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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

5 April 2013

Mr. John Greenewald
[REDACTED]

Reference: F-2013-01224

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

This is a final response to your electronic Freedom of Information Act request, received in the office of the Information and Privacy Coordinator on 26 March 2013, for information pertaining to **Operation Gladio**.

We searched our database of previously released records and located the enclosed 20 documents, consisting of 91 pages, which we believe to be responsive to your request. Please be advised that these documents were released in connection with earlier requests for records on other subjects. Because you are entitled to the first 100 pages free, there is no charge for these documents.

With respect to any other records, In accordance with section 3.6(a) of Executive Order 13526, the CIA can neither confirm nor deny the existence or nonexistence of records responsive to your request. The fact of the existence or nonexistence of requested records is currently and properly classified and is intelligence sources and methods information that is protected from disclosure by section 6 of the CIA Act of 1949, as amended, and section 102A(i)(1) of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended. Therefore, your request is denied pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1) and (b)(3). As the CIA Information and Privacy Coordinator, I am the CIA official responsible for this determination. You have the right to appeal this response to the Agency Release Panel, in my care, within 45 days from the date of this letter. Please include the basis of your appeal.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Michele Meeks".

Michele Meeks
Information and Privacy Coordinator

Enclosures

Explanation of Exemptions

Freedom of Information Act:

- (b)(1) exempts from disclosure information currently and properly classified, pursuant to an Executive Order;
- (b)(2) exempts from disclosure information, which pertains solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of the Agency;
- (b)(3) exempts from disclosure information that another federal statute protects, provided that the other federal statute either requires that the matters be withheld, or establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld. The (b)(3) statutes upon which the CIA relies include, but are not limited to, the CIA Act of 1949;
- (b)(4) exempts from disclosure trade secrets and commercial or financial information that is obtained from a person and that is privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) exempts from disclosure inter-and intra-agency memoranda or letters that would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) exempts from disclosure information from personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy;
- (b)(7) exempts from disclosure information compiled for law enforcement purposes to the extent that the production of the information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings; (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication; (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy; (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source or, in the case of information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source ; (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law; or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger any individual's life or physical safety;
- (b)(8) exempts from disclosure information contained in reports or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, or on behalf of, or for use of an agency responsible for regulating or supervising financial institutions; and
- (b)(9) exempts from disclosure geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

April 2012

Inquire: DOC20D
Item No: 467393

HEADER:

RTTUZYUW RUCWAAA4881 3331558 MTMS-UUUU--RUEBHAA.
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CONTROLS:

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SERIAL: 92ES0228A

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

BODY:

PASS: ONLY ED
COUNTRY: ITALY
SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 2--PDS ATTACKS COSSIGA ON CSM POLICY
SOURCE: ROME LA REPUBBLICA IN ITALIAN 22 NOV 91 P 2
TEXT:

ARTICLE BY STEFANO MARRONI: "OCCHETTO GOES ON THE ATTACK: NOT ONE MINUTE MORE"--FIRST PARAGRAPH IS LA REPUBBLICA INTRODUCTION!
TEXT! THERE IS GOING TO BE A BATTLE IN PARLIAMENT. THE SECRETARY OF THE PDS DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT! IS TAKING THE ROAD THAT LEADS TO A REQUEST FOR THE "IMPEACHMENT" OF THE HEAD OF STATE, WHO IS ACCUSED OF HAVING PERFORMED A SERIES OF ACTS THAT MAY BE CONSTRUED AS AN "ATTEMPT ON THE CONSTITUTION."

ROME--OCCHETTO IS CROSSING THE RIVER AND TAKING THE FIELD AGAINST COSSIGA, TAKING THE PATH THAT LEADS TO A REQUEST FOR THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE HEAD OF STATE. THE ACCUSATION IS THAT HE HAS PERFORMED A SERIES OF ACTS WHICH IN SUBSTANCE MODIFY THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND

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Date

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CHANGE THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE AUTHORITIES IN THE STATE, WHICH IS AS THOUGH TO SAY "ATTEMPT ON THE CONSTITUTION." THIS IS A DRAMATIC STEP, THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A DIFFICULT BATTLE IN PARLIAMENT AND IN THE COUNTRY. BUT AS THINGS ARE, THE SECRETARY OF THE PDS REPEATS, "ONE CANNOT CONTINUE FOR ONE MORE MINUTE."

OFFICIALLY, THE DECISION TO PROPOSE PUTTING THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC UNDER ACCUSATION IS STILL TO BE TAKEN. AND TO FORMALIZE IT, IT WILL PROBABLY BE NECESSARY TO WAIT UNTIL THE END OF NEXT WEEK. BUT POLITICALLY THE SIGNAL SENT YESTERDAY EVENING BY THE LEADER OF THE OAK TREE ~~PH~~PDS SYMBOL! IS UNEQUIVOCAL, HAVING BEEN REACHED AFTER A SERIES OF UPROARIOUS MEETINGS AT BOTTEGHE OSCURE ~~PH~~PDS HEADQUARTERS! AND AT THE END OF A DAY MARKED BY AN EXCHANGE OF COMMUNIQUE THAT BROUGHT THE CLASH BETWEEN THE PDS AND THE QUIRINALE ~~PH~~PRESIDENTIAL PALACE! TO WHITE HEAT.

IN AN ATMOSPHERE THAT ALREADY SEEMS LIKE WAR, THE GO-AHEAD CAME A LITTLE AFTER 1800. THE PRESS OFFICE HAD JUST FINISHED DISTRIBUTING A MIMEOGRAPHED SHEET WITH OCCHETTO'S UNYIELDING REPLY TO THE NOTE WITH WHICH COSSIGA HAD SHARPLY REBUTTED THE ACCUSATION, WHICH WAS NOT EVEN VERY VEILED, THAT HE HAD WANTED TO PUT A GAG ON THE CSM ~~PH~~
~~PH~~SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MAGISTRACY! AS TO QUESTIONS THAT INVOLVE MASONRY AND TRAFFIC IN TANKS WITH LIBYA. IN IT, IT IS WRITTEN THAT "THE PROBLEM NOW IS TO KNOW WHETHER THERE IS STILL A CONSTITUTION IN THIS COUNTRY," AND WHETHER IT "IS RESPECTED BY EVERYONE, BEGINNING WITH THE HIGHEST POSITION IN THE STATE." AND THAT BY NOW ONLY THE PARLIAMENT CAN RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM WITHOUT WAITING "ONE MORE MINUTE."

A HASTILY PENNED NOTE

THE MEANING SEEMS CLEAR ALREADY. BUT WHEN THE SECRETARY COMES DOWN FROM THE SECOND FLOOR AND GETS READY TO LEAVE FOR FLORENCE, HE HAS A HASTILY PENNED NOTE IN HIS HAND: "FEW WORDS," HE ANNOUNCES, "BUT EXPLOSIVE ONES." AND WHEN THE REPORTERS SURROUND HIM TO ASK FOR ENLIGHTENMENT, THE ANSWER IS IMMEDIATE: "THE MEANING OF THE COMMUNIQUE IS EXACTLY WHAT ONE THINKS. A SERIES OF ACTIONS ARE BEING TAKEN," HE SAID IN FRONT OF THE REPORTERS' NOTEPADS, "WHICH CONSTITUTE A MODIFICATION OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND OF THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE VARIOUS STATE AUTHORITIES. IT IS MY CONVICTION THAT THIS SITUATION MUST LEND ITSELF TO A CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S ACTS. WE ARE A RESPONSIBLE PARTY THAT DOES NOT TAKE NERVOUS ACTIONS HAVING AN ELECTIONEERING FLAVOR," ADDED OCCHETTO, "AND MOST OF ALL WE ARE A DEMOCRATIC PARTY. I AM GOING TO GIVE ORDERS TO OUR COLLEGIAL BODIES, AND FIRST OF ALL TO THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS, TO EVALUATE, BEGINNING WITH TIME FRAMES AND MODALITIES, THE PROCEDURES AND INITIATIVES THAT MUST FLOW AS A CONSEQUENCE FROM THIS DECLARATION."

THE DIE HAS BEEN CAST, AND AT BOTTEGHE OSCURE THEY CONFIRM THAT THIS TIME THEY REALLY MEAN IT, THAT THEY ARE GOING AHEAD, AND THAT THEY ARE GOING ON TO THE END: "THE RIGHT PATH HAS BEEN TAKEN," SAYS STEFANO RODOTA, PRESIDENT OF THE PDS, "WE COULD NO LONGER STAND BY AND WATCH." AND THIS IS THE PERCEPTION OF THE ADVERSARIES OF THE PDS, WHO, FROM GIULIANO AMATO TO RENATO ALTISSIMO, FROM GIANNI PRANDINI TO SALVO ANDO AND TO ALBERTO CIAMPAGLIA, IMMEDIATELY OPENED UP A PROTECTIVE FIRE AGAINST THE "IRRESPONSIBLE INITIATIVE OF

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OCCHETTO." THUS THE BOUNDARIES OF THE GROUP THAT WILL OPPOSE THE MOVE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE PDS WITHOUT RESERVE ARE ALREADY FIXED, A GROUP THAT WILL INEVITABLY SEE THE PSI ~~PHI~~ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY! ONCE AGAIN ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BARRICADES, AND WHICH--LEAVING ASIDE UNLIKELY SURPRISES--OUGHT TO SUCCEED IN THE END, THROUGH FORCE OF NUMBERS, IN BLOCKING THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

UP UNTIL A FEW DAYS AGO, THIS ALSO WAS AMONG THE ELEMENTS THAT HELD THE PDS BACK ON THE BANKS OF THE RUBICON: THE FEAR OF ISOLATION AND OF A SPLIT WITH CRAXI, THE CONVICTION THAT COSSIGA IS VERY POPULAR, THE FEELING THAT THE PRINCIPAL VICTIM OF HIS "JABS" WAS THE DC ~~PHI~~CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY!, ITS MEN, AND ITS "REGIME." THESE WERE POLITICAL CONCERNS THAT THE REFORMERS ABOVE ALL--BUT ALSO OCCHETTO PEOPLE LIKE CLAUDIO PETRUCCIOLI--FORCEFULLY MAINTAINED. BUT HOLDING IT ALL TOGETHER WAS PRIMARILY THE CONCERN OF THE JURISTS OF BOTTEGHE OSCURE, THE FEARS OF CESARE SALVI, LUCIANO VIOLANTE, AND MASSIMO BRUTTI ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF THE JURIDICAL OUTLINES OF AN INITIATIVE WITHOUT PRECEDENT. BUT THEN COSSIGA'S BLOW AT THE CSM CHANGED ALL THE CARDS: PERSUADING EVEN THE MOST CAUTIOUS THAT THE THREAT OF THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST AN IMPORTANT CONSTITUTIONAL ORGAN IS A PRECEDENT IMPOSSIBLE TO IGNORE.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: 92ES0228A ROME LA REPUBBLICA IN ITALIAN 22 NOV 91 P 2
///IMPOSSIBLE TO IGNORE.

SOURCE: ROME LA REPUBBLICA IN ITALIAN 22 NOV 91 P 2

TEXT:

THUS, THE STRENGTH RELATIONSHIPS IN THE "INNER GROUP" WHICH WAS MEETING ALMOST WITHOUT INTERRUPTION WITH OCCHETTO CHANGED RAPIDLY. AND BETWEEN TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY THE DECISION "TO GO AHEAD" TOOK ON SUBSTANCE, TOGETHER WITH OCCHETTO'S CONVICTION THAT HE HAD NO OTHER CHOICE THAN THAT INDICATED FOR SOME TIME BY RODOTA AND BY THE LEFT OF INGRAO, TORTORELLA, AND BASSOLINO. IN REALITY "FEASIBILITY STUDIES" ON THE PROCEDURE FOR PUTTING SOMEONE UNDER ACCUSATION HAD BEEN DONE SOME TIME AGO. THESE TOOK FOR GRANTED THE "NO" OF THE MAJORITY IN THE COMMITTEE FOR ACCUSATION PROCEDURES, BUT THEY ALSO TOOK FOR GRANTED THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING WITHOUT MUCH TROUBLE THE 238 SIGNATURES NEEDED FOR OBTAINING A VOTE OF THE PARLIAMENT IN JOINT SESSION ON THE DECISION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT TO PROCEED TO THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE HEAD OF STATE.

THE UNKNOWNNS OF THE SECRET BALLOT

AT BOTTEGHE OSCURE THEY HAVE BEEN THINKING FOR DAYS ABOUT THE SCENARIOS THAT MAY OCCUR AT THAT TIME, BEGINNING WITH THE ALMOST CERTAINTY THAT THE SECRET BALLOT WILL WEAKEN IN A SIGNIFICANT WAY--THROUGH THE EVIDENT SUPPORT OF A LARGE PART OF THE DC AND THE DOUBTS OF THE REPUBLICANS--THE COHESIVENESS OF THE GROUP COMPOSED OF THE DC, PSI, PSDI ~~PHI~~ITALIAN SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY!, LIBERALS, AND MSI ~~PHI~~ITALIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT!. A DEFEAT IS IN ANY EVENT IN THEIR CALCULATIONS. BUT AT LEAST--THEY EXPLAIN AT THE PSDI--IT WILL BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR TO PEOPLE, AND TO THE SECTORS OF CIVIL SOCIETY WHICH DO NOT APPRECIATE THE "JABS," WHO IS REALLY TRYING TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM, BUT IN A DEMOCRATIC WAY.

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THE DENUNCIATION TO BE PRESENTED TO THE CHAMBERS IS THE POLITICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE QUIRINALE, THE JURIDICAL SUPPORT FOR WHICH THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS WILL PUT TO THE TEST IN COMING DAYS. SALVI AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE STILL AT WORK, BUT AT THE BOTTEGHE OSCURE THEY NOTE THAT THE IDEA THEY ARE PROCEEDING FROM IS TOTALLY DIFFERENT FROM ONORATO'S ACCUSATION OR THAT OF THE "RETE": A THING, THEY EXPLAIN, FOUNDED ON CONCRETE ACTS AND NOT ON THE "WHIMSICALITY" OF THE EXTEMPORANEOUS APPEALS TO THE PUBLIC. AND IT IS THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT ABOVE ALL TWO LETTERS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC--THE ONE OF RECENT DAYS TO THE CSM AND THE ONE TO ANDREOTTI IN DECEMBER ON "SELF-SUSPENSION"--WHICH WILL BE FOR THE PDS THE CROWNING PROOF THAT INDEED FRANCESCO COSSIGA ATTACKED THE CONSTITUTION. AS HE DOES EVERY DAY, SAYS OCCHETTO FROM FLORENCE, "BY USING STATE TELEVISION BEYOND ALL REASON IN A CONTINUAL APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC: BECAUSE THIS TOO," SPELLS OUT THE LEADER OF BOTTEGHE OSCURE, "IS ALSO ONE OF THE ELEMENTS THAT ARE CHANGING THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT."

BOX, P 2!

AND THE RETE REQUESTS: "INDICT HIM"

"WITHIN THE MEANING OF ARTICLE 90 OF THE CONSTITUTION WE REQUEST THAT PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC FRANCESCO COSSIGA BE INDICTED BY THE PARLIAMENT FOR ATTEMPT ON THE CONSTITUTION." THE DOCUMENT SENT YESTERDAY TO THE PRESIDENTS OF THE CHAMBER AND OF THE SENATE AND TO THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF THE MAGISTRACY BEGINS THUS AND ENDS WITH THE SIGNATURES OF LEOLUCA ORLANDO, ALFREDO GALASSO, DIEGO NOVELLI, AND NANDO DALLA CHIESA. THIS REQUEST OF THE LEADERS OF THE RETE IS A FORMAL ONE, AND IT WENT ALONG, AGAIN YESTERDAY, WITH ANOTHER INITIATIVE, THIS ONE OF THE RADICALS.

BEGINNING ON 1 DECEMBER, ANNOUNCED MARCO PANNELLA, THE TABLES FOR THE COLLECTION OF SIGNATURES FOR THE NINE REFERENDUMS WILL ALSO COLLECT SIGNATURES FOR THE REQUEST FOR "INDICTMENT OF PRESIDENT COSSIGA FOR ATTEMPT ON THE CONSTITUTION AND HIGH TREASON." THE RADICAL LEADER SPOKE OF "MASSIVE COMPLICITY OF THE HIGHEST PARLIAMENTARY FORCES IN COSSIGA'S FASCIST-LIKE WORK" AND HE DENOUNCED A "RIOTOUS REGIME BASED ON THE COMMON VIOLATION OF EVERY RULE OR LAW, WITH ACTIONS OR FAILURES TO ACT THAT ARE THE PRECURSORS OF NEW TRAGEDIES."

BUT IT IS NOT JUST PANNELLA WHO IS ASKING THE PARTIES TO END THE DELAYS. "WE MUST GET OUT OF THE SWAMP OF VERBAL INDIGNATION," SAID ORLANDO YESTERDAY, IN EXPLAINING THE REASONS FOR THE REQUEST FOR INDICTMENT. "IT IS NOT RIGHT," THE RETE LEADER CONTINUED, "THAT THE POLITICAL FORCES WHICH HAVE THE WEAPON OF INDICTMENT IN THEIR HANDS SHOULD ISSUE DECLAMATIONS WITHOUT THEN REACHING THE LOGICAL CONCLUSIONS. IT IS THE DUTY OF THE FORCES PRESENT IN PARLIAMENT TO ACTIVATE INDICTMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. THE DANGER WE ARE APPROACHING IS THAT OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE SYSTEM OF JUSTICE IN ITALY."

IN THE THREE PAGES SENT YESTERDAY TO IOTTI, SPADOLINI, AND GALLONI, THE RETE LEADERS LIST A LONG SERIES OF INDICTMENT COUNTS AGAINST THE HEAD OF STATE: HE "PUBLICLY COMMUNICATED" HIS DECISION TO SEND BACK TO THE CHAMBERS THE LAW ON EXTENDING THE MASSACRES COMMITTEE; HE EXPRESSED "HARSH JUDGMENTS" ON THE WORK OF THE

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MASSACRES COMMITTEE AND ON THE CONDUCT OF PENAL PROCEDURES IN COURSE; HE "THREATENED TO SUSPEND HIMSELF IN ORDER TO BLOCK" THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO ENTRUST TO A COMMITTEE OF WISE MEN JUDGMENT ON THE LEGITIMACY OF THE GLADIO PROGRAM; HE EXPRESSED "NEGATIVE JUDGMENTS, REPROOFS, AND REQUESTS FOR DISCIPLINARY MEASURES WITH REGARD TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, JOURNALISTS, AND MAGISTRATES OVER MATTERS CONCERNED WITH THE MERITS OF INQUIRIES THAT ARE THE SUBJECT BOTH OF THE MASSACRES COMMITTEE AND OF SEVERAL PENAL PROCEDURES"; HE HAS SEVERAL TIMES AFFIRMED "THE OBSOLESCENCE OF THE CONSTITUTION"; HE HAS SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE DETERMINED "TO DISMANTLE THE PRESENT INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM AND TO PERFORM DESPERATE ACTS IN THIS DIRECTION"; HE HAS THREATENED "RECOURSE TO THE POLICE TO TERMINATE A CSM MEETING."

THE PROCEDURE FOR DENUNCIATIONS OF THE HEAD OF STATE FOR ATTEMPT ON THE CONSTITUTION OR HIGH TREASON PROVIDE THAT THOSE MAKING THE DENUNCIATION ARE TO SEND THE DOCUMENTS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER AND THAT THE LATTER, AFTER DETERMINING THEIR ACCEPTABILITY, IS TO TRANSMIT THEM, WITHOUT TIME LIMITATION, TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE BICAMERAL COMMITTEE FOR ACCUSATION PROCEDURES. THE REGULATION DOES NOT INSTEAD PROVIDE FOR ANY ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE. THE PRESIDENT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE (WHO IS NOW THE PDS SENATOR FRANCESCO MACIA) MUST, WHEN HE HAS RECEIVED THE DOCUMENTATION, CALL A MEETING OF THE BICAMERAL BODY WITHIN 10 DAYS TO BEGIN THE INQUIRY. IN THE COMMITTEE ON ACCUSATION PROCEDURES, AS IN THE OTHER PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES, EVERY CASE IS ASSIGNED TO ONE OF THE MEMBERS WHO THEN REPORTS ON IT TO HIS COLLEAGUES.

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Inquire: DOC20D
Item No: 517264

HEADER:

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RUDOGHA/USNMR SHAPE BE//PIO//
RUFTAKA/USAINTELCTRE HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGB-PD-CUR//
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CONTROLS:

UNCLAS /PMU
SERIAL: WA0912173691

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

BODY:

PASS: ONLY ED
COUNTRY: ITALY
SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 2--PRESIDENT COSSIGA REBUTS PDS ACCUSATIONS
SOURCE: ROME LA REPUBBLICA IN ITALIAN 27 NOV 91 P 3
TEXT:
 ARTICLE BY GIOVANNI MARIA BELLU: "GO AHEAD AND IMPEACH ME FOR CONSPIRACY"--FIRST PARAGRAPH IS LA REPUBBLICA INTRODUCTION!
 TEXT! THE HEAD OF STATE HAS SENT A LETTER TO THE OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR OF ROME ASKING TO BE INVESTIGATED FOR THE GLADIO AFFAIR. IT IS A POLITICAL MOVE AND A PRIDEFUL DEMAND FOR VINDICATION. HE SUBSEQUENTLY SUMMONED THE HEADS OF THE POLICE FORCES AND THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR. HIS TARGET: BOTTEGHE OSCURE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT HEADQUARTERS!.
 ROME--COSSIGA HAS DENOUNCED HIMSELF FOR THE GLADIO AFFAIR. THE WORLD OF POLITICS WAS ASTOUNDED--MOMENTARILY. BUT THEN COSSIGA HIMSELF CLARIFIED EVERYTHING: HIS SELF-ACCUSATION FOR VERY SERIOUS

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CRIMES WAS MERELY A WAY TO STRIKE A BLOW AT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT ϕ PDS! AND TO SHIELD THE FORMER CHIEFS OF THE ARMED FORCES. THE CLARIFICATION WAS BROADCAST IN THE LATE AFTERNOON ON THE SCREENS OF THE RAI ϕ ITALIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION! JUST AS EARLIER IN THE DAY--ON THE NOON GR-1 ϕ GIORNALE RADIO-1! NEWSCAST--THE NATION HAD LEARNED OF THE HEAD OF STATE'S LETTER TO THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR OF ROME.

FRENZIED ACTIVITY

BUT WHILE HE WAS WAGING THIS WAR ON RADIO AND TV BROADCASTS, THE PRESIDENT FOUND THE TIME TO BUSY HIMSELF WITH OTHER MATTERS. YESTERDAY'S LOCAL NEWS WAS ALSO THE ACCOUNT OF FRENZIED--ALMOST INQUISITORIAL--ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THE HEAD OF STATE: AT 1200 HOURS HE SUMMONED THE HEAD OF THE POLICE, THE COMMANDER OF THE CARABINIERI, THE HEADS OF THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN SECRET SERVICES (SISMI ϕ INTELLIGENCE AND MILITARY SECURITY SERVICE! AND SISDE ϕ INTELLIGENCE AND DEMOCRATIC SECURITY SERVICE!, RESPECTIVELY) AND LATER--AT 1700 HOURS--SOVIET AMBASSADOR ANATOLI ADAMISHIN. COSSIGA "MADE INQUIRIES" CONCERNING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE POLITICAL PARTY THAT HAD JUST ANNOUNCED ITS REQUEST FOR HIS IMPEACHMENT, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE USSR. HE HURLED A VERY SERIOUS ACCUSATION AGAINST MASSIMO D'ALEMA, THE NUMBER TWO LEADER OF THAT PARTY, CHARGING THAT WHEN D'ALEMA SUSPECTED THE EXISTENCE OF ILLEGAL TRAFFIC BETWEEN ITALY AND THE USSR HE INFORMED THE SOVIET UNION RATHER THAN THE OFFICIALS OF HIS OWN COUNTRY.

MANY SUSPECTED IMMEDIATELY THAT COSSIGA'S SELF-ACCUSATION WITH RESPECT TO THE GLADIO AFFAIR WAS IN REALITY AN ACCUSATION AGAINST THE PERSON WHO HAD CALLED INTO QUESTION THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF HIS ACTIONS.

UPON CAREFUL READING, THE LETTER TO THE JUDGES APPEARS FIRST AND FOREMOST TO CONTAIN A DISTURBING LINE OF REASONING: THE SUGGESTION BY A HEAD OF STATE--THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC--THAT THE COURT INVESTIGATE HIM NOT ONLY FOR A CRIME FOR WHICH TWO HEADS OF THE SECRET SERVICES HAVE ALREADY BEEN CHARGED (POLITICAL CONSPIRACY BY ASSOCIATION) BUT ALSO FOR OTHER CRIMES: NAMELY, FOR INVOLVEMENT IN AN ARMED GROUP, FOR THE USURPATION OF POLITICAL POWER OR MILITARY COMMAND, FOR ATTACKING THE UNITY AND INTEGRITY OF THE STATE (THE PENALTY FOR WHICH IS LIFE IMPRISONMENT), AND POSSIBLY FOR ATTACKING THE CONSTITUTION.

THE HEATED REACTION OF A MAN WHO IS ALWAYS DISCREET AND COMPOSED SUCH AS SENATE PRESIDENT GIOVANNI SPADOLINI IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE IMMEDIATE IMPACT THAT THE OUTBURST FROM THE QUIRINALE ϕ PRESIDENTIAL PALACE! HAD IN THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN ROME. "I SHALL NOT SPEAK OF COSSIGA," HE SAID. "I DON'T TALK ABOUT COSSIGA. I NEVER TALK ABOUT THE PRESIDENT, NOT EVEN IF THEY TELL ME HE HAS COMMITTED SUICIDE."

THE FACT IS THAT IF A SIMILAR SELF-ACCUSATION WERE MADE BY AN ORDINARY CITIZEN IT WOULD BE A KIND OF SUICIDE, AT LEAST IN A JUDICIAL SENSE. BUT WHEN WRITTEN BY THE HEAD OF STATE IT APPEARS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE TO BE A HAUGHTY, VEHEMENT JUSTIFICATION OF THE PAST, ACCOMPANIED BY AN "ACCUSATION OF COMPLICITY" LEVELED AGAINST EVERY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION THAT HAS GOVERNED ITALY FROM THE 1950'S TO THE PRESENT. INDEED, BY IMPLICITLY COUNTERPOSING

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HIMSELF TO THE DC @CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY!, THE PRESIDENT--IN HIS LETTER--IS EMPHASIZING THAT HE WAS THE ONLY ONE (IN HIS CAPACITY AS UNDERSECRETARY OF DEFENSE, MINISTER OF INTERIOR, PRIME MINISTER, AND HEAD OF STATE) TO HAVE DEFENDED GLADIO, AND ADDED THAT IF ANYONE IS TO BE HELD TO ACCOUNT, IT IS THE POLITICIANS RATHER THAN THE MILITARY. THIS, HE SAYS, IS BECAUSE IF--IN THE CASE OF GLADIO--ONE ADVANCES THE HYPOTHESIS OF A "POLITICAL CONSPIRACY" (AS THE VENETIAN JUDGE FELICE CASSON DID WHEN HE SENT THE LEGAL DOCUMENTS TO THE ROMAN COURTS), THEN THE HYPOTHESIS MUST BE EXTENDED TO INCLUDE "THOSE WHO WERE INVOLVED IN THIS ORGANIZATION AT THE TOP ADMINISTRATIVE LEVEL."

IT HAS LONG BEEN WELL KNOWN THAT COSSIGA DID NOT LIKE THE WAY ANDREOTTI HANDLED THE GLADIO AFFAIR. IT IS EQUALLY WELL KNOWN THAT FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, EVERY TIME THE LEGITIMACY OF THE "STAY-BEHIND STRUCTURE" IS CALLED INTO QUESTION, THE HEAD OF STATE HAS "HIT THE CEILING." AND HE HAS REVILED, ONE AFTER THE OTHER, THOSE WHO HAVE VOICED THEIR DOUBTS.

HIS SELF-ACCUSATION--AS IF IN SUPPORT OF HIS OWN CONVICTIONS--IS DESIGNED TO OBLIGE THE OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND HIS FELLOW PARTY MEMBERS TO "COME OUT IN THE OPEN." HERE IT IS, FORMULATED IN A PRECISE, BUREAUCRATIC STYLE: "I BELIEVE THAT ACCORDING TO EQUITY AND LAW I SHOULD BE INDICTED ON THE SAME CHARGES THAT HAVE BEEN BROUGHT AGAINST VICE-ADMIRAL FULVIO MARTINI, FORMER DIRECTOR OF SISMI, AND GENERAL PAOLO INZERILLI, CHIEF OF STAFF OF THAT SAME SERVICE, NAMELY, POLITICAL CONSPIRACY BY ASSOCIATION, UNDER ARTICLE 305 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE."
THE DC'S EMBARRASSMENT

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: 92ESO267B ROME LA REPUBBLICA IN ITALIAN 27 NOV 91 P 3//THE DC'S EMBARRASSMENT

SOURCE: ROME LA REPUBBLICA IN ITALIAN 27 NOV 91 P 3

TEXT:

THE IMMEDIATE REACTIONS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES WERE CONSISTENT WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE "PRO-COSSIGA" OR "ANTI-COSSIGA" POSITIONS. ACCORDINGLY, THE EMBARRASSED SILENCE OF THE DC AND THE "NO COMMENT" OF THE REPUBLICANS WERE IN CONTRAST TO THE REACTIONS OF THE SOCIALISTS, THE MSI @ITALIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT! PARTISANS, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, AND THE LIBERALS, WHO IN VARIOUS WAYS PROCLAIMED THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE TO BE AN APPROPRIATE AND CLARIFYING ACTION. THEY WERE REFERRING TO THE "OFFICIAL" CONTENT OF THE LETTER, HOWEVER: THAT IS TO SAY, TO THE GLADIO AFFAIR. THE PDS ARGUED IN THE SAME VEIN BUT FROM AN OPPOSITE POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE. CESARE SALVI, A MEMBER OF THE "SHADOW CABINET," SAID THE LETTER AMOUNTED TO INTERFERENCE IN THE ACTIVITY OF THE JUDICIARY. THE PDS NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, STEFANO RODOTA, POLEMICALLY PREDICTED THAT THE SELF-DENUNCIATION COULD EVENTUALLY SERVE TO BRING OUT INTO THE OPEN ALL THE DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE "STAY-BEHIND" STRUCTURE. ON BOTH FRONTS, THEREFORE, THE DISCOURSE WAS CENTERED ON THE GLADIO AFFAIR.

AND HERE, ON THE TV EVENING NEWSCASTS, IS THE AUTHENTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION. THE SELF-DENUNCIATION, WE ARE TOLD, WAS INSPIRED BY POLITICAL MOTIVES SUCH AS THE "SYMPTOMS OF

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A LACK OF STAYING POWER IN THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE--SYMPTOMS THAT COSSIGA DISCOVERS PRECISELY IN THE AFFAIR THAT INVOLVES HIM: IN THE NERVOUSNESS OF SOME PDS LEADERS WHO ACCUSE HIM OF "DISCLOSING SECRET DOSSIERS" WHEREAS HE, COSSIGA, "IS DENOUNCING ONLY THOSE GHOSTS OF THE PAST THAT THREATEN THE PRESENT." AND THEN WE ARE TOLD OF THE "JUDGE CASSON'S PREMATURE JUDGMENTS IN AN INQUIRY THAT HE WAS UNABLE TO DEVELOP," AND ALSO OF "THE CALVARY INFLICTED BY JUDGES AND INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES ON SOLDIERS OF THE CARABINIERI AND ON HIGH-RANKING OFFICERS."

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☐BOX, P 3!

HOW AN ATTACK ON THE CONSTITUTION IS PUNISHED

THE ITALIAN CONSTITUTION ESTABLISHES IN ARTICLE 90 THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC "IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTIONS TAKEN IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS DUTIES, EXCEPT FOR HIGH TREASON OR FOR AN ATTACK ON THE CONSTITUTION." THE CONSTITUTION DOES NOT SPECIFY HOW TO CONSTRUE AN ACTION BY THE PRESIDENT AS "HIGH TREASON," NOR DOES THE CRIMINAL CODE SPECIFY THE PUNISHMENT FOR CRIMES AGAINST THE STATE.

AN ATTACK ON THE CONSTITUTION, HOWEVER, IS DEEMED TO BE ASSIMILABLE TO THE CRIME COVERED IN ARTICLE 283 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE, WHICH PUNISHES BY IMPRISONMENT OF "NOT LESS" THAN 10 YEARS OF ANYONE WHO COMMITS AN ACT "INTENDED TO CHANGE THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE, OR THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT, BY MEANS NOT PERMITTED BY CONSTITUTIONAL LAW." THE POSSIBILITY OF BRINGING AN "IMPEACHMENT ACTION" AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC--ON THE ONLY TWO CHARGES FOR WHICH PROVISION IS MADE IN THE CONSTITUTION--IS THE PROVINCE OF THE PARLIAMENT MEETING IN JOINT SESSION AND MUST BE VOTED BY AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF ITS MEMBERS. CONVICTION OBVIOUSLY CARRIES WITH IT THE FORFEITURE OF OFFICE.

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Inquire: DOC20D
Item No: 513519

HEADER:

RTTUZYUW RUCWAAA5975 3431737 MTMS-UUUU--RUEBHAA.
ZNR UUUUU ZYN
R 091737Z DEC 91
FM FBIS RESTON VA
TO RUETIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD
RUEKJCS/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//P/R//
RUEBFGA/VOA WASH DC
RUCBSAA/FICEURLANT NORFOLK VA
RUDMMIC/NAVMARINTCEN WASHINGTON DC
RUDOOPA/AFOSI DET 6220 TORREJON AB SP//CC//
RUFHOM/AMEMBASSY ROME
RUKRAAA/7275ABG SAN VITO DEI NORMANNI AS IT//PA//
RUDOGHA/USNMR SHAPE BE//PIO//
RUFTAKA/USAINTELCTRE HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGB-PD-CUR//
RUESFV/FBIS VIENNA AU
RUDKMKE/FBIS LONDON UK
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//EUR/WE//
RUDOMAA/AFOSI DIST 62 UXBRIDGE UK//IVOA//
RUEBHAA/STORAGE CENTER FBIS RESTON VA
ACCT FBWA-EWDK
BT

CONTROLS:

UNCLAS /PMU
SERIAL: WA0912173991

BODY:

PASS: ONLY ED
COUNTRY: ITALY
SUBJ: TAKE 2 OF 2--PRESIDENT COSSIGA REBUTS PDS ACCUSATIONS
REF: 92ES0267B ROME LA REPUBBLICA IN ITALIAN 27 NOV 91 P 3//THE
DC'S EMBARRASSMENT
SOURCE: ROME LA REPUBBLICA IN ITALIAN 27 NOV 91 P 3
TEXT:

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Approved for Release
Date 15 MAR 1997

INTERFERENCE IN THE ACTIVITY OF THE JUDICIARY. THE PDS NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, STEFANO RODOTA, POLEMICALLY PREDICTED THAT THE SELF-DENUNCIATION COULD EVENTUALLY SERVE TO BRING OUT INTO THE OPEN ALL THE DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE "STAY-BEHIND" STRUCTURE. ON BOTH FRONTS, THEREFORE, THE DISCOURSE WAS CENTERED ON THE GLADIO AFFAIR.

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Inquire: DOC21D
Item No: 309668

HEADER:

RTTUZYUW RUCWAAA2595 0491938 MTMS-UUUU--RUEBHAA.
ZNR UUUUU ZYN
R 181938Z FEB 92
FM FBIS RESTON VA
TO RUETIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD
RUEKJCS/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//P/R//
RUEBFGA/VOA WASH DC
RUCBSAA/FICEURLANT NORFOLK VA
RUDMMIC/NAVMARINTCEN WASHINGTON DC
RUFHOM/AMEMBASSY ROME
RUKRAAA/7275ABG SAN VITO DEI NORMANNI AS IT//PA//
RUDOGHA/USNMR SHAPE BE//PIO//
RUFTAKA/USAINTELCTRE HEIDELBERG GM//AEAGB-PD-CUR//
RUESFV/FBIS VIENNA AU
RUDKMKE/FBIS LONDON UK
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//EUR/WE//
RUDOMAA/AFOSI DIST 62 UXBRIDGE UK//IVOA//
RUEBHAA/STORAGE CENTER FBIS RESTON VA
ACCT FBWA-EWDK
BT

CONTROLS:

UNCLAS /PMU
SERIAL: WA1802193892

BODY:

PASS: ONLY ED
COUNTRY: ITALY
SUBJ: TAKE 2 OF 3--OCCHETTO ANALYZES FIRST 12 MONTHS OF PDS
REF: 93ESO488A L'UNITA IN ITALIAN 2 FEB 92 P 7///THE "FORMER
COMMUNISTS...."

SOURCE: L'UNITA IN ITALIAN 2 FEB 92 P 7

TEXT:

OCCHETTO! THAT IS A REALLY GROTESQUE FACT. MANY NOW REALIZE THAT
CHANGES ARE NECESSARY, BUT A REALLY DEEP CHANGE THAT BREAKS
CONSOLIDATED BALANCES AND POWERS INSTILLS FEAR. AND HERE WE HAVE A
RESURGENCE OF THIS LABORATORY OF A NEW KIND OF ANTICOMMUNISM. THEY
HAVE GONE SO FAR AS TO CALL LIBERO GUALTIERI A "COMMUNIST" MERELY
BECAUSE HE WRONGLY DENOUNCED THE ILLEGALITY OF GLADIO. ALL THIS
REMINDS ME A LITTLE OF THE WITCHHUNT IN THE UNITED STATES DURING
MCCARTHYISM, WHEN EVEN CHARLIE CHAPLIN, BECAUSE OF SOCIAL CRITICISM
IN HIS MASTERPIECES, WAS ACCUSED OF BEING A "COMMUNIST." AFTER ALL,
THAT IS HOW ITALY IS TODAY.

GLEISS! IN MANY WAYS IT WAS CORRECTLY PREDICTED THAT THE COLLAPSE
OF THE BLOCS WOULD CAUSE A DISLOCATION IN THE ITALIAN POLITICAL

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PICTURE. BUT THE CHANGE HAS MOVED IN UNFORESEEN DIRECTIONS. HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE COSSIGA PHENOMENON?

OCCHETTO! AS IN ALL HISTORICAL SITUATIONS IN WHICH THE CRISIS OF AN OLD REGIME MATURES, THERE IS NOT ONLY ONE WAY OUT. THERE IS A GRADUAL DECLINE OF POSITIONS BASED ON PURE PRESERVATION OF WHAT EXISTS WHICH INCREASES DISORDER AND TENSION WHILE IT ENDURES. VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES FOR CHANGE EMERGE. AS I REPEATED IN THE CHAMBER, IN ITALY WE ARE NOW FACED SUBSTANTIALLY WITH TWO SOLUTIONS TO THE CRISIS: ONE TENDENTIALLY NEOAUTHORITARIAN, POPULIST; THE OTHER COULD BE DESCRIBED AS DEMOCRATIC RECONSTRUCTION. COSSIGA IS THE REINCARNATION OF THE FORMER.

LEISS! YET THE HEAD OF STATE DESCRIBES HIMSELF AS A DEMOCRAT OF THE LEFT, A PART OF THE PSI ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY!, AND MEN LIKE FORMICA VALIDATE HIS "PROGRAM."

OCCHETTO! THERE IS A SOMEWHAT PARADOXICAL ASPECT HERE. IN THE BEGINNING, WHEN COSSIGA DESCRIBED THE NEED FOR CHANGE AND A PASSAGE TO THE "SECOND REPUBLIC," HE TOOK HIS CUE FROM A POINT OF DEPARTURE VERY MUCH LIKE THAT WHICH WE ALSO HAD INDICATED. EVERYTHING CHANGED AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE BERLIN WALL AND EVERYTHING CAN AND MUST ALSO CHANGE IN ITALY. IN FORMICA'S ARTICLE ADVANCING THIS VIEW, THERE IS A RECURRENCE OF STATEMENTS THAT CAN BE SHARED IF TAKEN INDIVIDUALLY, AND THEY ALSO RECALL CERTAIN ANALYSES WE MADE. WHERE IS THE DIFFERENCE? IT IS IN THE FACT THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE PLEBISCITE PROJECT IS A KIND OF REVOLUTION-REHABILITATION. A CHANGE IN THE FORMS OF REPRESENTATION AND OF THE CENTERS OF POWER THAT SEEM CONCEIVED ALMOST AS "EXTREMA RATIO," AS THE LAST STEP IN ENSURING THE STEADFAST CONTINUITY OF BASIC POWER DEVELOPED DURING THE 40 YEARS OF THE FIRST PHASE IN THE REPUBLIC'S LIFE. DON'T THE GAME OF BLACKMAIL AND TENSION CONCERNING GLADIO, THE P-2 AFFAIR, THE SECRET SERVICE, AND THE ALDO MORO CASE EXPRESS THIS? COSSIGA VOICES, DRAMATICALLY EXPRESSES, THE ANXIETY OF A POWER THAT SEEMS TO WANT TO CHANGE ALL THE MORE DECISIVELY THE MORE IT DOES NOT INTEND TO REALLY PLACE ITSELF UNDER DISCUSSION.

LEISS! AND HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE PSI WAVERING?

OCCHETTO! THERE IS MUCH AMBIGUITY AND MANY PROFOUND CONTRADICTIONS IN THE EARTHQUAKE THAT HIT ITALIAN POLITICS, IN THE FURTHER DISLOCATION OF FORCES. THE PSI PLACED ITSELF TENDENTIALLY IN THE FRONT FOR CHANGE, BUT IT DID SO WITH AN ENERGY AIMED IN THE WRONG DIRECTION. THE CULT OF THE PRESIDENCY AND THEN THE SUPPORT FOR COSSIGA PERHAPS ENVISIONED OVERCOMING DC CENTRALITY BASED ON THE AFFIRMATION OF A PRESIDENTIAL CENTRALITY. WE FOUGHT THIS HYPOTHESIS. NOT BECAUSE AN AUTHORITARIAN VOCATION SHOULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE PSI, BUT THE IDEA THAT THE LEFT COULD BE RESTRUCTURED AROUND THE PRESIDENTIAL CARD WAS ABSTRACT. DEVELOPMENT OF THIS POLITICAL LINE DEMONSTRATES ITS EXTRANEIOUS NATURE IN REGARD TO THE TRADITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY AND ABOVE ALL ITS PROFOUNDLY AMBIGUOUS CONTENT. IT ENDED UP BY FUNCTIONING AS THE SORCERER'S APPRENTICE. THEREFORE, I AM NOT SO MUCH ATTACKING ANYONE'S INTENTIONS, BUT I SEE THAT A FRONT HAS BEEN PUT IN MOTION THAT GOES FROM COSSIGA TO THE LEAGUES TO THE MSI ITALIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT!.

LEISS! PERHAPS CRAXI HIMSELF BECAME FEARFUL AND FELL BACK ON Milder COUNSEL AND ON MAKING AGREEMENTS WITH THE PEACEFUL

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FORLANI....

φOCCHETTO! THE OTHER SWING OF THE SOCIALIST PENDULUM LEADS TO THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE OLD SYSTEM OF POWER. IF THE ILLUSION THAT ALL WILL CHANGE BY A MIRACLE FAILS, THERE WILL BE A FALLBACK TO NEGOTIATION WITH WITH THE DC. IT IS A COMPLETELY UNVARNISHED MINIMALISM. THE DEGREE OF CONFLICT IT EXPRESSES IS LOST ENTIRELY IN THE EXCHANGE OF QUOTAS OF POWER. BUT TODAY THE TRUE PROBLEM, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC, IS NOT SO MUCH WHO WILL RESIDE IN PALAZZO CHIGI, BUT WHAT NEW STATE WE MUST BUILD. THE TRUE PROBLEM IS THE OPENING OF A CONSTITUTIONAL PHASE. AND FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW I PLACE LITTLE CREDENCE ALSO IN THE STRENGTH OF THE FAMOUS DC-PSI PACT. IN ANY CASE, MANY VOICES WITHIN THE DC, BEGINNING WITH THAT OF MARIO SEGNI, ARE RAISED TO CONTEST IT. FOR THIS REASON THE REJECTION OF CRAXI IS A SERIOUS MATTER FOR THE LEFT. THAT IS WHY I BELIEVE IT IS DECISIVE THAT THERE BE A CHOICE IN THE ELECTION CONTEST ON THE LEFT, AND THAT AN ALARM BE SOUNDED TO INDUCE THE PSI TO CHANGE ITS LINE.

φLEISS! IF THIS IS COSSIGA'S ROLE AND THE MEANING OF THE CRAXI-FORLANI AXIS REVITALIZATION, IS THE ALTERNATIVE FOR A DEMOCRATIC CHANGE PERHAPS REPRESENTED BY THE PRO-REFERENDUM FORCES? TO QUOTE SAMARCANDA φTV SHOW!, WILL THE "NONEXISTENT PARTY" THAT THE ITALIANS WOULD LIKE TO SUPPORT COME FROM THERE?

φOCCHETTO! THE REFERENDUM MOVEMENT IS A VERY IMPORTANT INNOVATION IN ITALIAN POLITICS. WE HAVE BEEN AN ACTIVE PART OF THIS FROM THE BEGINNING, BUT I SINCERELY DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT CAN BE PRESENTED AS A NEW POLITICAL FORCE. MARIO SEGNI HIMSELF SAID IT WELL THE OTHER NIGHT AT SAMARCANDA. WE MAY AGREE ON THE MATTER OF CHANGING DEMOCRATIC RULES, BUT ONCE THOSE RULES ARE DEFINED, WE WILL PLAY DIFFERENT GAMES. AFTER ALL, HASN'T IT ALWAYS BEEN THAT WAY? WAS THE FORCE THAT CHOSE THE REPUBLIC AND NOT THE MONARCHY POLITICALLY HOMOGENEOUS? OR THOSE THAT DEFEATED THE ATTEMPT TO ABOLISH THE LAWS ON DIVORCE AND ABORTION? RATHER, I WOULD SAY THAT EFFORTS TO CHANGE THE REFERENDUM MOVEMENT INTO A POLITICAL FORCE RISKS REDUCING ITS VALUE, WEAKENING ITS ROLE AND PROVOKING NEW FRAGMENTATION.

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PAGE:0013

INQUIRE=DOC12D

ITEM NO=00628313

ENVELOPE

CDSN = LGX429 MCN = 90324/30488 TOR = 903241810

RTTUZYUW RUEKJCS0233 3241757-UUUU--RUEALGX.

ZNR UUUUU

HEADER

R 201757Z NOV 90

FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC

INFO RUEALGX/SAFE

R 201543Z NOV 90

FM FBIS VIENNA AU

TO RUCWAAA/FBIS RESTON VA

RUCBSAA/FICEURLANT NORFOLK VA

RUEBHAA/STORAGE CENTER FBIS RESTON VA

RUEKJCS/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC

RUETIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD

RUFHIN/AMEMBASSY BONN//GROBEL & EDGAR OCA//

RUFHVOA/VOA MUNICH:GE

ACCT FBAU-EWDK

BT

CONTROLS

UNCLAS 7H

SERIAL: AU2011154390

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

BODY

PASS: COPY [REDACTED] (b) (3)

COUNTRY: FRG

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 3 -- MORE DETAILS ON 'GLADIO' DISCLOSED

REF: AU1911132290 HAMBURG BILD AM SONNTAG GERMAN 18 NOV --
'GLADIO' UNIT REPORTEDLY STILL EXISTS

SOURCE: HAMBURG DER SPIEGEL IN GERMAN 19 NOV 90 PP 18-21

TEXT:

//((UNATTRIBUTED REPORT: "THE BLOODY SWORD OF THE CIA"))

((EXCERPTS)) NEWS FROM THE COLD WAR: THROUGHOUT EUROPE THERE ARE SECRET NATO COMMANDS MEANT TO RESIST THE ENEMY FROM THE EAST. ALLEGEDLY, THE CHANCELLOR, THE DEFENSE MINISTER, AND THE BUNDESWEHR GENERALS DID NOT KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THIS. THE TRACES LEAD TO PULLACH, TO THE "STAY BEHIND ORGANIZATION" OF THE FEDERAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE ((BND)). ((PASSAGE OMITTED))

IN THE FRG THE TROOP, COMPLETELY IN LINE WITH THE UNITED STATES, CALLED ITSELF "STAY BEHIND ORGANIZATION": IT WAS TO REMAIN BEHIND AND HOLD OUT BEHIND THE LINES OF THE ENEMY AFTER DAY X ON WHICH THE EASTERN HORDES WOULD HAVE TAKEN OVER IN WESTERN EUROPE. ((PASSAGE

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Date 11 FEB 98

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(OMITTED))

EX-GENERAL REINHARD GEHLEN, FIRST BND CHIEF, ESTABLISHED THE ANTICOMMUNIST SHOCK UNIT. AS IN MOST OTHER FRIENDLY STATES, THE CIVILIAN SECRET SERVICE, NOT THE MILITARY ONE, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SUBVERSIVE ARMY.

HAS THE BND, WHICH IS SURROUNDED BY SCANDAL AND HAS OFTEN BEEN INVOLVED IN DUBIOUS AFFAIRS, VIOLATED ITS LEGAL MANDATE BY DIRECTING A SPECIAL TROOP WITH "STAY BEHIND" PARTISANS? WHAT DID BONN KNOW ABOUT WAR GAMES IN PULLACH? AND WHY WERE THEY NOT GIVEN UP LONG AGO SINCE THE COLD WAR IS OVER AND A HOT ONE IS LESS LIKELY THAN EVER BEFORE, THAT IS, SINCE 1945?

WHEN THE FIRST INFORMATION FROM ITALY BECAME KNOWN IN BONN, THE GOVERNMENT WRAPPED ITSELF IN SILENCE. THE NATO PARTNERS DID THE SAME. FANTASTIC CONJECTURES WERE MADE ALL OVER EUROPE. ((PASSAGE OMITTED))

IN GERMANY MAD CONJECTURES WERE MADE, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE BND PARTISANS WANTED TO MURDER LEFT-WINGERS LIKE HERBERT WEHNER AND PROVOKE OPPONENTS OF NUCLEAR POWER.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE GERMAN SABOTAGE GROUP ARE ESPECIALLY DIRECTED AGAINST LEFTIST POLITICIANS. THE PARLIAMENTARY POLITICAL NEWS SERVICE, WHICH IS CLOSE TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY ((SPD)), CALLS THE GROUP: "THE BLOODY SWORD OF THE CIA."

FURIOUS PARLIAMENTARIANS ASKED THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WHO IT HAD BRIEFED, WHAT THEY KNEW AND SINCE WHEN, AND WHO AUTHORIZED THE FUNDS FOR "STAY BEHIND." SPD DEPUTY SCHEER HAS CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATIONS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC PROSECUTION, "IN ORDER TO AVOID THE DANGER OF COLLUSION." BURKHARD HIRSCH, SECRET SERVICE CONTROLLER OF THE FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ((FDP)), IS ALSO "VERY ALARMED." FOR: "ACCORDING TO MY EXPERIENCE, IF SOMETHING HAS BEEN KEPT SECRET FOR SUCH A LONG TIME THERE IS SOMETHING FISHY ABOUT IT."

DEFENSE STATE SECRETARY KARL-HEINZ CARL BRUSHED OFF FIRST QUESTIONS FROM PARLIAMENT AND REFERRED THE PARLIAMENTARIANS TO THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE. ITS SECRET SERVICE COORDINATOR, LUTZ STAVENHAGEN, PASSED THE DELICATE CASE BACK TO THE HARDTHOEHE ((SEAT OF THE DEFENSE MINISTRY)).

WHEN THE SPD DEMANDED A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE, GERHARD STOLTENBERG SAID THROUGH HIS PARLIAMENTARY SECTION THAT HIS HOUSE DOES NOT HAVE TO REPORT ANYTHING. THE SESSION, ANNOUNCED FOR 1300 LAST THURSDAY ((15 NOVEMBER)), WAS TAKEN OFF THE AGENDA.

THE GREENS CALLED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE INTERIOR COMMITTEE, BUT THE GOVERNMENT IS ONLY PREPARED TO REPORT TO THE PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL COMMITTEE, WHICH WILL HOLD A SECRET MEETING THIS WEEK -- A BODY "THAT SWEEPS MORE UNDER THE CARPET THAN IT CLEARS UP," THE GREENS COMPLAINED.

IN THE BONN DEFENSE MINISTRY NO ONE ADMITS KNOWING ANYTHING ABOUT "STAY BEHIND." SPD MINISTER GEORG LEBER, WHO WAS IN OFFICE FROM 1972 UNTIL 1978, SAID THAT HE WOULD "MAKE A HELL OF A RACKET." STOLTENBERG HAD THE FILES EXAMINED -- NO LEAD WAS FOUND.

LAST TUESDAY ((13 NOVEMBER)) GENERAL GEORG BAUTZMANN FROM THE ARMED FORCES COMMAND STAFF, WHO WAS FORMERLY ON TEMPORARY DUTY IN THE BND AND IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, DELIVERED A

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PAGE:0015

LECTURE IN THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE. RESULT: THE BUNDESWEHR HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE AFFAIR.

NATO SECRETARY GENERAL MANFRED WOERNER, WHO WAS DEFENSE MINISTER IN BONN FOR SIX YEARS, ALSO CONTENDS THAT HE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT THE CASE. WOLFGANG ALTENBURG, FORMER BUNDESWEHR INSPECTOR GENERAL AND CHAIRMAN OF THE NATO MILITARY COMMITTEE IN BRUSSELS UNTIL LAST YEAR, HEARD RUMORS WHEN HE WAS A YOUNG CAPTAIN IN THE FIFTIES, BUT "SINCE THAT TIME HE HAS NOT HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT THIS."

IN A TELEGRAM FROM HIS NATO AMBASSADOR HANS-FRIEDRICH VON PLOETZ, FOREIGN MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER WAS BRIEFED ON THE AIDE-MEMOIRE PRESENTED BY THE ITALIANS TO THEIR NATO PARTNERS. ACCORDING TO IT, "GLADIO" WAS ABOVE ALL ACTIVE IN ITALY WHERE THE TROOP WAS ALSO USED FOR DOMESTIC POLICY PURPOSES. EVEN SECRET SERVICE CHIEFS AND THEIR SUPERVISORS PRESENTED NEGATIVE REPORTS.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: AU2011154390 HAMBURG DER SPIEGEL GERMAN 19 NOV///PRESENTED
NEGATIVE REPORTS.

TEXT:

((EXCERPTS)) NONE OF THE FOLLOWING WAS BRIEFED: HORST EHMKE, FORMER SPD MINISTER IN THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE, WALTER SCHRECKENBERGER, HELMUT KOHL'S LATER COORDINATOR, FORMER BND CHIEF KLAUS KINKEL, OR HERIBERT HELLENBROICH, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE COLOGNE FEDERAL OFFICE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION. HOWEVER, HELLENBROICH, FOR EXAMPLE, PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETINGS OF THE SECRET SERVICE CHIEFS IN THE ALLIED COORDINATION COMMITTEE IN BRUSSELS FOR YEARS.

AT LEAST THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE HAS MEANWHILE SUCCEEDED IN THROWING SOME LIGHT ON THE AFFAIR. IN A SECRET NOTE "CONCERNING REPORTS ON AN ALLEGED NATO SECRET ORGANIZATION" DATED 14 NOVEMBER, HERMANN JUNG, DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT VI, REPORTED ON THE "FILES EXISTING" IN HIS HOUSE.

ACCORDINGLY, THE "HEART OF THE MATTER" WAS THE WISH "TO BE ABLE TO RECKON WITH THE SUPPORT BY THE ALLIANCE PARTNERS' INTELLIGENCE SERVICES IN A NATIONAL DEFENSE EMERGENCY," WHICH WAS EXPRESSED BY THE NATO COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN EUROPE IN THE FIFTIES.

INFORMATION WAS TO BE PROCURED IN A COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY THE ENEMY AND NATO PILOTS WERE TO BE SAVED AFTER A CRASH. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO JUNG'S VAGUE STATEMENTS, "THE IDEA TO ESTABLISH RESISTANCE FORCES BEHIND THE LINES OF THE ENEMY" -- SABOTAGE TROOPS -- "PLAYED A ROLE APPROXIMATELY UNTIL 1973."

ACCORDING TO ITS INSTRUCTIONS, THE BND DEVELOPED A "NETWORK OF SOURCES" IN THE FRG. AS MANY AS 50 MILITARY, 125 GENERAL, AND 25 "INFILTRATION SOURCES," WHICH WERE TO FREE PILOTS, BUT ALSO IMPORTANT SCIENTISTS FROM ENEMY HAND, WERE PLANNED. IN ADDITION, 75 POSTS WERE ESTABLISHED FOR THE "CONTROL ORGANIZATION" IN PULLACH.

THE TASKS FOR WHICH THE NATIONAL SECRET SERVICES CONTINUED TO BE RESPONSIBLE HAVE BEEN COORDINATED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF SHAPE

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((SUPREME HEADQUARTERS ALLIED POWERS EUROPE)) SINCE 1954. IN 1959 THE BND BECAME AN OFFICIAL MEMBER.

AS CAN BE FURTHER DEDUCED FROM THE PAPER OF THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE, THE "COMPONENT OF RESISTANCE" WAS SLOWLY REDUCED AND THE SABOTAGE UNITS BECAME GRADUALLY SMALLER. WHILE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTIES 11 EMPLOYEES WERE STILL DETACHED FOR THIS PURPOSE, THEIR NUMBER WAS REDUCED TO FOUR IN 1981. THE NUMBER OF THE BND'S ESTABLISHED POSTS FOR THE CONTROL ORGANIZATION WAS REDUCED TO THE PRESENT NUMBER OF 35, AND THE "TASK FORCE" WAS COMPLETELY DISSOLVED IN 1983: "ONLY THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE TASKS REMAINED."

JUNG WAS NOT ABLE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON THE CASE HISTORY, "WHICH PROBABLY GOES BACK TO THE POSTWAR YEARS": "THE BND IS MAKING EFFORTS TO CLEAR THIS UP." AT ANY RATE, FIRST INFORMATION, INCLUDING THE COVER NAME "STAY BEHIND ORGANIZATION," IS ONLY FOUND IN THE 1977 FILES OF THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE.

"FOR THE TIME BEING, THE IMPRESSION HERE IS THAT FOR MANY YEARS THE MATTER WAS ONLY DEALT WITH IN THE CIRCLE OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES INVOLVED, WITHOUT PROVIDING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OR INDIVIDUAL DEPARTMENTS WITH REAL INFORMATION," THE CHANCELLOR'S SLEUTHS STATE. HOWEVER, IT CANNOT BE RULED OUT THAT THE BND LEADERSHIP MIGHT HAVE ORALLY BRIEFED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE.

MANFRED SCHUELER, CHIEF OF THE CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE OF SPD CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT FROM 1974 TO 1980, ACTUALLY REMEMBERS THIS. FORMER BND CHIEF GERHARD WESSEL BRIEFED HIM ON PREPARATIONS FOR AN EMERGENCY. HOWEVER, SCHUELER THINKS THAT THE FANTASTIC CONNECTIONS WITH MURDER AND TERROR ARE "GROTESQUE."

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 003 *****/

REF: AU2011154390 HAMBURG DER SPIEGEL GERMAN 19 NOV///TERROR ARE "GROTESQUE."

TEXT:

((EXCERPTS)) NATO'S SABOTAGE UNITS CONTINUE TO EXIST; CONTRADICTORY TO WHAT THE JUNG REPORT TRIES TO MAKE ONE BELIEVE, THEY HAVE NOT AT ALL BEEN DISBANDED. AMERICANS AND BRITISH CONTINUE TO HAVE "SPECIAL FORCES" FOR EMERGENCIES. THE GREEN BERETS, WHO AN ILL-FAMED FORCE FROM THE TIME OF THE VIETNAM WAR, ARE READY FOR GUERRILLA WAR AGAINST INVADERS. THE LAST TIME THE ENGLISH TESTED THEIR SPECIAL TASK FORCE SAS, SHORT FOR SPECIAL AIR SERVICE, WAS IN THE FALKLANDS WAR IN 1982. IN ITALY THE LAST "GLADIO" TRAINING COURSES WERE HELD IN MAY OF THIS YEAR.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE COMMANDO TROOPS ARE COORDINATED BY A SPECIAL STAFF, THE "SPECIAL FORCES SECTION," IN A STRICTLY SEALED OFF WING AT NATO'S HEADQUARTERS IN CASTEAU. A GREY STEEL DOOR, WHICH OPENS LIKE A HARD BOX ONLY AFTER USING A CERTAIN COMBINATION OF FIGURES, KEEPS OUT ALL UNAUTHORIZED PERSONS.

OFFICERS OF OTHER DEPARTMENTS WHO ARE INVITED FOR MEETINGS HAVE TO CHECK IN AT A DARK DESK RIGHT BEHIND THE DOOR. MOST DOCUMENTS OF

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THE DEPARTMENT, WHICH IS CONTROLLED EXCLUSIVELY BY AMERICANS AND BRITISH, BEAR A STAMP SAYING "AMERICAN EYES ONLY" -- TO BE USED ONLY BY AMERICANS.

THE UNITED STATES IS NOT ONLY PREPARED FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTIONS BUT EVEN FOR RECONQUERING OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IN A MAJOR SUPPLY EXERCISE CODED LOGEX, A U.S. RESERVISTS UNIT WAS FLOWN IN. IN AN EMERGENCY SITUATION, IT WOULD TAKE OVER THE ADMINISTRATION IN A COUNTRY IT LIBERATED. THE UNIT INCLUDES JUDGES, STATE PROSECUTORS, MAYORS, DISTRICT ADMINISTRATORS AND EVEN SEVERAL CHIEF EDITORS FOR THE NEWSPAPERS IN THE POST-WAR ERA.

A HIGH-RANKING GERMAN NATO OFFICER MADE FUN OF IT WHEN HE SAID THAT "THE YANKS HAVE A WEAKNESS FOR PLAYING COWBOYS AND INDIANS."

THE BUNDESWEHR ALSO JOINS IN THE GAME. THREE "LONG-RANGE RECONNAISSANCE PATROLS" MUST OBSERVE THE OCCUPIERS IN THE ENEMY'S TERRITORY IN A CASE OF EMERGENCY. IF NECESSARY, TOUGH GUYS WITH BACKPACKS WEIGHING 60 KILOGRAMS INCLUDING A FOLDING AUTOMATIC RIFLE, NIGHT VISION EQUIPMENT, AND FOOD FOR TWO WEEKS, GET INTO ACTION. SAYS ONE MEMBER: "WE REPORT HOW THICK THE BUTTER IS ON THE ENEMY'S BREAD; THE OTHERS HIT THE OPPONENT AND EAT HIS BREAD."

FORMER MEMBERS OF LONG-RANGE RECONNAISSANCE PATROLS PROBABLY ALSO SERVE AS TRAINERS OF THE GERMAN "STAY BEHIND ORGANIZATION." AS CAN BE DEDUCTED FROM THE NOTE MADE AT THE CHANCELLERY, THE DEFENSE MINISTRY, IF NECESSARY, PROVIDED HELICOPTERS AND AIRCRAFT AND ALSO "MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR TRAINING," PROBABLY AT THE BUNDESWEHR'S LONG-RANGE RECONNAISSANCE SCHOOL AT WEINGARTEN.

THE BONN GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT IT HAS NOT MUCH TO FEAR FROM THE AFFAIR, WHICH DATES BACK TO ANOTHER TIME. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION ((CDU)), CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION ((CSU)), AND THE FDP BEEN IN POWER ONLY SINCE 1982; THE COALITION BELIEVES THAT THIS SKELETON IS NOT IN ITS CUPBOARD. PANIC IS MUCH GREATER IN PARIS, BRUSSELS, AND PARTICULARLY, ROME, WHERE THE SECRET OF NATO'S SABOTAGE TROOPS WAS FIRST REVEALED; REPERCUSSIONS ON BONN CANNOT BE EXCLUDED. ((PASSAGE OMITTED))

UNTIL RECENTLY, MILLIONS HAVE BEEN ALLOTTED FOR "STAY BEHIND" IN THE BND BUDGET, A SECRET SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHANCELLOR'S BUDGET. RECENTLY, THE BND ORDERED 854 STATE-OF-THE ART AGENTS' WALKIE-TALKIES, CALLED "HARPOON" FROM THE AEG/TST COMPANY, A SUBSIDIARY TO THE DAIMLER COMPANY, INTENDED FOR ITS OWN USE AND FOR ITS PARTNERS, AT A TOTAL PRICE OF 130 MILLIONS. THE BND RETAINS 138 UNITS, WORTH 25 MILLION, THE REMAINDER MUST BE PAID FOR BY THE ALLIES.

MEANWHILE IT HAS TURNED OUT THAT THIS ACQUISITION WAS EVEN APPROVED OF BY THE TRUST BODY OF THE BUNDESTAG, WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ECONOMIC PLANS OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. RUDI WALTHER, THE CHAIRMAN OF THIS BODY AND A BUNDESTAG DEPUTY FOR THE SPD, HAS STATED THAT HE "KNOWS" WHAT "STAY BEHIND" IS; MONEY FOR THIS BODY HAS ALWAYS BEEN APPROVED.

AFTER THE FRENCH CANCELED THEIR PARTICIPATION IN "GLADIO" THERE WERE INCREASING DOUBTS IN BONN, AS TO WHETHER THESE WAR GAMES ARE STILL FIT FOR THE OVERALL PEACEFUL LANDSCAPE.

SINCE 3 OCTOBER, THE DAY OF UNITY, THE SPD IN A SECRET PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE HAS TWICE DEMANDED THAT THE PERMANENT POSTS

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IN THIS CONNECTION BE ABOLISHED. MR. JUNG OF THE CHANCELLERY HAS RUMINATED THAT THE "HARPOON" PROJECT CAN "ALSO BE PERFECTLY USED FOR OTHER INTELLIGENCE SERVICE PURPOSES," BECAUSE IT "OFFERS A HIGH DEGREE OF SECURITY AND A VERY LONG RANGE."

YET, CURRENTLY ONE IS DISCUSSING EVEN MOST FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS. AT THE LAST MEETING OF NATO'S COORDINATING AGENCY THE ACC THE QUESTION WAS DISCUSSED WHETHER "GLADIO" IS STILL MAKING ANY SENSE AT ALL. THE DOCUMENT OF THE CHANCELLERY STATES THAT AS FAR AS "THE GERMAN SIDE IS CONCERNED IT IS DESIRED THAT THE ORGANIZATION BE DISBANDED IN 1991."

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BRS Assigned Document Number: 000001391

Entry Date:	05 Jan 96	AFS Number:	BR0501090596
Classification:	UNCLASSIFIED	Status:	PUBLISHABLE
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Precedence:	ROUTINE	Document Date:	04 Jan 96
Category:	PUBLISHABLE		

Dissemination: FOUO --

City/Source of Document: Rome ANSAMAIL Database

Subject: Sismi General Says U.S.-Libya Dogfight Caused Ustica Crash

Source Line: Rome ANSAMAIL Database in English 1629 GMT 4 Jan 96 --
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FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE:

1. [Unattributed report: "Ustica: New Evidence of Missile in Crash?"]
2. [FBIS Transcribed Text] (ANSA) -- Rome, January 4 -- A retired general of the Sismi military intelligence service apparently believes that the 1980 crash of a commercial Itavia liner near Ustica in southern Italy was caused by a missile launched during a dog fight between Libyan and U.S. planes, sources close to the investigation of that air disaster indicated here.
3. Last month Judge Rosario Priore, investigating that still-unsolved crash, ordered a search of the house of retired Sismi general Demetrio Cogliandro, former Rome chief of counterespionage activities.
4. Documents seized during that search were said to cast light on numerous unsolved bombings and murder cases plaguing Italy's recent past including the murder of journalist Mino Pecorelli, the kidnaping and murder of Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro, the 1979 terrorist bombing in Piazza Fontana, Milan and the paramilitary organization Gladio.
5. On the basis of those documents pertaining to the Ustica crash, Priore and his assistants recently questioned Cogliandro, who is

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said to have told the investigators that his conviction that the Itavia jet was shot down grew out of a personal investigation of the matter he carried out in 1984 after his retirement.

6. Earlier this month, those investigators obtained top secret documents from the Italian secret services said to indicate a Libyan fighter that crashed in the Sila range in Calabria came down in June, 1980, not on July 14 as those intelligence and other Italian military sources have long insisted. Priore is interested in whether that jet was involved in the still-unsolved June 27, 1980 crash of the commercial Itavia liner that killed all 81 passengers.

7. Lawyers representing the families of the victims have long suggested the commercial jet might have gotten caught in an air battle the night of the crash.

8. The secret service documents were ordered seized by Priore from Sismi, the military branch of the Italian secret services and from the Verona Counter-Espionage Center, it was learned here.

9. In them, the date of the Libyan fighter crash was first indicated as having taken place in June, then altered on a typewriter (in visibly smaller letters) to July 14.

10. Material from the Verona center was also reported to confirm the existence of a secret accord with Yugoslavia dating back to April 1980, allowing Libyan planes to use Yugoslav air bases for reconnaissance and training flights over the central Mediterranean.

11. It was also suggested that an ex-lieutenant colonel of the Italian Air Force who had served at Villafranca base near Verona was training those Libyan pilots.

12. Unnamed persons in contact with the Libyans were also said to have sought details on Nato and Italian radar systems during that period, the same sources indicated.

13. A new impetus to solve the long-standing mystery of the crash came on December 22 when an Air Force sergeant who was being

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questioned by Priore committed suicide.

14. The man, 45 year old Franco Parisi, was the 12th person connected to the Ustica investigations to die during the fifteen years since the tragic crash of the Itavia DC-9 airliner.

15. Following a session with Priore in September, he was due to be called again because some facts in his account did not dovetail exactly with those of other Air Force officials on radar duty, sources close to the prosecutor indicated.

16. Sergeant Parisi served with the radar service at Otranto near Lecce in Puglia. He was being questioned about the Libyan fighter that crashed in the Sila range in Calabria, officially on July 18, 1980.

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Precedence:	ROUTINE	Document Date:	05 Jan 96
Category:	PUBLISHABLE		

Dissemination: ~~FOUO~~ --

City/Source of Document: Rome ANSAMAIL Database

Subject: TAKEALL-- ANSA Carries Italian Press Roundup

Source Line: Rome ANSAMAIL Database in English 0914 GMT 5 Jan 96 --
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FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE:

1. ["Italian Press Roundup"]
2. [FBIS Transcribed Text] (ANSA) -- Rome, January 5 -- The Nato peace implementation effort in Bosnia led off press coverage today, with many dailies highlighting the wounding of an Italian soldier, hit by sniper fire early Thursday morning in Sarajevo.
3. The 1980 Ustica air crash -- a mystery that remains unsolved after fifteen years of investigations -- also drew major headlines today with the revelation that a retired military intelligence officer has told investigators he believes the plane was hit by a missile during a dog fight over Italian territory between Libyan and US forces.
4. Other leading stories Friday: the Italian political situation, as the center-left warned right-wing leader Silvio Berlusconi that if his group brings down the government of Prime Minister Lamberto Dini, all pacts on institutional reform are off. Also, Iri's sale of the Dalmine steel works to Techint (Rocca Group).
5. Libyan-US Air Battle Over Ustica titled CORRIERE DELLA SERA, adding in a subhead: "ex-Sismi general accuses Cossiga of having imposed a secrecy rule on the disaster."

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6. Ustica Case: Sismi Knew of the Missile headlined the LA STAMPA, emphasizing that the missile hypothesis, long advanced by lawyers for the families of the crash victims, "has now also been formulated by a high Sismi official."

7. A Missile At Ustica; Sismi Knew All titled LA REPUBBLICA, adding that "in the home of the ex-general investigators found a hundred sensitive files: the Moro case, Gladio, Pecorelli."

8. Sismi Dossier: There Was a Battle at Ustica wrote UNITA', noting that "a genuine secret archive of Sismi intelligence activities between 1984-91 was found in the house of retired general Demetrio Cogliandro, ex-chief of military counter- espionage under Sismi director Fulvio Martini."

9. The dozens of files investigators garnered from a police search included notes and material on life Senator Giulio Andreotti, head of state Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, former Christian Democrat leader Ciriaco De Mita, Silvio Berlusconi, the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, the paramilitary organization Gladio and other mysteries, the Roman daily writes.

10. From Ustica to Moro, 007 Secrets titled IL MESSAGGERO, adding "Plane Was Hit by Missile; Cossiga Ordered Silence on the DC-9".

11. Also highlighting a presumed cover-up role by former President of the Republic Francesco Cossiga was the left daily IL MANIFESTO.

12. Cossiga in the Skies of Ustica, the daily titled its lead article, leading off: "Cossiga knew everything; he was informed by top secret military documents that the DC9 Itavia was shot down by a missile while an air battle between US and Libyan fighters raged over Ustica."

13. Roman Judge Rosario Priore, investigating the plane crash, reportedly received confirmation of the details of the secret report in questioning of retired general Demetrio Cogliandro after those files were seized from his house, dailies said.

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14. Cogliandro apparently told investigators the report was privately conducted after his retirement, but many dailies suggested the official may well have been working as a consultant for Sisimi.

15. His report apparently confirms suspicions the June 27, 1980 crash of the commercial Itavia DC9 that killed 81 near Ustica in southern Italy was caused by a missile launched during a dog fight between Libyan and US planes.

16. Last fall Judge Rosario Priore, investigating that still-unsolved crash, ordered a search of Cogliandro's house as part of a broader fact-finding effort that included searches of Sisimi and counter-espionage offices and personnel in Verona and Bari.

17. Among the material seized by Priore were top secret Italian secret services documents showing that a Libyan fighter that crashed in the Sila range in Calabria came down in June, 1980, not on July 14 as those intelligence and other Italian military sources have long insisted.

18. Priore wants to find out whether the downed Libyan Mig fighter was have been involved in the June 27 crash, as lawyers for the families of the victims have long maintained.

19. In a document seized from the Verona counter-espionage center, the Libyan fighter crash was first indicated as having taken place in June, then altered on a typewriter (in visibly smaller letters) to July 14. Material from the Verona center was also reported to confirm the existence of a secret accord with Yugoslavia dating back to April 1980, allowing Libyan planes to use Yugoslav air bases for reconnaissance and training flights over the central Mediterranean.

20. Dailies did not connect Cogliandro's report to another mysterious element in the case -- the numerous witnesses who have died or committed suicide in the 15 years since the crash.

21. In a dispatch that came through too late for most papers to

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include, TeleMontecarlo reported the contents of an interview yesterday evening with the wife of retired Air Force sergeant Franco Parisi, whose December 21 death was attributed to suicide.

22. Parisi's wife and a lawyer representing the family, Francesca Conte, say they do not believe the man committed suicide. (He was found hanged from a tree in the countryside outside Lecce in the Puglia region.) His wife said the position of Parisi's body and the angle of the noose around his neck were not consistent with suicide.

23. Parisi, who in at the time of the Ustica crash was in service at Otranto radar base near Lecce, was the 12th person with knowledge of the crash to die since 1980. According to TeleMontecarlo, the Otranto radar screens were in a position to trace the path of the Itavia liner as well as that of the Libyan fighter later found crashed on the Sila Range in Calabria. Parisi had been questioned by Priore in September and was expecting to be called a second time before he was found dead.

24. Endless Blackmail, LA STAMPA titled an interview with the president of the parliamentary oversight committee on the secret services Massimo Brutti.

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26. [FBIS Transcribed Text] "If what we are hearing proves true, it provides the latest proof that Sisimi was responsible for carrying out illegitimate activities. It confirms that the secret services collected information to exert pressure, to blackmail and for political clients," says Brutti.

27. The secret dossiers found in Cogliandro's house point to "activities that have nothing to do with defending the integrity of the state but appear to be documents to be used in internal political and government conflicts," he adds.

28. Brutti also gives credence to the idea that Cogliandro was not acting on his own in collecting material, but as an outside agent for Sisimi.

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29. "It's very likely the material was addressed to Sisimi, partly because we know that in the past, it was very common to use former agents or officers as outside sources," says Brutti, adding that the practice must be stopped because "it destroys attempts to impose a clean-up."

30. On the Nato effort in Bosnia, IL SOLE 24 ORE writes that Clinton Has Decided: He'll Go to Bosnia, highlighting the injury of the Italian soldier as well as the release of 16 Muslim hostages by Bosnian Serb militiamen.

31. The financial daily leads off its report with the news that US president Bill Clinton will visit Bosnia around January 13- 14, on a date that has not been specified for security reasons.

32. Sarajevo, Ambush of Italian Soldiers, titled LA STAMPA, which like most dailies ran a photo of injured soldier Corporal Elio Sbordoni, who was wounded in the arm by sniper fire that might have killed him had he not been wearing a bullet-proof vest.

33. "Luck was with him," wrote LA STAMPA's editorialist Aldo Rizzo, as it was for the US soldier and his two British counterparts injured -- but not killed by exploding mines.

34. But despite reassuring words from peace settlement negotiators working toward disarmament in ex-Yugoslavia, euphoria about the Nato mission is out of place, he argues.

35. "Imagine the effect on the Bosnian Serbs (and especially on their not-uninfluential extremist fringe) that would have been produced by the death (the assassination) of an Italian soldier just a few days after the arrival of the contingent," writes Rizzo.

36. That soldier's death would have been a political and psychological blow to the authority of a country (Italy) that is "not very used to flexing its muscles and forced to work in the most sensitive areas of the sensitive, important city of Sarajevo," he writes.

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37. Italians Under Fire, A Soldier Wounded in Sarajevo titled LA REPUBBLICA; Trap to Kill Italians, wrote IL MESSAGGERO; Bosnia, An Italian Soldier Wounded titled IL GIORNALE.

38. Fire Against Italian Soldiers titled UNITA', which also ran an editorial by the daily's director Renzo Foa, The Risks of Peace. Was the shooting part of a plan to obstruct the peace, or merely the act of a lone crazy? The question is difficult to answer, says Foa, but certainly the fact it took place in the Serb outskirts of Sarajevo while a group of 16 Muslims were elsewhere being held hostage, does not bode well.

39. Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, (both of whom are accused of war crimes, the daily reminds) continue to play a role despite having been forced to agree to the peace treaty by Serb president Slobodan Milosevic. The risk is they will increasingly exercise their power through blackmail, writes Foa, adding that this would quickly de-legitimize the Nato presence leading to a rapid deterioration of the situation.

40. Forceful political backing for Nato peace forces is the only possible counter, UNITA' argues. Alone among the major dailies, IL GIORNALE pushed the injured Nato soldier below the fold to lead off with a story on Labor Minister Tiziano Treu's controversial proposal to modify the 1995 pension reform bill to raise the pensionable age and lower the percentage of a full pension that can be drawn by those retiring before the cut-off age.

41. IL GIORNALE, calling the Dini government pension reform of June 1995 "unfair and completely inadequate" carried an editorial under the pseudonym Geronimo, noting with satisfaction that the "love affair between Treu and the labor unions seems to be coming to an end."

42. The daily takes credit for upholding tougher pension regulations to avoid the gaps that are now appearing in the social security system Inps coffers.

43. Bossi Contested Between Center-Right and Center-Left titled LA STAMPA in its round-up of yesterday's political development, suggesting that the Northern League's role would be crucial in a

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possible parliamentary vote to re-confirm Dini.

44. The Center-Left Opposes Government Crisis: Dini Should Remain for

the Semester headlined CORRIERE DELLA SERA, highlighting the left's insistence that the prime minister remain in office through June, when Italy completes its role as EU duty president.

45. Dialogue Impossible If The Government Falls titled UNITA', stressing the center-left's unwillingness to open talks with the right on institutional reform unless the latter were willing to guarantee government stability during the EU presidency.

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RUERBFA/CDR2DAD FT HOOD TX//G2 ACE//
RUESFW/FBIS WARSAW PL
RUETIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD
RUFQBBA/US SURVEY SEC SHAPE BE
RUFTAKA/UCIRF AUGSBURG GE
RUHBABA/CG III MEF//G-2//
RUWTAEA/NAIC WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH//TAI//
CONTROLS
UNCLAS 7B/LD

WARNING: ATTN VIENNA LEGATT
ATTN WSPPO

SERIAL: BR2211150395

BODY

COUNTRY: BELGIUM
SUBJ: DAILY SAYS SECURITY USED U.S.-INSPIRED INFILTRATION METHODS

SOURCE: ANTWERP GAZET VAN ANTWERPEN IN DUTCH 21 NOV 95 P 3
TEXT:

REPORT BY HUGO MERCKX: "INFILTRATING INTO ULTRA-LEFTWING
MOVEMENT -- MANUAL FOR SECRET AGENTS"

"IT OCCASIONALLY HAPPENS THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF HOST COUNTRIES
ADOPT A PASSIVE OR UNRESOLVED ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNIST OR
COMMUNIST-INSPIRED SUBVERSION, AND FAIL TO ACT VIGOROUSLY IN LINE
WITH THE ASSESSMENTS TRANSMITTED BY THE U.S. SECRET SERVICES....
SHOULD THIS HAPPEN, THEN THE U.S. ARMY'S SECRET SERVICES SHOULD HAVE
THE MEANS TO LAUNCH SPECIAL ACTIONS INTENDED TO CONVINCE BOTH THE

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DATE: MAY 2002

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HOST COUNTRIES AND THE PUBLIC OPINION OF THE REAL DANGER...."

"TO THAT EFFECT, U.S. INTELLIGENCE SERVICES MUST TRY AND INFILTRATE INTO THE UPRISING BY ASSIGNING AGENTS CHARGED WITH A SPECIAL MISSION. THEIR JOB WILL BE TO SET UP SPECIAL GROUPS WHICH MUST BE USED TO INSTIGATE EITHER VIOLENT OR NON-VIOLENT ACTIONS, DEPENDING ON THE SITUATION'S GRAVITY. IN THOSE CASES WHERE THE INFILTRATION OF SUCH AGENTS INTO THE UPRISING'S LEADERSHIP CANNOT BE EFFECTED SUCCESSFULLY, THE ABOVE-MENTIONED OBJECTIVES CAN BE REACHED BY MAKING USE OF ULTRA-LEFTWING ORGANIZATIONS...."

THESE INSTRUCTIONS CAN BE FOUND IN POINT 11 OF THE SO-CALLED "WESTMORELAND MEMORANDUM," DATING FROM 18 MARCH 1970. AT THE TIME, WESTMORELAND WAS GENERAL AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE U.S. ARMY, AND HIS DIRECTIONS SEEM EVEN MORE INTERESTING IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN BELGIUM IN THE 1980'S.

WESTMORELAND SUBHEAD

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE "WESTMORELAND MEMORANDUM" IS NOT AT ALL CONTESTED BY SEVERAL HIGH-RANKING U.S. ARMY AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS. OTHERS, HOWEVER, CATEGORICALLY DENY ITS EXISTENCE: THEY CLAIM THAT IT IS IN FACT A MEMORANDUM WHICH WAS SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE WEST BY SOVIET SECRET SERVICES UNDER GENERAL WESTMORELAND'S NAME.

NEVERTHELESS THE BELGIAN SENATE'S SPECIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY WHICH INVESTIGATED THE EXISTENCE OF THE SECRET INTERNATIONAL INTELLIGENCE NETWORK -- THE SO-CALLED GLADIO COMMISSION -- ALSO FOUND THE MEMORANDUM TO BE INTERESTING ENOUGH TO QUOTE IT EXTENSIVELY IN ITS REPORT, IN SPITE OF THE DOUBTS REGARDING ITS AUTHENTICITY.

THE MEMORANDUM ALSO EMPHASIZES THE ROLE WHICH CAN BE PLAYED BY U.S. NATIONALS ABROAD. THIS STRATEGY IS ALSO CONFIRMED BY FORMER CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM COLBY. IN HIS MEMOIRS HE DESCRIBES HOW HE SET UP SPECIAL NETWORKS IN EUROPE ON BEHALF OF THE U.S. "OFFICE OF POLICY COORDINATION." FOR THIS PURPOSE COLBY USED AMERICANS RESIDING IN EUROPE, AND THESE AMERICANS IN TURN RECRUITED RESIDENTS OF THE RELEVANT COUNTRY.

WERE THERE ANY OTHER PRO-AMERICAN SECRET ACTION AND INTELLIGENCE GROUPS IN OUR COUNTRY, ASIDE FROM THE "OFFICIAL" STAY BEHINDS, AS THE SECRET NETWORK KNOWN AS "GLADIO" IN ITALY WAS CALLED IN BELGIUM?

THE SENATE'S SPECIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY DECIDED THAT THIS POSSIBILITY WAS NOT TO BE RULED OUT, SINCE DOCUMENTS FROM THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT REVEALED THAT PARALLEL NETWORKS HAD BEEN SET UP IN EUROPE. BUT HAVE THEY BEEN SET UP IN BELGIUM, TOO?

PARALLEL NETWORKS IN BELGIUM SUBHEAD

THE SENATORS HEARD THE STATEMENT OF A MAN WHO PREFERRED TO STAY ANONYMOUS. HE HAD REGULAR PROFESSIONAL CONTACTS WITH PEOPLE FROM SHAPE SUPREME HEADQUARTERS OF THE ALLIED POWERS IN EUROPE AT CASTEAU, AND WAS APPROACHED BY ONE OF THEM IN 1981.

THIS PERSON REQUESTED THE MAN TO PASS ON A FEW NAMES OF FRIENDS

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HE CONSIDERED TO BE SO PRO-AMERICAN THAT THEY WOULD EVEN PLAY A "PATRIOTIC" ROLE IN TIMES OF WAR. FOR HIS PERSONAL SAFETY THE MAN WOULD GET A WEAPON, A COLT 45.

THE RECRUITER WAS CONVINCED THAT IN CASE OF A SOVIET INVASION BELGIUM WOULD NOT BE CAPABLE OF DEFENDING ITS TERRITORY. THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT WAS NOT TO BE TRUSTED. THAT IS WHY IT WAS NECESSARY TO SET UP A CLANDESTINE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT UNKNOWN TO THE BELGIAN STATE, AND IN WHICH THREE INDEPENDENT CELLS COULD BE DISTINGUISHED: THE INFORMATION CELL, THE ACTION CELL, AND THE COMMUNICATION CELL.

IN ITS FINAL REPORT THE SENATE COMMISSION WONDERS WHETHER THERE IS A POSSIBLE LINK BETWEEN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE STAY BEHINDS, AND THE HEAVY TERRORISM AND GANGSTERISM IN THE 1980'S. THE COMMISSION HAS ANSWERED THE QUESTION ITSELF: THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS, BUT THESE ARE MISSING MOSTLY BECAUSE THE VERY SUPERVISORS OF THESE STAY BEHINDS REFUSED TO REVEAL THE NAMES OF THE CITIZENS WHO WERE PART OF THE ORGANIZATION.

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INQUIRE=DOC36D

ITEM NO=00579196

ENVELOPE

CDSN = CFS174 MCN = 96312/09850 TOR = 963120729

RATUZYUW RUESDIA0390 3120728-UUUU--RUEALGX.

ZNR UUUUU

HEADER

R 070653Z NOV 96

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CONTROLS

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WARNING: ATTN NICOSIA FFMM

WARNING: TURKISH DIALY NEWS IS A MODERATE, INDEPENDENT DAILY

WARNING: TOPIC: CRIME, DOMESTIC, INTERNATIONAL

SERIAL: NC0711065396

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

BODY

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DATE: SEP 2002

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PAGE:0537

COUNTRY: TURKEY

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 3 -- REPORTED STATE-MAFIA RELATIONS DETAILED

SOURCE: ANKARA TURKISH DAILY NEWS IN ENGLISH 6 NOV 96

TEXT:

REPORT BY HAKAN ASLANELI AND ZAFER F. YORUK: "'TRAFFIC MONSTER'
REVEALS STATE-MAFIA RELATIONS"--TDN HEADLINE; RECEIVED VIA INTERNET

FBIS TRANSCRIBED TEXT ISTANBUL -- THE INFAMOUS "TRAFFIC MONSTER" OF TURKEY, WHICH WE BLAME FOR TENS OF VICTIMS OF TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS ON TURKEY'S HIGHWAYS DAILY, HELPED THIS TIME TO REVEAL THE ALLEGED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TOP-RANKS OF TURKEY'S STATE STRUCTURE, THE MAFIA AND THE ULTRA RIGHT-WING ULKUCU (THE ARMED YOUTH WING OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT PARTY MHP).

FOLLOWING A ROAD ACCIDENT ON SUNDAY 3 NOVEMBER AFTERNOON NEAR SUSURLUK, BALIKESIR, A TRUE PATH PARTY (DYP) PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTY, A POLICE CHIEF AND AN EXTREMIST RIGHTWING CRIMINAL WHO HAS BEEN SOUGHT FOR 18 YEARS BY THE SECURITY FORCES WERE FOUND IN THE SAME CAR. THE RIGHTWING CRIMINAL, ABDULLAH CATLI, AND THE FORMER DEPUTY SECURITY CHAIRMAN OF ISTANBUL, HUSEYIN KOCADAG, DIED IN THE ACCIDENT ALONG WITH AN LITTLE HERALDED WOMAN, GONCA UZ, WHO IS KNOWN FOR HER AFFAIRS WITH CHARACTERS FROM CRIMINAL UNDERWORLD. THE FOURTH PERSON IN THE CAR, SEDAT BUCAK, DYP URFA DEPUTY AND THE HEAD OF BUCAK TRIBE, THE TRIBE THAT FILLS MANY OF THE RANKS OF THE PARAMILITARY FORCES IN THE SOUTHEAST KNOWN AS "VILLAGE GUARDS", SURVIVED THE ACCIDENT WITH A FRACTURED SKULL AND A BROKEN LEG.

IN THE BOOT OF THE WRECKED MERCEDES, FIVE PISTOLS OF DIFFERENT TYPES AND SIZES, TWO MP-5 MACHINE GUNS, SILENCERS FOR THESE WEAPONS AND TWO LISTENING DEVICES WERE FOUND. ALSO IN THE WRECKAGE, A GREEN PASSPORT AND A NUMBER OF POLICE ID CARDS WERE DISCOVERED. AN ID CARD IN THE NAME OF MEHMET OZBAY WHICH HAD BEEN ALLEGED PREVIOUSLY THAT THE ULKUCU MURDERER ABDULLAH CATLI WAS USING WAS ALSO FOUND BY THE POLICE. IT IS ALLEGED THAT THE GREEN PASSPORT, NORMALLY GIVEN TO TOP STATE OFFICIALS, WAS ALSO IN CATLI'S POSSESSION.

IT HAS BEEN ALLEGED THAT THE ONLY FEMALE VICTIM OF THE ACCIDENT, GONCA UZ, THE GIRLFRIEND OF CATLI, WAS INVOLVED IN THE SECURITY SERVICE (MIT) BUT THERE HAS NO OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION OF THIS SO FAR. IT HAS ALSO BEEN LEARNT THAT BUCAK, WHEN BEING TAKEN TO BALIKESIR HOSPITAL AFTER THE INCIDENT TALKED ABOUT A WHITE BAG CONTAINING TL 10 BILLION AND THAT UPON THIS BEING SAID MEMBERS OF THE BUCAK TRIBE WHO CAME TO THE INCIDENT SCENE TOOK THE BAG AWAY FROM THE CAR.

AGAR TRIES TO COVER-UP SUBHEAD

THE GOVERNMENT HAS SO FAR BEEN SILENT OVER THE INCIDENT BUT AN OFFICIAL EXPLANATION IS EXPECTED AS THE TDN TURKISH DAILY NEWS GOES TO PRINT. THE UNDERMINING APPROACH OF THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR, MEHMET AGAR, WHO HAS BEEN THE FOCUS OF THE PRESS ON MONDAY 4 NOVEMBER ONLY HELPED TO RAISE MORE SUSPICIONS REGARDING THE INCIDENT. AGAR AT FIRST CLAIMED THAT ABDULLAH CATLI WAS NOT IN THE CAR. FOLLOWING THE PROOF THAT CATLI WAS AMONG THE VICTIMS, HE SHIFTED HIS POSITION TO MAKE ANOTHER UNTRUE CLAIM -- THAT KOCADAG

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AND BUCAK WERE TAKING CATLI TO ISTANBUL TO HAND OVER TO SECURITY FORCES.

WHEN IT WAS ASKED HIM WHETHER OR NOT THERE WILL BE AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE INCIDENT, AGAR SAID THAT THIS WAS AN ORDINARY TRAFFIC ACCIDENT AND THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES WOULD INVESTIGATE IT ACCORDING TO THE TRAFFIC PROCEDURES. HE CLAIMED "THERE IS NOTHING SPECIAL" IN THE INCIDENT. BUT LATER ON MONDAY, IT WAS BEEN REVEALED THAT ALL THE FOUR VICTIMS OF THE INCIDENT HAD STAYED IN THE SAME HOTEL IN KUSADASI FOR THREE DAYS BEFORE SETTING OFF FOR ISTANBUL. IN LIGHT OF THE NEW INFORMATION AGAR HAD TO GIVE UP HIS EARLIER ATTEMPTS TO COVER UP AND SAY THAT BUCAK SHOULD SPEAK.

THE OBVIOUS ATTEMPTS BY THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR TO UNDERMINE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ROAD ACCIDENT WHICH SYMBOLIZES THE WEB OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SECURITY FORCES, THE ULKUCU MAFIA, THE SPECIAL FORCES AND THE PARAMILITARY TROOPS (VILLAGE GUARDS) IN THE SOUTHEAST, RAISES THE QUESTION AS TO WHAT AGAR WAS ATTEMPTING TO COVER UP IN HIS STATEMENTS.

THE POSSIBLE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION CAME FROM DOGU PERINCEK, THE LEADER OF THE LEFTWING WORKERS PARTY (IP), IN A PRESS CONFERENCE ON MONDAY WHEN HE CLAIMED THAT THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TANSU CILLER WERE AT THE HEAD OF A 700 STRONG CONSPIRATIVE ORGANIZATION CONSISTING OF THE MEMBERS OF SECURITY FORCES, INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (MIT), THE ULKUCU MAFIA AND THE SPECIAL FORCES.

PERINCEK SAID THAT HE HAD PREPARED A FILE CONTAINING THE PROOF OF HIS ALLEGATIONS AND SENT IT TO PRESIDENT DEMIREL AND THE SPEAKER OF THE PARLIAMENT DURING THE PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATION IN JUNE THIS YEAR INTO THE ALLEGED MISUSE OF FUNDS BY MRS. CILLER.

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/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: NC0711065396 ANKARA TURKISH DAILY NEWS ENGLISH 6 NOV///BY
MRS. CILLER.

TEXT:

FBIS TRANSCRIBED TEXT PERINCEK SAID THAT ALL THE VICTIMS OF SUNDAY'S ROAD ACCIDENT WERE THE MEMBERS OF THIS ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION. ACCORDING TO HIM, CATLI WAS THE LEADER OF THE ULKUCU MAFIA AND THE KEY PERSON OF CILLER'S SPECIAL CRIME RING.

DOING THE STATE'S DIRTY WORK? SUBHEAD

SUNDAY'S ROAD ACCIDENT IS THE FOURTH MAJOR INCIDENT WHICH SYMBOLIZES THE MAFIA-STATE RELATIONS IN RECENT YEARS. THE FIRST OF THESE INCIDENTS IS THE "CIVANGATE" SCANDAL WHICH BEGAN WITH THE ARMED ATTACK ON THE FORMER MANAGER OF EMLAKBANK, ENGIN CIVAN, IN 1994 OVER A MATTER OF UNPAID LOANS AND SERVICES NOT RENDERED AND CONTINUED WITH A SERIES OF TRIALS AND MURDERS WHICH CONCLUDED WITH THE ASSASSINATION OF MAFIA BOSS TEVFIK AGANSOY IN SEPTEMBER THIS YEAR. THE MOST IMPORTANT ANGLE OF THIS SCANDAL WAS THE ALLEGED

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INVOLVEMENT OF THE FAMILY OF THE DECEASED PRESIDENT TURGUT OZAL IN THE AFFAIR.

THE SECOND INCIDENT WAS THE ASSASSINATION OF AGANSOY. AGANSOY, WHO WAS THE HITMAN OF ONE OF THE ULKUCU MAFIA LEADERS, ALAATTIN CAKICI, HAD MADE STATEMENTS CLAIMING THE INVOLVEMENT OF OZAL FAMILY IN THE CIVANGATE SCANDAL WHICH LED TO A WAR OF WORDS BETWEEN HIMSELF AND CAKICI. THE DUEL WAS CONCLUDED IN SEPTEMBER THIS YEAR IN BEBEK, ISTANBUL WITH AGANSOY'S ASSASSINATION BUT THE HITMAN'S DEATH ONLY TO LEAD MORE SCANDALOUS QUESTION MARKS. TWO SPECIAL PROTECTION OFFICERS OF DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER CILLER, WHO WERE WITH AGANSOY DURING THE INCIDENT WERE ALSO KILLED IN THE SHOOTING. THEIR PRESENCE HAS NOT BEEN EXPLAINED.

THE THIRD INCIDENT IS THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOYLEMEZ BROTHERS MAFIA GANG THIS SUMMER. THE GANG WAS MAINLY MADE UP OF POLICE AND ARMY OFFICERS. THE HEAD OF THE GANG IS HELICOPTER OFFICER FAYSAL SOYLEMEZ, AND AMONG THE TOP OFFICIALS WHOSE INVOLVEMENT IN THE GANG ARE THE FORMER DEPUTY CHIEF OF ISTANBUL POLICE, DENIZ GOKCETIN, AND THE FORMER HEAD OF ISTANBUL SECURITY BRANCH, SEDAT DEMIR.

THE TRAFFIC ACCIDENT ON SUNDAY IS THE FOURTH INCIDENT WHICH "ACCIDENTALLY" BROUGHT TOGETHER ALL OF THESE FORMER INCIDENTS.

ABDULLAH CATLI IS ONE OF THE TOP NAMES IN THE ULTRA RIGHT-WING TERRORISM OF THE "ULKUCU" MILITANTS OF THE 1970S; SO WERE ALAATTIN CAKICI AND TEVFIK AGANSOY. ALL THESE THREE NAMES WERE ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN MIT OPERATIONS IN THE 1980S, INCLUDING THE RAID ON THE CAMP OF THE ARMENIAN GUERRILLA GROUP ASALA ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA IN BEIRUT IN 1982. IT IS EVEN ALLEGED THAT ALTHOUGH OFFICIALLY "WANTED," CATLI WAS ONE OF THE ORGANIZERS OF THE SPECIAL FORCES FORMED TO BE DEPLOYED IN THE KURDISH CONFLICT IN SOUTHEASTERN TURKEY.

THE SOYLEMEZ BROTHERS GANG, ON THE OTHER HAND, WERE CAUGHT WITH PLANS TO RAID THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE BUCAK CLAN IN SIVEREK, URFA, THE HEAD OF WHICH IS THE DYP MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (MP) SEDAT BUCAK, THE ONLY SURVIVOR OF SUNDAY'S CAR CRASH. THE BLOOD FEUD BETWEEN THE BUCAKS AND THE SOYLEMEZ GANG IS ALLEGEDLY BASED ON THE CONTROL OF ARMS AND DRUGS TRAFFICKING IN TURKEY AND PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTH EAST.

SUPER-PROSECUTOR TO CLEAN UP? SUBHEAD

ON A TV SHOW ON MONDAY, THE FORMER CHAIRMAN OF ISTANBUL BAR ASSOCIATION, THE LAWYER TURGUT KAZAN, POINTED OUT THE NEED FOR AN INVESTIGATION IN DEPTH INTO THE INCIDENT. KAZAN SAID THAT AN ORDINARY INVESTIGATION, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE A PROSECUTOR WHO IS TO BE ASSIGNED BY THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND TO BE ASSISTED BY THE POLICE, WOULD NOT TO BE TRUSTED GIVEN THE LINKS BETWEEN THE MAFIA, POLITICIANS AND THE POLICE FORCE. IN TUESDAY'S 5 NOVEMBER NEWSPAPERS, HEADLINES DREW ATTENTION TO THE PARALLELS BETWEEN TURKEY'S CASE AND THE ITALIAN SITUATION IN RECENT YEARS AND THE NEED FOR THE EMERGENCE OF A "DI PIETRO" IN TURKEY.

A FORMER TOP MIT OFFICER, PROFESSOR MAHIR KAYNAK, RULED OUT IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE TDN ANY OPTIMISM TO EMERGE FROM SUNDAY'S CONTROVERSIAL ACCIDENT.

"THERE ARE NOT SUFFICIENT CIRCUMSTANCES TO GO OVER THIS

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INCIDENT," HE SAID. "NO OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT INTO THE SECRETE ILLEGAL DEALINGS WITHIN THE STATE SO FAR, ALTHOUGH EVERYONE IN THE STREET IS TALKING ABOUT THEM. ONLY AN ACCIDENT, A COINCIDENCE, COULD BRING THESE CONSPIRACIES ONTO THE OFFICIAL AGENDA. BUT I DO NOT EXPECT AN INVESTIGATION TO GO FAR ENOUGH BECAUSE THERE ARE NO INDEPENDENT POWERS ABLE TO DO THIS. IN ITALY, GLADIO COLLAPSED WITH THE INTERVENTION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, NOT OF THE ITALIANS. THERE ARE NO SUCH CONDITIONS IN TURKEY. IF A SUPER-PROSECUTOR LIKE DI PIETRO CAME FORWARD IN TURKEY, TOMORROW HE WOULD BE DRAGGED THROUGH TAKSIM SQUARE AS AN ENEMY OF THE NATION."

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 003 *****/

REF: NC0711065396 ANKARA TURKISH DAILY NEWS ENGLISH 6 NOV//OF
THE NATION."

TEXT:

FBIS TRANSCRIBED TEXT THE VICTIMS ARE MOURNED SUBHEAD
GONCA UZ'S FUNERAL WAS HELD ON MONDAY IN IZMIR WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HER FAMILY. HUSEYIN KOCADAG'S BODY WAS BROUGHT TO ISTANBUL ON MONDAY, WHERE OFFICIAL CEREMONIES WERE HELD AT THE SECURITY HEADQUARTERS AND THE ALEVI TEMPLE AT ZINCIRLIKUYU WHERE HIS FAMILY AND ACQUAINTANCES TOOK PART. KOCADAG WAS BURIED IN ANKARA ON TUESDAY WITH AN ADDITIONAL OFFICIAL CEREMONY.

ABDULLAH CATLI'S BODY WAS TAKEN AFTER THE ACCIDENT TO HIS HOMETOWN OF NEVSEHIR BY A 100 CAR CONVOY. CATLI'S COFFIN WAS COVERED WITH A TURKISH FLAG DURING HIS FUNERAL ON TUESDAY, WHICH WAS PARTICIPATED IN BY HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE. THE WREATHS FROM THE HEADS OF THE ULKUCU MAFIA, CEVDET BAYDAR, IBRAHIM GIVEN AND KURSAT YILMAZ, WERE NOTED IN THE FUNERAL. THE RECENTLY CAUGHT ULKUCU HITMAN WHOSE NAME WAS INVOLVED IN THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON THE POPE BY MEHMET ALI AGCA IN 1981, ALSO SENT A WREATH TO THE FUNERAL. THE LEADER OF THE GREATER UNITY PARTY (BBP), MUHSIN YAZICIOGLU MP, WAS ONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE FUNERAL. YAZICIOGLU SAID: "MY FRIENDSHIP WITH ABDULLAH TRACES BACK 18 YEARS FROM THE ULKU HEARTHS."

"I DO NOT KNOW IF A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICIANS AND THE MAFIA EXISTS OR NOT... BUT IF THERE WAS SUCH A RELATIONSHIP, I WOULD BE AMAZED," SAID THE TOURISM MINISTER, BAHATTIN YUCEL, ON TUESDAY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN ISTANBUL. YUCEL WILL PROBABLY BE THE LAST PERSON TO FIND OUT ABOUT THESE RELATIONS, SINCE ALL THE COFFEE BARS IN ISTANBUL AND AROUND THE COUNTRY HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT THIS ISSUE SINCE THE BREAKING OF THE NEWS ABOUT THE ACCIDENT.

THE WHOLE AFFAIR CAN BE WELL ILLUSTRATED BY A STORY TOLD BY A MACEDONIAN ARTIST, SUZANNA MILESVKA. SHE RECALLS HOW AT AN ARTS EXHIBITION HELD IN A MONASTERY IN MACEDONIA CONSISTING OF INSTALLATION WORKS AND PAINTINGS, ONE OF THE WORKS SHOWED AN ARCHBISHOP, A DRUG DEALER AND A MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TOGETHER. ALL THE THREE CHARACTERS WERE INVITED TO THE OPENING OF THE EXHIBITION. SUZANNA WAS HOLDING THE ARCHBISHOP'S ARM HELPING THE OLD MAN TO WALK AROUND. WHEN THEY CAME IN FRONT OF THE SAID PIECE, THE ARCHBISHOP SAID: "WHAT BAD COMPANY FOR AN ARCHBISHOP!"

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UPON WHICH SUZANNA ASKED, "YOU MEAN THE DRUG DEALER?" AND THE
ARCHBISHOP REPLIED: "NO, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS!"

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ITEM NO=00201869

ENVELOPE

CDSN = CFS043 MCN = 96354/20213 TOR = 963541628
RATUZYUW RUESDIA1311 3541626-UUUU--RUEALGX.
ZNR UUUUU ZYN

HEADER

R 191626Z DEC 96
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WARNING: ATTN NICOSIA FFMM

WARNING: TOPIC: ECONOMIC, INTERNATIONAL, POLITICAL

SERIAL: NC1912162696

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

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APPROVED FOR RELEASE
DATE: SEP 2002

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PAGE:0415

BODY

COUNTRY: TURKEY

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 2 -- REPORT LINKS ASIL NADIR WITH CATLI GANGSOURCE: ISTANBUL AYDINLIK IN TURKISH 15 DEC 96 P 10--MARXIST
WEEKLY

TEXT:

REPORT BY HIKMET CICEK

FBIS TRANSLATED TEXT THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH IS A COLLECTION OF HEADINGS CONTAINED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REPORT, WHICH REFERS THROUGHOUT TO WHAT IS, ALLEGEDLY, A SECRET ORGANIZATION ASSOCIATED WITH TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER TANSU CILLER THE ORGANIZATION'S CYPRUS NORTHERN CYPRUS CONNECTION. CATLI ORGANIZED ASIL NADIR'S GETAWAY. ABDULLAH CATLI HEADED THE ORGANIZATION, WHICH HELPED ASIL NADIR TO ESCAPE BRITAIN TO CYPRUS. THE "SPECIAL BUREAU" A SECRET BODY ALLEGEDLY SET UP BY CILLER BY JOINING SOME INTELLIGENCE AND MAFIA FORCES IS USING CYPRUS FOR NARCOTICS TRADE AND MONEY LAUNDERING. NORTH CYPRUS IS GLADIO'S A SECRET ORGANIZATION ALLEGEDLY SET UP BY NATO IN MEMBER COUNTRIES DURING THE COLD WAR TO FIGHT COMMUNISM BASE; IT IS ALSO THE CENTER OF THE IDEALIST MAFIA. A MINISTER INTERVENED FOR AYSEGUL NADIR DETAINED RED-HANDED WHILE SMUGGLING ANTIQUES AS PUBLISHED.

ASIL NADIR'S LAWYER M.A. AS PUBLISHED CAME TO TURKEY A FEW TIMES LAST MONTH ON A PRIVATE PLANE. THE PLANE LANDED AT ANKARA'S ESENBOGA AIRPORT. THE AIRPORT HANGAR BELONGING TO CEYLANLAR WAS USED TO TAKE ATTENTION AWAY FROM THE PLANE. NADIR'S LAWYER HELD A SECRET PRIVATE MEETING WITH OZER AND THE CILLERS. THE PRESS WAS NOT INFORMED OF THE MEETINGS.

THERE WAS A "LANDING OF BANKS" IN CYPRUS IN 1993. MANY TURKISH "BUSINESSMEN," AMONG THEM PEOPLE BARRED FROM ESTABLISHING BANKS IN TURKEY, ENDED UP OWNING BANKS IN CYPRUS. AT THE TIME THE LEADER OF NEW CYPRUS PARTY, ALPAY DURDURAN, SAID THAT CYPRUS HAD BECOME "AN INN WHERE EVERYBODY ENTERS AS HE PLEASES." THE MONEY FROM TURKEY OBTAINED BY TAX EVASION OR FROM UNKNOWN SOURCES WAS LAUNDERED THROUGH THESE BANKS. THE CYPRIOTS COMPLAINED THAT "WE HAD BECOME THE SICILY OF TURKEY."

ASIL NADIR ESCAPED FROM BRITAIN IN MAY OF 1993. NADIR, WHO WAS FORCED TO PRESENT HIMSELF TO THE POLICE EVERY SUNDAY AND WHO WAS BARRED FROM LEAVING BRITAIN UNTIL THE CONCLUSION OF A COURT CASE, DISAPPEARED ON SUNDAY 3 MAY AFTER PRESENTING HIMSELF TO THE POLICE FOR A LAST TIME. HE TOOK REFUGE IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS TRNC.

NADIR'S ESCAPE WAS PLANNED. ALL THE PREPARATIONS WERE MADE. PRESIDENT TURGUT OZAL DIED ON 17 APRIL 1993 JUST WHEN THE ORDER TO START THE OPERATION WAS BEING AWAITED. UPON HIS DEATH THE ESCAPE WAS POSTPONED. "WE ARE NOW DONE FOR" SUBHEAD

TURMOIL BROKE OUT IN CYPRUS AFTER NADIR TOOK SHELTER ON THE ISLAND. TRNC PRESIDENT RAUF DENKTAS' SON SERDAR DENKTAS'

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NEWSPAPER VATAN REPORTED NADIR'S ESCAPE TO CYPRUS UNDER THE HEADLINE: "NOW WE ARE DONE FOR." THEN PRIME MINISTER DERSIS EROGLU AND HIS SUPPORTERS SAW THE ESCAPE AS A "VICTORY" AND GAVE SUPPORT TO NADIR.

DERVIS EROGLU IS AN INTERESTING MAN. IT IS BEING CLAIMED THAT EROGLU IS A PARTNER OF GAZIANTEP BUSINESSMAN MEHMET ALI YAPRAK, WHO IS THE "WORLD'S LARGEST COPTAGON AS PUBLISHED PRODUCER." THERE ARE ALSO CLAIMS THAT YAPRAK IS PRODUCING HIS GOODS IN CYPRUS. YAPRAK WAS ABDUCTED IN FRONT OF HIS HOUSE IN GAZIANTEP BY ABDULLAH CATLI AN IDEALIST HEARTH ASSOCIATION MEMBER AND ALLEGED MAFIA-STATE HITMAN WHO DIED TOGETHER WITH A FORMER POLICE CHIEF IN A CAR ACCIDENT IN SUSURLUK 40 DAYS AGO AND POLICEMEN FROM A SPECIAL OPERATION TEAM.

DESPITE GOING BANKRUPT IN BRITAIN, ASIL NADIR WAS A BILLIONAIRE ON HIS RETURN TO THE ISLAND. NADIR'S TRUMP CARD WAS HIS WEALTH IN CAYMAN ISLANDS BANKS. IT WAS RUMORED AT THE TIME THAT THIS WEALTH AMOUNTED TO 25 MILLION POUNDS STERLING. THE SOUTH AMERICAN CAYMAN ISLANDS WERE BEING USED TO LAUNDER MONEY AND HIDE MONEY OBTAINED ILLEGALLY. LATER THE CILLER FAMILY TOO STARTED SHOWING INTEREST IN THESE ISLANDS.

WHEN ASIL NADIR WANTED TO INVEST IN TURKEY, MIT THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION SENT A ONE-WORD REPORT TO THE STATE PLANNING COMMITTEE: "OBJECTIONABLE."

NADIR WAS SPIRITED AWAY BY CATLI'S GANG SUBHEAD

ABDULLAH CATLI AND HIS TEAM PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE ESCAPE OF ASIL NADIR. IN ITS 24 MAY 1993 ISSUE AYDINLIK REPORTED THAT THE ORGANIZATION THAT HELPED NADIR TO ESCAPE WAS MADE UP OF MEMBERS OF THE IDEALIST MAFIA WITH LINKS TO THE CIA.

THE ESCAPE WAS ORGANIZED IN GERMANY. THE PLANE AND THE PILOT WERE FOUND IN GERMANY. ENVER ALTAYLI SUPERVISED THE ORGANIZATION. THE PLANE HIRED FOR NADIR'S ESCAPE WAS ARRANGED BY ALTAYLI, WHO WAS THE MHP'S NATIONALIST MOVEMENT PARTY CHIEF INSPECTOR IN GERMANY PRIOR TO THE 12 SEPTEMBER 1980 COUP. THE TURKISH STATE'S INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS KNOW THAT ALTAYLI HAS BEEN COOPERATING WITH THE CIA FOR MANY YEARS AND CARRIES OUT ACTIVITIES IN THE TURKIC REPUBLICS ON BEHALF OF THE CIA.

AND RIFAT YILDIRIM, ONE OF THE KEY PERSONS IN THE ESCAPE, WAS THE FAVORITE HITMAN IN CATLI'S TEAM PRIOR TO THE 12 SEPTEMBER COUP. YILDIRIM, WHO MURDERED ASSISTANT PROFESSOR BEDRETTIN COMERT ON 11 JULY 1977, PASSED HIMSELF OFF AS A MILITANT OF THE ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE ENSLAVED TURKS ESIR TURKLERI KURTARMA ORDUSU (ETKO) WHEN HE WAS CAPTURED A YEAR LATER. YILDIRIM WAS SPIRITED AWAY FROM THE ANKARA SECURITY DIRECTORATE AND WENT TO GERMANY AFTER THE 12 SEPTEMBER COUP. HE WAS CAPTURED IN FRANKFURT ON CHARGES OF HEROIN SMUGGLING. IN HIS DEPOSITION AT THE FRANKFURT PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE HE ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS ENGAGED IN NARCOTIC BUSINESS "IN THE NAME OF THE IDEALIST ORGANIZATIONS." HE WAS SENTENCED TO SEVEN YEARS, THE HEAVIEST PENALTY UNDER GERMAN LAW. YILDIRIM WAS LOOKED AFTER AT THE PRISON BY CATLI AND ALTAYLI. JUST LIKE CATLI, YILDIRIM TOO HAS MURKY RELATIONS WITH AZERBAIJAN.

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THESE WERE NOT THE ONLY PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THE GETAWAY OF ASIL NADIR. SUCH OLD FORMER MHP MURDER SUSPECTS AS YILDIRIM NIHAAT BARLAS, TAYFUN INER, MIKAIL GOLELI AND CELAL FROM BINGOL WERE ALSO IN THE TEAM THAT WAS TO PROTECT NADIR DURING THE GETAWAY. MOST OF THE MHP PEOPLE MENTIONED HERE WERE KNOWN TO BE MEMBERS OF THE ABIDINPASA IDEALIST HEARTH ASSOCIATION, WHICH WAS ONE OF THE BLOODIEST GANGS IN ANKARA BEFORE THE 1980 COUP. THE GANG WAS HEADED BY CATLI.

THE SWISS NARCOTICS PROSECUTOR ISSUED AN INTERNATIONAL DETENTION WARRANT AGAINST CATLI FOR BRINGING IN 4 KG OF HEROIN TO SWITZERLAND ON 7 SEPTEMBER 1984. CATLI WAS DETAINED IN ARDENNES STREET IN PARIS ON 24 OCTOBER 1984. AGAIN HEROIN WAS FOUND ON HIM. HE WAS SENTENCED TO SEVEN YEARS IN PRISON IN PARIS ON 27 JANUARY 1986 AND IN BASEL ON 20 JULY 1989. CATLI WAS SPIRITED AWAY FROM BOSTADEL PRISON ON 21 MARCH 1990.

CATLI TOOK OVER THE LEADERSHIP OF HIS GANG AFTER ESCAPING PRISON. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN ASIL NADIR, WHO GIVES MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL SUPPORT TO THE IDEALISTS IN CYPRUS, AND CATLI GREW CLOSER.

ANTIQUE-LOVER AYSEGUL! SUBHEAD

AYSEGUL NADIR IS AS FAMOUS AS ASIL NADIR. AYSEGUL NADIR IS AS CLOSE TO FORMER U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER AS TO BE HIS "ADVISER ON ANTIQUES." AYSEGUL NADIR WAS CAUGHT WHILE SMUGGLING ANTIQUES AND WAS INTERROGATED BY THE THEN DIRECTOR OF THE ISTANBUL FINANCIAL POLICE, SALIH GUNGOR. ASIL NADIR INTERVENED AND SACRIFICED \$300,000. THERE ARE CLAIMS THAT THE DOLLARS WERE GIVEN TO A FORMER MINISTER WHO IS NOW IN GREAT TROUBLE.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: NC1912162696 ISTANBUL AYDINLIK IN TURKISH 15 DEC 96 P
10--MARXIST ///IN GREAT TROUBLE.

TEXT:

FBIS TRANSLATED TEXT THE INTERNATIONALLY RENOWNED BELLYDANCER YONCA YUCEL BECAME FAMOUS WITH THE FIRST MIT REPORT. THE REPORT SAID THAT YUCEL WAS THE MISTRESS OF THEN DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE ISTANBUL SECURITY DIRECTORATE, MEHMET AGAR. NOW YUCEL IS IN LONDON AND LIVES IN A HOUSE GIVEN TO HER AS A GIFT BY ASIL NADIR!

CATLI'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE MURDER OF ADALI SUBHEAD

KUTLU ADALI WAS SHOT AND KILLED ON THE NIGHT OF 6 JULY IN FRONT OF HIS HOUSE IN THE TRNC CAPITAL OF NICOSIA. ADALI WAS A COLUMNIST IN THE REPUBLICAN TURKISH PARTY'S CTP ORGAN YENI DUZEN. THOUSANDS TOOK PART IN KUTLU ADALI'S FUNERAL. TWENTY TRADE UNIONS STAGED STRIKES AND BUSINESSES CLOSED FOR ADALI.

THE TURKISH REVENGE BRIGADE TURK INTIKAM TUGAY, TIT CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MURDER. AN UNIDENTIFIED PERSON WHO CALLED KIBRIS SAID: "WE KILLED KUTLU ADALI. THE TURKISH REVENGE BRIGADE." BEFORE THE 1980 COUP THE TIT WAS ONE OF THE ILLEGAL

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ORGANIZATIONS HARBORING SUCH EXTREMIST RIGHTIST MURDER GANGS AS THE ETKO OF RIFAT YILDIRM WHO WAS CATLI'S RIGHTHAND MAN. THE TRNC POLICE ARE NOW INVESTIGATING IF CATLI HAD A ROLE IN THE MURDER OF ADALI.

IN THE PAST YEAR THERE HAS BEEN AN UNPRECEDENTED BOMBING CAMPAIGN IN CYPRUS. BUILDINGS BELONGING TO THE TWO COALITION PARTNERS WERE BOMBED.

IN A STATEMENT TO AYDINLIK CTP GENERAL SECRETARY FERDI SABIT SUER SAID: "BOMBS WERE PLACED IN OUR PARTY BUILDING AND IN THE BUILDINGS OF OUR GOVERNMENT PARTNER. THE SECRET FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS HAVE RECENTLY STARTED PUBLISHING FOUNDATION STATEMENTS. THE PERPETRATORS OF THE BOMBING INCIDENTS HAVE NOT BEEN FOUND. EVENTUALLY, IMPORTANT WRITER KUTLU ADALI, WHO WAS VERY SENSITIVE OVER THIS ISSUE AND CRITICIZED THEM, WAS MURDERED BY THESE ORGANIZATIONS. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND THE PERPETRATORS OF ANY CRIME ON SUCH A SMALL ISLAND AS CYPRUS, WHICH IS TEEMING WITH THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS AND POLICEMEN. THIS IS VERY INTERESTING. THE TIT ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MURDER. I THINK THE TURKISH PUBLIC IS NO STRANGER TO THE TIT."

STRANGE COMPANY SUBHEAD

MANY WHO WANT TO BOOK A PLACE ON TRNC AIRLINES TO GO TO CYPRUS ARE TOLD: "WE HAVE NO SEATS." BUT THOSE WHO BOARD THE PLANE SEE THAT MORE THAN HALF OF IT IS EMPTY. WHEN ASKED WHY THE ANSWER IS GIVEN: "PARLIAMENTARIANS BOOK SEATS AND THEN DO NOT COME." ATTENTION IS BEING DRAWN TO SOME DEPUTIES WHO FREQUENTLY TRAVEL BY TRNC AIRLINES FROM ANKARA-ERCAN TYMBOU-YESILKOY-LONDON. THESE VISITS ARE CONSIDERED MEANINGFUL. THE TURKISH STATE'S NARCOTICS OFFICIALS ARE CLOSELY INTERESTED IN THESE TOURS.

THE TRNC AIRLINES ADMINISTRATION BOARD IS HEADED BY UMIT UTKU, A KNOWN FIGURE IN THE IDEALIST WORLD. THE CYPRIOTS ARE SOMEHOW NEVER ABLE TO FREE THEMSELVES OF UTKU. TURKISH AIRLINES HAS A SHARE IN TRNC AIRLINES. UTKU MAINTAINS HIS POSITION BY RELYING ON THIS SHARE. AND IT WAS TANSU CILLER WHO APPOINTED UMIT UTKU AS A MEMBER OF THE TURKISH AIRLINES ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD!

THE FINGERPRINTS OF THE "GLORIOUS" SUBHEAD

ABDULLAH CATLI, WHO USED THE PSEUDONYMS FERIDUN AKKUZU IN FRANCE AND HASAN KURTOGLU IN SWITZERLAND, WAS DETAINED AT ATATURK AIRPORT ON 26 FEBRUARY 1992. THIS TIME ROUND HE USED THE PSEUDONYM SAHIN EKLI. CATLI, WHO WAS DETAINED AND FINGERPRINTED FOR USING A FORGED PASSPORT, WAS RELEASED BY THE ISTANBUL SECURITY DIRECTORATE.

IN A WRITTEN STATEMENT ON FRIDAY 13 DECEMBER THE INTERIOR MINISTRY ANNOUNCED THAT ABDULLAH CATLI'S (SAHIN EKLI) FINGERPRINTS WERE FOUND ON THE MAGAZINE OF THE KLALASHNIKOV USED IN THE MURDER OF CASINO OWNER OMER LUTFI TOPAL. IT WAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT AN INVESTIGATION WILL BE OPENED AGAINST PERSONNEL WHO CAUSED THE DELAY BY NOT EXAMINING THE FINGERPRINTS ON THE GUN EARLIER. THE GUN USED IN THE MURDER AND POLICE OFFICERS ERCAN ERSOY, AYHAN CARKIN, AND OGUZ YORULMAZ, WHO WERE RELEASED AFTER BEING DETAINED FOR INVOLVEMENT IN THE MURDER OF TOPTAN, WERE HANDED OVER TO SPECIAL OPERATIONS DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS WHO CAME FROM ANKARA.

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THAT DEPARTMENT WAS HEADED BY IBRAHIM SAHIN.

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(ENDALL) 15 DEC

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INQUIRE=DOC37D
ITEM NO=00202804

ENVELOPE

CDSN = CFS407 MCN = 96354/22881 TOR = 963541754
RATUZYUW RUESDIA1315 3541753-UUUU--RUEALGX.
ZNR UUUUU ZYN

HEADER

R 191753Z DEC 96
FM FBIS NICOSIA CY
TO RUCWAAA/FBIS RESTON VA
RUCBAIC/AIC NORFOLK VA
RUDKIA/AMCONSUL CHIANG MAI
RUDKMB/FBIS LONDON UK//BBC//
RUDMONI/ONI WASHINGTON DC//2140//
RUDPMAX/FAISA FT BRAGG NC
RUDPWDC/DA AMHS WASHINGTON DC
RUEABND/DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMIN HQ WASHINGTON DC//POL//
RUEAIIS/STORAGE CENTER FBIS RESTON VA
RUEALGX/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC
RUEADADA/AFISA AMHS BOLLING AFB DC
RUEADADI/AFOSI IOC BOLLING AFB DC
RUEHAK/AMEMBASSY ANKARA
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//EUR/SE//
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR//
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//R//
RUEHIT/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
RUEHNC/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON DC
RUESDQ/FBIS TEL AVIV IS
RUETIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD
RUETITH/AFOSI 52 INVESTIGATIONS SQ ANKARA TU//CC//
RUFDFNEU/CDR USASETAF VICENZA IT//AESE-CMO//
RUFQBBA/US SURVEY SEC SHAPE BE
RUFTRWA/USAFE AOS RAMSTEIN AB GE
RUQNCTF/CJTF PROVIDE COMFORT INCIRLIK AB TU//C-2//
RUQNCTF/CJTF PROVIDE COMFORT INCIRLIK AB TU//POLAD//
RXQKSRF/CSRF ATHENS GR
ACCT FBNC-EDWK

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CONTROLS

UNCLAS 7Q

WARNING: ATTN NICOSIA FFMM

WARNING: TOPIC: DOMESTIC, MILITARY, POLITICAL

SERIAL: NC1912175396

BODY

PASS: ATTN SCHWENK

COUNTRY: TURKEY

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
DATE: SEP 2002

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SUBJ: MILITARY, POLITICIANS SAID DIFFERING OVER SUSURLUK CASE

SOURCE: ISTANBUL YENI SAFAK IN TURKISH 18 DEC 96 P 5 --
PRO-ISLAMIC DAILY, OFTEN CRITICAL OF REFAH (WELFARE PARTY)

TEXT:

FBIS TRANSLATED TEXT ISTANBUL -- WHILE THE PUBLIC DEBATE OVER CLAIMS OF A LINK AMONG THE "STATE, CLAN, AND GLADIO" GETS MORE COMPLICATED EACH DAY, IT SEEMS THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY ELITES ARE LOCKED IN A CONFLICT CONCERNING THE STATE'S SHADY DEALINGS. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE CIVILIAN ELITE, WHICH WANTS TO CONCEAL THE GLADIO-TYPE ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE LED BY THE FUGITIVE IDEALISTS SOUGHT SINCE THE 12 SEPTEMBER 1980 COUP AND BY SOME KURDISH CLAN CHIEFS IN THE SOUTHEAST AND WORKING UNDER FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER MEHMET AGAR, HAS BEEN UNABLE TO COVER UP THE SUSURLUK INCIDENT FACED WITH OPPOSITION FROM THE GENERAL STAFF IN PARTICULAR.

"THE SIGNATURE BELONGS TO AGAR" SUBHEAD

SPEAKING ON THE PROGRAM "SON DURAK" TERMINAL LAST WEEK DOGU PERINCEK, WHO DREW PUBLIC ATTENTION TO HIMSELF WHEN HE REVEALED A MIT NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION REPORT SHORTLY AFTER THE DEATH OF IDEALIST ABDULLAH CATLI, SAID: "I OBTAIN MOST OF THE DOCUMENTS FROM SOURCES CLOSE TO THE GENERAL STAFF. ALREADY, IF THE GENERAL STAFF WERE NOT INSISTENT, THE SUSURLUK INCIDENT WOULD HAVE BEEN COVERED UP LONG AGO." THE ARMY-CIVILIAN CLASH, WHICH CAME OUT INTO THE OPEN WITH THESE WORDS, HAS NOW REACHED A CLIMAX WITH GENDARMERIE INTELLIGENCE UNITS INSISTING ON PURSUING THE INFORMATION THAT REACHES THEM.

ATTENTION WAS DRAWN TO THE FACT THAT THE GENDARMERIE GENERAL COMMAND OFFICIALS MADE A SECOND ANNOUNCEMENT SAYING THAT THE SIGNATURE ON "THE GUN LICENSE" FOUND ON ABDULLAH CATLI BELONGED TO FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER MEHMET AGAR, WHO WAS FORCED TO RESIGN AFTER THE SUSURLUK INCIDENT.

THE GENDARMERIE GENERAL COMMAND OFFICIALS ARE EXPRESSING THE VIEW THAT "THE INVESTIGATION OF THE SIGNATURE TOOK A LONG TIME BECAUSE AGAR'S SIGNATURE IS OF A LINEAR TYPE AND IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO VERIFY SUCH SIGNATURES. HOWEVER, THE INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED AT THE GENDARMERIE INTELLIGENCE LABORATORY, WHICH POSSESSES WORLD CLASS TECHNOLOGY, SHOWS THAT THE SIGNATURE ON THE DOCUMENT BELONGS TO AGAR."

SOME INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS ARE SAYING THE FOLLOWING ABOUT THE MILITARY UNITS' REITERATION OF THEIR OLD VIEWS DESPITE EVERY OBJECTION FROM AGAR.

KARADAYI "WARNED" ERBAKAN AND CILLER SUBHEAD

"THE POLITICIANS WANT TO COVER UP THE INCIDENT BY SACRIFICING AGAR AND YAZICIOGLU RECENTLY SUSPENDED ISTANBUL POLICE CHIEF. BUT THE ARMY COULD NO LONGER ENDURE THE PICTURE OF THE EXISTING THREE-PART DIVISION INSIDE THE INTELLIGENCE UNITS. THE INFORMATION REACHING MIT AND JITEM THE GENDARMERIE INTELLIGENCE

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ORGANIZATION IS CONTRADICTORY. THERE IS A SERIOUS CONFLICT BETWEEN THE INTELLIGENCE UNITS. THAT IS WHY MANY HIGH-RANKING COMMANDERS, PRIMARILY CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF ISMAIL HAKKI KARADAYI, WANT TO GATHER THE INTELLIGENCE WORK UNDER ONE ROOF. KARADAYI WARNED CILLER AND ERBAKAN SHARPLY. UPON WHICH, ERBAKAN GATHERED THE MIT OFFICIALS AND ASKED FOR A DETAILED REPORT ON THE SUSURLUK INCIDENT."

UNDER THESE CONDITIONS THE SURPRISE "SUMMIT" THAT GROUND FORCES COMMANDER GENERAL HIKMET KOKSAL HELD WITH GENERAL DIRECTOR OF SECURITY ALAADDIN YUKSEL IS GENERATING SPECULATION IN ANKARA. SOME BUREAUCRATS WHO WERE NOT CONVINCED BY YUKSEL'S STATEMENT THAT "WE EXCHANGED VIEWS WITH HIM ON TERRORISM AND WAYS TO RESOLVE IT" CLAIM THAT THE GROUND FORCES COMMANDER HAS MADE A PROPOSAL TO ALAADDIN YUKSEL ON JOINING THE FORCES OF THE MILITARY AND SECURITY INTELLIGENCE UNITS AND THAT THE TWO OFFICIALS HAVE COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING ON THIS ISSUE. 9

RETALIATION OPERATION AGAINST EYMUR SUBHEAD

ACCORDING TO THE LATEST CLAIMS MAKING THE ROUNDS IN ANKARA, SUSPENDED ISTANBUL SECURITY DIRECTOR KEMAL YAZICIOGLU IS GETTING READY TO MAKE VERY SERIOUS ANNOUNCEMENTS IN THE DAYS AHEAD. INDICATING THAT THE LATEST OPERATIONS IN THE SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE UNITS ARE BEING CARRIED OUT UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MEHMET EYMUR, SOURCES CLOSE TO YAZICIOGLU ARE NOTING THAT THE FORMER DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE SPECIAL OPERATIONS DEPARTMENT, IBRAHIM SAHIN, AND EYMUR WERE NEVER ON GOOD TERMS WITH EACH OTHER. THE SAME SOURCES SAID: "AGAR, SHAIN, AND YAZICIOGLU COULD NOT RECONCILE TO EYMUR, WHO IS THE MOST PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVE OF FORMER MIT UNDERSECRETARY HIREM ABBAS, TAKING OVER THE INTELLIGENCE UNITS, FOR THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF MANAGEMENT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION ARE DIFFERENT. AGAR, IN A STATEMENT LAST SUNDAY, SAID: 'A WAR HAS BEGUN BETWEEN THE TRAITORS AND PATRIOTS INSIDE THE STATE. WE WILL PURGE THE TRAITORS FROM THE POSITIONS THEY HAVE BEEN OCCUPYING.' MEHMET EYMUR WAS THE TARGET OF THIS ATTACK. AGAR WILL ELIMINATE EYMUR."

MIT'S REPORT FOR ERBAKAN IS EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF THIS WEEK AND SUBMITTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE. NOTING THAT THE REPORT IS FREE OF COMMENT AND IS BASED ON VERY RELIABLE SOURCES, SOURCES CLOSE TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE SAY THAT IT "COVERTLY" NOTES CLAIMS TO THE EFFECT THAT OZER AND TANSU CILLER HAVE SHADY DEALINGS INSIDE THE STATE. RECALLING THAT THE MIT REPORT HAS BEEN GIVEN ITS FINAL TOUCHES BY MIT UNDERSECRETARY SONMEZ KOKSAL, THE SOURCES ARE ALSO STRESSING THAT THE APPENDIX OF THE REPORT WILL INCLUDE DOCUMENTS THAT ARE IN THE NATURE OF "FIRM EVIDENCE."

WILL ERBAKAN "BYPASS" CILLER? SUBHEAD

POLITICAL CIRCLES IN THE CAPITAL ARE TALKING ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "SUMMIT OF LEADERS" TO BE CALLED BY PRESIDENT SULEYMAN DEMIREL. IT IS BEING CLAIMED THAT THE SUMMIT, WHICH CAME UNDER CRITICISM FROM THE PARTIES IN POWER, IS BEING SUPPORTED BY THE GENERAL STAFF AND THAT BY CONVEYING THE ARMY'S DEMANDS TO ALL THE LEADERS HE WILL FORCE THE POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS TO ADOPT

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PARTICULAR DECISIONS. IT IS ALSO BEING STRESSED THAT THE SUMMIT, WHICH IS SHUNNED IN PARTICULAR BY THE DYP TRUE PATH PARTY, MIGHT TURN INTO AN OPERATION WHEREBY ERBAKAN WILL BYPASS CILLER. INDICATING THAT ERBAKAN IS AIMING AT OUSTING THE DYP FROM THE GOVERNMENT BY PUSHING CILLER INTO A CORNER, A DYP MINISTER SAID: "AFTER THAT THE RP WELFARE PARTY WILL UNFURL THE FLAG OF A 'CLEAN SOCIETY' IN ORDER TO GET NEW WIND IN ITS SAILS. YILMAZ IS MOST APPREHENSIVE OF SUCH A DEVELOPMENT. THAT IS WHY THE ANAP MOTHERLAND PARTY LEADER IS GIVING ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE TO THE SUSURLUK INCIDENT."

IT IS EXPECTED THAT TANSU CILLER WILL GATHER THE RP AND DYP LIEUTENANTS JUST BEFORE THE SUMMIT AND FORCE THEM TO ADOPT A JOINT STANCE AT THE SUMMIT.

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(ENDALL) 18 DEC

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INQUIRE=DOC38D
ITEM NO=00632603

ENVELOPE

CDSN = CFS357 MCN = 97142/23257 TOR = 971421743
RATUZYUW RUESDQA7284 1421737-UUUU--RUEALGX.
ZNR UUUUU

HEADER

R 221737Z MAY 97
FM FBIS TEL AVIV IS
TO AIG 4681
RUCWAAB/FBIS RESTON VA
RHDLPAA/AFOSI 51 FIS OL-C LONDON UK
RUAGAAA/AFOSI DET 614 SEOUL KOR//CC//
RUCXONI/ONI WASHINGTON DC//2140//
RUDKKB/AMEMBASSY BAKU
RUDKMB/FBIS LONDON UK//BBC RUCWAAA//
RUDKMKE/FBIS LONDON UK
RUDPMAX/FAISA FT BRAGG NC
RUDPWDC/DA AMHS WASHINGTON DC
RUEBBEA/DEPT OF TRANSPORTATION OFC OF SEC WASHINGTON DC//S-60//
RUEDADA/AFISA AMHS BOLLING AFB DC
RUEDADI/AFOSI IOC BOLLING AFB DC
RUEHAK/AMEMBASSY ANKARA
RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//EUR/SE//
RUEHDA/AMCONSUL ADANA
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//R//
RUEHIT/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
RUEHNC/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON DC
RUESDI/FBIS NICOSIA CY
RUETIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD
RUETITH/AFOSI 52 INVESTIGATIONS SQ ANKARA TU//CC//
RUFNEU/CDR USASETAF VICENZA IT//AESE-CMO//
RUFNPKA/AFOSI DET 533 NAPLES IT//CC//
RUFOADA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
RUFTRWA/USAFE AOS RAMSTEIN AB GE
RUQNAAA/CTF NORTHERN WATCH INCIRLIK AB TU//POLAD//
RUQNAAA/CTF NORTHERN WATCH INCIRLIK AB TU//C-2//
RUWTAEA/NAIC WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH
RXQKSRF/CSRF ATHENS GR
RYFWN/COMNORTH//JOINTINT//
ACCT FBTA-EWDK

BT

CONTROLS

UNCLAS 7FP 7Q/LD

WARNING: ATTN NICOSIA FFMM

WARNING: BRUSSELS: POL

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APPROVED FOR RELEASE
DATE: SEP 2002

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PAGE:0235

WARNING: TOPIC: TERRORISM

SERIAL: TA2205173797

BODYPASS: COPY TO

COUNTRY: TURKEY

SUBJ: TAKE 6 OF SEVERAL -- PKK'S OCALAN ON KURDISH ISSUES

REF: TA2005041797 LONDON MED TV TURKISH 181900///TOWARD A SOLUTION.

TEXT:

FBIS TRANSLATED EXCERPT SAYIN THANK YOU. I HAVE A LAST QUESTION. TURKEY IS NOT A COUNTRY WITH RICH RESOURCES. ITS NATIONAL INCOME IS LOWER THAN MANY COUNTRIES. STILL, IT HAS BEEN WAGING A TERRIBLE WAR FOR THE PAST 13 YEARS. ACCORDING TO RECENT PRESS REPORTS, TURKEY'S REVENUES FROM THE DRUG TRADE AMOUNTS TO \$50 BILLION. THIS ESTABLISHES A VERY CONCRETE LINK BETWEEN THE WAR AND THE DRUG TRADE. WHAT DO YOU THINK?

OCALAN WE SAID THIS TO THE GERMANS REPEATEDLY. WE SAID, ANGRILY, WHY DO YOU KEEP ON FINGERING THE PKK AS A DRUG TRADE CHANNEL? WHY DO YOU KEEP ON SAYING THAT THE PKK IS INVOLVED IN VARIOUS CRIMINAL INCIDENTS? THESE ARE THE DOINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT YOU SUPPORT IN TURKEY, WE SAID. THE MURDERS AND PROVOCATIONS AS WELL AS THE DRUG TRADE IN EUROPE ARE RUN BY THE TURKISH STATE. IF YOU CHECK THE YUKSEKOVA GANG, THE DRUGS ARE BROUGHT BY HELICOPTER TO DIYARBAKIR. IT IS NOT I WHO IS SAYING THIS, THE PRESS IS SAYING IT. WHAT YOU SAY IS TRUE, THE AMOUNT MAY BE \$50 BILLION, EVEN \$100 BILLION. THAT IS HOW THE DIRTY WAR HAS BEEN WAGED. UNASHAMEDLY, HOWEVER, THE EUROPEAN POLICE ACCUSED US OF THIS BUSINESS. I TELL THE RESPECTABLE DEPUTIES IN EUROPE TO EXPLAIN THIS SITUATION TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND PARLIAMENTS.

I CAN DESCRIBE THIS AS EUROPE'S GLADIO ALLEGED NATO SECRET ORGANIZATION FIGHTING THE COMMUNISTS DURING THE COLD WAR MENTALITY. THE HONORABLE ITALIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE SAID IT TOO. I HOPE IT WILL STUDY THE MATTER BETTER FROM NOW ON. IT SAID THAT IT IS STUDYING THE MAFIA AND THE DRUG TRADE. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT MATTER FOR ITALY. THAT IS NOT ALL. THERE WAS AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT AGAINST THE POPE. IT WAS THE SAME TEAM THAT WORKED ON THAT PLAN. A TURKISH MINISTER CAME AND TOOK CATLI IDEALIST HEARTH MEMBER KILLED IN SUSURLUK ACCIDENT OUT OF THE SWISS PRISON. THE ORDERS HAD COME FROM THE UNITED STATES. THE SUSURLUK COMMITTEE REVEALED HOW THIS MAN USED TO RUN THE DRUG TRADE. JUST THINK, ACTING ON THE ORDERS OF THE UNITED STATES, A TURKISH MINISTER COMES AND TAKES CATLI OUT OF A SWISS PRISON, PUTS HIM IN HIS CAR, AND DRIVES AWAY. WHEN WILL EUROPE RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM? HOW WILL IT EXPLAIN THE MEANING OF THIS? SOME HUNDREDS OF IDEALIST HEARTH MEMBERS WERE USED IN THE DRUG NETWORK. THIS WAS THE GLADIO WITHIN NATO. WE KNOW THIS VERY WELL NOW. THE ITALIANS ARE A LITTLE

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SENSITIVE ABOUT THIS ISSUE BECAUSE THEY SAW THE DOINGS OF THE GLADIO, AND THEY EVEN DEMANDED IT ACCOUNT FOR ITS DEEDS.

MED TV STUDIOS WERE RAIDED IN SWITZERLAND. THAT WAS AN ACT CARRIED OUT BY THE GLADIO. HOWEVER, THE GLADIO IS NOT AS EFFECTIVE AS IT IS IN TURKEY. UNDER NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY, MHP, LEADER TURKES, IT WAS DEVELOPED TO A TERRIBLE DEGREE. WHAT WAS VERY INTERESTING IS THAT CERTAIN KURDISH BUSINESSMEN WERE INVOLVED IN IT, AND THEY HAVE ALL BEEN ELIMINATED. THE MAFIA WAS TAKEN UNDER THE FULL CONTROL OF THE TURKISH FASCISTS. IN OTHER WORDS, IF YOU CONSIDER THAT ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL TEAMS ARE MHP MEMBERS, THE MAFIA WAS PLACED UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE POLICE ORGANIZATION. BY 100 PERCENT. I AM GIVING YOU THE BOTTOM LINE SO THAT THE EUROPEANS CAN SEE THE SITUATION.

CERTAIN PEOPLE WERE CAPTURED FOR SHOW. THEY WERE THE POOR KURDS WHO WERE OUTSIDE THE SYSTEM. THEY CAUGHT THEM IN ORDER TO SAY THAT THEY WERE PKK MEMBERS, THAT THEY WERE IN THE DRUG TRADE. THEY THEN ELIMINATED THEM. THEY SHOT THEM. THE GERMAN COURTS HAVE RECENTLY REVEALED HOW CILLER RUNS THE OFFICIAL DRUG TRADE. MESUT YILMAZ SAYS THAT CILLER HEADS THIS BUSINESS. HOWEVER, YOU, THE EUROPEANS, DECLARED US TERRORISTS. YOU ACCUSED US OF RUNNING THE DRUG TRADE AND YOU PLACED US IN A DIFFICULT SPOT IN EUROPE.

YOU MAY SAY THAT THE EUROPEANS CAN AFFORD TO MAKE SUCH ACCUSATIONS BECAUSE THEY HAVE STRONG GOVERNMENTS, AND STRONG INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS. HOWEVER, I SAY THAT IF THEY HAVE A CONSCIENCE, IF THEY RESPECT THE TRUTH, THEY MUST SAY: THIS DIRTY WAR HAS BEEN RUN BY MEANS OF THE DRUG TRADE, AND THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC HAS BEEN POISONED BY THIS DRUG TRADE. THIS HAS BEEN REVEALED.

IF THEY RESPECT THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR YOUTHS, THEY MUST ADMIT THAT THEY HAVE PROTECTED THE CILLER GOVERNMENT AND THE ARMY POLICE CHIEFS WHO ORDER MASSACRES. IF THEY RESPECT THEIR PEOPLE, THEY MUST CUT THEIR AID TO THIS GANG. IF THEY UPHOLD A CLEAN EUROPE, THEN THEY MUST STOP SUPPORTING THIS GANG. THEY MUST FULFILL THEIR HUMANITARIAN DUTIES IF THEY RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS, SO THAT THE KURDISH PEOPLE CAN GET RID OF THIS MALEDICTION. FILING TO BE RESUMED AFTER OOB AT 0400 GMT ON 23 MAY

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INQUIRE=DOC37D

ITEM NO=00276136

ENVELOPE

CDSN = CFS177 MCN = 96366/18958 TOR = 963661859

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HEADER

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RHDLPKA/AFOSI DET 533 NAPLES IT//CC//

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RUETITH/AFOSI 52 INVESTIGATIONS SQ ANKARA TU//CC//

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SERIAL: TA3112185396

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APPROVED FOR RELEASE
DATE: SEP 2002

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

BODYPASS: COPY TO

COUNTRY: TURKEY

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 3 -- OCALAN RESPONDS TO DEMIREL NEWS CONFERENCE

REF: 1. TA3112140696 FYI -- MED TV CARRIES TELEPHONE INTERVIEW
WITH OCALAN
2. TA3012140796 AND ADDS ANKARA TRT TV TURKISH 280800 --
DEMIREL END OF YEAR NEWS CONFERENCE

SOURCE: LONDON MED TV TELEVISION IN TURKISH 1835 GMT 29 DEC 96
TEXT:

TELEPHONE INTERVIEW WITH ABDULLAH OCALAN, LEADER OF THE WORKERS
PARTY OF KURDISTAN, FROM AN UNSPECIFIED LOCATION BY IRFAN DOGAN AT
THE MED TV STUDIOS -- LIVE

FBIS TRANSLATED EXCERPT DOGAN GOOD EVENING. TURKISH
PRESIDENT SULEYMAN DEMIREL HELD A NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE CANKAYA
MANSION YESTERDAY. HE DID NOT EVEN MENTION KURDISTAN. AS A PERSON
WHO DETERMINES THE FATE OF KURDISTAN, I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOUR VIEWS
ON THE ISSUE. AT HIS NEWS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY, DEMIREL SAID THE
FOLLOWING: ALL THOSE LIVING IN TURKEY HAVE THE SAME CITIZENSHIP
RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR ETHNIC ORIGINS AND
FAITH. HE ALSO SAID THAT GROUPS FROM DIFFERENT ETHNIC ORIGINS CAN
DOMINATE ONE ANOTHER IN DEMOCRACIES. CAN YOU CLARIFY WHO IS BEING
DOMINATED BY WHOM? WE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON THE ISSUE.

OCALAN THE 1996 FIGURES RELEASED BY THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL
STAFF AND CITED BY DEMIREL ARE BASED TOTALLY ON A COVER-UP.
FURTHERMORE, THEY ALSO COMPRISE SIGNIFICANT DISTORTIONS. EVEN THE
MOST EXPERIENCED CENSORSHIP OFFICIAL COULD NOT HAVE GOTTEN AROUND
SOME OF THE QUESTIONS THAT WERE ASKED. THEREFORE, IT IS IMPORTANT
FOR MED TV TO FULFILL ITS DUTY AS THE VOICE OF DEMOCRACY IN THIS
STRUGGLE. OTHERWISE, PUBLIC OPINION WILL DEFINITELY BE CENSORED.

BEFORE I ANSWER YOUR QUESTION, I WOULD LIKE TO STATE THAT THE
INTERVIEWS FATIH ALTAYLI AND IHLAS NEWS AGENCY CONDUCTED WITH ME
INCLUDED MY MESSAGES TO THE TURKISH PEOPLE. THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO
BROADCAST THEM. ACCORDING TO THE LATEST NEWS WE HAVE RECEIVED, IT
WAS THE CHIEF OF STAFF HIMSELF WHO BANNED THESE INTERVIEWS.
MOREOVER, I MADE A STATEMENT TO MED TV ABOUT A WEEK AGO. THE VIEWS
I EXPRESSED THERE WERE NOT CONVEYED TO THE PUBLIC EITHER. ALL THE
JOURNALISTS AND TELEVISION STATIONS INVITED TO THE TELECONFERENCE
WERE THREATENED BY THE CHIEF OF STAFF NOT TO ATTEND. I PROTEST
THEIR STAND AGAINST THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. PASSAGE OMITTED

DEMIREL SPEAKS ABOUT THE PEACEFUL EXISTENCE OF ETHNIC ENTITIES.
THE TURKS ARE AN ETHNIC ENTITY, AS ARE THE KURDS AND THE
CIRCASSIANS. THERE ARE MANY OTHER ETHNIC ENTITIES. IF THE
REFERENCE HERE IS TO THE EQUALITY OF THESE ETHNIC ENTITIES, ONE
SHOULD NOT LIE TO SUCH AN EXTENT. WE CAN START FROM THE PHRASES

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"HAPPY IS THE PERSON WHO CAN SAY I AM A TURK" AND "ALL FOR THE GOAL OF TURKISM." ANY ETHNIC ENTITY THAT DOES NOT ACCEPT THESE MAXIMS DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO A DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL EXISTENCE. IT DOES NOT EVEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO A NORMAL HUMAN LIFE. THIS IS VERY CLEAR. THE WORLD IS BEING DECEIVED. THE CLAIM IS THAT ALL ETHNIC ENTITIES CAN LIVE IN DEMOCRACY AND PEACE. HERE IS THE KURDISH ETHNIC ENTITY. DOES IT HAVE EVEN THE SLIGHTEST CHANCE FOR PEACE? THIS IS ONE OF THE GREATEST LIES DEMIREL HAS UTTERED. ISN'T EVERYTHING FOR THE SAKE OF THE TURKISH ETHNIC ENTITY? HAVE OTHERS NOT BEEN FORCEFULLY DISSOLVED WITHIN THIS TURKISH ETHNIC ENTITY? WERE MASSACRES NOT COMMITTED IN THE NAME OF THAT GOAL WHEN NECESSARY? THEREFORE, ONE SHOULD NOT LIE SO BLATANTLY. HE LOOKS THE WORLD AND THE TURKISH PEOPLE IN THE EYE AND SAYS THAT ETHNIC ENTITIES ARE LIVING PEACEFULLY WITHIN A DEMOCRACY. HE SHOULD ABANDON THIS LIE. ONE CAN OBSERVE INTENSE FASCISM HERE. NO ETHNIC ENTITY HAS THE RIGHT OF SPEECH AND EXISTENCE, A PHENOMENON THAT CANNOT BE OBSERVED IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. THIS POLICY IS BEING IMPLEMENTED WITH A FEROCIOUS DETERMINATION UNMATCHED IN ANY OTHER FASCIST COUNTRY.

AT THE NEWS CONFERENCE, HE THOUGHT THAT HE COULD COVER UP THIS PROBLEM WHICH IS TROUBLING THE WORLD -- IN OTHER WORDS, THE ISSUE OF KURDISH IDENTITY -- THROUGH A FEW CONCOCTED STATEMENTS. I BELIEVE THAT MY SHORT EXPLANATION PROVES THAT WE ARE FACED WITH A BIG LIE. PASSAGE OMITTED

DOGAN THOSE WHO WANT TO KEEP THE SUSURLUK INCIDENT ON THE AGENDA ARE BEING ACCUSED OF BEING APOISTS OCALAN'S NOM DE GUERRE. COMMENTING ON YILMAZ'S INITIATIVES REGARDING THE SUSURLUK INCIDENT, TANSU CILLER ACCUSED HIM OF BEING APO'S MOUTHPIECE. TODAY'S DAILIES CARRIED HEADLINES SAYING THAT CILLER IS GETTING READY TO HIT THE MOTHERLAND PARTY ANAP WITH THE PKK WORKERS PARTY OF KURDISTAN CARD. WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT ON THE ISSUE?

OCALAN THERE ARE MANY FORMER NATIONALIST MOVEMENT PARTY MHP MEMBERS WITHIN ANAP. THEY HAVE ALWAYS EXPRESSED THEIR VIEWS AND FEELINGS ABOUT US. I WOULD LIKE TO OBJECTIVELY STATE THAT NOT ONLY YILMAZ BUT ECEVIT, BAYKAL, AND SIMILAR POLITICIANS.... PAUSES CILLER SAID SOMETHING ABOUT ECEVIT AS WELL. SHE SAID THAT HE HAS COME TO THE END OF HIS POLITICAL CAREER. ECEVIT WAS UPSET ABOUT THIS COMMENT. HE SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN. HIS POLITICAL CAREER HAS COME TO AN END. JUST AS THE END OF THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY WAS EXPEDITED, SO IS ECEVIT'S POLITICAL CAREER BEING EXPEDITED. NOW THEY WANT TO TAKE CARE OF THE WELFARE PARTY RP. IS THE RP STARING STUPIDLY AT THE DEVELOPMENTS OR IS IT TRYING TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING? OR IS IT TRYING TO ACQUIRE A PIECE OF THE STATE AND THE CAPITAL? THIS IS ANOTHER PROBLEM. IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY, THROUGH THEIR OWN METHODS, ARE TRYING TO USE THE RP.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: TA3112185396 LONDON MED TV TELEVISION TURKISH 291835///USE THE RP.

TEXT:

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FBIS TRANSLATED EXCERPT OCALAN CONTINUES TO CLAIM THAT THEY ARE ACTING UNDER MY GUIDANCE IS ABSURD. HOWEVER, ONE CAN OBSERVE A KIND OF DESPERATION. SHE FREQUENTLY SAYS THAT HE IS WORKING UNDER APO'S DIRECTIVES AND IS SUPPORTED BY APO. THESE ARE ALL CLAIMS MADE BY CILLER OR HER ADVISERS. THAT IS WHAT THEY SAY EVERY SINGLE DAY. THEY ARE BUSY WITH SERIOUS DISTORTIONS. THEY ARE TRYING TO USE THIS WEAPON TO NEUTRALIZE THE OPPOSITION. I BELIEVE THAT THE SAME METHODS WERE EMPLOYED EARLIER AGAINST THE LEFT, AGAINST THE LEFTIST INTELLECTUALS. ANYONE WHO DARED TO SPEAK WAS ACCUSED OF BEING PRO-PKK. NOW IT IS YILMAZ'S TURN. OTHERS WILL FOLLOW LATER. THIS IS AN EFFECTIVE FASCIST METHOD. PASSAGE OMITTED

DOGAN I WOULD LIKE TO ASK A QUESTION ABOUT TURKEY'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. TURKEY'S IMAGE ABROAD IS NOT THAT GOOD. DEMIREL ADMITTED THIS AT HIS NEWS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY. HE SAID THAT TURKEY'S IMAGE ABROAD IS BEING SHAPED BY THE DOMESTIC FRONT. HE ADDED THAT THIS IS THE IMPRESSION HE GOT DURING HIS VISITS TO ITALY AND GERMANY. DEMIREL NOTED THAT THE PKK IS VIEWED OVERSEAS AS WAGING A PEOPLE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE. WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT? PLEASE COMPARE TURKEY'S IMAGE WITH THAT OF THE PKK BOTH IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES.

OCALAN I HAVE PARTIALLY REPLIED TO THIS QUESTION. PARTICULARLY IN RECENT YEARS, THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER TURKEY'S IMAGE ABROAD HAS BEEN DISTURBED. THEY HAVE REALIZED THAT TURKEY IS ON THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THEIR DEMOCRATIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS NORMS. THIS WAS CONCEALED FOR YEARS, HOWEVER, AND TREMENDOUS SUPPORT WAS EXTENDED TO TURKEY. NOW I BELIEVE THEY NO LONGER WANT TO ACCEPT THESE FACTS, WHATEVER THEIR REASONS. THEREFORE, IT IS NATURAL TO EXPECT BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE TO GRADUALLY PRESSURE TURKEY ON THE ISSUE. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY CAN NO LONGER EASILY SUPPORT THIS NETWORK OF CRIMES. THE MORE THEY SUPPORT, THE MORE THEY HAVE TO LOSE. THEY WILL WANT TO FORCE TURKEY TO BEHAVE BECAUSE THINGS ARE GETTING OUT OF HAND. THEY WILL ASK TURKEY TO EXERCISE SOME RESTRAINT. ONE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT CATLI IDEALIST GANG MEMBER KILLED IN SUSURLUK WAS TRAINED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE GLADIO ALLEGED NATO SECRET ORGANIZATION FIGHTING COMMUNISTS DURING THE COLD WAR IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1982. HIS VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN CERTIFIED. THE PRESS REPORTED THAT HUNDREDS OF GREEN OFFICIAL PASSPORT HOLDERS WERE SENT ABROAD. GREEN PASSPORTS ARE ISSUED TO THE MOST SENIOR STATE OFFICIALS. THESE WERE ISSUED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEEDS OF THE GLADIO. PASSAGE OMITTED

AS FOR THE PKK'S IMAGE, IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CLEAN. NO MOVEMENT HAS BEEN SO DEMOCRATIC AND FREEDOM-ORIENTED. THE KURDISH PEOPLE ARE THE MOST OPPRESSED PEOPLE IN HISTORY. THEY ARE ON THE VERGE OF EXTERMINATION, AND THEY CAN HARDLY BREATHE AS A RESULT OF THE MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THEM. THE PKK IS THE SACRED LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF SUCH A PEOPLE. ONE MIGHT SAY THAT EVERY MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD HAS BEEN TAINTED, MEANING THAT IT HAS NOT ABIDED BY THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF WAR. THE PKK IS THE LEAST TAINTED ORGANIZATION. THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WILL GET TO KNOW THE

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PKK BETTER IN THE COMING YEAR. THE YEAR 1997 WILL DEFINITELY PROVE TO BE MORE SUCCESSFUL. IT WILL ALSO BECOME MORE EVIDENT THAT THE TC REPUBLIC OF TURKEY IS A DARK REGIME. ACTUALLY, THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RESULTS OF THE 1996 FIGURES. THE PKK IS A STAR THAT WILL GRADUALLY BECOME BRIGHTER, WHEREAS THE TC IS A MOON THAT WILL GRADUALLY BECOME DARKER.

DOGAN THE TURKISH CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF HAS, SO FAR, BEEN KEPT OUT OF THE DEVELOPMENTS. AT HIS NEWS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY, DEMIREL SAID THAT HE DID NOT TALK WITH GENERAL IHSAN KARADAYI, THE CHIEF OF STAFF. WHAT IS THE ARMY'S ROLE IN TURKEY'S DIRTY AFFAIRS? WOULD YOU EXPLAIN IT TO US?

OCALAN I HAVE EXPLAINED THIS EARLIER. LET ME REPEAT. THE ARMY IS, TO A GREAT EXTENT, LINKED TO THESE DEVELOPMENTS. KARADAYI IS TRYING TO KEEP THE ARMY OUT OF THESE ISSUES. I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS WHAT THEY OBSERVED. THIS GANG MOVEMENT BEGAN IN 1982, WHETHER IT BE THE SPECIAL TEAMS OR THE STAND ADOPTED BY FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER AGAR, CILLER, AND FORMER CHIEF OF STAFF GURES TOWARD NUMEROUS OFFICERS AND GENERALS WITHIN THE ARMY. YOU WILL NOTICE THAT GURES' TERM IN OFFICE WAS EXTENDED. HE SERVED LONGER THAN ANY OTHER TURKISH CHIEF OF STAFF. NO OTHER CHIEF OF STAFF WAS GRANTED THAT RIGHT. FURTHERMORE, I BELIEVE THAT HE IS STILL TRYING TO RUN THE ARMY. SOMEONE LIKE COMMANDER FUSUNOGLU, WHO WAS THE LEGITIMATE CANDIDATE FOR THE POST, WAS FORCED TO RETIRE. THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT MOVE. IN THE SAME MANNER, MANY OFFICERS WERE REPLACED BY SPECIAL WAR OFFICERS. THIS IS VERY CLEAR. THAT IS WHY I STRESSED THE ERSEVER INCIDENT. HE WAS A MAJOR, BUT NO ONE HAS DISCLOSED HOW HE WAS KILLED. IF THE CHIEF OF STAFF IS HONEST, HE SHOULD ANNOUNCE WHO KILLED CEM ERSEVER. I BELIEVE THERE WAS AN UMIT INVOLVED, A MIT NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION MEMBER. MIT UNDER SECRETARY EYMUR SAID THAT UMIT WAS KILLED BY CATLI. IF THEY KNOW WHO KILLED UMIT, WHY DON'T THEY KNOW WHO KILLED ERSEVER? IS THIS POSSIBLE? IT'S BECAUSE HE IS THE SYMBOL OF A LIQUIDATION MOVEMENT WITHIN THE ARMY.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 003 *****/

REF: TA3112185396 LONDON MED TV TELEVISION TURKISH
291835///WITHIN THE ARMY.

TEXT:

FBIS TRANSLATED EXCERPT OCALAN CONTINUES IF THIS INFORMATION IS DISCLOSED, IT WILL BECOME EVIDENT THAT MANY COMMANDERS, ESPECIALLY WITHIN THE GENDARMERIE -- SUCH AS FORMER GENDARMERIE COMMANDER BITLIS -- HAVE BEEN LIQUIDATED. THAT IS THE REASON WHY THE CEM ERSEVER INCIDENT IS NOT BEING SOLVED. ALL THIS SHOWS THAT THIS GANG MOVEMENT IS ORGANIZED WITHIN THE ARMY AND THAT IT CONSTITUTES A STRONG WING. UNFORTUNATELY, AS DISCIPLINE IS VERY STRICT IN THE ARMY, THERE ARE INSISTENT ATTEMPTS TO KEEP THE ARMY OUT OF ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS. PASSAGE OMITTED

ARE YOU LOOKING FOR THE REAL FOUNDATION OF THE GANGS? THIS VERY EFFECTIVE NUCLEUS COMPOSED OF THE SPECIAL WAR OFFICERS IS HEADED BY

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GURES. AS LONG AS THESE REALITIES ARE NOT REVEALED -- AND I WILL HAVE TO CORRECT MANY OF WORKERS PARTY LEADER DOGU PERINCEK'S DISCLOSURES -- IT IS VERY NAIVE TO CLAIM THAT CILLER AND AGAR ARE TO BLAME FOR EVERYTHING. IF THEY ARE NOT NAIVE, IF THEY DO NOT WANT TO DISTORT THE REALITIES, AND IF THEY ARE NOT THE WORD INDISTINCT OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF, THEY SHOULD TELL THE REALITIES. CILLER COULD NOT SLEEP EVEN FOR AN HOUR WERE IT NOT FOR GURES. AGAR, FORMER STATE OF EMERGENCY GOVERNOR UNAL ERKAN, AND OTHERS COULD NOT FORM A SINGLE GANG OR COMMIT A SINGLE MURDER WITHOUT GURES AND HIS STEEL NUCLEUS. ONE SHOULD CLEARLY EXPOSE THESE REALITIES. AS LONG AS THIS STEEL NUCLEUS IS NOT EXPOSED, NO CRIME CAN BE CLARIFIED IN TURKEY.

I AM NOT SAYING THAT DEMIREL IS GUILTY. HE IS A COWARD WHO EXECUTES ORDERS. EVEN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL IS A COUNCIL THAT CONVEYS THE ORDERS OF THE STEEL NUCLEUS TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT. ONE SHOULD NOT EXAGGERATE ITS FUNCTIONS. I AM SPEAKING AS A PERSON FROM WITHIN THIS WAR. AS LONG AS THIS STEEL NUCLEUS IS NOT DISCLOSED TO THE TURKISH PUBLIC AND AS LONG AS IT IS NOT DEALT WITH, NO ONE CAN UNDERSTAND THE SUSURLUK INCIDENT. ONE CANNOT CLAIM TO HAVE ACTED JUSTLY BY BLAMING CILLER AND AGAR FOR ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS. THE REALITIES CANNOT BE EXPLAINED THROUGH THE DEMAGOGY OF DEMIREL EITHER. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE ARE TOO MANY PUPPETS, YET NO ONE WANTS TO SEE THE HANDS THAT ARE PULLING THE STRINGS. THIS IS THE REALITY OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC. IF THE STRUGGLE SUCCEEDS, THE REALITIES MAY BE REVEALED ONE DAY. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY. IF THE TURKISH PUBLIC HAS THE COURAGE TO BE VIGILANT, I AM ONLY POINTING OUT TO IT WHERE THE HIDDEN SECTION OF THE ICEBERG CAN BE FOUND.

DOGAN IN HIS NEWS CONFERENCE, DEMIREL SAID THAT A TOTAL OF 13,000 GUERRILLAS HAVE BEEN KILLED SINCE 1982. WHAT DO YOU SAY TO THESE FIGURES? WILL YOU GIVE YOUR OWN FIGURES?

OCALAN THIS IS ANOTHER DISTORTION. WE DO NOT HAVE VERY ACCURATE FIGURES, BUT IN GENERAL I CAN SAY THAT THE ARMY CASUALTIES SHOULD BE AROUND 25,000. AS FOR US, THE FIGURE SHOULD BE AROUND 4,000-5,000. THEIR TACTIC IS TO DISTORT THE FIGURES. PASSAGE OMITTED

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ITEM NO=00276595

ENVELOPE

CDSN = CFS183 MCN = 96366/19042 TOR = 963661903

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HEADER

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INFO RUFQBBA/US SURVEY SHAPE BE

RUEOAYC/CDR NGIC CHARLOTTESVILLE VA//IANG-TACD//

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RUEADADI/AFOSI IOC BOLLING AFB DC//DTA//

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RUETITH/AFOSI 52 INVESTIGATIONS SQ ANKARA TU//CC//

RUFONEU/CDR USASETAF VICENZA IT//AESE-CMO//

RUFOADA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK

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RUQNCTF/CJTF PROVIDE COMFORT INCIRLIK AB TU//POLAD//

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WARNING: BRUSSELS: POL

WARNING: TOPIC: POLITICAL, DOMESTIC, TERRORISM

SERIAL: TA3112185496

BODYPASS: COPY TO

COUNTRY: TURKEY

SUBJ: TAKE 2 OF 3 -- OCALAN RESPONDS TO DEMIREL NEWS CONFERENCE

REF: TA3112185396 LONDON MED TV TELEVISION TURKISH 291835///USE
THE RP.

TEXT:

FBIS TRANSLATED EXCERPT OCALAN CONTINUES TO CLAIM THAT THEY ARE ACTING UNDER MY GUIDANCE IS ABSURD. HOWEVER, ONE CAN OBSERVE A KIND OF DESPERATION. SHE FREQUENTLY SAYS THAT HE IS WORKING UNDER APO'S DIRECTIVES AND IS SUPPORTED BY APO. THESE ARE ALL CLAIMS MADE BY CILLER OR HER ADVISERS. THAT IS WHAT THEY SAY EVERY SINGLE DAY. THEY ARE BUSY WITH SERIOUS DISTORTIONS. THEY ARE TRYING TO USE THIS WEAPON TO NEUTRALIZE THE OPPOSITION. I BELIEVE THAT THE SAME METHODS WERE EMPLOYED EARLIER AGAINST THE LEFT, AGAINST THE LEFTIST INTELLECTUALS. ANYONE WHO DARED TO SPEAK WAS ACCUSED OF BEING PRO-PKK. NOW IT IS YILMAZ'S TURN. OTHERS WILL FOLLOW LATER. THIS IS AN EFFECTIVE FASCIST METHOD. PASSAGE OMITTED

DOGAN I WOULD LIKE TO ASK A QUESTION ABOUT TURKEY'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. TURKEY'S IMAGE ABROAD IS NOT THAT GOOD. DEMIREL ADMITTED THIS AT HIS NEWS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY. HE SAID THAT TURKEY'S IMAGE ABROAD IS BEING SHAPED BY THE DOMESTIC FRONT. HE ADDED THAT THIS IS THE IMPRESSION HE GOT DURING HIS VISITS TO ITALY AND GERMANY. DEMIREL NOTED THAT THE PKK IS VIEWED OVERSEAS AS WAGING A PEOPLE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE. WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT? PLEASE COMPARE TURKEY'S IMAGE WITH THAT OF THE PKK BOTH IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES.

OCALAN I HAVE PARTIALLY REPLIED TO THIS QUESTION. PARTICULARLY IN RECENT YEARS, THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER TURKEY'S IMAGE ABROAD HAS BEEN DISTURBED. THEY HAVE REALIZED THAT TURKEY IS ON THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THEIR DEMOCRATIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS NORMS. THIS WAS CONCEALED FOR YEARS, HOWEVER, AND TREMENDOUS SUPPORT WAS EXTENDED TO TURKEY. NOW I BELIEVE THEY NO LONGER WANT TO ACCEPT THESE FACTS, WHATEVER THEIR REASONS. THEREFORE, IT IS NATURAL TO EXPECT BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE TO GRADUALLY PRESSURE TURKEY ON THE ISSUE. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY CAN NO LONGER EASILY SUPPORT THIS NETWORK OF CRIMES. THE MORE THEY SUPPORT, THE MORE THEY HAVE TO LOSE. THEY WILL WANT TO FORCE TURKEY TO BEHAVE BECAUSE THINGS ARE GETTING OUT OF HAND. THEY WILL ASK TURKEY TO EXERCISE

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SOME RESTRAINT. ONE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT CATLI IDEALIST GANG MEMBER KILLED IN SUSURLUK WAS TRAINED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE GLADIO ALLEGED NATO SECRET ORGANIZATION FIGHTING COMMUNISTS DURING THE COLD WAR IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1982. HIS VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN CERTIFIED. THE PRESS REPORTED THAT HUNDREDS OF GREEN OFFICIAL PASSPORT HOLDERS WERE SENT ABROAD. GREEN PASSPORTS ARE ISSUED TO THE MOST SENIOR STATE OFFICIALS. THESE WERE ISSUED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEEDS OF THE GLADIO. PASSAGE OMITTED

AS FOR THE PKK'S IMAGE, IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CLEAN. NO MOVEMENT HAS BEEN SO DEMOCRATIC AND FREEDOM-ORIENTED. THE KURDISH PEOPLE ARE THE MOST OPPRESSED PEOPLE IN HISTORY. THEY ARE ON THE VERGE OF EXTERMINATION, AND THEY CAN HARDLY BREATHE AS A RESULT OF THE MASSACRES PERPETRATED AGAINST THEM. THE PKK IS THE SACRED LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF SUCH A PEOPLE. ONE MIGHT SAY THAT EVERY MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD HAS BEEN TAINTED, MEANING THAT IT HAS NOT ABIDED BY THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF WAR. THE PKK IS THE LEAST TAINTED ORGANIZATION. THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WILL GET TO KNOW THE PKK BETTER IN THE COMING YEAR. THE YEAR 1997 WILL DEFINITELY PROVE TO BE MORE SUCCESSFUL. IT WILL ALSO BECOME MORE EVIDENT THAT THE TC REPUBLIC OF TURKEY IS A DARK REGIME. ACTUALLY, THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RESULTS OF THE 1996 FIGURES. THE PKK IS A STAR THAT WILL GRADUALLY BECOME BRIGHTER, WHEREAS THE TC IS A MOON THAT WILL GRADUALLY BECOME DARKER.

DOGAN THE TURKISH CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF HAS, SO FAR, BEEN KEPT OUT OF THE DEVELOPMENTS. AT HIS NEWS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY, DEMIREL SAID THAT HE DID NOT TALK WITH GENERAL IHSAN KARADAYI, THE CHIEF OF STAFF. WHAT IS THE ARMY'S ROLE IN TURKEY'S DIRTY AFFAIRS? WOULD YOU EXPLAIN IT TO US?

OCALAN I HAVE EXPLAINED THIS EARLIER. LET ME REPEAT. THE ARMY IS, TO A GREAT EXTENT, LINKED TO THESE DEVELOPMENTS. KARADAYI IS TRYING TO KEEP THE ARMY OUT OF THESE ISSUES. I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS WHAT THEY OBSERVED. THIS GANG MOVEMENT BEGAN IN 1982, WHETHER IT BE THE SPECIAL TEAMS OR THE STAND ADOPTED BY FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER AGAR, CILLER, AND FORMER CHIEF OF STAFF GURES TOWARD NUMEROUS OFFICERS AND GENERALS WITHIN THE ARMY. YOU WILL NOTICE THAT GURES' TERM IN OFFICE WAS EXTENDED. HE SERVED LONGER THAN ANY OTHER TURKISH CHIEF OF STAFF. NO OTHER CHIEF OF STAFF WAS GRANTED THAT RIGHT. FURTHERMORE, I BELIEVE THAT HE IS STILL TRYING TO RUN THE ARMY. SOMEONE LIKE COMMANDER FUSUNOGLU, WHO WAS THE LEGITIMATE CANDIDATE FOR THE POST, WAS FORCED TO RETIRE. THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT MOVE. IN THE SAME MANNER, MANY OFFICERS WERE REPLACED BY SPECIAL WAR OFFICERS. THIS IS VERY CLEAR. THAT IS WHY I STRESSED THE ERSEVER INCIDENT. HE WAS A MAJOR, BUT NO ONE HAS DISCLOSED HOW HE WAS KILLED. IF THE CHIEF OF STAFF IS HONEST, HE SHOULD ANNOUNCE WHO KILLED CEM ERSEVER. I BELIEVE THERE WAS AN UMIT INVOLVED, A MIT NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION MEMBER. MIT UNDER SECRETARY EYMUR SAID THAT UMIT WAS KILLED BY CATLI. IF THEY KNOW WHO KILLED UMIT, WHY DON'T THEY KNOW WHO KILLED ERSEVER? IS THIS POSSIBLE? IT'S BECAUSE HE IS THE SYMBOL OF A LIQUIDATION MOVEMENT WITHIN THE ARMY.

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*** Document 1 of 39 for FBIS ***

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PDTG R 050905Z JAN 96

FM FBIS BRUSSELS BE

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RHHJRAP/USARPAC INTEL FT SHAFTER HI//APIN//

RHHMMC/USARPAC HONOLULU HI

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RUCJNAV/DEPCOMUSNAVCENT MACDILL AFB FL//N51D//

RUCLBBA/USCENTAF SHAW AFB SC//A2//

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RUCMACC/CDR PSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//ASOF-POG-SB//

RUCOPKA/COMICEDEFOR KEFLAVIK IC//J2//

RUCQAAA/USCINCCENT INTEL CEN MACDILL AFB FL

RUCMAAA/FBIS RESTON VA//MIL//

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RUDHSIC/CDRUSASOIC WASH DC//DIS//

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RUDKMKC/FBIS LONDON UK

RUDMONI/ONI WASHINGTON DC//2140//

RUDMQAN/MARCORINTACT DET QUANTICO VA

RUDPMAX/FAISA FT BRAGG NC

RUDPMDC/DA AMHS WASHINGTON DC

RUEAHQA/SAF WASHINGTON DC//AAR//

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RUEALGX/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC

RUEATRS/DEPT OF TREASURY WASHINGTON DC

RUEBFGA/VOA WASHINGTON DC

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RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//DS/CI//

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//EUR/WE//

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//PASS TO USAID FOR ANE/SEA//

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR/WECA//

RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA

RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//P/R//

RUEHKB/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID

RUEHMIL/AMCONSUL MILAN

RUEHNJ/AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

RUEHRB/AMEMBASSY RABAT

RUEHROM/MLO ROME IT

RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS

RUEHVEN/USMISSION USVIENNA

RUEHVI/AMEMBASSY VIENNA

RUEODADA/609AIS SHAW AFB SC

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RUFTAKC/UDITDUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE

RUFTNAB/COMUSNAVCENT//N2//

RUWTAEA/NAIC WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH//TAI//

RUWTKOK/HQ USSPACECOM PETERSON AFB CO//POLAD//

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HARN WARNING: GENEVA: ARMS CONTROL

WARNING: USVIENNA: ASG

WARNING: ATTN MILAN ECON, POL
ATTN VIENNA LEGATT

WARNING: FOUO -- FOR U.S. GOVERNMENT USE ONLY

SERIAL: BR0501090596

COUN: COUNTRY: ITALY

SUBJ: SUBJ: SISMI GENERAL SAYS U.S.-LIBYA DOGFIGHT CAUSED USTICA CRASH

SOUR: SOURCE: ROME ANSAMAIL DATABASE IN ENGLISH 1629 GMT 4 JAN 96 -- FOR
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TEXT: TEXT:

APPROVED FOR RELEASE
DATE: SEP 2002

[UNATTRIBUTED REPORT: "USTICA: NEW EVIDENCE OF MISSILE IN CRASH?"]

[FBIS TRANSCRIBED TEXT] (ANSA) -- ROME, JANUARY 4 -- A RETIRED GENERAL OF THE SISMI MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE APPARENTLY BELIEVES THAT THE 1980 CRASH OF A COMMERCIAL ITAVIA LINER NEAR USTICA IN SOUTHERN ITALY WAS CAUSED BY A MISSILE LAUNCHED DURING A DOG FIGHT BETWEEN LIBYAN AND U.S. PLANES, SOURCES CLOSE TO THE INVESTIGATION OF THAT AIR DISASTER INDICATED HERE. LAST MONTH JUDGE ROSARIO PRIORE, INVESTIGATING THAT STILL-UNSOLVED CRASH, ORDERED A SEARCH OF THE HOUSE OF RETIRED SISMI GENERAL DEMETRIO COGLIANDRO, FORMER ROME CHIEF OF COUNTERESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES.

DOCUMENTS SEIZED DURING THAT SEARCH WERE SAID TO CAST LIGHT ON NUMEROUS UNSOLVED BOMBINGS AND MURDER CASES PLAGUING ITALY'S RECENT PAST INCLUDING THE MURDER OF JOURNALIST MINO PECORELLI, THE KIDNAPING AND MURDER OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT LEADER ALDO MORO, THE 1979 TERRORIST BOMBING IN PIAZZA FONTANA, MILAN AND THE PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION GLADIO.

ON THE BASIS OF THOSE DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE USTICA CRASH, PRIORE AND HIS ASSISTANTS RECENTLY QUESTIONED COGLIANDRO, WHO IS SAID TO HAVE TOLD THE INVESTIGATORS THAT HIS CONVICTION THAT THE ITAVIA JET WAS SHOT DOWN GREW OUT OF A PERSONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE MATTER HE CARRIED OUT IN 1984 AFTER HIS RETIREMENT.

EARLIER THIS MONTH, THOSE INVESTIGATORS OBTAINED TOP SECRET DOCUMENTS FROM THE ITALIAN SECRET SERVICES SAID TO INDICATE A LIBYAN FIGHTER THAT CRASHED IN THE SILA RANGE IN CALABRIA CAME DOWN IN JUNE, 1980, NOT ON JULY 14 AS THOSE INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER ITALIAN MILITARY SOURCES HAVE LONG INSISTED.

PRIORE IS INTERESTED IN WHETHER THAT JET WAS INVOLVED IN THE STILL-UNSOLVED JUNE 27, 1980 CRASH OF THE COMMERCIAL ITAVIA LINER THAT KILLED ALL 81 PASSENGERS.

LAWYERS REPRESENTING THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS HAVE LONG SUGGESTED THE COMMERCIAL JET MIGHT HAVE GOTTEN CAUGHT IN AN AIR BATTLE THE NIGHT OF THE CRASH.

THE SECRET SERVICE DOCUMENTS WERE ORDERED SEIZED BY PRIORE FROM SISMI, THE MILITARY BRANCH OF THE ITALIAN SECRET SERVICES AND FROM THE VERONA COUNTER-ESPIONAGE CENTER, IT WAS LEARNED HERE.

IN THEM, THE DATE OF THE LIBYAN FIGHTER CRASH WAS FIRST INDICATED AS HAVING TAKEN PLACE IN JUNE, THEN ALTERED ON A TYPEWRITER (IN VISIBLY SMALLER LETTERS) TO JULY 14.

MATERIAL FROM THE VERONA CENTER WAS ALSO REPORTED TO CONFIRM THE EXISTENCE OF A SECRET ACCORD WITH YUGOSLAVIA DATING BACK TO APRIL 1980, ALLOWING LIBYAN PLANES TO USE YUGOSLAV AIR BASES FOR RECONNAISSANCE AND TRAINING FLIGHTS OVER THE CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN.

IT WAS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT AN EX-LIEUTENANT COLONEL OF THE ITALIAN AIR FORCE WHO HAD SERVED AT VILLAFRANCA BASE NEAR VERONA WAS TRAINING THOSE LIBYAN PILOTS.

UNNAMED PERSONS IN CONTACT WITH THE LIBYANS WERE ALSO SAID TO HAVE SOUGHT DETAILS ON NATO AND ITALIAN RADAR SYSTEMS DURING THAT PERIOD, THE SAME SOURCES INDICATED.

A NEW IMPETUS TO SOLVE THE LONG-STANDING MYSTERY OF THE CRASH CAME ON DECEMBER 22 WHEN AN AIR FORCE SERGEANT WHO WAS BEING QUESTIONED BY PRIORE COMMITTED SUICIDE.

THE MAN, 45 YEAR OLD FRANCO PARISI, WAS THE 12TH PERSON CONNECTED TO THE USTICA INVESTIGATIONS TO DIE DURING THE FIFTEEN YEARS SINCE THE TRAGIC CRASH OF THE ITAVIA DC-9 AIRLINER.

FOLLOWING A SESSION WITH PRIORE IN SEPTEMBER, HE WAS DUE TO BE CALLED AGAIN BECAUSE SOME FACTS IN HIS ACCOUNT DID NOT DOVETAIL EXACTLY WITH THOSE OF OTHER AIR FORCE OFFICIALS ON RADAR DUTY, SOURCES CLOSE TO THE PROSECUTOR INDICATED.

SERGEANT PARISI SERVED WITH THE RADAR SERVICE AT OTRANTO NEAR LECCE IN PUGLIA. HE WAS BEING QUESTIONED ABOUT THE LIBYAN FIGHTER THAT CRASHED IN THE SILA RANGE IN CALABRIA, OFFICIALLY ON JULY 18, 1980.

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 RUDPMAX/FAISA FT BRAGG NC
 RUDPWDC/DA AMHS WASHINGTON DC
 RUEAIIS/STORAGE CENTER FBIS RESTON VA
 RUEALGX/DEFINTAGENCY WASH DC
 RUEATRS/DEPT OF TREASURY WASHINGTON DC
 RUEBFGA/VOA WASHINGTON DC
 RUEDADA/AFISA AMHS BOLLING AFB DC
 RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//EUR/WE//
 RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR/WECA//
 RUEHMIL/AMCONSUL MILAN
 RUETIAV/MPC FT GEO G MEADE MD
 RUFDNEU/CDR USASETAF VICENZA IT//AESE-CMO//
 RUFPSA/775ABS(P) SAN VITO DEI NORMANNI AS IT//CC//
 RUWTAEA/NAIC WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH//TAI//
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CLAS UNCLAS 7XX /LD

WARN WARNING: ATTN MILAN ECON, POL
 ATTN ROME POL
 ATTN ROME ECON
 ATTN ROME DCM

WARNING: ~~FOUO~~ -- FOR U.S. GOVERNMENT USE ONLY

SERI SERIAL: BR0501093396

COUN* COUNTRY: ITALY

SUBJ* SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 2 -- ANSA CARRIES ITALIAN PRESS ROUNDUP

SOUR SOURCE: ROME ANSAMAIL DATABASE IN ENGLISH 0914 GMT 5 JAN 96 -- FOR
 OFFICIAL USE ONLY

TEXT TEXT:

* ["ITALIAN PRESS ROUNDUP"]

[FBIS TRANSCRIBED TEXT] (ANSA) -- ROME, JANUARY 5 -- THE NATO
 PEACE IMPLEMENTATION EFFORT IN BOSNIA LED OFF PRESS COVERAGE TODAY,
 WITH MANY DAILIES HIGHLIGHTING THE WOUNDING OF AN ITALIAN SOLDIER,
 HIT BY SNIPER FIRE EARLY THURSDAY MORNING IN SARAJEVO.

* THE 1980 USTICA AIR CRASH -- A MYSTERY THAT REMAINS UNSOLVED
 AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS OF INVESTIGATIONS -- ALSO DREW MAJOR HEADLINES
 TODAY WITH THE REVELATION THAT A RETIRED MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
 *OFFICER HAS TOLD INVESTIGATORS HE BELIEVES THE PLANE WAS HIT BY A
 *MISSILE DURING A DOG FIGHT OVER ITALIAN TERRITORY BETWEEN LIBYAN AND
 US FORCES.

* OTHER LEADING STORIES FRIDAY: THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SITUATION, AS
 THE CENTER-LEFT WARNED RIGHT-WING LEADER SILVIO BERLUSCONI THAT IF
 HIS GROUP BRINGS DOWN THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER LAMBERTO
 DINI, ALL PACTS ON INSTITUTIONAL REFORM ARE OFF. ALSO, IRI'S SALE
 OF THE DALMINE STEEL WORKS TO TECHINT (ROCCA GROUP).

* LIBYAN-US AIR BATTLE OVER USTICA TITLED CORRIERE DELLA SERA,
 ADDING IN A SUBHEAD: "EX-SISMI GENERAL ACCUSES COSSIGA OF HAVING
 IMPOSED A SECRECY RULE ON THE DISASTER."

* USTICA CASE: SISMI KNEW OF THE MISSILE HEADLINED THE LA STAMPA,
 EMPHASIZING THAT THE MISSILE HYPOTHESIS, LONG ADVANCED BY LAWYERS
 FOR THE FAMILIES OF THE CRASH VICTIMS, "HAS NOW ALSO BEEN FORMULATED
 BY A HIGH SISMI OFFICIAL."

* A MISSILE AT USTICA; SISMI KNEW ALL TITLED LA REPUBBLICA, ADDING
 THAT "IN THE HOME OF THE EX-GENERAL INVESTIGATORS FOUND A HUNDRED
 SENSITIVE FILES: THE MORO CASE, GLADIO, PECORELLI."

* SISMI DOSSIER: THERE WAS A BATTLE AT USTICA WROTE UNITA', NOTING
 THAT "A GENUINE SECRET ARCHIVE OF SISMI INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES
 BETWEEN 1984-91 WAS FOUND IN THE HOUSE OF RETIRED GENERAL DEMETRIO
 COGLIANDRO, EX-CHIEF OF MILITARY COUNTER-ESPIONAGE UNDER SISMI
 DIRECTOR FULVIO MARTINI."

THE DOZENS OF FILES INVESTIGATORS GARNERED FROM A POLICE SEARCH
 INCLUDED NOTES AND MATERIAL ON LIFE SENATOR GIULIO ANDREOTTI, HEAD
 OF STATE OSCAR LUIGI SCALFARO, FORMER CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT LEADER
 CIRIACO DE MITA, SILVIO BERLUSCONI, THE KIDNAPPING AND MURDER OF
 ALDO MORO, THE PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION GLADIO AND OTHER MYSTERIES,
 THE ROMAN DAILY WRITES.

* FROM USTICA TO MORO, 007 SECRETS TITLED IL MESSAGGERO, ADDING

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 DATE: SEP 2002

*PLANE WAS HIT BY MISSILE; COSSIGA ORDERED SILENCE ON THE DC-9".
 ALSO HIGHLIGHTING A PRESUMED COVER-UP ROLE BY FORMER PRESIDENT OF
 THE REPUBLIC FRANCESCO COSSIGA WAS THE LEFT DAILY IL MANIFESTO.
 * COSSIGA IN THE SKIES OF USTICA, THE DAILY TITLED ITS LEAD
 ARTICLE, LEADING OFF: "COSSIGA KNEW EVERYTHING; HE WAS INFORMED BY
 *TOP SECRET MILITARY DOCUMENTS THAT THE DC9 ITAVIA WAS SHOT DOWN BY A
 MISSILE WHILE AN AIR BATTLE BETWEEN US AND LIBYAN FIGHTERS RAGED
 *OVER USTICA."

ROMAN JUDGE ROSARIO PRIORE, INVESTIGATING THE PLANE CRASH,
 REPORTEDLY RECEIVED CONFIRMATION OF THE DETAILS OF THE SECRET REPORT
 IN QUESTIONING OF RETIRED GENERAL DEMETRIO COGLIANDRO AFTER THOSE
 FILES WERE SEIZED FROM HIS HOUSE, DAILIES SAID.

COGLIANDRO APPARENTLY TOLD INVESTIGATORS THE REPORT WAS PRIVATELY
 CONDUCTED AFTER HIS RETIREMENT, BUT MANY DAILIES SUGGESTED THE
 OFFICIAL MAY WELL HAVE BEEN WORKING AS A CONSULTANT FOR SISMI.
 * HIS REPORT APPARENTLY CONFIRMS SUSPICIONS THE JUNE 27, 1980 CRASH
 *OF THE COMMERCIAL ITAVIA DC9 THAT KILLED 81 NEAR USTICA IN SOUTHERN
 *ITALY WAS CAUSED BY A MISSILE LAUNCHED DURING A DOG FIGHT BETWEEN
 *LIBYAN AND US PLANES.

LAST FALL JUDGE ROSARIO PRIORE, INVESTIGATING THAT STILL-
 UNSOLVED CRASH, ORDERED A SEARCH OF COGLIANDRO'S HOUSE AS PART OF A
 BROADER FACT-FINDING EFFORT THAT INCLUDED SEARCHES OF SISMI AND
 COUNTER-ESPIONAGE OFFICES AND PERSONNEL IN VERONA AND BARI.
 * AMONG THE MATERIAL SEIZED BY PRIORE WERE TOP SECRET ITALIAN
 SECRET SERVICES DOCUMENTS SHOWING THAT A LIBYAN FIGHTER THAT CRASHED
 IN THE SILA RANGE IN CALABRIA CAME DOWN IN JUNE, 1980, NOT ON JULY
 *14 AS THOSE INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER ITALIAN MILITARY SOURCES HAVE
 LONG INSISTED.

PRIORE WANTS TO FIND OUT WHETHER THE DOWNED LIBYAN MIG FIGHTER
 WAS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE JUNE 27 CRASH, AS LAWYERS FOR THE
 FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS HAVE LONG MAINTAINED.

IN A DOCUMENT SEIZED FROM THE VERONA COUNTER-ESPIONAGE CENTER,
 *THE LIBYAN FIGHTER CRASH WAS FIRST INDICATED AS HAVING TAKEN PLACE
 IN JUNE, THEN ALTERED ON A TYPEWRITER (IN VISIBLY SMALLER LETTERS)
 TO JULY 14. MATERIAL FROM THE VERONA CENTER WAS ALSO REPORTED TO
 CONFIRM THE EXISTENCE OF A SECRET ACCORD WITH YUGOSLAVIA DATING BACK
 *TO APRIL 1980, ALLOWING LIBYAN PLANES TO USE YUGOSLAV AIR BASES FOR
 RECONNAISSANCE AND TRAINING FLIGHTS OVER THE CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN.

DAILIES DID NOT CONNECT COGLIANDRO'S REPORT TO ANOTHER MYSTERIOUS
 ELEMENT IN THE CASE -- THE NUMEROUS WITNESSES WHO HAVE DIED OR
 COMMITTED SUICIDE IN THE 15 YEARS SINCE THE CRASH.

IN A DISPATCH THAT CAME THROUGH TOO LATE FOR MOST PAPERS TO
 INCLUDE, TELEMONTICARLO REPORTED THE CONTENTS OF AN INTERVIEW
 YESTERDAY EVENING WITH THE WIFE OF RETIRED AIR FORCE SERGEANT FRANCO
 PARISI, WHOSE DECEMBER 21 DEATH WAS ATTRIBUTED TO SUICIDE.

PARISI'S WIFE AND A LAWYER REPRESENTING THE FAMILY, FRANCESCA
 CONTE, SAY THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THE MAN COMMITTED SUICIDE. (HE WAS
 FOUND HANGED FROM A TREE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OUTSIDE LECCE IN THE
 PUGLIA REGION.) HIS WIFE SAID THE POSITION OF PARISI'S BODY AND THE
 ANGLE OF THE NOOSE AROUND HIS NECK WERE NOT CONSISTENT WITH SUICIDE.

* PARISI, WHO IN AT THE TIME OF THE USTICA CRASH WAS IN SERVICE AT
 OTRANTO RADAR BASE NEAR LECCE, WAS THE 12TH PERSON WITH KNOWLEDGE OF
 THE CRASH TO DIE SINCE 1980. ACCORDING TO TELEMONTICARLO, THE
 OTRANTO RADAR SCREENS WERE IN A POSITION TO TRACE THE PATH OF THE
 *ITAVIA LINER AS WELL AS THAT OF THE LIBYAN FIGHTER LATER FOUND
 CRASHED ON THE SILA RANGE IN CALABRIA. PARISI HAD BEEN QUESTIONED
 BY PRIORE IN SEPTEMBER AND WAS EXPECTING TO BE CALLED A SECOND TIME
 BEFORE HE WAS FOUND DEAD.

ENDLESS BLACKMAIL, LA STAMPA TITLED AN INTERVIEW WITH THE
 PRESIDENT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE ON THE SECRET
 SERVICES MASSIMO BRUTTI.

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Lot: 930303

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Folder: "PGOV- Gladio 1990"

OPEN-GLADIO

26

ITALY & VATICAN CITY

ER17

FBIS-WEU-90-220
14 November 1990

Italy

Andreotti Notes Gladio Structure in Austria

AU0911152690 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German
9 Nov 90 p 7

[Report by Karl Frich: "Exclusive: Contents of Secret Document; Andreotti Confirms: Gladio Belongs to NATO"—first paragraph is VOLKSSTIMME introduction]

[Text] Rome—The super secret service Gladio in the sphere of NATO does exist! NATO is confused—it is contradicting its own statements. Italian head of government Andreotti has prepared a detailed report on Gladio. We are already able to report on its contents now.

After the exposure of the Gladio secret service and the denial by an officer, which was later said to be "incorrect," the telephone lines in NATO headquarters have been constantly busy. The Canadian captain was not authorized to make such a statement, NATO does not know anything about the super secret service, it was stated.

However, Italian Prime Minister Andreotti, who said mockingly: "It is not only in our country that there is confusion," knows better. In a report submitted to Parliament and the Senate—which is currently still "kept under lock and key" and a copy of which VOLKSSTIMME has obtained—he describes the entire history of Gladio. However, he does not comment on the Italian Communist Party, which the secret organization regarded as a "subversive party."

One paragraph of the report is of special interest to Austria. Once it was ascertained shortly after the war that there was the "danger of a Soviet expansion and the NATO forces were inferior, it was decided to set up a "secret resistance network."

And then Andreotti said literally: "At that time, resistance networks were organized in France, Holland, and Belgium and were later extended to Denmark and Norway. Analogous structures were also developed on German and Austrian territory, which was subject to control by the Allies."

Andreotti details these analogous structures. "After occupation a secret network" had to be organized. In 1956 Italy's military secret service, SIFAR, established the first secret organization called Gladio in cooperation with the U.S. secret service (that is, the CIA—the editors). Over the course of decades, a secret operations plan was developed via various cover organizations in the NATO sphere, in case the Soviet Union should occupy one of the countries.

The guidelines said that the operations agents had to be selected in such a way that their age, sex, or occupation provided them with "good opportunities" to escape from possible deportation or internment. The formation of operations cells that were to be as small as possible was the objective of special training by the military

secret service under SIFAR's leadership. The tasks of the secret organization were: collection of information, acts of sabotage, propaganda, deciphering measures, and—which is openly said by Andreotti—the procurement of adequate military technology material.

Andreotti provided relevant data on this: Altogether 139 special containers with weapons, such as hand grenades, guns, mine launchers, and small artillery pieces were collected. However, the attempt to secure these weapons now was only successful in 127 cases, the remaining 12 special containers did not turn up.

According to Andreotti, the connection between Gladio and NATO institutions is proven beyond a shadow of doubt.

The Italian Communists have called a major demonstration on 17 November because of the Gladio affair. They predict a constitutional crisis and call for the complete disclosure of the scandal by a parliamentary investigation committee.

Andreotti, Cossiga Discuss Gladio

AU1211142090 Rome ANSA in English 1246 GMT
12 Nov 90

[Text] Rome, November 12 (ANSA)—Head-of-state Francesco Cossiga today received Premier Giulio Andreotti at the Quirinale Palace.

The premier assured Cossiga that the government stands behind the head of state with regard to testimony he has been asked to give regarding a parallel secret service network known as Operation Gladio. Cossiga was cited by a Venetian judge, but has announced he will report fully on the case directly to the Parliament.

Andreotti also briefed the head of state on his imminent mission to the United States for talks in New York with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and in Washington with American President George Bush and other top American officials.

Cossiga Testimony Developments

AU1311120190 Rome ANSA in English 1056 GMT
13 Nov 90

[Text] Venice, November 13 (ANSA)—The Venetian investigating magistrate, Felix Casson, who uncovered Operation Gladio, the secret NATO organisation feared to have been used for influencing democratic process in Italy. (?denied) Monday that he had gone beyond a merely formal request in seeking the testimony of Italian head-of-state Francesco Cossiga on the case.

"I have neither cited the president of the Republic to testify nor convened him as a witness," Casson said, "All I have (to do) is to make a formal request for his availability to testify. If the answer is no, I take note of it."

The judge's move to eventually seek Cossiga's testimony, not in his function as head-of-state, but concerning his role as a former prime minister and former interior

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minister, sparked a political furor and a government decision to place the issue before the Constitutional Court.

Casson came across evidence pointing to the existence of Operation Gladio when investigating the Peteano massacre in which a car bomb set by rightists in northeastern Italy killed three Carabinieri policemen.

The case has extensive ramifications into the undergrowth of subversion and clandestine organisations of a rightist bent, including such issues as relations between politicians and the banned Propaganda-Due [P-2] Masonic Lodge with its plans for right wing rule.

At the weekend, Cossiga's office published a letter he wrote to Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti declaring his readiness to testify before the parliamentary Committee for the Security Services and the parliamentary Commission Investigating Terrorism and Massacres, but there was no mention of Casson's investigation.

In the next move, the government said it would ask the Constitutional Court to rule on whether Casson could take evidence from Cossiga, and if so under what conditions, effectively [word indistinct] a conflict of [word indistinct] between magistrature and (?presidency).

Legal sources close to Casson's office pointed out that, in any case, the magistrate had simply requested a contact with the presidential secretariat, hardly a matter for raising an issue before the highest court of the land.

A Communist Party member of the terrorism and massacres commission, Antonio Bellocchio, has already announced what he plans to ask Cossiga when he appears to testify: "I want to see the secret protocol stipulated with NATO, the magnitude of the finance received, the location of all the bases, and where the arms were held. Moreover, what happened to the arms in 12 out of those caches that have now disappeared."

Most of the political leaders welcomed Cossiga's willingness to testify, but the Liberal Party leaders warned that a campaign may be under way to discredit him so that (?he may be asked) to resign and his successor elected by the present Parliament.

"It's an increasingly obvious political objective on the part of those who fear losses in the next general elections," said one leading member of his small government party, "on the part of those who saw their seats reduced in the regional elections."

In France, Defence Minister Jean Pierre Chevenement confirmed that there had been a similar structure to Gladio in his country until its suppression by an unidentified president of the Republic believed to be the incumbent Francois Mitterrand.

In other developments in Italy, a group of imprisoned members of Red Brigades issued a statement in which they denied allegations that they too may have been manipulated (?by) Operation Gladio.

The statement also pointed out that, when the Red Brigades emerged in the early 1970s, one aspect of the "real historical context" in which the armed choice was made was Italy's "deviated and limited democracy."

The statement added that, in the [year indistinct] Red Brigades trial for armed insurrection against the state, the court turned down all requests to hear testimony from the former premiers, former defence ministers, ex-interior ministers, and secret service chiefs during this period of "the strategy of tension."

Meanwhile, outside of Italy, in France, French Defence Minister Jean Pierre Chevenement confirmed the existence of an operation similar to Gladio in his country, but believed it had been disbanded by an unspecified president believed to be the incumbent, Francois Mitterrand.

Politicians Discuss Possible Baghdad Mission

AU1411092190 Rome ANSA in English 0833 GMT
14 Nov 90

[Text] Rome, 14 November (ANSA)—The Italian lower house's Foreign Affairs Commission voted down a proposal to send a mission to Baghdad by 25 votes to 17 Tuesday with a compact nay vote from the five government parties.

The proposal came from the left-wing opposition, and the rightist opposition joined in the voting in favour of the move. But, despite the decision to reject an official mission a delegation of leading parliamentary figures may still be dispatched for talks on the hostages.

"If there were a high-level national figure, for example a life senator, who decided to assume the task of a mission of this kind, the government wouldn't stop it," said foreign undersecretary, Claudio Lenoci. "If none of these personalities has so far taken an initiative of the kind, they really think it is not timely."

After the commission's session, however, parliamentary sources said former Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani is ready to make a mission on the lines of the Brandt mission. Fanfani received a request in this sense from the committee of the hostages' relations on Monday.

The Foreign Affairs Commission's Chairman Flaminio Piccoli also said something should be done. "Italy is in a painful and embarrassing situation," he said, "The European Community twelve asked us for firmness in Rome, but they have taken their [word indistinct] don't tell me Brandt bought medicines worth almost 4.5 million dollars from his own pocket."

Piccoli also had praise for the leftists who have travelled to Baghdad seeking obtain the release of the Italian hostages. Of the visit made by Mario [passage indistinct].

According to Piccoli, the commission's members and the parties should show "more courage" and take the issue to a full parliamentary debate. Lenoci said Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis would have nothing against this.

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09-08-2010

CONTROLS

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SERIAL: BR2911141893

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

BODY

COUNTRY: ITALY

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 5 -- FORMER SPY BOSS CRITICIZES U. S. 'ARROGANCE'

REF: BR2611140993 MILAN IL GIORNALE ITALIAN 21 NOV -- FORMER
SISMI CHIEF MARTINI CRITICIZES REFORM

SOURCE: MILAN IL GIORNALE IN ITALIAN 24 NOV 93 P6

TEXT:

///((INTERVIEW WITH ADMIRAL FULVIO MARTINI BY LUIGI CALIGARIS:
"GLADIO: WHAT STUPIDITY TO REVEAL ITS EXISTENCE"))

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/(TEXT) FOLLOWING THE BRIEF REVIEW OF THE ITALIAN MILITARY SECRET SERVICES (IN IL GIORNALE 21 NOVEMBER) ADMIRAL FULVIO MARTINI, THEIR FORMER HEAD, SPEAKS ABOUT THEIR OPERATIONS.

((CALIGARIS)) ADMIRAL, YOU SPOKE TO US ABOUT THE SEVENTIES, AT THE HEIGHT OF THE COLD WAR, WITH THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN NATO AND THE SOVIET BLOCK. THE SCENARIO WHICH YOU, AS HEAD OF RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS, WERE TRACKING.

((MARTINI)) IN THOSE YEARS, OUR ACTIVITIES GREW. WHILST MAINTAINING OUR WATCH ON EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS, SID ((DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE)) (SISMI'S ((INTELLIGENCE AND MILITARY SECURITY SERVICE)) PREDECESSOR -- IL GIORNALE EDITOR'S NOTE) BEGAN TO CONCERN ITSELF WITH THE MIDDLE EAST. IN THOSE DAYS, IN EGYPT ALONE, THEN PRO-SOVIET, THERE WERE 40,000 SOVIET SOLDIERS; 7,000 IN SYRIA; IN IRAQ THERE WERE 1,000 SOVIET MILITARY PERSONNEL OF EVERY KIND. SOVIET NAVAL AND AIR PRESENCE AND AGGRESSIVENESS HAD ALSO INCREASED IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. OUR SECURITY WAS THREATENED FROM THE SOUTH, AS WELL AS THE EAST, IN A CRESCENDO WHICH REACHED ITS CLIMAX WITH THE 1973 KIPPUR WAR.

((CALIGARIS)) IS IT TRUE THAT YOU ADVISED THE ISRAELIS IN 1971, THAT IS, A YEAR AND A HALF IN ADVANCE, OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE KIPPUR WAR?

((MARTINI)) THAT IS TRUE. IN 1971 SID ANALYSTS COMPARED THE SOVIET GUARD ARMY ((AS PUBLISHED)) EXERCISES IN EASTERN GERMANY WITH THOSE OF THE EGYPTIAN FORCES. ANALOGIES EMERGED IN THE USE OF ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPONS SYSTEMS, ALONG WITH THE INFUX INTO EGYPT OF SIZEABLE QUANTITIES OF NEW SOVIET ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPONS, WHEREAS THE SOVIETS USUALLY GAVE THEIR CLIENTS OUTDATED WAR MATERIAL. FROM THIS THEY DEDUCED THAT A WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST WAS IMMINENT, AND WOULD BE CONDUCTED WITH EXCEPTIONAL ANTI-AIRCRAFT COVER, IN ORDER TO NEUTRALIZE THE SUPERIOR ISRAELI AIR FORCES. AND THEY DEDUCED THAT THE OPERATION WOULD AIM FOR A POLITICAL EFFECT, BEING LIMITED TO A BRIDGEHEAD ON THE SUEZ CANAL, BEFORE THE MAJOR POWERS COULD GET THE WAR STOPPED. THIS PERIOD WAS ALSO THE HOTTEST POINT OF PALESTINIAN TERRORISM.

((CALIGARIS)) THE SOVIETS HAD THEIR FINGERS IN THIS AS WELL?

((MARTINI)) THE SOVIETS SUPPORTED THE ARAB-PALESTINIAN FRONT AGAINST ISRAEL, CONSIDERED A PRO-WESTERN BULWARK. LET US REMEMBER THAT, IN THOSE DAYS, THE BIPOLAR CONFRONTATION ALSO CONDITIONED LOCAL AND REGIONAL SITUATIONS. THE KGB WAS COOPERATING WITH THE TERRORIST GROUPS WHICH ALSO TRAINED IN EASTERN EUROPE. ABU-NIDAL WAS AT HOME IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHEREAS THE PHANTOM-LIKE CARLOS TOOK REFUGE IN THE ARAB "ANTI-WESTERN COUNTRIES," THAT IS SYRIA, IRAQ,

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ALGERIA, LIBYA.

((CALIGARIS)) ARE THERE CERTAIN OPERATIONS WORTH RECALLING?

((MARTINI)) MORE THAN ONE. WHEN WE IDENTIFIED THE JAPANESE COMMANDO WHICH HIJACKED A JAPANESE AIRPLANE AND MASSACRED A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE AT KUALA LUMPUR, AND THEN TOOK REFUGE IN ALGERIA AND LIBYA. WE DISCOVERED IT AND TRACED IT AS FAR AS JORDAN AND THE LEBANON, WHERE IT WAS ANNIHILATED BY THE JORDANIAN AND LEBANESE-ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES.

((CALIGARIS)) WAS SID CONCERNED ONLY WITH THE MIDDLE EAST AND TERRORISM?

((MARTINI)) NO, CERTAINLY NOT. THE BALKANS, AS HAVE ALREADY SAID IN OUR FIRST INTERVIEW, HAD A HIGH PRIORITY. AS TO EASTERN EUROPE, ITALY WAS TRACKING CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND, IN PARTICULAR, HUNGARY, FROM WHERE THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST ITALY WOULD HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED, A FACT SUBSEQUENTLY CONFIRMED BY THE HUNGARIANS. A SENSITIVE POINT IN HUNGARY WAS THE RAILWAY STATION WHERE THEY CHANGED TRACKS, FROM THE SOVIET TO THE EUROPEAN GAUGE.

((CALIGARIS)) WHAT WERE YOUR SOURCES?

((MARTINI)) OF EVERY POSSIBLE TYPE, INCLUDING THOSE OPERATING FOR MONEY AND BOGUS ONES. WE EXPOSED SOME OF THEM. IN MONACO, A NETWORK OF FORMER NAZI AGENTS SELLING THE SAME INFORMATION TO EIGHT WESTERN AND EASTERN COUNTRIES. WE ALSO SUCCEEDED IN "CONVERTING" A FOREIGN AGENT, THAT IS WE PERSUADED A HUNGARIAN SPY TO WORK FOR US. ADVISING US THAT THE ITALIAN EMBASSY IN BUDAPEST WAS FULL OF MICROPHONES, HE PUT OUR MINDS AT REST BY SAYING: "DON'T WORRY, WE USE THE GOOD MICROPHONES IN THE IMPORTANT EMBASSIES. THE ONES WE USE IN YOUR EMBASSY ARE OF INFERIOR QUALITY, EITHER BECAUSE ITALY IS LESS INTERESTING, OR BECAUSE YOU MAKE SUCH A RACKET THAT WE ARE UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND YOU." HOWEVER, IT IS TRUE THAT OUR EMBASSIES ARE NOT VERY WATERTIGHT.

((CALIGARIS)) HOW COME?

((MARTINI)) ITALIANS DO NOT LIKE TIGHT SECURITY MEASURES, SELECTION OF LOCAL AUXILIARY PERSONNEL IS NOT VERY ACCURATE, ITALIANS FRATERNIZE EASILY, IN PARTICULAR WITH THE OTHER SEX, AND OUR CODING SYSTEMS ARE NOT WATERTIGHT. I HAVE PROPOSED A NATIONAL CODING SYSTEM, BUT I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER IT IS IN PRODUCTION; THESE THINGS TAKE YEARS. TODAY, WE STILL DEPEND ON ABROAD.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: BR2911141893 MILAN IL GIORNALE ITALIAN 24 NOV////DEPEND ON ABROAD

TEXT:

((TEXT)) ((CALIGARIS)) IN 1976, IN ITALY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY,

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WITH ITS TIES TO THE SOVIET UNION, ACHIEVED AN ELECTORAL SUCCESS.
HOW DID NATO REACT?

((MARTINI)) NATO DID NOT REJOICE AT THIS RESULT, BECAUSE WITH OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH WORKS ON A COLLEGIATE DECISIONMAKING BASIS, INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS, WOULD HAVE GIVEN THEM ACCESS TO SENSITIVE INFORMATION. I AM NOT TALKING OF GLADIO ((PRO-NATO PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION)), BUT ABOUT MUCH MORE VITAL INFORMATION, BOTH POLITICAL AND MILITARY.

((CALIGARIS)) SO WHAT THEN?

((MARTINI)) NATO CONSIDERED EXTENDING TO ITALY THE MEASURES TAKEN FOR PORTUGAL, FOLLOWING THE SO-CALLED "CARNATION REVOLUTION," INCLUDING THE OUSTING OF CONSULTATIVE DECISIONMAKING BODIES. IN PARTICULAR, SUCH MEASURES WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE SERIOUS FOR ITALY, WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, PARTICIPATED IN LIMITED BODIES, INCLUDING THE NUCLEAR PLANNING COMMITTEE, CONSISTING OF JUST SEVEN MEMBERS OUT OF 16. NATO, HOWEVER, LET THINGS BE.

((CALIGARIS)) IF I AM RIGHT, THE SID ALSO AVOIDED A CRISIS WITH YUGOSLAVIA, WHICH COULD HAVE LED TO AN ARMED CONFLICT WHEN TITO, IN 1973 OR 1974, CLAIMED PART OF NORTH-EAST ITALY AS FAR AS THE TAGLIAMENTO RIVER, AND BEGAN TO MOBILIZE TROOPS AND DEPLOY THEM CLOSE TO OUR BORDERS. IS THIS NOT TRUE?

((MARTINI)) IT IS TRUE. IT WAS THE LAST CRISIS BETWEEN US AND YUGOSLAVIA ON TERRITORIAL MATTERS. THE SID, AFTER INTENSIVE WORK, REVEALED TO THE GOVERNMENT THAT THIS WAS A BLUFF, AND THE MATTER BLEW OVER WITHOUT OUR TAKING ANY VISIBLE MILITARY COUNTERMEASURES, WHICH WOULD HAVE AGGRAVATED THE CRISIS. THE CLASSICAL CASE OF CALCULATED RISK, WHICH GOOD INTELLIGENCE MAKES POSSIBLE.

((CALIGARIS)) LET US MOVE TO THE EIGHTIES.

((MARTINI)) WHEN I RETURNED TO THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE AS BOSS, TWO EPISODES WHICH MADE THE HEADLINES WERE THE FIUMICINO ((ROME AIRPORT)) MASSACRE, AND THE ACHILLE LAURO CRISIS, FOLLOWED BY SIGONELLA. THE FIUMICINO EPISODE HAPPENED ON 27 DECEMBER 1986. ON 18 DECEMBER, THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE WAS INFORMED BY AN ARAB PARTNER ((WORD IN ENGLISH)) THAT THE AIRPORT WOULD BE ATTACKED BY A TERRORIST GROUP BETWEEN 25 AND 31 DECEMBER. ON 19 DECEMBER, I SENT A TELEGRAM TO THE INTERIOR MINISTER, AND ADVISED THE OTHER INTELLIGENCE SERVICES ON THE ALLIED ANTITERRORIST NETWORK. SOMETHING WENT WRONG, AND, FOLLOWING THE MASSACRE, WE BEGAN TO HUNT ABU-NIDAL.

((CALIGARIS)) WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

((MARTINI)) WE HAD FOLLOWED THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMANDO FROM PAKISTAN TO FRANCE AND THE MIDDLE EAST. WE HAD DISCOVERED ARMS

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DEPOSITS AND STEPPED UP RELATIONS WITH FRIENDLY SERVICES. ABU-NIDAL FELT THAT WE WERE HOT ON HIS NECK, SO MUCH SO, IN FACT, THAT, FOR YEARS, HE WAS RIGHT AT THE TOP OF THE LIST OF PEOPLE TO BE ELIMINATED.

((CALIGARIS)) AND SIGONELLA?

((MARTINI)) IN 1985, OUR SHIP, THE ACHILLE LAURO, WAS HIJACKED BY ABU-AL-'ABBAS' TERRORISTS WHILST SAILING IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. WE AND OUR ALLIES TOOK WHAT MILITARY MEASURES WE COULD WHILST INITIATING BROAD DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS, AND FINALLY AN ARRANGEMENT WAS REACHED IN EGYPT.

((CALIGARIS)) WHAT PART DID SISMI AND THE DEFENSE MINISTRY PLAY?

((MARTINI)) THE DEFENSE MINISTRY TOOK MILITARY MEASURES TOGETHER WITH THE AMERICANS AND THE BRITISH. THE BRITISH BASES IN CYPRUS WERE CHOSEN AS THE DEPARTURE POINT FOR THE ITALIAN, AMERICAN, AND BRITISH SPECIAL FORCES WHOSE JOB WOULD HAVE BEEN TO BOARD THE LAURO. THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE SUPPLIED THE GOVERNMENT WITH INFORMATION HOUR BY HOUR.

((CALIGARIS)) WHO WANTED TO TRANSFER THE TERRORISTS TO AN EGYPTIAN AIRPLANE TO TUNISIA?

((MARTINI)) NOT US. FOR US, WITH THE FREEING OF THE LAURO, THE MATTER WAS FINISHED. BUT IT OPENED AGAIN WITH THE FORCED LANDING, AT SIGONELLA, OF THE EGYPTIAN AIRPLANE CARRYING THE LAURO HIJACKERS, A LANDING IMPOSED BY AMERICAN JETS. THE AMERICAN INTERVENTION WAS INAPPROPRIATE AND THE CRISIS WITH WASHINGTON EXPLODED.

((CALIGARIS)) WHY WAS SISMI INVOLVED WITH THIS PROBLEM, WHICH BY NOW HAD BECOME A POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC ONE?

((MARTINI)) BECAUSE THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO WAS CRAXI AT THE TIME, BROUGHT IN NOT ONLY THE FARNESINA ((ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY)), BUT ALSO SISMI IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS IS HOW WE INTERVENED. AT THAT TIME SISMI BELIEVED THAT ABU-AL-'ABBAS HAD BEEN THE MEDIATOR IN THE LAURO NEGOTIATIONS, AND NOT THE HEAD OF THE TERRORIST COMMANDO. ON THE OTHER HAND, ISRAELI AND AMERICAN PHONE INTERCEPTIONS DID NOT SUPPLY IN TIME THE INFORMATION WHICH WOULD HAVE REFUTED THIS HYPOTHESIS.

((CALIGARIS)) BUT DID SISMI NOT HAVE ITS OWN INTERCEPTIONS?

((MARTINI)) IN THOSE DAYS, SISMI DID NOT HAVE A GOOD ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE CAPACITY. IN 1986, THE USE OF SIGINT (SIGNAL INTELLIGENCE) WAS STILL IN ITS INFANCY, AND THESE ARE THINGS WHICH ARE NOT COMPLETED IN JUST ONE OR TWO YEARS. WE HAD NOWHERE NEAR THE CAPACITIES WHICH WE NOW HAVE IN THE NINETIES.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 003 *****/

REF: BR2911141893 MILAN IL GIORNALE ITALIAN 24 NOV//IN THE

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NINETIES.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) ((CALIGARIS)) YOUR JUDGEMENT ON ABU-AL-'ABBAS WAS IN ANY EVENT MISTAKEN.

((MARTINI)) THIS WAS DISCOVERED IN THE INQUIRY. NONETHELESS, AT SIGONELLA, THE HIJACKERS WERE HANDED OVER TO ITALIAN JUSTICE. ABU-AL-'ABBAS, CONSIDERED TO BE THE MEDIATOR, WAS EXTRADITED TO YUGOSLAVIA.

((CALIGARIS)) CERTAIN AMERICAN HIGH OFFICIALS, THEN WORKING AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL OR IN THE WHITE HOUSE, SAID THAT THERE WERE STRONG SUSPICIONS IN THOSE DAYS THAT ITALY WAS MAINTAINING UNCLEAR RELATIONS WITH THE PLO, AND WITH THE SYRIAN AL-ASAD. FOR THIS REASON, THEY DID NOT TRUST US. WAS THIS JUSTIFIED?

((MARTINI)) THE AMERICANS DID NOT UNDERSTAND CERTAIN ASPECTS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH COULD APPEAR AMBIGUOUS. THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH HAS COMPLICATED LIFE, INCLUDING AT SISMI. EVEN SO, THEIR BEHAVIOUR AT SIGONELLA WAS UNACCEPTABLE. I SAID TO CIA DIRECTOR CASEY: "I AM YOUR BEST ALLY, BUT ALSO YOUR WORST SATELLITE!"

((CALIGARIS)) MICHAEL LEDEEN, THEN AT THE WHITE HOUSE, SAID THAT THE AMERICAN ARROGANCE WAS BORN OF THE CONVICTION THAT THE ITALIANS, UNLIKE OTHER EUROPEANS, WOULD HAVE TURNED A BLIND EYE.

((MARTINI)) I AM SORRY FOR LEDEEN. ON THIS OCCASION, THEY FOUND ITALIANS MADE OF ANOTHER METAL, AND THEIR EXPECTATIONS PROVED WRONG.

((CALIGARIS)) YOU HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY? WHY?

((MARTINI)) IT IS NOT FOR ME TO SPEAK ABOUT THIS. HOWEVER, I CAN SAY THAT AT NATO, CERTAIN ECUMENICAL AND THIRD-WORLD LINES TAKEN BY ITALY GAVE RISE TO PERPLEXITY AND DISTRUST. HOWEVER, THEY DID NOT HAVE REPERCUSSIONS ON MY SECTOR. AS THE HEAD OF SISMI, THE AMERICANS GAVE ME FAVORED AND NONDISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT.

((CALIGARIS)) CAN YOU GIVE ME AN EXAMPLE OF SOMETHING WHICH DISCONCERTED THE ALLIES?

((MARTINI)) AFTER THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, NATO HAD DECIDED NOT TO SEND ITS AMBASSADORS TO THE RED SQUARE MILITARY PARADE. EVERYONE ABIDED BY THIS AGREEMENT, EXCEPT ITALY, WHICH SENT ITS AMBASSADOR TO FIGURE ON THE PODIUM.

((CALIGARIS)) OTHERWISE?

((MARTINI)) OUR RELATIONS WITH AL-QADHDHAFI DID NOT FILL THE AMERICANS WITH ENTHUSIASM, EVEN THOUGH IT IS TRUE THAT THEY THEMSELVES HAD A TWO-TRACK POLICY. OF EXCLUSION BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND COOPERATION BY THE TEXAS OIL COMPANIES. ITALY HAD GOOD RELATIONS WITH MENGHISTU, EVEN WHEN ETHIOPIA WAS FULL OF SOVIET

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MILITARY ADVISORS, SPECIALISTS FROM EASTERN GERMANY'S INFAMOUS STASI SERVICE, AND CUBAN SOLDIERS. COMING TO THE MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES, OUR ASSESSMENTS DIFFERED FROM WASHINGTON'S. IT IS HOWEVER TRUE THAT OUR GEOPOLITICAL VISION AND INTERESTS CANNOT HELP DIFFERING FROM A MANICHEAN AND GLOBAL VISION OF THE STRATEGIC PROBLEM.

((CALIGARIS)) WHAT CONTINUOUSLY EMERGES IN ITALY IS THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX WHICH MAKES US AFRAID THAT OTHERS WILL FAIL TO RESPECT AND WILL **ATTACK** OUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. WHY?

((MARTINI)) LET US NOT FORGET THAT ITALY, LIKE GERMANY, LOST THE WAR, AND WAS FOR A LONG TIME UNDER ALLIED RULE. THIS CONVINCED A GENERATION OF AMERICANS TO CONSIDER ITALY AS OCCUPIED TERRITORY. WE, ON THE OTHER HAND, WHETHER IN THE POLITICAL OR IN THE MILITARY DOMAIN -- AND I AM SPEAKING OF OUR PRESENCE IN NATO -- HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEHAVED CONSISTENTLY. WE SPENT LITTLE ON DEFENSE, MAINTAINING FORCES WHICH WERE TOO LARGE FOR THE FEW DIMITES WE GAVE TO THE ARMED FORCES, AND WE DID NOT PAY ATTENTION TO THEIR EFFICIENCY. OUR PROVINCIALISM AND THE LACK OF PEOPLE ABLE TO WORK IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES HAVE ALWAYS KEPT US OUT OF TOP POSTS, BOTH POLITICAL OR MILITARY. NATO SECRETARY GENERAL AMBASSADOR BROSIO WAS THE ONE EXCEPTION WHICH CONFIRMS THE RULE.

((CALIGARIS)) AND NOW, COUNTERESPIONAGE. THROUGHOUT THE COLD WAR, THE WHOLE OF NATO WAS FULL OF SOVIET-BLOC AGENTS. AND US?

((MARTINI)) THE KGB AND THEIR ALLIES WERE ALSO VERY ACTIVE IN OUR COUNTRY. DURING MY TIME AS HEAD OF THE SERVICE, THEIR LIFE BECAME HARDER. TO GIVE ONE EXAMPLE, IN 1984, 45 AGENTS WERE IDENTIFIED IN ITALY AND ABROAD. IN 1990, 508. WE CARRIED OUT VARIOUS OPERATIONS. THE TRIESTE AND LA SPEZIA ONES ARE THE ONLY ONES KNOWN TO THE PUBLIC. DURING THE TRIESTE OPERATION, FOR THE FIRST TIME, OUR COUNTERESPIONAGE WORKED ABROAD, IN BULGARIA, WITHOUT A PROTECTION NETWORK, I.E. WITHOUT ANY GUARANTEES. THE MOST ACTIVE ONES WERE THE KGB AND GRU ((MAIN INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE)) AGENTS, THE SOVIET MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE AND THE CZECHOSLOVAKS.

((CALIGARIS)) ONE PROBLEM CONTINUALLY BOTHERING ITALY IS ARMS TRAFFICKING. UNTIL 1986, EXPORTING WAS IN FULL SWING; TODAY, NOT A PIN. WHAT IS THE RIGHT BALANCE BETWEEN YESTERDAY AND TODAY?

((MARTINI)) DURING MY PERIOD AS HEAD, I CREATED A DIVISION TO CONTROL ILLEGAL ARMS TRAFFIC AND THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. IN THIS AREA, ONE MUST, HOWEVER, HAVE CLEAR IDEAS, AND NOT BE MISLED BY INFERENCES IN THE PRESS AND, IN CERTAIN CASES, BY THE MAGISTRACY.

((CALIGARIS)) CAN YOU EXPLAIN MORE CLEARLY?

((MARTINI)) OUTSIDE ITALY, CERTAIN THINGS ARE CONSIDERED LICIT,

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WHICH WE DO NOT PERMIT. EVEN THOUGH NOT A PIN MAY LEAVE ITALY, THERE IS NOTHING TO STOP AN ITALIAN TRADING IN CANONS ABROAD, FROM BUYING 1,000 AIRPLANES IN FRANCE AND SENDING THEM TO CHINA. MOREOVER, CERTAIN PRODUCTS AND MACHINE TOOLS CAN BE USED FOR BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN PURPOSES, DEPENDING ON HOW THEY ARE PROGRAMMED.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 004 *****/

REF: BR2911141893 MILAN IL GIORNALE ITALIAN 24 NOV///THEY ARE PROGRAMMED.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) ((CALIGARIS)) AN EXAMPLE?

((MARTINI)) IN 1989, OLIVETTI EXPORTED DIGITALLY CONTROLLED MACHINE TOOLS TO THE USSR. THE UNITED STATES ACCUSED IT OF IGNORING THE AGREEMENTS CONTROLLING EXPORTS TO THE SOVIET BLOC AND IN THIS WAY PROMOTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE YAK 3 AIRPLANE. THERE WAS TALK OF PLACING OLIVETTI ON THE BLACK LIST, THEREBY EXCLUDING IT FROM COMPETING IN THE USA AND OTHER NATO COUNTRIES. IN A DANGEROUS OPERATION, SISMI GOT HOLD OF PARTS MANUFACTURED IN A SOVIET MILITARY FACTORY USING OLIVETTI MACHINES, AND DEMONSTRATED THAT THE TECHNOLOGICAL LEVEL WAS WITHIN THE SET LIMITS. IN THIS TYPE OF CASE, THERE ARE SOME PUNCHES BELOW THE BELT FOR TRADE WAR REASONS. IN SUCH CASES, INTELLIGENCE SERVICES ALSO LOOK AFTER THEIR OWN COUNTRIES' INTERESTS.

((CALIGARIS)) ANY SUCCESS IN CONTROLLING ILLEGAL EXPORTS?

((MARTINI)) SEVERAL. THE IRAQI SUPERCANON, THE CONDOR 2 AFFAIR, THE CONSTRUCTION OF CLUSTER BOMBS IN ITALY, AGAIN FOR IRAQ.

((CALIGARIS)) LET US TAKE THOSE THINGS IN ORDER: FIRST OF ALL THE CLUSTER BOMB.

((MARTINI)) CLUSTERS ARE ANTIPERSONNEL BOMBS LAUNCHED AT LOW ALTITUDE. THESE WERE ASSEMBLED IN IRAQ, BUT AROUND 10 FIRMS WERE PRODUCING INDIVIDUAL PARTS DESTINED FOR OTHER USES. FOR EXAMPLE, SCREW-ON FEET FOR METAL CHAIR LEGS.

((CALIGARIS)) TELL US ABOUT THE FAMOUS SUPERCANON.

((MARTINI)) A WORKSHOP IN TERNI WAS CONSTRUCTING A CYLINDRICAL TUBE WHICH WAS A COMPONENT OF THE SUPERCANON BEING BUILT IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES. IRAQ WOULD HAVE JUST HAD TO ASSEMBLE IT.

((CALIGARIS)) HOW MANY COMPANIES WERE TAKEN IN, AND HOW MANY KNEW?

((MARTINI)) IN THE CASE OF THE CLUSTER BOMB AND THE CANON, THEY WERE ALL INNOCENT. NOT IN THE CASE OF THE CONDOR MISSILE, WHICH, HOWEVER, INVOLVED ONLY INDIVIDUAL ITALIAN TECHNICIANS, NOT COMPANIES. THIS AFFAIR IS IN THE HANDS OF THE MAGISTRACY. CERTAIN

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LARGE COMPANIES ATTEMPTED TO CIRCUMVENT EXPORT LEGISLATION BY FINDING SUPPORT POINTS ABROAD, FOR EXAMPLE SINGAPORE. BUT IT HAS TO BE SAID THAT THE COUNTRY MUST GET ITS THINKING STRAIGHT: EITHER IT MUST MAINTAIN ITS OWN INDUSTRY, KNOWING THAT THE DEFENSE MINISTRY DOES NOT HAVE THE MONEY TO KEEP IT GOING AND THAT THE INDUSTRY MUST THEREFORE EXPORT, OR IT BUYS ABROAD EVERYTHING USED BY ITS ARMED FORCES. THIS SECOND CHOICE HOWEVER COSTS DEARLY AT THE SOCIAL, EMPLOYMENT, AND FINANCIAL LEVELS, AS WELL IN TERMS OF LOSS OF TECHNOLOGY, AS THE MOST AMBITIOUS RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IS LINKED SOLELY TO THE MILITARY AREA.

((CALIGARIS)) THE CONDOR MISSILE, WITH A RANGE OF 1,000-1,500 KM, WAS THE FRUIT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN EGYPT, ARGENTINA, AND IRAQ, WITH POTENTIAL BUYERS INCLUDING LIBYA. WHAT DID SISMI DO?

((MARTINI)) SISMI WAS HUNTING CONDOR 2 TOGETHER WITH THREE OTHER SERVICES: CIA, MOSAD, AND MI6, THE CREME DE LA CREME. THE BRITISH WERE PREOCCUPIED WITH THE FALKLANDS, THE ISRAELIS WITH THEMSELVES, THE AMERICANS WITH REGIONAL BALANCE AND BECAUSE THE FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS WERE TAKING PLACE IN NEW YORK. THE CONDOR 2 TECHNICIANS WERE ITALIAN AND GERMAN. WE TOOK CARE OF OUR OWN. AND THE PROJECT WAS BURIED.

((CALIGARIS)) THE ISRAELIS ARE POINTING TO ANOTHER MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPON IN NORTH KOREA.

((CALIGARIS)) IS SISMI INVOLVED HERE?

((MARTINI)) YES, BUT IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO PLACE A REIN ON TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT BY PEOPLE WHO DO NOT RESPECT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS. THE SITUATION GETS WORSE IF, IN ADDITION TO THE CARRIERS, THESE ARE NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL ARMS. THIS IS ONE OF THE RISKS OF THE FUTURE, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE USSR, BECAUSE, MAYBE, MOSCOW DOES NOT CONTROL THE PERIPHERY OF THE FORMER EMPIRE, AND THESE STATES OFFER ARMS, CARRIERS, AND SCIENTISTS FOR LARGE SUMS OF MONEY.

((CALIGARIS)) AFTER THESE GLOBAL SCENARIOS, AND LOOKING NOW AT OUR DOMESTIC SITUATION, WE CANNOT AVOID POINTING TO GLADIO, STILL COVERED WITH IGNOMINY.

((MARTINI)) GLADIO WAS A LEGITIMATE STRUCTURE WITHIN NATO, AND WAS BORN OF AN INITIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIFAR ((ARMED FORCES INTELLIGENCE SERVICE)), OUR THEN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, AND THE CIA. SIFAR AND THE CIA WERE NOT TWO PRIVATE COMPANIES, BUT THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF TWO SOVEREIGN, ALLIED STATES. I BECAME RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS AS THE HEAD OF INTELLIGENCE. WHEN THE RISK OF A SOVIET INVASION ENDED, I REDUCED ITS ACTIVITY. IT WAS NOT FOR ME TO DISSOLVE IT, SINCE IT WAS A NATO STRUCTURE, BUT ANDREOTTI'S

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DECISION TO MAKE IT PUBLIC WITHOUT CONSULTING THE ALLIES WAS A VERY SERIOUS POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC MISTAKE, AS IT HAD THE EFFECT OF STRENGTHENING THE DOUBTS ABOUT OUR COUNTRY WHICH WE ALL KNOW ABOUT.

((CALIGARIS)) WHAT WAS THE REACTION OF THE ALLIED PARTNERS?

((MARTINI)) ALL ABSOLUTELY NEGATIVE. WE WERE TOTAL FOOLS.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 005 *****/

REF: BR2911141893 MILAN IL GIORNALE ITALIAN 24 NOV///WERE TOTAL FOOLS.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) ((CALIGARIS)) WHAT IS THE PRICE BEING PAID FOR THIS SCHIZOPHRENIA?

((MARTINI)) IT IS DIFFICULT TO QUANTIFY, BUT CERTAINLY VERY HIGH.

((CALIGARIS)) BECAUSE IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY MAKING A LOT OF GLADIO?

((MARTINI)) BECAUSE IN 1990, WITH THE BAD PRESS GIVEN TO GLADIO, THE PCI-PDS ((ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY -- DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT)) RECEIVED AN UNEXPECTED GIFT, JUST WHEN THE COMMUNIST WORLD WAS DISAPPEARING AND PEOPLE WERE BEGINNING TO TALK OF THE "RED TRIANGLE" OF DEATH. UNFORTUNATELY, ALSO, CERTAIN POLITICIANS, MAGISTRATES, AND MASS MEDIA THREW EVERY AVAILABLE BIT OF DIRT AT SISMI AND GLADIO, WHILST NO SINGLE GLADIO MEMBER HAS BEEN INDICTED FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTS OR MAFIA CRIMES. THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION WOULD HAVE DEMANDED THAT THEY GIVE NAMES AND FACTS OR KEEP QUIET. BUT OBVIOUSLY, THAT IS TOO MUCH TO HOPE FOR. SINCE IT IS THE EXCEPTION WHICH CONFIRMS THE RULE, I HAVE TO SAY THAT ((FORMER PRESIDENT)) COSSIGA ACTED COHERENTLY AND COMPETENTLY.

((CALIGARIS)) IN OUR LAST MEETING, YOU SAID THAT SISMI COULD BECOME A NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE FOR THE GOVERNMENT. AND WHAT ABOUT THE DEFENSE MINISTRY?

((MARTINI)) THE DEFENSE MINISTRY OUGHT TO CAST THE THREE ARMED FORCES' SIOS (OPERATIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY SERVICES) INTO A SINGLE DEFENSE SIOS UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE GENERAL DEFENSE STAFF. NOT THE MINISTER, BECAUSE IT WOULD DEAL SOLELY WITH OPERATING PROBLEMS. THE ARMED FORCES WOULD RETAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MILITARY POLICE.

((CALIGARIS)) DO YOU WISH TO END YOUR CAREER IN THE NOTORIOUS INTELLIGENCE SERVICES?

((MARTINI)) IN MY 16 YEARS IN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, I SERVED THE STATE HONORABLY, WHILE EARNING THE RESPECT OF THE ADVERSARY. IT WAS AN EXCITING EXPERIENCE AND I WOULD GLADLY REPEAT IT. INTELLIGENCE SERVICES MAY NOT BE TO EVERYBODY'S LIKING, BUT A STATE

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CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT THEM. LET US HOPE THAT ITALY LEARNS THIS SOON.

ADMIN

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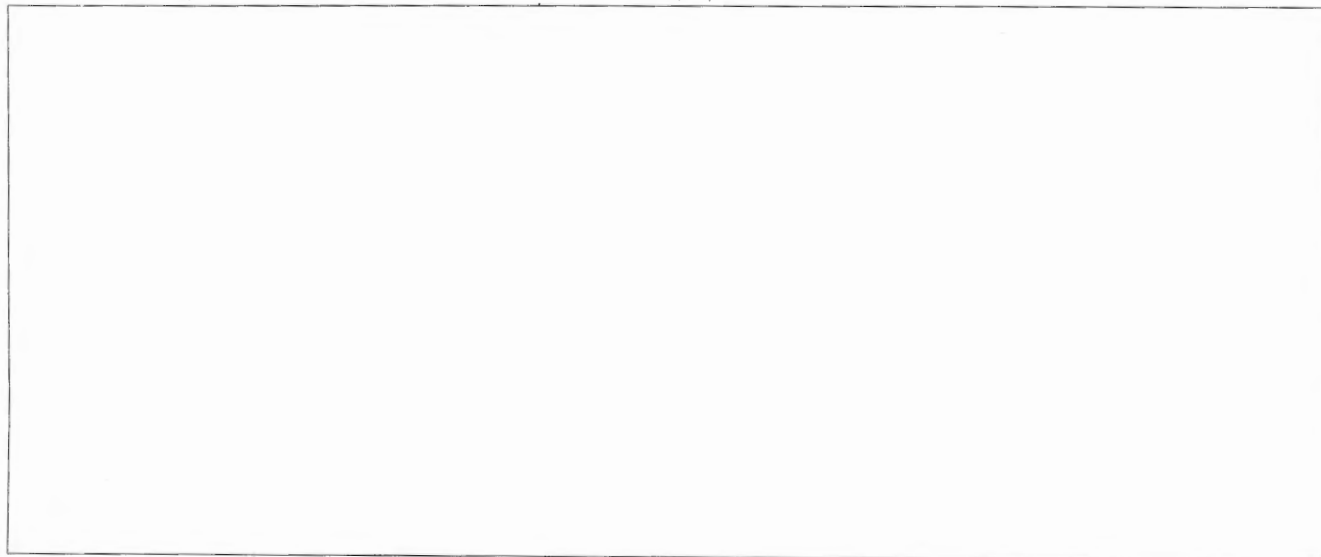
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**IWG Requests (Feb. 2004 Letter and Feb. 2005 Addendum) Requiring
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IWG Request A. Nazi war criminals recruited by the Gehlen Organization

- **IWG Feb 2004 Letter A:** *From 1949-1956, the CIA was the U. S. supervisor of the Gehlen Organization, the intelligence group run by Reinhard Gehlen. To date, the CIA has provided information to the IWG of its knowledge of at least 100 former SS men recruited by Gehlen. The materials declassified under the Act, however, do not as yet include general policy statements or discussions regarding the desirability, the problems, and other issues relating to the policy of recruiting war criminals.*
 - **Response:** CIA has conducted additional extensive searches of Gehlen-related information for the requested policy statements and these searches have not identified any documents pertaining to general policy statements or discussions about the desirability, the problems, and other issues relating to the Gehlen Organization's policy of recruiting war criminals. CIA will continue to look for this material in any future Gehlen-related searches.
- **IWG Feb. 2005 Addendum A:** *For policy materials on the Gehlen recruitment issue look for briefings/memorandum prepared for CIA officer (name redacted) who traveled to Germany in August 1951 to determine whether Gehlen should be fired. One of the main reasons CIA considered dropping Gehlen was the fact that he refused to hand over his agent/officer lists. Name of CIA officer who surveyed situation and reported to the DCI should be released, just as Samuel Bossard and James Critchfield's names have been released.*
 - **Response:** CIA is currently researching this material.

IWG Request A.1



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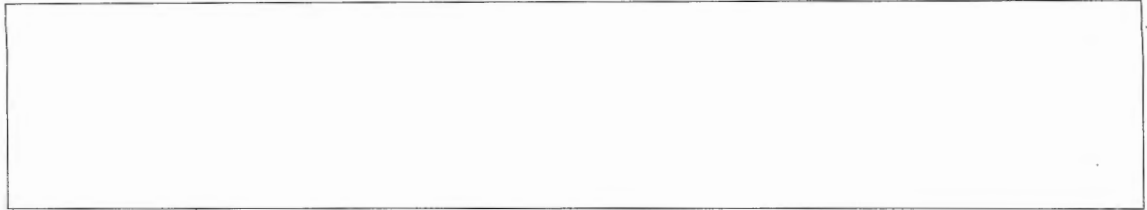
IWG Request A.2

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter A.2:** *After Heinz Felfe's arrest as a KGB mole within the Gehlen Organization, the CIA undertook a damage assessment, the records of which are relevant under the Act. Felfe, a former SS officer who was unquestionably a war criminal, was recruited by the Soviets, as were other SS men whose war backgrounds were a source of vulnerability. The Felfe damage assessment, or any similar documentation for any other SS men hired by Gehlen, has not been located and released despite its relevancy under the Act. The fact that a damage assessment was prepared on at least Felfe, if not others, is evident from scattered references in a few declassified Name Files. Such damage assessments would help show the consequences of using war criminals, including their vulnerability to blackmail by the Soviets and others.*
 - **Response:** This document has been located and reviewed for declassification. It was also reviewed by the IWG auditors/staff at CIA on 15 Apr. 2005. CIA delivered this declassified document to NARA on 25 Apr. 2005.

IWG Request A.3

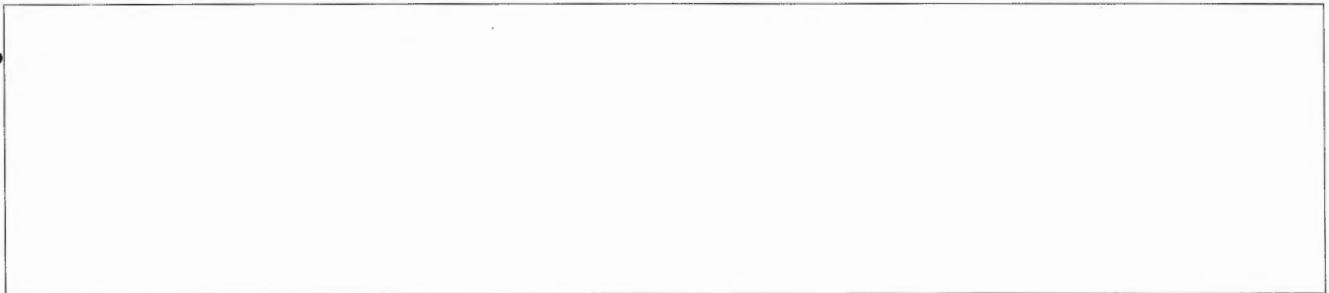
- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter A.3:** *There are scattered references in the CIA Name Files to the possible relationship between the Gehlen Organization and a group of war criminals who worked for both the Syrian and Egyptian governments in the 1940s and 1950s. These individuals included Joachim Deumling, Leopold von Mildenstein, Walter Rauff, Franz Rademacher, and Otto Skorzeny. The CIA has released documents on all of these individuals; however, an analysis of the documents reveals apparent gaps that clearly suggest a more comprehensive search for records about these individuals and their possible relationships with the U. S.-sponsored Gehlen organization is needed.*
 - **Response:** CIA has conducted additional extensive searches for any connection between these individuals and the Gehlen Organization, and these searches have not identified any material indicating a connection with Gehlen. The files on the individuals named will be re-reviewed by CIA as part of CIA's commitment to the IWG to re-review all previously released files. Note that the file on Otto Skorzeny has been re-reviewed (in connection with IWG Request B.1.). It was reviewed by the IWG auditors/staff at CIA on 15 Apr. 2005. CIA plans to deliver this re-reviewed file to NARA by 13 May 2005.

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IWG Request A.4

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter A.4:** *The already declassified records provide evidence of requests by Reinhard Gehlen for CIA assistance to war criminals (such as Paul Hudossy-Strobl) seeking to emigrate to the U.S. Additional searches should be undertaken to locate such materials.*
 - **Response:** CIA's searches have identified some information on individuals associated with the Gehlen Organization coming to the United States and additional work is underway to determine what, if any, assistance was given to these individuals by CIA. The file on Paul Hodossy-Strobl has been re-reviewed. The IWG auditors/staff reviewed this file at CIA on 15 April 2005. CIA plans to deliver this re-reviewed file to NARA by 13 May 2005.



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IWG Request B. Individual cases

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter B:** *In certain instances, the documents located and released by CIA on certain Nazi war criminals suggest the existence of other documents that have not yet been located or produced.*
 - **Response:** See CIA response on individual cases below.
- **IWG Feb. 2005 Addendum B:** *In the letter of February 2004, we provided a few examples of name files that needed to be reviewed. Here are an additional 51 name files in which the CIA has likely redacted or removed too much or for which new materials may be located.*
 - **Response:** The 51 additional name files will be re-reviewed as a part of CIA's commitment to the IWG to re-review all previously released files. If there is information available to address the particular questions raised in the IWG Feb. 2005 Addendum about these 51 Name Files, that information will be released.

IWG Request B.1

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter B.1:** *Otto Skorzeny. Although tried but not convicted as a war criminal, records on Skorzeny can be expected to contain information on other war criminals and war crimes. The CIA released several documents in which Skorzeny is mentioned.*

- **Response:** The file on Otto Skorzeny has been re-reviewed. The IWG auditors/staff reviewed this file at CIA on 15 Apr. 2005, including six additional documents concerning the visa application. These additional documents confirm already available information and provide no new information about Skorzeny's visa application, namely that there was no support from CIA Headquarters to assist Skorzeny in obtaining a visa and there was no operational interest in Skorzeny. CIA plans to deliver this re-reviewed file to NARA by 13 May 2005.

IWG Request B.2

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter B.2:** *Erich Rajakowitsch supervised the deportation of 80,000 Dutch Jews as Adolf Eichmann's representative in The Hague. In 1959, the CIA attempted to recruit Rajakowitsch for*

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[redacted] *The CIA released only a paragraph detailing this recruitment attempt and only cryptic and heavily redacted sentences about its indirect contact with Rajakowitsch when he was a hunted war criminal in the mid-1960s.*

- **Response:** The file on Erich Rajakowitsch has been re-reviewed by CIA. All information in this file concerning CIA's interest in Rajakowitsch is now declassified. The IWG auditors/staff reviewed this file at CIA on 1 Apr. 2005. CIA delivered this re-reviewed file to NARA on 25 Apr. 2005.

IWG Request B.3

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter B.3:** *In 1961, Reinhard Gehlen handed over a report to Allen Dulles regarding Adolf Eichmann that should be declassified.*
 - **Response:** This report – Eichmann Trial Exploited for Defamation Campaign against Federal Republic of Germany by Eastern Propaganda and Agitation -- was mentioned in a 23 Feb. 1961 cable in the declassified Eichmann file as being handcarried from Gehlen to DCI Allen Dulles. In CIA's declassified Eichmann file that was delivered to NARA in Nov. 2000, there is a 22 Feb. 1961 document with the correct title on the cover and with four reports attached to that title page (Globke und die Ausrottung der Juden, Der Fall Adolf Eichmann, Rufnummer Endlösung, and Der KZ-Staat) totaling about 160 pages. This document (the title page and the four reports attached to it) is all that has been located to date. Searches were initially conducted in 2000 when the Eichmann file was being reviewed for declassification and several additional new searches have been undertaken. CIA has not located any other information related to this report.

IWG Request B.4

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter B.4:** [redacted] *records indicate that Nazi Collaborator Vladimir Sokolov had a relationship with the CIA. The CIA has not released any documents on Sokolov and has placed a hold on the release of [redacted] file.*
 - **Response:** CIA declassified and released a file on Sokolov in Jun. 2004 after his name came to CIA's attention as a result of reviewing drafts of the May 2004 IWG book "US Intelligence and the Nazis." This file has been re-reviewed. CIA has not identified any information indicating a relationship with Sokolov. The file was reviewed by the IWG auditors/staff at CIA on 15 Apr. 2005. CIA plans to deliver this re-reviewed file to NARA by 13 May 2005.
 - Note that CIA never placed a hold on the release of [redacted] file on Sokolov located at NARA.

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IWG Request B.5

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter B.5:** *Theo Saevecke, who was involved in operations against Jews in Poland and was later second in command in the SS office in Tunis when the Jews of Tunisia were sent into forced labor, was recruited by the CIA in Berlin in the late 1940s. CIA admits an operational relationship but won't say when Theo Saevecke was recruited by the office in Berlin, nor the duration of this operational relationship. The CIA also refuses to provide information on the intelligence work performed by this Nazi war criminal.*
 - **Response:** The file on Theo Saevecke has been re-reviewed, and all information in this file concerning CIA's relationship with Saevecke and the work he performed is now declassified. The file was reviewed by the IWG auditors/staff at CIA on 1 Apr. 2005. CIA delivered this re-reviewed file to NARA on 25 Apr. 2005.

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IWG Request C.1

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter C.1:** *The Felix Steiner name file provides a plan for recruiting former Nazis for a "stay-behind" network in West Germany. It does not include discussions of this plan or information why it was ultimately not implemented. It is also impossible to know from the released information whether this project was an isolated effort or part of a broader strategy.*
 - **Response:** CIA has not identified any information indicating that the plan referenced above

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was ever followed up or continued. The file on Steiner has been re-reviewed. The IWG auditors/staff reviewed this file at CIA on 15 Apr. 2005. CIA plans to deliver this re-reviewed file to NARA by 13 May 2005.

IWG Request C.2

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter C.2:** *The Roberts Ancans, Friedrich Carstenn, Karl Otto Jobke, and Eberhad Tellokamp Name Files indicate that the OPC recruited former SS men for a "paramilitary operation" in late 1951. Information regarding the name and nature of that operation and the extent to which it used former Nazi war criminals has not been released. Information in the Hans Rues Name File suggests that he may have also been involved, though there is no evidence of precisely what operation he was recruited for in late 1951.*
 - **Response:** CIA has re-reviewed the files on the above named individuals. All information in these files pertaining to CIA's interest in these individuals and the work they performed has now been declassified. The IWG auditors/staff reviewed these files at CIA on 1 Apr. 2005. CIA delivered these re-reviewed files to NARA on 25 Apr. 2005.

IWG Request C.3

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter C.3:** *CIA and the Gladio stay-behind network in Europe. Italian court records released in late 1990s indicate relationships between the U. S. Government and Italian fascists trained by former SS men Eugen Dollmann, Karl Hass and Benito Rossi in the 1950s as a stay-behind force for NATO. The Italians involved included the former chief of the collaborationist X Mas, Prince Valerio Borghese, and his wartime associates Carlo Rocchi, Lino Franco and Sergio Minetto. These men later belonged to the Ordine Nuovo, a right-wing paramilitary group that attempted to overthrow the Italian government in December 1970. There is evidence of a similar network in Austria, which may have also involved relevant individuals. In the late 1990s, the U. S. ambassador to Austria officially apologized to the Austrian government for a stay-behind group in that country. But no CIA materials on this project*

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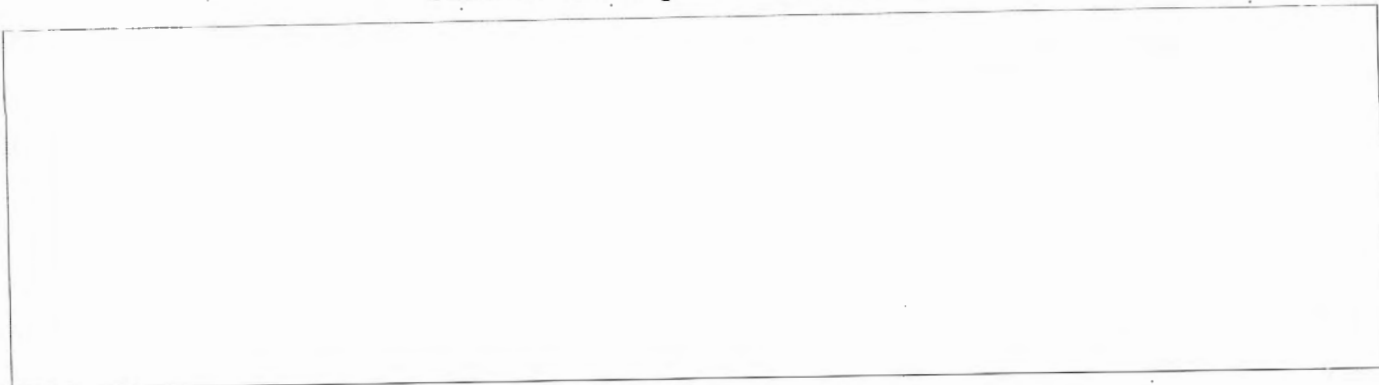
have been released to the IWG. Also, materials in the Leon Degrelle Name File suggest that Belgian Rexists (fascists) were recruited by OPC for a stay-behind network in that country. A document in the Degrelle Name File indicates that in the 1970s, a CIA officer asked headquarters whether in the 1950s the OPC had indeed recruited the notorious Degrelle. The question was not answered in any other document in the released Name File and to date the CIA has not located and reviewed for declassification information about its relationship with Belgian fascists in the 1950s.

- **Response:** CIA has re-reviewed the previously released files on Karl Haas and Leon Degrelle (including a document dated 25 Mar. 1970 added to the DeGrelle file indicating that there is no information to support the allegation in an article in "Die Welt" that American military forces in Spain recruited DeGrelle), and has reviewed a new file on Valerio Borghese. The IWG auditors/staff reviewed these files at CIA on 15 Apr. 2005. CIA plans to deliver these files to NARA by 13 May 2005.
 - Note that no files on Carlo Rocchi, Lino Franco, Sergio Minetto, or Ordine Nuovo have been identified. The Ordine Nuovo organization is discussed in one document in the Borghese file.
 - CIA is obtaining more legible copies of the documents in the Dollmann file before re-reviewing that file.
 - For additional searches on the network in Austria mentioned above, any other information from open source or declassified records on this subject would be helpful.
- **IWG Feb. 2005 Addendum C.3:** *Valerio Borghese: He was initially contacted by OSS/X-2 in 1944. See Project Ivy. Some of Project Ivy was declassified but not the list of sources in Borghese's organization Decima (X) Flotilla Mas. Main Agent was codenamed PROFESSOR.*
 - **Response:** Referenced materials are being researched at this time.

IWG Request C.4

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter C.4:** *Operations Red Cap and Veritable. In the open literature, there are references to two operations sponsored by the CIA involving eastern European émigrés. The CIA Name File for Hasan Dosti suggests that he was part of Operation Veritable, designed to overthrow the Hoxha regime. To date, CIA materials on the recruitment of Albanian war criminals for Operation Veritable have not been released. Material on Operation Red Cap, which involved activities in the Ukraine and the Balkan states, is even less evident and very well may have involved relevant individuals.*
 - **Response:** No information has been identified on "Red Cap" and "Veritable." If the referenced operations existed, perhaps they were known by other names. The file on Hasan Dosti is being re-reviewed. It will be available for the IWG auditors/staff to review at CIA on 6 May 2005 before delivery to NARA.

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IWG Request D. Japanese War Criminals

- **IWG Feb. 2004 Letter D:** *On October 31, 2000, the IWG issued a 60-page list of keywords to be searched by agencies in order to locate materials related to Japanese war crimes. To date, the CIA has located 782 pages that the Agency deems relevant to Japanese war crimes. During 2002 and 2003, the CIA was on three occasions provided with a list prepared by an IWG historian containing the names of 45 prominent Japanese individuals, both convicted war criminals and individuals whose files could be expected to contain information related to war crimes. These were individuals on whom the agency could be expected to accumulate files. Many were prominent public officials, such as prime ministers and foreign ministers for whom the CIA must have created biographical files. The IWG has received no records resulting from searches based on this list.*
 - **Response:** CIA is reviewing the identified files for declassification at this time. As many as possible of these files will be available for the IWG auditors/staff to review at CIA on 6 May 2005.

OPERATION GLADIO - PRESS GUIDANCE

ON THE RECORD: As a matter of policy, we do not comment on allegations of intelligence activities, nor do we comment on liaison relationships.

DEEP BACKGROUND: It is important to keep in mind the genuine and warranted concern 40 years ago about the possibility of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe -- a concern that was shared by the United States and its European allies. Recent press reports should be viewed in that context.

Approved for Release
by the Central Intelligence Agency
Date: 2004