

ATLANTIC
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ITALY

The Feltrinelli Case

In the second year of Italy's worst economic recession since the war, the country was coming uncomfortably close politically to a nervous breakdown. Parliament had just been dissolved a year ahead of time, a confession of governmental impotence unequalled since the advent of Fascism. A decade's experiment in center-left rule had proved to be an inglorious flop. The safety margin for all democratic parties combined was contracting steadily, cut down by the Communist Party and far left *gruppuscules* on one side, and the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) flanked by "black terrorists" on the other. The MSI in particular had made nerve-racking gains in partial administrative elections the previous June, mostly at the expense of the dominant Christian Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, the nation's social fabric seemed to be disintegrating. Crime rates were shooting up. Some student *contestatori* seemed to spend most of their time making Molotov cocktails ("Our daily bread," one said) and the rest throwing them. Bombs kept going off all over the country at the rate of one a day. Wildcat strikes were breaking world records for the third year running. Any suggestion that the country might pull itself together again under some new version of the same old government tended to provoke a certain hilarity. People were saying it wouldn't be long now before the Communists took over, or the Fascists, or more likely "the colonels," with Hellenic blessings.

Then, suddenly, after all the talk of breakdown, the electorate was confronted with a crisply efficient government cracking down on deadly conspirators.

Accidents happen

On March 16, just as Italians were settling down for the long rhetorical haul leading to elections on May 7, the morning papers reported the discovery of a body beneath a high-tension pylon in

Segrate, on the bleak northern outskirts of Milan. The pylon, spattered with blood and torn flesh, was taped with forty-three sticks of dynamite. Another stick seemed to have blown up in the man's hands, hurling him heavily to the ground. The force of the explosion had flung one of his legs ten yards away, and bits of bone as far as fifty yards.

At first the story did not cause much of a stir. Terrorist attempts of all sorts have averaged about one a day in Italy for the last three years, and accidents happen. Twenty-four hours later, though, the nation was stunned to learn that the dead man had been identified as Milan's millionaire guerrilla publisher, Gian-giacomo Feltrinelli. Premier Giulio Andreotti and his Minister of Interior, the police, the *carabinieri*, the Army's counterespionage service (SID) leaped into action. Roadblocks went up all across the North. Hundreds of raids were made on the homes and hideouts of right-wing and left-wing extremists in Milan, Turin, Genoa, Rome. Dozens of people were picked up for questioning. Seven thousand machine guns and other weapons, six tons of explosives, a million Molotov cocktails and other homemade bombs, sinister coded documents, and marked terrorist maps kept turning up in the police dragnet. For seven weeks running—until the elections, in fact—vigilant champions of democratic law and order saw to it that the case made front-page headlines daily. Alive, Feltrinelli had done his obsessive best to destroy the Establishment he detested. In death, he could hardly have been more helpful.

Italians will probably never know how he died. "No crime involving political power in Italy can touch the shores of truth," says the distinguished Sicilian novelist Leonardo Sciascia, and the shores are barely visible through the fog shrouding this one. Nevertheless, some astonishing evidence has come to light.

There is not enough evidence to establish whether Feltrinelli accidentally touched off the explosion that killed him, or whether somebody else obligingly did it for him. Predictably, Italy's left-wing intellectuals have insisted from the start that the body

by the CIA, by "international reaction." "What proof do I have?" demanded *L'Espresso's* correspondent Camilla Cederna. "But what does that matter, in such a moment of extreme electoral tension? The proof will come along later." With or without the proof, though, there can be no mistaking Feltrinelli's intentions. He drove to Segrate fully conscious, undrugged, and climbed twelve feet up the pylon, as his fingerprints and bloodstains testify. Not only did he mean to blow it up, with at least one and more likely two accomplices; that was just the beginning.

At San Vito di Gaggiano, on the other side of Milan, police found another high-tension pylon taped in the same way with the same dynamite (a product called Dynamon), unexploded only because of a fluke in the battery-wired timer. In the Volkswagen camper Feltrinelli had driven to Segrate were maps of all Northern Italy marked with crosses and arrows at the sites of other strategic electric pylons, bridges, airports, military barracks. In his hideout, later discovered by police in a working-class Milan suburb, was an arsenal of revolvers, machine guns and several thousand rounds of ammunition, more dynamite, detonators, forged passports, cartons of coded correspondence, and a long letter to an unknown "Saetta," with Feltrinelli's handwritten notes in the margin, proposing the formation of a joint high command throughout the Italian North for an underground liberation army.

Beyond *La Sinistra*

Lest the meaning of all this be in doubt, the Milan police turned up still more scorching evidence just five days before the elections, in a spectacular predawn raid on two underground bunkers. One was yet another and bigger arsenal with enough weapons and ammunition to equip a small army: gas masks and antitank mines, two hundred pounds of Dynamon along with 46 detonators and 250 yards of fuse. Among the other contents of the second bunker—along with Feltrinelli's authentic passport—were four hundred false identity cards and several perfectly copied stamps; four powdered; by police agents, by Fascists,

Italy's elections: No future for reformism

By Sandro Portelli
Special to the Guardian

Rome

The recent Italian elections, held May 7-9, have changed nothing in this country, which is facing its greatest political crisis in 20 years.

The election, not due until 1973, was held early in the hope that a new, viable parliamentary majority could be built to re-establish capitalist stability in Italy.

While the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) made some gains in the elections, the electoral balance of forces is almost exactly the same as it was before.

To understand the current political situation here, it is necessary to go back to 1969, when the last union contract renewals took place. At that time the workers made many gains and there was a large and militant student movement. Institutions were rocked to their foundations: the school system has never recovered and salary increases and improved working conditions went together with a strong growth in class consciousness and unity.

Workers face repression

The bourgeoisie's reaction was dramatic. In less than 3 months, at the beginning of 1970, more than 300,000 political trials were started and more than 15,000 workers, union organizers and left-wing militants were jailed. Prices rose rapidly, thus taking back the workers' new buying power.

The bosses blackmailed the unions and left parties with an economic crisis and an inflationary situation, blaming everything that was going wrong in the economy on "high wages" and feeding a right-wing campaign to move a large part of the "law and order" middle classes into a period of reactionary radicalization.

The Communist party and the union leadership accepted—in practice—the accusations that workers caused inflation and called on workers to increase productivity while shifting their struggle to demand social reforms in the school system, the tax system, health services, transportation and housing. These were launched to be supposedly a step toward more power for the working class while, in effect, undercutting workers' control struggles in the factories.

But instead of involving the workers in even the reform struggles, the unions agreed to hold top-level talks with the government.

The results couldn't have been poorer. The only reform law that was passed, the housing reform, was called by the leftist group "Il Manifesto" a counter-reform, and they couldn't have been more right. The law was supposed to provide houses for the workers and more construction jobs. So far, it has only provided tax exemption to building speculators, no houses and no jobs. Also, it has prepared the ground for a rationalization of the building industry, that will allow the large, technically advanced industrial capital to step into a sector that has been so far controlled by smaller, less technically advanced firms. This will allow the introduction of new, advanced and "rational" industrial techniques of organization of labor; more productivity to each worker (more exploitation); and more production with less workers (unemployment).

This is a very important element in the political situation, since the building industry is an important factor in the Italian economy. The reform law not only gave no homes and no jobs, but it also served for a false but effective reactionary campaign claiming that "housing reform" means taking away people's homes and giving them to the slum dwellers.

Three weeks after the law was passed, the fascists doubled their votes in the local elections in Rome and tripled them in Sicily. Meanwhile, the slum dwellers are still squatting in buildings and trying to fight their way into a decent home. All this while construction workers are unemployed by the thousands (30,000 in Rome alone).

In fact, mass firings and unemployment were another instrument used by the bourgeoisie to try to bring the workers to their knees. An economic crisis existed, due to the saturation of the market for certain typical products of Italian industry (medium-luxury apartments, electric household appliances, cars, etc.) and to the dollar crisis that badly hit sectors such as the textile industry, shoe industry, etc.

Bosses use fascists

Meanwhile, the bosses kept firing

investments, taking their capital abroad, giving money and support to the fascists and organizing anti-worker terrorism and frame-ups.

This last technique has been the most spectacular element of Italian politics in the last four years. The date of Dec. 12, 1969, may be considered the critical moment of what was defined as the "strategy of tension." On that day, in the middle of negotiations for the metal workers contract, bombs exploded in several public buildings in Rome and Milan. One bomb killed 17 people in Milan and the blame was immediately laid on anarchists.

A key witness, Giuseppe Pinelli, an anarchist railroad worker, was killed during police interrogation in a fall from the fourth-floor window of Milan's police headquarters. Finally, a group of anarchists, led by TV dancer Pietro Valpreda, were framed for the bombings. The left clearly proved that what came to be known as the "state massacre" had been done by the fascists. They exposed names and evidence, but the frame-up went on and served as an excuse for massive repression.

Valpreda's trial was opened in February, 1972, in Rome. Only a few days were sufficient to prove that the investigation had been biased, so the trial had to be called off and moved to Milan.

Meanwhile, an investigation of collateral events to the massacre ended up in the incrimination of three leading fascists for the bombings: the very people that the left had accused three years ago, including Pino Rauti, member of the central committee of the fascist party. Now there are two sets of people accused of the same crime: the anarchists and fascists. Thus the state is proving the "impartiality" of its institutions against the "opposed extremisms."

The opening of the electoral campaign coincided with a wild attack on the left-wing militants, in which even the CP's press heartily joined. The excuse was a demonstration in Milan, which ended in street-fighting with the police and in the "accidental" death of a demonstrator.

The leftist groups who organized the demonstration were charged by the CP with being infiltrated by police, CIA agents and fascists—and with being little less than

CIA - Italy

'To do as Romans do just cry 'spy'

By KAY WITHERS

Rome.

The man upstairs is a CIA agent.

He's a graduate student. Good cover. Working on a dissertation for his doctorate, he says. A likely story, Italians say.

He's an American in his early thirties, unmarried, with a round, open, all-American-boy face and spectacles. Just the kind of person the CIA can't keep its hands off, say the Latin spy-watchers.

Convinced of network

As far as they are concerned, the poor boy has the word SPY written all over him.

Italy has so many causes celebres at present lending themselves to political exploitation that there are almost daily accusations of CIA interference in Italian affairs.

Even those Italians who don't see in every murder, riot or robbery the masterly hand of U.S. intelligence are convinced that the CIA currently has a

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network in Italy that would gladden any president's heart.

Italians have, however, always entertained, and possibly even welcomed, the titillating thought of secret agents living in their midst. It's their love of melodrama.

An American friend lived in the southern city of Bari for several years. Both he and his wife worked. They didn't spend money on the cars and clothes so dear to the Italian bella figura so they were able to cross the Atlantic several times during their Bari stay.

Answer was simple

Local suspicions were aroused immediately. Where would a couple of poor stranieri get the money to make all those fabulous trips to l'America?

Simple. They were CIA agents, of course.

At first we thought it rather fun to have one living right upstairs. A social asset. During pauses in the after-dinner conversation, one could listen with interest to the sinister noises emanating from the upstairs apartment. Tap-tap-tap. Bang-bang-bang. Always about the same time, late at night.

One night we went up to see what was going on, carrying as a pretext a magazine which we proposed to lend the spy.

When he opened the door, we saw that

the floor of his tiny apartment was covered with almond shells. A hammer and a glass of liqueur sat in the debris.

Somewhat disappointed, we rallied when our leftwing friends suggested that here was a really professional man, someone who had the almond shells in constant readiness for the appropriate moment.

Spy who came to dinner

The spy came to dinner several times. Once he excused himself after coffee, saying he had several reports to type. Eyebrows shot up and significant glances were exchanged among the other guests.

But the novelty soon wore off.

Extreme leftwingers started to avoid us. One romantic soul with a well-worn Communist Party card said meaningfully that he wouldn't count on us in the event of a coup d'etat.

We regarded all this as highly colored nonsense, of course. Spies, reports, coups. Figments of the excitable Mediterranean imagination.

Of course the man upstairs is not a CIA agent.

But we can't help hoping that SMERSH finds out how melodramatic Italians are before it reduces an innocent student's apartment (and the one below it) to a pile of Roman rubble.

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Around the World**Rome Hijacking**

ROME —An American claiming to be both a CIA agent and a son of a Mafia overlord was captured by Italian police after hijacking a Swiss Airlines' DC-9 jet to Rome and demanding to see Pope Paul VI and the U.S. ambassador.

Police said Mario Victor Maimone of New York City was captured with the help of a Roman Catholic priest and an American military officer who agreed to impersonate the pope and Ambassador Graham A. Martin. The 14 passengers and five crew members of the plane, which was on a regular flight from Geneva to Rome, were not hurt.

Aufrechnung

(Nr. 14/1972, Carl Raddatz über Feltrinelli Tod)

Daß Feltrinelli das Buch Cohn-Bendits zurückgewiesen hat mit der Bemerkung:

„Ich verlege keine anarchistischen Bücher, ich bin kein Anarchist“, überrascht mich nicht. Denn ein anti-anarchistisches Buch von mir, worin unter anderem gegen Cohn-Bendit polemisiert wird, hat er durchaus verlegen wollen: meine „Kritik der revolutionären Ungeduld“, Untertitel: Eine Abrechnung mit dem alten und dem neuen Anarchismus. Der im Kursbuch 19 vorabgedruckte Auszug daraus erschien im Sommer 1970 italienisch bei Mondadori (Mailand). Kurz danach ließ mir Feltrinelli (der sich damals bereits vor seinen präsumtiven Mördern versteckt halten mußte) durch gemeinsame Freunde ausrichten, daß er die vollständige Fassung zu veröffentlichen wünsche. Auf dieses Angebot positiv zu reagieren war mir zu der Zeit nicht mehr möglich, weil ich schon in — weit gediehenen — Verhandlungen mit deutschsprachigen Verlagen stand. Nichtsdestoweniger hat später, nachdem das Buch in Basel her-



Feltrinelli

Harich*

ausgekommen war, Frau Inge Feltrinelli-Schönthal sich die Rechte für eine italienische Lizenz Ausgabe gesichert. Nach dieser beruflichen Erfahrung fällt es mir schwer zu glauben, daß Feltrinelli Anarchist gewesen sein soll. Indes, auch persönliche Eindrücke sprechen dagegen. Ich hatte ihn im Juni 1967, inmitten seiner radikalsten Phase, nach einer brieflichen Kontroverse über Marxismus und Literaturgeschichte, bei mir zu Gast. Ich lernte in ihm einen sensiblen, kultivierten Mann von humaner Gesinnung kennen, der mit der deutschen Philosophie und Literatur intim vertraut war. Es kam zwischen uns zu einem langen, gründlichen Gedankenaustausch, der auch viele politische Fragen berührte. Dabei ergaben sich wieder Meinungsverschiedenheiten, doch von Anarchismus habe ich bei meinem Gesprächspartner nichts gemerkt.

Seine Sympathie für die Neue Linke war groß. Sie ging aber nicht so weit, daß er alle Apo-Aktionen kritiklos gutgeheißen hätte. Diejenigen Protestformen, in denen damals die altanarchische „Propaganda durch die Tat“ wiederaufzuleben begann, nannte er, aus revolutionsbejahender Einstellung, unvernünftig und zweckwidrig. Auch war ihm, bei aller Verachtung für Che Guevara, bewußt, daß die Kampfbedingungen der revolutionären Bewegung in den kapitalistischen Industriemetropolen sich von denen in der Dritten Welt gravierend unterscheiden. Und indem er sich ausdrücklich darauf bezog, berichtete er mir anhand konkreter Beispiele von seinen Bemühungen, dem gelegentlichen Hang zu sinnlosem Abenteuerum bei seinen jüngeren politischen Freunden in Italien, England, Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik entgegenzuwirken. Auf meine Frage, wieso er sich hierzu nicht auch öffentlich äußere, antwortete er mit Brecht: „Gehe nie den richtigen Weg ohne uns. Ohne uns ist es der falscheste Weg.“

Nach allem, was ich, auch aus gegnerischen Quellen, über Feltrinelli weiß, war er zu gutmütig, um irgendwelcher Brutalitäten fähig zu sein, und viel zu geschickt, um sich einzubilden, die Revolution könne durch einen momentanen Defekt bei der Stromzufuhr gefördert werden. Daß er versucht haben sollte, einen Hochspannungsmast in die Luft zu sprengen, ist für mich unvorstellbar.

Dagegen kann ich mir in Anbetracht der gegenwärtigen Kräftekonstellation in Italien sehr lebhaft vorstellen, daß die amerikanische Globalstrategie fieberhaft darauf hinarbeitet, nächstens in diesem Land „law and order“ nach griechischem Muster zu etablieren — am Vorabend prekärer Parlamentswahlen, wie gehabt —, und zu dem Zweck ihre finstersten Provokateure aufzohoten hat. Ich bin daher nicht nur, wie alle urteilsfähigen Beobachter, überzeugt, daß Feltrinelli ermordet worden ist, sondern vermute darüber hinaus mit Régis Debray, daß die Mörder im Dienste der CIA stehen. Eben deswegen teile ich freilich auch nicht die naive Erwartung, daß die italienische Polizei zu einer wahrheitsgetreuen Aufklärung des Falles beitragen könnte. In einer Richtung zu ermitteln, die der alten Kriminalistenfrage „Cui bono?“ entspräche, dürfte den Mailänder Ordnungshütern diesmal durch eherne Nato-Tabus verwehrt sein. Bestenfalls wird man ihnen, wenn es gar nicht mehr anders geht, gestatten, irgendeinen Einzelgänger mit neofaschistischer Ideologie als Täter zu präsentieren. Niemand,

der den Reichstagsbrand und den Überfall auf den Gleiwitzer Sender im Gedächtnis hat, sollte sich damit dann abspeisen lassen. Daß der qualvoll gemeuchelte politische Gegner noch im Tod das Propaganda-Instrument seiner Schlichter hat abgeben sollen, läßt eindeutig auf Geheimdienstterror schließen.

Fememörder aus eigenem Antrieb pflegen Wert darauf zu legen, ihren Haß und ihre Rachsucht unmißverstehbar kennlich zu machen.

Berlin

WOLFGANG HARICH

continued

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HARICH CHARGES CIA IN FELTRINELLI DEATH

DER SPIEGEL, Hamburg, of 17 April 1972 includes a letter by Wolfgang Harich to the news magazine's editors concerning Feltrinelli's death. (Harich is an East Berlin philosopher and writer and erstwhile publisher of DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE, East Berlin. He was imprisoned as a "counterrevolutionary" from 1956-1965.) His letter to the editors includes the following sentence:

"As all competent observers I am ... not only convinced that Feltrinelli was assassinated but beyond that I assume, together with Régis Debray, that the murderers are in the service of the CIA."

Machine of State Stalled, Italians Feel

By PAUL HOFMANN

Special to The New York Times

ROME, March 28—These are days of bombings and plots, spectacular robberies and urban guerrillas, an election campaign full of cabals and alarming rumors, and on top of it all the death of a famous publisher, a friend of Fidel Castro, in a mysterious explosion at the foot of a power pylon.

An internationally known writer, asked for an article on "Italy's future" for a United States publication, guffaws and says, "Italy has no future!"

The Easter tourists who are crowding into Rome see little reason for such gloom. One may have trouble getting luggage at the ramshackle Fiumicino Airport because the ground

personnel are striking intermittently, and one may have to subsist on sandwiches because restaurant workers walk out, but everything seems cheerful and prosperous enough.

All over Italy new cars fill the highways and smartly dressed people throng the streets. "Surely this is one country where life is still pleasant," a visitor from Paris observed. "I get a lot of smiles here. What a relief after those French scowls."

Yet many Italians are bewildered, troubled, even anguished as they are confronted daily by a barrage of baffling and ominous news.

Sociologists say that the protests and the tensions are the results of economic growth that has been too quick and too uneven. The affluence created by the efficient industries in northern Italy remained spotty and left large patches of poverty. The central bureaucracy in Rome is as lethargic as ever. The deep South is still one of Europe's backward areas.

Six million poor Southerners have migrated to northern Italy since World War II seeking jobs—two million more have gone abroad—and many of them feel exploited and discriminated against. Discontented Southerners are often in the vanguard of the worker and student protests.

tests. While post-Fascist Italy has managed to build one of the most efficient road networks in Western Europe, it has failed to modernize its outdated social structures, disorganized schools, hospitals and law courts, public transit, inadequate housing and other grievances have led to increasingly frequent outbreaks of rage.

Questions for Foreigners

"Italy is shaken by turbulent ferment; it runs the risk of becoming a country on the outskirts of civilization and reason," said a leading newspaper, La Stampa of Turin.

Every foreigner who has lived here for some time is being asked by friends: "If you were an Italian, for which party would you vote?" It seems that there are many more people who can give convincing reasons why not to support any of the eight or nine major parties in the general elections on May 7 and 8 than people professing firm political loyalties.

The statement that Italy had no future was not just a witicism; the man who made it explained:

"The neo-Fascists are going to pick up a lot of votes in the coming elections because the people yearn for order, and if the Christian Democrats make a government with them, the workers will rise and we'll have a civil war.

"If instead the Christian Democrats form a government with the Communists, the chances are we'll have a civil war too. Since the Christian Democrats aren't strong enough to run the country alone, the best that can happen is another indefinite, messy period of just muddling through."

Advice From Foreigners

Government ministers who ought to know what is going on ask foreign callers what they think will happen—and actually seem to listen. Many newspapers have taken to reprinting foreign press comment day after day.

Italians, questioned about the uncertain mood will say that they feel let down by the politicians, manipulated by state television and disappointed by a democratic system and administrative machinery that threaten to fall to pieces. "Italy has been drifting for years," a lawyer remarked.

The country has indeed lacked far-sighted political leadership since the late Alcide De Gasperi, was eased out in 1953 after seven crucial years.

His party, the Christian Democrats, remained the biggest vote-getting group but quickly degenerated into a loose confederation of warring and scheming factions. The Communist party remained the biggest Marxist force in the West but turned into a bureaucratic machine with a marked appetite for power.

Something new has happened since 1968. The wave of protest that started on American campuses and almost overthrew President de Gaulle in France spilled into this country—and has not abated.

For three years schools have been in turmoil, industries are shaken by wildcat strikes and small extremist groups have been battling with each other and the police.

On Dec. 12, 1969, an explosion in a Milan bank killed 16 persons. An inquiry exposed police inefficiency and the chaotic procedures of an archaic judicial system.

An anarchist, Pietro Valpreda, has been in jail for 27 months on charges of having planted the bomb. A few days ago a neo-Fascist, Giuseppe Rauti, was imprisoned on suspicion of having engineered the bombing. That the public is disconcerted is no surprise.

The chief prosecutor in Milan told newsmen that the anarchist and the neo-Fascist, despite their ideological differences, might have acted jointly—or again they might not.

The same official confided that he did not allow his assistant prosecutors to give him important information by phone "because in our dear Italy, one never knows."

The case of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, the millionaire by inheritance who became a successful publisher and a backer of ultraleftist movements, deepened the general feeling of conspiracy and confusion.

Leftists Charge Frame-up

Mr. Feltrinelli had gone underground. The circumstances in which his body was found seemed to suggest that he had been killed accidentally while trying to dynamite a power line in a protest against "the system."

Leftists charged that the publisher had been murdered by neo-Fascists or Italian secret-service men or by the United States Central Intelligence Agency. Mr. Feltrinelli was no Che Guevara (whom he had admired), the leftists said, but his murder was designed to frighten people into voting for

The judicial investigation has nibbled away at that theory. Luigi Barzini, the journalist and author, who was once married to Mr. Feltrinelli's mother, says that while a conspiracy cannot be entirely ruled out, it is hard to imagine a secret agent with the talents "of a great novelist or a great play director, capable of staging a death so in keeping with the personality, style and character" of the 45-year-old publisher.

The trend of recent events has built the impression that the leftist and neo-Fascists extremists are encouraging each other's militancy and that in effect, they complement each other.

The chief representative of the central Government in Milan, Libero Mazza, estimated some time ago that about 20,000 extremists of all brands were enrolled in paramilitary organizations in that city, a center of urban guerrilla activity. Throughout the nation the clandestine left-wing and right-wing fringes may number 50,000 people,

according to the most reliable guesses. In a traditionally nonviolent nation of 55 million people, informed observers comment, it should not be too hard to bring the extremists under control.

The Italian Communist party has condemned ultraleftist "adventurism" in the same stern terms as the French Communists use. At the same time the parliamentary branch of neo-Fascism, the Italian Social Movement, is trying hard to look respectable and moderate. The leaders are urging organizers of campaign rallies to display no black shirts and no Mussolini portraits, and to hang lots of Italian tricolors.

The neo-Fascist leader, Giorgio Almirante, a onetime actor and a Government aide under Mussolini, is a formidable campaigner, all suavity and reasonableness. The new Communist party chief, Enrico Berlinguer, a sad-looking Sardinian aristocrat, sounds more like a Social Democrat than a revolutionary.

The electoral strategy of the Communists and neo-Fascists clearly betrays their worry that the violence and plots may favor the middle-of-the-road parties.



C. A. - Italy

Leftist's death fuels Italy strife

By KAY WITHERS
Rome Bureau of The Sun

Rome—The death of the leftist millionaire publisher, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, 45, coming at the beginning of an Italian electoral campaign, threatens to become another campaign weapon for Italian political extremists.

Mr. Feltrinelli's body was found Wednesday near a power pylon on the outskirts of Milan. It appeared that he had been trying to blow up the pylon and thus deprive Milan of power for several minutes, when he was killed by the premature explosion of a stick of dynamite.

He had been missing since December, 1969, when police sought him in connection with terrorist bombings in a Milan bank, where 17 people were killed.

He won worldwide recognition for the first Western publication of Boris Pasternak's novel "Doctor Zhivago" in 1957.

A friend and disciple of Fidel Castro, he published almost exclusively leftist works.

With his death, the left-wing extremists, who are strong in Milan, lose a flamboyant figure and, some said, a solid financial supporter.

Frame-up charged

As news of his death spread the Feltrinelli publishing house and numerous splinter groups of left-wing extremists issued a document alleging that the 45-year-old dilettante revolutionary had been assassinated and his body placed near the pylon in a "state frame-up," designed to move the country to the right in a backlash protest vote.

On group accused "the fascists" and the American CIA (a popular scapegoat with the left) of masterminding the whole operation.

Although the left-wing extremists have not so far supplied any concrete proof of their accusations, the Italian political climate is so tense at present that even conservative and moderate circles expressed doubts over the affair. Fears were voiced that the incident would presage even more violence in the pre-election period.

The 13th congress of the Italian Communist party issued a statement attacking "evil maneuvers from many sides which are attempting to turn the civil and democratic appointment on May 7 [the elections] and the time before then into a dark and troubled chapter of our nation's life."

The congress was preceded in Milan by last Saturday's riots in which one died and nearly a hundred were injured. It ended yesterday.

The interior minister and former premier, Mariano Rumor, after consultation with Premier Giulio Andreotti, yesterday ordered a nation wide investigation into the case.

Police and secret service agents searched the premises of dozens of right- and left-wing extremist groups and the homes of their members in a dozen Italian cities.

Reds Blame CIA in Publisher's Death

MILAN, Italy (AP) — Italian Maoists accused the police and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency today of assassinating Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, the radical publisher of "Doctor Zhivago."

Police said they had identified the body found after an explosion at the base of a power pylon as that of Feltrinelli, a 45-year-old millionaire. They said he apparently blew himself up Wednesday while trying to knock out the power supply to Milan's streetcars and street lights.

One Maoist organization, Workers Avantgarde, claimed that Feltrinelli "was assassinated by agitators, possibly by police, and purposely carried to the site of the alleged attempt that was fabricated." It said Feltrinelli's assassination was meant to break the "growing influence of extremists among workers."

Another Maoist group, the Manifesto, also said Feltrinelli had been murdered in a "state frameup." And a third extremist organization, Workers Power, said the Italian police and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency were behind the assassination.

Feltrinelli inherited several million dollars at the age of 9 from his father, a timber magnate. He joined the Communist party in the late 1940s and founded his publishing house in 1954 to specialize in the works of leftists.

In 1957, Feltrinelli won world-wide fame when he gave Boris Pasternak's novel "Doctor Zhivago" its first publication. The Russians tried unsuccessfully to stop the publication and, as a result, Feltrinelli broke with the Italian party in 1958.

Feltrinelli later became identified more and more with the extreme left, and in recent years had been one of the

chief financial supports of the pro-Chinese extremists, who are particularly active in Milan.

Through the last decade, Feltrinelli traveled widely in the Communist world to locate works for translation and publication in Italy.

He disappeared in December 1969 after a bomb explosion set by terrorists killed 17 persons in a Milan bank.

In 1970, his publishing house issued a book on methods of guerrilla warfare, including how to prepare explosive devices. The police seized the book.

Italian big business spurs fascist attacks on growing labor unity

(Note: Neo-fascism and what it means in Italy was the subject of an interview given by Artino Colombi, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, to the weekly magazine, France Nouvelle, published by the French Communist Party. We give major excerpts from Colombi's assessment of the situation below—D.W. Foreign Department.)

The strength of the Italian labor movement and its recent victories have incited an attempted counter-offensive of the big bourgeoisie. The bosses can't allow these victories to stand. It is in these conditions that a monopoly counter-offensive emerged, in industry and in the country as a whole, with the aim of pushing the country's political orientation to the Right.

The fascists of Prince Junio Valerio Borghese and those of the Italian Social Movement (MSI) are not a great force. They have with them not only nostalgic old fascists but elements not identified with the traditional Right.

Tied to monarchists

Borghese, one of the heads of Benito Mussolini's fascism, is now tied in with the monarchists — but monarchists from the military caste in Italian society, paratroop officers. Given the general situation in Italy, this is of significance not only for the bosses but also for the Americans.

The Americans have their important bases here, and also their secret intelligence agencies — not only the CIA but also from NATO — and their role is becoming more and more open.

All of this is related to the U.S. role in the Middle East. The U.S. needs a forward base in the Mediterranean, and Italy is best suited for this since France withdrew from participation in NATO military affairs.

So the danger of a Right orientation in Italian politics comes from the pressures of the bosses and the Americans on the government as well as the domestic crisis which continues to develop.

Socialists' new attitude

The Italian Socialist Party (PSI), the United Socialist Party (PSU), and some of the Christian-Democrats in the coalition of Premier Emilio Colombo recently modified their attitude. They are participating in political and trade-union struggles. They have come out for social reform, and in the anti-fascist struggle their positions are no different from those of the Communists.

They stress that it is necessary for the government to seek a "better balance," that is, a new structure with some kind of Communist participation. The divisions in the Christian-Democrats make the government coalition rather precarious.

That is the dilemma: it is difficult for the Colombo government to go to the Right without destroying its balance; going to the left is not possible for it and the moment is not opportune, since Presidential elections will take place next January and there is no question of dissolving Parliament before then.

Trade union unity

What is characteristic of the Italian situation is the drive toward trade union unity. There are many problems to be discussed among the interested parties, and it can be said that the reactionaries are doing everything possible to disrupt this movement. It is not out of the question that in the municipal elections scheduled for June, which concern eight million Italians in Bari, Rome, and the Mezzogiorno, there will be new fascist provocations.

The government has confirmed that the Borghese plot last December involved seizure of the radio, kidnapping the Interior Minister and other adventures.

In fact, in these past years, there have been numerous fascist attacks on workers' demonstrations, against factories, and also against the universities and Communist Party headquarters. After a few arrests, nothing is done, no trials. The attacks in Milan by the fascists in which several innocent

citizens were killed or badly injured led only to the arrest of a few anarchists. But why weren't the real guilty ones ever found?

In Milan, without any doubt, the criminal attacks were the work of the CIA and its agents, who wanted to create a political uproar in the country. The government wanted to use it to declare that it was defending order against both the Left and the Right.

This maneuver was uncovered by simply recalling that in 1920 the same "battle on two fronts" pretext was used to protect the fascists. Powerful anti-fascist demonstrations at that time in Milan, Rome and elsewhere had shown that fascism — which led the country to war, defeat and degradation — had no solid base in Italy.

Now everything depends on the capacity of the Communists to face these situations which unexpectedly arise, to maintain their mass ties, and to give the masses democratic perspectives; most of all, to strive for unity of Italy's working class.

Shadow Of 'Il Duce' Taking More Concrete Form In Italy

By OSWALD JOHNSTON
Rome Bureau of The Sun

Rome, March 20--That recurring nightmare of Italy's intellectual left, a neo-Fascist coup d'etat, has leaped unexpectedly to the forefront of the nation's consciousness.

For several years now, especially since the rise of the colonels in Greece in 1967, it has been an article of faith in left-wing periodicals that a rightist coup, led by industrialists and the American Central Intelligence Agency--the all-purpose villain for all real or imaginary polots--was in the making.

Sometimes Detailed

Occasionally, there would be elaborate details published for all to see, allegations three years ago that the director of Italian military intelligence was involved in a right-wing coup were dispelled only this winter by a parliamentary committee.

Yet, in a society increasingly dogged by labor unrest and civil disorder, rumors of a paramilitary Fascist revival continued to sprout and, with time and repetition, grow in credibility.

Maoist-leaning student revolutionaries--known widely here as "I Cinesi" (The Chinese)--have mingled with grass-roots radicals in the industrial plants of Milan and Turin to form in the minds of many observers here a dangerous union of student and worker radicalism.

Since "Hot Autumn"

Reaction, therefore seemed inevitable. Ever since the "Hot Autumn" of 1969 turned into a way of life for millions of Italian blue-collar and, more recently, clerical workers, there has been occasional muttering among older and more conservative people that things would have been different if "Lui" (Him)--or "Quello" (That Man)--were still in charge.

Benito Mussolini is rarely mentioned by name, and his memory is not openly revered--except among the faithful. But he is not despised, either, and he certainly is not forgotten.

Finally, during the seven months of

month, the existence of a neo-Fascist semi-underground became public.

Political Struggle

Police quelling university disorders in Milan and Rome found they were more often in the middle of pitched battles between left- and right-wing extremist groups than simply battling their familiar enemies, the student Maoists.

Bands of youthful thugs, carrying chains, iron bars or two-by-fours and wearing helmets began to be spotted as often under Fascist colors as under the red flag.

For many, the emergence of such groups recalled the Squadristi (squads) of the years immediately following World War I--and the civil disorder that led in 1925 to Mussolini's assumption of power and ultimately to fascism.

It has been acknowledged all but officially in government circles that such extra-parliamentary rightist groups--well to the right of the loud-talking inefficual neo-Fascist party, the Italian Social Movement--fomented the Reggio Calabrian violence and kept it going.

It was only under repeated urging of Italy's large Communist party, which, for the purpose, assumed a role of law-and-order respectability, that Emilio Colombo's center-left government late last year moved enough forces into Reggio Calabria to snuff out the revolt.

By this time, however, the half-forgotten leaders of the rightist fringe began to come back into prominence.

Prince Junio Valerio Borghese, 64--war hero confidant of "Il Duce" (the leader--Mussolini) and romantic absolutist--told the respected Turin daily *La Stampa* last December that he had the power to bring "a million men" into the streets to march against the decadent state Italy has become since World War II--"Drugged, Homosexual, Corrupt" as one of his political posters put it.

The political landscape belongs to the right of the parliamentary neo-Fascists: Ordine

Nuovo (New Order), a neo-Nazi group partly allied with the parliamentary group; Prince Borghese's own National Front, born in 1967 and said to have solid financial backing from industry and from abroad; National Vanguard, another paramilitary group wedded to violence and believed by the left to have been implicated in the Milan bombing of December, 1959; Cilization), a slightly more respectable group which has staged demonstrations in Moscow department stores.

Then in profusion, a string of lesser organizations, many of them with strangely rhetorical names, some childish, some sinister: the Delta Front, the Alpha Group, the National Action Group, the Second Republic, Struggle of the People, New Europe, Young Italy, the Falange.

Police Investigations

Today, Italians are learning that many of the rumors and whispered fears are being borne out by a nationwide police investigation that is still under way.

The "Black Prince" Borghese's National Front, is being linked to shadowy, and as yet unspecified, international financial deals, and police are said to have found evidence in his office bank statements substantiating the charges.

Prince Borghese himself is in hiding and is being hunted by police all over Europe. He has been charged with plotting armed revolt against the government, and 3 associates, including a retired Army officer and a retired paratrooper, have been arrested on the same charge. Some 20 more are sought; all face the maximum sentence of life imprisonment.

Planned December Coup

As bits and pieces of the tale have begun to leak out, it now appears the coup was planned for the night of December 7 last year, allegedly under Prince Borghese's direction.

About a thousand men, many of them veterans of the war and of the Mussolini era living in bitter isolation in the north of Italy, supposedly were planning to seize the Interior Ministry in Rome and take over the radio and television system.

The coup failed, according to some accounts, because of a rumor that an armored column of Carabinieri (national police) refused to take part--and be-

cause a lone official fired a pistol into the air and panicked the conspirators.

Conscription Lists

Police are also said to have gathered from offices and private homes in Rome, Milan, Genova, Naples and Bari a weird variety of incriminating documents: plans for an armed takeover, conscription lists of Communists and left-wing Socialists, even a list of every member of the Parliament, including neo-Fascists--all of whom, presumably would have been jailed once the "New Order" was proclaimed.

According to one account, the abortive December coup was so well-known in rightist circles that the monthly bulletin of one of the sub organizations, the National Union of Combatants for a Social Republic, spoke openly in its January issue of a frustrated "colpo dello stato" that had been scheduled for early winter last year.