

Index:

    Franco Freda Biography 4-6

    Disintegration of the System 7-25

Giorgio Freda: The Unclassifiable Revolutionary 26-30

    Freda, Heretical Interpreter of Evola 31-32

    Evola, Philosophy and Direct Action 33-34

        The Doctrine of the Warrior 35-37

        Franco Freda and Nazi-Maoism 38-48

        Communitarianism & Nazi-Maoism 49-68

    Preface to Disintegration of the System 69-72

Conclusions to Disintegration of the System 73-77

    Disintegration of the Disintegration?  
    78-82

Franco Freda Biography (caveat: wikipedia bias)

Born 11 February 1941 (age 83 ) Padua, Italy

Nationality Italian Organization Ordine Nuovo  
Known for Nazi–Maoism, Piazza Fontana bombing (disputed)

Franco "Giorgio" Freda (born 11 February 1941) is one of the leading neo-Fascist intellectuals of the post-war Italian far-right. He founded a publishing house for neo-Nazi thought, and described himself as an admirer of Hitler. He was convicted but later acquitted for lack of evidence for involvement in the Piazza Fontana bombing.[1][2][3] He founded the Fronte Nazionale, which was disbanded by the Italian government in 2000 when Freda and forty-eight other members were found guilty of attempting to re-establish the National Fascist Party.

Freda was born in Padua, Italy. He began his political career as the leader of the FUAN–Caravella of Padua (the undergraduates association of the Italian Social Movement) when he was a law student.

In 1963 he founded the Group of Ar, based on the philosophy of Julius Evola, and managed a far-right library. Later, when the Group of Ar was disbanded, he founded the Edizioni di Ar (Ar Publishing), a publishing house that brought out books by Traditionalist figures like Evola and René Guenon. Edizioni di Ar is still active today and continues to offer philosophical and political contemporary far-right essays, as well as reissuing books by nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers like Arthur de Gobineau, Oswald Spengler, Friederich Nietzsche, and Alfred Baeumler.[4]

In 1969 Freda published *The Disintegration of the System*, which became an important text for the Italian far right.[5] In this book Freda broke the classical anti communist stance of the far right and proposed a strategic alliance between the far left and the far right to subvert capitalist society. Freda's approach ideologically justified the merging of ultra-radicals from opposite flanks in a common struggle against the western liberal state and Soviet communism (which was also opposed by Mao's regime in China).[6]

He also began to criticise the MSI leadership, accusing it of compromising with the "agonizing democracy of the Republic". This position, along with the proposal of a hierarchical, collectivist State which found its roots explicitly in Plato, earned him the title of "Nazi–Maoist". Freda's ideology influenced many 1970s far right Italian groups, such as the Lotta di Popolo and Terza Posizione.[7][8]

Freda called himself a "scholar of ethnicity" and proposed the principles of a so-called "morphological racism". He also described himself as an admirer of Hitler. After contacts with Pino Rauti, he participated in the activities of Ordine Nuovo, even though he never formally joined the movement.

From 1971 onwards he was put on trial several times, notably for his alleged involvement in the Piazza Fontana bombing. Although eventually acquitted of involvement in the bombing he spent several years in jail for the crime of "subversive association".

In 1990 he founded the far right movement Fronte Nazionale and began publishing the journal *L'Antibancor*, about economical and financial studies.  
[9]

Fronte Nazionale, which opposed both globalization and multicultural society, was disbanded by the Italian government in 2000, on the grounds of the Mancino law. Freda and 48 other members were found guilty of "reconstruction of the Fascist party" (which is illegal in Italy).

Freda is still present in the far right scene as an ideologue and publisher, although public appearances and writings are rare.[citation needed]

#### Alleged involvement in the Piazza Fontana bombing

On 3 March 1972, Freda, his friend Giovanni Ventura, and Pino Rauti, an Italian Social Movement organiser and founder of the far right movement Ordine Nuovo, were arrested. They were accused of having planned the 25 April 1969 terrorist attacks at the Milan Fair and Railway Station, and of several other attacks on trains carried out on 8 and 9 August of the same year. Freda and Ventura were later accused of involvement in the Piazza Fontana bombing.

Investigators gave several reasons they believed the pair were involved:[10]

The composition of the bombs used in Piazza Fontana was identical to that of explosives that Ventura hid at the home of a friend several days after the attacks.

The Diehl Junghans timers used in the attack came from a stock of fifty bought by Freda on 22 September 1969 in a Bologna store. Freda later explained that he bought the timers for Mohamed Selin Hamid, an agent of Algeria secret services (whose existence has been denied by Algerian authorities) for the Palestinian resistance. Israel secret services sources have claimed that no timer of that kind had been used by Palestinians.

The bags where the bombs were hidden had been bought in a Padua, the city where Freda lived, a few days before the attacks.

In 1974 the trial was moved from Milan to Catanzaro. On 4 October 1978 the police discovered that Freda had disappeared from the Catanzaro apartment where he had been staying. On 23 February 1979 he was found guilty for the Piazza Fontana bombing and sentenced to life imprisonment.

On 23 August 1979, Freda was arrested in Costa Rica and extradited to Italy. Several more trials followed. On 20 March 1981 Freda was sentenced to 15 years of jail for "subversive association". However his life sentence for the Piazza Fontana bombing was overturned on 1 August 1985 for lack of evidence. Ventura's sentence was also overturned. In 1987 he was acquitted by the supreme Court of Cassation for lack of evidence.[11]

In 1990s new investigations into Piazza Fontana were made. Investigators have claimed that due to new witnesses they believe Freda and Ventura were involved in the terrorist attack. However the pair cannot be put on trial again as they were acquitted of the crime in 1987.[11][10]

#### Part 1 Analysis

“It is inevitable that in this world of exploiters and exploited, no greatness is possible that was not ultimately made with economics. We have two opposed species of man, of arts and morals, but it is not necessary to have very much finesse to perceive that the source that feeds it is unique. It is also of the same type of progress where the protagonists of economic struggle find their justification. They meet in the fundamental pretension of everyone being a true factor of social prosperity, by which everyone is convinced of being able to undermine the positions of the adversary when he succeeds in contesting every right that is presented as such.”

The fundamental reason that lead us to gather this Congress is determined by a profound conviction — mine and yours — that the present moment imposes on our organization the requirement of “closing ranks” around central motifs of our vision of life and the world. The requirement, in the first place, of recognizing what are really the points of reference and the canon from which we derive our political presence, to distinguish the ideal direction to assume. In second place, — or better, consequently and simultaneously — the requirement of articulating in a flexible group, agile, without complexes, without inhibitions — in one word: without prejudice — our vocation, our will of political struggle.

We find ourselves in the moment where the necessity of accounting for our past errors, of understanding the deep reasons that permitted them, cutting through with the need to dive into our roots — “our” roots, that is to say those men who avow a politics without mental reservations, without equivocal intentions, without petite bourgeois alibis, but with, to thus say, the impersonal soul of he who accomplishes his own duty because he must accomplish it — at the center of our political doctrine, and to remain attached to essential things, without hesitation. A lucid adherence to the essential must permit, or later, consolidate our capacity to remain agile and flexible with what is functional and instrumental. I believe in effect that there’s nothing new to say in support, that the more we are rooted at the center, the more we can easily move on the points of the far circumference, without moving away — from what is important, from the essential — of the center.

I said firstly: close ranks, to give life to a flexible political organization. I want to now add: close ranks to possess a political organization able to give a helping hand to the men destined for conquest and power.

We have thus walked along a path until now. We should not fear the consequences of self-criticism when it is free and dignified and that is why we will say: we declined! We rest passively united with “others,” with the political schemes of “others,” with the false problems of “others,” with the ideological claims of “others:” he have recolonized our final ends— that were, at least, equivocally — with “others.” The comportment of all — firstly the leaders, and, then, the partisans — were, in the best hypothesis, naive, in the worst, obtuse.

Our political discourse was focused, from the start, on Europe, and we would believe that Europe was truly a myth and represented an authentic idea-force: while much later we only convinced ourselves that this word reflected a simple geographic definition, with which it was not allowed to have an original propaganda value in an epoch where even the tobacco stores, laundries, snack bars, and the hotels of spa resorts all call themselves “Europe!”

We have spoken of the European political conception opposed to the different nationalist petty patriotic conceptions, but we have never took care (or we never wanted to realize?) that we cannot have value from the side of the petite bourgeois nationalist right— especially with us — and consequently, all exhausted terms of an “indifferentist” polemic (it has also been surpassed, henceforth, since the neo-fascist kids themselves shout: Europe—Fascism—Revolution!) We have spoken in terms of “European civilization,” without even scratching the surface of this expression and without verifying it, going to the depths of the problem, if there exists, in reality, a homogeneous European civilization and what are the authentic coefficients of its meaning in light of a global historical situation in which the Latin American guerrilla adheres much better to our vision of the world than the Spaniard vassal to priests and the USA (1); where the warrior people of North Vietnam, with a Spartan, sober, heroic style are far closer to our conception of existence than the Italian digestive tract, or the French or German of the West (2); where the Palestinian terrorist is far closer to our dreams of vengeance than the Jewish or Judaized Englishman (European? I doubt it). (3)

We have fought for European hegemony, by addressing ourselves to a Europe that was henceforth Americanized and Sovietized, without considering that this Europe had become the slave of the USA and the USSR, because the European nations and peoples were absorbed — following the military defeat, but not as a consequence of this defeat — into the ideological exports of the USA and the USSR. Without considering that the political, economic, cultural collapse had intervened exactly because having ended this tension, it had collapsed, this support that had aroused in some peoples, among some European men, in certain historical epochs (only among some men in some determined historical epochs!), this superior dimension of civilization that we pretended to attribute to Europe without qualification.

The moment has come to end with entertaining ourselves with the puppet “Europe” and chanting its name.

We have nothing to do with the Illuminist Europe. We have nothing to see with the mercantile Europe, with the Europe of plutocratic colonialism: nothing to share. We only have accounts to settle with the Jewish or Judaized Europe.

However, when we speak in terms of “European civilization,” we consider all that: do not tell me that we speak also of that: we speak, unfortunately, only of that! Or, maybe, we want to see something else?

However. If we do not want to see another thing, of this “other” until now, we have never really and completely spoken. And I am sure that if we had truly considered and possessed this “other,” we would not have provided this content a container or, better an etiquette, or still better, a “brand name” represented by the word “EUROPE.”

Having grown such and such impure compositions, to push back, to bury; have intervened such — I dare say: too many — factors that have altered and corrupted this European liquid to the point of making it manure, it can still positively undergo processes of separation. Europe is an old hussy who has whored in all the brothels and has contracted all the ideological infections — since those of revolts of medieval communes to those of anti-imperial national monarchies; from Illuminism to Jacobinism, to Masonry, to Judaism, to Zionism, to liberalism, to Marxism. A whore, whose womb has conceived and engendered the bourgeois revolution and the proletarian revolt: whose soul was possessed by the violence of merchants and the rebellion of slaves. And us, right now, we would like to redeem it, by whispering the magic words: by saying, for example, that we must give to the “Europeans” exclusively ... from Brest to Bucharest?! (4)

We have raised the flag of Europe without being able to stand for any viable and homogeneous meaning: without seeing the number of its sons and the knots that compose its torn tissue and how much excrement it hides!

We preferred, in summation, to hide our incapacity to choose what that was authentic and true to us and to know to reject what is impure and equivocal there within the European tradition (that is to say, in this case, historically), by having the illusion of filling in such a void by recourse to the formula, the word “Europe”; without considering, as I said at the start, that it is a democratic bourgeois or democratic socialist Europe; all as existed yesterday a Fascist or Nazi Europe; all as existed before yesterday a Jacobin and Counter-Revolutionary Europe. Without considering that many people, including the technocrats of the ECC, dream of a Europe in their manner: a Europe founded on a sinister hierarchy that imposed at the base of the pyramid the “rational” exploitation of Italian labor, and, at the summit, the investment of international capital.

In place of adopting this equivocal formula (which should only serve to distinguish us from those who support other formulas — the nationalist formulas — all as equivocal), it was necessary to say by name what principles, around what vision of the world, according to what direction of effectiveness, the best of the European men should engage in a “supernational organic political unity.” That is this other reality that we could still give the name “Europe.”, if the “old Europe,” the Europe of obscure centuries (to reverse the meaning of a phrase known by an old clown), the Europe of anti-imperial communes, the Europe of the Roman Church, the Protestant Europe, of mercantilism, of Illuminism, of proletarian and bourgeois democracy, the Judaic and Masonic Europe, if this monstrous specter was never presented before these men of a very different race.

I am stopping myself on this point, because it represents the most evident character of our errors and because the motif of Europe constituted, in the years of political activity of our organization, the focal point towards which our political perspectives flowed. I thus hold it useless to stop to specifically consider the other elements of our program, from the moment that they also have consequences, on the distinct plans, of these equivocations already mentioned.

Now, after having recognized our myopia and our errors, it is necessary to proceed, before verifying the direction to assume, to analyze the situation today and the operational criteria that follow the others. I continue to say “the others” — and not our adversaries or our enemies — exactly because they want to insist and clarify up to the most extreme representations that words can create or images evoke, how much between us and the others there is (and there should be) much more than simple difference of mentality, the fashion of acting, political ideology. It is a different soul, it is another race that gives our actions their typical meaning and gives them a proper physiognomy, irreducible to figures and the common terms of different political ideologies of our epoch.

The consideration that we leave is this: we live today in a world of others, surrounded by others, by these dignified representatives of the bourgeois epoch, under the domination of the most miserable and most demeaning of dictatorships: the bourgeois dictatorship, that of the merchants. All that surrounds us is bourgeois: political society, economics, culture, family, social mannerisms, religious manifestations.

In “Western” democracies, the spectacle presented to us is linked by a revolting coherence to the most orthodox canons of the bourgeois conception of life.

In these democracies, the state is used to maintain stability, by the intermediary of all its repressive and oppressive instruments, the hegemonic relation of a class

— the class of the bourgeoisie and, particularly, a part of that, the part that constitutes a plutocratic oligarchy — on the people. The exclusively classist support on which it is based does not admit realities and values other than economic realities and values: the bourgeois dictatorship victoriously emerging according to processes of reinforcement and hegemonic intensification since the French Revolution (\*), now unalterable for about one hundred years the only relation that links the bourgeoisie to man: the relation of master to slave, exploiter to exploited. Despite all the sweeteners of assistance, of foresight, in general paternalism, here is the reality of the bourgeois regime.

This is even the reality that Marx, in 1849 already, described magisterially in the Communist Manifesto: "The political power of today of the modern state is only an administrative junta of common businesses of the entire bourgeois class ... Everywhere where it has come to domination, it destroyed all those conditions of life, that were feudal, patriarchal, idyllic. It destroyed without pity all those multicolored links, which in the feudal regime brought men closer to their natural superiors, and only left between man and other men those links of immediate self interest and the merciless payment of accounts... It transformed personal dignity into a simple value of exchange; and to the numerous and different liberties well acquired and consecrated by documents, it substituted the sole and unique liberty of commerce, with a hard and pitiless conscience."

If bourgeois society (\*\*\*) concedes to the dominated (to the subjugated!) an amelioration of conditions of vegetative life (by including here even those of the mental domain!), that is not the exclusive selfish—economic premises on which it is founded that came to be missed. He usually say exactly that the "devil" is all the more dangerous when he becomes more respectable! And, in effect, the greatest well being should have consequently made in the historical development of bourgeois society, the tendencies of political hegemony of a part of the bourgeoisie, consolidated in a politically effective "abuse of power," simply assume different modes of force than the preceding ruling classes, and the expressions in its coherent manifestations are of the same identical reality: reality enclosed, exactly, in the schemes of production — consumption tension.

The capitalist, thus understands that by raising the salary of the worker, the latter will buy a fridge or an automobile produced by the capitalist; the boss realizes that by stunning those who work with the obsession of always needing new things— and for the same unreal, illusory, artificial — and constraining him by the preoccupation of acquiring them, he can completely intoxicate the worker with work. Thus the latter, gentle and happy, tranquil as a cow (a cow that, periodically, can roar for salary claims; which, sometimes, can even give the illusion of being a wild bull and can damage the stable!), undertakes no attempt to substitute its own hegemony for that of the bourgeoisie.

Consequently, the state of bourgeois "representative" democracies is only the political forum of the bourgeoisie; its unique function and real destination are determined by the bourgeois economy, in the sublimation of the bourgeois economy. Aided by the means of penetration that technical applications of bourgeois science offer, the bourgeoisie, after having reduced man to the level of the worker, succeeded in completing the process of cross—identification of the "individual" and the "social" and filling each domain with its presence. The merchant imposed on all his own inclinations, his own aspirations: different, foreign (we do not say superior, only different) vocations possessing no margin in the political space of the bourgeoisie, that belongs solely to he who is "bourgeois."

Art itself, despite the hypocritical justification (or dignification?) of the schemes of autonomy that the bourgeois care to attribute to it, is rigorously used for the pleasure (or better, for intellectual masturbation) of the bourgeois (5). "Free" science is only another thing that researches for the progress of the bourgeois civilization, that is to say the reinforcement of bourgeois society: it is only an effective technology serving the "conquests" of bourgeois civilization.

Justice itself is only another crystallization into the law codes of the ideas that dominate within bourgeois society, ideas of the "arrogant" class that is the bourgeois class. Any wrong note, any dysfunction of the system is attributed by it to sabotage committed by enemies of the system, by the rare men for whom the order simply is not an idol to adore, for whom the legalistic sublimation only represents profound and demeaning injustice.

When by chance, finally, all these coefficients of equilibrium do not suffice, bourgeois society puts in function its principal and decisive safety valve, sports, phenomena of mass transference, of deviance, exhausting the remaining energy towards a still exciting, near demonic objective (7).

Besides that, if the economy is the destiny of the bourgeoisie, it is, in the same fashion, the destiny of the poor, that is to say, the exploited, meaning, the proletariat.

It is not even from another reality, or a different fetish, that the proletarians begin the assault from the bourgeois refectory. It is the raging conscience of not wanting to serve the bourgeoisie any longer, not wanting to fatten their fortunes, that provokes the proletarian revolt (8).

If the bourgeoisie recite the "leitmotiv" of equality, as a juridical — cultural — sentimental concept, the proletarians do not content themselves with "good intentions," but require that the formula, by becoming a means of concrete action, eliminates the distinction between he who has and he who has not, or between those who possess more and those who possess less. However, the economic and quantitative premises remain! It is always in the name of economic reality, it is always under the effects of the mystic delirium of the economy that the proletariat tends to impose its articulation of economic relations, its organization of justice, its fashion of conceiving — by way of consequences — artistic production, relations between citizens, etc ...

The apparent antithesis between bourgeois democracies and socialist (\*) democracies dissolves — like a wall of ice — in the face of this characteristic dominance of production and consumption.

Priority which, in bourgeois democracies, is represented by he who has economic power and, consequently, political power (he who possess, commands), is constituted in socialist democracies by he who has political power and has, consequently, at his disposal — as a unique privilege of his politically commanding function — these same means of production that, in the so-called “opposing” camp, form the property of the bourgeoisie.

On one side, the holders of capital, who possess — in the name of liberty, justice, order — the political power and aim to keep it, that is to say to increase it to increase their capital; on the other, the sole holders of capital, who, by using different branding, advertise the same product. The economic structure of the abnormal processes of production—consumption are thus present in the two cases (\*).

It is not the moment to analyze — even briefly— the imperialist implications of these systems, whose logic necessarily poses, exactly, the solution of an imperialist assault as a means of protection, unique and fatal, of the capitalist system.

It is thus not astonishing if, like all in bourgeois society, in socialist society as well, the functions of power are qualified and expressed exclusively in terms of wealth; could it be anything else when we attribute to the state the sole function of counter of wealth (besides, what different state could the bourgeois and socialist themselves better establish?): when the function of the state is aroused by wealth, to seize wealth and to propose exclusively the satisfaction of the physical needs of vegetative existence (inevitably also, we will repeat, in the term “physical,” these disturbing complications that the bourgeoisie satisfy themselves to designate as “spiritual” needs).

In the two models, consequently, the identical phenomena only admit, by alternation, “blurred images.” Tension opposing the bourgeoisie and proletarians on one part, tension opposing the bureaucrats (technocrat functionaries) to the governed on the part.

On one side, private property is not included in the state (that is to say that it is not limited to represent one of the organizing coefficients of the state), but is the state itself, the state is the “property of the propertied”; on the other, the property of the state resolves itself in the property of those who administer the state, so well that the state and abstract equality resolve in a bureaucratic and technocratic prevarication.

At this point, it would be ridiculous to oppose to this analysis the subtle “distinction” according to which an identity regarding the form of results between the two forms of organization — the bourgeois and the socialist — would not correspond to a substantial identity in the form of “principles.” According to which, while the exploiter—exploited relation would be the typical and normal consequence, necessarily deriving from the premises of the bourgeois capitalist system, the exploitation of the governed by the government in the socialist capitalist system should be qualified by abnormal dysfunction and degeneration not imputable to the essence of the same system (9)! The truth, on the contrary, is that the essence of the two phenomena is the same, because the principles are the same: economy is the destiny of man, the unique elemental reality— the essential — of man, his sole existential dimension. And this “primordial reality,” having at its center the eternal image of the digestive tract (a tube with two openings: one to swallow and another to evacuate, other eventual openings only serve to embellish it or facilitate “good digestion” and the stimulate gastric secretions, when that is necessary) admits, however, two different interpretations of voracity: one, according to which all digestive tracts are equal (\*); the other, according to which all the guts are not equal, but some fat and others very narrow (and that is why it is necessary that justice, order, etc, etc ... ensure that a dangerous and subversive “expansion” does not happen). (\*\*)

## Part 2

### The Physiognomy of the Authentic State

“One day the workers will live like the bourgeoisie but below them, poorer and more simply, there will be a superior caste. That is who will possess power.”

There is still, however, those who do not allow themselves to be possessed by the seductions of the economy and remain firm in the conviction that the primordial task of the state is not to guarantee the acquisition or the maintenance of a fridge, of a washing machine, or greater weekly hobbies. There are those who are convinced, because he believes that the goal of man is not the maintain himself, vegetate, and satisfy himself, that it is another thing: that it is even exactly this other thing that gives meaning and style to existence, and that, precisely from this other thing, it's worth the effort of deproletarianizing himself and de—bourgeoisifying himself, by exhausting the framework of conditioning determined by the existence of physical needs in the parts and the least important regions of the human being.

It is to this truly free race of men — to the ascetics, in the classic sense of the term, of politics — that we propose a dialogue around the true state and the function of the free and just man in the state: with the intention not of presenting a vague and sentimental entity, but orienting towards the subtle intuition of the myth —and even the mystery — of the state.

We do not search for the state on the basis of empirical inquiry leading to the phenomena of the state existing today; we will attempt to seize the state not as a historical phenomenon — the State hic et nunc — from a “phenomenological” point of view, but we want to understand it in the absolute: as a value, that is to say, as reality that holds true pro aeternitate. A reality that, considering in itself, has no need of manifestation, historical support (the existing state), to be valuable. In other terms, we want to seize the essence of the idea of the state that illuminates, judging if these phenomena (the historical states) are better or worse applications in relation to this canon.

The indications that follow do not derive from our personal ideology (by admitting that we have one), they convince us that we have the rigorous truth according to which “an idea cannot be new, because the truth is not a product of the human spirit, but it exists independently of us and all that we have ever known.”

Taking what we have said higher, our myth of the state is not held to be a utopia, if by utopia we mean, in effect, that which cannot be realized or exist, the fruit of overly cerebral and intellectual conception.

The myth of the state is the myth of a political order that, without lower itself to any particular time and space, “is” eternal, and eternally proposed as true.\*

The principles of the true state, by recovering the domain of “should be”, assume an eminently normative character and, as such, are not verified by recognition or agreement, by the decided refusal of those who live in the historical world. They issue from a metapolitical and metahistorical level consequently autonomous in relation to the forms of empirical political existence: it is on the contrary these forms which, in order not become abstractions, are “forms of something “real,” and should exist by function of these principles.

The meaning of the true state depends on the animating tension that it inspires in the individual microcosm, such that he represents a real center of power and not an inert superstructure. The true state does not propose as its authentic goal economic wealth and well being for all its citizens or a lone social group, but what the ancient Greeks lucidly defined in terms of “felicity” — eudaimonia — of harmony of the different components of the body of the state. “Felicity” in the sense of accomplishment, integration, and participation with the superhuman and divine elements of reality.

In the true state there must be the guarantee of organic unity of the social body, unity that must not be understood as intrusion of the state into the pretend domain of the private interests of the citizen, but as the constitution of a climate of ideal social tension, where each is abiding at his post, following his own inclinations with coherence, fidelity, and liberty. Thus it is not admissible, in this state, that someone commits prevarications and abuses, which amounts to injuring others: on the contrary, it must maintain a will lucid and conscious of following an existence conforming to its proper nature.

Evidently, when we attribute to the state (or better, when we recognize in the state) the function of fostering this climate that, alone, makes possible a regime of ordered life, we do not want to consider the state as a means of activity generating “virtue” — in the modern and moralistic meaning of the term—as a pure element “functioning” in the soul of man. The true state, on the contrary, must be understood as a reality in contact with all that we propose, in a conditioned fashion, as individual morality, objective, settling into these terms a free ethic of these characters of “virtue” that we attribute today to morality.

The true state is not the fruit of an ideology or an individual political conception, but the responsible realization in terms of the political regime of an impersonal principle, of a norm that we could define “a priori,” leading — as we exactly had said — to this “natural right of heroic races,” where the signification of nature does not end with the functional, physical element, but acquires value by the “normative” word, symbol of all “normal” and integrated conditions of existence. A canon that represents the “internal dressing”, the absolute formula of a lifestyle accomplished with fidelity to that what it really is.

The true state do not constitute a simple structure of positive rights, but is in essence and in function superior: the spirit of the state, the center of the state is represented by a power that transcends the plan that is immediately earthly and simply human.

The true state holds as an organizing principle of a reconquest that man must do: the reconquest of the higher— world, the reestablishment of his heroic dimension. Consequently, the true state represents the necessary element of mediation that provokes the reintegration of the citizen into divine reality: it is only through its intermediary that the citizen realizes exceeding his own individual existence, by opening a reality that, such as it is autonomous, transcends it.

We do not say that this image of the political regime, developed in a final and coherent fashion, can receive the accusation of usurping "religious" qualities and dimensions, by obligating man — who feels this tension towards the divine — to deviate from his own direction — that would be, according to the accusation, the religious direction — to orient him towards the secular direction, indicated by the state (that state, consequently, would constitute the substitute of functions, that legitimately, would not devolve to it.)

The response to the accusation emerges in the clear fashion of the same terms in which it is formulated, deformed: it comes from making a quasi—ontological rupture — the we should refuse in a decided way — between the said secular domain of the state and the abstract "spiritual" plan, made autonomous in relation to the first. A rupture by which the intrinsic divine values of the human condition, would become simple moral elements, shadowed in the equivocation of the "world of conscience," while the human elements, unbound from these divine potentialities, would only become profane and secular.

No gap, on the contrary, should exist between the order of values and the plan of the true state (\*), because if we make one a stranger to the other, we break an organically unitary reality: we arrive only at the decomposed results of internalizing, in the emotive and moralist style, in a pretend "human conscience," in values, and we subtract from the public order these characteristics that can only qualify it and legitimize it.

In the true state we cannot objectively pose terms of the priority of the individual in relation to the state or consider, on the other hand, it on him, because the reality of the true state is not separated from the reality of the individual by no difference of structure (more than two realities, we should speak of two coefficients of a unique reality, the two aspects of the same phenomenon, unresolved in substantial continuity). Subsisting solely between them a functional difference of possibility, intensity, given that the state represents the center of "necessary" tension for the citizen to become "happy."

On the other hand, in the true state there are no longer "individuals", but men—members of the state; men animated by an ethic of super—personal life, each differentiated by the responsibility of various ranks, a distinct responsibility, a different duty, a degree of various liberty according to organic articulations. These men are engaged as the object of the work of the state and their perfection is the ends to which the order of the state is destined. Only that qualifies the existence of man in the state; only that, in an analogous fashion, constitutes the legitimization of the state that must cultivate, sustain, and support the dispositions of those who are bound to it.

Thus, only in the true state, men participate in the destiny of the state and acquire its power, that is a non human force. They feel its signification, that is supernatural; they nourish themselves in its reality, that is a superior reality. We repeat: it is the true state that determines the direction to follow and "ordains" the moments across which man attains his "authentic" goal, that consists of participation in the divine.

In addition, it is the true state that proposes to each man the recognition of his own irreducible function, of his proper place, of his proper nature, the insertion into the just relations of superiority and inferiority: in a word, the recognition of its proper freedom. And that is not negative liberty that manifests itself externally, liberty turned towards utility and "particularity," that is to say the only liberty that we can conceive today and that, resolving in undifferentiated and egalitarian terms, develops according to the directions of rebellion. But it is a qualitative and differentiated freedom, typical of the person whose value is inherent. Freedom that does not derive, as we said, from abstract facts and simply being elementary man, but that is measured by the stature, by the dignity of each. That is capable of realizing its own possibilities and adhering to its own particular perfection on the interior of the political framework of the state. Ultimately, freedom that means internal discipline and respect of its own qualitatively hierarchical plan.

After these indications we would like to conclude, and in concluding, reaffirm the idea of the state, these processes that tend to penetrate the mystery of the state, cannot unfold according to simply logical values, but by the intermediary of lucid reference to metaphysical values, inherent in the essence of the idea of the state, to its core not belonging to the domain of things subjected to the bonds of becoming.

To reaffirm the reality of that which is sacred and divine and the sacrality of that which is the real political structure should constitute the support of the true state: because if a state, if a political regime is not legitimized by the fact of possessing a spiritual force, by proposing spiritual ends, it represents nothing organic and central: but will only be an inert, materialist, and social structure, resulting from its own rigidity to all organisms without vital forces.

### Part 3

#### The Necessity of an Operative Method

“Class is only a bourgeois category: in the attempt to conceive by classist means working revolutionary requirements, we indicate an expediency that the bourgeoisie have used in seeking to postpone, in the world and in the social framework of society, the representations of a new humanity, by a regime of transactions, compromises, and negotiations.”

Now, after having traced — by taking its elementary lines— the physiognomy of the true state, we should consider what political work is imposed on us in order to actively testify to our adherence to the image of the true state.

It is not acceptable, even partially, to hold the hypothesis of those who, by cultivating this image (“the model fixed in the heavens” said Plato) in a solely rational fashion, support the necessity of remaining attached to looking at the collapse of the associative forms (that, more effectively, we could call them formula) that are expressed in today’s political reality. For them, effectively, the myth of the state becomes a utopia — contemplated in an overly intellectual fashion — : for them, detachment truly represents the alibi destined to mask uncertainty, incapacity, and fear.

For the sterile apologists of “discourse” on the state, in fact, all action in political terms would be nearly a fall in rank, a descent towards compromise...: they have no idea of the state, but at most, a concept of the state, well hidden in their mental folds. Consequently, we do not take into consideration these adorers of abstractions and the logic of the inevitable, these champions of intellectual testimonials! For us, to be faithful to our vision of the world — and thus the state — means to conform to it, leaving nothing untouched to realize it historically: and certainly not to manifest ideological devotion and contentment with this cerebral coherence.

And then, by developing this premise, we should affirm the condition — not sufficient, however, necessary — in order to pose the elements of the foundation of the true state, the SUBVERSION of all that exists today as a political system.

It is necessary by promoting, goading, accelerating the time of this destruction, intensifying the action of rupture from the present equilibrium and today’s phase of political arrangement. It is necessary to watch for those eventual means, the potential forces that should determine the short circuiting of the nervous centers of this bourgeois civilization not absorbed or integrated by one of the so numerous possibilities of ossification offered by the bourgeois system.

Consequently, we should inevitably transfer our considerations from the plan of recognizing principles to the operative plan: from the plan of what is valuable to the plan of what is effective, to adjust the miserable “reality” (that we should more exactly qualify as “unreality”) of the historical period where we live to the authentic “reality.”

The march to follow (we repeat it here) must be this: rigid firmness in the essential and maximum flexibility in the functional plan.

We have indicated above what we should, according to us, hold as essential. We have already considered the necessity of discovering a plan to hold solidly and a style that we must cultivate. We have already supported the principle by which our political action must essentially develop from and articulate to the men of tendencies, vocations, and characters close to ours: people who have the same ideas of the state as us. At present, in the coalition of men — that we cannot create, but that we can only recognize and strengthen — we have chosen to struggle in the world of bourgeois democracies, to these men that refuse as foreign to their style an equivocal function of intellectual “devotion”, for us, we must propose to these men a definitive objective of struggle: the destruction of the bourgeois world. That is to say we must convince them that they are poorly represented by incurably bourgeois society: that no therapy is possible, that henceforth a surgical operation would not even be effective, that it is necessary to accelerate the hemorrhaging and bury the corpse. We must persuade them that nothing we can construct wouldn’t go to ruins; that the fundamental premise to construct the true state is the demolition of the residual forms and surviving structures of the bourgeois regimes.

There will be, certainly, the fearful, the artless, and the incapable, those who demand guarantees “after the fact”, to the control of successive reactions to the disappearance of bourgeois regimes. Those who, fearing the leap into the fog (and by holding, evidently, the possession of true light) believe it possible to use the glue to reattach and prolong it, in one manner or another, with the aid of vague correctives.

To those we must respond that it is not the moment to ask how to maintain the discourse “of afterwards” The discourse of “afterwards” is presented as real in the measure where we can predict a rigorous method for afterwards, without allowing seduction by messianic solutions. And the discourse on the method afterwards must be traced solely in reference to concrete situations that will appear, that is to say on historical hypotheses. He who is persuaded — and it is a visceral conviction! — that the destruction of bourgeois society forcibly implies the foundation of the proletarian state (or better associative forms different than it), can only earn the recognition suitable for idiots and the superficial. He who realizes, without being conscious of being it, is complicit with the forces that pretend today to perpetuate the bourgeois equilibrium; without wanting to understand, exactly, how the hegemonic bourgeois equilibrium had only two centuries of life and how clear the symptoms are that demonstrate it has entered into a twilight phase and that it is in the process of exhausting its own ability to endure.

However, it is not towards them, but towards the other companions on the route that we turn our attention: towards those who have perfectly grasped that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are both results — or better, dross — of a unique process begun with the decomposition of the organic state; that both represent the faces of the same coin; that both constitute interdependent realities. Thus they have drawn the conclusion that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are necessary terms, one facing the other, of the internal relation which is assured by the equilibrium of this society. That neither of the two terms can survive disassociated from the other. That the “social question” appeared then as the bourgeoisie — becoming a class in the proper sense of the term — constituted its own dictatorship. The ancient world and the forms of organization of the state that were born in that epoch were experienced by the rich and the poor: but both recognized the dignity of men; while modern societies and times only know exploiters and exploited: and have imposed the slavery of money on both.

It is tiring to repeat, but if this repetition can suit the ends of explanation, we repeat: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are elements integrated into one another; that one appeals to the other; only the difference of qualitative order separates one from the other. And us, if from one side we refuse to distill the sweat of those who work to sublimate them and produce the smoke of incense, we do not want to support and exalt the glands that secrete this sweat any longer.

The solutions that we intend to propose concern the method to adopt will be outlined in the following part. They are limited, voluntarily, to determining the elements of organization of the state, that is to say to consider the reality of the state in one of its moments: that of the regimentation of the elementary relations of life between the citizens.

Between the orientations that follow and the preceding indications, representatives of what we have defined as the reality of the true state, maintain an organic coherence, even if it seems paradoxical the fact that we want to adopt an order that is thus called communist and simultaneously, supporting the value of the organic state and hierarchical order. It is profoundly true, on the contrary, the hierarchy does not mean oligarchy at all; that the organic state does not mean liberty for the bourgeoisie and exploitation for the proletariat; for those who understood well, order is not determined by the equilibrium of consumption offered by the bourgeois system. It is above all true that the two last centuries of bourgeois dictatorship have made us understand how much the desire for material wealth, the impulsion to hegemony based on the wealth of goods, have been factors of unsupportable aberrations, alienating situations, demeaning suffering by the men of the latter centuries.

Previously, we declared that we intend to propose orientations that serve to define the structures of the state in its moments or goals: those that aim to harmonize the economic relations between the citizens and order the sphere of their “socialization” (judicial, educational relations etc...). Besides that, the fact is that we want to consider an objective that is not certainly the first among those proper to the state but that only justifies itself in instrumental terms in relation to dominant ends (\*): this fact, exactly, demonstrates insupportable character of the accusation of ideological syncretism, that reproaches the acceptance of the egalitarian premises and the typical collectivism of socialist democracies. Or better, it is truly necessary to explain that the fact to assume communist criteria in the domain of material goods does not mean at all adherence to the conditions of Marxist socialism?

Material wealth— all material wealth — must be property of the state because it serves the state in its moment of organization; because the state must be unbound from these preoccupations, it is necessary to guarantee it space free from these prevarications that the retention of wealth in the hands of an oligarchical group with economic power inevitably causes.

## Part 4

### The Organization of the Popular State

“The important thing is not that a new class comes to power, but a new humanity, at the same level of all the other figures of history, fulfilled according to the typical meaning of the space of power. For that, we have refused to see the worker as the representative of a new class, of a new “society”, or a new economy. Or the worker is nothing, or something more than all that: the representative of a determinant figure, which acts according to its own laws, follows its own vocation, participates in a particular freedom...

The life of the worker will be autonomous, the direct expression of its being, and consequently, sovereignty, or better it will have nothing other than the effort of ensuring the departure of the camp of old rights and insipid pleasures of an extinguished era.”

For the organization of the popular state, the elimination of private property under all its forms will be necessary, the sole exceptions being represented by individual consumable goods.

Property should only be public and particular goods will become part of the patrimony of the state.

In the domain of industrial production, the extinction of particular private enterprises will be followed by the appearance of concentrations of enterprises, differentiated on the territorial level, according to the objectives of production.

In each enterprise the COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT will function, formed by all the workers of the enterprise. The committee of management will periodically name the COMMISSAR OF THE ENTERPRISE, with the function (duties and powers) of coordinating all activity of the enterprise.

The Commissar of the Enterprise will be responsible for his acts before the Regional Committee of Management and Organization (the regional presidium).

In the domain of agricultural production, the dissolution of small and large landowners existing today, will be succeeded by the organic constitution of AGRICULTURAL COMBINES, territoriality differentiated according to the requirements of production.

The workers of the soil will constitute THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT OF THE COMBINE. This enterprise will name the COMMISSAR OF THE COMBINE, with analogous functions to those of the commissar of the enterprise.

In the field left free by that which is today is defined as the “activity of commerce,” CENTERS OF CONSUMPTION will be formed, territoriality articulated in the fashion of representing a link between each industrial and agricultural unit and the beneficiaries of these consumer products.

The functioning of this organ will be made possible by the application of criteria analogous to those indicated for the structure of the industrial enterprise and the agricultural combine.

The operative units represented by Industrial Enterprises, Agricultural Combines, and Centers of Consumption, articulated in organic territorial units, will converge — on the level of each region — in the REGIONAL PRESIDUM, the organ that should coordinate the different activities and guarantee the functional equilibrium of the regional unit.

At the national level the POLITICAL PRESIDUM OF THE STATE will function, whose members will be chosen by the different regional presidia.

Periodically the Political Presidium of the State will choose the REGENT OF THE STATE. He will exercise his own functions by coordinating the activities of STATE COMMISSARS (officials of industry, agriculture, consumption, financial affairs, popular education, foreign affairs, popular justice, the popular militia).

The Commissars of the State, chosen by the Regent of the State from those who will be proposed by the Presidium of the State, will have the tasks of surveillance and collaboration with the Commissars of Enterprise, Combines, and Consumption in each minor territorial unit and with the members of each Regional Presidium.

The political economy of the popular state will be guided by criteria essentially opposed to those in force in the present economies of the capitalist type (market economies). Today’s relation of production—consumption (whose expansionist and pathological character of production arouses and exasperates consumption) will be completely overturned, with the attribution of the preeminent function to the PROGRAM OF THE GOODS OF CONSUMPTION in relation to production.

The same relation — made objectively more flexible and functional by consideration of the objective to attain — is valued as a reference for the use of exchanges with foreigners.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS. The total of banking institutions — today in force in the economies of the capitalist type — will be eliminated.

A STATE BANK will be constituted — under the direction of the State Commissar for financial affairs — with the task of guaranteeing the functional equilibrium of the Popular State's economy in each sector of production, consumption, and foreign exchange (it is evident that the function assumed by the State Bank takes no character of credit lending).

The State Bank will coin the money of the state, whose power to purchase will be exclusively guaranteed by the economic wealth of the Popular State.

POPULAR EDUCATION. It is necessary to say first that this expression does not represent — in the most absolute fashion — the humanist — classist — scientific character that has infected the education in force in the countries where the bourgeoisie class dominates.

Today's Italian scholarly structure will be destroyed without reserve nor exception. Academic titles will be abolished.

The constant and rigid criteria of the direction which the Popular State should adhere to in this domain of activity can be summarized by the following formula: "SCHOOL as PREPARATION for WORK." Once the humanist and scientific superstructures are eliminated, school will be rigorously functional, so that scholarly formation will be subordinated to the productive requirements of the Popular State.

In the popular state there will be no place for the abstract and intellectualist culture of the bourgeoisie type. The school, consequently, should take a differentiated and flexible structure, in the fashion of immediately and adequately reacting to the impulses that the Popular State excites in it.

Once the unitary and common to all courses of study are ended, there will be no permission of a particular student to "choose" — arbitrarily and selfishly — the types of study that please him. It will be, on the contrary, the Popular State that determines, in relation to the economic equilibrium of the state, what "operative notions" should be known by the student—member of the Popular State.

In a reduced measure, the family will be charged by the Popular State to accomplish the tasks of education towards the young members of the Popular State.

The constitution of "Houses of the Youth" for the youth of 8 to 20 years, complementary to operative territorial economic units (industrial enterprises, combines, centers) and the functioning of similar institutes for the members of the Popular State less than 8 will be determinant to organically obtain this objective.

The births of the young members of the Popular State will be rigorously planned in relation to the functional equilibrium of the Popular State.

POPULAR JUSTICE: The abolition of private property will provoke the disappearance of those forms of regimentation of individual relations summarized in what the bourgeoisie call "private law."

The administration of justice — concretely deferred to its function of making administrative order — will be exclusively directed towards the punishment of crimes committed against the Popular Order of the State, under all their manifestations (crimes committed against public property; against the popular constitution of the state; against the equilibrium of individual relations).

Today's structure and composition of the Magistracy will be abolished. Popular justice will be exercised — on the sole level of jurisdiction — by a POPULAR JUDGE designated, for each minor territorial unit, — by the Regional Presidium among those chosen by the Commissars of Enterprises, Combines, and Centers of Consumption, following their proposition by the Committees of Management concerned.

The Popular Judge will be aided by a lawyer, named by the State Commissar for Popular Justice, expert in matters of criminal law, and he will be responsible of his function before the Committees of Management and the Regional Presidium. He will obligate each member of the Popular State to report the cases and circumstances in which a Popular Judge has committed crimes in the administration of Popular Justice.

In exceptional circumstances, recourse to the Regent of the State will be permitted. No act— even one not expressly stated — of an injurious, and thus, criminal, nature to the popular order of the state will escape punishment.

Penalties will consist of forced labor; for the most grave crimes against the popular order of the state and public property, the death penalty will be expected.

The responsibility of different Committees of Management and various Commissars of Enterprise is strictly inherent in the duty of surveillance and prevention, so that those who share in their productive unit do not commit crimes. Consequently, we inflict proportional penalties on all the members of a group where a member commits crimes against the Popular State.

This principle of action provides, in a coherent fashion, structure to the Popular State, which doesn't recognize any individually autonomous reality, but only bodies or productive units within which the individual is constitutionally placed.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: The denunciation of the Atlantic Pact and its military organization, as the rupture of relations that link Italy today the neocapitalist structures (European Economic Community, etc...) must provoke the active insertion of the Popular State into the sphere of states that refuse to be snagged by the politics of imperialist blocs of power.

The Popular State will establish alliances with all the authentically anti-capitalist states and favor on the international level, movements of struggle against capitalism and the revisionist accomplices.

POPULAR MILITIA: In the place of the different organs in the service of the bourgeois state (police, gendarmes, army, etc...) the POPULAR MILITIA will be constituted, organically and exclusively composed of volunteers, rigorously selected for various functions.

The Popular Militia are given the tasks of surveillance and prevention – internally – against the rebirth of bourgeois tendencies, having, externally, the functions of defense for the Popular State and collaboration with movements of anti-capitalist struggle.

Each territorial unit of the Popular Militia will be coordinated by a Commissar of the Militia, named by the Regional Presidium and responsible to the COMMITTEE OF THE MILITIA (composed by all the militia members of the territorial unit) and the Regional Presidium, for the accomplishment of its functions.

#### Part 5 Conclusions

“The worst evil in Italy, it's still the bourgeois: the bourgeois–priest, the bourgeois–peasant, the bourgeois– worker, the bourgeois– “mister”, the bourgeois–intellectual: almost sawdust, the substance without form, in which we can distinguish neither high nor low.”

Now that our discourse has touched its end, it is opportune to add what is not only destined to the men following us, our organization, but to also address the others: being those opposed to the system today after having been militant in bourgeois organizations of the neo-Fascist right, being those who push back against the present regime after having been militant in the formations (we should also qualify them in this case: bourgeois) of the revisionist left.

It addresses, among the first, above all to these friends who, although having made the same doctrinal choices as us – according to the principles of the true state – and although being close to us by their attachment to a differentiated vision of man, remain inert and disappointed following their past political activity and disconcerted by our objective choices.

To those we must also repeat that no opposition separates our doctrinal premises from our practical orientations: because they are not such different solutions that we expose in a final fashion, distinct to the plan and we utilize it and the angles of view where we place it.

To those we equally affirm that principles are not overly intellectual abstractions that report the true nature of alibis destined to hide powerlessness: but they should be valued, on the contrary, as paradigms for an action that finds a concrete realization in the order of a historically determined situation. The adherence to the principle – we repeat it – is not accomplished by conceptual formation, by rational clarification, or, in general, by mental elaborations! To adhere to the principle means to exercise an impulse towards the realization of the principle: firstly in the existential domain of each – that its to say in the sphere of character – then, (we should say: simultaneously) as attempting to accomplish the realization in the domain of the state. And that transforms any social organizations (a simply natural phenomenon, because the existence of many individuals intrinsically implies an organization, so elementary in itself) into a state – disregarding “juridical” meaning of the term – it's exactly the adherence of a community, groups of men, to an idea, to a principle, to an organic vision of life animated by this principle.

Arriving at this point, an element always acquires for us a most grand certitude: to think that no true tension that can transcribe in reality the principles of the true state will arise — and even when it arises it is aborted — is thus to remain alive in the “bearing structures” of bourgeois regimes, thus the residual components remain strong and the sources of derivation of bourgeois society (that is to say the economic substrate) remain intact. The “milieu” that draws life from must be sterilized: such is the reason for a communist economic regimentation.

What we do not oppose to this problem, the problem of the modes of destruction of the bourgeois regime, is only a contingent question and can thus be resolved in a more or less long space of time. We are also convinced that bourgeois society is neither eternal nor immortal: but it is exactly this certainty that incites us to accelerate the time of its fall and not to remain immobile and foreign to the unfolding of this phenomenon.

Regarding the pretend necessity of detachment and apolitea, some of our experiences oblige us to reveal two existing fashions or interpretations of being detached in the face of events: there is a fashion of being, the superior detachment of those who have truly attained some mountaintop (who has in effect discovered the unknown and resolved it into his own existential equation), and there is an attitude of those who only want to appear as such and manifest the detachment proper to the senseless and obtuse.

Consequently, to renounce the struggle by supporting that whose effect is intended but however does not touch the essential, when we choose the proving grounds, means to only express a sophism, the alibi of those who, constitutionally, are inclined to renunciation or who allowed themselves to be possessed by deceptions.

Moreover, who can consider as a trifling thing the struggle against the bourgeois regime? It is today a system that, as such, offers space and “freedom” to all: also, and above all, to those who are “its” dialectical opponents! Paradoxically, as long as the “opponents” or “contestants” of the bourgeois regime exist, it will burn them and digest all.

Our task, in fact, is not to limit ourselves to provoking damages or simple destruction of the regime, but to provoke the disintegration. The regime, we can compare it to one of these unicellular organisms with an elementary structure, that when cut, regrows, that mutilated, reforms: we must aim for the unique sensible and subtle organ, on which the whole gelatinous mass depends, the core, to act in this regard as antibiotics can act.

It is exactly that — the destruction of the system — our immediate historical task: it means to testify actively to the principles of the true state in our typical historical situation. It has for us the value of tension and the adherence to the elements at the base of our vision of the world: and I am sure that if we unite to accomplish this task — the disintegration of the bourgeois system — we will have done much, we will have contributed to the development of these objective processes of historical extraction that are imposed on us.

We are fanatics, and fanatics that aim to be always more lucid (\*). And that it is exactly proper for the fanatic, to assume a vision of the world and, that being recognized, of life that is directed towards it, detached from all the effective means to attain it (and therefore ready to utilize them).

Outside of that, there is no other, different perspective. It could only appear under ambiguous and equivocal traits, to those who like to amuse themselves with messianic hopes, to those who are effected by Don Quixotesque sentiments. And, certainly, that is not who we will “convince”, these blind of sight or deaf of hearing, because they are exactly blind and deaf, they are deprived of these natural capabilities and we, on our side, if we have the dispositions of wonder workers, we will even have the possibility — more decisive, and maybe more edifying as well — of constructing robots and leaving to them the conquest of power.

In reality the fact of hearing determined orientations, homogeneous, and clear, the fact of assuming similar points of reference, does not depend — we repeat it — on dialectical hypotheses, but is derived from a priori affinities, of dispositions that we dare to say are transcendental, of vocations that are superior to the simply mental and rational domain — in which at most, if it is “in order”, can (in a solely opaque fashion) reflect them. It is to discover these choices of destiny, to manifest them, to unleash them when they exist, not to create them or fabricate them when they do not.

The appeal addressed to these men who, according to the parliamentary schemes, compose the fringes of the extreme—right of the system, is finished. We, however, we would like to address those who radically refuse the system, all who lie beyond the left of the regime, certain ones with which we could realize a loyal unity of action in the struggle against bourgeois society (11).

It is true that for them, who do not adhere at all (or support) metaphysical principles, who do not pursue the myth of the true state all, the fact of indicating a superhuman direction, meta—politically and meta—historically and the fact of evoking a superior “reality” by attributing it all the characteristics of truth, will be interpreted as a sublimation, not to say, downright, as a schizophrenic affliction.

But it is true — and above all — that abstraction makes sources of doctrinal derivation — superhuman, meta— politically, meta—historically for us; exclusively human, historical, social for them — the objective that constitutes the political task and animates action in the historical temporal order is the same for both: to destroy the bourgeois system. The identical requirement of organizing life in the state is outside the bourgeois economic dialectic; that poses in the same terms of necessity the aspiration to break the classist structures on which the bourgeoisie bases its domination; that even the same tension of struggle presses and mobilizes the same camps to reintegrate the man — made free by alienating bonds that bourgeois dictatorship imposes on him — into the liberty and dignity that will return to him.

The two camps want to do what must be done: arrive at the outlet. If, for us, the outlet only means having accomplished a part of the voyage, such that for those the voyage is finished (or following other directions), that does not prevent the voyage along the river that must be accomplished by both and the currents that must be surmounted by both.

It takes for one or the other that character of an identical certainty that poses to them the requirement of a loyal strategy of common struggle: without confusion of ranks and roles, but by considering the identity of each. (\*)

And for that, to cut through the bourgeois infection, that one or the other must unite around a common objective of struggle, that they must form a single front of action, by surpassing in a decided fashion all the forms of intellectual dogmatism and by breaking sharply with all manifestations of pseudo—revolutionary complacency. Those are, in effect, what permits the virus of bourgeois society to sterilize in a definitive manner the will to struggle of the revolutionary anti—capitalist forces, and exhausts its energy in abstract and dialectical disputes.

It is necessary, ultimately, that the forces engaged in the unitary struggle against the system for the subversion of the system to summarize their true objectives in a radical fashion. By abandoning the tactics smothered by legalistic bonds or by reformist illusions: without any hesitation — or guilt — before the use of all those drastic and definitive means that conform to battering the obstacles and reclaiming the grandeur of the goal.

It is necessary, in effect, to be persuaded of that: for a political soldier, purity justifies all hardship, disinterest all ruses, such that the impersonal character imprints on the struggle the dissolution of all moralistic preoccupations.

Giorgio Freda\_The Unclassifiable Revolutionary Edouard Rix

“I hate this book. I hate it with all my heart. It gave me glory, that paltry thing called fame, but it is also the source of all my miseries. For this book, I have known many months in prison, . . . police persecution as petty as cruel. For this book, I experienced the betrayal of friends, enemies, bad faith, selfishness and the wickedness of men. From this book has originated the stupid legend that made me out to be cynical and cruel, a sort of Machiavelli disguised as Cardinal de Retz that they like to see in me.” Though written by Curzio Malaparte in the introduction to his famous essay The Technique of the Coup, Giorgio Freda, the author of The Disintegration of the System, could have made these lines his own. Because, in writing this small booklet of about sixty very dense pages that undermined the basis of the bourgeois system, the young publisher has suffered years of judicial and media persecution.

Edizioni di Ar

On October 26, 1963, Senator Umberto Terracini, an influential member of the Jewish community and the Italian Communist Party, reported publicly to the Ministers of Interior and Justice the dissemination in Padua of “a vile pamphlet bearing the title Gruppo di Ar (Ar Group), which, taking up the most vile racist theories of Italian Nazism, openly portrays the authors as publishers advocating anti–democratic ideology,” and asks “whether and which measures have been proposed and taken to cauterize the wound and stop the infection before it gets wider dissemination and enters the sphere of action.”

Originally publicly stigmatized, the group was founded by a young Platonist and Evolian lawyer named Giorgio Freda. The name chosen by the group, Ar, was highly symbolic, as it is in many Indo–European languages, being the semantic root connoting the idea of nobility and aristocracy.

In 1964, Freda had to face trial for a pamphlet denouncing Zionist policy in Palestine. This was just the first of many. The same year, Edizioni di Ar, which he had just founded, published their first book, *An Essay on the Inequality of the Races* by Arthur de Gobineau. Next were the minor writings of Julius Evola and the works of Corneliu Codreanu. Each title had a circulation of 2,000 copies.

There were two constants in Freda’s militant commitment: the fight against international Zionism, including Israel, which he believed was only the tip of the struggle and against the bourgeois liberal system, expressed by American imperialism in Europe since 1945. About anti–Zionism, Freda was the first editor in Italy who supported Palestinian fighters, even as the Right, embodied by the MSI (Movimento Sociale Italiano), extolled Israel as a “bulwark of the West against the Arabs enslaved by Moscow.” It was he who organized in Padua in March 1969 — in conjunction with the Maoist group, *Potere Operaio* (Workers’ Power) — the first major meeting in Italy to support the Palestinian resistance in the presence of representatives of Yasser Arafat’s Fatah. The Zionist lobby never forgave him. Moreover, not content with simple verbal support, like so many distinguished intellectuals, he would secretly provide bomb timers to a supposed representative of Fatah.

### The Disintegration of the System

But Giorgio Freda is above all a man of the text. And what a text! *The Disintegration of the System* was written in 1969 as student protests were in full force. Italy was then undergoing a “creeping May” — as opposed to the sudden explosion and fallout in France. Convinced of the urgent need for radically subverting the bourgeois world, Freda believed that everything must be tried and, when so many young people were seeking to give a truly revolutionary content to the student revolt, that it should be recovered from the proponents of orthodox Marxist or social democratic reformism. It was for these young people that *The Disintegration of the System* was intended, and far from being Freda’s personal program, it synthesized the common demands of the entire national–revolutionary milieu, from *Giovane Europa* (Young Europe) to *Lotta di Popolo* (People’s Struggle).

The tone of the text is decidedly offensive. A disciple of Evola, Freda is the first to not just comment learnedly on his writings, but to move from theory to practice, so much so that one can see in *The Disintegration of the System* the political practice of the theory outlined in *Riding the Tiger*, one of the last of Evola’s writings. With this book, the Baron gave the intellectual framework affirming Freda’s belief that there can be no compromise with the bourgeois system. “There is a solution,” writes Evola, “which must be firmly ruled out: to build on what survives of the bourgeois world, and to defend it as a basis to fight against the currents of dissolution and the most violent subversion, after possibly trying to facilitate or strengthen the remains with some higher values that are more traditional.” And the Baron added: “It might be good to help bring down the already faltering and what belongs to the world of yesterday, instead of seeking to support and to artificially prolong life. This possible tactic, such as to prevent the final crisis, is the work of the opposing forces which would then undertake the initiative. The risk of this is obvious: we do not know who has the last word.”

In *The Disintegration*, Freda was not tender with the idols and values of bourgeois society. Order for the sake of order, sacrosanct private property, capitalism, moral conformism, and visceral blind pro-Zionism and philo-Americanism, but also God, priests, judges, bankers — nothing and no one escaped his criticism. To the dominant market model, he offered a real alternative, reaffirming the traditional doctrine of the state, fully opposed to pseudo-bourgeois values, and developed a coherent state project, the most spectacular aspect including the organization of a Communist economy — a Spartan and elitist communism which owes more to Plato than to Karl Marx.

A man of action, Freda was sickened by pseudo-intellectual Evolo-Guénonians locked away in their ivory towers. He had harsh words for some Evolians: “sterile apologists of the discourse on the state,” “worshippers of abstractions,” “champions of conceptual gestures” that, in his eyes, were riders of paper tigers. “For us,” he writes, “to be true to our vision of the world — and therefore of the state — means to comply with it, leaving nothing undone to achieve it historically.” In this perspective, he clearly shows the intention to reach out to sectors involved in the objective negation of the bourgeois world, including the ultra-extra-parliamentary left to which he proposes a strategy that was loyal to a united struggle against the System. It was then that he contacted various Maoist groups, such as Potere Operaio and the Communist Party of Italy-Marxist Leninist.

“For a political soldier, purity justifies any hardness, indifference all guile, while the stamp of the impersonal on the fight dissolves all moral concerns.” These strong words ends the manifesto.

Victim of Democracy

On December 12, 1969, a bomb exploded in the National Bank of Agriculture, Piazza Fontana in Milan, killing 16 people and injuring 87. The Italian section of the Situationist International of the ultra-left issued a manifesto entitled “The Reichstag Burns,” denouncing the regime as the real organizer of the massacre. The Situationists would continue to repeat that the Piazza Fontana bomb was “neither anarchist nor fascist.”

Giorgio Freda, meanwhile, continued his intellectual struggle against the System. In 1970, in a preface to a text by Evola, he welcomed the possibility of urban warfare in Italy. In April 1971, Edizioni di Ar published officially for the first time in the peninsula since 1945, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. That same month, Freda was arrested and accused of “having distributed books, printed and written information containing propaganda or incitement to violent subversion.” The repressive machine was under way. For the first time since the end of the fascist regime, a magistrate intended to apply Article 270 (the law against subversive association) of the Code Rocco (named after Mussolini’s attorney general). Soon after, Edizioni di Ar published *The Enemy of Man*, a collection of Palestinian fighting poetry, provoking the fury of the Zionists.

In July 1971, the judge modified the charges and accused Freda of making “propaganda for the violent subversion of the political, economic and social development of the state” through *The Disintegration of the System*, “where he alludes to the need of subversion, by violent means, of the bourgeois democratic state and its replacement by a state defined and characterized as a people’s state.”

Undaunted by repression, Edizioni di Ar published in November 1971 the Italian translation of *The International Jew* by Henry Ford.

On December 5, 1971, Freda was arrested again. He is no longer prosecuted for crimes of opinion, but bluntly accused of having organized the massacre of Piazza Fontana. Since they failed to catch the “anarcho-fascists” they decided to pinch the “Nazi-Maoist.” The charges against Freda was based on two pieces of evidence: that he bought timers like those found in the bank as well as the travel bags in which the bombs were placed. But Freda had indeed bought timers but had given them to a captain of the Algerian secret services who requested them for the Palestinians. The weekly *Candido*, investigating the manufacturer of the bomb timers, collected evidence that the number of these timers sold in Italy was not 57, as claimed by the judge — Freda had bought 50 — but hundreds, and that the models purchased by the publisher differed from those used in the attack.

In addition, the merchant from Bologna who had sold four travel bags similar to those used in the attack did not recognize Freda as the buyer, but two police officers . . . Of course, the judge wouldn't take into account exculpatory evidence. Freda began his lonely tour of Italian prisons in 1972 — Padua, Milan, and Trieste. Then Rome, Bari, Brindisi, Catanzaro.

Called a “Maoist” traitor or “agent of Communist China” by the Right, especially by the neo-fascist MSI, or a “racist fanatic” and “delusional anti-Semite” by the legalistic left and Zionist circles, and fearfully rejected by some ultra-leftists with whom he had actively collaborated, Giorgio Freda was then tricked by the press into taking the supposedly infamous label of “Nazi-Maoist.” Thanks to the hype, this only turned out to be positive as the stock of 1500 copies of *The Disintegration of the System* was quickly exhausted. A few years later, Freda admitted that the text was given more consideration by extremists on the left than those on the right.

Trial

The long Piazza Fontana trial was opened on January 1975, before the Assize Court in Catanzaro. Accused were the anarchist Pietro Valpreda with eleven accomplices and the neo-fascist Giorgio Freda with twelve co-defendants. Reaching the end of his preventive detention, Freda was released and placed under house arrest in August 1976. But his convictions remained intact. Thus in 1977, when he was facing a life sentence, he did not waver: in an interview he gave to his friend Claudio Mutti he talked about armed struggle as the best form of opposition to the System in Italy!

Convinced that the dice were loaded and that his conviction wasn't in doubt, Freda went on the run in October 1978. He was captured in the summer of 1979 in Costa Rica, from which he was not extradited, but forcibly returned by the Italian political police.

The judicial farce continued. In December 1984, the fourth trial for the massacre of Piazza Fontana was opened in Bari. After sixteen years of investigation, Freda was ultimately acquitted of the bombing but incarcerated for crimes of opinion, “subversive association” according to the Italian legal language, which earned him a sentence of fifteen years in prison.

On his release, the media was still talking about Freda because he launched the Fronte Nazionale (National Front), for which he was again arrested and charged in July 1993. Surely, good blood will out!

Freda, Heretical Interpreter of Evola —

Franco Ferraresi

The gridlock of the system, that seemed happen in Italy in the second half of the 1970s (the government called “national solidarity”), unleashed the protests of those who felt excluded and marginalized. “New needs” appeared with the “new revolutionary subjects” impossible to reduce to the worker's struggle alone. The struggle against repression and marginalization transformed into a drastic confrontation that henceforth also welcomed the forces of the left against a “palace” (Palazzo). The expulsion of the secretary of the CGIL, Luciano Lama, from the University of Rome is the episode that traces new lines of deployment of forces and of conflict.

In this phase, the radical right furnishes an interpretation of many analogous aspects of the radical left, even recovering, at least in part, instruments of analysis and keys to interpretation from the latter, to the point of arriving at the hypothesis of a strategic common line: the immediate common line is the same for both, the destruction of the bourgeois system.

The principal metapolitical point of reference of this analysis is the second of the Evolian political "grand texts," *Ride the Tiger*, in the most radical of possible readings, that proposed at the end of the 1960s by Franco Freda. The principal concept of *Ride the Tiger*, that of *apoliteia* (1) [ch. VI], is susceptible to least two readings: the first, exclusively concentrated on the internal dimension, leads to a total abstention from all forms of political action; the second interprets *apoliteia* as a refusal to insert oneself into the political system of today, and thus to adhere to the components that create it (Anti-Tradition), and indicates an exasperated political engagement under form of a militia, "the heroic way," "holy war" as the most valuable and most authentic instrument of spiritual realization.

That is thus the line suggested by Freda in the "manifesto" that was the most authoritative in the radical right (2). His point of departure is a virulent attack on the concept of Europe, that overthrows the entire political spiritual heritage of the modern West:

"Europe is an old hussy who has whored in all the brothels and has contracted all the ideological infections — since those of revolts of medieval communes to those of anti-imperial national monarchies; from Illuminism to Jacobinism, to Masonry, to Judaism, to Zionism, to liberalism, to Marxism. A whore, whose womb has conceived and engendered the bourgeois revolution and the proletarian revolt: whose soul was possessed by the violence of merchants and the rebellion of slaves. And us, right now, we would like to redeem it?" (The Disintegration of the System)

The result of this Europe is a world totally "other" regarding that of Tradition: it's the bourgeois, capitalist world, dominated by economic authority and by the exploitation of man by man. The state itself is the political place reserved only to the bourgeoisie, whose unique function is the defense of the bourgeois economy (the debt towards the instruments of Marxist analysis is explicit and declared). To that he opposed the idea of the "true state" (*vero Stato*), as an absolute reality, values that transcend contingent historical realizations (the Evolian inspiration is evident here). This conception is the source of inspiration for the "popular state" proposed by Freda in an articulated and analytic project, whose only relative indications of external politics can be reprised here, by reasons of the consequences that they have on the general strategic choices ("the field of battle") of the extreme right:

"The denunciation of the Atlantic Pact and its military organization, as the rupture of relations that link Italy today the neocapitalist structures (European Economic Community, etc...) must provoke the active insertion of the Popular State into the sphere of states that refuse to be snagged by the politics of imperialist blocs of power. The Popular State will establish alliances with all the authentically anti-capitalist states and favor on the international level, movements of struggle against capitalism and the revisionist accomplices."

This type of affirmation, as the repeated declarations of sympathy for Chinese communism because of the sober, Spartan, warrior style that characterizes it (beside the anti-imperialist struggle) is at the base of the "Nazi-Maoist" formula by which they often characterize the theories of Freda. This constitutes the basis of one of the most important passages of the itinerary of Freda, the hypothesis of a solidarity with the left. It is not solely a theoretical hypothesis, but a veritable strategic proposition of "common struggle," that Freda addresses "to those who radically refuse the system, lying beyond the traditional left, in the certainty that even with them we could realize a loyal unity of action against bourgeois society." Well understood, they are foreign to metaphysical premises, they do not pursue the myth of the "true state," the super-human, metapolitical, metahistorical directions of a superior "reality": but in the temporal historical order, their objective is the same, the destruction of the bourgeois system.

That's why a coherent unity of action is to be inaugurated with all the forces engaged in the struggle for the elimination of the system, by repudiating legalist and reformist tactics, and "all guilty hesitation before the use of all the means, drastic and decisive, that only violence possesses." (3)

Franco Ferraresi, extract from : « Les références théorico—doctrinales de la droite radicale en Italie », Mots n°12, 1986.

Evola. Philosophy and Direct Action —

Dominique Venner

Considered by certain people as "the greatest traditionalist thinker of the Occident," Julius Evola (1898— 1974) always had difficult relations with the MSI while exercising a certain influence on the most radical circles, the FAR in their time then Ordine Nuovo or Avanguardia Nazionale. Evola was held on the margins of Fascism during the Ventennio (1922—1943). Despite his criticisms, however, he still wanted solidarity with the Italian Social Republic after 1943. Influenced by both Nietzsche and Guénon, he cultivated in fashion of the first the contempt of the plebeian and the praise of the self—made superman. But he joined Guénon in his interpretation of history as a process of decadence and involution leading, according to the Hindu tradition, to the Kali Yuga, the demonic age preceding the return to primordial chaos (1). However, he was ready to recognize that certain political forms, more or less in accord with his hierarchical idea of Tradition, could slacken the decline. Such was his interpretation of fascism, in the measure where it, by its attempt to rehabilitate heroic values, constituted a challenge to modern societies and to the faceless mass man.

In the eyes of the militants or intellectual of the young post—fascist generation, Evola presented the advantage of proceeding from a vigorous internal critique of fascism without ceding to anti—fascism. He offered a coherent and sophisticated "vision of the world," pitiless for modernity, to which he opposed a construction far more radical and absolute than that of fascism (2). Condemning for example nationalism for its "naturalist" inspiration, Evola opposed to it "the race of the spirit" and "the idea, our true fatherland." What counted, he said, "it is not sharing the same earth or speaking the same language, it's sharing the same idea (3)." What idea? That of a superior order, which ancient Rome, Medieval Chivalry, or Prussia had expressed. He proposed a style of life made with severity, discipline, durability, sacrifice, practiced as asceticism. Evola was not a pure spirit. He had served in the artillery in the course of the First World War, and had been, in his youth, a distinguished alpinist, author of the admirable *Meditations on the Peaks*. At his death, his ashes were deposited on the summit of Monte Rosa.

Towards 1950, then believing in the chances of the MSI, Evola wanted to give a warrior's "bible" to the young militants of this movement: that was *Men Among the Ruins* (\*), prefaced with an essay by Prince Borghese (4). His hopes were dashed, he withdrew from the MSI and all political action beginning in 1957. He would publish *Ride the Tiger* a bit later (1961), (\*\*) a difficult work that contradicted the preceding one (5). He declared in substance that in a world going to its ruin, nothing was worth saving, the sole categorical imperative being to follow the interior way with a perfect detachment from all that surrounds us, but by assuming that what life offers is painful and tragic. This message raised lively controversies in the sect of those ironically called "the Witnesses of Evola." Some understood it as an invitation to retire from the world, and others as a invitation to dynamite decadent society. It is this part of the message which would be understood by the Italian adepts of brutal activism that would manifest in the course of the "years of lead."

What *Ride the Tiger* expressed reflected the disgust that swamp of petty parliamentary politics in which the MSI sank could inspire in even the most idealistic. But, beyond that, was the evolution of Western and Italian society submitting to the hold of consumerism and materialism.

In the course of the following decades, the generalization of violence and terrorism on the left had some important effects within the radical right that influenced the philosopher. The two principal extra-parliamentary organizations, Ordine Nuovo and Avanguardia Nazionale, having been dissolved in 1973, grew to illegality. But this strategy was broken by outright repression.

However, a new generation was at work who had made a superficial reading of Evola. Born after 1950, foreign to the historical memory of fascism, it willingly criticized the "old guard" of the MSI, and the equally sacred monsters of the activist right, of the Borghese type, and their obsolete strategy of the coup d'Etat. They proclaimed emphatically the end of ideology and the primacy of action. For this generation of very young militants, before the void of old dead values, combat remained as an existential value. "It is not to power that we aspire, nor to the creation of a new order," one read in 1980 in Qex, newsletter of political prisoners of the right. "It's the struggle that interests us, it's action itself, the affirmation of our own nature." The influence of Ride the Tiger was evident. But that, which according to Evola, should have resulted in an internal asceticism, was here reduced to its most brutal literal meaning, by identification with the simplistic myth of the "warrior." This derivation led to the summary theorization of "armed spontaneity," as much as retreat into an esoteric ivory tower.

#### The Doctrine of the Warrior –

Franco Ferraresi – 1986

The panorama of groups who, from 1976 to 1981–1982, originated in Italy, and especially Rome, of black repugnance, with innumerable episodes of violence – strikes, attacks, homicides, robberies, and even probably massacres – can not be traced here. It is only possible to attempt to indicate the impact of the doctrines of the intellectual mentors and the formulations of the militant groups. An extremely complex task, as these militant groups most often formed spontaneously, and they escape all exact ideological framing, from which it is difficult to mark their actions, the border between the political act and the purely criminal act (very often, for example, robberies, at the start organized to finance the movement and aid comrades in difficulty, then became an instrument of enrichment for the perpetrators). Not to mention the extreme fragmentation and dispersion of rare documentary material, still very far from being known in a systematic fashion.

For example, and without the pretension of being exhaustive, we can indicate here the positions of Quex, the news bulletin of right wing political detainees, published between 1978 and 1981. All its editors, from the moment where they wrote, were incarcerated, some with very grave penalties, as is the case of the leader of the group, Mr. Tuti, condemned to life imprisonment for the murder of two policemen in the course of a brawl triggered by his arrest. The publication expresses in a relatively systematic manner and continues the points of view of a current – that of "armed spontaneity" (spontaneismo armato) – refusing by nature (or incapable) of developing its own ideas with a fullness that surpasses that of an leaflet or an internal document.

Quex explicitly places itself in the Evola–Freda current, from which it recognizes the fundamental merit of having determined a theoretical position capable of leading to militant action, the "objectives of the lesser holy war." The point of departure of its theorization, henceforth acquired by the radical right, is the refusal of all structural bonds. For the differentiated man, for he who wants to be able to "ride the tiger," the only possibility is that of "blending into society however reacting when his honor and dignity require it, thus ... always. Actions of this type are perfectly possible even if they are conducted by isolated militants or by 'informal groupuscules' (slegati) of 2 or 3 comrades; they can, by spontaneous phenomenon, continuously expand." It is precisely the shortcomings in the material and organizational plans, that constitute the premises of spontaneous struggle: "Spontaneity! That is the watchword being thrown by the vanguard to their comrades."

The exemplary action is the natural outcome of spontaneity; it distinguishes itself as much from terrorism (as it is open and concentrates the attention of all on the group that accomplished it) as from the beau geste of the anarchist or spectacular type (because "it is not done to satisfy libertine demands on the part of the militant, which should not exist"): not to mention the Leninist and Gramscist strategy whose essence is "the work of the ant" (referencing the fable). The choice of exemplary action derives from the canons of existential nature before politics: "It's not to power that we aspire, nor, necessarily, towards the creation of a new order ... It's the struggle that interests us, it's action itself, the daily combat for the affirmation of our own nature."

Such is the decisive point: action deprived of precise references to a single goal correspond to a classic topos of warrior ethics that the revolutionary militants permanently claimed. Once more, the fundamental reference comes from the body of Evola's work, whose teaching in the matter was distilled and condensed in a text in 1940 which, reprinted by Freda in 1970 and 1977, constitutes a sort of mystic—ascetic breviary of the political soldier. This writing begins with the remark that the contrast between action and contemplation, typical of Western civilization, was unknown by the ancient Aryans, for whom action could be the instrument of spiritual realization, that is to say capable of pushing man beyond his individual conditioning and involving him in supernatural reality. War, of course, in the category of action, corresponds to an eternal struggle of metaphysical forces: on one hand, the Olympian principle of light, the solar and Uranian reality, on the other, violence in its crude state, the Titanic—Telluric element, barbarous in the classical sense, feminine, demonic. That is the thought of Evola. His disciples echo him: "For us, to be legionaries means to be soldiers of the luminous forces against all that is tellurism and chaos. So the struggle for the legionary is not a uniquely material action, but essentially spiritual." In ancient tradition, war and the way of the divine blended themselves into a single entity.

This applies to the Nordic—Germanic world, where Valhalla is the seat of eminent immortality reserved to heroes fallen on the field of battle. "No sacrifices please Odin—Wotan, lord of Valhalla, as much as that offered by the man who dies in combat." On this point, our subject: "The Legionary clearly realizes his own being in the Heroic Death ... He always had in his heart the thought of death, in order to be ready at any instant to serenely embark with it on the triumphal voyage to Valhalla ... the Kingdom of Heroes." These concepts, according to Evola, also constitute the core of Islamic tradition in the theory of the double war: "the lesser" material one, made against the enemy or infidel (in this case called "lesser holy war"), and "the greater holy war," of the internal or spiritual order, the struggle of the superhuman element of man against all that is instinctive, impassioned, subjected to the forces of nature.

The

essence of this conception, according to Evola, is in the vision of the "lesser" war as a way to realize, in perfect simultaneity, the greater: it's why "holy war" and "the divine way" — jihad — are often used as synonyms. The echo of this idea on Quex is literal: "The essence of legionary action must refer to the lesser / greater holy war binary ... Thus it will establish what type of action suits in a functional and contemporaneous fashion the lesser and greater holy war." Finally, the Indo—Aryan tradition of the Bhagavad—Gîtâ, where the god Krishna condemns as cowardly the humanitarian scruples that prevent the warrior Arjuna from descending to the field of battle: the duty to fight has its origins in divine judgment, that ignores all earthly necessity, in the same fashion, heroic action must be done for its own sake, beyond contingent motivation, all passion, all vulgar utility. "In the measure where the warrior is able to act in purity and absolutism ... he breaks the chains of humanity, he evokes the divine as a metaphysical force." From the Bhagavad Gîtâ, passing through Evola, to Quex, "action is done for itself is the political place reserved only to the bourgeoisie, whose unique function is the defense of the bourgeois economy (the debt towards the instruments of Marxist analysis is explicit and declared). To that he opposed the idea of the "true state" (vero Stato), as an absolute reality, values that transcend contingent historical realizations (the Evolian inspiration is evident here). This conception is the source of inspiration for the "popular state" proposed by Freda in an articulated and analytic project, whose only relative indications of external politics can be reprised here, by reasons of the consequences that they have on the general strategic choices ("the field of battle") of the extreme right:

"The denunciation of the Atlantic Pact and its military organization, as the rupture of relations that link Italy today the neocapitalist structures (European Economic Community, etc...) must provoke the active insertion of the Popular State into the sphere of states that refuse to be snagged by the politics of imperialist blocs of power. The Popular State will establish alliances with all the authentically anti—capitalist states and favor on the international level, movements of struggle against capitalism and the revisionist accomplices."

This type of affirmation, as the repeated declarations of sympathy for Chinese communism because of the sober, Spartan, warrior style that characterizes it (beside the anti-imperialist struggle) is at the base of the "Nazi-Maoist" formula by which they often characterize the theories of Freda. This constitutes the basis of one of the most important passages of the itinerary of Freda, the hypothesis of a solidarity with the left. It is not solely a theoretical hypothesis, but a veritable strategic proposition of "common struggle," that Freda addresses "to those who radically refuse the system, lying beyond the traditional left, in the certainty that even with them we could realize a loyal unity of action against bourgeois society." Well understood, they are foreign to metaphysical premises, they do not pursue the myth of the "true state," the super-human, metapolitical, metahistorical directions of a superior "reality": but in the temporal historical order, their objective is the same, the destruction of the bourgeois system.

That's why a coherent unity of action is to be inaugurated with all the forces engaged in the struggle for the elimination of the system, by repudiating legalist and reformist tactics, and "all guilty hesitation before the use of all the means, drastic and decisive, that only violence possesses." (3)

Franco Ferraresi, extract from : « Les références théorico-doctrinales de la droite radicale en Italie », Mots n12, 1986.

### Franco Freda and Nazi-Maoism

Following Italy's capitulation in World War II, the nation was plunged into a period of profound political turmoil and upheaval. This era was marked by widespread political violence, suppression, and instability, notably with the rise of the Italian Social Movement (ISM) in 1946. Comprising staunch Mussolini supporters and Fascist enthusiasts, the ISM sought to oppose the fledgling democratic government of Italy, which found itself vulnerable to disruptions from various extremist groups in the aftermath of the war. The geopolitical landscape, characterized by the juxtaposition of Soviet-influenced states to the east and American-led democracies to the west, exacerbated anti-American and anti-Soviet sentiments within Italy, particularly among those who lamented the Fascist regime's downfall at the hands of these powers.

In this environment of political flux and discord, Franco Freda emerged as a pivotal figure within the post-war Italian Fascist movement. Diverging from the conventional anti-Communist Fascist narrative, Freda adopted a more radical stance, which led to his classification as a "Nazi-Maoist." His ideological stance was eclectic, drawing from a diverse array of influences including communists like Mao Zedong, Amadeo Bordiga, Third Position theorists like Adolf Hitler, Giovanni Gentile, the traditionalist philosopher Julius Evola, Plato and Nietzsche. While such ideological amalgamation might draw skepticism at first glance, a deeper exploration into the context of Italy's political climate at the time underscores the relevance and coherence of Freda's views.

The ISM attracted a melange of radical elements from Italy's post-war society, primarily fascists, their sympathizers, and certain conservative factions, united by a common apprehension of a communist takeover in the wake of the new government's establishment. This fear led to financial backing from affluent landowners, the bourgeoisie, and even the United States. Nonetheless, the Fascists' inherent disdain for the liberal democratic framework resulted in their marginalization from significant segments of Italian political life, a fate they shared with communist groups. Despite experiencing moments of popularity, post-war neo-fascist entities were constantly beleaguered by internal strife. Radical segments within these groups aimed to overturn the Italian social order in favor of a revolutionary Fascist society. In contrast, the more moderate elements within the ISM leaned towards a pro-American, pro-NATO orientation, even contemplating alliances with monarchists and Christian Democrats. This ideological rift led to the ousting of Giorgio Almirante, the original party leader, due to his staunch anti-NATO position, and his replacement with Arturo Michelini.

Michelini steered the ISM towards a more conservative and moderate path, alienating numerous party members. This era coincided with the tumultuous "Years of Lead," characterized by extreme political unrest and violence across Italy. The ISM fragmented under the pressures of its moderation, yet Freda saw conventional electoral politics as merely perpetuating the established system's inefficacies, akin to a hamster on a wheel. He believed that all youth movements and political parties were inevitably trapped within the bourgeois framework, tainted by the allure of democracy.

“We are against political parties. Of the current political parties, only twilight political positions appear, which can build the pillars for the success of oligarchic groups, foreign to our general way of being. We are antidemocratic: above the fetishes of Capitalist and Bolshevik democracy relapses the responsibility of the fall of political values and the moral trauma which has disintegrated individuals, putting them apart from the organic life of the State.”

— Franco Freda, Manifesto of The Gruppo Di Ar

In Italy, the transition away from classical populist Italian Fascism paved the way for the emergence of terrorist factions from both the communist and fascist spectrums. Notably, the National Vanguard and the Armed Revolutionary Nucleus stood out, along with a variety of smaller collectives and street-level organizations dedicated to opposing communist militants within the country. Concurrently, communist factions like Prima Linea engaged in terrorist activities targeting the Italian government, often leading to violent confrontations with neo-fascist groups on the streets.

Amidst this backdrop of turmoil, stemming from the terrorist actions of both communist and neo-fascist factions, neither group managed to sufficiently undermine the liberal bourgeois framework to establish dominance of their ideologies over the Italian state. Within this chaotic environment, Franco Freda emerged as a key figure in the Italian neo-fascist landscape, notably through his publication of *The Disintegration of The System* in 1969. This period marked the initial phase of what would be a prolonged era of conflict. Freda's book laid out his vision for the course that Italian Fascists should adopt amidst this strife, alongside his broader political theories. *The Disintegration of The System* not only reflects Freda's political ideology and his wide-ranging worldview but also underscores his stance on fascist activism, offering a glimpse into his approach to political engagement during a time of intense societal conflict.

“At present, in the coalition of men that we cannot create, but that we can only recognize and strengthen we have chosen to struggle in this the world of bourgeois democracies, to these men that refuse as foreign to their style an equivocal function of intellectual “devotion” for us, we must propose to these men a definitive objective of struggle: the destruction of the bourgeois world. That is to say we must convince them that they are poorly represented by incurably bourgeois society: that no therapy is possible, that henceforth a surgical operation would not even be effective, that it is necessary to accelerate the hemorrhaging and bury the corpse. We must persuade them that, nothing we can construct wouldn't go to ruins; that the fundamental premise to construct the true state is the demolition of the residual forms and surviving structures of the bourgeois regimes.”

— Franco Freda, *The Disintegration of The System*

Freda was unwavering in his conviction that the dismantling of the existing liberal bourgeois framework should be the paramount aim of the fascist movement. He contended that this societal structure, which was entrenched in Italy by the triumphant Americans post-World War II, epitomized the subjugation of the Italian populace. To realize this ambition, Freda proposed a tactical approach dubbed the "Strategy of Tension." This approach entailed fascist operatives infiltrating communist factions with the intention of provoking them into executing acts of terrorism. As an alternative tactic, fascist entities, such as Freda's own New Order, would orchestrate terrorist activities themselves but manipulate the evidence to implicate the communists as the perpetrators. A significant instance of such terrorism was the assassination of the Italian Prime Minister, an act attributed to the Red Brigade, underscoring the severe and tragic consequences of these strategies.

## On the Red Brigade's terrorism

Freda's beliefs were deeply rooted in the concept of accelerationism, where he stressed the necessity of overthrowing the existing political structure by all available means. In his writings, he often used the word "accelerate" (accelerare) to highlight the critical need for adopting violent measures to hasten the collapse of the government, create disorder, and trigger widespread societal unrest. These ideas were fundamental to his advocated "Strategy of Tension."

"The fact remains that, for a political soldier, purity justifies any hardness, indifference any deceit, while the stamp of the impersonal on the fight dissolves all moral worries, It is necessary by promoting, goading, accelerating the time of this destruction, intensifying the action of rupture from the present equilibrium and today's phase of political arrangement."

### — Franco Freda, The Disintegration of The System

Freda firmly believed that terrorist attacks were the most effective method to bring about the disintegration of the existing system, leading to a state of lawlessness and chaos in Italy. According to his perspective, only through such chaos could an opportunity arise for a Fascist coup, which would rely on popular support to overthrow the weakened liberal government and combat the communist forces.

Freda advocated for the use of any means necessary to achieve this objective and dismantle the "bourgeois state." Interestingly, Freda's strategy has many similarities with James Mason's book *Siege*. From Freda's viewpoint, America's primary role was to exploit the resources and livelihoods of the Italian state and its people. He went so far as to argue that America was responsible for what he perceived as the "Judaization" of Europe.

"We have nothing to do with Illuminist Europe. We have nothing to see with the mercantile Europe, with the Europe of plutocratic colonialism: nothing to share. We only have accounts to settle with the Jewish or Judaized Europe."

"I dare say: too many — factors that have altered and corrupted this European liquid to the point of making it manure, it can still positively undergo processes of separation. Europe is an old hussy who has whored in all the brothels and has contracted all the ideological infections — since those of revolts of medieval communes to those of anti-imperial national monarchies; from Illuminism to Jacobinism, to Masonry, to Judaism, to Zionism, to liberalism, to Marxism. A whore, whose womb has conceived and engendered the bourgeois revolution and the proletarian revolt: whose soul was possessed by the violence of merchants and the rebellion of slaves."

### — Franco Freda, The Disintegration of The System

Hence, Freda advocated for the total overthrow of the bourgeois order, which entailed dismantling the capitalist mode of production. He put forward several proposals, including the formation of agricultural combines and the elimination of both small and large landowners. These ideas bore a striking resemblance to the Soviet Union's policy of land collectivization.

"In the domain of agricultural production, the dissolution of small and large landowners existing today, will be succeeded by the organic constitution of AGRICULTURAL COMBINES, territorially differentiated according to the requirements of production. The workers of the soil will constitute THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT OF THE COMBINE. This enterprise will name the COMMISSAR OF THE COMBINE, with analogous functions, to those of the commissar of the enterprise.

In the field left free by that, which is today is defined as the "activity of commerce," CENTERS OF CONSUMPTION will be formed, territorially articulated in the fashion of representing a link between each industrial and agricultural unit and the beneficiaries of these consumer products. The functioning of this organ will be made possible by the application of criteria analogous to those indicated for the structure of the industrial enterprise in the agricultural combine."

— Franco Freda, *The Disintegration of The System*

In addition to advocating for land collectivization, Freda naturally also called for the total elimination of private property.

"For the organization of the popular state, the elimination of private property under all its forms will be necessary, the sole exceptions being represented by individual consumable goods. Property should only be public and the particular goods will become part of the patrimony of the state. In the domain of industrial production, the extinction of particular private enterprises will be followed by the appearance of concentration of enterprises, differentiated on the territorial level according to the objectives of production. In each enterprise the COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT will function, formed by all the workers of the enterprise. The committee of management will periodically name the COMMISSAR OF THE ENTERPRISE with the function (duties and powers) of coordinating all activity of the enterprise. The Commissar of the Enterprise will be responsible for his acts before the Regional Committee of Management and Organization (the regional presidium)."

"Material wealth— all material wealth — must be property of the state because it serves the state in its moment of organization; because the state must be unbound from these preoccupations, it is necessary to guarantee it space free from these prevarications that the retention of wealth in the hands of an oligarchical group with economic power inevitably causes."

— Franco Freda, *The Disintegration of The System*

Freda's vehement critique of bourgeois norms and the institution of private property earned him the designation of a "Nazi—Maoist," distinguishing him from more traditional Fascists who often favored protecting middle—class property interests. He was a proponent of collective punishment, advocating for forced labor as a standard penalty for a wide range of crimes, with only the most egregious offenses, such as anti—fascism, treason, espionage, terrorism, sabotage, murder, and significant theft of state assets by officials, meriting the death penalty. This approach to justice, involving correctional labor through prisons and labor camps, bore a striking resemblance to the Gulag system employed in the Soviet Union, reflecting a punitive philosophy that closely mirrored the harsh penal measures of the Soviet criminal justice system.

Freda's vision for a Popular State as an alternative to the traditional Bourgeois State was influenced by a diverse range of sources, including the philosophical ideals of Plato's Republic, the radical thoughts of Evola, and the practices of Maoist China, coining it as Aristocratic Communism. This notion blended the aristocratic governance of Plato, emphasizing rule by philosopher—kings, with the Marxist goal of a proletarian dictatorship. In this framework, the party played a pivotal role, acting as the people's administrators and advocates, with leadership expected to be adept in strategizing and executing plans that resonate with the people's needs. Drawing inspiration from Amadeo Bordiga, Freda emphasized the importance of leadership as a conduit for collective wisdom and action, rooted in class consciousness and grassroots engagement. This approach mirrored Mao Zedong's Mass Line strategy, advocating for party members to deeply engage with societal issues and derive insights from the populace to craft effective policies. Such party members, envisioned as modern—day philosopher—rulers, were tasked with combining wisdom and public service, paralleling the governance ideals in Plato's Republic.

For Freda, achieving the vision of Evola's Imperium necessitated the adoption of Aristocratic Communism, a means to foster a society marked by traditional hierarchies and values. Freda proposed the establishment of a popular militia, an alternative to traditional law enforcement and military bodies, comprised of individuals selected for their moral and spiritual qualities. This militia was envisioned to uphold social order, counter bourgeois influences, defend the state, and actively participate in the fight against capitalism. Through this, Freda sought to realize a harmonious social order, continuously evolving in the face of capitalist and imperialist challenges, by integrating practical experience with ideological principles to balance diverse societal forces.

“The Popular Youth Militia will be assigned vigilance and prevention functions in the interior against the resurgence of bourgeois tendencies. Looking abroad, it will collaborate with the defense of the Popular State and with the struggle of national—anti—capitalist movements.”

— Franco Freda, *The Disintegration of The System*

Radicalized youth would assume leadership in the revolution, mirroring the role of Mao's Red Guards. This, however, necessitated the perpetuation of a cultural revolution, demanding the continual elimination of bourgeois elements.

“The real State is valid as an ordering principle of a Reconquista that man must make: the Reconquista of the overworld, the reestablishment of its heroic dimension.”

“The worst evil in Italy, it's still the bourgeois: the bourgeois—priest, the bourgeois—peasant, the bourgeois—worker, the bourgeois— “mister”, the bourgeois—intellectual: almost sawdust, the substance without form, in which we can distinguish neither high nor low.”

— Franco Freda, *The Disintegration of The System*

In 1968, inspired by Freda's call for a "Revolutionary War," a movement known as the Struggle of The People took shape, drawing its core membership from the student body of Sapienza University of Rome. This group passionately pursued the vision of a "Revolutionary War" aimed at creating a fascist dictatorship of the proletariat, leveraging Maoist guerrilla tactics to topple the existing government and undermine the bourgeoisie. This ambition seamlessly transitions into Freda's broader views on the nature of the State. Unlike the conventional concept of the state as a mere administrative apparatus, Freda saw it as an organic entity, a living system where various components collaborate under the Mass Line to achieve communal objectives. This perspective, often associated with fascist thought, suggests a State where harmony and concerted action drive the pursuit of collective aspirations, illustrating a deep ideological commitment to unity and purposeful governance.

As Freda put it:

“We do not search for the state on the basis of empirical inquiry leading to the phenomena of the state existing today; we will attempt to seize the state not as a historical phenomenon but as the State from a “phenomenological” logical point of view, but we wish to understand it in the absolute: as a value, that is to say, as reality that holds true pro aeternitate. A reality that, considering in itself, has no need of manifestation, historical support (the existing state) to be valuable. In other terms, we want to seize the essence of the idea of the state that illuminates, judging these phenomena (the historical state) are better or worse applications in relation to this canon.

Taking what we have said higher, our myth of the state is not held to be a utopia, if by utopia we mean, in effect, that which cannot be realized or exist, the fruit of overly cerebral and intellectual conception. The myth of the state is the myth of a political order that without lowering itself to any particular time and space “is” eternal, and eternally proposed as true.

The principles of the true state, by recovering the domain of "should be", assume eminent lead normative character and, as such, are not verified by recognition or agreement, by the decided refusal of those who live in the historical world. They issue from a metapolitical and metahistorical level consequently autonomous in relation to the forms of empirical political existence: it is on the contrary that these forms which, in order not become abstractions, are "forms is something "real," and should exist by function of these principles... The true state does not constitute a simple structure of positive rights, but is an essence and in function superior: the spirit of the state, the center of the state is represented by power that transcends the plan and that is immediately earthly and simply human."

— Franco Freda, *The Disintegration of The System*

Freda's view of the State is both idealistic and totalitarian, echoing the thoughts of Italian Fascist Giovanni Gentile, who regarded the State as the birthplace of civilization and a necessary historical evolution, embodying the whole of society. This perspective sharply contrasts with the Marxist view, which sees the state as an instrument of class conflict within the framework of historical materialism. Freda's vision of the State as an organic entity shares similarities with syndicalist ideas, envisioning a society segmented into various roles and functions that converge under a unified governing body, motivated by collective needs and goals. His objective was to cultivate a new archetype of personhood, a heroic counterpart to the bourgeois state's consumer-driven and submissive populace. While Freda did not consider himself a Marxist, he acknowledged an appreciation for certain aspects of "communist" states and guerrilla movements, demonstrating a nuanced stance that blended elements of different ideologies.

"Where the warrior people of North Vietnam, with a Spartan, sober, heroic style are far closer to our conception of existence than the Italian digestif, or the French or German of the West; where the Palestinian terrorist is far closer to our dreams of vengeance than the Jewish or Judaized Englishman"

—Franco Freda, *The Disintegration of The System*

Evola's strong views on the warrior ethos and the importance of inner spiritual struggle, as detailed in *Revolt Against The Modern World*, resonated deeply with Freda. This is why Freda championed a form of paganism that honored ancient European traditions and values. He engaged with anti-Christian polemics, promoted Nietzsche's philosophic works, and he denounced Christianity for its universalism and egalitarianism. This demonstrate a direct influence from Evola's advocacy for a profound intellectual and spiritual break from Christian norms. In this context, Freda's correspondence with Savitri Devi and his significant role in disseminating Esoteric Hitlerism through the publication of *Gold In The Furnace* adds additional layers to this. His work went beyond mere collaboration with Devi, extending into a broader engagement with and promotion of pagan perspectives, as seen in his series *Paganitas*. By considering Savitri Devi a "missionary of Aryan paganism," Freda not only underscored her impact on his religious views but also positioned himself within a larger ideological and spiritual struggle that sought to revive and valorize a pagan ethos against the backdrop of a modern world perceived as spiritually bankrupt, a quest for a spiritual reawakening grounded in the traditions of Europe's past.

It's significant to note that Freda enjoyed support from the Italian secret services, a connection facilitated through Masonic lodges in Italy. Additionally, members of his organization, New Order, engaged with the CIA as part of Operation Gladio. Among Freda's associates, Stefano Delle Chiaie notably supported causes aligned with U.S. interests worldwide, including backing pro-NATO regimes such as Pinochet's in Chile. Another member, Alessandro Alibrandi, took part in the Lebanese civil war, aligning with the pro-American-Israeli Lebanese Phalange Militia and even receiving treatment in an Israeli hospital. While direct evidence of Freda's awareness of these collaborations is lacking, their existence is crucial to highlight. Beyond these connections, Freda also received logistical support from Maoist China and financial backing from Muammar Gaddafi, adding layers of complexity to the web of his affiliations.

Freda's activities led to his incarceration for several years, including for his involvement in bombings that occurred in April 1969. In 1971, he was mistakenly charged with terrorist attacks on the National Bank of Agriculture's offices, embarking on a lengthy legal defense that spanned 16 years before he was eventually cleared of these charges. In 1982, Freda was sentenced to fifteen years in prison due to his ties with Fascist groups. Initially, in 1987, Freda was acquitted of any involvement in the Piazza Fontana bombing in Milan, a devastating 1969 terrorist attack that killed 17 people and injured 88. However, further investigations over the years led to a 2004 court decision that found him primarily accountable for numerous terrorist activities perpetrated by Fascist factions during the so-called Years of Lead, although he could not be retried for these crimes due to his earlier acquittal.

In the year 2000, Freda, along with fellow adherents of the Fascist ideology, faced legal repercussions for their efforts to reestablish the defunct National Front party. This initiative, aimed at reviving the Fascist party originally led by Mussolini in Italy, contravened Italian law, resulting in a three-year incarceration for Freda. Despite these controversies surrounding his past, Freda has remained an active participant in Italy's political scene. Throughout the 2010s, he openly articulated his political stances, notably manifesting his support for Vladimir Putin. This endorsement of Putin was especially emphatic in October 2014, coinciding with the Azov Battalion's intense confrontations against forces led by Russia in eastern Ukraine.

“Putin is a champion of the white race, I think of the Slavic peoples, they're the ones who won the Second World War, they're brutal individuals, of course, but they are the only ones who can resist.”

“It is my impression that the only decent European politician is Vladimir Putin.”

— Franco Freda quoted in *Ukraine's Far Right Is Boosting A Pro-Putin Fascist* by Michael Colborne

In December 2019, the Plomin' (Flame) Ukrainian literary club, associated with the Azov Battalion's intellectual wing, hosted an event featuring Freda that captured the interest of young neo-Nazi enthusiasts in Kyiv, keen on disseminating his ideologies throughout Ukraine. As a result, Freda's pivotal book, *The Disintegration of The System*, was translated into Ukrainian and disseminated by Plomin'.

Notably, Freda's support for the Kremlin's position in the Russia-Ukraine conflict did not dissuade Ukrainian neo-Nazis from adopting his works, leading to their translation. The Ukrainian edition was even introduced at the esteemed Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, a institution highly regarded by Ukrainian nationalists across the spectrum. Despite attempts by the university administration to prevent the event, activists managed to carry it out in a classroom within the academy's museum, drawing an audience of about 40 people and sparking substantial debate both within the academic community and beyond.

Freda has not hesitated to voice his support for Russia amidst its ongoing conflict with Ukraine, articulating a clear stance against the influence and dominance of Anglo-American powers in global politics. This perspective aligns with a broader ideological framework that critiques Western hegemony. Complementing Freda's viewpoint, his associate, Omar Amine — formerly recognized by the name Claudio Mutti — shares a similar ideological orientation that favors pro-Russian sentiments while opposing Western geopolitical strategies and cultural influences. Amine's ideological commitments are further evidenced by his active engagement in dialogues with Alexander Dugin, a prominent Russian philosopher known for his advocacy of Eurasianism and his critical stance on Western liberalism.

Additionally, Amine has successfully established meaningful relationships with the Chinese government, indicating a strategic alignment with powers that challenge the prevailing Western-centric global order. This network of relationships, shows the concerted effort to promote a multipolar world vision, challenging the unilateral dominance of Western Atlanticism.

## COMMUNITARIANISM AND NAZI-MAOISM

### INTRODUCTION.

The phenomenon of so-called 'nazimaoism' has never been sufficiently investigated either by historiographers of neo-fascism or by left-wing politicians and militants. The 'sympathy' that certain sectors of the extreme right have often turned to left-wing content and associations is, however, something to keep an eye on, because it can also give rise to dangerous situations for those who militate in certain sectors.

Already in the 1920s, the 'National Bolshevik' movement developed in Germany, which embraced left-wing issues with nationalist indications (practically what Jean-Marie Le Pen said in our times after winning the 'primaries' in France: that is, he is 'socially left-wing, economically right-wing and French nationalist'); they dreamt, among other things, of an alliance with the Soviet Union. They were eliminated by the Nazis, no more and no less than the opponents of the regime<sup>1</sup>.

After various vicissitudes, which we will briefly recount below, from the year 2000 onwards the heirs of these national Bolsheviks ('communitarists' and 'nationalitarian communists') began to frequent and seek contact with the circles of the anti-imperialist and internationalist left, whose militants very often, either through ignorance or misunderstood pragmatism, did not distance themselves from them.

We have not yet seen the results of this activity, which we dare to call *entrisim*, except for the fact that the Italian internationalist movement is splitting over these things. At the time of writing these lines, a controversy is underway, especially on the web (very little appears on the subject in the printed press), over the organisation of the solidarity demonstration with the Iraqi people called for 6 December 2003, given that among the signatories of the appeal, some have found the names of people with a past that is considered ambiguous, to say the least. In the face of this controversy, the *Voce operaia* group, which is among the promoters, declared 'to our knowledge there are no fascists among the 700 signatories of the appeal with the Iraqi people resisting and if there are we will delete them'; and again, regarding the stance taken by Fulvio Grimaldi and others 'the journalist is challenged to bring evidence of 'association' with fascists, not in front of the bunch of dastardly principals who instigate him, but in front of a Court that, however bourgeois, must still respect the Constitution and considers 'fascist' a serious insult, damaging to the dignity of the citizen who is affected by it'<sup>2</sup>.

For our part, we would like to make a small contribution to the knowledge of the communitarist panorama and the people who animate this movement today, by publishing a dossier in which we have gathered some news about them. Far be it from us to have exhausted such a problematic subject in so few pages.

### INTELLECTUALS AND PUBLICISTS.

After the war, the Belgian Jean Thiriart<sup>3</sup> founded Jeune Europe, which "at the beginning of the 1960s had been the flanker of the extreme right-wing organisation OAS"<sup>4</sup>. This first example of the 'black international', which developed in various countries and then gave rise to the movement known as 'communitarianism', was referred to in Italy by, among others, Claudio Mutti<sup>5</sup>, Ugo Gaudenzi, Claudio Orsi (nephew of Cesare Balbo), and the lawyer Marcantonio Bezicheri (who was Freda's defender and, in more recent years, joined the Fiamma tricolore). From the Italian section of Giovane Europa then broke away the group of Lotta di popolo<sup>6</sup>, the so-called 'Nazi-Maoists'<sup>7</sup>.

Let us dwell on the figure of Mutti, who more than thirty years later continues to make people talk about him. Carlo Palermo, who considers, among other things, how the new European right wing has "claimed since the 1980s to have discovered the Arianism contained in Islamic mysticism", echoing Hitler's "privileged" relationship with the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, writes that a key figure in this "rediscovery" of Islamism is Claudio Mutti, "extollers of Muammar Gaddafi's socialism, professor of Romanian language at the University of Bologna, translator (...) Codreanu, founder of Italian Nazimaoism".) of Codreanu, founder of Italian Nazimaoism'.

<sup>1</sup> For a better understanding of the subject, read Marco Rossi's text, 'I fantasmi di Weimar', ed. Zeroincondotta, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> From a discussion on [www.politicaonline](http://www.politicaonline).

<sup>3</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> C. Palermo, 'The Fourth Level', Ed. Riuniti, 1996.

<sup>5</sup> We dedicate a note to this character in the appendix.

<sup>6</sup> "According to indiscretions from a Yugoslavian source, Settembre Nero (an organisation believed to have been infiltrated and manipulated by the Israeli secret services) formed solid alliances with the most fanatical groups of the European right wing: Ordine Nuovo, Avanguardia Nazionale, Organizzazione Lotta di Popolo (which even copied in the acronym OLP the Palestine Liberation Organisation), German neo-Nazi groups and Ustaša exiles" (G. Flamini, "Il partito del golpe", ed. Bovolenta 1982). The director of *Lotta di popolo* was Ugo Gaudenzi.

<sup>7</sup> In 1992, the Barbarossa publishing house (which refers to Maurizio Murelli) published a text by Marco Battarra (one of the founders of the magazine *Orion*) entitled 'From Jeune Europe to the R.B.', which would be interesting to read also to assess whether and what fascination this type of right-wing, which today could be called 'bipartisan' with an unfortunate expression, may have had on people who later sided openly to the left like Renato Curcio.

Palermo also writes that 'Mutti had explained in an issue of *Elements* magazine that his conversion to the Muslim religion (which took place in 1979) was the result of decades of work within the fascist Young Europe movement (...)'<sup>8</sup>.

Mutti had also been one of the founders of the Ordine Nero together with Franco Freda; we then find him president of an Italy-Libya association set up in Ferrara in 1973, together with Orsi; Another pro-Arab association was founded in the same period by Michele Papa (who in Palermo was the representative of that 'World Parliament for Security and Peace' that seems to be involved in trafficking in uranium rods and that has among its 'deputies' also the self-styled historian - revisionist - from Pordenone, Marco Pirina<sup>9</sup>) who 'even tried - as shown by indications in old court documents - to set up a real Sicilian liberation army. This story has emerged from the statements of the terrorist Bernardino Andreola...' <sup>10</sup>

An Italy-China Association was also founded in Ferrara in the 1960s, promoted by Claudio Orsi, which was a meeting point for Freda<sup>11</sup>, Ventura and Count Pietro Loredan<sup>12</sup>. Mutti was a collaborator of Orsi and at that time wrote for the magazine *Ordine Pubblico*, directed by the puidist prince Alliata di Montereale<sup>13</sup>.

Today Mutti is one of the leading names in the area of the National-European Communitarist Circles that represent the heirs of Thiriart's 'old' communitarists: their references are newspapers such as *Orion*, *L'uomo libero*, *Rinascita*<sup>14</sup>, *Orientamenti*, *Rosso è Nero*<sup>15</sup> and others. The circles gravitating around these journals came together in July 2000 to give life to the organisation Rinascita Nazionale (which publishes the magazine of the same name) whose provisional national coordination committee was animated by Giacinto Auriti<sup>16</sup> and Giorgio Vitali<sup>17</sup> and whose constituent

committee saw the presence of Ugo Gaudenzi (as head) and Piero Sella (national president)<sup>18</sup>; but also Alberto Mariani<sup>19</sup>, Paolo Emiliani, Paolo Zanetov<sup>20</sup>, Maria Lina Veca (head of the Rome federation)<sup>21</sup> and, in Venezia Giulia, Dino Giacca<sup>22</sup> and Stefano Mattiussi.

The symbol of National Revival, a rising sun and three arrows, "besides faithfully echoing the badge worn by the Italian SS, evokes both the Crossed Arrows of the Hungarian Nazis and that of the Spanish Phalange"<sup>23</sup>.

The *Orion* magazine was founded in 1984 by Marco Battarra (who represented the New Action group) and Maurizio Murelli, after the latter had finished serving 11 years in prison for the murder of policeman Antonio Marino in Reggio Calabria in April '73. At the beginning, Murelli founded with Battarra the Barbarossa club in Saluzzo with former members of Europa Civiltà; later, the publishing house of the same name, the magazine *Orion* and a fantasy shop, La bottega del fantastico, Battarra's workplace, were founded.

Murelli also gathered around him Chicco Galmozzi, a former Prima Linea member, who was convicted of murdering, in April 1976, the Missino provincial councillor Enrico Pedenovi; then Mutti and another right-wing intellectual, Carlo Terracciano, also joined the group.

In Number 10 (October 1989), *Orion* published the "Political Manifesto of the European Partisan", where the "European Partisans", heirs of Jean Thiriart's Young Europe, define themselves as "a faction of the extreme Right, which, passing through neo-fascism has evolved towards revolutionary nationalism and the anti-Zionist, libertarian and non-dogmatic extreme Left". Tassinari writes that in Italy "a faction of nostalgics of the extreme right, in the constellation of groups that refer to the experience of the

<sup>8</sup> C. Palermo, 'The Fourth Level', cit.

<sup>9</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> C. Palermo, 'The Fourth Level', op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> "In Ferrara Freda frequented Claudio Orsi, the protagonist of blatant infiltration operations" (G. Flamini, "Il partito del golpe", op. cit.).

<sup>12</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>13</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>14</sup> Typical of this right wing is the appropriation of acronyms and titles that are the heritage of left-wing movements.

<sup>15</sup> Red is Black is a movement that arose from a national-communist split of Tilgher's National Front in 1999. Anti-Western, communitarist ideas also come from Ghennadi Ziuganov's new Russian communist party (perhaps it is no coincidence that Ziuganov's texts are disseminated in Italy by extreme right-wing channels). In No. 1 (November 1998) of the magazine *Rosso è Nero (Red is Black)*, an "apologetic article by Osama Bin Laden" concluded as follows: "what has no correspondence in the intimate feeling of the race is a lie, an artificial construction lacking an intimate, organic foundation" (in M. Rossi, "I fantasmi di Weimar", op. cit.).

<sup>16</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>17</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>18</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>19</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>20</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>21</sup> We will return to Maria Lina (or Marilina, as she sometimes appears) Veca often in this dossier.

<sup>22</sup> On this name see Appendix.

<sup>23</sup> M. Rossi, 'The Ghosts of Weimar', op. cit.

National Bolsheviks, the minority wing of Nazism brutally liquidated for its left-wing tendencies after the seizure of power (...) has its cloture point in *Orion*<sup>24</sup>. "The *Orion* group expresses a national-revolutionary or, better still, national-communist line, with strong references to the themes of Alain De Benoist's New Right". Fundamental themes: "the fight against globalism, understood as the domination of international finance dominated by the usual Jewish-Masonic clique, to which we must oppose not the model of 'white and Christian' Europe, but a union of intentions with the national-communist, traditionalist and fundamentalist forces of the former Soviet empire and the Islamic sphere"<sup>25</sup>.

Moreover, "in the national-communist area, as Murelli pointed out, there are no problems of religious affiliation and more or less fundamentalist Catholics, pagans like Murelli, Battarra (who, however, declare that they have long since abandoned the rites of the Solstice), and Alessandra Colla (a devotee of Hypatia, the first martyr of paganism)<sup>26</sup>, agnostics like Galmozzi and Muslims like Mutti and Terracciano coexist peacefully"<sup>27</sup>.

Later *Orion* was also joined by the National Left-Antagonist Movement group (in which Giorgio Vitali was a militant member), which had been created around the *Aurora* periodical that came out in 1988 on the initiative of former Rautians. The magazine, to which Mutti also collaborated, came out with a 'new series' from 1992 to 1998, giving ample space to the veterans of the CSR; the editor was Luigi Costa, and in the 2002 issue we find an obituary that Vitali wrote for a 'veteran' of the CSR, as well as spokesman for the Federation of these 'veterans', born, according to Vitali, 'to represent the historical and political legacy of the CSR', defined later a 'fortunate period of our History'.

Connected to *Orion* was the European Synergy project, from an idea of Murelli inspired by Thiriart's positions for the creation of a single European party in a 'European reconstruction project', based on the coordination of anti-American and anti-World War II forces, with a certain sympathy for Islamism. The project had been developed by Murelli after having connections with the Russian national-communist opposition, and was joined by Gabriele Adinolfi<sup>28</sup> (formerly of Terza Posizione) and Rainaldo Graziani<sup>29</sup>; the animator was Claudio Mutti. Their last initiative was the Summer University of 2000, held in a Graziani farmhouse, at which Mario Consoli (*l'Uomo nuovo*), Piero Puschiavo, (Fronte veneto skinhead) and the denier Jurgen Graf spoke.

At the end of the 1990s, after the NATO aggression against Yugoslavia and, in Italy, the progressive rapprochement of the 'social' Right (Tilgher and Rauti) towards electoral agreements with the Pole of Liberties, the Italian communitarist galaxy coagulated, giving life to a collaboration with the National European Communist Party (heir of Jean Thiriart), but the collaboration lasted little and after a year the Communitarist Circles broke with the NCP. In May 2001, the Communist Circles declared their dissolution and moved into the phase of 'nationalist communism'. In this phase we see the birth of the Union of Nationalist Communists of their site *Resist!* and the journal *Communitarism*<sup>30</sup>. In the document produced by the Roman dissolution assembly of 30.6.01, we read that "the communitarists undertook yet another process of ideological revision such that they abandoned Thiriart in favour of Lenin (...) and the strategic perspective of the Eurasian Unitary State for that of a European Federation of socialist states, approaching the elaborations of *Independence*, another periodical looked upon with open mistrust by the anti-fascists because some of its editors came from both the extreme left and the extreme right".

31

To find out about the other members of the area, we go to the *Italia Sociale* organisation website where we first find the composition of the editorial staff of the eponymous 'national socialism weekly' published in Verona: editor-in-chief Ugo Gaudenzi, political director Federico Dal Cortivo, cultural director Roberto Muttoni. Collaborators include: Gen. Amos Spiazzi<sup>32</sup>, Stefano Andrade Fajardo, Tazio Poltronieri, Prof. Primo Siena<sup>33</sup>, Franco Andreetto, Andrea Cucco; external collaborators include: Dr. Carlo Terracciano, Maria Lina Veca and Claudio Mutti. On the first page of the site appears a disturbing question: will Cuba be the Bush administration's next target? Browsing through their editorial archive, we find other signatures, some unquestionably right-wing like Massimo Fini, Paolo Emiliani (who is also a contributor to *Rinascita*), Maurizio Blondet<sup>34</sup>, the Triestine Ugo Fabbri<sup>35</sup>, Adel Smith<sup>36</sup>; but also Noam Chomsky, Father Benjamin, Marco Saba<sup>37</sup>, the 'friends of Al-Aqsa' and other pro-Palestinian organisations. In contrast, the title of the webpage dedicated to the story is unmistakable: 'the 18 points of Verona: an incredible topicality in the CSR programme'.

As linked sites we find some magazines: *Rinascita nazionale*, *Tibereide*, *Italicum*; but also the sites of Palestinian and Iraqi political movements, Father Benjamin's site on Iraq, that of Sinn fein and the Argentinean Justicialist (Peronist) Party, Le Pen's French Front National, the German neo-Nazi party NPD, some Swiss Nazi organisations and the Flemish National Youth; the website of the ADES (Association of Friends and Descendants of Istrian Exiles)<sup>38</sup>, of the musical group 270 bis<sup>39</sup>, of the 'Right in Italy', with the agenda of 'cultural' and political events in the area; and also of the US Institute for historical review, directed by Mark Weber.

It is worth mentioning an initiative promoted by *Rinascita nazionale* in April 2002 "in collaboration with *Utopia*, *Associazione Uomo Libero*, *Comicontrol*, *Italicum l'Uomo libero*, *Comunità militante Tiburtina e Umbra*, *Gioventù universitaria*, *Ass. Limes*<sup>40</sup>, *Socialismo tricolore*<sup>41</sup>". The theme of the two-day conference was 'Ethnic Cleansing and the Independence of Peoples. The Broken Nations'. The first day included a panel discussion on 'Anti-Serb ethnic cleansing in the Balkans wanted by London and Washington, Krajne of Croatia and Bosnia, Kosovo (1992-2002). The forgotten genocide'. Stefania Craxi, journalist Maurizio Cabona<sup>43</sup>, Mar. Ernesto Pallotta, director of the *Carabinieri Newspaper* and SDS journalist Dusan Ostojic had been invited to this debate, whose speakers included Dragoljub Kogic (SDS president), George Galloway (Scottish labour party), General Silvio Mazaroli<sup>42</sup>, Falco Accame and journalist Massimo Fini. This round table was to be followed by the press conference of the 'Utopia project for the rebirth of Kosovo'.

The next day, two more round tables were scheduled: in the morning 'the anti-Arab ethnic cleansing in the Near East wanted by London and Washington. Palestine and Iraq. The forgotten genocide', with the presence of, among others, George Galloway, Father Benjamin, Jacques Borde (international observer in Iraq), Bobo Craxi. It was followed by a press conference on the 'Utopia Project for Arab Rebirth'.

Last round table: 'the anti-Italian ethnic cleansing in the eastern Adriatic wanted by London and Washington. Istria, Rijeka, Zadar and Dalmatia (1944-47). The forgotten genocide". With Dragoljub Kogic, Giuseppe Pititto<sup>44</sup> (magistrate), Dino Giacca (Associazione Continuità adriatica), Augusto Sinagra, (civil plaintiff "s lawyer in the so-called foibe trial)<sup>45</sup>, Luigi Papo (historian)<sup>46</sup>, Piero Sella (historian), Massimo Fini; invitations to the Hon. Fabrizio Cicchetto of Forza Italia, the 'com. Sannucci X Mas', Maurizio Cabona. This was also followed by a press conference on the 'project for the revival of the Adriatic Continuity'.

The whole of this conference reminds us of a speech by the journalist Fausto Biloslavo<sup>47</sup>, who, after introducing himself as the 'grandson of an infibato and son of an exile' asked why there never existed an organisation for the liberation of Istria, as there was an organisation for the liberation of Palestine, and concluded by hoping that 'the Adriatic Sea will peacefully, culturally become what it has always been: an Italian lake'<sup>48</sup>.

After *Rinascita Nazionale*, we talk about the *Italicum* cultural centre, whose contributors include Enzo Erra<sup>49</sup>, Mario Merlino<sup>50</sup>, Alessandro Cresti<sup>51</sup>, Giorgio Vitali. We only mention the theme of the monographic issue 5-6, namely 'reconstructing the state', which published, among others, contributions by Enrico Belardinelli, Stefano Tringali<sup>52</sup>, Gabriele Adinolfi, Augusto Sinagra and Marilina Veca.

Of the magazine *Tibereide* (reported as 'the world of the armed forces from the perspective of national interests'), Maurizio Lintozzi is editor-in-chief; editor-in-chief Marilina Veca, contributors Falco Accame, Marco Saba, Franco Maranzana, Debora Zappa, Bruna Alasia and Michele Santoro ('from Sicily', it is specified on the magazine's website). There is an interesting presence of Falco Accame, a historical left-wing militant (years ago he was a member of Democrazia Proletaria and today he collaborates with *Rifondazione Comunista* and writes in its daily newspaper *Liberazione*), who for decades has dealt with issues related to the rights of the military, depleted uranium, international politics and terrorism; but also the presence of Marco Saba, who has made a name for himself in left-wing circles for his counter-information activities on depleted uranium.

#### BIPARTISAN MILITANTS.

Let us go back in time to see how already in years past the so-called 'radical' right had extended its hands towards 'left-wing' movements and mobilisations.

A tendency to "Nazimoism" is found, first of all, in Terza Posizione, which had animated, in Rome, at the end of the 70's, the struggle of the homeless squatters against the left-wing administration in the Palmarola suburb. Likewise Terza Posizione's positions of solidarity with the national liberation movements, not only Basque and Irish, but also with the Sandinistas of Nicaragua who were clearly 'left-wing'.

On Terza Posizione we read what Gianni Flamini writes<sup>53</sup> 'Francesco Mangiameli, Roberto Fiore, Gabriele Adinolfi (...) were founding a new organisation and printing a newspaper. They were both going to be called *Third Position*'. It was 1979, and Flamini quotes an excerpt from their writings: "Third Position removes the stagnant waters of resignation and manifests itself as a pole for all those who want to design the future of our system with us. We must consider ourselves natural allies of Islam, to whom our esteem cannot but go". On 14.12.79, at a Roman seat of the movement, three exponents of the Third Position are arrested, caught in the middle of transporting a crate full of hand grenades. In the subsequent search by the DIGOS, they find Carabinieri and Guardia di Finanza uniforms, stolen and false documents, rifles and various explosives. Possible links between the Third Position and the NAR terrorists were investigated at the time by Judge Mario Amato, who was assassinated by Gilberto Cavallini, of the NAR, on 23.6.80.

Today, we can partially find positions similar to those of Terza Posizione in the review of the Avant-garde Political Community, where we can read, besides rave praises of the figure of Osama Bin Laden, defined as an "anti-world revolutionary"<sup>54</sup> (let us remember that *Red is Black* also had an eye on this character), also the writings of Noam Chomsky and Subcomandante Marcos. And in practically every issue of the magazine we find expressions of solidarity with the Palestinian people, but in an essentially anti-Jewish rather than internationalist key (here we can perhaps glimpse a connection with the right-wing pro-Islamism we mentioned earlier).

With regard to the "formations of the antagonist right wing which catalyse, in an anti-American and anti-Israeli key, political-religious experiences and instances of the Islamic world", let us give the word to an "official" source: "a particular role has been played by the pro-Islamic organisations which have raised the tone of political criticism to American imperialism and to the military-political action carried out by Israel in Palestine. Among all of them, the Vanguard political community should be mentioned, standing firm on its historical *pro-Iranian* positions"<sup>55</sup>.

The political community of *Avanguardia* was born in 1982 in Trapani, with the magazine of the same name, and for a time collaborated with the group referring to the magazine *Orion*, but then they parted ways and the two groups did not attempt to build a common anti-world-war party. According to Marchi, in 1993 the Avant-garde circuit involved, in addition to the magazine of the same name, the Knut Hamsun book centre in Trapani, the editorial office of Popoli in the province of Pescara (another Avant-garde circle was to be set up in Pescara in 1993) and the Marsala study centre 'Christianity and Islam', directed by Gioacchino Grupposo<sup>56</sup>.

However, the position of *Avanguardia* is worrying, in the editorial-letter signed Manuel Negri with the unequivocal title "Wake up you assholes!" addressed to the "comrades in good faith" of Forza Nuova. The letter refers to the Forza Nuova demonstration in Bologna on 13.5.00, when "the demonstrators of Fiore and Morsello's group and the "anti-fascist protesters" contributed, more or less unconsciously, to carry out a strategic design exclusively functional to the centres of power marked by the stabilisation of the established order and to dampen any rebellious impulse coming from any antagonist environment". Thus, according to Negri, "the presence of Forza Nuova (...) has further contributed to stupidly reinforce the wall of division between 'potentially' antagonist forces which, strategically united against a common objective, would be a threat to the system".

And he asks again: "How come the 'tricolour fascists' were not present in Genoa alongside the anarchists, at the counter-demonstrations of Controtorio and Mobiltebio (...) thus contributing to swelling the ranks of a single antagonist front?"

That the anarchists might not agree that the ranks of the "antagonist front" were swollen also by "tricolour fascists" does not seem to be a problem for Negri, but it must be kept in mind that in the review, interventions, writings and analyses of a certain anarchist sector are repeatedly quoted, in the sense of agreement, such as that of certain Roman social centres, or the works of Alfredo Maria Bonanno (which do not appear to us, however, to have any relationship with the people of *Avanguardia*). However, the problem of the 'outstretched arm' towards certain political components can generate confusion in people (even in good faith) who do not have much ideological preparation and perhaps believe certain 'connections' are possible.

In the tragic days of the G8 in Genoa (July 2001) we were perhaps able to verify how certain suspicions of infiltration might have a basis of truth. Let us read what Guido Caldiron<sup>57</sup> wrote, after the 'indiscretions' on a memoir of the secret services concerning the danger of a Nazi-fascist presence in Genoa: "According to what *Il Messaggero* wrote yesterday, Biagio Cacciola, leader of the National Front of Adriano Tilgher and municipal councillor in Frosinone, would confirm the presence of his group in Genoa. Without symbols and flags, confused in the mass of demonstrators, about three hundred militants of the Front would take part in the procession on Saturday 21, marching in the first part of the demonstration, the one not involved in the clashes. - We arrived in Genoa from all over Italy,' explained Cacciola, 'we could not fail to take part in a demonstration that summed up many of the values and issues we have been fighting for since the days of the MSI (...). In addition to talking about his *comrades*, the frontist exponent declares - Someone from Forza Nuova was there, but many stayed at home - (...) Other testimonies then continue to concern the *black* buses that arrived in Genoa from Bologna and Cesena and that would have gathered both militants of fascist groups and neo-Nazi ultras. Yesterday, *the Secolo XIX* gathered rumours circulating in right-wing circles that spoke of a group of - five hundred recruited from among the most vocal and right-wing supporters of the Italian and foreign football galaxy -<sup>59</sup>".

Here, too, Fabio Bellani's denial arrived punctually: 'We reject the accusations that our movement infiltrated the Genoa procession against the G8 in order to provoke riots. These are typical theories of the heirs of the communists, which we reject'<sup>60</sup>.

It happened at times that attempts at 'strange couplings' promoted by exponents of a certain right-wing party went unsuccessful, as in the spring of 1979, when the group *Costruiamo l'azione*<sup>61</sup> organised a conference in Rome on repression, to which the *Autonomia Operaia* invited, but which ignored the matter, thus the initiative to coalesce the two 'opposite extremes' failed; other times, however, such attempts had different developments.

Thus we speak of the now deceased Enrico Vesce, who was a radical exponent in his later years, after having been a militant in *Potere Operaio*. Vesce, who in 1968 'had sublet a small room in the premises of Freda's bookshop in Padua',<sup>62</sup> where he ran his own book agency, had attended a conference in 1993 organised by the Solidarity Committee for Political Detainees, an organisation founded by Professor Agostino Sanfratello, a former 'Quaderni Piacentini' militant who had later turned to an 'unimplemented and severe Catholicism' (according to a definition by Franco Freda). The first commitment of this committee was the acquittal of Freda in the Piazza Fontana trial, but it did not disband after the acquittal, "it committed itself to the release of Signorelli (...) and in the summer of '93 against the arrest of the National Front leadership for violation of the Mancino Law".

The above-mentioned conference had as its theme "Palace Justice and Totalitarian Democracy", and in addition to Vesce and Sanfratello himself, it had been attended by a member of the Network and two from the National Alliance, Antonio Parlato and Nicola Pasetto. We find Sanfratello's name again in October 2003 in an initiative promoted by Forza Nuova, on the theme of "Genetic Manipulation, Bioethics and Abortion", in Formia, together with Roberto Fiore (formerly of Terza posizione and later founder of Forza Nuova), and Don Giulio Tam, the Lefevrian priest who in 2000 declared to a Trieste journalist that his cassock was "a black shirt that had become too long"<sup>63</sup>.

Nor should we forget that Francesca Mambro and Giusva Fioravanti, sentenced to life imprisonment, were admitted to outside work ("thanks to the mobilisation of many left-wing friends") at the radical anti-death penalty association Nessuno tocchi Caino, "animated by Sergio D'Elia, former Prima Linea leader"<sup>64</sup>.

In the report by Silvio Maranzana on the merger of the Fiamma Tricolore in June 2001 with other exponents of the radical right (excluding Forza Nuova) in the National Social Front under Adriano Tilgher, we read, among other things: "In this anti-globalisation perspective, in the past few months, exponents of Forza Nuova in Trieste have allegedly tried to establish a pact with the White Suits of the social centres, but they were sent home. Something similar had happened at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s when activists of the Fronte della Gioventù had gone to Piazza Goldoni to propose a pact of action to the then metropolitan Indians"<sup>65</sup>.

As if to say that history repeats itself. But the topical subject, at the time of printing this dossier, is the fact that in recent years 'communitarists' have gone to anti-imperialist camps organised by associations concerned with international solidarity, seeking to develop collaborations with left-wing militants<sup>66</sup>.

#### ANTI-IMPERIALIST CAMPS.

We read Tassinari again about 'the Communist Party, the Italian section of the organisational network of Jean Thiriart, the grand old man of national Bolshevism. Giving life to this regeneration is a group of exiles from the National Front who claim to have gathered adhesions even among Rifondazione militants thanks to their strong ties with Russian and Serbian national-communism: *Independence* crushes them as yet another attempt at ambiguous recycling of the extreme right and they recoil offended, boasting as accreditation their relations with "Voce operaia" and participation in the summer anti-imperialist camp in Assisi (...) the known names are two: the director, Maurizio Neri<sup>67</sup> and Carlo Terracciano".

Let us now talk about the anti-imperialist camps in Umbria, which have been organised for some years now by the group referring to the magazine *Voce Operaia*, directed by Moreno Pasquinelli (recently this magazine has been referred to as Direzione 17 bulletin): these are conferences attended by different groupings, from all over the world, who have the fight against imperialism in common.

The following is an analysis of the issue that we found on the web, signed by Giacomo Scalfari: "The anti-imperialist camp is a summer camp where groups have been gathering for several years now, Italian and foreign collectives and organisations that stand on the terrain of anti-capitalism. A anti-capitalism understood in a very generic and nominal sense - therefore *misunderstood* - so much so that in 2000 the national Bolsheviks of *Communitarianism*, i.e. left-wing neo-fascists, were able to participate without any problem.

Actually, however, on closer inspection, this is not at all surprising. This is because up until last year it was *Voce Operaia* that promoted these camps, and *Voce Operaia*, beyond a formal call to proletarian internationalism, has always taken anti-western and nationalist positions, siding with all those nations, from Serbia to Palestine *in the making*, which have interests opposed to those of NATO imperialism.

The anti-imperialism of *Voce Operaia*, in short, has always been a siding with the weaker bourgeois front, confusing international proletarian solidarity with the defence of aggressed nations, thus remaining absolutely within the imperialist logic itself.

In May (2001, editor's note) *Voce Operaia* disbanded in order to set out on the path of the 'Front for Liberation' (sic), 'a broad, inclusive, democratic, centralist but pluralist organisation. A federation of antagonistic forces...' (from the Declaration of Dissolution of *Voce Operaia*).

During the national procession of Rifondazione Comunista held in Rome on Saturday 29 September, a leaflet was distributed bearing the following title: "*A Constituent Assembly for a social political movement against globalisation, capitalism and imperialism - Open Letter to the Movement*". Signed: "*The Promoters, gathered in Assisi during the Anti-Imperialist Camp, August 2001*", who, in the Letter, declare that they want to constitute within the movement a *third pole*, alternative to both the pacifist (Agnolotto & Co.) and the rebellist (Black Bloc & Co.) *poles*.

The movement in question is, of course, the anti-global movement. A movement that is defined as '*anti-capitalist, even more than for the courage of its forms of struggle, for the radicality of its contents*'. (...) In essence, therefore, we must work to ensure that the segmented proletarian front finally manages to compact on class ground. Which is sacrosanct. What the Letter doesn't say, however, is that in order to involve the proletariat in the anti-capitalist *political* struggle, it is absolutely necessary for the conflict to move from the squares to the workplaces, to the factories, to the territory, where the social and economic gears of capital turn, and where the revolutionary class is not yet deceptively diluted in the mortal liquid of *citizenship*.

And communism? Nothing, not even a hint. Not even a periphrasis. So what would be the alternative to the capitalist globalisation that one wants to fight and destroy? How can one consistently oppose the system that dominates the world without saying a single word about what should be the way out, the way to build a society without capitalism?<sup>68</sup>.

But we also hear the bell of *Voce Operaia*. "Are fascism and fascists our main enemy today? Absolutely not. It seems to me really pleonastic to have to explain on a list of anti-Americanists and anti-imperialists who the main enemy is today. Does this mean being lenient towards the fascists? Of course not. Are the fascists all squashed on Forza Nuova positions? Absolutely not. There is great ferment in this area, a heated discussion, not only political, but theoretical. Should we follow this discussion closely? Or do we piss on it? I think we have to follow it. First of all, so as not to be caught unprepared (as happened to our French comrades, who in the face of the devil Le Pen, ended up voting en masse... the devil Chirac!). Never shrug off minority phenomena, because tomorrow they might not be. I refer in particular to two radical right-wing newspapers, the daily *Rinascita* and *Italicum*. This area, for those who do not know, is against American imperialism, considers Berlusconi the main enemy, and the Ulivo the lesser evil (in the recent elections in Friuli they voted for Illy!!)"<sup>69</sup>.

Looking through the 2003 anti-imperialist camp programme, where we find, among others, the following initiatives: 'Beyond Porto Alegre world social forum and perspectives of the anti-globalisation movement'.

Debate with: Piero Bernocchi<sup>70</sup>, Costanzo Preve, Leonardo Mazzei; chaired by Moreno Pasquinelli. 'Armageddon: political and religious fundamentalism in the USA'. Meeting with Miguel Martinez and Roberto Giammanco.

"For a movement of resistance to the American empire. As an alternative to the imperialist drift of the western left", with Miguel Martinez, Costanzo Preve, Roberto Giammanco, chaired by Alessia Monteverdi.

The presence of journalist Marilina Veca was also planned (but she *forfeited*), on whom we must now open an extensive parenthesis.

#### A BUSY JOURNALIST.

Marilina Veca writes in many journals: in addition to those mentioned 'positively' by Pasquinelli (i.e. *Rinascita Nazionale* and *Italicum*, which we have already mentioned a few pages ago), we also find her articles in *Tibereide* and in the 'telematic journal of national liberation' *Rivolta*. In *Tibereide* Veca raised the case of the Yugoslav army pilot Emir Sasic (of Bosnian Serb nationality), on trial in Rome because he was accused of being responsible for the shooting down of an Italian plane in the skies over Bosnia in January 1992. Veca wrote this story, sought contacts with people willing to organise the pilot's defence, and seems to have been the conduit to find a defence lawyer for Sasic, who by the way is seriously ill with cancer. Only, the lawyer who defended the pilot is Augusto Sinagra, who is not only ideologically aligned with the right, but from his statements and his public activities seems closer to Islamists, while he denotes a certain animosity towards the Slavic peoples<sup>71</sup>. However, despite Marilina Veca's efforts, Sasic was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment.

In the articles that Veca writes for these magazines, a clear right-wing ideological component does not shine through (he has, among other things, picked up on the affair of the 'repentant gladiator' Nino Arconte, made known on Marco Saba's website), but where the journalist's nostalgic alters are revealed is in an article published in *Rivolta* and dedicated to a book entitled 'La corriera fantasma - Primavera di sangue 1945', written by historian and journalist Vittorio Martinelli and published by Zanetti.

This is Veca's title: 'the *ghost coach*: the journey of death from Brescia to San Possidonio (Modena) in the bloody spring of 1945. That is, the story of a coach and its passengers who disappeared into thin air in the distant May of 1945, while passing through the Emilian lowlands'.

We read the story. "The story begins in the middle of May 1945, in Brescia's Piazza del Vescovado (Bishop's Square): dozens of lorries left from here in those days, some of them with trailers, with hundreds of people on board, whose personal details were not recorded. A certain P.O.A. bus also left from that square, crammed with passengers heading for very different destinations, condemned instead - we do not know why - to one and the same final destination, one of the many mass graves scattered in the Bassa Modenese, in that area that has deserved the nickname '*triangle of death*'. Veca then takes up an article by Gianna Preda that appeared in the *Borghese* in May 1968, but what we have read so far is enough to put the whole thing in context. Also because, if we return for a moment to the lands of the eastern border, we dwell on one of the 'legends' that arose from Fascist propaganda on the issue of the Istrian 'foibe', the 'legend' concerning the 'death coach'. Let us read the press of the time (which was, let us remember, under the control of the German Reich command that had occupied the eastern part of Italy). "The *death coach* was infamous among the prisoners. It served to take away from Pazin, little before the bandits escaped, the Italians from Poreè whose fate is still unknown (...) the same bus had one day carried 21 prisoners who, as one of the guards testified, were taken away from Pazin, lowered into a forest, completely stripped of their clothes, forced into a pit and all shot with machine guns<sup>72</sup>."

"The jailers, before putting them (*the prisoners, n.d.a.*) on the bus, tied everyone's hands with wire and then attacked them two by two. (...) The windows were painted white, so that they could not be seen along the route. (...) The coach left. It returned, empty, after three hours. It left again immediately, loaded with new *freedmen* who reached the first<sup>73</sup>."

This is what appears in a report written by Maria Pasquinelli<sup>74</sup> on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the immediate post-war period. "Pazin: 28.8.45: numerous arrests were made of Italians who were taken to the castle in Pazin and then at night by means of a coach, called the *death coach*, were transferred to an unknown destination. Later it turned out that these poor people were thrown into the various foibe". It is strange that Pasquinelli, who had held an information role for the services of Prince Borghese's Decima Mas and had already written reports on the 'foibe' in the winter of '43-'44, should make this *confusion* about dates.

Let us now read a testimony by the Triestine Raffaello Camerini<sup>75</sup>:

"In July 1940 (...) I was called to forced labour (...) and was destined for the bauxite quarries, the main site of which was St. Domenica d'Albona. (...) And what can we say about the Italian fascists who, on 26 July 1943, hijacked the bus line from Trieste to Pazin and Pula into a ravine with all the passengers, with lethal consequences for everyone?"

So Marilina Veca has done nothing more than take a piece of news from the classic repertoire of anti-partisan fascists: and has done so in order to use it in the same way as the propagandists of Nazi-fascism?

#### ASCIATI AND LEGIONNAIRES.

Among those present in the 2003 anti-imperialist camp was Miguel Martinez, about whom *Voce Operaia* published an article in the journal *Praxis*, which was then taken up by the Asefi editorial (which we will return to later) and commented on by Costanzo Preve (which we will also return to later). Martinez today declares on his site that his ideas "are in continuous transformation", and that he has been accused of being, from time to time, "communist", "fascist infiltrator", "enemy of Christianity and friend of Satanism": he "smiles" at these accusations, but does not say what he really is, since he claims to deal above all with "the imaginary".

Martinez, however, is known to us for other reasons. The magazine *Cuore*, in its issue of 3.12.94, spoke of an association called *Nuova Acropoli*, whose existence was discovered after the publication of a memoir written by this very Miguel Martinez, an Italian-Mexican who, after having been one of the leaders of the organisation, left it, explaining what its actual aims were.

Nuova Acropoli was founded in Argentina in 1957 and spread to Italy in the early 1980s; it is described in the article above.

"... 5 thousand members in 1989 (500 in Italy alone) and a declared patrimony of over 8 million dollars, New Acropolis is *outwardly a cultural and humanistic organisation, but it hides (...) a very rigid pyramid structure, hidden from its basic followers* (from the Executor's Manual reserved for the higher levels of the group). At the top of the pyramid is a World Commander, with absolute power, who rules by *decree* (...) The sect's leadership group is formed by the elite of the *ascetics*, the only ones who can claim direct contact with the World Commander. Then come the simple members, divided into three structures with typically Hitlerian overtones. First there is the *Security Corps*. It wears black uniforms that are reminiscent of the SS, including the symbol of the thunderbolt, and performs a more or less disguised function (...) of vigilance and rapid intervention. In Italy, it took on the name of the *Civil Protection Department* a few years ago - immediately after the *environmental turnaround* in the early 1980s - ... it is flanked by the *Male Brigades* (...) and the *Female Brigades*'.

In addition, "New Acropolis's educational system also provides facilities for the youngest children: the construction of the New Man<sup>76</sup> begins in early childhood through (...) a kind of kindergarten in which, among other things, they are taught the technique to see *gnomes, elves and fairies*; then, from the age of 7 to 14, the children are divided between the male structure of the *Knights of the Round Table* and the female structure of the *Table of Isis*. (...) New Acropolis teaches a philosophising doctrine in which mankind is divided into superior and inferior races (...) an unhealthy ethic of the *strong man* is associated with the obligation to *avoid overprotection of the weakest to the detriment of the most important*.

Nuova Acropoli, the article goes on to explain, spread in the 1980s, following the ecological *fashion*, as an environmental association which organised meetings, seminars, courses and various activities, often under the patronage of institutions (in 1989 in Genoa, for example, the railways entrusted the local section of Nuova Acropoli with the management of a course for announcers in stations). But also outings for the elderly in Venice with the patronage of the municipality and the participation of the mayor; a training camp 'for active ecology' in the Abruzzo park, under the aegis of the park authority, the L'Aquila Aeroclub, the State Forestry Corps and the Abruzzo Region, and so on.

Finally, in October 1989, a 'camp' in Nuova Acropoli (a farmstead purchased a few years earlier) was searched by the Carabinieri of the Montefiascone station who found 'pennants, flags, knives, an unlicensed two-way radio and numerous pistol shells' and arrested a young man from the 'Security Corps' there. Firearms were instead found in other non-Italian sections: in Madrid and Athens (where the person responsible was sentenced to 12 years in prison).

And here are the international contacts of these 'militants'.

"The founder, Livraga Rizzi, claimed in the 70's, his relations with the Argentinean and Uruguayan golpist circles, with the Chilean Patria y libertad, with the Spanish Falange. And also the Italian section, at least in the beginning, shows close relations of friendship with this area: founded in Rome in 1975 (between 1976 and 1979, it will open branches in fifteen cities), it is initially helped by Serafino Di Luia, founder of the Nazi-Maoist Lotta di Popolo, while Gabriele Adinolfi, one of the fathers of Terza Posizione, encourages his own comrades to frequent the organisation.

But how were the followers 'recruited'? We read further.

"It starts with a course, in which the follower is followed individually. He is probed, his interests are understood, he is directed towards a job within the organisation. At the beginning, in a subtle manner, in a mock-assembly manner (...) through the introduction of military topics, getting him used to following orders (...) It starts with the use of small codes (special signals, slang, role-playing) and you find yourself framed, squeezed into Nazi-like uniforms, doing the Roman salute. Or shooting'.

This activity of Nuova Acropoli is vaguely reminiscent of certain *New Age* initiatives, role-playing games, esoteric philosophies, references to Tolkien's fairy-tale world, medievalist and 'Celtic' revivals. In Trieste, the *new age* circuit is mostly run by right-wing exponents, who had organised the 1999 festival together with other associations; among the organisers was Gianni Pizzati, once a militant of the Paduan Autonomy and now leader of the 'new' Greens in Trieste, appointed consultant for non-conventional therapies by the regional health councillor Pecol Cominotto of the Illy junta.

#### PUBLISHERS AND DEBATES.

Starting with one of the speakers at the anti-imperialist camp, Costanzo Preve<sup>77</sup>, who spoke together with Alessandro Meluzzi, Maurizio Pallante and Marco Tarchi<sup>78</sup> at a debate on 'The future of empire', promoted by the Milan-based Asefi publishing house, directed by Gianfranco Monti, we come to another area to learn more about. The Asefi publishing house, although not very well known to the general public, carries out an intense and interesting activity: apart from organising art exhibitions (among them the exhibition of the painter Crali, recently seen in Trieste) and printing political and philosophical texts, it publishes an online bulletin of book, cultural and political information, introduced each time by an intervention by Monti, which also hosts debates on the topics it deals with. The Terziaria publishing house is part of it, which has as its symbol a kind of ammonite, the fossil shell that is somewhat reminiscent, in its graphics, of those strange shells that appeared on some of the black flags of the *Black blocs* that waved in Genoa in July 2001.

The authors in these series are from a variety of backgrounds and certainly not illustrious unknowns. In fact, we find Regis Debray<sup>79</sup>, Alain de Benoist (the leading theorist of the French *Nouvelle Droite*), Gianfranco de Turris (RAI journalist, who became famous for 'Politicamente scorretto', with a preface by Marcello Veneziani), Claudio Mutti (of whom we have already spoken, and who through Asefi debates, together with his colleague Franco Damiani<sup>80</sup>, on the freedom of teaching following the publication of the book "La contesa di Parma", a text that was even reviewed by the *Sentinella d'Italia*, a neo-Nazi magazine from Monfalcone); we find 'Morire per Kabul' (Dying for Kabul), by Lucio Lami, war correspondent for *Il Giornale* and later editor of *L'Indipendente*.

But apart from these representatives of the 'cultural' right, we also find in the Terziaria and Asefi catalogue the names of some Triestines who are unquestionably on the left: There is the painter and poet Ugo Pierri, present both with an exhibition of his watercolours on the subject of the G8 in Genoa, and with a couple of books of poems, one of which was written 'in dialogue' with Paolo Speri, another Triestine who moved to Milan; and there is the journalist of the *Manifesto* Matteo Moder, also present with a book of poems.

Another link of the Asefi with Trieste is through the magazine *Il Bargello*, born as a periodical of the university fascists of Trieste and then 'taken over' by the Associazione culturale Novecento (of which we will speak later). Practically every issue of the Bargello reviews one or more of the Terziaria's publications, and it was from its pages that a debate started, taken up *online* by Monti, on the French director Autant Lara, promoted by the *Giornale's* film critic, Maurizio Cabona, who is another recurring name in our study. Just as many of Asefi's names can be found in the conferences promoted by the Associazione Novecento, which was founded in 1997 and whose spokesman is Angelo Lippi, brother of AN's institutional representative Gilberto Paris Lippi<sup>81</sup>.

Angelo Lippi had different political experiences from those of his brother, after their common militancy in the Fronte della Gioventù: in fact, in '92 he stood as a candidate in the League of Leagues (or National-Popular League), an electoral list considered by some to be 'disturbing' (for example, in Trieste its presence prevented the election of the AN deputy by a few votes) founded by the better known Stefano Delle Chiaie<sup>82</sup>, who electoral campaign had proudly flaunted the fact that it had succeeded in bringing together in its ranks not only clearly right-wingers, but also exiles from the left<sup>83</sup>. Both Lippi and the leading candidate Marina Marzi (both of whom we find today among the leaders of the Novecento) then rejoined the ranks of the governing right, while another of the list's well-known names, Claudio Scarpa (a former militant of Avanguardia Nazionale), continued to refer to a more 'extreme' right wing, that of the Fiamma tricolore, which later merged with Adriano Tilgher's reconstituted National Front in 2001.

The activities of the Novecento (financed in 2002 with more than 2.000 Euro from the Province of Trieste) is expressed in the organisation of conferences with a 'historical' theme (they are proud to have invited Marco Pirina, but Giorgio Rustia<sup>84</sup> is also one of their favourite lecturers); In 2001, they caused a sensation by organising the conference 'atmospheres in black', which was attended, among others, by a former member of the SS, Christian de la Mazière, to talk about the intellectuals Celine, Brasillach and Drieu de la Rochelle, who are notoriously right-wing (the critic Cabona and Giano Accame<sup>85</sup>, another well-known person in the Italian right-wing intelligentsia and a recurring name among the guests of the Novecento, also took part in this initiative). Another regular guest is Fausto Biloslavo, who once spoke together with another war reporter, the Lucio Lami we met earlier, to discuss the situation in Afghanistan. Also interesting is the definition of "philosopher" they give of Mario Merlino, who is indeed today a philosophy teacher, but we remember him as one of the protagonists of the strategy of tension, the right-wing infiltrator in Roman anarchist circles.

We mentioned earlier the magazine *Il Bargello*, which originated as the organ of the student association of the same name (clearly aligned to the right), which organised, between 1988 and 1998, a series of conferences, exhibitions and conventions, which saw the participation of right-wing intellectuals such as Marcello Veneziani; among the various cultural initiatives, the organisation of the 270 bis concert stands out, a musical group named after the article in the Penal Code on subversive association<sup>86</sup>.

The *Bargello*, published by the Novecento, has acquired a beautiful editorial look, glossy paper, features articles on Ezra Pound and Yukio Mishima (the right wing has always had an eye for Japanese culture), but also a commemoration article for a young man from the Foreign Legion who died by suicide (he had not been able to get used to the 'daily routine' after identifying himself as a 'warrior', we read); it delves into international issues such as globalisation and Islamism, from an almost 'communist' point of view (they are against US imperialism, but remain anti-communist); it publishes book reviews (mainly of the Terziaria publishing house, but also of the Settimo Sigillo); it hosts advertisements for the Province of Trieste. But both the *Bargello* and the Novecento, after a year and a half of intense political and cultural activity, saw their initiatives come to a standstill after the representative of the Popoli association (which supports the Burmese Karen ethnic group) Franco Nerozzi was investigated (according to investigations conducted by two public prosecutors' offices, 'mercenaries' from Trieste were allegedly involved in a ring of arms dealers and gunmen to be sent to various 'hot' parts of the world to destabilise - or restore order, depending on who commissioned the work - in areas such as the Comoros Islands, but also Bosnia, Rwanda, Burma)<sup>87</sup>.

To this association, which calls itself 'Solidarist Community', the Novecento had also dedicated a space to it, both in the *Bargello* and in the weekly column provided by the daily newspaper *Trieste Oggi*. "Popoli", we read, 'has espoused the cause of the Karen liberation movement', which opposes the government in Rangoon, and to send aid it relies on the support of the association of 'Pharmacists without Borders', who reach the Karen region by crossing the Thai border (supposedly illegally).

The Novecento has not distanced itself from Nerozzi, indeed it has claimed to collaborate with him; what is rather surprising is the indifference with which the administrators of the Province of Trieste (which, as we have already said, finances the *Bargello* with advertising and the Novecento with public contributions) greeted the news that one of the magazine's collaborators is under investigation for a crime such as enlisting mercenaries to be sent to various parts of the world. The investigators say it is likely that the missions humanitarian aid in Popoli was completely innocent, but there is a suspicion that its representatives, in addition to bringing aid, were also testing the ground to organise an armed intervention in support of the Karen struggle. Finally, a part of the investigation, which started in Torre Annunziata, also concerns a possible trafficking of children from Bosnia for a prostitution ring.

Curiously enough, the first major release of the Novecento after the 'scandal' of the investigation into Nerozzi, concerned precisely a lecture on the problem of oppressed peoples (the Karen, but also the Montagnards of Vietnam) during the electoral campaign for the by-elections to the Chamber of Deputies for the second constituency of Trieste. During this conference, Nerozzi, after self-describing himself as a "blind and delusional anti-communist", spoke about the Karen, while on the issue of the Montagnards (a people who had always fought the Vietnamese people, collaborating with the occupiers: first the French and then the Americans), the presentation was made by the candidate from the radical area, Christina Sponza, who illustrated the activities of her political organisation in favour of the Montagnards' associations. In fact, therefore, what might have seemed to be a political-cultural initiative on international problems, turned into a sort of springboard for the candidate Sponza, so accredited by a certain 'anti-world' right-wing milieu.

## THE FLOOR TO COSTANZO PREVE.

But let's see what motivations the 'philosopher' (but have you ever wondered how many 'philosophers' exist in Italy today? Or is Ivano Fossati right when he sings that every philosophy teacher today is a philosopher?) Costanzo Preve, who was close to the positions of Democrazia Proletaria in the distant past, has put forward in order to approach a collaboration with the communitarian area today.

"The emotional break for me dates back to March 1999, when American bombers and their European NATO servants (with the commendable exception of Greece, the home of philosophy) began spraying Yugoslavia with radioactive uranium. As an old connoisseur of the Balkans, I knew perfectly well that there was no genocide and no ethnic cleansing (i.e. mass ethnic expulsion from a territory) taking place, but only an armed repression of an armed independence movement (a situation common to at least fifty countries in the world). I also knew that the Albanian independence armed movement UCK pursued the ethnic cleansing of Serbs, while Milosevic did not pursue that of Albanians. I also knew that the Americans were completely indifferent to so-called humanitarian motives, and wanted instead a geopolitical military settlement in the Balkans (today's Camp Bondsteel). I also knew that the so-called Rambouillet talks had been a trap planned by Albright. Well, all of this was widely known, and instead I saw the Left supporting the American war, Veltroni parading in support of it, Sofri praising it in the columns of the party-newspaper *La Repubblica*, Bobbio lending his name to the so-called Operation Rainbow, and so on. At that moment something broke in me. Then I read that Tarchi's magazine *Diorama Letterario* had instead committed itself against the war with calm and balanced contributions, and then I decided that the taboo of impurity would have to be broken precisely to preserve my sanity and my personal dignity as a scholar. And I did so. (...)

Let us briefly examine these programmatic points, which are precisely beyond the dichotomy between left and right. Firstly, modern communitarianism is today able, in my opinion, to radically correct the fatal error of the old 19th and early 20th century communitarianism, namely

organicism (in other words, *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft*). Today, communitarianism, correctly understood and elaborated, is able to accommodate the good reasons of the best individualism, namely tolerance of minority lifestyles, the right to free artistic, philosophical and religious expression, and so on. I sincerely believe that the best communitarianism can embrace the philosophical lessons of Spinoza and Marx. The ground of individualism, on the other hand, is today the common philosophical ground of the encounter of the new globalised capitalism of targeted (and indeed *individualised* and no longer Fordist and serialised) consumption with the snobbish and politically correct left. I could give a thousand examples from everyday life, but I think the concept is already clear enough. Secondly, the nation-state founded on a nationalist democracy (and I refer here to the analyses carried out for several years by the magazine *Indipendenza*, which I am honoured to collaborate with) no longer has anything to do with the old imperialist nation-states, which Toni Negri continues to trade in picturesque and irritating confusion. Today this nation-state is above all a factor of resistance to the American empire. That is why Chávez is good in Venezuela. Chevènement is good in France. Burma's military junta, spat on by all left-wing journalists, is good, and will perhaps spare its Buddhist people from becoming a brothel for European and Japanese paedophiles like neighbouring Thailand. China is good, as long as it remains strong and independent. And we could go on, but the reader will have already fully understood. We need a 180° cultural revolution, and unfortunately it will not come soon. I know perfectly well that in the eyes of a politically correct leftist what I have written is not English or German, i.e. partly understandable, but Armenian and Turkish, i.e. completely incomprehensible. No matter. Those who have good reasons must move on. And we know that our reasons are very good<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Intervention from the 'socialism and liberation' website.

We do not pretend to give answers, neither philosophical nor of high political strategy, let us be clear. But we do want to speak from the heart, as they say. Well, perhaps from an emotional point of view Preve may well be right. But political strategies are not decided on emotional grounds, and when one decides to start a common political path with another political entity, one must first assess what goals one has in common, what methods and who are the people one is going to work with. And the people with whom you would be creating this internationalist *liaison* do not seem to us to be good travelling companions, with the goodwill of Preve and Pasquinelli.

As signatories of the appeal for the 6 December demonstration, and labelled as 'fascists', both Maurizio Neri and Miguel Martinez replied that they had been right-wing militants in the past and had then changed their minds. We will not go into the merits of the 'ideological' changes of the individuals here (even if we are not clear about the current political aims of the two in question), because we are well aware that a fascist does not necessarily have to remain a fascist indefinitely, just as a communist can also change his political mind. What seems curious to us, is that at the same time as Neri and Martinez came to their senses, other people (who instead continue to refer to right-wing ideologies - even if they are communist) came closer to the 'left-wing' political circles with which Neri and Martinez collaborate on internationalist issues.

All this must be included in the panorama of the political/non-political conceptions of the so-called no-global (or new global) movement, which only talks about overcoming capitalism and does not say how to implement this overcoming, because it is necessary to abandon ideologies and even Marxism-Leninism (in this regard, the debate that has arisen even within the Communist Refoundation party is desolating). The militants of this movement declare themselves to be "neither of the right nor of the left", (a statement we have often heard made in past years both by militants of the Fiamma tricolore and by representatives of Ya basta) but "civil society" (an ugly term, in our opinion, that we find used in the P2's Democratic Rebirth Plan); An unidentified "empire" is seen as the enemy, and there is no longer any talk of imperialism, a category that is wrongly considered outdated (a concept that prevents the creation of a serious opposition against it), and this "empire" is not sure what kind of society it is intended to replace, given that no one wants to talk about communism any more, and even less is there any Marxist analysis of the situation of the evolution of capitalism.

In this qualunquist ideological vacuum, where it is enough to declare oneself to be an anti-world 'no-global', opposed to NATO and the USA, but without an alternative model of development, in order to become fully part of an unclear 'social movement' (what an ugly definition, which however seems to like it very much, instead of evoking a past of neo-fascism), the risks of strange connections, infiltrations and, why not, provocations of which the history of left-wing movements is full.

#### APPENDIX: THE CHARACTERS.

So many characters gravitate around what is written in these pages, and so interesting are their biographies, that we have thought of collecting them in alphabetical order at the end of the dossier, so as to streamline the text but not to sacrifice the readers' knowledge.

ACCAME Janus. From his initial ordinovist positions, he was one of the animators of the conference on the 'revolutionary war' organised by the Alberto Pollio Institute of Military Studies at the Hotel Parco dei Principi in Rome in 1965, an occasion in which scholars identified the birth of the so-called 'coup party', i.e. that area of the Right infiltrated by the secret services (or vice versa) that provoked the strategy of tension in Italy. Mario Merlino (see) and Stefano Delle Chiaie (see) also participated in the conference as 'observers'.

ADINOLFI Gabriele was with Roberto Fiore (the one who, in the 1990s, would give birth to the Forza Nuova organisation) one of the founders of Terza Posizione, and together with him escaped abroad ("with the movement's cash box", claimed Giusva Fioravanti during his interrogations) in 1980. With regard to Fiore and Adinolfi, Fioravanti again stated: 'The leaders of Terza Posizione were clever because they did not tell the young militants it was necessary to do this or that robbery, but in the course of a meeting they would expound the need to have money for initiatives and they would get the boys to voluntarily propose a robbery plan. In this way, many boys were sent off to the dogs and then arrested'<sup>90</sup>.

ALLIATA DI MONTEREALE Gianfranco, the prince frequenter of the Trapani lodge, "is a leading figure of fringe Freemasonry and the black aristocracy (...) accused by Pisciotta of being, together with Bernardo Mattarella, the instigator of the Portella delle Ginestre massacre"<sup>91</sup>; his name appeared in several enquiries into the "strategy of tension", from the failed Borghese coup to the Rosa dei Venti.

AURITI Giacinto was a speaker at the annual Montesilvano course of the Fronte della Gioventù in 1972, and chaired the 2nd National Conference of the Centre for Political and Constitutional Studies in Rimini; in 2000, he took part in the first programme meeting of Forza Nuova and in the Summer University conference organised in Erba by the Northern League<sup>92</sup> (where he spoke about 'local money'), a conference that also saw the presence of Mario Borghesio (who is now in the Northern League, but was formerly a member of Ordine Nuovo), who spoke instead about globalism. In his "The hidden strategy of war without borders" he said: "Fascism defended the values of natural law. Benito Mussolini undoubtedly loved the people'.

BILOSLAVO Fausto, militant of the Fronte della Gioventù in Trieste in the 1970s. But "Gilberto Paris Lippi (see), Fausto Biloslavo and Antonio Azzano were arrested on 1 July 1981 by order of the Bologna magistracy for reticence and perjury concerning their stays in Lebanon, in paramilitary camps of the Phalangists. Two days later it was specified that the investigation was part of the investigation into the 2 August massacre at the railway station"<sup>93</sup>. The three were later acquitted of all charges. Biloslavo founded in the early 1980s, together with two other exponents of the young right wing in Trieste, Almerigo Grilz<sup>94</sup> and Gian Micalessin of the Albatross agency, which specialised in *reportage* from war zones.

During a conference organised by the Novecento Association, Biloslavo, who travelled to Afghanistan several times in the 1980s, recounted that he first entered the country in 1983 thanks to his contact with the war correspondent Lucio Lami; that he entered the Kabul prison disguised as a government soldier and then managed to take photos and film, later having an article published in the *European* newspaper entitled 'Russian comrades have done it to you under the nose'. In 1987 Biloslavo was arrested and imprisoned for several months by the Afghan authorities because he was suspected of contacts with the guerrillas; he returned once more to Kabul and was run over by a truck, saving himself by a miracle. In the same lecture, he also claimed that he went to Afghanistan for the last time in '98, after the US 'punishment', that he had negotiated with the Taliban to enter and that he had managed to photograph Bin Laden's house and had had contacts with his guerrillas.

CACCIOLA Biagio, former president of the FUAN in Rome in the late 1970s, is among the signatories of the appeal for the 6 December demonstration. He represented the Socialismo Tricolore association at the meeting held in Genoa on 10.11.02 at the national headquarters of the PSI - UDE, where the second meeting was held between the movements that activated a federative process at the meeting in San Colombano (MI) on 5.10.02. "The movement's objective," we read in the memorandum of association, "and in this must consist the revolutionary position of our project, will be to form a mature human being, creative, capable of loving and thinking, a conscious builder, therefore a subject, of a new form of society that will be that of humanist socialism, which is at the same time liberal and democratic. "A society in which the individual is a lot, not a society in which he has a lot or uses a lot. A society that creates the conditions for productive man not for consumer man. A society in which man is seen in his essential components of body and spirit"<sup>95</sup>. Biagio Cacciola has an interesting *bipartisan* precedent, given that in 1977, after Lama's expulsion from the University of Rome, when he made a sort of 'vindication' of the event, writing 'what happened is an illegitimate child of our idea, but still a child (...) the students, the young people, even the young people themselves, were not able to take part in the event.) the students, the young people, even if forcibly labelled in the area of autonomy, with their movement have run over the system, with the PCI at the head (...) it is precisely this that the metropolitan Indians and our components within the movement have highlighted'<sup>96</sup>.

DELLE CHIAIE Stefano was accused of complicity in many subversive acts, from the Piazza Fontana massacre to the Bologna massacre, from the Occorsio murder to the assassination attempt on Bernardo Leighton in conspiracy with Pinochet's secret service Condor plan, but was acquitted of all charges.

ERRA Enzo. One of the founders, in the '50s, of Ordine Nuovo, an organisation unravelled from "an Evolian cénacle, the Sons of the Sun, which constituted a current of the MSI: they included, with Rauti and Erra, Giano Accame (see), Sergio Pessot, Renzo Ribotta, Stefano Mangiante, Pietro Vassallo". Previously, Erra, a veteran of the RSI, had started *Imperium* 'the first revolutionary traditionalist magazine', and, according to Tassinari, because of his 'entrista and pragmatic' position he came into disagreement with Rauti<sup>97</sup>.

FABBRI Ugo was one of the founders of the Italian National Movement (MIN) in Trieste in 1959, organised to defend against "the advance of the Slavic hordes" at "any cost and by any means"; during a meeting of the Trieste city council, they threw a paper bomb inside the hall, along with leaflets against bilingualism, which hit a Missina councillor, burning her. Acknowledged to be responsible for an attack on the house of an anti-fascist historian, their claimed actions include an attack on the Austrian consulate in Trieste, some terrorist actions carried out in Gorizia (throwing a bomb at a PCI office) and across the border (an attack in Istria and the throwing of a bomb at a Yugoslavian border turret)<sup>98</sup>. Fabbri then became a leader of the MSI union CISNAL, which later became the UGL. In March 2000, a letter appeared in the "Popolo d'Italia", a sheet of nostalgic apologists of the CSR, expressing his solidarity with his "comrade" Franco Neami, sentenced to life imprisonment for conspiracy to commit massacre (he was acquitted on appeal): in it, Fabbri signed his name as "Ugo Fabbri of Ordine Nuovo". In 2001 he signed letters as a member of the social movement Fiamma Tricolore, but he was also among the collaborators of the magazine "Contropotere", of the homonymous "project" headed by Forza Nuova. He used to write ponderous 'reports' to the magistracy on matters related to the 'armed party' (i.e. the R.B.) and complaints against partisans whom he accused of having carried out 'infoibamenti'. One of his 'reports' can be viewed on the web (in summary, Fabbri specifies) among the articles of *Italia sociale*.

GIACCA Dino is today a collaborator of Giorgio Rustia (see) in the Associazione Congiunti e Deportati in Jugoslavia and in the Associazione Amici e Discendenti degli Esuli Giuliani, Istriani, Fiumani, Dalmati (one of the sites linked to Italia sociale), but he was a militant of Avanguardia Nazionale (wrote *Il Meridiano di Trieste* on 4.2.72 'from the same avant-garde group is also Dino Giacca, hospitalised for drug-related collapse') and in 2002 curator, on behalf of the association Continuità Adriatica, Trieste section 'Norma Cossetto', of the controversial exhibition on the foibe entitled 'Una croce e una bandiera'. Among the panels we also read these words referring to Maria Pasquinelli (who murdered the British officer De Winton in Pola, on 10.2.47, as a sign of "protest" against the peace treaty that had just been signed): "Maria Pasquinelli, the teacher who, after having worked in Dalmatia, murdered the British general De Winton in Pola to avenge with the blood of an enemy the enormous injustice done against Italy. Maria Pasquinelli always refused to ask the foreigner for mercy. A shining example of dedication and sacrifice to the motherland and the Julian people'.

GRAZIANI Rainaldo, Clemente's son, was appointed head of the cadre school for Roman militants of the Fronte della Gioventù by the then secretary of the Front, today's minister Alemanno. After the 'normalisation' of the party, desired by Fini, Graziani went out with many of his comrades and at the beginning of the 1990s gave life to Meridiano Zero (a movement that was repeatedly involved in attacks on left-wing militants). They referred to Technoribellione (the fight against technocratic power that wants to kill man), and the model was the Rebel (he who refuses to accept the society in which he lives and 'chooses the woods'). In June of '93, Graziani organised the Sagra del sole (Sun Festival), a 'festival in the woods of the national-popular area', at a farm he owned, during which Mass was celebrated and rock concerts were played, techno-rebellion and widespread community were debated, there were martial arts encounters with special laser effects, and ecology was discussed<sup>99</sup>.

GUARNIERI Giorgio, an associate of Count Loredan (see), "also a former partisan, a former shareholder of the Duino paper mill, well known in Trieste for his long presidency at Triestina Calcio, a great frequenter of nightclubs, a lover of branded whisky and of high-powered cars (...) Count Guarnieri was much talked about during the investigation on the so-called black trail, and was indicated as the financier of Freda and Ventura (...). Count Guarnieri had been much talked about during the investigation into the so-called black trail, and had been indicated as Freda and Ventura's financier (...) his friendship with Loredan, a nobleman from Veneto who had had direct and frequent contact with the two neo-fascists..."<sup>100</sup> was then ascertained.

LIPPI Paris Gilberto, an AN leader from Trieste, after not being re-elected to the regional council, was appointed deputy mayor and councillor for culture of the Municipality of Trieste in 2003.

LOREDAN Pietro, known as the 'red count', former partisan, militant of the ANPI and PCI, but 'according to information' also secretly linked to Ordine Nuovo. "Loredan is one of the most emblematic cases of infiltration. He is the brother of an MSI leader, Alvisè, and himself a leader of Ordine Nuovo. He manages to pass himself off as an ex-partisan, even militating actively in the ANPI. Because of his activism he is called the *Red Count* by the press. (...) It was later discovered that Loredan's occasional dealings with partisans were directly guided by Salò's secret services in full application, therefore, of the directives contained in the *Graziani Plan*<sup>101</sup>. Together with Loredan, another Treviso 'count', Giorgio Guarnieri, operated (see).

MARIANTONI Alberto, who was investigated for the attempted Borghese coup (acquitted like all the others), lived for a long time in Switzerland; in November 1998, he spoke at the meeting with Jean-Marie Le Pen organised in Trieste by the 'Fronte Unitario degli Italiani' (a neo-redentist association directed by Mario Ivancich from Trieste), with the ponderous title: 'Crimes against humanity in peacetime and the failure to apply international law in the still open question of Venezia Giulia 50 years after the end of the Second World War'. world conflict'. At this conference, Mariantoni made a speech in which he said, among other things, that our (i.e. 'their', those like him) opposition to the culture coming from America must be motivated by the fact that "the European peoples gave civilisation to the world", while the United States based its power first on the genocide of native peoples, and then on the exploitation of slaves imported from Africa. Mariantoni, however, neglected to mention that the American culture that produced those crimes is the same culture that was exported to the world by the 'European peoples' who went around 'civilising' other peoples.

MAZZAROLI Silvio, general, was in charge at the Belgrade embassy between 1988 and 1991, that is, at the time of the beginning of the break-up of Yugoslavia; he declares himself "mayor of the free municipality of Pula in exile" and nephew of Onorato Mazzaroli, "infoibated" by the partisans in 1944 (Luigi Papo (see) writes that he disappeared during a meeting with "Slavic-Communist exponents to discuss the Italian-Yugoslavian collaboration"). During a conference on the issue of the 'foibe', he declared that he 'personally knew the nature of the Balkan peoples', implying that the 'infoibator' instinct was inherent in their nature.

MERLINO Mario, the 'philosopher' of the conferences of the Novecento association, in 1969 infiltrated among the Roman anarchists after having been part of the group of neo-fascists, including Stefano Delle Chiaie and Marco Rocchetta, who went to Greece in '68 as a training trip for infiltration techniques organised by the Greek secret services of the colonels' regime. He is a member of the Consulta per la revisione storica to which Signorelli and Sinagra also refer (see).

MUTTI Claudio. In addition to what is said about him throughout the text, we report here Mutti's 'multiple identities' as described by Tassinari: he retains his own name "for academic and police circles (but also for open militancy)", but he is the "leading signature" of the "militant magazine" *Jihad*, (born from the conversion to Shia Islam of Giovanni Oggero, a former member of Costruiamo l'azione), under the name Umar Amin, the name with which he introduces himself to his "confreres"; he is Claudio Veltri "for his publicity activities in bourgeois newspapers (*l'Italia Settimanale, l'Umanità, Il Giornale*)", and Feirefiz "for the devotees of tradition".

NERI Maurizio, who had been part of Costruiamo l'azione, was arrested in the course of the investigation for the Bologna massacre ("in the meantime, handcuffs were taken off for the professors (Semerari, De Felice, Mutti, Fachini and Signorelli) and groups of militants of the NAR (...) of CLA (Neri a Roma)<sup>102</sup>. In recent years he became editor of *Rosso è nero (Red is Black)* and *Comunitarismo (Communitarianism)*, and is also a representative of Socialism and Liberation.

PAPO Luigi, a charismatic figure of nationalist and neo-redentist historical negationism. At the time of the Nazi-Fascist occupation of Istria, he was commander of the Republican National Guard garrison in Motovun, Istria, which was responsible for raids and actions against partisans and civilians, fighting under German command. Listed among the war criminals for whom Yugoslavia had requested extradition, he describes how he managed to get away with it as follows: "the Hon. Mario Scelba, then Minister of the Interior, urged by the Hon. Nino de Totto (*one of the founders of the M.S.I. from Trieste, editor's note*) and the A. (i.e. *Papo himself, editor's note*), worked for the closure of the extradition request submitted by Yugoslavia".

<sup>103</sup>. Papo has compiled a ponderous 'Golden Book' with twenty thousand names of 'Giuliano-Dalmatians' who died during the Second World War. Although the cover features a drawing of a foiba cross-section, the twenty thousand names are not all 'infoibati', in fact they are only a fraction. The number of those who, after the Liberation, were arrested by the Yugoslav authorities, tried and shot, or died in military prison camps, or were victims of summary executions and settling of scores amounts, for the province of Trieste, to about 500 people.

PIRINA Marco, in the 1960's, was President of the Roman FUAN and then of the Fronte Delta, the extreme right-wing group which operated at the University of Rome and which, according to the plans of the attempted Borghese coup d'état, was in charge of taking control of the University. He was arrested for involvement in the attempted coup and acquitted and released within a month (summer '75). At the end of the 1980s, he founded in Pordenone, together with his wife Annamaria D'Antonio, the Centro Studi Silentes Loquimur, which published a series of books on historical revisionism. On his letterhead Pirina writes that he is 'Dep. Parliament for Security and Peace'. This "parliament", based in Palermo, would have among its members also the piduist Salvatore Bellassai and would have been founded by the lawyer Michele Papa, of whom the judge Carlo Palermo wrote that he was the secret "ambassador" of Gaddafi's interests in Italy and frequenter of the Circolo Scontrino in Trapani, a study centre at the inauguration of which Licio Gelli would have also attended. Along with Pope, the lawyer Sinagra (see) is also said to have been a promoter of pro-Islamic initiatives. Among other things, he boasts of being the one who initiated the Roman enquiry into the foibe by presenting the complaints of some relatives of 'infoibati' and who appointed Marco Pirina as his 'historical consultant'. This 'parliament' hit the headlines in July 1999 as an alleged front organisation for an illicit trade in uranium rods.

RUSTIA Giorgio, a Triestine who lived in Milan for thirty years before returning to his hometown to the

at the beginning of the 1990s, in Trieste he represents the Centre for Historical Studies of the Civic Guard (the Civic Guard was a military group created by the Nazis in Trieste after 8 September 1943, recognised by historians as a collaborationist body) and is also secretary of the Association of Prisoners Deported to Yugoslavia (in Trieste this term is used improperly to define prisoners of war who were taken to Yugoslavia immediately after the liberation of the city in May 1945); He also has close contacts with the various combatant associations (including those of veterans of the Republic of Salò), united in the Grey-Green Association and is an active exponent of ADES. After having founded a 'Spontaneous Committee of Triestines who do not speak Slovenian', he approached Forza Nuova, becoming for a short period the local contact person of their 'counter-power project'; he later distanced himself from this group and participated in conferences of the Novecento Association and the National League, and in electoral initiatives promoted by Forza Italia.

SABA Marco has published very different things on his site: from the documents of the R.B. that claimed the D'Antona murder (together with a critical analysis of the language used so that Saba claims that the document was written by Englishmen), to the memoirs of a 'repentant' gladiator (the Nino Arconte issue, taken up by Marilina Veca in *Tibereide*), to the esoteric meanings of the dollar note. He gained credibility with pacifist and anti-imperialist movements for the publication and dissemination of documents concerning depleted uranium. Saba is one of the founders of the Environmental Ethics Observatory, whose president is Paola Gandin and secretary Roberto De Bortoli, both from Monfalcone; honorary members include Father Benjamin<sup>104</sup>, Jacopo Fo, former 'gladiator' Arconte, and journalist Stefano Salvi. In Trieste, De Bortoli and Gandin began a collaboration with Pietro Molinari, the founder of the Alleanza Dio e Popolo movement, which he defines as an "omniconfessional and ambidextrous political ethical party" that draws inspiration (he claims) first and foremost from Mazzini, but also from Jesus Christ; he also theorises that "Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler operated with unidirectional intuitions, but translated into practice in different ways". In his personal form of 'Nazimaoism', Molinari, who distributes both glossy and cyclostyled pamphlets apparently written with an anachronistic rotating head, sets himself the goal of 'arresting' politicians who, in his opinion, would have betrayed the dictates of the constitution, an arrest that Molinari sometimes intended to execute literally, trying to force politicians to follow him to the police station. As a result of his impromptu actions, De Bortoli was given a travel warrant and is no longer allowed to travel to Trieste.

SELLA Piero, journalist. In 1997, a group of extreme right-wing journalists (Mario Consoli, Piero Sella, Sergio Gozzoli, founders of the newspaper *Uomo libero*) formed around a group that, having a privileged relationship with Le Pen, sought to build a 'national front' in Italy as well. Gozzoli, who among other things theorised the existence of "a different Europe in the making, Nazi-fascist Europe, later crushed in the Second World War".<sup>105</sup> had had close contacts with the *Skins* and later with Forza Nuova. The group also included Teodoro Francesconi, hagiographic author of the history of the RSI, whose name appears in the "official" list of members of "Gladio", that is, the list published by various newspapers in January '91.

SEMERARI Aldo was a forensic psychiatrist, Freemason, diplomat of the Sovereign Order of Malta and "always an agent of the military intelligence services"; described by a friend of his as follows: "he liked to assume fascist attitudes, dressed in black, always went around armed, had a swastika on his neck and one on his belt" and, according to the testimony of a member of the Magliana gang, "trusted psychiatrist of the gang", who had even proposed to them to carry out assassination attempts and kidnappings, guaranteeing to get them off thanks to favourable psychiatric reports. Semerari 'theorised the need for an alliance between black terrorism and criminality', and it appears that he lent himself to 'dirty operations on behalf of the secret services'<sup>106</sup>. Semerari was found dead in Naples on 1 April 1982 and his murder attributed to the Camorra.

SIENA Primo was the editor of the magazine *Carattere*, published by a Veronese association founded in 1956 by some Missini leaders: the Traditionalist Catholic Alliance. ACT was founded on 29 September, the day of St Michael Archangel, protector of the Iron Guard of the Romanian fascist Codreanu, but also of the police force (the leaders of Forza Nuova also chose this date for their foundation, in 1997<sup>107</sup>). The magazine has a 'radically anti-modernist and anti-materialist slant (...) a strict Catholic orthodoxy (...) strong reference is made to Primo de Rivera, founder of the Spanish Phalange'<sup>108</sup>. In the Asefi newsletter of

2.4.02 we find "a welcome message from Chile", signed by Professor Primo Siena, who writes of himself as follows: 'I am an Italian who has been working culturally in South America for over twenty years. I currently live in Santiago, Chile, and I am working as an academic (...) formerly a volunteer rifleman in the RSI (never repentant) I am very interested in fascist studies (...)'

SIGNORELLI Paolo, known as the 'professor', a history and philosophy teacher in a Roman high school, used to enrich his lessons with speeches on Fascism, Nazism, the purity of race and the prospects of a new Fascism in Italy; he was one of the founders of *Lotta popolare* in 1976 and then of the magazine *Costruiamo l'azione* in 1978; arrested in '79, he shared his cell for a month with NAR leader Valerio Fioravanti.

SINAGRA Augusto, lawyer, former magistrate, professor of international law in Palermo after having taught in Rome, Trieste and Genoa, as well as lecturer at the Higher School of Public Administration which depends on the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. In 1977 he was 'the protagonist of a clamorous protest in the Trieste university (...) at his side was Andrea Carboni, brother of the better known Flavio'.

<sup>109</sup>. Licio Gelli's trusted defender, member of the P2 lodge, honorary consul of the Turkish Republic of Cyprus (a status recognised only by Turkey), counsel for the Turkish government in the Ocalan case, civil party lawyer in the so-called 'Foibe' trial (in reality, the only defendant was Oskar Piškulic, accused of three murders and then acquitted), defender of the Argentine general Jorge Olivera who should have been extradited from Italy to France because he was accused of having made a French-Argentine girl disappear (the same defendant had boasted of having 'screwed the beautiful French girl' after torturing her). During the trial (held in Rome on 18.9.00) Olivera was released thanks to the presentation of a false certificate<sup>110</sup>. Dino Frisullo in the *Manifesto* of 19.1.99 defined Sinagra as a "punctilious accuser of the foibe (in the company, according to ANSA of 5 January, of the Nazis Merlini (see) and Signorelli (see) in a body with the eloquent name *Consulta per la revisione storica*". Mario Merlini was in fact cited by Sinagra as a witness in the Piskulic trial. At the above-mentioned Azione Giovani conference, he argued that the foibe were the product of 'an ancient barbarism that comes from afar' because 'Slavic' peoples lack civilisation, as was also seen with the events in Bosnia<sup>111</sup>.

Sinagra was mentioned both by former judge Carlo Palermo<sup>112</sup> and by Gianni Cipriani<sup>113</sup> as a "frequenter of Salvatore Scontrino's Trapanese club where, in 1986, the Carabinieri discovered six Masonic lodges and a covered superlodge called Lodge C, a meeting point between the Masonic and Mafia dome". The Scontrino circle would have been frequented by Prince Alliata di Monreale (see), and Michele Papa, the Sismi agent Z, whom we have mentioned in Pirina's file (see). At the conference held on 6 and 7 February 1998 in Rome, on the theme of the strategy of tension and the 'red thread' of disinformation, organised by the Polo della libertà and by a cultural circle of the Alleanza Nazionale (the Italian Social Alliance), it seems that Sinagra presented himself as the lawyer of the 'victims of the foibe', and after giving a neo-redentist speech, concluded by reciting a song in vogue during the twenty years of Fascism: "... he who believes more always wins, he who knows how to suffer longer...".<sup>114</sup> Professor' Paolo Signorelli and Stefano Delle Chiaie were also present at the conference.

SPIAZZI Amos, "a character who has earned some notoriety in past incidents of coup plotters which also cost him jail time. He defines himself as an organic monarchist, for years he kept the bipedal axe, symbol of Ordine Nuovo, attached to the wall of his house", in 1980, he was a "stable source" of the counter-espionage centre of the SISDE, given that he "has a good penetration in the extreme right-wing circles and has already provided good cooperation"<sup>115</sup>. He was defined by a journalist of *Liberazione* as "a character to whom an encyclopaedia on the strategy of tension should be dedicated", in the article dedicated to the conference of February 1997 in Rome (mentioned above<sup>116</sup>); he was involved in the investigations on the Rosa dei Venti, on the Bologna massacre, on the Nuclei di difesa dello Stato. Spiazzi is also said to have been a close collaborator of an extreme right-wing publishing house in Palermo, named Thule, which gave him a certificate for this. The name Thule also brings to mind other contents. "The current extreme right movements that refer to the concept of the Thule society have ideological affinities with Islamic mysticism. Active in this specific cultural field were the adherents of the European New Right Movement, which in 1985 published the magazine *Elements*, published in France by the French section of the movement"<sup>117</sup>. The Thule society, however, is said to have appeared in the affair of the Venetian computer technician Carlo Sartor, who declared that he had been approached by some self-styled members of the Thule society to decrypt the tapes of the Ustica massacre, after having been contacted by alleged ROS carabinieri for a work of encoding floppy disks, which allegedly contained, repeatedly, the acronyms 'rebirth' and 'rebirth', terms that could recall the 'democratic rebirth' projects of Gelli's P2. The fake carabinieri then beat and threatened Sartor with death so that he would not reveal anything<sup>118</sup>.

TARCHI Marco, in the 1970's, was the Florentine secretary of the Fronte della Gioventù and was involved in the enquiry into the murder of a vigilante by two members of the Front. Tassinari<sup>119</sup> defines him as "the sharpest thinking head of the young right wing", who had been designated by an internal plebiscite within the movement as the successor to the exiled Anderson in the national leadership of the Front, but the choice did not please Almirante, who preferred the young Gianfranco Fini. "A long stretch of Tarchi's path is in common with some leaders of the radical right: the Parisian holiday from which *La Voce della fogna* was born, the first underground weekly of the right, saw Carlo Terracciano at his side". (On the *Voice of the Sewer* many armed right-wing prisoners would write under pseudonyms). At the beginning of the '80s, Terracciano proposed to Tarchi to join the Order of the Ranks "the mystical-political conventicle promoted by Freda", which had been founded by Freda after his return from the fugitive state in Costa Rica and saw among the organisers Carlo Terracciano for the external part (as the internal part was intended for the prisoners, of which Mario Tuti would be the person in charge). They would end up under investigation (Terracciano was arrested in 1981) as an "association that in the context of a general design of *revolutionary progression* tended towards the seizure of power with violent and anti-constitutional methods through the creation of clandestine structures of small communities throughout the country for the training of young people to be used for urban guerrilla warfare and armed struggle against democratic institutions"<sup>120</sup>.

THIRIART Jean, who had been part of the SS in Wallonia (the French-speaking region of Belgium), had founded the Jeune Europe organisation in the 1950s (whose reference point in Italy was Pino Rauti's Ordine Nuovo). Thiriart "supported the interests of European Africa by supporting colonial wars as the only resource to defend the survival of the Aryan race"<sup>121</sup>.

TRINGALI Sergio, an ordinovist from the Veneto region, seems to have been an expert in infiltration techniques, given that in 1976 he wrote to Delfo Zorzi "our people have become so well established in the DC that they are meddling in the Venice-Munich motorway"<sup>122</sup>; he was accused of aiding and abetting the defendants of the Piazza Fontana massacre (Maggi, Rognoni and Zorzi), but among the many hearings of this trial, we have lost track of this charge and are unable to say whether he was convicted or acquitted.

VITALI Giorgio, one of the signatories of the appeal for the pro-Iraqi demonstration on 6.12.03, as president of the National Federation of Scientific Information and Research Cadres in Rome, is among the supporters of the solidarity association Un ponte per Baghdad; but, unless it is a case of homonymy, he used to write in *Aurora*, the periodical of the antagonist National Left Movement, he is named among the referents of Rinascita Nazionale and we find his articles both in newspapers referring to Italia sociale and in a forum of the 'dissidents of the flame'.

ZANETOV Paolo, was at the centre of a controversial affair that resulted in a defence petition filed by the lawyers of Valpreda and the other defendants in the first trial for the Piazza Fontana massacre. We read from the relevant documents that Sonia Arbanasich, a friend of Zanetov, declared that on the afternoon of 12 December 1969, around 6 p.m., the young man would tell her "at this time what was supposed to happen has happened", and to her questions about what was supposed to happen she replied: "you will see it tomorrow from the newspapers". Another of Zanetov's acquaintances, Andrea Balsinelli (who also claimed that Zanetov was an ordinovist who had 'joined the MSI for entryist purposes') had also stated that Zanetov would tell him, a few days after the attacks, 'I knew it would happen'. In the course of the investigation, Arbanasich first retracted his statements, then reconfirmed them by putting them in writing, but Zanetov always denied having expressed himself in this way. From what we have been able to reconstruct, the judiciary did not proceed in any way against Zanetov and the matter was forgotten. We have only found a trace of it in a text by Marco Sassano<sup>123</sup>, from which we have taken the above.

Preface to disintegration of the system — Eric Houllafort

This preface, written for the second Italian edition of *The Disintegration*, wants firstly to be a testimonial and also the proof that the text of Freda, which has henceforth become a sort of “classic” in Italy, has found an echo in France. *The Disintegration*, in this regard, played, with the signing of these lines and others by French “fellow travelers”, the role of revealer: this text has shown them, as clearly as possible, that they had felt confused for many years already, but they were still incapable of transcribing on a new level a coherent and radical political discourse.

It consequently introduces, by showing what are, in the eyes of the French reader who follows it, things close to the same doctrinal and political route of Freda, the principal merits of *The Disintegration*.

The first and greatest merit of this text is to have concretely enunciated the principle according to which, by taking an expression from Evola himself, being “an integral traditionalist” today is the best way to be radically revolutionary. Therein, Freda was the first to not content himself with commenting on Evola, but extracting from the Evolian theory of practice, the practice of the theory, or, to continue to speak like Marx, to pass from a critique of weapons to the weapons of critique. Thus, it has filled in what we are well obliged to call a lacuna in the work of Evola, to know the incapacity of transcribing on a new level of political combat some normative principles is perfectly exposed. After having recognized himself in *Ride the Tiger* the untimeliness of a book like *Men Among the Ruins* (untimely of the sole level of historical application, evidently), Evola had magisterially defined the internal line of struggle of the differentiated man: what we could all an “active nihilism.” But, so curiously, it did not leave to the radical existentialism of this differentiated man another possibility, on the political level, that of fighting on lost positions. Here reappears the ancien regime side of Evola and the mentality of the “last stand,” an exclusively defensive mentality that does not cease to refresh “the cup of bitterness”, from Metternich to the neo-Fascists of today who are still “defending the West.”

On the contrary, the tone of *The Disintegration* is, from the first to the last line, resolutely offensive and that is why we can believe that we can say, without ceding the slightest to the taste of originality, that *The Disintegration* affirms one of these practices — the political practice — of the theory exposed in *Ride the Tiger*. In itself, this text is an example of true fidelity to a work, a fidelity to the spirit and not only the letter, a very authentic and very fertile fidelity like that of certain “Vestals” consecrated to the quasi-priestly defense of a work and a man still foreign to all dogmatism and all ideology. On this subject, the hardest words that Freda has for certain “Evolians”, for “the sterile apologetics of ‘discourse’ on the state”, the “adorers of abstractions and inevitable logic,” the “champions of conceptual testimonials,” are clearly justified. Because when “the average Evolian” affirms that he has exceeded politics, he can offer no opening to his “existential quest,” that he only gives importance to the Awakening and internal realization, there is the too often the objective game of the system that, by its absolute dictatorship of image and appearance, is very well satisfied by the presence on the right, of a pseudo-aristocratic appeal and, on the left, a pseudo-revolutionary appeal. He does not see that his sole liberty had been reduced to choosing a mannerism; all as his alter ego of the other extreme that said: “that he wants everything, because in reality, hopeless from waiting for the least real goal, he wants nothing more than to know he wants everything, in that hope that someone will suddenly admire his assurance and his beautiful soul. He must have a totality that, like himself, is without content. He ignores the dialectic because, by refusing to see his own life, he refuses to understand the times. The times make him afraid because it makes qualitative leaps, irreversible choices, chances that will never return.”<sup>1</sup>

The second merit of *The Disintegration* is to recall — and with what vigor! — that practically all the ideological infections that presently smother humanity have germinated on the soil of Europe, then were conveyed by the Europeans. It is a reminder of the first importance regarding a milieu, seeing Europe on the bench of the accused, believes itself obligated, by a sort of imbecilic reflex, to systematically exalt all that was born in Europe or, still worse, everyone that has white skin. It is one more time, a typically right wing attitude, just as the defensive and idealist petite bourgeois mentality previously denounced: an attitude that consists of, to utilize graphic but evocative language, of only considering the magnitude but not the direction above all of vector.

Thus, we will see for example tomorrow, cohorts of neo-Fascists, with some survivors of the Second World War, go to ride the South African "vector", because there are still "pure race" whites there or because "well intentioned" recruiting agents made them recall the pro-German past of Vorster (the "magnitude" of the vector); they simply will forget that South Africa is marked, from its origin, by Protestantism — and thus, by mercantilism — and today the Pretoria-Tel Aviv axis functions very effectively (the "direction" of the vector). All the "right" is therein: aestheticism, romanticism, sentimentality: total absence of political conscience. On the plan equally. The Disintegration demarcates a salutary rupture.

The third merit of the text of Freda is to bring to light well, in parallel with the exposition of the "physiognomy of the authentic state," the inorganic property of modern society. The heritage of two thousand years of "Judeo-Christian infection", thus said Freda, "between the secular domain of the state and the abstract 'spiritual' plan," translated in the individual by an incapacity to live simultaneously, and not alternatively, on many distinct plans. Existence becomes a sequence of foreign moments from one to the other, without any cohesion, that authorizes — it is the most serious here — all separations and all possible compensations, including those who pretend to be declared adversaries of the system. Thus, it is the revolutionary project that becomes a simple exorcism, "vulgar sacralization of the daily routine," which tends to "edify an independent empire in the clouds of a speculative radicalism."<sup>2</sup> By underlining what he cannot have, in every "normal" civilization, any opposition between the realization of the final ends of the state and those of man, Freda indirectly shows that the first need of whoever wants to be a revolutionary militant is to grant himself the most possible vision of the world of which he is the bearer in his own life, under the penalty of falling into ideology. In this domain, Freda himself is an example for all: his absolute refusal of aligning with the mangy dogs of the bourgeoisie press for more than five years now, his contempt for all dubious publicity, are the indisputable proof of his revolutionary coherence and his political conscience. His writings and his attitude confirm, certainly more than the action of certain men of the ultra-left — to whom he made a loyal offer of common struggle and who did not have the good judgment to respond — the accuracy of the lines of Marx, found in *The German Ideology*: "Individuals are what they manifest in their lives. How they thus coincide with their production, as well as by what they produce and the manner in which they produce it."

The Disintegration also contains another innovative element in relation to Evolian discourse: we want to speak of the advent of the Fourth Estate. Thus for Evola, the Fourth Estate can only lead to its end the involutory processes started by the bourgeoisie long ago, for Freda, whose revolt against all that is bourgeois and the dictatorship of the economy is truly visceral, the Fourth Estate is not the "unnatural spirituality" of the modern world, but rather the possibility of "the restoration of the human," through the emergence of an ascetic and military way of life, the simplification of relations between citizens, in sum the advent of a "new essence," like that predicted by Jünger in *Der Arbeiter*, following the decomposition of the bourgeois world, decomposition beginning from the First World War, when the credos of the 19th century were effaced before the return of elementary energies. In this regard, the sympathy of Freda for Chinese Communism — strongly understandable sympathy, for when we reflect on it a bit — and the communist model for the "organization of the people's state" exposed in *The Disintegration* are emblematic confirmation of the preceding lines. (\*)

The future will say that Evola or Freda was right on this point. At least the position of Freda, that is expressed here in the partisan, in the sense of Carl Schmitt, animated by a permanent political conscience, an immediate sense of relation to forces and an intuition capable of seizing the profound reality of a political phenomenon behind the vocabulary of its facade and its coating to pass — at least this position has the merit of inciting struggle and clarifying certain engagements.

There is finally one last point — very important — where *The Disintegration* also affirms itself as a text of rupture: the discourse of Freda is not only an anti-bourgeois discourse, it's also an anti-capitalist discourse. Now these two things are not always together, because one of the characteristics of Fascism is the incapacity to pass from the anti-bourgeois to the anti-capitalist. A young French university student, who came to report by two objective, rigorous, and well documented works this phenomenon regarding Drieu: "The judgment regarding capitalism, by the symmetric theory of the black beast to the red beast, effectively appears strictly moralizing and psychological ('selfishness', 'cupidity') ... In reality, it recovers a real fascination for the ascendant era of "heroic" capitalism and for the captains of industry defined by Drieu himself as 'frightfully beneficent.' The collaborationist, the Fascist, is not anti-capitalist, he is anti-bourgeois."<sup>3</sup>

With Freda, there is no doubtful nostalgia for capitalism, “heroic” or not; no more little admiration for these “merchants of shock” that are certain colonists or founders of trusts. Here the anti-bourgeois revolt derives from a vision of the world, anterior and superior to anything put in rational form, but not exhausted in the aesthetic sublimation of an anarchism of the right. In the consequent fashion, it gives itself the means to achieve its ends. On this subject, the chapter on “the organization of the people’s state” plays, by its radicalism, the role of stumbling block: faced with such a model, we are obligated to take a position — and to show clearly what camp we belong to.

All the qualities enumerated since the beginning (the rupture with neo-Fascist confusion; the definitive abandonment of right wing attitudes; the will to go encounter sectors objectively engaged in the negation of the bourgeois world) make The Disintegration, the dawning of the long march of European Revolution, the manifesto of the partisan of the fourth front: the European front, which must open, after the fronts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, to vanquish American-Zionist imperialism, the enemy of man. We have without a doubt not finished speaking of this little booklet...

Conclusions to Disintegration of the System\_by Monsalvat

“The worst evil in Italy, it’s still the bourgeois: the bourgeois—priest, the bourgeois—peasant, the bourgeois—worker, the bourgeois— “mister”, the bourgeois—intellectual: almost sawdust, the substance without form, in which we can distinguish neither high nor low.”

Now that our discourse has touched its end, it is opportune to add what is not only destined to the men following us, our organization, but to also address the others: being those opposed to the system today after having been militant in bourgeois organizations of the neo-Fascist right, being those who push back against the present regime after having been militant in the formations (we should also qualify them in this case: bourgeois) of the revisionist left.

It addresses, among the first, above all to these friends who, although having made the same doctrinal choices as us — according to the principles of the true state — and although being close to us by their attachment to a differentiated vision of man, remain inert and disappointed following their past political activity and disconcerted by our objective choices.

To those we must also repeat that no opposition separates our doctrinal premises from our practical orientations: because they are not such different solutions that we expose in a final fashion, distinct to the plan and we utilize it and the angles of view where we place it.

To those we equally affirm that principles are not overly intellectual abstractions that report the true nature of alibis destined to hide powerlessness: but they should be valued, on the contrary, as paradigms for an action that finds a concrete realization in the order of a historically determined situation. The adherence to the principle — we repeat it — is not accomplished by conceptual formation, by rational clarification, or, in general, by mental elaborations! To adhere to the principle means to exercise an impulse towards the realization of the principle: firstly in the existential domain of each — that its to say in the sphere of character — then, (we should say: simultaneously) as attempting to accomplish the realization in the domain of the state. And that transforms any social organizations (a simply natural phenomenon, because the existence of many individuals intrinsically implies an organization, so elementary in itself) into a state — disregarding “juridical” meaning of the term— it’s exactly the adherence of a community, groups of men, to an idea, to a principle, to an organic vision of life animated by this principle.

Arriving at this point, an element always acquires for us a most grand certitude: to think that no true tension that can transcribe in reality the principles of the true state will arise — and even when it arises it is aborted — is thus to remain alive in the “bearing structures” of bourgeois regimes, thus the residual components remain strong and the sources of derivation of bourgeois society (that is to say the economic substrate) remain intact. The “milieu” that draws life from must be sterilized: such is the reason for a communist economic regimentation.

What we do not oppose to this problem, the problem of the modes of destruction of the bourgeois regime, is only a contingent question and can thus be resolved in a more or less long space of time. We are also convinced that bourgeois society is neither eternal nor immortal: but it is exactly this certainty that incites us to accelerate the time of its fall and not to remain immobile and foreign to the unfolding of this phenomenon.

Regarding the pretend necessity of detachment and apolitea, some of our experiences oblige us to reveal two existing fashions or interpretations of being detached in the face of events: there is a fashion of being, the superior detachment of those who have truly attained some mountaintop (who has in effect discovered the unknown and resolved it into his own existential equation), and there is an attitude of those who only want to appear as such and manifest the detachment proper to the senseless and obtuse.

Consequently, to renounce the struggle by supporting that whose effect is intended but however does not touch the essential, when we choose the proving grounds, means to only express a sophism, the alibi of those who, constitutionally, are inclined to renunciation or who allowed themselves to be possessed by deceptions.

Moreover, who can consider as a trifling thing the struggle against the bourgeois regime? It is today a system that, as such, offers space and "freedom" to all: also, and above all, to those who are "its" dialectical opponents! Paradoxically, as long as the "opponents" or "contestants" of the bourgeois regime exist, it will burn them and digest all.

Our task, in fact, is not to limit ourselves to provoking damages or simple destruction of the regime, but to provoke the disintegration. The regime, we can compare it to one of these unicellular organisms with an elementary structure, that when cut, regrows, that mutilated, reforms: we must aim for the unique sensible and subtle organ, on which the whole gelatinous mass depends, the core, to act in this regard as antibiotics can act.

It is exactly that — the destruction of the system — our immediate historical task: it means to testify actively to the principles of the true state in our typical historical situation. It has for us the value of tension and the adherence to the elements at the base of our vision of the world: and I am sure that if we unite to accomplish this task — the disintegration of the bourgeois system — we will have done much, we will have contributed to the development of these objective processes of historical extraction that are imposed on us.

We are fanatics, and fanatics that aim to be always more lucid (\*). And that it is exactly proper for the fanatic, to assume a vision of the world and, that being recognized, of life that is directed towards it, detached from all the effective means to attain it (and therefore ready to utilize them).

Outside of that, there is no other, different perspective. It could only appear under ambiguous and equivocal traits, to those who like to amuse themselves with messianic hopes, to those who are effected by Don Quixotesque sentiments. And, certainly, that is not who we will "convince", these blind of sight or deaf of hearing, because they are exactly blind and deaf, they are deprived of these natural capabilities and we, on our side, if we have the dispositions of wonder workers, we will even have the possibility — more decisive, and maybe more edifying as well — of constructing robots and leaving to them the conquest of power.

In reality the fact of hearing determined orientations, homogeneous, and clear, the fact of assuming similar points of reference, does not depend — we repeat it — on dialectical hypotheses, but is derived from a priori affinities, of dispositions that we dare to say are transcendental, of vocations that are superior to the simply mental and rational domain — in which at most, if it is "in order", can (in a solely opaque fashion) reflect them. It is to discover these choices of destiny, to manifest them, to unleash them when they exist, not to create them or fabricate them when they do not.

The appeal addressed to these men who, according to the parliamentary schemes, compose the fringes of the extreme-right of the system, is finished. We, however, we would like to address those who radically refuse the system, all who lie beyond the left of the regime, certain ones with which we could realize a loyal unity of action in the struggle against bourgeois society (11).

It is true that for them, who do not adhere at all (or support) metaphysical principles, who do not pursue the myth of the true state at all, the fact of indicating a superhuman direction, meta-politically and meta-historically and the fact of evoking a superior "reality" by attributing it all the characteristics of truth, will be interpreted as a sublimation, not to say, downright, as a schizophrenic affliction.

But it is true — and above all — that abstraction makes sources of doctrinal derivation — superhuman, meta-politically, meta-historically for us; exclusively human, historical, social for them — the objective that constitutes the political task and animates action in the historical temporal order is the same for both: to destroy the bourgeois system. The identical requirement of organizing life in the state is outside the bourgeois economic dialectic; that poses in the same terms of necessity the aspiration to break the classist structures on which the bourgeoisie bases its domination; that even the same tension of struggle presses and mobilizes the same camps to reintegrate the man — made free by alienating bonds that bourgeois dictatorship imposes on him — into the liberty and dignity that will return to him.

The two camps want to do what must be done: arrive at the outlet. If, for us, the outlet only means having accomplished a part of the voyage, such that for those the voyage is finished (or following other directions), that does not prevent the voyage along the river that must be accomplished by both and the currents that must be surmounted by both.

It takes for one or the other that character of an identical certainty that poses to them the requirement of a loyal strategy of common struggle: without confusion of ranks and roles, but by considering the identity of each. (\*)

And for that, to cut through the bourgeois infection, that one or the other must unite around a common objective of struggle, that they must form a single front of action, by surpassing in a decided fashion all the forms of intellectual dogmatism and by breaking sharply with all manifestations of pseudo-revolutionary complacency. Those are, in effect, what permits the virus of bourgeois society to sterilize in a definitive manner the will to struggle of the revolutionary anti-capitalist forces, and exhausts its energy in abstract and dialectical disputes.

It is necessary, ultimately, that the forces engaged in the unitary struggle against the system for the subversion of the system to summarize their true objectives in a radical fashion. By abandoning the tactics smothered by legalistic bonds or by reformist illusions: without any hesitation — or guilt — before the use of all those drastic and definitive means that conform to battering the obstacles and reclaiming the grandeur of the goal.

It is necessary, in effect, to be persuaded of that: for a political soldier, purity justifies all hardship, disinterest all ruses, such that the impersonal character imprints on the struggle the dissolution of all moralistic preoccupations.

## Disintegration of the Disintegration?

the Italian Nazi Maoist Fraca 'Giorgio' Freda is a significant figure in the underground of revolutionary action and thought and is a controversial figure whose ideology attempts to weld together the standard issue leftism of Mao Tse Tung with the standard issue fascism of a Julius Evola (though the latter cannot be said to have been or to be an actual political praxis. However Freda may disagree and he or others may also claim that his ideology is at least a form of Evolan practical politics).

Freda thus is an iconoclastic figure in his racially motivated politics as he employs strategies that are not conventional but that are rather of the Maoist guerrilla type and thus became the prototype of the Louis Beam style 'lone wolf' insurgency form of political praxis within the national Socialist movement. Prior to that point such figures as Corneliu Codreanu and Leon Degrelle played a similar role but within the more conventional political structure of party politics.

Freda drops the party politics approach and recognizes that there is no viable mainstream and legal means of 'disintegrating the system' and thus the approach remaining is that of guerrilla warfare. He differs in his approach and conception of strategy and tactics is that it is not whites alone who will be tearing down the system but a plethora of disenfranchised groups who must focus their antagonism against the common enemy, this being the Zionist-capitalist system.

He fails to acknowledge however that this is the intention of the hidden hand itself to 'collapse the distinction' between diverse groups into a monocultural morass of cultural sewage and submerge all of those under them into this 'cloaca gentium' that they may control the sewer as the 'roi du monde', assuming the messianic role of Rey de reys, the tribalistic mission of Jewry and their masonic and Christian affiliates who have their own conception for how the world should be run.

Thus working with those who seek the common goal of the 'illuminated elites', illumined with the false light, is a reflection of that false light. However, allowing these other groups to tear down the system may bear fruits of a new harvest, a new world order of an harmonious organic world. Regardless it has its dangers but may be the only alternative, in spite of its risks. That war against the system entails risk, as is entailed in all war and in all life, implies the probability of failure or success and thus must be undergone regardless.

However, Freda strays excessively in the direction of the Third World communist weltanschauung and thus detaches his struggle from any point of transcendence reducing the struggle to a mere economic and crudely materialistic one. This is perhaps a result of his alliances (real or theoretical) and their presumed proximity to his philosophical orientation which is incorporative of close alliances based upon this lowest common denominator quality (that of a form of communism which Freda imputes wrongly to Plato whose Republican model of politics is that of spiritual oligarchy and by no means a leveling equality as in the case of Mao Tse Tung and other Judaized political hacks a hypocritical two-tiered caste system of party member masters and proletarian slaves. In so far as he blunders in this direction he defiles Evola's spiritual orientation by creating a false association between it and irrelevant and conflicting communism which Evola repudiated in so many of his works.

Hence Freda drops the Evolan ball and stumbles as he 'stoops to conquer' on the field of political action, falling from grace, from a potentially higher spiritual stratosphere in the manner of an Evola leading him to misunderstand the political which is necessarily hierarchical and could never be achievable or realizable as an organic state implies hierarchy and authority and one deriving from and oriented around the Divine.

The means to the 'disintegration of the system' is probably insurgency but not necessarily on the part of whites who, being the majority, would be best off sitting on the fence and waiting for other groups to do the dirty work for them. The more power becomes distributed in the system amongst competing groups the more quickly this self assertion of those groups manifests in a will to power leading to overstepping their bounds. The quicker this occurs the quicker the system collapses through fragmentation by insurgency on the part of the more aggressive and perhaps less prudent groups (e.g. the darker variety of non-whites).

Hence whites in most cases of the current white created societies would be best off waiting out the collapse of the unsustainable system than placing themselves in the crosshairs of the system and its superlative engines of war and military and police power. However exceptions to the rule may occur and this will be what it will be. Perhaps Freda was speaking more of his own native Italy at the time of his writing the work and his particular context which he did not intend to be extrapolated to contemporary times. This seems doubtful in interpreting the plain meaning of the work however.

One of his platform planks consists of attempting to fuse left and right in a third position attracting the more radical left into the traditional right and distancing himself from the bourgeois right wing-ism of traditional parliamentary democracy which he labels 'bourgeois' and not Tradition. This bourgeois democracy is the very regime he wishes to destroy an appealing to the then 'left' wing of Marxist radicals he deemed a more workable strategy. That may have been true as of that time. But at this present time that truth has faded into a half-truth as the redeem ability of the 'left wing' is much less as it is admittedly far from qualified for any political insurgency and thus would not serve as a worthy recruit base as adversaries of the system at least in the case of the bourgeois pantomimist Marxists or neo-Marxists.

However those of the lower orders not too decimated by drugs and alcohol may have redeemable qualities as they have 'nothing to lose' and therefore 'everything to gain' to 'make the impossible possible' as the anarchist saying goes. In so far Freda has the right approach in reaching those populations, however, he repels the populations of the bourgeois and other castes (assuming the term 'bourgeois' is legitimate which the writer thinks is only of an approximation to truth) who could potentially be of use in funding the cause or in providing intellectual leadership.

However Freda, in his quasi-communist radicalism goes so far in the direction of repelling the 'bourgeois cast' as a windup 'throwing the baby out with the bathwater' and having its own capacity could be something more than a ragtag band of robbers subverted. Such insurgency would undoubtedly fragment and sputter out like a candle in the wind and thus be ineffective, assuming that those who constitute its membership are not adequately able strategists.

Given Freda's template for political paradise in spite of his intellectual merit he demonstrates his utopianism and naivete in his attempt to manifest an impossible political system. Probability, his means would lead not to the preservation of the white race through the disintegration of the system but rather to the disintegration of the white race and not necessarily that of the system which could, given its military might, with stand an onslaught of this possibly inadequate nature.

However, with respect to the bourgeois cast, it has proven as of the time of this writing in 2022, to be unwilling (un)contributors to the white cause as far as the writer can surmise and has allowed the system to disintegrate the white race to a great degree since Freda's writing of 'the disintegration of the system". In conception of the merchant caste of greed has a tendency to serve itself over the interests of the larger culture organism in the sense of Spengler and Yockey and thus will only support the cause of white survival if it perceives it will receive a return on its investment.

Regardless his utopian conception of political structure and function is an absurdity, an unworkable theoretical house of cards whose instability would lead (if it could ever be built) to as swift collapse, as any other utopian communist conception. Freda goes so far in his 'anti-bourgeois' theoretical pipedream as to advocate the abolition of all schools save those whose curriculum is exclusively related to 'work' which he exalts as the only purpose of existence. This vulgar materialism would make Stalin and perhaps even Lenin blush as it denies all higher 'work' as it relates to art and other higher expressions of consciousness, amounting to a desecration (assuming it would have that force and effect) of the sacred, of tradition, and amounts to as far a divergence from Evola's conceptions as could be conceived.

Freda construes all higher learning (properly and improperly so-called) as 'bourgeois intellectualism'. Though he may be right in some respects as regards the 'vain philosophizing' of so many members of the academe (the acadumb-ick-it sewer system) he nonetheless again 'throws the baby out with the bathwater'. He fails to understand the sacred and the would-be profanation thereof being a distinction not inherently collapsed by contemporary academe as the system relates to purely phenomenal or empirical reality, in so far at least that it does not entail redeemable elements which it does however corrupt and falsify.

The end goal of education and indeed of life Freda poses as 'work', theoretically reducing the higher (Spirit) to the lower and tearing down the (again as a theoretical castle in cloud cuckoo land as this feat would be unattainable) higher principles in man to the level of the brute. He could hardly call himself a devotee or adherent to the teachings of Evola in attempting this unattainable feat but perhaps his other Idol Mao Tse Tung would be proud of his Italian scion. Hence Freda's conception of an 'organic state' is theoretically absurd as it is not 'organic', does not derive itself from any higher principle and does not look upwards to the stars or within to the soul but downward to the Mire and hence collapses in on itself.

A state oriented around production and consumption, around purely primitive exchange-based relations is not an organic state as it is based only upon the temporal and indeed upon the lowest caste of the temporal (the sudra) and hence cannot be organic as entails (again a theoretical possibility alone and never practicable) an economic myopia and incorporates into itself only the miry clay of crude matter and machines leading to a spiritual darkness. So far in fact is this conception of Fred as from Evola's that only in the form of insurgent action is there a parallel with Evola, assuming this is a correct interpretation of Evola's work and the Baron advocated that possible course of action.

It would appear as if Evola did in his writings, such as "The Metaphysics of War" however, this is not strictly implied that it manifest in the form of some type of 'lone wolf' or 'small cell' action. However it does not strictly imply that it does not either. Thus the possibility of insurgency exists though whether Evola would endorse in whole or in part Freda's particular form of insurgency with foreign allies is uncertain, but likely and whether he would endorse the 'lone wolf' political praxis in the manner of Maoist guerrilla war is unknown to the writer.

One thing is certain as regards Freda's politics; he is nearer to Mao than Evola and as far from Evola theoretically as possible. Only in the tactical form of 'the disintegration of the system' might Freda's theoretical construct parallel with Evola's and thus reduces simply to a Clausewitzian "Small War" and Che Guevera style applied philosophy and reduces further to the tactics of the guerrilla fighter. However, given the systems power, such tactics would be better left to the non-white ethnic gangs and jihadists than to whites, thereby keeping the white man's hands-free of blood and weakening the system adequately that it may be taken down or indeed become embroiled in international conflict, thus taking the heat off the white population and pro-whites specifically.

Perhaps the writer is wrong but only time will tell whether Freda was right, at least as far as his military conception applies. In terms of his aftermath utopia, assuming he could achieve his objective, it would be a ruin indeed and in no way a 'Novum Romanum' but would, amidst the ruins of his insurgency, Herald the death knell of the Pax Romanum, and the advent of the age of lead at the bottom of the cycles of time.

compiled & with the last article by Sieg Grun