ABSTRACT


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Avanguardia Nazionale was a far-right political organization, national-revolutionary and neo-fascist inspiration, founded on April 25th 1960 by Stefano Delle Chiaie.

Stefano Delle Chiaie was the undisputed leader of Avanguardia, he also was one of the most important Italian black terrorist. Delle Chiaie was a well-known exponent of the spiritualist right within the Msi, he left the Italian Social Movement in 1956 and together with others who escaped from the party of the flame he joined the Centro Studi Ordine Nuovo, an organization founded by Pino Rauti a few months before. In the Center of Studies, in controversy with the leaders, in 1958 he founded the Gruppi Armati Rivoluzionari (Gar). The Gar, while remaining within the Centro Studi On, strongly contested the board of On because they disagreed with the line taken on the occasion of the political elections of that year, a line that consisted of rigid electoral abstention. So two years later, in 1959, Delle Chiaie abandoned the Centro Studi in controversy with Rauti guilty of not wanting to bring down the CsOn in the political arena. The Gar changed its name in Avanguardia Nazionale Giovanile. On April 25, 1959, on the occasion of the Anniversary of Liberation, Stefano Delle Chiaie and other former ordovists, they founded Avanguardia Nazionale Giovanile. The choice of the day was not accidental, but desired, as charged with an immense symbolic value, in fact was to establish the ideal continuity with the defeated World War II. Compared to the Centro Studi Ordine Nuovo, it faces new problems, or neglected in previous experience. In fact it begins to give great importance to the social question, openly sided against the Atlantic Pact, in favor of a European Nation, not only economic, but also military, and gradually begins to detach itself from the rituals that were of fascism. The history of Avanguardia Nazionale Giovanile was also characterized by its relationship with the Information Services of the Ministry of the Interior, the Uaar. The links between the majority of Ang, Delle Chiaie in the first place, had to be established during the conference on the "Revolutionary War" held May 3 to 5, 1965 at the Hotel Parco dei Principi in Rome. The conference was the starting point of the "Strategy of Tension", as it saw the simultaneous participation of all the major neo-fascist exponents, later implicated in the various massacres, and of many military representatives and police forces. Precisely as a result of the Convention promoted by the Pollio Institute, precisely starting from 1966, the so-called training camps for militants began, where under the careful guidance of specialized personnel (soldiers, policemen, etc.) the militants of the various organizations belonging to the world of the radical
right, they were trained in guerrilla techniques. So the courses were aimed at preparing the militants for a smaller, less orthodox, but more effective war, the one theorized during the work of the conference organized by Pollio, to be fought with every means. And it is precisely through these addresses that the young avant-garde Delle Chiaie and Merlino are formed. And it is precisely within the Convention that the hypothesis of psychologically combating the enemy is put into play, through an infiltration of the extreme left movements. Following the numerous police investigations, as well as the increasing political pressure, the Avanguardia Nazionale Giovanile was dissolved by the Interior Ministry in 1964. After the dissolution of Ang continued to secretly survive and collaborate with the Viminale's private affairs office; in fact he continued to contribute to the realization of what was theorized at the convention organized by the Pollio Institute. So Avanguardia took place the so-called operation "Chinese posters", another denigrating practice against the communist enemy. In 1966 a group of Avanguardisti members was put in detention in Livorno, following the posters of Maoist posters, but were released immediately. In light of this we see how Avanguardia de facto in those years was turning into a real paramilitary organization, along the lines of what outlined the convention organized by the Pollio Institute. So the Avanguardia reports with the information services, first with the Confidential Affairs Office, then with the SID, have their definitive consecration in this affair. As we have read from the words of the same Delle Chiaie, who has admitted this activity several times, directing it directly to an initiative of the reserved business office, tactically shared by the Avanguardia Nazionale as a valid manifestation of "psychological warfare" against the PCI. The incoming strategy put in place by the extra-parliamentary right was not limited to the Chinese Manifests, in fact an invasive work of provocative infiltration was carried out in the movements of the extra-parliamentary left. Therefore Avanguardia, despite having been officially dissolved, actually continued to operate in hiding, and to weave rows of dark plots. And it is precisely in this context that the voyage to avant-garde militants should be considered. The trip was officially organized by the Greek students' association in Italy (ESESI), for cultural reasons. Among the participants there were, in the first row, Pino Rauti, Stefano Delle Chiaie, Loris Facchinetti and Mario Merlino. The trip actually served the participants to deepen the subversive infiltration techniques, put in place by the Greek political police the year before. This is how it arrives on Friday, December 12, 1969, at 4.30 pm, when a bomb of extraordinary power exploded in the central hall of the National Bank of Agriculture, Milan headquarters, in Piazza Fontana. As a result of the explosion, seventeen were killed and another ninety were wounded. At the same time, another unexploded bomb was found at the headquarters of the Commercial Bank of Piazza della Scala in Milan. While in Rome, there were always three other explosions at the same time. The first was in San Basilio within the National Labor Bank, while the other two occurred at the Altare della Patria. The simultaneous bombing
attacks marked, as pointed out by various historians and politicians, the official beginning of the so-called Tension Strategy. Of the five bombs, due to gravity and political implications, that of Piazza Fontana, is without any doubt the beginning of a subversive project aimed at using disorder and fear for authoritarian outlets. From the first moments investigators investigated in anarchist circles, specifically towards the Circolo XXII Marzo, where they played Valpreda and Mario Merlino, and the Circolo Ponte della Ghisolfi, in which militant Pinelli, as well as also Avanguardia Nazionale as Merlin was a militant organization of Stefano Delle Chiaie. The investigations and subsequent trials for the massacre of Piazza Fontana and, for the bombs of Rome, will not lead to definitive convictions, in fact, as regards Delle Chiaie, subsequently investigated as the instigator of the massacres, and the group of Avanguardia, in 1989 the avant-garde leader, accused of being the organizer of the massacre, was acquitted for not having committed the crime. On July 5, 1991, at the end of the appeal process, the acquittal of Delle Chiaie was confirmed. We note how the facts and documents reproduced, not only by the sentences, but also, and above all, by the SID, as well as by the picture emerged from the statements made by the protagonists and magistrates during the hearings of the Commission of the massacres, a rather nebulous picture emerges, but has as its common matrix a clear design falling into right-wing extremism, but which had had an orchestration coming from the deliberation that came out of the famous conference at the Parco dei Principi hotel, on the revolutionary war, as well as fully re-entering in a part of the operation Chaos\(^1\). Hence infiltration into revolutionary circles tending to hegemonize and exploit them in order to provoke extreme acts of violence and thus diminish the popular consensus towards the communist, anarchist organizations. During the investigation on Piazza Fontana, I also came out with the name of a Portuguese press agency called Aginter Press. The analysis of the relationships between the Delle Chiaie group and the Aginter Press is interesting. As for the New Order, Avanguardia also had links with the so-called Black International, and in particular with the Aginter Press, which is part of the organizations headed by Stay Behind. The first official juxtaposition between the Portuguese agency and the Avanguardia took place during the massacre of Piazza Fontana, through the fake tissue created by the SID. The intertwining of services, right-wing

\(^1\) The CHAOS plan consisted in reality of infiltrating revolutionary circles with the aim of dominating and exploiting them in order to provoke extreme acts of violence and terrorism and thus to diminish popular consensus towards anti-American parties. The most significant source (in Italian) in relation to the possibility of a further activity compared to the simple collection of data by the Americans in the implementation of the CHAOS plan in Italy is the ROS report entitled “Annotation on psychological and non-orthodox war activities”. (psychological and low density warfare) made in Italy between 1969 and 1974 through the Aginter Press. The document assumes relations between the CHAOS plan and the activities of the Aginter Press, as well as between the latter and NATO. Evidence of the relationship between the Aginter Press and the Avanguardia Nazionale and Ordine Nuovo. See Raggruppamento Operativo Speciale Carabinieri, Reparto Eversione, Nr.509/62 di prot. “P”, Roma, 23 Luglio 1996, Annotazione sulle attività di guerra psicologica e non ortodossa, (psychological and low density warfare) compiute in Italia tra il 1969 e il 1974 attraverso l’“AGINTER PRESSE”, in Procedural documents of the criminal proceedings against Rognoni Giancarlo and others.
extremists and authoritarian governments, also continued in the 1970s. Immediately after the explosion of the bombs and the judicial wave that involved a part of the core of the dissolved Avanguardia Nazionale Giovanile and, following the arrest warrant for Stefano Delle Chiaie, who becomes a fugitive, fleeing to Spain, where to offer protection there it was the apparatus of the Francoist police, but also and above all the black international whose head was the Aginter Press, Avanguardia officially resumed at the beginning of 1970. The decision to get out of hiding and officially give way to the avant-garde project he was of course his leader. Compared to the original nucleus of Ang in the reborn movement were Flavio Campo, Fausto Fabbruzzi, Saverio Ghiacci, Cesare Perri, Bruno Di Luia, Sandro Pisano, who became its president; with them there are Guido Paglia and Adriano Tilgher. National Avant-garde during its second phase is involved in many dark Italian events, first of all the "Golpe Borghese", a mixture of Italian and American services where Avanguardia played a central role. In fact, Avanguardia had been structured on two distinct levels, one official, front, political and protest open to all, the other secret and restricted to the only ruling nucleus, which acted as a special commandos, as an armed arm of services. But the failure of the Borghese Coupé marked the beginning of the end of Avanguardia. In fact, as soon as the journalistic and judicial investigations began, Avanguardia began to undergo the first checks by the Police forces, as there was, on the part of the State, a harsh repression against the sectors diverted by the information services, as well as a real and their revolution in their functioning. Thus the Delle Chiaie movement was "dumped" by those who had supported and financed it, thus losing their immunity. An had a last gasp, trying to field a sort of blackmail operation against those who, Services and politics, had first used their services and then no longer offered adequate protection. This happened through the convening of a press conference, precisely on October 15, 1974, by the President of the Adriano Tilgher movement at the Jolly Hotel in Rome, in which An denounced the dirty and criminal operations of power by the Christian Democrats, and the attempts of the Italian, civil and military secret services to exploit the organization, citing the former Minister of Defense, the Social Democrat Mario Tanassi, and the director of «Il Borghese», Senator of the Msi-Dn, Mario Tedeschi. In May 1976 the rumors about a possible dissolution of An began to circulate more and more urgently, in fact on June 5, 1976 the court of Rome condemned most of the leaders and activists of the National Avant-garde to reconstitute the dissolved fascist party. In the night following frantic negotiations between the General Staff in Italy and the fugitive Delle Chiaie, the day after the ruling that condemned the entire General Staff of An, on June 7, 1976, President Adriano Tilgher, after sending a brief press note, the movement dissolved, anticipating the decision of the Ministry of the Interior that put the National Avant-garde outlawed the following day. With a simple telegram, the story of National Avant-garde ends, as said now too compromised and too weak, no longer able to count on the help of the system, in order to move forward. The political and
subversive epic of Avanguardia Nazionale was, without a doubt, a formative gym for an entire generation of young neo-fascists, who continued, who outside those inside the Msi, to represent a different idea of the right, national, popular and aristocratic at the same time, but certainly minority. But at the same time Avanguardia was also the incubator of terrorist movements, such as the Black Order, for example, which will wet the streets of Italy with blood. Certainly a fascinating movement from the historical political point of view, as it combines in itself the firmness of the ideology, with the compromises typical of those times. A movement that was an integral part of the system that wanted to fight. A story, that of the Avanguardia Nazionale, which for too long has been underestimated but, as seen in this paper, has instead played a central role in the world of the extra-parliamentary right.