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JPRS L/10705

2 August 1982

Worldwide Report

TERRORISM

(FOUO 9/82)



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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

MARDIROS JAMGOTCHIAN: 17-19 DECEMBER 1981 GENEVA

Beirut ARMENIA in French 1982 pp 29-45

[Text] The Palace of Justice in Geneva looked like a temporarily fortified camp set up for a trial on this scale. The searches and the methodical checking at the entrance to the court showed, if it was still necessary to prove it, that Switzerland is a well organized police state. Following are the notes we took of the trial of Mardiros Jamgotchian.

"Please rise, the court is in session!" It was with these few words that the trial of Mardiros Jamgotchian began on Thursday, 17 December 1981, at 9:00 am. The accused is a combat soldier of the ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] imprisoned in Geneva since 9 June 1981. Mardiros proudly entered the room. With his arm in the air, he gave the "V" for victory sign. Around him a mob of photographers jostled each other. Photographic flashguns crackled. The hearing began with the impaneling of the jury. Out of 40 potential jurors called by the court, 12 were accepted, plus two potential replacements. The jury sat at the left hand side of the presiding judge, facing the prosecutor, Raymond Foex. In the first row of seats was Mardiros. Behind him were his lawyers, Devedjian and Benoit, and to their left was the Yergus family attorney, Bonnant. All the major participants were in place.

The presiding judge, Curtin, said: "Mardiros Jamgotchian, you are appearing before the Criminal Court of Geneva. You are accused of the deliberate homicide of Mehmet Yerguz, a Turkish diplomat assigned to the Turkish Consulate in Geneva. The proceedings may begin."

Lawyer Benoit for the defense rose and spoke: "Your Honor, prosecutor, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, the remarks which I have to make concern the age of my client." Benoit then explained that in view of the different elements in the file concerning the identity of Mardiros, it appeared that certain contradictions had become evident. He said: "In fact the attorney general of Lebanon on 7 November 1981 brought to the attention of the Swiss courts information concerning Mardiros Jamgotchian. He reported the existence of a passport issued on 28 January 1981 indicating 2 July 1958 as his birthdate. Now the family relationships mentioned are incorrect. Moreover, there are differences in the dates and in the given names of some of the

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relatives. For its part the defense has received a sworn statement from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem which contradicts the information previously referred to. There is an Armenian tradition which calls for a child to be presented to the religious authorities in Jerusalem, like Jesus Christ, 40 days after his birth. This is accompanied by the tattooing of his arm. Now my client bears on his arm the tattooed date of 1964." At this point Mardiros, who had rolled up his sleeve, raised his arm in the air to show his tattoo. "Hence," lawyer Benoit continued, "it is clear that at the time these events occurred my client was not 18 but 17 years old. As a consequence, I ask that this trial be referred to a court having jurisdiction over such matters."

The members of the jury frowned. They were there to find him guilty and they did not seem prepared to give up this privilege.

Lawyer Devedjian for the defense then rose and said: "I would like to make a comment on the attitude of Mardiros Jamgotchian. He has stated that he was born on 1958. Today he states that he was not born until 1964. This apparent contradiction is explained by the fact that during the entire pre-trial hearing period he refused to cooperate with the prosecution regarding all aspects of his identity, his family relations, and his organization. Moreover, he claims to have performed the act of which he is accused. He did not wish to cheapen it by attributing it to a minor. This is an act which he accepts full responsibility for as the action of an adult who is aware of his obligations. Let us not forget that this is a matter of a boy who lives in the Middle East and that in Lebanon at age 17 you are an adult. And a 17 year old is not too young to fight when you belong to a people exterminated by those executioners who made no distinction between children and adults."

Yerguz family attorney Bonnant stood up and said: "I am astonished, although I am not too much surprised at the attempt made by the defense to raise prejudicial circumstances. During the 6 months of the pre-trial hearings the defense had plenty of time to raise this argument which it now presents to the court for the first time. This was my first comment. My second comment is that the file on the accused gives us the age which Jamgotchian himself gave us. And he confirmed his age to us on many occasions. The passport corroborates his statements. And to end this statement we have the statement of the ASALA itself which, soon after the attack, claimed responsibility for it and identified the accused. On that occasion also this communique mentions the birth date of 1958. I therefore ask the court not to let itself be influenced by these last minute statements."

Prosecutor Raymond Foex, who is a (living?) caricature of what a prosecutor can be, stood up nervously and said: "This is a matter of determining what the competent court should be, whether the Criminal Court or the Juvenile Court, which sits behind closed doors. All the facts which we have had up to now, whether the statements made by the accused, those of his organization, or this visa form which he filled out, all indicate 1958 as the birth date for Mardiros Jamgotchian. Attempting to make us believe that it was out of a desire not to cooperate with the course of justice is an error, since even to the doctor charged with giving his expert opinion on him Mardiros

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Jamgotchian said once again that he was born in 1958. And now they tell us there is a sworn statement from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem which allegedly proves that he was born in 1964! This is false. In exhibit 249 of the pre-trial hearings, we read: 'In the course of the psychiatric examination the doctor commented on the tattoo which Jamgotchian had on his arm. The explanation that the latter gave is that his tattoo is from the time when he went to live with his grandmother.' There are the facts." Foex's voice became venomous and hissing when he added: "This is a maneuver, a procedure intended to sow doubt. In its desperate struggle against democracy terrorism has recourse to every possible means: threats, bombs, tricks. Previously, the anarchist who struggled for his ideas boasted of his acts. Now the terrorist is evasive. That is why I don't believe a word of what they tell us, and I would say that if it were true, arming children would be the supremely shameful act of terrorism!" He sits down white-faced, his thin face angry. Judge Curtin orders the suspension of the court session for the consideration of the points raised.

At 11:00 am the court session resumes. Judge Curtin reads the decision of the jury: "In view of the question raised regarding the age of Mardiros Jamgotchian, in view of the fact that the revelations made today have no other purpose than to make the Criminal court incompetent to hear this case, in view of the fact that the statement of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem does not state that Mardiros Jamgotchian was presented to it 40 days after his birth, in view of the fact that he has told us that he is the eldest of five children, in view of what he has told us concerning his life, that is, the succession of events and jobs he held until 1980, in view of the fact that he then lived for 18 months in a camp of Palestinian refugees, in view consequently of all the evidence in the file mentioning the year 1958 as his birth date, in view of the fact that on 12 August 1981, during his final interrogation, he said he was born on 20 June 1958; for all of these motives, therefore, the court rejects these prejudicial statements and declares the accused liable to trial in the Criminal Court."

A buzz of comment ran through the watching audience composed essentially of Armenians, of Swiss, and above all of French citizens. The presiding judge then read the charge: "Mardiros Meguerditch Jamgotchian appears today before the Criminal Court charged with having violated the Swiss Penal Code on 9 June 1981 by deliberately killing a person; by being found in possession of a revolver, a hand grenade and bullets; by receiving instructions while traveling from Beirut to Zurich and then from Zurich to Geneva from a person who designated a trash can where the weapons were hidden; by loading his weapon; by lying in wait for the Turkish diplomat, following and shooting him in the back with three bullets; by taking flight, removing his sweater in the building; and subsequently by not displaying any regret in the course of his interrogation but rather boasting of his act and saying that he was ready to do it again. Mardiros is there before us, standing straight, with his head erect. We can begin the hearing of testimony by the witnesses."

The usher brings forward the first witness, Inspector R. The presiding judge asks the witness: "Your name, given name, age, and occupation, please. Do

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you swear to tell the truth and nothing but the truth, to speak without hatred, fear, and favor. Raise your right hand and say, 'I swear' or 'I promise.'" The presiding judge will restate this formula many times during the sessions. The first witness says: "I was in my office on 9 June at 6:00 pm when a report reached me stating that there had been a murder committed on the Boulevard Helvetique. The murderer had been arrested and questioned. The victim of the attack was to die before reaching the hospital. We continued with the interrogation of the attacker. He said he was called Jeannot Krikorian. The following day he was interrogated by Inspector Boukd. The weapon found in his possession was Belgian made and was part of a shipment of weapons delivered to the Iraqi government. The weapon was loaded and had been fired. In his pockets we found loose cartridges, a magazine for the pistol, and a hand grenade. He stated that he had committed this act for his country."

The prosecutor asked: "He gave no indication where he had been staying?"

Inspector R replied: "No. And despite the appeals for information which we put in the press, no one has come forward to provide information regarding him."

The presiding judge said: "Good, the court thanks you. I wish to read the deposition made by Mardiros Jamgotchian (exhibit 25 in the file of evidence) after his interrogation at 6:15 pm:

'I hitchhiked out of Teheran to carry out a mission for the ASALA, of which I am an important official. I crossed the Swiss border on foot. I arrived in Geneva where, in accordance with the ASALA directives, I went every day at 2:00 pm to the English garden under the Horloge Fleurie. I was greeted by an unknown woman with gray hair, a large bosom, and a red dress with large black dots. She said to me in Armenian: 'Good afternoon, Salim' and told me not to look at her. She later pointed to a trash can in which weapons were hidden. I went to get them and when I returned, she had disappeared. I went to the public toilet and shut myself in one of the booths to clean the grease off the revolver. During the following days I walked around the city, seeing the sights, and slept outside under the stars. On Friday, 5 June, I went to the Consulate of Turkey at about 4:30 pm. I want to make clear that I was carrying an unloaded pistol. I had no intention to kill anyone, as I had come essentially to look around. My organization had given me the right to choose among possible courses of action: either to go into the Consulate and blow it up or kill a Turkish diplomat. On Friday [5 June] I was in place across from the Consulate of Turkey. I saw four men come out of it. They were speaking Turkish and had remarked that I was following them. One of them seemed to be more important than the others. I decided to come back and to kill the largest possible number of Turkish officials. I came back on Monday [8 June]. The Consulate seemed to be closed. I learned from a passerby that it was closed because of Pentecost. On the following day, Tuesday [9 June], I came back. I had loaded my pistol: 13 rounds in the magazine, 10 rounds in my right hand pocket, and others in my left pocket. I waited in the same place. At 6:00 pm I saw an individual come out of the Consulate. I recognized him as the one who seemed the most

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important to me on the previous Friday [5 June]. Another individual came out after him, and they went down the street together and then separated at a corner. I followed the first individual on foot. Coming up to a distance of 2 meters from him I fired three shots to his back. I then ran away. I ran and after covering 500 or 600 meters I took cover in an alley. Then I went up to the second floor of a building and I took off the blue sweater that I had been wearing. Under it I had another sweater. I went out onto the street again and bought a package of cigarettes. Then I went into a store and at the exit I was stopped and questioned by a policeman. I surrendered without resistance because those were the orders of my organization. I still had the pistol and the hand grenade on me. They put handcuffs on me. I was pushed into a police car. They threw me on the floor of the car, and a police dog jumped on me and bit me in the shoulder. When we arrived at the police station they pulled me out of the car by the hair and dragged me to the entrance of the police station. I would like to say that I do not regret this action. I had to do it in the name of my people."

The monotone voice of the presiding judge fell silent after this reading of the statement, and the voice of the prosecutor was heard: "This act was claimed in the course of the evening by ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia)."

Inspector R said: "Yes, and he always stated that he acted alone."

Defense attorney Benoit said: "I have to mention the fact that there was no identification of the accused in a lineup. I mean to say by that the witnesses did not have to recognize Mardiros Jamgotchian among four or five other persons."

Inspector R said: "The witnesses were in a state of shock and didn't want to see him again."

Lawyer Benoit said: "However, the photographs of Mardiros Jamgotchian been made. Were those shown to the witnesses?"

Inspector R replied: "The photographs are a police formality."

The presiding judge said: "In any case the photographs taken could not be shown the same evening to the witnesses. There was a matter of some delay."

Defense attorney said: "But Polaroid photographs were used. Therefore, the question asked by Lawyer Benoit is pertinent!"

Pertinent questions were not to the taste of the presiding judge, and he brought forward the second witness, a Mr I, and read his deposition: "It was after 6:00 pm when I heard pistol shots. I was on my motorcycle. I saw a man who was firing on a middle-aged man who fell down. The attacker immediately fled. I started my motorcycle and tried to follow him. Near the Rue des Beaux Arts I saw him again. I crossed the street and followed him. He was walking quickly but not running. Then I lost sight of him. I then saw some policemen and went over to them."

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The judge then said: "To the question: 'Do you recognize the murderer in this photo?' you replied: 'It's the second from the right. They took me to him. I recognized him from his profile and his clothing. To be frank, it's more the silhouette that I recognized. If I had not been confronted with him at the police station, I would not have recognized him.'

Yerguz attorney Bonnat said: "Can you give us further information, that is, whether he was alone or not?"

The witness said: "It was the time when offices were closing and therefore there were many people. However, I only saw one man fire."

Defense attorney Devedjian asked: "Would you recognize him today?"

The witness replied: "No, I can recognize his silhouette, that's all."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "I would like to ask the witness if he saw someone who might have been present at the scene, 2 or 3 meters from the man firing the pistol."

The witness replied: "I don't recall."

It was 12:15 pm when the third witness came to testify, Miss A. In her testimony she said: "When I was parking my car in the parking lot, I heard three shots. I saw a man run across the parking lot, with a large gun in his hand. I followed him with two people I had met in the parking lot. We telephoned the police when we saw him enter a store, and he was then stopped for questioning by a policeman."

The presiding judge said: "You were confronted with him in the court of the investigating judge. You specifically recognized him."

Miss A replied: "Yes, I would have recognized him among a thousand people. His face has flashed through my head and has followed me for months and months. I was overwhelmed. It's not every day that you hear pistol shots in the street." She assumed a dramatic air and clung nervously to the railing in front of her.

Defense attorney Devedjian: "Before the hearing before the judge, which took place 2 weeks after the events, did you see his photograph in the press?"

Miss A replied: "Yes."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "That's what I wanted to hear you say. And did you see him run or fire?"

Miss A replied: "Only run."

Defense attorney Devedjian: "How far was he from you?"

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Miss A: "About 30 meters." She clutched her purse, trembling, and without looking at Mardiros, she left the courtroom, sniffing.

At 12:40 pm the fourth witness was heard. The presiding judge read his statement in a monotone: "I was on my motorbike. I heard three pistol shots. I saw a man fall down and, in front of the wounded man, another individual with a revolver in his hand. He ran away. As he ran, he had his pistol in his hand. He had black hair and black eyebrows, which I noticed." This statement provoked some reaction in the courtroom because Mardiros is not any particular "type." With his brownish hair, his light eyebrows, and his green eyes, he did not really correspond to the rather fantastic description, to say the least, which this witness gave. The witness continued: "I was confronted with him and I recognized him by his corpulence and his hair. I saw him first through a glass window and then, since it was dark, they opened the door and I saw him, making the 'V for victory' sign."

The prosecutor asked: "You couldn't see other people running or hiding?"

The witness answered: "No."

Defense attorney Devedjian asked: "Do you exclude the fact that there might have been other persons at the scene of the attack?"

The witness replied: "Beginning with the time when I couldn't see everything, I don't see how I could exclude that possibility."

The fifth witness came to the witness stand. "I was leaving my office," she said. "When I reached the Avenue Helvetique, I heard three shots. A person ahead of me was falling. The person was followed by an armed man who ran away. I should state that I was slightly wounded: I felt a burning sensation on my arm. The bullet must have grazed me. However, in view of the unimportance of the wound, I did not present a complaint. I recognized him at the hearing in the courtroom of the investigating judge because he had been pointed out to me at the police station. There they asked me if I recognized him. I said I did not. The two men were very close together. The first man turned his back on the man following him. The other continued to follow, holding a pistol. I saw the first man sag forward and fall to the ground. I didn't see other persons at the scene. I ran after the fugitive and I stopped. I saw a young man on a footbridge and I shouted: 'Arrest him!' However, he left without understanding what I said."

Yerguz attorney Bonnat said: "Can you tell us what you did when you approached the victim?"

The witness replied: "He wanted to tell me something. He let out a terrible cry which made such an impression on me."

The prosecutor asked: "You are a trained nurse. Couldn't you do anything while you waited for help?"

The witness answered: "No, I couldn't do anything for him. I simply held his head. There was a spreading bloodstain on his chest."

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The prosecutor asked: "Did you see if there were other people around?"

The witness replied: "It seemed to me that there weren't many people around."

Defense attorney Devedjian asked: "Can you exclude the possibility that there were other persons around whom you did not see?"

The witness said: "I don't know. I didn't see any."

Defense attorney Devedjian asked: "And this young man to whom you spoke when you asked him to stop the fugitive, is he one of the witnesses?"

The witness replied: "I don't think so. He ran away and disappeared. I don't know anything else."

The sixth witness came to the witness stand and said: "I heard three shots. I saw a man fall to the ground. I saw another man run away. He had a pistol in his hand. I didn't recognize that man because I only saw him from the back. I was struck by his haircut, which was very short on the back of his neck."

The prosecutor asked: "Was he alone?"

The witness answered: "Yes, but in fact I should say that I had my eyes firmly fixed on him."

Defense attorney Devedjian asked: "Can you exclude the possibility that there were other persons around?"

The witness said: "Where I was there was no one else."

The court session went on, marked by the fuzzy statements of the witnesses. The usher brought in the seventh witness. The presiding judge read the deposition of this witness: "I was driving in my car. I noted a young man who was looking behind him. He fired at a passing person who grappled with him. The first shot went into the man's chest and the second shot in the face. At the police station they presented him to me, saying that he was the murderer, but I stated that I had never seen this young man before."

The prosecutor said: "You didn't see other fugitives?"

The witness replied: "No."

Then followed the testimony of the four policemen who interrogated Mardiros. "It was a customer of a store standing on the terrace who identified the man whom we were holding." These were also the policemen who confiscated the gun and the hand grenade which Mardiros was carrying on him. The policemen testified, one after the other. At 1:30 pm the court session was suspended.

At 3:15 pm the session resumed with other witnesses being heard. Judge Curtin said: "Mr O, I will read your deposition: 'I was driving in my car.

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Suddenly, I heard three shots, like explosions. I noticed a young man, his arm held out, a gun in his hand, who was looking at a man who was falling down before him. I pulled my head down out of fear. The young man seemed to be about 18 years old and was dressed in light blue clothing. At the police station they showed him to me through a window. He resembled the man I saw in height. I cannot say whether he was alone or not."

At 3:35 pm Dr Brunswainer, the ballistics expert, came to the stand to testify in German on the results of his study concerning the pistol, an FN [Belgian-made] Browning, HP model, and the bullets. He gave an impression of expertise in his explanations.

Defense attorney Benoit asked: "I would like the expert to say if on such a gun it is possible to take off impressions of the fingerprints and what he thinks of the validity of the Gonzales test?"

Dr Brunswainer replied: "I cannot answer that because these questions are out of my area of competence. For the rest I can state categorically that the cartridge cases certainly come from this gun."

At 4:20 pm Dr Mayer, an expert in explosives, came to testify regarding the hand grenade. "It's a Russian type grenade. It weighs 590 grams--530 grams of casing and 60 grams of explosives. It's a fragmentation grenade. This type of grenade can kill over a radius of 10 meters and wound people over a radius of 100 meters.

Mardiros stands up and speaks in Armenian. At his side Mr Godel, a Swiss citizen of a respectable age, married to an Armenian woman and a professor of Armenian, translates for him: "The grenade was ready to be used when the Turkish diplomat was killed. I defused it afterward." Mardiros leaned toward the expert to explain how he defused it and held out his arm as if to take it. Dr Mayer drew back, as though afraid. There were some laughs in the courtroom.

At 4:50 pm a Turkish colleague of the murdered man came to testify on the stand. He was Sadenin Sendogan, an attache at the Consulate of Turkey under Mehmet Yerguz. It was also Mr Godel who translated the questions and answers in Turkish. Mr Sadenin Sendogan said: "I left my office with the consul and we separated later. Then I saw a man lying on the ground. He was dead. I immediately recognized Mehmet Yerguz, the victim. On 5 June, about 6:00 pm, I had left the Consulate in his company without noticing anything in particular."

Yerguz family attorney Bonnant asked: "Can you tell us something about the personality of Yerguz?"

Sadenin Sendogan replied: "He was a man of perfect impartiality. In his position as a secretary of the Consulate he received everyone: Turks, Kurds, Armenians, without distinction."

Yerguz family attorney Bonnant said: "Yes, yes, on the whole, he was a good man, a tolerant man. This incident served no one's interest. It had no justification."

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The prosecutor asked questions in turn: "Do you know the family of Mehmet Yerguz?"

Sadenin Sendogan answered: "Yes, I know them. And I know that he had spent his last weekend with his family with their best friends, who are Armenians." Annoyed and slightly ironic comments ran through the crowd attending the session. The word circulated that Talaat also, his best friend, was an Armenian.

The presiding judge suddenly commented: "I find this laughter which we have just heard quite unacceptable. Let us not forget that a man has died, that at this moment there is a woman, a weeping wife, born a Swiss citizen, who could not attend the trial because since these events she has been going through a nervous breakdown! And I am going to read to you the letter which she sent to the court to excuse her absence." And he read this letter, a real funeral eulogy for the victim.

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "I would like to ask the witness if he has knowledge of the existence of genocide in Armenia. His answer will be very interesting for me."

The witness, annoyed, turns toward the lawyer and says with a half smile: "I am 32 years old."

Defense attorney Devedjian responds, dryly and coldly: "That's enough for me. That's all I wanted to hear."

The presiding judge said: "As far as my memory goes--and, moreover, I was born well after this act of genocide--I have often heard people speak of it, and I recall that when I was a child, I was walking with my mother and we passed a number of Armenian refugees in Geneva, and that left an impression on me."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "That is not the problem. I am not asking you the question but rather a Turkish diplomat. And I note that he does not want to answer."

The prosecutor said: "But this is a question of historic culture!"

Devedjian said decisively: "No, simply of human culture. If you ask a young German if he knows of the existence of genocide against the Jews, he would surely not answer: 'I am only 20 years old!' And if he answered, you would have the right to ask other questions!"

The prosecutor bristled: "But they have not just killed German diplomats on our soil!"

Defense attorney Devedjian cut him short heatedly: "But Germany does not deny the existence of genocide against the Jews by the Nazis. Mr Prosecutor, that is the whole difference!"

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It was 5:05 pm. The hearing of these stormy discussions was suspended for a time. At 5:30 pm the trial resumed with new witnesses testifying. A Mr D was on the stand.

Mr D said: "I was in my taxi, stopped at a red light. I heard a series of shots. I saw a crowd farther up the street. I didn't see anyone else at the scene."

Then came Inspector R. The chairman of the court read some of the statements which Mardiros made and in which the date of 24 April was mentioned. Defense attorney Devedjian arose and explained: "The date of 24 April is the anniversary of the day the decree was signed by the Turkish minister of the interior, ordering the extermination of a whole people."

The following statements by Mardiros Jamgotchian were read: "I acted in the name of my people and I do not regret what I did in any way. Like other members of the ASALA, I only know Alec Yenicomechian and Suzy Mashedjian by name."

The Yerguz family attorney asked the inspector: "Did he speak to you of a second commando group?"

Inspector R replied: "No."

The prosecutor turned to Mardiros: "You told the inspector you had been something like a tourist in France. Where, when, and with whom?"

Mardiros Jamgotchian replied: "In Paris, and I was there alone in 1977."

The prosecutor asked: "So you were 13 years old then, if you are 17 years old today, and you went on a trip alone at 13 years of age?"

Mardiros Jamgotchian answered: "Yes, since I had the necessary permission from my parents."

The usher brought in another witness, Inspector Bouks who, in his testimony, stated that the only assistance which Mardiros Jamgotchian had mentioned was that woman who pointed out the trash can to him. The prosecutor asked: "He also told you that he had been in Paris?"

Inspector Bouks replied: "Yes, and he said he was alone."

The prosecutor said: "Alone, which is, as you will admit, difficult to reconcile with the statement that he is 17 years old. That means that he was 13 at the time of the visit to Paris." The chairman of the court commented ironically: "In fact the accused has learned today that he was 17 years old."

[passage missing]"...was in contact with the events which were occurring. He lived for a little less than 2 years in a training camp where he received military, political, and ideological training. Then he was designated for

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this operation in Switzerland. During the dialogue which we had with him we had the impression that a distant but easy contact was possible. We did not have the impression of encountering a blind fanaticism. There shone from him a kind of faith, of tranquil determination, a kind of sensitivity and of emotional capacity. He appeared to us like a soldier aware of what he had to do. He was also aware of the criticism which we outlined and of the duty which he had to perform. It is certain that he obeyed laws other than our laws, but he is not sick. Regarding the danger which he could constitute, this cold conviction which he showed made us think of the danger but not of a mental danger: rather of the danger presented by a man who would not respond to the same laws as we do."

Yerguz family lawyer Bonnant asked: "Did he express any regrets?"

Professor Breneim replied: "No. He told me of a rather large number of letters which he received from some of his compatriots who spoke of him like a hero, but he told me that he regretted having placed Switzerland in danger.

Yerguz attorney Bonnant continued: "Did he raise any questions about his responsibilities?"

Professor Breneim replied: "No."

Yerguz attorney Bonnant asked: "Did he raise questions about his responsibility for the act of which he is accused?"

Professor Breneim answered: "No."

Yerguz attorney Bonnant asked: "Professor, since we have had the opportunity on many occasions to appreciate your seriousness regarding expert psychiatric opinion in other trials, I am astonished at the very short time in which your work has been accomplished on this case. Could this be rather slapdash work?"

Professor Breneim replied: "The four meetings which we had with him were enough to demonstrate that he was not mentally ill."

The sharp voice of the prosecutor was raised: "When you performed this examination, the Cornavin attack [on a Swiss railway station] had already been perpetrated. What did he say about this?"

Professor Berneim answered: "He told me that he was executing a military type order and that he was obliged to bear the consequences which followed without rejoicing in them."

The prosecutor said: "You speak in your report of a normal mental development or even beyond?"

Professor Berneim replied: "yes, he is an intelligent boy. Let's not forget that his family had lived in a refugee camp, terribly traumatized by

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their experiences. I could only admire that much more the courage of this family which succeeded, in a situation of extreme poverty, in establishing a very favorable atmosphere."

The prosecutor said: "You mention in your report that you noticed the tatoo which he has on his arm and that you asked him what it meant. Can you tell us if, as he has alleged, the tatoo was placed there when he was a baby?"

The expert turned toward Mardiros, looked at the tatoo, and said, "No."

The prosecutor exclaimed, addressing himself to the court: "They lied to you!"

There was astonishment in the audience. Since when is the view of an expert in psychiatry a guarantee of truth about a tatoo? However, the prosecutor continued the questioning of the expert: "You remarked that his personality was more adult than that of other young men?"

Professor Berneim replied: "His determination is that of an adult, but his enthusiasm, his devotion to duty are rather juvenile. I would like to point out that the terrible experiences of this family probably served to maintain the very special atmosphere in which he lived. His mother gave him a kind of blessing when she learned of his joining the ASALA. This is not a traumatic experience but a kind of reaction to a drama."

Defense attorney Devedjian asked: "The fact that the existence of this drama to destroy a nation has been denied, isn't this a way of heightening the reactions of youth?"

Professor Berneim answered: "That is a natural reaction to this drama." He continued: "He acted out of an idealism transmitted to him by his family."

The presiding judge interrupted him: "Evidently, he only saw one thing: avenging and winning back a fatherland, and that necessarily involved the murder of a Turk on the edge of a sidewalk!"

Defense attorney Benoit asked: "Professor Berneim, does my client have the full capacity to understand the implications of the act which he committed?"

The professor replied that he did.

The presiding judge asked: "His capacity to orient himself has necessarily been diminished by his fanaticism!"

Professor Berneim said: "It is certain that, considering his young age, he was indoctrinated, but that is not an illness."

The prosecutor asked: "You have not discerned any trouble in his conscience?"

Professor Berneim replied: "No. Really no trouble, either in his sense of righteousness, his tranquility, and his determination. We would be

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accustomed to speak of mental problems in many people. His determination inspires a certain kind of esteem and of understanding. He is not sick."

Judge Curtin said: "The court thanks you." This concluded the last witness presented by the prosecution. This was the end of what people present at the trial almost all felt was the first stage in the presentation of the prosecution case, since the statements of the witnesses (who, moreover, were not the most convincing of witnesses nor particularly in agreement with each other) sought to degrade as much as possible the act by Mardiros, making him appear--except in the case of Professor Berneim--as the worst of scoundrels, as the most odious of criminals. They did not even hesitate to make improper statements, referring to him on several occasions by his "loutish" appearance. Strongly supported in that direction by the prosecutor (which hardly seems normal) but also by the chairman of the court, whose openly partial attitude (he had been represented to us as favoring the Armenians.) shocked the audience on several occasions. It is curious to see these supporters of the Armenians who only support the Armenians by bemoaning their fate.

The voice of the presiding judge was raised once again: "We will now proceed to hearing the defense witnesses. Bring in Mr Beaufort."

Defense attorney Benoit asked: "On television in 1975 Mr Beaufort interviewed an historian of the Armenian genocide, and I would like to know the reactions which this produced among the Turks."

Beaufort replied: "Yes, in fact, following this broadcast I received a complaint from the Turkish Embassy criticizing me for having spoken of the Armenian question."

Judge Curtin, who during all of the testimony toyed with his gavel to occupy himself, took the opportunity to show off his knowledge: "I advise all of you to read the book by Mr Pastermadjian, which tells the extraordinary story of the Armenian people, and in which I read the following passage, which shows that the Turks admitted in 1919 having committed genocide, and it is not because some of them do not wish to recognize this fact that this should be made into a generality."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "This concerns the official position of the Turkish ambassador who thus expresses the views of his government!" He mentioned the latter in which, with regard to the interview, he spoke of a "one-sided broadcast," and of "alleged events without any foundation in fact," etc.

Beaufort said: "This concerned an interview in which Jean Marie Garzou discussed the matter of the Armenian genocide. It was the summary of his book, that is, of purely historical facts."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "I would like to say that it is to the honor of Switzerland to have allowed him to speak on the air regarding the Armenian problem, despite the pressure from a foreign government."

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The prosecutor commented spitefully: "All of this does not justify the fact that he committed a cowardly murder against an unarmed man!"

Defense attorney Devedjian rose and retorted: "We have also been subject to cowardly assassination, believe me!"

It was just before 7:00 pm. The trial was suspended until the following day at 9:00 am.

Friday, 18 December 1981, 9:15 am. "Please rise, the court is in session." The trial resumed with the hearing of defense witnesses. Mrs Sophie Schmidt entered. She looked with sympathy at Mardiros and began her testimony: "I was born in Istanbul. As an eight year old child I saw many refugees who passed through our house. They were fleeing from the Armenian provinces where the massacres had begun. As a young girl I heard the story of these families which were victims of the massacres and of the people who escaped and went insane. I was spared that because I had the good luck to marry a Swiss citizen who wished to save a young Armenian girl. One of my cousins saw her mother thrown into a well; gasoline was poured on her and she was set on fire." Her voice broke as she added "I have one thing to say." She continued, sobbing: "I am proud, proud of being an Armenian. A people was massacred. We had a stainless name. Today I regret that we have come to this!" Then between sobs, there followed an exhortation in German in which it turned out that she was revolted by the injustice done to her people. Her face bathed in tears, she turned toward Mardiros and said, pointing at him: "Look, he doesn't have an assassin's face! I leave that to God's judgement!" Overwhelmed, she suddenly left the witness chair. The throats of the audience were choked with sympathy. Reverend Yelvadjian from Marseille came to the witness stand.

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "Reverend Yelvadjian has participated in the preparation of a monument to the victims of the genocide in Marseille. I would like him to explain the difficulties that were encountered."

Reverend Yelvadjian replied: "The committee for the construction of our monument sought to honor those Armenians who died for France during the world wars. In 1972 it also sought to honor those who died in the genocide in 1915. The Turkish ambassador opposed this and used all of his influence to prevent the construction of this monument which, moreover, was to be built in the private precincts of an Armenian religious building. At the time Minister Comiti told me of the comment of the French minister of foreign affairs, who said, 'I'm not going to have trouble with the Turks because of the Armenians.'" Reverend Yelvadjian then handed to the presiding judge a letter from the prefect of the Department of Bouches du Rhone in which he informed the committee that construction of the monument was prohibited. The chairman of the court read the letter and then commented: "Once again this is a case which shows that the great powers have always engaged in a kind of rivalry to show who was more cowardly toward the Armenians."

Defense attorney Devedjian arose and said: "Meanwhile, it is we who are accused of cowardice, Your Honor!"

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The presiding judge said: "There is a question of public order."

Defense attorney Devedjian replied: "Agreed, there are some circumstances."

Reverend Yelvadjian then began a long diatribe which just missed turning out badly: "This is a unique monument in the world when the Armenian genocide perpetrated by the Turkish government in 1915 is remembered. Talaat Pasha has his monument; as long as he has one, we will have ours. You won't see the end of this, everywhere in Switzerland, in France. There will continue to be bombs; you won't see the end of this! This is a minister of religion who tells you this. I have no hatred against the Turks, but I would not like to be in the position of the defenders of the Turks at the judgment seat of God!" He continued, his face red with anger: "My father was decapitated, they painted my mother's face. She who was so beautiful, so that she wouldn't be raped! History will continue. That generation no longer hears us!" He shook his fist menacingly: "When there no longer are solutions for the wise, it is the madmen who find solutions! Well, Mardiros Jamgotchian is a madman in a certain way, and there are thousands like that! This is not vengeance. We demand justice. These assassins committed a disgraceful crime: let them admit it! Our cause is just, without any hatred against the Turks, and I pray for the victim of this crime and his family."

The prosecutor interrupted him shrilly: "Oh, it's easy to kill and then pray afterwards!"

Reverend Yelvadjian, foaming with rage, shouted; "Shut up! I forbid you to speak, you hear! I pray for them and I also pray for our dead!" Mardiros' lawyer made him quiet down, and Reverend Yelvadjian regretfully gave place to the next witness.

The marshal was instructed: "Bring in Reverend Karnusian."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "Reverend Karnusian is assigned to the town of Gstaad. Can you explain to us how your compatriots are able to live with this rejection of the Armenian genocide?"

Professor Godel translates the question to the minister into Armenian, and the latter replied: "I am a Swiss citizen. And for the last 30 years, as a religious leader twice each week I am confronted with this question. By Armenians residing in Switzerland, but also by others who came more recently, refugees who come in search of assistance, of advice. And when I ask them why they have left their countries, that is, Turkey, Lebanon, Iran, etc, they respond that where they were living they have no security, neither for their lives or their property. They have no future. To understand this situation you have to go back into history. Since 1948 the Middle East has been all mixed up, and our young people in particular see no future for themselves. In a difficult situation such as has existed in Lebanon, Iran, or elsewhere, they see their future is blocked because they don't have a country to go to. The young people therefore have recourse to measures of violence. The Armenians don't hate the Turks. However, the only place where they could settle down would be their own country which has been taken over by the Turks."

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The prosecutor said: "The Russians also occupy their country."

Reverend Karnusian said: "I am speaking of the Armenian territory occupied by the Turks."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "In Soviet Armenia at least they can live. In only one tenth of the historic territory of Armenia there is a country in which they can live, despite everything." The minister calmly resumed his statement and in a rigorously Swiss fashion he analyzed the situation: "Up to now the Turkish government has denied the existence of genocide. This fact has traumatized all Armenians, even up to the present. This is not a matter of ancient history. This is not politics or propaganda. This is the history of today and of tomorrow. Every Armenian is profoundly affected by this situation. The Armenian is ready to pardon the Turks. Christ pardoned his enemies. However, this is on condition that the guilty parties repent for what they did. The responsibility for what happened belongs to the Turkish government. We have lived together for centuries and we are prepared to live again, side by side, since we are neighbors after all."

Reverend Karnusian stopped for an instant and then continued firmly: "We are ready for discussions, but we are not prepared to renounce our rights, our land. This may go on for 5, 10, 20 years, but we will not renounce our rights, and the struggle will continue until we have a country that is independent and free, like Switzerland. These young men who take action now--it is the Turks who force them to use these means, and it is also the great powers who have betrayed the Armenian people. If the Armenians don't draw attention to themselves, who will speak in their place? No one. And it is this silence which provokes these young people and incites them to have recourse to these means. I suffer from the fact that we have reached this point, but I repeat, it is the Turkish and other governments and even the Russians who, by their silence, force us to have recourse to violence." He ended his statement: "The Armenian cause is not an historical but rather a contemporary question. One day the Armenian question will be a current problem."

The presiding judge added: "You have to recognize that throughout their history the Armenian people have been able to depend only on themselves."

Reverend Karnusian continued: "I recall the treaty of Lausanne, signed in 1923, by which the decisions of the treaty of Sevres were rejected as far as Armenia was concerned. I recall in 1978, at the United Nations, here in Geneva, under the chairmanship of the Turks, the Human Rights Commission removed all references to its decision to mention the Armenian genocide."

The presiding judge, who knows his history and wanted to show it, again intervened: "Wasn't there an earlier betrayal of the Armenian people after the signature of the treaty of Berlin [1885], which had at least given a certain statute to the Armenians and which was never applied because of the great powers? Let's recall that this treaty followed massacres which had taken place in 1895 [sic], massacres whose application, because of a defective

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and corrupt administration, was turned over to the Kurds. And let's not forget the Russians in 1905, who had the Armenians massacred by the Tartars."

Reverend Karnusian said: "Yes, and for my part I regret that my country, Switzerland, was where, on two occasions, in Lausanne in 1923 and in Geneva in 1978, the Armenian people were buried. Switzerland became the cemetery of the Armenian people. There is a Chinese proverb which says: 'A man dies twice: once in his body and the second time when he is forgotten.'"

The presiding judge said sincerely: "You can be sure that the Armenian people will rise once again."

The prosecutor went on the attack and, speaking to Reverend Karnusian, he said: "Do you approve of these attacks?"

Reverend Karnusian quickly retorted: "Do you approve of this genocide?"

The prosecutor said: "No, but that does not authorize anyone to come and place bombs and kill people!"

Defense attorney Devedjian then replied: "Switzerland wanted to be a welcoming country. Geneva is an international city which, for many people is the symbol of an evil policy."

The following witness, Mr Hatsakotzian, escaped the genocide of 1915. Also speaking through the interpreter, he said sadly: "In 1915 I was 9 years old. I was living in Ourfa, I recall. I went to visit a neighbor and through the open door I saw two Turks who were raping our neighbor's wife and her 11 year old daughter. They then killed the whole family. I was hiding, and they didn't see me, or otherwise they would have killed me too. I wanted to go home. In the street I saw an old woman who told me: 'You can't go home.'" And I then saw the street strewn with corpses. She covered my head with a shawl so that I would not see this." He stopped out of emotion. His voice trembling, he resumed his testimony: "Then the deportation took place. I found my mother, but she had fallen ill. She was crying before dying, and I was also crying." His voice broken with emotion, he said: "That night I dreamed of her. I saw again that scene which I had tried to bury in my memory. I recall that we ate grass. I saw three women lying under a tree along the road. I wanted to ask them for something to eat. I approached them. They had their abdomens ripped open." Tears fell from the eyes of the white-haired man whose sad testimony overwhelmed the audience. The jury listened calmly and indifferently to this tragic story. The witness, overwhelmed by his memories, then described the travels which led him to Switzerland where, in 1957, he obtained Swiss nationality.

The presiding judge said: "The court respectfully bows before your sorrow and your suffering. I recalled yesterday the cynicism of Hitler. I would like to show today the contents of Talaat's telegram sent to the Prefecture of Aleppo on 15 September 1915." He read it.

Defense attorney Devedjian arose and said: "I thank you, Your Honor, for having read that. Look at the mausoleum of Talaat today in Ankara. Look at

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how that man is remembered today in Turkey!" And he showed the jury photographs of the mausoleum, the avenues and the schools built to honor the glory of Talaat Pasha.

The presiding judge said: "Unfortunately, the Nuremberg court does not exist today."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "Attorney Wolf is president of the League of the Rights of Man in Belgium and delegate of Belgium to the United Nations on the Human Rights Commission. He has represented his country during the discussion of paragraph 30 at the UN, a paragraph in which two lines mentioned the Armenian genocide. Turkey exerted pressure for these two lines to be left out. Can you give us this story in detail?"

Attorney Wolf said: "First of all you have to go back to the beginning. In 1948 a convention for the repression and condemnation of the crime of genocide was voted on at the UN. It was never applied until 1975 when it was decided to issue a report on the crime of genocide. Already, in 1974, a draft report had been presented. Most of the countries were opposed to paragraph 30, and the Human Rights Commission returned the draft text to the sub-committee. There were many debates held on the subject up to 1978. The great powers abstained, considering that it was an error to attack a country like Turkey. I reported on the document which was on hand in the foreign ministries of the great powers and which showed clearly that there had been genocide committed. They simply wiped out history, as if nothing had taken place in 1915."

Attorney Wolf paused and then continued: "The matter then went back to the Human Rights Commission. There, three or four countries asked that this paragraph be included. Finally, it was decided once again that it was necessary to send the draft back to the sub-committee, which refused to include the two lines on the Armenian genocide."

Defense attorney Devedjian asked him: "Was international law applied as far as the Armenians are concerned?"

Attorney Wolf replied: "In 1918 there was an Armenian state which lasted for 2 years. Then came the treaty of Sevres which sketched out the frontiers of a substantial Armenian state, thanks to President Wilson. With the coming to power of Kemal Ataturk in Turkey, all of this was wiped out, abolished. Today I understand the actions of the Armenian terrorists, but I do not approve of them for all of that. However, let us not forget that there were 1.5 million persons executed, the seizure of a nation's territory. And today there is still a form of cultural genocide which is leading to the disappearance of architectural and cultural marvels. I note that everywhere I go there is more and more a state of permanent revolt among the Armenians. The way in which the Armenian people have been treated is quite unthinkable."

The prosecutor asked: "Does that legitimize an assassination?"

Attorney Wolf replied: "There have been other political assassins who have been acquitted."

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The prosecutor then asked: "As a lawyer do you approve of these acts?"

Attorney Wolf answered: "I understand them but I do not approve of them."

The trial was suspended for 20 minutes. In the snowy streets outside Attorney Wolf, a longtime friend of the Armenians (who, despite his advanced age, was prepared to come to Geneva to give his support to a cause which he valued above all others), walked slowly away.

At 11:15 am the trial resumed with the testimony of Jean Marie Carzou, an historian of the Armenian genocide. He said: "The Armenian people have occupied their territory for 3,000 years. If there has been a dispersion of these people, it is because there was an act of genocide." There followed a brief historical account, retracing the sufferings experienced by the Armenian people, from the beginnings of their history, continuing through the capture of Ani, and until the 19th century. Carzou said: "The so-called eastern question resulted from the progressive establishment of the Ottoman Empire and from the resurgence of the national movements of the various minority groups (Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria) who entered into a struggle again against the Ottoman government. Contrary to the other minorities, the Armenian people remained a "faithful nation" until the middle of the 19th century. Part of the Armenian elite even participated in the Turkish government. The Armenian question arose only in terms of claims for reforms and especially in terms of obtaining a statute of relative autonomy. These claims led to the Congress of Berlin in 1878 under which Turkey committed itself to undertake reforms in the Armenian provinces. In 1923 came the treaty of Lausanne which did not include even one word about Armenia. Meanwhile, the genocide took place." Jean Marie Carzou, in an analytical and implacable way, then retraced the different stages of the process of extermination of an entire people: "First of all there was the dress rehearsal. You will note later that the massacres and the genocide always took place following a demand for reforms. Following the treaty of Berlin, over a period of a few months (during 1894-1896), there were 300,000 Armenians killed in various kinds of pogroms with the assistance of the Turkish army. You have to imagine that with the bugles blowing and with the participation of the whole Turkish people. That was, therefore, the real response which the Turkish government made to the demands for reforms.

"Then there was the revolution of the young Turks, preceded by a congress in the course of which all of the forces of opposition to the regime of Abdul Hamid, the red sultan, joined together (Turks, Jews, Armenians, etc). The announcement of the coup d'etat brought out a great spirit of fraternization. All problems seemed to have been solved. However, in fact the change of regime did not lead to a change in doctrine.

"Those who came to power were in fact ultra nationalists who did not accept the idea that the various oppressed minority groups in the Turkish Empire should kick over the traces. They adopted exactly the same state of mind as Abdul Hamid had done. Wasn't it Talaat who said, speaking of the Armenians: 'There is no place here for two peoples'? So it was to be genocide. This would be preceded, as in 1895, by a plan for reforms, presented by Russia and

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England and accepted by the young Turks. The allied governments furthermore obliged Turkey to sign an agreement providing for the sending of international observers to verify the application of the reforms.

"In 1914 World War I broke out. Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany. It was not an accident that the genocide took place in 1915, in the middle of the World War. The Russians were blockaded in the North; the French were blockaded in the South. Communications were cut off and the country was closed to foreign observers. However, there would remain some Germans, since Turkey was allied to Germany. Regarding the genocide properly speaking, the operation was mounted in two phases: "On 24 April 1915 some 400 Armenian intellectuals were arrested in Constantinople who, for the most part, were shot. Therefore, the Armenian people were first of all deprived of their elite group. It was then time to begin the second phase of the genocide: the displacement of the people, who, according to the authorities, 'were endangering the Turkish Army by the risk of collusion with the Russian Army.' The men in good health who were in the fully-armed battalions of the Army were transferred to engineer battalions where they were disarmed and then shot. There then remained in the provinces the women, the children, and the old men who were to be assembled and deported. The final destination of the deportation was the deserts of Syria."

Jean Marie Carzou then circulated a map and photographs of the genocide for the information of the jury. He resumed his testimony: "The genocide was carried out by means of this program of deportation. In each province it happened in the same way. A decree stated that the Armenians had to leave. They were given 2 hours to prepare themselves, and convoys including up to 3,000 people were set in motion on the roads. Some of the people were transported by train, but the majority made the trip on foot. The objective, of course, was that these convoys would not reach their destination. Along the road the Armenian people were decimated with an unheard-of violence. The horror involved reached such a level that many of them went mad. Certainly, there was the evidence of those who escaped, but also there was testimony by observers from neutral and even allied countries. The genocide continued until 1918. Those who were able to reach the end of the road were placed in 'concentration camps.' This was the very term used by a German officer at the time, and which today resounds in our ears. Laws were enacted concerning the property of 'displaced' persons. Other decrees suppressed the Armenian community as such. It was complete annihilation. Out of more than 2.0 million Armenians there remained no more than 200,000 survivors. What happened to the others? Did they commit suicide? The kingpin of this exterminating effort was Talaat Pasha who, as minister of the interior, signed the telegrams ordering extermination, which I am going to read to you."

The presiding judge interrupted him: "I read them yesterday."

Carzou continued: "I will then cite what Talaat said when Morgenthau, then United States ambassador to Turkey, tried to dissuade him from undertaking this act of genocide by underlining the economic consequences of this decision. Talaat replied to him: 'We have estimated that as costing 5 million pounds.' I will also mention another telegram sent to the Prefecture

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in Aleppo and in which it is recommended to 'kill all the children of the persons in question because the innocent of today could become the guilty of tomorrow.' Talaat Pasha has never been disavowed by any Turkish government which followed him. Kemal Ataturk arranged for the genocide by his rejection as such of the treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Talaat Pasha is even honored as a national hero, since Ankara has constructed a mausoleum as a monument to his glory. Even after the Nuremberg trials, what effect would naming a boulevard after Himmler have in Berlin?

"In 1978 the United Nations confirmed the denial of the act of genocide by adopting the traditional Turkish thesis on the myth of genocide. Even today these undeniable facts are not generally admitted."

Then Jean Marie Carzou raised the second question, the censorship of his book. "In 1975 I signed a contract with Hachette concerning a book entitled, '1915: an Example of Genocide.' Here is the printed cover of the book" (he took it out of the file.). "You see there, down below; it has the Hachette mark. And now here is the book as it finally appeared. Look, it is Flammarion which put it out. What happened? Well, one month before it was put in the bookstores I was called to a meeting with Hachette where they explained to me that, following Turkish intervention and in order not to involve the commercial interests of the publishing house with Turkey, they could not publish my book. That is why it was finally published by Flammarion, which no doubt had fewer commercial interests in Turkey."

The presiding judge said: "The court thanks you."

It was noon when Jean Marie Carzou left the courtroom to leave in his place another witness of the genocide, Mr Amalian, who, in great distress after having said that his whole family in Caesarea had been massacred, was only able to say: "I can tell you that there was genocide. That's all." The session was suspended until 2:30 pm.

At 2:45 Mardiros came back into the courtroom and sat three rows of seats in front of us. The usher brought in the following witness, an old woman with a scarf tied around her neck who walked with difficulty, assisted by a man of about 40 years of age. This woman who walked like this and who, through the tears which clouded her eyes, was looking for Mardiros, was his grandmother. She saw him in front of her and suddenly she lifted her arms up to heaven and cried: "Aman Yavrou" (oh, my child) and embraced him strongly against her chest, chanting: "Hissous Christos; Hissous Christos."

There were moments the emotional intensity of which is difficult to describe in writing. The sorrow of this grandmother was ours and, through us, that of all Armenians. She sat down beside her grandson.

Defense attorney Devedjian asked her to recount her experiences, she who was one of those who escaped the genocide. The grandmother of Mardiros only spoke Turkish. That is why Mr Godel offered his translating services. After an initial attempt his efforts were challenged by Armenians attending the court session. One of them was designated to serve as interpreter for this

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important testimony. The grandmother said: "At the time of the massacres I was in Adana. My brother had had his throat cut before my eyes and had been buried without any religious ceremony. I was 10 years old, and my family had all been deported. I saw..." Her voice broke and then continued her slow chant: "I saw 25 members of my family, tied one to the other. They were thrown into the Mourat River at the same time..." Overwhelmed, she stopped.

Defense attorney Devedjian then intervened: "I agree to stopping at this point the account of these events in order not to torture this old woman any more, but I would like to ask just one question: 'Did you speak of all that to Mardiros?'"

Mrs Jamgotchian replied: "I cried and I sang a dirge. He asked me why I was crying and why I was singing a dirge and I told him what I had seen." She left the witness stand and came with difficulty to sit next to us. Her hands were trembling and she cried softly, half in Turkish, half in Armenian: "Everything has come back suddenly, everything has come back."

She waved her hand before her eyes as if to try to chase away these visions which pursued her. She shook our hand strongly, very strongly. How could you fail to have respect for this old woman, suffering from a heart condition, who had sworn to come to testify at the trial of her grandson, even if she died in the attempt (which almost happened when she descended from the plane). Next was Mardiros' father, this man who, 15 minutes before, supporting his mother on her arrival in the courtroom. He testified in Armenian: "We were very poor. We lived in a refugee camp, and it was in this situation that our children were born. I raised him to be a soldier, because there was no alternative. In the present situation in Lebanon there is no future. The young people want to succeed where we failed."

Defense attorney Devedjian asked him: "I would like to ask you a question which I did not ask your mother: why didn't she speak in Armenian?"

Mr Jamgotchian replied: "In Turkey instruction in Armenian was prohibited. I didn't learn Armenian myself until I was 11 years old."

The prosecutor interrupted him slyly: "But I saw a broadcast the other day on television in which the Armenians in Turkey who were talking were freely speaking Armenian."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "You heard hostages speak, Mr. Prosecutor! I will recall to you the law of 1965 which prohibits teaching their own language to all minority groups."

The presiding judge said: "Bring in the next witness."

An Armenian of Swiss nationality testified to how, in his region, all of his family was wiped out with an axe. He continued: "Switzerland was one of the first countries to take pity on the martyrdom of our people. Our dual identity places us today face to face with the painful problem of the

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Armenian genocide. The younger generation living abroad wants to obtain justice. The memory of the people cannot be erased. One day the Turks will have to open the Armenian question once again." Then he read the transcription of a press conference given by the Union of Armenians of Switzerland in the month of August, from which it turns out that 'the actions of the younger generation have forced us to examine our consciences carefully and have made us accept the uselessness of the diplomatic measures which have been used up to now."

At 3:45 pm the next witness was Jean-Marc Toranian. Toranian came into the courtroom, took his oath, and sat down in front of the court. Then we saw Judge Curtin direct carefully-aimed questions at him. With his lips pressed together the presiding judge attacked him: "Are you, yes or no, a member of the ASALA?"

Torianian replied: "Look, I belong to this group of Armenians."

The presiding judge, already flushed with anger, said: "I am not asking you to begin the speech you prepared in advance. I have asked you a question! Answer yes or no!"

A silence followed. Then Toranian said: "No, I am not a member of the ASALA."

The presiding judge continued: "In October, 1980, a bomb exploded in the Palace of Justice in Geneva. Was it you who placed that bomb?"

Torianian said: "But..."

The presiding judge said: "Answer yes or no."

Torianian said: "No."

The presiding judge continued: "And the bomb which exploded this summer in a department store in Geneva, did you set off that bomb, yes or no?"

Torianian replied: "No."

The presiding judge asked; "And the bomb which exploded at Cornavin railway station, was it you who set off that bomb?"

Torianian answered: "No, and I would like to say that we were the first to denounce these terrible attacks which do not serve the interests of the Armenian people."

The presiding judge continued: "And those attacks which Alec Yenicomchian was preparing against the Consulate of Turkey?"

Torianian said: "Alec Yenicomchian, I believe, was released from detention by a Swiss court, in this very Palace of Justice. He is hero of the Armenian people, like Mardiros Jamgotchian."

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The presiding judge said: "A hero is someone who risks his life for an ideal, not an assassin."

Toranian replied: "I am absolutely in agreement with you. That is why I have come in the name of the Committee for the Support of Armenian Political Prisoners, in the name of millions of Armenians, to say that for all of us Mardiros Jamgotchian is a national hero. This young boy volunteered to join the Armenian resistance because the Armenian people are in a hopeless political situation. That is why the young Armenians, instead of living a normal life, are forced to give their lives and to engage in armed resistance. There are witnesses who have come, you recall, to tell us of the gravity of the genocide. I think that it is necessary to remember that for 60 years the Armenians believed in dialogue. They knocked at the doors of international organizations, they peacefully appeared before the United Nations so that the truth would simply be told about the genocide and the occupation of our fatherland, so that our people would recover their land." In the courtroom the pens were going full tilt and the journalists were listening carefully to the man they would describe as "the dialectician of violence," having failed to understand what he was talking about.

Toranian continued, speaking to the expressionless faces of the jury: "Armenian history is a succession of massacres, of abominations. Many people would have preferred that it had ended in 1915. The Armenian people are now drawing on their last energies. A decimated people is fighting for its existence, and its most devoted elements have constituted themselves into an Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, of which Mardiros Jamgotchian is a member. From the moment when the Armenian people have exhausted all their strength to make their cause triumph peacefully, no person has the right to refuse the Armenian people recourse to an armed struggle. Facing us is a fascist state which refused to recognize the genocide of 1915 and which has taken from us nine tenths of Armenian territory, which has exercised repression against the Kurdish people."

The presiding judge interrupted him: "Regarding the Kurds, I would like to say that they participated in the massacres, but it is true that the Turkish state knows how to use others for its dirty work."

Toranian continued: "We face a state which is exercising repression against the people of Cyprus. My thoughts go to the 4,000 people of the island of Cyprus who have disappeared, and no one speaks of them any more. I would also like to correct a certain number of points. The way in which you asked me the first questions just now favored all kinds of speculations. At present there is a whole effort being made to compare the Armenian resistance to international terrorism, which is plotting to destabilize Turkey. This is being done to obscure the motives and the profound realities of this resistance. The ASALA is based on the history of the Armenian people. Thousands of Armenians throughout the world do not hesitate to state their solidarity with this effort. This is not a minority, like the Red Brigades, which seek to impose a new social order through terror. No one can stop the Armenian people from fighting for the liberation of their fatherland. We have been driven from our land by the final phase of terrorism: genocide. Seven million Armenians are looking at the Swiss people."

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The presiding judge said: "That's not true!"

Ara Toranian resumed his statement in a forceful voice: "They are waiting for a measure of justice for Mardiros Jamgotchian. I would also like to explain why the Armenian struggle is not like classical guerrilla warfare. We have been driven out of our country. There lies the specific character of the Armenian struggle. Scattered here and there they wanted to die fighting. Certainly, they have been welcomed, in France, in Switzerland, but in each of these countries they have paid their tribute: there were 30,000 Armenians who died for France in the course of World War II and in the French colonial wars. They have done their duty as citizens. However, they know their enemies, and they only bear arms against their enemies. I would like to state that the Armenians have nothing against the Turkish people but fight against the Turkish military state which also oppresses the Turkish people, since there are 30,000 political prisoners in Turkey. This is a struggle which we intend to carry on with the other oppressed peoples of Turkey. That is why the Armenian resistance does not attack the homes of Turkish emigres but rather quite specific targets, the embassies, the diplomats, and...."

The prosecutor interrupts him: "And the Palace of Justice."

Ara Toranian continued: "Listen, I have not made police inquiries to determine whether, in fact it was Armenians who did these things. We have condemned them because they harm the Armenian struggle. However, and I hope you will let me make these distinctions, if it was really Armenians who set off these bombs, I understand that Armenians have become exasperated, but I condemn these acts of nihilism. However, I think that you have to distinguish between these actions and those of a resistant who takes a pistol and kills a Turkish diplomat, particularly in Europe, when we know what these Consulates of Turkey in Europe really are. They are actual police bureaus, actual military bases, keeping control of all components of the Turkish community.

"This wall of silence which has fallen on the Armenian problem, this apology for crime at the international level which the denial of the rights of the Armenian people consists of, this occupation of their historical territory and the denial of the genocide--all of these things have led young Armenians to recourse to armed resistance. And those who support them say out loud that those who have the courage to shoot down a Turkish diplomat are the heroes of 1981. I would like to salute the grandeur of soul of Mardiros Jamgotchian, because I am personally of the view that he did not kill the diplomat in question."

To the sneering laugh of the presiding judge, Toranian responded: "Whatever the case, he left everything to undertake military action. He left his family, his friends, his fiancée. He left everything for that. This is why he is a hero."

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "I would like to ask Mr Toranian if the condemnation of these attacks which he has just made is a definite or demagogic condemnation."

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Ara Toranian replied: I condemn these bombs placed in the stations, in the stores, I don't see for a single second how anyone could commit such acts. However, at the same time I understand that certain Armenians may have been pushed into nihilism when they see that it is Armenian resistance fighters who are sitting on the bench of the accused. I condemn them because that only favors the strategy used by all the enemies of the Armenian people."

The presiding judge said slyly: "But the ASALA has always claimed these attacks."

Mardiros stood up. He understood that an effort was being made to establish the very opposite of the truth and in his broken French he rebelled against it, saying: "It's not the ASALA!"

Community attorney Bonnant commented ironically: "I would like to remark that Mardiros Jamgotchian, who pretends not to understand French, has a selective understanding of it."

There were murmurs of protest in the courtroom. Then the prosecutor went on to the attack: "It's too easy to say now: 'It's not the ASALA!'"

He was supported by the presiding judge: "Not to mention the threats made by Mardiros Jamgotchian himself at the time this case was being prepared for trial."

Defense attorney Devedjian cut in with a mocking tone in his voice: "To say that there was risk of reprisals. Is that a threat or a forecast of the future?"

Ara Toranian picked up the theme: "The ASALA cannot control 7 million Armenians throughout the world. It cannot control these millions of Armenians for whom it is simply not acceptable that an Armenian combat soldier should appear on the bench of the accused, while Turkey has never appeared before any court at all. Today it is a matter of a single dead man. Imagine 10 dead, 100 dead, 1,000 dead, 100,000 dead, 1 million dead, 1.5 million dead! You cannot ask a people to commit suicide. You cannot ask a people to give up fighting to defend itself. You cannot kill a people with impunity.

The prosecutor, feeling that the situation was getting out of hand, tried to regain control of the hearing. To do this, he tried again to involve Ara Toranian in the attacks committed by the Organization of 9 June and in the threats made by ASALA. For this purpose he waved the newspaper HAIASTAN, the organ of the ASALA, and shouted: "Here is the newspaper HAY BAKAR, of which you are the publisher!"

Ara Toranian interrupted him: "You are mistaken. You are holding in your hands the newspaper HAIASTAN, the organ of the ASALA."

The prosecutor seemed determined to contradict him and then branched off in another direction: "Yes, you are right, let us admit it. However, in this newspaper there is an article signed by you!"

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Ara Toranian replied: "I cannot stop the republication of articles which appeared in HAY BAKAR."

The prosecutor continued: "And in this article there are threats--against whom? Against me! I will read part of it: 'Prosecutor Raymond Foex will be the first target.' Did you write that, yes or no?" He was choking with anger.

Ara Toranian responded with some puzzlement: "I don't see why I would have written that. I would like to see the newspaper."

The clerk of the court gave him the newspaper referred to. Somewhat perplexed, Ara Toranian looked at it and then commented: "Well now, it is still incredible. They mention my name at the foot of an article, republished from HAY BAKAR, and then you turn the page and you read, in another article--not signed, that one, and coming from the ASALA--the lines to which you have just alluded! That's too much. I denounce this shameful proceeding which seeks to establish an amalgam of truth and falsehood. It's really scandalous!"

A murmur of disapproval ran through the audience and along the rows of journalists. Prosecutor Raymond Foex, unmasked and ridiculed, slumped down at his place.

Defense attorney Devedjian intervened: "Mardiros Jamgotchian is not being tried for other attacks but only the one of which he is accused. You don't have to go on endlessly making reference to the attacks and threats made by the Organization of 9 June."

The prosecutor replied: "Yes, but from the moment when he himself made threats, or as you say so elegantly, 'forecasts of the future...'"

Defense attorney Devedjian said: "From reading the newspapers I can also make predictions."

Ara Toranian said: "Listen, I can read you some statements made by ASALA which officially condemn these blind attacks." He had nothing in his hand but turned to the journalists and called a journalist from the Agence Telegraphique Suisse [Swiss Telegraphic Agency] who recently met representatives of ASALA in Beirut. The journalist, a young woman, was called to testify. The presiding judge said: "Please take the oath to tell the truth."

She did so and then said: "ASALA has never claimed these acts. That is all I have to say." She immediately returned to her place.

Ara Toranian continued: "I would like to conclude by saying that the fact that there have been attacks made does not excuse us from reflecting on the causes of these attacks. I think that it is clear that Mardiros Jamgotchian joined the ASALA for political reasons. It was a political choice, because the Armenians are in a dead-end political situation. There is something terrible in violence. I say that to the relatives of the Turkish diplomats

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who have been killed. I say that all the more since we know what it is. We did not invent violence, but we were the first to suffer from it at the beginning of this century. The violence of the ASALA is at least more selective than that which consists in crucifying women and children on the doors of churches. I have nothing else to add."

The atmosphere was tense. This second day of the trial had been a testing experience, as much for what it brought out in terms of recollections of the genocide as for what it represented in terms of justification of Armenian resistance activity. It should be noted that all of the Turkish journalists and correspondents, who had been in attendance on the first day, were absent and that they were not to appear again until the summing up by the Yerguz attorney.

The presiding judge, in a silence charged with emotion, announced a suspension of the trial. Before the guards could take Mardiros away, some of us were able to shake his hand. He smiled at us, happily, naturally. For a little while it was he who strengthened our morale. We went out to relax outside the courtroom. It had snowed the whole day in Geneva. A cold wind chilled us. Nervously, some of us lit cigarettes. We counted the number of friendly faces. We were more and more numerous now, having come essentially from the Rhone River and Alps area and from Paris. Some friends from Villefranche, feeling an inner anger, told us how, to cross the Swiss frontier in an auto, they had to "strip," in the literal sense of the term. In Switzerland, having a name ending with "ian" is equivalent to having a yellow star on your coat.

At 5:00 pm we resumed our places in the large, austere courtroom. The "accused" was brought in. The arrival of Mardiros in court was always anticipated with the same anxiety, but his smooth and serene face calmed our apprehensions.

Judge Curtin reopened the session with the reading of all of the answers which Mardiros Jamgotchian made during the pre-trial hearing. Mardiros' answer to the question about the motive for his act was as follows: "It was to avenge 1.5 million Armenians. In my own family seven persons died in the massacres."

Then the presiding judge read the letter written by Mardiros dated 12 October 1981 in which he went back on his previous statements and made mention of a companion (whom he was ordered to assist) who was reportedly the person truly responsible for the act. The letter said: "This man fired at the Turk. He gave me the gun and I ran away. These are the true facts, and I ask you take note of them."

The presiding judge then read the first letter by Mardiros, dated 25 September 1981, in which he said he was informed about the operation carried out at the Consulate of Turkey in Paris and that he said he should say nothing about the exact circumstances of the action carried out on 9 June until the action in Paris took place. Mardiros stood up and said in Armenian that he

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would like to speak. He said: "I would like to explain why this action took place in Geneva. It should be said that this is related to Paragraph 30 of the report of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations and the suppression of the reference to the Armenian genocide, carried out at the request of the Turkish authorities. Furthermore, I would like to say that I did not resist arrest when I could have used my hand grenade because the orders of my organization were quite clear on the point. We have nothing against the Swiss people. I know that Switzerland, in the course of history has helped the Armenian people and that Switzerland built houses in Lebanon for the Armenian refugees. That's why for me there was no question of doing something against Switzerland. Regarding the assassinated Turkish diplomat, I would like to say that I had received a photograph of Mehmet Yerguz and that I knew that he was an agent of the Turkish secret police. I am a soldier; so was he. Consequently, it is necessary for the judgment handed down in this case to be just." Mardiros sat down.

The presiding judge said: "The next person to speak is the Yerguz family attorney, Bonnant."

Yerguz family attorney Bonnant stood up. Up to this point he had been rather discreet. However, now he was going to take his revenge and began an address which was basically tendentious, although well-presented in its form: "Your Honor, prosecutor, ladies and gentlemen of the jury. In this tribunal I am not the representative of the Ottoman Empire or of its successor, the Turkish state. You are not the tribunal of history. Mardiros Jamgotchian does not represent the cause—I believe sacred—of Armenia. I represent here the widow of Mehmet Yerguz, his mother, and his two children. The issue is not to know whether or not there was an Armenian genocide. Armenia is not in question here, and without any particular sense of vanity we can say that Switzerland was one of the few countries which did what was in its power to help the Armenian people. When I say that there is no particular reason to feel any vanity, this is to say that in fact along the road of misery we have been spared by history. The fact that our territory was chosen for this action, of course, leaves us rather bitter but should leave our ability to reason still intact. Mardiros Jamgotchian is a terrorist. He is an assassin. And it harms the Armenian cause to encourage those who pervert it. But there is something else which saddens me profoundly. Just now a minister of religion has come here to tell us that you die twice. Well, Mehmet Yerguz has died twice: the first time, assassinated; and then by the indifference with which his death has been treated.

"A criminal proceeding involves the presentation of an author of a crime and of a criminal act. It is Mardiros Jamgotchian, the protagonist of this drama, whom we are trying today. Since yesterday I have been watching him. The face of Mardiros Jamgotchian has the handsomeness of youth; he has expressions on his face; he knows how to laugh; he has a certain look about him. Whereas death has no face. Mehmet Yerguz only has one face: that which death gave him. A witness, Mrs A, came to tell us yesterday that while she was holding the victim's head he seemed to be trying to say something without being able to do so. We don't know what Mehmet Yerguz was thinking in that brief instant when he saw death coming. There is this matter of

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forgetting the victim and other, very characteristic, particular circumstances. Yesterday you heard a Turkish diplomat who came back from Ankara to make a minor deposition. But I took advantage of it to have him speak of the victim. He said very ordinary things, that he was a good man, married, happy. Recall the sarcastic tremor that ran through the audience. Did you feel, as I did, in an almost palpable way, the rejection of Yerguz and of his life?

"And you reacted, Your Honor. You read the letter from Mrs Yerguz to give THIS audience--Attorney Bonnant pointed his two thumbs behind him to designate the public, to whom he turned his back--a lesson in tolerance. Passion is one thing, but I say that this pathological intolerance only amounts to a difference of degree between THIS kind of laugh"--he again pointed to the audience--"and HIS act." (He pointed his finger at Mardiros.)

"I could not accept that at the end of this trial there will be deaths which will be considered just because they are the deaths of others. The representative of the Yerguz family must assure himself that the one who strikes is punished. This dual mission: being here to find Mardiros Jamgotchian guilty of murder and making sure that you do not let the discussion get sidetracked, to be used in the service of an act which is the negation of this cause which the accused considers justified--this dual mission is mine.

"First of all, can the crime be related to Mardiros Jamgotchian? Let us recall the facts. He arrives from Tehran, with a mission and with certain information. I would like to pause here to recall the case of the two members of ASALA who were arrested in Geneva and whom the Juvenile Court tried at the beginning of this year with infinite mercy. The inquiry had shown that they had come with a double mission: to engage in a racket among the Armenians in Switzerland and to prepare an attack against the Consulate of Turkey. I mention this matter to refer to the continuity of terrorism because it was this first mission which allowed the ASALA, provided with the information, to say to Mardiros Jamgotchian: 'Go and kill.' The judges of the Juvenile Court in January, 1981, showed a sense of mercy which none of them understood. Touched to the heart by these events, the system of justice in our country said to itself that it was necessary for Switzerland to understand toward the accused.

"But what is strength in terms of justice if it is not firmness? Our system of justice was deceived. By liberating Alec Yenicomchian and Suzy Mashedjian Swiss justice thought that, by paying a kind of moral debt, the terrorists would no longer use our territory for actions of this kind. Now, 6 months later Jamgotchian comes with a specific mission: either to kill a Turkish diplomat or to blow up the Turkish Consulate.

He chose the first mission, the easier one. And what did he come to kill? He didn't know. Up to this very moment he has never said that a specific person had been designated for him to kill. Because that would not be true. Because it is the act of assassination alone which counts. And because he wanted Geneva to be the platform for this cause which he supports. During the whole pre-trial examination, how did he describe the choice of his victim? I read from Exhibits 26 and 42: 'I had the mission of killing a member of the Turkish Consulate.' No details. "It seemed to me that one of the three

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men was the most important." What does that mean? That means that when they tell you that they want you to kill a representative of the Turkish state, this amounts to giving Jamgotchian a nobility which he did not have, since it was not true, and that he was ready to kill anybody. It is he who has told us this. He chose his own way of doing it. Can you see a man's diplomatic rank on his face? Of course not! As a consequence he was ready to kill, whatever the face of the victim. Provided he was Turkish.

He continued, sarcastically: "The importance of this point has not escaped either the Secret Armenian Army for the Liberation of Armenia or the defense, which calls this army--let us call it that out of a sense of mockery--'secret'--it certainly is--but not for the liberation of Armenia since it does not serve this cause by alienating sympathy for it. What did this ASALA say in its first communique following the action of 9 June? It said that Mehmet was a member of the Turkish secret service of of the CIA! That he had been sentenced to death by a people's tribunal. This term has a special resonance to it which Ara Toranian does not appear to attribute to it when he says that the ASALA has nothing in common with the Red Brigades! And this thesis of Mehmet Yerguz as a secret agent is this thesis which Mardiros Jamgotchian adopts for his own today, for the first time! Because he knows that if there is no relationship between this man and the act which was committed, there is no longer anything left. That is why Jamgotchian and his defenders have, little by little, invented a defense, manufacturing even this monstrous statement that Yerguz had something to do with the Armenian problem!

"I have heard it said that there are forms of death which are more painful than others. Ara Toranian has told us: 'What is this death, compared to the sufferings of those nailed to the doors of churches.' By a kind of general state of confusion can you excuse the death of Yerguz because it was quick and not very painful? Was it just because he was a Turk? Mehmet Yerguz died for nothing. He died for having been a Turk, the most hopeless kind of death that could happen, since there was no reason for it."

There was a brief silence. Then Lawyer Bonnant continued: "As the attorney for the Yerguz family, I have an interest in ensuring that Mardiros Jamgotchian does not dodge the moral responsibility for his act. It is his formal implication in this crime which I am going to prove to you. It is this man who shot, who killed, and who assassinated another man. This does not involve a phantom, mythical commando group, as they have tried to make you believe, even though the penalty risked by the co-author of an act is the same as that for the person also responsible for the act. Why are these statements made which don't even carry the hope of victory? It is because they cause doubt, a doubt which will have an impact on the sentence handed down. Because you will have, to some extent, this idea that things are perhaps not what they are. That is the maneuver, the possible tactic. If I say that Jamgotchian is guilty of this crime, it is because the pre-trial investigation showed it. And this investigation is supported by three pillars of evidence: the testimony, the opinion of a ballistic expert, the admissions made by Mardiros Jamgotchian.

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"I will begin with the testimony. As luck would have it, on 9 June there were passersby at the scene. They were present to see what happened and courageous enough to tell what they saw. This is overwhelming testimony for Mardiros Jamgotchian, although there were different versions of what happened. I will only mention three. This is quite sufficient. Mr X, who recognized the accused that same evening by his clothing, his hair, his corpulence. Mr Y, who despite the elements of confusion involved recognized him formally when confronted with him. But there is more and better testimony. Mr Isly, this man who was on his motorbike and who saw the assassin, who saw him run away, who followed him on his motorbike and who brought him to the attention of the police. That is what you can put together simply from the three witnesses.

"I would like to make a remark on courage. The real thing. Not the false courage of assassins. The ordinary courage of the man who sees a drama enacted in front of him. Mr Isly is not a hero. He followed the assassin, knowing that the latter was armed, but he took this risk so that the police, so that the forces of order, a dishonorable word but which is very dear to me, could come and arrest this man. I will give you an example, because of the threats which hang over all of you. You know the danger which faces you, which is that of everyone, since there have been 19 attacks against Switzerland.

The second pillar on which I will rely to base my accusation is the matter of the weapons. This arsenal was found on this man, which makes possible the comparison of the marks on the cartridge cases. And it turns out, according to the testimony of the ballistics expert, that at least one cartridge case came from this magazine and that at least one bullet came out of this pistol.

"The third pillar is the very admissions made by Mardiros Jamgotchian. Of course, admissions made by the accused are no longer considered the best of proof, because there are circumstances in which admissions made are not the reflection of the truth. Admissions made by the accused are the thing most open to challenge but which cease to be open to challenge once you review the very nature of these admissions. They were made spontaneously and not under torture. Let us recall this communique from ASALA which reported the torture suffered by Jamgotchian and which demanded the intervention of all kinds of international committees, the Red Cross, Amnesty International, etc. ASALA already was preparing materials for a carefully chosen defense, to sow the seeds of doubt. But Mardiros Jamgotchian did not take advantage of this chance. Nine times he said, 'Yes, it was I,' at the police station and to the investigating judge.

"I will make special mention of expert testimony. We all know Professor Berneim. He is a man of extraordinary integrity. He is a just man. Perhaps this is due to his profession as a doctor which his profession as a man of the law has not succeeded in tempering. And when he faced Mardiros, the accused said the same thing. He said for the 10th time that he was the one who had committed this act. It is the 10th time which is worth more than

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the others because of the circumstances in which this admission was made. And for these admissions he provided motives, details which no one could invent! He made this admission before and after the ASALA communique was issued. When he said: "I will wait for orders" to make this false statement of the truth, it was a mistake. ASALA had been saying it for a long time. But the fact is that Mardiros Jamgotchian is probably too satisfied, too happy about what he did. I have seen assassins, but as for him I have seen him smiling during these two days of the trial. In his own world he may allow himself to do this. In his own world Yerguz was guilty because he was a Turk.

"This is why I would like to ask you to decide that it was he who killed this man. And that this is clearly a case of assassination and not of homicide. What makes assassination more serious than homicide are the aspects of perversion and premeditation. We know that Jamgotchian had been preparing himself for this mission for the past 2 months, that he had gone through psychological and military training, that he had prepared himself to kill, that for 2 months the idea of killing had become his reason for existence. That is perversion of the purest kind. Killing Yerguz because he is what he is: a Turk. Because, being a Turk, he has no soul. That is such a derangement of the mind that, if it is not perversity, then perversity exists nowhere else "

After this delirious oration Attorney Bonnant continued gravely: "What are the possible extenuating circumstances for this gravest of crimes which our Penal Code recognizes? The defense is going to invoke the doctrine of limited responsibility. Our code assumes that people will act in a responsible way except when a given act is committed intentionally. The very basis of the law of punishment is that a man is capable of understanding what he does and appreciating the consequences. We are not competent to pass judgment on the mental structure of people. That is why Professor Berneim was charged with making an expert judgment. And what did he say? He said that the sense of responsibility of Mardiros Jamgotchian was full and complete. And you can believe him all the more since very often, in other cases, he has told us something else.

"Yesterday the defense tried to draw from him the admission that his judgment was partially false. However, Doctor Berneim continued to say: 'No, there was no change in the conscience of Mardiros Jamgotchian.' Professor Berneim told us: 'Mardiros Jamgotchian is not a case of pathological fanaticism. He has a vision of his duty as a soldier.' If a false vision of duty were taken to be an honorable motive, that would be a grave matter. Because that vision implies that human life has no importance. It happens that in our world, as opposed to that of Jamgotchian, the hierarchy of values makes human life particularly essential.

"Moreover, he knows that hierarchy of values and applies it for himself. For example, when he refused to take the risk of blowing up the Consulate because in risking being blown up with it he made a choice which subsumed a hierarchy of values in life--his life, not that of others! That man represents a concrete danger for society. It is that man who said in the course

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of the pre-trial examination: 'I do not regret what I did. I will accept another mission.' At the end of his road, unless prolonged detention should change him, he will do it again. Virtually, because of his youth, Mardiros Jamgotchian is the assassin of tomorrow.

"Let us speak of motives. Coming to tell you that his motives were honorable is the last chance for the defense. It will speak to you of his disinterestedness and of the Armenian cause. That's where I told you that the discussion was misplaced. You are going to believe, or they would like to make you believe, that the judgment which you will make will concern the honorableness of the Armenian cause. This Armenian cause is something marvelous! But it is the terrorist whom you are passing judgment on in this court. They will talk to you of idealism and of passion: everyone has his own view of both of these. Of idealism you can say that it is a lofty view of what is good. It is an elevation of the soul, impossible to dissociate from morality and from respect for written and unwritten laws. The idealist is the bearer of respect for life. What relationship is there between the assassin of Yerguz and idealism? None! None of the Armenian witnesses who testified yesterday in this court, except for Mr" (he consults his notes with a scornful expression) "Mr Toranian, approves violence. Mardiros Jamgotchian has proved he has a political commitment. But political commitment is far from idealism. It is something quite different. It is the product of a battle which always supposes there is an enemy who must be eliminated. At the end of this there is the death of Mehmet Yerguz. If they talk to you of idealism, they will have taken the word away from you!

"The circumstances under which he was raised make him the bearer of a message of vengeance. It's not for all of that that this vengeance becomes something noble. It's a kind of passion, no doubt, but reprehensible. And they would like to make you believe that it is honorable! I would like to say that yesterday, at times, I was overwhelmed when the Armenian witnesses came to tell us about the drama of the Armenians. Before all of them we could bow our heads. To all of them we could say that we understand the Armenian cause, when it is a single, desperate act of the will to maintain cohesion, when it is a sharp awareness of the indescribable cruelty of destiny, when it brings the hope of land for one's own country. But I say to this court that this cause with this nobility will not tolerate the actions committed by Jamgotchian. It is either he or this cause which is right!

"There is no relationship between this cause and this sordid assassination! I saw just now the grandmother of Mardiros Jamgotchian. I saw his father. I saw their desperate and fraternal embrace. I was moved by it, and nothing can temper this feeling. At the same time I thought of two children who will never know this kind of embrace and of a mother who weeps for her son. Of the two mothers there is one who weeps over the detention of an assassin and the other over the victim of assassination. The tremor that went through this audience made me say to you that I thought that Mehmet Yerguz had died twice. Let me tell you that it is up to you to make sure this is not true."

Lawyer Bonnant sat down. The heavy silence which has surrounded his long summing-up continued to weigh on our heads. After a brief pause the presiding judge ordered the session to be resumed the following morning. The night was a long one.

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Saturday 19 December 1981 - 9:15 am. The court resumed its session, perhaps a little more solemnly. Mardiros arrived with his calm, handsome face. The members of the jury were seated above us like papacious peeping toms who had no need to hear the prosecutor summing-up, as their verdict could be seen in their heartless faces.

Prosecutor Raymond Foex stood up, adjusted his heavy shell-rimmed glasses, took aim, and began his summing-up with that yelping voice which made us want to stand in front of him and say 'Heil Hitler.' Fo even had the lock of unruly, greasy hair which he regularly put back in place, with a maniacal gesture.

"Your Honor, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, you have come here despite the threats and despite the bombs which have gone off right here at the doors of the Palace of Justice. You have been like the witnesses of this event who ran after the assassin and had him arrested. You have been courageous. The time for inertia has passed, the time for courage has returned. You have come here to render a verdict on a crime committed quite near here. On 9 June a man was leaving his office and going home from his job peacefully. but he was watched, he was followed, and he was shot down like an animal! It was another person who went to knock on his door and who said to his wife: 'Madame, be brave.' Faced with this death, we remembered thousands of dead, millions of dead whose lives were cut short in the convulsions of war. We could ask ourselves how we ourselves would behave in the storms of war. All the dead, of all the wars, have a right to our compassion and to our memory.

"Those who come bringing death on our soil know that Swiss law prohibits the death penalty. They know that in Switzerland they do not risk being tortured or shot, and that is why they spread assassinations all over Switzerland.

"Now it is a matter of deciding without hatred and without weakness. Mardiros Jangotchian had the choice between two missions: blowing up the Turkish Consulate, and perhaps risking blowing up with it, or killing a Turkish diplomat. He chose the latter objective, the easiest and the least dangerous. It is true that Armenia has suffered from unspeakable misfortunes. You know that this was the first Christian state. You know that General Vartan died in the course of heroic resistance against the Persians in 451; that several centuries later it was Ottoman domination which ended in the massacres of the end of the last century. If it is true that Armenia was invaded, crushed, and cut into pieces, it is nonetheless true that General Antranik scorned those who today take their war onto friendly territory. Jean Marie Carzou, the historian, recognized in this courtroom that Switzerland was a friendly country which had done a great deal for the Armenians.

"Already, during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid, at the time of the 1895 massacres, a petition was signed by 400,000 Swiss to have these massacres in the Middle East brought to an end. It was in Geneva that Armenian orphanages were established; it was in Switzerland that 700,000 Swiss francs were collected for these orphans. They have spoken to you of 1915, they have told you of the horrors of the massacre of the Armenians. But it was still

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Switzerland which sent a relief column to the scene. And when Armenia was buried in 1923 it was Switzerland again which immediately demanded the restoration of the freedom, of the rights, and of the well-being of the Armenian people. This effort was not successful, but it was repeated.

"That is how Switzerland raised its voice in favor of Armenia and of the Armenians! Switzerland does not have to welcome on its soil fanaticism, violence, and crime! It is a matter of applying our law. Laws which decided to punish assassination with imprisonment for life. We must apply the laws justly. He who dared to take life into his own hands must expect that we will dare to apply the law to him. And the law provides that he who intentionally kills will be sentenced to at least 5 years imprisonment, If it is proved that the criminal is particularly perverse or dangerous, he will be sentenced to life imprisonment. The man Mardiros Jamgotchian killed was a peaceful man, who spent the Pentecost holiday with Armenian friends! A Turk with Armenians!

"This was a premeditated act. Premeditation was already there in these camps where they teach people to kill. They teach premeditation of crime, they teach waiting. Jamgotchian has been prepared for a long time. He prowled about the streets; he observed, he made himself ready, he killed. Like a soldier, he says. No! A soldier carries arms openly. He wears a distinctive uniform. The soldier risks his life. It was not a soldier but a peaceful tourist who stepped down from the airplane in Zurich. He spoke of war, but he was the only one to talk of it! That war which was in his pocket in the form of a pistol and a hand grenade. It was in secret that he waved his weapons and that he opened fire. Then he threw away the mask of a tourist! What we saw was not the face of a soldier. It was the hideous face of terrorism!

"Those who make people suffer are executioners. This is not an army but a pack of assassins! They tell us that there was a political motive. Is this an extenuating circumstance? The political motive does not lessen the criminal character of this act. An assassination remains an assassination. And if a Turk, taking advantage of this trial, should assassinate Jamgotchian, this would still be a political crime but we would pursue him and try him also. Are you really going to say that the act by Mardiros Jamgotchian deserves esteem, compels consideration and respect, and is in conformity with the ideas of honor and of dignity? You have seen that Professor Berneim declared him to be normal. Therefore, there is no possible extenuation of the punishment. You know that he suffered from the consequences of the genocide, you know that he was overwhelmed by appalling accounts of these events. You know that even so he was able to live a normal life and you know that he is animated by fanaticism. I hold it against those who inspired in him these deplorable ideas of hatred and of vengeance. For you know that the genocide of 1915 was only a pretext.

"You know that Armenians right here, in Geneva, were held to ransom, you know that there have been all kinds of attacks, you know after all that this is a matter of shaking the West in the interests of I do not know what barbarian empire! I present as proof the list of attacks which have taken place since

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the release of Alec Yenicomchian and of Suzy Mashedjian. At the time many people had the infantile hope that they had persuaded Armenian terrorism to let us alone. An error. Less than 5 months afterwards an attack took place on 9 June, and the culprit was arrested. Immediately attempts at intimidation began again. ASALA declared that it would strike, and I quote: 'All those who belong to the camp of our enemy. As long as its interest are a part of imperialist interests, we will strike Switzerland.' And these threats are being carried out! First it was the Federal Palace, then the Kloten railway station, then the department stores, and on 22 July it was the bomb which exploded in the railway station of Cornavin and which caused the death of one person, a Swiss citizen, 22 years of age and really younger than Jamgotchian here! A young, innocent Swiss citizen! And now there are these threats of other attacks! They say, 'We will strike in the coming weeks!'

"Hagop Hagopian boasted in stating that any sentence of 5, 10, or 15 years' imprisonment for Mardiros Jamgotchian would lead to the same number of years of trouble for Switzerland! That is how they threaten us! The Armenian people also condemn these attacks. They are trying to convince us by terror, and we must resist them. After the threats, after the bombs, they tried yesterday to use the soft touch, to tell us that they formally condemned these attacks.

"They tried to enclose you in the following equation: if you are for the genocide, you are against Mardiros Jamgotchian; if you are against Mardiros Jamgotchian, you are for the genocide. You have the right to think that the genocide was abominable and at the same time you have the right to condemn an assassin who has become like these Turks whom he detests, an instrument of death.

"You will have the courage to say that Jamgothhian is an assassin and that there are no extenuating circumstances." It was 10:35 am when the prosecutor sat down, his face livid.

After a 10-minute pause it was the turn of the defense to speak. Defense attorney Devedjian stood up and said: "Your Honor, Mr Prosecutor, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, I have listened very attentively to the attorney for the Yerguz family and to the prosecutor and I heard two main points from the prosecution.

"The first point is that Mardiros Jamgotchian is only one small wheel in an overall structure, that he is a small wheel in this blind, international structure of terrorism, against which we must defend ourselves to fight against all the rest of it. That is the reason why they would like you to pronounce the verdict of guilty.

"The second point is that the victim is allegedly an anonymous Turk, attacked solely because he was a Turk, and thus a victim of a form of racism, which would make this act bear no relation to the personal experiences and drama of the accused.

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"I will begin with the first main point, that of blind terrorism. The court has noted throughout the trial that Turkey is mobilizing its diplomatic forces throughout the world to hide the least allusion to the Armenian genocide. Even in Switzerland, right here, pressures of this kind exist and are having an effect. I will give you a small but significant example: do you know that the Swissair Company not very long ago published a tourist brochure which was clearly innocent. On the map of Turkey it had dared to print on the eastern side these two words: 'Armenian plateau.' And do you know, Swissair had to give way to Turkish pressure and take out this "erroneous" reference! It was people held in YOUR prisons who spent days and days crossing out the words 'Armenian plateau' on thousands and thousands of copies of the brochure!" He waved a copy of the brochure involved. "Even the word 'Armenian' is prohibited in YOUR country! In Marseille a minister of religion has told you how the Turkish ambassador in France returned to Ankara because of a monument to soldiers who died for France! Just for that!

"Jean Marie Carzou has told you that the Hachette publishing company gave up publishing his book in order to preserve its commercial outlets in Turkey. Attorney Wolf told you that all of Turkey's diplomatic resources were mobilized to remove two and one-half lines from an obscure report of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, and what lines! I am going to read them to you, as they are so inoffensive: "At the same time we wish to underline rather substantial documentation concerning the massacre of the Armenians, considered the first act of genocide in the 20th century." Just for that! And they got it.

"So do you imagine for a single instant that, in view of the action of ASALA which awakened the Armenian people, Turkey has sat on its hands, has done nothing? Do you imagine that the Turkish government could accept that and did accept it? You have heard of psychological warfare, of the pressure which a totalitarian state can exercise. And what totalitarian state do we have facing us today? Can you find a worse example? There are 30,000 political prisoners, an opposition that is muzzled, in prison. Turkey practices torture, and what torture! It is enough to read the report of Amnesty International. And I am not speaking of the people who have been beaten with sticks or have had electric shocks applied to their abdomens or moistened sexual parts. Today, at this moment, at the time I am speaking to you, hundreds of persons are being tortured in Turkey. Yes, those are anonymous Turks.

"In reading the report of Amnesty International I happened on the horrors described by Jean Marie Carzou, 65 years late. These are the same horrors, the same abominations. Among those tortured there were, of course, Armenians like Father Yergatian, and no doubt it touches us still more to know of an Armenian, and a priest furthermore, locked up in a Turkish jail. But we should be as much scandalized over all the other victims of that government. And you are not anonymous, when you serve such a government, when you are a soldier in an army that does such things, such things that humanity condemned at the Nuremberg Tribunal. Do you think that a state which did not hesitate to deploy all its resources to remove two lines from a report, do you think for an instant that it doesn't try to ignore the Armenian claims, that it

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does not try to destroy the potential for sympathy which exists in our favor? Because this current of sympathy exists. During the two days of this trial the proof was there. People sent us many flowers, but they were the flowers you send to a funeral."

Instinctively, we looked at the presiding judge. Although he evidently felt himself under the gaze of many of us, he did not stir. Devedjian continued "What the Turks want to do is to establish a wall of misunderstanding between you and us. False communiques, true communiques, false attacks, infiltration, manipulation--we know them all. Are you really sure that this tragic attack at the Cornavin railway station was the work of the Armenians? These attacks do not serve the Armenian cause at all. You always have to ask yourself: who benefits from this crime? Not us, and the evidence shows it.

"Switzerland has always been more than friendly to the Armenians. The Turks therefore have every reason to build a wall of separation between you and us. You will judge Mardiros for a single act. Just one. Not for this whole climate of events, by which they would like to influence you. I have also been personally threatened with death. Armenians have been attacked in Paris, causing one death. And before the church a bomb was discovered, intended to explode during Mass. "I was threatened because I defend the people, from whom I come. Perhaps something will happen to me. I accept it. Attorney Benoit knows this also." (Let us recall that Attorney Benoit, Mardiros' other lawyer and who had defended Alec Yenicomchian, was the victim of a dramatic attack at the time of the other trial, which nearly cost him his life. Attorney Benoit, still walks with a cane due to the wounds he suffered last year.) "But we do not agree that they can refuse accepting the reality of our dead. We will cry out this reality perhaps with excessive vehemence, equal to what we have undergone. We know that terrorism is blind. Don't strike blindly. Don't strike unjustly. Judge with discernment, I beg of you. Search your minds.

"The second argument of the Yerguz family attorney is that Mehmet Yerguz was allegedly killed simply because he was a Turk. I have already told you that when you are an agent of a state that employs torture, you are not an anonymous Turk. These diplomats are busy making the attitude of their government look normal. These people are engaged in making torture look normal. They do what the Nazi ambassadors did during World War II. In Paris in 1938 a young Jew killed a German diplomat. He said: 'I wanted to perform a symbolic act. Don't betray our message.' There is an historic desire on the part of oppressed peoples to wish to transmit their message as an oppressed people. All the act performed by Mardiros is an act in this tradition. Mehmet Yerguz was a soldier. A soldier who fights a not very pretty battle. He was killed by a soldier who fights for a cause. And if you want to make the balance lean on the side of horror, it will not lean on our side.

"Mr Prosecutor, although you have spoken of the family of Mehmet Yerguz, you have not provided any details about his exact functions within the Turkish Consulate. There is no reason to exclude the possibility that this man was a secret agent. I would like to say to you that of all the attacks made against Turkish diplomats, none has been struck against an anonymous Turk.

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They are always ambassadors, consuls, vice-consuls, first secretaries of embassy. They are always people occupying specific positions. To say to the Armenians that there could be anti-Turkish racism is particularly injurious to us--we who are the first victims of racism.

"To this argument I would oppose the claims of the ASALA commando which on last 24 September occupied the Consulate of Turkey in Paris and which demanded the release from Turkish prisons of four Armenian prisoners and also of four Kurdish political prisoners and four Turks. We know that the solution of the Armenian problem can only emerge from good relations with Turkish and Kurdish democratic forces. And they speak to us of racism, when the commando group of which I speak demanded the release of eight Muslims for four Christians. That is the opposite of wish to attack anonymous Turks. Of course, the fact that he was not an anonymous Turk does not make it possible to smile at the death of a man. If there was laughter yesterday it was out of place.

"You ask the question why these acts take place in Europe. There is a war between the Turkish government and the ASALA. And that war spills over into the West. But in Turkey itself there are numerous attacks in which Armenians have their role. You don't know much about this in Western countries because Turkish censorship covers it up. Do you think that information is freely available in Turkey? Ask the European journalists what they have to do to file reports on Turkey. So you think that when something happens on its soil the Turkish government is not going to claim it or try to cover it up.

"You said that Mardiros Jamgotchian performed his act here in Geneva because he risked nothing. He risked his life. Just as Yeghi Kechichian risked his life. He was shot in Iran in September in an attempted assassination of the Turkish ambassador in Tehran. You ask yourselves why these Armenian actions take place here. But that is because it is here that the Turks are operating. The Armenians fled the genocide. They came to Europe, where they became full-fledged citizens. They wanted to speak of their history, of their genocide, of what they had suffered. The Turks came here to hide this dialogue which might take place between us. Even in exile they continue to pursue us. Even in exile they still continue to persecute us. They strike at us in exile, and we answer them in exile. It is in Switzerland that they act, and I present as proof this well-known Article 30 of the Human Rights Commission report. Therefore, it is in Switzerland that they will be struck. I know, and I am beholden to you for it, that for the last 3 days everyone here, including the press, has spoken of what the Armenian genocide was. But not everything happens like that, on every occasion, and you have largely made clear all of what you were able to understand yesterday.

"The facts remain, those which are being judged today. In the expression of Attorney Bonnant the accusation rests on three pillars of evidence. I accept these bases for debate.

"First of all the witnesses: I have also heard them. I did not get the same impression from them that you did. The first witness whom you mentioned, you

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said that he was 20 meters away from the scene, It's a major achievement, you see, to recognize a face. He said it himself. "I recognized him because he had been presented to me at the police station." Therefore, he recognized him among four men at the office of the investigating judge 2 weeks later because they had previously pointed him out at the police station. That's quite an achievement! You cannot say that your witness' statement provides you with a foundation for your accusation. I even wonder what conclusion you can draw from this kind of testimony!

"The second witness whom you take as an example—you see I am sticking only to the witnesses whom you have chosen—is a woman. She says she was 30 meters from the scene of the action. Judge for yourselves: 30 meters! She says: "I saw his photograph in the press." After that she recognizes him at the office of the investigating judge. That's also quite an achievement! And whom does she recognize? A man who was running, since she saw no one else. She recognized him as a runner, but not as someone firing a gun. She tells you that he is the man who ran. This second witness' testimony, no more than the first, does not establish the guilt of Mardiros Jamgotchian.

"The third witness says: 'I must say that if I had not seen him at the police station and his photograph in the press, I would not have recognized him.' That's a very honest witness. In bringing together these three pieces of testimony what makes it possible for you to say that Mardiros was the gunman?

"And I will speak to you of this fourth witness, a woman, who says she saw on the steps a man who looked at her and who ran away. Where is this man? Where is he, since he is not one of the witnesses?

"From the witnesses whom you mentioned I don't see what you got from them in terms of the accusation of the gunman. All of the witnesses except one say that it is possible that there may have been another man. It's a normal thing that no one paid attention to him, since it was not he who attracted their attention.

"The second pillar of evidence presented by the prosecution rests on the weapons used. The ballistics expert declares that the cartridge shells came from the gun found on him. This is not in question. There was no need for a ballistics expert! Regarding the second part of this expert testimony, I would underline that when Mardiros Jamgotchian was arrested he had two magazines on him, the first one in the gun. The first two cartridge shells came from it. The defense admits it. It is likely that the third cartridge shell also came from it. There were therefore three rounds fired. What do the police say? Since this gun, which was fired three times, should no longer contain more than 11 cartridges, Inspector Sautier said that when they went to question him, it turned out that the gun had 14 cartridges in it! There is something wrong in this. The police should agree among themselves. Some manipulations have taken place! We don't know what happened to the gun.

"So out of the three pillars of evidence examined so far, two of them have already crumbled away.

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"Let's look at the third one. The statements of Mardiros Jangotchian. It's true. They are incoherent. I agree with you. But what conclusion do you draw from this? Incoherence has never constituted proof of guilt!

"For my part I attach no importance to these statements. Because he is a soldier and consequently does not collaborate with other authorities, if only because the Turks could have brought civil proceedings against him and obtained access to the file on this case. They could have used it, obtained information on him and on his organization. As a result he says anything deliberately. For that reason he attaches no importance to the ASALA communique which revealed the presence of the second commando group. Therefore, he is distrustful and does not know if this is really an ASALA communique.

"Now when he takes this point of view, he does not take it to escape his responsibilities, since from the point of view of penal law, it is almost the same thing. He has no particular interest in saying what he said. That will not get him out of jail. If he says this, it is because he wants us to reflect. Don't you think he states the contrary of the truth because he is a young man who, up to the present, had a tendency to justify his actions (didn't he say that he was in influential official of ASALA)? He is young, he is a child, and therefore when he claims to be the gunman, ask yourselves if this is true! From all that you retain the impression that you are swimming in contradictions, to some extent. You have to appreciate the facts in terms of the motive. You will judge the facts in terms of the motive.

"And what is the motive? You cannot avoid it. I don't want you to think, as it has been suggested to you, that I want to deviate from this trial into the Armenian question. You have to look and you have to understand. To understand him. You have to understand this continuation of the persecution which even today--including in your country--continues to pursue us. There is also the enormous weight of the genocide. The day before yesterday [17 December], Your Honor, you were good enough to read the telegram from Talaat Pasha. So that you may understand how powerful this traumatic shock is, I am going to read you several other telegrams from the same Talaat Pasha." Attorney Devedjian reads this overwhelming evidence and then resumes his summarization: "Today, that continues. Today, in 1981, in Turkey, on their identity paper is marked: 'Armenian.' That's not for nothing.

"When you are an Armenian, you cannot hold certain jobs. In 1965 there was this law which prohibited instruction in Armenian. This man Talaat is today, in 1981, a national hero in Turkey! With a mausoleum, with avenues, with schools which bear his name! And we don't have the right to have our dead respected, while their executioner is glorified! What man worthy of the name could accept that? Would you accept that for a single instant without being ready for legitimate revolt?

"I hope that you understand this well. This is not a matter of vengeance but of elementary justice. It would be easy to stop the terrorism. It would

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be enough for a Turkish government for the first time to say" 'It's true. Turkey massacred the Armenians. We say this the more easily since it was not we who did it. We ask your pardon.' But they have never asked our pardon. Turkey has always refused to enter into a dialogue. Even today, in this place, Turkey is not here because it doesn't want to talk to us. Even here, they avoid a dialogue. One word would be enough to stop all that: 'Pardon.' Let them ask pardon; can we agree that they will not ask pardon?"

Defense attorney Devedjian turned toward the Yerguz family attorney: "You said that this is not the tribunal of history. But this audience, even so, is historic. There were 1.5 million Armenians killed. One Armenian killed a Turk. He is being tried, Those are your laws. I agree. But for our 1.5 million victims no one has been tried, and that's why we no longer accept that an Armenian be tried today! Do you perceive the irony of history! Simply in terms of human justice! The first to be judged in this affair was we Armenians! This is an extraordinary thing. I would like to say to my colleague representing the Yerguz family just this: you used unfortunate language yesterday. You called for severity for this child. And to do this you have said exactly the same thing as Talaat Pasha: 'Kill the children because they will be the guilty of tomorrow.' That bowled me over. Literally bowled me over. But I pardon you."

A look at Yerguz family attorney Bonnant showed us that this comment had hit the mark. But defense attorney Devedjian had already resumed his argument: "If you had any doubts on his motives, you have heard the expert witness testify. They have told you that he is a just man. And what did he say? I am sorry, Mr Bonnant, but you cannot draw from this testimony what you said. The expert said that Mardiros Jamgotchian acted by reason of an ideal, that for him defending the Armenian cause was a question of honor. Furthermore, he described to you the very special situation in which Mardiros Jamgotchian has lived all his life, in a system of naked force, where it is the law of the jungle which triumphs, where you kill people like that, for nothing. He has only lived in such an atmosphere, in this universe where only force can protect you. How then could he have assimilated your laws. For you he is like a Martian. You are not going to judge a Martian by the laws of Earth!

"And then look at him. You spoke yesterday of the handsomeness of youth. Nothing has worked for him. He is intelligent, he has a great learning capacity. He has his whole life before him. Even so, you are not going to consider that, at his age, everything is completely lost! Don't forget what the expert said, this just man, on the subject of motives: 'His act is the natural prolongation of the denial of the genocide,' and he added: 'The circumstances as a whole which surround this act involve in the end a certain form of self-esteem.'" You are not going to allege perversity! You cannot do so. After all these elements have been available to you. You conclude that he is being judged solely for his act and not for another. And that this is an act of war: the victim was killed like a soldier of an army that wasn't very noble. You conclude that the facts are confused and that his exact role is quite difficult to determine. You also conclude that Switzerland is not his target. He acted in the defense of persecuted exiles.

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Turkey has provided ample provocation for the attacks of which it is the victim. And when it will be enough to say 'yes' to stop these attacks. When Willy Brandt got down on his knees at Aschwitz, on that day the Jewish people could turn the page. The German prime minister grew in stature by this action, and his people grew with him. And what do we demand of Turkey: at least that it will recognize the horrors of the past in order to be able to look at the future.

"Our relationships with the Turks, although they are complex, have always been relationships as between good neighbors. That is why I say to them: 'Stop the terrorism, ask our pardon. You will save many lives. This is not a threat. The injustice we have undergone is too strong. But if you recognize the genocide, the Armenians will no longer understand why terrorism should continue. Whereas now there is still the feeling of a struggle for justice.' That is why I tell you that Mardiros Jangotchian acted in the service of an ideal. There is the evidence. You are going to judge him. You are going to judge us.

"I ask you for understanding. I ask you for a judgment which is not merely approval of the camp of the executioners. You should not, by means of a severe decision, make them believe that they are right and thus encourage them in crimes 100,000 times more terrible than that which you are judging today. Stay on our side, as you always have: there are so few countries which have been on our side."

The atmosphere was tense. Attorney Devedjian sat down. We looked at the faces of the jury to see if "somehow" they were touched or moved a little bit. Nothing showed under their masks.

The session was suspended between noon and 2:45 pm. It was then the turn of defense attorney Benoit to sum up:

"Your Honor, Mr Prosecutor, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, I first must bow my head in view of the death of a man. I also must bow my head before the death of 1.5 million persons assassinated in 1915 simply because they were Armenians! For me it is an honor to defend a human being who has the face of a child and is so handsome. For me it is an honor to be able to plead for a country which does not exist, for a country which has been erased from the map. For me it an honor to defend this cause which I have made into my own cause!

"When they sought to make you believe that there is no relationship between this act of genocide and this attack, I said no! I think that this people has the fight to regain its country. I think that this people has the right to have militant supporters. One of them is in front of you. What is he accused of? Of having sought to rediscover his fatherland whose children have been massacred. I have seen Mardiros Jangotchian several times in prison. Imagine the solitude of this boy, isolated in his cell for months, not speaking our language. I tried to learn to know him despite the barrier of the interpreters. And what I saw is what Professor Berneim spoke of: a young adult. That means that in our penal code there is a chapter for young adults.

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"But I would like to say first of all that I was disappointed in Attorney Bonnant and in the prosecutor. They have just told you that the act which you are judging is the logical consequence of another trial which was held here at the beginning of last year. They tried to make you believe that too soft a sentence was handed down last December and January. I am the more astonished at this since the judgment rendered was honest and scrupulous.

"To return to this trial, they have mentioned to you a Chinese proverb. There are others, and here is one of them: 'Any despot at all can force his slave to sing hymn to liberty.' At the time of the genocide there were not just dead people but also slaves. There were four generations involved. You have heard the religious minister from Marseille speak with a vehemence tempered by his age. My client has the same kind of vehemence. In the arms which permit a people to be recognized there are the laws and there are the arms. They have told you that you are not the tribunal of history, but neither are you the tribunal of terrorism, because you don't have the right to be such a tribunal. You are the tribunal which is judging a kid, who after years of martyrdom of his people performed the act which his conscience dictated."

"I will read to you an account of the genocide, so that you will understand." Attorney Benoit reads it and then continues: "There is the time of the slaves, there is the time of the massacres, there is the time of those who are prepared to be assimilated, and finally there is the time of those who react to these events! I know that the Armenian people have been abandoned by the American Senate. I know that they have been abandoned by the United Nations. And when they have tried all the channels of diplomacy to see that justice is done, well, they come inevitably to extremist solutions.

"Think of the FLN [Algerian National Liberation Front]. Wasn't it by means of arms that they obtained their liberty? The Armenians don't have the same chance to have their country, since this was taken away from them! You have heard here a Turkish diplomat 32 years old say that he was 32 in order to avoid expressing a view on the Armenian genocide! Well, I am 34 years old and I know about the Jewish and Armenian genocides!

"You have heard the grandmother of Mardiros Jamgotchian tell you that she told her children and grandchildren of the history of the massacres. One thing was not said. One question which she was spared, because on the day before she testified this aged person had a heart attack. The question was this: in your time in Turkey, in your region, isn't it true that any person who spoke Armenian had his tongue cut out? Despite her illness, she came here on behalf of her grandson.

"They have also spoken to you of Lebanon. About this Lebanon where, when you go to school, no one knows if you will come back.

"Minister Karnusian has described to you the blocked future in front of Armenian youth in the Middle East and who, given the precariousness of their situation, have decided to fight to reconquer a country. Their country. You know the cynicism which is shown them.

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"What would we have done if Nazi Germany had invaded our country? Wouldn't there have been among us people willing to take up arms and to kill?"

"It is true that Mardiros Jamgotchian did not experience the genocide. But he has the suffering of it in his heart. And the wound will always bleed. That is why this boy, who needs a country, obeyed an organization. You can ask yourselves why Jamgotchian came here to Geneva. Whom did he come to or who helped him to kill? You have heard Attorney Devedjian tell you that Mardiros Jamgotchian came to suppress an enemy agent. Evidently, it was not just to kill anyone at all. He had a photograph of this personage who was a member of the Turkish police. Therefore, it was someone who was a part, as a representative of the Turkish state, of the effort to deny the existence of the genocide which led to this extremity and to this act. Mehmet Yerguz was the representative of a state which annihilated his race and which continues the repression of his people.

"You have heard the numerous examples of sabotage of discussion of the Armenian question, and you have seen the unpardonable example of the man who came to say to you: 'I am 32 years old.' How could he dare to say to you: 'I am 32 years old, and that doesn't concern me.' You know Mardiros' personality. You know that he was raised in a refugee camp. You know that he spent more than 18 months in a training camp where he received training in sports and military subjects and where he took history courses.

"This boy was ready to die for the cause of his people. He is also a boy who lives for this cause, who lives quite simply to make one of the greatest genocides which has ever existed in our time fully recognized. Yes, he was absolutely convinced of what he had to do. It is true that I have attacked Professor Berneim to some extent. For an answer which he gave me, saying I think, I am sure that Article 11 of the Penal Code is applicable to Mardiros Jamgotchian.

"It is for you to decide whether, after all the suffering which his people has undergone, he is capable or not of understanding himself in terms of his act. I say: 'No.' I tell you that if we had been exterminated in the same way, we would have reacted as he did. He is a kid who acted like a soldier in the service of his cause. Idealism is something which is considered like an extenuating circumstance in Swiss law. My client arrived here obedient to his orders. They told him: 'Go and kill.' It was the Yerguz family lawyer who said that. Mardiros arrived here in a different world, in a different balance of forces. His world was falsified at its very base by those who have been accused here during these 3 days, in this courtroom, because they refused to recognize the existence of the genocide of 1915.

"He is filled with the great valor of the struggle of his people. Mardiros, whatever his age, was not in a position to orient himself, could not orient himself, in terms of his act. Because in this false balance of force there is a lessening of the capacity to understand. There will be at least some such diminution. You have the task of deciding whether you should apply Article 11 or not. Let us come to the core of the problem. What act did he

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commit in Geneva? A man is dead. It is not particularly important whether my client was the gunman or not. Or whether he was the one who took the gun and weapons and fled.

"However, I ask you to look at the personality of my client. Is he really perversel and immoral, as they would like to make you believe, so that you will find him guilty of murder. Mardiros is neither immoral nor amoral. As for perversities, I'm going to tell you what they are." Defense attorney Benoit then read from a text regarding several examples of crimes already judged and extracts from the judicial reports. All concerned monstrous and premeditated crimes. He stopped and looked at the jury gravely: "So do you think that, whatever his participation in this act, he acted without motive, with a mind a vile, as insensitive, with this desire to massacre, such as is described in these trials? Well, I tell you: 'No.'

"Jamgotchian's motives were not immoral and they were not egotistical. This is not the act of a man who had only scorn for human life, but rather a man who gave no thought to his own worth in view of the enormity of the other problem. So, yes, Jamgotchian could be considered dangerous, but not particularly dangerous, as they would like to make you believe. The danger which he presented, therefore, in no way is sufficient to characterize him as an assassin. He is not particularly dangerous, and neither is he particularly perverse. That involves, therefore, homicide, not murder. Whatever you find, you have the obligation to consider what are the circumstances which could extenuate his act. It is true that the political motive is not considered to be an honorable motive.

"But it was Professor Berneim who told you" 'He acted out of idealism.' Now idealism can be taken into consideration in Swiss jurisprudence." Defense attorney Benoit then referred to Orders 64 and 65 of the Swiss Federal Council. Then he said: "The Penal Code does not take into account these possibly extenuating circumstances which are presented to you. But look well at Mardiros Jamgotchian. As that woman said to you, this first defense witness, she said as she looked at this kid: 'That cannot be an assassin!'

"That is why, at the time you raise the question of whether you have before you a man guilty of murder or homicide, I ask you to answer yes to the question as to whether the motive was honorable. Don't forget that you also have to take into account what happened after the act. He had a loaded gun on him. He had a hand grenade on him. He did not fire on those who came to arrest him. And if he didn't do this it is because he had no reason to fire at the Swiss, and he said this to you. He simply came to carry out his mission. And nothing else. Yesterday when reference was made to the martyrdom of the Armenian people, some people wept. And I who have taken up the cause of this people, I who have suffered in my own body, I who nevertheless defend Mardiros--today I give you my tears and I ask you to render a fair verdict." Defense attorney Benoit seemed to be truly moved. He sat down, overcome by emotion.

The faces of the members of the jury remained as impenetrable as ever. The presiding judge addressed Mardiros: "Do you have anything to say before I

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read the certificate of indictment?" Mr Godel translates the question to Mardiros, who stands up and says in a clear and firm voice: "What I did here was not directed against the Swiss people nor against the Turkish people, but rather against the Turkish fascist regime. I would like to explain why Switzerland was chosen for this operation. The cancellation of Paragraph 30 of the report concerning the Armenian genocide took place here at the United Nations, and at the request of Turkey. That is all I have to say."

The presiding judge said: "Members of the jury, do you have a question?" One of the jurors in the first row said: "I would like to know if the accused would be prepared to kill again if the ASALA asked him to do so."

The answer will be very important. We all hope that Mardiros understands how much is involved. Defense attorney Devedjian leans toward Mardiros and whispers to him several times: "Votch esse, votch!" (say no, say no!) Mardiros answers with an assured voice: "No, never."

The presiding judge, in a tense silence, then reads once again the entire indictment. The jury retires to consider the question. We all know that if the jury finds Mardiros guilty of murder he will be automatically sentenced to life imprisonment. A deep tension fills the courtroom. Threatening looks are exchanged between Armenian sympathizers of Mardiros and the correspondents of the Turkish fascist newspapers such as HURRIYET, TERCUMAN, etc. We leave the courtroom and pace nervously up and down the lobby of the Palace of Justice. We find ourselves confronted with this monstrous truth: this is an Armenian soldier who is on the bench of the accused, whereas the Turkish torturers never appeared before any court at all! It is an aberration of history. We also face the fact of these cops and these journalists who are discussing a problem which, as good Swiss, they will never understand.

5:45: "Gentlemen, the court is in session." The presiding judge says: "The trial is resumed. I call on the foreman of the jury." The latter, a man of about 40, stands up and says in a monotonous voice:

"On my honor and my conscience I read the following decisions:

"As to the first question, concerning guilt, the jury answers 'yes'; extenuating circumstances, 'no';

"As to the second question, concerning guilt, the jury answers 'yes'; extenuating circumstances, 'no';

Our throats tighten. We begin to clamp our jaws shut. The foreman of the jury continues:

"As to the subsidiary question, the jury answers 'yes' and
a) as to the question as to whether the accused possesses all his mental faculties, the jury answers 'yes';

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- b) as to the question as to whether he understands the implications of his act, the jury answers 'no'."

The lawyers don't seem to have any reaction. In the crowd attending people ask for explanations, and it is the appearance of things that wins out. The verdict of "guilty" we quite understand: Mardiros has been found guilty of murder. However, the jury found him only "partly responsible" for his acts. This explains that the "trial continues." It is a matter now of determining the length of the sentence.

The prosecutor stands up again, venom on his tongue: "The Turkish state could not participate in this trial. Defense attorney Devedjian reproached the victim, Mehmet Yerguz, with being an agent of the Turkish secret police by saying that in the course of this trial we had never heard a statement of the real functions of the latter at the Consulate. Mehmet Yerguz, after having completed his studies in Istanbul, was in a training position at the ORTF [French Radio-Television Office] and also with the AFP [Agence France Presse]. In 1978 he became a locally engaged secretary of the Consulate of Turkey in Geneva. He was married and had two children aged 5 and 7 years old.

"To throw a kind of troubled suspicion on the victim, it was stated that he was allegedly a member of the Turkish secret service. How could I provide you with proof that he was not, since no state in the world thus identifies the functions of these agents. Just now I was at the Turkish Consulate and I walked along the street where he was shot down. And I said to myself that a member of the secret service would have paid attention and observed whether he was followed. Furthermore, you will recall that Jamgotchian, in the course of the pre-trial examination, never went so far as to legitimize this act of murder by saying that the victim was a member of the secret service. On the contrary, he always said that he had chosen him out of three men because he had a certain "air" about him. Now, Jamgotchian, you say that the murder involved a certain man whose photograph you had received. This is the final trick. In the same way, when you said today that you would not kill again if you were asked to do so, you have stated the contrary up to now!

"Members of the jury, you have followed the summing-up, rejecting the presence of extenuating circumstances, and I congratulate you for it. Thus your decision will not set a precedent. And you are right, for it would be unacceptable to him to avoid his responsibilities by alleging that he obeyed higher orders!

"I demand 20 years imprisonment and 15 years of subsequent expulsion from Switzerland." At the request of the lawyers the session was suspended.

At 6:45 pm defense attorney Benoit stood up to make his final plea: "Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, you have rendered a verdict which allows you to lessen the penalty which you will give to Mardiros Jamgotchian. The prosecutor has demanded this sentence of 20 years imprisonment, or the maximum which the law provides in this case. He has demanded this sentence from you by speaking only of the personality of the victim. Article 63 of the Penal

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Code provides for what should be taken into account: motives, previous criminal record, personality of the accused.

"Regarding his previous criminal record, you know that the accused has never committed a crime. He is unknown to the police records. We have here a first first offender who appears for the first time before a court. That relates to his record.

"Regarding his motives, you know what they were. You did not accept his having acted for an honorable motive. You should take into account the fact that his motives were neither vile, nor abject, nor egotistical, nor appalling. This is because Mardiros Jamgotchian needed to make this gesture. It was for himself, for his people that he did it. Mr Prosecutor, you have spoken of a tardy repentance. Repentance is never too late.

"The third thing which you should take into account is the personality of the accused. They have spoken to you of the situation in Lebanon. You have to live in Lebanon to understand what the personal situations are. Although I have been invited to go to Lebanon, I never dared to go there because I was afraid of dying, because people die there every day! His father told us yesterday that he had raised his son like a soldier, but it is his kid who is there now!" His voice broke at this point.

"I ask you to reduce the sentence to the minimum of what you can do. Since you do not know exactly what age my client has, and since he is 23 years old at the most, since his character development has been gravely affected by the tragedy of his people, and since his system of ethics is different from our system. For me, Mardiros is a boy who is not fully aware of the realities, and you have admitted this by applying Article 11. You have before you a repentant boy for whom I demand the application of Article 10."

The jury retired to deliberate. The presiding judge announced: "The session is hereby suspended."

What now begins for us; for Mardiros, whom they have taken away to be alone in his cell; and for all Armenians present is hours of interminable waiting during which the speculation flows freely.

From 7:30 pm to 10:46 pm. Hours during which we have to keep our tempers. Hours to keep the brakes on. It is necessary to say it because some might be tempted to believe the contrary. Yes, you have to say it. A trial is not a pleasure party. It is difficult, it tests you. Nerves may crack. And we could only admire Mardiros the more since by his calm appearance he gives us all a lesson in courage, and a strong dose of it at that. The lawyers try to reassure us: "The discussions are long. That means that the jury has a troubled conscience. That is good for us."

In the courtroom which no one dares to leave all of the views are in agreement, At times they are optimistic: "He will be given an amnesty," "Even if he is given 6 months, that is already too much." At times they take into account the reality of the Swiss mentality: "If he gets 5 years, that

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will be better even so than 20 years, right?" The predictions of the lawyers turn around 10 years. A stretch of 10 years for Mardiros. Our fists tighten instinctively. We stub out the cigarettes on the floor as if we were stubbing out a Turkish agent or a Swiss cop. Regarding the Swiss cops, all of a sudden there are many more of them around. The reinforcements have arrived. They are burly brutes, the equivalent of our CRS [Republican Security Companies--French riot police], who take their places within the courtroom. And then there it is. For the last time, the same ceremony.

The members of the court come and take their places. Mardiros arrives, a little tense, but on his youthful features the pride of an Armenian prince. A prince who is the heroic symbol of a whole youth engaged in the struggle.

The presiding judge announces: "The session is resumed." Everyone sits down heavily. A whole list of phrases beginning with "considering that," whose content is more or less as follows:

"Considering that Jamgotchian has committed the most serious crime covered by our Penal Code;
"Considering that he premeditated his act for a long time;
"Considering that he shot down the victim in cowardly fashion by firing three bullets into his back;
"Considering that he was only driven to perform this act by a dangerous kind of fanaticism;
"Considering that he can be considered to be a dangerous person;
"Considering that the fanaticism which drives him has been carefully maintained;
"Considering that those who have acted to influence the soul of Jamgotchian have known how to exploit the undeniable suffering of the Armenian people, which every Armenian today carries in his heart;
"Considering that this fanatic, Jamgotchian, has lost his sense of values;
"Considering that it should be concluded that he is the victim of this fanaticism which has made him lose all sense of the real values of the society in which he is developing;
"Considering that it must also be taken into consideration that his fanaticism is exacerbated by the attitude of the Turkish state which is determined not to recognize the fact of the Armenian genocide;
"Considering that in Lebanon he lived in an uncontrollable situation for the past 5 years, where only force prevails;
"Considering that he has an excellent previous record;
"Considering that he has his whole life before him;
"Considering that he could work in the future for the cause of his people through the use of honorable means;
"The court sentences him to 15 years imprisonment and 15 years of subsequent expulsion from Switzerland."

Despite the stupefaction which overcame us, cries of protest spread through the courtroom. People said: "Mardiros, we are with you."

Mr Godel translated for the accused. Mardiros did not wait to learn the sentence. He turned to Attorney Devedjian and without faltering learned

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what the sentence was. He stood up solemnly when Godel, moved by emotion, translated into Armenian for him the phrases beginning with "considering that." Mardiros corrected him when he heard the phrase about "his fanaticism was maintained by those who acted to influence his soul, "he said then, "It's not true. I am not a fanatic. I am convinced of what I am doing."

The presiding judge announced that the defense had 5 days to appeal the verdict and the sentence. The trial was over. The state security police took position so that no one could approach Mardiros, so that no one could shake his hand. Then there was an explosion of revolt, a scuffle. Fingers were raised throughout the entire courtroom in the "V for victory" sign such as Mardiros had shown on entering the courtroom. Before Mardiros was led out of the courtroom, people shouted: "Haiastan, Haiastan! (Armenia, Armenia!) Shouts spread through the room, "The Swiss have hearts of stone!"

A woman's voice was heard, protesting: "We were not terrorists but we will become terrorists!" The members of the jury regarded us in perplexed fashion, appreciating things all of a sudden, at the end of 3 days that it was not an anonymous Armenian who had just been condemned. We left the courtroom, some crying, others shaking their fists at the large number of policemen. The Turkish journalists left by slinking along the walls. Threats and denunciations rained down on them.

An old Armenian from Switzerland, passing in front of the Palace of Justice at the moment when we came out learning of the sentence given to Mardiros, sighed, and with a gesture covering all of Switzerland said: "I pity them for those 15 years." The Armenians in the course of their long history have learned that they could more easily count their enemies than their friends. Switzerland, by condemning Mardiros by means of an unjust and severe judgment, revolting to the Armenian people, has shown in which camp it is located. And far from putting a brake on this so-called "terrorism" which it seeks to control, it will, on the contrary, breath into the Armenian resistance a new force and determination. Facing adversity, faced with the feeling of undergoing an unspeakable injustice, Armenian youth will continue to resist, more resolutely than ever. We sincerely hope that Switzerland will not learn at its own expense that you cannot humiliate a people with impunity.

Send your messages of support to Mardiros Jamgotchian, Prison de Champ Dollon, Thonex 1226, Geneve, Suisse.

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LIBYA

GOVERNMENT ORGAN CRITICIZES WESTERN OBSESSION WITH TERRORISM

Tripoli AL-JAMAHIRIYAH in Arabic 4 Jun 82 pp 10, 11

[Article: "Throw Out Your Arab Agents, But What about Bader Meinhoff and the Brigades?"; also published in Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 7 Jun 82 p 3/

[Text] Introduction

Revolutionary violence is the handmaiden of street action; it is not an alternative to mass movement or a justification for eliminating and emphasizing the absence of it. Revolutionary violence is an expression of a notion which serves the broadest group of the masses and is directed at their enemies; it is aimed at institutions which are hostile to the people. Revolutionary violence does not just consist of acts of violence which occur in isolation from the upbringing of the masses and their acquisition of self confidence. It is always present in every revolutionary movement. Throughout history there has been recourse to violence in periods of transition; decisive transitions take place only through violence, because the enemy does not give up easily and people with privileges do not abandon their privileges by choice — rather, they must be coerced. Revolutionary violence, because of its connection with the masses, is a democratic process, because it is an expression of the interests of the majority. Revolutionary violence therefore is a form of imposition of mass democracy. Violence which occurs as an alternative to the masses and takes place from the premise of a lack of confidence in the people, in accordance with the determination that the masses are unable to act, becomes chaos and terrorism. Therefore, true revolutionary violence does not supersede the movement of the masses; it comes about as a consummation of the unremitting process of inculcating consciousness which the masses' revolutionary and progressive forces carry out. There can be no violence without a historic consciousness of the movement of social development. Therefore the difference between right-wing anarchical terrorist violence and the violence of revolutionary forces in confrontation with the forces of fascist repression is very clear.

One

Toward the end of the sixties, the ideas of Herbert Marcuse, which he expressed in his two books "Love and Civilization" and "Toward a New Revolution," ripened in the minds of the minds of the international student generation in the quest to establish an extremist consciousness by sabotaging the culture of the dominant civilization with its existing economic, political and social institutions, which are founded on a principle of repression justified in the name of positive legitimate repression to confront unbridled impulsiveness.

By 1968, the dialectic of current historical circumstances had brought the thesis of rejection to the point of violence against the forces of repression and a student upheaval broke out in various areas of the world. In the fire of its acts and ideological contradictions, it suddenly proceeded to look for an alternative which would accommodate its rebelliousness, and, because it consisted of nothing but rejection, it succumbed to the illusions of the abstract ideas of Herbert Marcuse and Sartre.

In the Italian city of Trento, Renato Curcio and Margarita Cagiul, two students in the faculty of social sciences, reached agreement over the idea that the world is a time bomb in a little bouquet of flowers in our bed, in a nearby evening, in the time of childhood, and that if this vile world is to be changed that cannot be done through the program of the social sciences, which lack the effectiveness of the trigger of a gun; to the degree that this program establishes an exceptional consciousness which is contrary to its program, it will transform the existing cultural base through the effectiveness of its perseverant nature, which restrains radical change.

Renato and Maragarita came to the conclusion that:

The alternative is to change the world, which means breaking up its foundations through violence.

Thus was born the Organization of the Proletarian Left, which subsequently became transformed into the Red Brigades Organization. This represented the left wing which preaches revolutionary violence as a legitimate means aimed at moving violence into the interior of the capitalist state and provoking its repressive institutions through a counter-repression whose slogan is:

"We say that fraudulent democracy in Europe must be compelled to remove its masks by provoking it at all times to exercise repression under the motive of fear for itself. It is repression alone that will create consciousness in the ranks of the working class." That violence is justified when it is directed against these institutions. It is a reaction. The bomb that blew up the supermarket in West Germany at the hands of the Bader Meinhof gang was a "practical" expression of the rejection of socialist society, and the attack on the Christian Democratic Party at the hands of the Red Brigades was a rejection of the ruling bourgeoisie in Italy.

The bold actions of the Basque organization in Spain were an urgent revolutionary approach whose purpose was national liberation corresponding to that of the Irish Liberation Army. On the other hand, we find right wing violence.

That is terrorism for the sake of terrorism, and is the black side of revolutionary violence. Its style of violence reveals its criminal face, which is in collusion with the capitalist state that uses it as a preventive device against revolutionary organizations.

In Milan in 1969 the terrorist right unleashed the massacre of the Agricultural Bank in which 16 innocent persons were killed. It provoked labor demonstrations like a bomb thrown into an anti-fascist demonstration. Another example is the crimes of the Jewish brigades in France which were aimed against the Jews themselves with the aim of gaining the sympathy of the West and turning the vindictive heritage against the Arabs and the international left wing organizations that were helping the Arab cause. Therefore we must distinguish between left wing violence and right wing violence, and consequently draw up a new formulation for its nature.

These movements arose in geographical and ideological environments which had previously witnessed the emergence of Gramsci and Carrillo who participated to a large extent in the establishment of Eurocommunism, which is based on the ideology of "transformation," as an alternative to revolutionary violence, whereby the reform of existing institutions would take place through what they call "the movement of internal dialectic," that is, the institutions of the bourgeois class, in the form of the state, the church, the media, the police, the family and the school. This, and not destruction or a radical overthrow by means of the impulsive rush toward change, is the focus of "revolutionary action."

Thus these left wing movements by virtue of the circumstances of their birth and growth, constituted the historic antithesis which almost declared the total bankruptcy of the European communist movement, especially after recent years had witnessed the retreat on the part of many European communist parties from their progressive positions, causing them almost to change for the sake of taking political power through general elections and to reduce their relations with the man on the street and their historic forces that is, the workers, because of the secessionist role which extremist materialist and Trotskyist currents continued to play within these parties and successive rifts over many new political and ideological developments, the first of which were the events in Czechoslovakia and the last of which will not be the events in Poland and the increase in undemocratic practices and phenomena in internal organizational relations at various levels within these parties.

These movements, through their reliance on violence as a form and instrument of confrontation with the institutions of capitalist society and its class interests and policies, tried to respond to the critical question that the movement of European and American young people had posed in the middle of the sixties through hippyism. The latter was a manifestation of a reaction to the relations and institutions of bourgeois production, and surrealism and bohemianism came about in reaction to bourgeois culture and arts, pragmatic objective, logical and structural philosophies, neoplatonic morality, patriarchal family relations and sexual feudalism; it stresses "rejection" in its static, nihilist sense as a position regarding the existing state of affairs, declaring its incapacity for destroying the "capitalist institution" which is supported by the power of nuclear electronic armies and settling on having its "no" function as the means for a cultural withdrawal from the era of cybernetics to the era of primitive stone age or jungle universalism. They tried to offer an alternative which would transcend the timidity of the communist elders vis-a-vis "destruction" and the adolescents' failure and fear of nuclear death. They managed to create a broad dialectical movement in the streets and among intellectuals, especially since they did not present themselves as part of a vanguard formula superimposed from above: they started with a practical assault, not with intellectual abstractions or theoretical analysis.

Thus the Red Brigades, Bader Meinhof and even the Red Army in Japan are not an ideological or historical extension of the Nazism of Hitler or the fascism of Mussolini; rather, they are, in spite of the conspiracy of silence and the doubts, allegations and belittlement being woven about them, the offspring of their circumstances and conditions, the offspring of oppression, exploitation and clerical terrorism. What can be said about them can be said about the Corsica Liberation Army, the Irish Republican Army and the Basques. These movements are not students in the school of Carlos, as bourgeois propaganda tries to portray them.

Here is where the question arises:

Why are we taking a position of hostility toward these movements?

Why are we, the people of the jamahiriya, in agreement with the European bourgeoisie against this leftist current, with its radical and revolutionary detachments?

Two

The European bourgeoisie, Germany and France.

The bourgeoisie of Italy and the capitalism of Britain. These all embrace the capitalism of Britain. These all embrace the Arab right, which is fleeing from revolution.

The hostile Syrian right.

The hostile Algerian right.

The hostile right in Aden.

Then the hostile Libyan right.

So how could it be logical and proper for us ourselves to refuse to recognize the leftwing youth movement in Europe, whose intense contradictions with capitalist interests (European and American) are bursting forth every day along with the explosions in their economic institutions, military bases and political symbols, while the European bourgeoisies embrace the Arab right's publications, its gatherings, its schemes, and its organizations, which are seeking to strike out at the masses' achievements and return to dominate them and steal their sweat and daily bread. How could a plan be presented to Arab nationalist regimes and progressive forces in this great nation for befriending the bourgeois European regimes that are in political alliance with the Arab right and are looking after its interests through their countries and institutions?

How can we make friends with Italy, which embraces the Libyan bourgeoisie (Arabs and Jews) who have fled from the socialism of the toiling masses? Or Britain, which embraces the royalist ministers who are trying to flash the constitution of their great lord in the face of the authorities of the struggling masses? Or Germany, where, in Bonn and Cologne, there are centers for the gatherings and activities of Moslem Brothers for their training in terrorist activities and where Sa'id Ramadan resides and is directing his hostile activity against the masses of Syria and Aden, or France where the Algerian right is present?

How can this dual relationship and dual vision continue, where their capitals function as sites for the residence of Bakkush, Hawwas, and Bu Hajar, the issuance of AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, SAWT LIBYA and AL-DA'WAH, the declaration of their statements, and the holding of their press conferences and are also sites of our embassies and our people's offices and the places where economic contracts are signed with their companies and organizations, while our capitals have sites of their governments' embassies and the activity of their companies and organizations, but are not sites of the offices and activities of the Red Brigade, Bader Meinhoff, Basque, Corsican and Irish Revolutionary Army movements, which are directed against their vital interests?

Three

Any objective reading of the newspapers AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR and AL-JAMAHIRIYAH will enable any impartial reader to discover that these papers conduct the broadest critical activities, and the door is open to everyone [to do so], and the examples are many:

Attacks against the secretaries because of the existence of some erroneous practices.

Criticism of the conduct of the General People's Committee.

The exposure and unmasking of and attacks against the new class, with all its civilian and military groups.

The demand that the security agencies be dissolved and criticism of their conduct.

This is a sample of the practices which we, so far as we know, do not believe could be carried out with this scope and boldness in any other country.

The bourgeois papers prohibit attacks on the foundations of the bourgeois system, and the party papers do not engage in criticism of their parties.

However, the revolutionary and mass papers do attack even the behavior of the revolutionary committees from which these papers are issued, if they renege on their tasks.

In addition to this freedom of expression, there is the basic people's conference, where the masses, through the popular authorities, exercise the power to make decisions regarding all the nation's assets. Through their conferences, the masses have the power to impose their will and their decisions, because the government is the government of the masses. In spite of the short duration of the experiment, people who honestly follow up on these conferences through which the people exercise power directly will observe the growth of political consciousness in dealing with the most delicate, most serious issues which poor people were not even permitted to whisper about, or get close to, because these delicate issues were the special concern of the few and the elite, and the general public and the rabble could not approach them!

The Revolutionary Command Council's relinquishment of power, and its taking a seat within the ranks of the opposition, has given tremendous opportunities for the broader and deeper pursuit of criticism, free from touchiness, fear, terror or surveillance.

Indeed, the opposite has happened, and this is for the historical record: there has been an incitement by the revolutionary command of the pursuit of criticism on the broadest scale, and any reader or revolutionary committee member can express his point of view most freely.

Opposition is carried out domestically, so the pursuit of opposition abroad objectively becomes democratically unjustified. Through a review of the names of the fugitives and their class composition we can understand the other justifications which prompt them to flee. This flight has no relationship to the interests of the masses. The masses are able to protect their own interests through the popular committees and the possession of power, wealth and weapons, through an awareness of revolutionary power and their historic leadership, and through their revolutionary media.

It is their bourgeois interests that the revolution has struck at, on behalf of the masses, ridding society of all forms of oppression and exploitation. It is these interests which have moved them, even if they have concealed them with claims of nationalism and concern for the interests of the masses.

Thus it is natural that Western Europe should embrace them, not from the political standpoint but by considering them good sons of the mother who nursed them and nurtured them in the days of the occupation.

It is the local bourgeoisie which has embraced the legitimacy of the European bourgeoisie, which colonized the nation.

When the revolution plowed the land of the nation over so that ours could become a new society without classes, the land was no longer fit for this strange plant, after it had refused to be assimilated and acclimatized and to renew its life on this new land through a new understanding and new values. The local enemy preferred life in the embrace of its nurse. It will be a short life; the enemy belongs to classes that have collapsed historically, have collapsed socially, and have collapsed morally, because they are swimming against the current of life. The democracy which this force is claiming to defend is the democracy of its dead class, not the democracy of the living masses. Some day it will find itself as Ahmad al-Qaramanli, the former pasha of Tripoli, found himself — alone, repudiated and despised even by those who had encouraged him to commit treason.

In addition, the pursuit of democracy in the third world is a harsh combative process, a daily struggle against the ties of ages steeped in backwardness and oppression. It is not just a promenade along the water in the publications of the TIMES or a statement made in Hyde Park. It is daily suffering, a struggle of words with bullets and pens that have spearheads pointed at everything that is vile and corrupt. It can be carried out only through true affiliation with the people, by having people cast themselves into the sea of the revolution, in order to wash off the rot of the past and the selfishness of the petty bourgeoisie and its small, trival sentiments and row against the current of obsolescence, tribalism, the bourgeoisie, inherited repressive agencies, backward values and a backward culture, casting their poisons into the river in order to offer salvation of vision and a proper approach. The democratic struggle in the third world needs a new type of intellectual, who can throw himself into the embrace of the masses, and go to them in their huts, their factories and their farms, where the sun shines with the warmth of life and true affiliation; there also will you find generosity and innovation, without alienation.

Four

Finally: If Europe wants and is anxious to have any relationship — other than one of agents and espionage, of course, with the Libyan opposition, for instance, as part of the Arab opposition — we, the revolutionary committees, the political and organizational combative forces of the masses, declare our readiness to deal with it through our progressive ideological cultural vision, the platform of our action, the domestic exercise of revolutionary practices.

Will Europe be receptive to us?

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ITALY

BROGI REVEALS BR CONNECTIONS WITH GERMAN, IRISH TERRORISTS

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 26 May 82 p 8

[Article by Franco Coppola]

[Text] Disquieting ties with international terrorism are revealed at the Moro trial. Brogi, arms supplier to the RB [Red Brigades], speaks: "We were connected with the RAF [Red Army Faction]. In prison I saw three repentant terrorists massacred. Gallinari's "lessons" and the first experiences of the armed struggle. As an Alitalia steward he brought in from abroad grenade launchers, tear-gas sprays, launching charges for model aircraft, and above all sabotage manuals used by the US Navy and Army.

Rome--Dig and dig, and the international connections of the Red Brigades come out, more disquieting than ever. Above all, with the German RAF. Carlo Brogi, 29 years old, who very recently repented, was an Alitalia steward and as such a valuable element for the terrorist organization. He was used as an arms courier between Rome and New York and speaks at length about it. Brogi knows nothing about the Moro operation nor of any other fatal attacks; but thanks to his familiarity with English, he knows about the relations linking the RB with the RAF, above all in the field of mutual assistance in the arms traffic.

Carlo Brogi is accused of participating in an armed band and of three crimes (the Tartaglione murder, and the ambushes of the Galloni escort and a mobile police squad) in which he probably had no part. He was interrogated three times between February 1980 and July 1981 in the judicial investigation, and he spoke more than anything else about his politico-terrorist experience in the ranks of the "Communist Combatant Units" prior to his entry into the Red Brigades, affirming in connection with his activities in the RB, that, "The accusations are quite unfounded."

Three Useless Murders

First of all, then, Brogi explains how he suddenly decided to change from a mere person who had broken away from the organization into someone who had defected with all its consequences. "After 26 months in prison I decided

to collaborate. On the other hand, my breaking away from the organization goes back to my first day of imprisonment. But even before that, during the 6 and 1/2 months of being a fugitive from justice, I had already formed such an intention, so much so that at a certain point I gave myself up at the Franco-Italian border, presenting myself with my papers."

"I have been in prisons all over Italy. In 4 months I saw three barbarous and pointless murders at Cuneo. The victims were Roberto Gatti, a certain Arnone, and Giorgio Soldati, all believed to be informers. Then, here, I heard that the guerrilla-party is discussing the need to massacre all those who have abandoned the armed struggle. I only intended to dissociate myself; but after all I saw and heard I decided to collaborate."

Then, Brogi speaks of his political experiences. From 1968 until at least 1976 he was with groups of the extraparliamentary Left, but almost always as a lone wolf; then he joined the "Communist Combattant Units," carrying out the wounding of Vittorio Morgera, the director of the Poligraphic; the robbery of the current minister, de Giesi; and a kidnapping that took place in Milan. Brogi was reading Marx, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Toni Negri, and was working as a seasonal worker at Alitalia. First, in the summer of 1977; then, from 15 June to 31 October 1978. The second period is important in Brogi's life because it is precisely in June of 1978 that his entry into the RB is dated, probably--even if it costs him something to admit it--because of his work as a steward. He says it was an "emotional choice, determined by the desire for communism, for equality, for the creation of beautiful things," a choice that "reflected by effusiveness, my wish to do big things; not for having read Lenin."

Brogi enters the RB along with Norma Andriani, Arnaldo May, Roberta Cappelli, and Annunciata Francola. There were the first meetings with the customary Bruno Seghetti, that tireless recruiter in Rome; and the examination was easily passed, although the only credentials consisted of a failed attack on the Comiliter [Regional Territorial Military Command], computer at Piazza Zama. On that occasion, Brogi, May, and others were disguised as Carabinieri and succeeded in penetrating into the premises of the army and in placing explosive charges, but nothing happened.

It is now June 1978. Brogi, Andriani, and May are accepted into the RB. Brogi explains: "All that the organization asked for was a pure past of a proletarian communist. A spotless past. Gallinari said to me: 'Any comrade, even Toni Negri, himself, who asked to enter the RB would be accepted; however he would have to follow the usual course, starting at the bottom.'" Brogi's indoctrination was the work of Gallinari himself. They met two or three times before the new recruit was given an assignment from Valerio Morucci. The latter showed Brogi publications with pictures showing parts of weapons. In the United States Brogi was to obtain breech blocks, gun clips, launching charges for model aircraft, grenade launchers, tear gas sprays and, then, so many books, almost all of them sabotage manuals used by the navy and the U.S. Army. In about 10 trips Brogi succeeded in bringing into Italy everything that the organization needed. It cost \$4,000 in all, about 4 million lire, including Brogi's expenses.

The second assignment dates from the end of October 1978. Morucci introduced Brogi to Mario Moretti. The latter gave him an appointment for 1 November in Paris, 3 pm, Cafe de la Paix, Place de l'Opera. Morucci entrusted him with three false passports, two with photographs of women, one with a photo of a man. The veil over international relations was beginning to be torn aside. In Paris Brogi found Moretti and a few hours later, Anna Laura Braghetti also. These two confided to him that these passports were for three comrades of the RAF, a German organization that was breaking up, having been decimated by the German police. There had been contacts with the RAF at the RB's very beginning. Now they had again formed ties.

And here are Moretti's and Braghetti's disclosures about the RB's international relations. Contacts had just been resumed for only a very little while. There had been a couple of meetings during which Moretti had put a few million into the RAF leaders' pockets, to help that organization, which had been "destroyed by the German police." Twenty persons remained in the RAF, which was divided into two squadrons. Brogi said, "My role was to have been to travel continually to maintain contact with the other European organizations, the RAF, but also the IRA and the ETA, that is, the ones that had a national character and had deep roots in the local proletariat."

Thrown Out of the Organization

The RAF then suggested that the RB maintain strategic common deposits of arms in Italy. Moretti responded by asking for arms, in particular a hundred or so submachine guns which could be had for the paltry price of 300,000 lire each. Moretti said that the money paid represented a contribution to demonstrate RB's availability. "And the same for the false passports, too. They asked me to go to Hamburg to bring funds, and to Tel Aviv to deliver explosives. But I said no. And I did well, because on my return to Italy I found that Alitalia had not renewed my contract."

Brogi stayed for 2 weeks in Paris with Braghetti and with a Roman girl he had known for some time. On orders from Moretti, Braghetti looked for and found a house, and rented it in Brogi's name. On return to Italy, Brogi was to have brought back with him an "AK-47," which had been used for killing Schleyer's body guards. Moretti wanted that weapon badly, but Brogi could not do so. "Then, since there was a network of French elements providing a hinterland for the ETA and logistical support for the RAF, these were the ones who saw to the clandestine transfer of arms into Italy, which were delivered to the Mara Cagol column.

Back in Italy, Brogi was practically thrown out of the RB. He met Gallinari, who made an ugly scene, blaming him for having been fired from Alitalia, for having had a good time in Paris, for having understood nothing about the RB. He was demoted from "irregular" to "contact." And to think that with Braghetti only a few hours earlier, equipped with a false document made out to "Ugo Pecchioli," Brogi had rented a post office box at Montesacro in his name; it was to have served for RAF contacts. "They also blamed me for my relations with the Roman girl."

At the opening of the hearing, Salvatore Ricciardi, on behalf of the Moretti group, and Franco Bonisoli, on behalf of the "guerrilla-party," had attempted to commemorate Umberto Calabiani, "the comrade fallen in combat," but the judge prevented them from doing so. Today, Brogi is again on stage.

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ITALY

REPORT ON TERRORISM

Milan RAPPORTO SUL TERRORISMO: In Italian 1981 pp 49-100

[Text] RAPPORTO SUL TERRORISMO: The massacres, ambushes, kidnappings, names of crime organizations, 1969-1980

Preface by Ugo Pecchioli

With the collaboration of Giulio Andreotti, Franco Ferrarotti, Nicola Tranfaglia

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Chapter I: The Dead

Comprehensive data

In the 12 years studied, the [terrorist] crimes and acts of violence in Italy totalled 12,690: 7,866 against inanimate targets, 4,290 cases of violence, 362 dead and 182 injured in ambushes (Table 1).

The most startling figure concerns the number of dead--362 persons, or an average of 31 every year.

Table 2 lists the number of dead year by year, classified according to their professions or occupations and grouped under 17 categories including the forces of public order; security and other guards, such as the urban police; magistrates; journalists; politicians; corporation directors; laborers, employees and other workers; students; university professors, elementary and high school teachers; doctors and other professionals; private persons; housewives and domestics; section chiefs in industrial plants; retired persons; businessmen, shopkeepers and artisans; agriculturists and peasants; and a category including terrorists and other deceased persons whose professions or occupations are unknown.

The highest number of deaths occurred in 1980: 135 killed, 24 in ambush, 85 in the massacre of the Bologna railroad station, and 26 in other circumstances.

The lowest number of deaths occurred in 1971: six, including one worker, one policeman, one mason, one farm laborer, one bartender and one university student.

Between 1975 and 1980, 270 persons were murdered, or 74.60 percent of the total: 115 by terrorists of the right, 110 by terrorists of the left, 29 in gun battles with the police, 12 in other circumstances and four in terrorist actions committed by unknown individuals.

Of the 362 dead, 150 were victims of these massacres: Piazza Fontana, the Italicus express, the station in Bologna, and other such events; 87 were killed in ambush; 125 died in other circumstances involving subversive crimes and acts of violence.

As far as it has been possible to ascertain, the 362 dead are listed according to the circumstances reported in Table 3.

The massacres

In the period studied, most of the victims died in 11 massacres: 150, or 41.45 percent of the total, while the wounded numbered 551. These massacres occurred in Milan (three), Gioia Tauro, Gorizia and Bologna (two), Rome, Frosinone and Genoa, as indicated in Table 4.

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The first massacre was committed by Ordine nuovo terrorists against the Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura on Piazza Fontana, Milan. At 4:30 pm on 12 December 1969, a potent bomb exploded under a table in the center of the bank, which was crowded with clients; 17 persons died and 88 sustained injuries. Ten years later, on 23 February 1979, the Catanzaro tribunal sentenced the perpetrators to life imprisonment--the neofascists Franco Freda, Giovanni Ventura and SID agent Guido Giannettini, subsequently acquitted in their appeal trial (20 March 1981) for lack of sufficient proof.

The following year, on 22 July 1970, in Gioia Tauro, about 60 kilometers from Reggio Calabria, the second massacre took place. At 5:10 pm another fascist bomb exploded at the rail station on the switching tracks, derailing the Sun express train and killing six passengers, five women and one man, and wounding 50 others.

On 31 May 1972, three carabinieri lost their lives at Peteano, near Gorizia, victims of a dynamite blast planted by the Ordine nuovo: Antonio Ferraro, brigadier, and Donato Poveromo and Franco Dongiovanni, both of the militia. An anonymous telephone call alerted the carabinieri to a 500 (Fiat) abandoned at Peteano with dynamite aboard. The carabinieri rushed to the scene were blown to pieces by the bomb. Aside from the three dead, another two, Lieutenant Francesco Spaziale and Brigadier Giuseppe Zazzaro, were seriously wounded. In September 1980, Giorgio Almirante, national secretary of the MSI-DN, was incriminated for helping the principal defendant, Carlo Ciccuttini, of Friuli, an Ordine nuovo neofascist, to flee.

On 17 May 1973, Giancarlo Bertoli perpetrated another massacre in Milan, this time on the anniversary marking the assassination of Commissioner Luigi Calabresi, whose memory was being honored in a ceremony held at police headquarters. At the conclusion of the ceremony, as many persons were leaving the building on the Via Fatebenefratelli, Bertoli hurled a hand bomb in their midst, killing four persons: a woman, Gabriella Bortolon, 23, manager of the Diana boutique in Busto Arsizio, and three police agents, Giuseppe Panzin, Felice Bertolazzi and Federico Massarin.

The fifth massacre occurred in Brescia on 28 May 1974 during a unitarian demonstration against fascist violence and terrorism. The explosion of a bomb left in a trash receptacle under a colonnade by an Ordine nuovo terrorist, killed eight persons: five teachers, three of them women, and three retired workers. There were 94 wounded.

Sixth massacre: on 4 August 1974 at the mouth of the San Benedetto Val di Sambro rail tunnel near Bologna, a charge of dynamite wrecked the Italicus express--another Ordine nuovo crime--provoking the death of 12 passengers; eight men and four women, and wounding 105 others.

Seventh massacre: on the steep Salita Santa Brigida, a street in Genoa, on 8 June 1976 a BR commando murdered Francesco Coco, attorney general of the Republic for Genoa, and two men of his escort, carabinieri brigadier Giovanni Saponara and corporal Antioco Dejana.

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Eighth massacre: 16 March 1978, on the Via Fani in Rome, a BR commando kidnaped Aldo Moro, president of the Christian Democratic party, and killed five men of his retinue: carabinieri marshal Oreste Leonardi, corporal Domenico Ricci, Francesco Zizzi, police force brigadier, and police agents Raffaele Iozzino and Giulio Rivera.

Ninth massacre: 8 November 1978 in the community of Patrica, a few kilometers from Frosinone. A commando of the Formazioni combattenti comuniste (Formations of Communist Combatants) killed chief attorney of the Republic for Frosinone and two of his aides: driver Luciano Rossi and police agent Giuseppe Pagliei. One of the terrorists, Roberto Capone, 24, geometrist, was wounded in the cross-fire. Capone managed to escape all the same with the members of his commando. He was then found dead on the back seat of a car driven by the fugitives but abandoned about a kilometer from the scene of the ambush; before leaving him behind, the terrorists shot him several times in the neck to prevent him from falling alive into the hands of the police.

The 10th massacre occurred on the Via Schievano in Milan on 8 January 1980, when a BR commando killed three agents scouting the Naviglio Grande area: police brigadier Rocco Santoro, corporal Antonio Cestari and the agent Michele Tatulli.

The worst massacre was the last, which occurred in Bologna's railroad station on 2 August 1980, a crime committed by terrorists of the right. At 10:25 am, a powerful bomb set in the second class waiting room demolished a wing of the station and caused the death of 85 persons in addition to 200 wounded. Among the dead were 41 men, 38 women, three girls (3, 7 and 8 years old), two boys and one older girl.

For a breakdown of the victims, see Table 5.

Table 6 lists the names of the magistrates and police force members killed in the massacres of Peteano, the police headquarters in Milan, Salita Santa Brigida in Genoa, Via Fani in Rome, Patrica near Frosinone, and the Via Schievano in Milan.

Of the 362 persons killed in acts of terrorism, 297 were civilians and 65 members of the police forces. Table 7 reports the number of dead year by year, classified as civilians or police force members.

The Forces of Public Order

During the period under study, 65 members of the state's police bodies were killed; of these, 28 belonged to the Public Security, 22 to the carabinieri, and five were agents of the custodian corps.

Of the 38 Public Security dead, six were marshals, five brigadiers, one deputy brigadier, two corporals, 21 patrolmen, three deputy questors and two commissioners. Of the same 38, 16 died in ambush, one in other circumstances, seven during subversive violence, three in gun fights with terrorists, 10 in massacres--three in the Via Fatebenefratelli, Milan, episode, three in the Via Fani, Rome episode, three in the Via Schievano, Milan, episode, and one in Patrica (Frosinone).

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The three fallen deputy questors are: Francesco Cusano, 51, killed in ambush on 1 September 1976 in Biella (Vercelli) by a BR terrorist during a perquisition in a little-frequented district near the park; Vittorio Padovani, 47, killed in a gun fight with Walter Alasia when the police broke into the terrorist's home on Via Leonardi 121 in Sesto San Giovanni (Milan); in the same armed battle, on 15 December 1976, Marshal Serfio Bazzega, 32, and Alasia himself died; and Alfredo Albanese, director of DIGOS in Mestre, assassinated on his way to work with seven pistol shots fired by a BR commando.

One of the two commissioners murdered was Luigi Calabresi, chief commissioner at police headquarters in Milan; he was the first victim of a terrorist ambush. This occurred on 17 May 1972 when, struck in the back by a pistol shot from an unknown terrorist, he was finished by a shot in the back of his head. He was a prominent figure in the investigation into the Piazza Fontana massacre and the case of two anarchists, Pietro Valpreda and Giuseppe Pinelli, who died on 15 December 1969 when, under mysterious circumstances, he plunged to his death from the fourth floor of police headquarters in Milan.

The other commissioner was the chief of police headquarter's antiterrorist unit in Genoa; this was Antonio Esposito, assassinated on 21 June 1978 by the BR, who mowed him down in a bus when he was on his way to work.

The 22 carabinieri victims included one general; two lieutenant colonels; three marshals; six brigadiers; one deputy brigadier; six patrolmen; and three carabinieri. Of these, six were killed in ambush, five in encounters with terrorists, one during subversive violence, three in other circumstances related to terrorism, and seven in massacres (three at Petegno, two on Via Fani in Rome, two in Genoa).

Carabinieri General Enrico Galvaligi, 61, head of the Office for the Coordination of Prisons, was the last member of the police force to be assassinated by the BR during the period under study. This mortal ambush occurred in Rome at 7:15 pm on 31 December 1980, while he and his wife were returning to their home at Via Segato 13, in the Ardeatino quarter. His assailants were two terrorist youths disguised as messengers.

The two lieutenant colonels killed in ambush were: Antonio Varisco, 58, assassinated in Rome on 13 July 1979 by a BR commando shortly after 8:30 am on the Lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia; and Emanuele Tuttobene, killed with his driver Antonio Casu on 25 January 1980 by a Prima linea commando on the Via Riboli, Genoa, as he was returning home from work.

Apart from Oreste Leonardi, killed in the Via Fani massacre, the other two carabinieri marshals victimized by terrorists were: Felice Maritano, who lost his life in a gun fight with the BR Roberto Ognibene on 15 October 1974 during an antiterrorist operation at Robbiano de Mediglia (Milan); and Vittorio Battaglin, 44, assassinated 21 November 1979 by the BR while he was taking a coffee in the Da Nino bar in Sampierdarena (Genoa); Mario Tusa, 26, of the carabinieri, was killed with him.

Of the five murdered agents of the custodian corps, four died in ambush and one, Prisco Palumbo, was fatally wounded on 14 December 1976 in Rome during a gun fight with the NAP terrorist Martino Zicchitella, who also died in the fray.

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The BR was responsible for three of the four deaths by ambush in 1978; the first occurred on 11 April in Turin with the death of Lorenzo Cotugno, agent; the second on 20 April in Milan with the murder of marshal Francesco De Caraldo; the third, 6 June in Udine, when marshal Antonio Santoro died. The fourth homicide was committed by Prima linea on 19 January 1979 in Turin with the assassination of custodian agent Giuseppe Lorusso.

Traffic police Brigadier Lino Ghedini, 45, was assassinated on 19 February 1977 in Milan by a BR terrorist during a patrol along the road between Milan and Rho.

The victims of ambush

In the period under study 87 persons, all men, died in ambush. Of these, 28 belonged to the different branches of the police force (17 of the Public Security, seven carabinieri, four custodian agents); nine were magistrates; two journalists; three politicians; eight corporation directors; eight laborers, employees and other workers; one university professor; 13 students; three professionals; one a factory section chief; seven businessmen, ambulant vendors and shopkeepers; one a security guard; one a private detective; and two drug peddlers.

Table 8 shows the number of persons killed in ambush year by year and the profession or occupation of each.

The lowest number of ambushed victims (five) is recorded for the years between 1969 and 1974, the highest number (82) between 1975 and 1980.

Of these 82 attacks, 77 were directed against single individuals and five against two persons. Of the 87 killed, 44 were assassinated by the BR, 14 by Prima linea, eight by the Nuclei armati rivoluzionari (Armed Revolutionary Nuclei-NAR), three by unidentified neofascist commandos, and 18 by other terrorist units.

The first double assassination was committed on 17 June 1974 in Padua by a BR commando in an attack on the MSI provincial office on the Via Zabarella, killing Giuseppe Mazzola, 60, ex-carabiniere employed by the MSI in Padua, and Graziano Girolucchi, 30, salesman for health products. This twin crime was not only the first of many ambushes recorded in the period under study, but also the first of many murders committed by the BR.

The other double homicides by ambush occurred in the following order:

In Rome on 7 January 1978, a commando of seven terrorists of the Nuclei armati di contropotere territoriale (Armed Nuclei of Territorial Counterpower) killed two young MSI students, Franco Bigonzetti, 20, and Francesco Ciavata, 19, outside the MSI-DN quarters on the Via Acca Larentia in the Tuscolando quarter.

In Turin on 15 December 1978 at 5:40 am, two policemen, Salvatore Lanza and Salvatore Porceddu, both 20, were machinegunned by several BR terrorists. The two were sitting in a Fiat 850 police car stationed at the corner of the Via Piercarlo Boggio and the Corso Vittorio Emanuele in front of the New Prison.

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In Genoa on 21 November 1979, a BR commando killed carabinieri marshal Vittorio Battaglin, 44, and militiaman Mario Tusa, 26, while they were having a coffee in the Da Nino bar on the Via Giovan Battista Monti in Sampierdarena.

On 26 January 1980 in Genoa, shortly before 1:30 pm, a terrorist commando traveling in a Giulia fired a number of shots against a carabinieri "gazelle" vehicle on the Via Riboli in the Albaro quarter. In the ambush, carabinieri lieutenant colonel Emanuele Tuttobene and his driver, the soldier Antonio Casu, were slain.

Army lieutenant colonel Luigi Ramundo was seriously wounded. The crime was claimed by Prima linea, later by the BR in a leaflet found in a trash receptacle near the maritime station (Table 9).

The magistrates

Nine magistrates were assassinated by ambush in addition to those who died in massacres two. Of the nine, five were victims of the BR (two in 1978, three in 1980); two of Prima linea (one in 1979 and one in 1980); one of Ordine nero in 1976; and one of the NAR in 1980. Most of these assassinations by ambush were recorded in 1980 with five homicides. Another two were committed in 1978 and one each in 1976 and 1980.

On 10 July 1976, one month after the murder of Coco, an Ordine nuovo commando in Rome killed deputy attorney general of the Republic Vittorio Occorsio. This was the first fatal ambush of 15 committed by terrorist organizations of the right during the period under study.

The other magistrates were slain in 1978: on 14 February in Rome, the BR killed Ricardo Palma, of the court of cassation; on 10 October, again in Rome, the BR fatally ambushed cassation magistrate Gerolamo Tartaglione, director general for penal affairs in the Ministry of Grace and Justice. On 29 January of the following year in Milan, a Prima linea terrorist commando assassinated Judge Emilio Alessandrini.

In Rome on 12 February 1980, a BR commando at the University of Rome killed Prof Vittorio Bachelet, vice president of the Superior Council of the Magistracy and professor of administrative law in the university's school of political science.

This crime was followed by another three, committed within three days: on 16 March the BR killed attorney of the Republic Nicola Giacumbi in Salerno; on 18 March in Rome, the BR shot to death the magistrate Girolamo Minervini, counsellor of the court of cassation; and in Milan the next day, a Prima linea commando killed the investigating judge Guido Galli. On 23 June 1980 in Rome, NAR terrorists killed attorney of the Republic Mario Amato, 45.

Table 10 lists the names of the magistrates slain in ambush, the dates and places where they died, and the organizations which committed the crimes.

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Politicians, journalists, corporation directors and professionals

The total number of politicians, journalists, corporation directors and professionals killed number 36, 17 in ambush, 16 in massacres and three in other circumstances, as shown in Table 11.

The three politicians are: Hon Aldo Moro, president of the Christian Democratic Party, assassinated by the BR 9 March 1978 in Rome. Moro had been kidnapped on 16 March on the Via Fani by a BR armed commando which killed five men of his retinue by machinegun fire. After 55 days in captivity, Moro was found dead in the trunk of an R4 car, abandoned on the Via Caetani, his body riddled by blasts from a Skorpio machinegun; Enrico Pedenovi, 45, MSI lawyer and provincial counsellor, slain on Piazza Durante, Milan, on 29 April 1976 by a Prima linea commando; and Pino Amato, Neapolitan DC regional budget assessor, murdered on 19 May 1980 in Naples by a BR commando.

The BR claimed responsibility for almost all the crimes committed against the journalists, corporation directors and professionals killed between 1977 and 1980. On 28 April 1977 in Turin, they killed Fulvio Croce, president of the Turin association of lawyers; on 16 November of the same year, the journalist Carlo Casalegno, assistant director of the daily LA STAMPA; on 21 March 1979 in Cuneo the industrialist Attilio Dutto; in Rome on 29 March the building constructor Italo Schettini, DC provincial counsellor; on 21 September 1980 in Venice, Silvio Gori, assistant technical director of the petrochemical works in Marghera; in Milan on 12 November Renato Briano, director of Magneti Marelli; on 28 November, also in Milan, Manfredo Maszanti, director of Falck; and on 1 December in Rome, Giuseppe Furci, health director of Rome's Regina Coeli prison.

A prominent corporation director, Paolo Paoletti, was slain in Milan on 5 February 1980 by a Prima linea commando. The same organization was guilty of killing Alfredo Paoletta, university professor, in Naples on 11 October 1978.

On 28 May 1980 in Milan, a new terrorist unit, Brigata XXVIII marzo (28th of March Brigade), assassinated Walter Tobagi, journalist on the CORRIERE DELLA SERA.

Of the 17 politicians, journalists, corporation directors, etc killed in ambush, one died in 1976, two in 1977, four in 1978, three in 1979 and seven in 1980. The BR killed 10, Prima linea four, Armed Workers for Communism one, Dante Di Nanni Armed Struggle for Communism one, and Brigata XXVIII marzo one. (See Table 12)

The students

Sixty students died, or 16.55 percent of the total. Most were university students. Their ages ranged from 14 to 29 (Table 13).

Of the 60, 31 died in five cities in the North, 24 in three cities of Central Italy, and five in two cities of the South (Table 14).

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Nine were females, six of them victims of the Bologna railroad station massacre, one of the Italcus train massacre. The other two were Jolanda Palladino, 22, who died on 21 June 1975 from burns sustained three days previously when neo-fascists threw an incendiary bomb against several cars driven by PCI militants, who were celebrating their party's electoral success; and Giorgiana Masi, who died on 12 May 1977 in Rome, caught in a battle between police and ex-parliamentarian demonstrators on the Garibaldi bridge.

The highest number of student deaths (49) occurred between 1975 and 1980; there were 11 student fatalities in the 1969-1974 period. (Table 15)

The first student victim of violence was Domenico Congedo, 23-year-old anarchist, who died in Rome on 27 February 1969. Not only the first student victim of violence, Congedo was also the first of numerous persons killed in the period under study. He died in the teachers' training faculty of the University of Rome, occupied by students and a target of fascist violence.

In an attempt to escape the fascists' assault, Congedo fell out of a window and crashed onto the pavement below.

For the circumstances in which the 60 lost their lives, see Table 16.

The first of the 15 students killed in ambush was Mario Zicchieri, 16, member of the MSI-DN Youth Front. This mortal incident occurred on 29 October 1975 by a man who fired a sawed-off shotgun in front of the MSI-DN quarters on the Via Erasmo Gattamelata in the Prenestino district of Rome. Investigators believe that the killer was a NAP terrorist.

The last was Valerio Verbano, 19, murdered on 22 February 1980 in his home in Montesacro, Rome, by members of the Nuclei armati rivoluzionari (NAR), terrorist organization of the right.

Table 17 lists the names of the students fatally attacked in ambush, the dates and places of their death and the names of the guilty terrorist units.

Among others who died in violent confrontations with the police were Cesare Pardini, 22, and Franco Serantini, 20, anarchist, both in Pisa, Pardini on 27 October 1969, struck in the chest by a tear gas bomb during an antifascist demonstration, Serantini on 7 May 1972 in another battle with the police. In Milan on 12 December 1970 Saverio Saltarelli, 22, was killed by a projectile during a clash between police and groups of anarchists taking part in an anti-Franco demonstration to save the lives of young Spanish patriots on trial in Burgos.

Two other students died in 1973: Roberto Franceschi, of the extreme left, wounded when a police agent fired at him in front of the Bocconi University (he died in a hospital on 30 March); and Vincenzo Caporale, 19, adherent of the Communist Struggle party, hit full in the chest in a clash between police and members of the Struggle Committees in Naples on 15 February.

On 8 September 1974 in Rome, Fabrizio Caruso, 19, member of the Tivoli Proletarian Committee was fatally wounded by a bullet fired by a police officer

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during a violent encounter between police and members of extra-parliamentary units in the San Basilio quarter.

1975: Mikis Mandakas, 21, a Greek student and adherent of FUAN, was killed in Rome on 28 February by a revolver shot in the neck during a fray between fascists, youths of the extra-parliamentary left and police during a protest demonstration against the trial under way for the arsonists of the disastrous fire in Prima-valle on 12 April 1973, in which two children of the local MSI-DN secretary died; and Sergio Ramelli, 19, died at the Polyclinic Hospital on 29 April after 47 days in the throes of death following violent actions against extremists of the left.

1976: among others, Luigi De Rosa, 19, enrolled in the Federation of Young Italian Communists (FGGI), was assassinated on 28 May at Sezze (Latina) by fascist thugs, headed by MSI exponent Sandro Saccucci.

1977: among others, Francesco Lorusso, 25, Lotta continua militant, was killed on 11 March in Bologna by a police agent during violent clashes between police and extremists of the left. Mauro Amati, 21, was killed by a commando of the Unita combattenti comuniste (Unity of Communist Combatants) on 8 July in Rome. Walter Rossi, 28, member of Lotta continua, was dispatched by neofascists on 30 September in the Viale delle Medaglie d'Oro in Rome.

On 1 October 1977, serious incidents broke out in Turin during a demonstration to protest the murder of Walter Rossi. Some 30 youths, who had detached themselves from the main body of demonstrators, with covered faces burst into the Angelo Azzurro bar on the Via Po, smashed the plate glass windows with iron bars and hurled incendiary bottles into the premises. Aside from the owner, there were two students present: Roberto Crescenzo, worker-student, and Diego Mainardo, both 22. Mainardo was hit in the head, but managed to flee. Crescenzo, with burns on 90 percent of his body, was rushed to the CTO, where he died after several hours. The attack against the Angelo Azzurro was claimed as the responsibility of the Squadre proletarie territoriali (Proletarian Territorial Squads).

In Bari on 29 November of the same year, a student, Benedetto Petrone, 19, member of the Italian Communist Youth Federation, was killed by a neofascist on the Piazza della Prefettura during an uprising of rightists.

On 7 January 1978 on the Via Acca Larentia, Rome, the Nuclei armati di contro-potere territoriale murdered two MSI youths, Franco Bigonzetti, 19, and Francesco Ciavatta, 20, outside the MSI-DN quarters. During a riot set off by the rightists as a result of the attack, on the same day another young MSI student, Stefano Recchioni, 20, was mortally wounded by a police bullet.

On 19 March 1977 in Milan, in an ambush perpetrated by a terrorist unit of the right named Esercito nazionale rivoluzionario Franco Anselmi (Franco Anselmi National Revolutionary Army), Fausto Tinelli, 19, lost his life. A worker, Lorenzo Iannucci, was assassinated in the same ambush. In Naples on 5 October, a student, Claudio Miccoli, died after a neofascist commando beat him with iron bars.

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Ten students met their death in 1979, among them Umberto Giaquinto, 17, killed on 10 January in Rome during clashes between police and neofascists on the Piazza dei Mirtili; Stefano Cecchetti, 19, also killed in Rome on the same day by a commando of a leftist organization called Compagni organizzati per il comunismo (Comrades Organized for Communism); Emanuele Lurilli, 19, killed by Prima linea in Turin on 19 April; Ciro Principessa, 20, PCI militant knifed by an extremist of the right in front of the PCI section on Via Gabrio Serbelloni in the Rome sector of Torpignattara; Francesco Cecchin, 18, FRG member who, attempting to flee an attack from extremists of the left at Vescovio (Rome), fell off a wall and died in a hospital on 10 June; Roberto Cavallaro, sympathizer with the Gruppo sociale polesano, killed on 9 October in Padua in an ambush of the NAR.

Apart from the students who perished in the Bologna station massacre, in 1980 the student victims were: William Maccher, killed in Milan on 7 February; Valerio Verbano, in Rome 22 February; and Martino Traversa, 19, in Bari 11 March, by extremists of the right.

Laborers, employees and other workers

After the students, the greatest number of persons victimized by terrorism and violence included laborers, employees and other workers, with 56 dead (15.45 percent), 34 killed in massacres, 10 assassinated in ambush, eight by violence and four in other circumstances (Table 18).

Of the 17 laborers, five died in the Bologna station massacre, one in the Piazza della Loggia massacre, three in other circumstances, four by violence, and four by ambush.

The laborers killed in ambush were: Guido Rossa, 45, union delegate at Italsider, member of the FLM board, and PCI militant, assassinated by a BR commando 24 January 1979 in Genoa while on his way to work; Mario Lupo, 20, knifed to death by neofascists on 25 August 1972 in Parma; Sergio Argada, slain by two neofascists on 20 October 1974 at Nicotera in the province of Catanzaro; and Lorenzo Iannucci, 19, close to the ultra left, assassinated on 17 March 1980 in Milan by the terrorist organization of the right called Esercito nazionale rivoluzionario, brigate combattenti Franco Anselmi (National Revolutionary Army, Franco Anselmi Combattant Brigades).

The first laborer to fall victim to violence was Angelo Campanella, 43, father of seven, chief worker at AMA in Reggio Calabria, who was struck by several bullets fired by three policemen during serious uprisings in Reggio on 17 December 1970.

Another laborer, Gianfranco Carminati, 30, PCI militant, died in Milan on 7 January 1971 after long suffering from burns sustained when he helped to extinguish a raging fire set by terrorists in one of Pirelli's factory sections.

Fascists murdered another three laborers and two farm hands: Giuseppe Malacaria, 33, mason and PCI militant, killed by a bomb tossed from MSI-DN headquarters at a throng of people dispersing after an antifascist demonstration in Catanzaro on 4 February 1971; Tonino Micciche, 25, Lotta continua militant, killed on 17

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April 1975 in Turin; PCI militant Pietantonio Castelnuovo, 42, assassinated on 5 September 1976 in Como; farm laborer Domenico Centola, who died on 24 February 1971 in Foggia during riots provoked by neofascists; and Adriano Salvini, farm laborer, killed in Faenza by a neofascist on 18 July 1973.

Another five workers were mortally ambushed during the period under study: Giuseppe Mazzola, 60, employee, killed by the BR on 17 June 1974 in Padua; Luciano Rossi, driver, on 8 November 1978 in the Patrica (Frosinone) ambush mounted by the Formazioni combattenti comuniste; Luigi Allegretti, 36, cook, socialist enrolled in the CGIL, killed "by error" on 11 March 1980 in Rome by a commando of the Compagni organizzati per il comunismo (the intended target was Gianfranco Rossi, secretary of the MSI Flaminio section); Angelo Mancina, employed by SECOLO, secretary of the MSI-DN section in Talmenti, killed in Rome on 12 March 1980 by the Compagni organizzati in volante rossa (Comrades Organized in a Red Flying Squad); and Maurizio Di Leo, 34, typographer, likewise assassinated "by error" in Rome on 2 September 1980 by the NAR; the designated victim was Michele Concina, a journalist on the daily MESSAGGERO.

The percentage of women victimized by terrorism and violence was also high: 57, accounting for 15.75 percent of the total dead (Table 19).

Most of these women--51 or 89.50 percent--died in five massacres: 38 in the Bologna station episode on 2 August 1980; five in the Sun express 22 July 1970; four in the Italicus express, 4 August 1974; three in the Piazza della Loggia incident 28 May 1974; and one in the Via Fatebenefratelli massacre 17 May 1973.

Other women died in different circumstances, among them: Bianca Daller, 61, teacher, on 16 December 1976 in Brescia, in the explosion of a bomb placed on the Piazza Arnaldo by fascist terrorists in an attempt to provoke a massacre; Giorgiana Masi, 19, student, killed by a carbine shot during a manifestation of extra-parliamentarians on the Garibaldi bridge in Rome on 12 May 1977; Gabriella Fava, 50, domestic, on 13 March 1979 in Bologna during an attack by the Gatti selvaggi (Wild Cats) against the headquarters of the Press Association; Anna Maria Minci, 45, housewife, killed accidentally on 31 January 1980 by one of numerous revolver shots fired by a carabinieri patrol against two terrorists in flight in the Rome Montesacro quarter; and Iolanda Rozzi, 52, housewife, who died in the San Giovanni Hospital after months of agonizing suffering from burns sustained in an incendiary attempt on her home by the Nuclei proletari combattenti (NPC) on 25 February 1980 at Torpignataro in Rome.

Aside from the politicians heretofore named, of the 362 dead there were 38 militants of the various parties and movements. Twelve of them were agitating in the PCI, 11 in the MSI-DN, six in Lotta continua, three in the Movimento anarchico, two in the PSI, two in the Movimento studentesco, one in the PCML (Vincenzo Caporali, 19, student, killed in Naples on 21 February 1973) and Jolanda Rozzi of the DC, killed in Rome on 25 February 1980.

Of the 12 PCI adherents were four laborers, three students, four retired persons and one teacher (Table 20).

Table 21 identifies the PSI militants by name.

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The three Movimento anarchico dead included two students and one laborer, named in Table 22.

The 11 MSI-DN dead included seven students, three employees and one messenger. Nine were killed in Rome, one in Padua and one in Milan (Table 23).

The six Lotta continua and two Movimento studentesco militants slain included one laborer and seven students. Three were killed in Milan, two in Rome, one in Turin, one in Reggio Emilia and one in Bologna (Table 24).

The persons assassinated by terrorists for revenge

In the period under study, a particular characteristic of terrorism is indicated in cases of those extremists of the right and left who were certainly or most probably assassinated for motives of revenge by persons belonging to subversive groups of the same color. There were nine such victims, seven of them murdered by terrorists of the left (three university students and four prisoners) and three by terrorists of the right.

The first to die was a university student, Alceste Campanile, killed on 13 June 1975 on the banks of the Enza river in Reggio Emilia. The second was Luigi Mascagni, 24, also a university student, formerly exponent of Lotta continua, slain by pistol shots in the head. His corpse was discovered in Milan's Lambro Park on 1 July 1979.

On 17 December 1979, on the Piazza Dalmazia in Rome, a four-man commando of the right led by Sergio Calore, killed a young passerby, Antonio Leandri, with pistol shots. They had mistaken him for the lawyer Giorgio Arcangeli, notorious in neofascist circles and accused by the NAR of having made possible, through a ruse, the capture of Pierluigi Concutelli, military chief of Ordine nuovo, who murdered Judge Occorsio.

In Milan on 7 February 1980, Prima linea assassinated the university student William Waccher, 26, one of the prime witnesses in the case of the "autonomous" rebels of the Collettivo della Barona during the enquiry into the murders of Judge Alessandrini and the goldsmith Torregiani.

On 11 September 1980 the corpse of Francesco Mangiamelli, 30, leader of the Terza posizione (Third Position) in Palermo, friend and right hand aide of the neofascist Concutelli, was found in Tor de' Cenci, Rome, the magistracy attributed the murder to Gilberto Cavallini, a terrorist who, together with an accomplice Stefano Soderini, killed Ezio Lucarelli, brigadier of the carabinieri, in a garage at Lambrate, Milan, on 26 November 1980.

Four other crimes motivated by revenge were committed in jails during 1980, three by the BR and one by the NAP.

The first occurred on 19 June 1980 in Turin when a prisoner, Pasquale Viale, was strangled in his cell in the New Prison. The deed was claimed by the BR during the trial for the murder of Pino Amato in the court of assizes in Naples.

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The second took place on 2 July 1980 in the Cuneo prison when a common prisoner, Ugo Benazzi, 41, of Turin, had his throat cut with a rudimentary knife, with the approval of the NAP. According to the investigators, the murderer was NAP member Emanuele Attimonelli, for whom a warrant of arrest was issued.

The BR committed the other two murders during the revolt in the Nuoro prison 27 October 1980. The victims, both prisoners, were Biagio Iaquinto and Francesco Zarillo.

The terrorists

Thirty-seven terrorists, five of them women, were killed during the period under study, 21 in gun battles with the police and 16 in other circumstances: eight blown up by bombs they were assembling for planned crimes, two killed when they were transporting bombs to the site of proposed crimes, two killed by the premature explosion of bombs in the preparatory stage of crimes; two killed by gunshop owners during thefts of arms, and one, Roberto Capone, murdered by his own terrorist commando.

Of the 37 terrorists, seven belonged to NAP; eight to BR; four to Prima linea; three to Autonomia operaia (Workers Autonomy); two to Ordine nuovo; one to Avanguardia nazionale; one to Gruppi armati proletari (GAP); one to Movimento proletario resistenza offensiva (Proletarian Offensive Resistance Movement); one to Formazioni combattenti comuniste; one to MAR; five to other terrorist organizations on the left, not identified; and three to organizations of the right, likewise unidentified.

For their individual professions, see Table 25.

Of the five women terrorists, one, Margherita Cagol, 28, had taken a degree in psychology. Anna Maria Mantini, 23, was unemployed; Barbara Azzaroni, 29, was a kindergarden teacher, Anna Maria Ludmann, 33, a schoolteacher, and Maria Antonietta Berna, 21, a student.

The average age of the terrorists was 25. The youngest of them--Alfredo Attilio of Naples, Pierluigi Sciotti and Silvio Ferrari--were 19, the oldest was Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, 46. Table 26 gives a breakdown of their ages.

The first terrorist to die was the publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, founder of GAP. On 15 March 1972 he was blown up by a charge of dynamite he was setting in place under a high tension pylon at Segrate, on the periphery of Milan.

Other terrorists died when bombs they were assembling, transporting or placing against targets exploded. Among these was Silvio Ferrari, rightist, killed in Brescia on his motorcycle when a bomb he was carrying to the site of a planned crime blew up. On 11 March 1975, Giuseppe Principe Vitaliano, of NAP, was instantly killed in Naples by the explosion of a bomb he was making in an apartment.

In Aversa, province of Caserta, on 30 May 1975 a 22-year-old worker student, Giovanni Taras, also of NAP, was blown up by a bomb he was depositing on the roof of the Aversa insane asylum.

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In Turin on 4 August 1977, two young terrorists of the left, Attilio Alfredo Di Napoli, 19, student, and Orlando Marin Pinones, 24, a Chilean expatriate, died in the explosion of a bomb they were handling for a criminal purpose. Almost three months later, again in Turin, another terrorist of the left, Rocco Sardone, 22, student, was killed by a bomb he was transporting in a knapsack to the site of a crime.

In Catania on 31 December 1977, two terrorist youths of the right, Pierluigi Sciotti, 19, student, and Prospero Condura, 22, electrician, were killed by a bomb they were assembling on the slopes of Mount Etna for a criminal attack.

Three young Autonomia operaia terrorists, Angelo Del Saro, 25, laborer, Alberto Graziano, 21, student, and Maria Antonietta Berna, 21, student were killed in the explosion of a powerful bomb they were making in an apartment at Thiene (Vicenza) for an intended crime.

The first terrorist to die in a clash with police was Giancarlo Esposito. On 30 May 1974 a carabinieri patrol surrounded a fascist paramilitary camp at Pian di Rascino in the province of Rieti, several terrorists reacted by attempting to open an escape route, and Esposito, 24, of Avanguardia nazionale, fell in the ensuing gun fight. In Florence on 29 October of the same year, Giuseppe Romeo, 20, and Luca Mantini, 23, NAP terrorists, were killed in an armed conflict with carabinieri during an assault on a bank on the Piazza Leon Battista Alberti.

In an armed fight with the kidnapers of the industrialist Vallarino Gancia, subsequently liberated, on 5 June 1975 the carabinieri killed Margherita Cagol, 28, university graduate in psychology, BR terrorist and wife of Renato Curcio, BR chief. The battle took place in the Spiotta d'Azzello farmstead on the hills of Acqui Terme in the province of Alessandria.

In 1976 two different clashes with the police cost the lives of Martino Zicchitella, 40, NAP adherent, killed in Rome on 14 December during an ambush attack on the deputy questor Alfonso Noce; and Walter Alasia, 20, diplomat of the BR, who was killed on 15 December near Milan when police broke into his dwelling at 121 Via Leonardi, in Sesto San Giovanni.

In Rome on 1 July 1977, Antonio Lo Muscio, 27, of NAP, was killed in an armed battle with a carabinieri patrol on the Piazza San Petronio in the center of the city. On 4 May 1978 police killed Roberto Rigobello, 21, bank employee and member of the Movimento proletario di resistenza offensiva, during a holdup at the Via della Beverata branch of the Banca del Monte di Bologna e Ferrara.

Three other terrorists were killed in encounters with the police during 1979. Two of them, Barbara Azzaroni, 29, kindergarten teacher, and Matteo Gaggegi, 23, laborer, were killed on 28 February at the entrance to the bar-restaurant Dell'Angelo, 340 Via Paolo Veronese, in Turin. The third, Roberto Paultasso, 21, was killed on 14 December when, with two accomplices, he was preparing an assault on the gates of the ELCAT metal works on the outskirts of Rivoli (Turin). Finding themselves discovered in possession of dynamite, the three terrorists opened fire against a police patrol, which responded in kind, killing Paultasso.

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In 1980, eight terrorists were slain in clashes with the police. Of these, four died on 28 March in a BR hideout at 12 Via Fracchia in Genoa at the hands of the carabinieri: Anna Maria Ludmann, 33, schoolteacher, Lorenzo Betassa, formerly a worker at Italimpianti, Piero Panciarelli, 25, previously employed by Lancia, and Riccardo Dura, 30, ex-maritime worker.

On 13 November 1980, four terrorists affiliated with the BR robbed the Rural Bank at Civitella Alfedena, near Aquila, of 30 million lire. Shortly thereafter, ordered to stop at a carabinieri road block near Cassino (Frosinone), they opened fire and seriously wounded one of the guards. In the ensuing cross-fire, Claudio Pallone, 26, was killed instantly, while two others were badly wounded, Mario Guerra, 25, and Fausto Genoino, 34, who died at the Polyclinic Hospital in Rome after a month-long coma.

The last two killed in conflicts with the police were Roberto Serafini, 30, journalist, formerly editor on ROSSO magazine, and Walter Pezzoli, 25, both killed on 11 December 1980 during an armed fight with the carabinieri in Milan.

Another three terrorists died in the following circumstances: Carlo Tognini, 30, bank employee and member of Prima linea, was killed by the proprietor of a gunshop in Varese on 19 July 1977; Franco Anselmi, 22, student and member of Ordine nuovo, was killed on 6 March 1978 in Rome, also by a seller of guns; and Roberto Capone, 24, geometrist of the Fronte comunista combattente, was wounded in the terrorist crossfire during the Patrica massacre. His comrades themselves ended his life with pistol shots in the neck to prevent him from falling alive into the hands of the police.

Table 27 lists the names of the terrorists slain in clashes with the police and in other circumstances, the dates and places of their deaths, their ages, occupations and titles of the terrorist groups to which they belonged.

The provinces in which mortal crimes were committed

The provinces which reported deaths caused by criminal actions and violence number 38, 20 in the North, eight in Central Italy and 10 in the South. Northern Italy accounted for 240 dead, or 66.30 percent of the total, including 101 in Bologna (97 in massacres and four in other circumstances); 62 in Milan (21 in massacres, 19 in ambushes and four in other circumstances); 24 in Turin (14 in ambushes and 10 in other circumstances); 14 in Genoa (9 in ambushes and five in other circumstances); 10 in Brescia (eight in massacres and two in other circumstances); and 29 in other provinces, as shown in Table 28.

Eight Central Italian provinces have recorded deaths resulting from terrorism and violence, with 89 victims (24.60 percent, 67 of them in the capital and 22 in another seven provinces (Table 29).

Ten provinces in Southern Italy recorded deaths resulting from terrorism and violence, with 33 victims (9.10 percent). The highest number of deaths occurred in Reggio Calabria (12), followed by Naples (eight) and eight other cities (Table 30).

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The terrorist organizations which have committed crimes

Of the 362 dead, 104 (28.70 percent of the total) were slain by 22 terrorist groups of the left and 59 (16.30 percent of the total) by seven terrorist organizations of the right. Six were assassinated by unknown persons and two in a dynamite blast set off by terrorists of the Secret Armenian Army.

Most of the crimes were committed by the Red Brigades, who assassinated 55 persons, 44 of them by ambush, 11 in massacres. Ordine nuovo committed 22 homicides, 20 in massacres, one by ambush and another by dynamite. Ordine nero: 22 homicides, 20 in massacres and two in other circumstances. Prima linea: 15 assassinations, 14 by ambush. NAR: eight mortal victims, all by ambush. In addition, the Formazioni combattenti comuniste killed four persons, NAP four, Guerriglia comunista (Communist Guerilla Warfare), Neofascist Commandos (unidentified) and the Movimento proletario resistenza offensiva, three each. Another 32 persons were murdered by the same number of terrorist groups (32). Table 31 shows the homicides committed annually by terrorist organizations of the left and right, and by unknown persons or groups.

Chapter II: Persons Wounded in Ambush Attacks

Comprehensive data

The number of persons wounded in attacks by ambush was 172, all except one (in 1971) in the years between 1975 and 1980, as seen in Table 33.

Of the 172, 147 (85.45 percent of the total) were victims of leftist terrorists, six by rightist, and 19 by unknown persons or groups.

The data compiled show that the highest number of victims wounded were corporation directors and entrepreneurs, with 38 wounded; next were political figures with 26; police force members, 22; doctors and other professionals, 22; factory section chiefs, 13; functionaries, 10; journalists, eight; laborers, seven; students and security guards, six in each category; university professors and teachers, four; judges, three; businessmen and persons in retirement, one in each category.

Ambushing political figures, corporation directors, police agents and others for the declared purpose of wounding them by gunfire began in 1975. In the previous period from 1969 to 1974 there was only one ambush, on 23 June 1971 in Varese, mounted by unknown persons. Their victim was Enrico Rampini, a unionist who was injured while he was returning home after taking part in a strike, which he had helped to organize.

The second ambuscade, this time with incendiary bombs, was carried out on 15 February 1975 near Rome against Franco Galluppi, leader of the PSDI delegation to the Lazio regional council. On his way home with his wife after attending a debate in Fiano on the problem of fascist violence, Galluppi was blocked by four neofascists, who compelled him to stop his car, later threw an incendiary bomb into his home, causing him serious burns.

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The politicians

The first of numerous armed attacks by ambush against individuals occurred on 15 May 1975 in Milan when a BR commando invaded the ground floor office at 5 Via Monte di Pietà of a lawyer, Massimo De Carolis, DC group leader in the Milan city council, and wounded him in the leg with a revolver shot.

In the period under study, 26 political figures were wounded in attacks by ambush, 18 committed by the Red Brigades, one by Prima linea, five by unknown persons, one by rightists and one by the Communist Group for Territorial Counterpower. Of the 26 politicians hurt, 20 represented the DC, two PCI, one PSDI, one MSI-DN, one PSI, and Bernard Leighton Guzman, formerly president of the Christian Democratic Party in Chile (Table 34).

The greatest number of persons wounded by ambush (49, or 28.50 percent of the total) were industrial directors, functionaries, factory section chiefs and security guards in 21 different plants, 19 in the North and two (Alfa Sud and FIAT) in the South (Table 35).

Corporation director and technicians

The highest number of terrorist targets were FIAT directors and technicians. Of the total 49 wounded, 22 were FIAT men: nine directors, seven section chiefs, three officials, one of them at the FIAT plant in Cassino, and three security guards, one in Cassino.

FIAT was followed by Alfa Romeo, with six victims: four directors, one of them at Alfa Sud. At the Brera plant in Milan, three persons were wounded, one director and two section chiefs; at Sit-Siemens in Milan, another three, one official and two section chiefs. In Genoa two Ansaldo directors were wounded.

One person was wounded in each of another 15 plants (Table 35). For the terrorist groups responsible for the 49 attacks, see Table 36.

The first factory director wounded by ambush was Enrico Boffa, 41, head of personnel at the Singer di Leini plant in Turin. Committed by three BR members, the crime occurred at 6:45 pm on 21 October 1975 a moment after Boffa had parked his car in the garage under his home. He was about to lower the shutter when unmasked three men darted out from the shadows, brandishing pistols. Throwing him to the ground, they forced him to kneel and hung a placard around his neck, bearing the message: "Brigate rosse. Transform the contractual struggle into a fight for power to defeat the presidential and corporative aims promoted by Agnelli and Leone, and Berlinguer's historic compromise." Next, they photographed him [wearing the placard] and fired two revolver shots at his legs. The last man wounded in ambush during the period under study was an engineer, Maurizio Caramello, director of Italgrafo, Milan, assailed by the BR on 11 December 1980.

The first section chief of a plant to be ambushed was Giuseppe Borello, of FIAT Mirafiori, wounded in the legs by four pistol shots fired by a BR commando on 13 April 1976; the last in the period under study was Ezio Gavello, FIAT labor-

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actory chief, wounded on 21 December 1979 by the Reparti comunisti d'stacco (Communist Attack Units).

On 26 November 1976 in Cassino (Frosinone), the first of seven company officials was wounded: Rocco Favalaro, attached to the union office at the [FIAT] plant in Cassino, ambushed by unknown persons. The last was Francesco Giacomazzi of Montedison, felled by pistol shots fired by Prima linea on 10 May 1978 on the Piazza Conciliazione in Milan.

The first security guard in a factory was also attacked in 1976: Matteo Palmieri, chief security guard at Marelli. On 2 April, a BR commando broke into the guards' room at Magneti Marelli, attempted to open the safe containing arms, wounded Palieri with several revolver bullets, and fled. The last security guard wounded in ambush during the period under study was Giovanni Pegorin, of Framtek, attacked by the Nuclei comunisti territoriali on 31 January 1980 in Turin. In the same assault, another security guard, Carlo Ala, was killed.

Over 50 directors and employees of several important factories were wounded, including the president of Unione petrolifera italiana (Italian Petroleum Union) Giovanni Theodoli by the Formazioni comuniste armate in Rome on 21 April 1976; Vittorio Morgera, director general of Poligrafico dello Stato (State Polygraphic Agency), wounded by the Unita combattenti comuniste in Rome on 29 March 1977; the industrialist Armando Giroto by the Squadre armate proletarie in Milan 31 January 1978; Felice Schiavetti, president of the Unione industriale of Liguria, in Genoa by the BR on 7 April 1978; Mario Astarita, director of the Chemical Bank, in Milan by Prima linea on 11 May 1978; Aldo Ravaioli, president of the Comitato della piccola industria (Committee for Small Industry), in Turin by the BR on 6 July 1978; Fausto Gasparino, deputy director of Intersind, wounded in the legs by the BR in Turin on 7 July 1978; Franco Pilla, president of the Venice Savings Bank, wounded by the Gruppi combattenti per il comunismo on 15 December 1978; Piercarlo Andreoletti, Praxi administrator, wounded in the legs by Prima linea on 5 October 1979; and Settimio Imperi, building constructor, wounded in Rome on 21 December 1979 by the Movimento comunista rivoluzionario.

Members of the Forces of Public Order

Apart from the 65 members of the police forces killed in the fight against terrorism and violence, 22 others were wounded in ambush: one in 1975, two in 1976, seven in 1978, 10 in 1979 and two in 1980. For a breakdown by ranks, see Table 37.

Of the 22 ambushes against the police forces, eight were committed by the BR, three by Prima linea, three by NAP, four by unknown persons, two by NAR, one by the Proletari armati per il comunismo, and one by the Roberto Scialobba Antifascist Nucleus.

For the cities in which these 22 crimes occurred see Table 38.

The first to be wounded in ambush was Cosimo Vernich, 49, brigadier of the custodian guards at San Vittore prison. The attack was staged at 7:25 am on

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7 October 1975 by the Giovanni Taras Armed Nucleus, a NAP affiliate, wounding their victim in the right thigh with five pistol shots.

Table 39 lists the names of the policemen wounded by ambush, their ranks, dates and places of their attacks, and the initials of the terrorist groups responsible for the crimes.

The physicians

In the period under study, 16 physicians were hurt in ambushes (15 men and one woman). The first was Luigi Solera, of the FIAT Mirafiori medical section, wounded in the legs by four bullets fired by a BR commando in Turin 17 December 1975.

The second ambush occurred in Pisa on 30 March 1977 against Alberto Mammoli, doctor in the Pisa prison. In the same year, the following sustained wounds: Giuseppe Ghetti, health officer in Seveso (Milan), wounded in the legs on 19 May by a terrorist group which called itself *Combattenti per il comunismo*, which then disappeared completely; Giorgio Coda, neuropsychiatrist, and Roberto Anzalone, president of the *Associazione medici mutualisti* (Association of Medical Insurers) in Milan.

Another five physicians were wounded in 1978, among them a gynecologist, two prison doctors (Milan and Novara) and a chief doctor of INAM (Milan). Six more were wounded in 1979, among them another gynecologist and two other prison doctors (Cremona and Varese). In the period under study, the prison doctors wounded in ambush numbered four.

Of the 16 victims, six were wounded in Turin, three in Milan, two in Rome and one each in Seveso, Pisa, Novara, Varese and Naples.

Only one doctor was assaulted by the BR, the remaining 15 by terrorist organizations listed in Table 40.

Table 41 gives the names of the physicians wounded in ambush, the dates and places of the attacks against them and the initials of the criminal groups responsible.

The journalists

Eight journalists were wounded in ambush. The first was Vittorio Bruno, deputy director of *IL SECOLO XIX*. On 1 June 1977 in Genoa, a BR commando stopped him in the street and shot him in the legs. In Milan the following day, shortly after 10 am, a BR commando ambushed Cilindro (Indro) Montanelli, director of *GIORNALE NUOVO*. The terrorists waited for him to leave the Hotel Manin, where he lives, to go to his office on the nearby Piazza Cavour; when they espied him, they wounded him in a leg.

In Rome, 24 hours later (on 3 June) at 10 am, another BR commando unit struck at Emilio Rossi, director of *Telegiornale Uno* (Channel One television news), on the Via Teulada, and wounded him seriously in the legs with pistol shots.

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In 1977 three other journalists were victimized: on 7 July at Albano Terme (Padua), Antonio Garzotto of the GAZZETTINO, hit in the legs by a Fronte comunista combattente commando; in Turin on 18 September, Nino Ferrero, of UNITA, shot in the legs by two terrorists of the Azione rivoluzionaria (Revolutionary Action) as he was on his way home; and on 25 December in Rome, Roberto Giunto La Spada, of "Radio citta futura," wounded in one arm and a hip by two bullets as he was leaving work. The crime was committed by the Giustizia nazionale rivoluzionaria (National Revolutionary Justice).

In Turin on 24 April 1979, the BR wounded Franco Piccinelli, a RAI editor. One year later, on 7 May in Milan, two youths who claimed to be policemen, entered the home of Guido Passalacqua, journalist on the REPUBBLICA, seized him and fired pistol shots into his leg. The deed was claimed by the Brigata XXVIII marzo.

These eight journalists suffered attacks by ambush in five cities, victims of five terrorist organizations, four of the left and one of the right (Table 42).

Table 43 reports their names, dates and places of each ambush and the initials of the terrorist groups which committed the crimes.

Magistrates and university professors

In the period under study, two magistrates, a judge, an official of the Ministry of Grace and Justice and four university professors were wounded in ambushes.

One of the magistrates was Piero Margariti, counsellor at the court of cassation and head of the institutes of prevention and punishment in the Ministry of Grace and Justice. The episode occurred on 28 January 1976 when NAP terrorists fired four pistol shots into Margariti's legs.

The other magistrate was Paolino Dell'Anno, target of a NAP attack, fortunately without serious consequences. On 5 May 1976, while he was driving to work in his Fiat 500, he was flanked by a powerful motorcycle, with two youths aboard. One of them fired his pistol repeatedly at the car, but failed to hit Dell'Anno.

With several revolver shots, on 12 February 1977 in Rome, the BR wounded Valerio Traversi, functionary in the Ministry of Grace and Justice. In Florence 18 months later--on 15 December 1978--the Squadre rivoluzionarie di combattimento wounded a praetor, Silvio Bozzi.

Summarized data on the persons killed or wounded in attacks in ambush

The number of persons killed and wounded in attacks by ambush totals 534, of which 362 died in criminal actions and by violence, and 172 were wounded.

Forty-three provinces saw persons killed and wounded by ambush, 23 in the North, nine in Central Italy and 11 in the South. Those which reported dead but no wounded were 23, 12 in the North, three in Central Italy and eight in the South. Those which reported only wounded by ambush were four, three in the North and one in the South.

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The South claims the lowest number of dead--33, or 9.10 percent of the total. Eleven were wounded in ambush, or 6.40 percent (Table 46).

The provinces of Central Italy counted 89 dead, or 24.60 percent of the total, and 44 wounded in ambush, 25.60 percent of the total (Table 47).

The greatest number of dead and wounded were counted in the 23 provinces of the North. The dead were 240, or 66.30 percent of the total, and those wounded in ambush 117, or 68 percent of the total (Table 48).

Table 1

Terrorist crimes and acts of violence in Italy between 1969 and 1980

Year	Crimes against in- animate targets	Acts of violence	Number of dead	Number of ambush victims	Total
1969	208	210	21	--	439
1970	225	318	11	--	554
1971	310	515	6	1	832
1972	293	473	10	--	776
1973	254	383	11	--	648
1974	323	430	33	--	786
1975	239	199	21	8	467
1976	481	176	17	11	685
1977	1,338	407	23	38	1,806
1978	1,862	781	38	44	2,725
1979	1,766	289	36	48	2,139
1980	567	109	135	22	833
Total	7,866	4,290	362	172	12,690

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Table 2

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Members of the police forces	1	1	1	4	4	2	4	6	5	14	11	12	65
Security and other guards	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	1	2	7
Magistrates	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	3	1	5	11
Journalists	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	1	2
Politicians	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	3
Corporation directors and entrepreneurs	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	3	5	10
Workers, employees and other salaried persons	3	2	3	2	1	5	2	1	2	1	1	33	56
Students	3	1	1	1	3	2	9	3	6	7	8	16	60
University professors and school teachers	--	--	--	--	--	5	--	1	--	1	--	5	12
Doctors and other professionals	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	1	--	4	9
Plant section chiefs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	2
Functionaries	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Housewives and domestics	--	5	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	17	24
Retirees	--	--	--	--	--	6	1	--	--	--	--	7	14
Businessmen, shopkeepers, artisans	6	--	1	--	1	2	--	--	--	2	3	4	19
Agriculturists and peasants	7	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8
Others	--	2	--	2	1	8	5	2	6	4	7	22	59
Total	21	11	6	10	11	33	21	17	23	38	36	135	362

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Table 3

178 victims of violence and terrorist actions of the right, of which
 135 in massacres
 27 in other crimes and cases of violence
 16 in ambushes

119 victims of violence and terrorist actions of the left, of which
 70 in ambushes
 34 in other crimes and cases of violence
 15 in massacres

39 in clashes with the police, of which
 21 in armed battles with terrorists
 18 in cases of violence and other circumstances

362 total

Table 4

The massacres

Place	Date	Number of dead	Wounded
Milan, Piazza Fontana	12-12-1969	17	88
Gioia Tauro, Sun express train	22- 7-1970	6	50
Gorizia, Peteano	31- 5-1972	3	2
Milan, police headquarters, Via Fatebenefratelli	17- 5-1973	4	12
Brescia, Piazza della Loggia	28- 5-1974	8	94
Bologna, Italcus express train	4- 8-1974	12	105
Genoa, Salita Santa Brigida (street)	8- 6-1976	3	---
Rome, Via Fani	16- 3-1978	5	---
Frosinone, Patrica	8-11-1978	4	---
Milan, Via Schievano	8- 1-1980	3	---
Bologna, railroad station	2- 8-1980	85	200
Total		150	551

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Table 5

16 housewives	2 clerks (girls)	1 corporation director
8 retirees (men)	2 domestics	1 functionary (INAM)
3 retirees (women)	2 cabdrivers	1 university professor
4 office workers (men)	2 enlisted men	1 plant section chief
9 office workers (women)	1 mason	1 university graduate
8 students (men)	1 mechanic	3 holders of diplomas
7 students (women)	1 rail signalman	3 school children
5 businessmen	1 electrician	1 salesman
4 railroad workers	1 cook	1 broker
2 magistrates	1 errand boy	1 insurance agent
17 policemen	5 farmers	1 air force marshal
7 schoolteachers (women)	2 farmers	1 unemployed
2 teachers	1 merchant	1 office manager
6 workers (men)	1 artisan	1 barber
2 workers (women)	1 trade director	7 others
1 driver	1 boutique manager (women)	

Of the 151 victims, 95 were men, 49 women, 3 infant girls, 3 boys, 1 girl

The massacres also cost the lives of 11 foreigners: 3 aboard the *Italicus* and 8 in the Bologna station. Among them were 2 women students, 3 men students, 2 grade school pupils, 1 clerk, 1 housewife, and 3 other persons whose occupations are unknown.

Table 6

Magistrates and police force members killed in the massacres			
Name	Rank	Place and date of death	Name of terrorist organization
Antonio Ferraro	brigadier	Peteano 31-5-1972	Ordine nuovo
Donato Poveramo	carabiniere	Peteano 31-5-1972	Ordine nuovo
Franco Dongiovanni	carabiniere	Peteano 31-5-1972	Ordine nuovo
Felice Bertolazzi	police agent	questura (MI) 17-5-1973	Gianfranco Bertoli
Federico Massarin	police agent	questura (MI) 17-5-1973	Gianfranco Bertoli
Giuseppe Panzin	police agent	questura (MI) 17-5-1973	Gianfranco Bertoli
Francesco Coco	magistrate	Genoa 8-6-1976	Brigate rosse
Giovanni Saponara	carabinieri	Genoa 8-6-1976	Brigate rosse
Antiooco Dejana	brigadier corporal	Genoa 8-6-1976	Brigate rosse
Oreste Leonardi	carabinieri marshal	via Fani (Roma) 16-3-1978	Brigate rosse
Raffaele Iozzino	police agent	via Fani (Roma) 16-3-1978	Brigate rosse
Domenico Ricci	carabinieri corporal	via Fani (Roma) 16-3-1978	Brigate rosse
Giulio Rivera	police agent	via Fani (Roma) 16-3-1978	Brigate rosse
Francesco Zizzi	police brigadier	via Fani (Roma) 16-3-1978	Brigate rosse
Fedele Calvosa	magistrate	Patrica (FR) 8-11-1978	Form.comb.com.
Giuseppe Pagliei	police agent	Patrica (FR) 8-11-1978	Form.comb.com.
Rocco Santoro	police vice brigadier	via Schievano (MI) 8-1-1980	Brigate rosse
Antonio Cestari	police corporal	via Schievano (MI) 8-1-1980	Brigate rosse
Michele Tatulli	police agent	via Schievano (MI) 8-1-1980	Brigate rosse

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Table 7

Year	Civilians	Police	Total
1969	20	1	21
1970	10	1	11
1971	5	1	6
1972	6	4	10
1973	7	4	11
1974	31	2	33
1975	17	4	21
1976	11	6	17
1977	18	5	23
1978	24	14	38
1979	25	11	36
1980	123	12	135
Total	297	65	362

Table 8

	Number of dead by ambush												Total
	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	
Police	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	2	1	7	11	6	28
Magistrates	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	2	1	5	9
Journalists	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	2
Politicians	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	3
Corporation directors, entrepreneurs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	3	4	8
Laborers, employees, other workers	--	--	--	1	--	2	--	--	1	--	1	3	8
University professors, school teachers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Students	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	5	5	2	13
Doctors and other professionals	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	1	3

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Table 8 continued

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Plant section chiefs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Businessmen, ambulants, shopkeepers, artisans	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	3	3	--	7
Security and other guards	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	2
Others	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	2
Total	--	--	--	2	--	3	--	4	5	24	25	24	87

Table 9

The 87 persons assassinated by ambush

9 magistrates	1 ambulant vendor
1 lawyer	3 businessmen
1 notary	1 salesman
1 university professor	2 journalists
17 members of the police forces	3 laborers
2 deputy questors	1 typographer
1 corporal	1 cook
2 brigadiers	1 doctor
3 marshals	1 messenger
7 police agents	2 clerks
7 carabinieri	1 factory section chief
1 general	3 politicians
2 lieutenant colonels	13 students
1 marshal	6 corporation directors
2 corporals	1 industrialist
1 carabinieri	1 building constructor
4 custodian agents	2 other (drug peddlers)
2 marshals	
2 agents	
1 security guard	
1 private detective	
1 goldsmith	
1 shopkeeper	

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Table 10

Magistrates killed in ambush

Name	Date	Place	Terrorist organization
Vittorio Occorsio	10- 7-1976	Rome	Ordine nuovo
Riccardo Palma	14- 2-1978	Rome	Brigate rosse
Gerolamo Tartaglione	10-10-1978	Rome	Brigate rosse
Emilio Alessandrini	29- 1-1979	Milan	Prima linea
Vittorio Bachelet	12- 2-1980	Rome	Brigate rosse
Nicola Giacumbi	16- 3-1980	Salerno	Brigate rosse
Girolamo Minervini	18- 3-1980	Rome	Brigate rosse
Guido Galli	19- 3-1980	Milan	Prima linea
Mario Amato	23- 6-1980	Rome	Nuclei armati rivoluz

Table 11

	killed in ambush	killed in massacres	killed in other circumstances	Total
Politicians	3	--	--	3
Journalists	2	--	--	2
Businessmen	8	--	2	10
University instructors	1	11	--	12
Professionals	3	5	1	9
Total	17	16	3	36

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Table 12

Politicians, journalists, corporation directors, entrepreneurs and professionals
killed in ambush

Name	Occupation	Place and date of the crime	Terrorist organization
Enrico Pedenovi	MSI-DN exponent	Milan 29-4-1976	Prima linea
Fulvio Croce	lawyer	Turin 28-4-1977	Brigate rosse
Carlo Casalegno	journalist	Turin 16-11-1977	Brigate rosse
Carmine De Rosa	FIAT director	Cassino (FR) 4-1-1978	Operai armati per il comunismo
Gianfranco Spighi	notary	Prato (FI) 7-2-1978	Lot.arm.per il com. Dante di Nanni
Aldo Moro	DC president	Rome 9-5-1978	Brigate rosse
Alfredo Paoletta	university professor	Naples 11-10-1978	Prima linea
Attilio Dutto	industrialist	Cuneo 21-3-1979	Brigate rosse
Italo Schettini	Building constructor	Rome 29-3-1979	Brigate rosse
Carlo Ghiglieno	FIAT director	Turin 21-9-1979	Prima linea
Silvio Gori	Director, Marghera Petrochemical	Venice 28-1-1980	Brigate rosse
Paolo Paoletti	ICMESA director	Milan 5-2-1980	Prima linea
Pino Amato	DC exponent	Naples 19-5-1980	Brigate rosse
Walter Tobagi	journalist	Milan 28-5-1980	Brig.XXVIII marzo
Renato Briano	Magneti Marelli director	Milan 12-11-1980	Brigate rosse
Manfredo Mazzanti	director of Falck	Milan 28-11-1980	Brigate rosse
Giuseppe Furci	prison health director	Rome 1-12-1980	Brigate rosse

Table 13

Ages of students killed				
23	from	14	to	19 years
25	from	20	to	23 years
6	from	24	to	26 years
2	from	27	to	29 years
4	age unknown			

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Table 14

Where the students were killed

In Northern Italy	Central Italy	Southern Italy
Bologna 15*	Rome 20	Naples 3
Milan	Pisa	Bari 2
Turin	Latina	
Padua		
Reggio Emilia		
Total 31 (51.65%)	24 (40%)	5 (8.35%)

* including 13 killed in the Bologna station massacre

Table 15

Number of students killed from 1969 to 1980

1969-1974		1975-1980	
Year	Number of dead	Year	Number of dead
1969	3	1975	9
1970	1	1976	3
1971	1	1977	6
1972	1	1978	7
1973	3	1979	8
1974	2	1980	16
Total	11		49
percentage	18.35		81.65
Total 1969 to 1980	60		

Table 16

Circumstances of students' deaths

32 through terrorism and violent actions of the right
15 in massacres
6 in ambushes
11 in other circumstances
12 through terrorism and violent actions of the left
7 in ambushes
5 in other circumstances
13 in riots and clashes with the police
3 in other circumstances or ambushed by unknown persons

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Table 17

Students killed in ambush

Name	Age	Date of death	Place	Terrorist organizations guilty of the crime
Mario Zicchieri	16	29-10-1975	Rome	Nuclei armati proletari
Mauro Amati	21	8- 7-1977	Rome	Unita combattenti comuniste
Franco Bigonzetti	19	7- 1-1978	Rome	Nuclei armati di contropotere territoriale
Francesco Ciavatta	20	7- 1-1978	Rome	Nuclei armati di contropotere territoriale
Fausto Tinelli	19	17- 3-1978	Milan	Ignoti di destra
Ivo Zini	24	28- 9-1978	Rome	Nuclei armati rivoluzionari
Claudio Miccoli	21	5-10-1978	Naples	Commando fascista
Stefano Cecchetti	19	10- 1-1979	Rome	Compagni organizzati per il comunismo
Emanuele Jurilli	19	9- 3-1979	Turin	Prima linea
Ciro Principessa	20	19- 4-1979	Rome	Avanguardia nazionale
Luigi Mascagni	24	1- 7-1979	Milan	Ignoti
Roberto Cavallaro	22	9-10-1979	Padua	Nuclei armati rivoluzionari
Antonio Leandri	24	17-12-1979	Rome	Movimento rivoluzionario popolare
William Waccher	26	7- 2-1980	Milan	Prima linea
Valerio Verbano	19	22- 2-1980	Rome	Nuclei armati rivoluzionari

Table 18

Laborers, employees and other workers

Occupations	killed in massacres	killed in ambush	killed by violence	killed in other circumstances	Total
male workers	6	4	4	3	17
female workers	2	-	-	-	2
male employees	5	2	1	-	8
female employees	9	-	-	-	9
railroad workers	4	-	1	1	6
typographers	-	1	-	-	1
drivers	2	1	-	-	3

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Table 18 continued

masons	1	-	-	-	1
farm laborers	-	-	2	-	2
electricians	1	-	-	-	1
cooks	1	1	-	-	2
male shop clerks	1	-	-	-	1
railroad signalmen	1	-	-	-	1
mechanics	1	-	-	-	1
messengers	-	1	-	-	1
Total	34	10	8	4	56

Table 19

Women killed by terrorism and violence

20 housewives	2 workers
8 school teachers	1 boutique manager
9 students	1 hosiery worker
9 employees	
4 domestics	
3 retirees	

Table 20

Names of PCI militants killed in the period 1969-1980

Name	Age	Profession	Date of death	Place
Gianfranco Carminati	30	laborer	7- 1-1971	Milan
Euplio Natali	70	retiree	28- 5-1974	Brescia
Alberto Trebedeschi	37	teacher	28- 5-1974	Brescia
Vittorio Zamparda	60	retiree	28- 5-1974	Brescia
Vittorio Ingria	53	retiree	25- 6-1974	Enna
Rodolfo Boschi	22	laborer	18- 4-1975	Florence
Gennaro Costantino	62	retiree	16- 5-1975	Naples
Luigi De Rosa	19	student	28- 5-1976	Sezze (FR)
Pietrantonio Castelnovo	47	laborer	5- 9-1976	Como
Benedetto Petrone	19	student	29-11-1977	Bari
Guido Rossa	45	laborer	24- 1-1979	Genoa
Ciro Principessa	20	student	19- 4-1979	Rome

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Table 21

PSI militants killed in the period 1969-1980

Name	Age	Profession	Date of Death	Place
Giuseppe Malacaria	33	mason	4- 2-1971	Catanzaro
Giuseppe Tavecchia	60	employee	11- 3-1972	Milan

Table 22

Movimento anarchico victims killed in the period 1969-1980

Name	Age	Profession	Date of Death	Place
Domenico Congedo	23	student	27- 2-1969	Rome
Giuseppe Pinelli	41	railroad worker	15-12-1969	Milan
Franco Serantini	20	student	7- 5-1972	Pisa

Table 23

The 11 members of MSI-DN killed in the period 1969-1980

Name	Age	Profession	Date of Death	Place
Ugo Venturini	33	laborer	18- 4-1970	Rome
Virgilio Mattei	21	student	16- 4-1973	Rome
Giuseppe Mazzola	60	employee	17- 6-1974	Padua
Sergio Ramelli	19	student	29- 4-1975	Milan
Mario Zicchieri	16	student	29-10-1975	Rome
Angelo Pistoiesi	31	employee	28-12-1977	Rome
Franco Bigonzetti	19	student	7- 1-1978	Rome
Francesco Ciavatta	20	student	7- 1-1978	Rome
Stefano Recchioni	20	student	7- 1-1978	Rome
Francesco Cecchin	18	student	20- 5-1979	Rome
Angelo Mancina	27	messenger	12- 3-1980	Rome

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Table 24

The six Lotta continua and two movimento studentesco militants

Name	Age	Profession	Date of Death	Place
Lotta continua				
Tonino Micciche	25	laborer	17- 4-1975	Turin
Alceste Campanile	22	student	13- 6-1975	Reggio E.
Pietro Bruno	18	student	22-11-1975	Rome
Francesco Lorusso	25	student	11- 3-1977	Bologna
Walter Rossi	20	student	30- 9-1977	Rome
Luigi Mascagni	24	student	1- 7-1979	Milan
Student movement				
Roberto Franceschi	23	student	23- 1-1973	Milan
Claudio Varalli	18	student	16- 4-1975	Milan

Table 25

The 37 terrorists killed in the period 1969-1980

6 laborers	1 university graduate with degree
1 electrician	2 graduates with diplomas
11 students	3 teachers
1 publisher	3 employees
6 unemployed	1 journalist
	2 others

Table 26

Number of terrorists killed by age groups

3 age 19	1 age 27
2 age 20	1 age 28
5 age 21	1 age 29
4 age 22	4 age 30
5 age 23	1 age 33
3 age 24	1 age 34
2 age 25	1 age 40
2 age 26	1 age 46

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Table 27

How the terrorists died

Name	Age	Profession	Date of Death	Place	Terrorist Group
In clashes with the police					
Ivan Boccaccio	21	laborer	6-10-1972	Gorizia	O. Nuovo
Giancarlo Esposti	24	unemployed	30- 5-1974	Pian di Rascino (RI)	AN
Giuseppe Romeo	20	unemployed	29-10-1974	Florence	NAP
Luca Mantini	23	student	29-10-1974	Florence	NAP
Margherita Cagol	26	graduate	5- 6-1975	Acqui Terme (AL)	BR
Anna Maria Mantini	23	unemployed	8- 7-1975	Rome	NAP
Martino Zicchitella	40	physics teacher	14-12-1976	Rome	NAP
Walter Alasia	20	diplomat	15-12-1976	Milan	BR
Antonio Lo Muscio	27	unemployed	1- 7-1977	Rome	NAP
Roberto Rigobello	21	bank clerk	4- 5-1978	Bologna	MPRO
Barbara Azzaroni	29	refugee	28- 2-1979	Turin	PL
Matteo Gaggegi	23	laborer	28- 2-1979	Turin	PL
Roberto Pautasso	21	laborer	14-12-1979	Turin	PL
Anna Maria Ludmann	33	teacher	28- 3-1980	Genoa	BR
Lorenzo Betassa	28	laborer	28- 3-1980	Genoa	BR
Piero Panciarelli	25	clerk	28- 3-1980	Genoa	BR
Riccardo Dura	30	sailor	28- 3-1980	Genoa	BR
Claudio Pallone	26	student	13-11-1980	Frosinone	Left
Arnaldo Fausto Genoino	34	unemployed (contratt.alla RAI)	13-11-1980	Frosinone	Left
Roberto Serafini	30	journalist	11-12-1980	Milan	BR
Walter Pezzoli	23	unemployed	11-12-1980	Milan	BR

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Table 27 continued

Name	Age	Profession	Date of Death	Place	Terrorist Group
In other circumstances					
Giangiaco Feltrinelli	46	editor	15- 3-1972	Segrate (MI)	GAP
Silvio Ferrari	19	student	19- 5-1974	Brescia	NAR
G. Principe Vitaliano	23	university student	11- 3-1975	Naples	NAP
Giovanni Taras	22	student worker	30- 5-1975	Aversa (CE)	NAP
Carlo Tognini	30	bank clerk	19- 7-1977	Varese	PL
Attilio Alfredo Di Napoli	19	student	4- 8-1977	Turin	Left
Orlando Marin Pinones	24		4- 8-1977	Turin	Left
Rocco Sardone	22	student	30-10-1977	Turin	Left
Pierluigi Sciotti	19	student	31-12-1977	Catania	Right
Prospero Condura	22	electrician	31-12-1977	Catania	Right
Francesco Anselmi	22	student	6- 3-1978	Rome	O.Nuovo
Roberto Capone	24	surveyor	8-11-1978	Frosinone	FCC
Angelo Del Sarto	25	laborer	12- 4-1979	Thiene (VI)	AO
Alberto Graziani	21	student	12- 4-1979	Thiene (VI)	AO
Maria Antonietta Berna	21	student	12- 4-1979	Thiene (VI)	AO
Francesco Mangiamelli	30	?	11- 9-1980	Rome	Right

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Table 28

Number of deaths in the provinces of the North

Province	In massacres	Ambush	Other circumstances	Total	Percentage
Bologna	97	--	4	101	27.90
Milan	21	19	22	62	17.10
Turin	--	14	10	24	6.60
Genoa	--	9	5	14	3.85
Brescia	8	--	2	10	2.75
Gorizia	3	--	1	4	1.10
Padua	--	3	1	4	1.10
Venice	--	3	1	4	1.10
Vicenza	--	--	3	3	0.80
Alessandria	--	--	2	2	0.55
Cuneo	--	1	1	2	0.55
Varese	--	--	2	2	0.55
Vercelli	--	1	--	1	0.25
Como	--	--	1	1	0.25
Bergamo	--	1	--	1	0.25
Udine	--	1	--	1	0.25
Savona	--	--	1	1	0.25
Parma	--	1	--	1	0.25
Reggio Emilia	--	--	1	1	0.25
Forli	--	--	1	1	0.25
Total in the North	129	53	58	240	
percentage	35.65	14.65	16.00	66.30	

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Table 29

Number of deaths in the provinces of Central Italy

Province	In massacres	Ambush	Other circumstances	Total	Percentage
Rome	5	32	30	67	18.50
Florence	--	2	4	6	1.65
Frosinone	4	1	2	7	1.95
Pisa	--	--	3	3	0.80
Viterbo	--	--	2	2	0.55
Pistoia	--	--	2	2	0.55
Rieti	--	--	1	1	0.25
Latina	--	--	1	1	0.25
Total	9	35	45	89	
Percentage	2.50	9.65	12.45	24.60	

Table 30

Number of deaths in the provinces of the South

Province	In massacres	Ambush	Other circumstances	Total	Percentage
Reggio Calabria	6	--	6	12	3.30
Naples	--	4	4	8	2.20
Nuoro	--	--	2	2	0.55
Catanzaro	--	1	2	3	0.80
Catania	--	--	2	2	0.55
Bari	--	--	2	2	0.55
Foggia	--	--	1	1	0.25
Caserta	--	--	1	1	0.25
Salerno	--	1	--	1	0.25
Enna	--	--	1	1	0.25
Total	6	6	21	33	
Percentage	1.65	1.65	5.80	9.10	

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Table 31

Names of terrorist organizations of the right and number of persons

Title	1969	1972	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Avanguardia nazionale	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Commandi neofascisti	--	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	3
Esercito nazionale rivoluzionario brigata Franco Anselmi	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
Movimento rivoluzion- ario popolare	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Nuclei armati rivoluzionari	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	5	8
Ordine nuovo	17	3	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	22
Ordine nero	--	--	22	--	--	--	--	--	--	22
Total	17	4	23	1	1	--	5	3	5	59

Table 32

Names of terrorist organizations of the left and number of persons killed

Title	1969	1972	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Brigate rosse	--	--	2	1	6	3	16	11	16	55
Brigate combattenti	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Brigata XXVIII marzo	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Compagni organizzati per il comunismo	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	2
Compagni organizzati in volante rossa	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Formazioni combattenti comuniste	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	--	--	4
Gatti selvaggi	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Guerriglia proletaria	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Guerriglia comunista	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	3
Lotta armata per il comunismo D. Di Nanni	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Mov. prol. resistenza offensiva nucleo antieroina	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	3

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Table 32 continued

Title	1969	1972	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Nuclei armati proletari	--	--	--	1	1	1	--	--	1	4
Nuclei armati di contro- potere territoriale	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
Nuclei armati per il comunismo	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Nuclei comunisti territoriali	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Nuclei proletari combattenti	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Operai armati per il comunismo	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Prima linea	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	7	6	15
Proletari armati per il comunismo	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Ronde proletarie	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Squadre proletarie territoriali	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	2
Unita combattenti comuniste	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	2
Total	--	--	2	2	8	7	32	24	29	104
Ignoti	--	1	--	3	--	1	--	1	--	6
Esercito armeno	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2
Riporto sigle DESTRA	17	4	23	1	1	--	5	3	5	59
TOTAL GENERALE	17	5	25	6	9	8	37	28	36	171

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Table 33 Persons wounded in ambushes and their professions

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total	%
Police	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	--	7	10	2	22	12.80
Security and other guards	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	2	3	6	3.50
Magistrates	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	--	3	1.75
Journalists	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	--	1	1	8	4.65
Politicians	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	8	5	5	5	26	15.10
Corporations directors, Entrepreneurs	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	7	13	10	4	38	22.10
Laborers, employees, other workers	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	3	--	7	4.05
Students	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	--	6	3.50
University professors, teachers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	2	--	4	2.30
Doctors and other professionals	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	4	7	6	3	22	12.80
Factory section chiefs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	6	3	2	--	13	7.55
Functionaries	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	4	4	--	1	10	5.80
Retirees	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	0.60
Businessmen, shopkeepers, artisans	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	0.60
Other	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	3	5	2.90
Total	--	--	1	--	--	--	8	11	38	44	48	22	172	100
Percentage	--	--	0.60	--	--	--	4.65	6.40	22.10	25.60	27.90	12.80	100	

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Table 34

Political figures wounded in ambushes				Terrorist group
Franco Galluppi	PSDI	15- 2-1975	Rome	right
Massimo De Carolis	DC	15- 5-1975	Milan	BR
B. Leighton Guzman	ex-pres. DC, Chile	6-10-1975	Rome	unknown
Giancarlo Nicolai	DC deputy secretary	22- 6-1977	Pistoria	PL
Angelo Sibilla	DC regional secretary	11- 7-1977	Genoa	BR
Mario Perlini	DC	11- 7-1977	Rome	BR
Maurizio Puddu	DC regional deputy secretary	13- 7-1977	Turin	BR
Carlo Arienti	DC communal counsellor	24-10-1977	Milan	BR
Antonio Cocozzello	DC communal counsellor	26-10-1977	Turin	BR
Publio Fiori	DC	2-11-1977	Rome	BR
Carlo Castellano	PCI	17-11-1977	Genoa	BR
Filippo Peschiera	DC	18- 1-1978	Genoa	BR
Giovanni Picco	DC ex-mayor	24- 3-1978	Turin	BR
Girolamo Mechelli	DC	26- 4-1978	Rome	BR
Tito Berardini	DC sectional secretary	12- 5-1978	Milan	unknown
Giulio Tognini	PSI federation secretary	14- 9-1978	Catania	unknown
Paolo Signorelli	MSI	5- 3-1979	Rome	GCCT
Giancarlo Dagnino	DC administrative secretary	24- 4-1979	Genoa	BR
Enrico Ghio	DC	29- 5-1979	Genoa	BR
Fausto Cuocolo	DC	31- 5-1979	Genoa	BR
Cano Di Graziano	DC	19-12-1979	Catania	unknown
Roberto Garrone	PCI	8- 2-1980	Turin	unknown
Nadir Tedeschi	DC	1- 4-1980	Milan	BR
Iosa Antonio	DC	1- 4-1980	Milan	BR
Eros Robbiani	DC sectional secretary	1- 4-1980	Milan	BR
Domenico Gallucci	DC sectional secretary	17- 5-1980	Rome	BR

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Table 35

Factory directors		Factory section chiefs	
FIAT Turin	9	FIAT Cassino	1
Alfa Romeo Milan	3	FIAT Turin	6
Alfa Sud Naples	1	Vanossi Milan	1
Ansaldo Genoa	1	Sit-Siemens Milan	2
Singer Turin	1	Alfa Sud Naples	1
Olivetti Turin	1	Breda Milan	2
Philco-Bosch Bergamo	1		
Breda Milan	1		
OM Milan	1		
MGM Turin	1		
Manarini Bologna	1		
Pirelli Milan	1		
Italgrafo Milan	1		
Innocenti Leyland Milan	1		
	24		13
Factory officials		Security guards	
FIAT Cassino	1	FIAT Cassino	1
FIAT Turin	2	FIAT Turin	2
Alfa Romeo Milan	1	Magneti Marelli MI	1
Sit-Siemens Milan	1	Framtek Turin	1
Italsider Genoa	1		
Montedison Milan	1		
	7		5

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Table 36

Of 49 plant directors and technicians

27 were ambushed by the BR, which injured 13 FIAT directors and technicians, three at Alfa Romeo, two at Sit-Siemens, and one each at Magneti Marelli, Singer, MGM, Pirelli, Italsider, Breda, Ansaldo and Italgrafo

8 were ambushed by Prima linea, injuring four FIAT directors and one at Olivetti in an assault on the Valletta Institute of Corporation Administration on the Via Ventimiglia, Turin, on 11 December 1979, a Praxi director, a section chief at Sit-Siemens and an official of Montedison, Milan.

4 by unknown persons

10 by as many terrorist groups, all of the left

Table 37

Law enforcement personnel wounded in ambushes

8 police agents	3 carabinieri
1 police corporal	1 carabinieri marshal
1 police brigadier	1 deputy questor
7 custodian agents	

Table 38

Cities in which law enforcement agents were wounded

Rome	11	Milan	1
Turin	4	Verona	1
Naples	1	Catania	1
Cremona	2	Trapani	1

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Table 39

Law enforcement personnel wounded in ambushes

Name	Rank	Date	Place	Terrorist group
Cosimo Vernich	custodian agent	7-10-1975	Milan	NAP
Antonio Tuzzolino	police brigadier	9- 2-1976	Rome	NAP
Alfonso Noce	deputy questor	11-12-1976	Rome	NAP
Salvatore Pistritto	commander, custodian agents	3- 4-1978	Catania	unknown
Roberto Demartini	DIGOS agent	17- 5-1978	Turin	PL
Arturo Negro	custodian agent	24-10-1978	Verona	PAC
Antonio Corsini	carabiniere	28-10-1978	Rome	BR
Vincenzo Garofalo	police agent	28-10-1978	Rome	BR
G. Antonio Pellegrini	police agent	21-12-1978	Rome	BR
Giuseppe Rainone	police agent	21-12-1978	Rome	BR
Raffaele Sardiello	carabiniere	1- 2-1979	Cremona	unknown
Camillo Mancini	carabiniere	1- 2-1979	Cremona	unknown
Raffaella Napolitano	prison warden (woman)	5- 2-1979	Turin	PL
Ciro Renzaglia	custodian agent	3- 3-1979	Rome	NAP
Gaetano D'Angiullo	custodian agent	9- 3-1979	Turin	PL
Mario Maiorana	carabinieri marshal	15- 3-1979	Trapani	BR
Giacomo Vegliante	custodian agent	26- 3-1979	Naples	BR
Vincenzo Annunziata	police agent	3- 5-1979	Rome	BR
Giuseppe Rovito	custodian agent	18- 9-1979	Turin	unknown
Michele Tedesco	police corporal	31-10-1979	Rome	BR
Giovanni Lorefice	police agent	28- 5-1980	Rome	NAR
Antonio Manfreda	police agent	28- 5-1980	Rome	NAR

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Table 40

Terrorist groups which wounded 16 doctors

1 by the Brigate Rosse (Red Brigades)
 2 by the Proletari armati per il comunismo (Armed Proletarians for Communism)
 1 by Prima linea (Front Line)
 1 by Combattenti per il comunismo (Fighters for Communism)
 1 by the Squadre proletarie di combattimento (Proletarian Combat Squads)
 1 by the Reparti comunisti d'attacco (Communist Attack Units)
 1 by the Unita combattenti comuniste (Unity of Communist Combatants)
 1 by the Compagni organizzati in volante rossa (Comrades Organized in a Red Flying Squad)
 1 by the Squadre armate proletarie di combattimento (Armed Proletarian Combat Squads)
 1 by the Reparti proletari per l'esercito di liberazione comunista (Proletarian Units for the Army of Communist Liberation)
 1 by Azione Rivoluzionaria (Revolutionary Action)

Table 41

Doctors wounded in ambushes

Name	Profession	Date wounded	Place	Terrorist group
Luigi Solera	FIAT doctor	17-12-1975	Turin	BR
Alberto Mammoli	prison doctor	30- 3-1977	Pisa	AR
Giuseppe Ghetti	Health Office, Seveso	19- 5-1977	Seveso(MI)	CC
Roberto Anzalone	President, Associa- tion of Medical Insurers of Milan	24- 6-1977	Milan	PL
Giorgio Coda	psychiatrist	2-12-1977	Turin	SAP
Rodolfo Ghio	gynecologist	10- 4-1978	Turin	SAP
Giorgio Rossanigo	prison doctor in Novara	6- 5-1978	Novara	PAC
Diego Fava	chief doctor, INAM, Milan	8- 5-1978	Milan	PAC
Giacomo Ferrero	doctor	8- 6-1978	Turin	SAP
Mario Marchetti	prison doctor, San Vittore (Milan)	13-11-1978	Milan	RC
Franco Lansardo	prison doctor, Varese	15- 1-1979	Varese	SAP
Mauro Carmignoli	doctor	23- 1-1979	Naples	UCC
Giuseppe Nicolino Nusco	doctor	25- 1-1979	Rome	COVL
Orazio Romano	prison doctor, New Prison	1- 2-1979	Turin	SAPC
Domenica Sartori Nigra	doctor	18- 5-1979	Turin	SAP
Giulio De Fabritis	gynecologist	30-11-1979	Rome	RPELC

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Table 42

Cities in which eight journalists were ambushed

City	number of journalists injured	Terrorist organization
Milan	2	Brigate rosse
Rome	2	Azione rivoluzionaria
Turin	2	Fronte comunista combattente
Genoa	1	Brigata XXVIII marzo
Padua	1	Giustizia nazionale rivoluzionaria

Table 43

Journalists wounded in ambushes

Name	Title	Date wounded	Place	Terrorist organization
Vittorio Bruno	deputy director, SECOLO XIX	1- 6-1977	Genoa	BR
Indro Montanelli	director, GIORNALE NUOVO	2- 6-1977	Milan	BR
Emilio Rossi	director, "Telegiornale I"	3- 6-1977	Rome	BR
Antonio Garzotto	editor, GAZZETTINO	7- 7-1977	Padua	FCC
Nino Ferrero	editor, L'UNITA	18- 9-1977	Turin	AR
Roberto Giunto La Spada	editor, "Radio citta futura"	25-12-1977	Rome	GNR
Franco Piccinelli	editor, RAI	24- 4-1979	Turin	BR
Guido Passalacqua	journalist, LA REPUBBLICA	7- 5-1980	Milan	B XXVIII MARZO

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Table 44

Terrorist organizations of the left and right which have injured the greatest number of persons in ambushes

Terrorist organization	Number of persons ambushed and wounded	Percentage
Brigate rosse	68	39.55
Prima linea	23	13.35
Nuclei armati proletari	6	3.50
Squadre armate proletarie	6	3.50
Nuclei armati rivoluzionari	3	1.75
Reparti comunisti d'attacco	3	1.75
Proletari armati per il comunismo	3	1.75
Fronte comunista combattente	3	1.75
Azione rivoluzionaria	2	1.15
Unita combattenti comuniste	2	1.15
Gruppi proletari armati organizzati	2	1.15
Squadre proletarie di combattimento	2	1.15
Total	123	71.50

Table 45

Terrorist organizations of the left which committed ambushes intended to injure their victims

Organizations	1971	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Azione rivoluzionaria	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	2
Associazione combattenti comunisti	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Brigate rosse	--	3	2	20	18	15	10	68
Compagni organ. per il comunismo	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Brigata XXVIII marzo	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Combattenti per il comunismo	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Formazioni comuniste armate	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Fronte comunista combattente	--	--	--	1	1	1	--	3
Fronte combattente comunista	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Gruppo operaio combat. per il com.	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Gruppi armati operai	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1

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Table 45 continued

Organizations	1971	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Gruppi combat. per il comunismo	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Gruppi proletari armati organizzati	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2
Guerriglia comunista	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Gruppo comunista per il contropotere territoriale	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Lotta armata per il comunismo	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Nucleo antifascista Roberto Scialobba	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Nuclei armati proletari	--	1	4	1	--	--	--	6
Nuclei combattenti per il comunismo	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Nuclei comunisti territoriali	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Nucleo d'assalto per la liberazione territoriale	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Movimento comunista rivoluzionario	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Potere proletario armato	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Prima linea	--	--	--	3	3	14	2	23
Proletari armati per il comunismo	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	3
Potere comunista	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Reparti comunisti d'attacco	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	3
Reparti proletari per l'esercito di liberazione comunista	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Ronde proletarie	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Ronde proletarie armate	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Squadre armate proletarie	--	--	--	1	3	2	--	6
Squadre armate proletarie di combattimento	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Squadre armate operaie	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Squadre proletarie di combattimento	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	2

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Table 45 continued

Organizations	1971	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Squadre proletarie di combattimento per l'esercito di liberaz. comunista	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Squadre rivoluz. di combattimento	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	2
Total attacks by the left	--	5	9	33	38	43	18	146
Percentage	--	2.90	5.75	19.20	22.10	25.00	10.45	84.90

Terrorist organizations of the right which committed ambushes intended to injure their victims

Organizations	1971	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Total
Giustizia nazionale rivoluzionaria	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Nuclei armati rivoluzionari	--	--	--	--	1	--	2	3
Neofascisti rivoluzionari	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
Total attacks by the right	--	--	--	1	1	1	2	5
Unidentified	1	3	2	4	5	4	2	21
Total attacks by the left	--	5	9	33	38	43	18	146
Grand total	1	8	11	38	44	48	22	172
Percentage	0.60	4.65	6.40	22.10	25.60	27.90	12.80	100

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Table 46

Victims killed in Southern Italy

Southern provinces	Number of dead	Number of ambushed	Total
Naples	8	7	15
Reggio Calabria	12	--	12
Catania	2	3	5
Catanzaro	3	--	3
Bari	2	--	2
Foggia	1	--	1
Caserta	1	--	1
Salerno	1	--	1
Enna	1	--	1
Trapani	--	1	1
Nuoro	2	--	2
Total	33	11	44
Percentage	9.10	6.40	

Table 47

Victims killed in the provinces of Central Italy

Provinces	Number of dead	Number in ambush	Total
Rome	67	39	106
Florence	6	1	7
Frosinone	7	2	9
Pisa	3	1	4
Viterbo	2	--	2
Pistoia	2	1	3
Rieti	1	--	1
Latina	1	--	1
Total	89	44	133
Percentage	24.60	25.60	

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Table 48

Victims killed in the provinces of Northern Italy

Province	Dead	Wounded in ambush	Total
Bologna	101	2	103
Milan	62	38	100
Turin	24	48	72
Genoa	14	14	28
Padua	4	7	11
Brescia	10	--	10
Venice	4	1	5
Gorizia	4	--	4
Varese	2	2	4
Vicenza	3	--	3
Alessandria	2	--	2
Cuneo	2	--	2
Bergamo	1	1	2
Cremona	--	2	2
Udine	1	--	1
Savona	1	--	1
Vercelli	1	--	1
Forli	1	--	1
Parma	1	--	1
Reggio Emilia	1	--	1
Novara	--	1	1
Como	1	--	1
Verona	--	1	1
Total	240	117	357
Percentage	66.30	68.00	

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[Two and a half pages of introduction in script illegible.]

[Text] Red Brigades

Resolution of the Strategic Executive Committee December 1981

I. Philosophy of the Party's Establishment

II. Analysis of the Cycle and the General Cyclical Policy Program:

1--The [Political] Cycle

2--The Present [Political] Cycle

3--The Italian Link in the Crisis of the Capitalistic Means of Production

4--Spontaneous Struggles, Revolutionary Mass Movements and Guerrilla Warfare in Establishing the Red Power System

5--The General Cyclical Political Program.

III. For the Establishment of a Mass Line in the Metropolitan Proletariat Philosophy of the Party's Establishment

"Whether objective truth is a part of human thought is not a theoretical, but a practical, question.

"It is in practical activity that man must demonstrate the truth, that is reality and power, the earthly character of his thought. The discussion about, or the nonreality of, a thought that is isolated from practice is a purely scholastic question."

(Marx)

"The truth of a fact or of a theory is not determined by a subjective judgment, but from the objective results of social practice.

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"The practical point of view is the primary and fundamental point of view of the dialectical-materialistic theory of knowledge."

(Mao)

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Crisis, War, Internationalism

From Organization to Party

After 12 years of armed struggle the relationship between revolution and counter-revolution in Italy is being redefined and transformed. A cycle in the history of the Communist Red Brigades Organization is definitively closed. The leap to party status establishes here and now the solid and concrete bases for the construction of the Fighting Communist Party [Partito Comunista Combattente], establishes an historical, profound and irreversible break with the past of the Fighting Communist Organization. The only historical continuity possible for the Red Brigades is in the break with the past because the only strategic prospect is that of being the Metropolitan Proletariat's Guerrilla Party.

"The process of political, planned establishment and factory organization of the Fighting Party is not at all linear, evolutionist, dependent upon time. On the contrary, it is a discontinuous, dialectical process that is the conscious product of the political-military vanguard. In the complex phenomena of class warfare this affirms the validity of a strategic perspective and the communist program which it supports, as well as the adequacy of the organizational instruments necessary to achieve them." [No source given]

The moment when the political-military vanguard of the Metropolitan Proletariat establishes the Fighting Communist Party in the strategic perspective of the transition to communism is an historical synthesis, on the higher political level, of the long process of revolutionary construction. At the same time it is the means by which its organizational status became obsolete: the vanguard consciously brings about the end of a political-organizational cycle through rupture because objective and subjective conditions are at hand for the leap to party status.

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The leap to party status is the point of arrival of a complex process of strategic and organizational redefinition and political struggle which began following the 1978 Spring Campaign. With that campaign, the Armed Propaganda Phase reached its highest point of maturity and as a consequence entered into a state of crisis with the political-organizational concept that was at the foundation of the Red Brigade Organization, and more generally, of all the Fighting Communist Organizations. The crisis following [Aldo] Moro was characterized by the need for a leap in the leadership-organization of the masses on the terrain of the armed struggle, and from that time, there has developed within these limits the political battle within the Organization to build a strategic party structure.

The first phase of these complex processes is that which, beginning with the discussions within the Revolutionary Mass Organizations, leads to the definition of an articulated criticism of subjectivism in its variant forms.

The second phase is that in which, beginning with criticism of subjectivism, the debate began to become focused within the question of the programs, and its first achievement was the resolution of the DS '80 [expansion unknown]. The D'Urso Campaign, translates the political theses of the DS '80 into practical action by the Metropolitan Proletariat on a precise level. It also defines and articulates the correct mass organization line and irrevocably fixes the substance for action as a party at the crossroads of transition to deployment in a state of civil war.

The third phase is that in which the process of acting as a party is translated into the capacity to transfer the strategic concepts of the D'Urso Campaign on the various class levels of the Metropolitan Proletariat. The Spring-Summer Campaign of 1981 constitutes the highest point of party action because: (a) It affirms the specific ability of the Organization to lead the various proletarian strata and therefore the entire metropolitan proletariat; (b) It brings to life the strategic substance of the destruction/construction dialectic which is a distinguishing feature of the move toward war and establishes the real bases for a decisive step toward the construction of the system of Red Power; (c) Brings out and reinforces--through the political battle within the organization--the revolutionary line of establishment of the fighting party in opposition to the organizational-bureaucratic line which--since it does not appreciate the political problems that characterize the present state of affairs, is inadequate and--in the final analysis--antagonistic to the historic task of the leap to party status.

The Spring-Summer Campaign of 1981 supports the political defeat of this line in the Organization and, establishing the subjective premises for the leap to party status, leads to the completion and conclusion of a cycle in the history of the Communist Red Brigades Fighting Organization.

While the revolutionary line of party establishment continues, here and now, the Fighting Communist Party advances and deepens the political battle in different ways against the erroneous lines within the Revolutionary Movements and the Metropolitan Proletariat to definitively defeat their theoretical and practical premises, and to reinforce and affirm, political unity on the highest levels concerning the strategic prospects for transition to communism.

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But the Fighting Communist Party, in its historical form of Guerrilla-Party of the Metropolitan Proletariat, also represents the historical continuity of the Red Brigades Communist Organization, from which it reaffirms and develops the theoretical-practical points of reference and strategic principles that were the basis for it from the beginning:

--The materialistic conception of history and the dialectical materialism elaborated by Marx and Engels in their work of synthesis of the historical experience of the ancient proletariat that developed from the later historical revolutionary experience: The Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution; that were reaffirmed and redefined in the imperialist cities by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism of the Red Brigades which find their point of maximum synthesis in the [illegible] and the Communist.

--Democratic Centralism as the method the party uses to resolve internal contradictions. Democratic Centralism is at the same time a philosophy, a policy, and an organizational model. On the philosophical level it is a materialistic conception: proletarian dialectic, which is based on the Maoist theory of contradiction. On the political level the defense of the Metropolitan Proletariat's interests as a class is urgent. This defense is implemented through specific political lines, that is a complex of dialectical processes of transformation synthesized by the slogans "from the masses to the masses" and, "existence in contradiction." On the organizational plane it is a model that antagonistically denies the principles of the capitalist organization of work, of the large factory, of the multinationalists' imperialist state. It is a model that is created in order to give a voice to all members of the Metropolitan Proletariat.

The only correct way to resolve the struggle between political lines which is the reflection within the party of the class struggle--a struggle that will exist so long as the opposing classes of Democratic Centralism and Bureaucratic Centralism exist--is the method based on the strategic principles of "unity-criticism-unity," and of "struggle-criticism-change." Only the constant and inflexible application of these principles can isolate and defeat the erroneous line and therefore lead to the recuperation, reunification and reorganization of the entire party on the correct line.

[3 pages missing]

3. The Imperialist State of the Multinationals

The state has always been tied to capital through organizational links: It is not only a product of capital, but it is also a producer of capital. Today this [illegible] is qualitatively redefined, changing the two interacting terms.

By its establishment, the state is present in the heart of the relations of production and re-production. Its role becomes essential for the production and re-production of these relationships in the structural crisis. It must now ensure the perennial nature of the capitalist relationship and of the underlying relationship of exploitation. The state appears [illegible] as a "private apparatus" of the dominant faction which is separated from it and is detached

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from "civil society." Even though it is "deduced" from capital it maintains an attitude that is "external" to capital, since it is through its action that there is a passage of the determination and redetermination of the capitalist relations of production and re-production, of respective social relations.

By detaching itself from "civil society," it returns to it, permeating it and occupying all its pores; separated from the dominant fraction, it changes the latter's exclusive interests into the general interest. Here the state affirms its absolute sovereignty over accumulation [of wealth] and over class relationships.

In the permanent crisis of accumulation of wealth in the phase of imperialist domination, the normal way of life becomes: Destruction of the forces of production, through the means of production, and re-production in a relationship of total war against the Metropolitan Proletariat.

There is no aspect of the economic-social structure that is exempt from state intervention; there is no relationship and/or social relationship that is not permeated by its coercive action. Everywhere the intervention of the state destroys the productive force in order to maintain the power of its domination over capitalist relationships of production, transportation and trade. It is "state violence" that makes possible, and guarantees the survival of, the accumulation of imperialist domination.

The imperialist state and the corresponding social relationships which have been in a state of coma as against the emergence of the actual, infinitely richer and qualitatively superior relations, was an outgrowth of war.

Now it has become the private apparatus of the dominant sector of the imperialist bourgeoisie and protects the interests of multinational monopolistic capital in all regions of economic-social development. It increasingly loses every historical legitimacy in setting itself up as the maximum artificer, defender and guarantor of the process of capitalistic self enhancement which today is expressed only as strangulation and destruction of productive forces.

The Imperialist State of the Multinationals exists today because of war. In the development of the class war, the state unites around a single center of gravity and the tendency will be toward the transformation into armed bands, as already pointed out by Lenin in his analysis of the forms of state power in prerevolutionary situations. Except that today, the prerevolutionary situation extends over the long term, and is characteristic of an entire historical phase: the long-term class war.

Marx says, "Beyond a certain point, the development of productive forces becomes an obstacle for capital, that is, the capitalist relationship becomes an obstacle for the development of productive forces of labor." In the present historical period, that point has been reached; more precisely, the present period is characterized by having reached this point: Capital sets itself up in relationship to the development of social wealth by obstructing the development of productive forces. On reaching this historical-social stage, a profound change in the capitalist economic-social formation takes place because capital must

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impose mechanisms that diminish production and re-production of added value, and instead strangle the development of productive forces and social wealth. This development no longer comes about due to the perfecting of property relationships, but by making them superfluous because it is posed only as the destruction of property relationships in all their possible and necessary forms.

Capital, therefore, must prevent this process of being made superfluous and it can do so only by preserving its "exclusive and general domination," since the social base which supported it is now in a state of crisis.

It is precisely the preservation/imposition of "exclusive and general" domination by capital that fixes the lines and substance of the transformation of the capitalist economic-social structure in the imperialist system of the multinationals, that is, a system in which international monopolistic capital dominates and therefore dominates the fraction of the bourgeoisie that it represents: the imperialist bourgeoisie. In this system all the social regions are simultaneously traversed by the same impulses, motivations, decisions and strategic orders under the domination of the multinational imperialism. In it all the various regions are violently brought together. Even though they conserve a relative independence, they are imperiously subjected to a single pressing demand: the forced maintenance of capitalist relations of production, transportation and trade. In order to pursue this necessary--and necessitated--objective, there is within the Multinational Imperialist State an accelerated tendency toward total integration among all the functions, structures and units of power.

4. The Global Imperialist Counterrevolution as an Armed Counterrevolution for the Forced Maintenance of Relations of Production

The more pressing the imperialist demand of forced maintenance of capitalist social relations, the more pressing becomes the process of centralization, administration and integration of strategic decisions whose area of influence becomes increasingly smaller to the point where it is fully identified with the executive.

The centralization of strategic decisions exclusively in the hands of the Executive permits it an unlimited extension of power. Not only are they filled, in an integrated way, with cooperative forces that are together political, economic, military, juridical, etc., but they transmit, apply, put into practice with equal intensity and counterrevolutionary charge in all the regions of the changed economic and social structure.

All this together, explains how the capitalist economic-socialist formation has become the state. It is a forced conversion into the state in the sense that the reasons for the forced preservation of imperialist domination impregnate, and supply the model for, all the social regions.

Corresponding to this conversion into the state is the administration of "civil society." It is worthwhile here repeating that for Marx, the latter meant bourgeois society. Therefore, it is understandable that in the relations of power among the classes as well as in social relations that, going back to the economic

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base, these circulate in every region of the capitalist economic, social formation.

Making bourgeois society an executive force means that the strategic decisions ascribed to the Executive have a total and totalizing sphere of application. By making itself the Executive, the power of the Multinational Imperialist State is totalized, attempting to reproduce itself infinitely, molding and remolding all of society according to its demands for a survival that cannot be denied.

The political phase "invades" the economic phase; the military phase "invades" the political phase; the juridical phase "invades" the ideological phase, etc., and altogether they invade the specificity of each, starting the process anew. The counterrevolution arms itself, and arms all the single functions and organizations of power of the Multinational Imperialist State.

Changes within the capitalist economic-social formation rise as high as the units of state power, which are profoundly changed. The crisis of the state in "mature capitalism" corresponds to the crisis in relationships of production: The one accentuates the other, bringing about and precipitating the general crisis of the imperialist system.

In a state of crisis, and in need of redefinition, are the "classical" functions of the state: As much that of "ideological collective capitalism" as well as "real capitalism." On the one hand, what the state imposes "collectively" is the general "corporative" interests of imperialist bourgeoisie. On the other hand--and in powerful contradiction with this--is the essential instrument and the privileged bearer of the partial "corporative" interest of a clearly defined fraction of imperialist bourgeoisie: the state bourgeoisie.

On the level of the state for war, new and more damaging contradictions are introverted into the form of the state; new and more acute inter-imperialist contradictions develop in a process of sedimentation. A larger and more ferocious "struggle behind the scenes," of reciprocal throat-cutting, is opened: the struggle between consortiums and within the same consortium.

Definitively and irreversibly in a state of crisis is the role of the state "as mediator of social conflict" which tries to reconcile "irreconcilable class contradictions." In all its aspects, defending "corporative" interests, it attacks "external reality," consisting of the economic-social formation and the Metropolitan Proletariat, without reservation and mediation, going beyond all possibility, now made impossible, of reconciliation among the classes. All the aspects of the state now are actively integrated among themselves. The structures of power and the organizations of the imperialist state together constitute the "integrated structure" of the armed global counterrevolution which is an emanation of the imperialist global counterrevolution, constituting its specific aspect in this phase of the political cycle.

The obstacle to the development of productive forces cannot but be strategically made functional by this integrated organism. It is not for this that it constitutes an organizational structure with its own limited size. Rather, it translates the level of assemblage and interaction among the various units and

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organizations of power in relation to the intervention of the imperialist state in individual economic areas and junctures, in given social regions and against precise and various class levels.

This integrated structure elaborates and translates into practice--on the highest decision level--the strategy of division for the achievement of a single strategic objective: the annihilation of the Metropolitan Proletariat. In this sense, it concentrates its fire against the Metropolitan Proletariat, dividing it. In substance, it concentrates its warfare against the Metropolitan Proletariat, dividing it according to various class levels. With this, it divides the general front of war along the differentiated central fronts.

Division is annihilation in action: annihilation in a state of becoming. With the progress of annihilation, the strategy of division always increasingly tends to become directly a strategy of annihilation. The class enemies' centers of power gravity always increasingly tend to re-form around a single center, considering that the divided fronts of the war tend to be reduced to a single front.

Within the real existence of this new and complex dialectic, property, qualitative forms, laws of movement and reciprocal relations of all the institutions and power organizations of the imperialist state change substantially because they become poles in the process of armed counterrevolutionary integration.

Cycle follows cycle and in the course of the same cycle there is a change in the appearance of the dominant pole. All the poles contribute equally to the elaboration of counterrevolutionary strategy; a single pole, or some poles, implement--cycle after cycle and in variations within the same cycle--that strategy decisively. These constitute the pole or the dominant poles in the cycle, of the integrated structure of the armed global counterrevolution.

Before cooperating among themselves, the various poles each bring together the totality of functions carried out within their specific area of action, each one of which constitutes a homogeneous bloc. All the structures of power and of the Imperialist State Organizations operating in the economic sphere are associated on a new basis and on a higher level of interaction, thus constituting the economic pole of the integrated structure of the armed global counterrevolution. In like fashion, there will be an association and installation of the military pole, the juridical pole, etc. All the poles, which will be separate and integrated with each other, act in a different way on different levels of the integrated structure of the armed global counterrevolution. All the poles are integrated on all levels, yet are distinct from each other: One pole is always a part of a totality along with the others, and at the same time, is distinct from the others. It is by virtue of this unity/distinction that the imperialist state generalizes war, rooting it in its totality in every capillary fold of the social fabric, not only to make it amorphous, but in order to bend and subordinate it through unlimited war to the needs of the forced maintenance of productive relationships. The despotic efficiency of added value becomes the mantle of war with which the multinational imperialist state surrounds, suffocates and squashes all of society.

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5. The Process and Conduct of the Transitional War for Communism

(1) The Guerrilla Party that the Metropolitan Proletariat plans to build is not exclusively a Fighting Party. It is not merely the Political Party because in this historical period the center of gravity of the class conflict is no longer based in the political terrain but in the social terrain. It is not an exclusively Fighting Party because revolutionary class war does not mean either exclusively or predominantly military combat. The military is merely a result of the metropolitan war, in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie take a stand, oppose each other, irreducibly face each other as enemies: in terms of absolute enmity.

War is not a final and extraordinary act of class opposition, but already from today it is permanently interiorized within the regions of economic-social formation, throughout the entire spectrum of class relations, in the universe of social relationships.

In this sense, war is described as permanent total war, a radical social revolution, and in this period of history assumes the specific form of Class Warfare for the Transition to Communism.

The Class Warfare for the Transition to Communism, or, the dialectic between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the Metropolitan Proletariat, between revolution and counterrevolution, determines and dominates, cycle after cycle, the possible and necessary historical forms of the organizations for the conduct of war, the determination of the Red Power System. It determines the form of combat in every region of the economic-social formation: In the political, the military, the economic, the ideological.

In this sense it is now possible to overcome the classical assumption that conceives "war as an extension of politics by violent means," because there is a reversal of the position in the politics-war contradictions since at the present level of the Economic-Social Formation development politics also undergoes qualitative changes.

Like all concepts, "politics" and "war" are socially determined.

Now it is politics that, changing into "a secondary aspect," operates in a secondary relationship to the general laws imposed by war. But above all, since the character of absolute antagonism has been extended to all social relationships, the forms of action too undergo radical changes. Revolutionary politics becomes a simple dimension--the distributive dimension--of the war between classes which, in the metropolitan context, is extended, using all means, to all social relationships.

With the historical destruction of dominant relationships of production, of the corresponding system of power and of the consequent division of men into opposing classes, there is the preparation and construction of communist society, the abolition of classes and therefore the abolition of war. The Maoist principle of "making war to prevent a war" finds further and broader confirmation.

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(2) "The laws of war are a problem that anyone who directs a war must study and resolve." [No source given]

Revolution is a war to a "final solution" insofar as it is posed as the historical defeat and destruction of the class enemy through the violent abolition of productive relationships.

Therefore, the system of revolutionary war is defined as "a complete closed circuit," within which revolution operates with its theories and models and does not permit any escape from this circuit.

The universal exists in the specific, or, universal contradiction exists in specific contradiction. "If this is not clear, it is impossible to determine the specific essence that distinguishes one thing from the others, to discover the cause or the specific basis of the movement, of the development of things, make distinctions between things." [No source given].

(3) The aim of war is: to exercise political-military power in order to exercise social power.

Therefore, it is social power that dominates the scenario of war.

In revolutionary war, which lives and must live in the imperialist metropolis, the Class War for the Transition to Communism appropriates all revolutionary knowledge and transforms it into active social power. It is an activity of revolutionary power which destroys the enemy's power, while it builds the Transition to Communism.

After having scrutinized the horizons of class struggle for a long time, revolutionary politics as an activity conforming to the aim-action constantly tending toward revolution, finds itself with the conditions and possibilities of creating new horizons. The real object of the revolutionary party is now class war for the Transition to Communism.

Regardless of how functional, politics no longer exists separate from war. Regardless of how functional, there no longer exists a war that is separate from politics.

Now politics and war act, react, interact and cooperate within new forms of existence, dominated by war. The domination of war has nothing to share with military domination. In fact, the military is merely a specific form of politics, and that is the transitional form of a specific social relationship.

The Class War of the metropolis includes the military as one of its aspects, but cannot be reduced to it. This reduction is typical of militarism. Weapons as well as the techniques of combat are instruments of revolutionary action, instruments alongside other instruments. But the basis for this action must always be clear, it is the social content of the change that it seeks.

The Guerrilla Party is rather the party of social revolution, of cultural revolution, of the Transition to Communism.

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In the imperialist metropolis, the proletarian revolution is necessarily a social revolution: proletarian in the content of scientific projections of new social relationships that would break the bourgeois monopoly of their present planning, as much as in the forms of power of its becoming.

In other words, it goes through all social relationships and it is not content with favoring one, let us say the economic or the political-military. Limitations of this kind, which in any case survive as mortgages of the past on the present, must be energetically liquidated.

The relationships of power between the classes cannot be overturned by moving only on the political terrain, on the level of military confrontation and least of all on the economic level. The Metropolitan Proletariat must learn to move simultaneously and in different ways on all terrains, within all social relationships.

And it is only in order to destroy the system of bourgeois political power, first of all its state, that the Metropolitan Proletariat must in turn perform political acts. The political act par excellence, is in fact the overthrow of existing power and the dissolution of old social relationships. But such an act is not the soul nor the aim of proletarian revolution: instead it is its "internal guise." We affirm that proletarian power is political only in its external form, while it is social in its content. It is political in that it destroys the state; social in that it collectively builds new social relationships and a new classless society.

(4) There no longer exists an art of war, but the art of social war; there no longer exists a plan of war, but the social plan of war; there no longer exists a functional separation between "strategic calculation" and "practical calculation," but both coexist united and distinct at each stage of the evolution of the Class War for Communism.

The art of social war leads to achievement of the Plan of Transition to Communism, around which it revolves according to an iron discipline. In this sense, it is the focus of general direction of revolutionary war. It is the art of the final defeat of the enemy and of the establishment of transition to communism.

The social plan of war organizes within the cycle and within various phases of the cycle, the final defeat in historically possible and necessary cyclical forms. Furthermore, the social plan of war strategically and tactically weds the final defeat of the enemy on the one hand; and on the other, it weds in possible forms, that have been prevented by the real domination of capital, the progress of establishment of communist transition. To take the first step means, in a certain sense, to begin to take the last step.

(5) The social plan of war, aside from the conduct of the war, approximates the absolute form of war. It is integrated along the lines of principal actions which attack the principal pole of the dominant gravitation centers of the class enemy's power.

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Starting with these premises, it concentrates its attack to the maximum in as many principal actions as there are dominant poles of the principal centers of gravity. Therefore, it is not limited to attacking the heart of the state, but begins to destroy its vital ganglia.

(6) All this is still not enough. Within the social practice based on the disarticulation/destruction/construction dialectic, there is an interaction, a joining, of all the elements that characterize the action of the Guerrilla-Party as multidimensional action.

The Guerrilla-Party acts along the entire arc of social relations. Even though it concentrates its fire on practice, in a cyclical process, on the principal pole of the centers of gravity of enemy power, it moves simultaneously and in a differentiated manner on all terrains, within all social relationships.

Even though it has a very clear "main objective," it does not neglect "secondary objectives." They are necessarily complementary to the "principal objective." They exist around and within it and in substance, they constitute it. It is within this dialectic that the duration and the rhythm of the campaign is established.

It is a rhythm that is developed over a long period of time: the time necessary to pursue the principal objective upon which the campaign is founded. The strategic principle is alive within the foundation of the campaign: "Act as rapidly as possible," in the sense of knowing how to identify and attack one of the centers of gravity of the imperialist project within the correct disarticulation/destruction/construction dialectic. Furthermore: Also alive within the development of the campaign is the strategic principle: "Act as rapidly as possible" in the sense of knowing how to profit by and deepen--through diverse objectives--the contradiction in each of the spheres of social relations, fostering the existence of the correct disarticulation/destruction/construction dialectic each time at its highest point.

In this sense the Campaign is like the thousand waves that intersect, clash, strengthen each other when many stones are thrown into the water rather than the concentric waves of a single stone in the water.

To act as rapidly as possible, is to fill quickly the distance that separates the first from the last step of war; it is, thus, to take it closer to its absolute form, to absolute revolution, which today is historically possible since it is a revolution that attacks and transforms the entire arc of social relations. Absolute because it definitively closes the book on an entire historical era.

The strategic point of view is the long-term class war for communism.

An immediate prospect that must immediately translate--in historically determined forms--the strategic point of view are the Campaigns of Rapid Decision, both at the moment of their establishment as well as in the course of their development.

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Concentration/acceleration means Power in Being of the metropolitan proletariat.

To exist as power means to make Red Power live, legitimize it, legalize it.

To legalize and legitimize Red Power means to make any form of power "superfluous," to extinguish it. The only form of historically justified legality is revolutionary legality since it is posed as the abolition of legality.

(7) In the imperialist metropolis, the conservation of one's own forces and the annihilation of those of the enemy does not go back to two distinct phases of the war: first the defense of strategy; later the counteroffensive strategy.

To preserve in order to annihilate and to annihilate in order to preserve characterizes from beginning to end the conduct of war in the imperialist metropolis.

In an historical context in which, as Mao said, "The forces of the reaction are powerful and the forces of the revolution grow gradually" guerrilla warfare is always in a condition of defensive strategy.

It lives in a condition of strategic encirclement within the relationship of general power. The strategic counteroffensive means producing, in a relationship of unfavorable general power, special favorable relationships of power. It means to break through the encirclement, to encircle those who encircle. And furthermore: Revolutionary metropolitan war is characterized, on the one hand, by the "lack of a stable front line." The instability of the lines induces a higher degree of mobility of fighting forces. In this sense, revolutionary war is a war of maneuver.

On the other hand, it constantly acquires more favorable power relationships: that is, it acquires and takes a stand on increasingly stable power positions. In this sense, revolutionary war is also a war of position.

The war of position here is the equivalent of position of power.

Maneuver makes the field of battle unlimited; the position confers on the battlefield a character of unlimited stability. In other words, the front lines tend toward stability and the operational directions are stabilized: All the factors of instability are progressively eliminated and brought under control. All this contributes to the opening of a new and more delicate phase: the civil war deployed for communism.

(7) [As published. Should be "8"]. On these bases, the connections that tie the forms of war to the lines of war become profound in the imperialist metropolis.

The center of war--the imperialist metropolis--is not only a territory of state in war, but also [the territory of] of the Metropolitan Proletariat under arms. It is a fortress for both. But with one substantial difference: While the imperialist state at war wants to maintain the Metropolitan Proletariat, chained in the fortress in order to defend it, the Metropolitan Proletariat under arms wants to destroy the imperialist state and, therefore, blow up the fortress.

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The lines of war are for both internal-external, both moving and confronting each other in the same territory. Internal lines and external lines are lengthened and one penetrates the other. The operations along internal lines and operations along external lines take place at the same time and in the same space: A spatial-temporal simultaneity exists between them, yet there is a dialectical distinction.

The Metropolitan Proletariat under arms is within the fortress. It is invisible to the imperialist state at war and visible to the masses: One is the result of the other.

Nonetheless, it is revealed to the eyes of the imperialist state at war, externalizing itself as power. It externalizes itself in order to attack and destroy the imperialist state at war. To destroy the fortress means to emerge from the fortress: It means the Transition to Communism.

Having reached this apex, the maximum level of invisibility coincides with the maximum level of externalization and it is immediately and permanently visible.

The system of Red Power becomes visible because it organizes the transition to communism through Class War. The future of the Class War--communism--already exists in the present of the Class War. The future of the state is that there will no longer be a state. The future of the Class War is that there will no longer be any war.

(8) [9] In the campaign of rapid decision, the rapid passage is: from invisibility to open disclosure [externalization]. The campaigns of rapid decision constitute the "open disclosure of the invisibility" of Red Power. By externalizing--that is imposing--power, they assure victory in the strategic field as well as in the succession of battles. Through such campaigns the Metropolitan Proletariat under arms is on the attack in all circumstances and in changing circumstances.

There is more. They enliven the ranks of the combatants in function of the enlargement of the theater of war, extending both the direct effects of war--through the actual defeat of the enemy--and indirect effects, through dissuasion.

The campaigns of rapid decision proceed according to partial battles, revolving around the same baricenter. The unity of the battles is the unity between principal actions and secondary actions.

Among principal actions and secondary actions there is established a necessary interconnection in perpetual movement, to the extent that during the course of the cycle and in the variation of the cycle, the principal pole of the centers of gravity of enemy class power is transformed into secondary; and vice versa. In fact, the former attack the principal pole; the latter, the secondary poles as they become principal poles.

The necessary two-pronged character of principal actions-secondary actions makes it possible during the progress of the War of Transition to Communism to destroy the principal poles of class enemy power as it changes its appearance: and in its appearance of today and tomorrow.

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In the progress toward long-term Class War for Communism there is an expansion of dialectic unity within the campaigns of rapid decision: The principle of open disclosure is increasingly affirmed on a broader scale. From the campaigns of rapid decision articulated by partial battles there is a passage to campaigns articulated as large battles. Through the realization of the principle of open disclosure, therefore, the tensions and the breadth of the intrinsic consequences of war increasingly tend to move toward extremes. The development of campaigns as large battles marks the passage from civil war deployed for communism.

(9) [10] Engels says, "The army is the organization that best represents the state of the future."

Let us look at the quality of the imperialist metropolis.

The Red Army is established as the organization of an army on a scale that is broader than the dictatorship of the proletariat for communism. It represents, better than any other organization, class interest and the proletarian state dictatorship's sphere of action.

Through the Red Army the possibility/necessity of imposing/exercising power arises out of the potential of the army of revolutionary power, a multidimensional functionality of revolutionary power. Thus, the Red Army is the organization par excellence of the revolutionary war. In this sense it is the organization best suited to the final solution. Therefore, as Engels said, it is the organization that best represents the state of the future: the state that abolishes itself following the destruction of the imperialist state at war. As such, it is the means of edification of the dictatorship of the proletariat for communism that cannot be eliminated because it eliminates the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A system of Red Power which does not adopt this organization from the beginning, which does not constitute such specific unexcludable organisms in possible and necessary forms is not edifiable.

The Red Army is also the unexcludable purpose for which, from the beginning, the edification of the system of revolutionary power must tend.

The system of revolutionary power in formation, from the beginning to the end, refers back to the formation of the Red Army.

In the relationship between revolutionary power, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat in development, and its supreme organ, that is, the Red Army, the revolutionary policy-war dialectic reaches its culmination: The revolutionary power creates its organization, the organization of power develops the revolutionary power to destroy any kind of power.

(10) [11] In the imperialist metropolis, the Red Army is the organization par excellence for the dissolution of bourgeois power as well as for the dissolution of any possible form of power.

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In it the Metropolitan Proletariat under arms is reorganized as a class: The Red Army is the supreme organization of the proletarian reorganization.

In it exists the recomposition of all social practices.

In it exists the social proletarian individual who, by transforming all of society, transforms himself and, therefore, his organs of knowledge/power. The Red Army is the last remnant of the old society, but also the first organization that constructs the new.

Proletarian knowledge, connecting the social projects in the program, is wedded directly to power; the exercise of power is the exercise of thousands of bits of knowledge in the transition to communism.

The unity of knowledge and power is the unity of Social Planning and Social Change. The Red Army is the organization best suited for such a task of planning/change, both in its quality of organizational totality as well as in its real articulations.

The Red Army is the organ of social revolution.

And it is the proletarian "No!" armed with thousands of bits of knowledge and thousands of sources of power, organized and recomposed as the social totality that cannot be reduced to imperialist domination.

It is not an "army," but armed knowledge.

It is not the power of weapons, but the weapon that, through knowledge, can, and through power knows.

Marx said, "The merely political revolution leaves the supports of the house intact." As the supreme organ of social revolution, the Red Army destroys the supports of the house because it adopts the "point of view of totality."

The advance of the Red Army on unlimited fronts of the class war for communism is the advancement from political emancipation to social emancipation.

6. The Metropolitan Proletariat

The metropolitan proletariat is the result of three interacting forces produced by the crisis:

(a) The production-restructurization which is the new site of the productive base that leads to the continuing disintegration of the working class, that is to say, to the restriction of its productive abilities and to the increase of marginal and/or salaried activity;

(b) The high mobility/circulation of each proletariat among the various patterns that becomes a typifying and generalized factor of the proletarian condition;

(c) The crisis of the influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, and particularly of certain myths such as the ability of capital to ensure gradual and secure progress, the work ethic, etc.; the affirmation of a communist conscience, which is transgressive, and decisively turned toward the future.

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It is the irreversible and general character of the crisis that establishes the irreversible and proletarian interest--of all the patterns of the Marginal Proletariat, considered as a class - to overturn the present Capitalist Means of Production.

This does not mean that within the Metropolitan Proletariat production does not objectively maintain the central position and that therefore the workers engaged in production are entitled to a political centrality and revolutionary direction in the process of class recomposition. From this it follows that the other proletarian personnel (sidelined, non-productive, etc.), since they are fragments of the disintegration of the Working Class in the process of the crisis, do not at all appear as its "external" allies, but rather as an internal stratification of a single class: the Metropolitan Proletariat.

Within this framework we believe it would be an error to resort to the revisionist and Gramscian concept of "hegemony" which presupposes the separateness of the Working Class from other proletarians and the subjection of the latter to its interests. As Gramsci says, "The fact of hegemony undoubtedly presupposes that the groups upon which hegemony is exercised will have their interests and positions taken into account, and that a certain equilibrium of compromises will be formed." But this is precisely a compromise, a "mediation" between substantially different interests. In short, the Working Class is something else!

This is precisely what we now deny when we affirm that the Metropolitan Proletariat is "the unity of the numerous and dominating workers." When we affirm that it includes all the productive workers, manual laborers, the reserve industrial army, the proletarianized classes and those who are becoming proletarianized and who, for this reason, constitute the very largest majority of our country's population.

In conclusion, the recomposition of the Metropolitan Proletariat within the pattern of the metropolitan mass worker cannot take place unless various strata which compose it deny themselves or do away with their specific characteristics; in like fashion, the working class of this recomposition [illegible] denying itself as a labor force that gives value to capital.

The inability to understand the concept of Metropolitan Proletariat leads the comrades to replace it with the category of "people," as a subject of the revolutionary process in the cities. This category on the one hand recalls the Third World theory of "popular fronts," and on the other, the well-known Maoist notion. In both cases the word "people" means a mix of different classes whose political unity is determined by the worker hegemony exercised on them through the party of the Working Class.

Now, as we have seen, in the general-historical crisis of the Capitalist Means of Production, the Metropolitan Proletariat does not at all envision itself as a conglomeration of classes, nor is the party the vanguard only of the Working Class. The process of recomposition of the Metropolitan Proletariat is in fact a political re-fusion of various strata into a single class.

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On the contrary, the concept of "people" alludes to a "mediation" of separate interests of the working class with the specific ones of other classes. This is why we believe it is wrong to speak of a "long-term people's civil war." It is not superfluous to recall that in the imperialist metropolis characterized by the real domination of capital over labor, and over all social relations, the form and content of the proletarian revolution coincide and become concrete in the social practice of Transition to Communism. On the contrary, in the Bolshevik and Chinese revolutions, precisely because of the non-coincidence of form and content, it was possible to create alliances of different classes into "popular fronts" under the hegemony of the working class; that is, it was possible that democratic-bourgeois substance would be perpetuated in proletarian forms.

An example of this - the slogan, "The land to the farmers" launched during the 1917 Revolution by the Bolshevik Party which evidently had a democratic-bourgeois character, meant the demand for private property and land ownership.

The non-coincidence between form and content of the revolution in Russia and in China is explained by the fact that these revolutionary processes developed in societies characterized by the "formal domination" of capital over labor and over social relationships; that is, characterized by the fact that capital was imposed on productive relationships, but not yet extended to all social relationships.

It is evident in the imperialist metropolis, and therefore also in our country, that to once again propose, even only tactically, the plans elaborated by the communist parties in other phases of capitalist development is not only a theoretical error but leads to the proposal of a revolutionary strategy that is entirely inadequate to the new levels of the penetration of capital in all social relationships. In fact, it is a matter of leading a revolutionary process that would place the Transition to Communism on the agenda immediately.

7. The Guerrilla Party of the Metropolitan Proletariat

(1) In this cycle, the leap to party status is an objective necessity imposed by the revolution-counterrevolution relationship. It is through the leap to party status that the revolutionary solution of total war is absorbed by the classes of society.

This leap is not a willful act of the Fighting Communist Organizations, but rather the unexcludable breadth of the relationship that arose historically between revolution and counterrevolution in this cycle.

It translates, in the relationship among the classes, the objective stabilization of that permanent relationship of absolute enmity that has developed among the classes. In turn, the absolute enmity is the reflection of the crisis in the Capitalist Method of Production in the phase of the real domination of capital, a phase in which all relations of capitalist production, in order to preserve themselves, produce and reproduce total war against the Metropolitan Proletariat on all levels of the economic-social formation and in all interstices of social relationships.

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It is only the party that, in the changed cycle can activate and enlarge the edification of the system of red power. Merely acting as a party, which was characteristic of the Fighting Communist Organizations is no longer sufficient.

The epochal leap to communist transition, to the establishment and the free multilateral development of the communist social individual, demands the leap to party status: the one is unequivocally and rigorously tied to the other.

Without the leap to party status, there can be no establishment of a Red Power System, no dictatorship of the proletariat, no transition to communism.

(2) The leap to party status makes it possible to organize and unfold the aims of the Transition to Communism. Not only that: it activates and develops all its levers and its organizational units. Furthermore: It models all its decisions. Finally: It recomposes the Metropolitan Proletariat as a social subject of the revolutionary process, as a universal class which emancipates all of humanity by emancipating itself.

To do away with the leap to party status now means liquidating the class war for the transition to communism, liquidating the historical and strategic tasks imposed by events at this cycle.

To delay the leap to party status to an uncertain and vague future means to fail in its own function as a vanguard and to practice a mass line that has been historically made obsolete, which knows about and speaks of armed propaganda while instead it is a matter of beginning to organize the war of emancipation from capitalist labor.

To act as a party in this cycle means to establish the leap to party status, means to become and to be a party.

(3) Having identified and indicated the objective need for the leap to party status does not exhaust the work of establishing the political foundations of the party, nor does it throw light on the form that the party historically must take.

The form of the revolutionary party is always historically determined and, therefore, changes with changing historical periods and the corresponding forms and qualities assumed by the revolutionary process.

In the final analysis, the form of the party is always determined by the relationship that is established between the relationships of production and forces of production since it is this specific relationship which, by regulating production and re-production of social wealth, regulates and models the progress, the forms and the objectives of revolution.

The form of the party must always be measured and developed in relation to that trend and form and those objectives. It does not predetermine anything, but it is determined. In turn, by complying with these objective laws, interpreting them scientifically, it models revolutionary strategy, converting it into a program and social project, into the revolutionary organization of the masses.

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(4) The present historical period, in which the dominant relationships of production constitute the maximum obstacle to the development of productive forces, is followed by and must be followed by a period of social revolution. With this the revolutionary process is fundamentally qualified with a social character.

By virtue of the structural antagonism between the relationships of dominant production and productive forces, the revolutionary process leaps over the sphere of the political, immediately taking on the aspects of a social revolution.

After all, Marx already had written that, "Political intelligence is political intelligence because it thinks within the limits of politics... The more acute it is, the livelier it is, the less is it capable of understanding social evils... The more unilateral, that is to say, therefore, the more perfect political intelligence is, the more it believes in the omnipotence of will and the more it is blind to the natural and spiritual limits of will and the more incapable it is of discovering the source of social evils." And again, "So long as the proletarians think in a political form, they see the source of all evil in the will and all the remedies in power and the defeat of a certain form of the state. Political will hides the roots of social poverty, falsifies the understanding of their real aims; their political intelligence deceives their social instinct."

Again referring to Marx, it is to be observed that "the common political nature is the nature of the states." The aim [illegible] is the conquest of the state. The maintenance of state power that has been conquered transforms the dominant class into a ferocious oppressor: The state is always--and it cannot fail to be--the instrument of oppression of one class over the other.

(5) The nature of the proletarian revolution in the metropolis is not the conquest of political power but the resolute defeat of all forms of power and, with this, of all forms of the state.

The proletarian social revolution knows that "human life is more universal than political life," and therefore it can and must dissolve not only the putrified imperialist [illegible] state but also the march [illegible] capitalist.

Communism needs the political act of seizing power, "since it needs destruction and dissolution." However, "where its organizational activity has begun, where it manifests its aim and its spirit, that is where it establishes its political image."

The proletarian revolution uses politics as an "image" to affirm the social substance of the epochal leap to the real community. When this substance is affirmed, the image itself is put aside and thrown into the dustbin of history. The proletarian social revolution is the death of politics which, as an "[illegible] totality" at one time dominated the progress of revolution. That progress however qualified the bourgeois revolution since the bourgeoisie and only the bourgeoisie adopted the point of view of the state. The proletarian social revolution breaks decisively with this tradition because it adopts the point of view of concrete totality, that is to say, society and the social subject of universal emancipation of productive forces, beginning with the fundamental force: man.

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(6) "Revolution is not only necessary because the dominating class cannot be defeated in any other way, but also because the class that defeats it can shake off the old dirt and become capable of establishing a society on new foundations only through a revolution." (German ideology).

Communism means establishing society on a new basis.

This leap is the passage "from the reign of need to the reign of liberty."

This leap is the passage from prehistory to a history that is truly and entirely human.

The only way to do this is to break the capitalist relationships of production, the corresponding social relationships, the capitalist division of labor, etc.

Using the Paris Commune as an example, Engels said that the state of dictatorship of the proletariat was not a state in the real sense of the term but a community, since by abolishing classes and extinguishing itself it reunifies individuals into a real community that is no longer separated from, and above it, as was the state.

In the Transition to Communism, community means the reunification of all social practices of destruction/construction/reunification of knowledge through power. This reunification runs through all the decisions of the Red System of Power, its agents and its organizations...

To build the Transition to the Communist System also means developing communist social individuals and the practice of knowledge/power, of destruction/construction.

Here, on this threshold, the revolutionary process is carried to its highest expression. After all, Marx himself says, "The antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a war of class against class, a war that, carried to its highest expression, is a total revolution."

(7) In the [illegible] of politics [illegible] the complexity [illegible] of the revolutionary process. Therefore, the party cannot be exclusively and predominantly political in form.

The "power of arms" and their language do not evoke absolute power and the knowledge/power which reunifies social [illegible] "absolute power." Therefore, the party cannot adopt an exclusively combatant form.

"In the imperialist metropolis the birth of guerrilla warfare is immediately characterized as a political and military dialectical unity. It is no longer the "two who become one," but "the one that is divided into two." No longer a party on the one hand and an army on the other, but a Guerrilla Party.

...The Guerrilla Party that the Metropolitan Proletariat intends to build is not a simple political party, just as it is not exclusively a fighting party. It is not a simple political party, as for example the Bolshevik Party and the

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Communist Chinese Party, because at that time in history the centers of gravity of class conflict was no longer based on the political terrain, but on the social terrain. It is not an exclusively fighting party because the revolutionary Class War does not--nor does it prevalently or exclusively--mean military combat."

These are the bases and the principle of inspiration of the form of the Party in the metropolis.

The party assumes the social form of guerrilla warfare, which is social since it united within itself all social practices.

(8) The Guerrilla Party is the supreme agent of the invisibility and evocation of the knowledge/power of the Metropolitan Proletariat: invisibility to the enemy and open disclosure against the enemy coexist in it at the highest level of synthesis.

This means that the more invisible the party is and the more it discloses itself in regard to the Imperialist Global Counterrevolution, the more it is visible and it becomes an inner part of the Metropolitan Proletariat: that is, the more it communicates with the Metropolitan Proletariat. And it communicates relationships of power, social relationships, exercise of knowledge, exercise of power.

In this the Guerrilla Party is the party of social communication.

That is, it permits society to organize, to recompose and to transform the spontaneity of the metropolitan party into the unity of the many which pulses and is enriched within the Red Power System. In turn this reacts in terms of the party itself and transforms it. The real dialectic intention of knowledge/power which is unchained by the dictatorship of the proletariat in construction thus transforms those who transform.

Not only that: The more the invisibility/disclosure permits the affirmation of the social substance of Red Power, the more the party form becomes visible, and thus, the more visible becomes the form of Transition to Communism.

The more visible this transition, the more visible is the transitory character of the Party's need.

Just as the dictatorship of the proletariat is the final form of possible and necessary power, as the Red Army is the final form of the army, so the Guerrilla Party is the final form of the possible and necessary party.

Once the classes are abolished, the state, the army and the party disappear. Social contradictions will no longer be antagonistic. Through their solution social men, as Marx has said, affirm their aware and definitive domination over nature and over their own nature.

The capacity for enjoyment will mean enjoyment at the highest natural, human and social level. The capacity for enjoyment and to enjoy means the unilateral development of human social enjoyments. A human social community for the first time

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will [illegible] the "festival" in the relationship of social man-nature. Nature itself will for the first time be completely human and social.

(9) The Guerrilla Party inserts into this epochal framework the disarticulation/ destruction of the imperialist state on the one hand, and on the other, conquest/ organization of the Metropolitan Party on the terrain of the war of Transition for Communism.

There can be no other dialectic of destruction/construction outside this framework.

It is these epochal aims that render the destruction/construction dialectic objectively possible and subjectively organizable. In turn, this dialectic projects and constructs, so to speak, the epochal aims in their historically determined form within the concrete present.

The Guerrilla Party is at the center of the incessant work of translation of epochal aims into social practices. And vice versa.

In this sense, the Guerrilla Party is the "abstract" bearer of the Program of Transition to Communism as well as the cyclical translation of it into a General Cyclical Political Program. Its path is from the abstract to the specific. Also belonging to it is the path that, starting from practical application, and converting the program into practical application, goes from the specific to the general.

To go from the specific to the general means starting from the Metropolitan Proletariat to arrive at party status.

To move from the abstract to the specific means starting with the party and returning to the Metropolitan Proletariat.

In this complex and rich dialectic, then, it is not only true that the Program of Transition to Communism, the General Cyclical Political Programs, are present, but a further decisive element is added: the specific Immediate Program of power, since it refers concretely to the immediate needs of the Metropolitan Proletariat.

The term definition of programs refers to this complex dialectic and to all its interacting elements.

The definition of programs exists in this interaction in continuous movement. It is to this interaction in the concrete development of the class war and in its specific interconnections that there is the insinuation, the movement and transformation of the dynamic among all the expressions of the Red Power System: party, revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary mass movements.

Inextricably, the definition of programs refers to the construction of the mass line since the programs can exist only in the concreteness of the revolutionary theory/practice that organizes and transforms the "spontaneity of the masses."

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The dimension of the programs--from the general to the cyclical up to the immediate, is marked by unity. Nonetheless, within it there exists distinctions. The relationship that links the various programs is therefore dialectical, a unity/separateness. This means it is not possible to first define a program and later another and all the others. Each program considered singly necessarily refers to all the others: by itself it is incomplete. It is in the definition of programs that each program begins to find its character of mature completeness. It begins to find, we said, because they altogether search and can find only their most mature identity in the revolutionary struggle." [No open-quote].

It can be concluded that the definition of programs and their development to maturity [illegible] identity is inscribed on the highest level of unity in the theory/practice relationship.

The Guerrilla Party and the Definition of Programs

[Illegible]

The definition of the programs qualifies the essence of the party and distinguishes it from other expressions of the Red Power System. In this sense, there can be no party without a definition of programs.

The definition of programs, furthermore, qualifies and finalizes the relationship of the party with the masses. In this sense, there is no Party and definition of programs without a relationship with the masses. This is a relationship of reciprocal model construction starting from the masses [illegible], the party is "modeled" and is finalized as an aware and planned decision of the Red Power System; the masses affected by the aware and planned decisions of the party are "modeled" in the sense that they are reunified, transformed and organized on the revolutionary terrain.

This means that the party--the Party--is continually united with the whole--the masses--even while remaining continually separate. The party and the masses together constitute an open totality that is "opened" increasingly, in the sense that each one, moving into the other, changes itself, and therefore the other, and therefore, the total quality of the revolutionary process.

This is why a characteristic trait of the party's existence is the definition of programs.

This is why definition of programs cannot be separate from the development of the mass line, that is, placed outside (and worse, before) the Party-Mass relationship.

The Party-Mass relationships cannot escape--as no relationship and determination can ever escape--from the repercussions of the historically changeable character of all social relationships. The Party-Mass relationship, in other words, is itself an historically determined relationship.

This means that today, on the one hand, speaking of Party-Mass one must more precisely speak of the Guerrilla Party-Metropolitan Proletariat relationship; on the

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other hand, that such a relationship is not generically determined and finalized by the prospect of organizing the masses on the revolutionary terrain, but more pertinently, it is determined and finalized by the prospect of organizing the Metropolitan Proletariat on the terrain of the War of Transition to Communism.

Only the Guerrilla Party can reunify the Metropolitan Proletariat.

Only in the historical era of the Metropolitan Proletariat could the need for the Guerrilla Party be produced.

Without the establishment of the Guerrilla Party it is not possible to unify the Metropolitan Proletariat.

To remain outside of this establishment, not to promote it, not to direct it, not to build it in a leap that redefines the revolutionary social practices, means to imprecisely refer to the Metropolitan Proletariat, but more generically to the masses; it means to refer without pertinence to the War of Transition for Communism but still generically to revolution.

In both these cases, not only is there a failure to understand the objective needs and the possible progress toward the epochal leap to communism, but the very salient characteristics of the cycle of transition are lost. In any case it could not have been otherwise.

Definition of the program/construction of the mass line means construction of social unity (political, military, ideological, etc.) of the Metropolitan Proletariat. The epochal leap to communism depends upon the social unity of the Metropolitan Proletariat. This unity, after all, can exist only if it is penetrated, supplied and molded by the epochal social substance of the leap to communism.

The construction of the mass line, therefore, the construction of social unity of the metropolitan party develop like three indivisible links that constitute an indestructible chain: Program of Transition to Communism, General Cyclical Political Program, Immediate Political Program.

Each of these three links is related to the other and each flows into the other: altogether and separately they find their identity and their basis for establishment and development in social revolutionary practice.

The Guerrilla Party of the Metropolitan Proletariat is distinguished precisely because of its capacity to go through each of these links and to recompose them incessantly in a chain of profoundly united relationships. No space of the "social being"--within which reside the multiplicity of unities that compose the Metropolitan Proletariat and the multidimensionality of the practices of knowledge/power that flor from them--is removed or can be removed from the Guerrilla Party's field of action.

The sphere within which the Guerrilla Party moves is the social universe of the unification of all the social practices and all the levels that constitute the Metropolitan Proletariat. In this universe there are no space-time divisions.

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The "before" and the "after," the logic of the two, three... sequence "go to hell," or better, social practice sends them to hell.

Precisely because of this order of reasons, the Program of Transition to Communism, the General Cyclical Political Program, and the Immediate Political Program are not separate from each other. To break the unity/separateness that links them in space and time is equivalent to breaking the chain and therefore breaking the totality of social revolutionary practice that constitutes the Transition to Communism.

But if the Program of Transition to Communism, the General Cyclical Political Program, and the Immediate Political Program always constitute an indivisible unity, a scale of priorities exists within this historically determined totality.

The meaning of priority is two-pronged.

Regarding the foundation and possible developments of the strategic tendencies of the Class War for Communism, the Program of Transition to Communism is central since it is the maximum abstraction of the general.

Regarding the material implementation of revolutionary social practice, the Immediate Political Programs are the nerve centers since they are the maximum concrete expression of the particular.

To politically and socially reconnect the Program of Transition to Communism with the Immediate Political Program within the cycle, is the specific task of the General Cyclical Political Program since it is the cyclical synthesis between the general abstraction and the concrete expression of the particular.

Immediate Political Programs are not only reconnected and find their completed identity within the General Cyclical Political Program, but in this they cyclically bring alive the Transition to Communism in all strata, and therefore, in the recomposed Metropolitan Proletariat. Even though having been determined by the forms brought about by the transition, only they can supply these forms and confer upon them their concrete character.

The concrete expression of the General Cyclical Political Program is here, specifically, the concrete expression of the Program of Transmission to Communism in the cycle.

In this way, each Immediate Political Program--even though it is directed toward and built upon a given stratum of classes--refers to all the others: the organization of one stratum of classes on the terrain of the War of Transition to Communism for communism takes place in strict unity with all the others. This is a law of social revolution in the metropolis. No organization of a stratum of classes exists outside of the political and social recomposition of the Metropolitan Proletariat.

Thus, if it is true that without a General Cyclical Political Program there can be no Immediate Political Program, the reverse also is true. Again, the relationship and the dialectic do not tolerate reductionism and diagramatic presentation of any kind outside of Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism.

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If the Program of Transition to Communism refers to the epochal leap of communism, the General Cyclical Political Program refers to the need for analysis of the cycle and how to bring alive the Transition to Communism within it and with-
ing historically determined forms.

These requirements not only must contribute to solving the problem of identifying the "central target" to be attacked, but also to the identification of "central terrains of struggle" to be used and the social objectives to be achieved. The General Cyclical Political Program is not merely a plan of attack on the heart of the state, but also a program for the development of new relationships of knowledge/power among the classes, with the aim of abolishing and achieving the social transformation of capitalist society. In short, the General Cyclical Political Program contains--within the specific forms of the cycle and on the line of its possible and necessary progress--an indivisible dialectic between destruction and construction.

To favor destruction means to transform the General Cyclical Political Program into a military offensive against the apparatus of the imperialist state.

To favor construction means to transform the General Cyclical Political Program into vulgar and crude propaganda for a "counterpower" that coexists alongside, and not against, the bourgeois power.

In their turn the Immediate Political Programs refer to the need to start with the immediate needs of the Metropolitan Proletariat.

Here some things must be made clear.

Only a purely formal reference to Leninism can result in the description of the establishment of Immediate Political Programs for the Metropolitan Proletariat as "economism." Today, in fact, "economism" cannot be the "childhood sickness of metropolitanism" as we shall see.

Actually, Lenin does not pose the matter in these terms. He does not tire of warning of the existence of "spontaneity and spontaneity," urging the party to very carefully consider "the forward progress made by the movement." Spontaneity for him, finally, constitutes the "embryonic form of consciousness." Therefore, to speak with scorn of

[Page missing]

The immediate political programs do not alone take shape from this dialectic, but the Organizations of Revolutionary Masses are born and develop from it as is the missing determinant of the Red Power System, since Revolutionary Mass Movements and the Party whose genesis is mutually influenced, are determinants already in existence.

The Revolutionary Mass Organizations constitute the missing link in the Red Power System since they are not born, nor are they reproduced, spontaneously. They are the precise result of a precise dialectic: that between the Party and the Revolutionary Mass Movement.

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Even when there will be thousands of Revolutionary Mass Organizations, therefore, they continue to take on the character of the missing link in the revolutionary power system.

8. The Program of Transition to Communism

Without a Program of Transition to Communism that would explain the social objectives of war, it is not possible to identify all the proletarian components that are objectively involved in it.

This program on the other hand, does not grow out of nothing, but 10 years of proletarian struggle, of practical and radical criticism in the factories and in the capitalist social formation, have in very general terms produced an outline of its essential substance that we may summarize as follows:

--Reduction of working hours: Everyone must work, but work less; massive freeing of time for social action and development of social conditions for evolved use of that time;

--A new distribution of manual labor and intellectual labor, of study and work, in each individual and within the span of a lifetime;

--Abolition of private property, and the restoration of wealth to society;

--Overthrow of the exercise of power and of the planning of collective aims on all levels of social life;

--Retraining in production, in the man-nature relationship, on the basis of values of use that are collectively defined and historically possible;

--A shift in our social development according to the principles of an effective proletarian internationalism.

The condition of this program is to do away with capitalist relationships of production, of production based on the value of trade.

Utopia does not enter into it. Here it is a matter of a program that, as Marx would say, "Does not leave the pillars of the house standing" since its foundations have already fully matured. It is a matter of a program constantly related to the struggles of the more conscious proletarian subjects who violently break with the domineering and conservative tendencies of capitalist development and clash in antagonistic ways with the state.

However, it is a matter of a program that seeks its most mature identity in revolutionary struggle. The growth of Red Power coincides with this search and it is up to the Party to make itself its promoter.

9. Crisis, War and Proletarian Internationalism

(1) The general law: The crisis of imperialism generates war.

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"Soviet revisionism and Yankee imperialism which exist under the same mantle, have committed so many crimes that the revolutionary centers throughout the world will not permit them to remain unpunished.

"Peoples of all nations arise. A new historical period of struggle against Yankee imperialism, against Soviet-social imperialism, has already begun.

"If war causes revolution, as well as if revolution prevents war, the days of Yankee imperialism and Soviet revisionism are now numbered.

Proletarians of all countries unite." [No source given].

2. The Four Contradictions Have become Three

The four fundamental contradictions of our time, as they were explained by Mao in the 9th and 10th Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party--that is before Teng Chiao Ping developed his bourgeois theory of "Three Worlds"--can be summarized as follows:

--The contradiction between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie is the principal one. It goes through all the [illegible] social formations dominated by the Capitalist Means of Production, including that of "state monopoly capitalism" (USSR, China, etc.);

--The contradiction between the socialist and imperialist nations, considering as "socialist" those nations in which the proletarian dictatorship dominates, and including among the imperialist nations also those with state capitalism;

--The contradiction between oppressed peoples and nations on the one hand, and imperialism on the other;

--The contradictions within the imperialist system among states, financial groups, imperialist multinationals.

In the past 10 years much water has passed under the bridge. The cultural revolution, even though temporarily, was defeated and the bourgeois line of Teng won out. It is always difficult to find nations in which the dictatorship of the proletariat actually dominates.

Therefore it seems to us that in the present phase the second great contradiction in order of importance should be put into last place.

Despite this, the contradiction between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie has become more acute and more widespread; and as a result of this, the other two referred to are becoming more explosive.

This seems to us to be the [illegible] that characterizes the 1980's.

Despite those who maintain that the tendency toward war prevails over the tendency toward revolution, we maintain the opposite: Revolution is the foremost tendency in the era of dying imperialism.

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When we speak of imperialism we refer as much to the movement of private monopolistic capital as to that of nations run by state capitalism.

"We want to be very explicit concerning this point. Imperialism and social imperialism are two specific variables in the capitalist means of production in this phase: private capitalism and state capitalism. They form an imperialist system in which there is unity as well as contradiction: Unity in the Capitalist Means of Production; contradiction between its forms of geographical and historically determined existence.

"Modern revisionism is the ideological, political, and material expression of a sector of world imperialism; social imperialism, an organic component (and also in contradiction) of the class dictatorship of imperialist bourgeoisie." [No source given].

The general law of crisis runs through the entire imperialist system.

The main contradiction in this system is that between the multinational monopolistic system headed by the United States, and the state monopolistic system headed by the USSR.

3. Unlike what happened in World War I and World War II, the present one has a triple character:

- It is a class war in each sector of imperialism;
- It is a war between peoples and nations oppressed by imperialism;
- It is a war between sectors of imperialism and within each one of them.

This is because the export of capital and the "countertendency" of the crisis of overproduction react violently as much within areas that export capital as in areas in which it is establishing its domination.

(a) In the areas that export capital (real domination) the class war tends to assume the form of a total social war for the transition to communism.

(b) In the areas penetrated by internationalized capital, the war tends to assume multiple forms that are defined by the degree of development of productive forces and of social relations within which capital has taken root and has begun [illegible] to impose itself as a relationship. Wars of national liberation) [As published].

(c) Conflicts multiply between states, financial groups and multinational companies within each imperialist sector.

The intertwining of these three characteristics explains the particular form of present war which is a world process, that is simultaneous and interacting, of guerrilla warfare and revolutionary struggle in the cities, wars of national liberation, multiplication of hotbeds of direct military conflict between the imperialist and the social imperialist sectors.

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The "tendency toward war" is not, therefore, an incubation of latent tendencies that are getting ready to explode at an "x moment" sometime in the future.

4. [Illegible] of our discussion interest [as published] now is to emphasize the fact that the imperialist sector in which our social formation is placed is also characterized by an unequal development of capital.

The political form of this unequal development is that of a system of imperialist states interrelated (on the economic, political and military level) according to a complex hierarchy at the summit of which is the United States, or, the most powerful capitalist multinational.

It must be said, however, that there is a contradiction within the imperialist system, but the united interest of the imperialist bourgeoisie to defend the entire arc of exploitation of multinational monopolistic capital dominates in any case.

It therefore has established for this purpose an integrated world political-military system devised to intervene as much within each single imperialist state in a counterrevolutionary function as to attack each potential "external enemy."

NATO is the heart of this integrated political-military system in Europe and the Mediterranean.

5. The imperialist nations arm themselves for war. NATO is an organization that defends the interests of multinational monopolistic capital and above all the strongest ones: the American multinationals.

NATO is not a "defensive" institution: If it defends anything, it is only the interests of imperialist capital.

NATO is the nerve center of the imperialist counterrevolution in Europe and the Mediterranean.

NATO means domestic and foreign war.

Domestic war:

--Promotes the integration of the apparatuses and standardization of antiguerrilla theory;

--Promotes psychological counter guerrilla warfare through books, mass media, films, etc., for example the libel by [Claire] Sterling ("The Network of Terror") is repeatedly cited by the American Secretary of State Haig and the newspaper woman has been invited to participate in the deliberations of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism and Security;

--It prepares a mass psychology to support the aggressive policies of imperialism.

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Foreign war:

--Integration of parts of the national armed forces into aggressive expeditionary forces;

--Installation of missile bases with nuclear warheads. It is taken for granted that every decision on their "use" must be made solely by the Americans since the European governments have no vote in this regard.

6. The deepening of the crisis is the origin of the need for a tighter transnational integration of counterrevolutionary and warmongering apparatuses of imperialist bourgeoisie.

In this process, which naturally is disturbed by profound contradictions, the apparatuses of the single states undergo important changes.

6.1. The ideological cement of all of this is the philosophy of the American "New Right" that "thinks" for Reagan and is supported by four pillars.

--Visceral anti-Communism in the McCarthyite tradition;

--The neo-liberalism and the neo-monetarism of Milton Friedman in economics, that redimensions state control of the movement of money.

--Within the states: cuts in social programs and increase of military expenditures, and strengthening of war industries. On the world scale: See the annual assembly of the International Monetary Fund of October and the Cancun Summit.

--The "moral majority," or, the "restoration" after the 1968 [illegible] and the social struggles of the past 10 years. (Law-Order-Family).

The new military doctrine synthesizes the slogan: Amerika Uber Alles! [America Over All].

6.2. This process has developed in specific forms also in our country and was dragged onto the political level by the PSI [Italian Socialist Party], by the Amerikaner Craxi and by the DC [Christian Democratic Party].

It assumes the following forms:

--A dizzying increase in the military budget (more than double in the past 2 years);

--Increase of war industries;

--A warmongering policy of government (see the decision to send troops to [illegible--the Siani?] and to install missiles with nuclear warheads at Comiso and elsewhere against the Arab and North African peoples);

--Integration of the defense ministry and interior ministry within the NATO projects. Italy is increasingly becoming the center of imperialist policy in the Mediterranean arc;

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--Corporativization of military personnel;

--Rebuilding armed forces within the framework of the "remodernization" of NATO.

7. The intensity of conflict between the two poles of the main contradiction of the imperialist system grows in relation to the fact that Europe is increasingly in the center of this conflict.

That this is so is demonstrated by recent statements by Reagan and Haig on the possibility of a limited nuclear war against Europe.

The infamous "Directive 59" approved by Reagan provides for the possibility of a limited war against Europe and the USSR in American interests.

Haig: "There are things worse than war."

Haig: "Among the extraordinary plans contemplated under the NATO Doctrine there is that of the use of an atomic weapon for demonstration purposes to make the other side understand the limit of tolerance in the conventional sector is being overstepped.

For Haig, therefore, there are "things worse than" some tens of millions of dead: some tens of millions of unemployed proletarians.

The metropolitan proletariat at Rome, London, Brussels, Amsterdam, Bonn, Scandinavia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, has demonstrated its acute awareness of the problem by immediately mobilizing and staging the most powerful mass political demonstrations of the past 10 years. Unlike demonstrations against the American war of aggression in Vietnam at the end of the 1960's, today the mass movements identify imperialism as a threatening and aggressive force directly oriented against the European proletariat.

Not overlooked is the inextricable connection between more than 10 million unemployed without hope, and destined to increase, who wander through Europe, and preparations for "an atomic solution" of their problem.

Thus, if yesterday, aside from some rare exceptions like the RAF [probably Red Army Faction] such demonstrations were limited to condemning the imperialist aggression of a distant people, today the struggle is beginning to prevent the interimperialist war from attacking and destroying Europe itself, and the idea-force that is beginning to make headway in the awareness of the masses that only the proletarian revolution can prevent this war.

Within these movements, it is possible to identify different positions that are the reflection as much of the breadth and heterogeneity of classes of social forces that participate, as of the ideological influence of revisionist propaganda and even of the psychological warfare conducted by NATO.

It is important to see clearly into the ideological class content of the principal positions since the ideological class struggle is a fundamental terrain in the relationship between the party and the mass movement.

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Criticizing the slogans influenced by the bourgeoisie and revisionism is a condition for affirming the correct ones that the Metropolitan Proletariat must use as the basis for its efforts.

Neo-revisionism. This construct has profound roots even in our own country. The proponents of this thesis affirm, more or less explicitly, that the strategic rear guard of revolutionary struggles developing throughout the world (and therefore also in Europe) is the so-called "socialist camp," the reason why the strategy of these struggles cannot be measured by anything but what carries the USSR and its allies forward on the world level.

A shameful, timid variant, is that which maintains that in any case the principal enemy is American imperialism and that therefore there is nothing wrong in depending upon the USSR to combat it.

Neither the former nor the latter understand very well that the mythical "socialist camp" in reality is socialist in words only and imperialist in deeds because the dominant means of production, for many years now, in the USSR as in the nations tied to it, is state capitalism.

Pacifist revisionism. Acceptance of NATO and affirmation of its "defensive" character (in 1977 Berlinguer described NATO as a defensive alliance; in 1981 the PCI Central Committee, in October, repeated this concept).

Proposal of negotiated progressive disarmament. This thesis is counterrevolutionary because it accepts for the proletariat a position within the warmongering designs of imperialism and sows the illusion that peace is possible without the destruction of capitalist means of production within its imperialist phase, and that is, of the one and only generator of war.

This position ideologically disarms the proletarians and is actively a part of imperialisms' plans.

8. In this context, in order to carry out a vanguard position in the leadership of Transition to Communism the Party [must] affirm three fundamental theses:

--"A great peace can be achieved only after imperialism in all its forms is annihilated." Mao.

--In order to annihilate imperialism it is necessary to mobilize the proletariat to develop the revolution and transform the interimperialist war into a class war.

--True internationalism Lenin says, consists of developing the revolutionary struggle in one's own country.

In our country, it is the imperialism of American, European, national and multinational monopolistic capitalism that must be sent to hell together with the imperialist state which defends its interests and the aggressive military organizations that it has generated.

Therefore, it is not a matter of affirming that in the contradiction between the two sectors of imperialism, the one headed by the Yankees is the principal, one

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and that headed by the USSR is the "secondary" one, and therefore, implicitly, if not explicitly, leaving open the door to the neorevisionist thesis that it is possible to seek the backing of the latter in order to combat the former.

On the contrary, the attack against the imperialist state and the transnational political-military structures that are part of the imperialist sector in which our revolutionary militancy develops is determined exclusively by our position and does not involve an assessment of different dangers for the world proletariat posed by the two poles of the imperialist system.

This slogan acquires a new meaning in the present conditions of the political-military interaction of states. In fact, revolutionary action is not limited here to making "insecure" [illegible] "rear guard" of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but proposes a direct and systematic disarticulation of the plans and organs of imperialist aggression.

9. In the crisis of imperialism every guerrilla who does not act on hearing the order "annihilate imperialism" is inevitably reformist.

The order "annihilate imperialism" is central to the program of Transition to Communism.

In fact it is not possible to definitively revolutionize social relations of production without a definitive defeat of the imperialist system.

However, precisely because of the unequal development of capitalism and the chain of imperialist states, it is possible to break the weakest link and to establish a process of liberation from capitalist labor in a local area.

Precisely because of this we speak of "removing the Italian link from the imperialist chain" and establishing the process of transition to communism as an independent and militant path against all imperialism in unity with all militant proletarians and all oppressed nations.

10. It is necessary to deal with the problem of unity with all guerrillas who fight for communism and more in general with those who, even though they do not have a proletarian content, fight against the imperialist system.

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SPAIN

ETA COMMUNIQUES TO THE BASQUE PEOPLE

Unknown ZUZEN in Spanish April 1981 pp I, II, 1-12

[Text] Actions Against Iberduero S.A.

June 1977: Explosion at the nuclear powerplant under construction,
Lemoniz

11 June 1977: Blowing up of poles along a stretch of the Madrid power supply
line

June 1977: Explosion at the electric powerplant at Berango

22 December 1977: Confrontation with the Civil Guard at the Lemoniz
Nuclear Powerplant, during which activist Jose David
Alvarez Pena was wounded; he later died.

19 March 1977: Blowing up of part of the nuclear powerplant, Lemoniz

9 April 1977: Blowing up of four Iberduero power line towers, Gatika

14 June 1979: Bombing of the turbines at the nuclear powerplant, Lemoniz

14 June 1977: Burning of an Iberduero S.A. truck, Eibar

12 November 1979: Blowing up of essential Iberduero technical components
for the Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant, Santander

3 February 1980: Blowing up of 800 storage batteries destined for Lemoniz,
Gasteiz (SAFT-Iberica)

1 June 1980: Burning of the Iberduero offices, Durango

11 July 1980: Blowing up of the "Electra" (affiliate of Iberduero)
substation, Oyon

7 August 1980: Burning of the Iberduero S.A. offices, Eibar

29 August 1980: Burning of Iberduero S.A. offices, Tolosa

28 August 1980: Burning of Iberduero S.A. offices, Gernika

- 11 September 1980: Blowing up of the Iberduero S.A. company store, Bilbao
- 12 September 1980: Burning of Iberduero offices, Irun
- 29 September 1980: Burning of three Iberduero S.A. jeeps, Getxo
- 1 October 1980: Burning of an Iberduero S.A. transformer, Donostia
- 7 October 1980: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. transformer, Santurce
- 19 November 1980: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. substation, Oiartzun
- 13 December 1980: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. substation, Lasarte
- 19 December 1980: Bombing of a Fuerzas Electricas de Navarra office, Iruina
- 22 December 1980: Burning of an Iberduero S.A. substation, Elgoibar
- 1 January 1981: Blowing up of two Iberduero S.A. substations, Renteria
- 1 January 1981: Blowing up of the Iberduero S.A. substation at Irun
- 1 January 1981: Blowing up of the Iberduero S.A. substation at Oiartzun
- 5 January 1981: Blowing up of the Iberduero S.A. (Urreta) substation at Galdakano
- 5 January 1981: Blowing up of two Iberduero S.A. substations (Atxukarro and Artunduraga), Basauri
- 12 January 1981: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. substation, Bermeo
- 19 January 1981: Blowing up of Iberduero S.A. headquarters, Donostia
- 20 January 1981: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. transformer, Usurbil
- 22 January 1981: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. transformer, Urretxua
- 24 January 1981: Blowing up of the switching center along the Bilbao-Behobia highway at Arizeta, Zarauz
- 25 January 1981: Blowing up of a transformer center in the process of being outfitted, Tolosa
- 29 January 1981: Bombing of an Iberduero S.A. substation (activist Rikardo Barros Ferreiro killed), Tudela
- 29 January 1981: Capture of chief Lemoniz engineer Jose Maria Ryan, Lemoniz

- 30 January 1981: Blowing up of the Iberduero (Audele) substation, Oiartzun
- 31 January 1981: Blowing up of the Iberduero S.A. substation, Villabona
- 31 January 1981: Blowing up of the Iberduero S.A. substation, Mendabia
- 5 February 1981: Blowing up a power transmission tower, Itxaso
- 7 February 1981: Execution of Jose Maria Ryan, chief engineer at the
Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant, Bilbao
- 8 February 1981: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. substation, Tolosa
- 17 February 1981: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. transformer, Urnieta
- 28 February 1981: Blowing up of an Iberduero S.A. substation, Leioa
- 28 February 1981: Blowing up of Vitoriana de Electricidad, an affiliate
of Iberduero S.A., Altube

Farewell:

ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty], the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, claims Mario Lavarez Pena as one of its members; this activist was killed accidentally on 17 March when a bomb that he was handling exploded.

Once again ETA must mourn the death of an activist, one who fell weapons in hand to secure an independent, reunified and socialist Basque Country with its own language and culture. The loss of Comrade Mario Alvarez was due to an accident, when a bomb that he was putting together went off. On other occasions, torture and confrontations with the enemy have caused dozens of Basque strugglers to be mowed down by those who hold political and military power in Spain and oppress and exploit our working Basque people.

Many have given everything, even their own lives, for the Basque Country. This is not the time for weeping or sadness. The struggle for Basque National Liberation demands the efforts of all those of us who sincerely and honestly have an awareness of the people and feel that the only way to democracy and self-government is through force. Unfortunately, however, this path must claim victims, such as Mario, his brother David and other Basque soldiers wrested from the people.

ETA joins Mario Alvarez's family and the Basque working people in their sorrow over this major loss and renders our comrade the best tribute that we can give him, which is to continue our course, bearing witness to our generosity, until we achieve the objectives for which he gave his life.

Farewell Mario

ETA Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, claims responsibility for the execution of Jose Luis Raimundo Moya, the head of the General Police Corps in the Santiago district, on 5 March in Bilbao.

ETA has thus put an end to a life that for 30 years was devoted to repressing, coercing and torturing activists and sympathizers of the Basque National Liberation Movement. Eloquent testimony of Police Chief Raimundo's involvement in political and social efforts can be given by the hundreds of detainees who fell into his hands just because they were regarded as patriotic Basques and because they were struggling for just grievances. They were insulted, accused and mistreated by the police chief and his aides to obtain information from them or at least to frighten the people in their district.

They wanted to portray the torture-caused death of our comrade Joxe Arregi as an isolated, accidental incident. But we know that that is not the case. We know that torture and mistreatment are widespread practices at all police stations and Civil Guard barracks and are part of the system of securing declarations or intimidating the Basque resistance. Therefore, we do not buy the Carrillo-style arguments calling for the firing and sanctioning of those who are proven torturers, and we do not buy them simply because they are false. In the first place, it is impossible to prove something to which there are no witnesses, and as far as we know at this point, what happens in a dungeon remains exclusively between the detainee and police officials. So except in cases like that of Joxe Arregi, whose dead body was proof of the horrors that he suffered, recourse to the courts will be useless because the officials will refuse to admit anything. Secondly, talk of firings suggests that any possible candidates for this sanction are a few individuals who have violated the legal code of the police structure itself. In fact, the exact opposite is the case; in other words, it is the very police and executive structure of the system that forces its officials to act in this manner to achieve the proposed end.

Thus, ETA will continue to attack all of the State structures that make repression and torture possible in the southern Basque Country and we will basically try to eliminate the police commands and professional torturers who are best known for their odious work. At the same time, we must not forget that this struggle is, above all, one of national liberation and that the underlying aim of our attacks on Spain's repressive corps is their withdrawal from the southern Basque Country, the political grievance set forth in the KAS [Patriotic Socialist Coordination] Tactical Alternative.

Separately, ETA also claims responsibility for the blowing up of the Iberduero S.A. transformer center in the Donostia district of Ibaeta on 7 March and the blowing up of two Iberduero S.A. power transmission towers carrying energy to France, on 10 March in Aretxabaleta. Both

of these actions were part of our campaign against Iberduero under the rallying cry of "Lemoniz Apurtu."

Basque Country, 11 March 1981
Gora Euskadi Askatuta
Gora Euskadi Sozialista

ETA Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Organization of National Liberation, claims responsibility for the 14 March bombings in Getxo and Donostia, respectively, of an apartment building being built for the Civil Guard, of an Iberduero power transformer at Ibaeta and of the Rugby Bar, where drugs are sold and consumed.

We also claim responsibility for the bomb that was placed on 12 March in the offices that Mr Arza, the president of the Foral Delegation of Navarre, maintains in Estella. This was done to counter the bossist, anti-Basque policy that the rightwing in Navarre has been pursuing through the Foral Delegation against the national and social aspirations of the people of Navarre and the southern Basque Country as a whole.

Although at first glance it might seem that because of the diversity of our targets our armed actions are not consistent as to their political objectives, the fact is that there is a common thread of political intervention running through this series of moves.

Harassing the Spanish occupation forces in the southern Basque Country; intimidating the bourgeoisie responsible for the construction of the Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant, which is a threat to the people, and uncovering the network through which the world of drugs has invaded our people are areas of armed intervention that are part of the basic struggle for democracy and the national sovereignty of the Basque working people. ETA is openly opposing those who would illicitly and in Machiavellian fashion impose on the Basque people a model of society that entails such obvious human and political risks as the Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant or the spread of drug use in our neighborhoods and towns, and we are doing so as part of the struggle to achieve a democratic break that will bring sweeping changes in our social and national relations with those who have so far denied us our minimum sovereign rights. The Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant and the so-called "Drug Maffia" are not explicitly set forth as targets in the KAS Tactical Alternative, but they are present implicitly because they represent two clear-cut attacks on the principles and freedoms that are part of the political democracy and self-government proposed in the alternative.

We feel that it is absurd to talk about amnesty for prisoners and exiles before having achieved a political system that will guarantee their personal security and, more importantly, because these kinds of extreme situations can surely recur. We cannot brag about home rule and democracy

when daily events, such as the building of the Lemoniz plant, show us that instead of moving towards the loosening of bonds, the Basque people are increasingly shackled and dependent on ties that are alien to their own process of home rule development.

The EBB [Basque Executive Committee] of the PNV [Basque Nationalist Party] has charged that our campaign against Lemoniz has worsened unemployment and put thousands of workers who are dependent today on the nuclear powerplant on the street. The leaders of the PNV are groping for arguments every day to refute our reasons for struggling for the people's grievances, and their demagogic, naive efforts have failed. The workers at Lemoniz have been on the verge of unemployment for some time now, and not because of us but because the construction work is almost finished. Like so many other capitalist monsters, Lemoniz offered many direct and indirect jobs during its construction, but the result of all this highly specialized and sophisticated construction work does not provide for any continuing job posts, except for a few technicians and intermediate executive personnel. Therefore, the problem of unemployment and a shortage of jobs cannot be analyzed childishly with arguments that do not make sense; it can be tackled only on an in-depth basis. This anguishing problem will be resolved only through an economic reconversion program on a structural basis and within the framework of social and political relations based on a full-fledged statute-governed system and civic normalization.

Blaming ETA now for the crises that capitalism has gotten our workers into is as absurd as contending that the Spanish State has demonstrated its desire for democracy and for our autonomy because we still exist.

The time has now come for each person to assume his responsibility to the people, without pointing the finger at others. To do otherwise only shows weakness in a bid to justify the lack of desire to struggle for the interests that our people are demanding.

To close this communique, ETA feels that it must counter some regrettable statements by Eurocommunist leader Xabier Markiegi in the wake of the attack on the Bilbao police station, in which he hinted at alleged differences within ETA, which he described as internal strife, regarding a cease-fire.

In such instances of cheap raving and crude lies we usually go by the old saying that "the best way to show contempt for something is to ignore it," but in this case we will make an exception. It is to be expected that as a counterrevolutionary Mr Markiegui would try to discredit ETA in every possible way, including false rumors about alleged internal dissent. Up to now, when such rumors appeared in the press, we always noted that they came from an official new agency, which in fact was merely pursuing the tactics of confusion employed by Spanish intelligence services against ETA. From here on in, Mr Markiegi's precedent is going to make us stop and think, especially when we notice an odd

similarity between this fellow's way of inventing things about ETA and the methods regularly employed by Spanish secret services in the same field of lies and manipulation. We would tell Mr Markiegi these two things: one, that if you play with fire, you could get burned; and two, that you might be imagining the mote in another's eye and not seeing the beam in your own.

In case there are any doubts, ETA would like to inform the Basque working people that with regard to both strategy, the tactical alternative and short-term political and military policy, there is complete internal unity and identification among the entire activist membership and among all leadership organs.

Our path is clear, as is the immediate and future objective for which we are struggling. There will be a cease-fire to the armed struggle only under the conditions that ETA submitted to the Spanish Government almost 4 years ago.

Basque Country, 16 March 1981
Gora Euskadi Askatuta
Gora Euskadi Sozialista

ETA Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, claims responsibility for blowing up a truck owned by the firm Explosivos Forestales of RENFE [Spanish National Railroads] on 17 March in Iruina.

The purpose of this action was to unmask and speak out against the way that the Spanish State, through RENFE, has usurped the communal forests of Quinto Real.

Many years ago RENFE obtained from the Spanish State and central government institutions the lease to develop and use the lumber from the Quinto Real forests in railway ties and posts. It is currently not being used for this purpose because the ties and posts are being made of cement and concrete. Nevertheless, RENFE continues to cut down trees in Quinto Real and sell them for other purposes, earning sizable profits that the region does not share in at all.

But the swindle that RENFE and the Spanish State are pulling on the people of Quinto Real is just a tiny part of the serious problem in this regard.

Areas such as Urbasa and Andia, Aralar, Bardenas reales, Aezkoa, el Monte de la Cuestion and Quinto Real are all rich livestock and forest zones that the oppressive institutions are plundering from the communal patrimony of the people of Navarre.

ETA took action some time ago, during the grassroots rallies for the grievances of the villages of Aezkoa in connection with their forests,

and we have just taken action again in the case of Quinto Real. Our objective is to support with every means at our disposal the just demands of the people of Navarre, based on these two matters of principle:

1. An immediate halt to the irrational exploitation of these communal forests, with the felling of their trees and the steady impoverishment of their natural riches by the Spanish State and companies like RENFE;
2. The start of a suitable process leading to the return of this communal patrimony to its legitimate owners, in other words, the people of Navarre, who should be the sole beneficiaries of its development.

In the event that these grievances of the people are not satisfied, ETA cautions that it will continue to militarily harass those directly or indirectly responsible for the current situation to whatever extent necessary.

Gora Euskadi Askatuta
Gora Euskadi Sozialista
Basque Country, 19 March 1981
ETA

ETA Communique to the Basque People

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, claims responsibility for the executions of Artillery Corps Lt Cols Ramon Romeo Rotaeché and Jose Luis Prieto Garcia on 19 and 21 March in Bilbao and Iruina, respectively.

ETA has once again attacked the high commands of the Spanish Armed Forces to defend against the clear-cut aggression that the people of the Basque Country have been suffering at the hands of the political and military power of the Spanish State.

At no time did we intend for these actions against the Armed Forces to constitute a provocation for a regression from a political situation that has arbitrarily been called "democratic." The suspicious coup on 23 February and, above all, its negative impact on a judicial and legislative overhaul show us quite clearly the policy of a regime that although on the surface it has altered its methods of oppression, actually continues to be marked by a fascist ideology and by the predominance of the de facto military powers inherited from Franco's military dictatorship.

From various political angles we have been described as enemies of democracy and freedoms, when exactly the opposite is the case. If ETA has historically and at present taken up arms, it has done so because of an unacceptable political situation for the Basque people that ruled out these two elementary principles.

Thus, the real enemy of democracy is not ETA or armed action, but the reform itself and its own origin and development, which have made a solution consistent with the people's democratic demands impossible. You cannot expect healthy fruit from a sick tree. The only thing to do is

cut it down and plant a new one. There is no way that ETA wants to see Spanish Armed Forces tanks rolling through the streets of the southern Basque Country or the rest of the State. ETA wants the democratic break to come once and for all and wants the Basque people to be given back their basic freedoms and to have their legitimate and sovereign rights recognized. It is for these objectives that we are struggling and to attain them we are willing to offer a sincere and lasting cease-fire. If the Spanish Armed Forces and Government do not understand what compromise is and cannot accept a framework that is unfavorable to their interests, then that is their problem exclusively. What they can be quite sure of is that any solution they decide on outside the framework of the armistice alternative offered by the Patriotic Left is going to cause them serious strategic problems that could plunge the Spanish State and political system into an irreversible crisis. Madrid must make a realistic choice between guns and diplomacy. Today it has come out clearly for the former. But for how long? The autarky during the Franco era is unthinkable today given the present demands of the capitalist system and the interrelationship of markets in Europe and throughout the world.

The course they have chosen tends to leave all political (and, therefore, economic) decision-making power in the hands of the military. Over time and given our acute economic and governmental crisis, this approach can only lead to a disaster whose repercussions will affect the entire Spanish State, not just the Basque Country.

ETA's program for a break alternative offers a political path to avoid this disaster: a "cease-fire" tied to the five points contained in the KAS Democratic Alternative.

We feel that we would all benefit from its acceptance: the Basque working people, in that a series of minimum rights and freedoms that most of them want would be returned to them; the Spanish State, because it would be clearly showing a shift from fascism to democracy and could begin making stable progress towards becoming part of Europe; both of them, in a word, because this would be a way of surmounting the current bloody confrontations and preventing sacrifices and suffering that no one wants.

We are determined to continue struggling for peace, and sooner or later the oligarchy and the Spanish Armed Forces will have to yield if they want to safeguard principles that are not being questioned in the current tactical phase and that, otherwise, run the risk of decaying.

Basque Country, 23 March 1981

Lemoniz Apurtu

Sir:

We are writing to tell you of certain facts that are vitally important to your person.

The people of the Basque Country have been rallying for about 7 years against the nuclear powerplant that Iberduero S.A. is building at Lemoniz. During this period there has been an uninterrupted series of information meetings, debates, demonstrations, campaigns of civil disobedience and mass rallies, illustrating the people's firm opposition to this project.

Joining the Basque people in their outcry, our organization took up a commitment in practice to help achieve this grievance through revolutionary armed struggle.

Because of the authoritarianism and haughty disdain shown by the Board of Directors of Iberduero S.A. and the Spanish Government in connection with the Basque people's justified refusal to mortgage their security and their political sovereignty with the Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant, both the grassroots rallies and the ETA armed struggle have been forced into increasing confrontation with those who do not hesitate to employ repression and coercion to crush civil liberties.

Thus, tragic developments such as the deaths of David, Gladis, three Lemoniz workers, Rikardo and Ryan are merely consequences of the absurd and irrational policy imposed by the bourgeoisie represented on the Iberduero S.A. Board of Directors.

In our communique claiming responsibility for the execution of chief development engineer Mr Ryan, we cautioned that this action "is not an isolated incident; it marks the beginning of a new front that will affect all of the upper-level executive personnel connected with the Lemoniz Nuclear Powerplant."

Therefore, we are addressing you as a person with technical responsibilities in the construction and startup of the powerplant to remind you once again that we are firmly committed to our decision and that the measures we adopt in this regard will be conditioned by the approach that Iberduero S.A. and the pertinent agencies of the Spanish Government adopt from here on towards the people's rallying cry "Lemoniz Apurtu."

You can rest completely assured that the moves that we are planning to make in this regard have nothing at all to do with the technical services that you are rendering as a professional, but rather and exclusively with your involvement in the illegal and unwelcome Lemoniz project.

As always, we would like to avoid using weapons as much as possible in achieving the objectives for which the Basque working people are struggling, but this does not depend exclusively on us; it also depends on how our national and class enemies act towards this grassroots struggle.

If Iberduero S.A. has special security services and the backing of the police and even the Armed Forces to carry on its plans, then those of us in the opposition have just as much or more right to avail ourselves of every form of combat at our disposal to defend our interests and prevent the plant from going up.

There are only two possible paths today: either with the people or against the people. It is now up to you to decide and act accordingly.

Basque Country, 1981
Gora Euskadi Askatuta
Gora Euskadi Sozialista
Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, ETA

ETA, the Basque Revolutionary Socialist Organization of National Liberation, claims responsibility for the arrest, interrogation and subsequent execution of drug trafficker and Spanish police collaborator Juan Costas Otamendi (alias Hippy and Juantxo) on 27 March in Tolosa.

The Basque people continue to be subjected to an unending drug traffic that affects every segment and level of our society. Political forces and reformist institutions have maintained an odd silence and taken a restrained approach towards this, which is surprising and paradoxical in view of the proven involvement of the Spanish Government in the ways by which the deranged world of drugs has penetrated the southern Basque Country.

As an organization that is part of the Basque Social and National Liberation Movement, ETA cannot allow the abuses that have been committed in this area to continue. We are struggling to regain for our people their freedoms and sovereign rights on a political level, but we are also struggling to completely eliminate a model of society in which chaos and degeneracy have been fostered by the capitalist system. Juan Costas Otamendi had voluntarily and self-interestedly chosen to collaborate with the police in this sophisticated method of repression. He was part of the local drug trafficking and distribution network and at the same time he furnished information to his police contacts about members, sympathizers and activists of the Patriotic Left.

Juan Costas usually went around armed and had been involved in the clandestine trafficking of weapons earmarked for parapolice elements and fascists.

At the outset of his work as a trafficker, Juan Costas went about creating a soft drugs market among youth so that after he gained their confidence he could later introduce other items such as heroin, cocaine, etc...His distribution spots were various bars and "putin-clubs" in Tolosa, Andoain, Urnieta and Villabona. From our interrogation of Juan Costas we have obtained a wealth of information that we will use at the appropriate moment.

In view of the scant response that our appeals have gotten in certain trafficker-police circles, whom we have asked to halt their activities or leave the Basque Country, we in ETA have once again been forced to take action against one of them. We hope that they finally grasp the importance of taking our warnings seriously and of agreeing to stop what they are doing, even if only to insure their own personal security.

Otherwise, we will continue to take action by striking at the most significant people in charge and at the intermediaries they employ, until we eradicate once and for all these undesirable elements, who are nothing more than mercenaries in service to the oppressive Spanish Government.

Basque Country, 28 March 1981

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SWEDEN

RAF PRONOUNCEMENTS

Malmo TEXTE: RAF in German 1977 pp 41-54, 208-231, 312-322, 323-325

[Excerpt] Part VII. Segments on the Pronouncement of RAF Prisoners, January 1976

We do not think much of a proclamation and we are quite certain that it would be meaningless considering the sham publicity of this trial--

of the distorted, corrupt and completely manipulated public which (according to Wunder) allows observation in this case.

It is a problem and also a component of this miserable show, the reason why it is conducted in this building and in Stammheim and not in a city where the legitimate leftwing public can participate--that, essentially, there is nobody here

who listens differently to what we say, who does not respond with banal sensationalism, listens with the ear of an informer or the market. This market cannot absorb substance, and where the issue is political annihilation it cannot even accept facts. If the bourgeois public, which is permitted here or able to observe, still had a controlling function, the trial would be impossible.

Its project, according to the politicians, according to the military character of the trial dramaturgy and the corrupt worm who is in charge--

its project of imperial self-portrayal, which determines every detail of this pitiful show, is demagogic

and it has been developed through the propaganda of 5 years of psychological warfare.

We are fighting on a territory which has actually been totally organized through and through and I do not want to list the details again.

In the meantime everybody knows that every illegal means has been used and is still being applied to impair our ability to defend ourselves, because it is identical with the interpretation of the militarized system of

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justice--incapable to be politically articulate in this dispute, which the state must fear because it runs the whole thing.

The manner in which it conveys the revolutionary character of the dispute, defines the state attempt to settle it, this extraordinarily enormous effort of the reactionary mobilization, which was looking for a way to express itself also architecturally--as counterrevolutionary, as a class struggle.

That is the reason why we are here, we are conducting this trial, or we have tried to show and interpret its weakness while it is demonstrating its strength, the miserable measure, which it is, and the fact that the state is forced to use all means possible in this instance to take away the legitimacy of four prisoners--Schmidt said it many times.

The argument of a scientific reason for our politics (I believe that we can certainly provide it right now) is an absurdity at this point--our interest can only be one concept--to develop experience and analysis--the legitimate publication of which the federal prosecution cannot prevent after it has been stated here.

We decided against a complex presentation, the fundamental concept of revolutionary strategy now, at this point in time:

and:

Prinzing would interrupt us anyway, because it would take too long and because, as far as he is concerned, his job here as a national security judge gives him the right to block political subjects during this trial--

Second--the text will be analyzed--that has been our experience and we are not sure whether we would not provide weapons to the national security organ with the reconstruction of strategic provisions without simultaneously placing them at the disposal of the organization of revolutionary politics--

Finally--and that is also important--we are only speaking for the prisoners and their discussions as well as for us, we are not speaking for the groups that are fighting illegally.

And the following must be said about it:

The continuity of the urban guerrillas, the continuity of their revolutionary attack is transmitted through their actions, hardly through the proclamations of their prisoners.

A complex development of the connection--this claim would already be wrong, because this show is meaningless for the process of development of the urban guerrillas.

We also feel that the attempt of a scientific reason presupposes a minimal consensus--the consensus of argumentation. Where it does not exist openly

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and brutally, and even if it applies only to Prinzing's shabby measures intended to prevent this text--it is a contradiction in itself. Without regard to the fact that this court has proved through the months that it cannot and will not follow substantial argumentation.

The scientific concept of our politics--their theoretical basis on the level of the 1970 analysis alone would be totally meaningless to this court, it would only be

informative

for national security analysts--according to evidence that has been proven through 5 years of urban guerrillas.

In addition, a pronouncement always means that something has to be defended against the brutal machination--by getting involved with it--even if it is a presentation of a confession--it becomes an interaction and we would have to get involved with this court, this show. That is impossible--even tactically--and it has become even more impossible during these last 3 years. Substantive the show has nothing to do with us. What concerns us are its actions and the possibility to explain them. Andreas said a lot about that and presumably we will say a great deal more about the testimony--we will see.

Now Andreas or we will talk briefly--or relatively briefly according to the lines of the discussion--only about two aspects of the matter, since just before the trial Zeis was able to get his hands on the concepts and a manuscript which is at least theoretically important, and he did not spit them out again:

1. The necessity of our politics from a historic mandate and the process of concrete resistance, which 5 years ago led to the development of the RAF and leads to the development of
2. the possibility as the fragment of the fragment of planning the revolutionary process, anticipating the urban guerrillas as a tactic.

Considering the abstraction level which has been achieved in the meantime through Prinzing's narrow-minded, wormlike, savage insistence on normal criminal proceedings, we have really no other choice but to counter with our abstraction. It is to be clearly understood here that it was not our intention from the beginning--in other words, it was not our plan to confront this trial with the substance of revolutionary politics--solely by presenting it here like a seminar. We considered one or several brief statements and planned to present the substance in a concrete form while witnesses were called to testify--

So much about our interpretation of the dramaturgy. In the meantime it has become apparent that, first, we will probably not be able to do it, because we are in bad shape, which probably corresponds to Prinzing's plan, who after all--has been using all means available to fight for our inability to

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defend ourselves--and who is still fighting, using--as he calls it--a "final" ruling on the confinement conditions, which is to freeze our condition of only partial incompetency to stand trial and make things even worse, and

second, because he would prevent it directly, by messing up petitions for testimony--as has happened to every petition during the last 6 months--one should take another look at it. In simple terms it means that the fact and the connection of our politics cannot be conveyed through testimony. Therefore we will try to explain it by actually trying the ritual of a process pronouncement--which, however--although fragmentary--using at least the lines of our analysis. Much of what would be important for that purpose--was acquired by the federal prosecution just before the trial.

a.:

Now the matter is determined by the absurd working conditions and it actually depends on our not being interrupted. If Prinzing should interrupt several times, we will terminate our presentation--because we only have a partial manuscript and, furthermore, we have not been able to talk about this matter for a long time and sometime we will have it published more clearly structured.

The whole attempt to make it available here through the minutes--to emphasize it one more time--is definitely due to the international discussion of the militant antirevisionist Left in Europe and not only in Europe. We will show how the encirclement and complete integration of the traditional class organizations of the proletariat into the politics of capital in the FRG is historically postulated

and we

are trying to show how this process can only be stopped internationally, through the international political reconstruction of the proletariat; from the development of capital the strategy of the class. The guerrilla movement in the metropolitan areas is the conscious expression, the interpretation, the conscious subjective attempt to convey this reconstruction in and from its international dimension.

We must, to describe it, to make it comprehensible, also deal with economic categories. No matter how fragmentary and abbreviated, it can only be developed from the concept of the objective trend (not a trend on the conceptual level of Schmidt but of Marx--basic plans).

Certainly

it is unusual and I never heard of it before, the fact that something like that has been tried in a political trial. Nevertheless, it is not only a reaction to the attempt, the insipid demagogic attempt to deny any political substance to this trial--to quote Sartre--I believe--the crime is that they want to treat us like criminals--although, naturally, we have to agree

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with it inasmuch as revolutionary politics and not only revolutionaries but any attempt of democratic, social opposition in this state must of necessity be criminalized and is criminalized and we have no problems with form of resistance which the class criminal system calls ordinary criminality.

Rather, it is a practical attempt to break through the censorship and the illegalization of our texts; at any rate, what has been said here so far can be published; although Buback will probably again come up with a savage trick, we will try it. (And for that very reason we are not making any concessions to those who are listening here.)

It is a fact and I have to state it once again briefly--we all (and I am referring to the prisoners) are sure that the development will confirm our analysis and practice, as has been the case during the past 5 years--

We made mistakes, but we would have to say that they were objectively necessary, mistakes resulting from the weakness of proletarian politics in the FRG.

And--this text--now, however, in reverse--is to foster it--in the RAF there is no separation between theorists and practitioners--the kind of division of labor, exploitation and hierarchic structure which is projected on us by the psychological warfare. Everything was perfectly clear and everybody understood how the burdens and the problems and the structure of a group, which is organized and fights illegally, are to be handled and determined. There has been no change with respect to our assessment of their necessity. Nevertheless, we learned that illegality is the only liberated territory in the class struggle where human relationships are possible. We became familiar with its emancipationist, its liberating dialectic even in the subjective manner. Nothing--or little--can be said here about the learning process, existential radicalism and collective structure, because in the meantime it happened that the reaction of the imperialist state of the Social Democracy, the SPD imperialism came up with a word for the counter-propaganda against us and the brutal repression by the national security force--counterinsurgency--which has become propaganda for us. It conveys the dimension and the relevance, the proletarian politics which is inherent in the attack of small armed illegal groups that determine their strategy against the U.S. capital and the imperialist state from the international connection of the anti-imperialist liberation struggles during this phase of the strategic defensive of imperialism...

and:

For that reason something must be said here about the leadership structure, because the personalization of the psychological warfare as a method to split the proletariat--revolutionary politics is personalized to prevent it from being interpreted as the politics of the class--is simultaneously the propagandistic territory of the physical liquidation of individual fighters.

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The isolation was intended to break the group and the plan of the federal prosecution to cretenize--me--first, by placing me in a separate cell and then by using a stereotactic procedure, while Andreas, at the same time--during the summer of 1973--was to be murdered. We were on a hunger strike and water was to be withheld from him. We have given the facts here and nothing has been exaggerated--Holger was murdered because he had a leading function in the group, in other words, he was a factor of orientation within the group.

The guerrilla movement is a cadre organization--the goal of their collective learning process is the equality of the fighters, the collectivization of each individual, his fitness for analysis, practice, independence and the ability to build an armed nucleus himself and to keep open the collective learning process. Andreas initiated this process in the RAF, and from the very beginning Andreas' function in the RAF was what every fighter wants to become and must become: the politics and the strategy in the person of each individual.

The guerrillas are the group.

To subject their collective process to the mechanics of the hierarchical imperialist structure--and the objective, the necessity to revolutionize the individual will--the unique factor--is what Wunder wants to use and talk about, calling it "political motivation."

(A terrible infamy--the fact that the representative of an authority, which directly supports the interest of U.S. capital and the U.S. military with 125 military bases and 7,000 nuclear warheads, thinks that he can capitalize an armed struggle against U.S. capital and the imperialist state.)

Leadership in the guerrilla movement is the function to transmit the relationship between subjectivity and necessity, will and objectivity into the practice of the group, its structure and actions.

It is a result of the process of the group, the complex force of the struggle fought illegally, conveying the collective learning and working process. The initiative of each individual in the collective process, as initiated from and for practice, as a special function makes possible the continuity of the learning process, the experience, the interaction, the organizational ability to act against all frictions due to external and internal causes. In the guerrilla movement there is no contradiction between leadership and collectivism--they derive their identity from the destiny of each individual and thus the collective and its leadership with respect to the goal--freedom, liberation and the fact that the experience of each individual shows that life and subjectivity are only possible in the armed anti-imperialist struggle; in imperialism, armed struggle fought illegally, is the only possibility for practical-critical activity.

It is a function which does not constitute the group but which grows during the process of its constitutionalization; it is a result of its practice and thus its collective process, and it sticks with the one to whom it is

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passed on because of his power of anticipation and decision to keep open the collective process. It is a burden and it is--that is the experience--always the one or they are the ones for whom leadership is not a necessity; only in imperialism there is always the need for domination.

If one wants to cut it short, one will have to say, that in the guerrilla movement leadership is initiative, interaction and always, at every moment, the implementation of the importance of practice, of politics as proletarian politics, that is the action--against the trend toward the reproduction of imperialist structures like domination, schematization, systematic division of labor, competition and the irrational reflexes from isolation and fear.

In the RAF Andreas has this function because he transmits proletarian politics in the RAF--and that is the insurrection--as leadership in the function, practically--to make it superfluous through collective practice--as the concept of the unique in the general, the possible in the necessary, the subjective in the objective, theory for practice.

It is the reason why Andreas is hated most. They are intent on destroying the new, the new man, the new society, the nucleus of which is the guerrilla movement in its identity of power, subjectivity, learning process, practice.

Psychological warfare must personalize because it cannot attack that which constitutes the guerrilla movement--the collective struggle from illegality against the state--without propagating the politics of the guerrilla movement, its freedom, which is its freedom to fight; it must personalize to present as unfree the central element of the freedom, illegality and i.e. ability to act.

But when Herold says

"Baaders and Meinhofs," the plural indicates what is to be conveyed by using the method of personalization--in other words, they did not get across the idea that the action of the guerrilla movement is the affair of individuals. Of course, Herold cannot understand what a collective is. His plural reflects the fact that there are many of us because of the objective necessity to fight, it is a material necessity. Leadership also means the transmission of the dialectic of possibility and necessity, that necessity increases the possibility of having to fight, i.e. to organize, carry out attacks, also the effect increases.

Consequently, subjectively leadership also has the function of encouragement and it is an element of mobilization. Its function excludes its institutionalization, it depends on the collective interaction of the group as much as the group depends on it--

It excludes all dead and very deadly structures of imperialist bureaucrats, radical--

Applying simple dialectics, just as much as the organization of the military is the embodiment of imperialist structure, i.e. alienation, in the

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guerrilla movement, as a military organization of proletarian politics, alienation is necessarily completely abolished;

--it has been abolished through the politics--or will be abolished in a continuing process.

The politics of the guerrilla movement is the basis for its ability to act--it is its possibility.

But we would say that the counterpropaganda, which personalized Andreas as the embodiment of imperialist structure, collapsed in the meantime. What extensive propaganda is conveying, is the strength of the subjectivity, the strength of proletarian politics--and we know that the name has been representative for rebellion for a long time; the fact that national security propaganda against us used his name as an example for many, an example which Andreas is for us: an example for--as Mao says--"politics is the commander" meaning: proletarian politics, the politics of those who have nothing.

The rationality of the statement that the RAF had started politically and was later depoliticized means that the national security organ has not been able to penetrate the RAF, that because of Andreas the RAF always had a revolutionary concept of politics--it is discussed in Feuerbach's second thesis:

"The question whether human thinking is capable of objective truth, is not a question of theory but a practical question; in practice man must prove truth, i.e. reality and power, the here and now of this thinking. The dispute over the reality of a manner of thinking that is isolated from practice is a purely scholastic question."

Andreas is being persecuted as the embodiment of this kind of politics, because he represents the combination of analysis, collectivism and action.

Revolutionary theory is critical theory. When we formulated it for publication, it was intended as a weapon and it always referred to distinctly outlined problems of the practice of fighting illegally. We have never been interested in a theory which is not related to practice and therefore does not explain our situation and provide the possibility to change it; it is the kind of theory which is employed in psychological warfare and which made Mahler and me (Ulrike) into RAF theorists, something like columniation or the alienated fabling with Marxist concepts, taking the reception of the Marxist literature and falsifying it into a dogma--for dogmatic reasons, something that Mahler did in his writing, "The Armed Struggle in West Europe." The theoretical writings of the RAF were newspapers and they were concerned with convincing individuals that it was right to support urban guerrillas and the reason for it. We used them as weapons, because everything is a weapon that helps the armed struggle which is conducted illegally.

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Talking about Andreas means talking about us, because when we say that the function of leadership is to make it practically unnecessary through collectivism, it means that the guerrilla movement is and must be a politico-military organization, since it is an illegal organization, and that means that everybody becomes leadership, must qualify himself to be leadership--

The comprehensive term for it is:

To qualify oneself to learn--

to transcend experience, one's own experience as well as the group's, including those of the liberation movements of the Third World, and that everybody qualifies himself to convey experiences. Even learning is only possible in the struggle against the state, against the method of propaganda, lie and dirt, against the structure of imperialist socialization and indoctrination and it is only collectively possible and only with the goal of engaging in armed action.

Collective leadership--we are referring to Gramsci--means that the project must be understood by everyone in the guerrilla organization to make sure that everybody understands his task during the realization and execution as a function of the whole--

that the project leading to an act must reveal the possibility of positive and negative consequences, approval and reaction and that it already contains the answers within itself, in other words, is opening a field for the organization. It is--a relationship between theory and practice.

a.:

The concept of personalizing revolutionary politics in psychological warfare aims at--and the same is true for the propagandist correlation of torture through isolation to desocialize the fighters--depersonalizing the fighters, to take revolutionary action, which is always understood by the masses no matter how it is conveyed--using the depersonalization of the fighters as a means to make them appear like foreign bodies--

Personalization aims at giving the revolutionary state of emergency the appearance of a brutal, imperialist everyday occurrence, taking the latent hatred of the masses for the state, for state parasitism, for parasitic, all-consuming machines of repressive and ideological state apparatuses of the federal prosecution, the legal system, police, etc. and diverting it to the guerrilla movement. It aims at using the state of emergency in which the people are living to intimidate them, to deter them from using the state of emergency for their own purpose. But because the machine cannot do anything but project, because it is incapable of perceiving anything but self-reflection and is incapable of any production other than reproduction, all the things, all the dirt which it raised during the psychological warfare will inevitably come back to it.

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Gradually it is being understood that odious are those who come with things to be used as surrogates for ideology and as a replacement for legitimation.

In short: Leadership--what it should be, is the concrete concept of the situation and its transcendence:

the goals and their transmission in the structure of the fighting group/organization.

To put it simply: In the necessity (it is the history which produces the concept, and thus it is the history of the group and each individual within its concept: revolutionary struggle)--in the necessity of antagonism, in which we place ourselves, place our politics, willing to fight, in other words, in its power and its complex force for the individual freedom, liberation is possible.

and:

In this context--psychological warfare, we have to place Wunder's dumb idea that Andreas had never worked in a factory--because he shows how a scientific anticommunism usurps history, prejudice, existing structures during psychological warfare to freeze them. The sentence is wrong. Andreas learned and understood in the factory, in the street, in jail--another distortion of facts through psychological warfare is the statement that the RAF consists of a group of types and women from the upper middle class with bourgeois associations. With respect to sociology, it has to be said that half of us come from proletarian backgrounds--grade school, apprenticeship, factory, home, prison. The assertion also negates the fact, probably based on ignorance, that at the beginning of the 1960's, when the third real subsumption began, numerous proletarianization and declassification processes took place--

During the process of the deindividualization and technocratization of universities, the concentration of the media etc., which were the internal causes for the mobilization at universities beginning with 1966. The external cause was the U.S. war in Vietnam. And it tries to deny the fact that all RAF fighters have been learning and working on the basic projects of the new Left since Easter 1968.

The struggle itself proletarianizes the fighters. Lack of possessions and--it is the term used by the Korean Party for the proletarian relationship to the struggle for communism: the dschutsche [meaning unknown] characterize the proletariat as antagonist of imperialism, i.e. the subject of liberation. It is certainly not a sociological term for proletariat. It does not interest us either. Proletariat is not a term that has its origin in the descendancy doctrine of the fascists--it denotes a relationship, the relationship between the guerrillas and the people--it denotes the relationship between the proletariat and the imperialist state, defines it as deadly enmity, antagonism, class war.

Proletariat is a term that implies war.

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Sartre says:

"It is true that the proletariat carries within itself the death of the bourgeoisie; it is true that the capitalist system is shaken by structural contradictions; but it does not necessarily imply the existence of a class consciousness or a class struggle; consciousness and struggle can only exist when somebody is fighting."

But where does Wunder's sentence come from? Does Wunder think that "work makes free"--in other words, the concentration camp. Or is he talking about the Protestant work ethic, well--quote--

"Work as the source of all riches and culture," a statement from the Gotha Program, which was of no use to the old Social Democracy during the time of high unemployment in 1930 other than finally hand over the political power which it had already lost a long time ago (because it never took it away from the Reichswehr [German Army] Ministry to the fascists--about the mystified concept of work of the Gotha Program Marx made the brief and dry remark:

"that in all social and cultural circumstances the man who has no other possessions must be the slave of the other people who made themselves the owners of objective working conditions"--

Marx used this fact to develop the economic necessity and the political right of the workers to leave the factory, to arm themselves and to fight against the state. And we are only referring to Marx because he substantiated scientifically the necessity of the insurrection, the class struggle as a class war against the parasitic net of the repressive and ideological apparatuses, against the bourgeois state. The idle talk is only cynical--considering our unemployment figure of more than 4 percent or more than 1 million people in the FRG and almost 5 million in West Europe. This time the reply by the Social Democrats is their own fascist project "internal security," the integration of repressive state apparatuses in West Europe and the command of the information monopoly, which is in the hands of the Federal Criminal Police Bureau and the integration of the apparatuses of internal and external security within the framework of NATO, which means under the command of the Pentagon. (We will come back to that later--concerning the political function of the Social Democracy for U.S. capital, its fascist project and the institutional strategy of the new fascism.)

As little as the legal land is the real land, the real life of the worker is in the factory. Of course, the federal prosecution sympathizes with the enslavement of the factory proletariat, and consequently and quite logically, Wunder makes a fetish out of factory work--as a mask of the parasitic national security machine--because, if the workers would no longer go to the factory, the factory which is under discussion here--labor under the command of capital--the group of masked national security officials that is opposing us would no longer have anything to eat. (And Wunder, an old Social Democrat--an old Social Democratic rat--knows that at the end of our struggle there is the liberation from work through the ruination and

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finally dissolution of the repressive and ideological state apparatuses.) The subject of the insult is only Andreas or we should, please, support the federal prosecution. In the opinion of the federal prosecution, a decent person is a person who supports the federal prosecution—the subjugated subject, the man who exists for the state and who has no intentions other than existing for the state. It is like Andreas said:

"The prisoner who has Buback's photograph in his locker is the federal prosecution's ideal citizen."

Part XVIII. Protocols

Here are the protocols of two of 25 prisoners who made statements about the "structure of the group" in July and August 1976, during the trial in Stammheim--against the propaganda and the cliches of the psychological warfare, which were presented at that point in time at the trial by Mueller, the bought witness of the state security organ.

Protocol Hilde

Testimony by Brigitte Mohnhaupt in Stammheim on 22 July 1976

...of course, it is nonsense to say: student, because the same thing happens and happened to all of us. The only thing one can say: Nothing of the sort.

And the second point is that I will not answer any questions anyway, not here, facing you, facing the court, the federal prosecution. That would be absurd. That is not the way things are. The proper term for the relationship between us and the court, the judicial system, the federal prosecution is war, and the most distinct expression of it is the fact that four of us are dead, have been murdered as prisoners.

Furthermore, here--on this level there is no possibility at all for a discussion.

Why we do it at all, come here, take part in the trial...

Prinzing:

No, that is not the subject. The connection...

--yes, it is, it is part of it. It is actually the beginning. Now I am going to start with what I want to say here and not listen to your stupid remarks.

The reason why any of us even come here after Ulrike's death is that we feel it is necessary to make transparent the actual structure of the group through whatever we can say here, in other words, what it actually was and is.

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Not this distillate of psychological warfare, which Mueller described in his testimony, as has been claimed--practically a fascist structure, if we have to call it something, which will be the reason why the entire construction will collapse, thinking that Ulrike would actually have been able to commit suicide.

We are not at all concerned with proving how Mueller is lying or that he is lying. This area: criminality--that is not at all the issue. We are simply concerned with content to present the content of politics, the content of the structure as it really was. Of course, it is quite difficult to do it here, but one will have to try by simply describing it.

I will do that now: I will start with the gist of Mueller's testimony, what it is aiming at; his statement with respect to the attacks, for instance, and his classification--the classification which the national security organ considers necessary to be able to come up with something at all in these trials. Our comment is that the strategic concept which was developed by the RAF 72 has been aimed at the military and political U.S. presence in the FRG and the individual, tactical, operative steps.

For that purpose there were the attacks on the CIA headquarters in Frankfurt, the attack on the U.S. Army headquarters in Heidelberg and the kidnapping of three city commanders in Berlin. The fact that this decision, this concept was developed during the collective discussion process, involving everybody who belonged to the RAF organization, i.e. there was a consensus that included all groups, all individual units in the cities, and, consequently, everybody had to be clearly conscious of the significance, the function of these attacks.

As far as that is concerned, we are all responsible for these attacks on the military presence of the United States in the FRG, i.e. we are all responsible for the attacks, for the attacks on the headquarters.

It says everything about the structure. It makes uncannily clear what Mueller is trying to do: This nonsense, saying that six people would have been able to do it: carry out all the attacks that were made--completely absurd. In connection with the strategic concept is also the project to capture and exchange the allied city commanders--the escalation which it represents and the escalation which was contained in the plan by the reaction; nevertheless, I do not want to talk about that here. There is nothing that can be said about it anyway.

This decision, the concept of these attacks and our responsibility for them can be explained from a Western component of our own history: the politicization through the mobilization of the student movement as opposition to the Vietnam war. The fact that we simply want to get involved--considering the necessity and the limitation of the Vietnam mobilization, its objective limit: what it could achieve and what it could not achieve until it was shattered and integrated.

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One can say: It is this experience of the necessity to get involved in armed struggle--i.e. to reach the level that is appropriate to the situation in which we find ourselves here in the FRG as a U.S. colony, a strategic subcenter of U.S. imperialism--the situation which has been constituted by the RAF; anyway, the entire argumentation which has already been developed in this statement. I do not think that I have to repeat again. Right now I am concerned with explaining it from the viewpoint of the group.

Something concrete on the city commanders:

The material purpose of the kidnapping was to free the prisoners, i.e. to use the kidnapping to bring about an exchange of the prisoners, who at that time had already been arrested and placed in isolation and subjected to physical torture.

In other words, it was an objective necessity for the group to free the prisoners. Exchange is the only means.

As far as Mueller is concerned, the Berlin city commanders appear only in a STERN colportage--at least, that is all I know--it has been completely omitted from the testimony. The simple, well-aimed purpose is to suppress the politics that were made by the RAF 72. It is clear because Berlin was a crucial project for us and it was also quite difficult to do, in other words, it was difficult from the operational aspect. Three city commanders--three: i.e. three large commandos were to carry out the plan. The action had already reached the phase of execution, but because of the arrest it could not proceed--Andreas was arrested approximately 2 weeks before it was to be carried out, and consequently a part of the infrastructure naturally collapsed, i.e. we could not know whether it would also affect a part of the infrastructure which was directly intended for the action. In addition, the U.S. city commander was quite heavily guarded, timing and coordination were difficult. Thus, it was no longer possible for us to carry out the action.

But the important thing is: It was the project which with we were occupied, we were involved--particularly Andreas and Gudrun. Because of that, the national security organ will not let Mueller talk about it any longer, so he can claim that Andreas and Gudrun were involved in the attacks on the police presidia.

That is garbage, nonsense. It has nothing to do with the facts. At that time Andreas and Gudrun were with me in Berlin and that is where we were organizing this thing.

His insane construction is that four or five types were supposed to have carried out all of the attacks in the FRG. It should certainly not require any more explanations, because it is clear to everybody how ridiculous it is and how obvious the purpose is. In other words, here is the entire monster: five defendants--and to blame everything on five defendants, now there are only three anyway. It is all the same line. It also makes terribly clear the entire dramaturgy--the line in general which is being

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employed: psychological warfare by the federal prosecution and court--the fact that there are actually no contradictions and, naturally, that there cannot be any at all. What Mueller says about Munich, for instance--I think, he says that Andreas and Holger had done it. The fact is that neither one nor the other was involved. I said it already: At that time Andreas was in Berlin, and these actions were carried out by groups that were in Munich. At any rate--now it can be said--at that time the RAF was organized in the following manner: There were eight groups in six cities, among them were two strong groups in two cities. One group was in Munich. The groups, the individual units, were integrated into the logistic system. There was a connection with respect to discussions between the individual units, but they were autonomous in their decisions on the operational implementation.

The exact goal, planning, checking, timing was left to the individual groups--it cannot be any other way. And, naturally, it happened that we did not know anything concrete about these attacks before they happened--i.e. even if we had had information, we would not have prevented them, because--well, it is simply not appropriate to prevent something that has been planned by a group. Also--we would not even have been able to prevent it, neither as far as time is concerned nor technically, it was not possible under the conditions. It was clear, the meaning of the attacks was: an answer to the fact that the fighters had been killed in the street. I am referring to Petra and Tommy. Therefore it could never have been our intention to prevent it.

Naturally, the purpose is evident why Mueller is pursuing such classifications with his talking: to mask the strategic concept, to let it out altogether, to destroy it with idiotic classifications. The strategic concept which from the very beginning clearly stated its opposition to U.S. military presence, to the occupation by the U.S. Army, the complete economic and political dependence on the United States. And that is the item in the testimony which is affected by this ruling. It is important, because it is to disavow the politics of the group and to destroy it.

Then, there is another matter on which he insists--perhaps I can ask some of you individually when you come to give more concrete information. Now I will deal with it only generally. It has to do with the claim that Ulrike rather than Andreas or Gudrun or rather than parts of the group intended and carried out the attack on the Springer tower. And the claim that there was a disagreement within the group or, at any rate, that there was infighting, terror or how should I know exactly what the pig said. The fact is that we, when the action was carried out in Hamburg--and it has already been explained during this trial--did not know anything about it because of the total structure: It was an autonomous decision and an action that had been carried out autonomously by the Hamburg groups.

After the action there was a great deal of criticism within the other groups. Subsequently Ulrike went to Hamburg to find out the details and get accurate information about what had happened, because as a matter of principle the RAF never conceives actions with the implication that civilians may be hurt

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in the process. It was a vital principle in all discussions, and the criticism of the group in Hamburg dealt with the fact that it carried out the action without realizing in its concept that, naturally, Springer would not vacate. In other words, they did not take that into consideration. That was the reason why Ulrike went to Hamburg at that time, to clarify, to find out the details. After her findings she formulated the statement about the attack which also contains--the entire procedure, warning, Springer is not vacating etc., i.e. what Mueller claims--well, things that are already known, the purpose; and concerning Ulrike, now he claims: She had the intention anyway or could have had the intention to plan actions against the others--which is complete nonsense--but it corresponds exactly to the line, which is now spread through propaganda: tensions etc. Total fiction which is to legitimize the murder of Ulrike. The claim that there had been tensions that had existed for some time; going back--as Mueller is saying here--going back as far as Hamburg, back to the structure of the group 71-72. It is all manufactured, put together for one purpose, to legitimize the murder.

Prinzing:

Well, I will tell you now that your opinions and assessments are not the subject here. The additional claim that a murder had happened here is something I will not accept at any rate. What would happen is that you may have to count on disciplinary measures.

--Certainly. There is another item about Berlin, Mueller says that Andreas had ordered people to carry out attacks or he had urged them, I do not know the exact formulation. That is absurd, because the action against the city commanders was about to be executed. In other words, there were no decisions at all about attacks in Berlin. If Mueller says so, it can only mean--because he had already released the information about the action in STERN and he knew about it, although he did not know concrete details--that this claim is to break the political line, that no more politics are to be permitted in these constructions and, naturally, it is also to be applied to this trial.

That is all I can think of right now concerning the complex issue of attacks.

Question by Attorney Temming:

...it has to do with the problem that Mueller, Chief Witness Mueller, claimed that the attack against Springer in Hamburg has been planned and prepared by Ulrike Meinhof.

The federal prosecution objects to the question because of "chief witness."

Attorney Temming continues:

My question: Do you know whether Ulrike was actually in Hamburg at that time and do you know whether there were any tensions between Ulrike and Andreas because of these items or any other items; or what was the relationship like anyway?

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--I already commented on that and what I said was that there was general criticism after the attack, i.e. among all of us...

Prinzing interrupts:

We do not want any more repetitions here.

--Just stop it, you do not have any idea what I am going to say...

What he wants is more precise information. Well, perhaps I will repeat one more time the main thing, which was what I said about it before: that Ulrike did go there at that time to clarify things and to formulate the explanation following the result of this clarification and the establishment of the facts.

More exact: The facts were, she was in Berlin and about the middle of May she went to Stuttgart. She was in Berlin because of the preparations for the kidnaping; she was involved in the planning process and the organization.

After that she went to Stuttgart to do another job which was important, and the reason why she did that was that she knew a lot about it and was able to do it very well. It was a matter of collecting material for the discussion within the framework of what Ulrike was doing in general: information organization on the international level, in other words, she tried to transmit the discussion process that was going on within the Left, particularly on the international level, with groups abroad. At that time the discussion concerning factory guerrillas was timely. In Italy there were attempts of this kind--a certain tactic which is possible in Italy because of the different conditions--we will have to say that it is not possible here. And this was the matter Ulrike wanted to take care of: She wanted to organize this discussion process under the aspect, the perspective of a continental strategy. That was the reason why she went to Stuttgart--I think Andreas called Stuttgart immediately after the Hamburg attack, when criticism surfaced right away in our group, and subsequently she went to Hamburg to get things cleared up. I think that is the way it was. It also answers the question whether there were any differences or, the devil only knows, fragmentation. The facts are ominously clear that these claims are completely unfounded.

Attorney Temming:

Another question: It concerns the testimony of Gerhard Mueller, witness for the prosecution, who said that it had been planned to liquidate Siegfried Hausner. Do you know anything about that and do you know whether there were individuals who left the group and how things went?

--Of course, there were some who left. It would be wrong to say that something like that does not exist. There are disagreements within the group. They result from the process in which the group is involved. Thus, the process of the struggle naturally results in disagreements and there comes

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a time when some people decide that they do not want to do that any longer. Because they do not want to do that any longer, they decide to turn around and go back; or there is an attempt to form another practice, although everybody really knows that that is not possible, it is a lie if one has done it. A step like that can never be more than a step backwards, it is always a step backwards, stepping back into the filth.

But there were people who left and, naturally, nothing was ever said about liquidation, never at any time. There were people who left because they could not do the work any longer, they do not want to do it any more, perhaps because they understood what illegality, what armed struggle means. That was their free decision. It was right for them to leave--it would have been crazy to keep them, what for, a common practice would no longer have been possible at all.

And there were separations, when it was our decision. There were people, when we said, we will separate ourselves from them for certain reasons--essentially, of course, they are the same reasons--because there was a time when working together was just no longer possible, well, of course, they are all still alive. So, everything was quite cool. They left, they are doing something different, aware of the fact that they could not continue this practice.

Perhaps I should add what happened when people decided to quit.

It has always been that way. Decisions were made during the discussion process of the whole group, the unit to which one belongs. In other words, everybody participated or a great number did--everybody who was able to participate under the conditions.

Discussions progressed well and there was nothing abrupt, but there was always a development, so that everybody just like all the others in the group understood that the point had been reached where it was no longer possible to fight together. At that point he has to decide: Either he changes now, he wants to do it, he makes himself do it, he gets there--and, naturally, together with the others--or he goes, and then he goes without being coerced, without pressure, because it is his decision, and he can only understand it as his decision, because it came across that way during the process. Because a separation or an exclusion which is not carried out responsibly means hatred and sooner or later this type lands with the bullies. The group never--well, threw anybody away. It never happened. The structure was not like that.

It is also the point that makes the entire Hausner story which Mueller brings up something that is absolutely impossible:

Liquidation.

That is, we know, of course, that principally it must be possible, that is no problem; when you fight illegally, it is simply the way it is.

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But the process in which the group 72 was involved it would have been wrong, in contradiction to its situation. In Hausner's case it is absurd, because it just is not true that he wanted to go or that we said he should go. As far as his person was concerned, what he was doing, there was no reason at all to say that he must go or be completely liquidated. It is ridiculous. There was nothing. Of course, everybody makes mistakes or things like that, but this arrogance and to way with such definity: I do not make any mistakes, nobody can do that.

At any rate, the way things were in the groups, if somebody would say something like: He must go now and if he does not go abroad, then....

--In other words, what Mueller is saying is more or less: If he cannot go to Holland, cannot be sent abroad, the simplest emergency solution would be to liquidate him--only the national security organ can come up with something like that. In other words, that a thing like that never strengthened the structure, the group, the individuals who fought in the group but that it weakened and destroyed them.

Because of the implication that something like that could happen in the group--how could it be possible that the types can fight, that they have courage, establish any kind of identity at all.

To liquidate someone who has fought with us as an emergency solution and only because there is perhaps no room--that is a totally ridiculous construction.

I can present another example:

There is the story in Berlin involving Edelgart Graefer, I think that is her name--at least it is Graefer--who snitched on half a dozen people. She betrayed people, betrayed apartments and what happened and what had been done: Somebody dumped a bucket of tar on her head and put a sign around her neck. What I am saying is that if something like that is known, that someone betrayed people--i.e.: He betrays them and practically puts them in the line of fire, because nobody can really know when the bullies are coming to the apartments, what happens then--when he gets a bucket of tar on his head, it is even more absurd to assume that somebody who did not betray anybody could, because of a certain situation when everything culminates the way Mueller describes: searches and who knows what, arrests--this person could be simply eliminated. That is out of the question.

And then, of course, the proof, I would say that it is not possible that Siegfried led the Commando Holger Meins. It is out of the question that he could have done it or did do it. It is only the way it was reported, that he does that, does it himself, it tells exactly the right thing about the structure the way it was. I think that one can understand that very well. How should he be able to do that, how should he be able to fight, considering the story Mueller tells.

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Attorney Temming:

And then: The prosecution witness Mueller also claimed that the hierarchic structure had been led by Andreas Baader.

It was said that Andreas Baader had made a claim to leadership. I would be interested to know whether there was such a thing, whether there is such a thing within the group? And what is the group's position with respect to leadership in general?

--Well, if someone made a claim to leadership...

Federal Prosecutor Zeis:

I think this matter concerning the hierarchical structure or not, it was the subject of an extensive testimony by the witness this morning...

--Now it is concrete...

Zeis:

...the question...

--now it is concrete about Andreas.

Zeis:

Be quiet when I speak.

--Ah, just stop this nonsense, really.

You said "claim to leadership," not...

If somebody had made a claim to leadership, he would have been ridiculed. In other words, to make a claim is simply ridiculous. The way things are, the way they were and how we understood it: Leadership can be a function and in certain situations it can also be necessary, for instance, in actions. So, we certainly have it and, naturally, Andreas has a function of leadership. Simply because he can develop an enormously precise concept of situations and from this concept, from the analysis of situations he can conceive a tactic, a certain procedure and subsequently he can establish lines, in other words, the tactical line and the strategy. But that is simply a thing that never is done single-handedly or the result of an individual decision, but a concept like that, if drawn up by one person, naturally is subject to discussion by everybody, because, after all, everybody is concretely involved in the practice, also in the line. They must discuss the line, they must understand it, they must continue its development, everybody must be able to determine it in every situation. Because in certain situations you find yourself alone and when you do not understand it--well, nothing will work any longer. What Andreas did, was established, defined in detail and continued by everybody in the discussion

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process. And at that moment when it was established as a line, at that moment, naturally, he became subject to this line or bound by it--not by force but simply because of the concept that it is necessary, that it is right, that it is the right perspective, a real tactic--just like everybody else. And so it was in very good hands. In other words, leadership always has a certain function and, of course, for them who use it and for them who depend on it, it is only bearable when it is not domination, when it is completely in line with what everybody wants. Anyway, the principle of the organization is voluntarism, i.e. that everybody must be able and willing to do it. We called it cadre line: that everybody must get there whether he has been in the RAF for a long time or not, it makes no difference, everybody must get there exactly to be able to do it himself. It is not what Mueller claims when he talks about an open group, it is nonsense--that in practice everybody is involved in all working processes. There is nothing like that, but it is a part of the construction of his testimony, because it would mean that Mueller knows everything. But Mueller knows little. Mueller was not a cadre. He only says that and the purpose is the same as the one pursued by the national security organ.

Prinzing interrupts:

Well, that is some kind of an assessment...

No, I am not finished, wait a moment...

Prinzing:

Just stay with the facts, please, whatever you know and can tell us.

--Yes, it is a fact. I know that he was not a cadre.

Prinzing:

Yes, you may say that, but the rest of the assessment. Does that mean that the question has been answered adequately, Mr Attorney?

--No, I am not finished...

Prinzing:

I do not know. Do you have a prepared concept for every question?

--I...naturally, I thought about what I want to say here, of course.

Prinzing:

Did you know the question that you would be asked?

--Well, how am I supposed to know it.

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Prinzing:

Well, you already have a prepared answer.

--I read the Mueller things in the press...

Prinzing:

You have already read the Mueller files?

...I read the Mueller things in the newspapers. Why do you not listen? And the things that I know about Mueller and what I found out from the discussion and the information about him, etc., from the STERN article--after all, there are a few examples--I put them together and came up with a few points. The points he uses to describe the structure of the group; when I say: fascist, fascist gang structure, the way he describes them--it became clear to me what I had to say in this capacity here as a witness.

About cadre line. It means that everybody must be able to do it himself. That is a concrete component of leadership, naturally: When everybody has to be able to do it himself, it simply means that there can never be domination, that it has been established as a function, which, however, can also be dissolved in a collective process, where everybody gets there and can do it and knows how to do it. It is simply also a condition for continuity, in other words, when cadres are arrested, it must be avoided that everything loses all orientation, but the types must really be able to determine things themselves, to continue the development to make sure that there is no interruption, no penetration. It is a condition of continuity and therefore a condition for the entire politics, for the entire practice. At one time we said about it: The guerrilla movement is a hydra, i.e. it is constantly growing new heads. The goal is that it will be that way. The discussion of the information--I am sure the federal prosecution has it, quite sure, and it also knows that there never was a hierarchy--there were the sentences that expressed exactly what I am talking about. One of Holger's sentences said the following: "Everybody is collective." It means exactly what it says. And there is one of Ulrike's sentences. She said it during the trial in Berlin: "The guerrilla is the group." It means that everybody brings himself or gets involved in the process of everybody, the entire learning process, which, of course, is something continuous: the practice, in other words, during this confrontation, because it is mandatory, it is mandatory to learn, to change oneself--result: The guerrilla is the group.

Errand boys and chiefs, leaders and subjects--as Mueller says--is the antagonism to this structure, to armed politics. The guerrilla movement--like the apparatus which spits out these pretenses for psychological warfare: national security.

At one time we defined what leadership means to us in the following manner: "Leadership--what it should be: The concrete concept of the situation and its transcendence: the goals and their transmission in the structure of the

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fighting group"--which means, what we have learned is that leadership in the guerrilla movement is the initiative, the implementation of the politics: armed proletarian politics.

Not "the leadership" constitutes the guerrilla group, but it comes into existence only as a function which is used during the learning and working process of the group, the illegal group--in other words, from its practice and for it.

When it operates properly it combines the initiative and experience of everybody--it becomes, it develops into a collective process, which results in continuity and ability to act. That is the only way. And

to come back to the sentence: The essence within is the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity, in other words, between will and necessity--to make it come together, to a head in the action. It is the only way--it is simply the experience--that subjectivity is even possible at all. Are you--the type who fights--the subject and is whatever you are and will be really the meaning of the struggle. It is exactly the way it is summarized by us: Freedom is only possible in the struggle for liberation.

Attorney Temming:

What about the authority of command which Andreas Baader allegedly had and carried out, according to the witness for the prosecution Mueller. I believe, he gave the example of an order to shoot, the fact that every RAF member, in case of arrest, is supposed to use arms to defend himself.

--Well, I am going to divide the answer into two parts.

First the relationship, the definition which the group had about orders, the way it was defined--and it was quite a process to come up with a definition: Order--what it is, what our relationship is to an order, and then, concretely, the relationship to an order to shoot.

First I want to say something about orders in general:

To be sure, the way we saw it was that an order is the collective decision during the phase of implementation. In other words, during the action there are orders--to put it simply: It is a military necessity, it is also proper, it is functional, it has nothing to do with force, because the action is, after all, a collective decision, it was discussed previously, agreed to by everybody, understood by everybody, the specific jobs everybody had to do in the process. And, consequently, an order is actually nothing more than coordination.

That is one thing. And the other one is the authority of command. The entire picture which Mueller painted is: Andreas the boss with absolute power...

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Anyway, for instance, the order to shoot mentioned in Mueller's testimony-- I would simply say it is clearly the distillate of the psychological warfare since 1970, which maintains that RAF members had had orders to shoot. Although the RAF said quite a bit about that, particularly about that point. But I will again be more specific. It has popped up in the media since Hamburg, when Petra Schelm was shot to death: Order to shoot, in other words, cannon fodder, men who are sent to the front by some kind of people in the background--that is the exact construction. And Mueller...

Prinzing:

You are now to be questioned about the authority of command by...

--I am talking right now...

Prinzing:

...the lawyer for the defense. What you are talking about here is really no longer relevant to the question.

--Well, I am of a different opinion.

I am now talking about the order to shoot.

It is a matter of fact that Mueller knows that there was no order to shoot: He did not have one and none of us had one. And why he said that--that is what my comments were about, and that is what has been labeled "irrelevant"-- it is the distillate of psychological warfare which is to be verified with this testimony, the fact that it was supposed to have been that way with the purpose of destroying the effectiveness of the group.

Attorney Heldmann:

Mueller stated here as a witness that the structure of the Red Army Faction was: Baader, the leading head, then there were the members of the nucleus, then there were ordinary members and then the fringe members. Can you confirm this information?

--Well, I said about that, what we called it, the way it was: Many heads and in addition the line of cadres, the way we developed during the entire process. That was the goal, and it was the same in most of the groups that had been together for a long enough time.

The matter concerning fringe members etc., what can be said about that is that, naturally, there were contacts with people who were not fully integrated into the group. But that is really quite all right, because, after all, the RAF is a military organization, i.e. not a mob that just sits somewhere, but its contacts are defined according to functions, according to political and operative criteria, which means, for instance-- well, it does not really belong here: You can also again see the nonsense in the statement about the "open group."

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Likewise, not everybody had all the information or participated in all the working processes; not everybody had to know everything--of course. Everybody had the information that was necessary for him to be able to do what he had to do, i.e. he had a function to fulfill. To do something else is idiotic, not at all the thing to do, and everybody knew exactly why it is not necessary--But there is a completely open discussion within the groups and between the groups about the strategy and the tactic and also the theory and analysis, how it developed and, naturally clearly about the principles of the organization. It is an open, collective process of everybody who is fighting--It is right that I have only concrete information about what concerns me directly, because, naturally, one has to expect that when one gets arrested that there can be traitors, that they may be pressured, tortured. We knew that, and it is simply a condition for an illegal military organization to conduct itself in a manner that is necessary, according to the conditions, otherwise it would consist of a bunch of idiots.

For a group that wants to fight, this nonsense about an "open group" would mean that it would never get there, because the members would act like ignoramuses, like people who do not know what they are doing there.

To be open is a very good thing, open discussions, open, honest relations--and everything runs, but never with respect to military details: i.e. the political structure is open, collectivistic, and even the commandos have a collective style of working, but the question concerning military details, contacts etc. runs strictly functional, conspirative...

Prinzing interrupts:

Well, right now the issue is not what the term "open" implies. I think the question, Herr Heldmann, has come up the third time and has been repeatedly explained...

--...open group--really, as a principle of organization for an illegal group--that is simply a dumb denunciation, that is the way I would put it.

Attorney Heldmann:

Were there any members who had control over other members, in other words, a controlling function within the group or of a group?

--What kind of "controlling function," I do not quite understand it.

Attorney Heldmann:

I cannot say it either. I am referring to page 10221 of the minutes of the main proceedings, Mueller's testimony, "in addition, these nuclear members, the leading members, were exercising a constant control," and the example: "Assuming that one of these people was in Stuttgart, he--which means a so-called nuclear member, as Herr Mueller expressed it--he called Berlin continuously to check on the situation there, whether the people were functioning the way they were supposed to."

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--All right, calling--the example actually speaks for itself. Information is simply a condition to be able to act, to be able to determine a situation at all and it takes place among the members and it is clearly understood and functions well among the individual groups, because it is something that is necessary to be able to intervene at certain points, to be informed about what happens in other cities. And when the people in Stuttgart call Berlin, it is quite in order, quite normal, and everybody did that many times a day when something had to be finalized or coordinated. To call that control only demonstrates the complete stupidity of this testimony.

Attorney Heldmann:

Are there or were there any attorneys among the RAF members?

--Well, attorneys as members of the RAF, one can only do one thing, howl with laughter. Because our relationship with attorneys is a distant one. Attorneys are attorneys and as attorneys they are not members of the RAF. And we are quite certain that we do not want any attorneys in the RAF or that we ever had one. It is a contradiction in itself. Someone who is an attorney does not want to be an RAF member, otherwise he would no longer be an attorney--there would have to be a total break with the job. Attorneys are part of the judicial system, even when they are critical. That is the way it is. And our relationship with attorneys was and is--it is very funny--and shit, and I really have little desire to talk more about it because it is so tiresome, after so many years it is always the same--because most of the time and again and again these types have obscure private interests and fear, which is rationalized politically. Well, most of them are trying to finish off the prisoners--in other words, a constant nuisance.

Attorney Temming:

A question about information. The prosecution witness Mueller claimed that information was used to continue pursuing criminal goals inside and outside, above all, outside the prisons. Can you say something about the function of information and, second, was there something like pressure to participate in the information and, third, was there any kind of pressure in connection with the information, did some prisoners use the information to pressure other prisoners?

--The information was the absolute opposite. It was the only possibility--the way we defined it and conceived it--the only possibility at all for isolated prisoners to interact socially. Even if it is only a surrogate, in other words, letters, paper. But it was the only possibility for political discussion, political information and, naturally, for orientation. There was absolutely nothing like a hierarchical structure or something like that. But what Mueller is saying there concerning information is--actually I cannot remember exactly how it is formulated--the idea that there had been several categories and one had to earn his way up, some kind of a promotional system--that is absurd.

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Information 1--it included everybody who was organized in the RAF, and it was simply functional.

Information 2 hardly existed. At one time there was talk about doing it, but in reality it never existed. And the information 2, which never existed, became the information system during the hunger strike. I cannot see any kind of hierarchy, no categories. They are simply two entirely different groups. One of them consists of RAF prisoners, the other one is a group which consists, in part, of completely different prisoners, 2 June, Hamburg and Munich urban guerrilla groups. Well, they include all those who participated in the hunger strike, and there were really quite a few. It would be impossible to cut it short. It involves totally different levels of discussion, how the groups were connected. To cut it short would be lumping everything together and it would defeat the real function.

And information 3--It has absolutely nothing to do with hierarchy. Information 3 was information, i.e. press articles, analysis, political economy etc. In other words, simply informational material. What everybody got who is in jail and who wanted it to work with it. The idea that information 3 was somehow the lowest level of political information is nonsense. It was a certain kind of information--well, newspapers, press reports, foreign reports, in other words, everything that is needed to get a certain overview; also essential economic analyses we made. That was information 3. In addition--how did you just say it?

Attorney Temming:

Whether there was any pressure to participate...

--Oh, I see. The meaning of the information, its entire function as it was defined by us was after all a means against the isolation. We said: Every sentence written by a prisoner about information is like a deed, every sentence is an action. That is the way it was for the prisoners. After all, we had nothing, we had no opportunity to do anything in isolation except to use this communication and that was really--one can say--a radical collectivization process for those who had not known it previously, because on account of the information everybody knew everything about everybody and what was written. Anyway, it is the absolute opposite of hierarchy, or of some kind of a structure. Everybody wrote what he was thinking about, what kind of problems he had, where he could not continue all alone and simultaneously everybody tried to come up with some kind of a political assessment, an understanding of the situation and its conditions to be able to fight against the isolation, against the annihilation of the group in isolation. As far as that goes, of course, everybody had control over everybody. But that is good and not bad. Not domination but the negation of it, something I would call: the attempt to maintain a structure which is different, which is the exact negation of fascist ideas, to maintain it in jail--against the machine which wants to make it impossible. So, the information is simply a means for us to be able to fight on this level any way possible. For isolated prisoners it is only possible by way of analysis and statement. Naturally, the possibilities

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are very limited and an example of how limited it is, is the hunger strike-- simply the most extreme defensive, otherwise one would not have to engage in a hunger strike against the isolation...

Attorney Temming:

I have another question about the function or the alleged function of disciplinary measures.

Prinzing does not permit the question.

Attorney Temming:

But perhaps it can be better illustrated in connection with the hunger strike, what was the function of the hunger strike and were there any attempts during the hunger strike to exert any pressure on the prisoners who were on the hunger strike by taking away the information system? Now, first, what was the function of the hunger strike and, second, was the information system perhaps used as a disciplinary measure during the hunger strike to induce someone not to discontinue the hunger strike?

--The information was not a disciplinary measure during the hunger strike or at any other time--by whom, really by whom, by everybody or what. The information was not a whip to be used to keep people in line, but it was a weapon for every one of us who needed it. In other words, it was a weapon for communication, although it was only paper. Perhaps it is ridiculous to say: weapon, but the situation of the prisoners is exactly like that. There is really no other possibility in isolation.

And concretely, there was naturally no pressure. The hunger strike is a practical example for the fact that it is not possible at all to exert pressure, because otherwise actions become impossible. The hunger strike was discussed by us for a long time. Whether we should do it at all and what the conditions were for the group, i.e. each individual in the group. And since the federal prosecution confiscated all these things, it knows about it anyway. Consequently all the claims it makes, naturally are only a means for diffamation anyway. But it does not matter. At any rate, the hunger strike was the product, the result of the discussion. And during the discussion everybody had to make a clear decision: Can I go on a hunger strike, do I want to do it. Because it was clear to us what it means: The situation may arise that I may die. It means that it is a condition that always exists when one fights: the fact that one dies, one is shot to death. Experience has already taught us that it is the same in prison. At any rate, it was the decision of each individual and it was the only way that it could work. One can very well find out from the information that everybody wrote whether he wants to do it and why and whether he feels that he can do it, whether he thinks it is right, of course, the tactic, etc. Hunger strike in general, whether it can be a means, a weapon by prisoners. We arrived at the conclusion that it is a weapon, simply it is a weapon for us because we do not have another one. And a thirst strike, which is of an even shorter duration, well, it is quite evident--for

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instance, Ulrike's statement in Berlin that we will start a thirst strike if water is withheld again from Andreas in Schwalmstadt, i.e. he will die, of course, immediately. All these decisions were made collectively. It is really quite simple. One could also prove but it is probably not what we want to do: criminalistic argumentation against the falsifications and lies of the national security press. The fact that we were able to do it shows that it is true and those who collapsed under the condition of the hunger strike, in other words, under the total confrontation, naturally, they are also an example for the fact that there was really no pressure. They stopped and the way they understood it was that all the politics, in other words, the form of confrontation which is necessarily contained in these politics--guerrilla movement--without which it is not conceivable at all--these are the conditions--the fact that they did no longer want this confrontation, live at any price--and even if it is nothing more than vegetating like an animal, like a plant in isolation. No fighting, rebellion, revolutionary war, which is your cause. Mueller himself quit, he quit and betrayed us. When the collapse comes like it did with him, it shows very clearly: He was only interested in his belly and not in other politics--and now he sold himself for it. He wanted the deal and now he has it. In the process he has been completely devoured by the national security system. A history of 3 years of brainwashing, and there are letters from him in which he describes it. But now it is a different matter.

Attorney Temming:

A final question: You said that hunger strike was a possibility although it was a limited one in the struggle, which means that information was also a weapon. To fight against what and a weapon against what?

--The hunger strike?

Against the confinement conditions, against the annihilation through isolation, in other words, simply because it was necessary to do something against it. To fight against it and the only way this struggle was possible considering all the conditions. The experience was that everything that had been tried from the legal aspect, for instance, complaints and just about everything all through these years, was completely ineffective. Because it is exactly as I said at the beginning. The relationship is war.

The entire machine, consisting of national security, secret service, media and the political justice system, is conducting the war, it is a function of the counterinsurgency. And the legal means which still remain are, naturally, of no help at all, pure traps. It became clear very quickly--we realize it in the case of Astrid, the first one who was really destroyed in jail. Then there was Ulrike in jail. We had, the prisoners had no possibility other than the hunger strike, it was really an action of the most extreme defense. But collectively and determined and as determined as we really were to break it, this measure against the prisoners: isolation, a hunger strike, naturally, is and can become a weapon.

Prinzling cuts off.

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Zeis:

Frau Mohnhaupt, a little while ago you answered Attorney Dr Heldmann's question, I believe, by saying that in the group there was no such thing as an order to shoot. May I ask why you were carrying a weapon when you were arrested, a weapon which was loaded and ready to go off?

Do you want to answer the question?

--Ah bunk, no.

Prinzing:

What legal grounds do you want to plead?

--Ah, no legal grounds at all, it is simply too stupid after all the things I said.

Part XXII. Speech by Ronald Augustin in Bueckeberg

Whoever is watching the trial here is reminded of a marionette stage. What is happening here cannot be explained by the presentations of the state prosecutor and the court.

The rolls of barbed wire, the 100-men unit from the Federal Border Police, the helicopter which transports the judges to the prison on trial days, are symptoms. They show the FRG as a state, the legal justice system on its way to the state of emergency, a fascist justice system--here from the contradiction that breaks out in all trials against RAF prisoners: between the national security administration of these trials and the attempt to make them appear as a class justice routine.

All the trials against us are one trial.

It was conceived according to a centrally developed propagandistic counter-strategy against the politics of the RAF, is tactically split up into separate trials in Berlin, in Hamburg, in Kaiserslautern, in Stuttgart, in Bueckeberg. They are planned in detail and perfectly orchestrated by counterinsurgency staffs, who do not know civil rights: the documents, the witnesses, the construction of the prosecution are identical down to the formulations. The coordination is to make it easier for the prosecution, the courts, the police witnesses to wind their ways through the contradiction between the criminal law system and the national security administration, between the autonomy of the courts--within the system of the class justice system it is only ideology anyway--and the cloak and dagger methods of the counterinsurgency. During the smooth proceedings the contradictions, the ruptures, the decay and the destruction of civil law is to be contested, the war, the counterrevolutionary character of the trials is to be hidden behind the mask of the legal system.

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Every trial against revolutionaries uncovers more contradictions than it can solve. The defeat which was to be presented demonstratively by these trials is propagandistically invalidated with the barbed-wire rolls and the means used by the state powers to defend themselves.

During the war of annihilation, which the state is conducting against us, one of the tactics is to dispute the effect of the RAF. It has--in the dialectics of the struggle against our annihilation--become difficult. Because the simple truth of the guerrilla movement:

victory or death

cannot be disputed. It accentuates the concept of imperialism, expresses it clearly: naked lie and naked power.

In a letter to Ien van den Heuvel, chairperson of the Partij von de Arbeid, Holland's social democratic party, Willy Brandt formulated the counter-strategy: "Immunization" of society against the revolution through the "quiet and determined maintenance of the normal state"--

The normal state, which is to be maintained, is portraying in the crisis of the system--

here: by instituting special trials against the RAF--the transformation process.

Normal is

legal murder, for which the government prepared the population in the campaigns of psychological warfare over the media concerning the hunger strike of the prisoners. In this manner, the differences between the government and the national security organ, SPD and CDU have been reduced to tactical differences over the most efficient political way of execution.

CDU politicians demanded open murder by discontinuing forced feeding

while SPD politicians preferred the means of medical technology: intensive-care station, secret murder. In the CDU Land of Rhineland-Palatinate, Holger was executed systematically starving him to death

while in the SPD Laender of North-Rhine Westphalia and Lower Saxony the prisoners are to be destroyed on death row.

Normal is

torture of political prisoners.

And I know what I am talking about:

Following 9 months of total isolation in Stuttgart-Stammheim, I spent 6 months on death row in Hannover and now I am in a wing of an institution

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in Bueckeburg, a wing which was specifically constructed for this trial and which is completely sealed off from the rest of the institution.

Normal is

that already now, before the prisoners have been sentenced, annihilation departments have been constructed in at least three prisons, containing soundproof cells. There the sentences are to be executed as death sentences.

Normal are

civil war maneuvers like the "winter trip" following Holger's murder. Terrorist operations like the one in Bremen's main railway station, where a bomb was planted according to a CIA example, with the intention of thwarting the mobilization of the Left for the hunger strike of the prisoners. Propaganda campaigns against defense attorneys to eliminate with them the opposing segment of the population, which is the condition for our survival.

Normal is

the fact that the national security organ is securing the testimonial construction of the public prosecution by manipulating and suppressing prosecution records. The first part of 9,000 pages of investigative material, for instance, was not made available to the defense attorneys until the beginning of February; the final parts of the files were not available until 4 days before the beginning of the trial, on 14 February.

Part of it has been altered by covering the tracks of the investigation.

Normal is

the fact that the defense attorneys of my choice could not be certain until 2 weeks prior to the trial whether they would be barred from the trial--

the fact that for 7 months in 1974 I had no opportunity at all to talk to an attorney--the fact that the attorney who is sitting here is a public defender who is to guarantee the show trial, after the political defense was denied and eliminated.

Normal is

that the FRG has a national security legal system--a net of special courts, introduced in violation of the Potsdam Agreement. They have judges who are said to be--according to the Bundestag debate on the reform of the national security law--particularly "reliable," possess a "special decisionmaking ability"; their function--according to Federal Attorney Kohlhaas--is the fight against "subversive activities."

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Their job is to take the uncontrollable information of the secret service, constitutional protection, political police and the Federal Criminal Police Bureau and convert it into sentences.

Normal is

state of emergency legislation for trials against the RAF. Following 2 years of a propaganda campaign by the national security organ and the federal prosecution against the RAF prisoners, against the political defense in political trials,

today special laws make possible

the trial without defendants and

the complete liquidation of the defense. They firmly and effectively establish the legality of torture and brainwashing, because the control through defense lawyers and the final remnants of a liberal public in the trial is the last protection for national security prisoners.

We are not saying that this development--the creation of institutional prerequisites for counterinsurgency--only applies to the RAF. According to its structure and framework, it is aimed at nipping in the bud any revolt and crush every revolutionary movement.

It is class struggle from the top, preventive counterrevolution--applying fascist principles to the state of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

It is only becoming visible because of the reaction to the struggle by the urban guerrillas and the RAF prisoners.

While fighting against the retrenchment skirmishes of the legal Left against fascist advances--purging campaigns against "radicals in public service," using heavily armed military units against periodic sieges and killer commandos during civil war maneuvers--the state security organ is gathering tactical information to keep the ghettoized, encircled Left under total control. Illegal treatment by the reconnaissance service has become routine. Blacklists have been put together and at the touch of a button they can be obtained from the central computer.

The Left is exhausting itself in these retrenchment skirmishes. The strategists and practitioners of the civil war are gaining power, are independent during this phase of transition to the state of emergency, independent of party representatives in state power organs, reaching as far as the government level

and they implement counterinsurgency as a domestic-policy strategy.

Federal Criminal Police Bureau President Herold, for instance, is asking for open legislative functions for the national security machine. He writes: "Of course, it is my opinion that the duties of the police must be

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changed. Because in a democracy it is intolerable that the function of the police is restricted to the role of executor.... A democracy cannot afford to have an institution that possesses an almost incomparable privilege of knowledge and keep it completely from contributing to the social health of the enormous superstructure of...laws and norms."

The condition for the "privilege of knowledge" of the Federal Criminal Police Bureau is its control over West Europe's biggest police data bank, located in Wiesbaden at the Federal Criminal Police Bureau.

In order to, according to Herold, "deal with the crimes in a new form of prevention," the Federal Criminal Police Bureau is in the process--according to a statement he made during a 1974 interview: "to prepare a system which makes it possible to find connections...between fingerprints and heredity... between physical size and crime." It means that he is saying precisely what is meant with "social health": racism of the new fascism.

I will now read from the correspondence between Jen van den Heuvel and Willy Brandt, because it was completely suppressed by the West German press.

Van den Heuvel wrote on 27 November:

"We have learned from press reports that the German minister of justice, Comrade Vogel, intends to restrict the rights of the attorneys of the Baader-Meinhof defendants.

"Furthermore, it is our understanding that a legal change is being prepared which will make it possible to sentence the defendants even if they are not present. It is our opinion that these measures can be attributed to the general commotion with respect to the Baader-Meinhof group. We are concerned, however, that the impression will arise that changes in the law can be made, special measures so to speak, against the defendants, against the members of the Baader-Meinhof group. After all, our party is of the opinion that the laws applying to the conduct of a trial must be the same for every defendant, regardless of the seriousness of the charge or personal opinion.

"It is painful for us to learn that laws are changed suddenly, laws that were considered adequate during the trials against German war criminals.... I hope with all my heart, you will understand that this letter was written because of our deep concern for the political developments in Germany."

The letter is the result of distrust that is growing abroad against West German imperialism, against its big-power chauvinism. It is an expression of the unrest felt particularly among the Dutch public, because Holland is one of the countries that were ravished by the old German fascism.

Furthermore, the reason why it is distancing itself from the SPD is an attempt to escape the exposure of Social-Democratic policies in Holland itself through the development of Social-Democratic policies here in the FRG.

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Brandt replied on 9 December:

"I regret the fact that, probably due to incomplete press information, you got the impression that the FRG intends to use measures aimed at specific cases to restrict the rights of imprisoned members of the criminal Baader-Meinhof group or their defense attorneys. Such fears are unfounded.

"...Since we want to nip in the bud the political criminality as soon as possible, our efforts are first of all to immunize society for the reason of averting hysteria and psychosis by pursuing a quiet and determined maintenance of the normal state. Criminal nihilism can be fought more effectively when fear is eliminated as an object of political and journalistic calculation...law, order, security..., to defend this substance effectively is the real test for the liberal-democratic and civic consciousness in our country. The important thing is to stand the test."

Brandt's letter operates with the naked lie--he does it and he can afford to do it, aware of the fact that the mass media have been totally utilized for the propagation of the imperialist policies of this state, internally and externally.

It is a fact that special legislation is a direct reaction exclusively to the struggle of the urban guerrillas, the hunger strike of the prisoners. It is aimed against the publicity these trials receive, against the internationalization of sympathy with our struggle.

Everybody could realize it--from the contradictions that erupted within the SPD. And the unity among the parties, the haste, the panic to get these laws approved within a 15-day period to obliterate that which characterized them: the fact that these laws are retroactive, in other words, fascist laws, to be able to use them as propaganda for the Landtag elections.

Frank Kitson, the British military strategist for countermeasures against subversion and riots, developed in 1971 the functionalization of the legal system for the purposes of the counterinsurgency:

"In general there are two alternatives; first," Kitson writes, "the legal justice system could be used as a weapon in the arsenal of the government. In this case it becomes nothing more than a propagandistic disguise for the removal of undesirable persons in public life. To make sure that it functions effectively, the activities of the legal justice service must be integrated as discreetly as possible into the preparations for the war. This means that the member of the government responsible for the legal justice system must be a member of the highest government circle or he must receive his instructions from the head of government himself."

The highest office here is occupied by the federal attorney general, who receives his instructions from the FRG minister of justice and who is the coordinator between the Justice Department, the police, the Federal Intelligence Service, constitutional security, the Federal Criminal Police Bureau and Bonn's security force, department for national security.

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The idea of discretion, which was envisioned by the national security organ or the federal prosecution, was the discreet annihilation of the prisoners in brainwashing institutions in Cologne-Ossendorf and in Hannover, during many years of social isolation. The plan was to take these people, who had been tortured, who were living on death row, in complete social isolation for many years, who were disoriented, depoliticized, broken, and use them as proof for the senselessness and hopelessness of revolutionary politics. This plan failed, because the discretion was taken away, it fell apart in view of the resistance of the prisoners, the hunger strike, the publicity work of the defense lawyers, the campaign against torture in- and outside the country--as a result the second alternative of Kitson's defensive development became relevant: new laws--special legislation.

Kitson:

"Of course, the government can introduce new laws to deal with subversion, which, if necessary, can be very severe. This second alternative is as a rule not only morally right but it is also advisable because it comes closer to the goals of the government to retain the loyalty of the population. This procedure may be unfeasible if it is politically impossible to adopt sufficiently severe emergency measures."

The reply to that is that it was possible.

The fact that special laws were adopted here within a 15-day period reflects the relationship of power in legal matters between the imperialist bourgeoisie, its state and the political opposition: It does not exist. Legality is a territory which from the organizational point of view is occupied and dominated by the reaction, which also controls the publicity. The legal Left, encircled and defensive, has become unable to react out of fear of the police, of illegality, its illegalization; since the destruction of its class organizations by the old fascism, the proletariat has nothing left but the labor unions which have been integrated into the counterstrategy of imperialism.

The offensive of capital after 1945: consumer culture--transported anti-communism during the cold war and was able to cut off the possibility for the proletariat to understand fascism

as counterrevolution, as the political form of a decaying social order attacked by the oppressed class.

In 1905 Lenin wrote:

"It would be wrong to believe that the revolutionary classes always have sufficient strength to accomplish a revolution when social-economic conditions seem fully ripe for an overthrow. No, the human society is not made that sensibly and it is 'uncomfortable' enough for the progressive elements. Conditions may be ready for the overthrow, but the strength of the revolutionary creators of this overthrow may not prove to be adequate to bring it about--then society decays and this decay can last for decades."

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Following the big mobilizations in 1968, the condition for the demobilization was the SPD, the party in power,

in addition to the snobbish class consciousness of the student movement, which marked its limits and made its integration into the bourgeois structure inevitable, where it did not want the consequences of its experiences, criminalization, proletarianization, and did not understand the revolt as a consequence of the discovery of imperialism as a universal system of power.

In a situation which reflected a twofold dialectic (at the grassroots level as well as in the counterrevolutionary movement) because of the struggle of the Vietnamese people

the SPD used the state of emergency internally and the politics of co-existence externally to realize a part of the U.S. counterstrategy, a phase of the strategy of preventive counterrevolution. It helped establish the new anticommunism, and gave to anticommunism its current direction: against the development of the crisis of the system in the process of its encirclement through the economic, political and military struggles of the peoples of the Third World. It was mandatory because of the fact that it is not the Soviet Union, but the south, the guerrilla movements in the Third World, which are conducting the war against the imperialist state, against the U.S. imperialist state system and because of the fact that it is the development of this war which will pull the rug out from under the feet of imperialism--by withholding raw materials, by expropriating the multinational U.S. concerns, by fighting the limitlessness of the exploitability of the people in the Third World through the guerrilla movement.

"There is no doubt that the revolution," Lenin continues, "matured objectively. We do not know, however, whether the forces of the revolutionary classes are sufficient to bring it about. It will be decided in the struggle, the critical moment of which is approaching with giant steps, unless a number of direct and indirect signs are deceptive. The moral superiority cannot be doubted, the moral strength is already overwhelmingly great--this condition is indispensable but not sufficient and whether it will be transformed into material strength sufficient to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie--this question will be decided by material strength--in modern European culture, however, such a question is only a military one."

The dilemma of the imperialist state: The fact that a positive perspective is no longer available--becomes an acute factor in a crisis. The SPD will be forced into an open apology of a brutal offensive of a class struggle from above. It has already lost the power, which it is still propagating, after fulfilling the strategic function of reformism: the improvement of exploitation conditions by securing them, the legitimation of the political program of monopolies--"internal security," by setting in motion the executive machinery of power, to which the bourgeois state was reduced during the process of its decay, to defend the order of private property, which is

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becoming independent and beginning to turn against the left wing of the SPD, because it is directed against the proletariat, against the revolution, against the liberation struggle.

The sensitivity of this state to the politics of the RAF, its existence, its material strength which enabled it to attack even from the most extreme defensive, unarmed--the sensitivity to the fact that it became known that this state tortures--

The brutality of the apologetics toward this fact as well as its use in propaganda for the state, which tortures--

All these things are symptoms of fascism

and signals: We will be human beings.

We will win.

Part XXIII. RAF Pronouncement on the Bomb Attack in Hamburg's Main Railway Station

FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Friday, 10 October 1975

Against the attempt by state propaganda to associate the RAF with the attack in Hamburg's main railway station we establish the following:

The language of this explosion is the language of the reaction. It is only rational as an action of psychological warfare by the state security organ against the urban guerrillas. The method and the goal of this crime against the people identify it as fascist provocation.

The politico-military action of the urban guerrillas is never directed against the people. The RAF attacks the imperialist apparatus, its military, political, economic and cultural institutions, its functionaries in the repressive and ideological state apparatus.

In the process of the development of its politico-military offensive out of class struggles in metropolitan areas, terrorism cannot be a tactic of urban guerrillas. Urban guerrillas are operating where the rift is between the state and the masses, to deepen it, to develop politicization, revolutionary solidarity and organization of proletarian power against the state.

On the other hand, terror aimed at the people is provocation directed by the intelligence service to force the people to identify with the state by creating fear and diffusion among the people. During the Hesse forum, the president of the Braunschweig Superior Land Court expressed the counter-tactic of the national security organ--literally: one should "start with the citizens' feelings of insecurity" and "proceed from the subjective feeling of fear."

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In the meantime a report in the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU (20 September) confirmed the fact that the counterprojects of the national security organ since 1972 (bomb threat against Stuttgart, threat of polluting the drinking water, theft of mustard gas, surface-to-air missiles in football stadia, the bomb attack in Bremen's main railway station and now Hamburg)--were developed according to the concept of the central office of the CIA. The FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU is only authenticating what has been known for a long time: the use of poison gas in subway shafts and the pollution of the drinking water in metropolitan areas are countertactics of the special warfare of the "psychological action" of imperialist intelligence services and counter guerrilla units.

At the moment the question cannot be clarified whether the attack in Hamburg was the crime of an individual or whether it was carried out by a right-wing radical group in Bremen under the auspices of the intelligence service, or whether it was initiated directly by the national security organ or by the special CIA unit for counterinsurgency established at the U.S. Embassy in Bonn since the Stockholm incident.

A fact is that the national security organ uses its net of journalists which operates within the structure of the institutionalized public to steer the reception of the attack against the urban guerrillas. Profiled figures in this net, which is attached to the press office of the Federal Criminal Police Bureau and the press conference of the federal prosecution, are Krumm at the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Busche at the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, Leicht and Kuehnert at the SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG and Riber and Zimmermann at various transregional papers. The article by Zimmermann, which claims that there is a connection between the attack, the movement 2 June, the RAF and Siegfried Haag, appeared simultaneously in eight transregional daily newspapers in addition to the Springer press.

Whoever feels, in view of the weakness of the urban guerrillas, that it is unlikely that the state reaction is already using means of this kind, should realize the strategic significance of the reason for instability, which is the urban guerrilla movement--The FRG is a central operational basis for U.S. imperialism in the North-South as well as the East-West conflict: militarily in NATO, economically in the EC, politically and ideologically by way of the leadership function of the Social Democracy within the socialist international.

The attempt of a reactionary mass mobilization by the state, which operates with provocations projected by the intelligence service, is not reacting to the urban guerrilla movement but to the conditions of its strategy: the economic and political crisis of the U.S. state system.

It means the possibility and actuality of revolutionary politics and it is a trap and a function of a psychological warfare directed at any democratic opposition, to split, to isolate, to encircle and finally to annihilate.

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Marx said: "Revolutionary progress is paving the way by producing a united, powerful counterrevolution, by producing an enemy, and only by fighting this enemy, the subversive party will grow into a real revolutionary party."

The urban guerrillas are pointing the only way to fight state terrorism: through armed proletarian politics.

The prisoners of the RAF

Stammheim, 23 September 1975

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