

cocktails?...Is it a rebellious and violent minority that is beyond the extraparliamentary left, such as the FIAT newspaper maintains? Is it the epigone of the MIR (Chilean organization — ed.) or the secret agents of mysterious foreign powers who envy our formidable industrial organization, as it is stated by the young and dynamic Minister of the Interior Cossiga?"

"Nonsense," the exposé answers. Charging Cossiga, the cousin by marriage of Communist Party General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer and the Communist "shadow Defense Minister" Ugo Pecchioli with covering up of the real terrorist operations in Italy, Tempo warns: "Listen carefully, Cossiga, if you really don't know it already (and this we doubt very much) ... you too, honorable Pecchioli ... since you are the military expert of the largest European Communist Party: If it is true ... that you only know some fragments of the story and do not have too much confidence in your ambiguous informers..."

Tempo continues: "Between 1968 and 1969 Moro (present Prime Minister), Saragat (then President of the Republic), Henke, Miceli (both former heads of the SID, the Italian secret service, and the two generals under investigation for the 1971 coup attempts) ... met and decided to found a special service which, aided by NATO, established a base in Alghero, Sardinia, under the command of Pastore Stocchi (an aide to Miceli) ... About 1000 former Carabinieri and members of fascist groups were trained at this base ... later deployed in groups of 6 to 12 persons independently of each other and armed to the teeth with the most modern weapons. They kept in touch with the central command of the SID service) ... This is what the parallel SID is."

Tempo charges that judicial authorities have been blocked

from investigating the "parallel SID." Another article notes that Agnelli has been shipping his money abroad and this "makes the suspicion legitimate ... Does Agnelli regret it very much if his factories burn?"

Tempo also reveals that the head of the Maoist grouplet Stella Rossa, which for the past years has had the sole function of harassing the European Labor Party, is on the "pay list of Interior Minister Cossiga."

The Tempo exposé followed a series of revelations by the weekly of the Agnelli family's involvement — together with former West German Defense Minister Franz Joseph Strauss — in the Lockheed kickback scandals, particularly in the construction of Lockheed F-104 fighter planes by Agnelli's FIAT. Crashes of these planes took the lives of more than 200 pilots in 10 years. Tempo was the first Italian press to reveal that Agnelli, his brother Umberto, and two other top FIAT executives, were under court investigation for their roles in the affair.

Tempo's revelations merely confirm longstanding charges by the European Labor Party that Gianni Agnelli, Giorgio Amendola, Ugo La Malfa and others have been conspiring to create a fascist police state in Italy to force payment of Italy's debts to the New York Banks. The desperation of this Atlanticist faction in the face of the collapse of the financial empire of their New York masters has caused them to redouble their terror attacks against Italian population. This escalation, combined with the effect of the propaganda for debt moratorium and International Development Bank among Italian workers and trade union leaders by the European Labor Party has led to the counteroffensive by Italian pro-development forces reflected in the appearance of the Tempo *Illustrato* exposé.

IPS Expose

What Is The 'Italian Communist Party?'

April 24 (IPS) — A daily front-page feature of all of the Western capitalist press in recent weeks has been the raging debate over whether the Italian Communist Party (PCI) will maintain "democracy" in Italy if it is admitted into the government. The fraud, aimed as psychological warfare at the Italian and the entire European working class, is the attempt to make a subject of discussion out of whether the PCI leadership's arrival in power would result in an Italian "Communist dictatorship."

As the Atlanticist authors of this "debate" know perfectly well, the bulk of the current leadership of the Italian Communist Party were recruited as Anglo-American intelligence agents directly out of the "left" Fascist movement of Benito Mussolini in the late 1930s by current party-control agent Giorgio Amendola. Since the avowed world outlook of these PCI leadership personnel **has never changed**, they indeed represent the greatest of Fascist threats to Italian democracy. But this is not what concerns the Atlanticist press "debaters."

The April 11 issue of *l'Espresso*, the Italian weekly controlled by the Agnelli family of FIAT, is exemplary of the psychological warfare packaging of their controversy. Alongside articles heralding the end of the Italian Republic,

l'Espresso runs no fewer than five features dedicated to "the Communist question." One explores the party's secret negotiations with the Vatican; another displays Wall Street banker and policymaker George Ball lauding the Communist Party as the "only disciplined group" in Italian politics; a third reviews a book by a leading party ideologue in which Lenin's "anti-democratic" tendencies are blamed for the subsequent development of Stalinism; and a fourth interviews a spate of Atlanticist intelligence agents from Leo Valiani, who helped administer the Allied Occupation in Italy, to Czech counterinsurgent Jiri Pelikan. The subject of last discussion is always whether the arrival of the PCI in power might bring about a "Soviet dictatorship" in Italy.

The key to this entire charade, and to the shocking reality of the PCI leadership's real identity, lies however in the fifth feature, titled "Papà Amendola." Gathered to celebrate the death 50 years ago of Giovanni Amendola (the top British intelligence agent in Italy who became a "martyr of anti-Fascism" after helping the British to bring the Frankenstein monster Mussolini to power), Giorgio Amendola and Ugo La Malfa debated for *l'Espresso* which political force in present-day Italy best represents the "heritage" of the older Amendola.

The "debate" between La Malfa and Amendola boiled down to a single disagreement. Ugo La Malfa maintained that he, as a banker and Republican Party head, represented the "pure" essence of Giovanni Amendola's ideas; Giorgio Amendola — a member of the PCI directorate — insisted that in his party, such ideas had mass support!

As any well-informed U.S. think-tank on Italy will readily confirm, Giorgio Amendola's claim to having a mass organization behind the corporatist, anti-working class ideas of his father is totally untrue. What is the case is that since 1969 Amendola, who publicly traces his political current back to the Left Fascist tendency of the Mussolini period, has consolidated full control of the Italian Communist apparatus under a clique of out-and-out Fascists. Along with their controllers, Atlanticist agents La Malfa and Agnelli, these Fascists in "Communist" guise represent an enormous current threat to democracy in Italy.

What is the PCI?

The Italian Communist Party has never been a Marxist party, nor have the party statutes since 1945 required members to agree with, least of all understand, the ideas of Karl Marx. The entire present top leadership of the party was introduced to "Marxism" through the dominant Italian "philosophers" Giovanni Gentile, the rightwing Hegelian who became the official philosopher of the Fascist Regime, and Benedetto Croce, the "anti-Fascist" liberal who was benignly tolerated throughout the Mussolini epoch. After being weaned on Gentile and Croce, Italian Communists receive their "economic" training from the writings of the ignorant right-wing Social Democrat, Antonio Labriola. This is the avowed intellectual heritage of the PCI leadership.

Using this pathetic, impoverished intellectual baggage, British agent Palmiro Togliatti, the head of the Italian Communist Party from the late 1920s until his death in 1964, manipulated the party's working-class base into acceptance of a rightwing leadership they hated. In contrast to the national leaders, most of whom have literally never considered themselves communists, the majority of the hardcore activists in the Italian Communist Party machine were rallied to the hope of carrying out a socialist revolution during the mass upsurge of the World War II resistance period and the immediate postwar Occupation. The expression of these workers' identity as Communist internationalists has been their strong allegiance to the Soviet Union. Togliatti, who took no part in the Resistance movement, successfully crushed the Resistance wing of the party and isolated its spokesmen from positions of leadership by playing on the Italian worker's deeply-ingrained sense of intellectual inferiority.

Under the manipulations of Togliatti and his "boys," who were groomed to take over the party following World War II, workers' real desire for material progress was systematically subverted into a quest for allegedly spiritual values on the exact model of the Fascist philosopher Gentile and his "anti-Fascist" cohort Croce. In the present period, this fascist appeal is being used to attempt to incite workers to genocidal sacrifices, for the good of the "Italian nation."

The Amendola Legacy

"Fascism and anti-Fascism," Giorgio Amendola remarked recently, "are the two faces of Italian twentieth-century reality." He went on to insist that one could not understand the anti-Fascist resistance movement without looking into its cultural matrix, Fascism, and praised the wave of recruits from the Fascist university and youth groups in the 1937-38 period for having brought a "vital sap"

to the resistance against the Mussolini regime.

Giorgio should know. Like his father Giovanni Amendola, Giorgio throughout his career has readily become a fascist or anti-fascist "Italian nationalist" according to the strategic orientations of his Anglo-American masters.

Giovanni Amendola, the "anti-Fascist" martyr, was a key British intelligence agent from approximately 1904, when he was recruited through the Rome chapter of the Theosophy Society. An ardent national chauvinist, and an intimate of such later leading Fascist "intellectuals" as Ugo Ojetti and Giovanni Papini, Amendola as a journalist for the Milan paper *Corriere della Sera* first helped to manipulate Italy into World War I on the side of the British. As his published correspondence with Ojetti in 1915-16 abundantly documents, Amendola's major concern in the war was locking Italy into an alliance with Britain and with preparing an army capable of controlling the domestic working class in the postwar period.

When the inevitable 1919-20 strike wave occurred, fueled by the Bolshevik Revolution, Amendola turned full attention to creating a "new ruling class" in order to stop the "Bolshevik menace" at all costs. Like his boss Luigi Einaudi, Sr., another leading "liberal" who was running *Corriere della Sera* at the time, Amendola personally disliked Mussolini's hooligans who had "guaranteed democracy" in that period.

Nonetheless, Amendola — at the time Minister of Colonies in the shaky Facta cabinet — hailed the Mussolini March on Rome of September, 1922 to which Einaudi had given his stamp of approval. "Today for the first time we have a government which faces no time limits and has available the indispensable freedom to act," he wrote to his friend Count Sforza in December of that year.

Giovanni Amendola's endorsement of Mussolini in 1922 is today echoed, almost word for word, in the candid April 22, 1976 editorial in *Corriere della Sera* by Alberto Ronchey — a supporter of PCI participation in the government — calling for a "government with the moral authority to be authoritarian." By 1923, however, the elder Amendola began to realize that Mussolini was no mere passing phenomenon transitional to a British-modeled "liberal" anti-working-class regime as he had envisaged, and that the hoodlum squadristi of the National Fascist Party were turning the violence with which they had crushed working-class organizations earlier against all rival institutions including their own erstwhile "democratic" supporters. He organized a National Democratic Union, aimed at capturing Mussolini's base — the terrified middle class, the peasantry, and the backward South — which he naively believed his British patrons would support. Amendola St. paid for his miscalculation in 1925, when Mussolini's squadristi brutally beat him: he died in 1926 from the resulting injuries.

As late as 1928, Giovanni's son Giorgio (according to his own accounts) traveled to Paris to consult with the rightwing Social Democrats, Liberals and other anti-Communist politicians living in exile. He proposed to this group the launching of a liberal-oriented resistance to the Mussolini regime which would be capable of stemming the Communist monopoly over the underground resistance in Italy. Only after the failure of this mission, late in 1929, did Giorgio secretly join the Communist Party of Italy. His first published statement in the party journal proclaimed that he had not abandoned the ideals of *Giustizia e Libertà* — the terrorist "anti-Fascist" group linked to the Paris exiles and modeled explicitly on the ideas of Russian anarchist Bakunin — or those of his liberal father, but that such ideals could only be realized

through the Communist Party. From that point on, Amendola's career curiously paralleled that of his father's closest emulor, Ugo La Malfa. Both were ardent admirers of the Rooseveltian New Deal. But while La Malfa cultivated his studies of "economics" in the safe refuge first of Giovanni Gentile's *Enciclopedia Italiana*, and later in the U.S. intelligence hotbed of the Banca Commerciale Italiana, Amendola plied his agent trade inside the Communist Party, first in exile in Paris, later in Tunisia and finally in Italy from 1939 to 1945.

1937: Left Fascism to "Anti-Fascism"

As Mussolini's 1936 Ethiopian War adventure sparked the first open working-class resistance to his regime, the Paris center of the Communist Party came up with a tactic for recruiting from Fascist institutions such as the universities and youth groups, because the ripples in the factories had begun to intersect with student discontent. The party paper, *Stato Operaio* in 1937 printed the call to "our brothers in Black Shirts," promising that a popular front with the Communists would implement Mussolini's "radical" left-fascist program of 1919.

Following his release from five years of detention by the Mussolini regime that year, Amendola was immediately dispatched to Paris where he helped to run the Communist Party press and from where he organized just such a levy into the party from the Fascist universities and youth groups. Amendola was particularly in charge of the Roman "anti-Fascist" group of these origins. This group has emerged as today's top PCI leadership, including both the overtly Amendolite right wing, and the anarcho-syndicalist "left," as well as the Maoist offshoot of the latter which was used in the "Il Manifesto" operation of 1969.

Among those in the Amendola-fostered Rome University group of recruits from Fascism to "anti-Fascism," were Paolo Bufalini, now a PCI secretariat member and close associate of Berlinguer, in charge of negotiations with the Vatican; Aldo Natoli, who acquired prestige as a party "intellectual" under Amendola's personal protection in the Rome organization after 1945, only to become a "Maoist" in the 1960s and leader of the *Il Manifesto* grouping; and Lucio Lombardo-Radice, the leading PCI central committee ideologue for education and culture, and a noted international advocate of bourgeois pluralism for Eastern Europe.

Lombardo-Radice provides a most exemplary case of Amendola's brand of "anti-Fascism." His father, Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice, was Mussolini's national director of elementary education from 1922 until 1935. Lucio's educational theories do not differ in any substantial way from those of Giuseppe.

Another luminary of the Rome University crowd, Pietro Ingrao, became the leading "adversary" of Amendola during the 1960s in a phony faction fight within the PCI, the purpose of which was to profile pro-Soviet, pro-working-class cadres in the party for future isolation and purges.

The Action Party Matrix

For the Anglo-American intelligence community, the takeover of the Italian Communist Party leadership through Togliatti and Amendola's specialized operations was complementary to another operation, the "Action Party." The purpose of both was to contain the revolutionary potential of the Italian working-class resistance to Fascism, and guarantee that after World War II Italy would become a Wall Street looting-ground.

"Togliatti's boys" and Amendola covered their operation in the Communist Party with pro-working class rhetoric to delude the party's mass base into believing they were fighting for socialism. In the meantime, OSS agent Allen Dulles' tiny "Action Party," made up of a banker's wing including La Malfa himself, present Mediobanca head Adolfo Tino, Bruno Visentini (the Finance Minister of the last Moro government) and a group of anarcho-syndicalist leftovers from *Giustizia e Libertà*, provided the program...dictated straight from the U.S. State Department. The Action Party's 1942 program was an amalgam of Roosevelt and the 1919 program of Mussolini's Fascist Party. The Communist Party had no program.

The role of the Action Party was to subvert the Communist-led resistance movement into an apolitical popular front, playing on the Communist leadership's (e.g., the pathetic schlemihl Pajetta) intense fears of isolation. After the war, U.S. intelligence controller Allen Dulles busted up the Action Party, sending seasoned agents to infiltrate the Socialist, Communist and Republican parties.

The Action Party and today's leadership of the PCI are tightly, incestuously linked. Stefano Siglienti, uncle of Enrico Berlinguer, was one of La Malfa's top Action Party co-conspirators during World War II. Mario Berlinguer, Enrico's father, first ran for office in 1923 as a member of Giovanni Amendola's National Democratic Union, and later became a militant in the Action Party.

I Ragazzi Di Togliatti

In the immediate post-war period, the nest of left Fascists masquerading as Communist youth leaders which Amendola had cultivated particularly in Rome, became Palmiro Togliatti's major weapon against the revolutionary impulse of the Communist Party's industrial and peasant cadres, who had flocked to the PCI-led Resistance. Togliatti was not loved by the Resistance fighters. His "Salerno Turn" of 1944, imposing a policy of mass undifferentiated recruitment on the party and the "delaying" of revolutionary perspectives, had been followed after the war by class collaboration and further postponement of the struggle for socialism. By 1947, the Italian working class was suffering worse economic misery than at any point under the Mussolini regime. This misery was imposed by none other than reactivated liberal Luigi Einaudi Sr., the erstwhile Mussolini supporter turned "anti-Fascist" and installed by the Allies as governor of the Bank of Italy to impose a Wall Street-dictated austerity program.

To defuse the mass strike tinderbox and to permanently dampen workers' hopes for revolution, Togliatti called together his "boys" (i ragazzi di Togliatti) in May, 1947. According to a biography of PCI chief Berlinguer published in the weekly *Il Mondo* in November, 1975, Togliatti's boys included the young Sardinian aristocrat Enrico Berlinguer, Ugo Pecchioli and Renzo Trivelli (all now members of the top PCI executive body, the Secretariat), and Massimo Caprara, Togliatti's private secretary (whose subsequent career has spanned a wrecking operation with "Il Manifesto" in 1969-71; retired from party politics, "journalist" Caprara now conduits CIA stories on the French and other Communist Parties). Togliatti laid out for the boys his plan for ensuring his own continued power. The "boundless rage of youth" would be channeled into the creation of what Berlinguer termed a "profound crisis of spiritual values."

Addressing the PCI youth conference in May, 1947, Togliatti selected an essay by the son of a former Fascist minister

to prove that a "common note" afflicted Italy's youth: "a painful uncertainty, a precocious lack of faith in themselves, a widespread sense of unhappiness." Togliatti concluded: "it is not enough to worry about and busy ourselves with the material aspects of the youth problem." Picking up the words of Gentile, he called for a reconstruction of "morality."

With control over the youth group and the party's "cultural" activities, Togliatti's boys were able to effectively strangle the revolutionary wing of the party in a series of well-timed coups. In 1954, following the death of Stalin, Togliatti moved to isolate the industrial working class faction of the party which looked to Resistance hero Pietro Secchia as its leader by packing the party directorate with Amendola and his demagogic sidekick Giancarlo Pajetta, both notorious rightwingers. In 1957, former Fascist Pietro Ingrao was precipitously brought into the party directorate after the crisis of the XXth Soviet Party Congress. Amendola, made Director of Organization in Secchia's place in the late 1950s, successfully purged key regions such as Milan of older "Stalinist" cadres, using such later Maoist agents as Rossana Rossanda, who became one of the leaders of *Il Manifesto* during the 1960s.

Following Togliatti's death in 1964, Amendola began calling for the liquidation of the Italian Communist Party into a single populist party along the lines of his father's National Democratic Union. Former Amendola protégé Pietro Ingrao promptly took up the "left" opposition to this proposal under the guise of trade-union chauvanism and hostility to the Soviet Union.

The operation culminated at the 1969 XIIth Party Congress of the Italian Communist Party, when a group of Ingrao's Maoist followers split out of the party as "*Il Manifesto*" — purporting to be a "left opposition." Workers hostile to Maoism were left with no alternative but to tolerate Amendola's outrageous rightwing policies, or to be targeted and picked off in a massive purge of pro-Soviet militants which ensued in 1970.

At the XIIth Party Congress, Togliatti's boy Enrico Berlinguer also became deputy party secretary and heir-apparent to the top leadership position under the aging chief Luigi Longo. Berlinguer was selected as a "compromise candidate" between the right-wing "anti-Fascist" Giorgio Amendola and the former left-wing Fascist Pietro Ingrao.

The March 1975 XIVth Congress of the PCI put the formal finishing touches on the fascist takeover of the party. Togliatti's boys, such as Berlinguer, Trivelli, Bufalini and Pecchioli; Amendola's intimates Pajetta and Napolitano; and Berlinguer's own protégé Cervetti were appointed to the party Secretariat. The Politburo was abolished. Of the three opposition voices in the Central Committee to both the Maoists and Amendola in 1969, two had died by 1975 — one in mysterious circumstances (Secchia) — and the third was isolated in a remote southern town. Berlinguer endorsed NATO, made friendly overtures to Ugo La Malfa, and began steps for "reconciliation" with the expelled leaders of *Il Manifesto*.

The heirs of Giovanni Amendola's "National Democratic Union" were getting back together.

Botteghe Oscure Tries "Coercion"

With a mass strike wave in Italy increasingly threatening to burst out of the control of the PCI and its affiliated trade union leadership, the party's top hierarchy has come out during the past month with a series of desperate open embraces of Mussolinian fascist policies. In March, Amendola's

Rome economic think-tank CESPE hosted a meeting to plan imposing wartime economic measures on Italians: Amendola personally echoed the words of Mussolini, "We Italians must take care of ourselves." The PCI subsequently brought out an economic program designed to gain their entry into the government. The program called for anti-strike legislation, youth slave labor projects, tax hikes, wage cuts, ("rationalization") and centralized control of all credit, in a drastic echo of the Mussolinian programs — not of 1919, but of the 1930s!

The PCI plan was promptly praised by former Bank of Italy governor and now Agnelli employee Guido Carli, who noted that the incomes-leveling proposals were particularly desirable but could not be enforced without a "higher degree of coercion" than the PCI is at present capable of providing.

The party's leaders, from their headquarters in Via delle Botteghe Oscure in Rome, have not lost a minute in proving their willingness to "coerce" the Italian working class. Ugo Pecchioli, a 30-year intimate associate of party secretary Enrico Berlinguer and now defense expert for the PCI Secretariat, has joined Berlinguer's cousin, the Italian Interior Minister Francesco Cossiga and the Agnelli brothers in calling for "anti-terrorist" vigilante squads to be formed in Italian factories and neighborhoods.

The pretext for these overtly fascist bodies is the current wave of terror and arson sweeping Italy. However, it is a matter of public record, documented in the Italian Socialist newspaper *Avanti* and the independent weekly *Tempo*, that Agnelli personally is the financial backer of the terrorists. While workers have refused en masse to join the vigilante squads, the Amendola-Berlinguer party bureaucracy is sponsoring such self-policing operations in the plants, manned by the traditional blackshirts — members of the rightwing fascist trade union, CISNAL.

European Labor Party field reports from the Milan-Turin industrial belt further confirm that the Amendola-Berlinguer apparat in the Communist Party and its trade union affiliates are dispatching Mafia-style terror tactics against workers who join or even listen to the programmatic alternative of the ELP, or who refuse to engage in fruitless anarchist actions leading to lockouts at FIAT and other factories.

In recent episodes, ex-Partisan Resistance fighters at the Turin FIAT plants were coerced into such anarchist actions by union goons wielding sticks with dead animals attached; gangland terror was threatened against a PCI member and his family from one of the Turin industrial suburbs after he presented the ELP's program for debt moratorium and a new world economic order to his party local; PCI factory council members at a metalworkers union rally in Milan terrorized workers with threats of firings and other reprisals if they dared to even read ELP programmatic leaflets; and 20 goons from the PCI's unofficial youth group, the ultraleft police gang *Lotta Continua*, were dispatched to beat 2 Labor Party organizers outside a municipal officials meeting in Milan, sending one to the hospital with serious injuries.

With the Italian workers visibly incensed at such atrocities by their leadership, the bourgeois press is spurred to new levels of debate over Italian "democracy." Were the PCI leaders placed in government, the PCI's mass worker base might very quickly recognize them to be the purest of Fascists, and thereupon very quickly transport them to the nearest of lampposts. For the Atlanticist press, such mass action to preserve democracy by the PCI membership constitutes the real threat of "Communist dictatorship" in Italy.