

my shop. Come inside or else..."

"Call them, call them to come and arrest me," I said beaming with joy.

Meanwhile, people were laughing at the top of their voices, and when I looked at the Boer, I realised that he was fuming with anger. He immediately telephoned the police telling them of "'n parmantig kaffir" (a stubborn kaffir) and quickly dropped the phone.

Within three minutes, I heard the screeching brakes of the notorious 'pint milk' (white Land Rover) near the restaurant. Six racist boers banged the doors of their two vans and came towards us, and more than ten people who were now at the small window of the shop dispersed to the nearest hiding places. The racists shouted: "Staan vas!" (Halt!) I was now left alone near the small window arguing with the racist shopowner. Two stout boers accosted me and asked me whether I was the "stubborn kaffir".

"No!" I replied.

"He's the one," intervened the boer inside the restaurant.

"Actually, what's the matter?" Inquired one of the fascist policemen.

The shop-owner related the story to the policemen as it started, without any distortion. At that time, I was as quiet as a church-mouse, holding my money in my right hand conspicuously.

"Go in and buy," the police ordered me.

"No! You are going to arrest me for entering where only whites are allowed to enter", I told him, "I only want it through this small window."

The other policemen who were with him laughed their lungs out and went straight to their vans.

"Okay, vanish from here if you do not want troubles," uttered the racist cop.

"So long," I responded, walked to the car and drove off.

THE RED BRIGADE

- REBECCA MBOROZA

In October 1978, the United Irishman, the official newspaper of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), reported that in a sensational scoop, a Spanish newspaper had obtained and published a top-secret US intelligence directive, which ordered US agents operating in "friendly countries" (to the US), to carry

out political violence and terrorism unless the government cracks down with "adequate vigour" on progressive workers' movements.

The order was signed personally by the US Army Chief-of-Staff, General William C. Westmoreland, and had gone out to all US Army undercover agents, the report said. The original report appeared in the Spanish news magazine Triunfo, which got a copy from a disgruntled CIA agent.

TOP SECRET

The directive - marked TOP SECRET and numbered FM30-31B - provides proof of US policy, with Westmoreland ordering his men to use "controlled corruption" and "destabilising violence" to convince "friendly governments" of the necessity for repressive policies if they show "passivity or indecision" in fighting workers' movements.

The United Irishman comments that "friendly countries" would include Italy, Spain, France and Ireland.

Where "passivity and indecision" are shown in the fight against "Communism", the order says, "the Intelligence service of the US Army must have at their disposal the means to mount special operations capable of convincing the government and public opinion of the friendly country of the danger, and the necessity for action".

To achieve this the agents are ordered to infiltrate Left-wing movements and push for violent policies, and organise splinter groups to carry out acts of violence and terrorism. "The use of extreme Left organisation can contribute most effectively to the realisation of the goal", the document points out.

G O A L

The goal is clearly a repressive Right-wing regime, no matter what the cost to democratic rights, the United Irishman states.

Whether or not this document is authentic - and the evidence from other former US Intelligence operators like Agee would suggest that it is - the activities of the Italian Red Brigade certainly fulfil these designs very effectively.

After the kidnapping and murder of former Italian Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) percentage of the vote fell from what it had reached in general elections in 1976 - two years previously. In a statement after these elections the PCI said: "Terrorism, violence and disorder have among their fundamental objectives that of to

hit the Communist Party and to frustrate its policy, and they are exhaustively used by those on various sides who wish to draw ammunition from the poisonous and deceitful anti-Communist campaigns." (May 1978).

In June 1978 a PCI leader commenting on the election results said there has been a certain amount of confusion among the general public, which was exploited by the Christian Democrats, due to the fact that the terrorists called themselves Communists, taking the name "Red Brigade" and using Communist Party symbols as well as using jargon which sounded Marxist."

Trade union leaders, judges, left-wing journalists, prosecutors, politicians and policemen have all been gunned down in the streets in recent years in Italy. How did the modern wave of terrorism start?

THE RECENT WAVE

The recent terrorist wave began in 1969, when neo-fascists placed a bomb in a bank in Milan which killed 16 people. The sporadic terrorist attacks which continued for the next five years were virtually all from openly far-right groups, as part of their so-called "strategy of tension."

This strategy was aimed specifically at creating such tension as that a right-wing dictatorship could come to power, thus preventing what was seen as the quickening march of the Communist Party towards power. In May 1974, a bomb placed by neo-fascists killed 8 people in the town of Brescia, and in August 1974, a bomb went off in a train tunnel killing 12 passengers on the Italian express bound from Rome to Germany.

However, this violence failed to have the desired result, and the PCI continued its increase in strength, gaining well over 30% of the popular vote in elections in 1975 and 1976. At the same time the PCI was putting forward its policy of 'historic compromise' in which they would share power in some kind of coalition with the ruling Christian Democrats. The PCI had been deliberately kept out of government in Italy since 1948. This policy of 'historic compromise' brought the PCI under increasing attack from ultra-left groups, which accused the PCI of collaboration. Of course within the PCI itself there were many who opposed the 'historic compromise' from the left, and who felt that to take this position was, amongst other things, playing into the hands of the ultra-left.

However, v a l i d these criticisms of this 'compromise position within the PCI may be, there is no doubt that the USA has remained bellicosely hostile to the prospect of Communists joining the government in Italy, and Carter made several statements to this effect.

US HOSTILITY

By the mid-70s there suddenly emerged a great upsurge of so-called left-wing groups carrying out acts of terror. They tended to concentrate more on assassinations and wounding through shooting in the knees, of individuals, rather than mass bombings which the straightforward fascist groups mainly used.

However, if their methods were to some extent different their motives were similar. They labelled the PCI and the trade unions as "reformist stooges of the international state of the multinationals", and declared their object to be the creation of a civil war in which the right would initially seize power, but this would later pave the way for an 'autonomous socialist' revolution, because this would provoke the workers to rise against the right.

ASSASSINATIONS

The confusing variety of groups with leftist names carried out ruthless assassinations and knee-capping attacks against state officials and capitalists, but also against representatives of the left, some leading Communist trade unionists and left-wing journalists. (In fact as Italy's top judicial officer pointed out in 1980, the one group they never attacked were neo-fascist leaders). Of these ultra-left groups the best known and most active appeared to be the so-called Red Brigade, but various other "left" groups - Front-line, the 28th March Brigade, etc., also claimed existence.

The most spectacular killing was early in 1978. Former Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, was kidnapped by the Red Brigade in a ruthless and highly efficient para-military operation (his five bodyguards were shot dead in the street by the kidnapers). The kidnapers turned out to be Red Brigades, who later murdered Moro after massive publicity stunts which clearly influenced the elections which took place shortly afterwards. He (Moro) was the leading figure in the Christian Democrats who wanted union with the Communists.

In 1979 there were reportedly 40 political assassinations in Italy, and overall there were over 2,500 recorded terrorist

incidents, and apparently 147 separate groups claimed responsibility for these. The right-wing Institute for the Study of Conflict says 135 of these groups claimed allegiance to the far left. (Whether they were of the far left or not, the significance seems to be that they claimed it, and that there were so many groups, which fits exactly with the US Army Intelligence plan outlined on in the first page of these notes).

L I N K S

The Red Brigades are reported to have had fairly close links with the Baader-Meinhof gang in West Germany, and with other European terrorist groups of the far left (who apparently exchange arms) and with some Palestinian groups. It would certainly appear that neo-fascists (not to speak of CIA provocateurs) infiltrated groups like the Red Brigades, as their openly fascist violence had merely been helping the left. It appears that terrorists from both right and "left" had sympathisers and supporters in the police and intelligence services in Italy. However, since early 1980 police have been pursuing the left terrorists more effectively and it now appears that they may have succeeded in capturing a large number of the leaders. (Trial still awaited; could drag on.)

This defeat for the ultra-left groups may only be temporary, but it is significant that open neo-fascist terror has emerged more strongly again in 1980. Early in the year a prosecutor who was investigating the extent of collaboration between extreme right and left terrorist groups, which he believed was now taking a clearly organised form, was assassinated by a far-right group with the name Armed Revolutionary Nuclei, which was the same group which later claimed responsibility for putting the bomb in Bologna railway station in 1980, which massacred over 80 people.

S T R E N G T H

In a survey conducted by the PCI in 1977 they estimated active terrorists to number only 700, but they felt there could be as many as 10,000 sympathisers. An article in the London Financial Times early in 1980 estimated the number of terrorists in Italy at 1,000. Red Brigade's strength is estimated at a few hundred. It is interesting to note that 40 sons and daughters of senior Italian politicians (nearly all of them Christian Democrats) are wanted by the police to answer terrorism charges, and in July 1980 the Italian Prime Minister, Cossiga, narrowly escaped impeachment proceedings after alle-

gedly tipping off one of his colleagues whose terrorist son was about to be arrested.

PHILOSOPHY

The Red Brigade's literature & slogans are a mixture of ill-digested Marxism and far-left claptrap. They appear to have one word on the brain: war. A recent document contained the phrases "revolutionary class war", "war of long duration", "c l a s s war in the centres of imperialism", "anti-imperialist civil war" and endless other combinations with the word "war" in. They regard "imperialist war" between the United States and the Soviet Union as inevitable. They describe it as war between imperialism and "social imperialism", and they regard this war as an opportunity to raise "insurrection" in the cities. However in spite of this apparent Maoism, they also use much anarchic and individualistic rhetoric. Recent splits in the Red Brigades and a number of important arrests indicate that the real organisers may be a group of academics at Padua University, members of the ultra-left movement called Workers Autonomy. The thinker behind the group, which has "collectives" in several universities, schools and hospitals and control of two radio stations in Rome, is Professor Antonio Negri. This movement preaches "sabotage" of the machinery of state and of economic production, and the creation of little islands of autonomous "counter-power" in schools and other institutions. Investigating magistrates are working on the theory that the Red Brigades are the secret "armed wing" of Workers Autonomy.

Whether there is a real demise of the Red Brigades remains to be seen - certainly ultra-left terrorism is at present on the wane and right-wing terrorism on the increase. The ultra-left have not achieved their objectives - massive working-class demonstrations have taken place against them. The ultra-left groups have in the last year become increasingly isolated and divided, and there appears to be a new determination on the part of the state to smash them.

