

## Response to the speech by the President of the Republic, Sergio Mattarella, dedicated to the victims of terrorism on the fortieth anniversary of the assassination of Aldo Moro<sup>1</sup>

Mister President,

Your speech<sup>2</sup> in memory of the victims of terrorism – without denying all of the lies and ambiguities that were spread about this subject forty years after the fact – perpetuates the concealment of the truth, the simple truth that those who directed Italian terrorism were deputized to kill first.

A kind of commendable confession, censored by the press, slipped out when you confirmed that our country had been bloodied “with the complicity of subjects who betrayed their role as part of the state apparatus.”<sup>3</sup> But you stopped there. Don’t you think that this fact is the basic scandal of terrorism? And why didn’t you name the accomplices? Did someone prevent it?

Without this complicity, and without this impunity, we would not have had twenty-five years of terrorism. Why, Mr. President, did you not name the Secret Services,<sup>4</sup> the Confidential Affairs Office,<sup>5</sup> Gladio,<sup>6</sup> the *coup d’état* staged with

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<sup>1</sup> By Gianfranco Sanguinetti. Translated from the Italian by NOT BORED! 22 June 2018. All footnotes by the translator.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Flavia Crestwell, “Aldo Moro hailed a hero 40 years on from his death,” *The Italian Insider*, 9 May 2018: <http://www.italianinsider.it/?q=node/6718>.

<sup>3</sup> “Today is a day of remembrance and solidarity. We remember all those who have paid for the cruelty of terrorism with their lives, those who have served our institutions and our society without yielding to blackmail and fear, those who have maintained their dignity, becoming a testimony to the freedom of each one of us. [...] Our country has been bloodied since the end of the 1960s, by terrorist attacks of all kinds, by subversive strategies sometimes implemented by complicit subjects who betrayed their roles as members of state, by political violence caused by ideological degeneration, even by the association and intermingling with criminal organizations and armed bands. [...] Many, too many people have been barbarously and vilely murdered. Many of our fellow citizens have been hit, wounded, and have brought and still bear the signs of that senseless brutality: men and women in our security forces, professors, students, magistrates, journalists, politicians, businessmen, traders, workers, trade unionists, soldiers, public administrators. They’ve become targets because they’re identified as symbols, or perhaps because hatred has manifested itself into this desire to kill, this transversal message of death. [...] Not forgetting also means reckoning with this story that has passed through the life of the Republic and has greatly tested its democratic construction, which the Italian people managed to build after Liberation Day, and that the constitution made into a heritage of values as well as juridical norms.” Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> The intelligence agencies.

impunity by the P2 lodge,<sup>7</sup> which had infiltrated all of the armed forces, the *carabinieri*<sup>8</sup> and the police, the government and the parliament, the economic sector and the banks, the judicial system and the media? Why did you not mention the foreign [intelligence] services that actively participated in the Italian terrorist experiment, an experiment that succeeded perfectly in its attempt to deceive the world, to the point of being exported everywhere, to America and to France, Germany, England, Spain, etc.? Whoever perpetuates deception and silence [*l'omertà*] concerning this purpose, perpetuates terrorism. Whoever does not name the enemy is his accomplice. Whoever does not punish the evil, commands that it be done.

You know perfectly well that these State apparatuses are still intact and operating today, and this is proven by the fact that even you carefully refrained from naming them, you who have more personal reasons than others to denounce them, you who were hit with a heavy loss at the hands of these same people.<sup>9</sup> Why, on the day of remembrance, do you not remember that the Supreme Court of Cassation, acquitting the accused, ordered the relatives of the victims of the massacres at the Piazza Fontana<sup>10</sup> and the Piazza della Loggia<sup>11</sup> to pay their court costs? Didn't it occur to you?

Your speech carefully avoided saying anything that could compromise the unpunished survival of these apparatuses, which have their hands full of Italian blood. You told us that terrorism has been defeated by democracy: this is a counter-truth. On the contrary, *terrorism won because it put an end to all forms of democracy, freedom and truth* in Italy and elsewhere: this was in fact its task.

Today we make a mockery of the will of the Italian people, because whatever it expresses and decides upon, Italy remains governed by the famous

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<sup>5</sup> Intelligence agency within the Ministry of the Interior.

<sup>6</sup> The name for the Italian branch of a top-secret NATO “stay-behind” network and contingency plan, directed against both external Soviet “aggression” and domestic political opposition.

<sup>7</sup> The P2 Lodge was a secret Masonic Lodge that was used as cover for a top-secret NATO “stay-behind” network. Composed of people from every part of Italian society, it was intended to take charge of the country in the event of a coup. Such a coup (unsuccessful) was staged in 1970.

<sup>8</sup> Federal armed police force.

<sup>9</sup> In the 1980s, Mattarella's brother was assassinated by the Mafia, an event that reportedly motivated him to enter politics as a member of the Christian Democratic Party.

<sup>10</sup> On 12 December 1969, bombs exploded at the Piazza Fontana in Milan. Originally blamed on anarchists, the bombing was actually committed by forces working for elements within the Italian government.

<sup>11</sup> On 28 May 1974, bombs exploded at the Piazza della Loggia in Brescia during a protest against fascism.

“automatic pilot” evoked by Mario Draghi.<sup>12</sup> Whoever enters the government must follow the directives dictated by the “automatic pilot.” It is because of this fact that you, like your predecessor,<sup>13</sup> are truly this pilot’s guarantor, but not the guarantor of respect for the Italian Constitution.<sup>14</sup> To say this is simple honesty. Terrorism, with the support of all those who have not definitively unmasked it, has progressively reduced, and then [completely] suppressed, every liberty of the people; militarized society is in a state of exception, and the Italian Constitution is now shredded paper. As you know, Italy, as well as other countries that are victims of terrorism, have long lived in a post-Constitutional regime.

How is it possible that you did not realize that we live in a time when the real powers claim to have the enemies whom they themselves have made, tailored, and deployed for the spectacular use they intend to make of them?<sup>15</sup> And who does not realize that the true masters of our time project all of their own particular infamies and cruelties upon these simulacra of fictitious enemies? And then pretend to fight them resolutely, to convince the voters that “Good,” represented by them, has triumphed over “Evil,” incarnated from time to time in the form of the terrorists of the Red Brigades,<sup>16</sup> [Osama] Bin Laden<sup>17</sup> and the Islamic State,<sup>18</sup> manufactured and directed by them? You, too, Mr. President, live in the society of the spectacle:<sup>19</sup> haven’t you noticed it?

In 1979, in the Preface with which I began my book *On Terrorism and the State*,<sup>20</sup> in which I denounced, without ever being contradicted, the mystifications

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<sup>12</sup> Mario Draghi is the President of the European Central Bank. Cf. Brian Blackstone, “ECB Chief Plays Down Italy Fears,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 8 March 2013: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887323628804578345971235175906>.

<sup>13</sup> Giorgio Napolitano, a member of the Italian Communist Party.

<sup>14</sup> The Constitution of the Italian Republic was enacted by the Constituent Assembly on 22 December 1947. One of the signatories was Teresa Mattei, the author’s mother.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Guy Debord, *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, first published in French by Editions Gerard Lebovici (1988). Translated by NOT BORED! (2005): <http://www.notbored.org/commentaires.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Armed leftist group that was eventually taken over by the Italian secret services. The alleged abductors and eventual murderers of the Italian Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, in 1978. Cf. Guy Debord, letter to Gianfranco Sanguinetti dated 21 April 1978: <http://www.notbored.org/cavalcanti.html>.

<sup>17</sup> For the connections between the Central Intelligence Agency to Osama bin Laden, cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allegations\\_of\\_CIA\\_assistance\\_to\\_Osama\\_bin\\_Laden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allegations_of_CIA_assistance_to_Osama_bin_Laden).

<sup>18</sup> For the connections between the CIA and the Islamic State, cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CIA\\_activities\\_in\\_Syria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CIA_activities_in_Syria)

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, first published in French by Buchet-Chastel (1967).

<sup>20</sup> Gianfranco Sanguinetti, *On Terrorism and the State*, first published in Italian (1979), translated into English by NOT BORED! (2014): <http://www.notbored.org/on-terrorism.html>.

concerning the murder of Moro [specifically] and terrorism [in general], I'd already written: "And whatever we say today, in ten or twenty years, or before, when everything has become clear to everyone, people will remember what I wrote about terrorism, and certainly not the rivers of ink that all the professional liars and the idiots are currently spreading about it."

That you, Mr. President, forty years after the fact, are still pretending to seek the truth, to avoid saying it, the truth that many people today know very clearly – this is a further offense to the Italian people. The suffering is widespread [*che tante ne subisce*].

With the utmost respect for historical memory,

Gianfranco Sanguinetti, 11 May 2018

P.S. This letter has been sent by post because the e-mail address of the Presidency of the Republic is not working.