

DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION	PROCESSING ACTION
	SECRET	MARKED FOR INDEXING
	TO Chief, EUR	X NO INDEXING REQUIRED
	INFO.	ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING
FROM Chief of Station, []		MICROFILM
SUBJECT	Transmittal of Copies of Colonel Clavio's Memos	

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

- REFERENCES: A. OIRT-14377
B. OIRT-14376

Forwarded as attachments to this dispatch are eighteen (18) additional memos from Colonel Clavio. The source is []

18 Attachments: UNDER SEPARATE COVER
Memos as outlined above.

Distribution:
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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
 (2)(A) Privacy
 (2)(B) Methods/Sources
 (2)(G) Foreign Relations

FOR COORDINATION WITH US Army

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CROSS REFERENCE TO []	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER OIRT-14381	DATE OCT 9 1970
	CLASSIFICATION SECRET	HQS FILE NUMBER 43-9-54

Attachment to OIRT-14381,

15 Oct 1970

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The Ambassador

1 September 1970

Army Attache *for*

Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source.

Source volunteered information on the situation involving the FN. He stated that his evaluation of the organization differed from that of Chief SID. Source said the organization is effective, well organized, and national in character. However, it does not possess at present the capability to take any major action. He believes it is an important organization which must not be underestimated, and feels that their activities must be watched closely. He indicated this is being done not only here in Rome but all over the country on a daily basis. Although the FN does not now possess the capability, they may very well develop this capability in the near future, even within six or nine months or a year. This is why they must be watched.

Chief SID, on the other hand, considers the organization to be ineffective and does not feel they are too important. Source indicates, however, that on several occasions Chief SID has been worried by the organization.

Source revealed that General MARCHESI had been in touch with him and discussed paratroopers and Carabinieri. Source assured MARCHESI that paratroopers supported the Center and did not support extremists.

General FORLENZA, Commander of Carabinieri, allegedly fell while at home and injured his elbow, and he will be away from duty for a while.

1c/att to OIRT 14381

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3 September 1970

The Ambassador

Army Attacks

Appointment of Chief, SLD

PICCOLI

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source.

I met source at 12:00 PM as he was returning to his office. He confided to me that the prospects looked good now for the appointment of General PICCOLI as Chief, SLD. He was very agitated about the attempt that was being made to block the appointment.

He stated that the real candidate is Major General Carlo BARDASINI, former Military Aide to the President, now commanding the President's Division. BARDASINI had expressed his desire for the job to SARAGAT. The President, through his Chief of Office FOTULLO, has been pushing for BARDASINI's nomination. The proposed nomination of PICCOLI is merely a decoy. The plan is to either appoint PICCOLI to be Chief, SLD for an interim period or appoint no one officially as Chief, but merely leave the job open. PICCOLI would remain as Acting Chief until such time that General BARDASINI could become available to fill the position.

Source indicated that Admiral NERKE was doing everything possible to prevent the appointment of PICCOLI.

Source says the main reason that opposition to General PICCOLI has arisen is because he is a friend of the United States and NATO. According to source there is British influence behind the move. There also appears to be French interest in this case. However, the French are only looking for the belittlement of Italy.

A decision is expected at any moment, and certainly within the next couple of days.

The following information was obtained from the Israeli Military Attache at 1630 today.

Source said that in the last two or three days he has heard from a very reliable source that General PICCOLI, who was the favorite contender for the job of Chief, SLD, was out of the running. General PICCOLI supposedly

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would get the appointment. When I asked the reason for this sudden switch he replied that rumors had been circulated that in some way General MICHELI had been involved in the Leonard Tank deal concluded in January with Germany. He did not indicate that General MICHELI had received any monetary payoff for his assistance, but that perhaps the payoff was in the form of something personal.

Source admitted that General MICHELI was a very conscientious worker, that he was very qualified in his job, and that he was probably the most qualified candidate for the job of Chief, GAD. However, there are some people who fear what he might do if he gets the job.

At this point our conversation ended, and we will resume discussion in the next few days.

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Memorandum

TO : The Ambassador

DATE: 10 September 1940

FROM : Army Attache

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was provided by a reliable military source.

This morning at 0900 I met with source.

Source stated that he thought the political situation was a little bit better now because COLOMBO might be able to solve some of the economic problems and get the country's production going again. However, he did not discount the possibility that a crisis could occur in the near future. He said there are too many people who for their own reasons want the Government to fall or who will put pressure on the Government which may result in a crisis. He indicated he was giving his support to the COLOMBO Government and hoped that it would bring about a situation that would be better for Italy. He mentioned as a reason for favoring the Government the fact that the Minister of Defense was a staunch anti-Communist and source preferred to have him in charge.

Source stated that he spoke to General CHILLEMI, Chief of Cabinet for the Minister of Defense yesterday about the appointment of Chief, SID. General CHILLEMI allegedly assured source that the situation looked very favorable for the appointment of General NICELI as Chief, SID and that the action would be taken during the next week. General CHILLEMI also said that although the Minister originally was not inclined to appoint General NICELI to the job, that he had now apparently decided to support him. Source said that the Minister will have obtained the prior consent of President SARAGAT and the President of the Council before announcing his final decision. Source reiterated his former position that he must have someone in the job whom he can trust, and if his recommendation for the appointment is not approved that he will leave his position.

He then went on to tell me that the job should be occupied at this time by an Army man because the Army has maintained an aloof position, whereas there is a possibility that the Air Force and Navy may be involved to some degree with the head of the Fronte Nazionale. He called BORGHESE, the head of the Fronte, a Fascist. Source said it would be a disaster if the Fronte were assisted in any way by the other two services in any attempt against the Government because they

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would surely fail. This would then have a very bad effect on the democratic forces and would give a tremendous advantage to the Communists. Source said the Army is everywhere in Italy and is the force to maintain order if required. Of course, he said, having an organization like the Fronte Nazionale is not a bad thing. However, every effort must be made to control that force and let it be employed only at the proper time and when circumstances so dictated.

Source told me that Italian military units had been moved to Sicily in late July as a contingency measure for possible action should the Libyans have killed any Italians. He mentioned paratroopers and also the movement of the San Marco Marine battalion from Taranto to Augusta in Sicily. He indicated that final withdrawal of remaining units had begun on 6 September. When I congratulated source on the ability of the Italian Armed Forces to maintain an operation of this type secret, he replied that this fact should be a demonstration to us that members of the Italian Armed Forces are loyal and are against Communism. He further stated that if there had been anyone with Leftist leanings among the large number of military people engaged in the operation, that there certainly would have been a security leak.

Comment: Source appeared very nervous, perhaps because of his concern over the delay in the appointment of Chief, SID.

Memorandum

TO : The Ambassador

FROM : Army Attache *Jr*

SUBJECT: Italian Right Wing Groups

DATE: 12 September 1970

The following information was obtained from two reliable military sources on 31 August. This information passed verbally to Ambassador afternoon 31 Aug.

Today I discussed with source political orientation of the Armed Forces and activities of several Right-wing groups. According to source most officers of the rank of Major and higher are oriented toward the Italian Social Movement (MSI). The younger officers naturally do not have the same degree of political orientation toward the MSI because most of them do not remember very well the years of the Fascist regime. The MSI praises military officers. Source emphasized that the MSI was very anti-Communist and very pro-U.S. and pro-NATO. Its leader ALBERTINI is respected by many politicians of other parties as a person who does not seek to change the Government by undemocratic means.

Source stated that the MSI has a youth group called Avanguardia Nazionale with a strength of about 80,000. Its leader is a man called ANDERSON, a Regional Counselor of Rome, friendly to Americans and a friend of On. P. FURCHI. According to recent reports, this youth group is said to have broken away from the MSI. (I did not pursue this subject further at this time because I was anxious to obtain information on other Right-wing groups.)

Source then discussed an organization known as Ordine Nuovo (New Order) led by PINO RAUTI, an editor of Il Tempo. This organization is much more to the Right than the MSI and has a membership of about 10,000 throughout Italy. RAUTI maintains liaison with the political Right of Germany, Spain, Belgium, Greece, and some other countries. Just recently RAUTI organized a trip for 30 Italian students to go to Greece, among other things to meet with Greek Government figures.

Source then began to cover the Fronte Nazionale (FN) headed by Prince Valerio BORGHESE. According to source the organization came into being in January 1969 when the events of the previous several years seemed to some people to warrant formation of an extreme Right-wing group. A manifesto was issued in March 1969, a copy of which is attached. When this organization was formed other Right-wing paramilitary groups joined. It

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is estimated that there are at least 5,000 head-core activists throughout Italy. In July of this year, BORGHESE allegedly contacted all heads of Right-wing organizations to constitute a united front against Communism. However, the reaction to this attempt is considered poor. The reason given is that Right-wing groups fear that BORGHESE is ruining the Right-wing movement because of his extremist ideas and his insistence that the Government must be changed by extra-legal means. Some groups are also reluctant to follow his leadership because BORGHESE reportedly is sick with arteriosclerosis, and Italians consider that anyone who has this disease becomes progressively demented. Another reason given for the lack of cohesion among the Right-wing groups is that BORGHESE has contacts with and is influenced by the British Intelligence Service.

It is no secret that BORGHESE and members of his movement have sought Italian Armed Forces help but they have achieved poor results. Perhaps they have obtained some results in the Navy because of BORGHESE's naval background and the many friends he has in the Navy.

One of the veterans' organizations that reportedly is allied with BORGHESE is called the Organizzazione Combattentismo Attivo, a clandestine group of 2-3,000 retired personnel headed by a retired Air Force Brigadier General named MASTROAGOSTINO. The group is centered in Bologna. There may be elements of the active forces connected with this group, but if so they are few. According to source the Fronte Nazionale supposedly receives financial assistance from many industrialists and businessmen. He mentioned CORRA, ex-President of Confindustria; FASSIO, a ship owner; MONFI, an oil man; and a DI FAIKA.

Source says that the leaders of the FN have been out of Rome during the month of August, but he could give no reason why this was so. Source did state that there were some summer training camps being conducted at Bardonecchio during the month of August. The groups training allegedly belong to the Fronte Nazionale. I tried to obtain information about FN leaders in addition to BORGHESE, but I could get no names. However, source did tell me that the Number Two man in the organization was an Italian military intelligence agent in Switzerland during World War II, working with the Germans against the Russians and the British. He allegedly was caught and some time after the end of the war was repatriated to Italy. Source refused to reveal identity.

Source emphasized at the end of our discussion that ALMIRANTE, head of the NSI, was not in agreement with the policies and ideas of BORGHESE.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM

Memorandum

TO : The Ambassador

DATE: 11 September 1970

FROM : Army Attache *ja*

SUBJECT: Fronte Nazionale

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on 3 September. Verbally reported to Ambassador on 3 September.

Source stated that the Fronte Nazionale is really an apolitical organization. It seeks to eliminate the present political system by any means necessary and seeks to establish a presidential republic. According to members of the Fronte Nazionale, they enjoy a wide following among ranking members of the Armed Forces and have the support of numerous business and industrial leaders. They also claim support for their movement by members of the DC and other political parties. In addition, they claim to have support of the Carabinieri and police. Source states that these claims are exaggerated. He admits that there may be some individuals who are allied with the organization but that very few Armed Forces personnel are probably involved.

According to source, leaders of the FN now consider that having Valerio BORGHESE as their leader presents an incongruous picture to Italians because BORGHESE is a Black Shirt. He is not apolitical but rather supports Fascist ideals and is intent on making a takeover try because he knows it is the only way for him to gain power. Therefore, source says that they are looking for a new leader. Allegedly, even BORGHESE recognizes the problem that is posed for the organization to expand so long as he is its head. BORGHESE is said to be in agreement with the idea of finding a new leader. Source speculated that BORGHESE would not necessarily step down from leadership but perhaps would remain as a co-leader of the group. The group feels that the only way it can attract a broad base of public opinion is to change the image projected to the public. They want to become respectable and accepted.

Source refused to give me any information on the Number Two man in the FN or about any other of its leaders. He alleges that this type of information is kept very restricted. I then reminded source of his recent statements to me that one of the faults of the organization was the fact that its members talked too much. Source replied that although this was true that this would not apply to discussion of its leaders.

Source restated the position of General BORGHESE and the Armed Forces; i.e., that the Armed Forces are in the Center and they will remain unaligned with any group because they feel that the moment they do, their freedom of action will be gone. The Armed Forces must remain in a strong position to take action when it becomes necessary.

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Memorandum

TO : The Ambassador

DATE: 14 September 1970

FROM : Army Attache *J*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on the afternoon of 12 September.

Source was in a very confident mood, possibly reflecting his expectation of being appointed Chief SID. Source said that no one really knows what position FORLANI will take at the National Council of the DC on 20 September. Previous reports that many followers of FANFANI were moving over to join FORLANI do not seem to be true. It seems that the FANFANI followers are remaining with FANFANI. The position that FORLANI takes will be very important for the future of the DC. Source reiterated that this meeting would be very critical.

In discussing senior Italian military leaders source said that the selection of the ROSELLI LORENZINI as Chief of Staff Navy was very good. He is a strong individual with a good character, is staunchly anti-Communist, and greatly favors the ideas of General MARCHESI. As for General FANALI, Chief of Staff Air Force, source said that he wants to become the Chief of Staff Defense when MARCHESI leaves. Source alleges that he is a near Fascist, but that in his career he has had PSI support for his advancement. Source did not give FANALI much of a chance to become Chief of Staff Defense because he said it would be an Army General.

General FORLENZA, Commanding General of Carabinieri, will still be absent from duty because of his recent fall for possibly another three weeks.

The following information was obtained from same source on the evening of 12 September.

We discussed the relationship between PICCOLI and RUMOR. According to source, there is no rift between RUMOR and PICCOLI. He bases his opinion on the fact that PICCOLI told source this during the last few days. Naturally there have been problems. After all, RUMOR resigned because he was allied with PICCOLI and because of the tacit understanding with

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SARAGAT and FAIFANI. However, when SARAGAT and FAIFANI deserted PICCOLI and RUMOR, RUMOR then turned to PICCOLI for an explanation. RUMOR is allegedly very bitter about the recent political events, because in spite of his resignation to get a political clarification, nothing has really changed. Both PICCOLI and RUMOR know why the situation evolved as it did. Source maintained that the PICCOLI-RUMOR-TAVIANI grouping is still workable.

Contact between RUMOR and PICCOLI is being maintained by BISSEGLIA, a young man in RUMOR's entourage. Source alleges he does not trust BISSEGLIA because what he says and what he does are two different things.

The BASISTI are spreading rumors saying that PICCOLI is a Right Winger. They claim that PICCOLI is rigid on the political front, but does not favor social reforms. Source says that in fact PICCOLI supports COLOMBO and that there is a good chance the COLOMBO Government may last until elections.

COLOMBO allegedly has turned to General MARCHESI for support. According to source there is an agreement among politicians that MARCHESI will remain as Chief of Staff Defense until after the elections are completed in 1971.

During a ceremony held this morning at CESSANO source says that General GIRAUDO, Secretary General Defense, told source he wants to become Chief of Staff Defense after General MARCHESI leaves. Source replied that we must wait and see how the situation develops, but that now everyone must support General MARCHESI.

ANDREOTTI is still very bitter with PICCOLI and other members of the DC and the PSU because of their contribution to his failure. Everyone is now saying that ANDREOTTI claims to have only two enemies: The PSU and PICCOLI.

According to source, many people say that General PODDA and Lt Colonel IUCCI and others in SID campaigned very actively for ANDREOTTI during his attempt to form a Government. Source states that IUCCI claims to be a relative of ANDREOTTI. IGENIO CAO is a very conscientious man. He has many contacts within the PSU, especially with CARICLIA and FERRI. He is also a good friend of RUMOR. He is a trusted individual in the trade unions and he has numerous ties with the Vatican. He has a good picture of what is happening on the current political scene.

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Source's biggest preoccupation during the whole discussion was with the possibility that something unfortunate would happen at the DC National Council meeting. He said if the DC fragments, all will be lost --- even Italy could be lost.

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Memorandum

TO : The Ambassador

DATE: 14 September 1970

FROM : Army Attache *JR*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on 11 September.

The DC National Council meeting will be held in Rome on 20 September. Many believe that FABIANI will attempt to form the "new majority" recently talked about, which would include ANDREOTTI, MORO, the BASILETTI, DONAT CATTIN, and others. According to source if the declaration (document) issued by the Council is not suitable the PSU may leave the Government. At this moment it is very difficult to predict what the outcome of this meeting may be, but source believes it represents a critical point in the current political situation. If the COLCIBBO Government can hurdle the meeting it may last until January.

The appointment of Chief SID will be made between 20-22 September. Source now feels fairly certain he will get job. He indicates that the appointment will be cleared by TANASSI, with SARAGAT and with the Council before being announced.

The situation in Trento is not very good. Recently a Right Wing group, the AVANGUARDIA NAZIONALE (estimated strength 70,000) had requested permission to hold a national convention in Trento, but was turned down by the authorities because of previous clashes between extreme Left organization members and extreme Rightists. The Left Wing organization, LOTTA CONTINUA, has applied for permission to conduct a national assembly in Trento. The authorities have not yet acted on the request. In the meantime the Right Wing group is protesting the denial of authority to conduct their meeting. PICCOLI is very concerned about the situation and is in touch with Minister of Interior RESTIVO. Source reminded me that Trento was the place where Italian Fascism began.

Memorandum

TO : The Ambassador

DATE: 19 September 1970

FROM : Army Attache

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following reports were received from a reliable military source on 8 September 1970.

Conversations with Friends in Touch with CD Circles (The Party Secretary and the Party Headquarters)

1. Relations between FANFANI and FORLANI

Apparently these are very cordial but in reality something has changed between the two men in the recent period. The following are the causes:

- A. FORLANI's continued intolerance in putting up with the suffocating and overbearing ways of FANFANI who rightly or wrongly considers himself the guiding beacon of Italian political life;
- B. Almost all FANFANIANI with the exception of BOSCO and GIOIA, who are the only true faithful followers of the President, have drawn closer to FORLANI and this has given FORLANI the courage to "finally think about fighting the feared professor, at least once in a while";
- C. The dictatorial and independent ways of the professor who has always placed everybody before fait-accomplis.

2. The La Base faction:

- A. MARCORA and DE MITA are definitely with FORLANI;
- B. GALLONI and GRANELLI are definitely with ANDREOTTI.

3. Even though constructive (positive) news items have been circulated regarding the foreign trips of President FANFANI, it is well known in circles close to the President that:

- A. The meeting with President NIXON had been requested by FANFANI not NIXON.

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- B. The meetings in the USSR were prepared to lay the foundation for a more fruitful discussion with the PCI. Nonetheless it is said that these contacts are being conducted in the U.S. by FANTINI's confidence men BERGAMINI and in the USSR directly by FANTINI, probably via the Soviet Embassy in Rome.

A Conversation with Friends who Have Connections in Social Democratic Party Circles

1. President FANTINI

An intense maneuver behind closed doors is underway within the Christian Democratic Party and has as its purpose the creation of a new majority centered around President FANTINI. This majority has been defined as left leaning and has the following aims:

A. A discussion with the PCI (sic, probably should be PSI) to lay the basis in the country for a strengthening of the PSI at the expense of the PCI and with the resulting weakening of the PCI;

B. The formation of a DC/PSI government with the exclusion or, at least with minimal participation limited to a few people, of the other parties of the center-left (PSU and PRI).

To reach this objective which has as its ultimate aim the election of FANTINI as President of the Republic, COLOMBO would be supported in his current governmental activities until the elections. An agreement between MANCINI and COLOMBO on this matter is already in existence under the watchful eye of FANTINI. In the new majority would be ANDREOTTI, COLOMBO, MORO, left-wings of the DC, FORLANI. An as yet undefined maneuver to thwart MORO's initiatives which aim at being considered the champion of the Catholic left (is also part of this plan).

2. The Church

The fundamental problem is the divorce question. On this issue it seems that prominent Catholic personalities are negotiating with wavering senators to attract their votes and cause the, at least temporary, failure of the passage of the bill. An agreement between the DC and

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the PSU could also be worked out, but it is said that the necessary premises i.e., a compact and responsible DC, do not exist for the PSU. It is known for certain that the PSU is not especially interested in the divorce question. It is not excluded that the Church could agree with the PSI on acceptable conditions for the solution of the divorce problem, making concessions in other fields. It is known that the Church has attempted to make agreements with the "lay parties" without results. The Church is looking for a person who is qualified to stop developments in a situation which is certainly not favorable to the Church. The Church in fact is losing prestige in many factions of the DC party and in the AGLI. The Church regards COLOMBO with much confidence and hope. It also favors PICCOLI "to balance the influence of FANFANI"; it attempts to convince ANDREOTTI to really support COLOMBO.

3. The following are political problems which could lead to a government crisis:

- A. Divorce;
- B. Housing construction measures (changes in law 167);
- C. The financial situation which is regarded as particularly serious in view of heavy debts of the government controlled corporations and of the social assistance institutes;
- D. Union agitation of a selective nature to complete labor contracts in various categories.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

TO : THE AMBASSADOR

DATE: 15 September 1970

FROM : THE ARMY ATTACHE *Jr*SUBJECT: FRONTE NAZIONALE

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on 6 September:

Between the 15th and 30th of August, there have been persistent reports from usually well-informed quarters regarding presumed imminent initiatives of a subversive character inspired by the movement of Valerio Borghese. There has also been talk about collusion with the movement on the part of military elements. Even though these reports have been unbelievable and later clearly demonstrated to be unfounded, the fact is that it points up the preoccupation of many people with the current situation.

It is certain that the reports which claim collusion with military officials have been disseminated by ranking members of the Fronte Nazionale hoping thereby to acquire more prestige in the circles of the right.

On the other hand, the extreme left has readily amplified these rumors of collusion with the military to re-emphasize their long held views about the danger faced by the extreme right and to justify their claim of the acceptance of the right by military officials.

Some people say that the whole exercise was designed by Borghese to attract away from the MSI the youth groups.

After the incidents at Trento, various right wing youth groups have accused the leaders of the MSI of being too tepid in their reaction. Valerio Borghese is now attempting to profit from the current discontent and thus attract these youth elements to his organization.

Allegedly, Borghese has at his disposal a great amount of financial backing and claims to have some military officials. However, after the death of Admiral Michelagnoli, many military members of his group disassociated themselves. The MSI is no longer in a position to act with restraint but must undertake conspicuous acts or run the risk of losing a good part of its base, especially the activists. (The Fronte Nazionale has recently been responsible for the appearance of the following wall posters: "The MSI surrenders; the Fascists do not surrender.") The MSI now finds itself in the unenviable position of demonstrating its capacity for reaction should there be any continuation of the episodes that took place in Trento and Genoa. It should not take aggressive action.

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that may be generated by Borghese, who they feel wants to undermine and replace the MSI. The danger of events of this type is evident, especially in relation to the exploitation that could be made by the subversive forces of the extreme left.

They can be stopped only if responsible officials and organizations demonstrate with deeds that they are determined to avoid a repetition of these episodes like those of Trento by elements of the extreme left.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : THE AMBASSADOR

DATE: 17 September 1970

FROM : THE ARMY ATTACHE

SUBJECT: Italian Military Changes in Command

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on 13 September 1970:

LT GEN Cirino Rubino, CG of 3rd Army (Designate), died on 13 September after suffering a heart attack last week. The following generals are being considered to replace him:

LT GEN Alessi, now stationed in Brussels

LT GEN San Giorgio, now CG of the Tosco-Emiliana Military Regional Command in Florence

LT GEN Galateri, now CG V Corps and presently slated for reassignment to the School of Higher Military Studies in Rome at end of October

LT GEN Pistotti, now commanding Sicilian Military Regional Command

The following information was obtained from the same source on 15 September:

With regard to the reassignment for the position of Commanding General, 3rd Army, source said that the job had been down-graded in importance and that many generals had no desire for it. According to source, the Army may soon implement a plan re-designating the 3rd Army Headquarters a Corps Headquarters with provision for re-designating to an Army Headquarters in case of hostilities.

We then discussed the appointment of a new Commanding General of the Carabinieri. Source said that the Carabinieri would give anything to have General Forlenza, the present Commanding General, extended, because under him they can do as they please. Source also related the following story to illustrate a point about General Scotto-Lavina, who is one of the candidates for the job:

Several weeks ago, LT GEN Scotto-Lavina, Commander of the Rome Military Regional Command, made an unannounced inspection visit to a unit in the field. The unit was commanded by a Colonel Ottaviani, former Military Attache to Cairo who returned about a year ago. Reportedly, this individual had not been feeling well since his return and was extremely high-strung. According to sources present at the time of the inspection, General Scotto-Lavina was very critical of the unit and refused to give any consideration to the Commander's explanation for

the situation. Colonel Oliviani tried to commit suicide by slashing his wrists and taking an overdose of barbiturates. He was discovered and received medical assistance in time to save him. On the day this happened, I was with a senior military official who received a telephone call advising him of the attempted suicide.

Source says that General Scotti-Lavinia has a reputation for being good officer and commander, but a person who has no sensitivity for the feelings of others; and that he lacks ordinary consideration for others.

As a result of this incident, the Carabinieri have let it be known that they do not want Scotti-Lavinia as their commander. Source indicates that the Carabinieri favor having a weak personality to command them at this time. This would give them a freer hold over their own affairs. Source then asked me if I had ever heard of a General Mino, for some time in NATO commands, whose name has popped up as a possible nominee. Source described General Mino as a bachelor sometimes involved in sexual aberrations. Source stated that rumors had it that Carabinieri might favor someone like him because they could manipulate and control him. (Note: On 14 September I was requested by a senior military officer to provide a General Mino with the address of a clinic in Houston, Texas, where he could get a "super" EKG and EEG. General Mino is said to be going to the U. S. on a tour in October. Bachelors in Italy are often justly or unjustly accused of having homosexual tendencies. Source admitted there was no real evidence against General Mino.)

Source stated that the Italian Army is going to station a battalion of troops in the Bari area. No reason was given for this move.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

TO : THE AMBASSADOR

DATE: 18 September 1970

FROM : THE ARMY ATTACHE *JTC*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on 14 September. The original source is a civilian with extensive contacts in the PSU, trade unions, and the Church.

According to information obtained from PSU circles:

1) The Fanfani group now follows the political line of Forlani-Morlino. In Basisti circles, the division of the two groups continues to be accentuated:

- the first fully lined up with the Forlani line made up of Donata, Marcora, Misasi, and recently Cossiga;

- the second called the "waiting group", with sympathies distinctly for the DC Left (Donat-Cattin) made up of Galloni and Granelli.

2) Forlani-Morlino are supposed to be at the Center of a new DC majority:

- to which there would gravitate the Morotei, exclusive of Moro, who desires to maintain a personal position without any outside obligations; and the Basisti of the first group; and perhaps even those of the second group, Colombo, maybe Andreotti, and all the Fanfaniani. (Source says it is unlikely that both Colombo and Andreotti could be together in this grouping.)

- The position of the Dorotei and Scalfaro is uncertain.

- The new Majority probably will seek to leave someone to the Left (Donat-Cattin) and someone to the Right, thus constituting a real force in the Center. (Source indicates that the Piccoli-Rumor-Taviani group may be the ones left to the Right.)

- However, it is very probable that for now the situation will continue to remain fluid. The problem of the constitution of the new majority is closely tied to the problem of the stability of the government. Once the attempt is made to define the new majority, if the move is not handled equitably, it could lead to unpredictable situations.

3) Divorce - This is a great political problem that now is generating heated discussion and controversy.

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- The Church (according to unimpeachable sources) now accepts the principle of divorce, but on condition that the proposed law be amended in the areas held to be essential for Christian ends. In particular, the Church does not accept:

a) The principle that either the husband or wife, abandoning the other for five years, acquires the right to divorce, even if the other spouse opposes the action, in which case there would be nothing but a legalization of the "repudiation";

b) The inexistence of precise regulations spelled out in the law concerning the wardship and protection of the children and non-offending spouse.

- As a result, should the divorce law be passed by force in its present form as originally conceived, there would be created a grave schism between the Church and the laity, with a consequent great loss to the Christian Democrats (as a party), who would be forced to fight a political battle, evidently not desired by them.

- We must add to this the maneuver of the Communists. There have been signs, in fact, that the Communists' demonstrating an understanding of the Church's position on the question of resolving the problem of divorce would like to acquire benefits today denied to them in the Christian world-- benefits which could have unforseeable results and certainly positive ones for them in gaining political ends.

- Consequently, in an effort to prevent such an eventuality, there are those close to the Secretariat of the PSU who think that it will be necessary for Social Democrats, also in accord with a part of the PSI, to present amendments to the projected divorce law so as to make these acceptable to the Church. (In some cases, defined even in lay circles as monstrous.)

4) In PSI circles, the political line of Mancini-Viglianesi is prevailing. This line seeks to reduce tensions in the political and trade union camps and is trying to definitely disassociate itself from the line of the PCI.

5) The Mancini-Colombo accord, which has replaced the Rumor-DeMartino accord, has given and continues to give force to the Government, especially because in the trade union camp, all of the UIL (PSI, PSU, PRI) is adopting a political-economic line closer to the Government and detaching itself from the positions of the CGIL.

- Besides, in the PSU camp, Tanassi and Preti are acquiring force gradually so that the actions of the Government will prevail over those actions which are purely party polemics. There are indications that the PSI and PSU are adopting nearly similar positions in actions concerning the Government, while the argumentative and trade union Left of the DC gradually moves closer to actions more in accord with the Communist line.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SECRET - NO POSITION DISSEMINATION

TO : THE AMBASSADOR

DATE: 18 September 1970

FROM : THE ARMY ATTACHE *JAC*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on 17 September.

Source stated that in a meeting held on Tuesday evening, 15 September, Dr. Ravenna of UIL said that they are not in accord with Mancini's recent efforts to reduce tensions. The PSI must now assure positions against the Colombo Government.

Source has been told by Piccoli that the DC National Council meeting on 23 September will not take up the question of a political clarification within the DC and the formation of the new majority. Allegedly, Forlani feels it better to keep this meeting low key and avoid action that could cause a definite crisis at this time. Instead, Forlani intends for these matters to be decided in October when another council meeting will be held.

Fanfani is still a question mark. Word going around now is that Fanfani did not assume any important international obligations while in Moscow. He only attempted to obtain Moscow's help in influencing local Italian Communists not to impede Fanfani's campaign for the Presidency.

Source says there is a feeling of gloom and pessimism among Democratic politicians with the present political situation in general. These people feel no real progress has been made despite the change in government. They are especially critical of the agnostic policy followed by the Vatican with the Communists. Many politicians maintain no real progress will be made against communism until the Church changes its stand.

Source left Rome at noon today and will return on Monday.

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- Therefore, one has the sensation that the situation is evolving toward a reinforcement of the Center-Left formula, a reinforcement which could be followed by even more stability should the Government succeed in a timely resolution of the divorce problem.

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Memorandum

TO : The Ambassador

DATE: 23 September 1970

FROM : Army Attache *Jac.*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on 23 September.

Source reports that at last night's DC National Council meeting, ANDREOTTI tried to generate an action to constitute a new majority without COLCIBO, FORLANI, and the RUIER-PICCOLI group. FORLANI had announced only two agenda items: the first a review of the recent crisis and the program of the present COLOMBO Government and discussion and approval of a statute governing the youth group of the DC. This latter proposal is designed to make young people more politically conscious and to get more participation by them in political affairs. Source stated that ANDREOTTI and GALLONI presented a request to add their item to the agenda, but their request was denied.

Source again broached the subject of President Nixon's visit and said that General MARCHESI and other military leaders hoped that the President would be told the whole truth about the political situation, i.e., how really serious it is. They feel the President must take advantage of this opportunity and speak most energetically with President SARAGAT and the Pope about the necessity of adopting a strong attitude against Communism in Italy and to have the courage to speak out against it. They want the President to have faith in Italy's Armed Forces and in their desire to maintain Italy free and democratic. Source said this is a good time for the U.S. to invest heavily in newspaper and other media to assist in the battle against the Left. The Soviets spare nothing in their support of Leftist activities in Italy.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum***SECRET**
NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

TO : THE AMBASSADOR

DATE: 23 September 1970

FROM : THE ARMY ATTACHE *for*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source 22 September:

Source stated that he had discussed coming visit of President Nixon with General Marchesi and that they wished the following message passed in some way to the President during his visit: "Although the political situation is very confused and is becoming increasingly more difficult, there are still some Democratic politicians who are seeking to maintain a stable Democratic government. Rest assured that the Armed Forces are here without political attachments and with no designs to obtain political power. The Armed Forces are strongly democratic and are on guard against surprise." Source stated that General Marchesi may have some other message to pass on by the end of *the* ~~next~~ week.

Source also told me of his discussion with General Marchesi in regard to activities of the extreme left and right-wing groups. They wish to confirm they do not want to encourage either side, but the military find it convenient that the forces on the right are there. The Armed Forces remain in the middle and will be closely observing the actions of all groups. Source then reminded me of the order recently dispatched to all military commanders advising them to prevent all groups, regardless of color (red or black), from attempts at ideological penetration and political activism in military organizations. Source gave me copy of this document on 15 September. Source stated he would have more information for me on this subject at a later date.

Source said that just a few hours ago he had heard that Almirante had been in contact with Valerio Borghese trying to reach an agreement on the United Youth Front. There are no details available at this moment, but we will be kept informed. About a month ago, Almirante was reported to be very concerned about the efforts of the Fronte Nazionale to attract the youth group from the MSI. This group, called "Avanguardia Nazionale", reportedly has about 30,000 members. The propaganda to lure away the youth group dealt with the mild manner of the MSI in dealing with current problems.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM

Memorandum

TO : Counselor for Political Affairs

DATE: 29 September 1970

FROM : Army Attache *JK*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source:

Source states that Vatican has been trying to induce PICCOLI to make a statement on divorce to the effect that the Vatican was ready to accept the divorce law with amendments of the DC. PICCOLI reportedly is giving the matter very careful consideration because he feels that it would be a very dangerous thing for him to make this pronouncement. He is fearful that he may cause a party crisis and he especially wishes to avoid this because of his previous involvement with the RUMOR Government crisis. Source stated that FANFANI wants to complete action on the divorce bill by 6 October and that FANFANI will not make any statement which supports the Vatican's position because this will certainly alienate the Communists. Source commented that he and other military leaders hope that PICCOLI does not accede to the Vatican's request. They prefer him to sit this one out because they fear that PICCOLI may be further isolated in the DC if he openly supports the Vatican.

BOSCO has been speaking to many people, claiming that he is speaking for FANFANI and saying that the time has come to form the new majority within the DC under the leadership of FANFANI. The objective would be to resolve outstanding problems as quickly as possible and to accomplish this by working with the Left (PSI and PCI). Source believes that FANFANI could get his way because the DC politicians are tired. If this plan succeeds, PICCOLI and his friends would find themselves isolated. No one can predict what effect this maneuver by FANFANI will have on the COLOMBO Government which at the present time seems to be developing a broader base of support because most elements and industrialists favor a stable Government. However, this FANFANI attempt would be a further slide towards the Republica Conciliare, which eventually would see the Communists in Government.

At the Council of Ministers meeting today Defense Minister TANASSI reportedly will seek COLOMBO's approval for the nomination of a new Chief SID. The announcement will probably be made tomorrow or Thursday but there is no indication yet of the identity of the individual.

There have been an increasing number of statements by General FANALI, Chief of Staff Air Force, letting it be known that he wants to become Chief of Staff Defense. Source would not speculate as to reasons for this.

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Source states that Alvirante recently told Colombo that in case of chaos he and the MSI will fight outside the law if necessary. Alvirante allegedly made these same remarks in a speech to a large youth convention over this past weekend.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : THE AMBASSADOR

FROM : THE ARMY ATTACHE *JBC*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source. It represents the current thinking of source and some members of the DC and PSU. The document in Italian was prepared by this group after a series of meetings held 30 September - 1 October:

After all, the most important problem in the present Italian political situation is that of the Democratic Christian (DC) Party. Recently, the party has not maintained a compact, precise anti-communist line, but through the tactics of a number of its exponents, it has dealt with the Socialists on the left and with serious collusions with parties of the extreme left.

There had been a great hope recently that the DC would take action to halt its slide to the left. However, preoccupation with internal order in the DC and the ambition to achieve the Presidency of the Republic have caused FANFANI to turn to the left, which even with his skill at maneuvering is extremely grave. The declarations of BOSCO in Naples on 27 September are very clear; and because they were expressed by the most qualified and leading right-winger of the FANFANI group, this constitutes a confirmation of the reports circulating for some time that FANFANI was moving to the left to attempt to gain control of the DC with the help of its left wing. To this, we add the hybrid situation of ANDREOTTI who, from a position on the extreme right, seeks—with the help of the DC Parliamentary group—to be the leader of an accord, more or less conciliatory, with the extreme left.

The Rumor-Piccoli group and the COLOMBO group on the other side, considering the inheritors of the DOROTEI after the break-up, are the only solid points holding the line against the progressive slide to the left of the DC. They represent, together with the TAVIANI and SCALFARO groups, that third of the DC not yet contaminated with the "opening to the left." Very important in this contingency is the position of Catholic Action, which is very close to the political line of COLOMBO, who is revealing himself at this time much more active and solid than his predecessors.

(on 3 Oct)

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Therefore, we can conclude that for the moment in the DC, the tactical line of the left prevails over that of the right. This greatly weakens the position of the DC in its confrontations with the Socialists of the PSI and with the communists.

As for the PSI, the political line of MANCINI is essentially directed at acquiring the maximum power through accords with both DC party members and communists, seeking at the same time to exclude in every way possible the rival Social Democrats and Republicans.

In this situation, the positions of the PSU and PRI are very weak because they are being progressively shunted aside by the convergence of the DC and PSI, with the powerful outside support of the PCI.

In conclusion, the tactics of the communists to advance progressively toward participation in power (rule) is about to be successful if the anti-communist forces fail to interpose and demonstrate much greater strength in front of the attacks against the civil and productive life of the country, attacks which generate a growing lack of faith in all strata of the population. Above all else, the position of the Church as the inspirer and guide for the members of the DC will be one of the most determining factors.

Unfortunately, at this time we cannot envision the formation of an anti-communist majority (front) even if favorable to social reforms sponsored by the DC, and even if the actions of FANFANI make it seem to the contrary. The failure to dissolve the Houses has denied the majority of the country from electing a Parliament responsive to its real will. Therefore, it will be very difficult to reverse this negative attitude and trend, especially because there are symptoms of resignation and adaptation even among those politicians who should have the courage and the possibility of acting to the contrary.

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Memorandum

TO : The Ambassador

FROM : Army Attache *Jac.*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

DATE: 5 October 1970

The following information was obtained from a reliable military source on 2 October.

The information reflects the analysis of the political situation by source and certain members of the DC and PSU. Meetings were held by this group on 30 September and 1 October.

Recently the tactics of the Communists and their allies have changed completely. Until 1968 they generally maintained what might be categorized as constitutional opposition. The only exceptions were the insurrections of 1948 projected by the attempt on TOGLIATTI, and the 1960 episodes against TAMBRONI and the MSI Congress in Genoa.

After the "French May" of 1968 a new tactic was initiated in the international Communist camp. This new system has made the greatest progress and achieved the most success in Italy.

On the one hand, there is a permanent insurrection against all the authority of the state and against all the national production activities, accompanied by intensive action designed to weaken and undermine the values of our civilization.

On the other hand the PCI, while supporting the movements that spread the insurrection in the name of democracy and liberty, takes advantage of a rigid and legal line designed to place the organs of the state in crisis.

Moreover, the PCI profits from the disruptive activities of allied groups in other parties and organizations (PSI-DC-CISL-UIL-ACLI and various cultural and technical groups). These forces comprise about 35% of the electorate and in Parliament could in certain cases muster a little over 50% of the vote. To confront these forces we have an anti-Communist political conglomerate that is divided and suffering a rapid and serious decline in power.

In particular:

the groups of the Right from the MSI to the PLI cannot play a meaningful counterweight role;

the DC, which has in the past blocked the march of Communism in cooperation with the Church, actually is the prey of a pseudoleftist crisis,



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with internal battles that impede every function of its policy of Government and which could lead to disintegration of the party;

the PSI, which should have isolated the Communists, is with the Center Left on a path very close to Frontism.

Consequently, even though two-thirds of the electorate is anti-Communist, because of the politics played by the parties and Parliamentary groups, we are in an extremely weak condition to confront the twin Communist tactics which paralyze the state through their continuous guerrilla warfare of union and political agitations.

In such a political situation we have a Government that is based on a majority with the Socialists playing a decisive role, and is powerless to contain the attacks of the Communists and their allies.

As for the economy, the situation until now has not assumed grave aspects. However, a serious economic crisis could develop at any time because of the continuing internal sabotage articulated by unions, activists, and strikes in industry, and the mismanagement of activities of the State and Parastate. Such a crisis would give a new impulse to the disruptive activities of the Communist front, even if some believe, using the 1964 situation as an example, that a negative economic situation (an economic crisis) might calm people's passions.

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Memorandum

TO : Counselor for Political Affairs

FROM : Army Attache *Jr*

SUBJECT: Current Italian Political Situation

DATE: 6 October 1970

The following information was obtained from a reliable source with intimate contacts in the PSU and from a reliable military source on 6 October.

The civilian source says that according to members of the PICCOLI group that FANFANI continues his behind-the-scenes maneuvers to isolate PICCOLI and organize a majority within the DC oriented toward the Left. They also maintain that just recently BISSAGLIA has been inducing RUMOR to move away from the PICCOLI and TAVIANI groups and join forces with FANFANI. The reasons given for BISSAGLIA's actions are that he is still very angry with PICCOLI because he feels that PICCOLI's influence with RUMOR brought about RUMOR's resignation on 6 July. It is said that BISSAGLIA was working very diligently to obtain a ministerial appointment in the RUMOR Government and that this finished his chances. BISSAGLIA is also regarded as an opportunist and it is felt that he has considerable influence with RUMOR. Source stated that some people were discussing the possibility that PICCOLI should force the issue in the DC party even though this might lead to a breaking up of the party, which in turn would cause another Government crisis.

The military source said that it would be foolish at this time for PICCOLI to undertake such an action because PICCOLI has a very large following among rank and file voters throughout Italy. The military source maintained that it would be better for PICCOLI to stay in the DC because in the long run he would be more effective. Both sources said they would discuss this matter personally with PICCOLI to find out what his feelings were on this problem.

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