



**AT THE SOURCE OF
VICTIMIZATION**

Alfredo Cospito

Regarding the publication

For us, every book or brochure that we are publishing isn't just a printed paper with words.

Neither have we wanted to just fill space in the shelf of a bookcase. Instead, it is a living memory of thoughts and experiences, that we want them in turn to pass the baton to new thoughts and experiences. Especially today with the Internet domination. We're being found surrounded by a digital overflow of texts that are usually being read diagonally, since the speed surpasses the analytical tools of reading.

Because of that, along with the digital version, we are choosing to designate the printed version of the texts, since the "manual" contact cannot be replaced by the cold screen of a computer.

We are still feeling nostalgic for the paper editions, since we believe that a text that's being perforated by notes, underlines and comments by the one who reads it, is "upgrading" the reading and it's commencing an authentic dialog which breaks the roles, those of the writer-reader.

Alfredo's text doesn't need an introduction neither a prologue. The particular comrade from the first page makes clear the reasons for this writing. Reasons that unfortunately are scrounging off the interior of the international anarchist movement. Besides, the title is very distinctive... "At the source of victimization"

In Greece, where the lasting tradition of "conspiracy" and of "innocent people who are being prosecuted for their ideals" is dominant, the gangrene of victimization is continuing to spread. At the same time, the imprudent usage and easy resort to the "conspiracies", are reducing the reflexes of the movement against the true conspiracies of the state, since suspicion

is dominant within the anarchist milieu because everyone is declaring their “innocence”

At the same time, the comrades that are claiming their responsibility and are defending the anarchist guerilla organizations that they’re part of are usually being marginalized and isolated by the “privilege” of solidarity. Alfredo’s text has a lot to say about this matter as well... In the face of our times...something is changing.

New comrades are breaking the culture of victimization and are asserting the anarchist attach. This publication is a small contribution to this tendency...

From reading...to complicity....

**Black International Publications –C.C.F/ Urban Guerilla
Cell**

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The slaughter at Piazza Fontana, the affairs that preceded, the affairs that followed, are more or less known. The comrade Alfredo Cospito is surpassing the simple and idealized narration of events and through his writing he is pointing out the “defectivities” that developed after the events of the 12th of December 1969, within the anarchist movement. Affairs and “defectivities” that personally eluded from us.

The blind conspiracism and victimization will weaken the dynamics that were developed by the Italian anarchist movement before the massacre at Piazza Fontana and will promote a pacifist “interpretation” of anarchy.

At the same time, the marginalization and the mockery towards the practices which are inflaming the war against authority and the comrades who are consciously choosing them, are staying to remind us a fixed and timeless tactic which is designating the lack of conscience of those who are using them.

One could write for hours about the similarities that can be found in events and practices regarding the Greek anarchist movement. The Marfin case, the attack against the van of riot police by the Revolutionary Struggle, the execution of golden dawn members at N.Heraclion and so much more.

For us it was a pleasure to have worked on a piece that had a lot to offer to us... We are happy to have contributed in the promotion of expropriation of anarchist attack...with all means.

**Comrades from the anarchist squat Papamichelaki,
Rethymno**

Regarding the translation of the brochure “At the source of victimization”

For us, this brochure and the topic that discusses, this of the victimization, is more currently relevant than ever. We believe that this virus of victimization and anarchist “innocence” is spreading rapidly, not only in Greece, but also within the international anarchist movement. This is the first reason that we took this initiative to translate what comrade Olga Economidou had already translated from the original Italian text. The other reason is that we have identified the introversion that exists throughout the anarchist milieu in Greece; therefore this translation is a gesture of complicity and solidarity towards all our anarchist brothers and sisters in every corner of the world. For the violent rejection of the existing system, for an international insurrectional anarchist front...

Web anarchist radio Radiofragmata, Athens Greece

“We are not pledging to free the head priest Marco Ussia, if we don’t ensure that the church will make statements regarding the release of political prisoners in Spain... Our action’s purpose is to call the church to account and to their consciences, in these critical moments for the Spanish people, since after 27 years of fascist dictatorship, the Spanish democrats who are asserting the minimum of freedom of expression and unions-certified by the declaration of human rights- are still in prison...”

Kidnapping of Ussia, April 1967, Rome
Group Ist of May- Sacco & Vanzetti

“The science of USA in the service of crimes...we are targeting one of those held responsible for the genocide in Vietnam. Since Johnson is erasing the signs of peace, we are using his own precise weapons: Dynamite and Sabotage!”

Assault against the American business Dow Chemical
30th of March 1968, Milan, Anarchist Group...a

“We are denouncing the church for actions against the revolution...for the criminal act of supporting the Spanish fascism...”

Assault against the church San Barila, 10th of June
1968, Milan, Anarchists

“Comrade, destroy the banks...destroy the churches...destroy the universities...raid the department stores”

Attack at Rinascente 30th of August 1968, Milan, Anarchists b

“Last minute: The police killed again two workers in Sicily! It is their own sacred mission. O People revolt! Against authoritarianism, against the laws, the state and the church that sanctifies everything. Long live anarchy!”

Assault with dynamite against the city hall of Genoa, 3rd of December 1968

(In solidarity with the dead people of Avola)
Revolutionary Group Carlo Caffero

“Comrade worker, inside the banks there is wealth...Destroy the banks..Within the universities lies the culture of science, destroy the universities, inside the churches lies the dynasty of mind...destroy the churches. Inside the department stores consumer goods can be found, destroy them!”

Second attack at Rinascente, 15th of December 1968, Milan, Anarchist Brigade Ravashol

“The American science is a tool of enslavement of people... the marvelous space facilities are not feeding the poor exploited people.”

Assault with dynamite at the NATO base Camp Darby, 3rd of January 1969, Pisa, Anarchist Group J. Most

“Defendants! Burn the judges’ gowns! Turn the courts of law into a battlefield...the continuous struggle with all means, in arrangement against the authority of the state and church. Greetings!”

Assault with dynamite at the courthouse and at the ministry of education 27 and 31 March 1969, Anarchist Revolutionary Union for the Social Revolution

The historical acknowledgment of a part of anarchism is always tendentious, tooling and often it has nothing to envy from that of the official historians. The purpose of this writing is to reach to the source of this victimization which corrupted and is still corrupting the Italian anarchist movement for more than forty years, since the massacre of Piazza Fontanac. Risking to be considered a “revisionist”, before i put forward my topic for discussion I have to set some issues. While it is certain that it was the state that put the bomb in Piazza Fontana, based on this certitude of mine, more certainties are following:

-The belief that those who acted subversively and the extra-parliamentary left of those times, called fascists, were anarchists with responsibility claims of high reliability.

-The belief that Giuseppe Pinellid was not a pacifist a nonviolent martyr of the left, a saint of democracy, but instead, an anarchist revolutionary that shortly before he was murdered by

Calabresi and his colleagues had actively and specifically collaborated with an anarchist organization of armed struggle, the international anarchist group First of May, direct “diffusion” of FIJLf. This particular group was putting bombs and carried out kidnappings in Central Europe, a natural consequence, since every anarchist consistent with what he does, believed in revolutionary violence.

-The belief that Gianfranco Bertolig was an individualist anarchist, not a fascist, a puppet nor a useful idiot in the hands of “corrupted” secret intelligence services, as many anarchists without being ashamed still argue even today. And his act is perfectly included in the tradition of propaganda of the deed of anarchist individualistic terrorism.

Saying this and after putting these few strongly points, we can start our journey through the past clarifying some myths. The Piazza Fontana massacre was not for anarchists, as many historians claim “the death of innocence”, but instead, the birth of a new figure, a new role accepting the fear of repression. A role bound to a pathetic and tooling “innocentification”. The anarchist victim of the system, the naive anarchist child who plays easy with revolution, with the risk of being approached by “special agents” and turned into a tool for power. Almost all anarchists consciously or unconsciously, in these years, with only a few exceptions, are wearing the same cloak.



Photograph after the explosion of the bomb at the Agricultural Bank

After Piazza Fontana there was a spreading of legalistic and acquitting counter-investigation in which the amaurosis of an anarchist as someone bloodthirsty, is replaced by an even more paranoid amaurosis, this of an anarchist as an unarmed victim defined by state violence. Many join the game, either for a quiet life or to keep their comrades away from prison. Therefore some are motivated more by contributing to this new “research” trend through legalistic, foolish and grizzling “counter-investigation”.

The tragic events of Milan, the following confusion and the

hotpot between the anarchist lines, will not be understood entirely without making a brief allusion to the sluggish but gradual evolution where a part of the movement had been involved in the years between 1962 and 1969. Across Italy, during these years, the anarchists of the deed lived moments of great vitality, one could almost say renaissance.

Different cells and affinity groups that were very energetic, with young and older people, were born through the strength of their actions, with attacks of low intensity with nitrate to more powerful attacks with dynamite. This upgrade was an acceleration thanks to the influence of the Spanish FIJJ and their direct diffusion: the international group First May. This development will also be verified at the same time in other European countries, giving better results, like the Angry Brigade in England, the Hashish Rebels in Germany, GARI in France. In Italy the collective shock of the state massacre will abruptly interrupt this progress blocking development. This massacre and the subsequent Pinelli's murder, was for the anarchist movement the "ancestral sin" after which, nothing will be like before. From that moment the "Games" will stop and the positive trend that prevailed amongst the movement at that time will turn to a strong if not permanent halt.

There are many myths and distortions built throughout those years. One of the most persisting was the one that saw the anarchism of the 60's as the weakest link in the revolutionary movement. An anarchist movement incriminated by repression, the "set-up" as a particular characteristic and essential weakness, and the ease with which someone penetrate in it. Another delusion (not to say anything worse) involves the roles of clowns and slanderers who were promoted by both our own victimization as from the left-wing intellectuals and

measured the factors to this tragedy. On one side it's Pinelli, an innocent pacifist martyr "of an anarchy that does not want bombs but the justice of freedom" and on the other Valpreda the anarchist individualist, naive and easy to me used, who claimed with "head up high" his innocence, his own "being" with chatter about "bombs, blood, anarchy" and not even one fact. We the anarchists were the first responsible for such a distortion of reality. A distortion which stems from the need to defend ourselves from a dishonourable accusation, a massacre that tried to incriminate poor and random customers of a rural bank, mostly farmers. This alternate reality comes to penetrate both the anarchists and the factors of the tragedy, thus it will decisively erase and conceal every good thing that was made over the years. The "panic defence" was the reason for fleeing and for an almost total fall back.

In these years one could hardly find any examples for the opposite, with importance: Specifically I mention the execution of Commissioner Calabresi and the slaughter at the police headquarters in Milan by the anarchist Bertolli, who would dearly pay the consequences of his acts, not only with the 20 years in prison, but through the constant defamation and almost total isolation from the side of a frightened and paranoid anarchist movement.



Photograph after the explosion of Bertoli's bomb at the HQ of police in Milan

What I want to promote with this article is that the so-called "strategy of tension" was not designed due to the confrontation at the interior of the anarchist movement, nor because it was the weak link, but instead because it was the only part of the revolutionary "left" of those times for which such a set-up could be believed. Mainly for two reasons, first because in that historic moment it was the most active in terms of armed actions with bombs and kidnappings and second for international contacts with groups like First May and FIJL which since years carried out armed actions in central Europe. It would be more difficult to design the set-up against the communists, at a time they were less active in an armed struggle level. Not unjustly, the only communist whom they tried to implicate in the Piazza Fontana events was Feltrinelli due to his contacts with some of the anarchists, particularly with Corradini and Vinvileonej. A particular example of the "operative" contacts of the rebel publisher with those anarchists, was when two weeks before Che Guevara 's death in Bolivia, through the mediation of those two comrades, Feltrinelli will seek for support in the First of May to organize joint solidarity actions with the Bolivian urban guerillas.

After Guevara's death, the first of May starts an unprecedented wave of coordinated attacks across Europe: November 12 in Bonn, three bombs exploded at the Greek, the Bolivian and the Spanish embassies. In Rome at the Venezuelan embassy. In Milan in a Spanish tourist office. In Aja at the US, Greek and Spanish embassies. In Madrid at the embassy of USA. In Ginevra at a Spanish tourist office.

Ten coordinated attacks in a single day. The organizational

skills of anarchists in Europe were unprecedented, all thanks to the libertarian youth and their will to act and coordinate: This growth took place, when in Italy Fertinelli 's GAP was something less than an idea and the Red Brigades were still far from their birth, since their first attack takes place in 1971. We can say it with certainty that the cancer of the anarchist victimization sees the light on December 12 1969 among the ruins of the Agricultural Bank in Piazza Fontana. A glimmer of the cancer that would follow, preceded on April 25 1969, always in Milan at the anniversary of the Resistance, when small incendiary devices based on nitrate salt and gasoline exploded at the central exchange station and at the Trade Fair , which had been targeted (as power structures), by the student movement. The smoke of the device at the station will send a dozen of passersby at the first aid without a serious problem to keep them there for too long. The other mechanism, at the trade fair will break some windows. Mechanisms so harmless that even the "Anarchist Magazine" in March 1971 would identify as paper bombs. Concerning the ignition the devices seemed like those of the anarchists of (there is a reference to this at the beginning of the article in snap of the responsibility claim). An ordinary electric resistance, an ordinary gasoline bottle and the usual clock as a stopwatch. The attackers' intention was not of course to cause victims. There had been a phone call to the police which heralded the "explosion" at the station and some newspapers talked about claiming responsibility through some flyers found in the station outpost as it had already happened in the previous attacks of the Milanese anarchists. The newspapers will make it a big deal for these "dreadful" attacks.

The anarchist movement in Milan will raise immediately their hands by talking about a political provocation and they would put the fascist attacks at the same level with the anarchist attacks at the Ministry of Education and the Court Hall of Rome which were claimed by the “Anarchist International Marius Jacob”. The theory of conspiracy to throw shit against the actions themselves in order to save themselves, was the herald of Piazza Fontana.

For these mysterious explosions some comrades whom I had the chance to have met that were held responsible, were Giovanni Corradini and Eliane Vincileone. Together with them, the young Paolo Brasclini would be arrested as well. Instead, the luckiest one would be Ivo della Savia who managed to escape from the arrest and “shame”. These four comrades were contributors of the journal “Materialism and Freedom”. Before I move on with our story, let us pause briefly at the big boiler in lather, which was the Milanese anarchy at the end of 60’s.

In Milan during this period of researching and large liberal turmoils, among the many experiences of struggle, 2 small groups of anarchist kinship will make their first steps. The “older” group included τον Ivo della Savia and Braschi, who had a wide range of experience with explosives and were in touch with Corradini and Vincileone. In addition, they maintained a close contact with the youth anarchist federations of other countries, with FIJL and 1st of May. In the youngest group, the most “boisterous” one, Valpreda, Claps, and Derri-co took part, which were considered by the Milanese anarchist milieu as “rampant” with less practical experience but with an anarcho-individualist strong mind. They named themselves

the “iconoclasts” and they were printing a brochure named “Land and Freedom” in which they were expressing with honesty their “violent” ideas. They will get involved with the conspiracy of Piazza Fontana and they will end up as a meat for slaughter regarding the the counter-investigations, however they will maintain their freedom. The Milanese police was very concerned about the group that was encircling Corradini and Vincileone, according to their telling. This concern for the couple existed mainly because of their international contacts. In a police report you could read: “At least until the end of 1962 they had founded (Corradini and Vincileon) an anarchist centre of activism that always attracted a number of youngsters.” In a similar ambience the assessment that the couple Corradini was responsible for the kidnapping of vice consul Isu Elias will get serious, although it couldn't be confirmed. Soon, the movement will forget these two people, maybe too disturbingly for an anarchism that from this period of time wants to come out “clear” from its own interior.

The anarchistically determined organizations FAI- GIA – GAF after the oppressive wave that followed in Piazza Fontana, will try to dampen the internal clashes and at least in one thing they will manage to remain solid: To consider as provocation all these actions of importance during the last months which were claimed by anarchists. An important testimony regarding these years is being given by Ivo della Savia himself who will through illegality give an incredible interview in “Corriere Della Sera” in which he will narrate to a journalist without any timidity, the birth of the anarchy of action in Italy: “In 1963 I was at the formation of the first anarchist groups of di-

rect action. As a direct action we mean the attacks. I took part in these supportive groups with a very serious manner. There isn't any problem regarding the numbers, in other words we weren't concerned if we would be many... the action itself had created a very clear choice...from 1963 till 1967 in Italy I had attended the materialist constitution, the structure, the requirements in order to reach a certain condition, as to guarantee the maximum effectiveness, the maximum connection... the police these days found themselves in front of a new affair, that was disorienting: anarchists were striking with a periodic stability every two-three months, there's something happening in the quiet Italian society.. You can see as an example, the attacks against the Spanish embassy in Napoli and the failed attack against the same embassy in Genoa [...]."

RESPINGE LE ACCUSE PER LA STRAGE MA AMMETTE GLI ESPLOSI E I PRECEDENTI ATTENTATI

"Ho scoperto a Bruxelles Ivo Della Savia,,

Intervista segreta con l'anarchico amico di Valpreda - Le bombe del '63 e Milano contro palazzo Marino, le associazioni cattoliche e l'Assolombarda erano «una specie di esercitazione» - Come furono nascosti sulla via Tiburtina un sacco di micce e sistemi a orologeria - I rapporti con l'ambiente degli anarchici e i suoi finanziatori - La vicenda del fratello - Rivendicatore la paternità delle azioni terroristiche contro il Senato, il ministero della pubblica istruzione, il palazzo di giustizia, e contro consolati e uffici spagnoli in Italia - «Ma Valpreda è innocente»

IL NOME IVOVO SAVIA
Sembra un soprannome, ma è
il vero nome di Ivo Della Savia.
L'ha scelto perché il suo nome
è stato usato per un periodo
di tempo da un gruppo di
anarchici che si sono
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di un controllo di quel tipo
che non aveva mai fatto
prima di allora.

Il giorno è questo
che è il vero nome di Ivo Della Savia.
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Frontpage from the incredible interview of Ivo della Savia

This development will be interrupted suddenly by the dispersed conspiracies that will follow after the slaughter in Piazza Fontana. The “crying on shoulders” will reach its zenith after the murder of Pinelli with the distortion of this comrade’s image by majority of the movement in a victimized, pacifistic and democratic manner: dozens of assumptions, thousands of “judicial” publications, humiliating theories regarding international conspiracies, black plots, red plots, of opposition’s extremists, CIA, KGB, secret “corrupted” intelligent services. From all these judicial scrap papers of the parallel and the next counter-investigations, a new science would be born, one that would acquire within the anarchism of action, one of the most notable victims (Pinelli).

In the name of this “science, the so called “strategic of intensity” in every firecracker or bomb that will follow, the accusation of provocation will come and adjust like a timer. Every time that an anarchist group strikes, even today, the mummies of the “revolutionary” inactivity will use this very old and useful theory against anyone who chooses to turn into action everything which thousand other people keep babbling. The Italian anarchism in the beginning of 70’s will be characterized intensely by the campaign regarding the liberation of Valpreda. A campaign that was completely focused at the judicial part, the one that refers almost completely at the judicial defend in the pursuance of the pathetic permission of the democratic public opinion. The cherry on top came with the support to the “illegal” Valpreda in the columns of “Manifesto”k. An attempt that was a complete failure since he didn’t get elected. Whoever didn’t follow the judicial “lines” was turned automatically to a defendant for provocation and was lynched ideologically.

Outside of the borders of the “good country” (Italy) the comrades who have cooperated with Pinelli and his own “Black Cross”¹, the youthful federations, FIJL, 1st of May, the English Black Cross, were all confused and dazed. The information they were receiving from Italy were contradictive. The Italian movement was at the absolute authority of the hunt of intrusion, it seemed like you couldn’t trust anyone, there was panic, and the Italian anarchists were seeing secret agents and provocations in every corner of the street. An enlighten example for this dispersed and contagious paranoia will be offered by Octavio Alberola, one of the founders of 1st of May. In the book “El Anarquismo Espanol y la accion revolucionaria” 1961-1974 which was co-written with Ariame Cransac, in 1975, since he is starting to number the actions by verifying them, he is being confined in these years in Italy, confessing that after a certain date and after it wasn’t clear which actions were liable and considered as revolutionary or they were a result of provocations because the movement couldn’t verify them because of “guilt”. These doubts of Alberola were indicative for the confusion and the panic that was reigning within the Italian anarchist circles. The huge majority was found unready in front of these tragic events, by not achieving to give a collective not to say offensive answer as violence and oppression had incriminated them. At that moment the Italian movement is transmitting only discouragement, victimization and doubts to other countries.

All these had established stable contacts that had already produced the first solid harvests among youthful federations, French, Spanish, Swiss, English, and Italian and in betwixt they had put the old “inactive” ones of the European anarchism in a very difficult position. Jaista Montsenym for exam-

ple was trying to tone down this new turmoil. At the 9th of September 1970, the youthful federations and the 1st of May in memory of the comrade Pinelli, they placed concurrent mechanisms in Paris, London, Manchester and Birmingham in buildings of Italian delegations. It was the only action of a certain range that happened in Europe for Pinelli.

This insufficient revolutionary solidarity was due to the legal defensive line that was promoted by the comrades in Italy. Because some people outside of the borders of Italy remember that Valpreda will need to wait until the February of 1972 in order for a bomb to explode in solidarity with himself at the Italian embassy in Brussels. In Italy things were going very differently. There were very few important actions that surrounded the reaction against the events of Piazza Fontana, which were out of the lines of the civil symbolic protest. Few actions, but emphatical. At the 17th of May 1972, the police commissioner Calabresi, the one held responsible for the murder of Pinelli, got killed outside his house by unknown culprits. Even in this case, there was an outbreak of exasperation from one side of the movement: unbelievable but even many anarchists, including Valpreda, are making a fuss about this scandal. In the lack of someone responsible for the murder to bad-mouth, they attack against this action by raving about “conspiracies” and a spurious usefulness from the side of authority to eliminate a testimony that is disturbingn. With no reservations they will try to stain an exemplary, surgical, transparent action. This operation of slander will not work, the whole movement will be electrified since Lotta Contunua will praise this gesture of revenge. Some of their former fighters, decades after will bear the huge cost of imprisonment because of their former enthusiasm. After this date, the histo-

rians will start talking about the “leaden years”.

Exactly after one year at the 17th of May 1973 in front of the police that had just completed the opening of a memorial tombstone for Calabresi, the anarcho-individualist Gianfranco Bertoli will launch a homemade bomb that resulted in many dead and injured people. The comrade as a captive will take the responsibility with pride, as an anarchist individualist and will explain his gesture as a vendetta for Pinelli’s murder: “Bertoli is being slandered publicly from the movement and the “kind” souls of “Rivoluzione” naming him immediately a fascist, paid by the secret intelligence services. One of the least of exceptions was Ponte de la Ghisolfao, a Milanese anarchist club that was dissociated from this “crazy” gesture, but identifies him as a comrade that did wrong. Many years after, most of the slanderers from a democratic court will change their minds, but this is another story that is very sad and I don’t want to narrate it. An ugly story of instrumentalization and political interests.



Front page regarding the murder of the cop Calabresi

I'll round off with a thought... In my opinion, the deepest meaning of this is that these years, the anarchists created many contradictory and spurious interpretations since the movement itself turned two of the most symbolic figures of that time, Pinelli and Bertoli, into victim and executioner: anarchist martyr, good father, worker, conscious proletarian, convinced not be violent. Bertoli: fascist, demented, provocateur, secret intelligence agent, drug addict, violent, thief. It wasn't the borghese newspapers that presented him that way, but our newspapers, like first of all the "Umanita Nova". These two veneers are showing us what the Italian anarchist movement turned into after the panic that followed after the bomb in Piazza Fontana. They're showing us the decay, the backwardness before the repression. We will bear the cost of these fears, this lack of courage with an idol that extends throughout the time. Maybe you're wondering why I am agitating these old stories. Because I am convinced that if some knots of the past don't get untied, we are liable to being doing the same mistakes. I'm still more convinced that the answer to repression is the fundamental field where every revolutionary movement is playing its most important game, this of its own reliability. Very often the repressing operations are being answered by withdrawing at legal procedures, limited to yell about conspiracies, claiming the innocence, practically asking for justice within the court by trusting only the lawyers. For this reason I believe that critically revisiting the history can help us untie these knots in order to move forward faster. "Nothing beautiful and new can dawn, when it's written in old and filthy pages" C.C.F

Alfredo Cospito member of "Olga Cell" – FAI/IRF

-Comrade Alfredo Cospito along with comrade Nicola Gai are members of the Olga Cell of FAI/IRF and have claimed responsibility for the R. Adinolfi shooting who is the head chief of the nuclear company Ansaldo Nucleare in 7/05/2012

The two comrades were arrested in 14/09/2013. Alfredo's sentence is 10 years and 8 months and Nicola Gai's sentence is 9 years and 4 months in the Italian prisons.

-The translation and editing of the Italian text was made by the comrade Olga Economidou, member of Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, within the female prisons of Korydallos

-We are thanking the comrades from the anarchist squat Papamichelaki in Rethymno, for the digitalization and the aesthetic part of this brochure.

The brochure "At the source of victimization", is being released in a printed version, in anarchist hangouts, squats and through hand in hand, as well as on the internet in PDF form in order to be easily reprinted.

References

a the whole name of this anarchist group isn't written, because the rest of the leaflet that was used for claiming the responsibility regarding the attack was obscure because it was burnt from the explosion

b(NDT.) La Rinascente : Huge luxury department store in Milan, that exists since 1917. Its name means "Renaissance" to symbolize the rebirth of the department store after the end of the First World War that caused a generalized poverty. In 2011 it was bought by a company for 260 m. Euros

c(NDP) Piazza Fontana : In the afternoon of the 12th of December 1969 at 16:37 a bomb in Piazza Fontana, Milan, exploded, which killed 17 people and injured 88 more people. This bomb attack is also known as the slaughter of Piazza Fontana. A bit later at 16:55 another bomb explodes at the underground passage that connects the entrance of National Work Bank, which injured 13 people. About half an hour later, at 17:20 and 17:30 two bombs in Rome exploded: the one was in front of Altare della Patria and the other one at the entrance of Museo Centrale del Risorgimento, causing the injury of 4 people. At the end, a fifth bomb was found before it would explode at the commercial bank of Italy in Milan, which was destroyed with a controlled explosion. The next days in the contexts of research for the culprits of Banca Nazionale della Agricoltura in Piazza Fontana, approximately 80 people were arrested and interrogated, mostly anarchists from Circolo Anarchico 22 Marzo in Rome and Circolo Anarchico Ponte della Ghisolfa in Milan.

d(NDP) Amongst those who were interrogated for the slaughter of Piazza Fontana, was the anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli, who was a part of Ponte della Ghisolfa and has been interrogated along with other anarchists during the spring of 1969 regarding the bomb that exploded on the 25th of April at the branch of FIAT during the attacks in Milan and the bomb that was found at the central station of the city. On the 15th of December while he was still in captivity(according to the laws at that time

those arrested should have been freed or put in prisons from the last day) Pinelli “fell” from the window of the room where the interrogation was happening and died. The police director Marcelo Guida stated that the death of the 41 year old anarchist was a suicide. The four policemen and the commissioner Calabresi, who were at the room during Pinelli’s death were considered innocent.

e(NdA.C.) The date of birth of Grupo Primero de Majo(1st of May) is the 1st of May 1966 when they kidnapped in Rome the head priest Marco Ussia. Those were the days of baptism for the group. The plan of kidnapping happened with the support of some Italian anarchists who were fighters of FIJL and CNT, among them and Octavio Alberola, one of the best “minds” of DI(Defenca Interior- Interior Defense). DI was a group that together with the Iberian Liberating Movement(in which also were part FAI, CNT and FIJL) cooperated to fight with guns Francism. The 1st of May was a tool, from which the anarchist movement will hold on to it in order to continue the struggle.

f(NdA.C.) FIJL (Federacion Iberica de Juventudes Libertarias) was established in 1932 as a youth anarchist organization, from which many thousands of fighters took part in the Spanish civil war in 1936. During the antifascist resistance, this organization will become the most vital component of Iberian anarchism

g(NdA.C.) Anarchist Gianfranco Bertoli at the 17th of May 1973 (day of the first anniversary from the execution of the police commissioner Calabresi, at the inauguration of a memorial stone inside the yard of the police headquarters in Milan in Fatebene – Fratelli St.) launched a makeshift bomb at the door of the police HQ, where as Bertoli himself told, a cop kicked the bomb back resulting in the death of four irrelevant people. His intentions were to persecute the attendees at the celebration in order to get revenge for Pinelli’s death. He was sentenced with a life sentence and after 21 years in prison he would go out with a semi-freedom status. His whole life he was trying to defend his anarcho-individualism and the motives of this gesture, denying the smirch that he was a fascist who was induced by secret intelligence services.

These accusations originated from the side of the court authorities and media but also from the side of the anarchist movement.

h(NdP) Anti-investigation: The recourse of anarchist in technical matters of legal nature, that are setting aside the political identity of anarchy with purpose of creating a victimized image of an anarchist who is being persecuted for his ideals. In Greece, these counter-investigations were expressed with the over-usage of “conspiracy” that in the end weakened the refutation of the true conspiracies of the state. In other words, “counter-investigation” is a tactic that is being used by many anarchists who act more like lawyers than anarchists.

i(NdA.C.) In Italy, before the Red Brigades, it was the anarchists who were using the method of kidnapping as a mean of political pressure. At the 29th of September 1962 some young anarchists, kidnapped (more like a way of improvisation) from Milan the Spanish vice consul Isu Elias, to demand the annulment of the death penalty of a comrade from FIJL in Spain, who was destined to go at the gallows. The goal was achieved: Eventually, the life of the young anarchist was saved. The group 1st of May, in 1966, kidnapped the Spanish consultant of the embassy in Rome, the head priest Marcos Ussia.

j(NdA.C.) Eliane Vincileone and Giovanni Corradini were publishers of “Materialismo e Liberta”(Materialism and Freedom) that was being published in 1963 as “a journal of anarchist actions and plans” from which only three volumes would be published. They both had contacts with FIJL and others on an international level. They will get arrested for bombs in Fiera Campionaria at the 25th of April, whilst they will be released at the 7th of December 1969 because of lack of evidence. The couple had ties of friendship with the publisher Giangiacomo Fertinelli and his name will be displayed many times within the investigations and the files of that time. Vincileone was among the anarchists under arrest at the HQ of the prison in Milan, when Pinelli was murdered.

k(NdP) Il Manifesto: a monthly newspaper (from 1971 and after it became a daily one). It was being published by a collegiality of leftist

journalists. It was very famous for their satire style of writing.

l(NdA.C.) The anarchist Black Cross was born in Milan, Italy, in the first few months of 1969, for the federated anarchist groups in order to support the anarchist prisoners. One of the most important “leaders” of this initiative was Giuseppe Pinelli. The Italian sector will promulgate a small brochure from which 9 volumes will be published from June of 1969 till the April of 1971.

m(NdA.C.) Federica Montseny (1905 Madrid – 1994 Toulouse) began her militant action with CNT, alongside with the Catalan anarchist creators of “Za Revista Blanca” (the white journal) that was published first in 1898. In 1936 she is present at the local committee of CNT and at the committee of the peninsula Anarchist Iberian Federation which in cooperating for the drawing up of an anarcho-communist programme. After the outburst of revolution in the July of 1936, she is taking part in the struggle against the putschists of Francisco Franco. At the 4th of November 1936, she became one of the four ministers of CNT in the new government of Largo Caballero: Juan Garcia Oliver gets into the ministry of justice, Juan Peiro into the industrial ministry, Juan Lopez Sanchez in the ministry of commerce and Montseny in the ministry of Health. At the end of revolution, herself and her comrade Germinal Esgleas were forced to get banished in France, where they got arrested and released from the Vichy government. She managed to escape her expo to Spain and she became one of the most important representatives of the exiled CNT and of the component of the “adamants” among the Iberian anarchists.

n(NdP) At the 16th of July taxi driver Rolandi gets killed, who was the only witness against the Valpreda oPonte della Ghisolfia: an anarchist circle, one of the oldest anarchist clubs in Italy. It was founded at the 1st of May in 1968. After the slaughter in Piazza Fontana they took part in the campaign for the liberation of Valpreda, but also in the campaign to designate that Pinelli’s death was a murder by the state.

p(NdP) Opus Dei Roma: Religious organization, a personal archbishop-

ric of the catholic church. It was founded in 1928 in Madrid of Spain. It is the only heresy acknowledged by the Vatican. The symbol points to a shape of a masonist heresy. 8 members of O[us Dei, were appointed as ministers of the Franco government between 1957 and 1975. They own universities, churches, hospitals, social centers and more.

q(NdP) Biblioteca Ambrosiana: Cultural institution in a science level that was founded by the cardinal of Milan in 1597 “to glory of God...”

r) Fiera Camponaria: The first commercial expo in the April of 1920 that it's continuing to happen till now. In 1951 during the cold war, Fiera Milan became the commercial spot for meetings between East and West. In 1960 till 1970 it became a crucial figure of enhancement and promotion of the Italian industrial upsurge within the country as much as overseas.

Παρουσίαση Μπροσούρας
"Στην Πηγή της Θυματοποίησης"

...ωνία και Συζήτηση
...ου και του Χ. Τσάκαλο

...ίο

...ης Δράσης Αναρχικών//Ζαΐμη 11

...ατά

ΕΚΔΗΛΩΣΗ

Παρουσίαση της
μπροσούρας "Στην
πηγή της
θυματοποίησης" του
Alfredo Cospito

11/5

18:00

Τηλεφωνική επικοινωνία
Συζήτηση με την
Ο. Οικονομίδου και
Χ. Τσάκαλο σχετικά
θυματοποίηση στο
παρελθόν και στο α...

Κατάληψη 111

Μετά την εκδήλωση θα ακολουθήσει
για τα έξοδα της μπροσούρας...

...η Συζήτηση

...την έκδοση της μπροσούρας
"στην πηγή της θυματοποίησης".

...εκδόσεις Διάσημη Διαφήμιση - 2166 Διοργάνωση Ανταρτικού Πόλεμου
...πλερωμένη παρέμβαση
...από Έλγα Οικονομίδου & τον Χρήστο Τσάκαλο

Πέμπτη 24 Μαρτίου
στις 17:00

ΑΥΤΟΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΙΖΟΜΕΝΟ ΣΤΕΚΙ
ΚΑΡΜΙΤΣΑΣ

Posters from the book presentations in Greece

TIMELINE

29 September 1962: Kidnap of the Spanish vice consul Isu Elias in Milan. Anarchists.

6 March 1962: Attacks at the headquarters of the airline company Iberia and at the Supreme Council of Spanish Science Research in Rome. At the same time, there was a bomb at the Ministry of Technology in Madrid with claims of responsibility by CIL(dispersion of Difensa Interior). Anarchists.

17 December 1964: Two Molotovs ruin the seminar of Opus Deip Roma. Anarchists.

2 January 1964: Bomb at the Spanish embassy in Napoli. Anarchists.

25 April 1965: Bomb at the offices of the Spanish airline company Iberia in Milan. Anarchists.

31 April 1965: Kidnap of head priest Ussia. 1st of May Sacco e Vanzetti.

12 November 1967: Bomb at the embassy of Venezuela, bomb at the Spanish tourist office in coordination with the attacks in Ginevra and Born, with claim of responsibility by the 1st of May and the International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement

3 March 1968: Bomb at the American embassy in Torino and simultaneously bombs in Aja and London. Claim of responsibility by the 1st of May and the International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement

26 May 1968: Incendiary bomb at a Citroen dealership in Milan, Anarchist International Group

16 June 1968: Incendiary bomb at the Bank of Italy in Milan with signature "Anarchists".

23 July 1968: Incendiary bomb at the library Ambrosianaq in Milan. Anarchists

20 August 1968: Bomb at the Cinema Palace of Vnice. Anarchist group M. Nettelau.

23 August 1968: Non-explosive bombs in Duomo at the churches of San Babila and Saint Ambrosio with the signature "Anarchists".

25 August 1968: Failed incendiary attack at Rinascente with the signature "Anarchist Group Ravaschol".

4 September 1968: During the international anarchist summit in Carrara, the international Black Cross was born. Giuseppe Pinelli takes responsibility for the Italian sector.

3 December 1968: Bomb at the communal office of Genoa with the signature "Anarchist Group Carlo Cajiero".

23-24 December: Second attack at Rinascente with the signature “Anarchist Group Ravaschol”.

25 December 1968: TNT bomb at the courts of Livorno, with the signature “Anarchist Group People’s Justice”

3 January 1969: Attack at the NATO base Camp Darby in Pisa with the signature “Anarchist Group J. Most”.

19 January 1969: Bomb at the military camp of police in Milan. Anarchists.

26 January 1969: Bomb at the Spanish tourist offices in Milan with the signature Barcellona 39.

January 1969: Bomb in front of the church S. Christina in Torino with the signature “Direct Action Group”.

8 March 1969: Attack against the police in Vervelli, the anarchists got arrested

27 March 1969: TNT bomb at the ministry of education in Rome with the signature “Anarchist Group Marius Jacob”.

31 March 1969: TNT bomb at the courthouse of Rome with the signature “Anarchist Group Marius Jacob”.

3 April 1969: Bomb at the policemen statue in Torino with the signature “Anarchists”.

**25 April 1969: Bombs at the FIAT stall in Fiera Camponar-
iar and at the central foreign currency station in Milan**

**1-2-3 May 1969: Arrest of the anarchists Paolo Faccioli,
Paolo Braschi, Eliane Vincileone, Giovanni in Milan. Ivo
della Savia turns to illegality to escape an arrest. Everyone
is being accused for the bombs at the 25th of April.**

7 December 1969: Corradini and Vincileone were released

12 December 1969: The slaughter of Piazza Fontana

15 December 1969: Pinelli was murdered.

...The slaughter of Piazza Fontana wasn't the "death of innocence" for the anarchists as many historians believe, but the birth of a new figure, a new role that embraces the fear of repression. A role bound with a pathetic and instrumentalized innocentification ...

Alfedo Cospito Cell Olga FAI/IRF

