defendants benefited from judicial pardon, Neami and Siciliano were sentenced for roadblock to 8 months with double benefit. Finally, on 17/2/76, on appeal, the statute of limitations intervened for the seditious gathering.

TRAINS.

29 January 1974: In Silvi Marina (Pescara), an assassination attempt is made against the Freccia del Sud train, which failed by pure chance.¹⁷⁹

25 June: In Prato, near the Bologna-Florence railway line, the Carabinieri arrest - finding them in possession of a homemade bomb, weapons, ammunition, a topographical map of Rome and the page of a Roman newspaper reporting the news of Giancarlo Cartocci's arrest - Umberto Simoni and Alvaro Peressini who, moreover, declare themselves 'communists'.¹⁸⁰

18 July: The Chief of Police, Efsio Zanda Loy, sends a telegram to all railway police station managers: 'Persistent alarm on the railways, resulting from continuous

¹⁷⁷ Franco Coppola, "Golpe Borghese, black plots, P2 here is the truth by Amos Spiazzi", "La Repubblica", 5/6/84.

¹⁷⁸ C. Tonel, op. cit., p. 121.

¹⁷⁹ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

reports of presumed attacks ... requires the adoption of all possible measures ... raise awareness of employees and security services with frequent and accurate inspections ... need for accurate checks on travellers, however suspicious luggage and convoy compartments where it is possible to hide devices'.¹⁸¹

In a meeting on the 15th of July between Almirante and the Anti-terrorism Chief, Emilio Santillo, possible attacks on trains were discussed, and two days later, the MSI leader sent the official a note with "the names of the presumed organizers of the attack. They belong to left-wing extra-parliamentary groups, operating in Rome (...) at the university..."¹⁸². Almirante's source turned out to be a caretaker at the university, the Missino Francesco Sgrò, whom we shall meet again later.

And Andreotti (then Minister of Defence) stated in an interview published in *Il Mondo* on 20/6/74: 'attacks such as those on trains are not the random work of amateurs'.

AUGUST.

August, suddenly felt
a smell of embers.
Something that burns in your
blood and won't leave you
alone,
a fistful of rage that has the tremendous
sound
of an old roar:
something collapsing, something
exploding,
something
screaming. A train
has jumped.
August. What heat, what smoke,
the smell of
embers. It doesn't take
long to realise that it was a
massacre,
it doesn't take much to realise that nothing,
nothing has
changed since that fourth floor
at the police station,
from that
window. A train has
jumped. August. One
dies of heat
and sweat.
People still die of war not
of love,
you die of bombs, you die of carnage
more or less state,
you die, you collapse, you
explode,
you cry, you
scream. A train has
jumped. (Claudio Lolli,
'August')

4 August 1974: Massacre of the Rome-Munich *Italicus* train at 5.30 p.m. The victims are 12: Nicola Buffi,

Elena Donatini, Herbert Kotriner, Nunzio Russo, Maria Santina Carraro, Fukada Tsugufumi, Madaglia Antidio, Hanema Jacobus Wilhelmus, Elena Celli, Raffaella Garosi, Marco Russo, Silver Sirotti. 105 people were injured.

The attack was claimed in a leaflet by the fascist military organisation Ordine nero: 'Giancarlo Esposti was avenged. We wanted to show the nation that we are capable of bombing

¹⁸¹ G. Flamini, *op. cit.* pp. 614, 615.

¹⁸² Proceedings Bologna GI enquiry Dr Vella.

wherever we want, whenever we want, wherever and however we want. We will meet you in the autumn; we will bury democracy under a mountain of dead people'.

On **25 January 2012**, through the Adn kronos news agency, Mario Tuti claimed that the PCI was involved in the Italicus bombing, and Alceste Campanile was suppressed 'because he knows too much and can't be trusted with someone like him, who is, among other things, overly exuberant and exposed in Reggio Emilia'. But who is Mario Tuti? Known for some time by the police as a subversive fascist, he was accused by a woman of being the author of the Italicus massacre, but the complaint was dismissed and the woman admitted as a mythomaniac to a nursing home.

"The judge who had collected and buried the statement was called Mario Marsili and was.... the son-in-law of Licio Gelli, the grand venerable of the P2 lodge¹⁸³. It was not until early 1975 that an arrest warrant was issued against Mario Tuti, but he managed to evade arrest. He waits for the three policemen who had gone to arrest him to ring the doorbell and then shoots at them, killing two of them and wounding the third.

Sentenced to life imprisonment, during his detention in the Novara prison he killed Ermanno Buzzi, another fascist found guilty of the Brescia massacre and believed to be an informer¹⁸⁴.

Acquitted for the Italicus bombing, Tuti now enjoys a semi-freedom regime thanks to an Arci club, for which he volunteers by speaking in schools against the spread of drugs.

Notwithstanding the claim, at first, there was talk of a 'red trail', but already on 12 August, the author of this 'tip-off', Francesco Sgrò (Almirante's informer) declared to the Roman editorial office of 'Paese sera': "I invented the red trail. The lawyer Basile handed me a million and promised another 10 million for what I did"¹⁸⁵.

"The doubt that the P2 was involved in the affair led the Bologna judge Vella to distrust the Arezzo magistracy. Giampaolo Rossetti, a journalist who has been covering the affair for months, writes:

"Arezzo was a city of protection for the fascists". One only has to think of the extravagant sentence uttered by Luciano Franci, Mario Tuti's lieutenant, addressing a comrade who was whimpering after his arrest: 'Don't worry, around here we are protected by a very powerful sect'¹⁸⁶.

"The P2 Lodge instigated the attacks and financed the groups of the Tuscan extra-parliamentary right, the P2 Lodge is therefore seriously involved in the Italicus massacre and can indeed be held responsible for it in non-judicial but historical-political terms, as an essential economic, organisational and moral background"¹⁸⁷.

5 August 1974: protests against the Italicus massacre take place throughout the country, with demonstrations and processions even in tourist resorts. In Bologna, a citizens' strike was called in the afternoon, with assemblies in the factories and a demonstration in Piazza Maggiore, packed with demonstrators booing the liberal Del Gaudio and especially the DC speaker Angelo Marabini. In a press statement, the latter spoke of the 'open connivance of the communist crowd and the PCI leaders' who would not lift a finger to prevent the protest¹⁸⁸.

THE PLAZA.

Square, beautiful
square a mad hare
passed by,
one cooked it, one ate it, one
devoured it, one tortured it,

¹⁸³ Gelli was considered by the SID as an "influential and useful person for the service" (Filippo Fiore, Rome GI Inquiry, see G. Flamini, op. cit. p. 478).

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.contropiano.org/it/cultura/item/6330-rovescismo-storico-sulla-strage-dell'italicus>

¹⁸⁵ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

Sgrò was then involved also in the investigations on the crimes of One white (see <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/1990/11/10/banda-delle-coop-una-pista>

eversiva.html).

¹⁸⁶ Paolo Franceschetti at http://massoneriaelogge.blogspot.it/2010_04_04_archive.html

¹⁸⁷ GI Violante enquiry (see 'Terrorism and its Masks', op. cit. p. 51).

¹⁸⁸ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

one flayed him, one crushed him,
one hanged
him, and of the little finger that
was the smallest
nothing
remained. Square, beautiful square, there
passed a mad hare...
There passed ten dead
heels, and the woods of
officers, bald heads,
politicians
a metre and a half without
wings, I went through it
with a long beard to cover
my shame, I went through it
with my fists in my pockets
without stones for carrion.
Square, beautiful square, there passed a mad hare...
A whole city passed
by, as hot and tense as an eel,
you could feel your heart
beating,
all we needed was a spark;
we realised we were
many we realised we
were strong,
the problem was only
how to make the dead
understand.
Square, beautiful square, there passed a mad hare...
And it was the day of
astonishment and it was the
day of helplessness, he felt
his heart beating,
of Leone I would have
done without, someone
could be heard shouting
'only booing for those
pigs, we are tired of just
being at funerals'.
Square, beautiful square, there passed a mad hare...
There passed the flags a
torrent of confusion in
which I felt reborn
the energy of my good days,
and there were so many of
us, we were really strong,
one contradiction: that
row, those ten dead
people.

(Claudio LOLLI, 'Piazza bella piazza')

AUTUMN BLACK¹⁸⁹ .

24th July 1974: in Padua, the Sid confidant, Maurizio Tramonte, reports that on the 30th June, in Rome, at the headquarters of Europa nazione, a meeting of ordinovisti had been held, during the course of which Pino Rauti had affirmed that a "pre-insurrectional" situation had been created in Italy and that the social tensions, next autumn, could lead to street riots whose violence would trigger off a "civil war". For this reason, a military structure had to be created to 'prevent possible attacks by the other side by seizing it in advance and exploiting the surprise factor'.

¹⁸⁹ The following dates are taken from <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

27 July: a confidential note informs the Viminal that "during the course of a recent meeting held in Rome among former adherents of the disbanded Ordine nuovo movement, the Hon. Pino Rauti has drafted the plot of a clandestine organization which should soon be in action to oppose, in terms of violence, the advance of the Left. The organisation should: have a very limited staff, dispose of elements of average age and of proven political faith, operate on the terrain of violent action against targets chosen from time to time. The supply of arms, to be set aside in chosen deposits between Lombardy and the Veneto region, should be guaranteed by *shipments* by TIR lorries coming from Holland".

October: documents in Luigi Cavallo's possession show that this is the month in which the *coup* is supposed to take place.

And here we return to the information of Ghiron's contact, Vecchiotti, who, in a letter dated **5/11/74** wrote: "Mr. Licio Gerli (*sic: evidently Gelli, nda*) was leaving Rome for France and then Argentina". And then that "Col. Franchi" (i.e. Carabinieri Colonel Marzollo, who had met "Piero" together with Captain Mori) should know a lot about "Gerli", that if "Gerli's" departure would damage "Mr. Vito" (i.e. Miceli) it would be better to stop him, otherwise "let him leave"; that together with "Gerli" there were other people about to leave. Then there are some references to a 'meeting in Via Nomentana', which should have been held on 19 or 20 October, in which 'the SID informer Nicoli¹⁹⁰' was supposed to participate, and which was cancelled due to the arrest warrants issued by Luciano Violante, who thus prevented Maletti from intervening on the spot. 'Piero' asked Ghiron whether 'Gerli' should not also have intervened in via Nomentana, indeed, whether perhaps the exact address was not his office in via Cosenza, Nomentana area.

Finally, the informant recommends that what he writes about the 'cursed hunchback' should never get into the hands of Maletti, who in front of the 'young judge' had attacked a colleague, former superior and collaborator¹⁹¹ 'to bring home his own skin'.

Flamini tells us about Violante's investigation. On **9 October 1974**, the Turin magistrate signed 'five arrest warrants for the crime of political conspiracy by association against Micalizio, Parigini, Scolari, Pavia and Pomar'. The latter was the only one to escape capture by taking refuge in Spain, while Mario Pavia had already been arrested on 4 October as part of the investigation to uncover the financiers of Ordine Nuovo and Ordine Nero. Violante's investigation, which started from investigations on Salvatore Francia, "reached the former *white* partisans model Sogno; through Pavia it reached the most recent subversive projects of the National Front". Those affected by the arrest warrants are "people well inserted in the *October coup d'état*" and an "eloquent" document is found in Parigini's home, which establishes "to set up a real paramilitary organization throughout the national territory (...) of at least three thousand men armed and prepared for every event (offence and defence)"; among the aims "elimination of politicians and magistrates, kidnappings; to form a real shadow government (...) relations and contacts with the SID and the armed forces".

The informant Nicoli was also involved in this investigation, but a few days before the arrest warrant was signed, he had taken refuge in Switzerland. Violante went to the SID headquarters in Rome, where he asked the directors Maletti and Labruna for explanations and invited them to persuade Nicoli to turn himself in. This caused an earthquake in the SID, and Labruna discharged Nicoli's confidant by mentioning his name to Vitalone; but in the end Nicoli became a 'very valuable and appreciated super-witness' in Rome.

"These arrests will represent practically the only judicial episode of *prevention* of the subversive programme, which is scheduled to take place this month; then the Roman magistracy will take over this part of the Turin investigation and the contours, the major players, the powerful protections of the *October coup* will vanish into thin air"¹⁹².

¹⁹⁰ Ligurian neo-fascist Torquato Nicoli, whom we met at the beginning.

¹⁹¹ Witness examinations of Gianfranco Ghiron, 12/7/75 and 22/7/75 Ufficio Istruzione di Brescia, and 13/1/85 Ufficio Istruzione di Bologna, in Atti procedimento c/ MAGGI Carlo Maria + Altri 106 R.G. 3/08 procura di Brescia.

¹⁹² The quotations in the paragraph are taken from G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 676-679. Let us remember that both Miceli, Maletti and Labruna were members of the P2 Lodge.

13 December: By order of the Bologna magistracy, as part of the investigation into the Black Order, the home of General Giovanni Ghinazzi is searched. In the confiscated diaries appear, among others, the names of Almirante, Covelli, Romualdi, De Lorenzo, Elkan, Spadolini, Salvini, Alliata di Montereale, Sciubba, Mastragostino, Remondino, Fanali, Lucertini, Monti, Mor, Boschetti, the latter owner of Mgm in Modena.

24 December: A message is received by the Ansa agency from the Black Order, which states that it does not forget "the comrades murdered by reaction, Giancarlo Esposti, Giuseppe Mazzola, Graziano Giralucci, Carlo Falvella, David De Simone, Valerio Borghese, and the comrades who have been rotting in the prisons for years, among whom is Doctor Franco Freda". About the latter, Ordine nero demands his release and extradition to Chile by 3 January, and 500 million, under the threat of one death every nine days. The communiqué concludes 'We will make Italy our Palestine'¹⁹³ .

In this climate, on **14 November 1974** Pierpaolo Pasolini signed an article entitled 'What is this coup?' in the *Corriere della sera*. And he writes: "I know. I know the names of those responsible for what is called a coup (and which in reality is a series of coups set up to protect power). I know the names of those responsible for the Milan massacre of 12 December 1969. I know the names of those responsible for the Brescia and Bologna massacres of early 1974. I know the names of the 'summit' that manoeuvred, therefore, both the old fascists who conceived the golpes, and the neo-fascists who were the material authors of the first massacres, and finally, the 'unknown' material authors of the more recent massacres...".

EPILOGUE: THE RED RUNWAY.

*"1974 is also a turning point. Terrorism itself seems to change skin, with the shelving of the black one and the explosion of the red one, while the PCI is initiated, according to the compromise formula historical, to enter the government area"*¹⁹⁴ .

"I am convinced that if the traces present in the 1974 trials had been followed and developed, not only would we have known more about the massacres that had already been perpetrated, but we would have avoided subsequent massacres and countered the subversive plan entrusted to the Red Competition much more effectively," said the Padua judge Tamburino¹⁹⁵ .

September 1974: In Padua, at the end of an interrogation in the framework of the investigation into the 'Rosa dei venti' (Compass Rose), General Vito Miceli says to Investigating Judge Tamburino and Deputy Public Prosecutor Nunziata: 'Now you will no longer hear about black terrorism, now you will only hear about those others'.

¹⁹⁶ .

Those others... in fact, it was in 1974 that the Red Brigades made the quantum leap: after the arrest of Renato Curcio and Alberto Franceschini (8/9/74, in Pinerolo, thanks to the infiltration of 'brother Mitra', born Silvano Giroto, organised by General Dalla Chiesa's Carabinieri), and the killing of Mara Cagol (5/6/75, also here acted the Carabinieri), the organization remained in the hands of Moretti (and Giroto said in the Commission of massacres that of the photos taken by the militia during his meetings with the brigatists, the only ones missing in the file were those of Moretti).

But that, as Lucarelli would say, is another story, and here I only intend to include a mention of something that happened in Padua *before* Curcio's arrest.

On **17 June 1974**, Giuseppe Mazzola (a former Carabiniere employee of the Federation) and Graziano Giralucci, whom SID collaborator Guido Giannettini indicates as his intermediary for relations with Franco Freda, are shot dead in the MSI headquarters in Padua. The action is claimed by a

¹⁹³ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹⁹⁴ "Terrorism and its Masks", op. cit., p.41.

¹⁹⁵ In P. Corsini, L. Novati 'L'eversione nera', Milan 1985, p. 154.

¹⁹⁶ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

R.B. communiqué: "An armed nucleus of the Red Brigades occupied the MSI headquarters in Padua. The two fascists present, having reacted violently, were executed..."¹⁹⁷

These are the first deaths caused by the Red Brigades and the outcome appears disproportionate to the action. Conflicts would later be established between Antonio Negri, professor at the University of Padua and leader of Autonomia Operaia, and Renato Curcio, who would define the double homicide as 'an error of judgement'. The former would insist that the crime be represented as the result of an internal feud within the MSI, the latter would instead decide to claim it, albeit as an 'accident'. Criminal responsibility was charged to seven brigatists: Renato Curcio, Alberto Franceschini, Mario Moretti, Roberto Ognibene, Giorgio Semeria, Susanna Ronconi and Martino Serafini. An eighth brigatist, Fabrizio Pelli, will not be able to stand trial because he died of illness in the meantime¹⁹⁸.

In August, a friend of Giralucci's, former paratrooper carabinieri Gianni Parnigotto, committed suicide in Padua.

Immediately after the attack, we read that, according to Mazzola's wife, "one of the killed was expecting a visitor", and that the then anti-terrorism chief, Emilio Santillo, after a meeting with Judge Fais at the Palace of Justice, had affirmed that the investigations "were going well". However, he also said that the material used, chains and padlocks, 'was not the usual material used by the brigatists, which could be bought in a shop in Padua but was no longer on the market'¹⁹⁹.

And Flamini speaks of the hypothesis made by former Padua MSI federalist Lionello Luci, that the real target was Mazzola, an employee but not a member of the MSI, a former carabinieri who was carrying out confidential investigations on behalf of a MSI leader to discover spies in the section. Having found one or more infiltrators, however, he would report to the wrong person. Luci would neither deny the press nor confirm to the magistracy²⁰⁰. Subsequently, Flamini adds that a R.B. communiqué published in the *Corriere d'informazione* on 19/6/74 denies the previous communiqué of vindication and adds "we advise the magistracy to investigate the crates of documents brought from Varese to the MSI federation in Padua in the days preceding the crime"²⁰¹.

Years later, the R.B. have confirmed their claim for this double murder. But, given that the R.B. also continue to claim that Feltrinelli died during an armed action, despite all the contradictions in the discovery of the body, I dare to doubt the reliability of these fabricated claims.

I would like to add in closing a sibylline statement by the Triestine neo-fascist Ugo Fabbri, who repeatedly affirmed that the reason for his denouncing Professor Giovanni Zamboni as a 'liaison agent between the Red Brigades and Rote Armee Fraktion' was to 'partly settle the account in Padua where three comrades were killed by the Red Brigades'²⁰².

According to Giuseppe De Lutiis, in 1974, the US decided that the fascist card was no longer good (after the *Carnation Revolution*, the fall of Nixon and the arrival of Ford and Carter), but that an apparent reformism was better, and that in Italy it was preferable to choose the P2 rather than a new fascism²⁰³.

And it was during this period that the rise to power of Bettino Craxi began... who was one of the politicians indicated among those to be involved in the P2 Lodge's National Revival Plan and who opened the door to Silvio Berlusconi's rise to power (P2 card no. 1816). But that too is another story....

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

AA.VV., 'Nationalism and neo-fascism in the political struggle on the eastern border', IRSMLT 1976. Fiorenzo ANGOSCINI "Brescia. 28 May 1974. Strage di piazza della Loggia", i Colibrì, 2008. Camillo ARCURI, "Colpo di stato", BUR 2004.

¹⁹⁷ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹⁹⁸ <http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/Kronologia/Krono.htm>.

¹⁹⁹ 'il Piccolo', 23/6/74.

²⁰⁰ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 585.

²⁰¹ G. Flamini, op. cit., p. 586.

²⁰² Complaint by Ugo Fabbri against Franc Pregelj, sent to the Public Prosecutors' Offices of Rome, Gorizia and Trieste

18/12/95.

²⁰³ Conference in Trieste on 9/3/10.

Associazione di familiari vittime per stragi (edited by) 'Il terrorismo e le sue maschere', Pendragon 1996.
 Gianni BARBACETTO 'The grand old man' BUR 1993.
 Vincenzo CERCEO, Claudia CERNIGOI, 'The *Diaries* of Diego de Henriquez', Nuova Alabarda 2006. Claudia CERNIGOI, '1972. Memories of the strategy of tension', Nuova Alabarda 2003.
 Mario COGLITORE, Claudia CERNIGOI, 'La memoria tradita', ZIC 2002.
 Paolo CUCCHIARELLI, Aldo GIANNULI, "Lo Stato parallelo", Gamberetti 1997.
 Giuseppe DE LUTIIS, "I servizi segreti in Italia", Sperling & Kupfer 2010.
 G. De Lutiis, "Il lato oscuro del potere", Editori Riuniti 1996.
 Mimmo FRANZINELLI, "La sottile linea nera", Rizzoli 2008.
 Gianni FLAMINI, "Il partito del golpe", Bovolenta 1982.
 Gianni FLAMINI, "The shadow of the pyramid", Teti
 Stefania LIMITI 'The Ring of the Republic', Chiarelettere 2010.
 C. PALERMO, 'The Fourth Level', Ed. Riuniti, 1996.
 Roberto PESENTI and Marco SASSANO (eds.), 'Fiasconaro e Alessandrini accusano. La requisitoria sulla strage di piazza Fontana e le bombe del '69', Marsilio 1974.
 Marco SASSANO, 'La politica della strage', Marsilio 1972.
 Giovanni SOLMI (introduction by), 'La strategia delle stragi dalla sentenza della Corte d'Assise di Venezia per la strage di Peteano', Editori Riuniti, 1989.
 Alessandro SILI, 'Malpaese: criminality, corruption and politics in the Italy of the first republic', Donzelli, 1994.
 Claudio TONEL, "Dossier sul neofascismo a Trieste", Dedolibri 1991.
 Guido VERGANI, "L'assassino di piazzale Lotto", Longanesi 1973.

Student Movement (ed.), '1973, a year of neo-fascism in Brescia', 17/1/74. "28 May 1974 Fascist massacre in Brescia" suppl. no. 34 'Student Movement', s.d..
 Lotta continua, 'reactionary judges Christian Democrat police fascist terrorists blacks will pay for everything', Brescia 27/7/75.

SITES:

<http://www.strano.net/stragi/>
<http://sites.google.com/site/sentileranechecantano/>
<http://www.fondazionecipriani.it/>
<http://www.28maggio74.brescia.it/>
<http://www.misteriditalia.it/>

Thanks

: to Pippo and Pierluigi of the Casa della Memoria in Brescia for the welcome and the material;
 to Fiorenzo for all the documentation he sent me;
 to Paolo who told me about Vitezit;
 to Massimo for the idea and advice;
 to Vincenzo because he is a well of information; to Peter for the patience with which he accompanies me on inspections;
 to Freya for technical assistance; to Livio for data on de Henriquez;
 to Stefania for moral encouragement;
 and finally to all those who have shown me confidence.