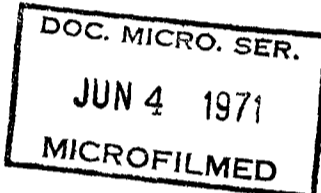


DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION SECRET /RYBAT	PROCESSING ACTION	
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TO	Chief, EUR	X	NO INDEXING REQUIRED
INFO.			ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING
FROM	Chief of Station, [] <i>only</i>		MICROFILM
SUBJECT	Prince Junio Valerio BORGHESE and the National Front		
ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES			
REF: [] 4526			
<p>Per reference, attached is a copy of the memo of conversation between Charles R. Stout and Prince Valerio Borghese which took place on 26 January 1970 at the Embassy. Also attached is a copy of the document provided to Stout by Borghese which, in turn, is a copy of the same document which was given to General Walters by persons unknown.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[] -</p> <p>2 Attachments: As outlined above.</p> <p>Distribution: 3 <u>C/EUR</u> w/atts</p> <p style="text-align: right;">  FOR COORDINATION WITH <u>State</u> </p> <p>GROUP 1 - EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING & DECLASSIFICATION</p> <p>NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT</p> <p>EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b) (2)(A) Privacy <input type="checkbox"/> (2)(B) Methods/Sources <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (2)(G) Foreign Relations <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p style="text-align: right;">Declassified and Approved for Release by the Central Intelligence Agency Date: 2005</p> <p>2 ATT CS COPY</p>			
CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE	
D43-9-54	OIRA-53054	31 August 1970	
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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

American Embassy
Rome, Italy
January 26, 1970

SUBJECT: The National Front and the Italian Political Situation

PARTICIPANTS: Prince J. Valerio Borghese
Oddone Colonna - Italian Representative for Northrop
Charles R. Stout - Second Secretary of Embassy

COPIES TO: Ambassador POLIT
Minister POL (4)
Department - EUR/AIS

(Note: Political/Military Counselor Gordon had been asked by Mr. Colonna who in the Embassy might see Borghese, and Mr. Gordon gave him my name.)

Borghese said that he had not been in touch with anyone in the Embassy for many years. He was not sure what our sources of information are and suspected that we might not be completely aware of the desperate state of Italian opinion, or of the work of his movement, the National Front (Fronte Nazionale). He continued that the public is utterly fed up with the government and party system, which is corrupt, inefficient and self-serving. They do not care about Lenin or Duce, or any other politician. Furthermore, the country is very rapidly sliding toward Communist control. The PCI now influences public policy to a considerable degree; in a short time it will be in absolute control. Few public figures seem to worry about this, but the thinking public does. He came to the Embassy because the U.S. is the world's leader and because it has considerable influence in Italy. He cited President Kennedy's alleged decisive support for introducing the center-left in Italy.

Borghese continued that the Front is not a party. He refuses to have anything to do with them. The Front aims at getting together people who are worried about what the postwar era has brought to Italy -- businessmen, professional men, intellectuals, and petty bourgeoisie. There are hundreds of small, local organizations in the country that have a similar viewpoint; the Front tries to bring them together. Its

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long range aim is to catalyze public opinion and eventually supplant the parties and the present system of government. It has already set up a "shadow" government, with "prefects" in each province and a central staff of experts in many fields.

I said that I could sympathize with many of his criticisms of the Italian system, but is it realistic to think that a group outside the system could overthrow it as simply as he had explained? Borghese insisted that it was a matter of getting public opinion on the side of justice -- or rather, the opinion of people who can lead, since the people as such follow the decisive leader.

In reply to a question, Borghese said that the Front is conservative in the sense of wanting to preserve public order, respect for the law, and Italy's position in NATO. But it favors a social policy that is much more realistic and progressive than that of any Italian party. The Front has no membership formality, and thus no estimate on how many people adhere to it.

I asked Borghese whether he was still active in the MSI. He said no, that he had consented to become the MSI's honorary president in the early 1950's under particular circumstances. When the circumstances no longer applied, he resigned a couple of years later. The MSI is no better than any other party.

I said that we were always interested in receiving various political views and would be glad to see him in the future if he had something to add. Borghese gave me a copy of a memorandum that had been given to a member of President Nixon's entourage in Rome last February.

Biographic Note: Borghese was famous during the war as the regular Navy officer in command of torpedo boats that performed daring actions against the British. He stayed with the Republic of Salo and was condemned after the war to a number of years of prison because of action taken against the partisans. His English is fairly good, but he preferred to speak Italian.

The Front has received occasional newspaper coverage but nothing of importance.

ATT 2 to OIRA-53054

NOTE: This memorandum is more indicative of the Front's opinions than Borghese briefer presentation. The first, internal part exaggerates but makes a discussable interpretation. The foreign affairs section is unacceptable irredentist. The last section presents the case for the future -- in nationalistic terms.

Not neo-Fascist, but perhaps Falangist.

crs

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ITALY 1969

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I - THE INTERNAL TANGLE

1. Acquiescence and complaisance

Italian politicians are trying to reassure the public opinion on the positive aspect of the internal political situation, and on the country's future; but among large sections of the Italian people there is a diffuse apprehension about the undeniable fact, that the Communist Party and other left-wing parties are getting the upper hand, owing to the acquiescence and even to the complaisance of certain governmental circles. It is feared that sooner or later the Italian government will be compelled by the rules of democracy to admit into its own structure some elements of the Communist Party, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

2. Limits of DC anti-communist action

The Christian Democratic Party stepped out on the political scene as the strongest party in Italy, since the very beginnings of the new Italian Republic (1947). During a first period up to 1960, the Christian Democrats, having acquired a relative majority in the government, made some serious efforts in order to stand up to Communism, as well as to other leftist forces; so that the late Premier De Gasperi boasted of having built a "dam" to stem the red flood. Since then, about ten years have elapsed, but instead of a dam against Communism, the DC is now reduced to merely attempting "to throw a gang-board towards Socialism", as the newly appointed Secretary of the DC, Mr. Piccoli, picturesquely declared in a recent speech.

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In fact, the Christian Democrats were not, and still less are now, in a condition ^{to} erect any barrier between themselves and the Communists, nor to sustain at length a fight against them. Both the Christian Democrats and their adversaries were partners in the "Resistance" against the Germans and the Fascists during the Second World War. They carried out joint actions, and in many cases shared heavy responsibilities and were implicated in certain irksome episodes, over which Art. 16 of the Peace Treaty held a safe shield, and time drew an opportune sheet. From this point of view, leaders like De Gasperi, Togliatti, Saragat, Pacciardi, Longo, Nenni and Reale are considered on equal foot. The Italian Constitution bears the signature of a Communist Keeper of the Seal, Mr Terracini.

From such old alliances the DC inherited a general leftist trend destined to a steady growth. Another heritage of the said alliance is the impossibility of cooperating sincerely and effectively with any political group not welcome to the Leftists, and labelled by them as "conservative", "reactionary", "capitalistic-minded", "fascist" and so on: like the Liberals, the Monarchists, the Movimento Sociale Italiano, and many others. Alliances with the Republican (a kind of Radicals) and with the Socialists are permissible, always because of their leftist characterization and of the above-mentioned joint fight in the "Resistance" period; but the Liberals, who should be included in the "Resistance" junta, are out of the game, for they are relentlessly accused by the Communists, of being puppets of the capitalists, representing "the forces of the Reaction, constantly laying in ambush". The position of the Italian liberals ^{might be} loosely compared with that of the American conservatives, and has little to do with American liberals, but the term "conservative" has acquired a disparaging meaning in the political current in Italy, while the notions of "progress and of "democracy" are automatically associated with leftist thoughts and methods.

3. Failure of the center-left system

It was therefore unavoidable that in due time the DC opposition against Socialism should cease at all; and as consequence, a coalition government has been formed, in which power was shared by the DC, the Socialists and the Republicans. This coalition, called "center-left government" (governo di centro sinistra) was recommended and encouraged by the late President John F. Kennedy, and has been ruling Italy since many years.

According to the strategy laid down by Mr Fanfani and Mr Moro, inventors of the center left formula, the DC should have incapsulated the Socialists in the governmental tissue, thus leaving the Communists alone and destitute. After many vicissitudes, this very complicated operation resulted in the incapsulation of the DC, and in the stengthening of the hands the Communist Party. This is due to the fact, that Socialists accepted governmental positions, but not the relevant responsibilities, carrying on their opposition exactly as before, and curbing the government to their own wished. For the last ten years, the leftis parties succeeded in imposing on the Italian people a lot of red colored laws, intended to effect a steady and capillary intrusion of the State into every economic activity of some importance, and into all social structures, according to well-known socialistic shemes, and by means of the "nationalization" method. If this process woud't come to a stop, Italy will torn into a true socialist State, within a very short time, and in a historical period in which all socialistic State of the world are getting fed up with socialism.

But there are even greater dangers. If, in order to maintain its grip on the government, the DC is compelled to make further

and further concessions to its socialist partners, these or their turn feel obliged to make concessions to the Communists with whom they have so many principles and methods in common. It is to be always born in mind, that Communism is the logical and ultimate consequence of Socialism. The Socialists may depart from the Communists for a while, they may even quarrel with them, owing to tactical reasons, but they will never really fight against Communism, for the strategic end of both of them is the same: the destruction of the "bourgeois" civilization. This is a fact that the Christian Democrats and many other groups in Italy are not able to grasp.

4. Communist successes and tactics

The DC, hampered by a heritage of complicity with the Leftists, indulging in too many acknowledgements of their good social reasons, trapped in the snare destined to the Socialists, plighted by factionalism and by sniping from the two coalition partners, goes on compromising, in the hope that time will change things for the better.

But many Italians feel that time will change things-for the worse. Truly anti-communists parties and forces, and patriotic movements have been branded as anti-democratic thugs and confined in a political and moral ghetto. The DC is reduced to impotence. Among the extant parties, not a single one is left to stand up against Communism.

If the Communists have not yet seized power, this is due in the first place to the recent crises and uncertainties inside the government of the Soviet Union, and secondly to the hope, or better to the certainty, on the side of the Communists, to be able to take over gradually, and by legal means, according to a method already indicated by Togliatti; and there is every sign

that they are perfectly right.

At the time of Togliatti, his plan could have seemed preposterous, but to-day it is not. In the present situation, the Italian Communists are no longer tackling the question of their strength, but only that ^{of} calculating exactly the moment in which the weakness of the adversary will be at its lowest ebb.

Besides, the Communists know quite well that whoever ^{starts} upon the road of the Left, must go along the whole route, down to the communistic maw. They consider the Italian Republicans, Socialists and other Leftists (left-wing Christian Democrats included) as nothing else but a bunch of "useful idiots", destined to prepare the way for Soviet power. The Socialists may laugh at the Christian Democrats trapped in their own trap; but the Communists are waiting for the moment in which the whole lot of their adversaries will fall into the pit they are digging with their own hands.

The Communists are displaying rational tactics in dealing with their opponents. On the one side, they insist on the "democratic" character of their principles and method (indeed they claim to be ^{the} only democratic movement in history), and on their own particular keen respect for the Constitution, donning a garb of respectability which has been hastily acknowledged by their effete adversaires. On the other side, they have systematically denounced the misdeeds and failure of the center-left government, and the inadequacy of the present political and social system. They refuse to recognize any social progress bourgeois in Italy, and in the whole Western civilization, they show no faith in a free world, They haven't given up a single item of the ^a Marxist doctrine, and go on presenting a completely obsolete picture of modern society and economy, and waging "class-warfare". They are directing a heavy fire against bourgeois

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family, bourgeois society, bourgeois State, bourgeois culture. They keep on fighting on the field of the syndicates. Strikes and street fights are rampant in Italy. In the last general strike, about ten million workers walked off their job. The account of the working-hours lost in strikes during the last 20 years is appalling. The damage inflicted to the Nation's economy is a sad counterpart to the so-called "Italian miracle". Many of the strikes have been called by the Communists only to put their organizations to a practical test, and to keep them in a good form. The Communists want to be sure that in case of a war not approved by them, the whole Nation will be reduced to a State of complete paralysis, within a few hours.

The Communists are now proceeding from the speech delivered by the Secretary of the PCI in the XII Party Congress, Mr Longo, the Italian Communists are now asking "radical changes" in the government policy, and "structural transformations which may consent new developments in democracy"; they are claiming for "new majorities" in the public administration, they want Italy to get out of the NATO at once, They speak and take up a position of neutrality, in the name of the Italian people to declare that Italy will never fight against the Soviet Union .

On the other side, in the same speech Longo let understand that as regards relations with the Soviet Union, the PCI should follow an independent line. This is a very shrewd move. The Communists are aware that subservience to the Soviet Union is not a popular dish in Italy. If they will succeed in demonstrating that they are not disposed to sell off Italy to Russian domination, they will win half the battle; and the other half will be won when everybody in Italy will be convinced that an Italian - made communistic regime would be something entirely "different", certainly quite civil and tolerant, in comparison with those of Eastern Europe.

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5. Naivety, tolerance, weakness.

To this extremely dangerous illusion, the present Government is validly contributing with a continuous display of esteem and confidence towards Communist good intentions and "respectability". Two Italian under-Secretarys, belonging to the Italian Socialist Party and to the Republican Party, personally presented their greetings and good wishes to the above-mentioned Congress of the PCI. As a reward, a passage of the Socialist exponent's speche was greeted by laughters and hisses.

A similar naivety is evident in Vatican policy. Both ⁱⁿ the Theological and in the political field, the Vatican State, utterly anxious to show a "progressive" spirit, has taken up a position of extreme tolerance, which has precedent in the long history of the Church. Communist atheism, though clearly stated and never given up, seem to be of ~~of~~ no consequence in the eyes of a "modern" Church. The excommunication of the Marxists, proclaimed by the preceeding Pontiffs, has fallen into complete oblivion. Social concerns are overweighting religious dogmas. Bishops and Cardinals are permeated with socialist ideas. Humble Priests dare ^{to} display socialistic and communistic versions of the Holy Scriptures, representing Jesus Christ as a social reformer, a defendant of the poor against a capitalistic society. The Church appears to be quite unwilling to stamp out such flares of heterodoxy, nor seems to have the nerve of punishing the priests who in steadily increasing numbers are defying its authority and even setting up fanciful rituals of their own made.

Anarchist movements have arisen in Italy, expecially among students. These show new particular differences in comparison

with other movements of the kind all over the world, organized and sponsored by well-located and well-respected centers. In Italy, like in many other countries, the man in the street is wondering why those centers are not swiftly dealt with according to the Penal Code.

To sum up, an excess of tolerance and extreme feebleness towards anarchism and communism are in the eyes of the Italian people the most disturbing features of the Italian State and of the Catholic Church.

6. No way out but Communism?

Much of these evils are attributed to factionalism. There are a dozen political parties in Italy to-day; and almost every party is split into many currents and under-currents, ^{After the last elections, the need for satisfying the appetite of all these factions} has brought to the appointment of 56 Under-Secretaries, as painful appendixes of 18 Ministers. Conflicts of every kind among all persons and groups involved in this entangled system are spreading chaos in the public administration. Not even the simplest problem can be tackled without paying a heavy price to factional or personal demands.

A return to a more sober political dosage is no longer possible, and even if it could be, the degenerative process would start all over again very soon. Any proposal to resort to a two-parties system would be rejected with sanctimonious indignation as an "Anglo-Saxon" system by those very individuals who every day proclaim that patriotism is a surpassed value.

An almost incredible aspect of the abnormal situation in Italy is offered by the fact that, according to the Italian Penal Code, all organizations and all propaganda intended to establish by violence a dictatorship of a social class upon another, or to abolish a social class (see Marxism), as well as

organizations and propaganda intended to destroy the institutions established in the Constitution (see Anarchism) are strictly prohibited, and severe penalties are laid down for their repression. The relevant clauses (Art. 270 to 274) are quite detailed and leave no doubt on the matter: communism and anarchism are out of the law. How on earth, the Communist Party ^{may} flourish in Italy, and the anarchists may call international congresses on the national territory, nobody knows.

Occasional reproaches have been made to Italy, as well as to other European countries, for having allowed socialism and communism to take root on their soil. To such reproaches many Italian citizens answer, that there was no socialism and no communism in Italy before the last phases of the Second World War, when bands of leftist partisans were organized and recklessly backed by the Allies; and that the Allied Military Government in Italy allowed leftist politicians a freedom of action and an authority they never had before. Some of these politicians were coming directly from the Soviet Union. In a word, the truth is, they say, that communism was introduced into Italy by the Anglo-Americans, and the Italian people cannot be blamed for the fatal consequences of this error. Even later, instead of doing something concrete to help Italy, the US administrations following to Mr Truman, and especially President John F. Kennedy's administration, did their utmost to sponsor Socialism, and therefore Communism, in Italy.

II - THE INTERNATIONAL RIDDLE

1. Three steps in the dark

No less apprehension is felt as regards the international situation and the Italian foreign policy. The last provisions taken by the Italian government do not appear to be very coherent with loyalty to the Atlantic Pact and to the principles on which the Western world is based. Since the appointment of the well-known Socialist leader Pietro Nenni as head of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, three very important and very alarming steps have been taken, in the course of a few weeks:

- firstly, three PCI senators have been sent for the first time to the 18 member Italian delegation of the European Parliament, in addition to three other Socialists already appointed;

- secondly, the Italian government has signed the anti-H Treaty, and is now preparing to ratify it, without any previous consultation in Parliament, or any sounding whatever of the public opinion, and in spite of the previous decision to keep the whole matter in suspense until the situation in Czechoslovakia had taken a more reassuring turn. No real guarantee for Italy's atomic industry has been ensured before signing the Treaty, and the system of controls envisaged by the document would put that industry at the mercy of the Soviet Union;

- Thirdly, the Italian government is now planning to recognize Communist China. In the opinion of many Italians, as well as of many Americans, this move is regarded as entirely premature and ~~and~~ imprudent.

2. Mutilated Italy.

The second step taken ^{by Italian} Minister for Foreign Affairs is judged all the more condemnable, as the situation at the Eastern borders is still quite unsatisfactory and conceals many dangers. The so-called settlement of the Italo-Yugoslav borders, after the Second World War, imposed by the victors, is still considered in Italy as an act of gross injustice. Large tracts of land on the Adriatic Sea have been given up to Yugoslavia. Three hundred thousand Italians have been compelled to escape to peninsular Italy.

Of course, there is no longer a question ascertaining how many Italians are in those lands now, after so many conflicts, massacres, options, displacements, denationalization provisions. The fact is, that everything of value in Istria and Dalmatia, from the humblest homes to the most important buildings, is of Venetian origin, and has remained Venetian for centuries, up to modern times. Venice took up the ancient Roman heritage and on that basis developed a modern civilization, still admired by the whole world.

By the loss of Istria and Dalmatia, the Italian geopolitical structure has been gravely mutilated. Germany has suffered a more conspicuous partition; but Eastern Germany has remained German, while Eastern Italy (Istria and Dalmatia) have been merged into Yugoslavia, and submerged by Slavs(1)

Even apart from all that, there is the question of the "B-Zone", an Istrian territory assigned to Yugoslavia as a temporary trusteeship, and in which Yugoslav ^{fact that their government, cowed} ~~fact that their government, cowed~~ by the Socialists, does not find the courage of appealing to UNO or to other relevant international organizations in order to get back a territory unduly occupied by the Yugoslavs; and that Ita-

lian politicians too often indulge in flirting with Yugoslavia, just because it is a socialist country .

The Yugoslavs are now hovering over Trieste and over the whole North-Eastern Italy. All the boundaries between these two Nations have been traced so as to allow Yugoslav armies to crash through Italian defence down to Venice and Milan in no time. In this area there are many NATO bases, but the Italians are not sure whether they will keep their ground.

There is also the ominous presence of an up-to-date military apparatus set up with Chinese material in Albania, 70 km off the Eastern Italian shores. Albanian missiles can destroy any town in Italy. Perhaps there is some possibility of a counter-action; but the Italian people ignores it.

3. Italy, NATO and UNO

The British Minister for Defence wrote recently that the whole Soviet Union fleet in the Mediterranean could be destroyed by the Italian navy; but the Italian man in the street is inclined to consider this as a gag. Everybody knows the clauses of the Peace Treaty, by which Italy's armed forces are still kept in a condition of inferiority after almost thirty years. The Italian people is wondering what on earth NATO authorities are expecting from a country, which has been mutilated, reduced to a military nonentity, and consigned to the Communists; and seeing the Leftists allowed to have a free hand not only in Italy but in many other European countries and not even a serious propaganda action carried on by the relevant American organizations. The same citizens are also wondering whether it is not the case of believing to those who assert that USA are by now resigned to let Yalta criteria and systems be forced on Europe down to their extreme consequences. Somebody even thinks that the USA and the Soviet Union are planning a new and definite partition of the world, in which Italy, and indeed all the other European

countries, ~~and not even a serious propaganda action carried on~~ by the relevant American organizations, the same citizen are also wondering whether it is not the case of believing to those who assert that the USA are by now resigned to let Yalta criteria and systems be forced on Europe down to their extreme consequences. Somebody even thinks that the USA and the Soviet Union are planning a new and definite partition of the world, ~~in which Italy, and indeed all the other European countries,~~ should have no claim and no hope for political and economic independence. Many recognize that this is perhaps an exaggerated thesis; but doubts and fears arise again when people see so few facts in contrary to the supposition, and so many facts in favor of it.

The thought of a Unite Europe is no longer a source of hope. The massive entry of Communist and Socialist exponents into the political and economic structures of the building still under construction is not at all reassuring. There is a strong suspect, based also on UNO experiences, that the Reds want to partake to the said organizations only with a view to sabotage them.

Moreover, it is feared that the communist presence in the EEC and ECM will certainly facilitate the realization of the plans for an international labor union, auspicated by some French and Italian leftist federations of trade unions. Such plans are disturbing enough in themselves, but should they result to be connected with those cherished by some labour exponents in the United States, the effect on the Italian public opinion would be very depressing.

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4. The only solution left.

In conclusion, people in Italy are getting deadly tired under the pressure of a heavy political situation, and begin to see no way out of the present tangle, unless the whole system is changed by some drastic means; which may imply, according to the various points of view, a revolution, a civil war, a Communist coup de main in Parliament, or a military coup d'état.

According to some observers, however, there is still a solution left: a concentration of nationalist forces, not bound to any party (comparable to those that organized the historical one million people demonstration in Paris streets, some time ago), resolved to fight communism sternly and efficiently, and to establish a new and more rational political system, in which the political representatives by profession should be substituted by representatives of the professions, freely elected and free from party pressures.

But this could be realized only on condition of putting a stop to the condemnation of nationalism and patriotism, and to the exaltation of compromise and tolerance towards the Leftists, presently celebrated in force of a perverted conception of true democracy and true freedom.

Nationalism and patriotism have proved to be ^{the} only real moral resources to which a free people can resort against international Marxism and materialism, as appears from so many instances all over the world. Hence the need for a reappraisal of nationalism and patriotism particularly in Italy, a country where Leftist of every kind are allowed to scoff at those values, and schoolboys are taught that patriotic feelings lead down to war-mongery and that war-heroes are just degenerated sadists. In facts, the Reds know quite

well how great a danger Nationalism is for themselves, for it means unit, spiritualism, and a will to fight.

On the other side, modern Italian Nationalism does not appear to be a danger for a free world; it has already accepted the perspective of being integrated in an international system, provided that each Nation's moral and material rights be seriously guaranteed.

The dilemma now before the U.S. government is the following: either to abstain from every intervention, and leave Italy to slide inexorably into the Red Area; or to come to the rescue before it is too late, and sponsor the said concentration of Nationalist Forces, in a very efficient way.

Note 1). Napoleon consigned Venice with Istria and Dalmatia to Austria, with a despotic tract of pen. Venice was recovered by Italy after a short war with Austria in the last century; but in the First World War, Italy lost 650.000 men to snatch back from Austria also Istria and Dalmatia, just to see Dalmatia given over her allies, in spite of all treaties, to a brand-new "Yugoslavia"; and after the Second World War the same sort was suffered by Istria.