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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

APR 02 2014

Case No. F-2013-14500

Segment: DIA01

Mr. John Greenewald

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

I refer to your request dated January 22, 2013 to the Defense Intelligence Agency, for the release of certain material under the Freedom of Information Act (Title 5 USC Section 552). Of the relevant documents retrieved in response to your request, 32 were considered to be of primary interest to the Department of State, and were therefore referred to us for appropriate action.

We have determined that 27 may be released in full, three may be released with excisions, and one must be withheld in full. All released material is enclosed.

A decision on the remaining document requires coordination with another government office; we will advise you when a final determination has been made.

An enclosure explains Freedom of Information Act exemptions and other grounds for withholding material. Where we have made excisions, the applicable exemptions are marked on each document. For the one document withheld in full, we have cited exemption B1.

In the case of a document released in part, all non-exempt material that is reasonably segregable from the exempt material has been released.

Please note that one or more documents may be incomplete, because pages are missing or portions are illegible. We received the documents in that form from the referring agency.

You have the right to appeal the Department's determination by writing, within 60 days, to the Chairman, Appeals Review Panel, c/o Appeals Officer, A/GIS/IPS/PP/LA, U.S. Department of State, SA-2, Room 8100, Washington, D.C. 20522-8100. The appeal letter should refer to the case number shown above, clearly identify the decision being appealed, and provide supporting arguments when possible. For further information, see the Code of Federal Regulation, 22 CFR 171.52.

Sincerely,

Sheryl L. Walter, Director
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures:
As stated.

63934 Federal Register/Vol.69, No. 212

Rules and Regulations

Subpart F – Appeal Procedures

§171.52 Appeal of denial of access to, declassification of, amendment of, accounting of disclosures of, or challenge to classification of records.

- (a) *Right of administrative appeal.* Except for records that have been reviewed and withheld within the past two years or are the subject of litigation, any requester whose request for access to records, declassification of records, amendment of records, accounting of disclosure of records, or any authorized holder of classified information whose classification challenge has been denied, has a right to appeal the denial to the Department's Appeals Review Panel. This appeal right includes the right to appeal the determination by the Department that no records responsive to an access request exist in Department files. Privacy Act appeals may be made only by the individual to whom the records pertain.
- (b) *Form of appeal.* There is no required form for an appeal. However, it is essential that the appeal contain a clear statement of the decision or determination by the Department being appealed. When possible, the appeal should include argumentation and documentation to support the appeal and to contest the bases for denial cited by the Department. The appeal should be sent to: Chairman, Appeals Review Panel, c/o Appeals Officer, A/GIS/IPS/PP/LC, U.S. Department of State, SA-2, Room 8100, Washington, DC 20522-8100.
- (c) *Time Limits.* The appeal should be received within 60 days of the date of receipt by the requester of the Department's denial. The time limit for response to an appeal begins to run on the day the appeal is received. The time limit (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal public holidays) for agency decision on an administrative appeal is 20 days under the FOIA (which may be extended for up to an additional 10 days in unusual circumstances) and 30 days under the Privacy Act (which the Panel may extend an additional 30 days for good cause shown). The Panel shall decide mandatory declassification review appeals as promptly as possible.
- (d) *Notification to appellant.* The Chairman of the Appeals Review Panel shall notify the appellant in writing of the Panel's decision on the appeal. When the decision is to uphold the denial, the Chairman shall include in his notification the reasons therefor. The appellant shall be advised that the decision of the Panel represents the final decision of the Department and of the right to seek judicial review of the Panel's decision, when applicable. In mandatory declassification review appeals, the Panel shall advise the requester of the right to appeal the decision to the Interagency Security Classification Appeals Panel under §3.5(d) of E.O. 12958.

The Freedom of Information Act (5 USC 552)

FOIA Exemptions

- (b)(1) Withholding specifically authorized under an Executive Order in the interest of national defense or foreign policy, and properly classified. E.O. 12958, as amended, includes the following classification categories:
 - 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
 - 1.4(b) Foreign government information
 - 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
 - 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
 - 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
 - 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
 - 1.4(h) Information on weapons of mass destruction
- (b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:
 - ARMEX Arms Export Control Act, 22 USC 2778(e)
 - CIA Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)
 - EXPORT Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 App. USC 2411(c)(1)
 - FSA Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4003 & 4004
 - INA Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f)
 - IRAN Iran Claims Settlement Act, Sec 505, 50 USC 1701, note
- (b)(4) Privileged/confidential trade secrets, commercial or financial information from a person
- (b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product
- (b)(6) Information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
- (b)(7) Information compiled for law enforcement purposes that would:
 - (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
 - (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
 - (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
 - (D) disclose confidential sources
 - (E) disclose investigation techniques
 - (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual
- (b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions
- (b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

- NR Material not responsive to a FOIA request, excised with the agreement of the requester

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SECSTATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/P

E.O. 12356: N/A

BODYSUBJECT: POTENTIAL DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN -- CIA IN
COLLUSION WITH ITALIAN SECRET SERVICES

REF: (A) ROME 20107-C, (B) ROME 20005-C

1. SINCE THE ACCIDENTAL FINDING TWO WEEKS AGO OF
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY EX-PM ALDO MORO WRITTEN DURING
HIS CAPTIVITY BY THE RED BRIGADES IN 1978, THE ITALIAN
MEDIA HAS BEEN FLOODED WITH 'NEW' REVELATIONS ABOUT
'OLD' COMPLICITIES.

2. THE MOST PERSISTENT RETREAD IS THE ALLEGED
COLLUSION OF THE CIA AND ITALIAN SECRET SERVICES IN
THE CREATION OF A CLANDESTINE PARAMILITARY
ORGANIZATION WHOSE OSTENSIBLE FUNCTION, UNDER NATO
PATRONAGE, WAS TO GUARD ITALY AGAINST AN INVASION FROM
THE EAST, CODE-NAMED '**OPERATION GLADIO**.' PM ANDREOTTI
AND PRESIDENT COSSIGA, WHEN QUERIED ABOUT '**GLADIO**'S'
EXISTENCE, CONFIRMED IT AND SAID THAT OTHER NATO
COUNTRIES HAD DRAWN UP SIMILAR PLANS, AT FIRST
CONFINING IT TO AN EARLY POSTWAR PERIOD, BUT THEN
ADMITTING ITS EXISTENCE INTO THE 1980S. PRESS
SPECULATION IS THAT THE STRUCTURE STILL EXISTS.

3. MANY MEDIA REPORTS ARE ALSO KEEN ON ESTABLISHING
THAT THE SUPER-SECRET STRUCTURE ALSO OPERATED
INTERNALLY, UNDER VARIOUS GUISES: TO COUNTER THE
ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY; TO FUNNEL MONEY TO ITALIAN
POLITICIANS; TO INFILTRATE RADICAL POLITICAL
GROUPINGS, RIGHT AND LEFT; TO PRECIPITATE
GOVERNMENTAL CRISES AND TO STAGE A MILITARY COUP.

4. NUMEROUS 'WITNESSES' ARE BEING CITED IN PRESS
STORIES SUPPORTING ONE OR MORE OF THE ABOVE

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

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SCENARIOS. THE RE-HASHING OF GOVERNMENT SCANDALS FROM THE '70S, WHEN PLOTS AND COUNTER-PLOTS TO DESTABILIZE THE GOI WERE COMMONPLACE (SOME ACTUALLY UNCOVERED BUT NEVER FULLY PROSECUTED), INCLUDES THE PRINTING OF LISTS AND DOCUMENTS IMPLYING A WIDE NETWORK OF COMPLICITY.

5. QUOTES AND VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FROM A SELF-PROCLAIMED EX-CIA AGENT, RICHARD BRENNEKE, HAVE BEEN BANDIED ABOUT IN RECENT DAYS. BRENNEKE WAS FIRST INTERVIEWED BY RAI-TV LAST SUMMER FROM HIS HOME IN OREGON, SPORTING A 'CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY'-EMBLAZONED T-SHIRT, ON ALLEGED COLLUSION OF THE CIA IN VARIOUS NEFARIOUS POLITICAL DEEDS IN ITALY. WHILE DISAVOWED BY THE AGENCY ITSELF, BRENNEKE IS RUMORED TO KNOW MORE AND WILL TELL ALL, IF ANYBODY IS INTERESTED.

6. ITALY'S MAJOR-CIRCULATION DAILY, LEFTIST LA REPUBBLICA, ON OCTOBER 31 PUBLISHED EXCERPTS OF A SECRET DOCUMENT PURPORTEDLY SIGNED BY THEN U.S. ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF, GENERAL WESTMORELAND, OUTLINING INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO ORGANIZE COUNTER-GUERRILLA OPERATIONS (A.K.A. ARMY FIELD MANUAL C-30-31). "THE SUCCESS OF INTERNAL STABILIZATION OPERATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE SECRET SERVICES OF THE U.S. ARMY," LA REPUBBLICA QUOTES, "DEPENDS IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE DEGREE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN PERSONNEL AND THOSE OF THE HOST ALLIED COUNTRY'S SERVICE." THE DOCUMENT WAS SHOWN SAME DAY ON LEADING NIGHTLY NEWS PROGRAM, MARKED 'TOP SECRET.'

7. FINALLY, A TROVE OF HUNDREDS OF DOCUMENTS SMUGGLED OUT OF ITALY IN THE EARLY 1970S BY ALLEGED COUP PLOTTERS WHO REPORTEDLY BELONG TO THE SO-CALLED 'P2' MASONIC LODGE AND SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND NEAR MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY IN THE LATE '70S, WILL SURELY FIND ITS WAY INTO PRINT IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS AS THE WHODUNIT MYSTERY CONTINUES TO UNRAVEL.

8. ACTION REQUEST: THE U.S. HAS BEEN ALLEGED TO BE INVOLVED IN ALL OF THESE NEFARIOUS PLOTS, AND THERE ARE POLITICIANS AND JOURNALISTS WHO WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO DRAG US IN. WHILE OUR RESPONSE TO ANY PRESS QUERIES REMAINS "NO COMMENT," POST WOULD APPRECIATE BACKGROUND AND GUIDANCE ON BRENNEKE AND ARMY FIELD

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MANUAL C-30-31. LEWINSOHN

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TORREJON FOR 16TH AF/PA

VIENNA FOR USDEL

JOINT STAFF FOR J-5 LT. CL. LAGASSEY

STATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/RPM, INR, PA

USINFO FOR P/PRC, P/FW, P/FN, VOA NEWS/CA, EU,

P/ROMERSTEIN

SECDEF FOR OASD/PA

E.O. 12356: N/A

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT -- NOVEMBER 6, 1990

A. LEAD STORIES: "OPERATION GLADIO"; YESTERDAY'S EC
FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING TO DISCUSS THE HOSTAGE
ISSUE; SECRETARY BAKER'S MISSION TO THE GULF AREA;
U.S. MID-TERM ELECTIONS.

THIS REPORT WILL FOCUS ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

1. GULF CRISIS
2. U.S. MID-TERM ELECTIONS
3. "OPERATION GLADIO"

4. GATT

B. TREATMENT

1. GULF CRISIS

COVERAGE IS FOCUSED ON THE OUTCOME OF THE SPECIAL EC
MEETING HELD YESTERDAY IN ROME ON THE HOSTAGE ISSUE.
REPORTS STRESS THE UNITY AND FIRMNESS WITH WHICH THE
EC LEADERS REJECTED SADDAM HUSSEIN'S PROPOSALS AND THE
ONGOING SEARCH FOR A COMMON STRATEGY DESPITE THE
DISPUTE OVER THE BRANDT INITIATIVE.

REPORTS ON SECRETARY BAKER'S MISSION EMPHASIZE HIS

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

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STATEMENT THAT THE GULF CRISIS IS "ENTERING A NEW PHASE"; THE APPEAL BY THE KUWAITI SHEIKH THAT HIS COUNTRY BE LIBERATED AT ONCE; THE ARRIVAL OF THE "USS MIDWAY" IN THE GULF. NOTING ALSO THE U.S. DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S DECISION TO CALL UP RESERVE COMBAT UNITS, COMMENTATORS CONCLUDE THAT THE "WINDS OF WAR" ARE BLOWING STRONGER.

HEADLINES (EC MEETING, FRONT PAGES):

"EC SAYS 'NO' TO HOSTAGE BARGAINING" (CORRIERE DELLA SERA)

"THE EC IS 'UNITED ON THE HOSTAGES'" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)

"THE EC WILL NOT IMITATE BRANDT" (LEAD STORY, LA STAMPA)

"EUROPE WILL NOT YIELD ON THE HOSTAGES" (LEAD STORY, IL MESSAGGERO)

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

"EC FIRMER ON THE HOSTAGES" (IL GIORNALE)

HEADLINES (SECRETARY BAKER'S MISSION):

"BAKER TIGHTENING THE CIRCLE AROUND IRAQ" (CORRIERE DELLA SERA)

"BAKER PREPARES BATTLE PLAN" (LA STAMPA)

"BAKER: 'A NEW PHASE IS BEGINNING, THE USE OF FORCE MAY BECOME NECESSARY'" (IL TEMPO)

COMMENTS:

A REPORT FROM DUBAI IN LEADING CENTRIST CORRIERE DELLA SERA: "AFTER THE BRIEF, UNJUSTIFIED 'GIDDINESS' OF HOPE FOLLOWING GORBACHEV'S OPTIMISTIC STATEMENTS IN SPAIN AND PARIS, THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE GULF HAS BECOME GLOOMY AGAIN.... LEAVING BAHRAIN, SECRETARY BAKER DECLARED THAT WASHINGTON IS TRYING TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS PEACEFULLY, BUT THAT HE CANNOT EXCLUDE OTHER OPTIONS.... THE ARRIVAL IN THE GULF OF THE 'USS MIDWAY' IS INTERPRETED AS A SIGNAL OF WAR.... MEANWHILE, SADDAM HAS TURNED KUWAIT INTO A FORTRESS, CONFIRMING THAT TIME IS ON HIS SIDE."

ROME CENTRIST IL MESSAGGERO, IN A REPORT FROM JIDDAH: "SECRETARY BAKER'S VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA...INAUGURATES THE WHITE HOUSE'S NOVEMBER OFFENSIVE. IT IS AN IMPORTANT MOVE IN THE SO-CALLED 'WAR OF NERVES' -- A MOVE WHICH, THIS TIME, COULD EASILY EVOLVE TOWARD MILITARY ACTION. BAKER'S MISSION TAKES PLACE AT A

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TIME WHEN THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION IS FACED WITH
POLITICAL PROBLEMS BOTH DOMESTICALLY...AND
INTERNATIONALLY, ESPECIALLY IN THE ANTI-SADDAM
COALITION."

FRANCO VENTURINI'S REPORT IN LEADING CENTRIST CORRIERE
DELLA SERA: "ITALIAN FOMIN DE MICHELIS REITERATED
YESTERDAY THAT NO EC GOVERNMENT WILL BARGAIN WITH
BAGHDAD, THAT THE RELEASE OF 'ALL' HOSTAGES IS A
NON-NEGOTIABLE RIGHT AND THAT EXPLORATORY MISSIONS TO
BAGHDAD NOT SANCTIONED BY THE U.N. WILL BE DISAVOWED.
DE MICHELIS DECLARED THAT A 'PARTIAL RELEASE OF
HOSTAGES WOULD BRING WAR CLOSER.'"

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/

HEADLINES:

"AMERICA JUDGES BUSH" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA
REPUBBLICA)

"AMERICA VOTES ON THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION" (LA STAMPA)

"BUSH TAKES THE ELECTORAL TEST" (IL MESSAGGERO)

"AMERICA VOTES WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM" (IL TEMPO)

"AMERICANS VOTE TODAY, A RISKY TEST FOR BUSH" (FRONT
PAGE, IL GIORNALE)

COMMENTS:

ROBERTO PESENTI WRITES FROM NEW YORK IN ROME CENTRIST
IL MESSAGGERO: "BUSH WILL VERY LIKELY KNOW TONIGHT THE
NAMES OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS WHO MIGHT OPPOSE HIM
IN THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL RACE.... THE PRESIDENT'S
HONEYMOON WITH THE NATION IS OVER IN THE MIDDLE OF AN
AUTUMN WHICH IS PERHAPS THE MOST DIFFICULT PERIOD OF
HIS POLITICAL CAREER. TODAY IS A MAJOR TEST FOR BUSH."

ENNIO CARETTO'S REPORT FROM WASHINGTON IN LEFTIST,
INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA: "IF OPINION POLLS ARE
RELIABLE, TODAY'S MID-TERM ELECTIONS WILL BE THE MOST
PESSIMISTIC, THE MOST CONTESTED AND THE MOST IGNORED
OF THE LAST FIFTY YEARS.... DESPITE THE ATMOSPHERE OF
POPULAR INDIFFERENCE AND REVOLT, POLLS DO NOT FORECAST
A WATERLOO FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.... MORE THAN THE
IMMEDIATE REPERCUSSIONS OF TODAY'S VOTE, THE WHITE
HOUSE IS CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON THE 1992
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN."

ALBERTO PASOLINI ZANELLI COMMENTS ON THE FRONT PAGE OF
LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE: "BUSH HAS GIVEN THE
IMPRESSION OF HASTILY ABANDONING HIS PRINCIPLES AND

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HIS PROMISES. IT IS NOT ONLY A QUESTION OF RAISING TAXES, BUT OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT COMPROMISING RATHER THAN FIGHTING ON, THUS DAMAGING HIS PARTY AND LOWERING THE FLAG OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION. MANY OF BUSH'S FELLOW REPUBLICANS HAVE DISTANCED THEMSELVES FROM HIM, BUT THEY WILL BE THE ONES TO PAY -- HOW MUCH, WE WILL KNOW SOON."

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 004 *****/

MEDIA GIVE PROMINENT ATTENTION TO A STATEMENT BY "NATO SPOKESMAN" JEAN MARCOTTE DENYING ANY NATO INVOLVEMENT IN "OPERATION GLADIO" -- A DECLARATION WHICH CONTRADICTS RECENT STATEMENTS BY ITALIAN PM ANDREOTTI. IN THE MEANTIME, ITALIAN JUDGES ARE PROCEEDING WITH THEIR EXAMINATION OF ITALIAN POLITICAL LEADERS WHO HELD KEY GOVERNMENT POSITIONS AT THE TIME "GLADIO" WAS SET UP.

HEADLINES:

"GOVERNMENT WILL NOT WITHHOLD INFORMATION ON 'GLADIO'"

(LEAD STORY, CORRIERE DELLA SERA)

NATO CONTRADICTS ANDREOTTI" (LEAD STORY, LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)

"NATO: 'WE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT "GLADIO"'" (FRONT PAGE, LA STAMPA)

COMMENTS:

THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA, EUGENIO SCALFARI, WRITES: "INCREDIBLE BUT TRUE: A NATO OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN FROM ALLIANCE HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS YESTERDAY CONTRADICTED BOTH PRESIDENT COSSIGA AND PM ANDREOTTI.... IF NATO LEADERS DO NOT DISAVOW SPOKESMAN MARCOTTE'S STATEMENT AND REMOVE HIM FROM HIS JOB TODAY, COSSIGA AND ANDREOTTI WILL HAVE NO OTHER CHOICE BUT TO RESIGN, WHILE THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT WILL BE FORCED TO BEGIN LEGAL PROCEEDINGS ON ACTIONS AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION."

THE SAME PAPER CARRIES A FULL-PAGE LIST OF THE MASSACRES AND "INTRIGUES" WHICH "HAVE CHARACTERIZED THE LIFE OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC" SINCE THE CREATION OF "GLADIO" IN 1956. HEADLINE READS, "AN AMERICAN SHADOW OVER THIRTY YEARS OF MYSTERIES," IMPLYING CIA INVOLVEMENT.

LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE: "'GLADIO' NEVER HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. AFTER THE

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SENSATIONAL, STRONG DENIAL ISSUED IN MONS BY A SHAPE

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 005 *****/

SPOKESMAN...NATO LEADERS WILL NOW HAVE TO SAY EXACTLY WHERE THINGS STAND."

AN UNSIGNED COMMENTARY IN LEADING ECONOMIC DAILY IL SOLE-24 ORE: "NO ONE SHOULD BE SURPRISED ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF A SECRET ORGANIZATION WITHIN NATO, GIVEN THE DIMENSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND THE THREAT FROM THE ENEMY. WHAT HAS EMERGED AND IS STILL EMERGING FROM THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNIST REGIMES, HOWEVER, SHOWS THAT ANYTHING NATO MAY HAVE SET UP WAS CERTAINLY LESS DANGEROUS FOR ALL OF US THAN THE WARSAW PACT, WITH ITS BLOODY PROTAGONISTS OF THE LARGEST IDEOLOGICAL DISASTER IN MODERN HISTORY. THAT DOES NOT MEAN, OF COURSE, THAT WE DO NOT NEED TO FULLY EXAMINE 'GLADIO,' THE ORGANIZATION AS A WHOLE AND ITS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. WE CANNOT UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, THE FRENETIC EXCITEMENT WHICH IS ACCOMPANYING THIS 'DISCOVERY'.... NOW THAT THE SOVIETS ATTEND NATO MEETINGS AND THAT THE WARSAW PACT IS DISMANTLING, AN ORGANIZATION LIKE 'GLADIO' CAN BE ELIMINATED."

4. GATT

MEDIA REPORT FROM BRUSSELS ON THE EC MINISTERS' MEETING TO FIND A COMMON POSITION ON AGRICULTURAL ISSUES TO BE PRESENTED AT THE URUGUAY ROUND. EMPHASIS IS PLACED ON EFFORTS BY THE ITALIAN FOREIGN TRADE AND AGRICULTURAL MINISTERS TO REMOVE DIFFERENCES IN TIME TO SAVE THE GATT.

HEADLINES:

"GATT: RUGGIERO SEEKS TO MEDIATE AMONG EC TWELVE"

(CORRIERE DELLA SERA)

"THE GATT 'SOAP OPERA'" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)

EC AGRICULTURE: NOW OR NEVER" (IL MESSAGGERO)

EC MINISTERS SPLIT ON AGRICULTURAL ISSUES -- WILL THEY CAUSE GATT TO FAIL?" (COMMUNIST PARTY DAILY L'UNITA') LEWINSOHN

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E.O. 12356: N/A

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

SUBJECT: USIS ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT

ROME MEDIA REACTION REPORT -- NOVEMBER 7, 1990

A. LEAD STORIES: "**OPERATION GLADIO**"; SCENESETTERS ON TODAY'S CELEBRATIONS FOR THE 73TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION; MID-TERM ELECTIONS IN THE U.S.; THE ASSASSINATION OF RABBI MEIR KAHANE IN NEW YORK; THE GULF CRISIS.

THIS REPORT WILL FOCUS ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

1. U.S. MID-TERM ELECTIONS
2. GULF CRISIS
3. "**OPERATION GLADIO**"

B. TREATMENT

1. U.S. MID-TERM ELECTIONS

MEDIA REPORT ON PARTIAL RESULTS OF THE MID-TERM ELECTIONS IN THE U.S., EMPHASIZING GAINS BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND LOW VOTER TURNOUT.

HEADLINES:

"BUSH MISFIRES" (FRONT PAGE, LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)

"U.S. ELECTIONS: DEMOCRATS GAIN" (FRONT PAGE, IL

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

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MESSAGGERO)

"U.S. ELECTIONS: OPINION POLLS CONFIRMED" (FRONT PAGE,
IL GIORNALE)

A SLAP IN THE FACE FOR BUSH" (LEAD STORY, COMMUNIST
PARTY ORGAN L'UNITA')

COMMENTS:

ROBERTO PESENTI REPORT FROM NEW YORK IN ROME CENTRIST
IL MESSAGGERO: "AMERICA WENT TO THE POLLS YESTERDAY
CONFUSED AND DIVIDED AS NEVER BEFORE, CONCERNED ABOUT
THE IMMINENT WAR AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN THAT PRESIDENT
BUSH MENTIONED IN THE CLOSING HOURS OF THE CAMPAIGN.
THE WAR OF WORDS AGAINST IRAQ SERVED, IF NOTHING ELSE,
TO PARTIALLY DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF VOTERS FROM
DOMESTIC CONCERNS SUCH AS TAX INCREASES AND ECONOMIC
RECESSION."

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

A REPORT BY WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT ALBERTO PASOLINI
ZANELLI IN LEADING CONSERVATIVE IL GIORNALE: "THE
FIRST DECLARED WINNERS OF THE 1990 ELECTIONS ARE TWO
MEN WHO ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE 1992
ELECTIONS -- MARIO CUOMO AND TOM BRADLEY -- BOTH
DEMOCRATS AND BOTH WITH PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS....
PARTIAL RESULTS SO FAR INDICATE GAINS BY THE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BUT NOT A SENSATIONAL SUCCESS."
ENNIO CARETTO WRITES FROM WASHINGTON IN LEFTIST,
INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA: "REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS
HAVE ALREADY INDICATED THEIR STRATEGIES: THE FORMER
WILL LINE UP AGAINST TAXES AND WASTEFUL 'LIBERALS';
THE LATTER AGAINST THE RICH AND AGAINST THE
PRESIDENT'S 'WANDERING LEADERSHIP'.... OPINION POLLS
ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS INDICATE GAINS FOR THE
DEMOCRATS, BUT ALSO A RECOVERY BY BUSH."

2. GULF CRISIS

MEDIA REPORT ON SECRETARY BAKER'S TALKS WITH KING FAHD
AND PRESIDENT MUBARAK ON COMMAND AND CONTROL
ARRANGEMENTS FOR A POSSIBLE MILITARY INTERVENTION TO
LIBERATE KUWAIT. REPORTS FROM CAIRO SUGGEST
DIFFERENCES OVER THE ROLE OF EGYPTIAN TROOPS.

HEADLINES:

"GREEN LIGHT FOR THE AMERICANS FROM KING FAHD"

(CORRIERE DELLA SERA)

"U.S.-EGYPTIAN DIFFERENCES ON 'ZERO HOUR'" (LA STAMPA)

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COMMENTS:

A REPORT FROM SAUDI ARABIA IN CENTRIST LA STAMPA: "WAR IN THE GULF HAS REALLY BEGUN NOW. SECRETARY BAKER AND KING FAHD, IN THEIR MEETING LAST NIGHT, HAD A SERIOUS DISCUSSION ON WHO WILL LEAD THE ATTACK ON IRAQ, HOW THE ATTACK SHOULD BE CONCEIVED, WHICH TROOPS WOULD BE INVOLVED.... THE U.S., HOWEVER, IS FACED WITH PROBLEMS ON THE ARAB FRONT, WHERE THERE IS A CERTAIN RESISTANCE.... ARAB LEADERS WERE EXTREMELY WILLING WHEN IT WAS SIMPLY A QUESTION OF WORDS. NOW THAT THE
/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/

AMERICANS ARE ASKING THEM TO LEAD THE OPERATION, BOTH RHETORIC AND HEROISM ARE DIMINISHING. IN SUM, WAR IS ABOUT TO BEGIN, BUT THE AMERICANS FIND THEMSELVES ALONE TO FIGHT IT."

"EGYPT AND CHINA SLOW DOWN BAKER: 'LET'S WAIT FOR DIPLOMACY'" -- A REPORT FROM CAIRO IN LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA: "BAKER'S OBJECTIVE IS TO SOUND OUT HIS INTERLOCUTORS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ATTACK TO LIBERATE KUWAIT.... DURING HIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK, BAKER WAS REPEATEDLY TOLD THAT EGYPTIAN TROOPS ARE ONLY DEPLOYED TO DEFEND SAUDI ARABIA AND THEREFORE WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN AN ATTACK AGAINST IRAQ."

REPORT FROM DUBAI IN LEADING CENTRIST CORRIERE DELLA SERA: "WHILE THEY HAVE NOT GIVEN UP ON A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION, SECRETARY BAKER AND KING FAHD TALKED FOR SIX HOURS YESTERDAY ABOUT PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.... SADDAM HUSSEIN'S RESPONSE WAS THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HE WILL RELEASE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF HOSTAGES, INCLUDING 20 ITALIANS -- A TYPICAL PLOY FROM THE IRAQI DICTATOR."

3. "OPERATION GLADIO"

PROMINENT MEDIA ATTENTION GOES TO NATO'S CORRECTION OF THE SHAPE STATEMENT DENYING LINKS BETWEEN "OPERATION GLADIO" AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

HEADLINES (LEAD STORY IN ALL PAPERS):

"NATO KNEW ABOUT 'OPERATION GLADIO'" (CORRIERE DELLA SERA)

"NATO CONTRADICTS NATO" (LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT LA REPUBBLICA)

"NATO: 'WE WERE WRONG'" (LA STAMPA)

"'GLADIO' A NATO AFFAIR" (IL TEMPO)

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COMMENTS:

A REPORT FROM BRUSSELS IN CENTRIST LA STAMPA: "NATO
HAS OFFICIALLY INTERVENED IN THE DISPUTE ON 'OPERATION
GLADIO,' COMING TO THE RESCUE OF ANDREOTTI AND
/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 004 *****/

COSSIGA. THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ISSUED A CORRECTION,
SAYING THAT YESTERDAY'S SHAPE STATEMENT DENYING LINKS
BETWEEN '**GLADIO**' AND **NATO** WAS 'A MISTAKE'.... IT IS
NOW UP TO ANDREOTTI AND COSSIGA TO PROVIDE FURTHER
EXPLANATIONS." LEWINSOHN

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, IT, NATO

SUBJECT: PRESS LINE ON "OPERATION GLADIO"

REF: ROME 20614-C

1. (C) MISSION UNDERSTANDS THAT A SHAPE PRESS OFFICER, LTQR JEAN MARCOTTE (CANADIAN), RESPONDING TO A QUERY FROM ANSA, WENT BEYOND PREPARED SHAPE PRESS GUIDANCE BY ASSERTING THAT AN ORGANIZATION OF THE TYPE DESCRIBED IN ITALIAN PRESS ACCOUNTS HAD NEVER EXISTED.

2. (C) AFTER CONSULTATION BETWEEN SEC GEN AND SACEUR, NATO PRESS OFFICE USED GUIDANCE LATE TUESDAY AFTERNOON, NOV 6, IN FOLLOWING PARA TO RESPOND TO PRESS QUERIES. THIS GUIDANCE WAS USED WITH ALL ITALIAN NEWS ORGANIZATIONS IN BRUSSELS.

3. (U) BEGIN TEXT.

THE STATEMENT OF THE SHAPE SPOKESMAN ON THE "GLADIO" OPERATION IN ITALY WAS AN ERROR, BASED ON INCORRECT INFORMATION.

NATO'S ESTABLISHED PRACTICE ON MATTERS OF MILITARY SECRECY IS NOT TO PROVIDE INFORMATION OR TO COMMENT IN ANY WAY. END TEXT

4. (C) AFTER MEETING BETWEEN SACEUR AND SEC GEN NEITHER SHAPE PRESS OFFICE NOR NATO PRESS OFFICE ARE COMMENTING FURTHER.

5. (U) FYI: US MISSION PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE HAS HAD ONLY A FEW CALLS ON THIS QUESTION. WE HAVE NOT COMMENTED. TAFT

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NSC FOR BASORA

EUR FOR SEITZ

E.O 12356: DECL:OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: EEC, ECIN, ETRD, PREL, IT , OVIP (ANDREOTTI, GIULIO

SUBJECT: PM ANDREOTTI'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY

2. PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI COMES TO WASHINGTON FOR EC PRESIDENCY CONSULTATIONS RIDING HIGH ON PROCLAIMED SUCCESS ON ECONOMIC, MONETARY AND POLITICAL UNION AT THE LAST EC SUMMIT. HIS EC ROLE HAS BOLSTERED HIS DOMESTIC FORTUNES, WHERE THE FEUDING COALITION PARTIES ARE WINDING TOWARDS A POSSIBLE GOVERNMENT CRISIS EARLY NEXT YEAR. SCANDALMONGERING OVER AN ALLEGED NATO SECRET OPERATION TO ORGANIZE RESISTANCE IN THE EVENT OF A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IS FURTHER SHAKING THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT AND EVEN UNSETTLING PRESIDENT COSSIGA, WHO HAS VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED NATO. THE ITALIAN ECONOMY IS SLOWING, ONLY IN PART AS A RESULT OF THE GULF CRISIS. KEY ISSUES FOR THE ANDREOTTI VISIT INCLUDE:

THE GULF:

-- ANDREOTTI WILL WANT A CLEAR INDICATION OF OUR VIEW ON PROSPECTS FOR WAR OR PEACE IN THE GULF, AS WELL AS NEXT STEPS AT THE U.N.

-- HE AND EC COLLEAGUES ARE CONCERNED ABOUT MAINTAINING SOLIDARITY ON THE HOSTAGES, WHILE GETTING THEM OUT.

-- HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO UNDERLINE THE NEED FOR EC POLITICAL INTEGRATION TO BE RESPONSIVE IN FUTURE CRISES.

-- RECOGNITION OF HIS CONTRIBUTION TO FORGING ITALIAN AND EC RESPONSES ON THE EMBARGO AND ASSISTANCE FOR THE FRONT

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LINE STATES WOULD BE APPROPRIATE.

URUGUAY ROUND:

-- EUROPEAN LEADERS SEEM TO HAVE LOST SIGHT OF OVERALL STAKES IN URUGUAY ROUND AND HAVE PUT PROSPECTS FOR WORLD ECONOMIC GROWTH AT RISK TO DEFEND FARM INTERESTS.

-- ALTHOUGH ANDREOTTI RESISTED PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN AGRICULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS, HE INSTRUCTED TRADE AND AGRICULTURE MINISTERS TO PROMOTE AN EC CONSENSUS ON AN AGRICULTURE PROPOSAL.

-- THE EC PROPOSAL IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE U.S. EUROPEAN NEGOTIATORS CONTINUE TO QUESTION THE DEADLINE AND U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE ROUND. ANDREOTTI, WHOSE OWN POLITICAL BASE INCLUDES THE RURAL ITALIAN SOUTH, NEEDS TO HEAR A STRONG MESSAGE ON THIS SUBJECT TO SHARE WITH HIS EC PEERS

U.S.-EC DECLARATION:

-- ITALY HAS WORKED TO PRODUCE A DECLARATION WHICH MARKS THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S.-EC COOPERATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZES CLOSE CONSULTATIONS.

-- THE FINAL TEXT SHOULD BE AGREED BY EC NOVEMBER 12, ALLOWING POSSIBLE ANNOUNCEMENT AND PUBLICATION OF THE DECLARATION DURING THE VISIT, WITH SIGNATURE COMING LATER

OTHER ISSUES:

-- CROTONE: WE UNDERSTAND ANDREOTTI MIGHT RAISE CONGRESS' FUNDING CUT-OFF FOR CROTONE. WE NEED TO REASSURE HIM OF OUR COMMITMENT AND SEEK HIS ACTIVE SUPPORT WITHIN NATO.

-- PATRIOT: WE SHOULD URGE THE ITALIANS TO FUND THIS MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR AIR DEFENSE PROGRAM.

-- REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE: ITALY IS PUSHING TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO USSR AS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT REFORM AND GORBACHEV. ANDREOTTI WILL PROBABLY SEEK OUR VIEWS.

-- CSCE: THE EC, WITH FIRM ITALIAN SUPPORT AS SPOKESMAN, SEEKS TO ENHANCE ITS PLACE IN THE NEW EUROPE BY PLAYING A LARGER ROLE AT THE CSCE SUMMIT AND IN THE FOLLOW ON PROCESS.

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

-- GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE: ITALY SHARES THE EC INCLINATION TO MAKE HASTY DECISIONS ON CARBON DIOXIDE LIMITS TO COMBAT GLOBAL CHANGE WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF SUCH DECISIONS. ANDREOTTI MIGHT BENEFIT FROM AN EXPOSURE TO THE U.S. VIEWPOINT. END SUMMARY.

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THE SETTING

3. PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI COMES TO WASHINGTON STILL REVELLING IN THE "SUCCESS" OF THE OCTOBER 27-28 EC SUMMIT AND MAY WANT TO REVIEW ITS RESULTS. FROM AN ITALIAN PERSPECTIVE, THE SUMMIT DEMONSTRATED ITALY'S ABILITY TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE AS EC PRESIDENT. ANDREOTTI, AIDED AND ABETTED BY DELORS, KOHL AND MITTERRAND, ACHIEVED UNEXPECTED PROGRESS ON BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL UNION, BUT ONLY BY KEEPING GATT OUT OF THE SUMMIT. THE RESULTS WERE SEEN IN ITALY AS A RESPONSE TO CRITICS (ESPECIALLY IN THE U.K.) WHO SAY THE ITALIANS HOLD MEETINGS WITHOUT CLEAR PURPOSES OR AGENDAS, LAUNCH HALF-BAKED INITIATIVES, AND LACK LEADERSHIP IN DEALING WITH DIFFICULT ISSUES. ANDREOTTI, HOWEVER, ISOLATED PRIME MINISTER THATCHER, GATT AND AROUSED CONCERN ABOUT MAINTENANCE OF THE CONSENSUS PROCESS, PARTICULARLY AMONG SMALLER EC MEMBERS. THE SUMMIT DECLARATIONS ON THE GULF AND ON THE MID EAST IN GENERAL WERE EXCELLENT, EVEN THOUGH: (1) THE MID EAST DECLARATION REITERATED STANDARD EC SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI QUESTION "WHEN APPROPRIATE" AND (2) THE STRONG STANCE AGAINST UNCOORDINATED MISSIONS TO FREE HOSTAGES WAS ERODED BY GERMAN ACTION (THE BRANDT MISSION TO BAGHDAD) SHORTLY THEREAFTER.

4. CRITICISM OF THE ITALIAN PRESIDENCY HAS SOME JUSTIFICATION. THE ITALIAN BUREAUCRACY DEALING WITH EC AFFAIRS IS TIRED AFTER FOUR MONTHS OF A CHALLENGING PRESIDENCY. MINISTERS CONTINUE TO TRY TO USE THEIR PRESIDENCY ROLE AS A SHOWCASE, PURSUING MEETINGS AND INITIATIVES WITHOUT FULL PREPARATION. THE ITALIAN PRESIDENCY, HOWEVER, WILL BE JUDGED ON OUTCOMES IN FIVE BASIC AREAS: PREPARATION OF THE TWO INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCES, THE CSCE AND PROGRESS TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION OF AN UNDIVIDED AND DEMOCRATIC EUROPE, THE EC ROLE IN THE GULF CRISIS, AND THE URUGUAY ROUND. SO FAR THE ITALIAN PRESIDENCY CAN POINT TO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON FOUR OF THE FIVE.

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ANDREOTTI'S DOMESTIC SITUATION

5. THE FIVE-PARTY COALITION IS RESTLESS, AND THERE PROBABLY WILL BE EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1991, OR AT LEAST A GOVERNMENT "RESHUFFLE." CONVENTIONAL WISDOM SUGGESTS THAT ANDREOTTI WOULD MOVE TO THE PRESIDENCY, CRAXI TO THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP AND, BECAUSE HAVING A SOCIALIST PM AND A SOCIALIST FONMIN WOULD BREAK THE POLITICAL BALANCE, DE MICHELIS ELSEWHERE. AMONG THE FACTORS LEADING TO EARLY ELECTIONS ARE: SOCIALIST JOCKEYING FOR POWER, ESPECIALLY BY BETTINO CRAXI; THE PERCEIVED VULNERABILITY OF THE CRISIS-RIDDEN COMMUNIST PARTY, AND GRANDSTANDING BY THE SMALL REPUBLICAN PARTY. CONFIDENCE IN TRADITIONAL PARTIES IS WANING, AS SHOWN BY THE RECENT STRENGTH OF REGIONAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN ITALY AND BY SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS.

6. THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S ATTEMPT TO TRANSFORM ITSELF INTO A NON-COMMUNIST PARTY MAY WEAKEN IT AT THE POLLS AND MAY LEAD TO A SPLIT OR AT LEAST A WEAKENED SUCCESSOR PARTY. OTHER PARTIES ARE TRYING TO IMPROVE THEIR RELATIVE POSITIONS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PCI, BUT IN THE NEAR TERM NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE FIVE-PARTY GOVERNING COALITION APPEARS FEASIBLE.

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7. FORECASTS FOR ITALIAN ECONOMIC GROWTH IN 1990 WERE BEING ADJUSTED DOWNWARD EVEN BEFORE IRAQ'S INVASION OF /***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/

KUWAIT. NOW FORECASTS ARE DROPPING FURTHER -- TO BELOW THREE PERCENT. INFLATION IS EXPECTED TO END THE YEAR AT 6.3-6.4 PERCENT, SIGNIFICANTLY ABOVE THE LEVELS OF ITALY'S TWO MAIN TRADING PARTNERS, GERMANY AND FRANCE. HIGHER OIL PRICES ARE ALSO WIDENING THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT. THIS SHOULD BE EASILY FINANCED, PERMITTING MODERATE GROWTH IN 1991 OF ABOUT TWO PERCENT. THE EC COUNCIL'S DECISION TO ENTER STAGE II OF THE PROCESS TOWARD ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION ON JANUARY 1, 1994 PUTS ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON ITALY TO REDUCE ITS BUDGET DEFICIT (AROUND 11 PERCENT OF GNP), BUT THE 1991 BUDGET BEING CONSIDERED BY PARLIAMENT DOESN'T GIVE MUCH OF A PUSH TOWARDS THE ECONOMIC CONVERGENCE THAT IS A PREREQUISITE TO MOVING TO STAGE II. NEVERTHELESS, ITALY

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SEES THE TARGET AS HELPFUL IN ITS BUDGETARY PROCESS.

OPERATION GLADIO

8. ANDREOTTI HAS EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN TO AMBASSADOR SECCHIA ABOUT THE SCANDALMONGERING IN THE PRESS AROUSED BY **OPERATION GLADIO**, AN ALLEGED SECRET OPERATION LINKED TO NATO OR THE CIA TO ORGANIZE A RESISTANCE IN THE EVENT OF A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER. ANDREOTTI HIMSELF PRECIPITATED THE CONTROVERSY ON AUGUST 3 WHEN HE AGREED TO RELEASE SECRET DOCUMENTS TO A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE. THE OPPOSITION HAS SOUGHT TO LINK THE OPERATION TO HISTORIC RIGHT-WING TERRORISM AND TO THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT EFFORT TO KEEP THE COMMUNISTS OUT OF GOVERNMENT. THERE HAVE BEEN THREATS TO IMPEACH PRESIDENT COSSIGA (WHO HAS BEEN VIGOROUSLY DEFENDING NATO), THOUGH THIS IS UNLIKELY.

URUGUAY ROUND

9. ALTHOUGH THE URUGUAY ROUND OF TRADE NEGOTIATIONS WAS GIVEN SHORT SHRIFT AT THE EC SUMMIT, ITALY DEMONSTRATED DETERMINATION IN FOSTERING CONSENSUS ON AN EC PROPOSAL ON AGRICULTURE THIS WEEK. GOI TRADE OFFICIALS RECOGNIZE THE EC AGRICULTURE PROPOSAL IS CONSIDERED GROSSLY INADEQUATE BY THE U.S. AND OTHERS, BUT ANDREOTTI AND HIS EC PEERS SEEM TO HAVE LOST SIGHT OF THAT FACT. ITALY, FOR ONE, REMAINS FOCUSSED ON THE POTENTIAL COSTS OF GATT LIBERALIZATION AND NOT ON OPPORTUNITIES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE EUROPEANS ALSO SEEM TO BE QUESTIONING THE NEED FOR AN AMBITIOUS PACKAGE COMPLETED BY MID DECEMBER. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT ANDREOTTI AND DELORS HEAR A STRONG MESSAGE ON THE ECONOMIC STAKES OF THE NEGOTIATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE. THEY COULD ALSO BE REMINDED THAT FAILURE OF THE URUGUAY ROUND COULD PUT A SPOTLIGHT ON U.S.-EC BILATERAL DISPUTES WHICH HAVE BEEN KEPT AT BAY (E.G. SOYBEAN SUBSIDIES, EXPIRATION OF THE ENLARGEMENT AGREEMENT, AIRBUS).

THE GULF

10. AS EC PRESIDENT, ITALY HAS MADE A POINT OF LEADING SOLID SUPPORT FOR THE ALLIANCE AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN.

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IT ORCHESTRATED THE EC EMBARGO EVEN BEFORE UNSC ACTION. IT IMPLEMENTED EFFECTIVE SANCTIONS ITSELF, AND IT WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO ANNOUNCE A SUBSTANTIAL PACKAGE OF AID TO THE FRONT LINE STATES, \$150-160 MILLION DIVIDED AMONG EGYPT (\$74 MILLION) TURKEY (\$48 MILLION), JORDAN (\$26 MILLION) AND SOMALIA (\$9 MILLION). ITALY HOPES TO DISBURSE \$24 MILLION THIS YEAR AND MOST OF THE REST WITHIN THE FIRST FEW MONTHS OF 1991. FRICTION OVER ITALY'S DEMANDS FOR A STRONGER EC ROLE IN THE FINANCIAL CRISIS COORDINATION GROUP SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN PUT BEHIND US.

11. ANDREOTTI AND DE MICHELIS HAVE BOTH BEEN VERY SUPPORTIVE IN THE GULF CRISIS. THE ITALIANS HAVE PROVIDED THREE FRIGATES, A SUPPLY SHIP, AND EIGHT TORNADO AIRCRAFT (BASED IN THE UAE). THEY HAVE PERMITTED VIRTUALLY UNRESTRICTED LANDINGS/OVERFLIGHTS BY US AIRCRAFT, AND OFFERED TO PAY FOR FIVE "RO-RO" TRANSPORT SHIPS TO CARRY U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT. THERE HAVE BEEN

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 004 *****/

INTERNAL DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE DISPATCH OF A GROUND FORCE, BUT THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES IT NEEDS A U.N. COVER FOR SUCH ACTION. ITALY HAS BEEN HELPFUL DIPLOMATICALLY BOTH ON ITS OWN AND IN THE EC CONTEXT, MOST NOTABLY WITH TUNISIA AND ON PRESSING FOR SOLIDARITY ON THE HOSTAGE ISSUE.

TRANSATLANTIC DECLARATION

12. ALTHOUGH THE DECLARATION SEEMS TO BE PROGRESSING, THERE ARE STILL QUESTIONS OUTSTANDING. ITALY IS TRYING TO MAKE UP FOR LOST TIME. POLITICAL DIRECTORS WILL DISCUSS THE MOST RECENT DRAFT, WHICH CONTAINS ONLY ONE OR TWO SIGNIFICANT ISSUES, ON NOVEMBER 8. IF, AS EXPECTED, FOREIGN MINISTERS GIVE FINAL APPROVAL TO THE DECLARATION ON NOVEMBER 12, IT COULD BE ANNOUNCED AND PUBLICIZED DURING ANDREOTTI'S VISIT.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

13. ITALY CONTINUES TO BE A CHAMPION OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. THE PROCESS IS SEEN AS A MEANS OF CURING

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ITALY'S OWN PROBLEMS BY IMPOSING AN EXTERNAL DISCIPLINE, AS A WAY OF ENSURING A STABLE AND SECURE EUROPE (ABSORBING A MORE DOMINANT GERMANY INTO A LARGER EUROPEAN ENTITY), AND AS A GUARANTEE OF A SERIOUS EUROPEAN VOICE IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS. COMPLETION OF THE 1992 SINGLE MARKET, ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, AND POLITICAL UNION -- INCLUDING A SINGLE FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY -- ARE ALL INITIATIVES ITALY STRONGLY SUPPORTS, EVEN IF IT IMPLEMENTS SPECIFIC MEASURES AT ITS OWN PACE. DESPITE ITS EUROPEAN COMMITMENT, ITALY SUPPORTS A STRONG U.S. POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC, AND TECHNOLOGICAL PRESENCE IN EUROPE.

 SOVIET UNION, EASTERN EUROPE AND CSCE

14. GORBACHEV WILL VISIT ITALY IN EARLY DECEMBER AND WILL PROBABLY SIGN AN UMBRELLA FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH ITALY WHILE HERE. ITALY BELIEVES AID IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT GORBACHEV AND FURTHER REFORMS. ITALY WILL BEGIN DISBURSEMENT OF A 2.7 BILLION DOLLAR FINANCIAL PACKAGE WITHIN THE NEXT MONTH AND CONTINUES TO PUSH THE EC TO BE FORTHCOMING ON COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIETS. THOUGH THE SOVIETS HAVE BEGUN PAYING ARREARS TO ITALIAN FIRMS (THANKS PARTLY TO PROMISED ITALIAN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE), THE PRIVATE SECTOR HAS GROWN CAUTIOUS IN DEALINGS WITH THE USSR.

15. ITALY HAS MOVED TO SOLIDIFY RELATIONS WITH ALL BALKAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STATES, IN PART BECAUSE VENICE-BASED DE MICHELIS IS WORRIED BY THE PROSPECT OF A WAVE OF REFUGEES OR WORSE NEAR HIS HOME DISTRICT. THE "PENTAGONALE" MUTUAL COOPERATION PROGRAM BETWEEN ITALY, AUSTRIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, AND YUGOSLAVIA IS THE MOST VISIBLE ASPECT OF ITALY'S REGIONAL POLICY. WE AGREE WITH ITALY ON YUGOSLAVIA, BULGARIA AND TO A LESSER DEGREE ALBANIA, BUT FIND THEM TOO TOLERANT OF ROMANIA. ITALY CONTINUES TO PUSH FOR ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE, ESPECIALLY TO PROMOTE INVESTMENT. ITALY SUPPORTS OUR EFFORTS TO FORGE CLOSER INSTITUTIONAL TIES BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND THE OECD.

16. AFTER INITIAL EUPHORIA, ESPECIALLY ON THE PART OF FONMIN DE MICHELIS, ABOUT THE ABILITY OF CSCE TO BECOME

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THE DOMINANT SECURITY INSTITUTION IN EUROPE, ITALY HAS SETTLED INTO A MORE REALISTIC EVALUATION OF CSCE'S POTENTIAL. AS EC SPOKESMAN WITHIN CSCE (BY REASON OF THE PRESIDENCY), ITALY HAS AT TIMES TAKEN A CONFRONTATIONAL STANCE, BOTH WITH US AND THE NON-NATO NATIONS. ITALY CLEARLY FAVORS A STRONG EC VOICE IN CSCE AND, PERHAPS, A SEPARATE EC IDENTITY WITHIN CSCE SOMEDAY.

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 005 *****/

401ST MOVE FROM TORREJON TO CROTONE

17. WE HAVE INFORMED THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT OF THE CONGRESS' ACTION, WHICH CUTS OFF OUR FY 1991 FUNDING FOR THE BASE AT CROTONE FROM THE NATO INFRASTRUCTURE FUND. ITALY HAS NOT REACTED OFFICIALLY, BUT WILL HESITATE TO GET TOO FAR OUT FRONT IN ADVOCATING THE PROGRAM WITHOUT U.S. FUNDING AND MAY BALK AT MEETING SOME CONGRESSIONAL DEMANDS, ESPECIALLY GUARANTEES ON OUT-OF-AREA USE. WE NEED TO REASSURE THE ITALIANS THAT THE U.S. WILL BE IN POSITION TO REPLENISH NATO INFRASTRUCTURE FUNDING FOR CROTONE IN THE FUTURE. SECRETARY CHENEY WILL SEE MINDEF ROGNONI NOVEMBER 19 IN WASHINGTON AND SHOULD DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH HIM AT THAT TIME.

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

18. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, ITALY HAS PLAYED AN UNHELPFUL ROLE ON GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE. ENVIRONMENT MINISTER RUFFOLO HAS THE LEAD AND IS PUSHING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT TO EARLY REDUCTIONS OF CARBON DIOXIDE EMISSIONS. ITALIAN AND OTHER EC LEADERS HAVE NOT CONSIDERED ADEQUATELY THE SCIENTIFIC UNCERTAINTY SURROUNDING GLOBAL CHANGE OR THE ECONOMIC COST OF HASTY POLICY MEASURES ON CARBON DIOXIDE AND REFORESTATION. ANDREOTTI SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO HAVE THE EC REVISIT THIS ISSUE BEFORE WORK BEGINS ON THE FRAMEWORK CLIMATE CONVENTION AT THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE IN FEBRUARY.

MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES

19. IN ANOTHER DE MICHELIS REGIONAL INITIATIVE, ITALY

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HOSTED IN EARLY OCTOBER THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN "FORUM": ITALY, FRANCE, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, LIBYA, TUNISIA, ALGERIA, MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA. ALTHOUGH LARGELY DEVOTED TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION, THE FORUM ISSUED A CALL FOR A CSCE-LIKE PROCESS FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN WHICH COULD POSE PROBLEMS FOR NATO NAVAL ACTIVITIES. ITALY (SUPPORTED BY SPAIN AND OTHERS) INTRODUCED THE IDEA FOR A CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (CSCM) AT THE PALMA CSCE MEETING, GOING INTO GREAT DETAIL AND INCLUDING A NUMBER OF REFERENCES TO SECURITY ISSUES (DESPITE ASSURANCES PRIOR TO THE MEETING THAT CSCM WOULD BE MENTIONED IN A LOW KEY MANNER, AVOIDING SECURITY ISSUES). NEVERTHELESS, THE ITALIANS HAVE ASSURED US THAT CSCM IS STILL IN THE "PRE-PREPARATORY" PHASE, BUT IS MOVING ALONG.

NARCOTICS

20. FACED WITH A GROWING DOMESTIC NARCOTICS PROBLEM, ITALY HAS EAGERLY COOPERATED WITH US, ESPECIALLY ON MONEY LAUNDERING ISSUES AND ON ESTABLISHING A CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM AMONG DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. ITALY WILL HOST THE FIRST POLICY-LEVEL MEETING OF THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP IN ROME ON NOVEMBER 21. ITALY ALSO JOINED WITH US AND SPAIN IN AIDING THE ANTI-NARCOTICS EFFORTS OF THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES. DOMESTICALLY, THE ITALIANS HAVE ADOPTED A TOUGH NARCOTICS LAW WHICH PENALIZES CASUAL, PERSONAL USE, BUT TIME LIMITATIONS IN THE NEW JUDICIAL CODE ARE LEADING TO THE RELEASE OF IMPORTANT FUGITIVES BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT CAN PROCESS OUR REQUESTS FOR THEIR EXTRADITION

TERRORISM

21. COOPERATION WITH THE GOI ON TERRORISM HAS BEEN VERY GOOD. AS A MEMBER OF THE SUMMIT SEVEN AND AS THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE EC, ITALY HAS BEEN AN EFFECTIVE INTERLOCUTOR ON TERRORISM ISSUES. DIFFERENCES WITH THE GOI GENERALLY ARISE OVER THE TACTICS OF DEALING WITH, AMONG OTHERS, LIBYA, IRAN AND SYRIA. RECENTLY, WE HAVE
 /***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 006 *****/
 BEEN INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT ITALIAN PENAL LAWS WHICH PERMIT FURLOUGHS, WORK RELEASE PROGRAMS AND

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SHORTENED SENTENCES FOR IMPRISONED TERRORISTS (AS WELL AS OTHER CRIMINALS).

BARALDINI CASE

22. THE CASE OF SYLVIA BARALDINI, NOW SERVING A 43-YEAR SENTENCE IN FLORIDA FOR TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN THE U.S., IS A POTENTIAL BILATERAL IRRITANT, THOUGH NO ONE HAS RAISED IT WITH THE AMBASSADOR FOR AT LEAST SIX MONTHS. AS A RESULT OF HER BOUT WITH CANCER AND HER SISTER'S DEATH IN A PLANE CRASH, SHE ENJOYS SOME SYMPATHY IN ITALY. ANDREOTTI RAISED THE CASE DURING VP QUAYLE'S VISIT. IN SIGNING THE STRASBOURG PRISONER TRANSFER CONVENTION, ITALY SOUGHT TO RESOLVE THE CASE BY BRINGING BARALDINI TO ITALY TO SERVE HER TERM. BUT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FEARS THAT BARALDINI MIGHT BE RELEASED SHORTLY AFTER HER RETURN (A NUMBER OF ITALIAN TERRORISTS HAVE IN FACT BEEN RELEASED RECENTLY); A DECISION IS PENDING AT JUSTICE ON WHETHER TO ALLOW BARALDINI'S RETURN TO ITALY.

PATRIOT AIR DEFENSE

23. THE SPECIAL LAW TO APPROVE FINANCING FOR THE MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR ITALIAN PORTION OF THE PATRIOT PROGRAM HAS NOT YET BEEN SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT. WE NEED TO URGE THE ITALIANS TO PUSH FORWARD THE SPECIAL LAW SO THAT WE CAN LOCK THEM INTO THE PROGRAM. DURING ANDREOTTI'S LAST VISIT TO WASHINGTON, HE WAS ASKED TO MOVE THE PROGRAM FORWARD, WHICH HE DID WHEN HE RETURNED TO ITALY. ANOTHER PUSH IS NEEDED, ESPECIALLY AS THE ISSUE OF FINANCING IS CURRENTLY ON THE BUDGET MINISTER'S DESK. SECCHIA

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091044Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

CONTROLS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 16954

USIA

USIA FOR P/M, EU (WANLUND), R

STATE FOR EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: N/A

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

SUBJECT: BELGIAN MEDIA REACTION

- I. GULF CRISIS
- II. CASE OF SECRET ORGANIZATION "GLADIO"
- I. GULF CRISIS

A. COVERAGE

-
1. BOTH RTBF AND BRT RADIO THIS MORNING REPORTED ON PRESIDENT BUSH'S ANNOUNCEMENT IN A TELEVISION ADDRESS THAT THE U.S. WILL DISPATCH ANOTHER 100,000 TROOPS TO THE PERSIAN GULF AS WELL AS THREE ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT CARRIERS.
 2. MEDIA ALSO GIVE PROMINENT PLAY TO SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE'S STATEMENT FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH SECRETARY BAKER THAT THE USE OF FORCE COULD NOT BE RULED OUT BUT THAT ANY SUCH USE SHOULD BE APPROVED BY THE UNITED NATIONS.
 3. THE POLEMICS BETWEEN BELGIAN HOSTAGES IN IRAQ AND THEIR RELATIVES, AND FOREIGN MINISTER EYSKENS CONTINUES TO DRAW MUCH ATTENTION IN THE PRESS. SEVERAL PAPERS CARRY EXCERPTS OF THE HOSTAGES' OPEN LETTER CRITICIZING THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT'S ALLEGED LACK OF INITIATIVE AS WELL AS THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S RELEASE ISSUED IN REPLY. BRT TV AND LABOR CATHOLIC HET VOLK (CIRC. 193,000) CARRIED INTERVIEWS WITH BELGIAN BUSINESSMAN AND BELGIUM-IRAQ FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION OFFICIAL FRANK ADINS, WHO TRAVELLED TO BAGHDAD IN AN ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN THE HOSTAGES' RELEASE, AND BROUGHT WITH HIM THEIR OPEN LETTER.

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B. COMMENTARY

DISCUSSING BELGIAN HOSTAGES' CRITICISM OF THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT'S ALLEGED INACTION, INDEPENDENT LE SOIR (CIRC. 204,000) WRITES: "OUR MINISTERS' POSITION IS INDEED QUITE UNCOMFORTABLE. OUR HOSTAGES' DISTRESS IS UNDERSTANDABLE, BUT IT IS A FACT THAT NO 'OFFICIAL' WESTERN MISSION WENT TO BAGHDAD. MR. HEATH, FOR INSTANCE, WENT THERE AGAINST MRS. THATCHER'S WILL. 'YOU DON'T NEGOTIATE WITH A HOSTAGE TAKER': SUCH IS THE WESTERN COUNTRIES' STRATEGY. U.S. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN KELLY REPEATED IT YESTERDAY IN BRUSSELS ON BEHALF OF THE U.S. 'THE U.S. IS CONCERNED BY THE SUCCESSION OF OFFICIALS WHO GO TO BAGHDAD TO FREE THE HOSTAGES,' HE SAID. 'IT SEEKS TO PREVENT THOSE DISORDERLY INITIATIVES WHICH COMFORT SADDAM HUSSEIN.'" II. CASE OF SECRET ORGANIZATION "**GLADIO**" (SWORD)

A. COVERAGE

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1. DEFENSE MINISTER COEME REPORTEDLY HAS ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION TO FIND OUT WHETHER THERE ARE LINKS BETWEEN AN INTERNATIONAL CLANDESTINE NETWORK OF SECRET SERVICES AND TERRORIST ATTACKS COMMITTED IN BELGIUM IN THE EIGHTIES. THE SOMEWHAT CONFUSED STORY, WHICH WAS BROKEN BY RTBF TV, RECEIVES PROMINENT PLAY ON RADIO AND IN SEVERAL PAPERS.
 2. COEME'S MOVE FOLLOWED REVELATIONS IN ITALY THAT AN UNDERGROUND **NATO** AND CIA SPONSORED AND FUNDED ORGANIZATION CALLED "**GLADIO**" (SWORD) WAS CREATED IN THE EARLY FIFTIES TO RESIST A POSSIBLE SOVIET INVASION.
 3. ON RTBF TV COEME SAID HE HAD JUST LEARNED ABOUT THE NETWORK "EVEN THOUGH I HAVE BEEN MINISTER OF DEFENSE FOR TWO AND A HALF YEARS."
 4. BRT RADIO QUOTED COEME AS SAYING THAT "**GLADIO**" IS STILL ACTIVE IN BELGIUM, AND THAT HE WILL RAISE THE MATTER AT TODAY'S CABINET MEETING.
 5. SAMPLE HEADLINES:
 - "**OPERATION GLADIO ALSO IN BELGIUM**" (SOCIALIST TABLOID DE MORGEN -CIRC. 47,000);
 - "SECRET SERVICES BEHIND (BRABANT) AND CCC GANGS?" (CATHOLIC HET BELANG VAN LIMBURG -CIRC. 104,000);

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-- "GLADIO THREATENS ITALIAN GOVERNMENT" (LABOR CATHOLIC HET VOLK -CIRC. 193,000);

-- "COEME INVESTIGATES GLADIO IN ARMY" (LIBERAL CATHOLIC /***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

DE STANDAARD -CIRC. 382,000);

-- "U.S. ARMED SECRET NETWORKS IN EUROPE" (CONSERVATIVE CATHOLIC LA LIBRE BELGIQUE (CIRC. 86,000);

-- "'SWORD' IS PRESENT IN BELGIUM -- MR. COEME'S SURPRISES" (INDEPENDENT LE SOIR -CIRC. 204,000);

-- "ITALIAN OR ATLANTIC GLADIATORS?" (SOCIALIST LA WALLONIE -CIRC. 48,000).

6. CONSERVATIVE CATHOLIC LA LIBRE BELGIQUE (CIRC. 86,000) REPORTS THAT "IT IS CERTAIN TODAY" THAT "A CIVIC RESISTANCE NETWORK FINANCED BY AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES AND READY TO INTERVENE IN THE EVENT OF A COMMUNIST INVASION EXISTED IN BELGIUM AND IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE DURING THE MOST ICY YEARS OF THE COLD WAR, BETWEEN 1950 AND 1980." LA LIBRE QUOTES COEME SAYING THAT, IN BELGIUM, THE ORGANIZATION, MANNED BY CIVILIANS AND FORMER MILITARY PEOPLE, INCLUDED AN INTELLIGENCE NETWORK, A RADIO NETWORK AND A SABOTAGE NETWORK. - REPORTING THAT IN ITALY, SUCH A NETWORK BY THE NAME OF GLADIO ALLEGEDLY PUT WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION AT THE DISPOSAL OF EXTREME-RIGHT TERRORIST MOVEMENTS IN ORDER TO PROMOTE THE SO-CALLED "TENSION STRATEGY," THE PAPER QUOTES COEME SAYING: "SINCE BELGIUM PRESENTLY CHAIRS NATO'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, IT WAS ASKED BY ITALY TO OPEN AN INVESTIGATION ABOUT THOSE WEAPONS. ALTHOUGH BELGIAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES ARE NOT IMPLICATED IN ASSISTING TERRORISTS, I DECIDED TO ORDER AN ADMINISTRATIVE INVESTIGATION. AT FIRST SIGHT BELGIUM CANNOT BE BLAMED, BUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT OLD CASES SUCH AS THE BRABANT KILLINGS AND THE ACTIVITIES OF WNP -- WESTLAND NEW POST -- AND IN ORDER NOT TO BE ACCUSED OF CLOSING OUR EYES, I ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION."

B. COMMENTARY

CONSERVATIVE CATHOLIC LA LIBRE BELGIQUE (CIRC. 86,000):
"IT WOULD OF COURSE BE SURPRISING THAT IN BELGIUM, EXCEPT PERHAPS IN INDIVIDUAL CASES, MILITARY PEOPLE WOULD HAVE ARMED TERRORISTS. THE TRUTH IS, IN VIEW OF THE EXPERIENCE OF 1940-45, THAT MEASURES WERE TAKEN TO

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WITHSTAND A SOVIET OCCUPATION. FOR LACK OF CONTACTS
WITH LONDON, THE BELGIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT EXPERIENCED
THE WORST POSSIBLE PROBLEMS.... IT SEEMS THEREFORE
NORMAL THAT, FEARING A THIRD WORLD WAR, MEASURES WERE
TAKEN FOR CIVIC PURPOSES...."
HARROD

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091810Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 17017

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PREL, NATO, BE

SUBJECT: BELGIAN MOD LAUNCHES INVESTIGATION INTO "GLADIO"
NETWORK

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY

2. ON NOVEMBER 8 MOD COEME ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAS ORDERED AN INQUIRY INTO THE "GLADIO" NETWORK AND ANY POSSIBLE LINKS BETWEEN GLADIO AND TERRORIST ACTS CARRIED OUT IN THE 1980'S. COEME, WHO SAID HE HAD ONLY JUST LEARNED OF BELGIAN SECURITY BRANCH LONG STANDING INVOLVEMENT IN CONTINGENCY PLANNING POSSIBLY RELATED TO "GLADIO," STRESSED THAT THERE WERE AT FIRST GLANCE NO INDICATIONS OF BELGIAN INVOLVEMENT IN QUESTIONABLE ACTIVITIES. COEME WILL REPORT PRELIMINARY FINDINGS IN THE INVESTIGATION TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON FRIDAY. IN A SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, A MAN LONG SOUGHT BY BELGIUM IN CONNECTION WITH SEVERAL UNSOLVED 1980'S MURDERS WHICH HAVE BEEN LINKED TO RIGHT WING GROUPS HAS BEEN ARRESTED IN SOUTH AFRICA AND AWAITS EXTRADITION. END SUMMARY

MOD ANNOUNCES INVESTIGATION INTO "GLADIO" NETWORK

3. ON NOVEMBER 8, MOD COEME ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAS ORDERED AN ADMINISTRATIVE INVESTIGATION INTO THE "GLADIO" NETWORK. THIS WAS DONE IN RESPONSE TO AN ITALIAN REQUEST MADE TO BELGIUM IN ITS CAPACITY AS CURRENT PRESIDENT OF NATO'S INTELLIGENCE BRANCH.

4. BELGIAN MEDIA ACCOUNTS NOTE THAT GLADIO, REPUTED TO BE A SECRET NATO-SPONSORED, CIA-BACKED ANTI-COMMUNIST NETWORK ESTABLISHED AT THE START OF THE COLD WAR, IS A MAJOR TOPIC

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IN ITALY WHERE THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN ALLEGATIONS OF POSSIBLE LINKS BETWEEN REPUTED **GLADIO** OPERATIONS AND RIGHT-WING TERRORIST ACTS IN THE 1970'S AND 1980'S.

POSSIBLE LINKS TO BELGIAN TERRORIST ACTS TO BE PROBED

5. THE MINISTER STRESSED THAT "NO REPROACHES HAVE BEEN ADDRESSED TO BELGIUM" BUT SAID THAT AN INVESTIGATION WAS WARRANTED "IN VIEW OF OLD ISSUES LIKE THE BRABANT KILLINGS ... AND ALSO SO THAT WE COULD NOT BE ACCUSED OF CLOSING OUR EYES TO THE ISSUE." THE SERIES OF BRUTAL MURDERS, COLLECTIVELY KNOWN HERE AS THE "BRABANT KILLINGS," IS THE MOST NOTORIOUS OF SEVERAL UNSOLVED ACTS OF VIOLENCE IN BELGIUM IN THE 1980'S.

6. WHILE COMMENTING THAT THERE "APPEARS TO BE NO COMPARISON" BETWEEN THE BELGIAN SITUATION AND "THE SUSPICIONS REVEALED IN ITALY," COEME SAID THAT THE LOCAL INVESTIGATION WOULD SEEK TO DETERMINE "WHETHER THERE IS ANY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THIS NETWORK AND THE BANDITRY AND TERRORISM WHICH AFFLICTED BELGIUM IN THE 1980'S."

GLADIO'S EXISTENCE WAS NEWS TO COEME

7. COEME SAID HE HAD ONLY JUST LEARNED THAT BELGIUM'S SERVICE DE RENSEIGNEMENTS GENERAUX (SRG) HAD FOR MANY YEARS BEEN INVOLVED IN CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR A CIVILIAN AND MILITARY RESISTANCE NETWORK, TO BE ACTIVATED IN THE EVENT OF A SOVIET INVASION. HE REFERRED TO THE "PATRIOTIC" NATURE OF THESE ACTIVITIES, AS WELL AS THE FACT THAT NO DISTRIBUTION OF WEAPONS WAS INVOLVED.

BELGIAN "CHAIRMANSHIP?"

8. FRENCH-LANGUAGE DAILY "LE SOIR" REPORTS THAT COEME HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT **GLADIO** IS STILL OPERATIVE AND THAT BELGIUM, UNBEKNOWNST TO HIM, HAD CHAIRED ITS MOST RECENT MEETING IN BRUSSELS. MOD OFFICIAL PRESS RELEASES OF COEME'S STATEMENTS MAKE NO REFERENCE TO THE MATTER.

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

SUSPECT IN "BRABANT KILLINGS" TO BE EXTRADITED FROM SOUTH

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AFRICA

9. COINCIDENTALLY, SEPARATE NOVEMBER 8 PRESS REPORTS ANNOUNCED THE ARREST IN SOUTH AFRICA OF JEAN BULTOT, A FORMER BELGIAN DEPUTY PRISON DIRECTOR AND CONVICTED FELON WHOSE NAME HAS SURFACED IN CONNECTION WITH THE "TUERIES" AND OTHER MURDER INVESTIGATIONS HERE. BELGIAN AUTHORITIES WHO HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR BULTOT SINCE HE FLED THE COUNTRY FOR PARAGUAY IN 1986, HAVE REPORTEDLY BEGUN EXTRADITION PROCEEDINGS IN JOHANNESBURG.

COMMENT

10. WHILE FAR FROM CREATING THE FUROR WHICH IT HAS GENERATED IN ITALY, THE **GLADIO** AFFAIR HAS THE POTENTIAL TO HIGHLIGHT THE CLEAVAGES BETWEEN SOCIALISTS AND (TRADITIONALLY PACIFIST) FLEMISH NATIONALISTS ON THE ONE HAND AND PRO-NATO LIBERALS AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ON THE OTHER. INDEED, WE SUSPECT THAT SOME, LIKE MOD COEME'S FLEMISH SOCIALIST AIDE RIK COOLSAET, COULD BE TEMPTED TO INFLATE THE ISSUE.

11. WHETHER THE EVENTUAL RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION WILL FUEL FURTHER DEBATE OR APPLY THE SOFT PEDAL REMAINS TO BE SEEN. SOME INDICATIONS OF HOW THE AFFAIR WILL BE PLAYED OUT HERE SHOULD COME AFTER COEME'S FRIDAY REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON THE PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY. GLITMAN

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131704Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL THE HAGUE 08928

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

BODY

TAGS: PREL, NATO, NL

SUBJECT: REPORTS OF THE "GLADIO" NETWORK IN THE

- NETHERLANDS

REF: BRUSSELS 17017

-

1. (U) ON NOVEMBER 13 THE DUTCH MEDIA GAVE PROMINENT COVERAGE TO THE SO-CALLED "GLADIO" AFFAIR. SPOKESMEN FOR BOTH THE GOVERNMENT INFORMATION SERVICE AND THE DEFENSE MINISTRY SAID ON NOVEMBER 12 THAT "SUCCESSIVE DUTCH PRIME MINISTERS AND DEFENSE MINISTERS WERE INFORMED" OF THE EXISTANCE OF A SECRET ORGANIZATION WHOSE ASSIGNMENT WAS TO SABOTAGE A POSSIBLE SOVIET OCCUPATION. A VERY SELECT GROUP OF SENIOR OFFICIALS WAS ALSO AWARE OF THE ORGANIZATION. ACCORDING TO ONE OF THESE SPOKESMEN, IT WAS A FACILITY RATHER THAN AN ORGANIZATION. "THE GOVERNMENT KNEW THAT PROVISIONS WERE MADE FOR THE EVENT OF AN OCCUPATION." THE SPOKESMEN SAID NO FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD BE MADE IN THE INTEREST OF NATIONAL SECURITY.
2. (U) THE DUTCH MEDIA REPORTED ON A POSSIBLE CONNECTION OF THE DISCOVERY OF TWO SECRET ARMS CACHES IN THE NETHERLANDS IN THE EARLY 1980'S WITH THE GLADIO ORGANIZATION. THE PRESS REPORTED THAT THIS CONNECTION WAS CONFIRMED BY UNIDENTIFIED SOURCES IN THE HAGUE. FORMER DUTCH DEFENSE MINISTER VREDELING WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT HE WAS AWARE OF THE ARMS CACHES AND OF THE ASSIGNMENT OF THOSE FOR WHOM THESE WEAPONS WERE INTENDED.
3. (U) WHILE THE PURPOSE OF THE SECRET ARMS CACHES WAS NEVER REVEALED, AT THE TIME OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE SECOND ARMS CACHE IN 1983, THEN DEFENSE MINISTER DE RUITER INFORMED PARLIAMENT THAT "UNDER THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DEFENSE MINISTER, WEAPONS WERE STORED AT A NUMBER OF PLACES IN THE NETHERLANDS FOR THE PURPOSE OF POSSIBLE USE IN A CERTAIN STAGE OF A POSSIBLE WAR. THIS METHOD OF

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STORING HAS NOW BEEN TERMINATED." ACCORDING TO UNNAMED MEDIA SOURCES, THE **GLADIO** ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN DORMANT SINCE THEN. THE MOD AND GOVERNMENT INFORMATION SERVICE SPOKESMEN REFERRED TO MINISTER DE QR'S RESPONSE IN 1983 TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO MORE SECRET ARMS CACHES IN THE NETHERLANDS SINCE THEN, AT LEAST NOT FOR THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH **GLADIO** REPORTEDLY WAS SET UP.

4. (U) THE PARLIAMENTARY DEFENSE SPOKESMAN FOR SENIOR COALITION PARTY CDA TON FRINKING, SECONDED BY HIS PVDA COUNTERPART HENK VOS, CALLED FOR CLARIFICATION ON POSSIBLE DUTCH INVOLVEMENT IN THE **GLADIO** ORGANIZATION. FRINKING ASKED WHAT POLITICAL CHECKS EXISTED ON THE ORGANIZATION. HE ALSO WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER **NATO** STILL HAD A NEED FOR AN ORGANIZATION SUCH AS **GLADIO**. WHILE THE TWO MAJOR PARTY SPOKESMEN BELIEVED THE ISSUE COULD BE DISCUSSED CONFIDENTIALLY BY THE PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE, THE OPPOSITION GREEN LEFT PARTY WANTS A PUBLIC DEBATE.

5. (C) COMMENT: EMBASSY DOUBTS WHETHER THE "**GLADIO**" AFFAIR WILL BECOME A CAUSE CELEBRE IN THE NETHERLANDS. PARLIAMENTARY CONTACTS HAVE TOLD US THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE WILL MEET IN CLOSED SESSION NOVEMBER 13 TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE. THESE CONTACTS ALSO SAID PARLIAMENT WOULD REQUEST A LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN MINISTER AND DEFENSE MINISTER ASKING WHAT THEY KNEW OF **GLADIO**, AND IF THEY DID NOT KNOW ANYTHING, WHY THEY DID NOT KNOW. IF IT APPEARS THAT THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT KEEP THE APPROPRIATE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT INFORMED IN THE PAST, THEN PARLIAMENT COULD MAKE THINGS A BIT DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT. EMBASSY NOTES THAT THE NETHERLANDS DOES NOT HAVE A HISTORY OF RIGHT-WING TERRORISM SUCH AS IN BELGIUM (REFTEL) AND ITALY WHICH THE MEDIA COULD ATTEMPT TO LINK TO THE NETWORK. WILKINS

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ADMIN
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SECRET**RELEASED IN FULL****DTG**

141612Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

CONTROLS**S E C R E T** LUXEMBOURG 01602

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

BODY

TAGS: PINS, NATO, LU

SUBJECT: THE **GLADIO** AFFAIRREF: (A) THE HAGUE 8928, (B) BRUSSELS 17017 AND
PREVIOUS

1. (U) THE RECENT UNMASKING OF IN-PLACE RESISTANCE GROUPS IN NATO COUNTRIES (THE "**GLADIO**" AFFAIR IN ITALY) HAS FINALLY ARRIVED IN LUXEMBOURG. SO FAR IT IS A NON-ISSUE DESPITE DEMANDS FROM SOME PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR A BRIEFING. PRIME MINISTER SANTER IS SCHEDULED TO GIVE THAT BRIEFING AT THIS AFTERNOON'S (NOVEMBER 14) PARLIAMENTARY SESSION.
2. (S) ON THIS QUESTION THE GOVERNMENT EXUDES CONFIDENCE. IF IT STICKS TO THE LINE OF ITS NOVEMBER 13 PRESS RELEASE (PARA 3 BELOW), THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEMS. THE COMMUNISTS, AN INSIGNIFICANT PARTY IN LUXEMBOURG, AND GREENS ARE TRYING TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF THE ISSUE BUT SO FAR WITHOUT ECHO.
3. (U) THE NOVEMBER 14 ISSUE OF CONSERVATIVE DAILY "LUXEMBURGER WORT" (NEWSPAPER OF RECORD, CIRCULATION 83,000) CARRIED FOLLOWING OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT PRESS RELEASE ON THE "**GLADIO** NETWORK" IN LUXEMBOURG (UNOFFICIAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION):
BEGIN TEXT:
"IN THE CONTEXT OF AN AGREEMENT AMONG THE ALLIES, THE NATO SECRET SERVICES ESTABLISHED A COVERT RESISTANCE STRUCTURE THAT COULD BE BROUGHT INTO OPERATION DURING HYPOTHETICAL INVASION OF A MEMBER COUNTRY'S TERRITORY. IN THIS CONTEXT, LUXEMBOURG, THROUGH ITS INTELLIGENCE SERVICE ("SERVICE DE RENSEIGNEMENTS"), BEGAN IN THE EARLY 1960'S TO TRAIN A SIMILAR NETWORK UNDER THE COORDINATION OF NATO AUTHORITIES. THE PRINCIPLE BEHIND THIS CONCEPT OF

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PATRIOTIC RESISTANCE COULD NEVER BE CONTESTED IN THE STRATEGIC CONTEXT OF THAT PERIOD. HOWEVER, THE LUXEMBOURG GOVERNMENT EMPHASIZES THAT THIS NETWORK WAS NEVER MISUSED IN THE GRAND DUCHY. IT IS NOW UP TO THE AUTHORITIES OF NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES TO JUDGE WHETHER AND TO WHAT EXTENT THIS CONCEPT REMAINS AN ACTIVE ISSUE IN THE NEW CONTEXT OF NATO'S FUNDAMENTAL REORIENTATION FOLLOWING THE JULY 5-6 LONDON SUMMIT."

END TEXT.

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SECRET**page 110**

SECRET

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151053Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

CONTROLS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LUXEMBOURG 01604

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PINS, NATO, LU

SUBJECT: MORE ON THE "GLADIO" AFFAIR

REF: LUXEMBOURG 1602 (DTG 141612Z NOV 90)

1. (LOU) AT THE LATE NOVEMBER 14 PARLIAMENTARY SESSION, LUXEMBOURG'S LARGEST OPPOSITION PARTY (DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- "DP" -- LIBERALS IN THE BRITISH SENSE) TRIED HARD TO MAKE A POLITICAL ISSUE OUT OF THE **GLADIO** AFFAIR. DP FIREBRAND EMILE KRIEPS WAS TWICE GAVELLED OUT OF ORDER WHEN HE DEMANDED OF PRIME MINISTER SANTER (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT -- CSV) WHICH FORMER CSV PRIME MINISTERS HAD KNOWN OF "**GLADIO**." A GREEN/ENVIRONMENTALIST PARTY PROPOSAL TO INVESTIGATE THE LUXEMBOURG VERSION OF **GLADIO** WAS VOTED DOWN 37-17.

2. (S) SANTER'S SEVEN-MINUTE EXPLANATION OF THE "STAY-BEHIND" PROGRAM (PARA 4 BELOW) WENT INTO CONSIDERABLE DETAIL THAT HAD BEEN HIGHLY CLASSIFIED. IT GAVE THE LUXEMBOURG SERVICE, WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE DIRECTLY TO SANTER, MAJOR HEARTBURN.

3. (C) COMMENT: THE DP HAS NEEDED A STRONG ISSUE EVER SINCE THE SOCIALISTS (LSAP) REPLACED IT AS JUNIOR PARTNER IN THE GOVERNING COALITION IN 1984. DESPITE THIS WEEK'S OPPORTUNISM, THEY HAVEN'T YET FOUND THEIR ISSUE.

4. (U) PRIME MINISTER SANTER'S PUBLIC STATEMENT ON "STAY BEHIND":

BEGIN QUOTE:

"**GLADIO**" IS A SPECIFICALLY ITALIAN NAME FOR A NATO NETWORK, FOR WHICH THE CORRECT TERM IS "STAY BEHIND," WHICH MEANS THAT IN CASE OF ENEMY INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF A TERRITORY, ELEMENTS STAY BEHIND IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY TO CONTINUE TO INFORM NATO

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OF THE SITUATION. ONE CAN COMPARE THIS NETWORK WITH SIMILAR SERVICES THAT EXISTED IN NAZI-OCCUPIED EUROPE DURING WORLD WAR II.

TO BE PREPARED FOR ANY POSSIBLY SIMILAR SITUATION, NATO ALREADY DECIDED IN TIMES OF PEACE TO SET UP IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INTERALLIED AGREEMENTS A SIMILAR NETWORK, SO IT WAS LOGICAL THAT LUXEMBOURG HAD TO BE PART OF IT. I WANT TO POINT OUT THAT NATO LEFT IT UP TO THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBER COUNTRIES "MORE OR LESS" TO TAILOR THE NETWORK MISSIONS. IN LUXEMBOURG THE "SERVICE DE RENSEIGNEMENTS" RECRUITED ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS PEOPLE TO UNDERTAKE COVERT ACTION, WHO WERE SPECIALLY TRAINED IN THE USE OF SPECIALIZED COMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT. THE MISSION OF THE LUXEMBOURG STAY-BEHIND NETWORK WAS TO TRAIN PERSONNEL IN ORDER TO KEEP NATO INFORMED IN CASE OF ENEMY OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORY AND TO TRAIN FOR SUPPORTING SPECIAL MILITARY MISSIONS. THIS WAS THE ONLY/ONLY LUXEMBOURG MISSION; IT CONSISTED ONLY OF TRAINING.

I FURTHER WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT:

- (A) THIS NETWORK WAS IMPLEMENTED IN AN INTERALLIED CONTEXT.
- (B) THE PRINCIPLE OF THIS CONCEPT WAS BASED ON THE BAD EXPERIENCES OF WORLD WAR II.
- (C) THE LUXEMBOURG NETWORK HAD NO MILITARY COMPONENTS OR BRANCHES.
- (D) I PERSONALLY DID NOT KNOW OF THE EXISTENCE OF THIS NETWORK, AND I WAS AS SURPRISED AS THE BELGIAN MINISTER OF DEFENSE WHEN I HEARD ABOUT ITS EXISTENCE.

THE CONCEPT OF THIS NETWORK CAN BE EXPLAINED IN THE STRATEGY OF FORMER DECADES. THERE HAS TO BE A REORIENTATION ON THE EVE OF THE CSCE SUMMIT. I HAVE GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS TO THE "SERVICE DE RENSEIGNEMENTS" TO PUT AN END TO THE NETWORK IN LUXEMBOURG AND TO STOP ALL RELATED ACTIVITIES.

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

END QUOTE.
ROWELL

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SECRET

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151327Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

CONTROLS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 THE HAGUE 08987

USIA

USIA FOR P/M, P/GF, P/FW, EU-GCROUCH

STATE FOR EUR/P, EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: N/A

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODYSUBJECT: DUTCH MEDIA REACTION - **GLADIO**

1. NOV. 13 ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD(P3) CARRIES EDITORIAL ON A SECRET "**NATO** NETWORK", CALLED "**GLADIO**". 14/11 TROUW(FP), VOLKSKRANT(P3) AND ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD(FP) REPORT THAT PM LUBBERS SENT A LETTER TO THE SECOND CHAMBER TO EXPLAIN THE AFFAIR. THE LETTER HAS BEEN PUBLISHED IN 14/11 NRC(P9).

15/11 VOLKSKRANT(P3), TELEGRAAF(P3) AND ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD(P3) CARRY ALSO EDITORIALS.

11/15 TROUW (FP) REPORTS THAT "THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE CIA IN SETTING UP A SECRET NETWORK, WHICH WAS TO PROVIDE RESISTANCE DURING A COMMUNIST INVASION IN EUROPE, IN SOME CASES DID NO INFORM THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL AUTHORITIES OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED." FORMER CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM COLBY REPORTEDLY SAID THIS IN AN INTERVIEW WITH A SWEDISH PRESS AGENCY. IT APPEARS FROM HIS STATEMENTS THAT "'**GLADIO**' DID NOT COME UNDER **NATO** SUPERVISION AT ALL, BUT WAS THE WORK OF THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. 'SOMETIMES WITH CONSENT OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES OF A COUNTRY BUT SOMETIMES COMPLETELY INDEPENDENTLY,' SAID COLBY...." THE FORMER CIA DIRECTOR DENIED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ORGANIZATIONS HAD EVER ACTIVELY COOPERATED WITH VARIOUS NATIONAL RIGHT-WING ORGANIZATIONS DURING PEACETIME, NOR HAD THEY TRIED TO INFILTRATE MOVEMENTS SUCH AS THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES.

2. EXCERPTS FROM EDITORIALS:

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 ---11/13 ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD (CONSERVATIVE,
 MASS-CIRCULATION DAILY) "GLADIO NO COVER-UP":
 "THE SECRET ATMOSPHERE AROUND THE SO-CALLED GLADIO
 UNITS IN THE NATO COUNTRIES HAS TO BE OPENED UP."
 "...IN THE MEANWHILE, SO MUCH EXITEMENT ABOUT THIS
 AFFAIR HAS BEEN GENERATED, (BOTH) INSIDE THE COUNTRY
 AND ABROAD, THAT THIS AFFAIR CANNOT BE DISCUSSED AND
 SETTLED IN CONFIDENTIAL MEETINGS".
 "...MANY QUESTIONMARKS CAN BE PLACED BEHIND THE
 UTILITY OF SUCH AN ORGANISATION IN AN AGE OF VISIBLE
 EUROPEAN DETENTE".

---11/15 VOLKSKRANT(P3) EDITORIAL "WITHOUT NAME":
 "SINCE THE FIFTIES AN ORGANISATION HAS EXISTED THAT
 APPARENTLY IS SO SECRET THAT PM LUBBERS EVEN NOW
 STILL DARES NOT RELEASE ITS NAME".
 "... SECRECY ABOUT SUCH PREPARATIONS IN CASE OF AN
 ENEMY OCCUPATION OF A COUNTRY SEEMS REASONABLE, FOR
 TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD MAKE THINGS TOO EASY FOR A
 POSSIBLE OCCUPIER".
 "SECRECY HOWEVER HAS DEMOCRATIC DANGERS, (WHICH IS
 THE) REASON FOR THE EXCITEMENT (OVER "GLADIO") IN
 ITALY AND BELGIUM".
 "...ON A WHOLE IT S EXTREMELY STRANGE THAT FOR MORE
 THAN THIRTY YEARS, THERE HAS BEEN NO PARLIAMENTARY
 CONTROL OF THIS ORGANISATION".
 "...THAT SEEMS TO BE A RATHER SERIOUS VIOLATION OF
 THE DUTCH (PARLLAMANTARY) SYSTEM....PM LUBBERS STILL
 HAS A LOT TO EXPLAIN TO THE PUBLIC ON THIS POINT."
 "...AND THAT IS NOT THE ONLY THING. IN HIS VERY
 UNSATISFYING LETTER (TO PARLIAMENT ON THIS ISSUE) HE
 SAYS THAT OVER SEVERAL MONTHS CONSIDERATION WILL BE
 GIVEN TO REDUCING THE OZN (ORGANISATIE ZONDER NAAM
 /ORGANISATION WITHOUT NAME) 'TO THE ABSOLUTE
 MINIMUM'. THIS ASSUMES THAT THE TWO MINISTERS
 (CONCERNED) STILL CONSIDER SUCH AN ORGANISATION
 NECESSARY AND WANT TO SPEND MONEY FOR IT (ALTHOUGH AT
 REDUCED LEVELS. IN THE RECENT CLIMATE OF
 INTERNATIONAL DETENTE, THIS APPEARS TO BE A VERY
 THEORATICAL AND DUBIOUS WAY OF REASONING".
 "A DECISION ABOUT THE FURTHER EXISTENCE OF THE OZN AS

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/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

AN ORGANISATION HAS TO BE TAKEN OPENLY AND
DEMOCRATICALLY: BY A MAJORITY OF THE SECOND CHAMBER"

---15/11 TELEGRAAF EDITORIAL "MOCKERY":

"...NOW, WITH A LOT OF FUSS, TO MAKE THIS ("GLADIO")
CASE OUT TO BE A CRIME IS REALLY RIDICULOUS. THE
CONTROL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PARLIAMENT IS BEING
MADE A MOCKERY".

---15/11 ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD(P3) EDITORIAL "SHADOWY IT
STAYS":

"THE ANSWER OF PM LUBBERS TO QUESTIONS FROM THE
SECOND CHAMBER ABOUT THE SECRET ORGANISATION THAT HA
TO OPERATE BEHIND THE LINES IS HIGHLY
UNSATISFACTORY IT ONLY BRINGS UP NEW QUESTIONS.
THAT SUCH A SHADOWY ORGANISATION HAS EXISTED SINCE
THE FIFTIES IS NOT DENIED".

"...UNANSWERED HOWEVER STAYS THE QUESTION OF WHY THIS
IS BEING HANDLED (IN THE NETHERLANDS) WITH SO MUCH
SECRECY, PARTICULARLY IN COMPARISON WITH THE
REVELATIONS ABOUT GLADIO ABROAD".

"IT IS RIGHT THAT THERE SHOULD BE A PARLIAMENTARY
DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE NEXT WEEK, SINCE THE PM'S LETTER
DLD NOT CLARITY THE MATTER."

3. HEADLINES:

14/11 TROUW (CALVINIST LEFT DAILY) HEADLINE:"LUBBERS:
THE NETHERLANDS HAS A SECRET SERVICE SINCE THE
FIFTIES".

VOLKSKRANT (LABOR PARTY ORIENTED DAILY) HEADLINE:
"LUBBERS ADMITS THE EXISTENCE OF SECRET ORGANISATION
CREATED FOR OCCUPATION"

ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD HEADLINE:"FOR THE FIRST TIME THE
EXISTENCE OF SECRET GROUP ADMITTED. "LA SALLE

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E.O. 12356: N/A

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODYSUBJECT: AUSTRIAN PRESS SUMMARY NO. 180, FOR NOVEMBER
16, 1990

1. UPCOMING CSCE SUMMIT: ALL AUSTRIAN MEDIA CONTINUE TO GIVE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE TO THE UPCOMING PARIS CSCE SUMMIT. ENTITLED "A RESULT WE WOULD NEVER HAVE DREAMED OF", "DIE PRESSE" WRITES: "AT THE CSCE SUMMIT STARTING IN PARIS ON MONDAY, THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE 22 NATO AND WARSAW PACT STATES WILL SIGN THE CFE TREATY ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE AND DECLARE THAT THE TWO ALLIANCES NO LONGER REGARD EACH OTHER AS ENEMIES. THE TOP-RANKING POLITICIANS OF ALL 34 CSCE STATES WILL SIGN THE PARIS SUMMIT DOCUMENT, NEGOTIATED IN VIENNA, ON THE FUTURE OF THE CSCE PROCESS AND THE END OF THE DIVISION OF EUROPE ('CHARTA OF PARIS FOR A NEW EUROPE'). AT THE SAME TIME, THEY WILL ACCEPT THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN VIENNA ON NEW

CONFIDENCE-AND-SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES. THIS CSBM PACKAGE IS TO BE ACCEPTED TODAY, FRIDAY, BY THE HEADS OF THE 34 DELEGATIONS IN VIENNA'S HOFBURG, PROVIDED THE LAST REMAINING OBSTACLES HAVE BEEN REMOVED. WESTERN DIPLOMATS ARE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT A 'SUBSTANTIAL RESULT WE WOULD NEVER HAVE DREAMED OF AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.'"

THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO DESCRIBE IN DETAIL THE CSBM PACKAGE, POINTING TO THE FOLLOWING MAIN ITEMS: THE ANNUAL EXCHANGE OF MILITARY INFORMATION; THE REDUCTION OF RISKS THROUGH A 'MECHANISM FOR CONSULTATION AND

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COOPERATION IN CASE OF UNCOMMON MILITARY ACTIVITIES' AND COOPERATION IN CASE OF 'DANGEROUS INCIDENTS OF A MILITARY NATURE'; AND, THIRDLY, MILITARY CONTACTS, INCLUDING INSPECTIONS OF AIR BASES, WHICH FOR THE FIRST TIME EXTENDS THE CONFIDENCE-AND-SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES TO INCLUDE ALSO AIR FORCES.

"THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND THE REDUCTION OF RISKS WILL BE THE CENTRAL TASKS OF THE CSCE CONFLICT PREVENTION CENTER, WHICH, AS WILL BE CONCLUDED AT THE PARIS SUMMIT, WILL BE LOCATED IN VIENNA."

IN AN INTERVIEW BROADCAST ON THE DAILY ORF EVENING NEWS PROGRAM "ZEIT IM BILD I", AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MOCK REFERRED TO THE CONFLICT PREVENTION CENTER AND CALLED IT A "GREAT SUCCESS FOR AUSTRIAN DIPLOMACY". HE SAID THE CENTER IS OF GREAT POLITICAL IMPORTANCE, AS IT IS LIKELY TO BE THE STARTING POINT FOR A EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND THE MOST IMPORTANT MILITARY DATA BANK. ON THE QUESTION WHETHER SECRET SERVICES WILL ALSO BE ACTIVE THERE, MOCK SAID, "FACTS AND DATA THAT HAVE UP TO NOW BEEN STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL WILL BE OPEN TO THE PUBLIC AND TO OTHER COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO BUILD CONFIDENCE." FOR CASES OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONFLICTS, A CSCE COURT OF ARBITRATION WILL BE SET UP. ON THE U.S. POSITION REGARDING THE CSCE SUMMIT, "DIE PRESSE" WRITES, "IN THE WORDS OF U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER, THE SUMMIT MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA OF EUROPEAN RELATIONS. IN THE POST-COLD-WAR ERA, CSCE WILL BE 'THE COMMON GROUND ON WHICH THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, THE U.S., AND KANADA CAN MEET IN ORDER TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS, MILITARY SECURITY, AND ECONOMIC, ENVIRONMENTAL, AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION.'

AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN VIENNA, HOWEVER, THE AMERICANS WERE LESS CONCILIATORY: SO FAR, THEY HAVE REFUSED TO AGREE ON AN EMERGENCY MECHANISM FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF POLITICAL CRISES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE 34. IT IS MOSTLY DUE TO THIS REFUSAL ON THE PART OF THE U.S. THAT THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE SUMMIT HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN COMPLETING THE 'CHARTA OF PARIS FOR A NEW EUROPE'. SOME EUROPEAN STATES HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WILL RAISE THE ISSUE IN PARIS, SHOULD THE U.S. NOT GIVE IN." (DIE PRESSE, P 4; DER STANDARD, P 1)

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2. **GLADIO** AFFAIR / DOES THE TRAIL ALSO LEAD TO AUSTRIA?: IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AFFAIR AROUND A 'SUPER-SECRET-SERVICE' ACTIVE IN MOST EUROPEAN NATO STATES BUT ALSO IN SEVERAL NEUTRAL COUNTRIES, CALLED "**GLADIO**", WHICH ALLEGEDLY WAS TO BECOME ACTIVE ALL OVER EUROPE IN CASE OF A COMMUNIST INVASION OR IF THE COMMUNISTS SHOULD INTERNALLY TAKE OVER POWER IN EUROPE, THE MASS-CIRCULATION DAILY "KURIER" OF NOVEMBER 15 REPORTS THAT TRAILS ARE ALSO LEADING TO AUSTRIA. THE ARTICLE QUOTES ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI, WHO IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID, "THE SECRET ORGANIZATION WAS CREATED TO WARD OFF THE COMMUNIST THREAT AND RAN NUMEROUS WEAPONS DEPOSITS IN ITALY, BELGIUM, GREECE, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND AUSTRIA. ACCORDING TO AUSTRIA'S TWO MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, "**GLADIO**" HAS NEVER BEEN ACTIVE IN AUSTRIA WITH THE KNOWLEDGE AND CONSENT OF AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES. IT IS, HOWEVER, POSSIBLE THAT THE ITALIANS HAVE ESTABLISHED SUCH STRUCTURES IN AREAS AT THE BORDER-

ORF TV REPORTED YESTERDAY THAT "THE ORGANIZATION WAS TO PROTECT, FROM A NATO HEADQUARTERS IN BELGIUM, ALSO THE NEUTRALS - SWITZERLAND, SWEDEN, AND AUSTRIA - AGAINST A COMMUNIST THREAT. (KURIER, 11.15, P.5; ZEITUNG BILD I, NOVEMBER 15)

3. OPINION POLL ON GULF CRISIS: ACCORDING TO AN OPINION POLL BY THE INDEPENDENT POLLING INSTITUTE "IMAS" ON WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE GULF CRISIS, ONLY 44 PERCENT OF THE AUSTRIANS LAY THE BLAME ONLY ON IRAQ. AMONG THE 26 PERCENT OF THE RESPONDEES THAT BLAME ALSO OTHER STATES, 43 PERCENT MENTION THE U.S., 20 PERCENT SAUDI ARABIA AND OTHER ARAB NATIONS, AND 7 PERCENT ISRAEL- 20 PERCENT THINK ALSO THE "INTERNATIONAL WEAPONS INDUSTRY" IS TO BE BLAMED. (NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG, P.3)

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/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: MARR, PINR, PREL, PTER, NATO, SP, US

SUBJECT: "GLADIO" AGAIN: NOW IT'S SPAIN'S TURN

1. (U) SUMMARY: THE SPANISH PRESS HAS BEGUN EXAMINING ALLEGED ACTIVITIES OF THE "GLADIO" NETWORK IN SPAIN, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH GLADIO ALSO HAD LINKS WITH RIGHT-WING SPANISH TERRORIST GROUPS. DEFMIN NARCIS SERRA HAS ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT OF ANY SPANISH INVOLVEMENT IN "GLADIO." SERRA SAYS GLADIO WAS NEVER ESTABLISHED IN SPAIN, AND THAT WHEN THE SOCIALISTS CAME TO POWER IN 1982 THEY FOUND NO EVIDENCE OF THE ORGANIZATION. END SUMMARY.

REVELATIONS FROM BELGIUM

2. (U) THE "GLADIO" AFFAIR BELATEDLY EMERGED IN SPAIN AFTER HAVING SURFACED IN A NUMBER OF OTHER NATO COUNTRIES. MADRID'S MAIN NEWSPAPERS BEGAN THEIR COVERAGE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS MADE IN BELGIUM BY ANDRE MOYEN, IDENTIFIED AS A FORMER MEMBER OF THE BELGIAN COUNTER-ESPIONAGE SERVICE. MOYEN WAS QUOTED AS EXPRESSING SURPRISE THAT PREVIOUS PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE GLADIO AFFAIR HAD FAILED TO MENTION THE SPANISH CONNECTION, SINCE "THE SPANISH (INTELLIGENCE) SERVICES HAVE PLAYED A GUIDING ROLE IN THE RECRUITMENT OF AGENTS AND THE PASSING ON OF INFORMATION TO PARALLEL SERVICES" IN OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. MOD PROMISES INVESTIGATION

3. (U) ON NOVEMBER 16, "EL PAIS," THE COUNTRY'S LARGEST AND MOST RESPECTED NEWSPAPER, QUOTED UNNAMED GOVERNMENT SOURCES AS SAYING THAT SERRA HAD ORDERED A ROUTINE INVESTIGATION WITH THE AIM OF PROVING THAT GLADIO NEVER OPERATED IN SPAIN. SERRA WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "WHEN WE (THE SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY, PSOE) CAME TO POWER IN 1982, WE FOUND NO INDICATIONS OF SUCH AN ORGANIZATION. I ATTRIBUTE THIS TO THE FACT THAT WE ENTERED

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LATE INTO NATO, WHEN THE COLD WAR WAS DECLINING." SERRA FIRST PUBLICLY DENIED ANY SPANISH CONNECTION WITH **GLADIO** NOVEMBER 13 IN PARIS DURING THE "FRANCO-SPANISH SUMMIT."

LINKS ALLEGED TO SPANISH RIGHTWING TERRORISTS

4. (U) "EL PAIS" REPORTED THAT SERRA IS DUE TO RESPOND SOON IN PARLIAMENT TO A QUESTION POSED BY THE UNITED LEFT PARTY (COMMUNIST-AFFILIATED) PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTY, ANTONIO ROMERO. ROMERO HIMSELF WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE **GLADIO** HAD EVER BEEN ESTABLISHED IN SPAIN, BUT THAT IT WAS PROBABLE SPAIN HAD SERVED AS A LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR THE NETWORK, PROVIDING COVER TO "FASCIST ELEMENTS" FROM OTHER NATO COUNTRIES. ROMERO TOLD ANOTHER NEWSPAPER, "EL MUNDO," THAT IT WAS VERY POSSIBLE THAT THE **GLADIO** NETWORK HAD LINKS WITH THE ULTRA-RIGHT TERRORIST GROUPS THAT OPERATED IN SPAIN DURING THE PERIOD OF SPAIN'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY. CARLOS CARNERO, SPOKESMAN FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (PCE), SECONDED ROMERO'S SUSPICIONS IN STATEMENTS TO "EL INDEPENDIENTE."

5. (U) OTHER NEWSPAPERS ELABORATED ON THIS ASPECT OF THE STORY, CLAIMING THAT ITALIAN NEO-FASCISTS LINKED TO THE **GLADIO** SCANDAL IN ITALY MAY HAVE BEEN GIVEN REFUGE IN SPAIN. THE MADRID DAILY "EL INDEPENDIENTE" OF NOV 15 CARRIED A LONG STORY CLAIMING THAT THE "ITALIAN NEO-FASCIST" CARLO CICUTTINI TOOK REFUGE IN SPAIN IN 1972 FOLLOWING HIS POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN THE ASSASSINATION OF THREE CARABINIERI IN THE ITALIAN TOWN OF PETEANO DI SAGRANO. IN 1983, AN ITALIAN EXTRADITION REQUEST FOR CICUTTINI WAS DENIED, AND HE HAS CONTINUED TO LIVE IN SPAIN EVER SINCE, "WITH OFFICIAL AUTHORIZATION," THE PAPER SAID.

6. (U) "EL INDEPENDIENTE" WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT IT WAS THE ITALIAN MAGISTRATE FELICE CASSON'S INVESTIGATION INTO THE PETEANO ASSASSINATIONS THAT BROUGHT THE ITALIAN **GLADIO** TO LIGHT. FINALLY, THE STORY POINTEDLY MENTIONED THAT SEVERAL OTHER ITALIAN NEO-FACISTS OF CICUTTINI'S ILK HAD BEEN LINKED TO THE SPANISH RIGHTIST TERRORIST GROUP GAL (ACRONYM FOR ANTI-TERRORIST LIBERATION GROUPS). INVESTIGATIVE REPORTERS MELCHOR MIRALLES AND RICARDO ARGUES, IN THEIR 1989 BOOK ON GAL (ENTITLED "AMEDO: THE STATE AGAINST ETA"), CITE CICUTTINI NINE TIMES IN DISCUSSING ALLEGED LINKS BETWEEN ITALIAN ULTRA RIGHTISTS AND SPANISH SECURITY SERVICES. FORMER SPANISH ARMY COLONEL CLAIMS **GLADIO** ACTIVE IN SPAIN

7. (U) IN AN ACCOMPANYING STORY, "EL INDEPENDIENTE" QUOTED

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FORMER SPANISH ARMY COLONEL AMADEO MARTINEZ INGLES (RECENTLY CASHIERED BY SERRA FOR INSUBORDINATION ON ANOTHER ISSUE) AS SAYING THAT "THE SECRET ESPIONAGE NETWORK **GLADIO**" HAD IN SPAIN
/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

"AN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE VERY WELL PREPARED TO INVESTIGATE POLITICIANS OF AN 'APERTURISTA' OR DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER" DURING THE FRANCO PERIOD. THE STORY ADDED THAT "MARTINEZ INGLES MAINTAINED AS WELL THAT **GLADIO** PLAYED A VERY SIGNIFICANT ROLE DURING THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRANCO REGIME, AND THAT, AFTER THAT PERIOD, THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE ANTICOMMUNIST NETWORK, KNOWN AS 'PARALLEL NATO', 'PASSED OVER TO CESID (THE SPANISH MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE) AND THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF THE DEMOCRACY.'"

8. (U) THE "EL PAIS" REPORT SPECULATED THAT ONE OF THE POINTS SERRA'S INVESTIGATION SHOULD CLEAR UP IS WHETHER CESID HAD EVER HAD ANY LINKS TO **GLADIO**, AS HAS BEEN CHARGED OF INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF OTHER **NATO** COUNTRIES. THE REPORT SPECIFICALLY NAMED CESID'S CURRENT DIRECTOR, EMILIO ALONSO MANGLANO, AS BEING IN A POSITION TO KNOW OF SUCH A CONNECTION, GIVEN HIS POSITION AS HIS AGENCY'S LIAISON TO **NATO**'S SECURITY OFFICE.

9. (C) COMMENT: THE **GLADIO** AFFAIR HAS ASPECTS WITH OBVIOUS POTENTIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SPANISH POLITICAL SCENE. THIS IS ILLUSTRATED PARTICULARLY BY THE ATTEMPTS TO LINK **GLADIO** TO RIGHTWING SPANISH TERRORIST GROUPS AND TO POLITICAL OPPRESSION UNDER THE FRANCO DICTATORSHIP. THE SPANISH PRESS AND PUBLIC CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO ANY PORTRAYAL OF A SPANISH **GLADIO** AS A SECRET FRANCO-ERA, **NATO**-LINKED PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION STILL OPERATING, PERHAPS WITH NO ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE COUNTRY'S RELATIVELY NEW DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. END COMMENT. ZAPPALA

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/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

SUBJECT: DISINFORMATION ALERT--U.S. TERRORISM AND
ASSASSINATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH "OPERATION GLADIO"REFS: (A) USIA 42786, (B) ROME 15800, 19605, 20005, 20107,
20482, 20502, 20698, 20809, 20898

1. POSTS ARE ADVISED TO BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR, AND TO RESPOND TO, SOVIET DISINFORMATION CONCERNING ALLEGED TERRORISM, ASSASSINATIONS, AND OTHER CRIMES COMMITTED BY THE CIA ON THE TERRITORY OF NATO ALLIES FROM THE 1950S TO THE PRESENT.

2. SUMMARY: A CRUDE DISINFORMATION ITEM APPEARED IN "SOVYETSKAYA ROSSIYA" ON OCTOBER 18 (APPARENTLY CARRIED BY TASS) THAT BLAMED THE CIA FOR "DESTABILIZING ITALY THROUGH TERRORIST MEANS," AND ALLEGES A VARIETY OF OTHER CIA "BLOODY CRIMES" THROUGHOUT EUROPE. THIS DISINFORMATION, AND A WELL-ESTABLISHED SOVIET FORGERY OF AN ARMY FIELD MANUAL, HAVE BEEN LINKED TO A STORY ABOUT A SECRET NATO "OPERATION GLADIO." THE STORY ABOUT "GLADIO" HAS CAUSED MAJOR CONTROVERSY IN ITALY AND BELGIUM, AND HAS BEEN COVERED WORLDWIDE AFTER APPEARING ON MOST MAJOR NEWS WIRES. ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER GIULIO ANDREOTTI PUBLICLY ADMITTED THE EXISTENCE OF "GLADIO" (AS HAVE OTHER HIGH-RANKING ALLIED OFFICIALS) ON NOVEMBER 8, BUT DISCOUNTED ALLEGATIONS THAT THERE WERE LINKS BETWEEN IT AND THE TERRORISM OF THE 1970S AND 1980S. THE PRIMARY FIGURE BEHIND THE "SOVYETSKAYA

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ROSSIYA" DISINFORMATION AND THE FALSE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT CIA INVOLVEMENT IN ITALIAN TERRORISM IS AMCTI RICHARD BRENNEKE, A MAN WHO FALSELY CLAIMS TO BE A CIA AGENT AND WHO HAS MADE NUMEROUS FALSE AND/OR BIZARRE CHARGES IN THE PAST. ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIALS AND BRENNEKE HAVE FALSELY LINKED "GLADIO" TO ITALIAN TERRORISM RECENTLY IN THE ITALIAN MEDIA.
END SUMMARY.

3. IN A DISPLAY OF CRUDE, FLAGRANT DISINFORMATION OF A KIND SELDOM SEEN IN THE SOVIET PRESS FOR SOME TIME, "SOVYETSKAYA ROSSIYA" CHARGED THAT:

(BEGIN EXCERPTS)

...A GREAT POWER FINANCED, SUPPORTED, AND MANIPULATED TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS THAT COMMITTED BLOODY CRIMES IN WESTERN EUROPE. ACCORDING TO FORMER CIA AGENT RICHARD BRENNEKE, THIS UNFORTUNATELY WELL-KNOWN COMPANY, OR AT LEAST SOME OF ITS MEMBERS WERE CONNECTED WITH THE ITALIAN MASONIC LODGE "P-2."

AT FIRST, THIS WAS A TRADE IN WEAPONS AND NARCOTICS UNDER PROTECTED CONDITIONS, AND THEN IT WAS SIMPLY A DEAL WITH THE GOAL OF DESTABILIZING ITALY THROUGH TERRORIST MEANS.
(END EXCERPTS)

THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO BLAME THIS CIA-DOMINATED NETWORK FOR THE 1980 BOMBING OF THE BOLOGNA TRAIN STATION, THE 1985 MASS MURDERS IN THE BRABANT PROVINCE OF BELGIUM, AND THE 1974 BOMBING OF THE "ITALIKUS" PASSENGER TRAIN. IT IMPLIES CIA INVOLVEMENT IN THE ASSASSINATION OF OLOF PALME, DRUG

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

TRAFFICKING, AND INDICATES THAT THE U.S. CONDUCTS A SIMILAR "STRATEGY" OF TERRORISM IN LATIN AMERICA. THE ROLE OF TERRORISM DURING THE TIME OF THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHING-2 AND CRUISE MISSILES IS UNDERLINED, AS IS THE ALLEGATION THAT CIA AGENTS CONTINUE THESE ACTIVITIES "EVEN NOW, WHILE THE AMERICANS ARE STRIVING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF WEAK COUNTRIES TO PRESERVE THEIR PRESENCE IN EUROPE, HAVING BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE CHANCE TO WAVE THE BUGABOO OF THE SOVIET THREAT...."

4. ANOTHER SOVIET SOURCE, "RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA" ON NOVEMBER 15

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CARRIED AN ARTICLE ENTITLED, "ANOTHER UNCOVERED SECRET: WHO IS BEHIND THE 'GLADIO' ORGANIZATION." IT REPEATS ALLEGATIONS SAID TO HAVE BEEN CARRIED IN THE BELGIAN PRESS ABOUT A "CONNECTION BETWEEN THE 'GLADIO' ORGANIZATIONS AND TERRORIST ACTS OF ULTRA-RIGHTIST STRIKE, SUCH AS, FOR INSTANCE, AT THE TRAIN STATION IN BOLOGNA IN 1980, WHEN 80 PEOPLE WERE KILLED."

5. SPEAKING BEFORE THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT ON NOVEMBER 8, ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI DESCRIBED "**OPERATION GLADIO**," AND SAID THAT IT WAS DEVELOPED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF NATO AT THE HEIGHT OF THE COLD WAR TO COUNTER AN EXTERNAL THREAT. HE DISCOUNTED ALLEGATIONS OF A CONNECTION BETWEEN "**GLADIO**" AND THE TERRORISM THAT STRUCK ITALY IN THE 1970S AND '80S. ANSA ALSO QUOTED ANDREOTTI AS SAYING: "IF ANYONE EVER EXPLOITED OR USED FOR ENDS NOT STRICTLY LINKED WITH LEGITIMATE...DEFENSE STRUCTURES' THEY WOULD HAVE FOUND NO PROTECTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT 'WHICH WOULD NOT HESITATE AN INSTANT TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THIS AND SUPPRESS ANY DEVIATION." OTHER HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS OF NATO COUNTRIES, SUCH AS THE DEFENSE MINISTERS OF BELGIUM AND FRANCE, HAVE STATED THAT SIMILAR SECRET NETWORKS WERE ALSO FORMED IN THEIR COUNTRIES DURING THE 1950S TO RESIST A POTENTIAL WARSAW PACT OCCUPATION.

6. BRENNEKE'S NAME HAS NOT APPEARED IN A MAJORITY OF THE REPORTS ABOUT "**GLADIO**." PARAS. 7-9 ARE INCLUDED FOR POSTS WHERE HIS NAME HAS SURFACED IN CONNECTION WITH THE FALSE ALLEGATIONS HE HAS MADE.

7. BRENNEKE, WHO HAS NEVER HAD ANY AFFILIATION WITH THE CIA, FALSELY ALLEGED CIA INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORISM IN ITALY AND THE ASSASSINATION OF OLOF PALME IN JULY, AT WHICH TIME THE CIA RESPONDED WITH FLAT DENIALS: "THE ALLEGATIONS...REGARDING INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN ITALY OR THE PALME ASSASSINATION ARE ABSOLUTE NONSENSE," AND "THE AGENCY FLATLY DENIES THAT MR. BRENNEKE WAS EVER AN AGENT OF THE CIA OR HAD ANY ASSOCIATION WITH THE CIA. WE REPEAT THIS PUBLIC DENIAL BECAUSE OF THE OUTRAGEOUS NATURE OF HIS CLAIMS."

8. REFTTEL A WAS DONE IN RESPONSE TO BRENNEKE'S ALLEGATIONS OF CIA COMPLICITY IN ITALIAN TERRORISM AND THE ASSASSINATION OF OLOF PALME THAT WERE CARRIED WIDELY IN THE ITALIAN MEDIA

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IN JUNE AND JULY. THE CABLE NOTED THAT BRENNEKE HAS MADE A VARIETY OF BIZARRE ALLEGATIONS IN THE PAST, INCLUDING:

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/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/

- THAT AN IRANIAN OFFICIAL SECRETLY PASSED MAPS OF MOAMMAR GADHAFFI'S HEADQUARTERS TO HIM FOR DELIVERY TO AMERICAN MILITARY OFFICERS TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE 1986 AIR RAID ("MIAMI HERALD," 4/23/87)
 - THAT HE RECEIVED DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT PLO HEADQUARTERS IN TUNISIA FROM IRANIAN INTELLIGENCE THAT WAS LIKELY USED IN THE ISRAELI RAID IN OCTOBER 1985 ("MIAMI HERALD," 4/23/87)
 - THAT THE CIA USED PROCEEDS FROM SAVINGS AND LOAN FRAUD TO FUND COVERT OPERATIONS (REUTERS, 2/4/90)
 - THAT AIRPLANES OWNED BY THE MEDELLIN CARTEL FERRIED NARCOTICS-FINANCED CIA WEAPONS TO THE NICARAGUAN CONTRAS AND CARRIED COCAINE BACK INTO THE U.S. (REUTERS, 8/29/89, "NEW YORK TIMES," 12/29/89)
 - THAT THEN-VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE GEORGE BUSH TOOK TIME OUT OF HIS HECTIC CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE IN OCTOBER 1980 TO FLY TO PARIS, WHERE HE ALLEGEDLY MET WITH IRANIAN REPRESENTATIVES TO ARRANGE A DEAL UNDER WHICH THE 52 AMERICAN HOSTAGES WOULD NOT BE RELEASED UNTIL AFTER RONALD REAGAN WAS INAUGURATED AS PRESIDENT (UPI, 4/25/90)
 - THAT HE DEALT DIRECTLY BY TELEPHONE WITH IRANIAN PARLIAMENTARY SPEAKER HASHEMI RAFSANJANI ON VARIOUS MATTERS OF INTELLIGENCE ("MIAMI HERALD," 4/23/90)
 - THAT HE HAD LINKS TO THE MOSSAD, THE ISRAELI SECRET SERVICE ("NEW YORK TIMES," 12/29/89)
- BRENNEKE'S MOST BIZARRE CLAIM WAS RELAYED ON TELEVISION BY AN ITALIAN JOURNALIST ON JUNE 2, WHO HAVING INTERVIEWED BRENNEKE, IMPLIED THAT A SECRET SERVICE HAD RECENTLY ATTEMPTED TO ASSASSINATE BRENNEKE WHILE HE WAS DRIVING HIS CAR.

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9. THIS TRAIL OF OUTRAGEOUS CLAIMS HAS GOTTEN BRENNEKE INTO TROUBLE BEFORE. HE WAS INDICTED (THOUGH NOT CONVICTED) ON CHARGES OF PERJURY FOR HIS TESTIMONY THAT BUSH AND OTHERS WERE INVOLVED IN THE ALLEGED OCTOBER 1980 HOSTAGE DEAL.

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10. POSTS ARE ADVISED TO BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR FORGERIES DESIGNED TO INDICATE CIA/U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORISM OR

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MEDDLING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ALLIED GOVERNMENTS. ONE SUCH FORGERY, "ARMY FIELD MANUAL 30-31B," HAS BEEN SHOWN ON ITALIAN TELEVISION, AND EXCERPTS FROM IT HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE ITALIAN PRESS. THE MANUAL IS A SOVIET FORGERY DESIGNED TO LINK THE CIA TO TERRORISM AND INDICATE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NATO ALLIES. AS NOTED IN A 1980 CONGRESSIONAL REPORT, FIELD MANUAL 30-31 AND 30-31A EXIST, BUT 30-31B IS A TOTAL FABRICATION. IT FIRST APPEARED IN THE PRESS OF SEVERAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE MID- AND LATE '70S. THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT OTHER FORGERIES MAY APPEAR, AND POSTS ARE REQUESTED TO ADVISE P/G IN THE EVENT THAT QUESTIONABLE DOCUMENTS OF THIS GENRE APPEAR

11. ALL THE CHARGES DESCRIBED ABOVE HAVE APPEARED AS SOVIET DISINFORMATION IN THE PAST. "ARMY OF THE NIGHT," PUBLISHED IN MOSCOW IN 1988, DESCRIBED FIELD MANUAL 30-31B BLAMED ITALIAN TERRORISM ON THE CIA, AND CARRIED A VARIETY OF SIMILAR CHARGES. IT ALSO DESCRIBE OPERATIONS THAT SOUND

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 004 *****/

LIKE THOSE OF "OPERATION GLADIO" (WITHOUT USING THE NAME), AND CITES THE FORGED FIELD MANUAL AS PROOF OF CIA/NATO INTENT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NATO GOVERNMENTS, FALSELY CLAIMING THAT ONE SUCH OPERATION IN NORWAY HAD AS ITS GOAL THE OVERTHROW OF ANY GOVERNMENT IN OSLO THAT WANTED TO WITHDRAW FROM NATO. THE OLOF PALME STORY WAS A MAJOR SOVIET DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN IN 1987, AND WAS DENOUNCED IN MARCH OF THAT YEAR BY STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN CHARLES REDMAN.

12. NATO HAS REFUSED TO COMMENT ON "GLADIO," AND THE USG HAS NOT MADE ANY OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ON THE ISSUE. AS NOTED IN PARA. 5, LEADING OFFICIALS OF SOME NATO GOVERNMENTS HAVE DISCUSSED IT, AND NO ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE TO DENY IT.

13. IT IS ILLEGAL FOR THE CIA OR ANY OTHER USG AGENCY TO ENGAGE IN ASSASSINATION, EXECUTIVE ORDER 12333, ISSUED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN IN 1981 AND STILL IN FORCE, STATES IN PART: "NO PERSON EMPLOYED BY OR ACTING IN BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SHALL ENGAGE IN OR CONSPIRE TO ENGAGE IN, ASSASSINATION." THE CIA ISSUED A POLICY STATEMENT THAT PROHIBITED THE USE OF ASSASSINATIONS IN 1972, AND ASSASSINATIONS WERE FIRST OUTLAWED BY EXECUTIVE ORDER 11905 ISSUED BY PRESIDENT FORD IN 1976. TERRORISM RUNS COMPLETELY

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COUNTER TO U.S. POLICY, AND ALL INSINUATIONS THAT THE U.S. ENGAGED IN TERRORISM OR CONSPIRED TO ENGAGE IN TERRORISM, OR THE DESTABILIZATION OF ALLIED GOVERNMENTS, SHOULD BE FLATLY DENIED.

14. COMMENT: THE KEY TO HANDLING THIS ISSUE IS TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN FACT AND FICTION. "OPERATION GLADIO" MAY INDEED HAVE EXISTED, AND IF IT DID, IT WAS A LEGITIMATE DEFENSE FUNCTION OF THE NATO ALLIANCE. TERRORISM, DESTABILIZATION, AND ASSASSINATION, HOWEVER, ARE COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO U.S. POLICY, AND ALL ACCUSATIONS LINKING THE CIA OR ANY OTHER U.S. GOVERNMENT BODY TO THESE ACTS ARE FALSE.

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#2988

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FROM

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 ROME 21740

USIA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

SUBJECT: DISINFORMATION ALERT--U.S. TERRORISM AND
ASSASSINATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH "OPERATION GLADIO"

REF: (A) ROME 20502-C (B) USIA 062988

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: POST IS DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THE GUIDANCE PROVIDED IN REF A CONFUSES PAST INSTANCES OF SOVIET DISINFORMATION WITH AN ON-GOING ITALIAN INVESTIGATION OF A HERETOFORE SECRET OPERATION ("OPERATION GLADIO") AND MIGHT ALLOW A POST TO BE DRAWN INTO COMMENTING ON AN ISSUE WHICH NO USG SPOKESMAN HAS YET ADDRESSED. END COMMENT.
3. POST APPRECIATES USIA EFFORTS TO PROVIDE US WITH THE BACKGROUND WE REQUESTED ON RICHARD BRENNEKE AND ARMY FIELD MANUAL 30-31. NONETHELESS, WE WORRY THAT BY RAISING THE TWO ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ONGOING GLADIO SCANDAL WE MAY HAVE MISLED THE AGENCY. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT GLADIO ITSELF IS A SOVIET DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN. ACCORDING TO ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER GIULIO ANDREOTTI, IT NOT ONLY EXISTED BUT FOUND RESONANCE IN OTHER ALLIED COUNTRIES. VARIOUS ITALIAN POLITICAL, POLICE AND MILITARY LEADERS (INCLUDING ANDREOTTI HIMSELF), PAST AND PRESENT, HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THE CIA WAS INVOLVED, AT LEAST INITIALLY, IN PROVIDING ARMS, TRAINING AND FUNDS FOR THE OPERATION.
4. WHILE WE DO NOT DOUBT THAT SOVIET MEDIA STILL TAKE SATISFACTION FROM EXPOSING THE ALLEGED WRONGDOINGS OF THE U.S., NEITHER THEY NOR BRENNEKE CREATED THIS ISSUE. ITALIAN JUDGES HAVE BEEN LOOKING INTO THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN GLADIO AND SEVERAL UNRESOLVED TERRORIST ACTS, WHICH OCCURRED DURING THE 1970S, SINCE

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

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LAST SUMMER. SERIOUS ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS HAVE PUBLISHED CHARGES THAT PEOPLE LINKED TO **GLADIO** MAY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN WRONGDOINGS BECAUSE THEY ARE A LEGITIMATE SUBJECT OF POLITICAL DEBATE IN ITALY, AND NOT BECAUSE THE SOVIETS PUT THEM UP TO IT.

5. RICHARD BRENNEKE'S ALLEGATIONS RECEIVED AN UNUSUAL AMOUNT OF ATTENTION BECAUSE THEY SEEMED TO PROVIDE AN ANSWER, WITHIN THE **GLADIO** CONTEXT, TO THOSE UNSOLVED TERRORIST ACTS. WE DON'T KNOW HOW THE "SOVYETSKAYA ROSSIYA" ARTICLE FITS INTO THE OVERALL PICTURE BECAUSE THE GUIDANCE CABLE DOES NOT SAY WHETHER THE CHARGES CONTAINED IN THE ARTICLE WERE ATTRIBUTED TO ITALIAN SOURCES OR NOT. WHILE WE CANNOT SPEAK TO BRENNEKE'S CHARGES INVOLVING OTHER COUNTRIES, MOST OF WHAT HE HAS ALLEGED ABOUT ITALY HAD ALREADY CIRCULATED BEFORE HE MADE HIS CHARGES. WHAT MADE THEM NEWS WAS THE CLAIM THAT HE WAS A FORMER CIA AGENT.

6. APART FROM THE APPARENT LINKAGE THAT THE GUIDANCE MAKES BETWEEN THE **GLADIO** CASE AND THE BRENNEKE ALLEGATIONS, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE CABLE RELIES TOO HEAVILY ON DENIAL AND PROVIDES TOO LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT WOULD BE CREDIBLE TO OUR INTERLOCUTORS. TO CALL BRENNEKE'S CHARGES "BIZARRE" MAKES THEM NO LESS CREDIBLE TO PEOPLE WHO ARE SKEPTICAL ABOUT GOVERNMENT CLAIMS. TO SAY THAT THEY HAVE GOTTEN HIM INTO TROUBLE DOESN'T PROVE ANYTHING. ONE ASSUMES THAT IF HE HAD BEEN A CIA AGENT, AS HE CLAIMS, THE THINGS HE SAID WOULD HAVE GOTTEN HIM INTO EVEN MORE TROUBLE. TO SAY THAT HE WAS INDICTED FOR PERJURY WHEN HE WAS FOUND INNOCENT BY A COURT OF LAW SUGGESTS THAT THE CHARGES WERE MERE HARRASSMENT, AS HE CLAIMS.

7. EVEN MORE DISTURBING ARE THE BLANKET DENIALS OF CIA WRONGDOING WHEN THE PERIOD IN QUESTION GOES BACK TO THE EARLY 1950S. WE DOUBT WHETHER THE U.S. CONGRESS WOULD ACCEPT THE STATEMENT THAT "ALL INSINUATIONS THAT THE U.S. ENGAGED IN TERRORISM OR CONSPIRED TO ENGAGE IN TERRORISM" IS ACCURATE. CERTAINLY FIDEL CASTRO WOULD NOT.

8. MANY OF OUR FRIENDS IN ITALY ACCEPT THAT **GLADIO** WAS A LEGITIMATE AND LEGALLY CONSTITUTED ORGANIZATION, CREATED IN THE NATO CONTEXT. BUT SOME OF THEM ARE CONVINCED THAT MEMBERS OF THE **GLADIO** ORGANIZATION DID

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"DEVIATE" FROM THEIR ORIGINAL PURPOSE AND INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES. THE GUIDANCE, IN INSTRUCTING POSTS TO SAY THAT ANY ACCUSATIONS LINKING THE CIA TO SUCH ACTS ARE FALSE, SUGGESTS THAT NO
 /***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

GLADIO MEMBER WAS EVER INVOLVED IN ANY TERRORIST ACT. WE DO NOT KNOW THAT TO BE A FACT AND WE DOUBT WHETHER USIA DOES EITHER. ASSUMING THAT ANDREOTTI IS CORRECT THAT THE CIA HELPED PAY FOR, ARMED AND TRAINED THE **GLADIO** MEMBERS, THEN IF EVEN ONE OF THEM WAS EVER INVOLVED IN ANY SUCH ACTS THE DENIAL BECOMES, AT BEST, A HALF-TRUTH.

9. THE GUIDANCE ALSO SAYS THAT **NATO** HAS "REFUSED TO COMMENT" ON **GLADIO**. THAT IS NOT CORRECT. THE **NATO** SPOKESMAN FIRST DENIED THAT **NATO** KNEW ANYTHING ABOUT **GLADIO**, THEN RETRACTED THE DENIAL, LEADING MOST ANALYSTS TO ASSUME THAT IT DID KNOW ABOUT THE OPERATION.

10. WE BELIEVE THAT BY MIXING REFERENCES TO **GLADIO** WITH PRIOR INSTANCES OF SOVIET DISINFORMATION, SUCH AS ARMY FIELD MANUAL 30-31 B AND ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE KILLING OF OLAF PALME, THE AGENCY INCREASES THE LIKELIHOOD THAT ONE OF OUR POSTS WILL BE DRAWN INTO COMMENTING ON **GLADIO**. THAT BECOMES EVEN MORE LIKELY GIVEN THE INSTRUCTION TO MAKE "NO ATTEMPT TO DENY IT."

11. THIS EMBASSY HAS ADOPTED A POSITION OF DECLINING, AS A MATTER OF LONG-STANDING POLICY, TO COMMENT ON ALLEGATIONS ABOUT INTELLIGENCE MATTERS. WE THINK THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF "ANY OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ON THE ISSUE" BY THE USG THAT IT WOULD BE PRUDENT FOR OTHER POSTS TO DO LIKEWISE.

12. IF THE CABLE HAD SAID A STORY APPEARING IN THE OCTOBER 18 ISSUE OF "SOVYETSKAYA ROSSIYA" CONTAINED SEVERAL STATEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN PROVEN FALSE IN THE PAST AND PROVIDED CHAPTER AND VERSE TO REFUTE THEM IT WOULD HAVE BEEN USEFUL. BUT BY LINKING THOSE CHARGES TO **GLADIO** AND SUGGESTING IN PARAGRAPH TWO THAT THE WHOLE THING WAS COOKED UP BY RICHARD BRENNEKE THE AGENCY INCREASES THE RISK THAT ONE POST OR ANOTHER WILL BE DRAGGED INTO A DISCUSSION OF **GLADIO**.

13. WE URGE THE AGENCY TO ISSUE A NEW GUIDANCE WHICH STARTS BY ADVISING POSTS NOT TO COMMENT ON **GLADIO**, OR

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ITS OTHER NATIONAL MANIFESTATIONS, AND THEN GOES ON TO PROVIDE WELL-DOCUMENTED REBUTTALS TO SOME OF THE ALLEGATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN DREDGED UP, INCLUDING THE ARMY FIELD MANUAL, BRENNECKE AS A CIA AGENT AND ANY OTHER POINTS WHICH WE CAN CREDIBLY REFUTE. THE GUIDANCE SHOULD AVOID MIXING ISSUES AND SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO RELY ON HALF TRUTHS (BRENNECKE'S INDICTMENT ON PERJURY CHARGES) OR STRETCHING STATEMENTS TO COVER SITUATIONS WHICH THEY CAN'T COVER (DENIALS OF CIA INVOLVEMENT IN ANY TERRORIST RELATED EVENTS EVER). LEWINSOHN

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271139Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 ROME 21959

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, IT

SUBJECT: "OPERATION GLADIO" HELPS ITALIAN COMMUNIST

- PARTY PREPARE FOR ELECTIONS

REF: ROME 21067

1. C--ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. "OPERATION GLADIO" HAS BEEN A BOON TO THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI). THE STORM "GLADIO" HAS CREATED HAS DIVERTED ATTENTION FROM THE PCI'S INTERNAL DEBATE TO POSSIBLE UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACTS BY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (DC). A SHARED ATTITUDE TOWARD "GLADIO" HAS UNIFIED THE FACTIONS IN THE PCI THAT HAVE BEEN ARGUING FOR THE PAST YEAR OVER WHETHER THE PCI SHOULD CEASE BEING A COMMUNIST PARTY. IF THERE ARE EARLY ELECTIONS, THIS NEW FOUND UNITY WILL HELP THE PCI STEM ITS RECENT DECLINE, AS RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SHOW.

3. "GLADIO" HAS, HOWEVER, REVEALED THE PCI'S READINESS TO PROMOTE CONSPIRACY THEORIES, TO YIELD TO ANTI-AMERICANISM, AND TO QUESTION NATO, CAUSING SOME OBSERVERS TO DOUBT WHETHER THE PCI IS CHANGING. IF THIS PERCEPTION PERSISTS, IT COULD LIMIT THE PCI'S ACCEPTABILITY AS A COALITION PARTNER. OCCHETTO HAS OBVIOUSLY JUDGED THAT THE IMMEDIATE GAIN IS WORTH RISKING A LOSS OF POLITICAL RESPECTABILITY THAT MAY OR MAY NOT LAST. END SUMMARY.

"GLADIO," A DOUBLE-EDGED KNIFE FOR THE PCI

4. WATCHING THE 100,000 PLUS ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

CONFIDENTIAL

(PCI) DEMONSTRATORS MARCH BY NOVEMBER 17 TO PROTEST **OPERATION GLADIO** AND UNSOLVED TERRORIST INCIDENTS, AN ONLOOKER WAS MOVED TO REMARK, "AND WE THOUGHT THAT THEY WERE GETTING BETTER." TO SOME OF THE PCI'S MOST SEVERE CRITICS, SUCH AS ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) SPOKESMAN UGO INTINI, THE PCI IS MERELY GOING BACK TO THE 1950'S IN ITS HANDLING OF THE **"GLADIO"** AFFAIR.

5. WHETHER ONE BELIEVES THAT THE **"GLADIO"** CONTROVERSY IS A PCI PLOT OR A MACHIAVELLIAN MANEUVER BY PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI, **"GLADIO"** HAS HAD TWO CONTRADICTIONARY EFFECTS ON THE PCI:

- 1) IT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO PCI UNITY AND PERMITTED
- PCI SECRETARY OCCHETTO TO EXERCISE LEADERSHIP
- OVER THE ENTIRE PARTY.

-
- 2) IT HAS RESURRECTED A COLD-WAR IMAGE OF THE PCI
- WHERE THE PCI STANDS ONE SIDE OF A CLEARLY DRAWN
- POLITICAL LINE, AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC
- PARTY (DC) IS ON THE OTHER.

THE FORMER IS BENEFICIAL TO THE PCI IN THE SHORT TERM, BUT THE LATTER COULD BE POTENTIALLY HARMFUL IN THE LONG-TERM.

"GLADIO" UNIFIES

6. AS THE PCI GOES INTO THE FINAL ROUND OF PREPARATION FOR THE 20TH (AND LAST) PCI CONGRESS, THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE PCI WOULD SPLINTER HAS FADED. ONE REASON FOR THIS IS **"GLADIO."** IN THEIR REACTIONS TO **"GLADIO,"** ALL PCI LEADERS AND MEMBERS (WHETHER THEY BELONG TO THE EXTREME LEFT OR THE MORE PROGRESSIVE RIGHT) RECOGNIZE EACH OTHER, THEIR COMMON PAST AND THEIR COMMON SENSE OF PERSECUTION. GIORGIO NAPOLITANO, THE PCI'S MOST PROGRESSIVE LEADER, EXPRESSED PCI SENTIMENTS SPEAKING BEFORE A CONFERENCE IN FLORENCE NOVEMBER 19 TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF THE LEFT IN ITALY. NAPOLITANO SAID THAT THE PCI "WAS NOT INTERESTED IN RESURRECTING GHOSTS BUT THAT IT WAS NOT BLIND TO THE TRACES OF CORRUPTION AND MANIPULATION IN THE STEWARDSHIP OF THE STATE AND OF OBSCURE AND TERRIBLE CARNAGE AND TRAGEDIES." "WE ARE CONVINCED...THAT THE CONTINUED EXERCISE OF POWER BY

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/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

ONE PARTY FOR 40 YEARS IS AT THE BASIS OF SO MUCH RUIN AND CORRUPTION," SAID NAPOLITANO.

7. ALL PCI LEADERS WITH WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN RECENTLY HAVE TOLD US THEY BELIEVE THAT THE SECRET SERVICE HAS BEEN USED AGAINST THE PCI. FROM THE VANTAGE POINT OF THE PCI, THE PARTY RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY SECRET SERVICE "DEVIATION" IS THE DC. THIS CONVICTION IS HELD JUST AS FIRMLY BY THE PCI'S RANK AND FILE, WHICH IS EVEN LESS SOPHISTICATED THAN THE LEADERSHIP AND MORE LIKELY TO BELIEVE SOME OF THE EXCESSIVE CLAIMS BEING MADE IN THE PRESS THAT WOULD LINK "**OPERATION GLADIO**" TO TERRORIST INCIDENTS.

8. OCCHETTO HAS CAPITALIZED ON THIS PARANOIA TO GOOD EFFECT. SHOULD THERE BE EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE SPRING, AS MANY BELIEVE, THE PCI WOULD PROBABLY GO TO THE POLLS UNITED IN A WAY THAT IT MAY NOT HAVE BEEN WITHOUT "**GLADIO**." A LEFTIST CONTACT TOLD US HE THOUGHT OCCHETTO WAS HANDLING THE "**GLADIO**" CONTROVERSY MASTERFULLY BECAUSE, IN THE TRANSITION FROM OLD TO NEW PARTY, OCCHETTO HAD USED "**GLADIO**" TO ANCHOR THE PCI TO ITS PAST AND TO REASSURE IT OF ITS IDENTITY.

ARE THE GHOSTS WINNING?

9. WITH BARELY DISGUISED GLEE, THE PCI'S POLITICAL RIVALS IN THE DC AND PSI HAVE BEEN QUICK TO ACCUSE THE PCI OF REVERTING TO STALINISM IN ITS HANDLING OF THE "**GLADIO**" AFFAIR. BUT OTHERS IN THE LEFT WHO ARE INTERESTED IN A LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE TO THE DC, HAVE URGED CAUTION AND WARNED THE PCI THAT ITS TACTICAL USE OF "**GLADIO**" RISKS CONDITIONING ITS EFFORTS TO PRESENT ITSELF AS A NEW PARTY. CLAUDIO SIGNORILE, A MEMBER OF THE PSI DIRECTORATE AND ONE OF THE FEW REMAINING ADVOCATES OF THE PSI-LEFT, SAID THAT THERE WERE MANY ITALIANS WHO WANTED TO SEE AN END TO THE STRING OF UNSOLVED TERRORIST MYSTERIES, BUT THAT WILD ACCUSATIONS WOULD ONLY LEAD OTHERS TO THINK THE PCI WAS USING "**GLADIO**" FOR POLITICAL ENDS.

10. PRESIDENT COSSIGA, ALTHOUGH NOT AN ADVOCATE OF A LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE, HAS RECENTLY GONE OUT OF HIS WAY

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TO PRAISE THE PCI'S EFFORTS TO REFORM ITSELF. BUT THE PCI'S HANDLING OF "GLADIO" APPEARED TO BE TOO MUCH FOR COSSIGA. ON NOVEMBER 22 COSSIGA SAID THAT OCCHETTO'S TACTICS "MAY SERVE TO WIN ELECTIONS, BUT THEY DO NOT SERVE THE CAUSE OF PACIFICATION AND PEACE...IN OUR COUNTRY...AND THEY CERTAINLY DO NOT LEAD TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW POLITICAL SOCIETY."

GLADIO EXACERBATES PCI ATTITUDE TOWARD NATO

11. ANOTHER LEADER WHO IS INTERESTED IN A LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE, REPUBLICAN PARTY SECRETARY GIORGIO LA MALFA, HAS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE NEW PCI WANTS TO DISSOLVE NATO. ALTHOUGH OCCHETTO HAS SENT WORD TO US PRIVATELY THAT THE PCI IS NOT QUESTIONING THE "INTERNATIONAL" ASPECTS OF "GLADIO," (SEE REFTEL) AND HE HAS SAID PUBLICLY THAT THE PCI RECOGNIZES AND ACCEPTS ITALY'S ALLIANCES, THERE ARE OTHERS IN THE PCI WHO SAY THAT "GLADIO" IS ANOTHER REASON TO WANT TO DISSOLVE NATO. AND OCCHETTO HIMSELF INCLUDED IN HIS PLATFORM FOR THE 20TH CONGRESS A PROPOSAL THAT "NATO BE SURPASSED THROUGH ITS RAPID TRANSFORMATION IN THE POLITICAL SENSE SO AS ...TO PERMIT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL SECURITY STRUCTURES."

"GLADIO" ENCOURAGES ANTI-AMERICANISM

12. THIS THEORETICAL QUESTIONING OF NATO BY PCI LEADERS AND THE COMIC-BOOK SUSPICIONS RAISED BY PCI RANK AND FILE ABOUT WHAT GOES ON IN NATO BASES IN
 /***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/
 ITALY, HAS LED MANY OBSERVERS TO POINT OUT THAT THE PCI HAS SUCCUMBED TO ANTI-AMERICANISM AGAIN. (DURING A TELEVISION PROGRAM ON "GLADIO," PCI ACTIVISTS FROM LIVORNO SAID THAT NEARBY CAMP DARBY WAS USED FOR NUCLEAR EXPERIMENTS AND TO TRAIN RIGHT-WING TERRORISTS.) PCI LEADERS WITH WHOM WE HAVE DISCUSSED ANTI-AMERICANISM HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT IS A PROBLEM FOR THE LEADERSHIP TO OVERCOME. IN FACT, A FEW OF THEM ARE TRYING. UGO PECCHIOLO, PCI GROUP

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LEADER IN THE SENATE, WARNED HIS COLLEAGUES DURING A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE THAT THE PCI SHOULD NOT TO YIELD TO ANTI-AMERICANISM. BUT "GLADIO" HAS ENCOURAGED ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE PCI, AND IT HAS BEEN USEFUL TO OCCHETTO IN UNITING HIS PARTY.

THE BOTTOM LINE

13. ON BALANCE, "GLADIO" HAS YIELDED AN IMMEDIATE PROFIT, AND IF THE CONTROVERSY RESULTS IN A LONG-TERM LOSS OF RESPECTABILITY FOR THE PCI, IT WILL BE A BATTLE TO BE FOUGHT IN THE FUTURE. "GLADIO," AND THE WAY IT HAS BEEN USED BY OCCHETTO, APPEARS TO HAVE GIVEN THE PCI NEW LIFE. IF, AS MANY BELIEVE, IT HELPS TO STEM THE EROSION OF THE PCI'S SUPPORT AT THE POLLS, THEN THE IMMEDIATE BENEFIT TO OCCHETTO IS CLEAR.

14. ABOLITION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM WAS PART OF THE LITMUS TEST SET FOR THE PCI BY LA MALFA LAST NOVEMBER WHEN OCCHETTO FIRST ANNOUNCED THAT THE PCI SHOULD CHANGE. ACCEPTANCE OF NATO WAS ANOTHER. GIVEN OCCHETTO'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND HIS NEED TO MAKE A STRONG SHOWING DURING THE NEXT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, IT IS EASY TO SEE WHY OCCHETTO WAS WILLING TO RISK WEAKENING THE PCI'S ABILITY TO ATTRACT THAT PORTION OF THE ELECTORATE THAT WANTS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE DC BUT DOES NOT WANT TO VOTE COMMUNIST.

15. IN CAPITALIZING ON "GLADIO," OCCHETTO MAY ALSO HAVE HOPED THAT A SMOKING GUN WOULD BE UNCOVERED IN THE COURSE OF THE JUDICIAL INQUIRIES THAT WOULD SHOW THAT THE DC USED "GLADIO" AGAINST THE PCI. SHOULD THIS OCCUR, THE GAIN FOR THE PCI WOULD BE CONSIDERABLE, AND OCCHETTO'S LONG-TERM GOAL OF CONVERTING THE PCI FROM A PARTY OF PERMANENT OPPOSITION INTO A PARTY OF GOVERNMENT WOULD BE CLOSER TO REALIZATION. SERWER

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FROM

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 35134

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PREL, NATO, FR

SUBJECT: "GLADIO" REVELATIONS ROUSE LITTLE INTEREST IN

- FRANCE

1. CONFIDENTIAL--ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. IN THE WAKE OF RECENT REVELATIONS OF CLANDESTINE NATIONAL "GLADIO" NETWORKS IN WESTERN EUROPE, THE GOF HAS CONFIRMED THE EXISTENCE OF A FRENCH GLADIO (THE "GLAIVE") AND ANNOUNCED ITS "RECENT" DISSOLUTION "BY PRESIDENTIAL ORDER." THE REVELATION -- COMPETING FOR HEADLINES WITH STUDENT UNREST AND THE CSCE CONFERENCE HERE -- HAS STIRRED LITTLE MEDIA INTEREST. THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE TOLD THE PRESS THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE GLAIVE REVELATION COULD HAVE ANY POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES IN FRANCE. DEVELOPED IN A NATO CONTEXT, HE SPECIFIED, THE FRENCH ORGANIZATION BECAME STRICTLY FRENCH IN 1958. INFLUENTIAL "LE MONDE" REPORTS THAT SOMETHING LIKE THE GLAIVE WILL CONTINUE TO FUNCTION IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE FRENCH SECRET SERVICES.

END SUMMARY

GOF POOH-POOHS STORY, SAYS GLADIO IS HISTORY

3. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT EXPECT ANY SCANDAL TO COME OUT OF THE "GLADIO" AFFAIR AND VIEWS REVELATIONS ABOUT POLITICAL GLADIO INVOLVEMENT IN ITALY AS "TRANSALPINE DEVIATIONS." YET TO PREVENT DAMAGING SPECULATION, THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE ACKNOWLEDGED ON NOVEMBER 12 THE EXISTENCE OF A "FRENCH GLADIO." NAMED THE "GLAIVE" (AND IN THE PAST REFERRED TO ALTERNATIVELY AS "RAINBOW" AND "MISSION 48"), THE ORGANIZATION, ACCORDING TO FRENCH ACCOUNTS, WAS CREATED IN A COLD WAR

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CONTEXT TO SERVE AS A LIAISON BETWEEN A FRENCH UNDERGROUND AND GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. THE OPERATION BECAME EXCLUSIVELY FRENCH IN 1958, AND WAS FROM THE START UNDER FRENCH COMMAND AND CONTROLLED BY THE DGSE (EXTERNAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE). THE UNINQUISITIVE FRENCH PRESS STRESSES THAT AFTER 1958, WITH GROWING NATO AND U.S. DISTRUST OF FRENCH INTENTIONS, AND EVENTUAL FRENCH DEPARTURE FROM THE ALLIED INTEGRATED COMMAND IN 1966, THE ORGANIZATION TOOK ON A STRICTLY FRENCH IDENTITY. STOCKS OF ARMAMENTS WERE REPORTEDLY NEVER ESTABLISHED HERE.

3. PRESIDENT MITTERRAND INDICATED IN HIS ONE PUBLIC REFERENCE TO "GLAIVE" THAT THE ORGANIZATION -- WHICH HE STRESSED WAS TO PLAY ONLY A ROLE OF LIAISON BETWEEN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY AND THE EVACUATED GOVERNMENT -- WAS IN A STATE OF CLINICAL DEATH. HE ADDED THAT BREAKING IT UP WAS NOT DIFFICULT SINCE ONLY A FEW ATROPHIED ELEMENTS REMAINED. INDEED, HE CLAIMS TO HAVE DISCOVERED THE EXISTENCE OF SOME ELEMENTS WITH SURPRISE, SINCE "THEY HAD BEEN FORGOTTEN BY EVERYONE." NOT EVERYTHING MEETS THE EYE

4. IN CONTRADICTION TO MITTERRAND'S STATEMENT, INFLUENTIAL, WELL-INFORMED "LE MONDE" REPORTS THAT AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THE "GLAIVE" CONTINUES TO OPERATE. THE ARTICLE REVEALS THAT A PHANTOM NETWORK OF VOLUNTEERS IS STILL IN PLACE AND IS VIEWED AS STILL NEEDED TO "PREPARE FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INVASION." TO THAT END, THE TRAINED VOLUNTEERS (GROUPED INTO INDEPENDENT, EASILY MOBILIZED CELLS UNDER DGSE CONTROL) ARE EQUIPPED WITH THE BEST COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY AVAILABLE AND HAVE HELD DRILLS FOR EVACUATING KEY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

COMMENT

5. THIS DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF A SKELETAL, FORGOTTEN STRUCTURE FROM BYGONE AGES AND THE NEWSPAPER REPORT OF A STILL-ACTIVE, EVEN MODERN NETWORK OF VOLUNTEERS TRAINED TO PROTECT SENSITIVE DOCUMENTS AND "EXFILTRATE" KEY GOVERNMENT FIGURES IN THE EVENT OF AN INVASION WOULD SEEM TO BEG NUMEROUS QUESTIONS. BUT THE STRONG DOMESTIC CONSENSUS ON DEFENSE AND SECURITY

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ISSUES, COMBINED WITH NORMAL GALLIC CYNICISM ABOUT
UNDERCOVER ACTIVITIES (MANY TAKE FOR GRANTED THAT THE
OFT-INVOKED "SECRET OF STATE" DEFENSE TO PREVENT

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

RELEASE OF SENSITIVE OR EMBARRASSING INFORMATION HIDES
MANY SUCH ACTIVITIES) MEANS NO ONE IS LIKELY TO GIVE
THIS STORY MORE THAN THE CURSORY TREATMENT ALREADY
ACCORDED IT. END COMMENT. CURLEY

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031833Z DEC 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 ROME 22447

USIA FOR P/G - MOORE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, IT

SUBJECT: CRAXI TAKES STOCK

-

SUMMARY

1. (C) BETTINO CRAXI, SECRETARY OF THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI), PROVIDED AN OUTLINE NOVEMBER 29 OF THE PSI'S VIEWS REGARDING THE GULF CRISIS, "OPERATION GLADIO," ELECTORAL REFORM, THE LEGISLATIVE AGENDA AND RELATIONS WITH THE PCI. CRAXI HAS BEEN UNCHARACTERISTICALLY CAST TO THE SIDELINES IN THE "OPERATION GLADIO" CONTROVERSY. CRAXI'S SPEECH MAY HAVE BEEN AN ATTEMPT TO SIGNAL TO THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (DC) AND THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) THAT HE COULD NOT BE IGNORED. BUT THE SPEECH LACKED THE PUNCH TYPICAL OF CRAXI'S SPEECHES, WHICH SUGGESTS THAT CRAXI HAS NOT YET FOUND THE RIGHT MOMENT TO MANIPULATE ITALIAN POLITICS TO THE PSI'S BENEFIT.
END SUMMARY.

THE GULF

2. (C) A SOCIALIST PARTY SOURCE TOLD US THAT CRAXI HAD TOLD THE DIRECTORATE NOVEMBER 29 THAT WAR IN THE GULF WAS A VIRTUAL CERTAINTY AND THAT THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. CRAXI'S PUBLIC STATEMENT WAS THAT "IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY THAT ONE DOES NOT WANT WAR... ONE MUST SAY THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST BE ABLE TO ENFORCE ITS LAW." CRAXI WARNED THAT

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

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THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WOULD IMPINGE ON ANY DECISIONS MADE ON THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SCENE.

"OPERATION GLADIO"

3. (U) CRAXI EMPHASIZED THAT THE PSI HAD FROM THE BEGINNING ADVOCATED REVEALING THE TRUTH ABOUT **"OPERATION GLADIO."** HE SAID THAT **"OPERATION GLADIO"** HAD TO BE PLACED IN A **COLD WAR** CONTEXT, BUT THAT THE MOST CONFUSED POLITICAL CLIMATE DID NOT JUSTIFY LOSING SIGHT OF POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. HE APPEARED TO TRY TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM BLAME BY STATING THAT WHILE HE WAS PRIME MINISTER THE AMOUNT OF MONEY SPENT ON **"GLADIO"** DID NOT EXCEED 500 MILLION LIRE ANNUALLY.

4. (C) CRAXI DID NOT GO AS FAR AS THE PSI MINISTER OF FINANCE, RINO FORMICA, WHO TOLD A SOCIALIST GATHERING NOVEMBER 27 THAT "DEMOCRACY IN ITALY HAD BEEN IN GRAVE DANGER." **"GLADIO,"** SAID FORMICA, "WAS CREATED AS AN ORGANIZATION FREE OF DEMOCRATIC STATE CONTROL WITH THE TASK OF DEVIATING AND POLLUTING POLITICAL LIFE, OF CORRECTING AND BLOCKING THE EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE COUNTRY. THIS IS INADMISSIBLE." MANY OBSERVERS, HOWEVER, CONSIDER IT SIGNIFICANT THAT CRAXI DID NOT CORRECT HIS PARTY'S MINISTER, AS HE CUSTOMARILY DOES WHEN A PARTY OFFICIAL DEVIATES FROM CRAXI'S LINE.

5. (U) DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER CLAUDIO MARTELLI, IN A SPEECH TO THE PSI DIRECTORATE, TOOK UP THE THEME THAT THE PSI WAS NOT A PARTY TO THE PCI/DC ARGUMENT OVER **"GLADIO."** MARTELLI NOTED THAT AMONG THE STRANGE FEATURES OF THE **"GLADIO"** CONTROVERSY WAS THE COINCIDENCE OF TIMING -- JUST AS SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS WERE COMING TO LIGHT IN EASTERN EUROPE. MARTELLI NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE **"GLADIO"** STRUCTURES EXISTED IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 20 YEARS OF UNSOLVED TERRORIST INCIDENTS WERE AN ITALIAN PHENOMENON. HE WARNED THAT NOT ALL TERRORIST EVENTS WERE ASCRIBED TO **GLADIO** AND POINTED OUT THAT THE RED BRIGADES SOUGHT REFUGE IN PRAGUE. MARTELLI ACCUSED THE DC, WHICH HE CALLED THE STATE PARTY, AND THE PCI, WHICH HE CALLED THE PARTY OF REVOLUTION, OF WANTING TO USE **"GLADIO"** TO KEEP THEIR POLITICAL RIVALRY ALIVE

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FOR ELECTORAL PURPOSES.

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

ELECTORAL REFORM

6. (U) CRAXI DID NOT ENTER INTO THE DETAILS OF WHAT HE CONSIDERED TO BE THE SPECIFIC REFORM MEASURES HE WOULD FIND ACCEPTABLE. RECENTLY OTHER PSI OFFICIALS REJECTED ELECTORAL REFORM SUGGESTIONS PROPOSED BY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. CRAXI REPEATED AN EARLIER STATEMENT THAT ELECTORAL REFORM COULD ONLY BE LINKED TO A GENERAL "GRAND REFORM," WHICH THE PSI CONSIDERED NECESSARY.

SOCIALIST UNITY

7. (U) CRAXI SAID THAT SOCIALIST UNITY WAS A PSI GOAL, AND HE DEFINED IT IN NEGATIVE TERMS: SOCIALIST UNITY WAS NOT THE EXCLUSIVE PURVIEW OF THE PSI, IT WAS NOT AN INDISTINCT MERGER, AND IT WAS NOT "A CONFUSED ALTERNATIVE."

SOCIALIST VIEW OF WHAT IS WRONG IN ITALY

8. (U) CRAXI OUTLINED 10 AREAS THAT NEEDED TO BE CORRECTED THROUGH LEGISLATIVE ACTION:

- 1) INCREASED CRIMINALITY
-
- 2) DRUG DEATHS
-
- 3) POLITICIZING OF JUDGES
-
- 4) UNSETTLED LABOR DISPUTES
-
- 5) INADEQUATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH
-
- 6) TENSION RESULTING FROM INADEQUATE SETTling OF IMMIGRANTS, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF INCREASED IMMIGRATION FROM EASTERN EUROPE
-
- 7) INADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
-

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121652Z DEC 90

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

CONTROLS

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 ROME 23181

E.O. 12356: N/A

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, IT

SUBJECT: ITALY'S "GLADIO" WILL NOT GO BACK INTO

- PANDORA'S BOX

REF: ROME 22887

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SUMMARY

1. THE MEDIA CONTINUE TO SPECULATE ON RELATIONS BETWEEN PRESIDENT COSSIGA AND PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI, WHICH ARE STRAINED BY REACTIONS TO "GLADIO." COALITION POLITICIANS ARE LOOKING AT "GLADIO" AS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY A COALITION REVIEW IN JANUARY IS NEEDED. THE OPPOSITION QUESTIONS NOT ONLY THE LEGALITY OF "GLADIO" BUT THE PROCEDURAL PROPRIETY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO "GLADIO." THE COMMUNISTS AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS APPEAR TO RELISH BLASTING EACH OTHER OVER "GLADIO," AND COSSIGA, WITH HIS PENCHANT FOR FAILING TO MAKE HIMSELF UNDERSTOOD, MAY BE CAUGHT IN THE CROSS-FIRE.

END SUMMARY.

ANDREOTTI - THE PUPPETEER

2. COSSIGA AND ANDREOTTI HAVE MET AT LEAST TWICE SINCE COSSIGA EXPRESSED ANNOYANCE AT THE GOVERNMENT'S PLAN TO SET UP A COMMISSION OF JUDICIAL WISE MEN TO INVESTIGATE "GLADIO" (SEE REFTTEL). THE PRESS, ALWAYS ON THE LOOKOUT FOR A MACHIAVELLIAN SCHEME, HAS INTERPRETED THE MEETINGS, WHICH JOURNALISTS BELIEVE ARE RELATED TO "GLADIO," AS AN ATTEMPT BY ANDREOTTI

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TO CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE WHICH MANY BELIEVE IS INEVITABLE. AS IF TO CONFIRM THE SUSPICION THAT HE WAS MANAGING THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO "GLADIO," ANDREOTTI BRAGGED DECEMBER 10 THAT THE INVESTIGATION OF "GLADIO" DEPENDED ON THE PARTIES BUT ALSO ON HIM. HE WARNED THAT HE WOULD NOT BE ANYONE'S PUPPET.

3. BOTH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC (DC) PARTY SECRETARY FORLANI AND ANDREOTTI HAVE BEEN HARSH IN THEIR DESCRIPTION OF ITALIAN COMMUNISTS IN RECENT DAYS. ANDREOTTI LEFT NO DOUBT WHICH PARTY HE WAS TARGETING WHEN HE SAID THAT THERE WERE "SOME WHO WANTED TO FORGET THAT, HAD THE SOVIET UNION INVADED ITALY, THERE WERE FORCES IN ITALY THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN ON THE OTHER SIDE."

COSSIGA STUMBLES AGAIN

3. COSSIGA HAS ONCE AGAIN CAST DOUBTS ON THE NATURE OF HIS TESTIMONY BEFORE PARLIAMENT AND APPEARS TO BE HAVING DIFFICULTY DECIDING WHICH COURSE HE SHOULD TAKE. COSSIGA HAS CHANGED POSITIONS SEVERAL TIMES: FIRST HE DENIED A REQUEST BY A VENETIAN JUDGE TO TESTIFY; THEN HE SAID HE WOULD TESTIFY BEFORE PARLIAMENT; LAST WEEK HE SAID HE WOULD SUBMIT TO QUESTIONING BY A JUDICIAL AUTHORITY TO BE DETERMINED BY THE NATION'S CHIEF PROSECUTOR. ON DECEMBER 11 THE PRESS REPORTED THAT HE HAD NOT DECIDED WHETHER TO SIMPLY MAKE A STATEMENT OR SUBMIT TO QUESTIONING BY THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION ON SECRET SERVICES. THE FOLLOWING DAY COSSIGA CONFIRMED THAT HE WOULD TALK TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION IN HIS OFFICE, BUT HE HAS NOT DECIDED WHETHER WRITTEN QUESTIONS MUST BE PRESENTED BEFORE HIS TESTIMONY OR WHETHER THEY SHOULD BE SUBMITTED AFTER HIS TESTIMONY TO BE ANSWERED IN DUE COURSE. THE DATE FOR COSSIGA'S TESTIMONY HAS NOT YET BEEN SET, ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO WANT TO AVOID HAVING COSSIGA TESTIFY DURING THE EC INTER GOVERNMENTAL MEETING IN ROME. OPPOSITION PARLIAMENTARIANS HAVE STATED THAT THEY WILL RESIGN FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION IF COSSIGA REFUSES TO ANSWER THEIR QUESTIONS.

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UNCLASSIFIED

PRIME MINISTER, HE HAS ADMITTED THAT HE MISLED HIS PARLIAMENT THEN, AND THAT AN OUTFIT CALLED '**GLADIO**' HAD BEEN FUNCTIONING SINCE 1958.

5. "ANDREOTTI'S STATEMENT, MID-NOVEMBER, CAME IN RESPONSE TO A COUNTRYWIDE UPROAR FOLLOWING TWO CHANCE DISCLOSURES IN OCTOBER ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF **GLADIO** AND ITS LINKS WITH THE COUNTRY'S SECRET SERVICE (SISAR) AND THE NOTORIOUS P-2 MASONIC LODGE....

6. "ONE OF THEM IS A LETTER (BY ALDO MORO), EXPRESSING FEARS ABOUT "A SHADOW ORGANIZATION" WHICH, ACCORDING TO HIM, WAS IN LEAGUE WITH "SECRET SERVICES IN THE WEST" AND WAS "WORKING FOR DESTABILIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY." THE APPREHENSIONS EXPRESSED IN THE LETTER HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED BY THE EVIDENCE SUBMITTED BEFORE A COMMISSION ON TERRORISM SET UP BY ROME.

7. "INVESTIGATIONS HAVE REVEALED THAT **GLADIO** AND SIMILAR OUTFITS IN OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WERE SET UP BY THE CIA AND TRAINED BY THE BRITISH SPECIAL SERVICE ON NATO MILITARY COMMAND'S BEHALF IN THE EARLY 1950S WHEN THE COLD WAR THREATENED TO TURN HOT. THESE OUTFITS WERE TO BE THE NUCLEUS FOR ORGANIZING AND COORDINATING GUERILLA RESISTANCE IN THE EVENT OF THE RED ARMY OVERRUNNING WESTERN EUROPE.

8. "THE TERRORISM COMMISSION HAS RECORDED EVIDENCE TO THE EFFECT THAT 'THERE EXISTS IN ITALY A SECRET FORCE PARALLEL TO THE ARMED FORCES.' THIS STRUCTURE LIES WITHIN THE STATE ITSELF. 'IT IS COMPOSED OF CIVILIANS AND MILITARY MEN AND IS AIMED TO ORGANIZE RESISTANCE TO THE RUSSIAN ARMY ON ITALIAN SOIL...'

9. "FURTHER, IT IS A SUPER-ORGANIZATION WHICH, IN THE ABSENCE OF A SOVIET INVASION, 'TOOK ON ITSELF THE TASK, ON NATO'S BEHALF, OF PREVENTING A SLIP TO THE LEFT IN THE POLITICAL BALANCE OF THE COUNTRY. THIS THEY DID WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE OFFICIAL SECRET SERVICES AND THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY FORCES....'

10. "A SELF-CONFESSED AGENT OF **GLADIO** HAS WRITTEN IN A CONTRIBUTION TO AN ITALIAN NEWSPAPER THAT IT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE 1980 BOMB EXPLOSION WHICH KILLED 85 PEOPLE, AND WAS INVOLVED IN AN EARLIER SERIES OF EXPLOSIONS WHICH RESULTED IN THE COMING TO POWER OF A
/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

RIGHT-WING COALITION TO CHECKMATE THE GROWING INFLUENCE

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OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS....

11. THE **NATO** MILITARY HEADQUARTERS DENIED REPORTS LINKING **GLADIO** IN ITALY WITH SIMILAR OUTFITS IN OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. BUT THE VERY NEXT DAY OF THE DENIAL, IT WAS WITHDRAWN BY THE POLITICAL HEADQUARTERS OF NATO, WHICH SAID THAT THEIR ORGANIZATION DID NOT COMMENT ON MATTERS OF MILITARY OPERATIONS AS A POLICY.

12. "NATO'S DENIAL NOTWITHSTANDING, IT HAS BEEN DISCLOSED THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF **GLADIO** AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS IN WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN REGULARLY MEETING THE ALLIED COORDINATION COMMITTEE AT NATO HEADQUARTERS. ACCORDING TO BELGIAN DEFENSE MINISTER GUY COEME, THEY MET LAST LATE THIS OCTOBER IN THE MIDST OF THE ITALIAN DISCLOSURES....

13. "ALMOST ALL WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOW ADMITTED THE EXISTENCE OF **GLADIO**-LIKE CLANDESTINE ORGANIZATIONS..." (END QUOTE) BALDYGA

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CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 ROME 06050

USIA FOR P/G

SHAPE FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, IT

SUBJECT: "GLADIO'S" LINKS TO CIA ALLEGED; "GLADIO"

- PLAYS MINOR ROLE IN GOVERNMENT CRISIS

SUMMARY

1. (C) ALLEGATIONS OF LINKS BETWEEN THE CIA AND "GLADIO" HAVE SURFACED IN THE PRESS AGAIN ALONG WITH SUGGESTIONS THAT "GLADIO" INCLUDED A PLAN AGAINST THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. PRESIDENT COSSIGA'S SENSITIVITY TO THE PERCEPTION OF HIS ROLE WHEN HE WAS UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND WHAT HE MAY HAVE KNOWN ABOUT "GLADIO" HAS BEEN AN ELEMENT IN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT CRISIS. THE OPPOSITION BELIEVES THAT COSSIGA GENERATED THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT CRISIS BECAUSE HE WANTED TO PREVENT PARLIAMENT FROM INVESTIGATING HIS LINK TO "GLADIO." COSSIGA HAS ASKED PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI TO PREVENT A DEBATE ON COSSIGA IN PARLIAMENT. END SUMMARY

RECENTLY DISCOVERED DOCUMENTS LEAD TO NEW RUMORS

2. (U) FELICE CASSON, WHOSE INVESTIGATION INTO AN UNSOLVED TERRORIST EVENT MAY HAVE INFLUENCED P.M. ANDREOTTI TO DISCLOSE THE NATO ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS "GLADIO," HAS REPORTEDLY FOUND DOCUMENTS WHICH LINK "GLADIO" TO AN ALLEGED CIA PLAN CALLED "DEMAGNETIZE," ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS. PRESS COVERAGE OF CASSON'S FIND SUGGESTS THAT "GLADIO" WAS USED FOR

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INTERNAL POLITICAL PURPOSES (I.E. AGAINST THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY) AND NOT FOR EVENTUAL USE AGAINST EXTERNAL AGGRESSION. THE INFERENCE IS THAT "GLADIO" WENT BEYOND THE INTERESTS OF NATO AND HAD A SPECIAL LINK TO THE CIA. ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS DESCRIBE "DEMAGNETIZE" AS A PLAN TO KEEP WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES FROM GROWING AND ACHIEVING GOVERNMENT POWER.

3. (U) JUDGE CASSON IS ALSO CREDITED WITH FINDING DOCUMENTS IN THE FILES OF THE ITALIAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE "SISMI" THAT SHOW THAT "GLADIO" WEAPONS WERE STORED AT CAMP DARBY. ARTICLES POINT OUT THAT THE AMERICAN COMMANDANT OF CAMP DARBY HAS REFUSED TO TESTIFY ABOUT "GLADIO."

4. (U) CASSON'S CACHE REPORTEDLY INCLUDES INFORMATION SHOWING THAT GLADIO WAS ESTABLISHED AS A RESULT OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CIA AND THE ITALIAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIFAR) IN 1952. "L'UNITA," THE NEWSPAPER OF THE FORMER ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI), NOW THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT (PDS), STATES THAT PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI HAD TOLD PARLIAMENT "GLADIO" HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IN 1956. "L'UNITA" CLAIMS THAT CASSON ALSO HAS DOCUMENTS ABOUT PRESIDENT COSSIGA.

JUDGE CASSON UNDER INVESTIGATION

5 (U) JUDGE CASSON IS CURRENTLY UNDER INVESTIGATION FOR ALLEGEDLY OBTAINING DOCUMENTS COVERED BY THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT, WHICH CASSON DENIES, CLAIMING THAT THE DOCUMENTS IN QUESTION WERE NOT COVERED BY THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT. THE PRESS SUGGESTS THAT CHARGES AGAINST CASSON ARE AN ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE HIM.

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

"GLADIO" MINOR PLAYER IN CURRENT GOVERNMENT CRISIS

6. (U) ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, PRESIDENT COSSIGA'S RECENT STATEMENTS ABOUT "GLADIO," IN WHICH HE SAID THAT THE "GLADIATORS" WERE PATRIOTS AND

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SHOULD BE GIVEN A MEDAL, GENERATED CRITICISM OF HIM BY THE PDS. COSSIGA RECENTLY SUBMITTED TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS BY A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ABOUT HIS KNOWLEDGE OF "GLADIO" WHEN HE WAS UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE. PDS COMMITTEE MEMBERS WERE ABSENT DURING COSSIGA'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE WHICH IS INVESTIGATING "GLADIO." THEIR ABSENCE AGGRAVATED THE WAR OF WORDS BETWEEN PRESIDENT COSSIGA AND THE PDS. THE PDS SUBSEQUENTLY ASKED THAT PARLIAMENT DEBATE COSSIGA'S STATEMENTS.

7. (C) A SOURCE IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE TOLD US THAT DURING COSSIGA'S DISCUSSION ABOUT THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT CRISIS WITH PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI MARCH 26, COSSIGA INSISTED THAT ANDREOTTI PREVENT A PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSION OF COSSIGA. ANDREOTTI IS EXPECTED TO PRESENT HIS RESIGNATION TO THE SENATE MARCH 29 AND TO TRY TO AVOID A DEBATE. THE PDS IS EXPECTED TO WALK OUT IN PROTEST. MANY IN THE PDS BELIEVE THAT COSSIGA GENERATED THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT CRISIS IN ORDER TO DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT AND PREVENT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES FROM INVESTIGATING HIS ACTIONS WHILE HE WAS UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

8. (C) A RANKING OFFICIAL OF THE PDS TOLD US THAT THE PDS WOULD REFRAIN FROM CRITICIZING COSSIGA BECAUSE IT WANTS TO AVOID EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. IF COSSIGA WERE TO PERSIST IN DEFENDING "GLADIO," AND IN IMPUGNING THE PDS, THE PDS WOULD HAVE TO RESPOND, ACCORDING TO OUR CONTACT.

COMMENT

9. (C) "GLADIO" AND LINKS TO THE U.S. REMAIN A SIDESHOW OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT CRISIS, BUT THE NEW RUMORS CONTRIBUTE TO THE UNPREDICTABILITY OF THE OUTCOME OF THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS NOW UNDERWAY. THE GULF WAR HAD MERCIFULLY REMOVED "GLADIO" FROM THE FRONT PAGES OF ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS, BUT OUR SOURCES ASSURED US THAT IT WOULD BE BACK. U.S. OFFICIALS SHOULD CONTINUE TO AVOID COMMENT ON THE ISSUE.

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USIA FOR P/G

SHAPE FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, IT

SUBJECT: MORE COVERAGE OF CIA'S ALLEGED LINK TO

- "GLADIO"

REF: ROME 6050

1. C--ENTIRE TEXT.

2. "GLADIO," WAS NOT A PART OF NATO AT ALL, AS THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT CLAIMS, BUT WAS AN ORGANIZATION SET UP BY THE CIA TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI), ACCORDING TO TWO ARTICLES IN ITALIAN WEEKLIES, "L'ESPRESSO" AND "PANORAMA." "PANORAMA" CLAIMS TO HAVE DOCUMENTS DATED NOVEMBER 19, 1957, AND MAY 18, 1973, WHICH SHOW THAT "OPERATION STAY BEHIND" IS THE SAME THING AS "GLADIO" AND THAT THE FORMER WAS ORGANIZED AND PAID FOR BY THE CIA. THE CIA OFFICIAL IN CHARGE WAS NAMED ROBERT PORTER, AND HE PROVIDED FUNDS FOR "OPERATION STAY BEHIND," ACCORDING TO "PANORAMA." "PANORAMA" ALSO ALLEGES THAT "GLADIO" WAS NOT ONLY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE HEAD OF THE ITALIAN SECRET SERVICE BUT OF THE HEAD OF THE AMERICAN SECRET SERVICE IN ITALY. THE DOCUMENTS PURPORTEDLY SHOW THAT ARMS WERE FURNISHED TO "GLADIO" OPERATIVES BY THE CIA. "PANORAMA" CONCLUDES ITS ARTICLE STATING THAT IF "GLADIO" WAS NOT A PART OF NATO, THEN THE OTTAWA CONVENTION, WHICH CONCERNS THE SECRECY OF NATO DOCUMENTS, CANNOT BE INVOKED.

3. "L'ESPRESSO" CLAIMS TO HAVE A COPY OF A DOCUMENT CURRENTLY IN CUSTODY OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON TERRORIST CRIMES. THE DOCUMENT ALLEGEDLY SHOWS THAT A CIA OFFICIAL, ROBERT PORTER, ARRANGED A

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TRAINING TRIP FOR SIX "GLADIO" OFFICIALS IN THE U.S. TO STUDY COMMUNISM, PROPAGANDA, OPERATION "STAY BEHIND," DOCUMENTATION FOR CLANDESTINE OPERATIONS, PHOTOGRAPHY, DIDACTIC ORGANIZATION AND SECURITY. "L'ESPRESSO" CONCLUDES THAT OF THE TWO THEORIES, 1) THAT "GLADIO" HAS TO BE USED ONLY IN THE CASE OF A SOVIET INVASION OR 2) THAT IT HAD AN INTERNAL PURPOSE DIRECTED AGAINST THE PCI, THE LATTER IS MORE LIKELY. "L'ESPRESSO," LIKE "PANORAMA," MAKES THE CASE THAT ANDREOTTI HAS NOT YET GRANTED PERMISSION FOR THE RELEASE OF THE DOCUMENTS. "L'ESPRESSO" STATES THAT THE DOCUMENT CAME TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON TERRORISM ONLY AS A RESULT OF JUDGE FELICE CASSON'S INQUIRIES. (REFTEL REPORTED ARTICLES IN LATE MARCH WHICH ALLEGED THAT JUDGE CASSON'S RECENT DISCOVERIES INDICATED THAT "GLADIO" INCLUDED A PLAN AGAINST THE PCI.)

4. AN ARTICLE IN LEFTIST INDEPENDENT DAILY, "LA REPUBBLICA," APRIL 16 STATES THAT TWO MILITARY JUDGES HAVE WRITTEN PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI TO ASK HIM TO EXPLAIN WHY CERTAIN DOCUMENTS WHICH ALLEGEDLY SHOW THAT "GLADIO" WAS NOT LINKED TO NATO SHOULD BE PROTECTED BY THE OTTAWA CONVENTION. THE ARTICLE QUOTES SHAPE SPOKESMAN CAPTAIN JEAN MARCOTTE'S STATEMENT LAST NOVEMBER IN WHICH HE DENIED THAT "GLADIO" HAD EVER BEEN PART OF NATO.

COMMENT

5. RECENT ARTICLES ABOUT "GLADIO" LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT, THE SUCCESSOR TO THE PCI, IS LIKELY TO ENCOURAGE REVELATIONS THAT IT HAS THE TARGET OF CIA PLANS WHICH ITS POLITICAL RIVALS IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, SUCH AS PRESIDENT COSSIGA AND PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI, ENCOURAGED. SUCH ALLEGATIONS WOULD BE USEFUL TO THE PDS WITH ITS EXTREME LEFTIST VOTERS DURING THE NEXT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

6. ONCE AGAIN WE URGE U.S. OFFICIALS TO AVOID

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

COMMENT ON THE ISSUE. SECCHIA

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301725Z APR 91

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL ROME 08078

USIA FOR P/G

SHAPE FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, IT

SUBJECT: NEW ATTEMPTS TO LINK U.S. TO "GLADIO"

1. (U) AN ALLEGED NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT FROM JANUARY 16, 1961, REPORTEDLY STATES THAT THE U.S. WOULD HAVE BEEN PREPARED TO BRING DOWN ANY GOVERNMENT DOMINATED BY COMMUNISTS, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS. THE U.S. APPARENTLY WOULD NOT HAVE RULED OUT MILITARY INTERVENTION, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD HAVE BEEN CONDITIONED ON APPROVAL BY THE EUROPEAN ALLIES. THE DOCUMENT IS IN THE HANDS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING "GLADIO." THE DOCUMENT ALLEGEDLY STATES THAT THE U.S. WOULD HAVE SOUGHT TO WORK WITH ANY ITALIAN RESISTANCE GROUP THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN OPPOSED TO ANY TENDENCY TOWARDS COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT. NO SPECIFIC CONNECTION HAS REPORTEDLY MADE IN THE DOCUMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. CONTINGENCY PLAN AND "GLADIO," BUT THE PRESS ASSUMES THAT THE U.S. HAD IN MIND USING "GLADIATORS."

COMMENT

2. (C) GIVEN THE PERIOD OF THE DOCUMENT, WE DO NOT EXPECT THAT THIS NEW ATTEMPT TO LINK THE U.S. TO "GLADIO" WILL CREATE MUCH OF A STIR. OFFICIALS OF THE SUCCESSOR PARTY TO THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TOLD US EARLIER THAT THEY WERE NOT SURPRISED AT THE EXISTENCE OF AN ORGANIZATION LIKE "GLADIO" DIRECTED AT THEM DURING THE COLD WAR. THEY WERE, HOWEVER, SURPRISED AT THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF "GLADIO." THE FORMER COMMUNISTS, WHO HAVE VERY LIKELY ENCOURAGED INQUIRIES INTO "GLADIO," ARE PARTICULARLY

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INTERESTED IN EMBARRASSING THE RULING CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

3. (C) AS IN THE PAST, WE RECOMMEND A "NO COMMENT"
ON THIS. SERWER

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FROM

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VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBM

USVIENNA FOR CFE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, NATO, IT

SUBJECT: MEDIA AND PRESIDENT COSSIGA FOCUS ON "GLADIO"

REF: ROME 7468

1. C--ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. "GLADIO" WILL NOT DIE DOWN IN THE ITALIAN PRESS. NEW ARTICLES DEPICT DOCUMENTS WHICH PURPORTEDLY SHOW THAT THE CIA, RATHER THAN NATO, FUNDED AND DIRECTED "GLADIO" AS AN OPERATION AGAINST INTERNAL SUBVERSION BY COMMUNISTS. PRESIDENT COSSIGA, WHO WAS ON A STATE VISIT TO HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, TOLD REPORTERS THERE THAT NEO-STALINISTS WERE PLOTTING AGAINST HIM; THAT COMMUNISTS IN ITALY CONTINUED TO DISTORT REALITY; AND THAT A FORMER ITALIAN OFFICIAL, WHO WAS ACCUSED AND LATER EXONERATED OF PARTICIPATING IN A RIGHT WING COUP, HAD, IN FACT, BEEN ACTIVE IN RESCUING HUNGARIAN POLITICIANS IN 1956. END SUMMARY.

3. THE ITALIAN WEEKLY "PANORAMA" AND THE LEFTIST INDEPENDENT DAILY "LA REPUBBLICA" RECENTLY PUBLISHED ARTICLES CLAIMING THAT DOCUMENTS OBTAINED FROM MILITARY PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS SHOW THAT THE CIA CONTROLLED "GLADIO." SIMILAR ALLEGATIONS WERE DESCRIBED IN REFTEL. THE PUBLICATIONS REPRINT A HAND-DRAWN ORGANIZATIONAL SCHEME WHICH SHOWS LINES

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DRAWN FROM BOXES REPRESENTING THE CIA TO ITALIAN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS AND TO "GLADIO" ON ONE SIDE, AND FROM SACEUR, USECOM THROUGH SOFTE AND CPE (THE LATTER TWO ORGANIZATIONS ARE UNKNOWN TO US) TO THE SAME ITALIAN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS ON THE OTHER SIDE. ALTHOUGH THE ORGANIZATIONAL SCHEME INDICATES THAT BOTH NATO AND THE CIA WERE LINKED TO ITALIAN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS, THE "PANORAMA" AND "LA REPUBBLICA" ARTICLES CONCLUDE THAT THIS IS PROOF THAT "GLADIO" WAS AN ORGANIZATION FUNDED AND CONTROLLED BY THE CIA.

4. ANOTHER DOCUMENT MENTIONS THE NAMES OF AMERICANS ALLEGEDLY IN CHARGE OF SUPERVISING **GLADIO** AT THE TIME OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL SCHEME IN 1972: H. STONE, M. SEDNAOUI AND E. WILT. STONE AND SEDNAOUI WERE ALLEGEDLY MEMBERS OF THE INFAMOUS MASONIC LODGE KNOWN AS P-2 WHICH IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN A SOURCE OF RIGHT-WING TERRORISM. STONE IS ALLEGED TO HAVE SAID THAT "GLADIO" WOULD NOT RECEIVE U.S. FUNDING UNLESS IT WAS USED AGAINST COMMUNISM. AN ITALIAN GENERAL, GERARDO SERRAVALLE, WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THE ITALIAN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION TO WHICH "GLADIO" WAS ALLEGEDLY APPENDED, REPORTEDLY WROTE THAT "MR. STONE LET IT BE KNOWN THAT **OPERATION GLADIO** WOULD BE VALID TO THE EXTENT THAT IT TARGETED INTERNAL SUBVERSION STRONG ENOUGH TO CHALLENGE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY." INDIVIDUAL "GLADIATORS" REPORTEDLY TOLD JUDICIAL INVESTIGATORS THAT THEY HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY SHOULD BE RESISTED EVEN IF IT GAINED POWER THROUGH ELECTIONS.

5. COINCIDENTALLY, PRESIDENT COSSIGA RAISED THE SUBJECT OF "GLADIO" WITH REPORTERS DURING A VISIT TO HUNGARY OVER THE WEEKEND. COSSIGA SAID THAT DISCUSSION OF "GLADIO" WAS "PURELY AND SIMPLY A TWISTED GAME OF POLITICAL INNUENDO IN WHICH THE

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

TARGET IS THE SMALL FISH RATHER THAN THE BIG FISH." THE REASON FOR THIS, ACCORDING TO COSSIGA, IS THAT "THE BIG FISH MIGHT BE USEFUL TOMORROW WHILE THE LITTLE FISH HAS ALREADY SAID HE IS GOING HOME." COSSIGA APPARENTLY CONSIDERS HIMSELF THE "LITTLE FISH" WHO WILL NOT RUN FOR PRESIDENT AGAIN, AND PRIME

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MINISTER ANDREOTTI IS THE "BIG FISH" WITH PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS. ACCORDING TO THE NEWSPAPER OF THE FORMER ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, "L'UNITA," COSSIGA SAID IN HUNGARY THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO THINK THAT THE DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM SIGNIFIED THE DEFEAT OF (ITALIAN) COMMUNISTS WHO HAVE MADE IT THEIR BUSINESS TO CRITICIZE THE FACTS. COSSIGA SAID HE SAW "NEO-STALINIST GAMES" BEING PLAYED AGAINST HIM (PRESUMABLY BY THE FORMER COMMUNISTS, POSSIBLY WITH THE COOPERATION OF ANDREOTTI). COSSIGA SAID THAT THE UNSOLVED TERRORIST INCIDENTS WHICH WERE COMMITTED WHILE HE WAS MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR AND PRIME MINISTER WERE A CONTINUOUS BURDEN TO HIM.

6. COSSIGA ALSO CREATED MEDIA CONTROVERSY WITH HIS REMARKS ABOUT FORMER ITALIAN OFFICIAL, EDGARDO SOGNO, WHO WAS ACCUSED AND EXONERATED OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE "SOLO PLAN," A RIGHT-WING PLOT TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT. COSSIGA SAID INDIRECTLY THAT SUFFICIENT TIME HAD PASSED TO PERMIT THE REVELATION OF A SECRET OPERATION IN WHICH EDGARDO SOGNO HAD UNDERTAKEN A CLANDESTINE MISSION TO HUNGARY IN 1956 TO HELP CERTAIN POLITICAL FIGURES ESCAPE. COSSIGA COMPARED FORMER JUDGE LUCIANO VIOLANTE, NOW A MEMBER OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT (FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY), TO "THAT LITTLE VISCINSKY," STALIN'S PROSECUTOR. VIOLANTE WAS THE JUDGE WHO ORDERED SOGNO'S ARREST IN 1973 FOR INVOLVEMENT IN THE "SOLO PLAN." VIOLANTE HAS SINCE STATED THAT HIS INVESTIGATION WAS BLOCKED BECAUSE STATE SECRECY HAD BEEN IMPOSED, BUT HE DENIED THAT HIS INVESTIGATION HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH HUNGARY.

COMMENT

7. THE CONTINUOUS REVELATIONS ABOUT "GLADIO" ARE RELEGATED TO THE BACK PAGES OF THE NEWSPAPER AND PROBABLY DO NOT CAPTURE THE PUBLIC'S IMAGINATION. COSSIGA'S FIXATION WITH "GLADIO," HOWEVER, AND HIS CONSTANT NEED TO JUSTIFY HIS ACTIONS WHILE MAKING CREATIVE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY, GIVE "GLADIO" A SIGNIFICANCE IN ITALY IT WOULD NOT OTHERWISE HAVE. FORMER COMMUNIST OFFICIALS HAVE

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TOLD US THAT THEY WERE NOT SURPRISED AT REVELATIONS THAT SECRET ORGANIZATIONS MIGHT HAVE BEEN USED AGAINST THEM IN THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD, BUT THEY WERE SURPRISED THAT THE ORGANIZATIONS CONTINUED TO EXIST UNTIL SUCH A LATE DATE. THE FORMER COMMUNISTS HAVE EXPRESSED INDIGNATION THAT STATE FACILITIES WERE USED AGAINST A PARTY THAT WAS A PART OF ITALY'S PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM BUT EVEN MORE SO AT THE POSSIBILITY THAT "GLADIO" MIGHT SOMEHOW BE LINKED TO ITALY'S MANY UNSOLVED TERRORIST INCIDENTS.

8. WE CONTINUE TO URGE "NO COMMENT" IN RESPONSE TO ANY INQUIRIES. SECCHIA

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, NATO, IT

SUBJECT: PM ANDREOTTI UNDERTAKES TO PROVIDE MORE

- DOCUMENTS ON "GLADIO," BUT NOT DOCUMENTS

- PERTAINING TO SHAPE

1. C--ENTIRE TEXT.

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SUMMARY

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2. PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI TOLD THE SENATE JULY 25 THAT HE HAD CONSULTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S ALLIES AND THAT MORE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO "GLADIO" COULD BE PROVIDED TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION ON TERRORIST EVENTS AND TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE OF ROME. ANDREOTTI SAID, HOWEVER, THAT MILITARY DOCUMENTS AND DOCUMENTS CONCERNING SHAPE AND THE COMMITTEE ON PLANNING AND COORDINATION (CPC IN ITALIAN) SHOULD REMAIN SECRET. ANDREOTTI URGED THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TO ESTABLISH PROCEDURES TO SAFEGUARD THE SECRECY OF DOCUMENTS OF THE ALLIED COORDINATING COMMITTEE (ACC). ANDREOTTI RECOUNTED PREVIOUS TESTIMONY IN WHICH HE HAD OUTLINED THE CREATION OF "GLADIO" AND ITS RELATION TO NATO. IN SO DOING HE REBUTTED ALLEGATIONS THAT "GLADIO" WAS THE RESULT OF A BILATERAL AGREEMENT RATHER THAN A STRUCTURE LINKED TO

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NATO AND, THEREFORE, NOT SUBJECT TO SECRECY AS PROVIDED BY THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT.

3. ANDREOTTI ASSURED THE SENATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOTHING TO HIDE WITH REGARD TO TERRORIST INCIDENTS. HE SAID THAT SHOULD THERE BE PROOF INDICATING A DEVIATION FROM THE STATED PURPOSE OF "GLADIO" AND LINKING IT TO INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORIST INCIDENTS, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD PERMIT FULL PROSECUTION OF ANY AND ALL RESPONSIBLE PARTIES. HE ALSO CHIDED THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE FOR NOT OBSERVING STRICT PROCEDURES IN ITS INVESTIGATION. END SUMMARY.

4. THERE FOLLOWS AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF PARTS OF PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI'S TESTIMONY:

QUOTE. I STATED THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IN TESTIMONY GIVEN NOVEMBER 8, 1990 BEFORE THE SENATE AND ON JANUARY 11, 1991 BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. I ALSO REFER TO MY STATEMENT TO THE PRESIDENTS OF THE TWO CHAMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON FEBRUARY 26, 1991.

...ANY LINKS TO TERRORISM, IF THEY EXIST, MUST BE PROVEN, AND THEY CANNOT BE ASSUMED...THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOTHING TO HIDE, AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO OBSERVE RIGOROUS CRITERIA OF OBJECTIVITY IN EXAMINING THE FACTS.

...SINCE FEBRUARY 25, THE GOVERNMENT HAS PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE COURT OF ROME ALL THE NATIONAL DOCUMENTS INCLUDING THE PERTINENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN ITALIAN AND AMERICAN SERVICES PERTAINING TO THE SO-CALLED "OPERATION GLADIO." I REFER TO DOCUMENTS COMPRISING 32,000 PAGES, AMONG WHICH, I REPEAT, IS INCLUDED THE AGREEMENT OF NOVEMBER 1956 WITH WHICH THE CREATION OF THE STRUCTURE WAS FORMALIZED, AN AGREEMENT ON WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT IMPOSED SECRECY AS REQUESTED BY OFFICIALS OF SISMI ON DECEMBER 22, 1990. FOLLOWING THE DECISION ON THE DOCUMENTATION PERTAINING DIRECTLY TO THE ACTIVITY OF "GLADIO," THE GOVERNMENT
/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

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INTENDED TO FURNISH TO PARLIAMENT AND TO THE COURT THE NECESSARY INSTRUMENTS TO DETERMINE THE TRUTH AND TO REMOVE ANY DOUBTS ABOUT THE RIGOROUS EXAMINATION OF THE DOCUMENTS.

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...ON FEBRUARY 28, 1991...I SENT AT THE REQUEST OF THE COURT THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT OF NOVEMBER 1958 TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION ON TERRORIST INCIDENTS...THE SAME DOCUMENTS WERE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE MILITARY COURT OF PADOVA AND TO THE COURT OF VENICE. I AM WELL AWARE THAT THERE IS SOME DISCUSSION ABOUT THE 1956 AGREEMENT. SOME CLAIM THAT THERE ARE PRECEDING DOCUMENTS AND OTHERS CLAIM THAT THE DOCUMENT IS TOO SHORT OR THAT IT LACKS A SIGNATURE. I WISH TO MAKE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT THIS IS THE FORMAL FOUNDING DOCUMENT OF THE STRUCTURE AVAILABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND VERIFIED BY THE U.S. AUTHORITIES...IT MAY BE THAT BEFORE THE FORMAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIFAR AND THE CIA, THERE MAY HAVE BEEN PRE-AGREEMENTS, BUT NONE HAVE EMERGED AMONG THE DOCUMENTS CONSULTED WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS.

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...THE GOVERNMENT HAS CALLED TO THE ATTENTION OF THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES THE FACT THAT PART OF THE DOCUMENTS BELONG TO NATO AND AS SUCH FALL UNDER THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE OTTAWA CONVENTION ON THE INVIOABILITY OF THAT ORGANIZATION'S RECORDS. I POINTED OUT IN MY STATEMENT OF APRIL 20, 1991 TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF ROME THAT ONLY NATO COULD WITHDRAW THAT IMMUNITY, WHICH IS SIMILAR TO DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY. ARTICLE 7 OF THE CONVENTION DOES NOT ATTRIBUTE TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE ITALIAN STATE OR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ANY POWERS OF RESTRICTION VIS-A-VIS JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES, HOWEVER, TO EVALUATE WHETHER AND TO WHAT EXTENT IN AN INVESTIGATION IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE INVIOABILITY WHICH COVERS NATO DOCUMENTS MAY BE COMPATIBLE WITH THE USE OF THOSE DOCUMENTS FOR JUDICIAL PURPOSES.

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...I WISH TO POINT OUT THAT ON JANUARY 11 OF THIS

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YEAR, I EMPHASIZED THAT 'THIS STRUCTURE CALLED 'GLADIO' FOUNDED BY A BILATERAL AGREEMENT SIGNED BY TWO MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, WAS AND REMAINS EXCLUSIVELY NATIONAL; ITS ACTIVITIES, HOWEVER, CAME TO BE, WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME, INCREASINGLY PLANNED AND COORDINATED IN THE NATO SPHERE. WHAT IS DIFFERENT IN THIS REGARD TO THE GERMAN DOCUMENT? IN FACT, THAT DOCUMENT, WHICH IS PROOF OF THE EXTREME CARE AND ATTENTION GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC IN HELPING TO CAST LIGHT ON THE PURPOSE OF THE STAY-BEHIND STRUCTURE, DOES NOT DIFFER SUBSTANTIALLY FROM THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SIMILAR GERMAN ORGANIZATION WHICH WAS PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO PARLIAMENT ON THE ITALIAN "GLADIO."

...IN MY PREVIOUS ADDRESS TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES I SUMMARIZED THE SIGNIFICANT STEPS LEADING TO GRADUAL INTEGRATION OF THE STRUCTURE IN THE NATO AREA: IN MARCH 1959 THE HEAD OF SECTION R OF SIFAR WAS CALLED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE CLANDESTINE COMMITTEE ON PLANNING, SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED COMMITTEE FOR COORDINATION AND PLANNING, WHICH FUNCTIONED WITHIN THE SPHERE OF SHAPE, OF WHICH SEVERAL NATO /***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/

COUNTRIES WERE MEMBERS, WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STUDYING THE COORDINATION OF INTELLIGENCE AND OFFENSIVE ACTIVITIES IN CASE OF WAR WITH REGARD TO TERRITORY WHICH MIGHT BE OCCUPIED BY THE ENEMY. IN APRIL 1964 ITALY BECAME A PART OF THE ALLIED CLANDESTINE COMMITTEE...WITH THE PURPOSE OF STUDYING AND RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF COOPERATION AMONG THE VARIOUS ALLIED NATIONS REGARDING THE OPERATIONS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STAY-BEHIND NETWORKS.

AT THAT TIME I SAID THAT IN JANUARY 1969 THE COMMITTEE OF PLANNING AND COORDINATION PROVIDED TO THE SID, LATER CALLED SIFAR, A DIRECTIVE FROM SHAPE, REGARDING THE USE OF THE GLADIO NETWORK OR THE USE OF REGULAR MILITARY FORCES WHICH WERE TO BE MADE OPERATIONAL IN TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE ENEMY. THESE DIRECTIVES, I NOTE, WERE ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN MODIFIED AND MODERNIZED IN 1972, 1976 AND FINALLY IN

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1981. I WOULD BE PLEASED IF THEY WERE TO CONTINUE TO BE MODIFIED SO THAT THE PRECEDING DIRECTIVES SHOULD HAVE NO ELEMENT OF SECRECY, NOT EVEN IN THE AREA OF NATO.

IN THIS WAY I WAS ABLE TO SHOW THAT THE SECRET ITALIAN STRUCTURE GRADUALLY BECAME PART OF AN ORGANIZATION THAT WAS CLOSELY LINKED TO MILITARY PLANNING ORGANIZATIONS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

...IT IS CLEARLY EVIDENT THAT THE CPC (COORDINATING AND PLANNING COMMITTEE) IS DIRECTLY SUBORDINATE TO SHAPE, NOT ONLY FROM THE DOCUMENTS SENT TO THE COURT BY THE GOVERNMENT BUT FROM THE TESTIMONY OFFERED TO THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSION IN WHICH IT IS STATED THAT "ON AUGUST 7, 1951, SACEUR PROPOSED TO THE NATO STANDING GROUP THE CREATION OF CPC IN ORDER TO DEFINE THE ROLE IN CASE OF WAR OF THE SERVICES LINKED TO THE OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIED COMMAND IN THE AREA OF SPECIAL OPERATIONS." I SHOULD POINT OUT THAT SACEUR IS NOT THE SUPREME COMMAND OF THE AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE BUT THE SUPREME ALLIED COMMAND IN EUROPE.

...WE NOW COME TO THE ACC, WHICH GUALTIERI (CHAIRMAN OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON TERRORIST INCIDENTS) AFFIRMS DERIVED FROM THE CPC. THE COMMISSION ON TERRORIST INCIDENTS STATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS IS THAT THE CPC HAD AS ITS PURPOSE TO COORDINATE THE PROGRAMMING OF THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBER SERVICES WITH THE NATO MILITARY COMMAND, AND THAT IN TIME OF WAR IT WOULD HAVE DISAPPEARED TO PERMIT THE EXISTENCE OF FOUR "ALLIED GROUPS OF CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION" (ACCG), WHICH WOULD THEN TAKE OVER THAT RESPONSIBILITY. THE ACC, HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO GUALTIERI'S STATEMENT, COORDINATED THE COOPERATION AMONG MEMBER SERVICES FOR THE STAY-BEHIND OPERATIONS, PREPARING GUIDANCE, STUDIES AND DOCTRINE AND PREPARING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CLANDESTINE ALLIED BASE. THE LINKAGE BETWEEN ACC AND SHAPE DID NOT COME DIRECTLY, BUT (ACCORDING TO THE DOCUMENTS) THROUGH THE CPC. BOTH COMMITTEES WERE WITHIN THE SPHERE OF

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SHAPE, BUT ONE WAS DIRECTLY LINKED AND THE OTHER INDIRECTLY LINKED, SO TO SPEAK.

MR. PRESIDENT, HONORABLE SENATORS, THE COURT HAS ITS ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES WHICH IT MUST RESPECT

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 004 *****/

RIGOROUSLY.

THE PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE, ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION, HAS THE SAME POWERS AND THE SAME LEGAL LIMITS (AS THE JUDICIARY AUTHORITY) TO ITS AUTHORITY.

THE JUDICIARY AUTHORITIES HAVE A NEED TO ACQUIRE THEIR OWN FILES AND DOCUMENTS AS THEY DETERMINE NECESSARY FOR THE PURPOSES OF THEIR INVESTIGATIONS. THE DOCUMENTS SHOULD, THEREFORE, BE A PART OF THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

WITH REFERENCE TO MY LETTER OF DECEMBER 4, 1990, DIRECTED TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE REPUBLIC, IN WHICH I AFFIRMED THAT THE "OPTIMAL SOLUTION WOULD BE TO CONSULT THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE DIRECTLY IN THE SISMI ARCHIVES," THE COURT, IN EXPLAINING THE REASON WHICH HAD LED TO SEQUESTERING ALL THE EXISTING DOCUMENTS, STATED THAT "THE CONSULTATION OF THE RECORDS BY JURIDICAL AUTHORITIES IS NOT AND CANNOT BE SUBSTITUTED BY THE ACQUISITION OF THE SAME RECORDS IN THE CASE FILES.

IT IS FROM THIS POINT THAT THE PROBLEM ARISES OF CORRESPONDENCE PERTAINING TO THE DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMITTEES OPERATING WITHIN THE AREA OF SHAPE AND OF ITS INVIOABILITY. FROM THIS POINT WE ARE FACED WITH THE SUBTLE DISQUISITION OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE FILES OF NATO, AND THE CLOSE EXAMINATION OF THE MANY ACRONYMS OF THE INNUMERABLE COMMITTEES WHICH EXIST WITHIN THE AREA OF THE ALLIANCE.

I DO NOT WANT US TO HIDE BEHIND LEGAL SUBTLETIES, AND I WANT LIGHT SHED ON THE DOUBTS THAT EXIST IN THE MINDS OF SOME.

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IT IS ALLEGED THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY WANT TO RESERVE SOME INCRIMINATING DOCUMENT BY PLACING IT UNDER THE NATO UMBRELLA. THIS IS THE ISSUE.
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IF THIS IS SO, HOW CAN ONE EXPLAIN, FOLLOWING THE MOST ELEMENTARY RULES OF COMMON SENSE, THE LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 29, 1990, ADDRESSED TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY, IN WHICH, ON CONFIRMING THE BROADEST COOPERATION WITH THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE, THE COMMITTEE IS INVITED TO COME TO SISMI HEADQUARTERS TO LOOK AT ALL THE EXISTING MATERIAL WITH FULL PERMISSION TO TAKE ANY DOCUMENTS THAT MAY BE DEEMED NECESSARY?
-

THIS IS THE TRUTH, HONORABLE SENATORS. THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE DOCUMENTS TO HIDE. AS I HAVE SAID EVER SINCE THE "GLADIO" STRUCTURE BECAME PUBLIC, IF THERE WERE PROOF OF DEVIATIONS, IF THERE WERE ANY PROOF LINKING THE TRAGIC EVENTS THAT HAVE SULLIED OUR NATION, THE GOVERNMENT IS QUITE DETERMINED TO PUNISH WHOEVER DESERVES TO BE PUNISHED.
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...AFTER HAVING CONSULTED THE ALLIED AUTHORITIES, AND THIS EXPLAINS THE DELAY OF SEVERAL WEEKS AND MONTHS IN ANSWERING SINCE IT IS A MATTER THAT CONCERNS OTHER COUNTRIES, AND CONSIDERING THE INDIRECT LINK TO SHAPE TO WHICH I REFERRED, IT HAS BEEN CONCLUDED THAT

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 005 *****/

INVIOABILITY MUST BE APPLIED TO CORRESPONDENCE PERTAINING TO SHAPE AND CPC, AND THAT THE ENTIRE DOCUMENTATION RELATING TO THE ALLIED CLANDESTINE COMMITTEE SHALL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE LEGAL AUTHORITIES AND, THEREFORE, TO THE COMMITTEE ON TERRORIST INCIDENTS. NATURALLY, THE GOVERNMENT REQUESTS THAT THIS DOCUMENTATION BE SUBJECT TO DISCIPLINE WHICH APPLIES TO RESERVED DOCUMENTS AND TO INFORMATION WHICH MAY NOT BE DIVULGED ACCORDING TO THE APPROPRIATE ARTICLES OF THE PENAL CODE.
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THIS IS AN IMPORTANT POINT. IN ONE OF THE LETTERS

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EXCHANGED WITH THE COMMITTEE, I CALLED ATTENTION TO THE NEED TO FIND A WAY TO ASSURE A POSSIBILITY TO RESERVE INFORMATION WHICH WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR ALL THE DOCUMENTS TO BE SEEN AND AT THE SAME TIME TO PROHIBIT THEIR PUBLICATION.

...I APPEAL TO THE COMMITTEE TO FIND A WAY WITHIN ITSELF TO INSTITUTE A SYSTEM THAT WILL PROVIDE A GUARANTEE OF SECRECY SO THAT ALL DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE ACC COMMITTEE CAN BE PROVIDED. NATURALLY, THOSE DOCUMENTS OF A MILITARY OPERATIONAL NATURE WHICH HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH "GLADIO," AND I THINK THAT WE ALL AGREE ON THIS, SHOULD REMAIN RESTRICTED.

...THE GOVERNMENT HAS SENT TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY A LIST OF ALL THE DOCUMENTS, AND I REPEAT ALL THE DOCUMENTS, PERTAINING TO NATO WHICH IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE TO LIST WITH THE AUTHORITY OF THE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE REPUBLIC. IT IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD TOWARDS RELEASING WHAT IS PRESENT IN THE FILES SO THAT THE CONTENTS MAY IN TIME BE KNOWN, IN ADDITION TO THE LIST OF DOCUMENTS. END QUOTE.

5. THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON TERRORIST INCIDENTS VOTED BY A LARGE MAJORITY AUGUST 1 ON A MOTION ASKING THE GOVERNMENT TO COMPLY WITH ANDREOTTI'S STATEMENT IN WHICH HE UNDERTOOK TO PROVIDE DOCUMENTS AND FILES PERTAINING TO **GLADIO** TO THE COMMITTEE AND TO THE COURT AUTHORITIES. THE COMMITTEE NOTED THAT ANDREOTTI HAD INEQUIVOCABLY DEMONSTRATED THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION NOT TO IMPOSE SECRECY EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY ON DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO "**GLADIO**." THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT (PDS), WHICH IS THE SUCCESSOR TO THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, VOTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT, BUT THE SMALL, NEO-COMMUNIST PARTY VOTED AGAINST. SERWER

BT
ADMIN
#4153
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CONFIDENTIAL**RELEASED IN FULL****DTG**

211938Z OCT 91

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL ROME 19139

USNATO FOR AMB. TAFT

USIA FOR P/G

SHAPE FOR POLAD

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBM

USVIENNA FOR CFE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, NATO, IT

SUBJECT: JUDGE ALLEGES "GLADIO" WAS SUBORDINATE TO CIA

REF: ROME 14153

1. (C) JUDGE FELICE CASSON, THE VENETIAN JUDGE WHO ACHIEVED NOTORIETY WHEN HE LINKED HIS INVESTIGATION OF A TERRORIST INCIDENT WITH "GLADIO," TURNED HIS INVESTIGATION OVER TO A COURT IN ROME OCTOBER 19. CASSON DETERMINED THAT THE INVESTIGATION DID NOT FALL UNDER HIS JURISDICTION SINCE IT CONCERNED OFFICIALS BASED IN ROME. CASSON TOLD JOURNALISTS THAT HIS INVESTIGATIONS HAD REVEALED THAT "GLADIO" WAS NOT A PART OF NATO BUT WAS DEPENDENT ON THE CIA. CASSON'S ASSERTION CONTRADICTS PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI'S TESTIMONY TO THE ITALIAN SENATE JULY 25 (SEE REFTEL) IN WHICH HE SAID "GLADIO" WAS NOT THE RESULT OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS.
2. (U) CASSON SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT RESTRICTED GROUPS WERE ESTABLISHED WITHIN THE ITALIAN SECRET SERVICE "SISMI" WHICH WERE LINKED TO THE CIA AND WHICH HAD A LICENSE TO KILL. CASSON NOTED THAT THE CIA DID NOT HAVE PERMISSION TO KILL. CASSON CHARGED THAT PARLIAMENT WAS DENIED THE OPPORTUNITY TO APPROVE THE SECRET STRUCTURE AND THAT THE ITALIAN SECRET SERVICE AND "GLADIO'S" SPONSORS WANTED TO AVOID HAVING THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE ASK QUESTIONS. CASSON MAKES THE POINT THAT "GLADIO" HAD BECOME AN ORGANIZATION WITH INTERNAL POLITICAL TARGETS SINCE

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THERE HAD NEVER BEEN AN INVASION BY A FOREIGN POWER
AFTER "GLADIO" WAS ESTABLISHED.

COMMENT

3. (C) CASSON'S REVELATIONS HAVE RECEIVED AMPLE
COVERAGE IN THE PRESS, AND LOWER RANKING OFFICIALS OF
THE FORMER ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY HAVE PREDICTABLY
EXPRESSED INDIGNATION. THERE IS, THUS FAR, NO
INDICATION THAT CASSON'S NEW ALLEGATIONS WILL RESULT
IN A POLITICAL SCANDAL. WE MAY, HOWEVER, HEAR MORE
AS THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS DRAW CLOSER.
SECCHIA

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301744Z JAN 92

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL ROME 01756

OSLO FOR POL (NOLAN)

ANKARA FOR POL (KARAGIANNIS)

USNATO FOR AMB. TAFT

USIA FOR P/G

SHAPE FOR POLAD

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBM

USVIENNA FOR CFE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, IT

SUBJECT: PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION ENDS WITH

- CONTROVERSIAL REPORT ON "GLADIO"

1. (U) THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION ON TERRORIST INCIDENTS HAS CONCLUDED ITS INVESTIGATION OF "GLADIO," THE SECRET ORGANIZATION LINKED TO NATO, WITH A REPORT BY ITS PRESIDENT WHICH CONCLUDES THAT "GLADIO" WAS NEITHER LEGITIMATE NOR CONSTITUTIONAL. THE REPORT BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY COMMISSION CHAIRMAN LIBERO GUALTIERI HAS DRAWN CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM FROM MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING COALITION, WHO CHARGE GUALTIERI WITH PRODUCING A PARTISAN REPORT. IN ADDITION TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES SUCH AS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT (EX-COMMUNIST) HAVE VOICED APPROVAL OF GUALTIERI'S REPORT. ANOTHER PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION, HOWEVER, THE COMMISSION ON SECRET SERVICES, HEADED BY A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, HAS REACHED AN OPPOSITE CONCLUSION ABOUT OPERATION "STAY BEHIND." THE LATTER CONCLUDES THAT THERE WAS NO ILLEGALITY WITH RESPECT TO "STAY BEHIND" OR "GLADIO."
2. (C) WITH PARLIAMENT EXPECTED TO DISSOLVE FEBRUARY 1 IN PREPARATION FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN APRIL, THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO TIME FOR PARLIAMENTARY FLOOR DEBATE ON THE EITHER OF THE

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COMMISSION'S REPORTS. A JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION OF "GLADIO" CONTINUES. THE PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATIONS WILL DIE WITH THE PARLIAMENT, BUT THEY COULD BE RESUMED DURING THE NEXT PARLIAMENT IF THERE IS SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FOR FURTHER DEBATE. WHILE A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF POLITICIANS ARE BORED WITH "GLADIO," THERE IS STILL SOME INTEREST IN QUESTIONING THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S ROLE AND THAT OF SOME OF ITS LEADERS IN USING "GLADIO" FOR PARTISAN INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE OPPOSITION. THE FOCUS OF THE "GLADIO" DEBATE, WHICH HAS BEEN LIVELIER IN ITALY THAN IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, HAS BEEN THE POSSIBILITY OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT'S MISUSE OF "GLADIO." INTEREST IN U.S. AND NATO PARTICIPATION IN "GLADIO" HAS BEEN SECONDARY TO INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. SECCHIA

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RELEASED IN PART 25X1,25X6

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141815Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

Classification Extended on : 02/10/2014 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~
Authority: DSCG 11-1 ~ Declassify on: 11/14/2040

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 17191

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PINR, BE

SUBJECT: BELGIAN "GLADIO" CONTINUES TO MAKE HEADLINES

REF: BRUSSELS 17017

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. ON NOVEMBER 15 THE BELGIAN CABINET WILL MEET TO HEAR THE PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF THE MOD INVESTIGATION WHICH DEFENSE MINISTER GUY COEME ORDERED LAST WEEK (REFTEL). FLEMISH SOCIALIST (SP), NATIONALIST (VU), AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT (CVP) MP'S, AND THE "GREENS" CAUCUS, ARE PUSHING FOR A PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATION INTO GLADIO.

3. THE AFFAIR CONTINUES TO RECEIVE HEAVY MEDIA ATTENTION. MORE RESTRAINED, MAINLY FRENCH LANGUAGE, ARTICLES FEATURE "REASSURING" STATEMENTS BY FORMER GOB OFFICIALS. PROVINCIAL DUTCH LANGUAGE PAPERS FAVOR CONSPUP (###) THEY KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF A GLADIO NETWORK HERE, BOTH PRIME MINISTER MARTENS AND MOD COEME ARE AWAITING THE RESULTS OF THE MOD'S INVESTIGATION INTO GLADIO. COEME WILL REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TOMORROW, NOVEMBER 15.

5. FOR ITS PART PARLIAMENT IS NOT IDLE. THE FLEMISH SOCIALIST (SP), NATIONALIST (VU), AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (CVP), TOGETHER WITH BOTH FRANCOPHONE AND FLEMISH ECOLOGISTS, ARE PRESSING FOR A SEPARATE PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATION INTO THE AFFAIR. AGALEV, THE FLEMISH ECOLOGIST PARTY, HAS EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE RELIABILITY OF AN MOD INVESTIGATION INTO THE MINISTRY'S OWN OPERATIONS AND QUESTIONED HOW IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A PRIME MINISTER TWELVE YEARS IN OFFICE COULD HAVE REMAINED UNINFORMED ABOUT A POSSIBLE GLADIO OPERATION.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

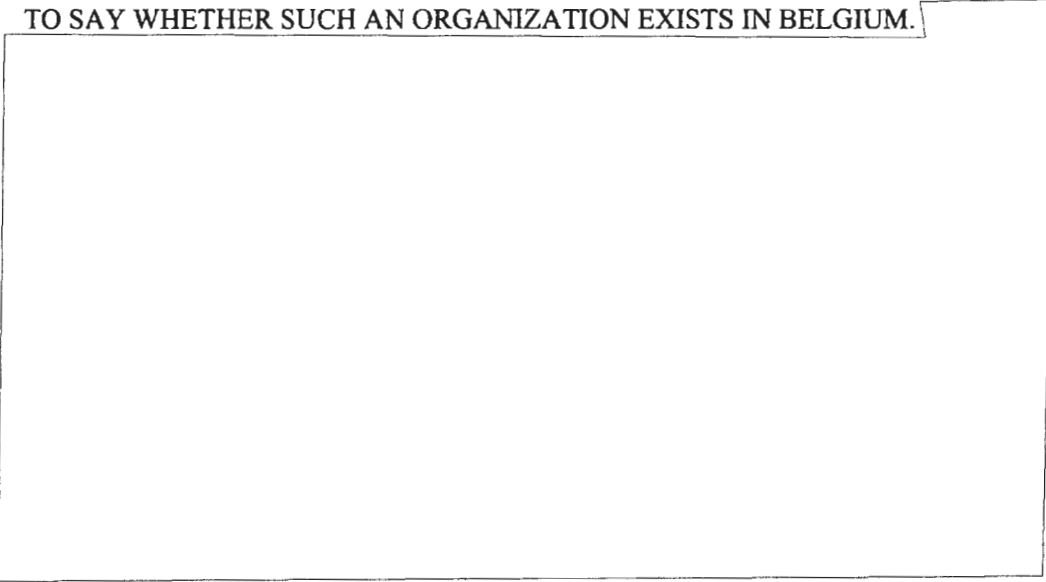
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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE CHIEF VAN CALSTER SPEAKS

6. AS REPORTED SEPTEL BY DAO, MAJOR GENERAL VAN CALSTER, CHIEF OF BELGIAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (SGR), TOLD "LE SOIR" THAT HE IS NOT/NOT THE HEAD OF **GLADIO** BUT DECLINED TO SAY WHETHER SUCH AN ORGANIZATION EXISTS IN BELGIUM.

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25X6-----
FORMER DEFENSE MINISTERS SAY GOB KNEW

8. IN A PRESS INTERVIEW, FORMER BELGIAN MOD DE DONNEA, ALSO SAID THAT COEME MUST HAVE KNOWN OF THE EXISTENCE OF A STAY-BEHIND INTELLIGENCE NETWORK IN BELGIUM, BUT THAT THE NETWORK WAS NOT A SUBVERSIVE "**GLADIO**" OPERATION. DE DONNEA SAID HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT ANY SECRET ARMS CACHES.

9. DE DONNEA'S PREDECESSOR AT THE MOD, FREDDY VREVEN,

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

PRIME MINISTER MARTENS AND THEN-JUSTICE MINISTER JEAN GOL APPROVED THE PURCHASE IN 1985 OF 142 MILLION BELGIAN FRANCS WORTH OF SOPHISTICATED RADIO EQUIPMENT DESTINED FOR THE BELGIAN ARMY'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. HE COULD NOT SAY WHETHER ANY OR ALL OF THE ALLOCATION WAS USED FOR THE STAY-BEHIND NETWORK.

EX-BELGIAN AGENT ADDS "CATENA" TO THE **GLADIO** STEW

10. IN A NOVEMBER 14 INTERVIEW WITH "LE SOIR," ANDRE

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MOYEN, A SELF-DESCRIBED FORMER BELGIAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AGENT, SAID THAT THE BELGIAN ROUGH EQUIVALENT TO **GLADIO** HAD BEEN DORMANT UNTIL IT WAS FORMALLY DISMANTLED TWO MONTHS AGO (SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SDRA -- THE "ACTION" BRANCH OF THE BELGIAN CIVILIAN SECURITY SERVICES). THE BELGIAN GROUP, HE SAID, HAD ACCESS TO SIX ARMS CACHES UNTIL THAT TIME.

11. STILL ACCORDING TO MOYEN, A GROUP OF **GLADIO** MEMBERS BECAME DISAFFECTED IN THE 1950'S DUE TO THE ORGANIZATION'S INERTIA. THEY FORMED A SPLINTER ORGANIZATION CALLED "CATENA" ("CHAIN"). "CATENA," SAYS MOYEN, "PARTICIPATED IN NUMEROUS ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTS IN EUROPE." MOYEN ASSERTS THAT AMONG THOSE "MIXED UP IN (CATENA) WERE: OPUS DEI, THE VATICAN, AND OTTO VON HAPSBURG."

SELF-PROCLAIMED EX-CIA AGENT RICHARD BENNECKE CONTRIBUTES

12. ACCORDING TO OTHER PRESS REPORTS, RICHARD BENNECKE, A SELF-PROCLAIMED EX-CIA AGENT, HAS SUPPLIED MOD COEME WITH "A CIA LIST ABOUT A PARAMILITARY NETWORK IN EUROPE." BENNECKE ALLEGES THAT, UNTIL FINANCING MOVED OVER TO NATO IN THE EARLY 1980'S, THE CIA CHANNELLED FUNDS TO THE NETWORK THROUGH THE "P2 AND P7" LODGES (PRESUMABLY LOCATED IN ITALY). FIVE BELGIAN CITIZENS (JEAN-MICHEL GELHAY, FRANCIS GUILLAUME, VITTORIO PONS, ERNEST M. TOTTOSY, AND VICTOR F. STANKOVICH) WERE MEMBERS OF "P7."

SOME PRESS EXPANDS ON CONSPIRACY THEORIES

13. SEVERAL NOVEMBER 14 DUTCH LANGUAGE PROVINCIAL PAPERS PICKED UP ON THE CLOAK-AND-DAGGER ASPECTS OF THE **GLADIO** AFFAIR. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY SPECULATE THAT **GLADIO** OPERATIVES, (WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF TEN US ADVISERS WHO ONE PAPER ALLEGES WERE REMOVED FROM THE SCENE OF THE CRIME "BY A CIA PLANE,") USED A NATO-SPONSORED MILITARY EXERCISE IN WHICH THEY WERE PARTICIPATING TO STEAL WEAPONS FROM THE BELGIAN ARMY'S VIELSALM CASERNE IN 1984. BY WEAVING CERTAIN ESTABLISHED FACTS INTO THE STORY (E.G. THAT SOME OF THE VIELSALM WEAPONS WERE DISCOVERED IN 1985 IN A SAFEHOUSE USED BY THE EXTREME LEFT GROUP CCC), THE CONSPIRACY ITSELF IS MADE TO APPEAR AS QUASI FACT.

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CONFIDENTIAL**COMMENT**

14. THUS FAR, DESPITE CONSIDERABLE MEDIA ATTENTION, THE **GLADIO** AFFAIR HAS NOT BECOME A CAUSE CELEBRE IN BELGIUM. DURING A NOVEMBER 14 DISCUSSION, MOD CABINET ADVISOR RIK COOLSAET DID NOT EVEN MENTION IT TO US. IT DOES, HQER, RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT CIVILIAN OVERSIGHT OF INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS. SOME OF THE PROBLEM COULD FALL AWAY IF TOMORROW'S REPORT CONFIRMS THE ESSENTIALLY NON-SUBVERSIVE NATURE OF THE STAY-BEHIND NETWORK AND CONVINCINGLY REFUTES SUGGESTIONS OF LINKS BETWEEN THE "BELGIAN **GLADIO**" AND EXTREMIST TERRORISM. TOMORROW'S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SHOULD SHED ADDITIONAL LIGHT ON THE FACTS AND, WITH LUCK, TAMP DOWN SOME OF THE WILDER SPECULATION.
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RELEASED IN PART B6

DTG

211806Z NOV 90

FROM

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

CONTROLS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 ROME 21737

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, IT

SUBJECT: "GLADIO" AND GULF CRISIS: THE TALK OF THE
TOWN(S) OF ANCONA AND L'AQUILA

1. C--ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. A NOVEMBER 15 AND 16 VISIT BY POLMIN AND POLOFF TO THE ADRIATIC PORT OF ANCONA AND THE APPENINE CITY OF L'AQUILA WAS CHARACTERIZED BY FOUL WEATHER -- BUT INTERESTING CONVERSATION. OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH LOCAL LEADERS REVEALED WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR GOI (AND U.S.) ACTIONS IN THE GULF, AND CONFIDENCE THAT THE POLEMICS SURROUNDING THE DISCLOSURE OF THE EXISTENCE OF "OPERATION GLADIO" WOULD DIE DOWN WITHOUT ANY LASTING HARM TO THE GOVERNING COALITION. THIS MESSAGE DEALS WITH THESE "INTERNATIONAL" ISSUES, FURNISHING A "SNAPSHOT" OF THE OPINIONS HELD BY DECISION-MAKERS IN THESE TWO CENTRAL REGIONS. THE RESULTS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS ON INTERNAL POLITICAL ISSUES WILL BE REPORTED SEPTTEL. END SUMMARY.

THE SETTING

3. WITH A MID-AUTUMN COLD SNAP BRINGING WIND-DRIVEN RAIN AND, AT HIGHER ALTITUDES, SNOW, POLMIN AND POLOFF SPENT TWO DAYS TRAVELING IN THE CENTRAL ITALIAN REGIONS OF MARCHE AND ABRUZZO, WHERE WE MET WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS. WHILE OUR DISCUSSIONS CENTERED ON LOCAL AND NATIONAL POLITICS AND OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES, WE DID TOUCH UPON LARGER ISSUES WHICH ARE OF INTEREST TO THE U.S., INCLUDING THE GULF CRISIS AND "OPERATION GLADIO."

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

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4. MARCHE AND ABRUZZO ARE SITUATED TO THE EAST OF ROME, SHARE A COMMON BORDER, AND STRETCH FROM THE APPENINE MOUNTAINS TO THE ADRIATIC SEA. WHILE LINKED BY GEOGRAPHICAL PROXIMITY AND A COMMON LACK OF SIGNIFICANT HEAVY INDUSTRY, THE TWO REGIONS ARE DIVERSE IN MANY RESPECTS. FOR EXAMPLE, EACH HAS HAD A QUITE DIFFERENT HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, IN PART BASED UPON THE IMPOSING BARRIER CREATED BY THE "GRAN SASSO" RANGE, AN EASTWARD-JUTTING SPUR OF THE APPENINES WHICH SEPARATES MARCHE, TO THE NORTH, FROM ABRUZZO, TO THE SOUTH. THIS PHYSICAL BARRIER HAS LED THE PEOPLE OF MARCHE TO CONSIDER THEMSELVES NORTHERNERS, WITH CLOSE HISTORICAL TIES TO THE MEDIEVAL PAPAL STATES OF NORTH-CENTRAL ITALY. ABRUZZO, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS THE NORTHERNMOST EXTENSION OF THE "MEZZOGIORNO," AND TRADITIONALLY FORMED PART OF THE BOURBON KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

THE GULF CRISIS

5. THE CONSENSUS AMONG OUR INTERLOCUTORS IN BOTH ANCONA (THE CAPITAL OF MARCHE) AND L'AQUILA (THE CAPITAL OF ABRUZZO) WAS THAT THE LOCAL POPULATION, BY AND LARGE, SUPPORTS ITALY'S (AND BY EXTENSION THE U.S.) ROLE IN THE GULF. PREDICTABLY, THAT SUPPORT VARIES CONSIDERABLY, DEPENDING LARGELY ON THE POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THOSE POLLED, WITH THE STRONGEST SUPPORT COMING FROM ADHERENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DC), WHICH IS THE STRONGEST PARTY IN BOTH REGIONS. GENERALLY, SUPPORTERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) AND THE SMALL "LAY" PARTIES ALSO BACK GOI EFFORTS IN THE GULF.

6. WE WERE TOLD, HOWEVER, THAT THERE HAS BEEN LESS CRITICISM OF THE GOI'S STANCE IN ABRUZZO, WHICH TENDS TO BE MORE CONSERVATIVE, THAN IN MARCHE. OPPOSITION IN MARCHE TO ITALY'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE GULF IS DUE IN PART TO THE GREATER COMMUNIST (PCI) STRENGTH IN THE REGION, COUPLED WITH THE GREATER ECONOMIC IMPACT CAUSED BY THE GULF CRISIS.

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7. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] AN AFFABLE, OUTGOING CITY COUNCILMAN IN ANCONA, BUSINESS IN ANCONA'S SHIPYARDS HAS SLUMPED IN THE WAKE OF THE

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CRISIS, AND THE REGION'S EXPORTS TO THE MIDDLE EAST (PRIMARILY CLOTHING AND OTHER FINISHED GOODS) HAVE

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/

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SUFFERED. [] ALSO NOTED THAT IT WAS IN ANCONA'S SHIPYARDS THAT THE HULLS OF WARSHIPS WERE CONSTRUCTED FOR THE IRAQI NAVY. THE HULLS WERE LATER BROUGHT FOR ADDITIONAL FITTINGS TO LA SPEZIA, WHERE THE SHIPS HAVE REMAINED, FIRST BECAUSE OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, AND MORE RECENTLY BECAUSE OF THE U.N. EMBARGO.

8. SUPPORT FOR "FIRMNESS" IN THE GULF IS CONDITIONED SOMEWHAT BY THE PRESENCE OF HOSTAGES IN IRAQ FROM BOTH MARCHE AND ABRUZZO (INCLUDING A NUMBER OF ENGINEERS AND OTHER TECHNICAL PERSONNEL FROM HIGH-TECH FIRMS IN ABRUZZO). BUT OUR IMPRESSION WAS THAT THIS DID NOT DETRACT SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE SUPPORT OF THE POPULATION IN GENERAL.

9. OPINION WAS SPLIT ON THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE MILITARY ACTION IN THE GULF, AT TIMES EVEN WITHIN THE SAME POLITICAL PARTY. FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE []

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[] WAS CERTAIN THAT THE PEOPLE OF MARCHE WOULD SUPPORT A "MILITARY OPTION" IN THE GULF, INCLUDING THE INVOLVEMENT OF ITALIAN FORCES. FELLOW []

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[] FOR MARCHE) BELIEVED THAT THE MAJORITY WOULD NOT SUPPORT ANYTHING OTHER THAN A PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED SOLUTION.

[] WAS CONTRARIAN ON VIRTUALLY EVERY SUBJECT WE DISCUSSED, AND SEEMED TO HAVE MORE IN COMMON WITH THE FAR-LEFT OF THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SPECTRUM THAN WITH THE MAINSTREAM OF THE PSI.

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10. EACH OF OUR CONTACTS EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE CRISIS WOULD BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY. L'AQUILA'S []

[] RECALLED THE DESTRUCTION WREAKED UPON THE ABRUZZO REGION DURING WWII BY ALLIED ATTACKS AGAINST THE "GUSTAV LINE," WHICH RAN THROUGH THE CENTER OF THE REGION. ACCORDING TO [] THIS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE RAVAGES OF WAR (WHICH, IN THE CASE OF THE OLDER GENERATION, IS BASED UPON FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE) FURTHER SERVES TO DAMPEN ENTHUSIASM FOR ANY MILITARY ACTION IN THE GULF.

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OPERATION "GLADIO"

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11. WE MADE THE POINT TO SOUND OUT EACH OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS ON THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE "SECRET NATO STRUCTURE" KNOWN IN ITALY AS "OPERATION GLADIO." THERE EMERGED A CLEAR MAJORITY OPINION THAT THE LONG-TERM DAMAGE TO THE FIVE-PARTY GOVERNING COALITION WOULD BE MINIMAL, DESPITE ATTEMPTS BY OPPOSITION FORCES, LED BY THE PCI, TO USE THE ISSUE AS A POLITICAL WEAPON (ADMITTEDLY, WE DID NOT SPEAK TO REPRESENTATIVES OF OPPOSITION PARTIES).

12. A SIGNIFICANT MINORITY OF THOSE LEADERS TO WHOM WE SPOKE QUALIFIED THEIR ASSESSMENT THAT THE "GLADIO" AFFAIR WOULD BLOW OVER, NOTING THAT THIS WAS CONTINGENT UPON THE CONTINUED ABSENCE OF A "SMOKING GUN" WHICH IMPLICATED GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES. IF SUCH PROOF OF WRONGDOING WERE FOUND, THEY SAID, ALL BETS WOULD BE OFF.

"GLADIO" AND COSSIGA

13. DURING A LUNCHEON WITH ANCONA [REDACTED] THE CONVERSATION
[REDACTED] TURNED TO THE POSSIBLE POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE HARSH CRITICISM LEVELED AT GOI PRESIDENT COSSIGA BY PCI LEADER ACHILLE OCCHETTO OVER THE "GLADIO" ISSUE. [REDACTED] STATED THAT OCCHETTO HAD COMMITTED A SERIOUS ERROR IN GOING AFTER COSSIGA AS HE HAD DONE. IN [REDACTED] VIEW, COSSIGA HAS FOLLOWED IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE LATE PRESIDENT SANDRO PERTINI, AND HAS BECOME A "FATHER FIGURE" FOR THE ITALIAN PEOPLE. FOR THIS REASON, ATTACKING COSSIGA ONLY SERVES TO RALLY PUBLIC OPINION TO HIS DEFENSE.

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 *****/

14. [REDACTED] ADDED THAT, WHILE OCCHETTO IS A GOOD SHORT-TERM TACTICIAN, HE LACKS THE CAPACITY TO COMPREHEND LONG-TERM STRATEGY. IN [REDACTED] ANALYSIS, OCCHETTO'S STANCE ON THE "GLADIO" AFFAIR HAS PROBABLY TARNISHED HIS PARTY'S PUBLIC IMAGE IN THE EYES OF "MODERATE" VOTERS. [REDACTED] CONSIDERED OCCHETTO'S APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE LONG-TERM IMAGE FOR SHORT-TERM INTERNAL UNITY TO BE A

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CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF OCCHETTO'S LACK OF VISION.
(COMMENT. THE CHARACTERIZATION OF OCCHETTO AS A
MASTER TACTICIAN WHO LACKS STRATEGIC SENSE IS NOT
NEW. WE MOST RECENTLY HEARD THE SAME ARGUMENT FROM
[REDACTED]

END COMMENT)

15. [REDACTED] ASSESSMENT OF COSSIGA WAS CONTRADICTED
BY FELLOW SOCIALIST [REDACTED] WHO SAID THAT COSSIGA'S
"INJUDICIOUS" STATEMENTS IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THE
"GLADIO" AFFAIR (WHICH IN [REDACTED] VIEW WERE THE
IMPETUS FOR THE HARSH ATTACKS BY OCCHETTO AND OTHERS)
DEMONSTRATED THAT COSSIGA WAS "NOT IN FULL COMMAND OF
HIS FACULTIES." [REDACTED] NOTED THAT HE HAD RECENTLY
MET COSSIGA AND HAD BEEN STRUCK BY THE LATTER'S
DEMEANOR AND SPEECH PATTERNS, WHICH GAVE A CONFUSED,
UNCERTAIN IMPRESSION. [REDACTED] NEVERTHELESS AGREED
THAT, UNLESS TRULY DAMNING EVIDENCE EMERGED OF
HIGH-LEVEL COMPLICITY IN ANY WRONGDOING, NEITHER
COSSIGA PERSONALLY, NOR THE GOVERNING COALITION WOULD
LIKELY SUFFER ANY LONG-TERM DAMAGE OVER THE "GLADIO"
CONTROVERSY. SERWER

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300720Z JAN 08

FROM

FM AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

CONTROLS

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DOCNO

ISTANBUL 000051

SIPDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/28/2028

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, TU

***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****

BODY

SUBJECT: UMRANIYE ROUND-UP TARGETS DEEP STATE

REF: A. 06 ANKARA 1442

B. 06 ANKARA 3772

CLASSIFIED BY: CONSUL GENERAL SHARON A. WIENER FOR REASONS 1.4 (B) AND (D).

1. (C) SUMMARY. THE JANUARY 22 POLICE ROUND-UP OF SCORES OF PEOPLE IN ISTANBUL AND OTHER CITIES, RELATED TO THE DISCOVERY OF A WEAPONS CACHE IN ISTANBUL'S UMRANIYE DISTRICT LAST JUNE, MAY BE A BATTLE IN THE WAR TO FIGHT THE "DEEP STATE" IN TURKEY. THE "DEEP STATE" IS A VAGUE, ILL-DEFINED NETWORK OF LIKE-MINDED PEOPLE (INCLUDING FORMER MILITARY PERSONNEL AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS) WITH TIES TO TURKEY'S ULTRA-NATIONALISTS THAT PURPORTS TO PROVIDE AN "ALTERNATIVE" TO STATE POWER. ALLEGEDLY, THIS EXTRA-LEGAL GROUPING WORKS TO INFLUENCE AND DELIVER PUBLIC SUPPORT BEHIND ACTIONS BY REAL STATE ACTORS, OFTEN THE MILITARY. SOME, SUCH AS FORMER PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT SULEYMAN DEMIREL, VOICE SUPPORT FOR THIS POWER CENTER. CURRENT PM ERDOGAN APPARENTLY OPPOSES IT AND IS LOOKING FOR WAYS TO SUBVERT IF NOT DESTROY IT. THERE IS SPECULATION THE CONTEMPORARY DEEP STATE HAS OVERLAP AFFILIATION WITH POPULARLY TERMED **OPERATION GLADIO**, A **COLD WAR** "STAY BEHIND" NETWORK ORGANIZED TO RESIST POSSIBLE SOVIET OCCUPATION. SUCCESSFUL PROSECUTION OF A DEEP STATE NETWORK WOULD STRIKE A BLOW AGAINST NATIONALIST IMPUNITY AND DEMONSTRATE A STRONG COMMITMENT TO RULE OF LAW. DESPITE APPARENT SUPPORT FOR THIS INVESTIGATION AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, PROSECUTION CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL WITH THE COOPERATION OF TURKEY'S ARCH-NATIONALIST

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

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JUDICIARY. END SUMMARY.
UMRANIYE RAIDS

2. (C) IN PRE-DAWN RAIDS ON THE MORNING OF TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, POLICE IN ISTANBUL AND AT LEAST FOUR OTHER CITIES TOOK SUSPECTS INTO CUSTODY UNDER SUSPICION OF BELONGING TO WHAT ISTANBUL PROSECUTOR ZEKERIYA OZ LABELED A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. PRESS REPORT POLICE MONITORED ERGENEKON (ULTRA-NATIONALIST CLUB) MEMBERS, ACTIONS AND TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS FOR 8 MONTHS AS PART OF AN INVESTIGATION OF A STOCKPILE OF EXPLOSIVES AND AMMUNITION FOUND JUNE 12, 2007, IN UMRANIYE, A MIDDLE CLASS DISTRICT ON THE ASIAN SIDE OF ISTANBUL. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BELIEVES THERE IS AN ERGENEKON LINK TO CLANDESTINE "STAY BEHIND" NETWORKS (POPULARLY REFERRED TO AS **OPERATION GLADIO** AFTER THE ITALIAN VERSION) SET UP IN NATO COUNTRIES TO RESIST POTENTIAL SOVIET OCCUPATION. [REDACTED] SAYS ERGENEKON IS PART OF THE "DEEP STATE" APPARATUS IN TURKEY AND BELIEVES PRIME MINISTER ERDOGAN FORCED THE MILITARY TO ACQUIESCE TO POLICE EXPOSURE AND PROSECUTION OF THE GROUP.

3. (U) ACCORDING TO POLICE, THE ISTANBUL RAIDS WERE PART OF AN ORGANIZED COUNTERTERRORISM EFFORT CARRIED OUT IN ISTANBUL, ADANA, IZMIR, DUZCE, AND MALATYA. THUS FAR, 60 SUSPECTS HAVE BEEN DETAINED FROM NATIONALIST GROUPS CALLED ERGENEKON, ATABEYLER, SAUNA, AND UMRANIYE. DURING INITIAL RAIDS IN JUNE/JULY 2007, POLICE DISCOVERED A HIT LIST INCLUDING PRO-KURDISH DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY PARTY (DTP) DEPUTIES AHMET TURK AND SEBAHAT TUNCEL, DIYARBAKIR MAYOR OSMAN BAYDEMIR, FORMER MP LEYLA ZANA, NOBEL LAUREATE ORHAN PAMUK, AND ZAMAN DAILY JOURNALIST FEHMI KORU. DTP POLITICIANS ON THE LIST REPORTEDLY REFUSED A 24-HOUR POLICE GUARD OFFERED THEM. ALSO UNCOVERED IN THE RAID WERE DIAGRAMS AND ACTION PLANS SAID TO LAY OUT THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A COUP PLANNED FOR 2009. PRESS SPECULATION IMPLICATES ERGENEKON IN VIRTUALLY EVERY KILLING WITH POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, INCLUDING THE HRANT DINK MURDER, THE 2006 COUNCIL OF STATE (DANISTAY) SHOOTING WHICH KILLED ONE JUDGE, THE BOMBING OF THE CUMHURIYET NEWSPAPER BUILDING IN ISTANBUL, AND THE 2006 MURDER OF AN ITALIAN PRIEST, AMONG OTHERS. PRIOR TO THE RAIDS ON JANUARY 22, 15 PEOPLE HAD BEEN ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE UMRANIYE WEAPONS CACHE. THEY WERE CHARGED WITH ESTABLISHING AND RUNNING AN ARMED TERRORIST

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ORGANIZATION, CONSPIRING TO ENCOURAGE MILITARY MEMBERS TO
DISOBEY ORDERS, ACQUIRING INFORMATION ON STATE SECURITY, AND
BEING IN POSSESSION OF EXPLOSIVES.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF A COMPLICATED SUBJECT

3. (C) REFERRING TO THE ANTECEDENTS OF ERGENEKON [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SAYS NATIONALIST ELEMENTS, TRACEABLE TO OTTOMAN DAYS,
WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR INCIDENTS INCLUDING THE ISTANBUL RIOTS
OF SEPTEMBER 6-7, 1955, TARGETING THE GREEK MINORITY.
THEN-PM BULENT ECEVIT COMPLAINED IN 1974 OF A "COUNTER
GUERRILLA" FORCE OPERATING OUTSIDE THE TURKISH MILITARY CHAIN
OF COMMAND. [REDACTED] ALSO CLAIMED FORMER PM TANSU CILLER AND
FORMER PRESIDENT SULEYMAN DEMIREL REQUESTED AND RECEIVED NSC
***** START OF SECTION 2 *****

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/28/2028

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, TU

SUBJECT: UMRANIYE ROUND-UP TARGETS DEEP STATE
APPROVAL FOR A "DEEP STATE" MECHANISM IN THE 1990S. FORCES
ESTABLISHED IN THE 1950S AS SLEEPER AGENTS, ONCE DIRECTED BY
THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, HAVE COME TO FEEL IMMUNE FROM
PROSECUTION AND ARE NO LONGER CONTROLLABLE. [REDACTED] CLAIMED.
ERGENEKON HAS OVERLAP WITH THIS GROUP. [REDACTED] ALSO PROFESSED
THAT DEEP STATE ELEMENTS HAVE TAKEN PART IN EFFORTS TO
ELIMINATE THE PKK, CITING THE SEMDINLI INCIDENT. THE
NOVEMBER 9, 2005, BOMBING OF A BOOKSTORE IN SEMDINLI KILLED
ONE AND INJURED SEVERAL IN TURKEY'S SOUTHEASTERN PROVINCE OF
HAKKARI. TWO SUSPECTS WERE FOUND TO
BE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. EFFORTS BY PROSECUTOR
FERHAT SARIKAYA TO PINPOINT ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE
ATTACK RESULTED IN HIS BEING FIRED BY THE HIGH COUNCIL OF
JUDGES AND PROSECUTORS (REF A).

4. (C) [REDACTED] POSITS ARRESTS ON JANUARY 22 WERE FACILITATED
BY FOLLOWERS OF FETHULLAH GULEN (ONCE A DEEP STATE TARGET)
WHO HAVE ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES IN THE REGULAR POLICE AND
POLICE INTELLIGENCE CADRES. [REDACTED] CITED THE PRIME MINISTER'S
COMMENT, "THE STATE IS WORKING," AS EVIDENCE HE HAD FORCED
AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY'S MILITARY TO MAKE THE UMRANIYE
INVESTIGATIONS PUBLIC. THOSE FOUND GUILTY WOULD BE
PROSECUTED, SAID [REDACTED] MINDFUL OF TRUNCATED INVESTIGATIONS
INTO SEMDINLI, SUSURLUK (REF B) AND OTHER SCANDALS, [REDACTED]
MADE AN APPEAL FOR THE USG TO REVEAL ANY INFORMATION IT HAS

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THAT WOULD CORROBORATE EVIDENCE OF WRONGDOING BY THE SUSPECTS.

5. (C) THE JUDICIARY, [] SAID, COULD PROVE A STUMBLING BLOCK TO JUSTICE. HE LAMENTED THAT THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY CORRUPT, TURKEY'S JUDICIARY HAD LARGE NUMBERS OF "ILLIBERAL" JUDGES, MORE FOCUSED ON PROTECTING THE STATE FROM THE INDIVIDUAL THAN IN PROMOTING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, AND WHO FIRMLY BELIEVE ANY MEANS SHOULD BE USED TO PROTECT THE STATE. INSOFAR AS THE DEEP STATE'S PURPORTED INTENTIONS ARE TO PROTECT THE STATE (AS THAT GROUP DEFINES IT), THEY MAY BE ABLE TO FIND COMMON CAUSE WITH SOME IN THE LEGAL SYSTEM WHO COULD SHIELD THEM FROM THE FULL BRUNT OF PROSECUTION. [] EXPECTS THE ACCUSED WOULD MOUNT A STRONG DEFENSE BUT ADDED THAT THERE ARE NOW MANY FACTORS AT WORK TO THWART THE EXTRA-LEGAL GROUP. [] - AND MANY RESPECTED MEDIA COMMENTATORS -- SAID SUCCESS WOULD HAVE FAR-REACHING, POSITIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE RULE OF LAW AND DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY.

A ROGUE'S GALLERY FRAMES THE PLOT

5. (U) CENTRAL TO THE CAST OF CHARACTERS DETAINED IN THE UMRANIYE RAIDS IS RETIRED MAJOR GENERAL VELI KUCUK, REPUTED TO BE A LEADER IN THE ERGENEKON ORGANIZATION. FOLLOWING THE 1996 SUSURLUK INCIDENT, THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF REPORTEDLY BLOCKED CHARGES FROM BEING FILED AGAINST KUCUK (THEN ACTIVE DUTY) AND HE REFUSED TO GIVE A DEPOSITION TO THE PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATION. KUCUK SUED ERDAL DOGAN (ATTORNEY FOR THE DINK FAMILY) AFTER DOGAN TOLD PROSECUTORS THAT KUCUK COULD BE INVOLVED IN DINK'S MURDER. KUCUK ATTENDED HEARINGS FOR DINK'S ARTICLE 301 CASE, FILED BY ULTRA-NATIONALIST LAWYER KEMAL KERENCSIZ WHO WAS ALSO DETAINED ON JANUARY 22. KERENCSIZ FILED 301 CASES AGAINST ORHAN PAMUK AND ELIF SHAFK AS WELL.

6. (U) ALSO AMONG THE DETAINED IS OKTAY YILDIRIM, A RETIRED NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICER REPUTED TO HAVE MADE THREATENING PHONE CALLS TO PROSECUTOR ZEKERIYA OZ. TWO PEOPLE ARRESTED DURING THE JUNE 2007 RAID ON THE HOUSE IN UMRANIYE INDICATED YILDIRIM PROVIDED THE WEAPONS. YILDIRIM CLAIMS HE FOUND THE WEAPONS AT A DUMP BEHIND A MILITARY BARRACKS IN HASDAL ON ISTANBUL'S EUROPEAN SIDE.
DEMIREL ON THE DEEP STATE

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7. (U) INTERVIEWED ON CNN-TURK ON APRIL 17, 2005, FORMER PRESIDENT DEMIREL SAID, "THE DEEP STATE IS THE STATE ITSELF. IT IS THE MILITARY. THE MILITARY THAT ESTABLISHED THE STATE ALWAYS FEARS THE COLLAPSE OF THE STATE. THE PEOPLE SOMETIMES MISUSE THE RIGHTS PROVIDED.... THE DEEP STATE IS NOT ACTIVE AS LONG AS THE STATE IS NOT BROUGHT TO THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE. THEY ARE NOT A SEPARATE STATE, BUT WHEN THEY INTERVENE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE, THEY BECOME THE DEEP STATE."

8. (C) COMMENT. THE DEEP STATE IS SHADY, VAGUE AND ILL-DEFINED. EVENTS LIKE THE 1955 ISTANBUL RIOTS, SUSURLUK AND SEMDINLI, THE DINK 301 TRIAL AND SUBSEQUENT ASSASSINATIONS HAVE LONG HAUNTED PUBLIC LIFE. WEAK RULE OF LAW AND THE IMPUNITY WITH WHICH PRIVILEGED OPERATORS HAVE LONG BEEN ABLE TO SUBVERT TURKEY'S LEGAL SYSTEM HAVE CREATED AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH RUMORS OF THE DEEP STATE'S EXISTENCE

***** START OF SECTION 3 *****

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SUBJECT: UMRANIYE ROUND-UP TARGETS DEEP STATE

HAVE BEEN ENOUGH TO GIVE THE CONCEPT A LIFE OF ITS OWN. FEAR OF THE DEEP STATE'S OMNIPOTENCE COMBINED WITH AN UNSHAKABLE BELIEF THAT IT EXISTS, IMPARTS MUCH OF ITS POWER. IF

TAKE IS CORRECT, PM ERDOGAN HAS THE EVIDENCE HE NEEDS TO EXPOSE AND CLOSE DOWN OR SERIOUSLY DAMAGE A WIDELY RUMORED "DEEP STATE" APPARATUS THAT WORKS OUTSIDE THE RULE OF LAW, OFTEN IN THE SERVICE OF ULTRA-NATIONALIST CAUSES. HOWEVER, PROSECUTION WILL ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL WITH THE COOPERATION OF TURKEY'S DEEPLY CONSERVATIVE JUDICIARY. THAT WILL BE THE TEST; PASSING IT WILL HAVE POSITIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING AND EXTENDING DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW IN TURKEY. END COMMENT.

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