

Mr. lic. phil. Daniele Ganser  
[REDACTED]  
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[REDACTED]

Reference: F-2000-02528

[REDACTED]  
Information & Privacy Coordinator  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20505  
USA

Basel, Switzerland, January 23, 2001

Re: Freedom of Information Act Appeal concerning CIA's 'Operation Gladio'

Dear [REDACTED]

This is an appeal under the Freedom of Information Act.

On December 14, 2000, I requested documents under the Freedom of Information Act. My request was assigned identification number F-2000-02528. On December 28, 2000, I received a response to my request in a letter signed by CIA Information and Privacy Coordinator Kathryn I. Dyer, which denied my request under FOIA exemptions (b)(1) and (b)(3). With this letter I appeal the denial of my request.

The documents that were withheld must be disclosed under the FOIA, because the secrecy exemptions (b)(1) and (b)(3) can only reasonably refer to CIA operations which are still secret today. However, after the information has already been widely discussed by European governments and the European media, and after three years of intensive detailed academic international research on operation Gladio, I, my colleagues, and the interested public now know, that CIA was heavily involved in operation Gladio. It is thus no longer a secret, that the CIA, in cooperation with foreign secret services, set up numerous stay-behind networks in most countries of Western Europe after World War Two (In the appendix I am attaching a list of selected publications on the issue). If you, Mrs. Dyer, raise FOIA secrecy exemptions (b)(1) and (b)(3) in this context, you unwisely deprive the CIA from its voice and the possibility to take a stand in a Gladio disclosure discourse, which will take place regardless whether the CIA decides to participate or not.

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Therefore, I am filing this appeal pursuant to subsection (a)(6) of the Freedom of Information Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. 552). As provided in the Act, I will expect to receive a reply to this administrative appeal letter within twenty working days. If you deny this appeal and do not adequately explain why the material withheld is properly exempt, I intend to initiate a lawsuit to compel its disclosure.

Rather than debating the CIA's denials and inconsistencies, I thank you for your consideration of my appeal.

Sincerely

lic. phil. D. Ganser

## FOIA GLADIO APPEAL APPENDIX

The CIA operation Gladio is not secret any longer. And hence FOIA exemptions (b)(1) and (b)(3) do not apply. The information has already been widely discussed by European governments and the European media. Compare the selection of material relating to the debate listed hereafter.

### I. Selected Governmental Publications:

- Bericht betreff US Waffenlager. Oesterreichisches Bundesministerium für Inneres. Generaldirektor für die öffentliche Sicherheit. Mag. Michael Sika. 28 November 1997. Wien
- Enquête parlementaire sur l'existence en Belgique d'un réseau de renseignements clandestin international, rapport fait au nom de la commission d'enquête par MM. Fridman et Hasquin. Document Senat, session de 1990-1991. Brussels
- Senato della Repubblica Italiana Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sul terrorismo in Italia e sulle cause della mancata individuazione dei responsabili delle stragi: Il terrorismo, le stragi ed il contesto storico-politico. Roma 1995
- Schlussbericht in der Administrativuntersuchung zur Abklärung der Natur von allfälligen Beziehungen zwischen der Organisation P-26 und analogen Organisationen im Ausland. Kurzfassung für die Öffentlichkeit. September 19, 1991. Bern

### II. Selected Books:

- Bertini, Emanuele: *Gladio. La repubblica parallela*. Fiesse 1996
- Brozzi-Gentile, Jean-Francois: *L'affaire Gladio*. Editions Albin Michel. Paris 1994
- Bye, Ronald and Sjøe, Finn: *Norges Hemmelige Haer - Historien om Stay Behind*. Tiden Norsk Verlag. Oslo 1995
- Celik, Selahattin: *Die Todesmaschinen. Türkische Konterguerilla*. Mesopotamien Verlag. Köln 1999
- Colly, William: *Honorable Men. My life in the CIA*. Simon and Schuster. New York 1978
- Graaff, Bob de; Wiebes, Cees: *Gladio der vrije jongens: een particuliere geheime dienst in Koude Oorlogstijd*. Cravenhage 1992
- Inzerilli, Paolo: *Gladio. La Verità negata*. Edizioni Anafisi. Bologna 1995
- Mecklenburg, Jens (ed.): *Gladio: Die geheime Terrororganisation der Nato*. Elefant Press, Berlin 1997
- Moroni, Primo: *La notte dei giuliatori. Omissioni e silenzi della repubblica*. Padova 1991
- Müller, Leo: *Gladio - das Erbe des Kalten Krieges. Der Nato-Geheimbund und sein deutscher Vorläufer*. Rowohlt. Hamburg 1991
- Serravalle, Gerardo: *Gladio*. Edizioni Associate. Roma 1991
- Van Ussel, Michel: *Georges 923: Un agent de Gladio Bèlge parle*. Temoignage. Editeurs La Longue Vue. Bruxelles 1991

- Willems, Jan de (ed.): *Gladio*. Editions EPO. Bruxelles 1991
- Yalc, Soner and Yurdakul, Doğan: *Gladio nun Türk tekiisi*. Oteki Yay Nevi. Ankara 1997

### III. Selected Articles

- Cedomi, Pietro: *Service Secrets, Guerre Froide et Stay Behind. La mise en place des réseaux*. In: Belgian periodical Fire! Le Magazin de l'homme d'action. September/October 1991
- Cook, Bernard: *The mobilisation of the internal cold war in Italy*. In: History of European Ideas. Vol. 19. 1994, pp. 115-120
- Ferraresi, Franco: *A secret structure codenamed Gladio*. In: Italian Politics. A Review. 1992, pp. 29-48
- Harbart, K.: *Gladio - ein 'Schwert in rechter Hand*. In: Der Rechte Rand. Nr. 10. January 1991, pp. 3-6
- Koedijk, Paul: *De geheimste dienst. Gladio in Nederland*. In: Vrij Nederland, January 25, 1992, pp. 8-13
- Koedijk, Paul: *Dossier Gladio. Nederland was voorbereid op een nieuwe oorlog*. In: Vrij Nederland, July 11, 1992, pp. 32-37
- Rowse, Arthur: *Gladio - The Secret US War to subvert Italian Democracy*. In: *Covert Action Quarterly*, Summer 1994
- Singer, Daniel: *The Gladiators*. In: *The Nation*, December 10, 1990, pp. 720-721
- Statewatch: *Background Document File No. 0391: GLADIO*. Statewatch London 1991
- Uesseler, Rolf: *Gladio - der Schattenkrieg. Italienische Ausgrabungsfunde im NATO Untergrund*. In: *Blätter für Deutsche und Internationale Politik*. Heft 9, 1991, pp. 1099 - 1109
- Zoom: *Es muss nicht immer Gladio sein. Attentate, Waffenlager, Erinnerungslücken*. Zoom 4+3, Wien 1996, pp. 1-79

### IV. Selected Newspapers

- *Secret Cold War group set up in France*. Reuters news service Western Europe, November 12, 1990
- *Dutch admit to having secret Cold-War group in 1950s*. Reuters news service Western Europe, November 13, 1990
- *West Germany belonged to secret NATO wide resistance network*. Reuters news service Western Europe, November 14, 1990
- Clare Pedrick: *CIA Organized Secret Army in Western Europe. Paramilitary Force Created to Resist Soviet Occupation*. In: The Washington Post, November 14, 1990
- Richard Norton-Taylor: *Secret British arms network revealed*. In: The Guardian, November 15, 1990
- Richard Norton-Taylor: *Secret Italian unit 'trained in Britain'*. In: British daily The Guardian, November 17, 1990
- *Dutch premier distances resistance group from NATO network*. Reuters news service Western Europe, November 21, 1990

- *European Parliament requests explanation on the Gladio affair.* Reuters news service Western Europe, November 23, 1990
- *Urs Frieden: Die England Connection. PUK EMD: P26 Geheimarmist Hürlimann im Manöver.* In: Swiss weekly Wochenzeitung, November 30, 1990
- *Neutral Sweden set up CIA backed resistance network.* Reuters news service Western Europe, December 18, 1990
- *Boris Johnson: Secret War on Identities of Gladio agents.* In: British daily The Daily Telegraph, March 29, 1991
- *Anton Ladner: Das größte politische Geheimnis der Nachkriegszeit. Die Widerstandsorganisation P26 war unter dem Schuttschirm der Briten Teil des Gladio Netzes und der NATO.* Swiss weekly Weltwoche, September 19, 1991
- *Hugh O'Shaughnessy: Gladio: Europe's best kept secret - They were the agents who were to 'stay behind' if the Red Army overran 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.* In: British daily The Observer, June 7, 1992
- *Hella Pick: Britain hid arms in Cold War Austria: Allies relied on former Waffen SS personnel to repel potential Soviet invasion - US weapons may now be in the hands of neo-Nazis.* In: British daily The Guardian, January 27, 1996

#### V. Documentary Film

- *Francovich, Alan: Gladio I: The Ringmasters.* Observer Film Company. 45 minutes. (shown on BBC2 on June 10, 1992)
- *Francovich, Alan: Gladio II: The Puppeteers.* Observer Film Company. 50 minutes. (shown on BBC2 June 17, 1992)
- *Francovich, Alan: Gladio III: The Foot Soldiers.* Observer Film Company. 50 minutes. (shown on BBC2 June 24, 1992)