

TEKMUN'24



Study Guide

H-NATO

Agenda Item:
**Operation Gladio: Effects of Cold
War Covert Operations**

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1. WELCOME LETTERS

1.1 LETTER FROM SECRETARY GENERAL

Dear Honorable Delegates,

It is my great privilege to welcome you to the NATO Committee at this year's TEKMUN conference. As the Secretary General of TEKMUN, I extend my heartfelt gratitude for your commitment to this important platform of international dialogue, where future leaders like yourselves will collaborate, deliberate, and seek solutions to the pressing challenges faced by NATO and the global community.

I encourage you to approach each debate with an open mind, respect for diverse perspectives, and a commitment to the core values of diplomacy: compromise, negotiation, and peacebuilding. The outcomes of your discussions will not only reflect your personal growth as delegates but also contribute to the collective pursuit of a more secure and peaceful world.

Remember, the strength of NATO lies not only in its military capabilities but in the shared values of democracy, freedom, and unity that bind its member states. It is through your hard work, creativity, and dedication that we can continue to uphold these values in the face of contemporary challenges.

Once again, welcome to TEKMUN and the NATO Committee. I look forward to witnessing the thoughtful, meaningful, and impactful discussions that will take place during the sessions.

Wishing you all the best for a productive and successful conference.

Yours sincerely,

Tuğba Sevdener Karataş

Secretary General of TEKMUN'24

1.2 LETTER FROM UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL

Dear Esteemed Delegates,

Welcome to the H-NATO Committee at TEKMUN'24. It is my distinct honour and privilege to serve as your Under Secretary General for this conference. And I would like to thank our Academic Assistant *Mustafa Veysel Kaya* for his help in creating this amazing committee.

The agenda item before us, "*Operation Gladio: Effects of Cold War Cover Stay-Behind Operations*," delves into a significant and shadowy aspect of Cold War history. Operation Gladio was part of a larger NATO initiative to establish clandestine "stay-behind" networks across Europe. These operations were intended to resist potential Soviet invasions but have since been linked to various controversial activities, including political manipulation and violence.

Our discussions will require a deep understanding of the historical context, the geopolitical strategies of the Cold War era, and the long-term impacts on contemporary international relations. We will debate about examining the ethical implications of such covert operations, assessing their effectiveness and consequences, and proposing measures to prevent similar operations in the future while ensuring national and international security.

I have every confidence in your ability to tackle this challenging agenda item with the seriousness and dedication it deserves. Your participation in TEKMUN'24 is a testament to your commitment to global affairs and international cooperation.

Thank you for being part of this conference. And also please don't hesitate to contact me via WhatsApp, Email or Short Message Service (SMS) regarding your questions, requests, etc.

Best regards,

Ibrahim Gulseni Katman

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2. INTRODUCTION TO COMMITTEE

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), also called the North Atlantic Alliance, is an intergovernmental military alliance of 32 members. Established in the aftermath of World War 2, the organisation implemented the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949 with 12 member nations¹.



Image (1): 12 Nations signed the Washington Treaty, creating NATO on 4 April 1949.

NATO's primary objective is to safeguard the freedom and security of its member states through political and military means, as stipulated in Article 5 of the treaty, which asserts that an armed attack against one or more of its members shall be considered an attack against them all.

NATO's structure is built on a foundation of cooperative decision-making and collective defence, involving member states from Europe and North America. The organisation operates under the principle of consensus, where decisions are made unanimously, reflecting the collective will of all member countries. The North Atlantic Council (NAC) serves as the principal political decision-making body within NATO, supported by the Military Committee, which provides strategic military guidance.

¹ See also: *Washington Treaty, 1949*

NATO has evolved significantly since its inception, responding to the shifting dynamics of global security. Initially conceived as a deterrent against Soviet expansion during the Cold War, NATO has since adapted to new challenges, including regional conflicts, terrorism, cyber threats, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The organisation has also expanded its membership, growing from the original 12 founding nations to 32 member countries, and has developed partnerships with nations across the globe to enhance its strategic reach and influence.

Throughout its history, NATO has engaged in numerous operations and missions to promote peace and stability. These include crisis management operations, cooperative security initiatives, and humanitarian interventions, such as those in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Libya. NATO's enduring commitment to international peace and security is also reflected in its ongoing efforts to adapt to emerging threats and to ensure that its forces remain ready, capable, and interoperable.



Image (2): Secretary of State Dean Acheson signs the Atlantic defence treaty for the US, in Washington DC, on April 4, 1949

3. INTRODUCTION TO AGENDA ITEM

Operation Gladio is essential reading for anyone interested in the clandestine Cold War and its consequences, which continue to this day. Operation Gladio was at the heart of a series of similar secret stay-behind operations set up by NATO and involving most western European countries. This was developed as a series of secret missions, often with subversive intentions to form phantom resistance networks in the event that soviet occupation occurred and ensure sabotage from within.



Image (3): Jedburghs² in front of B-24 just before night at Area T, Harrington Airdrome, England. Commandos preparing to deploy for Europe as part of Operation Jedburgh.



Operation Gladio was essentially about ensuring that should the Iron Curtain fall and Soviet forces advance with overwhelming force into Western European nations, resistance groups were in place to commit sabotage tasks and roll up intelligence networks of thought by conducting guerrilla warfare. These networks worked behind enemy lines, with tasks that spanned from cutting off supply routes to inciting rebellion in territories under occupation.

Image (4): Swedish book "Behind Russia's iron curtain" from 1923.

² Jedburghs: Team of Operation Jedburgh. Related to Operation Gladio stay-behind networks.

This secrecy was all-important for Operation Gladio; they not only operated under the radar of public scrutiny... but were often expressly concealed from the national governments in question.

Operation Gladio was not de-classified until many years later, with most allied services very likely having equivalent stay-behind networks. The story of these covert networks would not fully emerge until the early 1990s, and then it did so slowly and piecemeal through investigative journalism (and a limited amount of Congressional inquiry). It detailed a byzantine network of clandestine activities that were carried out in multiple NATO countries, such as Italy, Belgium, Germany and Turkiye. The exposure created a major stir nationwide resulting in massive debate of whether NATO is what we think it to be and such ghost types operations are ethical.

The CIA played a significant role in the development and execution of Operation Gladio as part of its broader Cold War strategy to counter Soviet influence in Europe. The agency, in collaboration with NATO and European intelligence services, helped establish and fund stay-behind networks across Western Europe, designed to operate behind enemy lines in the event of a Soviet invasion. While the CIA's involvement was initially aimed at supporting anti-communist resistance, its influence reportedly extended beyond mere military preparations. Allegations have surfaced that the CIA, through Gladio and related operations, was involved in covert political manipulation, supporting right-wing factions to curb the rise of leftist movements in countries such as Italy, Greece, and Turkiye. This has fueled debates about the extent to which the CIA used these networks to influence domestic politics and control ideological currents, creating enduring controversy about the ethical and legal boundaries of Cold War-era covert operations.



Image (5): Seal of the C.I.A. - Central Intelligence Agency of the United States.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DIRECTIVE

On

COVERT OPERATIONS

1. The National Security Council, taking cognizance of the vicious covert activities of the USSR and Communist China and the governments, parties and groups dominated by them (hereafter collectively referred to as "International Communism") to discredit and defeat the aims and activities of the United States and other powers of the free world, determined, as set forth in NSC directives 10/2 and 10/5, that, in the interests of world peace and U. S. national security, the overt foreign activities of the U. S. Government should be supplemented by covert operations.

2. The Central Intelligence Agency had already been charged by the National Security Council with conducting espionage and counterespionage operations abroad. It therefore seemed desirable, for operational reasons, not to create a new agency for covert operations, but, subject to directives from the NSC, to place the responsibility for them on the Central Intelligence Agency and correlate them with espionage and counterespionage operations under the over-all control of the Director of Central Intelligence.

3. The NSC has determined that such covert operations shall to the greatest extent practicable, in the light of U. S. and Soviet capabilities and taking into account the risk of war, be designed to:

a. Create

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BY X JFC

Christian Democrat Prime Minister of Italy, Giulio Andreotti, publicly recognized the existence of Gladio on 24 October 1990. Andreotti spoke of a "structure of information, response and safeguard", with arms caches and reserve officers. He gave to the Commissione



Stragi a list of 622 civilians who according to him were part of Gladio. Andreotti also stated that 127 weapons caches had been dismantled, and said that Gladio had not been involved in any of the bombings committed from the 1960s to the 1980s.

Image(7): Giulio Andreotti (Presidente del Consiglio) at a NATO Summit in Rome, November 1991.

Andreotti declared that the Italian military services (predecessors of the SISMI) had joined in 1964 the Allied Clandestine Committee created in 1957 by the US, France, Belgium and Greece, and which was in charge of directing Gladio's operations. However, Gladio was actually set up under Minister of Defence (from 1953 to 1958) Paolo Taviani's supervision. Besides, the list of Gladio members given by Andreotti was incomplete. It didn't include, for example, Antonio Arconte, who described an organisation very different from the one brushed by Giulio Andreotti: an organisation closely tied to the SID secret service and the



Image (8): The Emblem of the Italian side of the Operation Gladio

Atlanticist strategy. According to Andreotti, the stay-behind organisations set up in all of Europe did not come "under broad NATO supervision until 1959". The revelations about Operation Gladio were huge. It posed fundamental questions about the tension between national security and democratic openness. That secret operations like these were taking place, having been approved at the highest level of government to keep a country safe from foreign threats and deceit, demonstrated an ugly part of Cold War politics — how far free nations would go in order to protect themselves against hidden enemy assaults without telling their citizens about it. The events led to a reassessment of intelligence techniques and the need for more control over secret operations.

The scandal has influenced contemporary discussions on the ethics and governance of intelligence and security operations. It serves as a case study on the challenges of democratic principles while addressing security threats, and it underscores the need for a transparent framework governing covert activities to prevent abuses of power and ensure accountability.



Image (9): A newspaper chapter from Washington Post regarding "Operation Gladio", by Clare Pedrick, Thursday, Nov. 15, 1990.

Operation Gladio was leaked to the media in 1990, primarily through the actions of Italian officials and investigative journalists. The revelation came when Giulio Andreotti, then Prime Minister of Italy, publicly acknowledged the existence of Gladio in response to growing political pressure. Andreotti made the admission during an address to the Italian Parliament, where he disclosed details about Italy's involvement in NATO's secret "stay-behind" networks. This disclosure followed years of speculation, rumours, and parliamentary investigations into acts of political violence in Italy, including bombings and assassinations. Many of these events, particularly during the country's "Years of Lead" (1960s-1980s), were linked to far-right extremist groups, and there had been growing suspicion that Gladio operatives were involved in these incidents.

Italy Discloses Its Web Of Cold War Guerrillas

By CLYDE HABERMAN

ROME, Nov. 15 — In Europe's new order, they are the spies who never quite came in from the cold, foot soldiers in an underground guerrilla network with one stated mission: To fight an enemy that most Europeans believe no longer exists.

There is a tale of secret arms caches and exotic code names, of military stratagems and political intrigue. At best, their tale is no more than a curious footnote to the cold war. The question is if, at worst, it could be the key to unsolved terrorism dating back two decades. Nowhere do the darker suspicions burn more intensely than in this capital whose appetite for conspiracy theories is insatiable and whose Parliament today began an investigation into where reality may lie.

The focus of the inquiry is a clandestine operation — code-named Gladio — created decades ago to arm and train resistance fighters in case the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies invaded. All this week, there have been disclosures of similar organizations in virtually all Western European countries, including those that do not belong to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

An Italian Creation

As disclosed in recent days by the Italian Prime Minister, Giulio Andreotti, Gladio, named after the short, wide, double-edged sword that gladiators in ancient Rome, came into being during the most gelid days of the cold war.

It was originally an Italian creation, said Mr. Andreotti, who is scheduled to testify on Friday before a parliamentary commission studying bombings and massacres that claimed scores of lives in a terrorist wave that inundated Italy from 1969 to the early 1980's.

The Prime Minister said last week that Gladio later evolved into a branch of an extensive network, operated within NATO and abetted by a 1956 agreement between the United States and Italian secret services. Over the years, he says, 622 Italians belonged to the operation — civilians who were trained by intelligence operatives and who had fought in World War II or served in the peacetime forces.

Preparing the Guerrillas

Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece and Luxembourg have all acknowledged that they maintained Gladio-style networks to prepare guerrilla fighters to leap into action in the event of a Warsaw Pact invasion. Many worked under the code name Stay Behind. Greece called its operation Red Sheepskin.

News reports in recent days assert that similar programs have also existed in Britain, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Turkey and Denmark, and even in neutral countries like Switzerland and Sweden. The British newspaper The Guardian today quoted a former Commander in Chief of NATO forces in northern Europe as saying that the purpose was to have a secret organization in place for guerrilla warfare if Britain were overrun by Communist troops.

"The original plan was to establish a network to arm guerrillas from the civil populace while conventional forces were occupied elsewhere," said the former commander, Sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley.

Diplomats in Rome and other European capitals say the network was inspired by anti-Communist resistance movements in World War II, but that it was hoped these new clandestine units would be better organized. "You have to remember," a highly placed Western European official said, "that at the time everyone was praising the French resistance, the Italian resistance, and everyone had to be prepared."

These would-be fighters had stockpiles of weapons and explosives, officials say. Henk Vredeling, the Netherlands' Defense Minister in the 1970's,



Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy, who is to testify today about a secret anti-Communist organization formed during the cold war years.

said he had known of weapons caches that were to be used for behind-the-lines sabotage. The German newspaper Die Welt reported that among secret stores of weapons in what used to be West Germany were grenade launchers, pistols and explosives.

In Rome, Mr. Andreotti disclosed that secret arms deposits were dismantled as far back as 1972 but that the secret services could not find 12 of them. Their disappearance has fueled speculation here that the weapons ended up in terrorist hands. Contributing to this conjecture are press reports that some of the underground "gladiators," as they have been dubbed, had close links to neo-Fascist groups and to intelligence organizations.

But the chief of Italian military intelligence, Adm. Fulvio Martini, insisted today that Operation Gladio had no ties to right-wing groups and that its only purpose was to resist invasion.

"Not one of the 622 was ever involved in any conspiracies or plots," Admiral Martini said in testimony before the parliamentary commission.

The Gladiators were formed to resist Soviets.

organized purely as a national force.

In some countries, the networks were shut down years ago. Greece's Socialists say that they discovered their when they took power in 1981, finally abolishing it and rounding up weapons. In France, President Francois Mitterrand said this week that it was he who eliminated the French branch, but he did not say when.

Even in countries like Italy where Gladio remains in force, its members seem to have little fighting spirit left.

New "gladiators" are still recruited, and two members of Parliament say they visited a military base on the island of Sardinia where guerrilla training exercises were held last spring. But Admiral Martini told the investigating commission that nearly three-fourths of the 622 members were over the age of 50, or were dead.

Nevertheless, the network continues, and several officials reported that a supervisory committee of European secret services met in Brussels only a month ago.

Nourishing conspiracy theories are assertions from key European leaders that they knew nothing about the operation until recently. Joseph Luns, was NATO secretary general from 1971 to 1984, said he had never heard of it. Belgium's Defense Minister, Guy Coeque, told a radio station today that "things were hidden from me."

Admiral Martini told the lawmakers that some Italian Prime Ministers were also kept in the dark. Indeed, as the Gladio story began to unfold, Italy's only two postwar Prime Ministers not to come from the conservative Christian Democratic Party — Bettino Craxi, a Socialist, and Giovanni Spadolini, a Republican — insisted that the disclosures came as news to them.

Agreement With U.S. Agencies

There were other disturbing developments for Italian politicians and journalists, who as a group demonstrate a cultivated taste for intrigue and a slender faith in coincidence.

There was Mr. Andreotti's mention of the 1956 agreement with United States agencies, whose aim for decades was to make sure that the Italian Communist Party, the largest in the West, never got a foothold in the Government. And there were long-reported links between Italian secret services and neo-Fascists.

And there is the fact that the major unsolved acts of terrorism that rocked Italy in the 1970's are all presumed to be the work of people on the far right. Left-wing terrorists like the moribund Red Brigades somehow were caught and imprisoned.

Swept up in the dispute is President Francesco Cossiga, who declared recently that it had been his "privilege" to help organize Gladio when he was in the Defense Ministry in the 1960's. Some Independent Left members of Parliament have since demanded his impeachment, but Mr. Cossiga remains unflappable.

Fact is, he said, "I admire the fact that we have kept the secret for 45 years."

Andreotti's statement was a response to mounting public and political demand for transparency after left-wing politicians and journalists had been pushing for an inquiry into covert NATO operations. Once Operation Gladio was officially confirmed, the news quickly spread through international media, leading to a wave of similar revelations across Europe. Several governments, including those of Belgium, Germany, and France, were forced to acknowledge their own stay-behind operations, resulting in public outrage and widespread political controversy. Investigations followed in many countries, but much of the operation remained shrouded in secrecy, with many of its finer details still classified or undisclosed.

Image (10): A column written by Clyde Haberman, the New York Times, Nov. 1990.

In conclusion, Operation Gladio represents one of the most complex and controversial aspects of Cold War history, blending covert military preparation with allegations of political interference and subversive activities. It is claimed that these troops have outlived their purpose over time or are already serving other purposes. It is also alleged that the troops caused more financial difficulties for the countries, that corruption allegations were strengthened by reporting economic deficits in year-end reports, that disproportionate and unaccountable force was used on the people and even extortion was taken, that they caused the people to be in a difficult financial and moral situation and that their property was seized, and that covert operations were carried out that could amount to war crimes.

Many of the incidents that were not answered in time were answered after the disclosure of this operation.

Disintegration



Slovenia and Croatia are Yugoslavia's most developed republics, and Serbia the most populous.

Markovic's Reform Party is facing stiff competition in each race from a host of nationalist parties.

Today, about 25,000 Macedonians protested in the republican capital Skopje, asserting that ethnic Albanians in the republic's western districts prevented Macedonians from casting ballots in last Sunday's first round of parliamentary elections.

While final first-round vote tallies are still not available, election officials in Macedonia have declared last Sunday's vote null and void because of irregularities, according to a Yugoslav press agency report. A new vote in those precincts is set for Nov. 15, and a second round of voting has been postponed until Dec. 9.

Parliamentary elections are set for Sunday in Bosnia-Herzegovina and for Dec. 9 in Serbia and Montenegro. Runoffs are scheduled in each republic.

4. SUBSTANTIAL GLOSSARY

Article 5 (NATO Charter): A key provision of the NATO treaty stating that an armed attack against one or more members is considered an attack against all, invoking collective defence.

Collective Defence: The principle that an attack on one member of an alliance is considered an attack on all members, leading to mutual defence actions.

North Atlantic Council (NAC): The principal political decision-making body of NATO, where representatives from each member state meet to make decisions on key issues.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA): Known informally as the Agency, metonymously as Langley and historically as the Company, is a civilian foreign intelligence service of the federal government of the United States tasked with gathering, processing, and analysing national security information from around the world, primarily through the use of human intelligence (HUMINT) and conducting covert action through its Directorate of Operations.

Consensus Decision-Making: NATO's decision-making process where all member states must agree on any action, reflecting the collective will of the alliance.

Military Committee: NATO's highest military authority, composed of the Chiefs of Defense from each member state, providing military guidance to the North Atlantic Council.

Warsaw Pact: A collective defence treaty signed by the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries in 1955, created as a counterbalance to NATO during the Cold War.

Operation Gladio: A covert NATO operation during the Cold War to set up "stay-behind" networks in Europe to prepare for a potential Soviet invasion. It later became controversial due to its secretive nature and alleged involvement in domestic political affairs.

Stay-Behind: A stay-behind operation is one where a country embeds secret operatives or organisations in its own territory, for use in case of a later enemy occupation.

Cuban Missile Crisis (1962): A Cold War confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over the placement of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war.

Berlin Blockade (1948-49): A Soviet effort to cut off Allied access to West Berlin in 1948, leading to the Berlin Airlift where the Western Allies supplied the city by air.

Berlin Airlift: The operation where Western Allies delivered vital supplies to West Berlin by air during the Soviet blockade of land routes, marking one of the first major crises of the Cold War.

Berlin Wall: The Berlin Wall was a guarded concrete barrier that encircled West Berlin from 1961 to 1989, separating it from East Berlin.

Brinkmanship: A strategy in international politics where parties push dangerous events to the verge of conflict to achieve the most advantageous outcome. This was notably seen during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Nuclear Deterrence: The concept that nuclear weapons are intended to deter other states from attacking by the threat of mutually assured destruction (MAD)

Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD): A doctrine of military strategy in which a full-scale use of nuclear weapons by two or more opposing sides would result in the complete annihilation of both the attacker and the defender.

Guerrilla Warfare: A form of irregular warfare where small groups use tactics such as ambushes and sabotage to fight a larger and less-mobile traditional army.

Eastern Bloc: The group of socialist states under the influence of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, including the Warsaw Pact nations.

Cold War: The period of geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union from the late 1940s until 1991, characterised by political, military, and economic competition.

Détente:³ A period of relaxed tensions and improved relations between the superpowers during the Cold War, particularly in the 1970s.

Proxy War: A conflict where two opposing states or powers support third parties to fight on their behalf, often seen during the Cold War in regions like Vietnam and Afghanistan.

NATO Enlargement:⁴ The process of adding new member states to NATO, which has expanded from its original 12 members to 31, including countries from Eastern Europe following the end of the Cold War.

Hybrid Warfare: A military strategy that blends conventional warfare, irregular warfare, cyber tactics, and information warfare, often used by state and non-state actors to achieve objectives without direct large-scale confrontation.

Containment Policy: A geopolitical strategy used by the United States during the Cold War to prevent the spread of communism by containing Soviet influence to its existing boundaries.

Iron Curtain: A term used to describe the political, military, and ideological barrier that divided Western Europe (under democratic influence) and Eastern Europe (under Soviet control) during the Cold War.

Cyber Warfare: The use of technology to attack or disrupt a nation's information systems or critical infrastructure, increasingly relevant in modern NATO operations.

Perestroika and Glasnost: Political reforms introduced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the 1980s. Perestroika (restructuring) referred to economic reforms, while Glasnost (openness) encouraged more transparency and freedom of information.

False Flag: An act committed with the intent of disguising the actual source of responsibility and pinning blame on another party.

³ Détente is a term meaning “relaxation”, originally from French. But in English usage is with “é”. See also: dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/detente

⁴ Not including the last process regarding Sweden, Finland etc. Enlargement following the end of the Cold War (12 March 1947 – 26 December 1991)

5. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AGENDA

Operation Gladio was a covert operation conducted during the Cold War by NATO, specifically its Western European members, as part of a larger "stay-behind" initiative. Its purpose was to create secret paramilitary forces within Western European countries to act as resistance forces in case of a Soviet invasion. These operations were initially set up after World War II in response to the growing influence of communism and the Soviet Union, primarily in Europe. Gladio took its name from the Italian branch of this network, which operated under the codename "Gladio," meaning "sword" in Latin.

Secret agents, freemasons, fascists . . . and a top-level campaign of political 'destabilisation'

Ed Vulliamy in Rome on the 'strategy of tension' that brought carnage and cover-up

I CAN say that the head of the secret services has repeatedly and unequivocally excluded the existence of a hidden organisation of any type or size," the Italian Minister of Defence, Giulio Andreotti, told a judicial inquiry in 1974 into the alleged existence of a secret state army.

Four years later, the scene repeated itself in front of judges investigating a fascist bombing in Milan.

Last month, however, Andreotti — now Prime Minister — confirmed the now infamous Gladio organisation had indeed existed since 1958, with the sanction of the political authorities, as a paramilitary "clandestine network" prepared to fight a Warsaw Pact invading army.

The Gladio saga resulted from two sources unhappy with Andreotti's 1974 explanation. The first was a group of judges examining letters uncovered in Milan during October in which the murdered Christian Democrat leader, Aldo Moro, said he feared a shadow organisation, alongside "other secret services of the West . . . might be implicated in the destabilisation of our country".

His words were taken to point to the "Strategy of Tension" in the 1970s, violent and usually fascist-inspired outrages designed to justify increased state power and isolate the Left.

Meanwhile, two judges in Venice were investigating one such outrage — the murder of three policemen by a fascist car bomb in Peteano in 1972. Felice Casson and Carlo Mastelloni had stumbled across Gladio.

Testimonies collected by the two men and by the Commission on Terrorism in Rome, and inquiries by the Guardian, indicate Gladio was involved in activities which do not square with Andreotti's account.

Links between Gladio, Italian



Denials, doubts and then the truth: Prime Minister Andreotti and assassination victim Moro

secret service bosses and the notorious P2 masonic lodge are manifold. The chiefs of all three secret services — Generals Santovito (SISMI), Grassini (SISDE) and Cellosi (CESSIS) — were members of the lodge. In the year that Andreotti denied Gladio's existence, the P2 treasurer, General Siro Rosetti, gave a generous account of "a secret security structure made up of civilians, parallel to the armed forces".

There are also overlaps between senior Gladio personnel and the committee of military men, Rosa dei Vent, which tried to stage a coup in 1970.

A briefing minute of June 1, 1959, reveals Gladio was built around "internal subversion". It was to play "a determining role . . . not only on the general policy level of warfare, but also in the politics of emergency".

In the 1970s, with communist electoral support growing and other leftists looking menacing, the establishment turned to the "Strategy of Tension" — with Gladio eager to be involved.

General Gerardo Serravalle, a former head of "Office R", told the terrorism commission that at a crucial Gladio meeting in 1972, at least half of the upper echelons "had the idea of attacking the communists be-

fore an invasion. They were preparing for civil war."

Later, he put it more bluntly: "They were saying this: 'Why wait for the invaders when we can make a pre-emptive attack now on the communists who would support the invader?'"

The idea is now emerging of a Gladio web made up of semi-autonomous cadres which — al-

At least half had the idea of attacking communists before an invasion. They were preparing for civil war

though answerable to their secret service masters and ultimately to the Nato-CIA command — could initiate what they regarded as anti-communist operations by themselves, needing only sanction and funds from the existing "official" Gladio column.

General Pietro Corona, head of the "R" office from 1969-70, told the Venice inquiry about "an alternative clandestine net-

work, parallel to Gladio, which knew about the arms and explosives dumps and who had access to them". General Nino Lugaresi, head of SISMI from 1981-84, testified on the existence of a "Super Gladio" of 800 men responsible for "internal intervention" against domestic political targets.

The Venetian judges identified two arms dumps referred to by Andreotti. One, hidden beneath a cemetery near Verona, contains 18 453-gram bundles of the potent C4 plastic explosive officially confirmed last week as used at Peteano.

Gen Serravalle testified to irregularities at another dump, near Trieste. There, he says, Gladio had logged seven containers of C4. When the Carabinieri dug up the arsenal in February 1972 — two months before the Peteano attack near by — there were only four containers left; three had been inexplicably removed.

An extraordinary testimony remains in the labyrinth of paperwork surrounding the "Strategy of Tension". Vincenzo Vinciguerra, a member of the fascist group Avanguardia Nazionale, is serving life for his part in the Peteano bombing.

In 1984, questioned by judges examining the 1980 Bologna

station bomb in which 82 people were killed and for which two secret service agents were convicted, he said: "With the massacre of Peteano, and with all those that have followed, the knowledge should by now be clear that there existed a real live structure, occult and hidden, with the capacity of giving a strategic direction to the outrages." The structure, he said, "lies within the state itself".

"There exists in Italy a secret force parallel to the armed forces, composed of civilians and military men, in an anti-Soviet capacity — that is, to organise a resistance on Italian soil against a Russian army . . . A secret organisation, a super-organisation with a network of communications, arms and explosives, and men trained to use them . . ."

"A super-organisation which, lacking a Soviet military invasion which might not happen, took up the task, on Nato's behalf, of preventing a slip to the left in the political balance of the country. This they did, with the assistance of the official secret services and the political and military forces . . ."

Vinciguerra has now made this statement to the Guardian: "The terrorist line was followed by camouflaged people, people belonging to the security apparatus, or those linked to the state apparatus through rapport or collaboration. I say that every single outrage that followed from 1969 fitted into a single, organised matrix . . ."

Avanguardia Nazionale, like Ordine Nuovo (the main right-wing terrorist group active during the 1970s), were being mobilised into the battle as part of an anti-communist strategy originating not with organisations deviant from the institutions of power, but from within the state itself, and specifically from within the ambit of the state's relations within the Atlantic Alliance."

Late last Thursday, the current head of the Secret Services, General Paolo Inzerilli, announced that Gladio had been disbanded two days earlier. The official closing of the Gladio book, however, is unlikely to abort the plot.

Image (11): A newspaper clipping revealing that claims about Operation Gladio were leaked.

The origins of Gladio can be traced back to the aftermath of World War II, as the United States and its allies feared that the Soviet Union might spread communism throughout Europe. To counteract this, NATO worked in collaboration with the CIA, MI6, and local intelligence agencies to organise these "stay-behind" networks, composed of former resistance fighters, military personnel, and civilians trained in guerrilla warfare, sabotage, and espionage. These networks were secretly equipped with arms caches, communication systems, and other essential resources to be activated only in the event of a Soviet invasion.

A14

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1991

In This Corner, Another Italian Government

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

ROME, March 27 — Italian politics is often described as Byzantine and difficult to fathom, but in fact there are a few basic rules that anyone can understand:

If political language has entered high-decibel range, it means that a Government crisis is under way. If not, it means that a Government crisis will be under way before long.

This time, there has been a bit of rule-bending. While Italy's political leaders are already in polemical overdrive, they are still a step short of a full-blown crisis, which means that a

Government has fallen once again. There is little question, though, that Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti has shaky grip on power, and it may be only a matter of days before he must either yield to a new government, which would be Italy's 50th since World War II, or accept early parliamentary elections, which few parties really want. Commentators say elections might be called for June, a year ahead of schedule.

To outsiders, all this may have the feel of what the Italian-American philosopher Yogi Berra once referred to as *déjà vu* all over again.

Italian governments are born to die.

At 20 months, this one has already lasted twice as long as the average, and it might have expired months ago had it not been for the domestic unity imposed by two unrelated events: Italy's turn last year as President of the European Community and the onset of the Persian Gulf crisis.

Mr. Andreotti was given a hard shove toward the exit on Tuesday when the Socialist Party, the main partner in his five-party governing coalition, announced that Italy needed a new government with a new program for 1992.

Until this announcement, the Prime Minister had expected to get by with a more modest redistribution of Cabinet

posts. While his position now looks bleak, he could still get his way in coalition negotiations that are scheduled to begin on Thursday. He has not endured in Italian politics for four decades, including six terms as Prime Minister, by being unresponsible.

The Socialist leader, former Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, has ambitions for a return to high office that he apparently feels would be served by a crisis. But his party couches its unhappiness in substantive terms, blaming the Andreotti Government for not dealing with pressing matters like public service inefficiency, constitutional change, the anti-inflation struggle and Italy's chronic budget deficits.

Yet as the crisis has blossomed, these critical issues are being sublimated in public debate to backroom intrigues that have almost nothing to do

with Italians' real lives.

For many months, parliamentary discourse and newspaper columns have chosen to focus more on a parade of scandals, political plots and unsolved terrorist attacks. That pattern reached a peak with disclosures last summer about the existence of Operation Gladio, the code name for a NATO-sponsored guerrilla force created 40 years ago to prepare for a possible Communist invasion.

Despite the absence of supporting evidence, some Italians see Gladio as the key to explaining long-unresolved mysteries that are among this country's specialties. And that has produced, notably from Communists, a demand for the resignation of President Francesco Cossiga, who supervised Operation Gladio 25 years ago when he was Assistant Defense Minis-

ter, and is proud of it.

Mr. Cossiga has become a central figure in this crisis. He complains that Mr. Andreotti and other fellow Christian Democrats have been slow to defend him against what he calls a campaign to undermine him. Over the last year he has been increasingly outspoken on other issues as well, to such a degree and at times with such vituperation that some politicians openly ask if he is losing his grip.

The doubts grew several weeks ago after he angrily, and publicly, questioned the lineage of a Reuters correspondent who had described the Italian presence in the Gulf as a "token force."

After that, a weekly magazine ran a devastating cover photograph in which Mr. Cossiga indeed seemed to be vanishing. "Out of Control," the accompanying headline said.

Image (12): The New York Times International by Clyde Haberman, Thursday, March 28, 1991

Although intended as a defensive measure against Soviet occupation, Gladio's operations became controversial. In Italy, where Gladio was most active, allegations arose that the network had been involved in domestic terrorism and political destabilisation. Critics have argued that Gladio and similar stay-behind operations were used not just to guard against Soviet aggression but also to curb leftist political movements within Western Europe. The most notorious event linked to Gladio was the "Years of Lead" in Italy during the 1970s and 1980s, a period marked by political violence, including bombings and assassinations. Some reports suggested that far-right groups, with potential links to Gladio, had carried out attacks



that were falsely attributed to left-wing organisations to discredit them.

Image (13): During the Second World War, the British Special Operations Executive carried out clandestine missions to support resistance organisations, inspiring the later Operation Gladio.

(Courtesy of All That's Interesting)

OBSERVER REVIEW



A key figure in the 'stay-behind' operation, P2 Lodge head Licio Gelli, and (right) fascist terrorist Vincenzo Vinciguerra. Was Gladio involved in the bombing of Bologna railway station? (centre) Photographs by Vladimir Shtou and Graham Macindoe.

THE codename was Gladio and it was the most ambitious and secret operation in Western Europe since the Second World War. But now, with the Cold War over, it is ending on notes of pure farce.

The Belgian authorities have lost the code for getting in touch with their most secret agents, men who would have gone into action when the Soviet army swept into Flanders: they have no means of working it out again. One Belgian officer, Colonel Bernard Legrand, knows some of the names but he won't co-operate: it's confidential, he says. The British and the United States governments know how to break the code but won't tell the wretched Belgians.

At 10.15 on the morning of 31 January last year Colonel Jean Bodart of Belgian military intelligence landed in a Belgian air force plane at RAF Northolt. He collected 13 packages filled with cyphers and an old Remington typewriter from British intelligence and two hours later flew back to Brussels. The packages contained the names of the members of the Gladio network in Belgium. The Remington typewriter was part of the decoding equipment. But Belgian intelligence, whose skills at cryptography have sadly been allowed to get rusty, have wrestled in vain with the task of deciphering the names in the packages.

One day in 1984 a party of US Marines set out from an airport north of London. Highly trained men, each fluent in one Eastern European language, they parachuted to their secret rendezvous and were met by an agent, a local bank manager, who offered them guidance. They lived off the land for a fortnight, hiding from the local civilian population by their secret rendezvous and their prey. Stealthily they approached their objective and opened fire, killing a warrant officer. One of the Marines lost an eye in the operation.

Their language skills were not much use: the objective was the police station in the sleepy southern Belgian town of Vlieland and none of the Marines spoke French. If they had, they could have saved one man's life and another man's eye.

The object of the exercise had been twofold: to jolt the local Belgian police into a higher state of alert and, no less important, to give the impression to the population

GLADIO Europe's best kept secret

They were the agents who were to 'stay behind' the Red Army overrun Western Europe. But the network that was set up with the best intentions degenerated in some countries into a front for terrorism and far-right political agitation. **Hugh O'Shaughnessy reports.**

laborate with the Allied forces of liberation. Such a lack of foresight, it was agreed in Western capitals, was never to be permitted again in the face of Stalin's threat, particularly after the Communist putsch in Prague in 1948. Under the aegis of Britain and the US, a secret network of recruits was to be set up all over the continent. They were to be provided with caches of radios, money and weapons.

If the Red Army did overrun Western Europe and Western armies were defeated and forced to flee, there would be someone left with intimate local knowledge who could receive orders from abroad, send out information and go into action against the Soviet occupation forces. They were not to be so many Captain Mainwaring, openly organised in Dad's Army outfits around the local drill hall, who could be easily rounded up by the Russians. Their role was to be serious and totally clandestine. They were to be known as 'stay-behinds'.

This continent-wide operation, which became known as Gladio, also had the task of keeping an eye on what were considered domestic threats to Western democracies by agents of the Soviet Union. In the post-war years when

Moscow-line Communist parties were strong, particularly in France and Italy, that task was challenging. It was to lead to particular abuses.

Although the networks were initially set up at the initiative of democratically elected national leaders, they soon took on an independent life of their own so that even commanders-in-chief, defence ministers, prime ministers and presidents were unaware of what they were doing.

The network and their caches were to remain ultra-secret until 1990. General Bernard Rogers, the former US commander of Nato, could receive orders from abroad, send out information and go into action against the Soviet occupation forces. They were not to be so many Captain Mainwaring, openly organised in Dad's Army outfits around the local drill hall, who could be easily rounded up by the Russians.

The net was lifted a little in November 1990 by the Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, who had strongly denied the existence of Gladio for well over a decade. In a statement to parliament in Rome, Andreotti became the first major politician to talk publicly of the project.

IT ALL started at the end of the last war. On 27 January 1949 Sir Stewart Menzies, head of MI6, set out the grand strategy in a top secret and personal letter to Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian Socialist Prime Minister who was later to become secretary-general of Nato. As the idea took shape, Sir Stewart wrote of Anglo-Belgian collaboration in particular:

The present object of this collaboration should be directed to two main aims: a) The improvement of our information on the subject of Cominform and potential enemy activities in so far as they concern our two countries.

b) The preparation of appropriate intelligence and action organisations in the event of war.

At the same time the letter, a copy of which is in *The Observer's* possession, throws light on what became an increasingly important factor in the Gladio operation — the rivalry between the British and the Americans.

Menzies continued: I have always regarded American participation in the defence of Western Europe as a matter of capital importance. I am, however, convinced that all efforts, American not excluded, must be integrated into an harmonious whole. Should, therefore, the Americans wish to pursue with your Service certain preparations to meet the needs of war, I regard it as essential — and I understand that I have your agreement — that these activities should be co-ordinated with my own. Such co-ordination, moreover, will prevent undesirable expressions with the Western Union Chiefs of Staff. I have already indicated to the Head of the American Service that I am ready to work out plans for detailed co-operation with him on this basis, and I therefore suggest that my

projects formulated by Menzies should be referred back to Washington for subsequent discussion between the British and American Services in London.

The correspondence should, Menzies suggested, be regarded as 'highly secret'. Early the following month If two of them, the American and the British, refuse that collaboration, the situation of the Belgian service would be extremely delicate and difficult.

Thus I feel it is indispensable that at the highest level there should be negotiations to settle this question...

In the event both powers helped to pay for the Gladio operations in Belgium. Senator Roger Lallemand, head of the parliamentary inquiry into Gladio set up in Belgium after Andreotti's revelations, recalls: 'What was striking about the Belgian stay-behinds was that the financing of the beginning was in part undertaken by the British and the Americans. We were able to note that the Belgian stay-behinds had received gold coins... The sums were quite large and in fact were stored away since they couldn't have been used.'

As the years went by, the stay-behind network, which ended up as a semi-detached operation of Nato, extended across Europe, the British taking the lead in Belgium, the Netherlands, Scandinavia and the Iberian peninsula, the Americans elsewhere. The fact that various powers involved were not members of Nato — such as Switzerland — did not hinder Gladio being extended to their territory. The names of all the stay-behinds were lodged for safe-keeping in London and Boston, Massachusetts.

THE extreme secrecy and lack of supervision of the Gladio networks by elected governments meant that time and again they were to fall victim to right-wing extremists inside and outside the Western security services, who set their own political agendas and acted on them.

The way down that slippery slope was typified by the attitude of James Jean Angleton, the CIA's chief of counter-intelligence. According to his biographer Tom Mangelsen, Angleton was convinced that Harold Wilson and Willy Brandt were Moscow agents. His black list of pro-Communists also included Henry Kissinger, the Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson and Averil Harriman, a former US Ambassador in Moscow and Governor of New York.

A US military field manual published for the guidance of its officers stated: 'There may be times when host-country governments fall into passivity or indecision in face of Communist or Communist-inspired subversion and react with inadequate vigor to intelligence estimates transmitted by US agencies... In such cases US army intelligence must have the means of launching special operations which will convince host-country governments and public opinion of the reality of insurgent action and assess the counter-action.'

Although doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the test, Ray Cline, a former deputy director of the CIA who joined US intelligence as a young man during the Second World War, has no doubt it is genuine.

In Belgium, for instance, all evidence points to the fact that a US-born Gladio agent, Wood Gardner, infiltrated the Belgian pacifist movement and persuaded some of its members in 1984 to steal shells from the missile base at Florence. When the theft was discovered it did the pacifist cause no good at all.

More important were the apparently random shootings in Belgium super-markets which ended with a particularly nasty incident in 1983 in the town of Aalst, a few miles from Brussels, which became known as the Brabant-Walloon massacres. Senator Lallemand has linked the killings to the work of foreign governments or of intelligence services working for foreigners, a terrorism aimed at destabilising democratic society.'

Marital Lekeu, a former member of the Belgian gendarmerie who was close to the investigation of the atrocities, and that official inquiries into it were aborted.

The British authorities, leaders with Washington in the scheme, are refusing all comment on Gladio. But the correspondence should, Menzies suggested, be regarded as 'highly secret'. Early the following month If two of them, the American and the British, refuse that collaboration, the situation of the Belgian service would be extremely delicate and difficult.

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Image (14): The Observer's (London)(The Observer-Reporter) (as is known as "The Guardian" recently) Observer View part.

The operation was first revealed to the public in 1990, when then-Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti admitted to the existence of Gladio and its secretive nature. This revelation triggered a wave of investigations across Europe, as countries like Belgium, France, and Germany acknowledged their own participation in similar operations.

Although the exact details and scope of Gladio remain contested, its exposure has fueled debates about the ethics of such clandestine operations and their influence on European politics during the Cold War.

Cold War's secret army surfaces to ignite furore

CIA created it to fight east bloc invasion

CLARE PEDRICK

Special to The Washington Post

Rome

A secret army created by the Central Intelligence Agency during the 1950s to organize resistance in the event of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe has finally come in from the cold.

And the disclosures of its past actions are producing a political flap that stretches across the continent.

The existence of a clandestine paramilitary network code-named "Operation Gladio" was disclosed last Thursday by Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti in a speech to his nation's Senate. Since then, European officials have described similar operations in most of the other NATO countries.

The CIA-backed paramilitary network included units in Belgium, France, Greece, West Germany and the Netherlands, according to European newspaper and news service reports.

"The operation was expanded to all of Western Europe by 1959," including neutral Sweden and Switzerland, according to a story scheduled to appear Wednesday in the German newspaper *Die Welt*.

European officials familiar with the paramilitary network have come forward in the last several days and described stockpiles of weapons and explosives hidden in Western European countries since the start of Cold War, news services have reported. The arms were to be used by hundreds of resistance fighters trained to counter a Soviet invasion, the officials said.

A former Belgian army intelligence official quoted by the *Associated Press* Tuesday said at least six arms caches were spread over the countryside in his nation until two months ago. In addition, the wire service quoted a former Dutch defence minister who said large



Giulio Andreotti

weapons dumps also existed there and that some were discovered over the last decade.

Andreotti told the Italian Parliament that at the height of Cold War tensions in the late 1950s and early '60s, the Italian unit had hidden caches of arms at depots throughout the country. The operation has now been scaled down, Andreotti said, but more than 600 people remain on the payroll.

Andreotti said he believes the operation should now be dismantled, given the new "climate which has freed us from the nightmare of wars and divisions."

In Washington, a U.S. government official familiar with Operation Gladio — Italian for "sword" — said the continued existence of the force in Italy was "solely an Italian operation. We have no control over it whatsoever." The official wouldn't comment on allegations that Gladio was part of a broad resistance network through-

out Western Europe.

Andreotti disclosed the covert operation after a Venetian magistrate, Felice Casson, stumbled on its existence during an investigation into a neo-fascist terrorist attack that took place 18 years ago.

The investigation revealed that the explosives used in a 1972 car-bombing came from one of the 139 secret weapons depots kept for the use of Gladio forces. The bomb, which killed three policemen near the town of Gorizia in northeast Italy, was placed by neo-fascist activist Vincenzo Vinciguerra, who was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Andreotti said the 139 arsenals were broken up in 1973, but that weapons from 12 of them were never recovered.

Casson and fellow magistrate Carlo Mastelloni are now investigating possible links between Operation Gladio and extreme right-wing terrorists who are thought to have been responsible for a string of unsolved bombings in Italy during the 1970s and early '80s.

In Washington, the U.S. government official familiar with Gladio said: "If there are allegations that the CIA was involved in terrorist activities in Italy, they are absolute nonsense."

Andreotti said the United States first approached Italy as early as 1951 when the CIA broached the idea of mounting what it called a "stay behind" organization, one of several in post-war Europe.

The American and Italian intelligence agencies worked together, he said, to establish a network of crack military troops, most of them concentrated in the northeast near the Yugoslav border, where the threat of a Communist invasion seemed most credible. In 1959, Operation Gladio came under the umbrella of NATO, he added.

The CIA and NATO played integral roles in planning and executing Operation Gladio and similar stay-behind networks across Europe during the Cold War. The primary goal was to create secret resistance cells capable of guerrilla warfare, espionage, and sabotage in the event of a Soviet invasion. These operations were conceived within the broader framework of Western defence strategies against communist expansion.

The CIA was deeply involved in the creation and financing of these networks, particularly in the early stages. As part of its mission to counter Soviet influence, the agency worked closely with European governments and intelligence agencies, providing training, weapons, and financial resources to develop clandestine operatives. The CIA viewed these stay-behind networks as a critical component of Western Europe's defence, ensuring that resistance forces would be in place if the Soviets occupied NATO territory.

NATO, particularly through its Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), coordinated the military aspects of the stay-behind networks. The operations were overseen by the Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC) and the Clandestine Planning Committee (CPC) within NATO, which facilitated cooperation between member states. NATO's role was to ensure that these networks operated in a coordinated and uniform manner across its member nations. While NATO provided overall guidance and strategic direction, the day-to-day operations of each network were managed by national governments, but always with NATO oversight.

The planning involved creating secret arms caches, training operatives in guerrilla tactics, and preparing them for resistance activities in the event of Soviet occupation. The networks were compartmentalised, with only a few key officials in each country knowing the full scope of the operation. National governments were responsible for recruiting and managing local operatives, who were often civilians, former soldiers, or paramilitary personnel with anti-communist leanings.

The operation also involved heavy secrecy and deniability, with the networks hidden not only from the public but often from democratic oversight within the member states themselves. This clandestine nature led to controversies when the operations were later revealed, particularly with accusations that some of the networks were used to interfere in domestic politics rather than solely for defence against Soviet invasion.

Oorlogstuig sorteren



ADJUDANT GEVAL van de Explosieven Opruimingsdienst sorteert het Engelse wapentuig, gevonden onder het zand in de kelder van het pand Parkstraat 3 in Utrecht. Foto Oscar Fids

EOD verwijdert Engelse pistolen, munitie en handgranaten

Dansen op explosieven in Parkstraat

(Van een onzer verslaggevers)
UTRECHT — De Explosieven Opruimingsdienst (EOD) heeft gisteren het pand Parkstraat 3 in Utrecht verlost van wapentuig uit de Tweede Wereldoorlog. De EOD vond in de kelder acht pistolen (waaronder FN-Brownings 9 mm), slagpijpjes, een kistje handgranaten van Engelse makelij, munitie en een oude radio. Ze lagen onder het zand.

De huisbaas en de kamerbewoners van het pand wisten al langer dat zich onder hun huis explosieven uit de Tweede Wereldoorlog bevonden. Pas gisteren informeerde de huisbaas de politie. Die liet na een eerste inspectie de EOD opdraven.

Voorlichter Martin Beekwilder van de Utrechtse politie kondigde gisteren aan dat de afdeling bijzondere wetten de huisbaas nader aan de tand gaat voelen. „Niet zozeer omdat het om een strafbaar feit zou gaan. We willen hier gewoon meer van weten”.

De afdeling bijzondere wetten van de Utrechtse politie kreeg een paar maanden geleden een brief van een advocaat. Hij wilde weten of iemand financieel aansprakelijk kan worden gesteld voor het verwijderen van explosieven. „Ook nadat we hebben geantwoord dat dat niet het geval is, wilde de advocaat geen nadere medede-

lingen doen over welk huis het betrof”, aldus Beekwilder. Hij sluit niet uit dat er een verband is tussen de briefwisseling en de gisteren verwijderde explosieven en wapens.

Volgens bewoonster Daphne de Bruin is de huisbaas een jaar geleden al, toen het huis was verkocht, wezen kijken in de kelder. „Ze hebben toen wel wat gezien, maar het zou niet zo dringend zijn. Het zou nog wel een keer komen. Ja, nu ben ik toch wel geschrokken. De politie zou vandaag even kijken in de kelder. Daarom ben ik maar even weggegaan, boodschappen doen. Toen ik een half uur later terugkwam, was de straat afgezet”.

Ze is naar de Dr. A. Schweitzerschool in de Schoolstraat gegaan, die was opengesteld als tijdelijk opvang voor de ontruimde straat. Daar vertelt ze dat de bewoners wel eens in de kelder kwamen, omdat de PTT-schakelkast daar zit. „Toen we laatst wat moesten doen aan de tv-kabel hebben we zelfs nog wat staan springen”. Hier zitten bommen” was een vaste grap. Ze is geschrokken, al heeft ze niet het idee jarenlang op een tijdbom te hebben gewoond.

Die bommen zouden, was Beekwilder 's morgens verteld, van Duitse makelij zijn. De bezetters zouden het pand in gebruik hebben gehad en de explosieven

daar hebben begraven. Maar als tegen de klok van drie uur EOD-adjutant Geval de gevaarlijke vondst op de stoep voor de woning heeft uitgesteld, blijkt alles Engels fabrikaat. „Door het verzet gebruikt dus”, concludeert Geval. Beekwilder ziet een andere mogelijkheid: „Het zou kunnen dat de Duitsers ze hebben veroverd op het verzet, en zij ze toch hier hebben begraven”.

De politie nam tegen twaalf uur een kijkje in de kelder. Voorzichtig gravend, op aanwijzing van de huisbaas, vonden ze de explosieven, met 'kristallen' op het metaal. De agenten van bijzondere wetten weten dan meteen wat ze moeten doen: wegwezen, acuut explosiegevaar.

De specialisten van de EOD in Culemborg werden ingeschakeld, de straat werd ontruimd, de omgeving afgezet. Politie, brandweer, GG&GD en EOD waren betrokken bij het verwijderen van de explosieven. Buiten de afzetting keken nieuwsgierigen de Parkstraat in, waar eigenlijk niets viel te zien.

Het explosiegevaar viel achteraf mee. Desondanks beoordeelt adjudant Geval van de EOD de handelwijze van de politie als de enig juiste. „Je kunt nooit bij een eerste blik zeggen wat het precies is. Je weet niet wat er nog meer onder het zand zit. En zonder gevaar is het allemaal zeker niet geweest.”

Image (16): A newspaper clipping showing the used weapons and radios for stay-behind operations pulled from the basement of Parkstraat in Utrecht (Netherlands). “Dansen on explosieven in Parkstraat” meaning “Dancing on Explosives in Parkstraat”

6. TIMELINE OF THE EVENTS

1945 – End of World War II

- Europe is divided into East and West as the Cold War begins, with the Soviet Union expanding its influence over Eastern Europe.
- Western Europe, under the threat of Soviet invasion, begins looking for ways to resist Soviet aggression beyond conventional military means.

1949 – Formation of NATO

- The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is formed to provide collective defence against Soviet expansionism. This alliance includes Western European nations, the US, and Canada.
- Early discussions among NATO members and the CIA focus on the creation of covert "stay-behind" networks to counter a possible Soviet occupation.

1949-1950 – Establishment of Stay-Behind Networks

- NATO, the CIA, and the UK begin organising secret resistance networks in Western Europe. These networks are designed to operate behind enemy lines in case of Soviet invasion, conducting guerrilla warfare and sabotage.

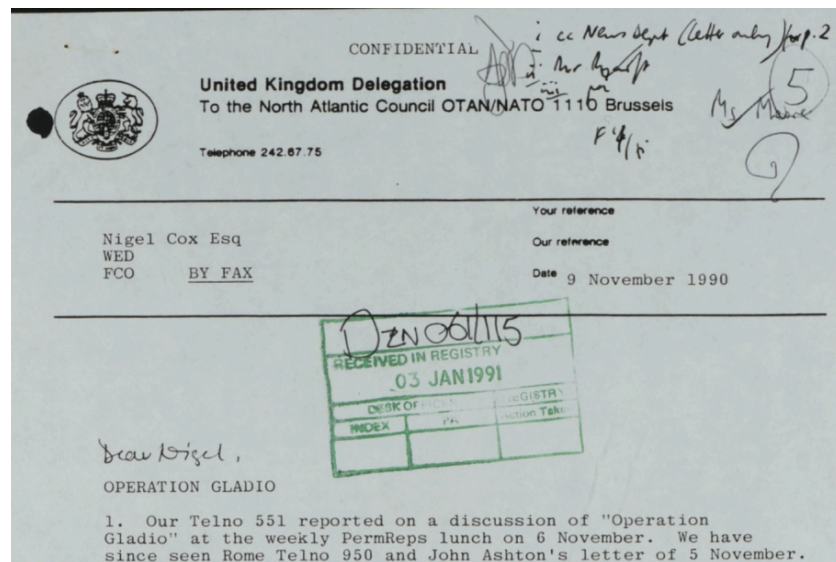


Image (17): Confidential directive to NAC from delegation of the UK.

- Arms caches are hidden, and operatives are trained in secret throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s.

1951 – CIA’s Official Involvement

- The CIA, under Allen Dulles, takes an official role in funding and coordinating stay-behind networks in Europe, using its vast resources to help train and supply these operatives.

1956 – Soviet Invasion of Hungary

The Soviet Union’s brutal suppression of the Hungarian Revolution reinforces the fear of communist expansion, justifying the continuation and expansion of NATO’s stay-behind networks.



From left, Image (18): Hungarians atop a Soviet tank outside parliament during the Hungarian Uprising (Revolution) , Budapest, 1956.
Image (19): People gather around a fallen statue of Soviet leader Josef Stalin in front of the National Theatre in Budapest, Hungary, 1956.

1950s-1960s – Expansion of Operation Gladio

Operation Gladio grows across Europe, with stay-behind cells established in numerous countries, including Italy, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Turkiye, and others. Each country operates its own national network with NATO oversight. The existence of these networks remains highly classified.

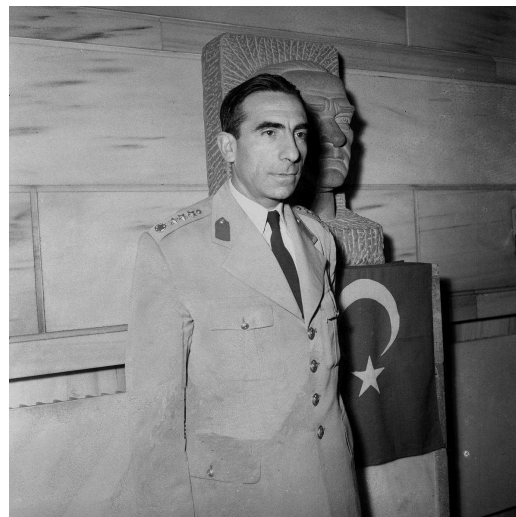


Image (20): Alparslan Türkeş (One of the founding officers of the Özel Harp Dairesi [Special Warfare Department], the Turkish leg of the Operation Gladio) in Front of the Atatürk Bust and the Turkish Flag,

1969 – Piazza Fontana Bombing (Italy)

A bombing at a bank in Milan kills 17 people, marking the beginning of Italy's "Years of Lead." Neo-fascist groups are suspected, and allegations later arise that elements of Gladio were involved in these attacks as part of a "strategy of tension" to blame the far-left.



Image (21): The Massacre of Piazza Fontana, 17 death, 88 injured, 12 December 1969

1974 – Bologna Train Station Bombing

Another bombing kills 85 people at the Bologna station in Italy. Neo-fascists are again blamed, and questions about Gladio's involvement in destabilising the political landscape intensify.



Image (22): The first rescuers after the bombing at Bologna central station. Bologna, 2nd August 1980

1980s – Continued Covert Activity and Rising Suspicion

- Gladio continued to operate in Europe during the 1980s, although the geopolitical landscape is changing with the gradual decline of the Soviet Union.
- Allegations of Gladio's involvement in political manipulation and violence grow, particularly in Italy, Turkiye, and Greece.

1989 – Fall of the Berlin Wall

- The Cold War begins to wind down as the Soviet Union's influence wanes, reducing the immediate threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe. With the Cold War's end in sight, the necessity of the Gladio networks is questioned.

Image (23): From the West Berlin side, Berlin Wall graffiti art in 1986. The Wall's "death strip", on the east side of the Wall, here follows the curve of the Luisenstadt Canal (filled in 1932).



1990 – Gladio Exposed

- Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy publicly acknowledges the existence of Gladio in a speech to the Italian Parliament on August 3, 1990. He reveals that the secret network had been active since the 1950s as part of NATO's defence strategy.

- The admission triggers a political scandal, and investigations into Gladio's role in Italy's domestic politics and violent attacks begin.

- Similar networks are uncovered in Belgium, Germany, France, and other NATO countries, leading to widespread media coverage and public outrage.



Image (24): Giulio Andreotti in court in the Gladio case.

1990-1991 – European Governments Investigate

- Several European governments launch inquiries into their own stay-behind networks. In Italy, the focus turns to whether Gladio was involved in the country's internal political violence.
- The European Parliament condemns the Gladio operation, calling for a full investigation into the implications of these clandestine networks across Europe.

1995 – Italian Parliamentary Report

- The Italian Parliamentary Commission issues a report on the Gladio network, concluding that Gladio had been involved in the "strategy of tension" and had been used to manipulate domestic politics.
- However, despite investigations, much of Gladio's activity remains classified, and full accountability is not achieved.

2000s – Continuing Controversy

- Although much of the Gladio operation had been exposed, further details about the extent of its involvement in political subversion remain unclear.
- Continued research and investigative journalism suggest that Gladio and similar operations may have played a larger role in shaping Cold War-era political violence than previously understood.

7. COUNTRY POLICIES

Italy

Italy was the focal point of Operation Gladio, where the secret network played a prominent role in Cold War politics. During the 1960s and 1970s, Italy's political landscape was marked by extreme political violence, known as the Years of Lead. The Piazza Fontana bombing (1969) and Bologna station bombing (1980), both attributed to far-right extremists, raised suspicions of Gladio's involvement. Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti publicly confirmed Gladio's existence in 1990, sparking widespread outrage.



Image (25): This is a picture of the Italian politician Aldo Moro, taken during his detention by Red Brigades.

Italian media played a critical role in uncovering the network, with journalists and political commentators regularly demanding answers regarding Gladio's ties to terrorist attacks. The exposure of Gladio fueled debates about the deep state and the role of intelligence services in political manipulation.

Italy has since sought greater transparency in addressing Gladio's legacy, pushing for investigations into political manipulation during the Cold War. The Italian Parliament condemned Gladio's activities and launched inquiries into the extent of its involvement in domestic terrorism. While the government officially disbanded the stay-behind network, concerns about state secrecy remain. Italy continues to advocate for greater accountability within NATO regarding clandestine operations.

The Italian NATO stay-behind organisation, dubbed "Gladio", was set up under Minister of Defense (from 1953 to 1958) Paolo Taviani's (DC) supervision. Gladio's existence came to public knowledge when Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti revealed it to the Chamber of Deputies on 24 October 1990, although far-right terrorist Vincenzo Vinciguerra had already revealed its existence during his 1984 trial. According to media analyst Edward S. Herman, "both the President of Italy, Francesco Cossiga, and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, had been involved in the Gladio organisation and coverup ..."



Image (26): Giulio Anderotti with Aldo Moro

Researcher Francesco Cacciatore, in an article based on recently de-classified documents, writes that a "note from March 1972 specified that the possibility of using 'Gladio' in the event of internal subversions, not provided for by the organisation's statute and not supported by NATO directives or plans, was outside the scope of the original stay-behind and, therefore, 'never to be considered among the purposes of the operation'. The pressure put forward by the Americans during the 1960s to use 'Gladio' for purposes other than those of a stay-behind network would appear to have failed in the long term."

According to the former Italian Ministry of Grace and Justice Claudio Martelli, during the 1980s and 1990s Andreotti was the political reference of Licio Gelli and the Masonic lodge Propaganda 2. Christian Democrat Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti publicly recognized the existence of Gladio on 24 October 1990. Andreotti spoke of a "structure of information, response and safeguard", with arms caches and reserve officers. He gave to the Commissione Stragi a list of 622 civilians who according to him were part of Gladio. Andreotti also stated that 127 weapons caches had been dismantled, and said that Gladio had not been involved in any of the bombings committed from the 1960s to the 1980s. Andreotti declared that the Italian military services (predecessors of the SISMI) had joined in 1964 the Allied Clandestine Committee created in 1957 by the US, France, Belgium and Greece, and which was in charge of directing Gladio's operations. However, Gladio was actually set up under Minister of Defence (from 1953 to 1958) Paolo Taviani's supervision. Besides, the list of Gladio members given by Andreotti was incomplete. It didn't include, for example, Antonio Arconte, who described an organisation very different from the one brushed by Giulio Andreotti: an organisation closely tied to the SID secret service and the Atlanticist strategy. According to Andreotti, the stay-behind organisations set up in all of Europe did not come "under broad NATO supervision until 1959."



Image (27): Former Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, centre, is shown leaving court in 1996. The seven-time prime minister dominated post-World War II politics, but was tainted by allegations of Mafia ties. Andreotti died at age 94.

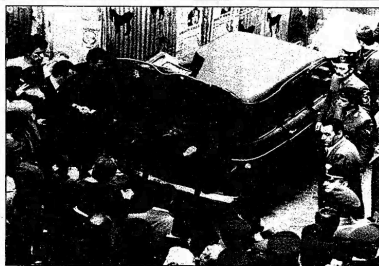
The judge Guido Salvini, who worked in the Italian Massacres Commission, found out that several far-right terrorist organisations were the trench troops of a secret army who were linked to the CIA. Salvini said: "The role of the Americans was ambiguous, halfway between knowing and not preventing and actually inducing people to commit atrocities". Judge Gerardo D'Ambrosio found out that in a conference that had the patronage of the Chief Staff of Defense, there were instructions to infiltrate left-wing groups and provoke social tension by carrying out attacks and then blame them on the left.

The secrets of Gladio

continued from previous page
 information about Britain's role has come from parliamentary and other investigations carried out elsewhere in Europe.
 Belgian documents, starting with Spaak's letter of 1949, show what a major role Britain has constantly played. Papers presented to the parliamentary inquiry set up in Belgium on Gladio show that in Belgium in 1981 and in Britain in 1982 Belgian personnel received training from British instructors. In April 1982 Belgians prepared for a Gladio exercise involving Britain and the US codenamed Blackbird, which was called off at the last minute when Argentina invaded the Falklands.
 In 1980 Colonel S. Schwabich of Belgian intelligence reported to his Defence Minister that an exercise called Waterland had taken place the previous year. It is members of the Royal Marines Special Boat Squadron, purchased into the sea off the coast of Flanders, were guided ashore by Belgian civilians and went on to simulate the dynamiting of the massive canal locks at Zebrugge.
 There were even reports, as far as is known, in Belgium that Belgian personnel had been part of a recent Gladio exercise in Britain aimed at demonstrating that Dover docks could be put out of action were the Russians to occupy Kent.
 Britain was active too in the Gladio operation in Switzerland. Effrem Cattalan, who headed the Swiss F26 intelligence organisation and helped to organise Gladio in his country, told us how his organisation has English colleagues who instructed them in general training, like covert operations and parachute jumps at night in which England has had exceptionally good experience since the war.
 The British also collaborated, he said, with his predecessor at F26, Colonel Albert Bachmann, for the possible evacuation of the headquarters of a Swiss resistance movement to Britain, known as Operation Edelweiss. The report of the Swiss official

investigation into the Gladio affair, led by Judge Pierre Cornu and published last September, shows that, with admirable meticulousness, a supply of Swiss army buttons and other insignia was lodged, against the day they might come useful, in the safe of the Swiss embassy in Bryonston Square.
 Discussions, the Swiss inquiry revealed, had also taken place between 1976 and 1979 about the evacuation of a Swiss government-in-exile to Ireland if the Russians had come over the Alps.
 Unlike the Nato countries, Cattalan claimed, the Swiss banned British or other foreign military personnel from taking part in exercises on Swiss soil. According to the Swiss report, however, such exercises did take place, some codenamed Targem, probably annually between 1973 and 1979, certainly from 1982 to 1988. Others, called Craval and Souaune, were held in 1976, 1978, 1983, 1986 and 1988.
 The report frankly concedes that such were the links between the Swiss and the British officials and agents who dealt with the Gladio scheme that British intelligence knew more about Swiss plans than the Swiss government and high command.
 No detail was too small for the Swiss judges. Their report expressed concern, for instance, that the issuing by Swiss officials of false documents to Swiss agents of Gladio who went abroad infringed federal law. It went on to point out that one Swiss Gladio agent who had used his false identity card to obtain a fishing licence in Britain had contravened Article Six of the Swiss penal code, which covers the punishment in Switzerland of crimes committed by Swiss abroad.
 Meanwhile, at least one British family still mourns a victim of the darkest chapter of Gladio, a series of bombings a decade ago which were at first attributed to the Red Brigades.
 The largest, at Bologna railway station on 2 August 1980,

claimed 86 lives. Harry Mitchell, a civil servant, and his wife Shirley, of Blountfield Road, Bath, lost their daughter Catherine, who was 21. She died in the blast with her 22-year-old fiancé John Kozlowski, from Bristol. Her body was so disfigured that it was identified only by the Miss Solferino label on her blouse.
 This explosion was part of a series of atrocities which left at least 300 dead as bombs went off in the Piazza Fontana in Milan, on trains at Brescia and on the Naples-Milan Express in a tunnel south of Bologna.
 The Mitchells are outraged that Britain is refusing to extradite back to Italy one of those sought for questioning in Italy about the crime, Roberto Fiore.
 Fiore, now 33, has lived freely here in France since 1980, running a prosperous accommodation agency and mixing in extreme right, anti-semitic circles. There is a strong suspicion that MI6 is grateful for information Fiore was able to give them about Lebanon, where he learnt some of his terrorist techniques, and a blockading effort to question him.
 The Mitchells feel no satisfaction when they were about the case. They were told by the Italian railway bombings were blamed on the extreme left as part of a strategy to convince voters that the country was in a state of tension and that they had no alternative to voting the safe Christian Democrat ticket. All clues point to the fact that they were masterminded from within Gladio.
 Francesco Cossiga, who stepped down from the presidency of Italy in April, helped to organise Gladio when he was Interior Minister. He recalls



Aldo Moro's body is found in Rome in 1978. Could the secret services have prevented his kidnap?

how Britain and the US collaborated in setting up the network in Italy in 1951, "concerned with what might happen to Europe if it were invaded".
 He traces the official formalities in the inauguration of Gladio by the principal figures of the Atlantic Alliance. At the instigation of the Supreme Commander Allied Forces Europe, the first statute of the clandestine planning committee to oversee Gladio was approved.
 It was agreed that France and Britain, would be permanent members and the rest would be associate members — that meant Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Greece and Turkey. Italy was invited to become an associate member, but did not get an answer at the time. In 1956 Germany joined Cossiga added: "It was standard policy of Nato to deny the existence of anything that it had been agreed to keep secret".
 He described how he was Interior Minister when Moro was kidnapped. He contacted

Meryn Rees, then Britain's Home Secretary, for help and together they visited the SAS headquarters in Hereford. Then Gladio in Italy was seeking help from British forces involved in training. Gladio personnel so that the Italians could put an end to an Italian terrorist action launched with the knowledge of Gladio itself.
 Decimo Garau, an army doctor and friend of Cossiga, told us how he had a week's training at Poole with British special services, practising parachute landings in the English Channel before visiting the SAS at Hereford.
 No less important were the continuing concerns about the political strength of the Communists. Senator Libero Gualtieri, head of the Italian parliamentary inquiry into Gladio, told us: "When Gladio started, the Americans would often insist in their briefings that the Americans would also had to be used to counter any insurrections".
 Gualtieri explained how the secret service till soon began to wage the government dog, He said the use of Amintore Fanfani, Prime Minister six times,

and Giovanni Spadolini, also Prime Minister and Defence Minister, neither of whom was informed of Gladio. "To a large extent Gladio was hidden from the politicians because we allowed a situation in which the secret services had the task of informing those in power and not vice versa".
 LICIO GELLI, head of the P2 Freemasons' lodge, who fought for Franco in the Spanish Civil War, was one of the government emissaries in post-war Italy. He later became enmeshed with the Vatican in the Banco Ambrosiano scandal. After the war, he was recruited by Canadian occupying forces to work in the 'stay-behind' operation being set up throughout Italy. There were, he told us, 250 Gladio squads, each consisting of nine men.
 "Many came from the ranks of the mercenaries who had fought in the Spanish Civil War and many came from the fascist republic of Salo. They chose individuals who were proved anti-Communists. I know it was a well-constructed organisation. Had Communist strength grown in Italy, America would have assisted us, we would have

unleashed another war and we would have been generously supplied with arms from the CIA".
 He is convinced that the Italian authorities let Aldo Moro go to his death. "I think Moro could have been saved. Everything can be salvaged in Italy if someone wants to salvage it".
 Vincenzo Vinciguerra, a convicted Fascist who was a member of the extremist Ordine Nuovo organisation and had close links with Gladio, has testified to us of his personal involvement in such schemes. Now serving a long sentence in Parma prison for his part in the killing of three carabinieri in the village of Paterno, he refuses despite the Italian authorities' efforts to prevent access to him.
 "You had to attack civilians, the people, women, children, innocent people, unknown people far removed from any political game," he said. "The reason was quite simple. They were supposed to force these people, the Italian public, to turn to the State to ask for greater security."
 This is the political logic that lies behind all the massacres and the bombings which remain unpunished, because the State cannot convict itself or declare itself responsible for what happened.
 Vinciguerra recounted how the authorities covered the traces after the killing of the three carabinieri. "A whole mechanism came into action — that is the carabinieri, the Minister of the Interior, the customs services and the military and civilian intelligence services accepted the ideological reasoning behind the attack".
 The commanders of the carabinieri found a thorough investigation of the Petrus affair for years, he claims. "It was more convenient to cover it up than to turn on those who killed their comrades. All the members of the Red Brigades were known by the police, the carabinieri and the intelligence bureau and no one made any attempt to stop them. So you see, 'revolutionary warfare' should not be seen as being directed against Western democracy but rather as the means of defence adopted by Western democracies and implemented cynically and indiscriminately."

The gravest charge against the Gladio project is that it cooperated in — or at least did nothing to prevent — the kidnapping and killing of Aldo Moro, a former Prime Minister of Italy. Moro, a Catholic and Christian Democrat, was known for his view that the Italian Communist Party should be brought closer to government.
 It is well known that Moro died in March 1978 at the hands of the Red Brigades. What is less understood, but borne out by a number of well-informed witnesses, is that the Red Brigades were deeply inflamed by Western intelligence. At the time of Moro's killing the principal leaders of the Brigades were in prison. Colonel Oswald Le Winter of the CIA, who served as a US liaison officer with Gladio, goes as far as to say that the planning staff of the Brigades was made up of intelligence agents. From his prison cell, Vinciguerra agrees.
 How was it that Colonel Guglielmi, a senior figure in Italian intelligence, was on hand in the Via Fiumi in Rome when Moro was kidnapped and his bodyguards were murdered? Why did Guglielmi say he was there by accident on the way to lunch with a friend when the kidnapping happened at nine o'clock the morning? Why was it that the bullets which killed the bodyguards were of a type typically used by the Italian special forces?
 As Gladio winds down and governments on the continent declare they have shut down their parts of the operation, the silence in Whitehall and the almost total lack of clarity among MPs about an affair in which Britain was so centrally involved are remarkable. Perhaps John Major's new commitment to more openness in government will eventually produce some answers to the many Gladio riddles.
 "The Rightwingers", the first of three weekly Observer Film Company documentaries on Gladio in the "Timewatch" series, will be shown on BBC2 on Wednesday at 8.15pm. They are directed by Alan Francovich and produced by Kim Zabihyan.

Image (28): A newspaper clipping questions whether the death of former Italian prime minister Aldo Moro is related to Gladio.

In 2000, a parliamentary commission report from the left-wing coalition Gruppo Democratici di Sinistra l'Ulivo asserted that a strategy of tension had been supported by the United States to "stop the PCI, and to a certain degree also the PSI, from reaching executive power in the country". It stated that "Those massacres, those bombs, those military actions had been organised or promoted or supported by men inside Italian state institutions and, as has been discovered more recently, by men linked to the structures of United States intelligence." The report stated that US intelligence agents were informed in advance about several terrorist bombings, including the December 1969 Piazza Fontana bombing in Milan and the Piazza della Loggia bombing in Brescia five years later, but did nothing to alert the Italian authorities or to prevent the attacks from taking place.



Image (29): A passage of the funerals of the victims of the Piazza Fontana bombing. The funeral march goes through Milan Cathedral Square. Milan, December 12th, 1969

It also reported that Pino Rauti, former leader of the MSI Fiamma-Tricolore party, journalist and founder of the Ordine Nuovo (new order) subversive organisation, received regular funding from a press officer at the US embassy in Rome. 'So even before the 'stabilising' plans that Atlantic circles had prepared for Italy became operational through the bombings, one of the leading members of the terrorist group was in the pay of the American embassy in Rome.' a report released by the Democrats of the Left party says.



Of course, these are just the events that have reached us. There are many more that have not yet been clarified or have been forgotten.

Image (30): After the Piazza Fontana Massacre.

United States of America

The CIA was a principal architect of Operation Gladio, coordinating with European governments to establish stay-behind networks. The US viewed Gladio as essential to counter Soviet influence in Europe. Washington funded and trained operatives, working closely with NATO allies to ensure resistance capabilities in the event of a Soviet invasion.

The US has largely remained silent on Gladio, with much of its involvement classified under national security. While American officials justified the network as necessary for Western defence, questions about the ethical implications of supporting far-right groups in Europe have surfaced. The US maintains that Gladio was part of broader NATO defence strategies, though it faces criticism for its lack of transparency.

American media coverage of Gladio has been limited, with few major investigations into the CIA's role. The issue has often been overshadowed by other Cold War controversies, though some outlets have called for the declassification of related documents.

The US State Department published a communiqué in January 2006 that, while confirming the existence of NATO stay-behind efforts, in general, and the presence of the "Gladio" stay-behind unit in Italy, in particular, with the purpose of aiding resistance in the event of Soviet aggression directed westward, from the Warsaw Pact, dismissed claims of any United States ordered, supported, or authorised terrorism by stay-behind units.

The State Department said that the accusations of US-sponsored "false flag" operations are rehashed former Soviet disinformation based on documents that the Soviets forged;



specifically the Westmoreland Field Manual. The alleged Soviet-authored forgery, disseminated in the 1970s, explicitly formulated the need for a "strategy of tension" involving violent attacks blamed on radical left-wing groups in order to convince allied governments of the need for counter-action. It also rejected a Communist Greek journalist's allegations made in December 2005.

Image (31): A London woman buys a newspaper announcing Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland, on Sept. 1, 1939. In a historical "false flag," the Gestapo staged a Polish raid on a German broadcasting tower and used it as pretext to invade Poland.



THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

UNCLASSIFIED

13 March 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Subject: Justification for US Military Intervention
in Cuba (TS)

1. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have considered the attached Memorandum for the Chief of Operations, Cuba Project, which responds to a request of that office for brief but precise description of pretexts which would provide justification for US military intervention in Cuba.
2. The Joint Chiefs of Staff recommend that the proposed memorandum be forwarded as a preliminary submission suitable for planning purposes. It is assumed that there will be similar submissions from other agencies and that these inputs will be used as a basis for developing a time-phased plan. Individual projects can then be considered on a case-by-case basis.
3. Further, it is assumed that a single agency will be given the primary responsibility for developing military and para-military aspects of the basic plan. It is recommended that this responsibility for both overt and covert military operations be assigned the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

SYSTEMATICALLY REVIEWED
BY JCS ON 21 May 84
CLASSIFICATION CONTINUED

L. L. Lemnitzer
L. L. LEMNITZER
Chairman
Joint Chiefs of Staff

1 Enclosure
Memo for Chief of Operations, Cuba Project EXCLUDED FROM GDS

EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
REGRADING; DOD DIR 5200.10
DOES NOT APPLY

Image (32): Operation Northwoods⁵ memorandum (13 March 1962).

⁵ Operation Northwoods was a proposed false flag operation that originated within the US Department of Defense of the United States government in 1962. The proposals called for CIA operatives to both stage and commit acts of terrorism against American military and civilian targets, blame them on the Cuban government, and use them to justify a war against Cuba.

United Kingdom

The UK was deeply involved in planning Gladio and its European counterparts, with MI6 drawing on its experience from World War II's Special Operations Executive (SOE). The UK contributed intelligence expertise, helping train operatives in sabotage and guerrilla warfare tactics. Britain also established its own stay-behind network to defend against a Soviet invasion.⁶ British media have covered Gladio sporadically, often focusing on the broader Cold War context rather than specific UK involvement. Some investigative journalists have criticised the government's secrecy, arguing that transparency is necessary to understand the full impact of Gladio on European politics. The British government has been reluctant to disclose details about its role in Gladio, and most records remain classified. The UK defends its involvement, citing the need to protect Europe from Soviet aggression. However, there has been growing pressure from civil society groups and academics to release more information regarding Britain's Cold War-era covert operations.

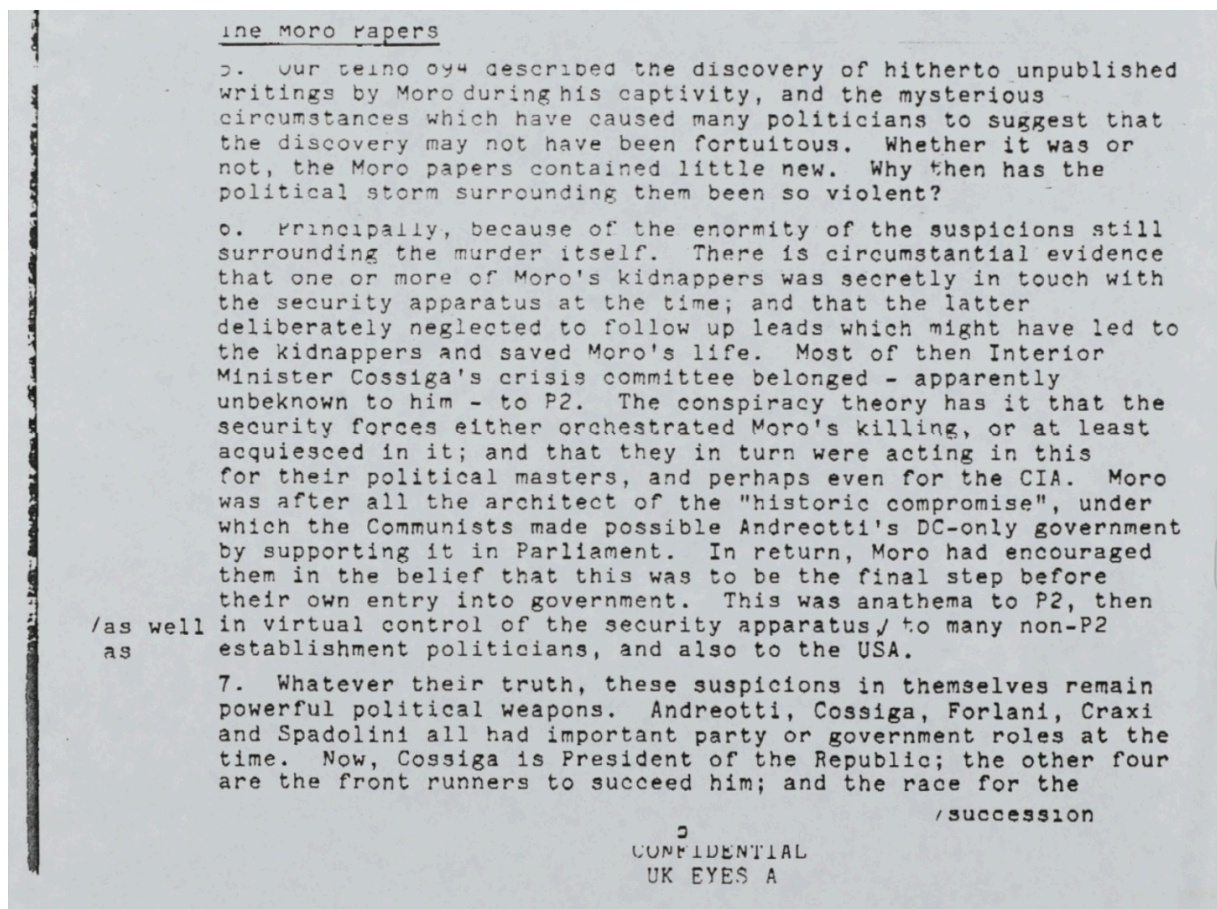


Image (33): An article about the death of Aldo Moro. (Related USA and UK)

⁶ See Also: Image (13 & 17)

France

France participated in the Gladio network through its Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage (SDECE), which coordinated with NATO to establish stay-behind operatives. French authorities were concerned about the spread of communism, especially given the influence of the French Communist Party during the post-war period. France has largely downplayed its role in Gladio, focusing on its defence against communist expansion. The French government has faced limited internal scrutiny compared to Italy and other countries, though some parliamentary discussions have addressed the ethical implications of the network. France continues to support NATO's collective defence strategies but has sought to distance itself from allegations of domestic political manipulation. French media have shown less interest in Gladio compared to Italy, though there have been occasional reports linking the network to political violence. Investigative pieces have highlighted France's covert efforts during the Cold War, but the issue has not sparked widespread public debate.

In 1947, Interior Minister Édouard Depreux revealed the existence of a secret stay-behind army in France codenamed "Plan Bleu". The next year, the "Western Union Clandestine Committee" (WUCC) was created to coordinate secret unorthodox warfare. In 1949, the WUCC was integrated into NATO, whose headquarters were established in France, under the name "Clandestine Planning Committee" (CPC). In 1958, NATO founded the Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC) to coordinate secret warfare.

The network was supported with elements from SDECE, and had military support from the 11th Choc regiment. The former director of DGSE⁷ Admiral Pierre Lacoste, alleged in a 1992 interview with *The Nation*, that certain elements from the network were involved in terrorist activities against de Gaulle and his Algerian policy. A section of the 11th Choc regiment split over the 1962 Évian peace accords, and became part of the Organisation armée secrète (OAS), but it is unclear if this also involved members of the French stay-behind network. La Rose des Vents and Arc-en-ciel ("Rainbow") network were part of Gladio. François de Grossouvre was Gladio's leader for the region around Lyon in France until his alleged suicide on April 7, 1994. Grossouvre would have asked Constantin Melnik, leader of the French secret services during the Algerian War of Independence (1954–62), to return to activity. He was living in comfortable exile in the US, where he maintained links with the Rand Corporation.

⁷ The Directorate-General for External Security, Foreign Intelligence Agency of France, *Direction générale de la Sécurité extérieure*

Germany

West Germany's stay-behind network, established with NATO and CIA support, was crucial during the Cold War. With its proximity to the Iron Curtain, Germany was a key frontline state in the event of a Soviet invasion. The German government worked closely with NATO to develop underground resistance cells. Germany officially disbanded its stay-behind network following the end of the Cold War, but concerns about Gladio's potential involvement in domestic surveillance and political subversion persist. Germany continues to investigate its Cold War history, though Gladio has not been a major focus of public inquiry. The government supports NATO's current defence framework while emphasising transparency in military operations.

German media have explored Gladio as part of broader discussions about post-war intelligence and Cold War politics. However, Gladio's role in German domestic affairs remains a relatively minor topic compared to other European countries. US intelligence also assisted in the set up of a West German stay-behind network.

CIA documents released in June 2006 under the 1998 Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, show that the CIA organised "stay-behind" networks of West German agents between 1949 and 1953. According to The Washington Post, "One network included at least two former Nazi SS members—Staff Sgt. Heinrich Hoffman and Lt. Col. Hans Rues—and one was run by Lt. Col. Walter Kopp, a former German army officer referred to by the CIA as an "unreconstructed Nazi". "The network was disbanded in 1953 amid political concerns that some members' neo-Nazi sympathies would be exposed in the West German press."

Documents shown to the Italian parliamentary terrorism committee revealed that in the 1970s British and French officials involved in the network visited a training base in Germany built with US money. In 1976, West German secret service BND⁸ secretary Heidrun Hofer was arrested after having revealed the secrets of the West German stay-behind army to her husband, who was a spy of the KGB⁹.

⁸ The Federal Intelligence Service of Germany. *Bundesnachrichtendienst*

⁹ The Committee for State Security, Security Agent of the Soviet Union from 1954 to 1991. Комитет государственной безопасности

In 2004 the German author Norbert Juretzko published a book about his work at the BND. He went into details about recruiting partisans for the German stay-behind network. He was sacked from BND following a secret trial against him because the BND could not find out the real name of his Russian source "Rübezahl" whom he had recruited. A man with the name he put on file was arrested by the KGB following treason in the BND, but was obviously innocent, his name having been chosen at random from the public phone book by Juretzko. According to Juretzko, the BND built up its branch of Gladio, but discovered after the fall of the German Democratic Republic that it was fully known to the Stasi¹⁰ early on. When the network was dismantled, further odd details emerged. One fellow "spymaster" had kept the radio equipment in his cellar at home with his wife doing the engineering test call every four months, on the grounds that the equipment was too "valuable" to remain in civilian hands. Juretzko found out because this spymaster had dismantled his section of the network so quickly, there had been no time for measures such as recovering all caches of supplies. Civilians recruited as stay-behind partisans were equipped with a clandestine shortwave radio homed in on a fixed frequency. It had a keyboard with digital encryption, making use of traditional Morse code obsolete. They had a cache of further equipment for signalling helicopters or submarines to drop special agents who were to stay in the partisan's homes while mounting sabotage operations against the communists.



Image (34): Steel helmeted German troops marching into Prague during the invasion of Czechoslovakia, March 15, 1939

¹⁰ The Ministry for State Security, Ministerium für Staatssicherheit, commonly known as the Stasi, an abbreviation of Staatssicherheit, was the state security service and secret police of East Germany from 1950 to 1990.

Turkiye

Turkiye’s Counter-Guerrilla unit, part of Gladio’s wider network, was implicated in numerous human rights abuses during the Cold War. The unit played a key role in the military coups of 1971 and 1980, which led to mass arrests, torture, and the suppression of left-wing political groups. Turkiye’s strategic location made it a critical ally for NATO, and its stay-behind network was highly active in countering Soviet influence.

The Turkish government has remained silent about its role in Gladio, with much of the country’s Cold War history still classified. While official documents have not been released, there is strong evidence that the Turkish Counter-Guerrilla played a significant role in political repression. Today, Turkiye remains a key NATO ally, but the legacy of Gladio continues to cast a shadow over its intelligence community.

Turkish media have been highly critical of the Counter-Guerrilla’s role in political violence, with many journalists linking Gladio to the country’s military coups and assassinations. Investigative reports have called for more transparency and accountability regarding Cold War-era abuses.

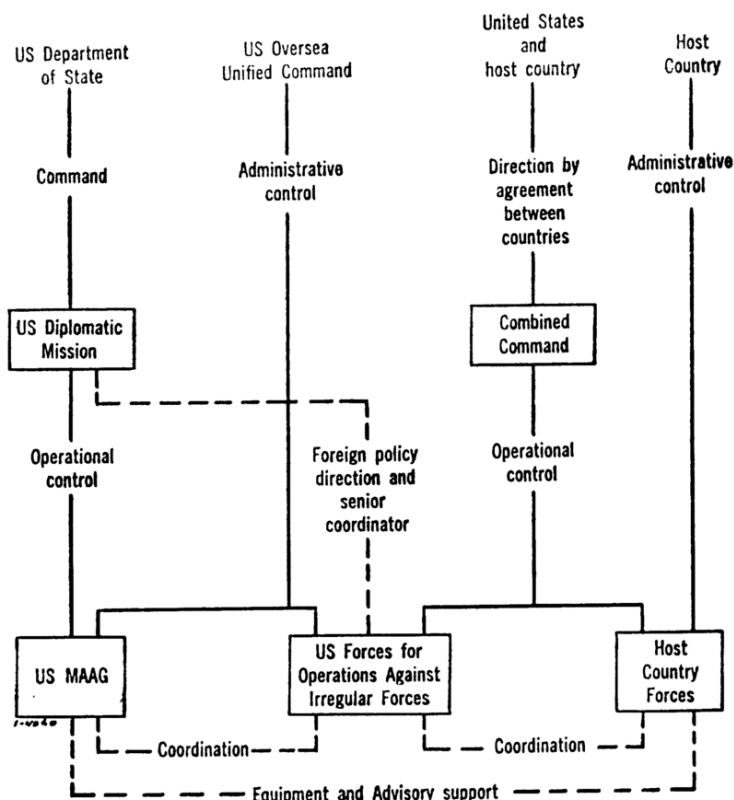


Figure 3. Possible relationships in a cold war situation.

Counter-Guerrilla is a Turkish branch of Operation Gladio, a clandestine stay-behind anti-communist initiative backed by the United States as an expression of the Truman Doctrine. The founding goal of the operation was to erect a stay-behind guerrilla force to undermine a possible Soviet occupation. The goal was soon expanded to subverting communism in Turkiye.

Image (35): The command structure of the Counter-Guerrilla. The “Host Country” in this case is “Turkiye”.

Specifically, Operation Gladio empowered Turanism through the founding member of the Counter-Guerrilla; Alparslan Türkeş — a product of that CIA initiative. As one of the nations that prompted the Truman Doctrine, Turkey is one of the first countries to participate in Operation Gladio and, some say, the only country where it has not been purged. The counter-guerrillas' existence in Turkey was revealed in 1973 by then-prime minister Bülent Ecevit. General Kenan Evren, who became President of Turkey following a successful coup d'état in 1980, served as the head of the Counter-Guerrilla, the Turkish branch of Operation Gladio. Historians and outside investigators have speculated that Counter-Guerrilla and several subordinate Intelligence, Special Forces, and Gendarmerie units were possibly involved in numerous acts of state-sponsored terrorism and engineering the military coups of 1971 and 1980. Many of the high ranking plotters of the 1971 and 1980 coup, such as Generals Evren, Memduh Tağmaç, Faik Türün, and Air Force Commander Tahsin Şahinkaya, served at various times under the command of Counter-Guerrilla or the subordinate Tactical Mobilisation Group and Special Warfare Department.



Image (36):
Ahmet Kenan Evren was a Turkish politician and military officer who served as the seventh President of Turkey from 1980 to 1989. He assumed the post by leading the 1980 military coup.

Additionally, the CIA employed people from the far-right, such as Pan-Turkist SS-member Ruzi Nazar (father of Sylvia Nasar), to train the Grey Wolves (Ülkücüler), the youth wing of the MHP. Nazar was an Uzbek born near Tashkent who had deserted the Red Army to join the Nazis during World War II in order to fight on the Eastern Front for the creation of a Turkistan. After Germany lost the war, some of its spies found haven in the U.S. intelligence community. Nazar was such a person, and he became the CIA's station chief to Turkey.

Greece

Greece's stay-behind network was active during the Cold War, playing a role in the 1967 military coup that established a right-wing junta. The coup was supported by elements tied to Gladio, aiming to prevent the rise of left-wing forces. Greece's strategic importance in the Mediterranean made it a key participant in NATO's stay-behind efforts.

Greece has faced significant criticism for the role its military and intelligence services played during the Cold War. While the junta collapsed in 1974, questions about Gladio's involvement in the coup remain. Greece continues to be a NATO member, though there has been growing public debate about its Cold War history. Greek media have been outspoken about Gladio's involvement in the military dictatorship, with many journalists and historians calling for further investigations into the network's activities.

When Greece joined NATO in 1952, the country's special forces, LOK (Lochoi Oreinōn Katadromōn, i.e., "mountain raiding companies"), were integrated into the European stay-behind network. The CIA and LOK reconfirmed on March 25, 1955, their mutual cooperation in a secret document signed by US General Truscott for the CIA, and Konstantinos Dovas, chief of staff of the Greek military. In addition to preparing for a Soviet invasion, the CIA instructed LOK to prevent a leftist coup. Former CIA agent Philip Agee, who was sharply criticised in the US for having revealed sensitive information, insisted that "paramilitary groups, directed by CIA officers, operated in the sixties throughout Europe [and he stressed that] perhaps no activity of the CIA could be as clearly linked to the possibility of internal subversion." LOK was involved in the military coup d'état on 21 April 1967, which took place one month before the scheduled national elections. Under the command of paratrooper Lieutenant Colonel Costas Aslanides, LOK took control of the Greek Defence Ministry while Brigadier General Stylianos Pattakos gained control of communication centres, parliament, the royal palace, and according to detailed lists, arrested over 10,000 people. According to Ganser, Phillips Talbot, the US ambassador in Athens, disapproved of the military coup which established the "Regime of the Colonels", complaining that it represented "a rape of democracy"—to which Jack Maury, the CIA chief of station in Athens, answered, "How can you rape a whore?" Arrested and then exiled in Canada and Sweden, Andreas Papandreou later returned to Greece, where he won the 1981 election, forming the first socialist government of Greece's post-war history.

According to his own testimony, Ganser alleges, he discovered the existence of the secret NATO army, then codenamed "Red Sheepskin", as acting prime minister in 1984 and had given orders to dissolve it. Following Giulio Andreotti's revelations in 1990, the Greek defence minister confirmed that a branch of the network, known as Operation Sheepskin, operated in his country until 1988. In December 2005, journalist Kleanthis Grivas published an article in To Proto Thema, a Greek Sunday newspaper, in which he accused "Sheepskin" for the assassination of CIA station chief Richard Welch in Athens in 1975, as well as the assassination of British military attaché Stephen Saunders in 2000. This was denied by the US State Department, who responded that "the Greek terrorist organisation '17 November' was responsible for both assassinations", and that Grivas's central piece of evidence had been the Westmoreland Field Manual which the state department, as well as an independent congressional inquiry, have alleged to be a Soviet forgery. The State Department also highlighted the fact that, in the case of Richard Welch, "Grivas bizarrely accuses the CIA of playing a role in the assassination of one of its own senior officials" while "Sheepskin" couldn't have assassinated Stephen Saunders for the simple reason that, according to the US government, "the Greek government stated it dismantled the 'stay behind' network in 1988."

EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston), or the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters, was a Greek Cypriot nationalist guerrilla organisation formed in 1955 with the goal of ending British rule in Cyprus and achieving enosis, or union, with Greece. Under the leadership of General George Grivas, EOKA conducted a series of attacks against British forces and targeted Cypriot officials perceived as opposing enosis. EOKA's campaign intensified tensions on the island, particularly between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, with the latter largely opposed to enosis and fearing annexation by Greece. This division later fueled intercommunal violence that continued even after Cyprus gained independence in 1960. EOKA's legacy remains complex, viewed as both a liberation force by Greek Cypriots and a source of division by Turkish Cypriots, marking a pivotal period in Cyprus's struggle for self-determination and contributing to the ongoing geopolitical conflict on the island. ¹¹

¹¹ **An Important Footnote:** As the Under Secretary General of Historical North Treaty Organization Committee, I didn't prefer to place an image or article about EOKA'S genocides and persecutions in Cyprus during the 1960's. But my strong recommendation is that you should research historical events such as "Bloody Christmas - 1963". There are some conflict details and very inconvenient images that I wouldn't like to add to this document. You can also check the Further Reading part. *See Also:* Further Reading & Research, Chapter 10

Belgium

Belgium's stay-behind network, SDRA8, was linked to the Brabant massacres in the 1980s, a series of violent attacks that killed 28 people. While the exact role of SDRA8 remains unclear, there are suspicions that elements within the network were involved in orchestrating the violence as part of a "strategy of tension."

Belgium has launched investigations into the Brabant massacres, but no conclusive evidence has emerged linking Gladio to the attacks. Belgium continues to grapple with its Cold War past, and Gladio remains a topic of controversy.

Belgian media have extensively covered the Brabant massacres, with many outlets calling for more transparency regarding Gladio's potential role in the violence. Investigations continue, though progress has been slow. After the 1967 withdrawal of France from NATO's military structure, the SHAPE headquarters were displaced to Mons in Belgium. In 1990, following France's denial of any "stay-behind" French army, Giulio Andreotti publicly said the last Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC) meeting, at which the French branch of Gladio was present, had been on October 23 and 24, 1990, under the presidency of Belgian General Van Calster, director of the Belgian military General Service for Intelligence (SGR). In November, Guy Coëme, the Minister of Defense, acknowledged the existence of a Belgian "stay-behind" army, raising concerns about a similar implication in terrorist acts as in Italy. The same year, the European Parliament sharply condemned NATO and the United States in a resolution for having manipulated European politics with the stay-behind armies.



New legislation governing intelligence agencies' missions and methods was passed in 1998, following two government inquiries and the creation of a permanent parliamentary committee in 1991, which was to bring them under the authority of Belgium's federal agencies. The commission was created following events in the 1980s, which included the Brabant massacres and the activities of the far-right group Westland New Post.¹²

Image (37): Guy Coëme, the former Minister of Defense of Belgium, 3 February 1988 – 9 May 1988, 95 days.

¹² Actually, I do not prefer to put Wikipedia links, however this link can be very useful for your research. See also: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgian_stay-behind_network

Spain

Spain's role in Operation Gladio is less documented than other European nations, as it did not officially join NATO until 1982. However, there is evidence suggesting that Spanish intelligence services coordinated with Gladio-linked operatives during the late Franco regime and the subsequent democratic transition. The focus was largely on preventing the rise of communist and left-wing groups.

Spain has largely distanced itself from allegations of involvement in NATO's clandestine operations during the Cold War. The government has been reticent to disclose details about any potential stay-behind networks. Spain continues to play an active role within NATO, but its Cold War history, particularly with regard to internal security, remains underexplored.

Spanish media have occasionally reported on possible links between domestic anti-communist actions during the late Franco period and Operation Gladio, but public interest has been limited. Most of the focus has been on Spain's broader transition to democracy rather than its Cold War espionage activities.

Several events prior to Spain's 1982 membership in NATO have also been tied to Gladio. In May 1976, half a year after Franco's death, two Carlist militants were shot down by far-right terrorists, among whom were Gladio operative Stefano Delle Chiaie and members of the Apostolic Anticommunist Alliance (Triple A), demonstrating connections between Gladio and the South American "Dirty War" of the Operation Condor. This incident became known as the Montejurra incident. According to a report by the Italian CESIS (executive committee for Intelligence and Security Services), Carlo Cicuttini (who took part in the 1972 Peteano bombing in Italy alongside Vincenzo Vinciguerra), participated in the 1977 Massacre of Atocha in Madrid, killing five people (including several lawyers), members of the Workers' Commissions trade-unions closely linked with the Spanish Communist Party. Cicuttini was a naturalised Spaniard and exiled in Spain since 1972 (date of the Peteano bombing). Following Andreotti's 1990 revelations, Adolfo Suárez, Spain's first democratically elected prime minister after Franco's death, denied ever having heard of Gladio. President of the Spanish government in 1981–82, during the transition to democracy, Calvo Sotelo stated that Spain had not been informed of Gladio when it entered NATO. Asked about Gladio's relations to Francoist Spain, he said that such a network was not necessary under Franco, since "the regime itself was Gladio."

According to General Fausto Fortunato, head of Italian SISMI from 1971 to 1974, France and the US had backed Spain's entrance to Gladio, but Italy would have opposed it. Following Andreotti's revelations, however, Narcís Serra, Spanish Minister of Defence, opened up an investigation concerning Spain's links to Gladio. The Canarias 7 newspaper revealed, quoting former Gladio agent Alberto Volo, who had a role in the revelations of the existence of the network in 1990, that a Gladio meeting had been organised in August 1991 on Gran Canaria island. Alberto Volo also declared that as a Gladio operative, he had received training in Maspalomas, on Gran Canaria in the 1960s and the 1970s. El País also revealed that the Gladio organisation was suspected of having used former NASA installations in Maspalomas, on Gran Canaria, in the 1970s. André Moyon, former Belgian secret agent, also declared that Gladio had operated in Spain. He said that Gladio had bases in Madrid, Barcelona, San Sebastián, and the Canary islands.

Netherlands

The Netherlands was part of NATO's stay-behind network, though it maintained a relatively low profile compared to countries like Italy and Belgium. Dutch operatives were trained by NATO and the CIA to resist a potential Soviet invasion. The Dutch government kept its Gladio network highly secret, and very little information about its activities has been declassified. The Dutch government has acknowledged its participation in Gladio but has largely avoided public scrutiny. The Netherlands maintains strong ties with NATO and is committed to collective defence, though it has faced limited pressure to investigate its Cold War-era operations. Dutch media coverage of Gladio has been sporadic, with investigative journalists occasionally raising questions about the network's activities. However, Gladio has



not sparked significant public debate in the Netherlands, and the issue remains largely confined to historical discussions about NATO's Cold War strategy.

Image (38): Italian special forces in training. NATO's Operation Gladio was responsible for untold suffering over decades. (BBC)

Speculation that the Netherlands was involved in Gladio arose from the accidental discovery of large arms caches in 1980 and 1983. In the latter incident, people walking in a forest near the village of Rozendaal, near Arnhem, chanced upon a large hidden cache of arms, containing dozens of hand grenades, semi automatic rifles, automatic pistols, munitions and explosives. That discovery forced the Dutch government to confirm that the arms were related to NATO planning for unorthodox warfare. In 1990, then-Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers told the Dutch Parliament that his office was running a secret organisation that had been set up inside the Dutch defence ministry in the 1950s, but denied it was supervised directly by NATO or other foreign bodies. He went on to inform that successive prime ministers and defence chiefs had always preferred not to inform other Cabinet members or Parliament about the secret organisation. It was modelled on the nation's World War II experiences of having to evacuate the royal family and transfer government to a government-in-exile, originally aiming to provide an underground intelligence network to a government-in-exile in the event of a foreign invasion, although it included elements of guerrilla warfare. Former Dutch Defence Minister Henk Vredeling confirmed the group had set up arms caches around the Netherlands for sabotage purposes. Already in 1990, it was known that the weapons cache near Velp, while accidentally 'discovered' in 1983, had been plundered partially before. It still contained dozens of hand grenades, semi automatic rifles, automatic pistols, munitions and explosives at the time of discovery, but five hand grenades had gone missing. A Dutch investigative television program revealed on 9 September 2007, that another arms cache that had belonged to Gladio had been ransacked in the 1980s. It was located in a park near Scheveningen. Some of the stolen weapons, including hand grenades and machine guns, later turned up when police officials arrested criminals John Mieremet and Sam Klepper in 1991. The Dutch military intelligence agency MIVD¹³ feared at the time that disclosure of the Gladio history of these weapons would have been politically sensitive.

Portugal

Portugal's involvement in Operation Gladio was limited due to the country's unique political situation under the Estado Novo dictatorship, which fell in the Carnation Revolution of 1974. However, Portugal was integrated into NATO's stay-behind networks after the revolution, with its focus on countering communist insurgencies both domestically and in its former colonies.

¹³ Dutch Military Intelligence and Security Service

The Portuguese government has not disclosed much information regarding Gladio, and its Cold War activities remain largely unexamined. While Portugal continues to be a committed NATO member, its role in Gladio is not a major topic of public debate or official investigation. Portuguese media have paid little attention to Gladio, focusing more on the country's democratic transition following the Carnation Revolution. There have been few reports linking Portugal's stay-behind operations to political violence or domestic manipulation, though occasional historical pieces have mentioned NATO's broader involvement. In 1966, the CIA set up Aginter Press which, under the direction of Captain Yves Guérin-Sérac (who had taken part in the founding of the OAS), ran a secret stay-behind army and trained its members in covert action techniques amounting to terrorism, including bombings, silent assassinations, subversion techniques, clandestine communication and infiltration and colonial warfare.

Norway

Norway's stay-behind network, established with CIA and NATO support, was intended to protect the country from Soviet invasion. Given Norway's proximity to the Soviet Union, it played a key role in NATO's defence strategies during the Cold War. The Norwegian government worked closely with NATO to ensure that its operatives were trained in guerrilla warfare and sabotage.

Norway has been relatively transparent about its Cold War defence strategies, acknowledging the existence of its stay-behind network. The Norwegian government has emphasised that the network was purely defensive and not involved in domestic political manipulation or terrorism. Norway remains a key NATO ally and continues to participate in collective defence initiatives.

Norwegian media have reported on Gladio as part of the country's broader Cold War history, though there has been little controversy surrounding its stay-behind network. Most reports have focused on Norway's role in defending against a potential Soviet invasion, with few allegations of internal political subversion. In 1957, the director of the secret service NIS, Vilhelm Evang, protested strongly against the pro-active intelligence activities at AFNORTH, as described by the chairman of CPC: "was extremely worried about activities carried out by officers at Kolsås. This concerned SB, Psywar and Counter Intelligence."

These activities supposedly included the blacklisting of Norwegians. SHAPE denied these allegations. Eventually, the matter was resolved in 1958, after Norway was assured about how stay-behind networks were to be operated. In 1978, the police discovered an arms cache and radio equipment at a mountain cabin and arrested Hans Otto Meyer, a businessman accused of being involved in selling illegal alcohol. Meyer claimed that the weapons were supplied by Norwegian intelligence. Rolf Hansen, defence minister at that time, stated the network was not in any way answerable to NATO and had no CIA connection.

Denmark

Denmark was a key member of NATO's stay-behind network, working closely with the US and UK to establish resistance cells in case of Soviet invasion. The Danish government played an active role in coordinating with NATO intelligence services to train and equip operatives. Denmark has been relatively open about its role in NATO's Cold War defence strategies, though details about its stay-behind network remain scarce. The Danish government continues to support NATO's collective security policies and has faced little internal pressure to investigate its past involvement in clandestine operations. Danish media have occasionally reported on Gladio as part of the country's Cold War history, though the issue has not sparked significant public debate. Investigative pieces have focused on



Denmark's preparations for a Soviet invasion rather than potential involvement in domestic political manipulation. The Danish stay-behind army was code-named Absalon, after a Danish archbishop, and led by E. J. Harder. It was hidden in the military secret service Forsvarets Efterretningstjeneste (FE). In 1978, William Colby, former director of the CIA, released his memoirs in which he described the setting-up of stay-behind armies in Scandinavia.

Image (39): William Egan Colby was an American intelligence officer who served as Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) from September 1973 to January 1976. Photo: Colby in 1975.

The situation in each Scandinavian country was different. Norway and Denmark were NATO allies, Sweden held to the neutrality that had taken her through two world wars, and Finland was required to defer in its foreign policy to the Soviet power directly on its borders. Thus, in one set of these countries the governments themselves would build their own stay-behind nets, counting on activating them from exile to carry on the struggle. These nets had to be co-ordinated with NATO's plans, their radios had to be hooked to a future exile location, and the specialised equipment had to be secured from the CIA and secretly cached in snowy hideouts for later use. In the other set of countries, CIA would have to do the job alone or with, at best, "unofficial" local help, since the politics of those governments barred them from collaborating with NATO, and any exposure would arouse immediate protest from the local Communist press, Soviet diplomats and loyal Scandinavians who hoped that neutrality or nonalignment would allow them to slip through a World War III unharmed.

Switzerland

Switzerland's involvement in Operation Gladio is unique due to its status as a neutral country during the Cold War. Despite this neutrality, Switzerland maintained a stay-behind network to defend against potential Soviet invasion. The Swiss network, known as P-26, was exposed in the early 1990s, leading to a major scandal. The Swiss government has faced significant public scrutiny over P-26, with widespread criticism of its secretive operations. Parliamentary investigations were launched to determine the extent of P-26's activities and its ties to NATO. Switzerland has since disbanded the network, but the issue remains controversial. Swiss media played a critical role in exposing P-26, with investigative journalists uncovering details about the network's activities. Public reaction was largely negative, with many questioning why Switzerland, as a neutral country, had engaged in such covert operations. In Switzerland, a secret force called P-26 was discovered, by coincidence, a few months before Giulio Andreotti's October 1990 revelations. After the "secret files scandal" (Fichenaffäre), Swiss members of parliament started investigating the Defense Department in the summer of 1990. According to Felix Würsten of the ETH Zurich, "P-26 was not directly involved in the network of NATO's secret armies but it had close contact to MI6."

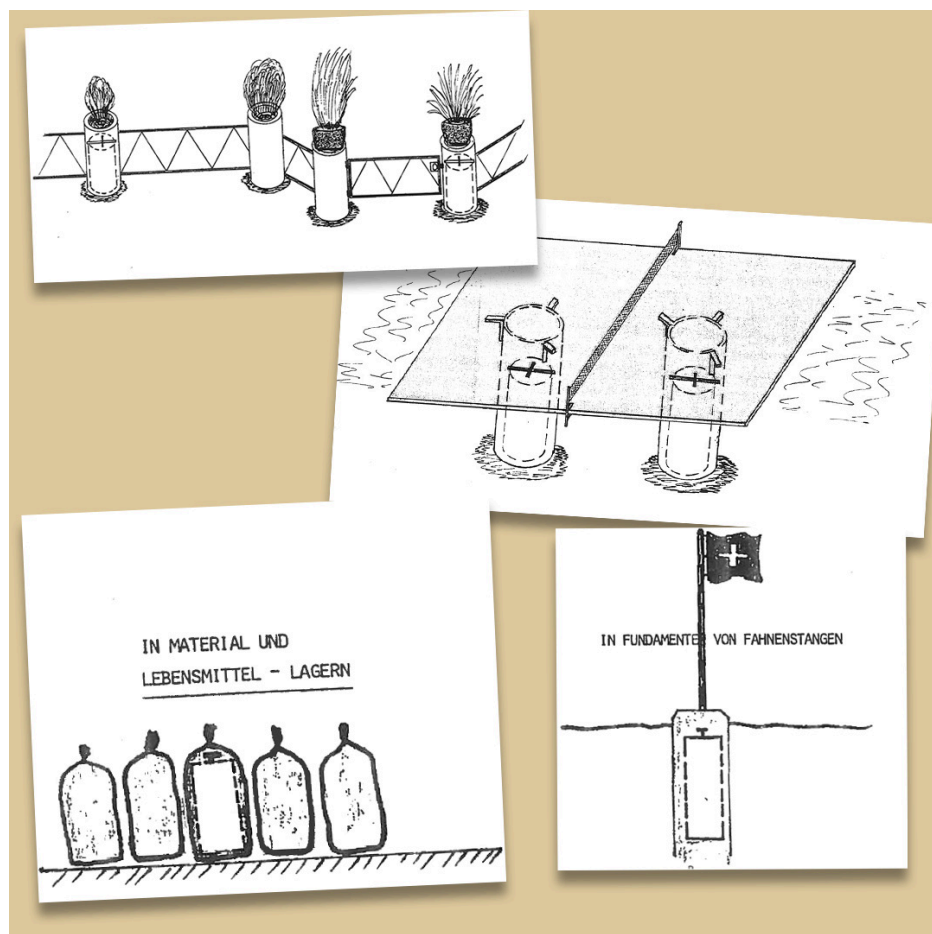
Daniele Ganser (ETH Zurich) wrote in the Intelligence and National Security review that "following the discovery of the stay-behind armies across Western Europe in late 1990, Swiss and international security researchers found themselves confronted with two clear-cut questions: Did Switzerland also operate a secret stay-behind army? And if yes, was it part of NATO's stay-behind network? The answer to the first question is clearly yes... The answer to the second question remains disputed..."

In 1990, Colonel Herbert Alboth, a former commander of P-26, declared in a confidential letter to the Defence Department that he was willing to reveal "the whole truth". He was later found in his house, stabbed with his own bayonet. The detailed parliamentary report on the Swiss secret army was presented to the public on 17 November 1990. According to The Guardian, "P-26 was backed by P-27, a private foreign intelligence agency funded partly by the government, and by a special unit of Swiss army intelligence which had built up files on nearly 8,000 "suspect persons" including "leftists", "bill stickers", "Jehovah's witnesses", people with "abnormal tendencies" and anti-nuclear demonstrators. On 14 November, the Swiss government hurriedly dissolved P26 – the head of which, it emerged, had been paid £100,000 a year." In 1991, a report by Swiss magistrate Pierre Cornu was released by the Swiss defence ministry. It found that P-26 was without "political or legal legitimacy", and described the group's collaboration with British secret services as "intense". "Unknown to the Swiss government, British officials signed agreements with P-26 to provide training in combat, communications, and sabotage. The latest agreement was signed in 1987... P-26 cadres participated regularly in training exercises in Britain... British advisers – possibly from the SAS – visited secret training establishments in Switzerland." P-26 was led by Efreem Cattelan, known to British intelligence.



Image (40): Project 26 (Projekt 26 or P-26) operations room in the "Schweizerhof" underground bunker system near Gstaad in the Bernese Oberland.

In a 2005 conference presenting Daniele Ganser's research on Gladio, Hans Senn, General Chief of Staff of the Swiss Armed Forces between 1977 and 1980, explained how he was informed of the existence of a secret organisation in the middle of his term of office. According to him, it already became clear in 1980 in the wake of the Schilling/Bachmann affair that there was also a secret group in Switzerland. But former MP, Helmut Hubacher, President of the Social Democratic Party from 1975 to 1990, declared that although it had been known that "special services" existed within the army, as a politician he never at any time could have known that P-26 was behind this. Hubacher pointed out that the President of the parliamentary investigation into P26 (PUK-EMD), the right-wing politician from Appenzell and member of the Council of States for that Canton, Carlo Schmid, had suffered "like a dog" during the commission's investigations. Carlo Schmid declared to the press: "I was shocked that something like that is at all possible," and said to the press he was glad to leave the "conspiratorial atmosphere" which had weighed upon him like a "black shadow" during the investigations. Hubacher found it especially disturbing that, apart from its official mandate of organising resistance in case of a Soviet invasion, P-26 had also a mandate to become active should the left succeed in achieving a parliamentary majority.



"DUENGER"

TEST (2.1. Rendez-vous) Lösungsblatt

Schreiben Sie die Anzahl der Antworten in die betreffenden Vierecke ein.

1. Begriff "Rendez-vous":	Begegnung von zwei oder mehreren Personen der Organisation, zwecks Uebergabe von Informationen, Unterlagen oder Material, ohne bei Drittpersonen Argwohn zu erwecken.
2. Zeit zwischen Rendez-vous und Ausweich-Rendez-vous:	1/2 bis mehrere Stunden
3. Zeit bei Not-Rendez-vous:	1 bis mehrere Wochen
4. Begriff "Erkennungszeichen":	Verabredetes Zeichen um jemanden zu erkennen.
5. Begriff "Sicherheitszeichen":	Verabredetes Zeichen als Hinweis ob der Partner anzusprechen ist oder nicht.
6. 4 Erkennungszeichen:	Gemäss Beurteilung des Ausbildners
7. 4 Sicherheitszeichen:	Gemäss Beurteilung des Ausbildners
8.	Gemäss Beurteilung des Ausbildners
9. Wann Erkennungs- oder Erkennungszeichen nicht notwendig sind:	Wenn beide Partner sich kennen

Image (41)(42)(43): P-26 training documents on conspiratorial behaviour: solutions to test questions the subject of 'Rendez-vous', options for camouflaged hiding places for materials containers, and tips for locations of what were known as 'dead letter boxes' for passing on messages. Swiss Federal Archives

FK III Uem

Thema : 3 0 5 T B K Blatt Nr. 9

Zu 3: Wetter- und Zeitunabhängig

Wetterunabhängig: Ueberdeckte Standorte bevorzugen

- gedeckte Lauben, Passagen, Unterführungen, geeignete Gebäude
- Fassaden mit künstlicher oder natürlicher Ueberdachung, Fensternischen, Türnischen, unter Geländer, usw.
- Natürliche Abdeckungen wie Sträucher, Bäume, Hecken, Zierbüsche, usw.

Zeitunabhängig: Jahres- und Tageszeitunabhängig anstreben

Dabei ist vor allem zu berücksichtigen:

- Höhenunterschiede bei Schneebedeckung (spez in Bergregionen)
- Unterschiedlicher Wasserstand an Bach-, Fluss- und Seeufern
- Bedienung ohne sep mitgebrachte Lichtquelle (exkl anzünden von Raucherwaren) gewährleisten
- Nie Sitzbänke im Freien benützen (Schnee, Regen)

Zu 4: Exponierte Standorte vermeiden

Als exponierte, für uns ungeeignete Standorte gelten:

1. Öffentliche Toiletten
2. Bahnhofgebäude und deren nächsten Umgebung
3. Bank- und Postschalterhallen
4. Warenhäuser, verkehrsreiche Plätze in Stadtzentren
5. Schulhausareale und Kinderspielplätze
6. Öffentliche Abfallbehältnisse
7. Telefonkabinen

Austria

Austria, like Switzerland, was a neutral country during the Cold War but nonetheless maintained a stay-behind network known as Schwert. Austrian authorities worked with NATO and the CIA to develop resistance capabilities, although the extent of their cooperation remains unclear. Austria is not a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) but participates in its Partnership for Peace program and has military personnel embedded in NATO, EU, and UN peacekeeping operations worldwide. Austria also is an observer to the Organization of American States.

Austria has faced less scrutiny than Switzerland over its stay-behind operations, though there have been calls for greater transparency. The Austrian government continues to emphasise its neutrality but remains a partner of NATO through the Partnership for Peace program. Austrian media have occasionally reported on Schwert, though the issue has not sparked significant public debate. Most coverage has focused on Austria's neutral stance during the Cold War rather than its covert defence preparations. In Austria, the first secret stay-behind army was exposed in 1947. It had been set up by the far-right Theodor Soucek and Hugo Rössner, who both insisted during their trial that "they were carrying out the secret operation with the full knowledge and support of the US and British occupying powers." Sentenced to death, they had their sentences commuted to life in prison and 20 years, respectively, by Karl Renner, to prevent them from potentially becoming martyrs. In August 1952, the convicts were pardoned and released by President Theodor Körner. While there is evidence suggesting that the activities of Soucek and Rössner were tolerated to an extent by local occupation authorities, available American archives do not suggest that they had any connection to U.S. intelligence. A secret review of the situation by US forces in Austria in early January 1948 implies that while the group were presenting themselves as anti-communist allies, the Americans did not trust them, viewing them as "adventurers and opportunists."

Interior Minister Franz Olah set up a new secret army codenamed Österreichischer Wander-, Sport- und Geselligkeitsverein (OeWSGV, literally "Austrian Association of Hiking, Sports and Society"), with the cooperation of MI6 and the CIA. He later explained that "we bought cars under this name. We installed communication centres in several regions of Austria", confirming that "special units were trained in the use of weapons and plastic explosives". He stated that "there must have been a couple of thousand people working for us... Only very, very highly positioned politicians and some members of the union knew about it".

In 1965, police discovered a stay-behind arms cache in an old mine close to Windisch-Bleiberg and forced the British authorities to hand over a list with the location of 33 other caches in Austria. In 1990, when secret "stay-behind" armies were uncovered all around Europe, the Austrian government said that no secret army had existed in the country. However, six years later, The Boston Globe revealed the existence of secret CIA arms caches in Austria. Austrian President Thomas Klestil and Chancellor Franz Vranitzky insisted that they had known nothing of the existence of the secret army and demanded that the US launch a full-scale investigation into the violation of Austria's neutrality, which was denied by President Bill Clinton. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns—appointed in August 2001 by President George Bush as the US Permanent Representative to the Atlantic Treaty Organization, where, as ambassador to NATO, he headed the combined State-Defense Department United States Mission to NATO and coordinated the NATO response to the September 11, 2001 attacks—insisted: "The aim was noble, the aim was correct, to try to help Austria if it was under occupation. What went wrong is that successive Washington administrations simply decided not to talk to the Austrian government about it."

Sweden

Sweden, while officially neutral during the Cold War, maintained close ties with NATO and was involved in stay-behind operations. The Swedish government, concerned about Soviet expansionism, secretly cooperated with NATO intelligence services to train resistance operatives.

Sweden has largely remained silent about its involvement in stay-behind networks, with most details still classified. The Swedish government continues to maintain its policy of military non-alignment, though it has increased cooperation with NATO in recent years.

Swedish media have occasionally reported on the country's covert Cold War activities, though public interest has been limited. Investigative reports have highlighted Sweden's secret cooperation with NATO, but there has been little controversy over its stay-behind network.

Finland

Finland, despite its proximity to the Soviet Union, maintained a policy of neutrality during the Cold War. However, there are reports that Finland cooperated with NATO's stay-behind network to prepare for potential Soviet aggression. The extent of Finland's involvement in Gladio remains unclear.

The Finnish government has not officially acknowledged any involvement in Gladio, maintaining its stance of Cold War neutrality. However, Finland has increased its cooperation with NATO in recent years, particularly through the Partnership for Peace program.

Finnish media have reported on possible links between Finland and NATO's stay-behind network, though there has been little public debate on the issue. Most reports focus on Finland's Cold War-era neutrality and its current relationship with NATO.

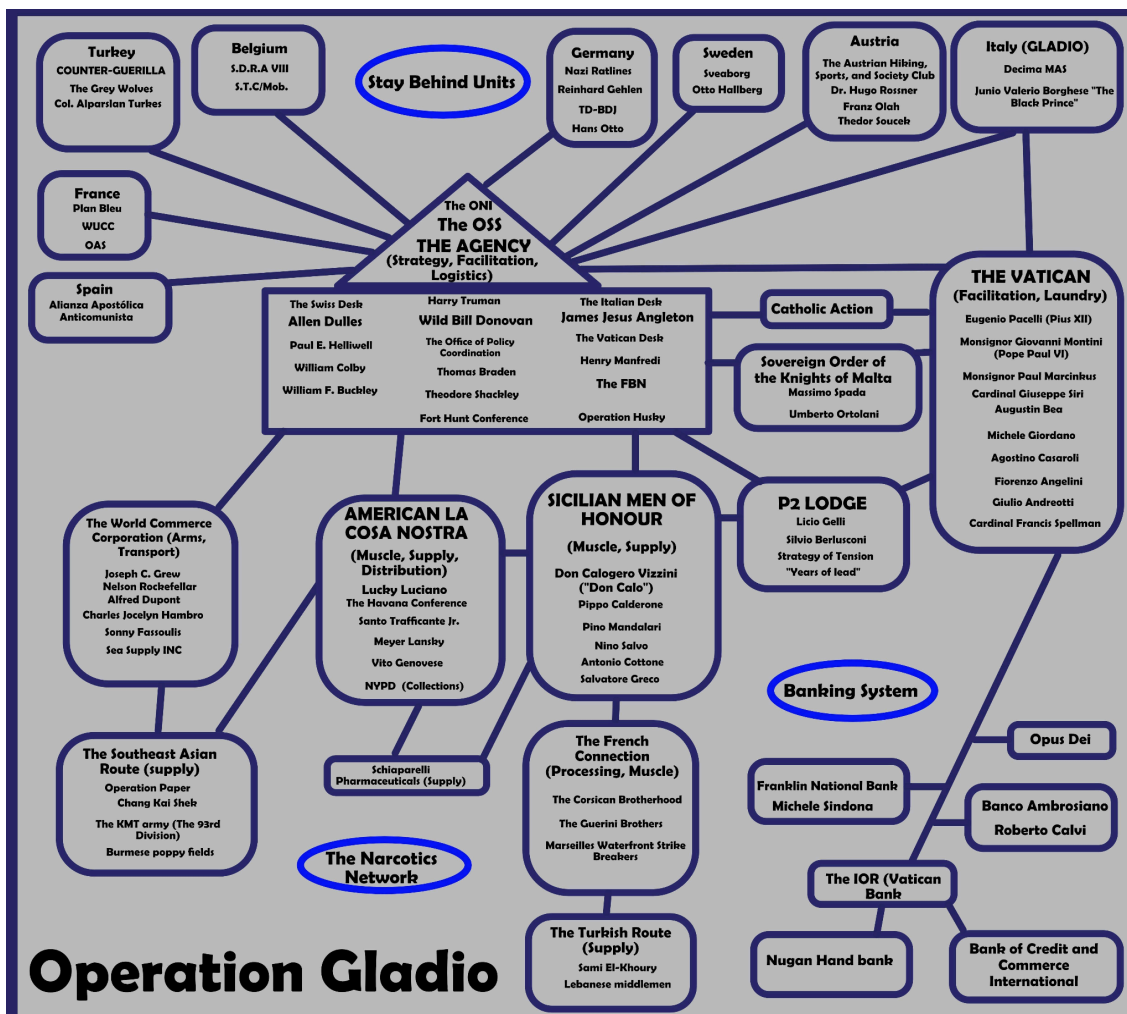


Image (44): Structure of Operation Gladio.

Luxembourg

Luxembourg's role in Operation Gladio was relatively minor, primarily involving intelligence support rather than direct action. As a small NATO member state during the Cold War, Luxembourg's participation was limited by its resources but was strategically aligned with NATO's anti-Soviet goals. Information about Luxembourg's involvement in Gladio came to light with broader European investigations, though it did not receive significant domestic attention compared to other countries. Luxembourg stands as a strong advocate for NATO's transparency and democratic oversight, although Gladio's legacy has had minimal impact on its political landscape. Public awareness of Luxembourg's involvement in Gladio remains low, as domestic media coverage of Gladio has been sparse. However, Luxembourg continues to support efforts for transparency within NATO, encouraging reforms that ensure intelligence activities respect democratic values. The government supports policies that promote shared accountability among NATO member states and is committed to a collaborative European security strategy.

Poland

Poland, as part of the Eastern Bloc under the Warsaw Pact, was not directly involved in Operation Gladio during the Cold War. At the time, it was under Soviet influence and therefore seen as a target, not an ally, in NATO's Western European stay-behind networks. However, Poland's exposure to covert operations during the Cold War era has impacted its perspective on Western intelligence activities and their implications for sovereignty and security. Since joining NATO in 1999, Poland has been a proactive member, supporting NATO's defence initiatives and advocating for greater transparency in alliance operations. While Poland's direct involvement in Operation Gladio was non-existent, its government remains highly invested in ensuring that NATO does not repeat the mistakes of the past. Poland encourages NATO reforms that emphasise accountability and operational transparency, aligning with Poland's own experiences of navigating past security challenges. Public awareness in Poland is high regarding Cold War operations, and there is cautious support for NATO's actions, with strong advocacy for democratic safeguards within the alliance.

Czech Republic

Like Poland, the Czech Republic (formerly Czechoslovakia) was under Soviet influence as part of the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War. As such, it was not directly involved in Operation Gladio but was affected by Cold War tensions and covert intelligence operations in the region. Czechoslovakia's experience during the Prague Spring of 1968 and subsequent Soviet suppression reinforced a historical wariness of external interference in national sovereignty. Since joining NATO in 1999, the Czech Republic has been committed to strengthening its role within the alliance and is an advocate for NATO's transparency and ethical intelligence practices. The Czech government and public, aware of the impact of covert Cold War operations, support initiatives within NATO that emphasise oversight, ethical standards, and democratic accountability. The Czech Republic maintains a policy of scepticism towards overly secretive operations, encouraging NATO to be an organisation that is as transparent as it is secure, aligning with the country's historical preference for independence and accountability.



Image (45): Flag of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

8. POSSIBLE ACTIONS

1. An independent international inquiry into Operation Gladio will provide much-needed transparency, shedding light on hidden operations and fostering trust in NATO's commitment to accountability.
2. Declassifying sensitive documents related to Operation Gladio will allow history to be confronted with honesty, paving the way for justice and understanding.
3. Reparations for the victims of state-sponsored political violence will not only heal old wounds but also set a global precedent for accountability in covert operations.
4. Establishing Truth and Reconciliation Commissions will give victims a voice, providing an opportunity for nations to come to terms with their past and rebuild stronger democratic institutions.
5. Legal frameworks that hold intelligence services accountable will safeguard the future from the misuse of covert operations, ensuring that actions taken in the name of security respect human rights.
6. Strengthening democratic oversight of intelligence agencies will reinforce the values of transparency and civilian control, ensuring that power is never misused behind closed doors.
7. NATO must develop clear guidelines for future operations to guarantee that international law and democratic sovereignty are respected in all its actions.
8. A formal apology from NATO and its member states for the abuses linked to Operation Gladio will signal a commitment to learning from the past and moving forward with integrity.
9. By focusing on transparency and human rights in counter-terrorism efforts, NATO can rebuild trust and demonstrate that security and ethical governance can go hand in hand.
10. Educational initiatives and memorials dedicated to the victims of Gladio will ensure that future generations never forget the importance of accountability and the dangers of unchecked power.
11. Redefining NATO's strategic objectives, informed by the lessons of Gladio, will position the alliance as a beacon of democracy, human rights, and justice in today's world.

9. QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

- To what extent should NATO, the CIA, and involved national governments be held accountable for the covert operations and political manipulations that occurred under the guise of defending against communism?
- What are the legal and ethical implications of secret military networks operating within sovereign states without public oversight?
- What measures should NATO take to ensure transparency and oversight in future operations?
- How can NATO reform its intelligence and covert operations to ensure democratic accountability while maintaining security?
- Should national governments formally acknowledge their involvement in these networks and their impact on domestic political processes?
- How should victims of state-sponsored terrorism and political violence connected to these operations be compensated or acknowledged?
- How should international law evolve to limit the influence of foreign intelligence agencies on domestic political processes?
- How can governments be encouraged to declassify sensitive documents that could shed light on covert operations?
- What role can investigative journalism and historical research play in fostering public awareness about secret military networks like Gladio?
- How can NATO rebuild trust in countries where Gladio or similar operations contributed to political instability and violence?
- Should NATO issue formal apologies or take no-responsibility for its involvement in political violence in member states?
- What diplomatic or public relations strategies should NATO pursue to repair relationships with affected countries?

- What reforms should be proposed to prevent the recurrence of similar secret networks within NATO or any other international defence organisations?
- What role should international oversight bodies play in ensuring that covert military operations respect human rights and democratic norms?
- How can member states be reassured that NATO's current operations prioritise democratic values and human rights?
- Should NATO implement formal truth and reconciliation processes in countries affected by Gladio to address past abuses?
- How can NATO balance its commitment to security with the need for transparency in military alliances?
 - Should governments be required to declassify such documents, and if so, under what conditions?
 - What consequences could arise from revealing more details about these covert operations, and how should they be managed diplomatically?

9.1 Epilogue

Honourable Delegates...

As the complexities of Operation Gladio come to light, the importance of accountability, transparency, and ethical governance remains ever-present. This study guide has explored the covert operations that shaped political landscapes, leaving behind a legacy that NATO and its member states must confront. Now, the responsibility rests with you, the delegates, to reflect on history's lessons and craft solutions that not only address past wrongs but also ensure a more just and secure future for all. The path forward is yours to shape.

İbrahim Gülşeni Katman

Under Secretary General

Historical North Atlantic Treaty Organization Committee

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