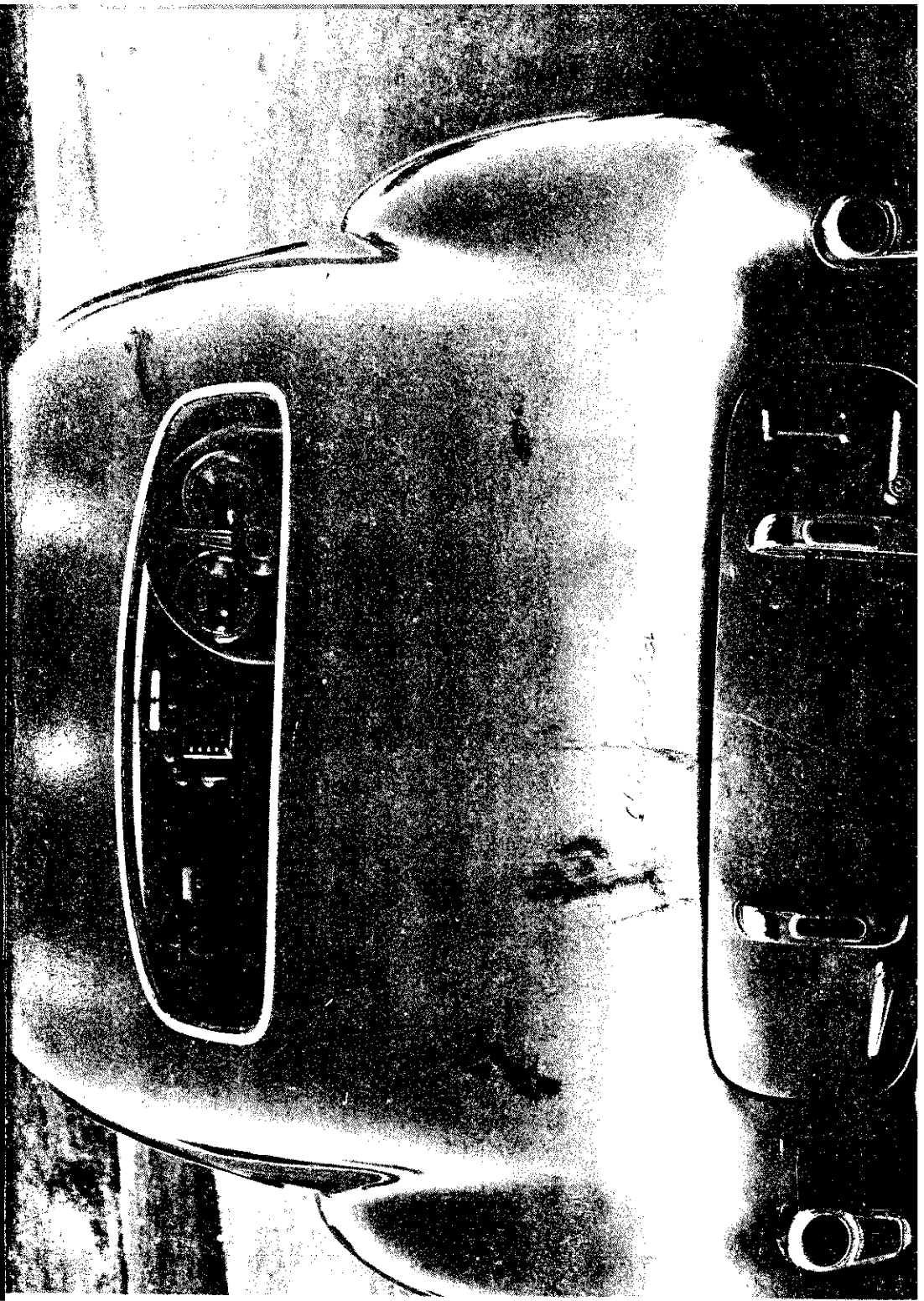
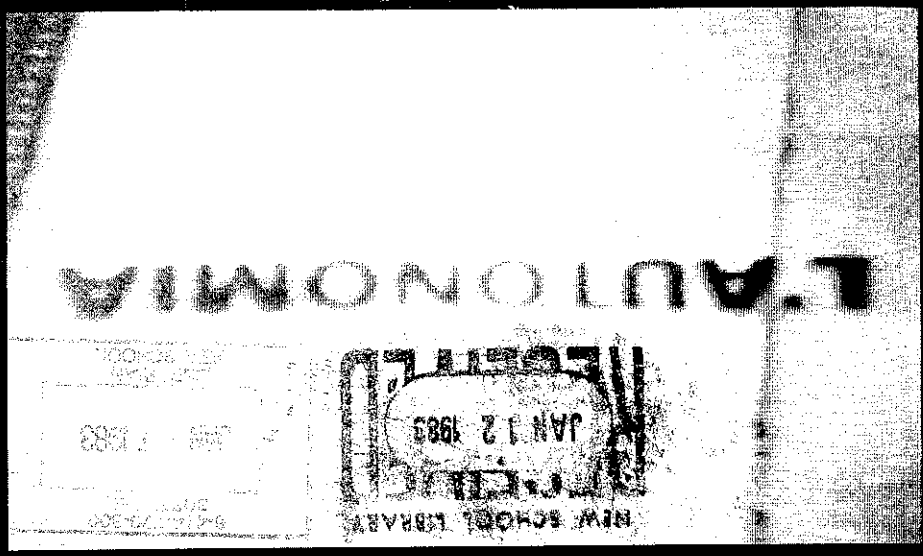


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AUTONOMIA

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Back cover: Christie "202" GT, 1948, Museum of Modern Art, New York

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Il/7 Gramsci Lucio Pozzi, 1977



Introduction

One day in jail. Two days in jail. Three days in jail. Four days in jail. Christ. Five days in jail. Six days in jail. Seven. Today is my eighth day in jail. Nine days in jail. Ten days in jail. Eleven days in jail. Twelve days in jail. The door opens and closes, opens and closes. Thirteen days in jail. Fourteen days in jail. Fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen. A jail is a jail is a jail, nineteen days in jail. Twenty days in jail. Twenty days already. Twenty-one, twenty-two days in jail. Twenty-three days in jail. Twenty-four days in jail. Twenty-five days in jail. Twenty-six days in jail. Twenty-seven days in jail. Twenty-eight days in jail. One month. Another twenty-nine months in jail and then I'll be free. Thirty-one days in jail. Thirty-two days in jail. Thirty-three days in jail. Thirty-four days in jail. Thirty-five, six, seven, eight, nine, forty days in jail. The walls of the jail. The ceiling of the jail. The jail of the jail. Forty-one days in jail. Forty-two days in jail. Forty-three days in jail. Forty-four — how will people be when I get out? — days in jail. Forty-five days in jail. Forty-six days in jail. Forty-seven days in jail. Forty-eight days in jail. Forty-nine days in jail. Oh fuck . . . this entire jail. Fifty days in jail. Fifty-one days in jail. Fifty-two days in jail. Fifty-three, fifty-four days in jail. Fifty-five days in jail. Fifty-six days in jail. Fifty-seven days in jail. Fifty-eight days in jail. Fifty-nine days in jail. Today there is no passage of time. Sixty days in jail. Who knows if the others dream of me as much as I dream of them. Sixty-one days in jail. Sixty-two days in jail. Sixty-three days in jail. Sixty-four days in jail. Sixty-five days in jail. Sixty-six days in jail. Sixty-seven days in jail. Sixty-eight days in jail. Sixty-eight . . . in 1968. . . now I'm really out of date. . . ty-nine days in jail. Seventy days in jail. Seventy-one days in jail. Seventy-two days in jail. Seventy-three days in jail. Seventy-four days in jail. Seventy-five days in jail. Jail has its own smell. I'll never be able to get it off me, all the soap and scent of a detergent factory wouldn't be enough to remove it, and everybody I know I've been in jail. Seventy-six days in jail. Eighty days in jail. Eighty-one days in jail. Eighty-two days in jail. Eighty-three days in jail. Eighty-four days in jail. Eighty-five days in jail. Eighty-six days in jail. Eighty-seven, eighty-eight, eighty-nine days in THIS ETERNAL JAIL. Ninety days in jail. Now I'm busting. Ninety-one days in jail. Ninety-two days in jail. Ninety-three days in jail. Ninety-four days in jail. Ninety-five days in jail. I have diarrhea. Ninety-six days in jail. Ninety-seven days in jail. Ninety-eight days in jail. Ninety-nine. One hundred days in jail. Hurray, let's break out the champagne. Very funny. 101 days in jail. 102 days in jail. 103 days in jail. 104 days in jail. 105 days in jail. 106 days in jail. 107 days in jail. 108 days in jail. 109

The Return of Politics

Sylvère Lotringer/
Christian Marazzi

THE IMPOSSIBLE CLASS

The workers in Europe should declare that henceforth as a class they are a human im- possibility, and not only, as is customary, a harsh and purposeless establishment. They should introduce an era of vast swarming out from the European beehive, the like of which has never been experienced, and with this act of migration in the grand manner pro- test against the machine, against capital, and against the choice with which they are now threatened, of becoming of necessity either slaves of the state or slaves of a revolutionary party. Let Europe relieve itself of the fourth part of its inhabitants! . . . What at home began to degenerate into dangerous discontent and criminal tendencies will, once outside, gain a wild and beautiful naturalness and be called heroism. . . .

Nietzsche, *The Dawn* [206]

AUTONOMY AT THE BASE

Sylvère Lotringer Autonomy is the body without organs of politics, anti-hierarchical, anti-dialectic, anti-representative. It is not only a political project, it is a project for existence.

Individuals are never autonomous: they depend on external recognition. The autonomous body is not exclusive or identifiable. It is beyond recognition. A body of workers, it breaks away from labor discipline; a body of militants, it ignores party organization; a body of doctrine, it refuses ready-made classifications.

Autonomy has no frontiers. It is a way of eluding the imperatives of production, the verticality of institutions, the traps of political representation, the virus of power, in biology, an autonomous organism is an element that functions independently of other parts. Political autonomy is the desire to allow differences to deepen at the base without trying to synthesize them from above, to stress similar attitudes without imposing a "general line," to allow parts to co-exist side by side, in their singularity.

The body without organs of autonomy has no frontiers, but it does have a history, and this history is Italian. This history is given here without any intermediaries, in the language of its actors. Other experiences and other perspectives are simply

set side by side. Through this Italian history, we can read our own history, our possible history, between the lines.

Historically, Autonomy was born in the large factories of Northern Italy in the early 50's. "Autonomy at the base" was originally devised by emigrant workers from the South in defiance of the union bosses — backed by the Communist Party — who pretended to represent them. Autonomy soon moved beyond claims for higher wages and questioned not only labor relationships, but labor itself. It devised original forms of collective action (autoreduction, sabotage of production, etc.), which entailed numerous confrontations with the State. This whole theme crystallized in 1965 with the refusal of wage labor which still remains directly tied to the struggles of the Italian Autonomy.

Autonomy is a way of acting collectively. It is made up of a number of organs and fluid organizations characterized by the refusal to separate economics from politics, and politics from existence. Autonomy never unified.

Diverse organizations assembled at the national level. They formed "Potere Operaio" (Workers' Power), both a group and a magazine gathering together a number of theoreticians such as Mario Tronti, Toni Negri, Sergio Bologna, Franco Piperno and Oreste Scalzone. Their reformulation of Marxism became seminal for the whole of the autonomous movement. In 1973 the militarization of the Movement raised a deep controversy between various currents within "Potere Operaio". The confrontation eventually led to its self-dissolution. (The State today refuses to recognize this dissolution.) Formed in 1970, the Red Brigades were already organizing clandestine actions in order to carry the confrontation "to the heart of the State." One the other hand, various fragments from "Potere Operaio" extended the struggle from the factory to the city (occupation of houses, etc.) to ground it to the daily life of the "socialized worker." This majority constitutes the Italian Autonomy.

The chasm continued to deepen between the clandestine line of the Red Brigades, entrenched in the classic worker position, and the "open" perspectives of Autonomy, eager to account for the profound transformations in the "class composition" of Italian society through forms of "mass" intervention.

Over the last two years, and notably since the April 7 arrests, the Italian State has tried to erase by force the difference between the Red Brigades and Autonomy. It designated "Potere Operaio" as their common source, as their "primal scene." These monstrous matings, these origins are always retroactive fantasies, and convenient "reconstructions" of analysts. They justify repression. Today more than 1,500 intellectuals and militants of the class movement are in prison — indefinitely, it seems — awaiting trial on highly evasive charges. Italy is the only "free society" that can claim to outdo the USSR in the number of political prisoners.

The State repression is deadly — but it is not serious. It is not serious because it misses its avowed target (to eliminate the Red Brigades). It eliminates instead what it refuses to acknowledge: the emergence of new forms of conflict linked to a new social stratum. This stratum is supposedly "marginal," but its actual importance, in Italy as elsewhere, can only grow.

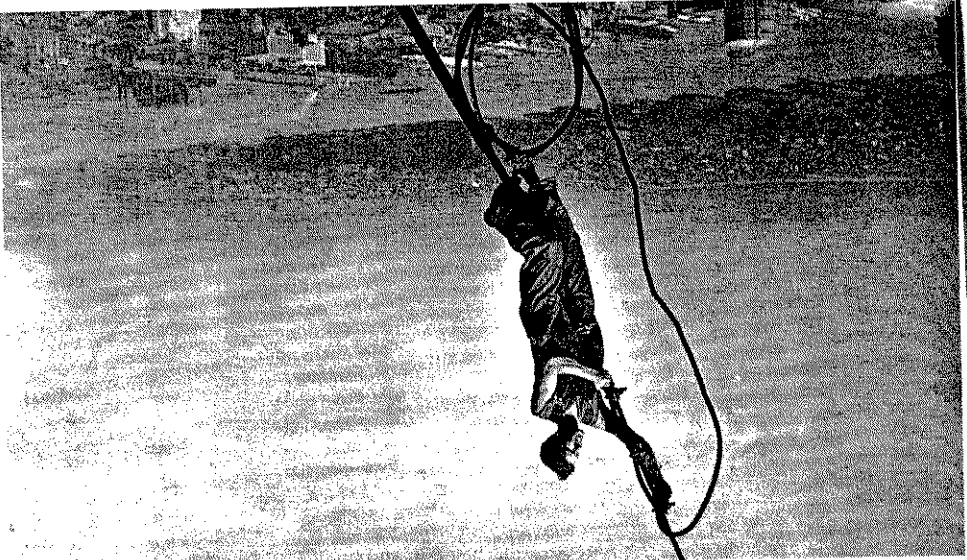
Numerous committees against Repression in Italy have formed in Western capitals. International appeals have come from well-known figures, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Michel Foucault, Felix Guattari, Gilles Deleuze. Recently, Italian artists and intellectuals close to the Italian Communist Party, whose responsibility in the round-up appears overwhelming, have started to publicly question the State's procedures.

Protests however can be misleading since they fall squarely within the framework set up by the Italian State. The State selected its battleground and carefully weighed its weapons. The State's blitz on Autonomy violates Human Rights. It

tied to local needs (health, housing, schools, education, etc.). In Italy, as in the United States, the party system is obviously in a crisis state, since it does not succeed in channeling demands from the bottom and in transcending these specific demands. Yet, alongside this crisis, people have been able to gain power. The great movements of the 60's are surely far behind us, but so is the hyper-ideology of that period. Today we are nearing molecular forms of power. There is less spectacularity, less "movement" with respect to the 60's. But good for us! The electoral absenteeism, for example, which numbers almost 4 million non-voters, constitutes in Italy a true "party", being more a symptom of estrangement from the great political-institutional deadlines (general and administrative elections, etc.), than a symptom of apathy. This estrangement does not indicate "the end of politics", but rather the opposite: a new way of making politics that addresses specific and concrete needs without delegation.

It is interesting to note the enormous interest in the United States on the part of the Italian class movement. This renewed "Americanism" is exploding right at the time when the Italian movement is going through a growth and/or definition crisis. Why is there in Italy an interest in certain aspects of the US which here are considered the very ones that block revolutionary growth? Perhaps because in Italy, especially in the autonomous movement, there is an interest in everything that *changes*, that moves, that explores. And there is no fear in Italy of treading over old paths that are considered *depassés*. Thus nothing is buried. The struggle knows no chronology, it is something circular. Many Italians, inspired by the history of the American worker's struggle, a history without ideological mediation, violent and concrete.

7 The nature of social confrontations has changed drastically. Politics up to now was tied to the relationships of production: the conflict between exploiters and exploited. This conferred on the working class an indisputable centrality. In post-industrial societies, whether capitalist or socialist, the opposition between factory and society is slowly disappearing. Factories are no longer the focus for struggles. Consequently political antagonisms can be redefined as a properly social, even micro-social, conflict. Class struggle has yielded to more subtle confrontations. The main objective, I believe, has become the *production* of subversive singularities out of the equivalences created by the system. By another twist in French philosophy, Jean Baudrillard now wants us to envisage this abrupt change as the "end of politics". To invoke the end of politics from conceptual heights is one thing. It is quite another to speak of it from the depths of prison. Unlike the French, the Italians do not have a quasi-religious respect for the pro-



should be condemned internationally. But this is only part of the story. Its complexity, its contradictions, even its ambiguities remain to be told. To simplify the nature of the Movement, the questions it raises and the danger it now faces ultimately plays into the hands of power.

The scant information from Italy is partly responsible. It is urgent to close the information gap on Italy — to unfold the overall context of these events. Every passing day adds to the list. (October 16: Franco Piperno was finally extradited from France). Our "intervention" is not an "answer" to repression. Rather it uncovers a political experience which took almost 20 years to accumulate. This is what the Italian State wants to put behind bars — along with most of the contributors to the present issue.

A new "social subject" is emerging, conscious of its own history and potential. Its existence incorporates the most advanced aspects of our technological societies. The outcome of the present confrontation is uncertain. Repression has taken its toll. Indifference shouldn't disappear with them, or even with their Automonists are imprisoned shouldn't disappear with them, or even with their eventual (and unlikely) release. We should preserve against the Italian State what the State so unwillingly contributed to publicize.

Christian Marazzi This issue is purposely problematic, the choice of materials hardly unified. It is in fact crucial to understand that what is called "autonomous movement" (*movimento autonomo*) is anything but homogeneous. It is comprised of many different and sometimes opposing experiences. It includes organizational and theoretical paths which may be traced back to a single "origin" (the so-called Italian "workerism"), but this doesn't mean that they can be grouped today under the same definition. Gathered here, then, are political contributions from people who have had nothing to do with one another for years! who have chosen different political outlooks and activities. The Italian State, by herding together those it has arrested (and those it still wants to arrest) into the same blind alley, tries to play down the differences and the specific attitudes within the Movement. There is a reason for this: it is exactly these political differences, the internal variety of the autonomous movement, that allowed it to grow.

8 In 1977 Autonomy was riding the crest of the wave. The growth of a movement however cannot be linear. Moments of explosive richness and inventiveness, as in Rome and Bologna in 1977, are often followed by dry periods, times of exhaustion, the ebb and flow: *reflusso*, as one now says in Italy. The experience accumulated in action, the power extracted by the intellect freed from production is then recycled at molecular levels. It generates mobility, nomadic work, social fluidity which in turn prepare the ground for renewed political struggles.

We have witnessed in the US a comparable phenomenon since the end of the 60's: the Radical movement suddenly disappeared. Its impact wasn't lost, but, in the absence of any political perspective, it rapidly dissipated at all levels of society. The knowledge derived from experiments with drugs, with the body, with communal life, was rechanneled throughout the system. Consumer society benefited and profited from these "undisciplined" researches that it indirectly financed. In Italy drugs still serve as a rallying point for the Movement. In the US, far from encouraging social fluidity, they make the serfdom of labor more tolerable.

The rapidly and scope of molecular transformations, the American "softness" evoked by Felix Guattari, goes also hand in hand with the diffusion of infinitely complex forms of "soft control" throughout society. This virtual reversibility of signs of subversion is characteristic of "post-political" societies.

M Perhaps it is true that we are living in a "post-political" society, where the definition of "political" has become a problem in itself. But it is also true that side by side with the crisis of the political, we have an increased politicization of people, a different way of "making politics," this is more concrete, specific, and

the United States; one must rediscover in the history of American class warfare that political richness which today is attributed to the Italian "intellectuals". To erect a monument to Italy is to play the game of the Italian State: to misrepresent as specific ("the product of certain intellectuals") what is in fact rooted in the worker's history, rooted, above all, in its international dimension.

THE REFUSAL OF WORK

The ICP's decision to enter the Historical Compromise with the Christian Democrats was more complex than it now seems. The compromise was sought immediately after the Chilean coup and oil crisis of 1973, two events which forced the official Worker's Movement to seek new political strategies capable of expanding the areas of social alliance. The oil crisis was used by the multinational corporations to accelerate the accumulation of capital with labor-saving investments. Thus the political make-up of the class which formed around the mass worker could have been destroyed, and along with it the possibility of generalizing its struggles and aims in the eyes of society. In fact, the period following 1973 witnessed the rise of the chemical and energy sectors as the most important (financially and institutionally) in the system of world capitalism, with the result that the socialization of the mass worker's struggle was further blocked.

On the other hand, the Chilean experience taught that old socialist modes of government were untenable. They were economically backward with respect to the international capitalist initiative, to which the Historical Compromise was an attempted response. It is now common knowledge that this response, on the part of the ICP, was opportunistic and, as it turned out, ineffective. Nonetheless, some response in kind to the international capitalist initiative was necessary.

Within this framework we can probe the debate within Autonomy. From 1973 onward Autonomy has been above all a search for a newly composed political class capable of acting outside the party system. If capital attacked the worker's struggle with mass layoffs, inflation, chronic unemployment, etc., it was then necessary to determine a new political terrain where the most diverse social strata could join their struggles and recompose a front against capital. And surely it wasn't only against capital, but also and perhaps above all, against the State and its party system, since the capitalist initiative could only succeed with the complicity of the parties, ICP included.

7 France achieved territorial and linguistic unity nearly two centuries ago. By comparison, Italy remains a young country. Its political unification is recent, its linguistic integration precarious. It is not surprising then that diversified phenomena exist at all levels.

OMELVADOR ALLENDE



priority of concepts and the systematicity of theory. Autonomists shamelessly borrow what they can use. It is from this conceptual patchwork that the Movement derives its theoretical soundness and political efficacy.

In Italy, contrary to the US, the impact of '68 has proceeded without interruption. It has even gained momentum so that the "end of politics" today proclaimed by the "creative" wing of the Movement (Bologna), is simultaneously the rebirth of politics. Politics returns, but in the Nietzschean sense: it returns as other.

Our decision to step in at once in an explosive, conflict-ridden situation — while everything connected with Autonomy is threatened from all sides — is equally a response to preoccupied nations that are closer to home: in many respects, the reaction against the '60's in the course of the "me" decade (there is nothing less autonomous than an ego) has meant an impatient refusal of politics. This refusal has gone on long enough. Politics must return.

M But what does "political", "the end of politics", etc., mean? If by political we mean a social relationship, a struggle, then surely in Italy there has always been, until now, a formidable continuity of the "political". If "political" is to mean the direction of social transformation, in which autonomous decisions are made in order to channel various struggles into a movement capable of delimiting the choices of both capital and the institutional system, then we are faced with a variety of interpretations.

The ICP's choice of moving organically toward the government, or the Red Brigades' armed choice to strike at the "heart of the State" or the internal debate of the autonomy seeking to create organizational forms different from both the party and the "anti-party", all exemplify the complexity of re-defining "political".

If "the end of politics" means the search for new dimensions of antagonism on levels other than the one defined by concrete needs (wage struggles, the "attack on income" as a refusal of poverty, etc.), then within the Italian movement the "end of politics" has a different meaning, not at all psychological, literary or philosophic. For there the "end of politics" involves a search for new political areas of struggle, new territories for the massification of the struggle. In Italy, the French theories, like those of Foucault, Deleuze, Guattari, and Baudrillard too, are immediately translated into the Movement's language, that is, into concrete struggle.

What can be considered as the most original theoretical contribution to Italian workerism originated abroad. For some theoreticians of *Working Class* and the *Red Notebooks* (the first two workerist journals, which appeared at the beginning of the 60's), the *Socialisme ou Barbarie* experience of the 50's in France was a turning point. And, bizarre as it may seem, other important sources of "workerism" are American: James Boggs' *American Revolution*, the writings of Martin Glaberman and of G.P. Rawick, to cite but a few.

In Italy, the American struggles have always been a key point of reference, much more so than certain aspects of the American New Left, which was too engaged in criticizing American capitalism from the standpoint of its external, imperialist contradictions. Still, in the 70's, the books of Fox Piven, Richard Cloward (*Regulating the Poor, Poor People's Movement*), James O'Connor (*The Fiscal Crisis of the State*), and many others, were being read in Italy. These contributions have been seminal in the political formulation of the struggles within the Welfare State.

There is nothing "Italian" about the class warfare in Italy: there is nothing "original" in the Italian theoretical contributions. If any, their specificity resides in the fact that in Italy these theories have been able to bloom and develop thanks to the class struggles and their formidable continuity. We must avoid ghettoizing Italy, thus neutralizing its importance. To understand Italy, one must understand

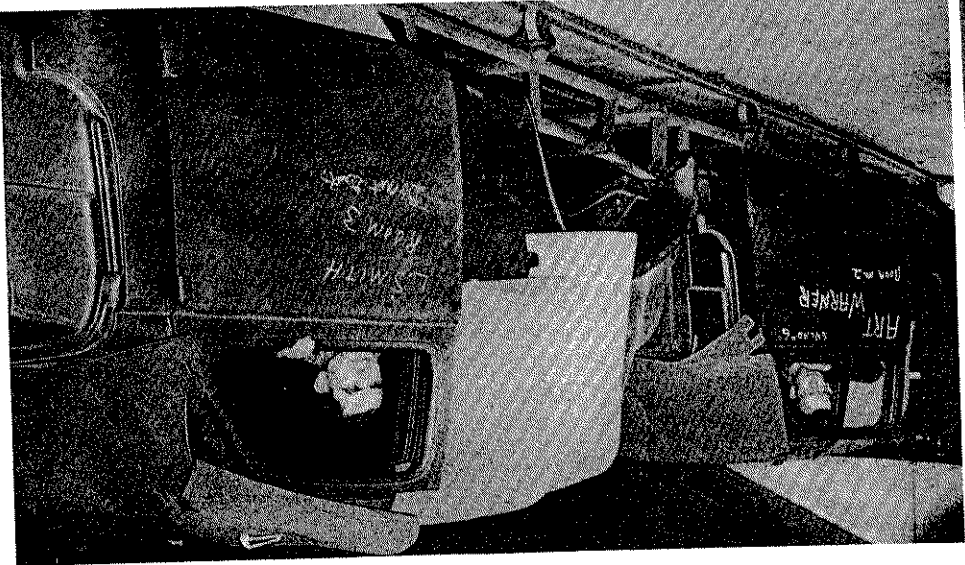
the new social subject. Thus it intends to win against capitalism not by force of arms, but by quickness of intelligence, by pushing capital to the utmost of its possibilities. In this respect the experience of Italian Autonomy has a capacity for generalization unknown to the rest of the west.

M The thesis of the "two societies" propounded by a workerist intellectual of the ICP, Alberto Asor Rosa, is quite dangerous. According to this view the "social subjects" who emerged politically from the capitalist transformation of the 70's — women, unemployed youth, those who work off-the-books, etc. — the so-called "marginals", are "something else" with respect not only to the official Workers' Movement and its tradition, but also with respect to society. This thesis implies that these new social vectors should be considered "unproductive workers", their social and cultural attitudes subordinate to those of the factory workers, who are considered the only workers productive of wealth which will subsequently be consumed by others. In short, the struggles of the new "social subjects" are ephemeromena, irrational manifestations which must be brought under the guidance of the factory worker. The centrality of the worker means precisely this: the will to impose a worker's direction to the social transformation brought about by the capitalist development.

The strategic position of the Red Brigades may also be characterized in a similar way. Their categorical choice of the factory worker as the decisive political referent is strictly in line with orthodox Marxist tradition. This definition of "productive labor", however, derives more from Adam Smith than from Marx. For Marx, productive labor is the labor which produces surplus value and struggles. Thus his category is not just economic, but also political. Moreover, it is a fact that the new social subject produces surplus knowledge, innovation and intelligence, which capital has a dire need to appropriate.

Asor Rosa's thesis, as the materials included in the present issue repeatedly demonstrate, is wrong not only on the empirical level (today, in Italy, well over one-third of an active population of 21 million work part-time, off-the-books, etc.), but also from a political standpoint. What the Bolognese call "marginally at the center" is precisely a critique of all attempts to subordinate this invention-force, that is, the creativity and productivity of the struggle and of the life-styles developed by the so-called "marginals". These recently formed "social subjects" are productive workers in a double sense: they produce wealth and they produce struggles. Thus they are at the center, or at any rate rightfully belong there.

This brings us back to the central theme of Autonomy: the struggle against work,



Italian political parties are not as centralized or integrated as French parties there exists among the Christian Democrats and the Communist Party a degree of interpenetration that explains, for the most part, the possibility of an institutional agreement. The "historic" strategy of the ICP takes into consideration the existence in its midst of a considerable number of Christian militants.

One only has to travel through Italy to realize to what extent regional diversity remains powerful. There is a social, dialectal, political and economic specificity to each city and region. The revolutionary movement itself, in its extreme variety, has obviously adopted modes of existence and forms of identification which are characteristic of Italian society as a whole. The "tribal, communal, pre-capitalist structures" allegedly threatened by any conflict, are in no way an appendage exclusive to the Movement. These structures are found as much in the Workers' Movement as in the "clientelism" practiced by the DC.

Baudrillard is right to assume that the actual effect of confrontation such as the one between the Red Brigades and the State is to eradicate any form of "transversion." But Autonomy is too diverse to be lumped together as mere "pre-capitalist structures." Far from lagging behind, Autonomy has assumed a revolutionary position at the vanguard of capitalism: "inside and against." It challenges capitalism on its own ground, "at the heart" of the system, and not simply as a "marginally" soon to be eradicated. The objective collusion between the Red Brigades and the State, therefore, cannot be taken as a strategy meant to annihilate obsolete structures that fall outside of the reversibility of signs of power and subversion. What is most subversive about Autonomy is precisely that it refuses the inevitability of such a reversion and the ensuing implosion of the system.

Autonomy ought not to be conceived as completely divorced from and opposed to the rest of civil society. The fluidity of its organizational schemes corresponds also to an historical delay in relation to the modes of unification at work in the rest of Europe. The oppositions between North and South, between the underdevelopment of Sicily and the technological advances in the Milan-Turin region, the heterogeneity of languages and cultures, all contribute to ground political diversity (a key-word) in a manner absolutely unknown in post-industrial countries. The persistence of earthly roots and of collective practices in the very heart of an advanced society have kept alive political options which have largely been "passed over" in more unitary countries.

Autonomy is the only political movement today that simultaneously makes use of the most abstract machinery (the technico-scientific intelligence) and of the masses' most traditional, community ties. Left to themselves, territorial groups would eventually be eliminated by power as pockets of archaism; left to itself, abstract labor would conform to the demands of capital. What engenders the originality and force of Autonomy is that economies which in theory exclude one another are allowed to exist side by side in a non-conflictual manner. The "creative" wing of the Movement has nothing to do anymore with the "historic" Autonomy, hardened in its ideological bastion, and devoted to both concrete and symbolic — if not totemic — practices which promote its osmosis with the masses. At all levels, however, provisional conjunctions are being implemented which allow a detachment from territory and a territorialization of the intelligence. More than the spectacular operations of the Red Brigades, this mixture remains virtually the most explosive. The network of free radios, the most extensive in Europe, is a perfect example. *Radio Onda Rossa*, the organ in Rome of the Volsci (the hard core of organized Autonomy), on the one hand broadcast territorialized signals, thus appropriating technico-scientific knowledge, and on the other established roots in the population through a collective self-management of occupied buildings. The political crystallization of this technical intelligence allows it finally to go beyond the "mad hopes" of an autonomist practice always menaced by revolutionary messianism. As a result, Autonomy does not remain content "waiting for something from outside," but instead tries to live through today's capitalism in an alternative way by deflecting the latter's advances to the profit of

The position of Trotti, "inside and against" the development of capitalism offered the media of the brand New Philosophers.

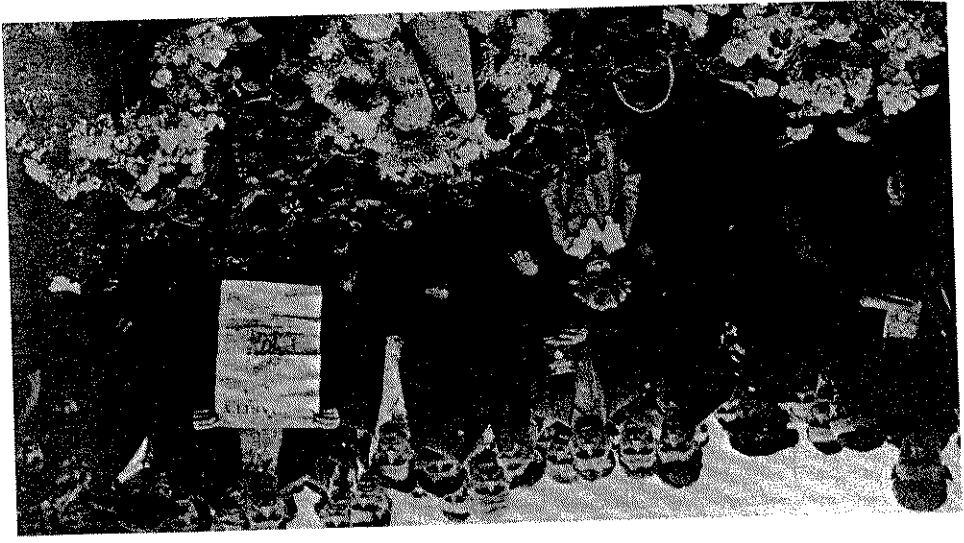
Right and the Left begins to crumble and political representation starts to implode in the general disarray. At this moment the obsessive, seductive and gloomy theme of the end of politics begins to take credence.

What remains paradoxical, if not mysterious, is why Italy, with its pockets of under-development and rather tardy "economic miracle," should be among the first to propose in political terms, through the bias of Autonomy, the invention of new forms of life relatively detached from the slavery of work.

M It is very doubtful that Italy is still one of Europe's least developed countries. The existence of its underdeveloped regions has always been a function of the rapid growth of other areas of the country. Typical in this regard is the North-South relationship, where we find immigrants from the South working on the FIAT assembly line. Yet the growth of highly advanced struggles in a country that has known periods of economic backwardness remains to be explained.

We must first recall that in the sixties the worker's struggles exploded within an institutional scheme called "center-left" (*centro sinistra*). During the recession in 1964, the Socialist Party joined the Christian Democrats in order to form a government based on a program of economic development. This coalition attempted to make the economic system more dynamic by nationalizing certain corporations in the electrical and chemical sectors, and by improving public services. Even though only a small part of this economic program was actually carried out, no doubt it rendered the Communist opposition, already weakened by its decision to engage only in parliamentary struggle, completely ineffective. In fact, from Togliatti onward, the ICP had been losing strength as it slowly moved away from the working class, leaving to the unions the purely economic regulation of wages. For the Worker's Movement, in short, the center-left meant political weakness.

It was in this context that *Quaderni Rossi* ("Red Notebooks") and *Classe Operaia* ("Working Class") were born. *Quaderni Rossi* tackled the problem of analyzing the new class composition as it emerged from the most recent capitalist transformations at the beginning of the sixties: the mass-worker, the new means of mass production which, by reducing the strategic importance of skilled workers,



Trotti's writings of 1964, the Italian revolutionary movement has been moving toward the refusal of work as a positive productive force of capitalist development. Refusal of work, demand for more money and less work, struggle against harmful work (which, after all, characterizes work in all its capitalist forms), has always meant forcing capital to develop to the maximum its productive forces. Only when the worker's labor is reduced to the minimum is it possible to go beyond, in the literal sense, the capitalist mode of production. Only when "non-worker's labor" becomes a generalized reality and enjoying life a productive fact in itself, does freedom from exploitation become not only possible but materially achievable.

The "diffused factory" (what in the US is called the "underground economy"), is seen by Autonomy not only as super-exploitative but also as a subjective choice on the part of the young proletarians. The growth of the underground economy is also a consequence of this refusal of factory discipline, and the will to organize working time on the basis of free time. It is precisely this struggle against work that produces the inventiveness and "technical knowledge" typical of the "marginals". "Marginality at the center" means, in this sense, the centrality of the struggle against work, a struggle which goes beyond the factory gates.

The fact still remains that between the new subjects and the factory workers there is a political distance not yet organized (mediated) by the extra-parliamentary organizations. Though it may seem paradoxical, capital itself is now closing the gap between the "two societies" by investing high technology in the decentralized production units, and by employing an unskilled work-force (especially women) in the large factories. This restructuring is evident at FIAT's factory in Turin. Yet the recent lay-off of sixty-one FIAT workers, considered "parateerists" by the management, clearly shows how this restructuring also necessitates repression.

Since restructuring requires a more flexible labor market, certain behavioral differences among social strata are blurred by capital. In fact, capital cannot act otherwise. Because "marginal" work has potentially the highest rate of productivity, capital must invest technology in the periphery, rather than in the large factories.

"Marginality" is a massive phenomenon, a true mutation in the field of production, and not a simple malfunction of the system. The absence of a Welfare State in Italy no doubt contributed to a burgeoning awareness of this centrality. In the "diffused social factory" of the post-industrial era, marginally has virtually ceased to be marginal. It has become the very texture of society. At this point the experience of Autonomy transcends Italian frontiers. The marginalization of work is not a phenomenon unknown in the US, as you mentioned, but its actualization through the autonomous movement allow us to rediscover its political dimension. The events of 1968 fell squarely within traditional political oppositions. Students were rebelling against imperialism, or Authority. The aftermath of May '68, therefore, was marked by defeat and gloom: the system had prevailed.

The Italian movement avoided, for the most part, these post-May blues. It didn't experience any of the dramatic liquidations of revolutionary hopes and illusions that ensued in most western countries. It went on, unperturbed, on its own trajectory. How can we account for this fact?

Years before May '68, the "strategy of refusal" had opened an entirely new front: the front of wage labor. The refusal of factory discipline advocated by the Movement was bound to set it from the start against the work ethic of the ICP and its hegemony in the Worker's Movement. The present strength of the Italian movement, its steady reinforcement throughout the 70's stem from the fact that its marginal, largely anticipated the criticism of bureaucratic socialism, of which the most recent—and largely belated—symptom in France has been the marketing by

don't understand the rationale of the highly acrobatic maneuvers by which the prosecution is building a case against Autonomy. The evasiveness of the initial accusations, the heterogeneity of materials isolated from their contexts and subsequently pieced together through osmosis, suggest the imposition of an unusual logic. Gilles Deleuze defined such logic as a violation of the principle of identity (A is always A, never B), and of the principle of the excluded middle (Either A is A or non-A). In other words, the State has deliberately jumped out of the magic circle of Aristotelian logic.

Is it not exactly in these terms that *Anti-Oedipus* defined the positive "syntheses" of the "schizo" flux — non-contradictory, non-exclusive, unlimited and multifocal? The logic of the prosecution recognizes identity not on the basis of identical subjects, as is usually the case, but on the basis of identical *predicates*. The number of subjects (Red Brigades, Autonomy) is limited, but the number of predicates called upon to justify the identity of the two subjects (Red Brigades = Autonomy) is unlimited. This hypertrophy of the sense of identity is enough to provoke what pathologists call an "org of identifications." Has there ever been, in the course of history, an openly schizophrenic State?

The Italian State has moved onto its adversary's territory; it has *simulated* the fluidity characteristic of Autonomy. A "plot" decision rendered September 21, 1979, in the trial of Luigi Rosati, ex-husband of the Brigadist Adriana Ferranda and ideologue of *Autonomia Operaia*, described Autonomy as "an indefinable mixture of groups and varied tendencies, a veritable mosaic made of different fragments, a gallery of overlapping images, of circles and collectives without any central organization." This definition echoes in every respect the logic deployed by the prosecution against Autonomy . . .

That this may be another dizzying example of the reversal of signs and of the implosion of power is too hastily a conclusion. To be sure, the Italian State has taken a leap at the heart of capital's flux — but only in order to master it. Here ceases the abstract reversibility of signs on which the "end of politics" is founded. The orgy of the accusation's identifications constitutes only the first phase of a strategy which has little to do with schizophrenia. It consists of using Aristotelian thought to support conclusions reached through non-Aristotelian cognitive operations. The identification of "coincidences," established between the Red Brigades and the Autonomists on the basis of identical predicates ("any Left revolutionary literature inevitably has some points of similarity," the Memorandum remarks) and the boundless number of charges become the ground upon which the prosecution builds up "paranoid" systems of regularly centered upon a unique point

weakened the unions in which they figured prominently. *Class Operaia* on the other hand, attempted to formulate a new political strategy, which Tronti called "inside and against": to act on the inside of capitalist development, *promoting* it through the refusal of work (thus bringing about the introduction of new machines and new technology), but at the same time to remain *against* capitalism *wanting* everything from it, all the wealth produced through its reformism.

From their inception, these new political hypotheses aimed at redefining the relationship between workers and organization. Because the ICP had lost its contact with workers, the situation called for a reformulation of the "party" and necessitated a scrutiny of the class composition. Both from the standpoint of capitalist development and from that of the anti-capitalist struggle, a new strategic role for the mass-worker had emerged. Its struggles now created a new terrain to the left of the ICP, thus posing in new terms the question of organization.

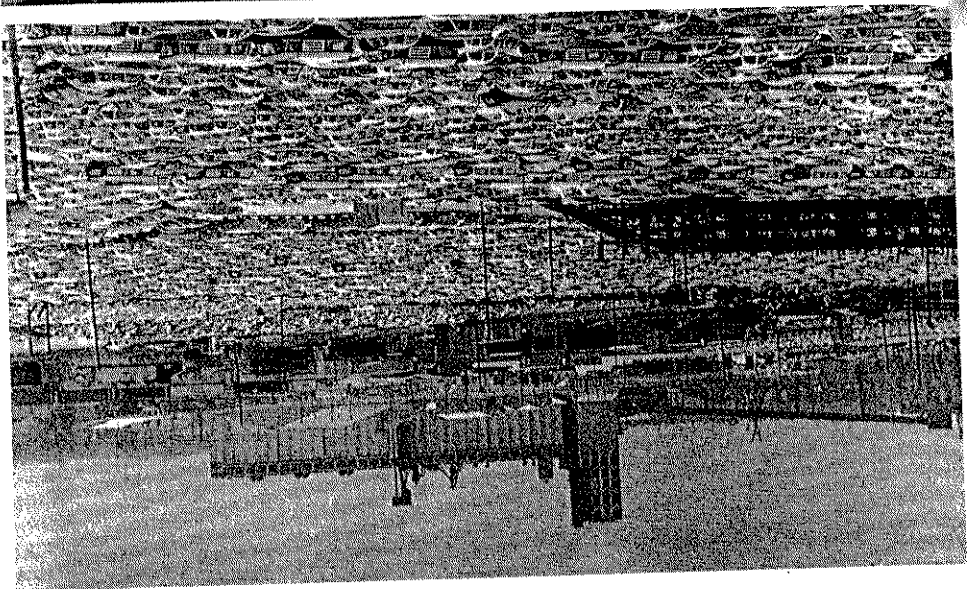
The American system is like a self-regulating machine, not inhibited by illegality — indeed capitalist profit feeds on the *invention* of illegality (not yet codified as such — but once an illegality is identified (Watergate, Lockheed, etc.), the system rapidly corrects itself. Italy lacks this self-correcting flexibility. In order to expunge illegality, the State must itself adopt illegal measures.

The State initiative required more than public consent: a new reality had to be created to accommodate these institutional illegalities. The co-production with the media of a new reality went also beyond the scope of a classical "ideological" manipulation. Any other reality had simply disappeared.

As one of its celebrated falsifications of the Italian press, *Il Male*, a satiric magazine close to the Movement, reported with photographic evidence the arrest of the well-known actor Ugo Tognazzi as chief of the Red Brigades. The *Il Male* staff then experienced the vertiginous "loss of reality" which has come to constitute Italian life, when the public took this simulation for the literal truth. It must have fulfilled the public's secret desire to see, at long last, a "conspiracy" unveiled and a Supreme Leader denounced. But the simulation also meant that they were ready to believe in anything *Il Male* had incidentally put its finger on the nerve-center of repression. Reality had become weightless, a gigantic simulacrum.

M The fact that the State itself assumes subversive forms to maintain control over subversive forces is, whether we like it or not, the consequence of an entire cycle of struggles. Today, the delay on the part of those who want to revolt (a theoretical rather than a practical-political delay), forces a complete dislocation of the terrain of social subversion. If it is true, like Bifo claims, that Autonomy has shown itself to be, at times, of a reversible nature, that is easily inverted by the State (the military aspect, for example, is exactly what the State has chosen to fight, with alarmingly positive results), this does not alter the fact that to dislocate the terrain of the rebellion implies finding new forms of violence. The violence of the Red Brigades is to be radically criticized not because it is "violent", but because it isn't violent enough! And it isn't violent enough for the simple reason that it corresponds to the State's violence. The Red Brigades, in their actions, *produce State-Power*. But what we want today is *liberation from the State*; it appears that the limitation of the materials here presented (ultimately an objective limit) concerns precisely this blocking of the search for newer forms of destruction of all that is State. Perhaps Autonomy ran ahead of itself; it is not by accident that at the very moment of greatest desire to explore different ways of social subversion, the State steps in massively.

L The lucidity of the State goes way beyond rationality. The "mutating" position adopted by the Italian State to face the challenge of the Autonomists is one of the most astonishing aspects of the current repression. The "Defense Memorandum" of the prisoners clearly shows how far the "legal procedure" defined by the prosecution has departed from democratic legality. It is impossible to confront "speculations" presented as specific accusations. If not as proof, if we



11/5 DAP070507-75/574-HOUSTON, TEX.: A jam of over 30,000 new imported automobiles with no place to go because of a decline in foreign sales has turned the port of Houston into an overcrowded parking lot. With 10,000 more expected this month, importers are scrambling to grab what little parking acreage there is left. (UPI)

11/6 XP012705-1/2775-Fenton, MO.: Changing of shifts of employees as Chrysler Corp. reopened truck and automobile assembly lines in Fenton 1/27 after a three-week layoff. About 5600 persons on two truck-assembly shifts and one auto-assembly shift went back to work. A second auto-assembly shift was not called back, leaving about 2100 workers laid off. (UPI)

The distinction is of some importance. It leads us to supplement the inevitable short-coming of a defensive position. It must be recognized that the looseness of Autonomy constitutes a considerable innovation in the history of the revolutionary movement. It confers a flexibility heretofore never attained in the struggle to destabilize power. It is no wonder that the State, confronted with this elusive network whose fluidity permits a virtually total transfer of responsibility, has also proved its inventiveness and forged a mode of accusation just as polymorphously perverse. It is inadmissible, however, that these loose charges were cast in advance from a perspective contradicting absolutely everything Autonomy stands for. The logical delirium of the State projects the mosaic of Autonomy upon the rigid screen of the Red Brigades. And so the game goes.

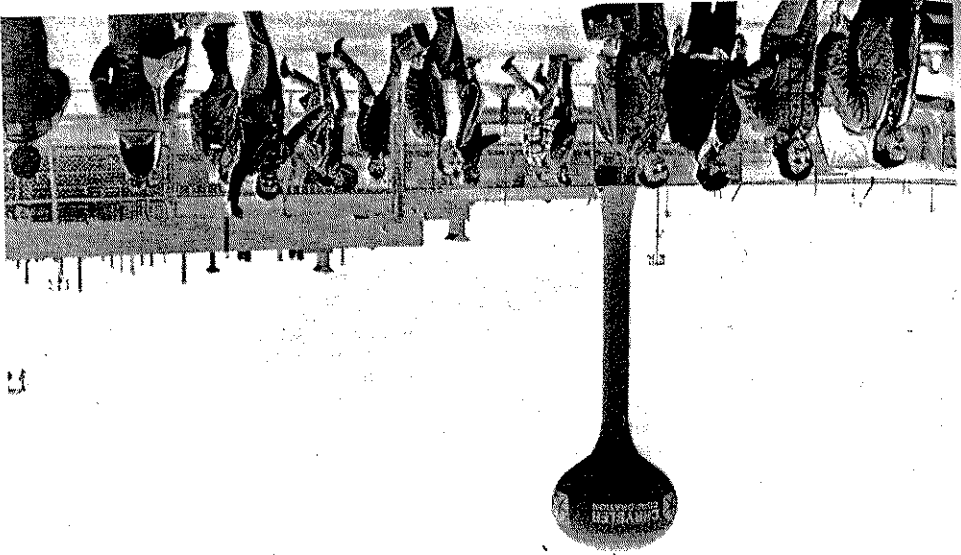
The President of the Court who judged Luigi Rosati went so far as to recognize what separates the Red Brigades from Autonomy: "The Autonomy groups refute in principle every rigid, verticalizing, hierarchical structure", he distinguished the attack "at the heart of the State" advocated by the Red Brigades from these "capitalist penetration" of *Autonomia Organizzata*; he readily admitted that these micropolitical actions are the fruit "not of a coordination among diverse, associated organs but of a spontaneity which has very little in common with the character of professional crimes"; yet he condemned no less severely the intellectual who, like Luigi Rosati, without personally participating in any criminal activities, "accepted, exalted and advocated them."

The "pilot" sentencing of Rosati to four years' imprisonment confirms the will of power to integrate the wave of criticisms directed against it without departing in the least from its accusations. It is now clear to everyone that the prosecution of Autonomy is a truly political trial less interested in condemning its ideas than in annihilating "an entire section of the political movement in Italy." (Memorandum). The real danger to the State comes not from the Red Brigades, who speak the same language and who develop structures which "mirror" and thus reinforce its own. The profound menace to the State comes from the fact that Autonomy speaks a language and develops forms of organization and of subjectivity against which there exists no "classic" response. It is in this innovation — this positivity — with which the present issue is concerned, and not with the defense, in "reactive" or reductive terms, of innocents unjustly accused.

As Franco Piperno here recognizes, the new spontaneity requires the practice of illegality as a necessary condition for its existence. But then so does the State. The whole problem is in knowing whether this illegality is active, inventive, creative of life and values, or, like the somber, embracing couple formed by the Red Brigades and the State apparatus, a bringer of terror and death.

Translated by Peter Caravella and John Johnston

11/1 *Icarus* Empire State Building, New York, 1930
 11/2 NXP1690 38 SPEAKING WITH THE SQUATTERS SANTIAGO, CHILE: President Salvador Allende (left) speaks to squatters who have unlawfully taken over a housing estate in a poor section of Santiago. They are part of a movement which is protesting the bad housing conditions by seizing other people's homes and refusing to move. Allende is expected to decree the establishment of a National Council of Peasants, Dec. 21st. According to the Agriculture Ministry, the council will speed the peasant's participation in the government's land reform program. (UPI) 12/21/70
 11/3 19865 FLINT, MICH.—THERE'S PRIVACY, TOO, FOR THE MORE FASTIDIOUS "SITTERS." THESE HAVE ESTABLISHED INDIVIDUAL ROOMS IN INCOMPLETE AUTO BODIES. THEY HAVE EVEN INSCRIBED THEIR NAMES AND NUMBERS. ALSO BITS OF HUMOR ON THE DOORS OF THEIR QUARTERS. 2-10-37
 11/4 Funeral for the victims of the Everett Massacre, 1916. A scene from the American documentary *The Wobblies*, directed by Stewart Bird and Deborah Shaffer, 1979.



million days in jail. 110 million days in jail.
 days in dark jails . . . 111 days in jail, 12, 13,
 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 days in jail, 20 days in
 jail. For a week now I've been jerking off
 three times a day. I want to see if I lose my
 passion. 121 days in jail. Uh. Jail. 124
 days. 5, 6 in jail days. Oh. Uh. 127 days in
 jail. 128 days in jail. 129 days in jail. 130 days
 in jail. And 130 days less to live. Goddammit.
 131 days in jail. And a barrel of rum and a
 barrel of rum. 132 days in jail. 133 days in
 jail. And then, 134 days in jail and 135 days
 in jail and my belly aches I feel sick as a dog
 and it must be this shitty water or this lethal
 wine — the filthy pigs. Uh. 136 days in jail, 6,
 7, 8, 9, 140 days in jail. Prison rhymes with
 collision. Even dancing makes me sick. I
 can't think of anything that makes me sicker.
 Than dancing. But let's not talk nonsense.
 Jail is worse. Worse . . . Uh. 141 days in jail.
 142 days in jail. 143 days in jail. 144 days in
 jail. 145 days in jail. 146 days in jail. 147 days
 in jail. 148 days in jail. 149 days in jail. 150
 days — if only I could sleep like Flip Van
 Winkle and wake up beneath a tree in two
 and a half years — 150 days in jail. I was
 saying. 151, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, days in jail (this
 week really flew). 158 days in jail. 159 days in
 jail. 160 days for doing something wrong for
 doing something wrong in jail. 161 days in
 jail. 162 days in jail. 163 days in jail. 164 days
 in JA/UAH/AIL. Ah. 165 days in jail. 16 . . . 1 . . .
 Uh. Uh. Uh. 160 DAYS IN JA/UAH/AIL. 161
 days. 2, 3, 4 in, days, in, jail. This is jail, un-
 doubtedly. 165 days in jail. People get stabb-
 ed in jail. 166 days in jail and 167 days in jail.
 168 days in jail. 169 days in jail. So, let's say
 plus 120 from four more months equal 720.
 Let's round it off to 750, and there it is . . .
 jail equals . . . 580
 days still left to do in this filthy jail. Unless
 they pardon me for good behavior. Ah. I've
 gotten a hard-on again. Cool out, cock,
 there's no point in getting excited . . . 171
 days in jail. 172 days in jail. Wait a minute, I
 made a mistake the other day. Thirty
 months — two and a half years in jail. Not
 twenty-four months! I . . . Thirty months!
 900 days minus the 172 days in jail I've
 already done equal . . . 728 days in jail. Uh.
 Still to do. 173 days in jail. 174 days in jail.
 175 days in jail. 176 days in jail. 177 days in
 jail. 178 days in jail. 179 days in jail. 180 days
 in jail. 181 days in jail. Jail plus jail only
 equals jail. 182, 3, 4 days in jail. Yesterday,
 today, yesterday, today, yesterday yesterday.
 Today. 185 days in jail. 186, 7 days in jail. We
 as violently as I can. As if the ball were that
 play soccer in the courtyard. I kick the ball
 pig, the shitty judge who gave me two and a
 half years, two and a half years of JAIL. 188,
 9, 90 days in jail. 191 days in jail. 192 days in
 jail. 193 days in jail. 194 days in jail. 195 days
 in jail. I'm itchy all over. I can't sleep. My
 eyes are red. Even though I don't read.

**Fiat Has
Branded Me**

Giampaolo Pansa

Giampaolo Pansa, well-known for his interviews with Italian workers, talks here to a Fiat worker from the Mirafiori plant in Torino who was among the group of 61 workers fired on Tuesday October 9, 1979. This interview appeared in *La Repubblica* 3 days later.

You have heard a foreman from Mirafiori vent himself. Now listen to me. I too come from Mirafiori and I am among the sixty-one workers fired by Fiat. Until Tuesday I worked in the painting department. I was a general worker at the third level. According to Fiat, I was also a violent worker, a quasi-terrorist, one who assists the Red Brigades: this is the mark that Agnelli is trying to brand on my forehead.

I must start at the beginning so you can understand the situation. I shall be 29 in November. I am from the province of Catanzaro, from a small village that offers no opportunities. We emigrate from there in droves. Before leaving, I attended secondary school and then took a technical course. But school was not for me. I subsequently decided to go and look for work in the north, at Turin.

I left my village in January of '69, having just turned 18. I had never been outside it. Turin frightened me — its huge size, its ugliness, the clouds and the snow. I asked myself: where have you come? I found a job in a real hole, a small factory, but I lasted only 10 days there, yet I thought only of Fiat. I said to another job. Things were going better there, yet I couldn't take it much longer. Then I found myself: Fiat is a big company, you'll be secure there; if you get into Fiat, you'll never wind up out on your ass.

I entered Fiat on 28 May 1969 as an apprentice in the painting department. The apprenticeship was supposed to last 6 months, but it ended much sooner. The trouble in July of '69 had already erupted; Fiat needed people who could start working at once, in order to fill the gaps left by those who were on strike or who sympathized with them. And so I went right on the assembly line immediately after the vacations.

At the beginning the painting department was horrible. I worked as if in the middle of a cloud, amid strange odors and terrible smells of every kind. It was an infernal scenario. Yet after a little while, even with these noxious fumes, I started to like the job. Painting cars in not a monotonous task. What I was learning could help later on. And then I always tried to work with my head too: I tried to do my job well. But also preserve my health. In short, I was rather satisfied.

It was autumn and still hot outside. I didn't pay attention to it. I didn't know anything about what was happening around me and then there was my mother's advice: think about work and keep to yourself. Only in 1970 did I start to get a little involved. No, it wasn't political activity at all, and it didn't even have anything to do with the union. I concerned myself with the problem of the working conditions in the painting department. The situation was disastrous and I even felt the effects of it. I lost eight teeth. And then there was the nausea, the duodenal ulcer, the impaired hearing.

In a word, I was provoked when I saw that I was paying for my job at Fiat with my skin. But it was not an individual rebellion, nor was I interested in raising hell for its own sake. It was a collective rebellion by nearly the entire shop. We asked Fiat to alter the situation and Fiat answered no.

Anyway, in that year I joined the union and then I had an important encounter — with *Lotta Continua*. I had not completed the assigned work precisely because of the working conditions. I went out through the gates and showed these conditions to some of the people who were always there with newspapers and flyers. They told me: Come with us and we'll talk about it.

Now *Lotta Continua* no longer exists as a group. And I am nostalgic for it, even if I do not feel that I am a former member. For me it was a great experience, political and human. I met exceptional people whom I would have never met otherwise. *Lotta Continua* had one great merit: it made you intellectually open to other people, it let them speak, it let them discuss . . .

I am not a popular leader. I'm a quiet man. You know what they call me in the painting department? "The priest," "the good guy." But from the first moment of my involvement with that political group, Fiat must have classified me as "a lot-label, because of my political activity when the group existed. But this is a chapter to which we shall return later.

Now I want to say that in those first eight to nine months I was a Fiat worker like the others, and I was occasionally better than the others. My absences were few, in short, I have always done my share, as an electrical technician until 1977 and then in preventive overhaul, where the car is prepared for painting. I considered myself good on the job and my foremen have always considered me so.

In the meantime, the working conditions had improved and my duties became less oppressive and repetitive. Nonetheless, I had also grown bored. *Lotta Continua* was no longer there and Turin haunted me. The huge city never pleased me, but now I was really aching and I wanted to leave it. My dream was to go and work for Fiat abroad. And for two months they did send me away, to a branch office in Germany. When I returned, I renewed my request. In fact, I had recently done so with Varetto, the manager shot by the Red Brigades. And when the foreman brought me to the front office on Tuesday, I believed that they had heard my request. Instead they dealt me the letter of dismissal.

newspapers at this point. On the contrary, it is necessary to discuss and ask oneself why the Red Brigades shoot certain people and not others.

Of course, the Red Brigades don't shoot only foremen. You remind me of Rossa, a worker like myself. What do I think of him? Well, I don't know... What if I discovered that one of my co-workers was a *brigatista*? That's a difficult question! It's a big problem. No, I wouldn't say anything. I don't want to play spy on anyone's account... In any case, the Red Brigades are inside Fiat, but I don't know them and I'm not one of them...

You say that my answers show it's a little hard for me to talk about terrorism. It will be so, but there's a reason for it. I have always been distrustful. Now that I've been fired by Fiat, I'm even more so. Your questions about terrorism, about denunciations, and so forth, seem to me a little provocative...

However, I'm not the only one who talks about terrorism in this way. It's a thorny problem, too thorny. Everyone has become distrustful. Take a short walk through the streets of Turin, ask people the questions you've asked me, and you'll see whether you get different answers. And then, you see, ever since *Lotta Continua* disbanded, I no longer want to take part in anything. I'm only concerned about my ass. I hoped to go abroad, to decide whether I would marry or not, and instead this thing happened to me...

I'm disheartened and I feel persecuted. And then there's one last thing I want to say to you. Just as I am nostalgic for *Lotta Continua*, so am I nostalgic for Fiat. I'm an emigrant; Fiat was my home for ten years. It seems unjust to me that they should chase me from my home. I have only one hope: that the unions, that all those who call themselves democratic, don't give in.

I don't hope this only to save my job. There is also a political reason for it. If the unions weaken, the Red Brigades and Front Line (*Prima linea*) will be able to say: Do you see? No one protects the working class any more. The only ones left are we and our guns.

Translated by Lawrence Venuti

1/1 Photo: Seth Tillet



That letter brands me as violent. But I deny it! Of course, my strikes for a change so have many others. Between '74 and '75, I was a union delegate and I did what was within my power. And even if I am not at all an orator, I have never laid back when there was some working method to be discussed with the foremen.

Take note of this: I said working method, not work. I do not refuse work. I am a born worker, and I must work, but not as a slave. And I am also convinced that it is necessary to work well; if you don't do your job well, you make more work for the people who come after you on the chain. I have never answered from this position with those of my co-workers who act badly. I say: if you do only a little work, at least do it well. And do a little work so it'll all get done. This is one of the Fiat workers' slogans.

What does a little work mean? Today we work for seven and a half hours a day. It's too much. It must be seven hours a day, five days a week, or thirty-five hours. No more. If the working hours are not changed, the unemployed will stay that way. I have always tried to put it into practice. I have even discussed it with my foremen, but without ever being reprimanded or quarrelling or resorting to violence.

Yes, there is much talk about violence against the foreman. I would like for the newspapers also to speak of the violence of the assembly line, which moves much too quickly. And isn't it violence when certain foremen put their hands on the asses of the newly hired boys? Where, at any rate, are these acts of violence against the foreman? Of course, there have been moments of tension during contract negotiations. And many workers see the foreman as their immediate opponent. Sometimes the men are short-tempered: to be in a factory is hard on everyone.

Still, I have never done any violence. I have always been in the same work group. My foreman thinks highly of me. He gave me a pen as a gift. He has even invited me to his home. Do you invite to your home a violent man who threatens you? Tuesday, he was the first one to be struck with amazement. Ever since *Lotta Continua* dissolved, I have become completely peaceful. Moreover, someone who tries to raise hell for its own sake or who acts as the terrorist's assistant doesn't ask to go abroad: he stays here to threaten and to play the violent man.

Why then have they fired me? This is my answer. Fiat knows everything about its workers — their lives, deaths, miracles. I am a politicized worker. I have always tried to involve my co-workers in labor problems, with working conditions and rhythms. I used to go to contract negotiations, to talk, discuss. In a word, I used to make trouble. So they've pulled out their old lists; there I was on the list for *Lotta Continua* and so they've thrown me out.

I am evidence that Fiat is a terrorist organization. By eliminating people like me, "ballbreakers" are eliminated. It will be easier to return to the past, to increase Fiat wants to eliminate those who can speak on behalf of the others, those who do not bow their heads. And then there must be a grander design: once the terrorists, it's a lie, I do not agree with the Red Brigades. They are not the kind of people who can protect our interests. I have never considered delegating my representation to those who use weapons. And I do not believe that in Italy things can be changed by shooting people.

Yet I am also convinced that there is much too little discussion of terrorism among the workers. There is great indifference at Fiat. When they killed Ghiglieno, there was hardly any reaction in the shops. The other incidents have been received in the same way. The workers consider them material for the

The Strategy of Refusal

Mario Tronti

This article, written in 1965, is part of the "Initial Theses" in Tronti's *Operaie e Capitale* ("Workers and Capital"). Tronti's first contributions were the result of a collective political reformulation of revolutionary strategy developed by *Quaderni Rossi* and *Classe Operaia*, together with Toni Negri, Sergio Bologna, etc. Tronti never left the ICP, but his work is widely recognized as seminal to the autonomous movement in Italy.

Adam Smith says — and Marx comments on the accuracy of his observation — that the effective development of the productive power of labour begins when labour is transformed into wage labour, that is, when the *conditions* of development of the political power of workers, that is, when the political power of workers are transformed into workers, that is, when the political power of workers is intimately connected to the productive power of wage labour. This is in contrast to the power of capital, which is primarily a social power. The power of workers resides in their potential command over production, that is, over a particular aspect of society. Capitalist power, on the other hand, rests on a real domination over society in general. Consequently production, this particular aspect of society, becomes the aim of society in general. Whoever controls and dominates it controls and dominates everything.

Even if factory and society were to become perfectly integrated at the economic level, they would nevertheless forever continue to be in contradiction at a political level. One of the highest and most developed points of the class struggle will be precisely the frontal clash between the *factory*, as *working class* and *society*, as *capital*. When the development of capital's interests in the factory is blocked, then the functioning of society seizes up: the way is then open for overthrowing

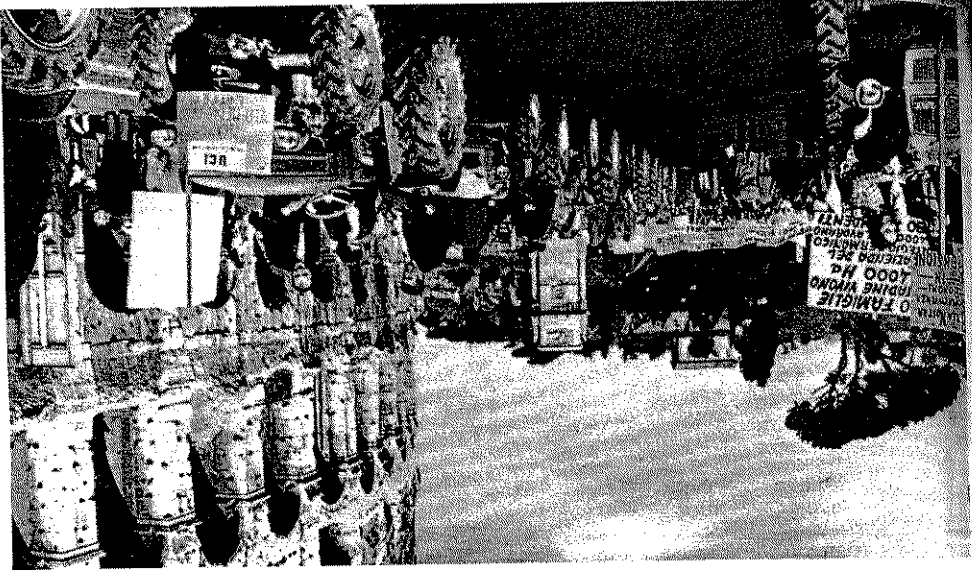
and destroying the very basis of capital's power. Those, however, who have the contrary perspective, of taking over the running of the "general interests of society", are committing the error of reducing the factory to capital by means of reduction. Now we know that the productive power of labour makes a leap forward when it is put to use by the individual capitalist. By the same token, it makes a political leap forward when it is organised by social capital. It is possible that this political leap forward does not express itself in terms of organisation, whereupon an outsider may conclude that it has not happened. Yet it still exists as a material reality, and the fact of its spontaneous existence is sufficient for the workers to refuse to fight for old ideals — though it may not yet be sufficient for them to take upon themselves the task of initiating a new plan of struggle, based on new objectives.

So, can we say that we are still living through the long historical period in which Marx saw the workers as a "class against capital", but not yet as a "class for itself"? Or shouldn't we perhaps say the opposite, even if it means confounding a first class of capitalists. And only afterwards, after a long, terrible, historical travail which is perhaps, not yet, completed, do the workers arrive at the point of being actively, subjectively, "a class against capital". A prerequisite of this process of transition is political organisation, the party, with its demand for total power, in the intervening period there is the refusal — collective, mass, expressed in passive forms — of the workers to expose themselves as "a class against capital". The working class *does* what it is. But it is, at one and the same time, the articulation of capital, and its *dissolution*. Capitalist power seeks to use the workers' antagonistic will-to-struggle as a motor of its own development. The workers' party must take this same real mediation by the workers of capital's interests and organise it in an antagonistic form, as the tactical terrain of struggle and as a strategic potential for destruction. Here there is only one reference point — only one orientation — for the opposed world views of the two classes — namely the class of workers. Whether one's aim is to stabilise the development of the system or to destroy it forever, it is the working class that is decisive. Thus the *society of capital* and the *workers' party* find themselves existing as two opposite forms with one and the same content. And in the struggle for that content, the one form excludes the other. They can only exist *together* for the brief period of the revolutionary crisis. The working class cannot constitute itself as a party within capitalist society without preventing capitalist society from functioning. As long as capitalist society does continue to function the working class party *cannot* be said to exist.

Remember: "the existence of a class of capitalists is based on the productive power of labour". Productive labour, then, exists not only in relation to capital, but also in relation to the capitalists as a class. It is in this latter relationship that it exists as the working class. The transition is probably a historical one: it is productive labour which produces capital; it is the fact of industrial workers being organised into a class that provides the capitalists in general to constitute themselves as a class. Thus we see that — at an average level of development — workers are already a social class of producers: industrial producers of capital. At this same level of development the capitalists, themselves, constitute a social class not of entrepreneurs so much as *organisers*: the organisers of workers through the medium of industry. A history of industry cannot be conceived as anything other than a history of the capitalist organisation of productive labour, hence as a working class history of capital. The "industrial revolution" necessarily springs to mind: this must be the starting point of our research if we are to trace the development of the contemporary form of capital's domination over workers, as it increasingly comes to be exercised through the objective mechanisms of industry, and also the development of capital's capacity to prevent these mechanisms being used by workers. This would lead us to see that the development of the relationship between living labour and the constant part of

which does not come from the workers is, precisely, labour. From the outset, the *conditions of labour* are in the hands of the capitalist. And again, from the outset, the only thing in the hands of the worker is the *conditions of capital*. This is the historical paradox which marks the birth of capitalist society, and the abiding condition which will always be attendant upon the "eternal rebirth" of capitalist development. The worker cannot be *labour* other than in relation to the capitalist. The capitalist cannot be *capital* other than in relation to the worker. The question is often asked: "What is a social class?" The answer is: "There are these two classes". The fact that one is dominant does not imply that the other should be subordinate. Rather, it implies struggle, conducted on equal terms, to smash that domination, and to take that domination and turn it, in new forms, against the one that has dominated up till now. As a matter of urgency we must get hold of, and start circulating, a photograph of the worker-proletariat that shows him as he really is — "proud and menacing", it's time to set in motion the contestation — the battle, to be fought out in a new period of history — directly between the working class and capital, the confrontation between what Marx referred to in an analogy as "the huge children's shoes of the proletariat and the dwarfish size of the worn-out political shoes of the bourgeoisie".

If the conditions of capital are in the hands of the workers, if there is no active life in capital without the living activity of labour power, if capital is already, at its birth, a consequence of productive labour, if there is no capitalist society without the workers' articulation, in other words if there is no social relationship without a class relationship, and there is no class relationship without the working class.... then one can conclude that the capitalist class, from its birth, is in fact subordinate to the working class. Hence the necessity of exploitation. Working class struggles against the iron laws of capitalist exploitation cannot be reduced to the eternal revolt of the oppressed against their oppressors. Similarly, the concept of exploitation cannot be reduced to the desire of the individual employer to enrich himself by extracting the maximum possible amount of surplus labour from the bodies of his workers. As always, the economic explanation has no other weapon against capitalistism than moral condemnation of the system. But we are not here to invent some alternative way of seeing this problem. The problem is already the other way round, and has been right from the start. Exploitation is born, historically, from the necessity for capital to escape from its *de facto* subordination to the class or worker-producers. It is in this very specific sense that capitalistic exploitation, in turn, provokes workers' insubordination. The increasing organisation of exploitation, its continual reorganisation at the very highest levels of industry and society are then, again, responses by capital to workers' refusal to submit to this process. It is the directly political thrust of the working

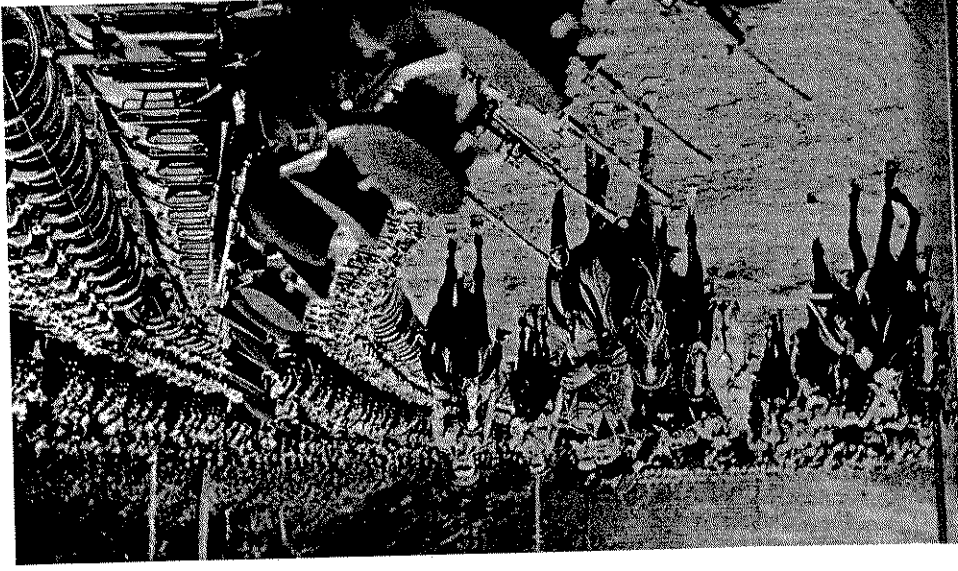


capital is not a neutral process. Rather, it is determined and often violently so, by the emerging class relationship between the collective worker and the whole of specific moments of the class struggle which have determined every technological change in the mechanisms of industry. Thus we would achieve two things: one, we would break free of the apparent neutrality of the man-machine relationship, and two, we would locate this relationship in the interaction, through history, of working class struggles and capitalist initiative.

It is wrong to define present day society as "industrial civilisation". The "industrial" of that definition is, in fact, merely a means. The truth of modern society is that it is the *civilisation of labour*. Furthermore, a capitalist society can never be anything but this. And, in the course of its historical development, it can even take on the form of "socialism". So... not *industrial society* (that is, the society of capital), but the *society of industrial labour*, and thus the society of workers' labour. It is capitalist society seen from this point of view that we must find the courage to fight. What are workers doing when they struggle against their employers? Aren't they, above all else, saying "No" to the transformation of labour power into labour? Are they not, more than anything, refusing to receive work from the capitalists?

Couldn't we say, in fact, that stopping work does not signify a refusal to give capital the use of one's labour power, since it has already been given to capital once the contract for this particular commodity has been signed. Nor is it a refusal to allow capital the product of labour, since this is legally already *labour*, stopping work — the strike, as the classic form of workers' struggle — implies a refusal of the command of capital as the organiser of production: it is a way of saying "No" at a particular point in the process and a refusal of the concept of labour which is being offered, it is a *momentary* blockage of the work-process and it appears as a recurring threat which derives its contents from the process of value creation. The anarcho-syndicalist "general strike", which was supposed to provoke the collapse of capitalist society, is a romantic naïveté from the world go. It already contains within it a demand which it appears to oppose — that is, the Lassallian demand for a "fair share of the fruits of labour" — in other words, fairer "participation" in the profit of capital. In fact, these two perspectives combine in that incorrect "correction" which was imposed on Marx, and which has subsequently enjoyed such success within the practice of the official working class movement — the idea that it is "working people" who are the true "givers of labour", and that it is the concern of workpeople to defend the dignity of this thing which they provide, against all those who would seek to debase it. Untrue... The truth of the matter is that the person who provides labour is the capitalist. The worker is the *provider of capital*. In reality, he is the possessor of that unique, particular commodity which is the condition of all the other conditions of production. Because, as we have seen, all these other conditions, in order to come to life and to play in the social relations of production, needs to subsume under itself labour power, as the subject and activity of capital. But, as we have also seen, this transition into social relations of production cannot occur unless the class relation is introduced into it as its content. And the class relation is imposed from the very first moment and by the very fact that the proletariat is constituted as a class in the face of the capitalist.

Thus, the worker *provides* capital, not only insofar as he sells labour power, but also insofar as he *embodies* the class relation. This, like the inherent social nature of labour power, is another of those things acquired by the capitalist *without payment*, or rather, it is paid for, but at the cost (which is never subject to negotiation) of the workers' struggles which periodically shake the process of production. It's no accident that this terrain is the terrain that is chosen tactically by the workers as the ground on which to attack the employers, and is therefore the terrain on which the employer is forced to respond with continual technological "revolutions" in the organisation of work. In this whole process, the only thing



the mediation of a formal political level. Precisely because capital is a social power which, as such, claims for itself domination over everything, it needs to articulate this domination in political "forms" which can bring to life its dead essence as an objective mechanism, and provide it with subjective force. In immediate terms, the nature of capital is merely that of an economic interest, and, at the beginning of its history, it was nothing more than the egoistical interest of the individual capitalist: in order to defend itself from the threat posed by the working class, it is forced to turn itself into a political force, and to subsume under itself the whole of society. It becomes the class of capitalists, or — which amounts to the same thing — it turns itself into a repressive State apparatus. If it is true that the concept of class is a political reality, then no capitalist class exists without a capitalist State. And the so-called bourgeois "revolution" — the conquest of political power by the "bourgeoisie" — amounts to nothing more than the long historical transition through which capital constitutes itself as a class of capitalists in relation to the workers. Once again, the development of the working class displays totally the opposite features: when the working class begins to exist formally at an organized political level, it initiates the revolutionary process directly, and poses nothing but the demand for power; but it has existed as a class from the start, from a long time before, and precisely as such, threatens bourgeois order. Precisely because the collective worker is that totally particular commodity which counterposes itself to the whole of the conditions of society, including the social conditions of its labour, so it manifests, as already incorporated within itself, that direct political subjectivity, that partially which constitutes class antagonism. From the very beginning the proletariat is nothing more than an immediate political interest in the abolition of every aspect of the "institutions" in order to bring to life what it is, since what it is nothing other than the life-force of that immediate destruction. It doesn't need institutions, but it does need organization. Why? In order to render the political instance of the antagonism objective in the face of capital, in order to articulate this instance within the present reality of the class relationship, at any given moment, in order to shape it into a rich and aggressive force, in the short term, through the weapon of tactics. This, which is necessary for the seizure of power, is also necessary before the need to seize power has arisen. Marx discovered the existence of the working class long before there were forms to express it politically: thus, for Marx, there is a class even in the absence of a party. On the other hand, the Leninist party, by virtue of having taken shape, gave the real illusion that there was already under way a specific process of working class revolution; for Lenin, in fact, when the class constitutes itself as a party, it becomes revolution in action. Here, then, are two complementary theses, just as the figures of Marx and

The very possibility of workers abolishing the State in society is located within the specific nature of this problem. In order to exist, the class of capitalists needs or destroying the class organism of the workers.

political party does not mean — and has not meant — dissolving, dismembering, the institutionalised levels of its organization. This is why destroying the workers' hand, quite the opposite is true of the working class: it exists independently of only hope to destroy that power by smashing the State machine. On the other mean destroying the power of the capitalists, and by the same token, one could their political domination: for this very reason, smashing the bourgeois State does situations, through which, at different times but in permanent ways, they exercise this. The capitalist class does not exist independently of the formal political institution. The difference between the two classes at the level of political power is precisely political power. That type of political power is specifically working class power, and in fact will obviously never be able to invent — a non-institutionalised embodied in the preceding development. The capitalists have not yet invented — in capital's mode of thinking, if we look closely, we can see that this was already a class point of view. However, this is not to concede that this was a "revolution" of view with a formidable subjective leap forward, perhaps comparable in post- and neo-Keynesian ideologies, only Keynes has provided the capitalist point initiatives taken by the capitalists themselves, as a class. Leaving aside all the tenuous objective mechanisms: it must be subjectively imposed by political articulation of capitalist development can no longer function on the basis of spontaneous. The "end of laissez-faire" means, fundamentally, that working class classes. The "end of laissez-faire" means, fundamentally, that working class political State itself as an instrument of production — the state as we have come economic mechanism? When this economic mechanism can begin to use the

At what point does the political State come to manage at least some part of the society, but, rather, the State of capitalist society.

it has already happened. We no longer have a bourgeois State over a capitalist State capitalism by a capitalist State is not something that belongs to the future: economic guise; control of their movement of insubordination. The surpassing of the ultimate form of automatic — i.e. objective — control; political control in the level of political theory. As for the workers, they would find in this "socialism" too we would find the inexorable necessity of working class mediation, even at the social State — a system commonly known as, quote, "socialism". Yet here democracy would finally be reconciled, finding an ideal mediator in the shape of ourselves with a synthesis of liberalism, socialism and democracy. Liberalism and person alike would probably approve, might even be realisable. We would find of which G. Myrdal speaks — that society which J.S. Mill, K. Marx and T. Jefferson dictatorship. The intellectual consensus as to the future State-of-well-being form of political dictatorship within democracy as the modern political form of economic planning are nothing more than an attempt to institute this organic role as the dominant class. Looked at from this point of view, the present forms the necessity of using force to make the working class abandon its proper social in capitalist society the basis of political power is, in truth, economic necessity:

the State.

development of ever more organic forms of political dictatorship at the level of of production, has been accompanied, throughout the history of capital, by the exploitation, a continuous form of the extraction of surplus value within the process political domination over the working class. This is the reason why capitalist ex-history of the successive attempts of the capitalist class to emancipate itself from the working class, through the medium of the various forms of capital, to withdraw from the class relationship, at a higher level we can now see it as the capital, at the same time is the most fearful threat to capitalist power. We have already seen the political history of capital as a sequence of attempts by capital this political vitality on the part of its adversary, on the one hand indispensable to ting from the point of production, reaches out to the whole of social relations. But class that necessitates economic development on the part of capital, which, star-

1/11 CRO 1700981 ROME: Farmers with their tractors, and placard-carrying demonstrators gather at Colosseum here April 7th as they stage demonstration calling for better benefits from the government. Italy held its first general strike of 1971 April 7th in what turned out to be almost a holiday atmosphere. Some 11 million workers are reported taking part in the strike, protesting alleged inadequacies in a new housing bill. UPI CABLEPHOTO 4/7/71 11/2 DUCE INSPECTS HIS POLICE ROME, ITALY: Standing at attention before their shiny motorcycles, row upon row of Rome policemen were inspected by Benito Mussolini Oct. 18 as he rode down the lines with hand raised in the Fascist salute. It was the tenth anniversary of the founding of the force. (AP) 10/30/35



Lenin are complementary. Basically, what are these two people if not admirable anticipations of the future of the class itself?

If we accept that the class is not identical with the party, nevertheless one can even without party, nevertheless we also have to point out that every class struggle is a political struggle. If, through the party, the class puts into action what it is, if it does so by dissolving in practice everything that it must destroy in theory, from the hands of those who hold it, and organise that power in its own hands, in new forms.... If all this is true, then one must conclude that the relationship Class-Party-Revolution is far tighter, far more determinate and much more historically specific than the concept of revolution from the class relationship. But a class relationship is posed for the first time by the working class. Thus, the concept of revolution and the reality of the working class are one and the same. Just as there can be no classes before the workers begin to exist as a class, so there can be no revolution before the destructive will that the working class bears within itself, by the very nature of its existence, takes solid form.... The classic model of the bourgeois "revolution" — invented by historical materialism — conceives of a sudden seizing of political power only after the completion of a long, slow, gradual taking-over of economic power. Thus the class, having already dominated society as a whole, then lays claim to the running of the State. Now, if these infantile schemes had only been used to illustrate a history book or two, well and good: after all, one might expect that of a "history book". But in the Marxist camp, errors of theory are paid for in very practical terms: this is a law whose consequences the workers have had to suffer all too often. When the attempt was made to apply the model of the bourgeois revolution to the course of working class revolution, it was at that point (and we have got to understand this), it was at that point that we saw the strategic collapse of the movement. The workers were supposed to copy this model: they were supposed to demonstrate, in practice, that they were capable of managing the economy of the society (far more capable, of course, than the capitalists), and on this basis they were to demand the running of the State. Hence, workers' management of capital as the prime way, the "classic" road to socialism. For historical materialism, social democracy is theoretically the most orthodox workers' movement. Basically, all the communist movement has done has been to break and overturn, in some aspects of its practice, the social democratic logic of what has been its own theory.

And yet, at the beginning the dividing line between social democracy and the communist movement was clearly fixed. And if an internal history of the working class is to be reconstructed — alongside that of capital — it will certainly include both of these organisational experiences — although not under the same heading, and not with the same significance accorded to each. There is in fact a difference of quality between different moments of the working class struggle itself. August 9, 1842, when 10,000 workers marched on Manchester, with the Chartist Richard Pilling at their head, to negotiate with the manufacturers at the same as Sunday May 28, 1871 in Paris, when Gallifet called out of the ranks of prisoners those with grey hair and ordered them to be shot immediately, because as well as being present at March 1871, they had also lived the experience of June 1848. And we should not summarise the first case as an offensive action by the workers and the second as an act of repression by the capitalists, because perhaps it is quite the opposite.

It is true that here we see the working class articulation of capitalist development: at first as an initiative for the functioning of the system, an initiative that only needs to be organised via institutions; in the second instance, as a "No", a refusal to manage the mechanism of the society as it stands, merely to improve it — a "No" which is repressed by pure violence. This is the difference of content which can exist — even within one and the same set of working class demands — between trade union demands and political refusal.

The Tribe of Moles

Sergio Bologna

This article was written immediately after the explosion of the "Movement of '77" in Rome and Bologna. It is one of the most lucid attempts to analyze the class composition of the "new social subject."

Sergio Bologna's note on terminology: "The categories of class analysis used by the sociology (petty bourgeoisie, middle class, lumpen- or sub-proletariat, lumpen-bourgeoisie, etc.) are used here only in their conventional historical usage. We consider the scientific value of these classifications to be doubtful to say the least. The concepts of capital and class composition are far better suited to define the dynamic of class relations today as relations of power. . . These contradictions of language are an expression of the contemporary crisis of the traditional Marxist conceptual apparatus. They underline the need for a creative and political re-evaluation of analytical categories, a "rediscovery" of Marxism in the light of the contemporary class struggle."

This article is a provisional attempt to trace the internal development of the autonomous class movement in Italy, which led to the explosive confrontation around the University occupations in Spring 1977. Such analysis is only meaningful if it allows us to uncover the new composition of the class underlying these struggles, and to indicate the first elements of a programme to advance and further generalise the movement.

Here we analyse the movement primarily in its relation to the Italian political system and the changes it has undergone through the period of crisis since 1968. With the Historic Compromise strategy of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) since 1974, the form of the State has taken a new leap forwards — towards the organisation of a "party system" which no longer aims to mediate or represent conflicts in civil society, but is increasingly compact and counterposed against movements in civil society, and against the political programme of the new composition of the class.

The wartime anti-Fascist resistance in Italy laid the basis for a form of the State based on the "party system". The new regime inherited from Fascism fairly powerful instruments for an independent political "interference" in the process of reproduction of classes (normally left to the development of productive relations

THE FORM OF THE STATE — OPEN OR LATENT

The party system thus came to control the basic sectors of the economy and the important service sectors. Through this control, and within it that of the Christian Democrats (the hegemonic party from the crisis of the Parri Government in November 1945 to the Centre-Left coalitions of the 'sixties) it was able to negotiate with US imperialism and the multinationals, both domestic and foreign, regarding the international division of labour, the rate of increase of the working class, the type of working class to be promoted, in other words, to organise the dynamic of class relations in a way that corresponded to the plans for political stability. In certain regions of the northern "industrial triangle" the reproduction of social classes was left to the classic mechanisms of concentration-massification of labour power in large-scale industry. In this sector it was left to productive capital, private and public, to bring about that "rational demographic composition", the lack of which (for Italy, in contrast to the USA) Gramsci had so lamented in his *Prison Notebooks* (see *Americanism and Fordism*). Here, in other words, a society was to be developed made up entirely of producers, consisting solely of wage labour and capital.

It should be added that this mechanism of advanced capitalist development produced not only factory workers, but also a large proportion of tertiary workers, so that regions like Liguria, Lombardy or Veneto have a higher percentage of employees working in tertiary activities than some regions in the South. In these latter regions, however, the intervention of the "party system" in the mechanism of reshaping and reproducing the classes seemed to take place with greater autonomy from the movements of capital.

The political agreements established with large-scale European industry meanwhile permitted a large number of agricultural proletarians to be transferred abroad; the production of a factory working class was piloted with great care, according to the principle that the command of fixed capital should always be over-powering. At the same time, support was given to all forms of agricultural production that maintained irrational demographic relations; there was a flow of subsidising finance aimed to "congeal" non-productive relations and social strata, and a flow of revenue — "money as money" — acquired through employment in the public administration. All these had the effect of reproducing a disproportionately large small-to-middle bourgeoisie, based on income as revenue, which represented the social base necessary for the stability of the Christian Democratic regime.

In the long term, the effects of this policy for the reproduction of the classes blunted the revolutionary effects of the real subjection of labour to capital, offsetting the growth of the working class with a disproportionate growth of a small-to-middle bourgeoisie, in receipt of revenue, not hostile to the working class, but passive, not anti-Union but "autonomous", not productive but saving, and hence allowing a social recycling of the income received by it. But this class dynamic was shattered and thrown off course, first by the working class offensive at the end of the 1960s, and then, a few years later, by the violent effects of the crisis — which we shall examine later.

The form of the State under the post-war "party system" is a latent form: what normally appears on the surface is a method of mediating and representing conflicts. On the one side are the governing parties that dominate the bureaucratic-repressive apparatus of the State, and on the other the opposition parties, which are the receptacles for mediating the drives and contradictions of civil society. The form of the State comes out into the open in certain historical moments, when the crisis of the preceding regime and the development of a new class composition risk escaping from the control of the dialectic between Government and opposition. This happened in 1945-46, after the armed struggle against Fascism. The parties chose to replace their relations with the classes, with the masses, by mutual relations among themselves, and the Communist Party chose to prioritise

and the real subsumption of labour to capital). These instruments were: credit, the State-controlled industries, and public expenditure.

TREASON OF THE
INTELLECTUALS,
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ACCESS TO
EDUCATION, AND
THE WORLD OF
REVENUE

The front-line responsibility for providing the basic arguments behind the ideology of crisis clearly lies with the profession of economists. This applies not only to the high priests of the regime. It includes young economists who have taken up university posts, backed by Cambridge or Harvard promotion, and very often open to links with the trade unions. Faced with the alternatives of working class commitment or bourgeois-academic economic science, they have invariably, more or less explicitly, opted for the latter. In certain cases, precisely through a differing interpretation of the dominant ideology of the crisis, they have contributed to it, and have helped to "close the circle". Such can be said, to give just one example, of the "New Left" economists of the Modena faculty: this could have become a centre for rigorous and well-documented counter-information to dismantle the false arguments behind the ideology of the crisis. Instead they preferred to keep quiet, or provided more lessons to the working class on prudence... how to be reasonable... how to surrender. This is only one example of the more general "treason of the intellectuals" of the 1968 generation, which has been one of the main factors allowing the task of Restoration to take place in the Universities in recent years, and has contributed to creating the radical cultural gap between the movement of '68 and that of '77.

But if the form of the State, which is becoming explicit, cannot be reduced simply to the strengthening of the repressive apparatus, how then is it concretised? So far, at least, it has been concretised through a system of values, of political norms, unwritten rules governing all parties in the democratic arena, which de facto decide what is legitimate, what is legal or illegal, what is productive or unproductive, etc. Since the framework for this consensus is provided by a precise ideology of crisis, a certain type of intellectual has assumed major social importance as propagator or exponent of the "collective consciousness" in this period.

Since the student uprisings in 1977, the movement towards an all-party coalition now it is clearly the only way if the present power equilibria are to be maintained. This process is a complex one, and has met with a thousand obstacles: but by

This race among the parties (above all the PCI) to arrive at ever-tighter links, this new edition of the constitutional pact signed during the Resistance and then violated by the Christian Democrats, is happening today under the banner of the ideology of the crisis and the imposition of austerity. The connective chain which poses them as a machine hostile to civil society, to the society which expresses new needs, to the composition of the class, is represented by the ideology of the crisis. The form of the State is now becoming open and explicit through the consolidation of the pact within the "party system". It does not, in other words, depend on the strengthening of the military-repressive apparatus: the latter is subordinate to the level of homogeneity of the "party system".

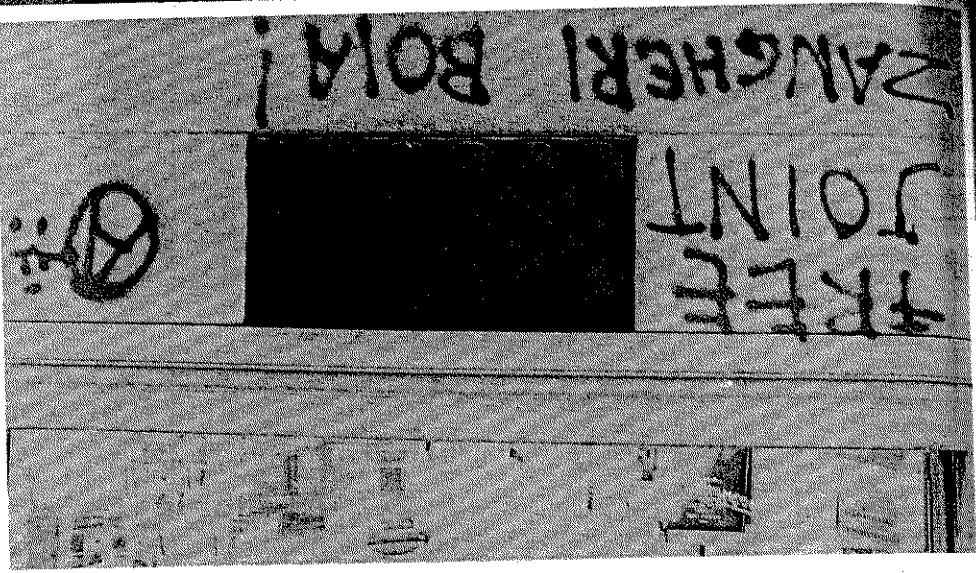
It trusts from the base; it controls and represses them. frontally counterposed to civil society. The party system no longer "receives" the hostile to movements in society. The political system becomes more rigid, more "terests" and poses itself as the specific form of the State, separate from and conflicts, nor to mediate or organise them: it delegates them to "economic in- the needs of the working class. The "party system" no longer aims to represent political and programmatic level is being concluded like a steel dome erected over terms of concord rather than conflict. By now, the unity of the parties at a was in order to "resolve the crisis of the State", to redefine the "party system" in links with the other parties — and in particular with the Christian Democrats. This chose the path of the Historic Compromise (and more vigorously since the Elec- overcome the present crisis (as with the post-war "Reconstruction"), ever since it in this latest period, and playing on a similar "state of emergency" in order to its relations with the class and the armed movement. In a similar way, rather than its relations with the other parties that backed the constitution of the Republic,

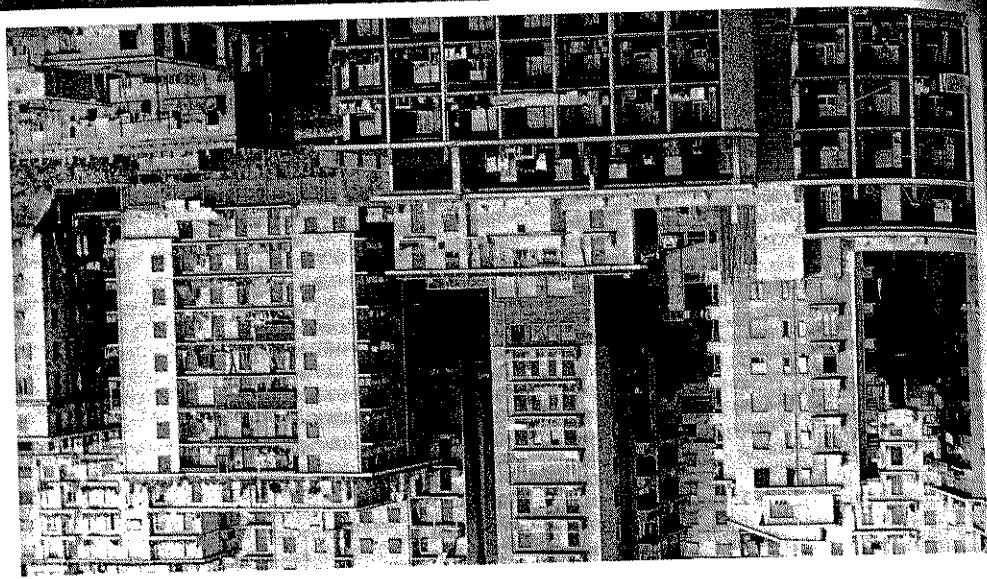
THE
CONCRETISATION
OF THE NEW FORM
OF THE STATE

cess of reproduction of classes via various sorts of State provision, one of the most important of these has clearly been the liberalisation of access to Universities since 1969. Some interpret this move as a means of eroding the working class hegemony that matured in the wave of struggles in the late 'sixties, isolating it by promoting upward social mobility. If a project of this sort was ever formulated explicitly, we are not aware of it. Let us examine the mechanism. The liberalisation of access to Universities, at least on paper, favours social promotion. A working class youth can escape the path of the previous generation, can avoid the necessity of factory or manual work. This operation is financed by distribution in the form of *preparati* (grants) — the University of Padua alone accounts for over \$2,000,000 a year; and by an increase of teaching staff and supplementary part-time staff.

At this point the high priests of our economy begin to complain that the criteria for financing this social mobility determine in advance the class that will emerge from the liberalised university system: a lower-middle bourgeoisie which is subordinated and "living off welfare" rather than productive or disposed to work. They complain, in other words, that the prospect of jobs that differ from factory work is not a sufficient incentive to productive labour, but rather acts as a signpost towards receipt of income in the sphere of circulation, towards the world of revenue (money as money, removed from the circuit of productive capital). At this point the whole "party system" joins in the great debate on the reproduction of classes in Italy, its distortions, imbalances etc., the general conclusion being that it is not sufficient to reproduce a lower-to-middle bourgeoisie in an anti-working class role, if this then becomes an unproductive class in receipt of revenue!

And so the scapegoat mythology of "Hunt the Parasite" — the yncipin of the crisis ideology — comes to the fore. Backed by the "scientific" revelations of Sylos Labini, Gorrieri, etc, this game now starts in earnest. A sort of vague egalitarianism emerges, which scrutinises the income of the clerical worker, the student and the tertiary worker, and says nothing, for example, about the transformation of capital-which-is-productive to capital-which-is-productive-of-interest: in its most shameful form, this egalitarianism assumes tones of workerist chauvinism. It appears that it is no longer capital that exploits the worker, but the postman, the milkman and the student. These are the first shots in that "class analysis" which will become the official ideology and the preferred argument of the super-paid editorial-writers of the Regime's press. It is a crude and effective ideology. The liberalisation of University access is made to coincide with the crisis, with youth unemployment, with the reduction of the productive base, with the enlargement of the area of State subsidy. But most of all, to it is traced the radical new phase of the political behaviour of the masses. The circle closes:





LEVELS AND DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND CLASS COMPOSITION.

Bulletin for Oct-Dec 1976) show that in Italy there has been no change in the distribution of income, nor any substantial alteration in its composition. Levels of income have not diminished, despite the crisis. Even the level of consumer durables has not fallen (in fact HP forms of payment have fallen). To discover how the proletariat, and in particular the working class, have not allowed themselves to be pushed to the brink of poverty by the crisis but have succeeded in increasing their needs and the means of satisfying them, would already tell us a great deal about the new composition of the class.

If consumption has not fallen, neither has the level of savings: and this point is significant for analysis of the "petty bourgeoisie" and (as we are led to believe) the hypertrophy of the "tertiary sector". Italian families have one of the highest rates of savings in the world: this would seem to confirm the hypothesis that the propensity to saving in the form of banking liquidity is a symptom of the "tertiary" disproportion of Italian society and its insufficient productive base.

And yet not only does the *Bulletin* show that savings of lower to middle income groups have increased (1973 — ie in a period of savage inflation and devaluations of the lira) in the form of bank deposits, current accounts and post office savings; but also that this is a factor of *equilibrium*, recycling income through credit institutions, invested in the form of money capital in enterprises, public and private, and in Treasury Bonds financing public expenditure, services, etc. The myth of the hypertrophy of the tertiary sector — the common theme of the ideology of the crisis, from the Right to the "New" Left — has no foundation. The OECD figures show that employment in the tertiary sector in Italy is among the lowest among advanced industrial countries: Italy 45%; USA 64%; Canada 62%; UK 54% — only Federal Germany has a lower percentage. Moreover, the ISTAT statistics show tertiary employment to be concentrated mainly in the industrial North.

According to the schema presented by the prevalent propaganda of the crisis, we would expect a flow of credit to promote an unproductive, revenue-based layer of society — the lower-to-middle bourgeoisie, as the prop of political stability — and a disproportionate flow of resources to the tertiary sector. Not so! The special credit institutions (promoted by the State), according to the *Bulletin*, direct more financing towards industry (a three times higher proportion), or to transport and communications (one and a half times higher) than to commerce, services and public administration. Housing alone — a remarkable fact — takes up double the investment of the whole tertiary sector put together!

BLOCKING WORKING CLASS AUTONOMY, OCCUPYING THE POLITICAL SPACES.

It is not easy to untangle the mass of lies and half-truths which are contained in this distorted version of the class dynamic. The best answer is to return to the roots of where it all began — the cycle of working class struggles of 1968-69. The problem for the "party system" at that stage was not only that of blocking and marginalising a working class social hegemony which had shown itself in Italy for the first time since the Second World War. It was the problem, rather, of uprooting the political forms in which this hegemony had manifested itself — the political form of autonomy.

One answer lay in the technological-type provisions that were introduced in order to break up the central nucleus of the class (the change in organic composition, etc). But less obvious was the process by which the "party system" began the conquest of the terrain of working class autonomy, presenting itself for the first time in the form of explicit State power.

This occurred in the factory itself, with the gradual removal of effective power from the delegates (shop stewards), their gradual destruction as organs of manipulation of the Workers' Assemblies, the factories, which had been free from traditional party politics for more than a decade, and in which the organisation of class autonomy form "politics" in the established sense was won in the cycle of mass struggles from the late 'sixties, now once again became a political terrain of manipulation by the "party system". All the forms and instances of class autonomy, through which a real space for *independent class politics* had been conquered, (even those related to trade union mediation, such as shop steward organisation), were taken over and allowed to atrophy — and meanwhile reconstruction rooted out and scattered the most homogeneous and militant groups in the plants. The "party system" took control of the organisational forms that remained, such as the Works Councils, turning them into parliamentary talking-shops.

At the same time, the extra-parliamentary groups began their suicidal retreat from the factory, and in general ceased to give much attention to problems of the composition of the class. This has led to a situation where, today, the factory and the working class are almost unknown entities. The larger the political space conquered by the extra-institutional movements, and the wider the cultural territory and the system of values and behaviour that these impose on decisive sections of the class, the more the form of the State as "party system" become increasingly open and aggressive.

But the form of the State cannot live only as a power that is hostile to extra-institutional movements: it needs a basic legitimisation — namely the legitimisation of its coincidence with the laws of capitalist accumulation. By making itself the interpreter of the ideology of the crisis, by organising the new constraint-to-work and the policy of integration within the system of capital, by a process of gradual abandonment of its autonomy. But what then are we to make of the claim by certain heirs of Togliatti that there exists an "autonomy of the political"? Where is this autonomy? Even where this autonomy had the greatest substance — in the process of reproduction of classes — the violence of the crisis has brought everything under the iron rule of the laws of capital. Despite all the talk about the effects of public intervention via the growth of public expenditure, all the most recent surveys (for example, the Bank of Italy's

"guaranteed" working class and the sub-proletariat even if the actual status of his job might otherwise place him in the lower-to-middle bourgeoisie.

A considerable part of the political behaviour of the young proletariat during the recent struggles should be understood starting from city planning as a space of intervention in class dynamics. The mythical "reconquest of the city centres" is a reaction to the marginalising thrust which the unholy alliance of the "construction lobby" and the "party system" is bringing about. Within this "reconquest of the city centres" there is the desire to count as a political subject, to break the institutional balances, to interfere once again in the internal relations of the "party system", a refusal to be classified as an "area of culture" and that's all.

To conclude: inflation and the mechanisms of the crisis have considerably eroded the power of the "party system" to intervene autonomously in the process of reproduction of classes in Italy. The relative autonomy of the political distribution of income has been greatly narrowed. The possibility of creating status differences via income differentials, dispensing cash through transfers of income, supplementing incomes in the public services, etc., has been diminished. The question of "rational demographic composition" to which Gramsci referred in the thirties is now coming to depend primarily on capitalist development alone, on the organic composition of aggregate capital. Even the process of tertiary growth or creation of unproductive sectors now depends more on the development of fixed capital than on any autonomous intervention on the part of the political elites.

Nobody would deny that the "party system" had the power in past years to interfere with some independence in this process — via economic controls over credit and distribution of cash as revenue, or through export of the proletariat. But at the same time, the "distorting effect" of these choices is deliberately exaggerated by the PCI and the official labour movement. Their result overall does not seem especially different (for example in the case of the growth of tertiary activity) from the developments in other industrial countries. Nor have they resulted, at least until recently, in any significant change in the distribution of income.

If anything, they have created a social and industrial structure acutely sensitive to the problem of savings — permitting a centralisation of unproductive incomes and their recycling in the form of money capital and public expenditure. The powers that the "party system" does still deploy, no longer over the reproduction of classes, but over the new class aggregation that has been formed through the crisis, are located at a different level, (ie in externalised forms of control at the social-territorial level to disaggregate and disintegrate the unity of the class, and

THE TOTAL SUBORDINATION OF THE PARTY SYSTEM TO THE POLITICS OF THE CRISIS

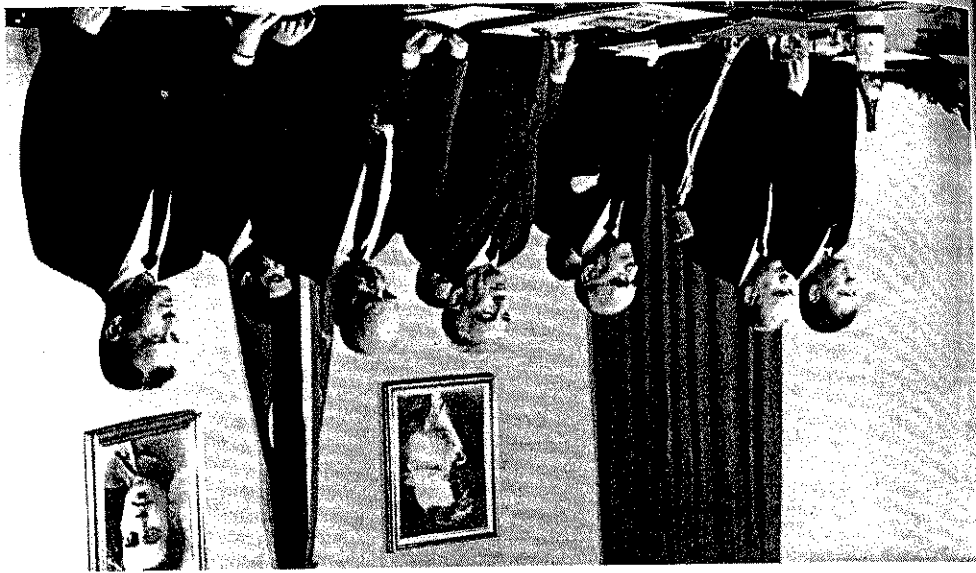
There is a specific relation between the property market and the monetary crisis. Property is the first refuge for the security of the savings of the "petty bourgeoisie" — but also for the investment of petrodollars, the basis of the em-pire of real-estate investment trusts, insurance companies, pension funds, etc., including the most adventurous kinds of speculative activity. According to the US Federal Reserve, at the end of 1975, about a quarter of the credits of US banks were in housing. While between 1971-74 "land and land development loans" (above all for suburban development) tripled, commercial bank credits to real estate trusts and mortgage companies more that doubled.

In this way the prices of suburban areas have increased, making it more productive for capital to develop suburban housing, and distancing social strata with live for capital to develop suburban housing, and distancing social strata with higher incomes away from city centres, while at the same time depriving those of fiscal centres of rates, taxes, etc., and setting in motion the mechanism of "crisis" of public spending, which is now a well-noted fact. However, we are only at the start of this process, because the acquisition of suburban areas has not been followed by an equally large movement of construction; while the race was on to capture land, the actual construction of housing saw a dramatic decline: it was added single-family and multi-family housing, we see a big increase in the period 1971-72, and then a sudden drop in January 1973 to December 1974. When construction began to lift off again, it was in the single-family sector, and was very weak indeed in the multi-family sector?

Hence vast tracts of suburban landscape are waiting to be built on, in order to make productive the capital that has been "fixed" there. In the metropolitan centres, which have become the privileged zones for the petrification of capital, the mechanisms differ: in order to get this capital moving, to give it once again the form of commodity and exchange value, a specific financial structure has been created — a series of special speculative institutions, invented through the crisis, which have increased the rhythm of transfers of property deeds and have given a considerable impulse to the velocity of circulation of money, without it passing through a process of production. In the United States too — and probably more so than in Italy — the "construction interest" has used the crisis in order to sub-tract resources from productive capital. Thus, there has not been a "shortage of capital" as some people have maintained; companies' risk capital has been furnished in large measure by private pension funds, which, according to Peter Drucker, today hold one third of all share capital in the USA. Thus it would appear that productive capital has been financed by the contributions of workers, while the institutional investors — and particularly the banks which control them — have preferred to take the path of speculation in property or in exchange rates.

The huge drain of financial resources on the part of real estate and property capital brings us back to the question of the "party system". The powers conferred on local administrations are as yet uncertain, but there is no doubt that in Italy the "party system" represents the most important conditioning factor in the property market. Large controllers of territory (the DC and the PCI) can, through planning controls, force a bargaining process onto the "construction interest", can force it to make payoffs (which, however, are insignificant compared with the powers that the "construction interest" confers onto the "party system", as analyses have shown, the construction cycle in Italy has functioned as a pump to drain away income from workers and redistribute it to the middle class on the one hand, and to the "construction interest" on the other.

The attack on incomes via the cost of housing has a direct effect on class stratifications, and is a factor of violent proletarianisation; the enforced shift towards badly served peripheral urban areas is a powerful factor of marginalisation. The classes, redrawn through this process, take on the typical characteristics of a period of crisis. The waged worker who, through the guarantees of trade unionism, manages to maintain his income level, but who, for reasons of housing problems, lives in a marginalised area, produces economic, social and political patterns of behaviour that stand halfway between the



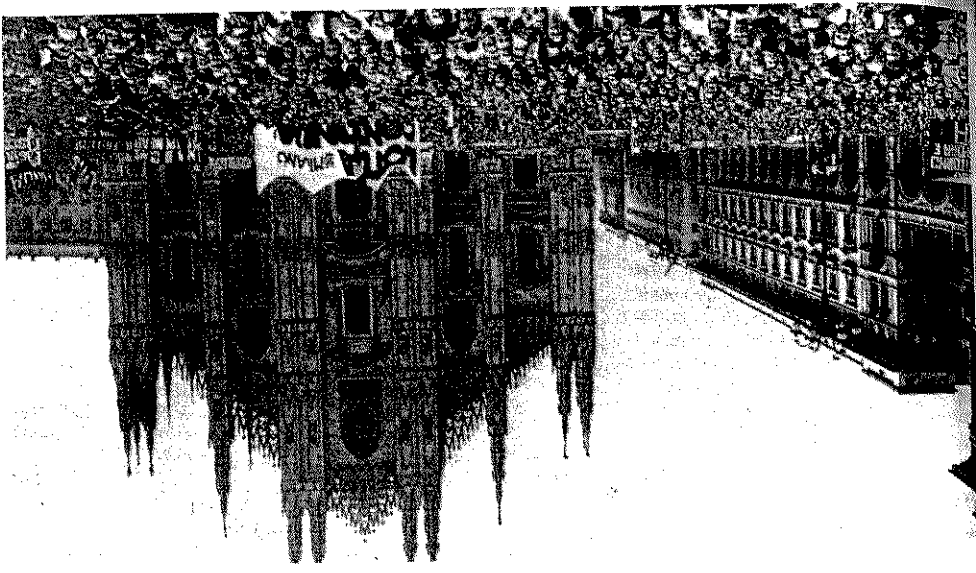
THE MONETARY CRISIS, THE PROPERTY MARKET, AND ITS EFFECT ON CLASS STRATIFICATIONS

RECOMPOSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE PERIOD SINCE THE LATE SIXTIES.

crisis and the unfolding of the State form through rigidification of the "party system". We must now turn to the other side — the recomposition of the class. To take the factory or the University as a starting point is not a problem, in that both are enclaves of resistance and recovery or of an alternative class politics — either starting point would serve us just as well.

If we take the subjective development of the movement through the period since the cycle of class offensives in the late 'sixties, we can distinguish two main phases of struggle. In the first, from 1969 to the oil crisis of 1973-74, the attack on the central militant core of the working class by means of restructuring, productive reorganisation, etc., was combined with the "strategy of tension" (terroristic use of secret services, clandestine proto-Fascist activity backed by the State, with considerable use of Fascist personnel). The most recent generation of militants formed around the movement of 1968-69 was consumed in the response to this attack, following the "parathesis" of the workers' offensive, they returned to the classic schemas of the Party — the strict relation between programme and organisation, and a perspective on the struggle for power articulated according to the tactics of a militant anti-Fascist movement, combined with the conquest of the electoral level of politics. During the first phase the "party system" was not yet "congealed" into the form of the State: it was divided in a sharp opposition between an executive, which mobilised the clandestine levels of the State (from the secret services to the magistracy), and an opposition which revived the democratic values and traditions of the anti-Fascist Resistance. This was, in other words, a phase of *partial re-absorption of the preceding forms of class autonomy* by the "party system", a recovery of the ideological and organisational traditions of the official working class movement: a certain "introjection" of the "party system" within the revolutionary movement itself.

As regards the relation between subjectivity and models of organisation on the revolutionary Left, this first period, from the State-fascist bombing provocation of Piazza Fontana (Milan, December 1969) to the eventual defeat of the "strategy of tension" (even if its ramifications continued up to the June 1976 Election), was marked by a general rejection of the creative hypotheses of the movement of 1968-69. This was accompanied by the rebirth in the movement of ultra-Bolshevik models of organisation, or — in the case of groups like the *MLS (Workers' Socialist Movement)*, based on the Milan student movement, *Manifesto, Avanguardia Operaia* and *PDUP* — of traditional historical Togliattian models, embellished at most, with Maoism. There was, in other words, a certain revival of the historic organisational epoch of the Italian Communist Party and movement, from Gramsci to the Resistance.



in perverse relations with specific sectors of speculative capital such as the property market.)

It is from within these narrow limits that the new form of the State is derived. This is not to be seen as the concluding phase of the much-vaunted "autonomy of the political" vis-a-vis "economic" development, but rather as an entirely opposite process: that of the total subordination of the "party system" to the politics of the crisis.

The reproduction of classes has become a problem of political legitimisation rather than material intervention: a question of social and cultural identity, of acceptance or refusal to accept the norms of social behaviour required and laid down by the form of the State. Classes have tended to lose their "objective" characteristics and become defined in terms of political subjectivity. But in this process the major force of redefinition has come from below: in the continuous reproduction and invention of systems of counter-culture and struggle in the sphere of everyday living, which has become ever more "illegal". The liberation of this area of autonomy outside and against official social institutions, is stronger than the system of values the "party system" seeks to impose.

Hence the new form of the State, or rather its unmasking, already finds itself in a critically weak condition. To turn to the bureaucratic-repressive apparatus, to a "power-State" pure and simple, would mean the end of the "party system" itself, as established for more than thirty years.

What we have witnessed in the crisis is the subjection of the political system on the part of capital, the destruction of its "autonomy". This cannot be properly understood unless we see it in relation to the *centralisation of capitalist command* which defines the politics of the crisis for all parties (ie the area of "politics" itself). This centralisation is formally represented in monetary institutions, from central banks to the IMF.

For the past three years, we in *Primo Maggio* have been pointing out a fact which is now generally accepted: economic policy choices — and hence also the criteria upon which class relations in nation states are being conditioned — are no longer the result of negotiation or bargaining between parties, unions and so on, (in other words mediated relations of force between classes and interests), but are laid down by external constraints determined by (in the last instance) the international Monetary Fund.

It is this new institutional reality of power on an international scale that provides the basic guidelines for the logic of the current ideology of the crisis and scarcity, and hence also the propaganda for austerity measures. The Carter Administration has developed this particular aspect of money as *capitalist command* as the basis of US global policy. This relaunching of US hegemony depends in addition on results *already acquired*, which allow the USA control over scarcity, especially in the key sectors of energy and food internationally. ("The US have emerged as the key source of global nutritional stability" — Secretary Brzezinski, in *Foreign Policy* No. 23). Every "national" choice in the area of basic energy and food must come up against an international division of labour that the USA intends to have respected. The technology of food processing will be as jealously defended as petroleum or uranium. Today it is command over wage commodities above all that regulates the relations between the USA and the rest of the world. Since the PCI victory in the 1976 elections and its acceptance of Italy's membership of NATO, followed by the recent DC electoral revival, the Carter Administration, while cautious, has come round to the realistic recognition that the only solution for political management of the crisis in Italy is the reinforcement of the pact binding together the "party system" and a "government of majority parties", including the PCI: as the sole condition, in other words, for the implementation of austerity by consent.

So far we have concentrated on the recomposition of capitalist command in the

This revival drastically marginalised the classic "workerist" area of autonomy inherited from the worker-student movement of 1968-69, as well as the anarchist, situationist, and more intrinsically Marxist-Leninist groups.

The central nucleus of the "workers' autonomy" tendency, represented by *Potere Operaio* (Workers' Power) and *Collettivo Politico Metropolitano*, having come up against the institutional limits of a strategy based on the political potential of factory wage struggles, made a dramatic choice in favour of fighting for the *militarisation* of the movement. This similarly involved slogans like "overcoming the spontaneity of the autonomous mass movement" and "building the armed party". It involved staking everything on levels of organised militancy, professional cadres, etc. This was to be a losing battle. But the main problem now is to grasp how and why the margins of the Movement were so drastically curtailed, deprived of political space, while only hypotheses of party organisation survived in this period.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE MOVEMENT, AND THE DEVELOPING 'PARTYIST' CONCEPTIONS.

In general we can say that historical models were taken up uncritically and assumed as a *priori* normative validity and importance. Following the wave of new political hypotheses that went well beyond the communist historical tradition, in 1968-69, we then saw a wholesale recovery and revival of Third Internationalist models and perspectives. The central problem was State terrorism; the problem of power, seen as the smashing of the State machine, further accentuated the classic Leninist features of organisation. This is true especially of the struggle to overthrow the Right-wing Andreotti-Matagorda Government up to 1972, which led to the maximum degree of convergence between the organisational strategy of the revolutionary Left groups and the institutional forces of anti-Fascism. The groups were in the process absorbed into the "party system", to the extent of "crossing the parliamentary-electoral threshold", leading to the creation of organisations like PD (*Proletarian Democracy*), or tactics of electoral support for the PCI, like *Lotta Continua*. But this already takes us into the second, post-1973 phase, which we shall be examining later.

A sort of imperfect Togliattian system was in operation in this first period: on the one hand a strong presence in the streets, militant anti-Fascism, mass campaigns and demonstrations promoted by the groups; on the other, parliamentary pressure, but above all through institutions and the Press, by the PCI and PSI, to overthrow the terrorist blackmail of the DC Government and its allies. Even the initiatives of the *Red Brigades* (BR) in this period maintain an objective ambivalence between extreme forms of militant anti-Fascism (viewed with considerable tolerance by certain sectors of ex-partisans, veterans of the armed Resistance of the 1940's) and the building of an armed party, derived from within the "post-workerist" and insurrectionist perspectives of the "workers' autonomy" current we have already referred to.

We can therefore distinguish the characteristics of the average type of militant formed in this phase of the struggle: a party cadre, with considerable organisational ability, activism and presence at all necessary levels, who developed certain ability from his or her own situation of struggle, but who received an overall political framework from the "party school" and the myths of the organisation. It would be unfair to say simply that this implies the formation of alienated militants, expropriated of their own subjectivity. The positive characteristics of this period, the unceasing rhythm of campaigns and mobilisations, sometimes blind, but no less effective in the long run, the new, calculated, organised use of "direct action" in the street demonstrations and confrontations; the prompt response to provocations of the Right — all these activities established and imposed a terrain of mass political practice, which became a social structure, a class composition, even if its signs of fragility became apparent in the second period.

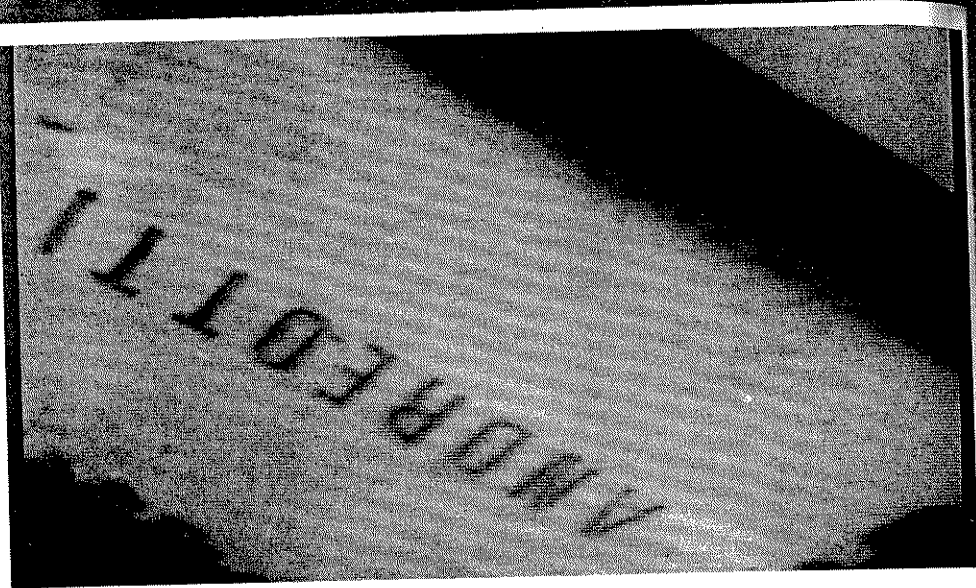
The transition to this second period of the struggle must be first understood in terms of the changed relation between the revolutionary Left and the factory. This was not only due to the increased emphasis on territorial-community activism

A NEW POLITICAL CYCLE OF STRUGGLES: THE GENERALISATION OF THE POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR OF THE MASS WORKER

(see *Take Over the City* and similar slogans and projects of this phase). It was rather that the restoration of Third Internationalist models meant that the scientific Marxist concepts of the factory and the reality of the working class were lost sight of. The relation between revolutionary politics and the reality of the working class was mediated by one over-riding theme — that of *restructuration*. In other words, a *defensive* terrain, which not only accepted as given the fragmentation of the "mass worker" — the driving force of the class in the previous workers' offensive — but made this fragmentation the key point of departure for organisation. This was a confusing period. The Left groups had no factory strategy; their militants were purged from the plants, either sacked (often for absenteeism), by leaving of their own accord, or taking shelter within the Unions. In some of the large working class concentrations of the North, only a clandestine fraction was left to maintain a slender organisational network.

Not that the period 1969-73 was one of standstill as far as workers' demands were concerned — far from it. It was marked by intensive collective bargaining activity — probably the most intense since the War. Few were aware of the reconquest by the "party system" in the factories precisely because this process was covered up by the pressure of Union bargaining. In some sectors labour costs rose by 25% a year, not to mention the Union pressure for the *inquadramento unico* (unification of grading systems for workers and white collar staff) and on working conditions and environment. But this continuous bargaining activity tended to have a fragmenting effect politically: it tended to dissolve the political identity of the class, reducing it to its lowest common denominator as mere labour-power. It would be quite wrong to say that the presence of workers' political problems "diminished" in this period at all levels. The reality of the situation was rather that all the properties of the class which unify and define it as a political subject were now transferred to the organisations. The class remained as a subaltern element, as "material" for the party, in other words as labour power. The spectre of the old separation between "economic" and "political" struggle returned to the scene. This meant a severe setback for the autonomy of the working class: a defeat of working class science, of revolutionary theory.

But if the identity of the mass worker as political subject was now dead — long live the mass worker! A political cycle of struggles as deeply rooted and powerful as that which led from the mass confrontation of Piazza Statuto (Turin, 1961) to the generalised offensive of the Hot Autumn (1969) — throughout which the mass worker of large-scale industry had acted as the central driving force — could hardly be expected to disappear without a trace. It was bound to set in motion a whole series of secondary effects and irreversible mechanisms, imposing its specific hegemony on the composition of the entire class.



THE NEWLY DEFINED
ROLE OF THE
UNIVERSITY, AND
THE EMERGENCE OF
THE WOMEN'S
MOVEMENT

The arrival of the "150 Hours" workers on study-leave in Universities meant a radical change. The effects of freeing entry to the Universities became macroscopic. Two new elements threw the old elite and academic forms into crisis: students of proletarian background/students who had been proletarianised, and the worker-students. There was also the generational factor — the youth enrolling in Universities have behind them a High School movement, both compact and tested in mass activism in the streets. Those arriving from technical and commercial or accountancy schools come from a background of struggles around the relation between education and employment. The mass meeting of the militants remains the basis of political formation, but the political structure of the militants comes from the *servizio d'ordine* (the organisation of stewards, the 'shock troops' at demonstrations), and from political organising in the community.

Further, the struggle over health and safety at work provided a platform for doctors to break away from the corporate interests of the medical profession; hence the beginning of mass criticism of medicine and the medical-pharmaceutical power bloc, which has been one of the major conquests of working class hegemony at the institutional level. Class resistance to restructuring and technological innovation in the plants led engineers and technicians also to a critique of the organisation of machinery and plants from a working class viewpoint. Finally, there was the unification of grading systems for staff and workers (*staff status*) together with the conquest of the "150 Hours" (*workers' paid study leave*) conceded in the engineering contract of 1972 and subsequently generalised. Autonomous and distinct from both professional work-retraining schemes, and trade union training courses, this latter victory reimposed a working class, factory presence in the State schools and Universities.

in fact there were plenty of signs of this. Besides the network of smaller factories which began to explode one after another, the rest of the labour force at all levels took the cue and began to organise and struggle along the same lines as the workers of the big factories. Apart from the affirmation of a similar model of political-trade union activity, we find parallel forms of collective behaviour and practices of struggle. The hegemony of the workers over salaried employees can be seen in the mass picketing by bank employees, including violent confrontations with police and scabs (the police were by now being used regularly against pickets); or in the "internal marches" (characteristic form of mobilisation at FIAT) effects, such as the workers' use of labour tribunals. This began to provide certain levels of the magistracy with a platform to break away from the impasse of a purely juridical-formal battle for respect of labour codes and guarantees against the illegal practices of the judiciary — hence the emergence of a new working class practice in jurisprudence.

THE ERROR OF
MISTAKING THE
APPEARANCE FOR
THE SUBSTANCE
OF STATE POWER.

All this remained a latent tendency, however, until the beginning of the acute phase of the crisis in 1974-75. At the institutional level this coincided with the defeat of the "strategy of tension". Just at the point when the violence of the crisis against the composition of the class reached its apex, the Italian Left — including a large part of the extra-parliamentary groups — were celebrating their victory at the *institutional level*, considering their mission practically accomplished!

place at other levels — at the level of income and needs: no longer by the vote of academic functionaries, but by the structural inadequacy of services. The impact of the crisis and the rise in the cost of living played the decisive role here.

This account takes us to the end of 1973, and the Oil Crisis, which we take as the conventional date for the opening of the *second phase*. But before we go on, we must turn to the decisive event which began to transform the conditions of the movement from 1970-21, still in the earlier phase: the birth of the feminist movement. This immediately posed a question of hegemony over the whole social fabric, hence was analogous in its dimensions and its claims to the hegemony of the mass worker. The specific, autonomous interests of women, organised by women, not only directly challenge family relations of production; they also, by taking an autonomous political form as an *independent feminist movement*, involved a radical separation from the mediations of the "party system", and from Trade Union representation, but also above all from the revolutionary Left groups themselves. With women's self-rediscovers and claim to control their bodies, their own needs and desires, their subjectivity, we see the beginnings of a new *critique of alienated militancy* — one of the key themes of the movement in the second phase — but also, and more fundamentally, the starting point for the general thematic of *needs* within the movement.



FACTORY AND THE DISSEMINATED WORKER

try hole" through which the mole has started to dig once again. Of course, small factories are not homogeneous among themselves, and in fact exhibit sharp differences and contrasts. For example: differences between low technological levels, antiquated levels of organisation, and big innovative tendencies; between situations of total market paralysis and situations offering possibilities of fresh market penetration; locally-oriented factories, and factories serving only an international market; firms that are totally dependent on the strange hold of credit and firms like the cooperatives which are free from bankers' usury; from unions-ed firms to others (far greater in number) with no trade union organisation; from firms with a labour force which is marginal and underpaid, to those where it is highly paid and skilled; and finally, varying sized factories where all these elements are combined under one roof. Precisely this level of dis-homogeneity means that the small-to-medium factory worker does not express a majoritarian social reference point for the class, whose demands and forms of struggle can be taken up at the general level of political objectives: furthermore, we cannot expect to see the kind of relationship (as with the large-scale factory) of mass vanguards capable of pulling behind them the whole of the movement.

In other words, in this case there is a lack of those political mechanisms that had marked the cycle of the mass worker. But this does not mean that a general political potential does not exist: here we find instead a set of recompositional mechanisms that start, precisely, from a base of dishomogeneity. Let's begin with age: precisely because the small factory tends to use marginal labour-power, the presence of minors and very young people, if not typical, is nevertheless very frequent, and it is from the small factories that perhaps the most solid wing of the movement of proletarian youth has been recruited. At the same time, since the small factories employ a considerable number of women workers, they have also provided a recruiting ground for a sizeable wing of the women's movement, with a particular awareness of the problems of material needs. In addition there is the question of the workforce involved in precarious work (*lavoro precario*), work in the home, illegal work (*lavoro nero*), etc: the crisis has swept away the dividing partitions between the various "industrial formations" and has created the phenomenon of the "disseminated worker" (which can also be found in other specific epochs in the history of the Italian proletariat). In other words, the conscious dispersion of the labour force within a territorial dimension, in an intermediate condition between formal and real subjection to capital. This is a precise plan, put into operation against the political aggregation of the class. But, leaving aside these structural aspects, the big changes are to be seen in the *subjectivity* of the workers in the small factory, inasmuch as it is hard for them to apply organisational models and forms of struggle which really

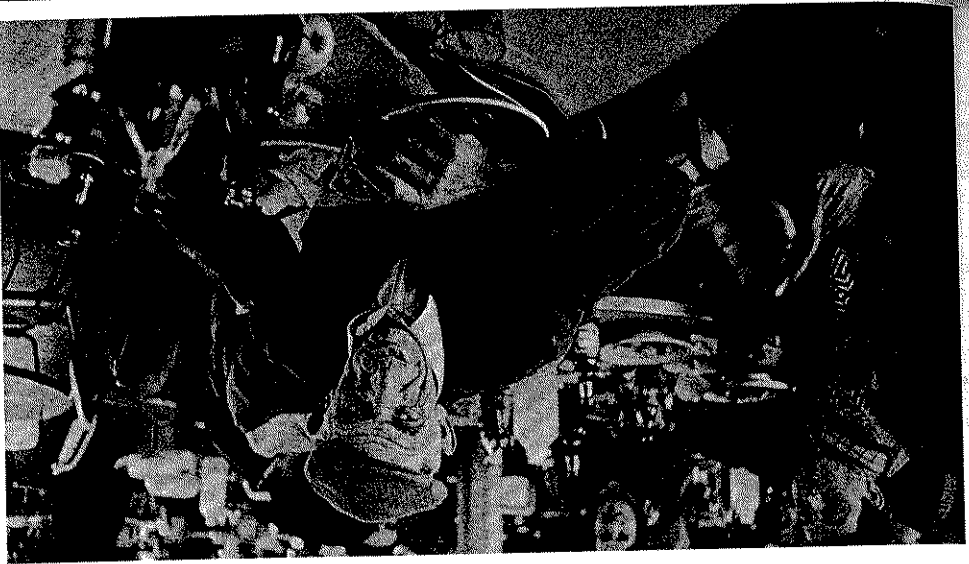
substance of State power. Meanwhile, the real reconstruction of the "party system" proceeded from below: the form of the State had already penetrated the terrain of the factory, and by now only needed the ideology of the crisis to come out into the open, as a machine directly polarised against the interests of the working class.

Hence there was a temporary crisis at government level, but combined with gradual "stabilisation" in the factories. The application of tough measures in high places; revelation of scandals, and intimidating Mafia-style behaviour at the highest level, exhibited in public; the corruption of the elite and bureaucracy crudely exposed for the first time — but all in such a way as to demonstrate provocatively the privilege of impunity of the "party system". Ministers, attorneys, bankers, police chiefs, whose illegal and underhand practices were amplified, proved and discussed, never suffered any penalty in terms of loss of personal freedom or income. Thus the scandals of the regime only served in fact as an element of intimidation and hence reinforcement of the State form based on the party system.

Meanwhile "tough measures" were being adopted in the factory! From 1974 the tempo of factory closures, sackings and layoffs gathered pace, eased by systematic recourse to the *cassa integrazione* (the State-employer fund to compensate for periods laid off from work, in crisis-hit industries and sectors). The system of labour-contract legal guarantees, established thanks to the workers' offensive of 1969, was not broken and remained intact. In other words, it was allowed to survive as a *judicial-contractual* framework. But the reality of "guaranteism", which does not depend on written statutes or labour contracts, but on the homogeneity and compactness of class organisation and the political network of class autonomy built in the factories in the preceding years — this was attacked by all means available.

As regards the subjectivity of the class, which is our main focus in this article, a period of silence now sets in (apart from the well-known worsening of the conditions of work) — a silence in which we still find ourselves today. This occurred in the absence of alternative political structures, with the decline of democratic trade union institutions. In the factory mass meetings, which become more and more infrequent, the workers no longer speak. They suffer in silence the continuous hammering-home of the official trade union line ("Things could get worse", "We have to accept the reality of the situation", "We must lighten our belts, accept certain sacrifices", etc.). They close themselves off into an attitude of non-expression of their own needs, and stand by while vanguard militants are intimidated, purged or expelled from the factory with the open complicity — in deed active connivance — of union and party officials. While the purging of militants had previously been a creeping, silent process, the transition to the second phase becomes open and demonstrative: the political confrontation with the workers becomes a frontal attack, a determined effort by the "party system" to normalise the behaviour of the workers and their forms of struggle. Seen from this context, the advances made in the sphere of "civil rights" in this new phase must be seen as a diversion — although we should not underestimate their effects, in legitimating the women's movement (and hence allowing it to advance on a broader political front) and in precipitating the crisis of the military institutions. Despite these positive aspects, however, there is no doubt that the macroscopic element of the period 1974-76 remains the *inability* of the workers' struggle to break the equilibrium of the "party system" and destabilise its internal relations. In this temporary blunting of the political impact of working class struggle, a considerable role has been played by the decentralised political-administrative structure of regional governments and local authorities, increasingly they have intervened as mediators and arbitrators in factory confrontations.

The smaller firms and plants have a special importance, for the class subjectivity and type of struggle that they engender. At this level, of piecemeal blow against counterblow, closures and occupations, it is precisely this war of position that gives rise to the recompositional processes of the working class. It is still difficult to establish, but probably the small factory has provided the best terrain, the "en-



only apply in large-scale industry. Here we see a crisis in the trade unionist style of operating that characterised the struggle of workers in the large factories. The transition whereby labour power becomes working class (a process which is guaranteed in the large factory by the very fact of massification) is a transition that the small-factory worker must win via political processes that are by no means "given". The practice of violence must make up for the lack of numbers and the low level of massification. If the roots of direct action armed workers' groups are to be found, historically, in the old "Stalingrads" of the working class, in political terms they are based on the standard of the small factory.

To sum up: the small factory has played a crucial role. It has provided a material terrain of reconstitution for proletarian youth, for the women's movement, for the struggle against overtime and illegal labour — and it has provided a channel of mediation between the behaviour of the disseminated worker and the behaviour of the workers based in the large industrial concentrations.

However, these positions regarding the small factory must not be taken in an "institutional" sense. In other words, the new class composition that emerges from the second phase has neither an institution to symbolise it, nor is it represented by a majority social figure. This becomes all the more evident if we examine the other large sector of recruitment — the service industries. Here we see familiar patterns repeating themselves. In all capitalist societies in the past 30 years, employment has uniformly stagnated in manufacturing and has increased in the services sector, and the huge differences in levels of organisation and efficiency. Here, however, the problem is one of a particular political conjuncture. Namely, the unclear demarcation between the area of receivers of revenue and the area of services; the launching of the trade unions' reform programme after the Hot Autumn with the intention of diverting workers' pressure on the factory wage onto the indirect wage; the decentralisation of the functions of State administration; all these contribute to making the service sector a focal point for a particular set of political tensions. This becomes explosive when the idea of a right to an income becomes widespread, alongside the emerging political reality of the "new needs".

THE CHANGING POSITION OF LOCAL AUTHORITY AND PARA-STATE WORKERS.

The dominant fact in this situation is the increasing political pressure on the service sector, on the firms and agencies within that sector, and on the political and administrative institutions. This has built up through a whole range of subjective and structural pressures, all of which require a microscopic analysis. The fact of this pressure is the only element of homogeneity in the situation, because when we look at the levels of organisation, or the levels of organic composition of firms like SIP and ENEL (petrochemicals and electricity). Here we find ourselves in an area of large-scale technological innovation, involving huge expenditure, back-firms like SIP and ENEL (petrochemicals and electricity). Here we find ourselves in an area where sub-contracting has created a large pool of casual labour (*forza-lavoro precario*) (for example, SIP's travelling work-force). The workers' struggles and forms of organisation in these areas have followed the cycles of the wider class struggle, but the fact that these firms are at the centre of fundamental decisions regarding the so-called "model of development" (eg the question of energy policy) means that the workers' demands tend to slip out of the traditional channels of collective bargaining and into political debate *tout court*.

The situation is similar as regards the credit institutions. The fact that we are dealing here with workers who are often regarded as a privileged sector of the workforce because of their relatively high wages, has not prevented their struggle from spreading to the point where it has found precise points of contact with the political form of the autonomy of the mass worker. In these areas the interlock with overall class composition has also been facilitated by the large number of workers from the credit institutions and from the service sector in general who

TRANSPORTATION WORKERS. THE SMALL FIRM AND ASPECTS OF DECENTRALISATION.

The situation is similar in the case of the transport workers, the third big sector feeding into this new class composition. Once again the "party system" and the trade unions function as command over the labour force. The struggles of the railway workers were treated in the same harsh manner as those of the hospital workers, but the fact that the Union in question has had a long (and some would say glorious) historical tradition made it all the more striking — the way this Union was rejected when it tried to take control of the workforce and impose the policies of austerity. Whether for good or ill, in the hospitals the autonomous struggle has also sparked a process of unionisation. On the railways, on the other hand, there has been a mass, conscious rejection of CGIL union membership. But here we are dealing with things that are well-known. . . .

Less well-known, but infinitely more explosive, is the situation in road transport. Here we are faced with a mass of waged workers and independent operators equal to twenty Mitrailor's rolled into one. The "objective" weight of this workforce is frightening, and it is perhaps the only section of the class today whose move-

have enrolled in the Universities. The fact that they are employed by interest-producing capital has allowed bank workers to grasp the way in which capital is managing the crisis, and the function of money within the crisis. However, here we still find ourselves within a framework of trade union control of the workforce.



ment could paralyse the whole capitalist cycle. The strike of tanker drivers in the North-West gave a taste of this: the Communist Party, through the structure of the cooperatives, controls a fair slice of this sector. The tanker drivers' strike gave an indication of the possible levels of violence: 7-8,000 fires slashed, according to trade union sources, within a very few days.

Here the "party system" (which, by the way, hurried to conclude the contract negotiations, despite the obvious desire of FIAT and the oil companies to provoke deadlock) made widespread use of the spectre of Chile, and once again repeated their operation of political marginalisation of the drivers' demands, etc., in the same way as they had done for the railway workers, the hospital workers, and the social service and local authority workers.

Our account so far has left out the large numbers of workers in each of the above sectors who are employed by contractors and sub-contractors. Their numbers considerably increase the size of the workforce that is commanded, either directly or indirectly, by the "party system" (or, more precisely, by the Christian Democrats or the Communist Party). This network of contract labour brings us right to the heartlands of *lavoro nero* — in other words, that very wide area of waged labour where the system of trade union guarantees is either fragile or non-existent. But is this network only characteristic of the State, local authority and service sectors? Far from it. *It is the structure of the firm itself (impresa) that is being dissolved*, as a means of producing commodities: the firm remains merely as chief clerk, as mere administration of decentralised labour; in fact, the firm dissolves itself as a subject or protagonist of conflict, as an institution of the class struggle. The firm is the fulcrum of the processes of tertiarisation. How can we speak of rigidity of the labour market outside of this institutional break-up? The chain of infinite decentralisation of production breaks the rigidities of age and sex, of geographical location, of social background, etc., and all this is a weighty factor in fusing the new composition of the class.

This chain of infinite decentralisation is one of the more "progressive" elements of capitalism today. It is a far more powerful weapon of massification than the assembly line. The factory, as an institution that is increasingly "guaranteed" and "protected", was becoming socially and politically isolated. It did not allow entry to young people, to women, to students; it played a normative role as a complete, perfect social form. It has become necessary to encircle and envelop the factory, and this chain of infinite decentralisation has created large numbers of openings into which the women, the young people, the laid-off workers and the redundant workers have inserted themselves, taking on the aspect of waged workers. And in the meantime thousands of waged workers have been flowing out of the factories and into the Universities, taking on the status of students. These are both movements in the area of political demography, because the status of the waged worker and the status of the student have a precise legitimacy within the institutional conflict-system in our country. The whole mechanism of the reproduction of classes had the institution of the factory as its bedrock (with the development of a system of trade union guarantees, a "working class aristocracy" was supposed to be reproduced in the factory) and the University as an institution of social promotion (where an anti-worker middle class was supposed to be created) — but this mechanism has exploded.

So far we have shown that the system of decentralisation has allowed a "mixed" labour force to be absorbed within the wage relation, and that the processes of tertiarisation of the firm have, in turn, driven thousands of waged workers to become students. Having shown that these drives have conferred a new political legitimacy on all those involved, we need not list the thousand-and-one post-conditions that the students have taken up or can take up within the opportunities of waged labour that the system of decentralisation offers. These thousands of student-workers have brought a new political dimension to the condition of waged labour in which they find themselves, and it has proved possible to create a mutual strengthening of isolated struggles, even in situations where trade

THE DECENTRALISATION OF THE SYSTEM OF STRUGGLES. THE "PERSONAL LIFE".

THE CRISIS OF POLITICAL FORMS.

But our analysis of these structural factors will be ineffective unless we can combine it with an analysis of the huge transformation taking place in the sphere of "personal life". This obviously starts from the breakdown of sexual relations brought on by feminism. It then widens to involve all the problems of controlling one's own body and the structures of perceptions, emotions and desires. This is not just a problem of "youth culture". It has working class antecedents in the cycle of struggles of 1968-69. The defense of one's own physical integrity against being slaughtered by line-speeds and machinery, against being poisoned by the environment, etc., on the one hand is one way of resisting the depreciation of the exchange value of one's labour-power and the deterioration of its use value, but at the same time it is a way of re-appropriating one's own body for the free enjoyment of bodily needs. Here too there is a *homogeneity*, not a separation, between the behaviour of the young people, the women and the workers.

that the crisis was setting in motion. Unionism is weak and where there are few traditions of struggle. The University has been used as a focal point. Even this "squalid bureaucratic antechamber" has proved capable of becoming something different — a meeting point, an aggregation point for a system of struggles that is itself also infinitely decentralised. Meanwhile, after years of waiting, the old mole of the student struggle has also started digging again, on issues like canteens, housing, transport, and finally on course contents, exams, and voting rights. The proletarian (and proletarianised) student sectors were able to fuse themselves with the whole arc of struggles

As we have seen, the reconquest of "personal life" has also dealt a death blow to the organisations of the revolutionary Left. But the roots of their organisational breakdown do not lie only in questions of sexual relations, of alienating hierar-



Now while it is true that the PCI has proposed (and in some instances put into effect) this new, more advanced form of the State, as an experiment, in actual fact it has oscillated between this type of "political prevention" or subversive behaviour and a complete delegation of repression to the State apparatus. In my own opinion, the first option has carried far more weight, and in this sense I find

All this presents enormous problems for the legitimization of political actions, inasmuch as organization is obliged to measure itself day by day against the new composition of the class; and must find its political programme only in the behaviour of the class and not in some set of statutes; and thus must practice not political clandestinity, but its opposite. Those who practice technical clandestinity generally do not even see this State-form. They continue to relate to the State apparatus, and by focussing all their attention on them, they then find themselves separated from the mass movement. On the other hand, those who choose political clandestinity — ie refusal to seek or create a base for criticism and legitimization of actions — not only undergo that same segregation from the mass movement, but are also smashed by the apparatus, because they do not have the defences and the weapons possessed by those in technical clandestinity.

The Communist Party in Bologna, on the other hand, has developed and experimented practically with a more mature State-form, a form which is more in line with mass social-democracy in a period of transition. A State-form in which it is the masses themselves who act as judge and jury, judging who is deviant and who is not, who is productive and who is not, who is socially dangerous and who is not. Now it is to be the factory mass meeting that expels the extremists; the mass tenants' meeting that decides to expel the young hoodlums; and the college assembly to expel the 'undesirable' student with his pistol and iron bar. Of course, the instances I am thinking of have been extreme cases — but the fact that this State-form is being tried out on the "autonomous pigs" as guinea pigs does not lessen the marginalising potential of such a State-form within a framework of developing austerity, of the "politics of sacrifice" and of money being given hand over fist to capitalist enterprises. Once you have the collective acting as judge and jury, then the institutional forces of the law (wigs and robes, etc) have only a ratifying function: they take delivery of the hostage, the tumor that has been driven out of the otherwise healthy body. The State-form appears as a kind of immunising process of civil society. This is a huge step forward — it is a moment of "socialisation" of the State, which would be innovative were it not happening within a framework of a freeing of the class power balance, with a restoration of capitalist control at all levels, and a general amnesty for all the criminals, past and present, belonging to the apparatus of clientism, corruption and repression. At the level of power-institutions it is undoubtedly a further element contributing to the stickiness of the situation, but at the same time we must understand its "progressive" character. It transcends two aspects of the present State-form: its aspect as a "party system", and its aspect as a bureaucratic-repressive apparatus, both of which are separate from and hostile to civil society. It is an infinitely more advanced form, a form which, among other things, has no need to break up the present institutional apparatus or purge it by substituting more democratic personnel. . . . This State-form does more than that: it overturns the relationship between civil society and the apparatus. It appropriates the qualitative function of the judiciary, and leaves the apparatus with the quantitative function, in terms of the penalties to be imposed. Henceforth it is civil society, the collectivity, which fixes the norm and formulates the sentence, while the apparatus is left with the technical task of punishment.

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TOWARDS A MOBILISATION OF THE ENTIRE MASS OF DISSEMINATED LABOUR

The theory that the University has functioned as a point of aggregation for the Movement runs alongside a theory regarding the figure of the unemployed intellectual (or rather the intellectual unemployed), who has been taken, uncritically, as the most representative figure of the movement. The theory is that the exclusion of the intellectual unemployed from the labour market puts them on a par with other marginalised sectors, for whom the intellectual unemployed then act as a voice. I have already stated my complete disagreement with this kind of interpretation. The University was taken by the current class composition as a point of aggregation, more for reasons of the political forms of the struggle (ie for certain levels of violence and power) than for the fact that it is a factory producing employed intellectuals; it was taken up because it put an end to this process of the marginalisation of demands, subversive behaviours and organisation. But once again we must go beyond the University, both as a base for the Movement and as a point of aggregation, in order to identify the channels that can bring about a mobilisation of the entire mass of disseminated labour — ie in order to provide a way into the factory that produces relative surplus value. For this reason I have taken pains to emphasise the question of precarious labor, together with the system of decentralisation of production, and that social area where the protected system of trade union "guarantees" and conditions has entered into crisis. In order to make this transition it is vital that we first reject the "rhetoric of poverty" — moral protests on behalf of the poor. Instead, we should once again ask ourselves whether it is possible to think in terms of "mass objectives" of the type which characterized the anti-authoritarianism of 1968 (the FIAT workers' demand

for an abstract norm, but a formation that is historically determinate. but has also taken over as its own. The State-form is not a juridical principle, nor "party system", with the crisis, has not only succeeded in settling back on its feet, value systems that the working class started to unhinge in 1968, and which the State of given power relations and can inject people with an abstract sense of the State, whereas in fact the State resources, for example). But also because it divides itself into imagining that it performs the functions of the State and not other more attractive ones (like control of it aims to transfer to civil society only some (incidentally, the most odious) at the average level of class composition (I underline average). Not only because judiciary itself (ie in a fraction of the apparatus itself), it has been allowed to pass Leaving aside the resistance that it has met even among particular sectors of the refusal at the various levels of the present class composition.

tiresome and also incorrect the references that are presently being made to "a new Prague" or "a new Chile". But what we must clarify is the extent to which this proposition of a "social" State-form has met and will meet resistance and



11/5 Andreotti tomb Videophoto: Seth Tillet
 11/6 Arrested hospital workers, Polytechnical Hospital, Rome
 11/7 Chemical plant workers, Ottiana, Sardinia
 11/8 CRO 1729488 ROM: Luciano Lama, leader of the Communist-led General Confederation of Italian Labor (CGIL), addresses hundreds of placard-carrying strikers in St. John's Square here Feb. 3 as the Eternal City is hit by a second general strike in 77 days, seriously disrupting normal life for some 2.7 million inhabitants and thousands of tourists. The strike was called by Communist, Catholic and Socialist-led unions to dramatize the problems of the Rome working man—unemployment, 21/3/72
 11/10 Paolo Tomassini, victim of Rome's Special Squadron 2/2/77
 11/11 SOP 091402 DEATH COUCH SANTIAGO: This is the couch where Pres. Salvador Allende of Chile reportedly shot and killed himself during the coup d'etat in the Presidential Palace here Sept. 11 (UPI) 9/15/73



for "Grade 2 for all", which led into the egalitarianism of the demands put forward in the Hot Autumn of 1969).

Such a proposal cannot be simply written off as a step backwards in collective bargaining, that would prepare the ground for a new social contract between the Government and the unions. It would be absurd to reject it out of hand, for the simple reason that such new objectives would carry within them the representation of the infinite political creativity that has emerged in these past few years. Rather, the bigger problem is how we are going to find the point where such a project can be applied — in short, to choose the "new Milvian" out of all the various "driving sectors" of the so-called tertiary sector. More specifically, out of those sectors which function as a connecting link between the production of absolute surplus value and the production of relative surplus value — like, for example, the cycle of transportation. Moreover, even the simple extension of the rigidity of labour (even in its form as a system of trade union guarantees) to *lavoro nero*, subcontracted work, etc. would have the effect of forcing the factory struggle to take a leap forward. In short, we are looking for the social channels whereby we could break the encirclement that is currently under way, and prevent the Movement dispersing itself into a thousand decentralised moments of struggle. The Movement purgatory of endemic struggles. We have to find something which can function in the same way as the strikes over pensions and the strikes over wage-zones did, in relation to the workers' cycle of struggles in 1968-69.

This approach will be branded as "economic" and "collective bargainingism" by all and sundry. It will be accused of lack of imagination, in putting forward mechanisms that are dead and buried. But let's move gently. The State-form which presents itself today has its origins in the ideology of the crisis and in the austerity programme that this has brought about. The ideology has provided the grounds for establishing the new, tighter relations between the parties. It is the historical basis of the Historic Compromise. It is the justification of the parties' powers of marginalisation. To succeed in overthrowing all this would be no small matter. It would mean, not a return to the old conflict between the "grass roots" and the new relationship between a socialised State-form and the production of capital. All the more so, since Jimmy Carter's imperialism — unlike the obfuscation of the IMF — has understood that in Italy the system of value and behaviours to which the combination of austerity measures and law and order has to be applied, is stronger than it appears. And therefore it's a good investment to release huge amounts of money (this is Carter's current inclination), and inject huge amounts of "command-money" through the big, private, international banking system. Let us start to turn this command into money-as-money — to transform this measure of power-over-others' labour into power-over-our-own needs, power over our own spaces of organisation and culture, a driving-spring for the new development of a new class composition. It is time that we take back from the "party system" their residual power over the reproduction of the classes, so that we can start to determine this reproduction from the base, in such a way as to guarantee the value-systems and the political behaviours that the new class composition has legitimated in the struggles of these past months.

Translated by Red Notes

1. See H. Brand, "The Myth of the Capital Shortage", in *Dissent*, Summer 1976.
2. Federal Reserve Bank of New York *Monthly Review*, October 1976.
3. Peter Drucker, *The Unseen Revolution: How Pension Fund Socialism Came to America*, London, 1976.
4. See B. Secchi, *Il Problema delle Abitazioni, dalla Casa al Territorio*, Polytechnic Faculty of Architecture, Milan 1976-77.

11/2 Genoa housing project
 11/3 Executive members of the Italian Communist Party (August 26, 1964): (left to right) Pietro Ingrao
 11/4 ML 621-4/22/75-MILAN, Italy: General view of Piazza Duomo (Duomo Square) during today's anti-fascist mass rally; in background the facade of Duomo Church

Domination and Sabotage Toni Negri

Toni Negri, arrested on April 7, 1979, wrote *Dominio e Sabotaggio* shortly after the emergence of the "Movement of '77". This pamphlet was written in Switzerland where Negri, already accused of being the ideologist of the Movement, had taken refuge. We present here chapters 2 & 3 which synthesize his methodological approach to the dynamics of the new class composition.

PARENTHESES
NO. 1:
ON METHOD

When I theorise an independence of the process of proletarian self-valorisation, and when I examine the possibility of its having an internal dialectic of continuous recomposition between structural functions and attacking functions, I am bound to draw certain methodological conclusions. First, it seems to me fundamental to consider the totality of the process of capitalist production and reproduction. I realise that I am exaggerating the position, and oversimplifying its complexity. But I also know that this "intensive road", this radical break with the totality of capitalist development, is a fundamental experience of the movement as it stands today.

Today the process of constituting class independence is first and foremost a process of separation.

I am emphasising this forced separation in order to clarify the overall meaning of my own independence, the difference of my constitution. As H.J. Krahl pointed out dialectics of capital; I affirm in sectarian manner my own separateness in positional form, in the form of exploitation. I thus refuse to accept the recomposition of a capitalist world within which I find myself constituted in non-independent form, in the form of exploitation. I thus refuse to accept the recomposition of capital; I affirm in sectarian manner my own separateness. As H.J. Krahl understood (in his book *Constitution and Class Consciousness* — a book which,

With the passing of the years, becomes increasingly important, the totality of class consciousness is first and foremost an intensive condition, a process of intensification of class self-identity as a productive being, which destroys the relationship with the totality of the capitalist system.

Working class self-valorisation is first and foremost de-structuration of the enemy totality, taken to a point of exclusivity in the self-recognition of the class's collective independence. For my own part, I do not see the history of class consciousness in a Lukacsian sense, as some future all-embracing recomposition; on the contrary, I see it as a moment of intensive rooting within my own separateness. I am *other* — as also is the movement of that collective praxis within which I move. I belong to the *other movement* of the working class. Of course, I am aware of all the criticisms that could be levelled at this position from a traditional Marxist viewpoint. For my own part, I have the sense of having placed myself at the extreme limits of meaning in a political class debate. But anyone who comes with accusations, pressing me with criticism and telling me that I am wrong, must, in turn, accept the responsibility of being a participant in the monstrosities we have seen in the development of "socialism" — with its illicit dealings with the most disgusting results of the capitalist mode of production. It is only by recognising myself as *other*, only by insisting on the fact of my difference as a radical totality that I have the possibility and the hope of a renewal.

Furthermore, in my insistence on this radical methodological rupture I am in good company. The continuity of the history of the working class revolutionary movement is the history of the discontinuity of that movement, the history of the radical ruptures that have characterised it. The revolutionary working class movement is continually being reborn from a virgin mother. The hacks of continuity are still alive and well in the history institutes of the labour movement. But luckily militant historiography is undergoing a renaissance too, spurred by the experience of the ruptures in our present movement — and in our history-writing we are now confident enough to present the notion of the "other workers' movement". Thus the methodological precondition of an initial radical rupture (which we consider fundamental for any renewal of the social practice of the proletariat) is empirically corroborated by an extensive documentation (limited, perhaps, in scale, but remarkable in its intensity). When Karl-Helinz Roth (*Die Andere Arbeiterbewegung* - "The Other Workers' Movement", shortly to be published by CSE Books), or Gisela Bock (*La Formazione della Massa negli USA* - "The Formation of the Mass Worker in the USA" — Feltrinelli, Milano, 1976) tell the formidable story of how the working class in struggle has continually destroyed its own traditional organisations, they are certainly not animated by a spirit of iconoclasm; rather, they are highlighting the radical, irreducible difference of the revolutionary movement. This is a perspective which could also provide us with a feel for other historical revolutionary experiences of the proletariat — experiences that have proved victorious and have (therefore) been betrayed and destroyed.

So, I must assume this radical "otherness" as a methodological precondition of the subversive case we are arguing — namely the project of proletarian self-valorisation. But what about the relationship with the totality of history, the relationship with the totality of the system? Here I must now face up to the second methodological consequence of my assumption: my relationship with the totality of capitalist development, with the totality of historical development, is guaranteed solely by the force of *destruction* that the movement determines, by the global sabotage of the history of capital that the movement enacts. There is only one way that I can read the history of capital — as the history of a continually of operations of self-re-establishment that capital and its State have to set in motion in order to counter the continuous breakdown process, the permanent provocation-towards-separation that the real movement brings about. The present state of things is built upon a continuity of destruction, of abolition, of *transcendence that the real movement brings about*. I define myself by separating myself from the totality; I define the totality as *other* than me — as a net which is cast over the continuity of the historical sabotage that the class operates.

And thus (there is the third methodological implication) — there is no *homology*, no possible immediate transatability of languages, of logics, of signs, between the reality of the movement as it experiences it and the overall framework of capitalist development, with its contents and its objectives.

Let us now pause and consider the question from another angle. The fundamental point, however you look at the question, is obviously still the nexus between the process of self-valorisation and its effects in destruction. I have taken this nexus to extremes, and I have defined it as separation. Basing myself on the experience of the movement, I have stressed first and foremost the subjective element. If I now approach the question from the objective point of view — the view-point of the Crisis-State (State-to-crisis), the position is no different. When the State, faced with the crisis in the functioning of the law of value, attempts to reimpose that law by force, mediating its own relation to capital in relation to the commodity form, it registers upon itself, in effect, the crisis of all homologous functions. Force does not substitute for value, but provides a surrogate for its form.

The law of value may be forcibly reintroduced, in spite of the crisis of that law, and its operations may be imposed in modified form — but this does not remove the void of significations that Power is forced to register. The Crisis-State is a power which lives in a vacuum of significations, a void, a logic of force/logic which is itself destructured. This logic, this critical form, is a "dark night in which all cows are white"; in other words, the meaning of the whole is not in any way provided by the perfect connection of the parts. The State's investment in the totality is purely negative, in terms of meaning. The rule of total alienation is the only possible content of this project. The totality is a void, is structured as destruction, as a radical lack of value. Thus it becomes clear what we mean in this case by a lack of homology. All the elements of the whole are unified in a *technical* sense; they only hang together in their mutual untranslatability; only in the form of a forced relationship. So, from an *objective* viewpoint too, the system can be seen — *must* be seen — as destructured.

However, while our consideration of the objective aspect of the situation confirms our analysis of the subjective aspect, the objective aspect has neither the same logical extension nor the capacity to substitute for the subjective. One cannot move from the understanding of destruction as an effect, to the identification of the process of self-valorisation as the cause. This is particularly clear in the analytic principles of Michel Foucault (and in particular my attention because of the way they strain after a notion of productivity, a creativity of an unknown quantity located beyond the cognitive horizon).

This is also clear — and, furthermore, scandalous — in the various surreptitious attempts that are being made to reimpose a sense of conclusiveness on this destructured horizon. (These attempts, be they humanistic in inspiration, or conceived in terms of *Wille zur Macht*, do nonetheless start from a correct perception of the blind objectivity of the development of capital's system. Regarding Cacciari's *Krisis* — Feltrinelli, Milan 1977 — see my review in Nos. 155-156 of *Aut-Aut*). But this surreptitiously-related homology this "revolution from above" in the absence of radical significance — can be seen clearly, in the light of what we have said, for what it is — a fraud.

The above considerations lead me now to confirm my original hypothesis of the *prevalence of the subjective* in the explanation of the present-day dialectic of capital. Taking the subjective viewpoint to extremes does not negate its methodological validity. Rather, it confirms and extends it. It permits me, in the articulation between self-valorisation and destruction, to avoid both premature reductions of the problem (because in fact it is the productivity of the proletarian subject that structures the destruction, its negative function determines its own opposite); and, on the other hand, totalising dialectical extensions of the disclosure, because, in this case, there are no longer any homologous functions.

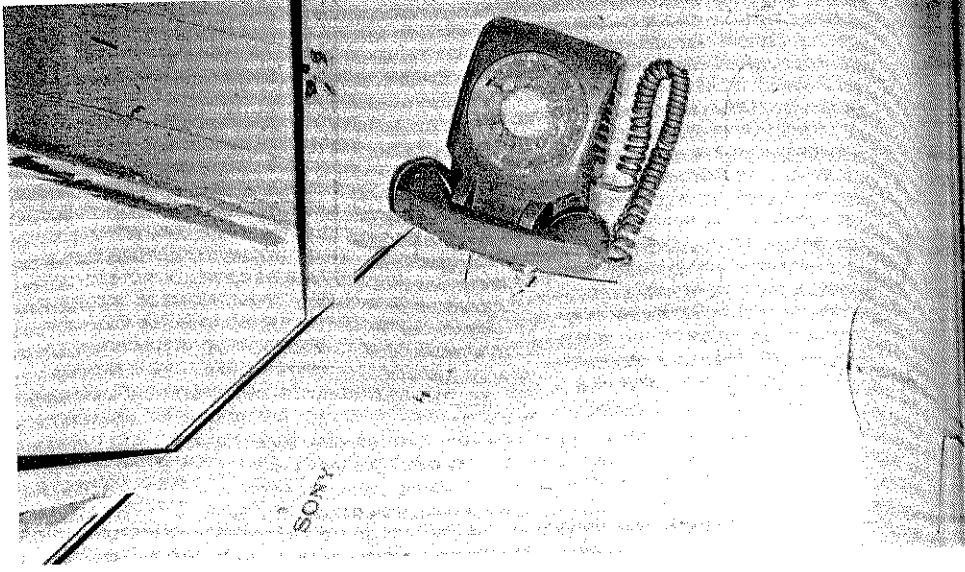
We are now suggesting that methodology in any sense resolves the problems that face us (although a correct framing of the solution is greatly facilitated). We know that the methodological hypothesis requires confirmation from class analysis. It is only the theoretical-political determination of the composition of the working class that can offer a sound basis for a methodological hypothesis such as ours. And in fact the following methodological approximations, without pretending to be exhaustive, confirm our initial methodological assumption that, today, the establishment of working class independence takes place first and foremost in its separation. But *separation* in this instance means *breaking the capital relation*. Separation also means that, having reached the highest point of socialisation, the working class breaks the *laws of the social mediation* of capital. Marx in *Capital* Vol. I, calls for "another mode of inquiry" in the analysis of the metamorphoses of overall social capital. Is this to be a logic of separation? Is it to be a *Darstellung* built on carrying to extremity this independent proletarian subjectivity built on the movements of proletarian self-valorisation as such?

I think that these questions are important for the further development of this essay. However, before going further, they can be further articulated at a formal and methodological level, in order to constitute a framework for the ensuing debate. Let us look more closely. As I have said, the separateness of the proletarian subject is organised in the dialectic between self-valorising productivity and functions of destruction. I know, however, that this dialectic does not produce effects of homology and of totalisation, because it is a dialectic of separation. But, equally necessarily, it is inherent in the complexity of the events that are being determined. How? In particular, how does this articulation of a separate subject relate to the constitution of capitalist domination? Secondly and conversely, how precisely does the constitutive process of the collective subjectivity proceed, in all its radicality and intensity?

In short, *what are the laws that govern (albeit in a situation of separateness, of lack of any homology) the parallel and opposed processes of the State-form and of proletarian self-valorisation?*

But in defining the problems we can now add a couple of further notes — first in relation to the *self-valorisation/destruction nexus*. In the history of socialist thought and practice, the sense of proletarian self-valorisation has often been expressed with original intensity. (If Gramsci's teachings can be retained in any useful sense today, it is certainly in this regard). But is never expressed in terms of separateness — rather it is always expressed in a dialectical sense in relation to the totality. Reciprocity takes the place of opposition. In the social-anarchist tradition this reciprocity, this correspondence, has been played out in terms of





of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*; this pleasure he leaves to the "philistine apologists of the bourgeois school". It is, rather, a key to understanding. In point of fact, the more we sabotage the State and the more we give expression to the self-valorisation/destruction nexus, the more the rules governing the development of capital's State-system become ferocious, monstrous and irrational. So now let us look at how the State and the system of social domination respond to the social sabotage which results from self-valorisation, and let us look at the logic that they express — a logic which is internally coherent, but which is nonetheless negative; a logic of destruction which can never be sublimated, but only precipitated further.

Capital's continual restructuring is its response to working class sabotage. *Restraint is the empty, but efficacious, content of the State-form. Empty, because it lacks any rationality save that accredited by working class sabotage; economy's critical consciousness is obliged to fill the vacuum of its own process by spreading a water-thin (reoperated and mystified) formal rationality, over the timings set by working class and proletarian struggles. Let us look at how it proceeds.*

Within the critical consciousness of bourgeois political economy, the evolution of the logic of command has taken place in at least three distinct phases, following on the great Crisis of the 1930s. Each one of these phases is matched by a particular quality and intensity of working class and proletarian struggles. Elsewhere (in the article published in *Operai e Stato* ("Workers and the State", Feltrinelli, Milan 1972) I have indicated the fundamental characteristics of the *Keynesian epoch*, in that epoch, control of the working class struggle was to be achieved in global terms. Keynes replied to the formation and the struggles of the mass worker with an overall balancing — in progressive terms — of supply and demand. But Keynes based himself on a political proposition that was pure and general — he had stressed the overall *trend*. But when the trend comes into contradiction with the actual progress of the cycle (because working class conflictually does not respect finalised equilibria), the Keynesian State goes into crisis. Who commands the crisis? The Keynesian-bred politicians try to invent a "political trade cycle", try to form "intermediate regimes", etc; in practice, control is little by little slipping out of their hands — the control-dimension no longer matches the dimensions of the theoretical "progresses" that lead Straffa and his ilk to a dissolution of the aggregate categories of Capital, more concretely we can observe that the working class struggle has a continuity that is discontinuous,

the dialectic between centralisation and decentralisation. Thus it is not difficult, in a critique that starts with Marx and stretches through to Foucault's edition of the *Panopticon*, to demonstrate the perfect compatibility of Proudhon and Bentham. But this compatibility also exists in the tradition of "scientific socialism" — this time not extensive (between working class interest and the general interests of society, between socialism and democracy). This compatibility, of the process of self-valorisation with the productive structure of society, is a myth. It is not Proudhon and Bentham, but Rousseau and Stalin who are the fathers of this much-loved synthesis. Personally, I have no time for the so-called "nouveau philosophes", but I must say I am rather disconcerted when I see representatives of the historical parties of the working class, who have always been enamoured of the link between rationalism and productive Stalinism, insulting these young philosophers for having drawn attention to this "mystifying connection."

In short, they are addressing themselves to a problem which no longer has any real basis. Class self-valorisation has nothing to do with the structuration of capital. But it has a lot to do with its de-structuration. The whole capitalist development, ever since the working class reached its present high level of competition, has been nothing other than the obverse, a reaction to, a following-in-the-footsteps-of proletarian self-valorisation — a repeated operation of self-protection, of recuperation, of adjustment in relation to the effects of self-valorisation, which are effects of sabotage of the capital machine. From it is correct in his latest utterance that the modern State is the political form of the autonomy of the working class. But correct in what sense? In the sense — for him too, with his revamped "socialism" — of compatibility and convergence? Not at all, comrades; here the methodology of the *critique of political economy* has to be modified, taking as its starting point proletarian self-valorisation, its separateness, and the effects of sabotage that it determines. In particular it is within this perspective that we must frame our analysis of the State-form.

If our analysis of the nexus between self-valorisation and State structure leads us along a path of causality that is negative and destructuring, the situation is different when we come to consider our methodological approach to the *nexus of self-valorisation with itself*, in its separateness. Here we shall have to stress and adequately analyse the synchronous dimensions of the process. But here, too, there can be no recourse to models of "continuity", to functional determinations: What can be said straight away — because it constitutes the heart and substance of the methodological proposition itself — is that the separateness of proletarian self-valorisation itself appears as *discontinuity*, as a conjoining of leaps and innovations. The method of social transformation that derives from the self-valorisation of the proletariat has nothing in common with the homologues of rationalist or historicist progressivism. Proletarian self-valorisation is the power to withdraw from exchange value and the ability to reappropriate the world of use values. The homologues of progressivism relate to exchange value. The rupture and recognition of the class's own independent productive force, removes any possibility of a resolute dialectic. The dialectical positivity of method in the separateness of proletarian self-valorisation is wholly and solely innovative.

THE FORM OF THE DOMINATION

Having outlined our polemical methodological premises, we can now start on the substance of the matter. Facing us stands the State, among us — and sometimes within us — stands the form of the domination. To struggle means that we must recognise the monstrous nature of the power that stands facing us, recognise it with the same immediate clarity and on the same level as we have seen the relationship between self-valorisation and destruction. Now, *this monstrous nature of power is the effect of our sabotage*; it is the negative result of our action. "Crime," says Marx, "through its constantly new methods of attack on property, constantly calls into being new methods of defence, and thus is as productive as strikes are in relation to the invention of machinery". (K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*)

This is no paradox — Marx does not like the paradox label, not even in the case



insertion of another dimension of analysis, in order to relativise the contents of that analysis. But this is indeed a strange kind of relativity: it is above all a relativity of time, the reduction of an analytic mechanism which assumes circulation of time, the reduction of an analytic mechanism which assumes circulation of time as a terrain of both theory and control. The totality of circulation-time is drawn into the economic analysis; the totality of circulation-time is to be controlled by economic policy: the hypothesis of the simultaneity of functions and operations within the cycle is not assumed in advance and abstract (a neo-classic), but operational and political (a Milton Friedman and his monetarist bedfellows). The Kaleckian interruptions of the short cycle are still mediations between the trend and the overall cycle: here science does not become separated in its application, does not waste its efforts in forecasting, but intensifies its analysis on every moment, every transition. It is a physics of elementary particles — and science stands watchful, like a policeman, over everything.

It is not the Marxists' job to observe that the temporal dimension is decisive in the relation between circulation and reproduction, and in general within the relation as it impinges on the class struggle in the sphere of reproduction (although Geoff Kay draws attention to the problem in his very useful *Development and Underdevelopment*, Macmillan, London, 1975). It is not surprising that the problem is arising again. Rather, what is surprising is the fact that the proposition arouses so much passion. The philosophers are well aware of the problems associated with the dimension of time; infinitely sub-divisible and infinitely extendable. So how should we grasp the analytic proposition in operational terms; how are to concretise the political project? It is not our job to answer this; suffice it to draw attention to the indeterminateness of the project. Rather, our task is to note how the process of destruction within the logic of political economy is taking a further step forward. (See, apropos, the fine essay by A. Graziani, introducing R. Conventore's book *La Dinamica del Salario Relativo* ("The Dynamic of the Relative Wage"), republished in *Quadranti Placentini*, No. 64, pp. 113 seq.). In its dimensions of exploitation, bourgeois political economy strips even the appearance of coherence from its logic, and forces itself into the role of a technical instrument against the emergence of the destructuring power of the working class; it extends itself over the indefinite discontinuity of the movement of self-valorisation. State restructuring becomes increasingly an indiscriminate succession of actions of control, a technical apparatus that is effective, but which has lost all measure, all internal reference-points, all internal coherent logic.

Good working class theory rejoices at this. But, being responsible people, we must recognise the enormous weight of suffering, of inhumanity, of barbarities

and that the apparent continuity of the struggle is the outcome of an infinite series of individual crisis-points. The economic and political sciences of restructuring must take account of this. It is no longer possible to invent indeterminata macro-economic equilibria which are independent of short-run variations and independent of the micro-economic components which are variable within the unforeseeable timing determined by the struggles of the collective worker. Based on this necessity, we now see the formation of the State-as-Crisis, the Crisis-State (State-crisis), on the following lines: to divide up the overall thrust of the working class, to control it from within the mechanisms of its own accumulation; and to forestall it, by attacking it in its class composition. Keynes' broad equilibria are replaced by an internal operation of decomposition, within the class, in an attack that is precisely orientated towards dealing with single and particular class crisis points — a microphysics of political economy. "The long-term trend is nothing other than a component — which alters slowly — of a chain of short-term situations". . . . "It is not an independent entity". (Michael Kalecki, in *Trend and Business Cycles Reconsidered*, in *Economic Journal*, July 1968, pp. 263 seq.). Thus it becomes impossible to produce a model of development unless it takes explicit account of the interruptions that occur in the process of production and reproduction, and thus a fresh foundation is laid for a theory of development based on the theory of cyclical fluctuations, incorporating the dynamics that occur at a microeconomic level.

A long phase of bourgeois economic theory now develops around these premises. Michael Kalecki is the leading light in this movement (see Joan Robinson in *New York Review of Books*, March 4, 1976 — and in particular George R. Feiwel). The *Intellectual Capital of M. Kalecki*, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1975). But this theory also falls short. Crisis-State theory is, after all, a reformist theory. It faces up to the emerging productivity of the mass worker, and tries to construct an "economy of oligopolies" — on two fronts: on the one hand the capitalist entrepreneur oligopoly, and on the other hand the working class-trade union oligopoly in the factory (M. Kalecki, "Class Struggle and the Distribution of National Income", in *Kyklos* XXIV, 1971, pp. 1 seq.). But in the meantime, the struggle has advanced; the action of the mass worker has gradually laid siege to the whole of society. We now see the worker developing as a "social" worker — even (and particularly) if still remaining a "workplace worker". The worker responds to the Crisis-State even more violently than previously to the State-as-Planner (*State-plano*). If this latter went into crisis because of its inability to control the quantities of working class demand, the Crisis-State is forced into an internal self-criticism of what is now a socially inescapable (and immediately efficacious) extension of working class action. The Crisis-State is not only a State-form that is reformed to its roots — it is also, and above all, a State-form that is still linked in to the dimensions of direct production, to factory command over living labour. But when working class sabotage extends to invest the whole of society, the entire mechanism of circulation, forcing aggregate social capital into a confrontation over the rules governing the reproduction of the system, at that same moment the consciousness of the bourgeois political economy — which had actually been consolidating itself up to that point — goes into a further stage of crisis and disintegration.

It is interesting to note the formation of a third phase of theoretical development in the political economy of the Keynesian epoch. It is in the process of formation today, and draws on the elements of crisis in the previous schemas. In particular it tries to operate in a more generalised way on the social movements of the working class. Its central arena of interest is the question of circulation. The simple transition from global control of production (Keynes), to dynamic control of production (Kalecki) is insufficient. The problem is that of the functional control of circulation, of the dynamic nexus linking production and reproduction. And with the problem of time becomes fundamental. Keynes never concerned himself with the temporal determination of equilibria and secondary equilibria. Kalecki, on the other hand, stressed the necessity of determining Keynesianism via the redefinition of phenomena within individual "time units". And now, today, the temporal dimension is being extended to the whole of the process. In analytical terms, the new approach is a sort of Einsteinian theory of relativity: it involves the

So, concretely speaking, what is the center of the capitalist restructuring project today? How is the form of domination being realized? The fact of command over living labor taking the upper hand over the law of value is not something new: but what is specific to today's restructuring is the conjuncture of command together with the indifference of the contents of command, of its articulations. This capitalist conclusion derives from the powerful socialization of the revolutionary movement of the proletarian class; it is the obverse of this. In this situation, capital's initiative becomes regressive — in other words, it has to base itself on a logic that is as empty as it is separate. Once again a premise which, to us, is fundamental — ie the separateness of the cycles of capital and its State-form from the cycle of working class self-valorization — is verified. But at this point a whole series of problems re-emerge, in particular, if we want to identify not so much the center, as the specific content of capitalist restructuring. This terrible void and indifference, this terribly weak and the same time ferocious freedom of capital — how is it determined today?

For the moment I know only one thing, that from the working class point of view — having arrived at this level of awareness — the effects of the restructuring action that I have set in motion force me to confront — in a destructive manner — capital's powers of stabilization. And this means, above all, confronting that power which provides the breeding ground for the multiple indifferent possibilities of domination. Destruction of the enemy system involves the immediate necessity of attacking and destabilizing its political regime.

Translated by Red Notes

11/2-3 Photo: D. Cortez



that all this brings with it. This revelation of the internal void of capitalist restructuring, this successive self-destruction of the moments of capitalist control, and come of the revolutionary struggle. But at the same time it makes it hard to endure the harshness of the daily struggle and the cruelty of capital's continued exploitation. (Note that certain theoretical positions that exist within the official labor movement, and which have nothing to do with Marxism — such as the famous theory of the "autonomy of the political" — ape these bourgeois affirmations). And yet it is still the action of the working class that brings about these effects effect on the very rationality of capitalist restructuring, and removes this rationality, even in its formal aspect, and leaves us with a whole that is destroyed, technical and regressive. The varied and combined modality of working class action is respected in every moment of the restructuring of capital: from the actions of the mass worker, and from those of the "social" worker, arise effects that are then matched, in the sense of a subsequent radical destructuring of the enemy power.

Thus it is no accident that today the big forces of capitalist reformism have adopted — at a world-wide level — a terrorist strategy of savage deflation (or "dis-inflation", if you prefer). On the basis of the experience of the fiscal crisis of the American cities (this political line has been correctly described as a "regressive distribution of income, of wealth and of power" (see the articles by Robert Zevin, and Roger A. Alcaiy and Elen Bodian in *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities*, New York, 1977).

The destructured logic of the economic compatibilities must in fact be extended downwards, to reach single individual social groups, in such a way as to destroy any consolidation of proletarian self-valorization. At every level. Generalized process of reproduction, it must allow the destruction of every rigidity; it must not must be deepened and intensified, to act on every point of linkage in the proletariat. But — you say — this has always happened! This is one of the laws of capital! Certainly. But what makes the present situation specific is the depth, the intensity, the extensiveness of the control. Capital has been subjected to a class pressure at the social level, which has definitively destroyed its terms of reference. Right down to the level of factory-command (commando-impression), command is in crisis. Restructuring, at this point, is pure form of domination. It aims to be effective even at the level of the individual unit of production, the single social group, the single individual. Thus it is no accident that, acting at such a depth and within such micro-economic dimensions, State power is once again, for the first time in several decades, resurrecting the ideology of Freedom!

At this stage, the capitalist determination (whose articulations attempt to follow the social emergence of the processes of proletarian self-valorization, and which has to face up to the destruction effects that these engender), teaches a high point of its logical vacuity: here the reimposition of the law of value within restructuring is violence, and is logically founded on criteria of indifference. However, this in no sense diminishes the efficacy of the project of restructuring. The specification of the indifference starts from command. If the social struggle of the working class has driven the capitalist brain into a position of formal indifference, then capitalist command tries to specify itself materially on this possibility. It is important to emphasize this transition. It is important because with it comes a fundamental shift in the development of the contemporary form of the State. That very social-democratic project, which since the time of Keynes has been at the centre of capital's interests within the restructuring process, is now splintered example of how working class and proletarian self-valorization has destroyed an instance of the enemy. The social-democratic project is beginning to disintegrate, and from this point of view, the euphoria that is accompanying the present development of the various Eurocommunisms is slightly macabre.

Autoreduction Movements in Turin Eddy Cherkil/ Michel Wieviorka

THE RISE
OF SOCIAL
STRUGGLE

THE
AUTOREDUCTION
MOVEMENT AND
THE PRICE OF
TRANSPORTATION

To consider the new developments in social struggle within Western Europe since 1968, one must turn to Italy. The organization of the Workers' Movement, often on a mass scale, has assumed original forms. Urban struggles have led to organized neighborhood actions with stakes tied to consumption.

From this point of view, the autoreduction movement, which began in Turin in the fall of 1974, constitutes a development of the utmost importance. Autoreduction is the act by which consumers, in the area of consumption, and workers, in the area of production, take it upon themselves to reduce, at a collectively determined level, the price of public services, housing, electricity, or in the factory, the rate of productivity.

Above and beyond the "classical" forms of economic crisis and the bankruptcy (or rather absence) of the Italian government's economic policy, the most enlightened sectors of the technocracy and certain leaders of the large Italian monopolies (such as Agnelli, FIAT), centered around Carli, president of the Italian bank, propose and, in June 1974, compel the government to accept a plan of reform, the Carli Plan. Founded on the fundamental hypothesis of the tacit support of the I.C.P., or at least its neutrality, this plan proposes two essential objectives.

THE ITALIAN
CRISIS

tives. On the one hand, restructuring the production (diversification of some industrial sectors, notably the automobile industry, formulation of a nuclear energy program) and, on the other hand, reducing, in the area of consumption, public expenditures—in particular, curbing the production of collective tools and arrangements (equipment collectifs). On a more general level, the Carli Plan seeks to place the burden of the Italian economic reform on the working classes by reducing internal demand, thus household consumption. Concretely, the government's principle of "fair pricing" of public services entails a massive price increase in transportation, electricity, telephone, health care and housing. In July, besides a few amendments proposed by the I.C.P., the Assembly approved this program with increases exceeding 50 per cent.

The application of the Carli Plan presupposes a climate of social peace and the absence of workers' struggles. However, in the past few years, social struggles are on the rise. Classical forms of action have been significantly supplemented by less conventional forms: sabotaging production, sequestering leaders, lowering productivity, controlling the rate of production, and massive absenteeism. This movement expresses at one and the same time the rebellion of the Italian working class and its pugnaciousness.

The metallurgical unions (the F.I.M.) and various groups of the extreme left ("Lot-ta Continua", "Avanguardia Operaia", and later "Il Manifesto") take an active role in this movement. Between 1968 and 1975 forms of direct action reappear on the battleground of urban struggles, they are essentially centered around the problem of housing. The homeless take over empty houses. Public housing tenants autoreduce rents or resist eviction. These struggles are illegal, massive and often violent.

Massive struggles: in Italy between 1969 and 1975, twenty-thousand habitations are "squaterized". Rent autoreduction was the first form of action; the political objective was to limit rents to 10% of one's salary.

These violent struggles cannot be isolated from the climate of social and police violence which reigns in Italy. The most dramatic episode occurred in the San Basilio neighborhood (in the suburbs of Rome). In September of 1974, a militant of the extreme left was killed during a clash between police and squatters.

It is difficult to establish a direct connection between urban struggles and workers' struggles. It is not easy to grasp that the capitalist system in general is under attack in both the areas of production and consumption. The autoreduction movement in Turin strives in to unite through a collective action the forces of production and those of consumption.

Each day, in Turin, tens of thousands of workers commute (*pendolari*). This constitutes a forced extension of the work day and an important financial burden. Some businesses allow their employees travel expenses; others provide for the transportation for their work force; but often, as is the case of FIAT, transportation costs are directly born by the workers.

In the summer and fall of 1974, the decision of two private transportation companies to increase their fares by 20% to 50% caused an immediate reaction on the part of the workers.

The first reactions are spontaneous, unorganized: buses are blocked at Pinerolo, an important gathering point of Rivaita and Mirafiori workers, some delegations head towards municipalities and the regional government, some tracts are distributed. All of this changes little to the increase. The Rivaita F.I.M. decides to take in hand the organization of the struggle on the basis of autoreduction: the weekly transportation pass must be purchased at the old price. This decision follows a brief political debate. Refusing all payment is practically not considered and, for a very good reason: the transportation companies would simply stop run-

Moreover, they were ready to warn the tenants so that a mobilization to prevent electricity from being turned off be unleashed. The important fact to note is the role of a worker's union in initiating struggles outside of the factory. The workers' unions have come to somewhat replace parties or political organizations.

Union initiative can only be understood if one considers the relations of power between the local/regional level and the national level. In deed, there is a specific context of unionism in Turin. The unions of Turin, CGIL, Cisl, Uil, and the union of FLM unions are relatively autonomous in relation to their national leadership.

The CGIL in Turin, directly tied to the I.C.P., on the national level, is situated to the left of its national leadership; Cisl is an "open" union in which militants of the extreme left defend their political ideas and obtain positions of responsibility on the regional level.

The actual struggle will unfold in two stages. In the first stage, a campaign to collect signatures of commitment to the autoreduction position is initiated in the factories, then very quickly, in the neighborhoods. Why this campaign? Because it allows the unleashing of an immediate and collective action: the signer has committed himself to paying only half price and to sending to the administration, together with his payment, a letter in which he explains that he is acting in accordance with the directions of the unions in Turin: CGIL and Uil.

The second phase deals with the actual settling of bills. At this stage, the electricity unions intervene, as expected, by furnishing a complete account of the dates when the bills were mailed, neighborhood by neighborhood. As a result of this accounting, the grass root organizations set up pickets in front of certain post offices and distribute to the workers a leaflet which explains the methods of

The smallest companies refuse the money, then quickly reverse this decision. They threaten to curtail certain lines in retaliation. Worker's demonstrations and pressure from FIAT leads the regional government to demand that the concerned companies accept suspension of their curtailments and operate buses at the old price until an agreement with the unions is reached.

We are no longer in the factory, in the production area itself, but rather at the junction of the factory and the neighborhood or town. This foreshadows the development of popular struggles at the level of consumption, without yet presenting the most characteristic traits (purt-classism, difficulty in relating to factory struggles). Last and above all, this form of struggle constitutes a break from traditional practice.

Autoreduction was not practiced by isolated militants: it was organized, and this is a fundamental point, by unions which brought their active support and simultaneously imposed a coherent line of action. Such a position would have been unthinkable a few years earlier: it strongly suggests a breakthrough, of certain themes of the extreme left. We should, however, assess the scope of this breakthrough: the autoreduction of regional transportation has always been a localized phenomenon involving merely the machinery of local metallurgical unions, for a set objective. At no time was it a question of generalizing the movement on a national scale. The movement on electricity, instigated by the provincial leadership of the FLM will give a new dimension to autoreduction, its truly mass character.

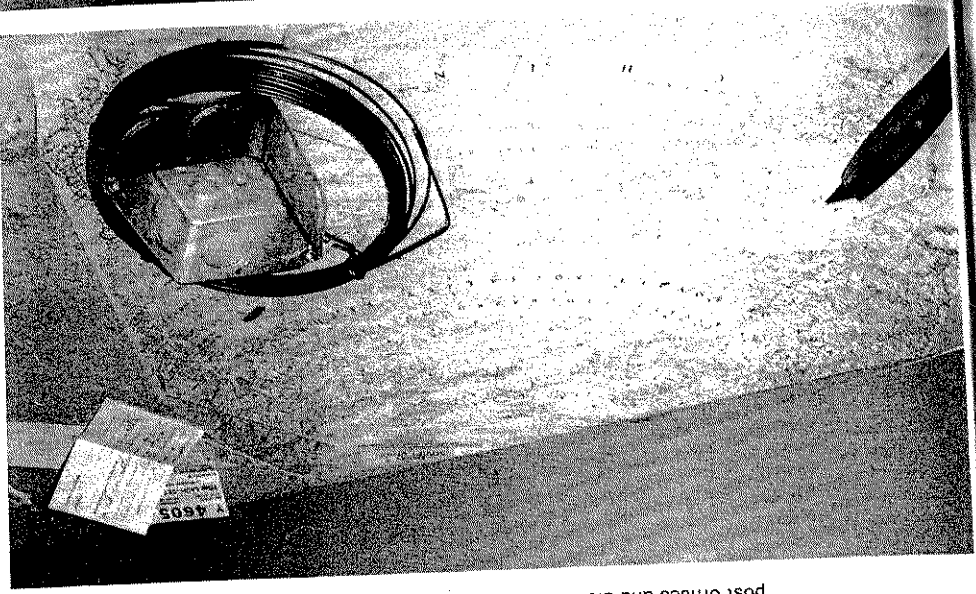
Taking advantage of the summer and in the context of the Carli Plan, the government, at the beginning of July, decides to increase the electricity rates. This increase anticipates an entire series of comparable measures and, as a result, constitutes a political test for the authorities. They will be able to impose the following increases (telephone, public transportation, etc.) all the more quickly and easily if the reaction to their first decision is weak and indecisive. The unions must act, and act fast.

In an economic crisis, the struggle in the factory cannot serve as a basis of mobilization for meeting demands related to consumption. The unions of the C.I.S.L.—electricity, using the example of the regional transportation movement, then propose to initiate an autoreduction. Will the bills that the customers receive be reduced by 50% or, more radically, will a refusal to pay the bills be organized? In fact, this last solution risks being turned against those who use it: various past experiences have failed. In addition, this form of struggle does not oblige the workers to organize themselves. Simply asked to not settle their bills, the workers remain passive.

Autoreducing the electricity rates signifies the customers' disagreement with the unilateral decision taken by the government in July. Direct action should force the government to negotiate and thereby determine, the level of demands around which negotiations can take place. The Union members set this level at 50% of the new electricity rates.

The union members thus instill an illegal dimension of "civil disobedience" to the action, in initiating this struggle, the unions play a determining role. From the early days, the electricity unions declared that they would refuse to turn off the electricity in the apartment buildings practicing autoreduction no matter what.

THE AUTOREDUCTION OF ELECTRICITY



The strong reticence of some confederations and the I.C.P.'s disagreement isolate more and more the Turin militants as the date of the second wave of autoreduced-tion approaches (the first bills are expected in mid December).

The political context is much less favorable than at the beginning of October. A new center-left government seems ready to settle the question by trying to negotiate as quickly as possible. The economic crisis is at its strongest. Fiat has just put a large part of its workers on technical unemployment.

The union leaders begin negotiating with the government in this context. The national confederations are eager to settle the matter. In Turin also many fear the exhaustion of the movement.

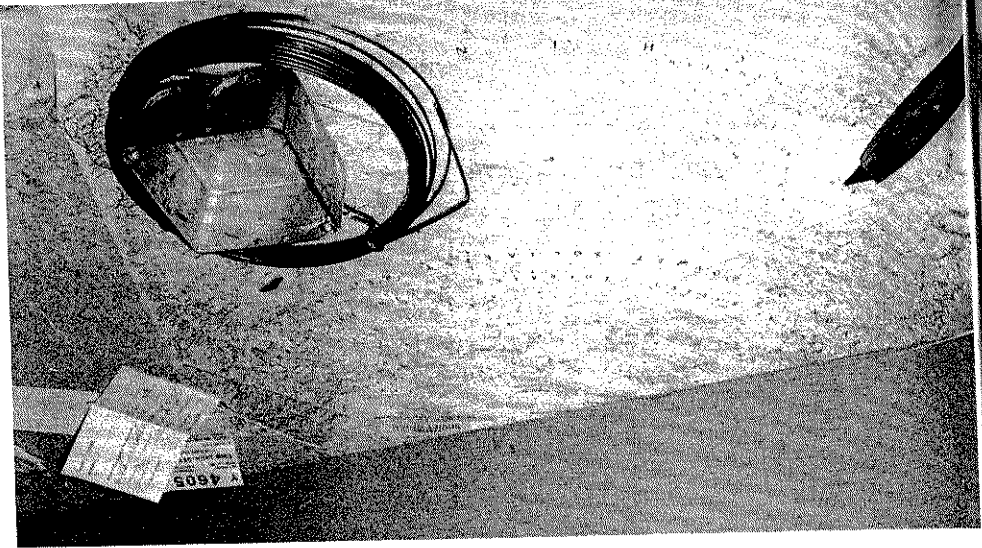
By signing the agreement, the union confederations accept the repayment of the autoreduced part which exceeds the balance agreed upon.

Each component of the movement then draws its own conclusions from the struggle. An internal debate on the political perspectives opened up by this type of struggle takes the place of the opposition between the supporters of autoreduction and its opponents (the I.C.P.), or those more reticent (the unions' leaders). One can derive several political and theoretical lessons from the autoreduction movement in Turin.

The autoreduction movement opens up the old alternative between urban struggles (secondary front), subordinated to factory struggles, and the autonomy, if not the isolation of urban struggles led exclusively by the extreme left. It demonstrates the possibility of a coordinated struggle, the first concrete accomplishment of the theoretical and practical intuitions of extra-parliamentary groups. It is the workers' unions who decisively guaranteed this coordination, because they took the initiative and contributed organizational support to the movement.

Without the union intervention, the autoreduction movement would have remained isolated. What are the conditions which favored such an intervention? Three essential elements:

- 1) the specificity of Turin, a working class city whose life style is profoundly influenced by FIAT, and the struggles which are conducted therein.
- 2) the strong tradition of intervention on the national level in social struggles by



CONCLUSION

In Turin, and in Piedmont, within a few weeks, about 150,000 families thus autoreduced their electricity bill. For the most part, these are working class families and also families of the petty bourgeoisie—the famous middle classes—and they confer on this mass struggle a real pluriclassic dimension. However, the movement under this massive form remains very distinctly limited to autoreduction. The workers settle the autoreduced bills by using drafts prepared by the unions or the struggle committees.

In the rest of Italy, there will be several tens of thousands of autoreduced bills. Tarento, Varese, Milan and Rome. For Milan and Rome, the non-extension of the movement is directly linked to the "curb" imposed by the leadership of the national unions (and indirectly by the political parties, in particular the I.C.P.). In Milan, the isolated extreme left, nonetheless, succeeds in reducing around 10,000 bills.

The conjunction of a leftist unionism relatively autonomous in relationship to the confederations, of an extreme left capable of putting pressure on the unions and on the grass root organizations functioning at the neighborhood level, and the local support of the I.C.P.: the situation in Turin favored the development of this movement.

But the specific character of the union's political situation in Turin is also at the root of its isolation: if the movement in Turin has instigated movements of a similar type in Italy, as well as an important debate, it has never been able to amalgamate ideological and political forces capable of imposing the autoreduction initiative as a form of action that the leaders of the national unions and the parties could ratify.

Rapidly polarized by the hostility of the I.C.P. and the reservations of the unions' leaders, the debate, on the national level, opposes supporters and opponents of autoreduction.

When the I.C.P. takes a position on the autoreduction movement, it does so in order to criticize the bold character of this form of struggle, which in no way constitutes a form of working class action (central thesis, and its variant: workers don't break the law). The only adequate form of worker struggle is the strike. Other types of struggle can only be led and exploited by the extreme left, either explicitly or under its union "cover" (the CSL in Turin or Milan).

The hostility of the I.C.P. in relation to the autoreduction movement is supported by a line of argument based on the notion of the State and of "public service": autoreduction and the ideology of civil disobedience that it can generate on a mass scale contribute to accentuating the State's disintegration and the crisis of its institutions. In a political context where any action of the right tends to weaken the State (the strategy of "tension" advocated by the Italian extreme right), such a movement, on the ideological level, can only contribute further to its weakening.

There is no doubt that autoreduction contains the seeds of a serious criticism of a public service (or of a State) allegedly neutral, technical, serving everyone, without political or ideological connotations.

In fact, the I.C.P.'s willingness to manage the economic crisis articulates, on the political level, the strategy of the Historical Compromise.

The co-management of the crisis and the participation in power together with the Christian Democrats cannot be organized by the I.C.P. in a context of increased social struggles. The growing movement of civil disobedience is undoubtedly linked to the negligence of the economic policy of the Italian State, and to its decomposition.

the Italian unions, it is expressed, for example, in the support of the FLM for numerous occupations of empty houses.

The unions are no longer retrenched in a political-symbolic support of the Workers' Movement in urban struggles. They organize them directly on a precise objective. Indirect union intervention gives way in Turin to a direct involvement in social struggles which permits a considerable enlargement of the urban movement.

Finally, the context of the economic crisis assumes a fundamental importance: during a period of overproduction, unemployment or threatened unemployment, the usual defenses of the working class lose their sting; it becomes harder to enforce strikes, a refusal of regulated work pace, the struggle against an increase in productivity. To keep one's job and to defend salaries become the main thrust of factory struggles. Attacked by both strong inflation and massive increases in public services, workers' salaries cannot be successfully defended by actions within the factories. Fighting for salary increases is no longer sufficient, to defend one's threatened purchasing power requires struggling in the area of consumption.

The struggle to defend one's purchasing power can be developed on a mass scale. Employees, civil servants (breaking with the ideology of public service as "neutral" and external to conflicts), teachers, etc. have participated in the reduction movement on electricity. A pluriclassism constituted by the initiative of workers' unions and on the basis of direct action (autoroduction) was only previously practiced by active minorities. It has now become one of the most important characteristics of this struggle.

Autoroduction almost always directly puts into question the State and public institutions. Popular control of so-called collective consumption, a "political" pricing for public services, goes against the policy of "fair pricing" put forth by the Carli Plan.

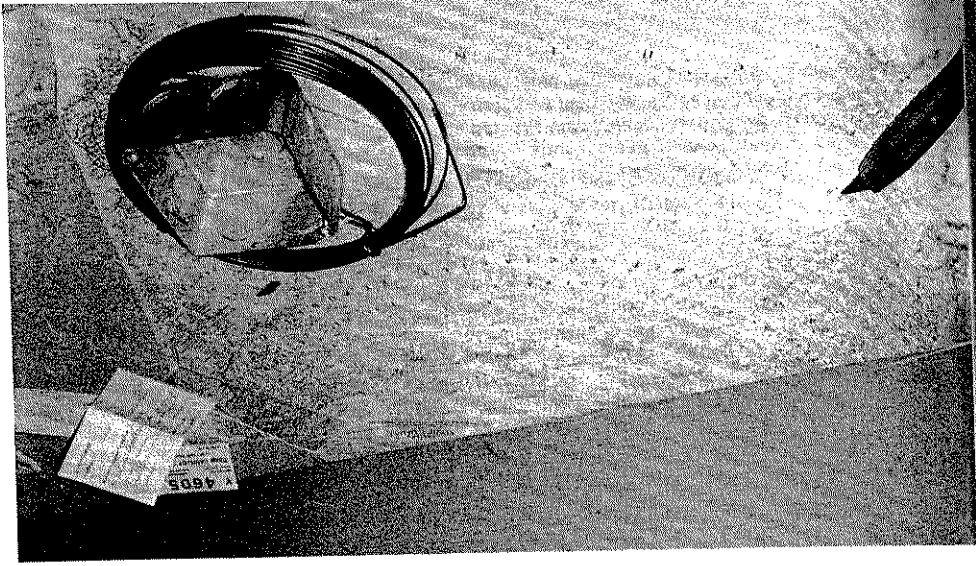
Autoroduction is much more difficult to apply in the private sector. The repressive machinery moves at once to defend private property. Two examples: Marxist-Leninist militants initiated autoroductions on products sold in supermarkets in Milan. Result: the police intervened without delay jailing the militants. The second example is the occupations of empty houses: the repression is rarely immediate or brutal when it involves public apartments. The occupation of privately owned housing prompted on the contrary immediate repression.

Autoroductions developed for the most part in sectors controlled by the State — a State in crisis, incapable of managing its own contradictions. The development of this movement could only accelerate the disintegration of the State. Its reinforcement required the intervention of an ensemble of forces concerned with the re-establishment of economic order.

Translated by Elizabeth A. Bowman.

"We are far removed from what happened at Palermo, where transportation 'autoroduction' (city buses) was put into motion by students using far less legal forms of struggle (blocking the automatic ticket-punchers).

III-13 Photo: D. Cortez



From Guaranteeism to Armed Politics Oreste Scalzone

Oreste Scalzone, arrested on April 7, was one of the leaders of the student's movement in Rome in 1968. Together with Toni Negri and Franco Piperno, he animated *Potere Operaio* ("Workers Power") until its dissolution in 1973.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF GUARANTEEISM

A name can be given to the well-knit web, to the system of struggles which has given life to the strongest and most extensive fabric of *social countervailing power* which can be recalled in recent years in the capitalistic metropolis: *guaranteeism*.

By the term "guaranteeism" is meant a sanction-formalization (synonymous with "fait accompli") of the whole of the victories realized by proletarian struggles (on the level of wage, working conditions, social services).

The "soul," the backbone of guaranteeism has been a total rigidity of the labor factor (either in the man-power marketplace or in the factory, in the organizations of production). The justification and continuation of this rigidity, which is founded on a network of *guarantees* (job security, limits placed on the "freedom to exploit," exercising of union rights, protection from dismissal, protection from transfer) of the worker) have constituted the "left motif" of the struggle of re-

What is involved is a collection of social facts of great significance: the obsessive insistence with which even today — after years of planned crisis, of patient union efforts at redimensioning and partially dismantling this state of affairs — the management over a work force rendered "malleable" once again, causes us to

GUARANTEEISM IMPLIES THE DEFENSE OF THE GIVEN CLASS MAKE-UP

We could perhaps describe the state of the power relationships which has established during the heyday of guaranteeism as a *dualism* (informal) of *social powers*: on the one hand, the general movement of *social transformation* — which has been manifested as a network of daily micro-behavior-units, as a disaffection for the rules of the prevailing social form and as insubordination to management; on the other hand, the policies — monetary, inflationary and fiscal, designed to restructure the productive and social systems which together have constituted the *capitalistic manipulation of the crisis*.

It is easy to see that such a dualism cannot last forever; at a certain point, the stagnating balance of power collapses. At a certain point in the development of the clash between classes, *guaranteeism* ends up constituting a restraint, a limit then, to take the initiative in breaking the "stalemate," in order to go beyond a mere struggle of resistance. *Escape from the realm of guaranteeism means resumption of the offensive*. That will require, inevitably, a phase of political confrontation, to take the initiative in breaking the "stalemate," in order to go beyond a mere struggle of resistance. *Escape from the realm of guaranteeism means resumption of the offensive*. That will require, inevitably, a phase of political confrontation, to take the initiative in breaking the "stalemate," in order to go beyond a mere struggle of resistance.

The basic limitation in the strategy of this movement for social redress and guaranteeism lies in the fact that while it calls into question the "fixed proportions" of salaries, it does not call into question wage scales as such, in the struggle for social redress and in contract negotiations the work-force is not denied as such; rather, it is represented as such: this clarification must be made — for example — in order to understand that basic issue of Italian *operismo* ("workerism") in the Sixties, which was the *struggle over wage*.

Everyone can ultimately see that struggles of the "guarantistic" kind (the struggle to defend and/or acquire a job is the perfect example) always become more minimal — even regressive, and for that very reason, ineffective. The conservative and conserving content of these struggles catches our eye.

Let us consider the rigidity of the worker, his or her protection from *transferral*. It is certainly an example of a significant worker accomplishment, and objective sabotage of management, of the capitalistic freedom to take advantage of the "use value" of the work-force, but its validity lies in its provisional, immediate nature, in its function as a negating factor, as a block to the initiative of the class enemy. It has meaning and revolutionary strength only if it is the instantaneous tactical decision of a strategic plan, which is that manifest in the *ritiro del lavoro* ("refusal of work"), and the concrete realization of the separation between the concept of work and the concept of production, realized in a way radically different from the working form of productive human activity.

In the middle-of-the-road ideology of the movement, on the other hand, the rigidity comes to be understood not as a "preface," as a pure and simple tactical *prologue*, but as a "thing of value in itself." On the contrary, the demand for an immutable organization of production is — in itself — a regressive *utopia*: the modification of the organization of production, in fact, always has an ambivalent content; and therefore also a content which includes liberation from work, reduction of work time by means of reduction of necessary work. In the *social synthesis* which capital constantly realizes, this capacity to incorporate — partially — the result of struggles is made manifest (think of the relationship between the *ritiro del lavoro* and technological innovation).

So then, how can one adopt as a worker-proletarian program of action the stagnation of all changes, the stoppage of that "incessant revolutionizing of itself" which makes of capitalism "the most revolutionary system to have appeared yet

is a question of an "art of making-do" which is socialized by means of its own progressive institutionalization: the no-fail exams from the democratic professors out-for-behave-n-s-s-able-t-s-not-talk-about-the-guaranteed-passing-grade-issue), the political patronage — of forms of "socially useless work" in several areas of social services, etc. There would be nothing to object to here, if the issue were interpreted as a proletarian exploitation of all the loopholes in the social fabric, and if it were to function as a practical criticism of salary, as a form of "socialized techniques of reappropriation" (even if not quite reinterpreted and translated into a new production intelligence), there would be nothing to object to, however, only on the condition that the disguised motivations of this camouflaged welfare be taken as sincere, only on the condition that we not really believe in the "socially useful" character of the specific content of one or another activity. It all has to do, in fact, with bringing to light the fact that these activities — when they take place — constitute minimal, molecular pivot-points within the functioning system of the State; in this sense, they arrive at the point of being the mechanism through which maximum "participation" (of apparent reappropriation, on society's part, of the functioning elements of the State-Machine) coincides in reality with maximum "socialization," or breaking down ("capillarization") of management, or sub-sumption within the diffuse State of the institutions of "social self-government. On the other side of the argument lies the strength of an *unprejudiced* consideration of welfare, or public assistance tied to the emerging needs of society, and

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In the Beginning was Gramsci

Henri Weber

The following text represents a "classical" critique of the Italian Communist Party, i.e. a critique addressed to the ICP from within the tradition of the Worker's Movement.

I. THE ITALIAN STATE

According to a running joke in the Italian left, Italy is the world's first country to realize Marx's prediction: the State has perished and civil society is none the worse for its demise.

This is, of course, merely a joke. The State in Italy continues to be fine, fit and even further fortified. But contrary to the French State, which has long been unified and centralized, the Italian State has for but a century encompassed the many-thousand-headed populations, so rich in traditions and history. As Longanesi explained, "Italy is a collection of families, not a State." And Didier Molchane properly underlines this ponderously important fact: "It is not the State which fashioned the Italian conscience but rather the Church, or better still, that social, mental, and political institution which is Italian Catholicism." The State, that ideological axis of French conscience, was never, neither as institution nor as concept, the foundation and the guarantee of social order in Italy."

The historical debility of the Italian State vividly explains the considerable importance of certain survivors and archaisms, especially that of the patronage or clientage system; as did the masters and patriarchs of old, the new notaries (the functionary, the entrepreneur, the priest, the secretary of the Italian Communist

Party), all those who in any way partake of an iota of power, establish lines from subordination, doubling and transcending administrative-legal relations. From this propensity towards patronage, the Christian Democratic Party forged a system of government: the Civil Service is glutted with its proteges, having obtained their positions in payment for services rendered and in token of political fidelity. Even in the rare case in which these posts correspond to a real service, the promised clients regard their job as an annuity more than as an apostolate. Thus occurs the paradox of an under-administered country with a behemoth bureaucracy, and a degree of unparalleled interpenetration between the ruling party and the State machinery. The inefficacy, the formalism, the parasitism, the corruption of this bureaucracy of the Italian State are the object of constant denunciation. A fraction of the upper middle class view the contrast between the progress of Italian economy and the archaic state of the State structures as the principal contradiction of modern Italy, the basis of *malgoverno*.

In control for thirty years, the Christian Democratic Party is trayed to the wire, lacking in both imagination and resources, paralyzed by clan warfare, and above all concerned with survival and thus directing towards that end a politics that daily sinks the country further into crisis.

Afflicted with an inefficient and expanding bureaucracy, filled with a demoralized and oft diseased political personnel, the Italian State is also ruled by one of the most parliamentary Constitutions of Europe — proportional representation, preeminence of legislative power over executive power, and provincial and regional decentralization.

Even more than with France's Third and Fourth Republics, these institutions carry a political impact of great importance to the petty bourgeois and the working class. As long as the Christian Democrats easily imposed their ideology on the masses, as long as the economic expansion permitted the financing of a "consensus", as long as the Cold War and the division of the labor movement kept the workers in line, the strong parliamentary representation of petty bourgeois and working class interests counted for little. But with the emerging crisis in the clerical ideology (for example the referendum on divorce or the abortion legislation), the end of the long period of economic expansion, the radicalization of the popular masses, the parliamentary nature of the regime constitutes an additional critical factor for the ruling class.

The existent institutions, whose democratic content was restored and extended in the whirlwinds of "rampant May," in no way favor a capitalist solution to the crisis: such a solution would severely injure the interests of the middle classes as well as those of the working class. The felt presence of these factors at the center of the elected assemblies effectively precludes this perspective.

The Italian political crisis is developing in the context of an ideological crisis so profound that the ruling clerical-liberal ideology is further alienated from the conditions and modes of existence created by the wave of industrialization from the years 1950-1970.

The combination of all of these elements in the context of an economic crisis so severe that Italy could not even count on its exports for help, ignites a crisis in the Italian State that verges on paralysis: power declares itself unable to master the situation: the rate of inflation reaches 3% per month (25% per year); the lire experiences free fall; the imbalance in the balance of payments continues to dive; unemployment attacks two million workers, not yet counting the "under-employed." Capital interests take flight in all directions, the postal and public services function poorly if at all, the trains are not on time, a mysterious disease strikes at all small change. The citizens feel each day that they are entering deeper into an inextricable chaos. The ruling class appears involved in an irreversible collapse. The labor movement, under the aristocratic mien of Berlinguer, appears as the last recourse.

To establish its concept of the "Italian road to socialism," the I.C.P. appeals to the authority of Gramsci, for in the *Prison Diaries* he underlines the specificity of the revolution in the West as differentiated from the Russian October revolution.

This difference is based on the difference among social structures and political superstructures. In the West, capitalist development engenders a complex social stratification and organization particular to power: the ruling class relies primarily through consent rather than coercion. Its power does not materialize in an autocratic State that overhangs and mixes a barely structured society but rather in a democratic State that rests on a dense network of social institutions. The Western State is not the singular locus of all power but "an advance trench behind which stands an active line of fortresses and casemates." While in the East it may be possible to conquer and destroy the State by means of a revolutionary explosion of the masses, in the West, this conquest first involves the conquest of the "casemates" and "fortresses" on which the State rests and which represent the real defenses at the heart of bourgeois society.

The socialist revolution is envisioned as a slow process of the working class's assumption of hegemony after a protracted "war of positions" in which the "casemates" and "fortresses" are besieged and overthrown one by one; the intervention of the workers' movement at the heart of institutions, recognized by ever increasing doses of "socialist elements" in the economy and society. As the Italian communists readily admit, this entails a Marxist revision of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the democratic bourgeois State: the representative bourgeois democracy, no longer simply the political regime most favorable to the development of class conscience and workers' organizations, is also the regime under which the transition to socialism can come about by means of a series of modifications.

At that point, the threshold is crossed and the social realities change: political democracy ceases to be formal and becomes real. The ruling mode of production ceases to be capitalist and becomes socialist. The quantity of "socialist elements" progressively injected into society is transformed in quality. According to Enrico Berlinguer, "The strategy of reform can advance only if it is supported by a strategy of alliances, which constitute the decisive condition; for if the alliances of the working class are restricted and if the social base of the ruling groups expands, the very realization of reforms, before or after, will be impossible and the whole political situation will rebound into a total reversal."

IN THE BEGINNING WAS GRAMSCI

THE HISTORICAL COMPROMISE

Thus, a period of social destablization inaugurated in 1968 by the so-called "rupture of all balances of system" present all the fundamental characteristics of a pre-revolutionary situation. On at least two occasions, in 1968-9 and 1975-6, this pre-revolutionary set-up coalesced into an acute crisis, capable of deepening into an irrevocable division of power if a significant fraction of the labor movement had acted appropriately. Unfortunately, in both cases, the Italian Communist Party (the I.C.P.) placed all of its political clout behind the stabilization of the system. As with the pre-1914 Social-Democratic party in Germany, it had simultaneously offered a platform for expression and national centralization to the resurgent working-class, partially adapting itself to their aspirations, as it channeled this surge into the goals of rationalization of the established order. Its reformist politics appeared as the surest support for the declining power of the bourgeoisie. In the light of the Italian example, the I.C.P.'s own proposal can be reversed to read: it is not true that the bourgeois democracies of western Europe are invulnerable to revolutionary crises, it is precisely the strategy of the I.C.P., the line of "historical compromise," which impedes the development of pre-revolutionary situations into characteristic revolutionary ones (situations of split power).

Of all the Communist parties of western Europe, the I.C.P. pushed first and furthest the movement for autonomy as regards the State Party of the U.S.S.R. Not a week passes without *Unita* denouncing the repressive or arbitrary acts of the Eastern countries, and the Party itself is involved in a tremendous public debate concerning the bases for the "authoritarian degeneration" of the socialist countries and the means to avoid its repetition in the West.

Unlike the French Communist Party, this autonomization does not stop at the repudiation of the lapses of "socialist legality," for it is beginning to assert itself as well in international affairs, as seen by the I.C.P.'s stance towards Europe. For example, in Berlinguer's astonishing interview with *Corriere della Serra*, during the electoral campaign of June 1976, Italy's membership in NATO is presented not as irreversible misfortune but as a guarantee against the onslaught of Russian tanks in the event of a "Roman spring."

If Stalinist parties are national Communist parties absolutely subordinated to the ideological, political, material and organizational purpose and practice of the Soviet bureaucracy, parties which because of their subordination value foremost the defense of the interests of the Soviet State, as conceived by the secretariat of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, then clearly the I.C.P., for all the Stalinist elements heldover from its past, is not Stalinist.

As regards the Soviet Union, autonomization is adaptation to both the national bourgeoisie and to its State: at the heart of Italian society, the I.C.P. assumes a function analogous to that of the German Social-Democrats prior to 1914. As a bureaucratic labor party it tries to rationalize instead of revolutionize the existing bureaucracy (to the benefit of the latter), it hereafter assumes a function of mediation between the interests of the working class and those of the bourgeois State.

No longer Stalinist and not yet (if ever) Social-Democratic, the I.C.P. appears as a workers-reformist party with Stalinist origins: a national Communist party. Its strategy reflects the specificity of its relations to the ruling class, the bourgeois State and the masses.

II. THE STRATEGY OF "EURO-COMMUNISM"

NATIONAL-COMMUNISM



Faced with the State's inability to clean up the mess in the factories, the Italian bourgeoisie reacts as do all other bourgeoisies: by the withdrawal of investments, the flight of capital, and speculation against the *lira*. Which for the workers means at least massive unemployment, galloping inflation, serial bankruptcy and general instability.

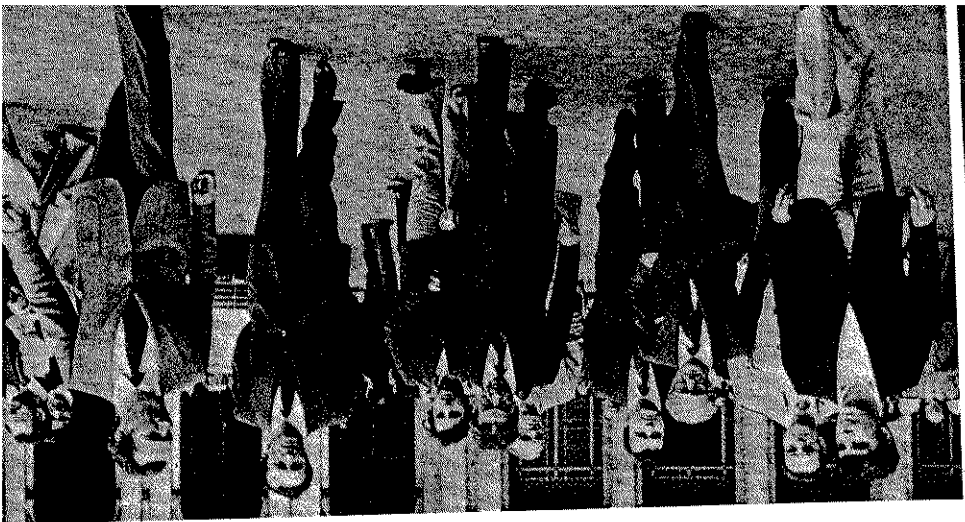
One does not need a financial Machiavelli to orchestrate this economic chaos: the capitalists, forced to respect the "laws of the market," do not invest when profit is risky and place their capital where at least a moderate profit is assured. This "spontaneous behavior of economic factors" creates the conditions for the bourgeoisie's political counter-attack: for this it can count on the manifold cooperation of the State machinery. The I.C.P. is correct in emphasizing the importance of the Democratic thrust in Italy: the organization of the popular masses was never so widespread nor the presence of the workers' parties so palpably felt in the Parliament and the local assemblies. But the elected assemblies are not at the core of the modern State.

In Italy as elsewhere (though in fact a little less than anywhere else) the centralization of capital has occurred in tandem with the shift of real power from Parliament to the administration and in general towards centers of decision-making that are safe from the democracy's scrutiny.

We now turn to the second erroneous presupposition of gradualism: no more than the bourgeoisie can tolerate indefinitely an alliance of strength impeding the accumulation of capital, the working class, in its mass, cannot mobilize itself permanently around objectives as advanced as the organization of control, etc.

The "molecular process" of the constitution of the proletariat as a potential hegemonic class never represents a diffinitive attainment: if a period of extreme social crisis should arise, or the proletariat should fail to formulate and impose its solutions, or the initiative should revert to the ruling class, Trotsky's molecular process is reversed. Discouragement, demoralization, and scepticism seize the least advanced among the masses. Beneath the veneer of a socialist education, the "old man" sleeps, with his drives, his anxieties, his ancient values. The "Marxist" workers are not immunized against an overwhelming return of the irrational: the mystique of the State or race can subsume the socialist conscience, as occurred in Germany in 1933, Italy in 1921, and, to a lesser extent, France in 1940 and 1958.

There is no reason this involution could not occur today.



The accord with the Social-Democratic leadership is indispensable if the collective action is to attain its widest scope. The dynamics of the struggle which the united proletarian front continually invokes forces the reformist masses to the left and allows for the ultimate obviation of the earlier agreements.

Just as simple denunciation cannot destroy the Social-Democrats' grip on its organized masses, diatribe and confrontation do not affect the Social-Democrats' hold over the Catholic masses. Once again one must follow in the footsteps of the United Front and promote the united action of socialist, communist and Catholic workers. This assumes an accord among the organizations, the conclusion to which—the Historical Compromise—firmly anchors the Catholic workers in the left, favors the development of their class conscience, and enhances their receptivity to the I.C.P.'s logic. Finally, it exacerbates the contradictions of Christian Democrats, dispersing them into all directions, isolating their right, paralyzing the whole party in the face of the workers' initiative.

The I.C.P.'s strategy does have the benefit of coherence. Does it embody a "creative application of Marxist theory to the conditions of western Europe," as its partisans claim? Does it define a "realistic revolutionary line" for the workers' movement? Or is it instead the most recent and sophisticated avatar of gradualist reformism, as the extreme left claims?

On four essential points, the revolutionary Marxist critique strikes home.

Gramsci's view of the specificity of the revolutionary process in the West is part of a general theoretical movement, borne of the speculation of members of the Communist international concerning the failure of the revolutionary wave of 1917-1923 in Europe.

The endorsement by the 3rd and 4th international of the "United Front," in many ways constitutes a first step towards the elaboration of a specific strategy for the traditionally democratic, advanced capitalist countries. A progress which was soon interrupted by the Stalinist degeneration and then followed by massive regression.

Gramsci's contribution takes place in stride with this effort of strategic re-orientation prior to the great ice age.

This contribution properly clarifies the emphasis on the decisive importance of preparatory work for the revolutionary seizure of power: dislocation of the bourgeoisie's hegemony; endangering of the ruling ideology; neutralization of the conservative block; penetration and, where possible, neutralization of the State machinery; affirmation of the working class and its allies as the country's potential leadership, etc. He does not examine the revolutionary conquest of power itself.

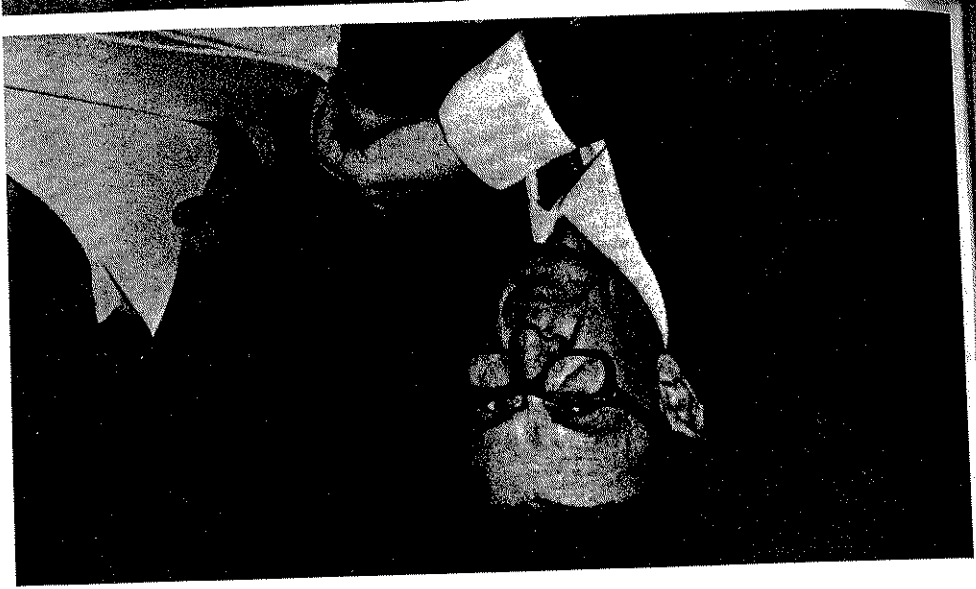
The proletariat's struggle for hegemony constitutes a preparation for the revolutionary rupture rather than the actual accomplishment of the revolution. It represents the condition for a victorious revolution but does not stand in for one. It opens directly onto the political-military struggle with the bourgeois State and does not avoid it. It forces the communist party to prepare itself and the masses for this confrontation and does not absolve them.

Only through some fraudulent alchemy can Gramsci appear as a theoretician of gradualism, the strategist of the peaceful road to socialism, the champion of the snail's pace accumulation of reforms creating an economy of revolution.

As with all gradualist strategies, the I.C.P. strategy presents only the weakpoints of rendering the class struggle abstract. Confronted with a full-blown popular revolt, the capitalist bourgeoisie releases its ballast, puts on airs, and avoids the waves: as the late Chairman Mao explained, they relinquish space to gain

THE
CHARACTER OF
DISCONTINUOUS

III GRANDEUR AND
POVERTY OF
GRADUALISM
CONCERNING THE
MISUSE OF
GRAMSCI



1. Didier Motchane, *Preface to Workers' Struggles in Italy* by D. Grisoli and H. Portelli.
 2. Enrico Berlinguer, *Reflections on Italy after the events in Chile, Rinascente*, Oct. 9, 1973.
 3. This is precisely the assertion of Giorgio Amendola, the secretary of the I.C.P., and a major figure of the rightwing part of the party. In a rallying piece, published in September 1976 under the suggestive rubric of "Coherence and Rigor" and presented to the Central Committee in October 1976, Amendola attacks the whimsical incoherence of the Communists' leadership, and especially the unionists, who support the Christian Democratic government in Parliament while warring against it in the factories. He also lashes out at certain sectors of the working class who balk at the mention of sacrifices: "When we talk of the necessary sacrifices that the workers must agree to in order to emerge from the crisis, it would be wrong, as it happens, to view those sacrifices as 'concessions' given to the capitalists and the government, as the price of some pretended communist manoeuvre to enter at all costs into the government. On the contrary, the sacrifices are necessary in order to serve primarily the interests of the working class by pulling the country out of the crisis; so that the young might find employment, for the betterment of the living conditions of the people, etc. . . . For this reason it is incorrect to demand some equivalent sacrifices in exchange for the sacrifices necessary to the capitalist bourgeoisie). The counterpart is not something that the others (the government or effort at transformation). The counterpart is not something that the others (the government or first of all the workers: the welfare of the country and the pursuit of its progress."

1/1 Italian Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer takes office
 1/13 6/13/79 ROM: Enrico Berlinguer consulting documents shortly before the start of party
 directorate meeting 6/13. Communists were big losers in the Italian general elections June 3/4.

Translated by Daniel Moschenberg

acts like a rejuvenating spring on the Christian Democrats, while the I.C.P. is not possible, which many party militants are making at this moment.

The Christian Democratic Party is the political instrument of the Italian upper bourgeoisie. Union with it can occur only on the lines of defending Italian capitalism against the global crisis. It implies the subordination of workers' interests and aspirations to the imperatives of valuation of capital in an already dilapidated international context. This means the workers sacrifice without recompense other than that of remaining the working class of a capitalist country well ranked in the international division of labor.

The strategic demands created by the collapse of the Stalinist monolith, the extremity of the capitalist crisis, the striking inequivalence between neo-reformist gradualism and the revolutionary potentialities of the period require a massive work of elaboration. It is at this level, perhaps, that the European extreme left has revealed most clearly its own shortcomings. It is on this point, apparently, that it will direct its efforts.

A COMPROMISING COMPROMISE

To forego this rupture in favor of the integration of parliamentarism is to choose bourgeois parliamentarism instead of socialist democracy.

The utopianism of this strategy is reinforced by its politics of alliances. One can admit various things concerning the specificity of the Christian Democrats, its ties to the Catholic world and thus to the workers, but only with great difficulty could one claim that the Christian Democratic Party represents a "multi-class bloc," at the heart of which diverse social classes appear on the same plane.

In reality, the Christian Democrats form the political instrument par excellence of the upper bourgeoisie. As in all parliamentary democracies, this bourgeoisie strove to endow itself with a party of popular support. It did this by adapting to the traditions and prejudices of the Italian petty bourgeoisie and proletariat, that is, to Catholic traditions and prejudices. The success of this through agreement and symbiosis with the clerical hierarchy. The success of this operation did not create a multi-class party, regardless of its basic heterogeneity, but a bourgeois party with a mass base. The interests which the Christian Democrats have always represented and defended are those of the major Italian capitalist interests. The interests of the petty bourgeois and Catholic workers are not equally represented and defended but systematically subordinated to the former, even if the Christian Democratic Party assures its popular "clients" the scraps necessary to maintain the conservative block.

Today, the aggravation of the crisis of Italian capitalism strips the Christian Democrat of his means of sedating the petty bourgeois and populist base. Patronage reached its limits and then begins to produce contradictory effects. The Christian Democratic Party has entered the age of decline; progressively, large sectors of its base are breaking and falling away.

Rather than seizing the times and actively striving to detach the Catholic masses from the Christian Democrat politicians who place them in bondage to the bourgeoisie, the I.C.P. encloses itself in a static analysis, treats its directors as the legitimate spokespeople of Catholic workers, and sees an alliance with these workers as merely a union with the party that served them until today for parliamentary representation but from which they have begun to turn.

The I.C.P.'s line of Historical Compromise, especially, is offset by a support without serious counterpart in the Christian Democratic government, at the precise moment that, under cover of an "austerity plan," that government is launching an unprecedented assault on the workers' gains.

From there to say, with the Italian extreme left, that the Historical Compromise

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

The Marxist critique of the formal character of bourgeois democracy does not stop at considerations of the inequality of social classes before the law—the demonstration and critique of the process by which the bourgeois State—representative democracy included—atomizes, tranquilizes, vampirizes the social body, stripping it even of the capacities for self-administration which it conceals, to concentrate all its power in its diverse mechanisms.

The realization of the principles of the proletarian democracy—effective control of elected officials sanctioned by their permanent revocability, rotation of elective functions, etc.—implies the grounding of political power in the actual collective: the business and the neighborhood community; enforced functional units in which people recognize each other, act and live together, and thus can really define common positions and make them stick.

For this reason between the proletarian democracy and the bourgeois democracy lies not continuity but institutional rupture. The institutions, the procedures, and the personnel who for centuries served to depoliticize society are now inadequate to the rediffusion of power throughout the social domain, for the demise of the State, the self-organization of "associated producers."

What the Communists Really Are Censor

police perform in front of the factories? Even the ex-Minister of Labor, the socialist Bertoldi, considered by a man from the right, Domenico Bartoli, as "a subtle interpreter of Hegelian dialectics," said it better than anyone else and once and for all: "We must decide whether we wish to govern with the unions or with the gunmen."

For that is the crux of the problem, which is political as well as economic, since, throughout the last few years, we would have gained a lot in the currency exchange if we had been able to use three times fewer gunmen, but three times more union men. Alberto Ronchey, who is by far the best Italian editorialist, recently wrote that henceforth the greatest economic problem is to convince people to work, and that is true. At present it is no longer possible to let things go while always hoping that the workers will delay their smoldering revolt "a little while longer," or that our industry will get a new breath of life and regain its vigor although clamoring anarchy reigns in our factories, and all this while Italy throws out, one after the other, its governments which last only a few months; governments which, moreover, are constantly and solely engaged in the titanic effort to stay in place a little bit longer than what seems possible to them, dismissing all questions, even the smallest ones, because they would be enough to make the government fall!

And who better than the communists can today institute a period of convalescence in the country, during which the workers will have to stop fighting and resume working? Who, better than a Minister of the Interior like Giorgio Alesandola, could weed out the delinquency which has spread to every level, and make the agitators shut up, by good methods, or not so good ones? We must undertake long-term governmental action, and to do so we must have a solid and resolute government: not accepting a "compromise" like that in question today in reality signifies fatally compromising, for ourselves, the very existence of tomorrow. Let us remember that neutrality, in such an affair, is the daughter of irresolution, and that "irresolute princes, in order to flee present perils, most often follow this neutral path, and most often collapse." (Machiavelli) In order not to see the real peril, we pretend to see an accord with the P.C.I. as a peril, and we flee them both.

Fearful minds may perhaps find in our proposals, even if they have to admit they are otherwise correct and useful, the slight defect that they appear precisely to underplay the perilous character which could afterward arise from the fact of having placed a communist party in the heart of political power, at a certain stage of crisis where our powers prove incapable of making the workers work. *Quis custodiat custodes ipsos?* ("Who will guard the guards themselves?").

We would answer that the objection is unfounded and that fear is a poor counselor. First of all, we should never fear future and hypothetical perils at the instant we are dying from a present and certain danger, and furthermore, we should never risk all our fortune without having risked all our forces. Since the present force of the Communist Party and the unions is already serving us and indeed proves to have been our principal support since Autumn, 1969, and since its effect has, however, remained until now quite insufficient to reverse the process, our interest is doubtless to *galvanize* that force with all urgency, by offering it the most central of all application points in society, that is, by introducing it into the center of State power.

Moreover, the supposed future perils of this communist participation in the government, these perils, we insist, do not exist anywhere but in the very sphere of these illusions about the revolutionary tendency constituted in our society by the Communist Party; artificially wide-spread illusions in an era, henceforth concluded, when they were useful for the defense of a world which today, times having changed, needs to be defended with the assistance of those same communists. Only our present government people, aspiring, despite their unfortunate bankruptcy, to the autonomization of their own existence as simple delegates of Italian society to its State administration, still pretend to consider as a real given

Among all those political leaders who for months have been reveling in high-flown words to convoke the Historical Compromise, no one has stated the principal and simplest truth on the question: that the Historical Compromise is a *compromise*, in the true sense of the term, *solely for the communists*, and absolutely not for us; for us, this accord with the communists is not even "historical!" — unless you want to call historical every tactical action which may be found necessary to make those people work who do not want to work. But in that case, and for want of this accord, how many "historical duties" must the

From now on, they are over, those seasons of games of verbal prestige by which our political rapeseed artists measured themselves in "parallel convergence" with the communists, offering them what was called the "strategy of attention," a waiting room of indefinite duration before the Historical Compromise, and which the President of the Council, the honorable Moro, defined, with such cautiousness that he was obliged to walk on eggs, as "a sort of half-way meeting, something new, which at the same time is and is not a relaxation of the roles of the majority and the opposition, taking advantage of a diversity which does not consist in a change of the forces of direction, but in the modifying addition of the communist element to others." MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

Who wrote this? Who is Censor? What is he trying to suggest? Is he the worst of fascists or the most extreme of communists? What are we to make of this? All we are willing to admit is that the same questions plagued the Italian press when the book from which this article is taken appeared in 1975 under the title *True Report on the Last Chance to Save Capitalism in Italy*. (Oh, we do know that Censor was found in a Situationist group where he said he was Gianfranco Sanguineti.)

ced, we will throw out the communists, at the same time as a large portion of the present political personnel, like servants, with the greatest of ease. The communists themselves already openly admit this as an article of their contract of cooperation; and since Heracitus, we know that "all that crawls on the earth is governed by blows." And if we do not succeed, nothing else matters anymore; because everyone would admit that it would be the worst of Byzantine discussions, at the time when the Turk is on the ramparts, to guess which trophies might have been won in the Green and Blue circus, in a world which will have crumbled.

Translated by Richard Gardner

1/11 Photo: D. Cortez



of strategic reasoning what — that supposed revolutionary tendency of the PCI — has never been anything other than an ideological "article of export" destined for the people. Which makes these worn-out leaders fall under this severe condemnation: what they in fact want, when they cling to their old specialization, while a necessary modernization imposes their "recycling," is not even to prolong, for their own limited interests, the apparent existence of the profession they still know how to operate, but indeed the existence of a profession they did not know how to operate.

The Trojan Horse is not to be feared except when there are Greeks inside it. The Communist Party has assumed, and must even assume again, a certain costume to disguise itself as an enemy of our City, but it is not an enemy of our City; just as it is not directed by Ulysses. The Italian communist instead resembles that carpenter in a lion's mask, "and who must say to the spectators: "I would entrust you, not to fear, not to tremble: my life for yours. If you think I come hither as a lion, it were pity of my life: no, I am no such thing. . . ."

And precisely because we dare to admit that Italian workers, who have sworn to the offensive of social war, are our enemies, we know that the Communist Party is our support. We can no longer continue to reassure the country while pretending the opposite, because we have reached the hour of truth, when lies are no longer any use to us, only force is.

Whatever the case may be, let us not go so far as to forget that our parliamentary majority has for a long time already been based on the communist opposition, and that the communist opposition opposes the same things the majority opposes; and, however, the entire political life of the country is as though paralyzed before the nightmare that the idea, for the Christian-Democrats, of ceding a few ministries to the communists seems to be. Up until a recent period, this Christian-Democratic attitude found its semi-rational justification in the necessity of maintaining the monopoly of power so as to continue to hide the way that power had been administered, and some particular facts so scandalous that, if they had been known, would have brought about the immediate collapse of the party; but now that those facts have little by little come to be known throughout the country, even this last justification is void. And it is the collapse of Italy that we must try to avoid, if we can.

And furthermore, let us ask the question, what is the alternative of which the Historical Compromise is one of the terms? The other term can be presented thusly: sooner or later we will reach a situation in which neither the communists, nor the unions, nor the forces of order, nor the secret services will be able to manage to hold back the workers from the brink of a general insurrection, all of whose consequences cannot easily be foreseen. If, in the best hypothesis — and simple, that is, if the communists succeed, in a second attempt, in taking the we can only see two —, this insurrection does not become a civil war pure and reined, by first seeming to participate in it so as later to assume command, it is evident that in such a situation it will be up to Berlinguer to impose his conditions, and he will not be disposed to share the government with us; but, rather, on the impetus of the insurrectional movement, the communists will take over the State, in the name of the workers, to whom they will then appeal to defend it. And if, on the contrary, as seems more likely to us, the credibility of the Communist Party with the workers is found to be completely exhausted at the time of this insurrection, which is only all too foreseeable, in such a way that the communist action of "recovery" of the insurgents into the very ranks of the party proves useless or impossible, then civil war will no longer be avoidable, and the Communist Party, amputated from its base, which will inevitably unite with the revolutionary forces, will no longer be of any use to us. Those are the two variants that form an alternative with the Historical Compromise; *tertium non datur*. ("the third is excluded").

Finally let us conclude. With the help of the Communist Party in the government, either we will succeed in saving our domination, or we will not succeed. If we suc-