

## COMMUNITARIANISM AND NAZIMAOISM

### INTRODUCTION.

The phenomenon of so-called 'nazimaoism' has never been sufficiently investigated either by historiographers of neo-fascism or by left-wing politicians and militants. The 'sympathy' that certain sectors of the extreme right have often turned to left-wing content and associations is, however, something to keep an eye on, because it can also give rise to dangerous situations for those who militate in certain sectors.

Already in the 1920s, the 'National Bolshevik' movement developed in Germany, which embraced left-wing issues with nationalist indications (practically what Jean-Marie Le Pen said in our times after winning the 'primaries' in France: that is, he is 'socially left-wing, economically right-wing and French nationalist'); they dreamt, among other things, of an alliance with the Soviet Union. They were eliminated by the Nazis, no more and no less than the opponents of the regime<sup>1</sup>.

After various vicissitudes, which we will briefly recount below, from the year 2000 onwards the heirs of these national Bolsheviks ('communitarists' and 'nationalitarian communists') began to frequent and seek contact with the circles of the anti-imperialist and internationalist left, whose militants very often, either through ignorance or misunderstood pragmatism, did not distance themselves from them.

We have not yet seen the results of this activity, which we dare to call *entrism*, except for the fact that the Italian internationalist movement is splitting over these things. At the time of writing these lines, a controversy is underway, especially on the web (very little appears on the subject in the printed press), over the organisation of the solidarity demonstration with the Iraqi people called for 6 December 2003, given that among the signatories of the appeal, some have found the names of people with a past that is considered ambiguous, to say the least. In the face of this controversy, the *Voce operaia* group, which is among the promoters, declared 'to our knowledge there are no fascists among the 700 signatories of the appeal *with the Iraqi people resisting* and if there are we will delete them'; and again, regarding the stance taken by Fulvio Grimaldi and others "the journalist is challenged to bring evidence of 'association' with fascists, not in front of the bunch of dastardly principals who instigate him, but in front of a Court that, however bourgeois, must still respect the Constitution and considers 'fascist' a serious insult, damaging to the dignity of the citizen who is affected by it"<sup>2</sup>.

For our part, we would like to make a small contribution to the knowledge of the communitarist panorama and the people who animate this movement today, by publishing a dossier in which we have gathered some news about them. Far be it from us to have exhausted such a problematic subject in so few pages.

### INTELLECTUALS AND PUBLICISTS.

After the war, the Belgian Jean Thiriart<sup>3</sup> founded Jeune Europe, which "at the beginning of the 1960s had been the flanker of the extreme right-wing organisation OAS"<sup>4</sup>. This first example of the 'black international', which developed in various countries and then gave rise to the movement known as 'communitarianism', was referred to in Italy by, among others, Claudio Mutti<sup>5</sup>, Ugo Gaudenzi, Claudio Orsi (nephew of Cesare Balbo), and the lawyer Marcantonio Bezicheri (who was Freda's defender and, in more recent years, joined the Fiamma tricolore). From the Italian section of Giovane Europa then broke away the group of Lotta di popolo<sup>6</sup>, the so-called 'Nazi-Maoists'<sup>7</sup>.

Let us dwell on the figure of Mutti, who more than thirty years later continues to make people talk about him. Carlo Palermo, who considers, among other things, how the new European right wing has "claimed since the 1980s to have *discovered* the Arianism contained in Islamic mysticism", echoing Hitler's "privileged" relationship with the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, writes that a key figure in this "rediscovery" of Islamism is Claudio Mutti, "extollers of Muammar Gaddafi's socialism, professor of Romanian language at the University of Bologna, translator (...) Codreanu, founder of Italian Nazimaoism".) of Codreanu, founder of Italian Nazimaoism'.

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<sup>1</sup> For a better understanding of the subject, read Marco Rossi's text, 'I fantasmi di Weimar', ed. Zeroincondotta, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> From a discussion on [www.politicaonline](http://www.politicaonline).

<sup>3</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> C. Palermo, 'The Fourth Level', Ed. Riuniti, 1996.

<sup>5</sup> We dedicate a note to this character in the appendix.

<sup>6</sup> "According to indiscretions from a Yugoslavian source, Settembre Nero (an organisation believed to have been infiltrated and manipulated by the Israeli secret services) formed solid alliances with the most fanatical groups of the European right wing: Ordine Nuovo, Avanguardia Nazionale, Organizzazione Lotta di Popolo (which even copied in the acronym OLP the Palestine Liberation Organisation), German neo-Nazi groups and Ustaša exiles" (G. Flamini, "Il partito del golpe", ed. Bovolenta 1982). The director of *Lotta di popolo* was Ugo Gaudenzi.

<sup>7</sup> In 1992, the Barbarossa publishing house (which refers to Maurizio Murelli) published a text by Marco Battarra (one of the founders of the magazine *Orion*) entitled 'From Jeune Europe to the R.B.', which would be interesting to read also to assess whether and what fascination this type of right-wing, which today could be called 'bipartisan' with an unfortunate expression, may have had on people who later sided openly to the left like Renato Curcio.

Palermo also writes that 'Mutti had explained in an issue of *Elements* magazine that his conversion to the Muslim religion (which took place in 1979) was the result of decades of work within the fascist Young Europe movement (...)'<sup>8</sup> .

Mutti had also been one of the founders of the Ordine Nero together with Franco Freda; we then find him president of an Italy-Libya association set up in Ferrara in 1973, together with Orsi; Another pro-Arab association was founded in the same period by Michele Papa (who in Palermo was the representative of that 'World Parliament for Security and Peace' that seems to be involved in trafficking in uranium rods and that has among its 'deputies' also the self-styled historian - revisionist - from Pordenone, Marco Pirina<sup>9</sup> ) who 'even tried - as shown by indications in old court documents - to set up a real Sicilian liberation army. This story has emerged from the statements of the terrorist Bernardino Andreola...' .<sup>10</sup>

An Italy-China Association was also founded in Ferrara in the 1960s, promoted by Claudio Orsi, which was a meeting point for Freda<sup>11</sup> , Ventura and Count Pietro Loredan<sup>12</sup> . Mutti was a collaborator of Orsi and at that time wrote for the magazine *Ordine Pubblico*, directed by the piduist prince Alliata di Montereale<sup>13</sup> .

Today Mutti is one of the leading names in the area of the National-European Communitarist Circles that represent the heirs of Thiriart's 'old' communitarists: their references are newspapers such as *Orion*, *L'uomo libero*, *Rinascita*<sup>14</sup> , *Orientamenti*, *Rosso è Nero*<sup>15</sup> and others. The circles gravitating around these journals came together in July 2000 to give life to the organisation Rinascita Nazionale (which publishes the magazine of the same name) whose provisional national coordination committee was animated by Giacinto Auriti<sup>16</sup> and Giorgio Vitali<sup>17</sup> and whose constituent committee saw the presence of Ugo Gaudenzi (as head) and Piero Sella (national president)<sup>18</sup> ; but also Alberto Mariani<sup>19</sup> , Paolo Emiliani, Paolo Zanetov<sup>20</sup> , Maria Lina Veca (head of the Rome federation)<sup>21</sup> and, in Venezia Giulia, Dino Giacca<sup>22</sup> and Stefano Mattiussi.

The symbol of National Revival, a rising sun and three arrows, "besides faithfully echoing the badge worn by the Italian SS, evokes both the Crossed Arrows of the Hungarian Nazis and that of the Spanish Phalange"<sup>23</sup> .

The *Orion* magazine was founded in 1984 by Marco Battarra (who represented the New Action group) and Maurizio Murelli, after the latter had finished serving 11 years in prison for the murder of policeman Antonio Marino in Reggio Calabria in April '73. At the beginning, Murelli founded with Battarra the Barbarossa club in Saluzzo with former members of Europa Civiltà; later, the publishing house of the same name, the magazine *Orion* and a fantasy shop, La bottega del fantastico, Battarra's workplace, were founded.

Murelli also gathered around him Chicco Galmozzi, a former Prima Linea member, who was convicted of murdering, in April 1976, the Missino provincial councillor Enrico Pedenovi; then Mutti and another right-wing intellectual, Carlo Terracciano, also joined the group.

In Number 10 (October 1989), *Orion* published the "Political Manifesto of the European Partisan", where the "European Partisans", heirs of Jean Thiriart's Young Europe, define themselves as "a faction of the extreme Right, which, passing through neo-fascism has evolved towards revolutionary nationalism and the anti-Zionist, libertarian and non-dogmatic extreme Left". Tassinari writes that in Italy "a faction of nostalgics of the extreme right, in the constellation of groups that refer to the experience of the

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<sup>8</sup> C. Palermo, 'The Fourth Level', cit.

<sup>9</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> C. Palermo, 'The Fourth Level', op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> "In Ferrara Freda frequented Claudio Orsi, the protagonist of blatant infiltration operations" (G. Flamini, "Il partito del golpe", op. cit.).

<sup>12</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>13</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>14</sup> Typical of this right wing is the appropriation of acronyms and titles that are the heritage of left-wing movements.

<sup>15</sup> Red is Black is a movement that arose from a national-communist split of Tilgher's National Front in 1999. Anti-Western, communitarist ideas also come from Ghennadi Ziuganov's new Russian communist party (perhaps it is no coincidence that Ziuganov's texts are disseminated in Italy by extreme right-wing channels). In No. 1 (November 1998) of the magazine *Rosso è Nero (Red is Black)*, an "apologetic article by Osama Bin Laden" concluded as follows: "what has no correspondence in the intimate feeling of the race is a lie, an artificial construction lacking an intimate, organic foundation" (in M. Rossi, "I fantasmi di Weimar", op. cit.).

<sup>16</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>17</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>18</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>19</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>20</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>21</sup> We will return to Maria Lina (or Marilina, as she sometimes appears) Veca often in this dossier.

<sup>22</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>23</sup> M. Rossi, 'The Ghosts of Weimar', op. cit.

National Bolsheviks, the minority wing of Nazism brutally liquidated for its left-wing tendencies after the seizure of power (...) has its cloture point in *Orion*<sup>24</sup>. "The *Orion* group expresses a national-revolutionary or, better still, national-communist line, with strong references to the themes of Alain De Benoist's New Right". Fundamental themes: "the fight against globalism, understood as the domination of international finance dominated by the usual Jewish-Masonic clique, to which we must oppose not the model of 'white and Christian' Europe, but a union of intentions with the national-communist, traditionalist and fundamentalist forces of the former Soviet empire and the Islamic sphere"<sup>25</sup>.

Moreover, "in the national-communist area, as Murelli pointed out, there are no problems of religious affiliation and more or less fundamentalist Catholics, pagans like Murelli, Battarra (who, however, declare that they have long since abandoned the rites of the Solstice), and Alessandra Colla (a devotee of Hypatia, the first martyr of paganism)<sup>26</sup>, agnostics like Galmozzi and Muslims like Mutti and Terracciano coexist peacefully"<sup>27</sup>.

Later *Orion* was also joined by the National Left-Antagonist Movement group (in which Giorgio Vitali was a militant member), which had been created around the *Aurora* periodical that came out in 1988 on the initiative of former Rautians. The magazine, to which Mutti also collaborated, came out with a 'new series' from 1992 to 1998, giving ample space to the veterans of the CSR; the editor was Luigi Costa, and in the 2002 issue we find an obituary that Vitali wrote for a 'veteran' of the CSR, as well as spokesman for the Federation of these 'veterans', born, according to Vitali, 'to represent the historical and political legacy of the CSR', defined later a 'fortunate period of our History'.

Connected to *Orion* was the European Synergy project, from an idea of Murelli inspired by Thiriart's positions for the creation of a single European party in a 'European reconstruction project', based on the coordination of anti-American and anti-World War II forces, with a certain sympathy for Islamism. The project had been developed by Murelli after having connections with the Russian national-communist opposition, and was joined by Gabriele Adinolfi<sup>28</sup> (formerly of Terza Posizione) and Rainaldo Graziani<sup>29</sup>; the animator was Claudio Mutti. Their last initiative was the Summer University of 2000, held in a Graziani farmhouse, at which Mario Consoli (*l'Uomo nuovo*), Piero Puschiavo, (Fronte veneto skinhead) and the denier Jurgen Graf spoke.

At the end of the 1990s, after the NATO aggression against Yugoslavia and, in Italy, the progressive rapprochement of the 'social' Right (Tilgher and Rauti) towards electoral agreements with the Pole of Liberties, the Italian communitarist galaxy coagulated, giving life to a collaboration with the National European Communist Party (heir of Jean Thiriart), but the collaboration lasted little and after a year the Communitarist Circles broke with the NCP. In May 2001, the Communist Circles declared their dissolution and moved into the phase of 'nationalist communism'. In this phase we see the birth of the Union of Nationalist Communists of their site *Resist!* and the journal *Communitarism*<sup>30</sup>. In the document produced by the Roman dissolution assembly of 30.6.01, we read that "the communitarists undertook yet another process of ideological revision such that they abandoned Thiriart in favour of Lenin (...) and the strategic perspective of the Eurasian Unitary State for that of a European Federation of socialist states, approaching the elaborations of *Independence*, another periodical looked upon with open mistrust by the anti-fascists because some of its editors came from both the extreme left and the extreme right".

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To find out about the other members of the area, we go to the *Italia Sociale* organisation website where we first find the composition of the editorial staff of the eponymous 'national socialism weekly' published in Verona: editor-in-chief Ugo Gaudenzi, political director Federico Dal Cortivo, cultural director Roberto Muttoni. Collaborators include: Gen. Amos Spiazzi<sup>32</sup>, Stefano Andrade Fajardo, Tazio Poltronieri, Prof. Primo Siena<sup>33</sup>, Franco Andreotto, Andrea Cucco; external collaborators include: Dr. Carlo Terracciano, Maria Lina Veca and Claudio Mutti. On the first page of the site appears a disturbing question: will Cuba be the Bush administration's next target? Browsing through their editorial archive, we find other signatures, some unquestionably right-wing like Massimo Fini, Paolo Emiliani (who is

<sup>24</sup> U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', Castelveccchi 2001.

<sup>25</sup> In M. Coglitore, 'La memoria tradita', Zeroincondotta 2002, which quotes part of the text by V. Marchi, 'Blood and Honour', Koiné edizioni 1993.

<sup>26</sup> Colla is also Murelli's wife and a director of *Orion*.

<sup>27</sup> U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.

<sup>28</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>29</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>30</sup> Data taken from [www.misteriditalia.it](http://www.misteriditalia.it).

<sup>31</sup> M. Rossi, 'The Ghosts of Weimar', op. cit.

<sup>32</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>33</sup> On this name see Appendix.

also a contributor to *Rinascita*), Maurizio Blondet<sup>34</sup>, the Triestine Ugo Fabbri<sup>35</sup>, Adel Smith<sup>36</sup>; but also Noam Chomsky, Father Benjamin, Marco Saba<sup>37</sup>, the 'friends of Al-Aqsa' and other pro-Palestinian organisations. In contrast, the title of the webpage dedicated to the story is unmistakable: 'the 18 points of Verona: an incredible topicality in the CSR programme'.

As linked sites we find some magazines: *Rinascita nazionale*, *Tibereide*, *Italicum*; but also the sites of Palestinian and Iraqi political movements, Father Benjamin's site on Iraq, that of Sinn fein and the Argentinean Justicialist (Peronist) Party, Le Pen's French Front National, the German neo-Nazi party NPD, some Swiss Nazi organisations and the Flemish National Youth; the website of the ADES (Association of Friends and Descendants of Istrian Exiles)<sup>38</sup>, of the musical group 270 bis<sup>39</sup>, of the 'Right in Italy', with the agenda of 'cultural' and political events in the area; and also of the US Institute for historical review, directed by Mark Weber.

It is worth mentioning an initiative promoted by Rinascita nazionale in April 2002 "in collaboration with *Utopia*, *Associazione Uomo Libero*, *Comicontrol*, *Italicum l'Uomo libero*, *Comunità militante Tiburtina e Umbra*, *Gioventù universitaria*, *Ass. Limes*<sup>40</sup>, *Socialismo tricolore*<sup>41</sup>". The theme of the two-day conference was 'Ethnic Cleansing and the Independence of Peoples. The Broken Nations'. The first day included a panel discussion on 'Anti-Serb ethnic cleansing in the Balkans wanted by London and Washington, Krajine of Croatia and Bosnia, Kosovo (1992-2002). The forgotten genocide'. Stefania Craxi, journalist Maurizio Cabona<sup>43</sup>, Mar. Ernesto Pallotta, director of the *Carabinieri Newspaper* and SDS journalist Dusan Ostojic had been invited to this debate, whose speakers included Dragoljub Kogcic (SDS president), George Galloway (Scottish labour party), General Silvio Mazzaroli<sup>42</sup>, Falco Accame and journalist Massimo Fini. This round table was to be followed by the press conference of the 'Utopia project for the rebirth of Kosovo'.

The next day, two more round tables were scheduled: in the morning 'the anti-Arab ethnic cleansing in the Near East wanted by London and Washington. Palestine and Iraq. The forgotten genocide', with the presence of, among others, George Galloway, Father Benjamin, Jacques Borde (international observer in Iraq), Bobo Craxi. It was followed by a press conference on the 'Utopia Project for Arab Rebirth'.

Last round table: 'the anti-Italian ethnic cleansing in the eastern Adriatic wanted by London and Washington. Istria, Rijeka, Zadar and Dalmatia (1944-47). The forgotten genocide'. With Dragoljub Kogcic, Giuseppe Pititto<sup>44</sup> (magistrate), Dino Giacca (Associazione Continuità adriatica), Augusto Sinagra, (civil plaintiff 's lawyer in the so-called *foibe* trial)<sup>45</sup>, Luigi Papo (historian)<sup>46</sup>, Piero Sella (historian), Massimo Fini; invitations to the Hon. Fabrizio Cicchetto of Forza Italia, the 'com. Sannucci X Mas', Maurizio Cabona. This was also followed by a press conference on the 'project for the revival of the Adriatic Continuity'.

The whole of this conference reminds us of a speech by the journalist Fausto Biloslavo<sup>47</sup>, who, after introducing himself as the 'grandson of an infibato and son of an exile' asked why there never existed

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<sup>34</sup> Blondet is the author of 'The New Barbarians', published by Effedieffe, a text on the *skin* movement that is described here with 'sympathy'.

<sup>35</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>36</sup> Adel Smith, a representative of the Muslim Union of Italy, became famous for his campaign against crucifixes in public offices and for being attacked on live TV by members of Forza Nuova, who did not want him to talk about his Islamist positions (which, by the way, are not shared by other associations of his co-religionists). It is interesting to note these 'fights' between fundamentalists of various currents.

<sup>37</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>38</sup> Among the people who collaborated with this 'neo-irredentist' group and whom we find in our research are Dino Giacca (who is also an exponent of Continuità adriatica, whom we will name later), Giorgio Rustia, Marco Pirina and Stefano Mattiussi, names that we discuss in more detail in the notes at the end.

<sup>39</sup> Worthy of mention is their song 'Black Heart': 'And I have a black heart/and so many people/would like to see me in the cemetery/But I have a black heart/and I don't give a damn and I spit in the face of the whole world.../The arm that reaches out and lowers the bar/the crash of bones, the gnashing of teeth/the horrified gaze of a thousand right-thinking people:/it takes so little to be happy'. Their leader, Marcello De Angelis, who uses to start his concerts by reading passages from the Koran, has a past in Terza Posizione, but then became editor of AN's *Area* magazine. We will talk more about them in this dossier.

<sup>40</sup> It is a right-wing cultural association that should have nothing to do with the geopolitical magazine of the same name.

<sup>41</sup> One of the leaders of Socialismo tricolore is Biagio Cacciola, who came out of Tilgher's National Front and ran for this group in Frosinone in 2002 in support of a centre-left list.

<sup>42</sup> Mazzaroli is listed in the programme as former deputy commander of KFOR in Kosovo, but we refer you to the note in the appendix on him.

<sup>43</sup> Cabona is the film critic of the *Giornale*, but we will often find him among the initiatives of this political area.

<sup>44</sup> Pititto has become famous as the prosecutor of the 'foibe' investigation, but what the press tends not to write, is that very little of his investigations has been confirmed in court.

<sup>45</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>46</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>47</sup> On this name see Appendix.

an organisation for the liberation of Istria, as there was an organisation for the liberation of Palestine, and concluded by hoping that 'the Adriatic Sea will peacefully, culturally become what it has always been: an Italian lake'<sup>48</sup>.

After *Rinascita Nazionale*, we talk about the *Italicum* cultural centre, whose contributors include Enzo Erra<sup>49</sup>, Mario Merlino<sup>50</sup>, Alessandro Cresti<sup>51</sup>, Giorgio Vitali. We only mention the theme of the monographic issue 5-6, namely 'reconstructing the state', which published, among others, contributions by Enrico Belardinelli, Stefano Tringali<sup>52</sup>, Gabriele Adinolfi, Augusto Sinagra and Marilina Veca.

Of the magazine *Tibereide* (reported as 'the world of the armed forces from the perspective of national interests'), Maurizio Lintozzi is editor-in-chief; editor-in-chief Marilina Veca, contributors Falco Accame, Marco Saba, Franco Maranzana, Debora Zappa, Bruna Alasia and Michele Santoro ('from Sicily', it is specified on the magazine's website). There is an interesting presence of Falco Accame, a historical left-wing militant (years ago he was a member of Democrazia Proletaria and today he collaborates with Rifondazione Comunista and writes in its daily newspaper *Liberazione*), who for decades has dealt with issues related to the rights of the military, depleted uranium, international politics and terrorism; but also the presence of Marco Saba, who has made a name for himself in left-wing circles for his counter-information activities on depleted uranium.

## BIPARTISAN MILITANTS.

Let us go back in time to see how already in years past the so-called 'radical' right had extended its hands towards 'left-wing' movements and mobilisations.

A tendency to "Nazimaoism" is found, first of all, in Terza Posizione, which had animated, in Rome, at the end of the 70's, the struggle of the homeless squatters against the left-wing administration in the Palmarola suburb. Likewise Terza Posizione's positions of solidarity with the national liberation movements, not only Basque and Irish, but also with the Sandinistas of Nicaragua who were clearly 'left-wing'.

On Terza Posizione we read what Gianni Flamini writes<sup>53</sup> 'Francesco Mangiameli, Roberto Fiore, Gabriele Adinolfi (...) were founding a new organisation and printing a newspaper. They were both going to be called *Third Position*'. It was 1979, and Flamini quotes an excerpt from their writings: "Third Position removes the stagnant waters of resignation and manifests itself as a pole for all those who want to design the future of our system with us. We must consider ourselves natural allies of Islam, to whom our esteem cannot but go". On 14.12.79, at a Roman seat of the movement, three exponents of the Third Position are arrested, caught in the middle of transporting a crate full of hand grenades. In the subsequent search by the DIGOS, they find Carabinieri and Guardia di Finanza uniforms, stolen and false documents, rifles and various explosives. Possible links between the Third Position and the NAR terrorists were investigated at the time by Judge Mario Amato, who was assassinated by Gilberto Cavallini, of the NAR, on 23.6.80.

Today, we can partially find positions similar to those of Terza Posizione in the review of the Avant-garde Political Community, where we can read, besides rave praises of the figure of Osama Bin Laden, defined as an "anti-world revolutionary"<sup>54</sup> (let us remember that *Red is Black* also had an eye on this character), also the writings of Noam Chomsky and Subcomandante Marcos. And in practically every issue of the magazine we find expressions of solidarity with the Palestinian people, but in an essentially anti-Jewish rather than internationalist key (here we can perhaps glimpse a connection with the right-wing pro-Islamism we mentioned earlier).

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<sup>48</sup> Speech given at a conference organised by Azione Giovani to present a book on historical revisionism entitled 'The Sound of Silence' (10.9.97).

<sup>49</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>50</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>51</sup> Cresti is the leader of the Nihil project band, which calls itself 'left-wing', but seems to us to be equivocal to say the least; he was expected among the guests at the 2003 anti-imperialist camp.

<sup>52</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>53</sup> G. Flamini, 'The Shadow of the Pyramid', Teti 1989.

<sup>54</sup> There is a detail that seems particularly disturbing in this regard, but which we are not able to go into, both for lack of data and space: in one of the documents diffused by the Anti-imperialist Territorial Nuclei, there appears a "recognition of the positive role of the billionaire Osama Bin Laden" and the vision of "Islamic fundamentalism" as "paladin of revolutionary redemption against the western overpower", to the point of hypothesising a "negotiation" between "Italian fighting communists and Islamic fundamentalists" (thus G. Cipriani in *l'Unità* of 14.1.00. Cipriani in *l'Unità* of 14.1.00). Nothing of what is feared in this article has been realised so far, but considering that the NTA (a sort of 'virtual terrorists' of the north-east, described as extremely dangerous by the police apparatus, but who in practice have only a huge number of communiqués to their credit and a few attacks with firecrackers and paper bombs) appear with their 'resolutions' at times that are always opportune for someone (usually not for the real militants of the left), all this may be a sign to be taken into account.

With regard to the "formations of the antagonist right wing which catalyse, in an anti-American and anti-Israeli key, political-religious experiences and instances of the Islamic world", let us give the word to an "official" source: "a particular role has been played by the pro-Islamic organisations which have raised the tone of political criticism to American imperialism and to the military-political action carried out by Israel in Palestine. Among all of them, the Vanguard political community should be mentioned, standing firm on its historical *pro-Iranian* positions"<sup>55</sup> .

The political community of *Avanguardia* was born in 1982 in Trapani, with the magazine of the same name, and for a time collaborated with the group referring to the magazine *Orion*, but then they parted ways and the two groups did not attempt to build a common anti-world-war party. According to Marchi, in 1993 the Avant-garde circuit involved, in addition to the magazine of the same name, the Knut Hamsun book centre in Trapani, the editorial office of Popoli in the province of Pescara (another Avant-garde circle was to be set up in Pescara in 1993) and the Marsala study centre 'Christianity and Islam', directed by Gioacchino Gruppo<sup>56</sup> .

However, the position of *Avanguardia* is worrying, in the editorial-letter signed Manuel Negri with the unequivocal title "Wake up you assholes!" addressed to the "comrades in good faith" of Forza Nuova. The letter refers to the Forza Nuova demonstration in Bologna on 13.5.00, when "the demonstrators of Fiore and Morsello's group and the "anti-fascist protesters" contributed, more or less unconsciously, to carry out a strategic design exclusively functional to the centres of power marked by the stabilisation of the established order and to dampen any rebellious impulse coming from any antagonist environment". Thus, according to Negri, "the presence of Forza Nuova (...) has further contributed to stupidly reinforce the wall of division between 'potentially' antagonist forces which, strategically united against a common objective, would be a threat to the system".

And he asks again: "How come the 'tricolour fascists' were not present in Genoa alongside the anarchists, at the counter-demonstrations of Controtebio and Mobiltebio (...) thus contributing to swelling the ranks of a single antagonist front?".

That the anarchists might not agree that the ranks of the "antagonist front" were swollen also by "tricolour fascists" does not seem to be a problem for Negri, but it must be kept in mind that in the review, interventions, writings and analyses of a certain anarchist sector are repeatedly quoted, in the sense of agreement, such as that of certain Roman social centres, or the works of Alfredo Maria Bonanno (which do not appear to us, however, to have any relationship with the people of *Avanguardia*). However, the problem of the 'outstretched arm' towards certain political components can generate confusion in people (even in good faith) who do not have much ideological preparation and perhaps believe certain 'connections' are possible.

In the tragic days of the G8 in Genoa (July 2001) we were perhaps able to verify how certain suspicions of infiltration might have a basis of truth. Let us read what Guido Caldiron<sup>57</sup> wrote, after the 'indiscretions' on a memoir of the secret services concerning the danger of a Nazi-fascist presence in Genoa: "According to what *Il Messaggero* wrote yesterday, Biagio Cacciola<sup>58</sup> , leader of the National Front of Adriano Tilgher and municipal councillor in Frosinone, would confirm the presence of his group in Genoa. Without symbols and flags, confused in the mass of demonstrators, about three hundred militants of the Front would take part in the procession on Saturday 21, marching in the first part of the demonstration, the one not involved in the clashes. - We arrived in Genoa from all over Italy,' explained Cacciola, 'we could not fail to take part in a demonstration that summed up many of the values and issues we have been fighting for since the days of the MSI (...). In addition to talking about his *comrades*, the frontist exponent declares - Someone from Forza Nuova was there, but many stayed at home - (...) Other testimonies then continue to concern the *black* buses that arrived in Genoa from Bologna and Cesena and that would have gathered both militants of fascist groups and neo-Nazi ultras. Yesterday, *the Secolo XIX* gathered rumours circulating in right-wing circles that spoke of a group of - five hundred recruited from among the most vocal and right-wing supporters of the Italian and foreign football galaxy -<sup>59</sup> ".

Here, too, Fabio Bellani's denial arrived punctually: 'We reject the accusations that our movement infiltrated the Genoa procession against the G8 in order to provoke riots. These are typical theories of the heirs of the communists, which we reject'<sup>60</sup> '.

It happened at times that attempts at 'strange couplings' promoted by exponents of a certain right-wing party went unsuccessful, as in the spring of 1979, when the group Costruiamo l'azione<sup>61</sup> organised a conference in Rome on repression, to which the Autonomia Operaia invited, but which ignored the matter, thus

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<sup>55</sup> From the Report to Parliament on the Activities of the Police Forces and on the State of Public Order and Security in the National Territory for the Year 2002, edited by the Police Department of the Ministry of the Interior.

<sup>56</sup> V. Marks, Blood and Honour, cit.

<sup>57</sup> This 'memorial' was published in the *Secolo XIX* on 25.7.01.

<sup>58</sup> We saw earlier that Cacciola has become the referent of *Socialismo tricolore*, and given the character's 'track record' (on which we refer you to the notes at the bottom), these statements of his take on particular significance.

<sup>59</sup> G. Caldiron, 'New confirmations: blacks in the square', *Liberazione*, 28.7.01.

<sup>60</sup> "Forza Nuova: We, in Genoa, were not there", *Il Piccolo*, 1.8.01.

<sup>61</sup> The group was formed around the newspaper of the same name, which published between 1977 and 1979, on the initiative of 'professor' Paolo Signorelli and criminologist Aldo Semerari (on whom we refer you to the notes at the end) and which brought together people such as Sergio Calore, Fabio De Felice and Paolo Aleandri

the initiative to coalesce the two 'opposite extremes' failed; other times, however, such attempts had different developments.

Thus we speak of the now deceased Enrico Vesce, who was a radical exponent in his later years, after having been a militant in Potere Operaio. Vesce, who in 1968 'had sublet a small room in the premises of Freda's bookshop in Padua'.<sup>62</sup> where he ran his own book agency, had attended a conference in 1993 organised by the Solidarity Committee for Political Detainees, an organisation founded by Professor Agostino Sanfratello, a former 'Quaderni Piacentini' militant who had later turned to an 'unimplemented and severe Catholicism' (according to a definition by Franco Freda). The first commitment of this committee was the acquittal of Freda in the Piazza Fontana trial, but it did not disband after the acquittal, "it committed itself to the release of Signorelli (...) and in the summer of '93 against the arrest of the National Front leadership for violation of the Mancino Law". The above-mentioned conference had as its theme "Palace Justice and Totalitarian Democracy", and in addition to Vesce and Sanfratello himself, it had been attended by a member of the Network and two from the National Alliance, Antonio Parlato and Nicola Pasetto. We find Sanfratello's name again in October 2003 in an initiative promoted by Forza Nuova, on the theme of "Genetic Manipulation, Bioethics and Abortion", in Formia, together with Roberto Fiore (formerly of Terza posizione and later founder of Forza Nuova), and Don Giulio Tam, the Lefebvrian priest who in 2000 declared to a Trieste journalist that his cassock was "a black shirt that had become too long"<sup>63</sup>.

Nor should we forget that Francesca Mambro and Giusva Fioravanti, sentenced to life imprisonment, were admitted to outside work ("thanks to the mobilisation of many left-wing friends") at the radical anti-death penalty association Nessuno tocchi Caino, "animated by Sergio D'Elia, former Prima Linea leader"<sup>64</sup>.

In the report by Silvio Maranzana on the merger of the Fiamma Tricolore in June 2001 with other exponents of the radical right (excluding Forza Nuova) in the National Social Front under Adriano Tilgher, we read, among other things: "In this anti-globalisation perspective, in the past few months, exponents of Forza Nuova in Trieste have allegedly tried to establish a pact with the White Suits of the social centres, but they were sent home. Something similar had happened at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s when activists of the Fronte della Gioventù had gone to Piazza Goldoni to propose a pact of action to the then metropolitan Indians"<sup>65</sup>.

As if to say that history repeats itself. But the topical subject, at the time of printing this dossier, is the fact that in recent years 'communitarists' have gone to anti-imperialist camps organised by associations concerned with international solidarity, seeking to develop collaborations with left-wing militants<sup>66</sup>.

#### ANTI-IMPERIALIST CAMPS.

We read Tassinari again about 'the Communist Party, the Italian section of the organisational network of Jean Thiriart, the grand old man of national Bolshevism. Giving life to this regeneration is a group of exiles from the National Front who claim to have gathered adhesions even among Rifondazione militants thanks to their strong ties with Russian and Serbian national-communism: *Independence* crushes them as yet another attempt at ambiguous recycling of the extreme right and they recoil offended, boasting as accreditation their relations with "Voce operaia" and participation in the summer anti-imperialist camp in Assisi (...) the known names are two: the director, Maurizio Neri<sup>67</sup> and Carlo Terracciano".

Let us now talk about the anti-imperialist camps in Umbria, which have been organised for some years now by the group referring to the magazine *Voce Operaia*, directed by Moreno Pasquinelli (recently this magazine has been referred to as Direzione 17 bulletin): these are conferences attended by different groupings, from all over the world, who have the fight against imperialism in common.

The following is an analysis of the issue that we found on the web, signed by Giacomo Scalfari: "The anti-imperialist camp is a summer camp where groups have been gathering for several years now, Italian and foreign collectives and organisations that stand on the terrain of anti-capitalism. A

<sup>62</sup> U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.

<sup>63</sup> We anticipate here a connection with an association that we will get to know better later, the Trieste-based Novecento, which worked hard to find Lefebvrians a place to celebrate mass in Trieste: first in the Casa del Combattente, the headquarters of the Grey-Green Federation, and then at a private literary club.

<sup>64</sup> Quotations from U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.

<sup>65</sup> The *Little One*, 1.6.01

<sup>66</sup> We find a sad precedent in the fact that at the time when the Rautian component of the Youth Front (years '70) organised the 'Hobbit Camps' whose 'aim was to give birth to a new community spirit and to germinate a collective political identity different from the official political organisations' (M. Coglitore, op. cit.), at the last edition of which, in 1980, a delegation of the 'Manifesto' was also present.

<sup>67</sup> On this name see Appendix.



anti-capitalism understood in a very generic and nominal sense - therefore *misunderstood* - so much so that in 2000 the national Bolsheviks of *Communitarianism*, i.e. left-wing neo-fascists, were able to participate without any problem.

Actually, however, on closer inspection, this is not at all surprising. This is because up until last year it was *Voce Operaia* that promoted these camps, and *Voce Operaia*, beyond a formal call to proletarian internationalism, has always taken anti-western and nationalist positions, siding with all those nations, from Serbia to Palestine *in the making*, which have interests opposed to those of NATO imperialism.

The anti-imperialism of *Voce Operaia*, in short, has always been a siding with the weaker bourgeois front, confusing international proletarian solidarity with the defence of aggressed nations, thus remaining absolutely within the imperialist logic itself.

In May (2001, *editor's note*) *Voce Operaia* disbanded in order to set out on the path of the 'Front for Liberation' (sic), 'a broad, inclusive, democratic, centralist but pluralist organisation. A federation of antagonistic forces...' (from the Declaration of Dissolution of *Voce Operaia*).

During the national procession of Rifondazione Comunista held in Rome on Saturday 29 September, a leaflet was distributed bearing the following title: "*A Constituent Assembly for a social political movement against globalisation, capitalism and imperialism - Open Letter to the Movement*". Signed: "*The Promoters, gathered in Assisi during the Anti-Imperialist Camp, August 2001*", who, in the Letter, declare that they want to constitute within the movement a *third pole*, alternative to both the pacifist (Agnoletto & Co.) and the rebellist (Black Bloc & Co.) *poles*.

The movement in question is, of course, the anti-global movement. A movement that is defined as '*anti-capitalist, even more than for the courage of its forms of struggle, for the radicality of its contents*'. (...) In essence, therefore, we must work to ensure that the segmented proletarian front finally manages to compact on class ground. Which is sacrosanct. What the Letter doesn't say, however, is that in order to involve the proletariat in the anti-capitalist *political* struggle, it is absolutely necessary for the conflict to move from the squares to the workplaces, to the factories, to the territory, where the social and economic gears of capital turn, and where the revolutionary class is not yet deceptively diluted in the mortal liquid of *citizenship*.

And communism? Nothing, not even a hint. Not even a periphrasis. So what would be the alternative to the capitalist globalisation that one wants to fight and destroy? How can one consistently oppose the system that dominates the world without saying a single word about what should be the way out, the way to build a society without capitalism? <sup>68</sup>

But we also hear the bell of *Voce Operaia*. "Are fascism and fascists our main enemy today? Absolutely not. It seems to me really pleonastic to have to explain on a list of anti-Americanists and anti-imperialists who the main enemy is today. Does this mean being lenient towards the fascists? Of course not. Are the fascists all squashed on Forza Nuova positions? Absolutely not. There is great ferment in this area, a heated discussion, not only political, but theoretical. Should we follow this discussion closely? Or do we piss on it? I think we have to follow it. First of all, so as not to be caught unprepared (as happened to our French comrades, who in the face of the devil Le Pen, ended up voting en masse... the devil Chirac!). Never shrug off minority phenomena, because tomorrow they might not be. I refer in particular to two radical right-wing newspapers, the daily *Rinascita* and *Italicum*. This area, for those who do not know, is against American imperialism, considers Berlusconi the main enemy, and the Ulivo the lesser evil (in the recent elections in Friuli they voted for Illy!!)"<sup>69</sup>.

Looking through the 2003 anti-imperialist camp programme, where we find, among others, the following initiatives:

'Beyond Porto Alegre world social forum and perspectives of the anti-globalisation movement'. Debate with: Piero Bernocchi<sup>70</sup>, Costanzo Preve, Leonardo Mazzei; chaired by Moreno Pasquinelli.

'Armageddon: political and religious fundamentalism in the USA'. Meeting with Miguel Martinez and Roberto Giammanco.

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<sup>68</sup> From the letter, circulated on the web, in response to *Voce Operaia's* letter (<http://www.leftcom.org/it/articles/2001-10-01/un-third-pole-anti-global-letter-open-to-the-camp-antimperia-movement>), it is unfortunate to note that the criticism levelled at *Voce Operaia's* movementist idea also fits well with what has been debated within the Communist Refoundation party for the past couple of years.

<sup>69</sup> From an e-mail from Moreno Pasquinelli that went viral in the summer of 2003. As a guarantee for those who consider it possible to collaborate with those who refer to these newspapers, we refer you to the Appendix, to the notes on Primo Siena.

<sup>70</sup> Bernocchi is a well-known COBAS exponent.

"For a movement of resistance to the American empire. As an alternative to the imperialist drift of the western left", with Miguel Martinez, Costanzo Preve, Roberto Giammanco, chaired by Alessia Monteverdi.

The presence of journalist Marilina Veca was also planned (but she *forfeited*), on whom we must now open an extensive parenthesis.

#### A BUSY JOURNALIST.

Marilina Veca writes in many journals: in addition to those mentioned 'positively' by Pasquinelli (i.e. *Rinascita Nazionale* and *Italicum*, which we have already mentioned a few pages ago), we also find her articles in *Tibereide* and in the 'telematic journal of national liberation' *Rivolta*. In *Tibereide* Veca raised the case of the Yugoslav army pilot Emir Sisic (of Bosnian Serb nationality), on trial in Rome because he was accused of being responsible for the shooting down of an Italian plane in the skies over Bosnia in January 1992. Veca wrote this story, sought contacts with people willing to organise the pilot's defence, and seems to have been the conduit to find a defence lawyer for Sisic, who by the way is seriously ill with cancer. Only, the lawyer who defended the pilot is Augusto Sinagra, who is not only ideologically aligned with the right, but from his statements and his public activities seems closer to Islamists, while he denotes a certain animosity towards the Slavic peoples<sup>71</sup>. However, despite Marilina Veca's efforts, Sisic was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment.

In the articles that Veca writes for these magazines, a clear right-wing ideological component does not shine through (he has, among other things, picked up on the affair of the 'repentant gladiator' Nino Arconte, made known on Marco Saba's website), but where the journalist's nostalgic alters are revealed is in an article published in *Rivolta* and dedicated to a book entitled 'La corriera fantasma - Primavera di sangue 1945', written by historian and journalist Vittorio Martinelli and published by Zanetti.

This is Veca's title: 'the *ghost coach*: the journey of death from Brescia to San Possidonio (Modena) in the bloody spring of 1945. That is, the story of a coach and its passengers who disappeared into thin air in the distant May of 1945, while passing through the Emilian lowlands'.

We read the story. "The story begins in the middle of May 1945, in Brescia's Piazza del Vescovado (Bishop's Square): dozens of lorries left from here in those days, some of them with trailers, with hundreds of people on board, whose personal details were not recorded. A certain P.O.A. bus also left from that square, crammed with passengers heading for very different destinations, condemned instead - we do not know why - to one and the same final destination, one of the many mass graves scattered in the Bassa Modenese, in that area that has deserved the nickname '*triangle of death*'. Veca then takes up an article by Gianna Preda that appeared in the *Borghese* in May 1968, but what we have read so far is enough to put the whole thing in context. Also because, if we return for a moment to the lands of the eastern border, we dwell on one of the 'legends' that arose from Fascist propaganda on the issue of the Istrian 'foibe', the 'legend' concerning the 'death coach'. Let us read the press of the time (which was, let us remember, under the control of the German Reich command that had occupied the eastern part of Italy). "The *death coach* was infamous among the prisoners. It served to take away from Pazin, little before the bandits escaped, the Italians from Poreè whose fate is still unknown (...) the same bus had one day carried 21 prisoners who, as one of the guards testified, were taken away from Pazin, lowered into a forest, completely stripped of their clothes, forced into a pit and all shot with machine guns<sup>72</sup>".

"The jailers, before putting them (*the prisoners, n.d.a.*) on the bus, tied everyone's hands with wire and then attacked them two by two. (...) The windows were painted white, so that they could not be seen along the route. (...) The coach left. It returned, empty, after three hours. It left again immediately, loaded with new *freedmen* who reached the first<sup>73</sup>".

This is what appears in a report written by Maria Pasquinelli<sup>74</sup> on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the immediate post-war period. "Pazin: 28.8.45: numerous arrests were made of Italians who were taken to the castle in Pazin and then at night by means of a coach, called the *death coach*, were transferred to an unknown destination. Later it turned out that these poor people were thrown into the various foibe'. It is strange that Pasquinelli, who had held an information role for the services of *Prince* Borghese's Decima Mas and had already written reports on the 'foibe' in the winter of '43-'44, should make this *confusion* about dates.

Let us now read a testimony by the Triestine Raffaello Camerini<sup>75</sup>:

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<sup>71</sup> On this topic, see the notes on Sinagra in the Appendix.

<sup>72</sup> *The Little One*, 15.10.43.

<sup>73</sup> *The Little One*, 26.10.43.

<sup>74</sup> Read about Maria Pasquinelli in the file on Dino Giacca.

<sup>75</sup> Letter published in the *Piccolo* of 22.10.01.

"In July 1940 (...) I was called to forced labour (...) and was destined for the bauxite quarries, the main site of which was St. Domenica d'Albona. (...) And what can we say about the Italian fascists who, on 26 July 1943, hijacked the bus line from Trieste to Pazin and Pula into a ravine with all the passengers, with lethal consequences for everyone?"

So Marilina Veca has done nothing more than take a piece of news from the classic repertoire of anti-partisan fascists: and has done so in order to use it in the same way as the propagandists of Nazi-fascism?

#### ASCIATI AND LEGIONNAIRES.

Among those present in the 2003 anti-imperialist camp was Miguel Martinez, about whom *Voce Operaia* published an article in the journal *Praxis*, which was then taken up by the Asefi editorial (which we will return to later) and commented on by Costanzo Preve (which we will also return to later). Martinez today declares on his site that his ideas "are in continuous transformation", and that he has been accused of being, from time to time, "communist", "fascist infiltrator", "enemy of Christianity and friend of Satanism": he "smiles" at these accusations, but does not say what he really is, since he claims to deal above all with "the imaginary".

Martinez, however, is known to us for other reasons. The magazine *Cuore*, in its issue of 3.12.94, spoke of an association called *Nuova Acropoli*, whose existence was discovered after the publication of a memoir written by this very Miguel Martinez, an Italian-Mexican who, after having been one of the leaders of the organisation, left it, explaining what its actual aims were.

*Nuova Acropoli* was founded in Argentina in 1957 and spread to Italy in the early 1980s; it is described in the article above.

"... 5 thousand members in 1989 (500 in Italy alone) and a declared patrimony of over 8 million dollars, New Acropolis is *outwardly a cultural and humanistic organisation, but it hides (...) a very rigid pyramid structure, hidden from its basic followers* (from the Executor's Manual reserved for the higher levels of the group). At the top of the pyramid is a World Commander, with absolute power, who rules by *decree* (...) The sect's leadership group is formed by the elite of the *ascetics*, the only ones who can claim direct contact with the World Commander. Then come the simple members, divided into three structures with typically Hitlerian overtones. First there is *the Security Corps*. It wears black uniforms that are reminiscent of the SS, including the symbol of the thunderbolt, and performs a more or less disguised function (...) of vigilance and rapid intervention. In Italy, it took on the name of the *Civil Protection Department* a few years ago - immediately after the *environmental turnaround* in the early 1980s - ... it is flanked by the *Male Brigades* (...) and the *Female Brigades*'.

In addition, "New Acropolis's educational system also provides facilities for the youngest children: the construction of the New Man<sup>76</sup> begins in early childhood through (...) a kind of kindergarten in which, among other things, they are taught the technique to see *gnomes, elves and fairies*; then, from the age of 7 to 14, the children are divided between the male structure of the *Knights of the Round Table* and the female structure of the *Table of Isis*. (...) New Acropolis teaches a philosophising doctrine in which mankind is divided into superior and inferior races (...) an unhealthy ethic of the *strong man* is associated with the obligation to *avoid overprotection of the weakest to the detriment of the most important*.

*Nuova Acropoli*, the article goes on to explain, spread in the 1980s, following the ecological *fashion*, as an environmental association which organised meetings, seminars, courses and various activities, often under the patronage of institutions (in 1989 in Genoa, for example, the railways entrusted the local section of *Nuova Acropoli* with the management of a course for announcers in stations). But also outings for the elderly in Venice with the patronage of the municipality and the participation of the mayor; a training camp 'for active ecology' in the Abruzzo park, under the aegis of the park authority, the L'Aquila Aeroclub, the State Forestry Corps and the Abruzzo Region, and so on.

Finally, in October 1989, a 'camp' in *Nuova Acropoli* (a farmstead purchased a few years earlier) was searched by the Carabinieri of the Montefiascone station who found 'pennants, flags, knives, an unlicensed two-way radio and numerous pistol shells' and arrested a young man from the 'Security Corps' there. Firearms were instead found in other non-Italian sections: in Madrid and Athens (where the person responsible was sentenced to 12 years in prison).

And here are the international contacts of these 'militants'.

"The founder, Livraga Rizzi, claimed in the 70's, his relations with the Argentinean and Uruguayan golpist circles, with the Chilean *Patria y libertad*, with the Spanish Falange. And also the Italian section, at least in the beginning, shows close relations of friendship with this area: founded in Rome in 1975 (between 1976 and 1979, it will open branches in fifteen cities), it is initially helped by Serafino Di Luia, founder of the Nazi-Maoist Lotta di Popolo, while Gabriele Adinolfi, one of the fathers of Terza Posizione, encourages his own comrades to frequent the organisation.

But how were the followers 'recruited'? We read further.

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<sup>76</sup> A *New Man*, like Sella and Gozzoli?

"It starts with a course, in which the follower is followed individually. He is probed, his interests are understood, he is directed towards a job within the organisation. At the beginning, in a subtle manner, in a mock-assembly manner (...) through the introduction of military topics, getting him used to following orders (...) It starts with the use of small codes (special signals, slang, role-playing) and you find yourself framed, squeezed into Nazi-like uniforms, doing the Roman salute. Or shooting'.

This activity of Nuova Acropoli is vaguely reminiscent of certain *New Age* initiatives, role-playing games, esoteric philosophies, references to Tolkien's fairy-tale world, medievalist and 'Celtic' revivals. In Trieste, the *new age* circuit is mostly run by right-wing exponents, who had organised the 1999 festival together with other associations; among the organisers was Gianni Pizzati, once a militant of the Paduan Autonomy and now leader of the 'new' Greens in Trieste, appointed consultant for non-conventional therapies by the regional health councillor Pecol Cominotto of the Illy junta.

## PUBLISHERS AND DEBATES.

Starting with one of the speakers at the anti-imperialist camp, Costanzo Preve<sup>77</sup>, who spoke together with Alessandro Meluzzi, Maurizio Pallante and Marco Tarchi<sup>78</sup> at a debate on 'The future of empire', promoted by the Milan-based Asefi publishing house, directed by Gianfranco Monti, we come to another area to learn more about. The Asefi publishing house, although not very well known to the general public, carries out an intense and interesting activity: apart from organising art exhibitions (among them the exhibition of the painter Crali, recently seen in Trieste) and printing political and philosophical texts, it publishes an online bulletin of book, cultural and political information, introduced each time by an intervention by Monti, which also hosts debates on the topics it deals with. The Terziaria publishing house is part of it, which has as its symbol a kind of ammonite, the fossil shell that is somewhat reminiscent, in its graphics, of those strange shells that appeared on some of the black flags of the *Black blocs* that waved in Genoa in July 2001.

The authors in these series are from a variety of backgrounds and certainly not illustrious unknowns. In fact, we find Regis Debray<sup>79</sup>, Alain de Benoist (the leading theorist of the French *Nouvelle Droite*), Gianfranco de Turris (RAI journalist, who became famous for 'Politicamente scorretto', with a preface by Marcello Veneziani), Claudio Mutti (of whom we have already spoken, and who through Asefi debates, together with his colleague Franco Damiani<sup>80</sup>, on the freedom of teaching following the publication of the book "La contesa di Parma", a text that was even reviewed by the *Sentinella d'Italia*, a neo-Nazi magazine from Monfalcone); we find 'Morire per Kabul' (Dying for Kabul), by Lucio Lami, war correspondent for *Il Giornale* and later editor of *L'Indipendente*.

But apart from these representatives of the 'cultural' right, we also find in the Terziaria and Asefi catalogue the names of some Triestines who are unquestionably on the left: There is the painter and poet Ugo Pierri, present both with an exhibition of his watercolours on the subject of the G8 in Genoa, and with a couple of books of poems, one of which was written 'in dialogue' with Paolo Speri, another Triestine who moved to Milan; and there is the journalist of the *Manifesto* Matteo Moder, also present with a book of poems.

Another link of the Asefi with Trieste is through the magazine *Il Bargello*, born as a periodical of the university fascists of Trieste and then 'taken over' by the Associazione culturale Novecento (of which we will speak later). Practically every issue of the Bargello reviews one or more of the Terziaria's publications, and it was from its pages that a debate started, taken up *online* by Monti, on the French director Autant Lara, promoted by the *Giornale's* film critic, Maurizio Cabona, who is another recurring name in our study. Just as many of Asefi's names can be found in the conferences promoted by the Associazione Novecento, which was founded in 1997 and whose spokesman is Angelo Lippi, brother of AN's institutional representative Gilberto Paris Lippi<sup>81</sup>.

Angelo Lippi had different political experiences from those of his brother, after their common militancy in the Fronte della Gioventù: in fact, in '92 he stood as a candidate in the League of Leagues (or National-Popular League), an electoral list considered by some to be 'disturbing' (for example, in Trieste its presence prevented the election of the AN deputy by a few votes) founded by the better known Stefano Delle Chiaie<sup>82</sup>, who

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<sup>77</sup> We will return to Preve's ideological evolution later.

<sup>78</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>79</sup> Debray is that French intellectual who became famous in the 1960s for his essay "Revolution in the Revolution?" and who was arrested in Bolivia while liaising with Che Guevara's guerrilla 'foco'; many doubts were raised about the correctness of his behaviour on that occasion, which have never been clarified; in more recent years, Debray has moved away from 'left-wing' positions to embrace conservative content.

<sup>80</sup> There is a Franco Damiani in Mestre who writes letters of historical revisionism such as the one published in the *Secolo d'Italia* on 22.1.00, in which he endorses the theories, advocated, among others, by Giorgio Pisanò (and in Trieste by Giorgio Rustia), according to which the extermination camp of the Risiera di San Sabba, in Trieste, is a

'historical fake'.

<sup>81</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>82</sup> On this name see Appendix.

electoral campaign had proudly flaunted the fact that it had succeeded in bringing together in its ranks not only clearly right-wingers, but also exiles from the left<sup>83</sup>. Both Lippi and the leading candidate Marina Marzi (both of whom we find today among the leaders of the Novecento) then rejoined the ranks of the governing right, while another of the list's well-known names, Claudio Scarpa (a former militant of Avanguardia Nazionale), continued to refer to a more 'extreme' right wing, that of the Fiamma tricolore, which later merged with Adriano Tilgher's reconstituted National Front in 2001.

The activities of the Novecento (financed in 2002 with more than 2.000 Euro from the Province of Trieste) is expressed in the organisation of conferences with a 'historical' theme (they are proud to have invited Marco Pirina, but Giorgio Rustia<sup>84</sup> is also one of their favourite lecturers); In 2001, they caused a sensation by organising the conference 'atmospheres in black', which was attended, among others, by a former member of the SS, Christian de la Mazière, to talk about the intellectuals Celine, Brasillach and Drieu de la Rochelle, who are notoriously right-wing (the critic Cabona and Giano Accame<sup>85</sup>, another well-known person in the Italian right-wing intelligentsia and a recurring name among the guests of the Novecento, also took part in this initiative). Another regular guest is Fausto Biloslavo, who once spoke together with another war reporter, the Lucio Lami we met earlier, to discuss the situation in Afghanistan. Also interesting is the definition of "philosopher" they give of Mario Merlino, who is indeed today a philosophy teacher, but we remember him as one of the protagonists of the strategy of tension, the right-wing infiltrator in Roman anarchist circles.

We mentioned earlier the magazine *Il Bargello*, which originated as the organ of the student association of the same name (clearly aligned to the right), which organised, between 1988 and 1998, a series of conferences, exhibitions and conventions, which saw the participation of right-wing intellectuals such as Marcello Veneziani; among the various cultural initiatives, the organisation of the 270 bis concert stands out, a musical group named after the article in the Penal Code on subversive association<sup>86</sup>.

The *Bargello*, published by the Novecento, has acquired a beautiful editorial look, glossy paper, features articles on Ezra Pound and Yukio Mishima (the right wing has always had an eye for Japanese culture), but also a commemoration article for a young man from the Foreign Legion who died by suicide (he had not been able to get used to the 'daily routine' after identifying himself as a 'warrior', we read); it delves into international issues such as globalisation and Islamism, from an almost 'communist' point of view (they are against US imperialism, but remain anti-communist); it publishes book reviews (mainly of the Terziaria publishing house, but also of the Settimo Sigillo); it hosts advertisements for the Province of Trieste. But both the *Bargello* and the Novecento, after a year and a half of intense political and cultural activity, saw their initiatives come to a standstill after the representative of the Popoli association (which supports the Burmese Karen ethnic group) Franco Nerozzi was investigated (according to investigations conducted by two public prosecutors' offices, 'mercenaries' from Trieste were allegedly involved in a ring of arms dealers and gunmen to be sent to various 'hot' parts of the world to destabilise - or restore order, depending on who commissioned the work - in areas such as the Comoros Islands, but also Bosnia, Rwanda, Burma)<sup>87</sup>.

To this association, which calls itself 'Solidarist Community'.<sup>88</sup> the Novecento had also dedicated a space to it, both in the *Bargello* and in the weekly column provided by the daily newspaper *Trieste Oggi*. 'Popoli', we read, 'has espoused the cause of the Karen liberation movement', which opposes the government in Rangoon, and to send aid it relies on the support of the association of 'Pharmacists without Borders', who reach the Karen region by crossing the Thai border (supposedly illegally).

The Novecento has not distanced itself from Nerozzi, indeed it has claimed to collaborate with him; what is rather surprising is the indifference with which the administrators of the Province of Trieste (which, as we have already said, finances the *Bargello* with advertising and the Novecento with public contributions) greeted the news that one of the magazine's collaborators is under investigation for a crime such as enlisting mercenaries to be sent to various parts of the world. The investigators say it is likely that the missions

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<sup>83</sup> A leaflet circulated in Trieste also mentions two former PSI exponents and Prof. Renato Pallavidini 'former PCI, Cossuttian wing'. Pallavidini recently published a text for the Barbarossa publishing house dealing with the relations between Mussolini and Lenin.

<sup>84</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>85</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>86</sup> We have already mentioned this musical group before.

<sup>87</sup> In May 2005, in front of the Veronese GIP, 'the Triestine Fabio Leva (...) plea-bargained a sentence of one year and ten months imprisonment. The journalist (...) Franco Nerozzi also plea-bargained the same sentence,' we read in the 'Piccolo' (6/5/05).<sup>88</sup> Popoli's 'symbol' is curious: an 'eight-legged horse ridden by Odin'; this 'symbol', in the form of a sculpture, created by Rudy Brustolin, was Popoli's gift in July 2003 to two war reporters: Monica Maggioni of RAI, who reported on the association's activities, following Nerozzi and his team to Burma in 2002, and Gian Micalessin of the *Giornale* (the latter after the start of the investigation into Nerozzi), who said: 'With Nerozzi I made a journey I had made twenty years earlier, at the beginning of my career, and I felt very strong emotions again'.

humanitarian aid in Popoli was completely innocent, but there is a suspicion that its representatives, in addition to bringing aid, were also testing the ground to organise an armed intervention in support of the Karen struggle. Finally, a part of the investigation, which started in Torre Annunziata, also concerns a possible trafficking of children from Bosnia for a prostitution ring.

Curiously enough, the first major release of the Novecento after the 'scandal' of the investigation into Nerozzi, concerned precisely a lecture on the problem of oppressed peoples (the Karen, but also the Montagnards of Vietnam) during the electoral campaign for the by-elections to the Chamber of Deputies for the second constituency of Trieste. During this conference, Nerozzi, after self-describing himself as a "blind and delusional anti-communist", spoke about the Karen, while on the issue of the Montagnards (a people who had always fought the Vietnamese people, collaborating with the occupiers: first the French and then the Americans), the presentation was made by the candidate from the radical area, Christina Sponza, who illustrated the activities of her political organisation in favour of the Montagnards' associations. In fact, therefore, what might have seemed to be a political-cultural initiative on international problems, turned into a sort of springboard for the candidate Sponza, so accredited by a certain 'anti-world' right-wing milieu.

#### THE FLOOR TO COSTANZO PREVE.

But let's see what motivations the 'philosopher' (but have you ever wondered how many 'philosophers' exist in Italy today? Or is Ivano Fossati right when he sings that every philosophy teacher today is a philosopher?) Costanzo Preve, who was close to the positions of Democrazia Proletaria in the distant past, has put forward in order to approach a collaboration with the communitarist area today.

"The emotional break for me dates back to March 1999, when American bombers and their European NATO servants (with the commendable exception of Greece, the home of philosophy) began spraying Yugoslavia with radioactive uranium. As an old connoisseur of the Balkans, I knew perfectly well that there was no genocide and no ethnic cleansing (i.e. mass ethnic expulsion from a territory) taking place, but only an armed repression of an armed independence movement (a situation common to at least fifty countries in the world). I also knew that the Albanian independence armed movement UCK pursued the ethnic cleansing of Serbs, while Milosevic did not pursue that of Albanians. I also knew that the Americans were completely indifferent to *so-called humanitarian motives*, and wanted instead a geopolitical military settlement in the Balkans (today's Camp Bondesteel). I also knew that the so-called Rambouillet talks had been a trap planned by Albright. Well, all of this was widely known, and instead I saw the Left supporting the American war, Veltroni parading in support of it, Sofri praising it in the columns of the party-newspaper *La Repubblica*, Bobbio lending his name to the so-called Operation Rainbow, and so on. At that moment something broke in me. Then I read that Tarchi's magazine *Diorama Letterario* had instead committed itself against the war with calm and balanced contributions, and then I decided that the *taboo of impurity* would have to be broken precisely to preserve my sanity and my personal dignity as a scholar. And I did so. (...)

Let us briefly examine these programmatic points, which are precisely beyond the dichotomy between left and right. Firstly, modern communitarianism is today able, in my opinion, to radically correct the fatal error of the old 19th and early 20th century communitarianism, namely organicism (in other words, *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft*). Today, communitarianism, correctly understood and elaborated, is able to accommodate the good reasons of the best individualism, namely tolerance of minority lifestyles, the right to free artistic, philosophical and religious expression, and so on. I sincerely believe that the best communitarianism can embrace the philosophical lessons of Spinoza and Marx. The ground of individualism, on the other hand, is today the common philosophical ground of the encounter of the new globalised capitalism of targeted (and indeed *individualised* and no longer Fordist and serialised) consumption with the snobbish and politically correct left. I could give a thousand examples from everyday life, but I think the concept is already clear enough. Secondly, the nation-state founded on a nationalist democracy (and I refer here to the analyses carried out for several years by the magazine *Indipendenza*, which I am honoured to collaborate with) no longer has anything to do with the old imperialist nation-states, which Toni Negri continues to trade in picturesque and irritating confusion. Today this nation-state is above all a factor of resistance to the American empire. That is why Chàvez is good in Venezuela. Chevènement is good in France. Burma's military junta, spat on by all left-wing journalists, is good, and will perhaps spare its Buddhist people from becoming a brothel for European and Japanese paedophiles like neighbouring Thailand. China is good, as long as it remains strong and independent. And we could go on, but the reader will have already fully understood. We need a 180° cultural revolution, and unfortunately it will not come soon. I know perfectly well that in the eyes of a politically correct leftist what I have written is not English or German, i.e. partly understandable, but Armenian and Turkish, i.e. completely incomprehensible. No matter. Those who have good reasons must move on. And we know that our reasons are very good<sup>89</sup>.

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<sup>89</sup> Intervention from the 'socialism and liberation' website.

We do not pretend to give answers, neither philosophical nor of high political strategy, let us be clear. But we do want to speak from the heart, as they say. Well, perhaps from an emotional point of view Preve may well be right. But political strategies are not decided on emotional grounds, and when one decides to start a common political path with another political entity, one must first assess what goals one has in common, what methods and who are the people one is going to work with. And the people with whom you would be creating this internationalist *liaison* do not seem to us to be good travelling companions, with the goodwill of Preve and Pasquinelli.

As signatories of the appeal for the 6 December demonstration, and labelled as 'fascists', both Maurizio Neri and Miguel Martinez replied that they had been right-wing militants in the past and had then changed their minds. We will not go into the merits of the 'ideological' changes of the individuals here (even if we are not clear about the current political aims of the two in question), because we are well aware that a fascist does not necessarily have to remain a fascist indefinitely, just as a communist can also change his political mind. What seems curious to us, is that at the same time as Neri and Martinez came to their senses, other people (who instead continue to refer to right-wing ideologies - even if they are communist) came closer to the 'left-wing' political circles with which Neri and Martinez collaborate on internationalist issues.

All this must be included in the panorama of the political/non-political conceptions of the so-called no-global (or new global) movement, which only talks about overcoming capitalism and does not say how to implement this overcoming, because it is necessary to abandon ideologies and even Marxism-Leninism (in this regard, the debate that has arisen even within the Communist Refoundation party is desolating). The militants of this movement declare themselves to be "neither of the right nor of the left", (a statement we have often heard made in past years both by militants of the Fiamma tricolore and by representatives of Ya basta) but "civil society" (an ugly term, in our opinion, that we find used in the P2's Democratic Rebirth Plan); An unidentified "empire" is seen as the enemy, and there is no longer any talk of imperialism, a category that is wrongly considered outdated (a concept that prevents the creation of a serious opposition against it), and this "empire" is not sure what kind of society it is intended to replace, given that no one wants to talk about communism any more, and even less is there any Marxist analysis of the situation of the evolution of capitalism.

In this qualunquist ideological vacuum, where it is enough to declare oneself to be an anti-world 'no-global', opposed to NATO and the USA, but without an alternative model of development, in order to become fully part of an unclear 'social movement' (what an ugly definition, which however seems to like it very much, instead of evoking a past of neo-fascism), the risks of strange connections, infiltrations and, why not, provocations of which the history of left-wing movements is full.

#### APPENDIX: THE CHARACTERS.

So many characters gravitate around what is written in these pages, and so interesting are their biographies, that we have thought of collecting them in alphabetical order at the end of the dossier, so as to streamline the text but not to sacrifice the readers' knowledge.

ACCAME Janus. From his initial ordinovist positions, he was one of the animators of the conference on the 'revolutionary war' organised by the Alberto Pollio Institute of Military Studies at the Hotel Parco dei Principi in Rome in 1965, an occasion in which scholars identified the birth of the so-called 'coup party', i.e. that area of the Right infiltrated by the secret services (or vice versa) that provoked the strategy of tension in Italy. Mario Merlino (see) and Stefano Delle Chiaie (see) also participated in the conference as 'observers'.

ADINOLFI Gabriele was with Roberto Fiore (the one who, in the 1990s, would give birth to the Forza Nuova organisation) one of the founders of Terza Posizione, and together with him escaped abroad ("with the movement's cash box", claimed Giusva Fioravanti during his interrogations) in 1980. With regard to Fiore and Adinolfi, Fioravanti again stated: "The leaders of Terza Posizione were clever because they did not tell the young militants it was necessary to do this or that robbery, but in the course of a meeting they would expound the need to have money for initiatives and they would get the boys to voluntarily propose a robbery plan. In this way, many boys were sent off to the dogs and then arrested"<sup>90</sup>.

ALLIATA DI MONTEREALE Gianfranco, the prince frequenter of the Trapani lodge, "is a leading figure of fringe Freemasonry and the black aristocracy (...) accused by Pisciotta of being, together with Bernardo Mattarella, the instigator of the Portella delle Ginestre massacre"<sup>91</sup>; his name appeared in several enquiries into the "strategy of tension", from the failed Borghese coup to the Rosa dei Venti.

AURITI Giacinto was a speaker at the annual Montesilvano course of the Fronte della Gioventù in 1972, and chaired the 2nd National Conference of the Centre for Political and Constitutional Studies in Rimini; in 2000, he took part in the first programme meeting of Forza Nuova and in the Summer University conference organised

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<sup>90</sup> Quotations from G. Cingolani, 'La destra in armi', Ed. Riuniti, 1996.

<sup>91</sup> U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.



in Erba by the Northern League<sup>92</sup> (where he spoke about 'local money'), a conference that also saw the presence of Mario Borghesio (who is now in the Northern League, but was formerly a member of Ordine Nuovo), who spoke instead about globalism. In his "The hidden strategy of war without borders" he said: "Fascism defended the values of natural law. Benito Mussolini undoubtedly loved the people'.

BIOSLAVO Fausto, militant of the Fronte della Gioventù in Trieste in the 1970s. But "Gilberto Paris Lippi (see), Fausto Biloslavo and Antonio Azzano were arrested on 1 July 1981 by order of the Bologna magistracy for reticence and perjury concerning their stays in Lebanon, in paramilitary camps of the Phalangists. Two days later it was specified that the investigation was part of the investigation into the 2 August massacre at the railway station<sup>93</sup>. The three were later acquitted of all charges. Biloslavo founded in the early 1980s, together with two other exponents of the young right wing in Trieste, Almerigo Grilz<sup>94</sup> and Gian Micalessin of the Albatross agency, which specialised in *reportage* from war zones. During a conference organised by the Novecento Association, Biloslavo, who travelled to Afghanistan several times in the 1980s, recounted that he first entered the country in 1983 thanks to his contact with the war correspondent Lucio Lami; that he entered the Kabul prison disguised as a government soldier and then managed to take photos and film, later having an article published in the *European* newspaper entitled 'Russian comrades have done it to you under the nose'. In 1987 Biloslavo was arrested and imprisoned for several months by the Afghan authorities because he was suspected of contacts with the guerrillas; he returned once more to Kabul and was run over by a truck, saving himself by a miracle. In the same lecture, he also claimed that he went to Afghanistan for the last time in '98, after the US 'punishment', that he had negotiated with the Taliban to enter and that he had managed to photograph Bin Laden's house and had had contacts with his guerrillas.

CACCIOLA Biagio, former president of the FUAN in Rome in the late 1970s, is among the signatories of the appeal for the 6 December demonstration. He represented the Socialismo Tricolore association at the meeting held in Genoa on 10.11.02 at the national headquarters of the PSI - UDE, where the second meeting was held between the movements that activated a federative process at the meeting in San Colombano (MI) on 5.10.02. "The movement's objective," we read in the memorandum of association, "and in this must consist the revolutionary position of our project, will be to form a mature human being, creative, capable of loving and thinking, a conscious builder, therefore a subject, of a new form of society that will be that of humanist socialism, which is at the same time liberal and democratic. "A society in which the individual is a lot, not a society in which he has a lot or uses a lot. A society that creates the conditions for productive man not for consumer man. A society in which man is seen in his essential components of body and spirit"<sup>95</sup>. Biagio Cacciola has an interesting *bipartisan* precedent, given that in 1977, after Lama's expulsion from the University of Rome, when he made a sort of 'vindication' of the event, writing 'what happened is an illegitimate child of our idea, but still a child (...) the students, the young people, even the young people themselves, were not able to take *part* in the event.) the students, the young people, even if forcibly labelled in the area of autonomy, with their movement have run over the system, with the PCI at the head (...) it is precisely this that the metropolitan Indians and our components within the movement have highlighted<sup>96</sup>.

DELLE CHIAIE Stefano was accused of complicity in many subversive acts, from the Piazza Fontana massacre to the Bologna massacre, from the Occorsio murder to the assassination attempt on Bernardo Leighton in conspiracy with Pinochet's secret service Condor plan, but was acquitted of all charges.

ERRA Enzo. One of the founders, in the '50s, of Ordine Nuovo, an organisation unravelled from "an Evolian cenacle, the Sons of the Sun, which constituted a current of the MSI: they included, with Rauti and Erra, Giano Accame (see), Sergio Pessot, Renzo Ribotta, Stefano Mangiante, Pietro Vassallo". Previously, Erra, a veteran of the RSI, had started *Imperium* 'the first revolutionary traditionalist magazine', and, according to Tassinari, because of his 'entrista and pragmatic' position he came into disagreement with Rauti<sup>97</sup>.

FABBRI Ugo was one of the founders of the Italian National Movement (MIN) in Trieste in 1959, organised to defend against "the advance of the Slavic hordes" at "any cost and by any means"; during a meeting of the Trieste city council, they threw a paper bomb inside the hall, along with leaflets against bilingualism, which hit a Missina councillor, burning her. Acknowledged to be responsible for an attack on the house of an anti-fascist historian, their claimed actions include an attack on the Austrian consulate in Trieste, some terrorist actions carried out in Gorizia (throwing a bomb at a PCI office) and across the border (an attack in Istria and the throwing of a bomb at a

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<sup>92</sup> It would have to be another 'summer university', and not Graziani's, at least from what we gleaned from the 'osservatorio 28maggio.it' site from which we got this news.

<sup>93</sup> C. Tonel, 'Dossier on neo-fascism in Trieste', Dedolibri, 1991.

<sup>94</sup> Grilz was killed in Mozambique in 1987 while tracking anti-government Renano guerrillas, financed by the racist South African government.

<sup>95</sup> These positions are reminiscent of the themes of the Humanist Party, which in Italy often collaborates with left-wing movements, but in Latin America is clearly aligned to the right.

<sup>96</sup> In U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.

<sup>97</sup> U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.

Yugoslavian border turret)<sup>98</sup>. Fabbri then became a leader of the MSI union CISNAL, which later became the UGL. In March 2000, a letter appeared in the "Popolo d'Italia", a sheet of nostalgic apologists of the CSR, expressing his solidarity with his "comrade" Franco Neami, sentenced to life imprisonment for conspiracy to commit massacre (he was acquitted on appeal): in it, Fabbri signed his name as "Ugo Fabbri of Ordine Nuovo". In 2001 he signed letters as a member of the social movement Fiamma Tricolore, but he was also among the collaborators of the magazine "Contropotere", of the homonymous "project" headed by Forza Nuova. He used to write ponderous 'reports' to the magistracy on matters related to the 'armed party' (i.e. the R.B.) and complaints against partisans whom he accused of having carried out 'infoibamenti'. One of his 'reports' can be viewed on the web (in summary, Fabbri specifies) among the articles of *Italia sociale*.

GIACCA Dino is today a collaborator of Giorgio Rustia (see) in the Associazione Congiunti e Deportati in Jugoslavia and in the Associazione Amici e Discendenti degli Esuli Giuliani, Istriani, Fiumani, Dalmati (one of the sites linked to Italia sociale), but he was a militant of Avanguardia Nazionale (wrote *Il Meridiano di Trieste* on 4.2.72 'from the same avant-garde group is also Dino Giacca, hospitalised for drug-related collapse') and in 2002 curator, on behalf of the association Continuità Adriatica, Trieste section 'Norma Cossetto', of the controversial exhibition on the foibe entitled 'Una croce e una bandiera'. Among the panels we also read these words referring to Maria Pasquinelli (who murdered the British officer De Winton in Pola, on 10.2.47, as a sign of "protest" against the peace treaty that had just been signed): "Maria Pasquinelli, the teacher who, after having worked in Dalmazia, murdered the British general De Winton in Pola to avenge with the blood of an enemy the enormous injustice done against Italy. Maria Pasquinelli always refused to ask the foreigner for mercy. A shining example of dedication and sacrifice to the motherland and the Julian people'.

GRAZIANI Rainaldo, Clemente's son, was appointed head of the cadre school for Roman militants of the Fronte della Gioventù by the then secretary of the Front, today's minister Alemanno. After the 'normalisation' of the party, desired by Fini, Graziani went out with many of his comrades and at the beginning of the 1990s gave life to Meridiano Zero (a movement that was repeatedly involved in attacks on left-wing militants). They referred to Technoribellione (the fight against technocratic power that wants to kill man), and the model was the Rebel (he who refuses to accept the society in which he lives and 'chooses the woods'). In June of '93, Graziani organised the Sagra del sole (Sun Festival), a 'festival in the woods of the national-popular area', at a farm he owned, during which Mass was celebrated and rock concerts were played, techno-rebellion and widespread community were debated, there were martial arts encounters with special laser effects, and ecology was discussed<sup>99</sup>.

GUARNIERI Giorgio, an associate of Count Loredan (see), "also a former partisan, a former shareholder of the Duino paper mill, well known in Trieste for his long presidency at Triestina Calcio, a great frequenter of nightclubs, a lover of branded whisky and of high-powered cars (...) Count Guarnieri was much talked about during the investigation on the so-called black trail, and was indicated as the financier of Freda and Ventura (...). Count Guarnieri had been much talked about during the investigation into the so-called black trail, and had been indicated as Freda and Ventura's financier (...) his friendship with Loredan, a nobleman from Veneto who had had direct and frequent contact with the two neo-fascists..."<sup>100</sup> was then ascertained.

LIPPI Paris Gilberto, an AN leader from Trieste, after not being re-elected to the regional council, was appointed deputy mayor and councillor for culture of the Municipality of Trieste in 2003.

LOREDAN Pietro, known as the 'red count', former partisan, militant of the ANPI and PCI, but 'according to information' also secretly linked to Ordine Nuovo. "Loredan is one of the most emblematic cases of infiltration. He is the brother of an MSI leader, Alvisè, and himself a leader of Ordine Nuovo. He manages to pass himself off as an ex-partisan, even militating actively in the ANPI. Because of his activism he is called the *Red Count* by the press. (...) It was later discovered that Loredan's occasional dealings with partisans were directly guided by Salò's secret services in full application, therefore, of the directives contained in the *Graziani Plan*<sup>101</sup>. Together with Loredan, another Treviso 'count', Giorgio Guarnieri, operated (see).

MARIANTONI Alberto, who was investigated for the attempted Borghese coup (acquitted like all the others), lived for a long time in Switzerland; in November 1998, he spoke at the meeting with Jean-Marie Le Pen organised in Trieste by the 'Fronte Unitario degli Italiani' (a neo-redentist association directed by Mario Ivancich from Trieste), with the ponderous title: 'Crimes against humanity in peacetime and the failure to apply international law in the still open question of Venezia Giulia 50 years after the end of the Second World War'.

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<sup>98</sup> C. Tonel, op. cit.

<sup>99</sup> These data are taken from [www.misteriditalia.it](http://www.misteriditalia.it).

<sup>100</sup> "Il Meridiano di Trieste, 21/6/72.

<sup>101</sup> Text by Carlo Amabile in '[www.misteriditalia.it](http://www.misteriditalia.it)'. Marshal Graziani's 'plan', dating back to October 1944, was to infiltrate fascist elements into the clandestine anti-fascist organisations. Thus, in their programme document: "to infiltrate as many fascists as possible into our clandestine organisations, sending the real anti-fascists to jail (...), to enrol

en masse in anti-fascist parties, to stir up the most extremist tendencies, to sabotage any reconstruction work, to spread discontent and to prepare under any banner (...) the resurrection of fascist men and their methods. (...)', (in 'Storia Illustrata', November 1985).

world conflict'. At this conference, Mariantoni made a speech in which he said, among other things, that our (i.e. 'their', those like him) opposition to the culture coming from America must be motivated by the fact that "the European peoples gave civilisation to the world", while the United States based its power first on the genocide of native peoples, and then on the exploitation of slaves imported from Africa. Mariantoni, however, neglected to mention that the American culture that produced those crimes is the same culture that was exported to the world by the 'European peoples' who went around 'civilising' other peoples.

MAZZAROLI Silvio, general, was in charge at the Belgrade embassy between 1988 and 1991, that is, at the time of the beginning of the break-up of Yugoslavia; he declares himself "mayor of the free municipality of Pula in exile" and nephew of Onorato Mazzaroli, "infoibated" by the partisans in 1944 (Luigi Papo (see) writes that he disappeared during a meeting with "Slavic-Communist exponents to discuss the Italian-Yugoslavian collaboration"). During a conference on the issue of the 'foibe', he declared that he 'personally knew the nature of the Balkan peoples', implying that the 'infoibator' instinct was inherent in their nature.

MERLINO Mario, the 'philosopher' of the conferences of the Novecento association, in 1969 infiltrated among the Roman anarchists after having been part of the group of neo-fascists, including Stefano Delle Chiaie and Marco Rocchetta, who went to Greece in '68 as a training trip for infiltration techniques organised by the Greek secret services of the colonels' regime. He is a member of the Consulta per la revisione storica to which Signorelli and Sinagra also refer (see).

MUTTI Claudio. In addition to what is said about him throughout the text, we report here Mutti's 'multiple identities' as described by Tassinari: he retains his own name "for academic and police circles (but also for open militancy)", but he is the "leading signature" of the "militant magazine" *Jihad*, (born from the conversion to Shia Islam of Giovanni Oggero, a former member of Costruiamo l'azione), under the name Umar Amin, the name with which he introduces himself to his "confreres"; he is Claudio Veltri "for his publicity activities in bourgeois newspapers (*l'Italia Settimanale, l'Umanità, Il Giornale*)", and Feirefiz "for the devotees of tradition".

NERI Maurizio, who had been part of Costruiamo l'azione, was arrested in the course of the investigation for the Bologna massacre ("in the meantime, handcuffs were taken off for the professors (Semerari, De Felice, Mutti, Fachini and Signorelli) and groups of militants of the NAR (... ) of CLA (Neri a Roma)"<sup>102</sup> . In recent years he became editor of *Rosso è nero (Red is Black)* and *Comunitarismo (Communitarianism)*, and is also a representative of Socialism and Liberation.

PAPO Luigi, a charismatic figure of nationalist and neo-redentist historical negationism. At the time of the Nazi-Fascist occupation of Istria, he was commander of the Republican National Guard garrison in Motovun, Istria, which was responsible for raids and actions against partisans and civilians, fighting under German command. Listed among the war criminals for whom Yugoslavia had requested extradition, he describes how he managed to get away with it as follows: "the Hon. Mario Scelba, then Minister of the Interior, urged by the Hon. Nino de Totto (*one of the founders of the M.S.I. from Trieste, editor's note*) and the A. (*i.e. Papo himself, editor's note*), worked for the closure of the extradition request submitted by Yugoslavia".

<sup>103</sup>. Papo has compiled a ponderous 'Golden Book' with twenty thousand names of 'Giuliano-Dalmatians' who died during the Second World War. Although the cover features a drawing of a foiba cross-section, the twenty thousand names are not all 'infoibati', in fact they are only a fraction. The number of those who, after the Liberation, were arrested by the Yugoslav authorities, tried and shot, or died in military prison camps, or were victims of summary executions and settling of scores amounts, for the province of Trieste, to about 500 people.

PIRINA Marco, in the 1960's, was President of the Roman FUAN and then of the Fronte Delta, the extreme right-wing group which operated at the University of Rome and which, according to the plans of the attempted Borghese coup d'état, was in charge of taking control of the University. He was arrested for involvement in the attempted coup and acquitted and released within a month (summer '75). At the end of the 1980s, he founded in Pordenone, together with his wife Annamaria D'Antonio, the Centro Studi Silentes Loquimur, which published a series of books on historical revisionism. On his letterhead Pirina writes that he is 'Dep. Parliament for Security and Peace'. This "parliament", based in Palermo, would have among its members also the piduist Salvatore Bellassai and would have been founded by the lawyer Michele Papa, of whom the judge Carlo Palermo wrote that he was the secret "ambassador" of Gaddafi's interests in Italy and frequenter of the Circolo Scontrino in Trapani, a study centre at the inauguration of which Licio Gelli would have also attended. Along with Pope, the lawyer Sinagra (see) is also said to have been a promoter of pro-Islamic initiatives. Among other things, he boasts of being the one who initiated the Roman enquiry into the foibe by presenting the complaints of some relatives of 'infoibati' and who appointed Marco Pirina as his 'historical consultant'. This 'parliament' hit the headlines in July 1999 as an alleged front organisation for an illicit trade in uranium rods.

RUSTIA Giorgio, a Triestine who lived in Milan for thirty years before returning to his hometown to the

<sup>102</sup> U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.

<sup>103</sup> L. Papo, 'E fu l'esilio...', ed. Italo Svevo, 1997.

at the beginning of the 1990s, in Trieste he represents the Centre for Historical Studies of the Civic Guard (the Civic Guard was a military group created by the Nazis in Trieste after 8 September 1943, recognised by historians as a collaborationist body) and is also secretary of the Association of Prisoners Deported to Yugoslavia (in Trieste this term is used improperly to define prisoners of war who were taken to Yugoslavia immediately after the liberation of the city in May 1945); He also has close contacts with the various combatant associations (including those of veterans of the Republic of Salò), united in the Grey-Green Association and is an active exponent of ADES. After having founded a 'Spontaneous Committee of Triestines who do not speak Slovenian', he approached Forza Nuova, becoming for a short period the local contact person of their 'counter-power project'; he later distanced himself from this group and participated in conferences of the Novecento Association and the National League, and in electoral initiatives promoted by Forza Italia.

SABA Marco has published very different things on his site: from the documents of the R.B. that claimed the D'Antona murder (together with a critical analysis of the language used so that Saba claims that the document was written by Englishmen), to the memoirs of a 'repentant' gladiator (the Nino Arconte issue, taken up by Marilina Veca in *Tibereide*), to the esoteric meanings of the dollar note. He gained credibility with pacifist and anti-imperialist movements for the publication and dissemination of documents concerning depleted uranium. Saba is one of the founders of the Environmental Ethics Observatory, whose president is Paola Gandin and secretary Roberto De Bortoli, both from Monfalcone; honorary members include Father Benjamin<sup>104</sup>, Jacopo Fo, former 'gladiator' Arconte, and journalist Stefano Salvi. In Trieste, De Bortoli and Gandin began a collaboration with Pietro Molinari, the founder of the Alleanza Dio e Popolo movement, which he defines as an "omniconfessional and ambidextrous political ethical party" that draws inspiration (he claims) first and foremost from Mazzini, but also from Jesus Christ; he also theorises that "Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler operated with unidirectional intuitions, but translated into practice in different ways". In his personal form of 'Nazimaoism', Molinari, who distributes both glossy and cyclostyled pamphlets apparently written with an anachronistic rotating head, sets himself the goal of 'arresting' politicians who, in his opinion, would have betrayed the dictates of the constitution, an arrest that Molinari sometimes intended to execute literally, trying to force politicians to follow him to the police station. As a result of his impromptu actions, De Bortoli was given a travel warrant and is no longer allowed to travel to Trieste.

SELLA Piero, journalist. In 1997, a group of extreme right-wing journalists (Mario Consoli, Piero Sella, Sergio Gozzoli, founders of the newspaper *Uomo libero*) formed around a group that, having a privileged relationship with Le Pen, sought to build a 'national front' in Italy as well. Gozzoli, who among other things theorised the existence of "a different Europe in the making, Nazi-fascist Europe, later crushed in the Second World War".<sup>105</sup> had had close contacts with the *Skins* and later with Forza Nuova. The group also included Teodoro Francesconi, hagiographic author of the history of the RSI, whose name appears in the "official" list of members of "Gladio", that is, the list published by various newspapers in January '91.

SEMERARI Aldo was a forensic psychiatrist, Freemason, diplomat of the Sovereign Order of Malta and "always an agent of the military intelligence services"; described by a friend of his as follows: "he liked to assume fascist attitudes, dressed in black, always went around armed, had a swastika on his neck and one on his belt" and, according to the testimony of a member of the Magliana gang, "trusted psychiatrist of the gang", who had even proposed to them to carry out assassination attempts and kidnappings, guaranteeing to get them off thanks to favourable psychiatric reports. Semerari 'theorised the need for an alliance between black terrorism and criminality', and it appears that he lent himself to 'dirty operations on behalf of the secret services'<sup>106</sup>. Semerari was found dead in Naples on 1 April 1982 and his murder attributed to the Camorra.

SIENA Primo was the editor of the magazine *Carattere*, published by a Veronese association founded in 1956 by some Missini leaders: the Traditionalist Catholic Alliance. ACT was founded on 29 September, the day of St Michael Archangel, protector of the Iron Guard of the Romanian fascist Codreanu, but also of the police force (the leaders of Forza Nuova also chose this date for their foundation, in 1997<sup>107</sup>). The magazine has a 'radically anti-modernist and anti-materialist slant (...) a strict Catholic orthodoxy (...) strong reference is made to Primo de Rivera, founder of the Spanish Phalange'<sup>108</sup>. In the Asefi newsletter of 2.4.02 we find "a welcome message from Chile", signed by Professor Primo Siena, who writes of himself as follows: 'I am an Italian who has been working culturally in South America for over twenty years. I currently live in Santiago, Chile, and I am working as an academic (...) formerly a volunteer rifleman in the RSI (never

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<sup>104</sup> It should be mentioned that a text by Father Benjamin on the Iraqi question was published in Italy by the publishing house founded by Mutti, 'All'insegna del veltro', with an essay by Carlo Terraciano as an appendix.

<sup>105</sup> M. Blondet, 'The New Barbarians. Skinheads speak out', Effedieffe, 1993.

<sup>106</sup> Quotations from S. Flamigni, 'Trame atlantiche', Kaos edizioni, 1996.

<sup>107</sup> We sometimes wonder whether Battisti's well-known song, *29 September*, which has as its incipit a radio announcement about the 'anniversary of 29 September', might not have a hidden meaning, bearing in mind that Battisti did not hide his sympathies for the extreme right.

<sup>108</sup> U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.

repentant) I am very interested in fascist studies (...)'.

SIGNORELLI Paolo, known as the 'professor', a history and philosophy teacher in a Roman high school, used to enrich his lessons with speeches on Fascism, Nazism, the purity of race and the prospects of a new Fascism in Italy; he was one of the founders of *Lotta popolare* in 1976 and then of the magazine *Costruiamo l'azione* in 1978; arrested in '79, he shared his cell for a month with NAR leader Valerio Fioravanti.

SINAGRA Augusto, lawyer, former magistrate, professor of international law in Palermo after having taught in Rome, Trieste and Genoa, as well as lecturer at the Higher School of Public Administration which depends on the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. In 1977 he was 'the protagonist of a clamorous protest in the Trieste university (...) at his side was Andrea Carboni, brother of the better known Flavio'.

<sup>109</sup>. Licio Gelli's trusted defender, member of the P2 lodge, honorary consul of the Turkish Republic of Cyprus (a status recognised only by Turkey), counsel for the Turkish government in the Ocalan case, civil party lawyer in the so-called 'Foibe' trial (in reality, the only defendant was Oskar Piškulic, accused of three murders and then acquitted), defender of the Argentine general Jorge Olivera who should have been extradited from Italy to France because he was accused of having made a French-Argentine girl *disappear* (the same defendant had boasted of having 'screwed the beautiful French girl' after torturing her). During the trial (held in Rome on 18.9.00) Olivera was released thanks to the presentation of a false certificate<sup>110</sup>. Dino Frisullo in the *Manifesto* of 19.1.99 defined Sinagra as a "punctilious accuser of the foibe (in the company, according to ANSA of 5 January, of the Nazis Merlino (see) and Signorelli (see) in a body with the eloquent name *Consulta per la revisione storica*)". Mario Merlino was in fact cited by Sinagra as a witness in the Piskulic trial. At the above-mentioned *Azione Giovani* conference, he argued that the foibe were the product of 'an ancient barbarism that comes from afar' because 'Slavic' peoples lack civilisation, as was also seen with the events in Bosnia<sup>111</sup>.

Sinagra was mentioned both by former judge Carlo Palermo<sup>112</sup> and by Gianni Cipriani<sup>113</sup> as a "frequent of Salvatore Scontrino's Trapanese club where, in 1986, the Carabinieri discovered six Masonic lodges and a covered superlodge called Lodge C, a meeting point between the Masonic and Mafia dome". The Scontrino circle would have been frequented by Prince Alliata di Monreale (see), and Michele Papa, the Sismi agent Z, whom we have mentioned in Pirina's file (see). At the conference held on 6 and 7 February 1998 in Rome, on the theme of the strategy of tension and the 'red thread' of disinformation, organised by the Polo della libertà and by a cultural circle of the Alleanza Nazionale (the Italian Social Alliance), it seems that Sinagra presented himself as the lawyer of the 'victims of the foibe', and after giving a neo-redentist speech, concluded by reciting a song in vogue during the twenty years of Fascism: "... he who believes more always wins, he who knows how to suffer longer...".<sup>114</sup> Professor' Paolo Signorelli and Stefano Delle Chiaie were also present at the conference.

SPIAZZI Amos, "a character who has earned some notoriety in past incidents of coup plotters which also cost him jail time. He defines himself as an organic monarchist, for years he kept the bipedal axe, symbol of Ordine Nuovo, attached to the wall of his house", in 1980, he was a "stable source" of the counter-espionage centre of the SISDE, given that he "has a good penetration in the extreme right-wing circles and has already provided good cooperation"<sup>115</sup>. He was defined by a journalist of *Liberazione* as "a character to whom an encyclopaedia on the strategy of tension should be dedicated", in the article dedicated to the conference of February 1997 in Rome (mentioned above<sup>116</sup>); he was involved in the investigations on the Rosa dei Venti, on the Bologna massacre, on the Nuclei di difesa dello Stato. Spiazzi is also said to have been a close collaborator of an extreme right-wing publishing house in Palermo, named Thule, which gave him a certificate for this. The name Thule also brings to mind other contents. "The current extreme right movements that refer to the concept of the Thule society have ideological affinities with Islamic mysticism. Active in this specific cultural field were the adherents of the European New Right Movement, which in 1985 published the magazine *Elements*, published in France by the French section of the movement"<sup>117</sup>. The Thule society, however, is said to have appeared in the affair of the Venetian computer technician Carlo Sartor, who declared that he had been approached by some self-styled members of the Thule society to decrypt the tapes of the Ustica massacre, after having been contacted by alleged ROS carabinieri for a

<sup>109</sup> *The Newspaper* 11.1.99

<sup>110</sup> See *La Repubblica* 26.9.00 and *Liberazione* 24.9.00

<sup>111</sup> Conference held in Trieste on 10.9.97 (see footnote 48).

<sup>112</sup> C. Palermo, 'The Fourth Level', op. cit.

<sup>113</sup> G. Cipriani, 'I mandanti', Editori Riuniti 1993.

<sup>114</sup> The quotations are taken from M. Notarianni and G. Vidali: "La strategia della tensione rivista e corretta dai fascisti", 5.2.97, "Fascisti e spie a convegno", 6.2.97 and "Fasci a convegno: nostalgia canaglia", 7.2.97, in *Liberazione*.

<sup>115</sup> G. Flamini, "The Shadow of the Pyramid", op. cit.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> From the letter quoted at the beginning of the chapter on Anti-Imperialist Camps. Claudio Mutti also wrote about *Elements*, as we have already seen.



work of encoding floppy disks, which allegedly contained, repeatedly, the acronyms 'rebirth' and 'rebirth', terms that could recall the 'democratic rebirth' projects of Gelli's P2. The fake carabinieri then beat and threatened Sartor with death so that he would not reveal anything<sup>118</sup> .

TARCHI Marco, in the 1970's, was the Florentine secretary of the Fronte della Gioventù and was involved in the enquiry into the murder of a vigilante by two members of the Front. Tassinari<sup>119</sup> defines him as "the sharpest thinking head of the young right wing", who had been designated by an internal plebiscite within the movement as the successor to the exiled Anderson in the national leadership of the Front, but the choice did not please Almirante, who preferred the young Gianfranco Fini. "A long stretch of Tarchi's path is in common with some leaders of the radical right: the Parisian holiday from which *La Voce della fogna* was born, the first underground weekly of the right, saw Carlo Terracciano at his side". (On the *Voice of the Sewer* many armed right-wing prisoners would write under pseudonyms). At the beginning of the '80s, Terracciano proposed to Tarchi to join the Order of the Ranks "the mystical-political conventicle promoted by Freda", which had been founded by Freda after his return from the fugitive state in Costa Rica and saw among the organisers Carlo Terracciano for the external part (as the internal part was intended for the prisoners, of which Mario Tuti would be the person in charge). They would end up under investigation (Terracciano was arrested in 1981) as an "association that in the context of a general design of *revolutionary progression* tended towards the seizure of power with violent and anti-constitutional methods through the creation of clandestine structures of small communities throughout the country for the training of young people to be used for urban guerrilla warfare and armed struggle against democratic institutions"<sup>120</sup> .

THIRIART Jean, who had been part of the SS in Wallonia (the French-speaking region of Belgium), had founded the Jeune Europe organisation in the 1950s (whose reference point in Italy was Pino Rauti's Ordine Nuovo). Thiriart "supported the interests of European Africa by supporting colonial wars as the only resource to defend the survival of the Aryan race"<sup>121</sup> .

TRINGALI Sergio, an ordinovist from the Veneto region, seems to have been an expert in infiltration techniques, given that in 1976 he wrote to Delfo Zorzi "our people have become so well established in the DC that they are meddling in the Venice-Munich motorway"<sup>122</sup> ; he was accused of aiding and abetting the defendants of the Piazza Fontana massacre (Maggi, Rognoni and Zorzi), but among the many hearings of this trial, we have lost track of this charge and are unable to say whether he was convicted or acquitted.

VITALI Giorgio, one of the signatories of the appeal for the pro-Iraqi demonstration on 6.12.03, as president of the National Federation of Scientific Information and Research Cadres in Rome, is among the supporters of the solidarity association Un ponte per Baghdad; but, unless it is a case of homonymy, he used to write in *Aurora*, the periodical of the antagonist National Left Movement, he is named among the referents of Rinascita Nazionale and we find his articles both in newspapers referring to Italia sociale and in a forum of the 'dissidents of the flame'.

ZANETOV Paolo, was at the centre of a controversial affair that resulted in a defence petition filed by the lawyers of Valpreda and the other defendants in the first trial for the Piazza Fontana massacre. We read from the relevant documents that Sonia Arbanasich, a friend of Zanetov, declared that on the afternoon of 12 December 1969, around 6 p.m., the young man would tell her "at this time what was supposed to happen has happened", and to her questions about what was supposed to happen she replied: "you will see it tomorrow from the newspapers". Another of Zanetov's acquaintances, Andrea Balsinelli (who also claimed that Zanetov was an ordinovist who had 'joined the MSI for entryist purposes') had also stated that Zanetov would tell him, a few days after the attacks, 'I knew it would happen'. In the course of the investigation, Arbanasich first retracted his statements, then reconfirmed them by putting them in writing, but Zanetov always denied having expressed himself in this way. From what we have been able to reconstruct, the judiciary did not proceed in any way against Zanetov and the matter was forgotten. We have only found a trace of it in a text by Marco Sassano<sup>123</sup> , from which we have taken the above.

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<sup>118</sup> Data taken from the aforementioned Observatory website 28 May.

<sup>119</sup> The following quotations are taken from U. Tassinari, 'Fascisteria', op. cit.

<sup>120</sup> From the preliminary acquittal judgement in proc. 7318/84 by the g.i. Alberto Macchia, in U. Tassinari, "Fascisteria", op. cit.

<sup>121</sup> M. Coglitore, 'La memoria tradita', op. cit.

<sup>122</sup> In U. Tassinari, "Fascisteria", op. cit., which quotes a correspondence that was also published by *l'Espresso*.

<sup>123</sup> M. Sassano, 'La politica della strage', Marsilio 1974.