

Franco Freda and Nazi-Maoism

by Zoltanous

Jan 09, 2022

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.

Nazi-Maoist propaganda poster. The background shows both Evola and Mao, with Freda in the middle

“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 and 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 to become abstractions, are “forms of 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 demonstrates 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.

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 Europe (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!

Disintegration of Freda

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 a 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, withstand 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 cast 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.