

of these were purchased from Libya and on other international black markets by Giuliani; some were purchased by individuals like Scalzone, who was already wanted in connection with the murder of Aldo Moro, and whose trail led directly to Bettino Craxi's P-2-infested Italian Socialist Party, which funded and housed the **Metropoli** publication of Scalzone's Autonomi organizations.

Among other names released by police were **Antonio Ginestra** and **Michele Surdi**, both part of Scalzone's *Metropoli* group, the latter a professor of legal philosophy at the University of Rome; and **Valerio Morucci** and **Adriana Faranda**, among the original founders of the Red Brigades, both already in jail. Two weeks ago, Roberto Martelli was arrested in Lisbon, Portugal, where he was in touch with fascists there. Altogether, Prima Linea, the Red Brigades, and four other "red" terrorist organizations were named as essentially one entity with Giuliani's and other fascist organizations.

Moreover, the joint connection of the "red" and "black" terrorists to the P-2 lodge was firmly established. Seized along with Giuliani were two other members of his organization, **Loris Facchinetti** and **Orio Tacchi**. Facchinetti is the founder and leader of another fascist group, **Europa e Civiltà**, to which Tacchi also belongs.

In 1970, at a major ceremony of Italy's Grand Orient Lodge—subsuming the secret P-2 lodge—Grand Master Lino Salvini ushered Facchinetti and Tacchi's *Europa e Civiltà* organization into the Masonic movement. That same year, Facchinetti, who heads **Atanor**, the exclusive publishing house for all Italian Masonic lodges, and his *Europa e Civiltà* organization were deeply involved in the fascist coup attempt masterminded by one of P-2's ranking members, Black Prince Borghese.

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## UNITED STATES

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# Michael Ledeen and Italian terrorism

by Barbara Dreyfuss

Last week, fearing revelations that could bring a quick end to his career, Secretary of State Alexander Haig dispatched one of his special advisers to Italy. **Michael Ledeen** is assigned to "investigate" allegations pending against Haig that implicate him in one of the nastiest and most politically far-reaching scandals of this century—the affair involving Italy's Propaganda 2 (P-2) Freema-

sonic lodge.

In the course of the affair, a "Haig dossier" has turned up, revealing cooperation between the U.S. Secretary of State and the P-2 lodge's fugitive leader, Licio Gelli.

Michael Ledeen, Mr. Haig's special adviser on terrorism, was the founder and editor of the *Washington Quarterly* publication of Georgetown's Jesuit Center for Strategic and International Studies. He is deemed an "expert" on both terrorism and fascist movements. He obtained such "expertise" in the course of 10 years (1967-77) in Italy, where he worked closely with networks now implicated in plotting a new fascist government for Italy, and in running both "left" and "right" terrorism during that period.

Ledeen was trained by George Mosse, scion of an elite German-Jewish family connected to British intelligence by not later than 1933. Mosse took Ledeen under his wing at the University of Wisconsin in the 1960s. Mosse also trained scores of "left" and "right" Jesuits, Institute for Policy Studies hands, and "conservatives" like Ledeen's friend Bertran Pines. "Mosse is a great man, one of those inspirational figures," Ledeen said in a recent interview.

Mosse is considered a European historian; he specialized in the study of how fascist and terrorist movements can be developed. He passed this specialization on to Michael Ledeen, who became his research assistant.

Ledeen went to Italy in 1967 as a correspondent for *The New Republic*. That magazine was founded in 1914 by the British intelligence family of Willard and Michael Straight; Walter Lippmann, the U.S. representative of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, was its founding editor. *The New Republic* remains a channel for RIIA policy pronouncements.

"From 1973 to 1975, I was at the University of Rome," reports Ledeen. "It was a supercharged atmosphere, with a lot of terrorism." In 1975, he and "Venetian" historian Renzo de Felice wrote an article stating that "the appeal of fascism arises from its revolutionary aspects." The article won praise from the Italian Communist Party's Giorgio Amendola, who criticized his own party for not trying to recruit fascists! The late Amendola was accused of being an agent of Italy's "black nobility" on more than one occasion.

The article's linking of fascism, terrorism, and "revolution" also won praise from Bettino Craxi, chief of Italy's Socialist Party. "Craxi agreed with it. He liked it," says Ledeen. "He is a good fellow. One of my best friends."

Craxi and his Socialists have been revealed to be funding and deploying both "red" and "black" terrorism in Italy at the direction of the P-2 lodge and its leader Gelli, who once declared that he wanted Craxi to be Italy's "new Mussolini."