

**PARALYSIS  
ORGANIZED  
INOMY**

How can one deny that the power structure "seems" to have won? Hasn't it, after all, with that stroke of simulation, arrogated to itself the right to put an entire decade on trial? It has set itself up as a trial judge. And so the decade of egalitarianism and solidarity, the decade of collectivization and rejection of work are now on trial. What better introduction, what better premise to a "backlash" that promises a return to normal production, to the usual, day-to-day violence that occurs in the family and on the job?

Meanwhile, as the power structure prepares to try our entire decade as criminal, subversive and paranoid—well, here we see the forces that represent the existing Movement unable to understand the meaning of this Operation Simulation launched by the power structure, unable to understand anything in fact, and unable to react in any way.

So it goes for Organized Autonomy. Its paralysis is complete. As of April 7 it has been shunted into the Wax Museum of politics. In the face of the power structure, in the face of that game of mirrors which is Simulation, the good little bad boys of Autonomy have replied with the conviction that their party (with all its holy, eternal principles such as "active abstention" . . .) can match the State regiment for regiment. But the State operates on a hundred battlefields, while the party of Autonomy cannot even operate on that single field it has chosen for itself—the streets are off limits, and for those incapable of thinking in any terms but street campaigns, the streets themselves have become unusable. Those who want to respond to the simulation-filled power structures with the power (but does it exist?) of truth and of counter-information will find their words turning to dust in their mouths.

**LECTUALS,  
ALITY AND  
TIMACY**

Let us also examine those whose business it is to be concerned about guarantees of freedom. The intellectuals—yes, even they seek to reaffirm their role by seeking out the "truth". Take a look at what Umberto Eco has to say in the April 22 edition of *La Repubblica*. After having sought the "truth" for half a page, using methods worthy of a detective novel, he announces that the boundary between legality and illegality can shift depending on the moment, on the circumstances. Power relationships, he says. Of course! It's true: legality is determined by the power relationships that obtain between old and new, between the liberation of power relationships that obtain between old and new, between the liberation of the possible and the dictatorship of the present. The greater the strength of that Movement which strains to liberate the possibilities compressed within the present, the farther the boundaries of legality will be pushed. Because legality is only the sanctioning (by structures, by judges, by the police) of the present state of affairs, of the present's right to suppress the energies, the creativity and the inventive powers of the proletarian segment of society. Good thinking, Eco. Except that the people who set those boundaries of legality are people (like Eco) who write for *La Repubblica*. And the people who decide where the boundaries should be shifted are truth-seekers of Eco's ilk—as if it were possible to continue with that attitude of the entomologist which he shows, the attitude of someone examining historical processes, struggles, programs, passions and defeats as though they were natural phenomena, as though within them were not the pulsation of a subjective intensity and the possibility for a disruption and overthrow of the entire scenario. Today, after the events of April 7, it is the power structure which simulates the scenario in which power relationships are determined. The truth determines nothing.

**PIA,  
SSIANISM,  
EAKDOWN OR  
RBARISM**

Or take the case of Luigi Barzini, who on April 10, on the front page of the *Corriere della Sera*, defines the comrades arrested on April 7 as Messianic visionaries who provide an irrational movement with a program that constantly feeds the utopian impulses of the masses of young people, who would otherwise be scattered, desperate or resigned. Well that's true enough. But that obstinate anger with which revolutionary thinking in Italy has nourished the desires and wants of the masses of proletarians and youth has nothing irrational about it. It is the reality of the social contradictions in urban areas, the dramatic reality of the contradiction between man and nature, which is the radical element—not our wants. It is reality which sets before us the choice between utopia and barbarism, between a

breakdown of the present system and the permanent threat of destruction, ecocatastrophe and psychocatastrophe. And the choice will have to be made very soon, very quickly. The acceleration of pace in urban areas, the mad inhumanity of relationships between people, the hallucinatory quality of every form of expression and every form of existence, and the increase in militarization—all these developments combine to set an urgent choice before revolutionaries: breakdown or barbarism. And even if the possibilities for a breakdown were very limited, even if everything were tending in a direction opposed to the possibility of liberating humanity's technical, scientific, creative and inventive energies from the destructive domination of capitalism and ecocatastrophe, even if the idea of liberating these potentials were a utopian one—well, even so, the only realistic choice would be revolution. If we are interested in life, then only revolution is a realistic alternative.

**THE NON-  
CENTERED  
FORM OF THE  
POWER  
STRUCTURE AND  
PRODUCTION**

The situation in Italy provides a social laboratory of exceptional interest, both from the point of view of capitalist domination and from the revolutionary point of view. The most important fact for understanding the present situation is that centralized and coherent forms of control over the social sector have come to an end, and thus the society and the forces which circulate in the social sector are no longer governable by politics.

The real mystery of the Italian situation is how an apparatus of domination over social beings can be maintained by a functioning which must deal with and organize the most varied and contradictory types of behavior imaginable. The real problem is how the functioning of domination and the capitalist system's assigning-of-value can be established by means of unfocused conflict. There is a thread of functioning which runs through discontinuity, fragmentation and conflict. The question is how can the labor market continue to function, when an enormous quantity of surplus-value is produced by a segment of the labor force which is politically and culturally insubordinate, extremely flexible in terms of its mobility, unwilling to accept the fixed arrangement of salaried output, and obliged to accept a relatively high rate of confiscation of the surplus value produced. The marriage of insubordination and productivity, of conflict and functioning, is the point of departure for a new alliance between capitalistic development and the proletarian liberation movement. This alliance provides the only possible means of resolving the present crisis, the only way in which conditions for a productive autonomy, rather than an ossified subordination, can be established.

The present situation—in which a totalizing functioning exists without the total-ity, and in which power exists without a government—has in fact seen power present itself as mere tactics, as "day-by-day politics", capable of functioning only



under that guise. The functioning of this type of politics is not guided by any coherent strategic planning, but by a game of internal self-regulation. To oppose this mechanism of self-regulation (in which the official declarations and the announced strategies are only simulations of tactical scenarios that cannot actually control the forces they summon up)—to oppose this mechanism of self-regulation by offering a coherent alternative strategy—as Organized Autonomy has sought to do—only amounts to remaining ensnared in a game, the rules of which none of the players can make operative. So: there is no strategy, no criterion of truth in tactics. But there is a point of contact—at least on the tactical level—between the proletariat's impetuous desire for liberation from the slavery of work and increasing social productivity. It is at this point of contact that one can occasionally break the power of that Domination which wishes to forestall Autonomy, which restrains the intellectual energies of the proletariat, which organizes Knowledge and Know-how in a functional design aimed at reproducing the form of Capital and the form of Value, so that the road to the liberation of life from work is closed off, so that the potential contained in the intelligence and activity of the individual is held in check, while he is compelled to de-individualize himself and submit to being made into Abstract Work.

#### THE INDETERMINACY OF THE SELF-REGULATION OF THE IMAGINARY

Thus we stand before the paradox of a domination which is exercised without any government, a controlling of the system without a governing of the system. When a system becomes very complex and has numerous independent variables, then the adage "an empty mind is an open mind" seems to apply. It is the absence of "planning" which makes the system controllable. The "full weight" of an articulated plan tends to polarize society by making people erect "walls of judgment". In complex systems polarization is eliminated and the means of regulation tend to be in conformity with the indeterminacy of the system. This rule of thumb prevails even on ideological and judicial levels. So let us examine once again that judicial campaign launched on the 7th of April.

The "castle" of accusations built up has no "foundation". But this is exactly what the government actions were designed to show: "justice" reveals its lack of foundation in "law" in a way that is nearly obscene. Only in this manner can "justice" enter into a "crime-accusation" relationship with social beings that are very different from one another.

Illuminating for the study of this phenomenon are the revelations of certain intellectuals who would have us believe they were once "plants" within the Movement. Consider some of the more dignified confessions: "Forgive me if I insist on this point, but that version of 'potere Operaio' (i.e., the Veneto-Emilian branch to which Cacciari belonged) has nothing at all to do with the version which arose after 1968." (Cacciari, in an interview granted to *Repubblica*, 10/4/79). Or this: "I had my last political discussion with Negri more than ten years ago. . . Since that time I haven't seen him. . ." (Asor Rosa, in *La Repubblica* 24/4/79). You know the saying—"People betray themselves"! And this is the mechanism which the forces of "justice" want to set in motion: individuals must autonomously come to feel a need to exculpate themselves, or a need to separate themselves from the accused in order to savor the "pleasure of having survived"—to borrow a phrase from Canetti.

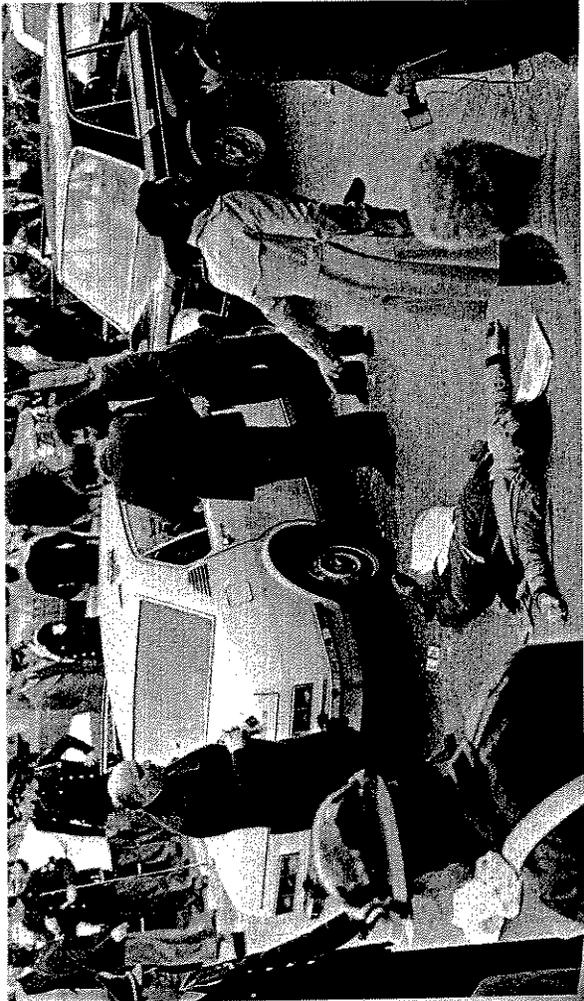
The law's lack of foundations becomes strikingly apparent when the "law" lives in a state of "emergency", when it becomes a "judicial emergency measure". But emergency means a cut-off of rationality; thus the hype must show itself as hype—it can only be effective if it is *lived* as hype. The "law" feels the need to make itself indeterminate in order to be able to prosecute all those beings who are determined by society, in order to control every determination.

The indeterminacy of the "law" in fact amounts to the indeterminacy of social types; what, after all, is the typical revolutionary of today? This indeterminate "law", in spite of appearances and in spite of the price that has been paid by the vanguard movements, is not intent on hounding these movements (if it were, then

the "law" would be a quite determinate thing, would have foundations—this is the position of the PCI), but rather directs its attentions toward indeterminate elements. An American researcher wrote in a recent analysis of the phenomenon of terrorism that "the 'moral sensibility' of the normal citizen is not very different from that of the terrorist" (Jan Schreiber), since, in a complex system in which "mediation" as a structure has failed, every group, down to the level of the individual, tends to define itself autonomously, and not see itself in relation to "others". In a similar vein, Brian Jenkins has defined terrorism as the "instrument for gaining political objectives that have been set autonomously." The indeterminacy of the "law" serves as a means for pursuing social beings who autonomously define themselves to the extent that they are no longer identifiable by their social "status". To "prosecute" social beings thus means that the law must make itself "im-personal" to such a degree that it becomes a symbolic representation, a performance or spectacle of accusation and trial. Rather than prosecute private citizens, it aims at prosecuting symbolic figures, products of a collective imagination; the Guilty Party is a product of everyone's imagination. At this level of abstraction of beings, the law can no longer sustain itself and has need for abstractions promulgated by the mass media. Indeterminacy requires a relationship with the mass media—only then can the "theater of cruelty" be staged.

The law turns into a combination of emergency and mass media, exists in the form of emergency as it becomes identified with the mass media, is the one in virtue of being the other.

Court action operates in the realm of contingencies not only because it is a system of tactics which shifts the boundaries of legality according to individual circumstances—as Umberto Eco asserts—but also because today every boundary is outside the scope of classically codified law, because there is no longer any point in prosecuting "private" beings. What matters is not so much the outcome of the court action, but rather the symbolic trial set in motion through the mass media. And the objective of court action is not so much the maintenance of order, but rather the immediate creation of a collective recognition of the "boundaries"—a recognition that can be created *only* when disorder prevails. There is no more "personal" penalization, only symbolic penalization. The traditional trial in the courtroom has become irrelevant in the face of the imaginary trials (i.e., enacted by the imagination) staged by the mass media. What cannot be penalized in physical terms is instead penalized by means of a universal sacrificial rite, that is, the symbolic trials which the mass media stage in the imagination of the collectivity. It is the imagination which is actually on trial. The



trial is aimed at creating certain attitudes and insights, at forcing indeterminate social beings to assume, autonomously and of their own accord, an identity defined for them by the courts.

To this end, *lexical items* from Negri's texts and ideas have been put on trial; it is of no interest whose *lexicon it is*—rather, it is *the lexicon, the ideas* of the imaginary social being which have been charged. The prosecution is not seeking a single guilty party, but rather the Guilty Party—the collective imagination of the Guilty Party. The deconstruction and construction of texts and lexicon are functional elements in the establishment of the lexical and linguistic Guilty Party. It is not accidental that Umberto Eco feels the need to use ambiguities in his article. Putting words on trial is not possible in the courtroom; it is done instead in the mass media and in the symbolic process.

Having come this far, we now need to construct an operational synthesis which is capable of overturning the premises which the power structure imposed by its actions of April 7 (as well as all the other premises which the power structure has imposed in recent times). The goal which the revolutionary element has been seeking to attain (more or less consciously) in recent years is the liberation of that potential for autonomy which has been propagated in society by the efforts of the present form of organized Autonomy. This goal is equivalent to the aim of undertaking a passage from the 1970's to the 1980's while maintaining structural conditions that ensure the liberation of life from labor and that avoid the logic of extermination and ecodestruction promulgated by Nuclear Age capitalism.

The offensive undertaken by the power structure during recent months is directed at making this passage impossible—that is, it is aimed at restoring the initiative to the State while preventing the continued existence of the structural conditions needed for revolution.

Power exercised without an attempt to govern accepts a very high level of conflict. Thus the power structure has learned to survive on a discontinuous terrain, reconstructing the continuity of its functioning across this discontinuity. Revolutionary impulses are permitted to operate in every social milieu, in every type of production function except for that fundamental function which is the function constituted by Knowledge. Present urban society may in fact be conceived as medieval fiefdoms: highwaymen and madmen can roam about seeking booty or indulging in fits of insanity, but only if they stay in the countryside, in the desert places and in the woods, and do not come onto the manor grounds. The manor in the metropolis of the 1980's is the place where Knowledge is produced, the technological heart of production. The access routes to this manor are closely guarded, while in the streets and homes of the metropolis, anything goes.

The center of the social organization lies in that zone where Knowledge is produced and functions. But it would be simplistic to conclude that the revolution therefore needs to substitute a Leninist seizure of Knowledge for a Leninist seizure of the State. The problem is in reality much more complicated, since not only the properties and use of Knowledge, but also its structure, are determined by its capitalistic functioning. And the process of overturning the functioning of Knowledge (today Knowledge functions to control and to assign value, but within it lies the possibility for a self-transformation into an infinitely productive force capable of progressively freeing segments of social existence from the constraints of work)—this process of overturning is linked to a repeated, long-term (perhaps extremely long-term) dislocation of the modes, the procedures and the instruments of the production of Knowledge (a passage from the power structure to an autonomous social arrangement). And only this long process of repeated dislocation and appropriation of the modes and instruments of the production of Knowledge will be able to modify the epistemological, and thus the operative, structure of Knowledge.

But the forms and the politics involved in this process are still entirely unknown to us. That is to say, we have not elaborated any theory of "transition". (to use

that horrible and imprecise word). The only theory of power and transition that we possess, the theory to which we must constantly refer—perhaps in order to deviate from it, though always remaining in some ways entrapped within it—is the Leninist one. Essentially, the Leninist theory can be formulated as follows: the proletariat must take possession of the State, bolster the machinery of the State and the domination of the State's will over society in order to abolish capitalism (only afterward will the extinction of the State be possible). We have had the dream of realizing this program on our minds for fifty years now, from the time of "war communism", from the time of the NEP, through the period of Stalinism, up to the Chinese experience, up to the awful reality of present-day socialism.

Capitalism has been neither abolished nor transformed, but rather has become ossified, inasmuch as the State, which ought to incarnate the will to supersede, has instead been nothing more than the reification of those relationships of production inherited from capitalism. In other words, the State has represented a terrorist-style forced recapitulation of the existing modes of production, a throttling of every possible move toward autonomy in the social system.

Thus the time now seems ripe to formulate an hypothesis concerning the "transition". The hypothesis which we advance as the premise for further theoretical work is an exact reversal of Lenin's theory. That is, we seek to rely on "ignorance" toward the State ("ignorance"; adapted from the German *Ignoranz*—an action which ignores, does not recognize those formal boundaries which the State imposes), to rely on the abolition of the mechanism of State control and to reify a political formalization of the alliance between mobile strata of the labor force and dynamic capitalism, between capitalistic, post-industrial, electronic development and proletarian insubordination to the work ethic. It is interesting that at present renewed attention is being given to neo-libertarian hypotheses in economics. The interest that many revolutionary Marxists have manifested for economic hypotheses of neo-libertarian tendency thus becomes understandable.

## ON THE TRANSITION

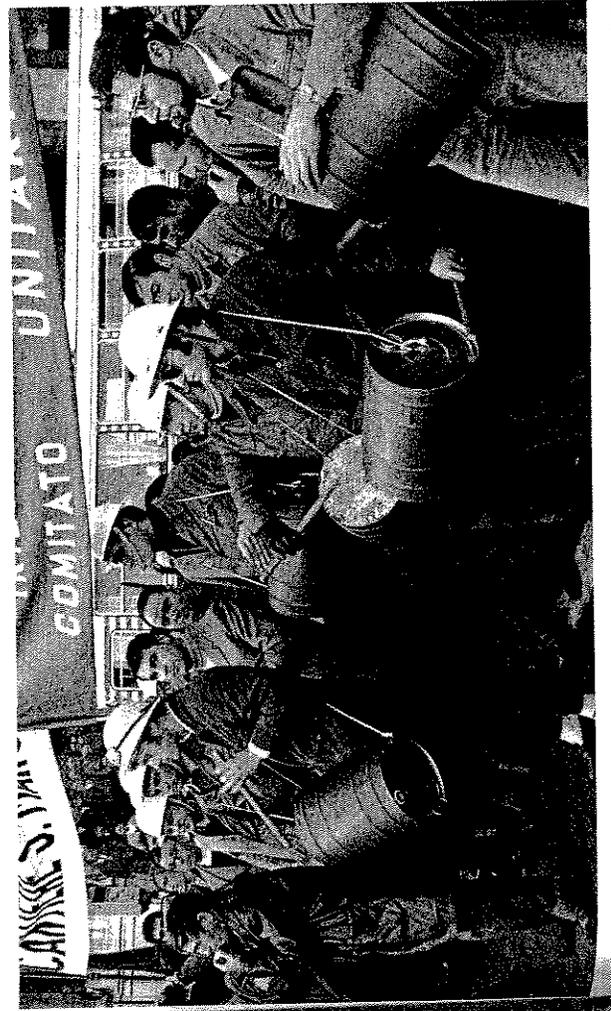
Revolutionary thinking must focus its critical skill on the problem of transition, if only to liquidate and supersede the concept. As L. Berti has said, the concept of "transition" and the system of categories which it involves can "produce" a real scenario—can produce a vision of the revolutionary process which gets in the way of liberation. Divesting oneself of this concept means divesting oneself of a practice and an ideological projection, and thus, in the end, divesting oneself of an effect of reality. Freeing oneself of the idea that capitalism and communism are systems which succeed each other in a diachronic scheme amounts to recognizing that in a revolution from the apex of capitalism lies the only possibility for a Movement of Autonomy from capitalist domination. This Movement of



Autonomy involves liberation from work, and suppression of the general formal conditions of capitalist domination. The breakdown of this domination can thus be conceived (and put into effect) as a subjective mode (in the Movement toward Autonomy) of a process in which capital determines the material conditions for the reconstruction, without reproducing the formal conditions of the previous system. Separating the material organization of Know-how from the form of Value then becomes—not a natural tendency, but the strategic objective, the plan of operation of the revolutionary movement.

*Translated by Jared Becker,  
Richard Reid & Andrew Rosenbaum*

- ii/1 BO-1-8/41974-Bologna, Italy: A view of a wrecked car on the Rome-Munich Italicus Express. After two explosions and a fire in a tunnel through the Appennine Mountains south of B., Police said a time-bomb apparently exploded in a toilette, triggering a second blast and the fire, which killed 12 persons and injured more than 30 others. in foreground 12 bodies covered with sheets. (UPI/ANSA)
- ii/2 ML-603-4/1775-MILAN, Italy: a priest blessing the body of Gianni Zibecchi, 26, killed during the riots today in Milan. (UPI)
- ii/3 Fiat Mirafiori plant, Turin
- ii/4 Pier Paolo Pasolini Photo A.F.P./Agence France-Presse
- ii/5 Tables for 34 Persons, 1974-75 Mario Merz Installation in an abandoned factory near Stuttgart, Gallery Hertzler & Keller GmbH
- ii/7 photo: D. Cortez
- ii/8-9 via Fani
- ii/10 Super-8/photo: Seth Tillet
- ii/11 ROM 1205101 DRUM BEATERS ROME: Lending emphasis by pounding on metal drums, striking metal workers stage a noisy demonstration demanding higher wages and a 40-hour week. More than 50,000 persons took part in the biggest labor march of the year, Nov. '28. Despite fears of police authorities, the manifestation was orderly. (UPI) 12/5/69



# April 7: Repression in Italy

## Cari

defendants, who have been primarily charged for their political ideas. Other "evidence" consists of telephone tapes, secret witnesses and informants. For example, the major "evidence" linking Negri and the journalist Nicotri with the Moro kidnapping is alleged phone conversations between the two defendants and members of the Moro family. Nicotri was eventually freed on July 7, after 3 months in jail. As for Negri, voice-print analysis conducted both in Italy and at the University of Michigan cleared him entirely of the charge. The Italian press, so insistent on the telephone accusation, hardly mentioned the results of the voice-print analysis reached in July 1979. Toni Negri is still in prison.

Of utmost concern is the violation of the defendant's right to construct their legal defense. The prosecutor has imprisoned and isolated them (without bail), and only then has he attempted to construct his case. This is a dangerous precedent (reminiscent of the West German *Kontaktkerker*) for it makes it impossible for the defense lawyers to defend their clients against vague general charges, supported only by contradictory "evidence."

As *La Repubblica* states, concerning the arrest warrant of Negri, it is "10 pages without any proof." What Calogero, the prosecutor, claims to be "evidence" against Negri simply refers to his ideas and writings which have been openly sold in bookstores for years. Thus, under the pretense of defending democracy, the prosecutor has actually swept away the last vestiges of the individual's legal rights, beginning with freedom of expression.

The Italian State, which has retained the criminal laws of the fascist period (i.e., the Codice Rocco, which makes it possible to convict someone for having the "dangerous" opinions) has reinforced its fascist inheritance by instituting the "Legge Reale" in 1975. This is a body of laws, purportedly against terrorism, which severely curtails personal freedom giving the police the right to shoot individuals without any legal consequences. In the referendum of 1978, the Christian Democrats (CD) and the Communist Party (ICP) joined forces to support the "Legge Reale." This coalition was a blatant attempt to muzzle the new emerging social movements.

In Italy there is no bail procedure and a defendant can be kept in jail for up to 2 years before being tried. In the case of Negri and the others, where charges are serious, preventive detention is allowed for up to 4 years. Further, if the defense is unsuccessful, they must remain in jail for 2 years before their appeal; then, if they lose that appeal after 2 more years, they can go before the Supreme Court.

The deep crisis within the Italian political system enables the leading parties (the CD and ICP coalition) to look for "scapegoats," thereby diverting attention from the real problems. The ICP after its Historical Compromise with the Christian Democrats, has been encountering increasing disillusionment within its rank and file, evidenced by a record collapse in membership and heavy losses in the past administrative elections. In response, the party has labeled dissidents as either terrorists or fascists. Thus, it is not a coincidence that Calogero, the prosecutor in the recent wave of events, is a ICP member. The Communist Party has willingly paraded itself as the main defender of law and order to gain respectability.

The extra-parliamentary left is strongest among the social strata which has traditionally supported the communists. It was reinforced by the ICP's decision to ally itself with the Christian Democrats and thus become a part of the State apparatus.

The ICP, as well as the Christian Democrats, are confronted with widespread social discontent that has been intensified by the stiff economic measures instituted in the '70's in the name of the energy crisis (layoffs, rampant inflation, etc.). Not only have the workers refused to accept the call for "restraint and sacrifice," but in the midst of the crisis a mass women's movement has exploded, while more recently in 1977 a new student movement has swept both the schools and the universities.

### LAWS INHERITED FROM FASCISM

### WIDESPREAD SOCIAL DISCONTENT

The following analysis of the April 7 operation was written by the New York Committee Against Repression in Italy.

On April 7, 1979 the police arrested about 20 people claiming that they were "dangerous terrorists" and charging one of them, Toni Negri, with being the "secret leader" of the Red Brigades. Those arrested were neither underground terrorists caught red-handed in the act nor were they found in secret hideouts with compromising documents. All the defendants have been openly active for many years in the political movement of the extra-parliamentary left and comprise most of the department of Political Science at the University of Padua as well as the editorial staff of two radical magazines.

The accusations are extremely serious and some carry sentences of up to life imprisonment. Here is a summary of the official charges; nine of the defendants face accusations such as "conspiring to form and participate in armed groups," carrying "insurrection against the State" as well as "being responsible for the organization and leadership of the Red Brigades." Furthermore, all the defendants are accused of "subversion" for having organized and led a group called "Potere Operato" (dissolved in 1973!) as well as other groups related to "Autonomia Operata."

Despite the gravity of the charges, the arrests were made without any factual incriminating evidence. The accusations were mainly based upon the writings of the

scope of the April 7 operation goes beyond and has more ambitious aims than an attack on Autonomy.

Alisa del Re is the author of *Beyond Housework*. When she was arrested she was ill and her health has deteriorated. So far every attempt to obtain her release on account of her health has been frustrated. Del Re has been subjected to a harsh jail discipline.

Her interview to *L'Europeo* illustrates the type of "evidence" on which the judges have so far based the charges, and the type of treatment which is reserved for women in Italian jails. Del Re explains that the "evidence" produced by the police is a map found in her possession marked with some locations which were targets of the Red Brigades.

"As far as the topographic map of Padua is concerned . . . it was seized by the police in a raid on my house in March 77 . . . I was interrogated in June 77 and stated it belonged to my husband. He had used it in July 73 when he substituted for a doctor in Padua. Since he didn't know the town, he marked on the map the streets of his patients. The funniest thing is that they connected this map with actions made in October 77 . . . Moreover, on the map are marked about 180 streets. The actions that correspond to the marks on the map are 2 or 3. As for the treatment I was given the day I was arrested and afterwards, I have the impression I had been condemned to death . . . With suspected pneumonia I was brought to the Venice jail on a motor boat. Seven days after, I was brought to Trieste and thrown in to a damp and cold cell (the Trieste jail does not have an infirmary). After 15 days of continuous requests, I managed to get an X-ray confirming pneumonia in the right lung . . . In the view of the treatment I have received, it is an accident I have survived."

#### THE PARTY OF NEGOTIATION

The zeal of the magistrates has reached the point of raising suspicions even against the Socialist Party (ISP). The attempt to involve the ISP has centered around the initiatives it took during the Moro kidnapping. At that time, in the spring of 78, the ISP was the core of the "party of negotiation" (i.e. those who were in favor of dealing with the Red Brigades) and some of their members met some Autonomy people, beginning with Franco Piperno, to consult on possible steps to be taken in the attempt to save Moro's life. These meetings, now, one year later, have raised the suspicion of the magistrates, who have hinted that the ISP supports Autonomy and may even have contacts with the Red Brigades. Since accusing an institutional party is a more difficult operation than jailing some militants, the magistrates have conducted their attacks on the ISP from behind the scenes, often relying on the help of the press and a well-calculated use of hints and



The ICP and the Christian Democrats blame the problems of the Italian society on "terrorism" instead of admitting that the crisis is a result of broad social problems. Hence, the attempt to "criminalize" the extra-parliamentary left Movement. The search for "terrorists" has been aimed at those groups and activists who have theorized on the new social phenomena. In particular, the members of Autonomy, a loose network of groups, publications, radios, etc. According to the prosecutor, Autonomy is a breeding-ground of terrorists. He claims that *Autonomy and the Red Brigades are one and the same*. Repeatedly, in their writings, Toni Negri, Oreste Scalzone and the others have severely criticized the actions and political positions of the Red Brigades, whom they have accused of bypassing the Movement and dispossessing it of its real strength: *mass mobilization instead of individual acts of terrorism*.

Massimo Cacciari, an ICP member of the Italian Parliament, who is familiar with Negri's writings has concluded: "Nothing would lead one to an even theoretical connection with the Red Brigades." He continues: "What is happening is the planned victimization of an entire political Movement, that of Autonomy, which can have serious consequences if the attempt is not circumscribed."

Cacciari is not an isolated voice. Many scholars and intellectuals as well as various political and cultural organizations have protested these arrests. Michel Foucault, Félix Guattari, Jean-Paul Sartre as well as other members of the French intellectual community have made public statements demanding the immediate release of the political prisoners.

Seven months after the arrests, the magistrates still refuse to produce any direct factual evidence for their case. In the words of Padua Prosecutor Calogero: "To imagine that an investigation of this type may quickly and directly arrive at some facts and evidence makes no sense. . . the relation between a leader of a structure like Autonomy is hardly ever with a crime, but with the organization" (*L'Espresso*, July 15, 1979).

In Italy no evidence is needed to put somebody in jail, the sheer suspicion of crime is already a crime. Italy has never excelled in its respect for political liberties (the last ten years offer an uninterrupted example of hush-up political scandals and frame-ups) never has the State so explicitly upheld its disengagement from the legislature. Some jurists refer to the difference between the case of Autonomy and the case built in 1969 against the anarchist Vaipreda, accused at the time of bombing the Piazza Fontana (Vaipreda spent four years in jail before it was 'discovered' that the fascists were responsible for this crime).

While Noccoli was being released, a new blitz has taken place in Padua, where the magistrates have issued fifteen judiciary communications for "formation" or "participation in armed band."

Among the people who have received the judiciary communication for "participation in armed band" are Ferruccio Gambino and Maria Rosa Dalla Costa, two of the only three teachers from the Padua Institute for Political Science who have not been arrested. Ferruccio Gambino teaches sociology at the institute since 1970. Maria Rosa Dalla Costa is a widely known feminist, who for years has worked in the "Wages For Housework" movement and is the author of many feminist texts, including *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*.<sup>1</sup> It can only understand this judiciary communication as an attack on feminism. . . It is the last act of a witch-hunt launched since April 7 against the institute where I work, as well as against many brothers and sisters, in the attempt to criminalize our contribution to scientific research and the political debate. As far as I am concerned, it is clear that this time the target is "Wages for Housework," for all that this strategy implies in terms of the struggles for autonomy, more money and less work, that women have made." Dalla Costa to *il Manifesto* (13/7/79).

Alisa del Re, also openly active in the Women's Movement has been incriminated and investigated by the judges for "terrorist activities" — a clear proof that the

#### I ATTACK FEMINISM

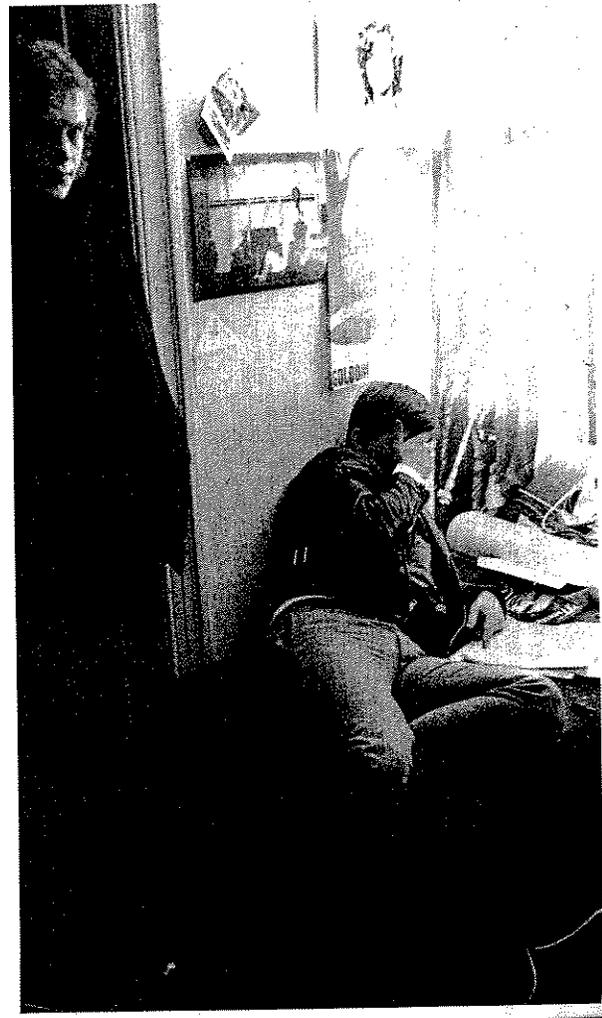
#### ACTUAL FENCE

rumors. The magistrates are presumably investigating whether the ISP protected Piperno while he was underground. It is also hinted that the ISP financed the research center CERPET (founded by Piperno) and therefore indirectly the magazine *Metropoli*. Finally, evidence of the "suspicious relation" between the ISP and Autonomy would be the fact that Piperno teaches physics at the University of Calabria in Arcavacata, whose director is Giacomo Mancini, a high ranking member of the ISP.

Meanwhile, the magistrates and the police have done their best to build the image of Piperno as a dangerous criminal. The most "brilliant" operation against Piperno was the one organized on August 17, 1979. In the late afternoon, a man arrived at the Viareggio railroad station on the Rome-Turino train. Two men on the train shouted to a transit police agent "he has gone down that way." The agent ran after the man shooting, but the man, shooting as well, escaped in a car. The Italian police declared that the man was Piperno, and that he was armed and dangerous. The newspapers headlined Piperno as an "armed bandit." The incident would have been the best evidence of his "connection with the armed struggle." Unfortunately Piperno was arrested a few hours later in a Paris cafe by Interpol. He had been recognized by a vacationing member of the ICP. The party has gone a long way into transforming its members into alternative police. A warrant of arrest with 46 charges ranging from the Moro killing to traffic violations, was sent by the Rome judges to the French magistrate, in order to justify the request for extradition.

More than 1,500 political prisoners are presently being held in Italy. In September, 1979, an appeal was signed by a large number of Italian intellectuals around and within the ICP. It includes Bernardo Bertolucci, Massimo Cacciari, Umberto Eco, Alberto Moravia, Leonardo Sciascia and Mario Tronti. The Appeal demands an *immediate trial of the accused* in order to put an end to the spiral of ambiguity and defamation fueled by the media.

III/1 Alisa Del Re (left), 1976  
III/2 Rainer Fassbinder (right), 1971 Photo: Digne Meller Marcowicz



# Workerist Publications and Bios

- 1962 *Italiana del Lavoro* (Federation of Italian Trade Unions), the union of the socialist-communist majority. The first issue is subsequently published by the editorial staff.
- 1963 During the metal workers' contractual struggles, the editorial staff publishes a series of pamphlets (*News from Quaderni Rossi*), in addition to the review.
- 1964 The group's first political crisis occurs: a majority of the editors wants to organize local "workers' editorial staffs" and factory newspapers. *Potere Operaio* (Milan, 1 May 1963), *Potere Operaio di Porto Marghera* (Padua, May 1963), *Gatto Selvaggio* (*Wildcat*) (Turin, June 1963), *Classe Operaia* (*Working Class*) (Genoa, June 1963) appear contemporaneously. These local newspapers try to unite themselves under the heading *Cronache Operate* (*Labor News*), and in this operation there is a break with Panzieri, Rieser and others.
- 1964 In January, the remainder of the editorial staff founds *Classe Operaia* with numerous local editors: Tronti, Asor Rosa, Di Leo, and De Caro are in Rome; Negri, Bianchini, Ferrari Bravo, and Cacciari in Padua; Casparotto, Sergio Bologna, Forni, Brunatto, and Gobbi in Milan; Alquati and Gobbi in Turin; and Arrighetti, Greppi, Berti, and Francovich in Florence.
- 1966 *Classe Operaia* ceases publication.
- 1968 Negri, Asor Rosa, Cacciari, and Tronti found the review *Contropiano* (*Counterplan*). It lasts until 1973. Negri leaves after the second issue. In this year, pamphlets are published by *Linea di Massa* (*Mass's Line*) on the party committee's struggles at Pirelli and on the organization of the technicians in the State's petroleum industry (S. Donato Milanese's companies).
- 1969 On 1 May, *La Classe* appears. The editors are Negri, Piperno, Scalone, Bologna, Daghini, Magnaghi, Dalmaviva and others. In the summer of this year, there are extensive strikes at Fiat in Turin, the worker-student assembly is formed, and the first fliers with the title *Lotta Continua* appear. In September, the first issue of *Potere Operaio*, the newspaper of the organization, appears.
- 1970 In January, the first meeting of *Potere Operaio* is held at Florence, and a national secretariat composed of Negri, Piperno, and Bologna is formed. In September, *Potere Operaio* holds its second meeting. The national secretariat is Alberto Magnaghi.
- 1971 *Potere Operaio* holds its third meeting in September at Rome.
- 1972 Negri and Bologna edit the "Marxist Materials" series for the publisher Feltrinelli, which publishes, among other things, *Workers and the State*, *The State and Underdevelopment*, *The Multinational Worker*, *The Other Labor Movement*, and *Crisis and Labor Organization*.
- 1973 The first symptoms of the crisis manifest themselves according to two lines: the first is represented by Toni Negri; the second by Piperno, Scalone, Magnaghi, Dalmaviva, Marongiu, and others. Negri subsequently breaks with *Potere Operaio* and founds the review *ROSSO (RED)*. In September, the first meeting of the Autonomous Workers' Assembly is held. This is the point of departure for Workers' Autonomy. Comrades from Milan, Porto Marghera, Florence, Bologna, Rome, the collective of Polyclinic and of Enel (National Company of Electricity) are present. Also in this year, Sergio Bologna founds *Primo Maggio* (*May Day*), a review of militant history.
- 1974 *Potere Operaio* disbands.
- 1976 Piperno and Scalone found the review *Linea di Condotta* (*Line of Conduct*).

According to the magistrates conducting the inquest against those who were arrested on 7 April, the political group *Potere Operaio* (*Worker's Power*), which emerged in 1969 and disbanded in 1974, was the point of departure for all the developments during the past five years, from Organized Autonomy to the Red Brigades. Under this indictment fall the most diverse people, many of whom no longer have anything to do with the organizations that are prosecuted today. It is in this way that the Italian State tries to "facilitate" its repressive operation: any kind of involvement with *Potere Operaio* is enough to put someone under indictment.

This brief chronology, compiled for us by Sergio Bologna, seeks to demonstrate that the area of Autonomy, both in theoretical terms and as a militant practice, contains profoundly different tendencies distinguished by their choice of thematics, researches, and theoretical elaborations.

Raniero Panzieri founds *Quaderni Rossi* (*Red Notebooks*) with the collaboration of Vittorio Foa, Mario Tronti, Toni Negri, Alberto Asor Rosa, Romano Alquati, Romolo Gobbi, Pierluigi Gasparotto, Claudio Greppi, Rita di Leo, Vittorio Rieser, and Caspare de Caro. Foa is a national official of the *Confederazione Generale*

Autonomia appears at Padua. The newspaper *I Volsci The Volscians* appears at Rome.

Piperno and Scalzzone found *Metropoli*. Toni Negri founds *Magazzino*.

OS

### ERGIO BOLOGNA

Sergio Bologna participated in *Quaderni Rossi* and *Cronache Operaie* in 1964. He founded *Classe Operaia* with Tronti, Negri and Alquati. As an employee of Olivetti, he participated in the first attempts at unionizing the new white collar workers in electronics and in data processing. In 1966, he began teaching at the University of Trento. He also contributed to *Quaderni Piacentini*. At the end of '68 he edited the first two issues of *Linea di Massa*. With Negri, Scalzzone, Piperno, Dalmaviva and others, he founded *La Classe* (May 1, 1969). In September 1969 "Potere Operaio" was founded; Bologna, Negri and Piperno made up its first national secretariat. In November of 1970, he left "potere Operaio" because of disagreements over the organization's general policy.

In 1972, with Negri he edited the first four volumes in Feltrinelli's "Marxist Materials" series. In 1973, he founded *Primo Maggio*, a review of militant history. In 1978-79, he supported the policy of returning to the worker's centrality, the analysis of the large factories, and above all to the problems of the workers in the ware transportation sector. He has contributed to *Lotta Continua*, *Il Manifesto*, *Il Quotidiano dei Lavoratori*, the three dailies of the new Italian left. From 1970 on, he has been a professor of the History of the Workers' Movement at Padua, in the same department with Negri and Ferrari Bravo.

### ANTONIO NEGRI

Antonio Negri, having left the Italian Socialist Party, edited in 1959 *Progresso Veneto*. In 1961 he participated in *Quaderni Rossi* and later led the split with Raniero Panzieri which gave rise to *Potere Operaio di Porto Marghera* (1963) and *Classe Operaia* (1964). In 1968, together with Massimo Cacciari, Alberto Asor Rosa and Mario Tronti, he founded *Contropiano*. He left the review after the first two issues. In 1969 he was one of the main figures in the foundation of "Potere Operaio." He took care especially of the international connections of the organization, and forwarded the publication in foreign languages of Italian workerist literature. He was the national secretary of the organization from 1970 to 1973, the year of his expulsion. From 1973 to 1974 he developed the theory of the transition from the mass-worker to the "socialized worker," in which the role of the new social subjects becomes strategically important. In 1973, together with the other ex-members of "Potere Operaio" (among them Gianfranco Pincino) and ex-members of the "Gruppo Gramsci," he founded the magazine *Rosso* and the organization of the same name. In 1973 he also founded, together with Emilio Vesce and Franco Tommei, the journal *Controinformazione* in which the Red Brigades were also involved. He left the journal after the first issue.

Among Negri's numerous writings are: *Crisi dello Stato-piano*, Feltrinelli, 1974; *Proletari e Stato*, Feltrinelli, 1976; *La Forma Stato*, Feltrinelli, 1977. He is co-author of *Operai e Stato*, Feltrinelli, 1976, and of *Crisi e Organizzazione Operaia*, Feltrinelli, 1974.

Since 1976 he has been considered the theoretician of Autonomy. After April 7, 1979, the date of his arrest, his political auto-biography appeared with the title *Dall'Operaio-Massa all'Operaio Sociale*, Multipla Edizioni.

### FRANCO PIPERNO

Franco Piperno, having left the Italian Communist Party, became one of the leading figures in the student movement in Italy in 1964. Together with Oreste Scalzzone, he led the university struggles in Rome in 1968, for which he was arrested for several months. He also played an important role, together with Adriano Sofri (leader of "Lotta Continua"), in the formation of the worker-student's council in Turin, during the wild-cat struggles at FIAT in the summer of 1969. From 1970 to its dissolution, he was the main figure in the organizational structure of "Potere Operaio." He supported the centralization of the political leadership against Negri, who wished to see it dissolved.

Franco Piperno has always been more active at the organizational rather than at the theoretical level. From 1975 to 1977 he withdrew from active militancy. After the '77 Movement he again played an important role in the definition of Autonomy. At the end of 1978, together with Oreste Scalzzone, he founded *Metropoli*. He was arrested in August, 1979, in Paris and extradited from France on October 16.

### ORESTE SCALZZONE

Oreste Scalzzone was, together with Franco Piperno, one of the most representative figures of the students' movement in Rome in 1968. He was injured by the fascists during the occupation of the university. In 1969 he edited *La Classe* and, in September, founded "Potere Operaio." In 1970 he moved to Milan and became one of the most active militants in mass demonstrations. In "Potere Operaio" he was instrumental in building connections between the organization and the general movement. He supported the political prisoners and the struggle against the special jails. For these reasons he still is the most popular figure of the "Potere Operaio" experience among the rank and file, and the spokesman of the organization.

After the dissolution of "Potere Operaio," which he opposed with Piperno, he founded the magazine *Linea di Condotta* and organized the group called *Comitati Comunisti Rivoluzionari*. During the '77 Movement he played an important role in the representation of Autonomy and emerged as one of the most prominent figures in the Bologna Convention, September 1977. At the end of 1978, together with Franco Piperno, he founded *Metropoli*. He was arrested on April 7, 1979.

Translated by Lawrence Venuti

11/1 *Potere Operaio*, May-June 1972

POTERE OPERAIO / MAGGIO-GIUGNO 1972

PAGINA 15

**Il momento dei contratti sarà quello in cui la forza repressiva dello Stato verrà alla luce. Dobbiamo avere la forza di anticiparli sul terreno dello scontro.**

# CONTRO I CONTRATTI

**CONTRO LA GABBIA CONTRATTUALE, PROGRAMMA OPERAIO E VIOLENZA PROLETARIA**

**Gli obiettivi del programma:  
MENO LAVORO E SALARIO GARANTITO  
PER TUTTI I PROLETARI**

Nel documento politico della Segreteria di Potere Operaio appare con sufficiente chiarezza qual è la linea che P.O. porterà avanti all'interno, ma soprattutto a età prima. dei contratti.

ciamente iniziative di rottura sindacale.

Fin qui i padroni. Per parte loro i rifornimenti di tutte le agenzie stanno già preparando il loro lurido armamentario di repressione delle lotte. Lo conosciamo tutto e lo abbiamo già largamente descritto in queste pagine: dall'insistenza sulle riforme ai mille mezzi per rompere le resistenze degli operai in lotta con i vari imbrogli e la divisione del fronte

mo renderci conto che OGGI LA LOTTA PER IL SALARIO TRAPASSA IMMEDIATAMENTE IN LOTTA DI POTERE. In lotta di partito armata contro la violenza dei padroni, contro la loro necessità di scatenare l'attacco più pesante dentro le lotte operaie. Abbiamo già detto che lotte operaie di portata formidabile sono in atto. Alle grandi lotte delle fabbriche di Milano e di Porto Marghera dei mesi scorsi

# Open Letter to Negri's Judges

Gilles Deleuze

Firstly, justice must conform to a principle that the content of the charge must have a certain identity. Not only must the accused be identified precisely, but so must the substance of the charge. It must have been a *precise identity* and must be *non-contradictory*. If other, differing, elements of accusation emerge later, then this involves a new case. In short, the charge brought must contain in its substance a minimum of *identifiable consistency*. Unless such a precise identification exists as to the charges laid against the accused, as long as the accusations remain general and unspecified, the legal defence cannot operate.

This principle has been violated, for example, in the committal warrant issued from Rome. This starts by recapitulating the Moro kidnapping of March 1978 (as if Negri is accused of having been present). It then goes on to invoke his writings and ideas (so that even if he was *not* directly involved, he was nonetheless "responsible" for this event). Here we have a "catch-all" formula, not a legally consistent charge; it leaps from action to instigation to pure thought, from ideas to whatever events suit the prosecution case. Such a charge, so diversified and indeterminate, lacks the most elementary juridical identity: "You will be made guilty in any event . . ."

Secondly, the committal hearings must conform to a certain principle of *disjunction and exclusion*. Either A is the case, or B; if B, then it is not A, etc. Yet in the Negri case it appears that the judges are intent on "keeping their opinions open," so that opposed facts are no longer alternatives which mutually exclude each other. If Negri was not in Rome, the telephone call to Moro's family is still kept as an incriminating lead, by switching its caller to Paris (or vice versa), if Negri was not directly involved in the Moro kidnapping, then at any rate he inspired it, or "thought" it and that is tantamount to having carried it out. If Negri in his texts and statements has clearly opposed the Red Brigades, this was only a smart "cover" proving even more conclusively that he was in secret agreement with them and was their hidden leader. And so on. Contradictory elements in the charges do not cancel each other out. Rather, in this case, they become cumulative.

As Franco Piperno, one of the accused "in hiding" has pointed out, this implies an extremely curious way of evaluating the significance of political and theoretical texts. Those bringing the accusations against Negri are so used to the belief that in a political discourse it is possible to say anything, since overt "politics" is always a cover, that they simply cannot conceive of the situation of a revolutionary intellectual who has no possibility of writing anything but what he really thinks. Andreotti, Berlinguer and their likes? can always hide what they really think, because in such political discourse everything is calculated opportunism. Such can certainly be said (to cite one notable example of another revolutionary intellectual) in the case of Gramsci. In short, far from proceeding through the *exclusion* of alternatives, the committal hearings of Negri and the others accused in this case have been based on a principle of *inclusion*, the *adding together* of contradictory elements.

We must now ask how and why such negations of justice become possible. It is here, I believe, that the role of the Press and media has exerted, with few exceptions, and continues to exert, a crucial influence in the Negri case. Not for the first time, of course, but perhaps for the first time in such a systematic and organised way, the Press has pre-empted and prepared the ground by a sensational "pre-trial" (and the French Press has been no less willing to join in this campaign of defamation and calumny). The judicial system would never have been able to abandon the principle of *specific identity* in the accusations; the hearings would never have been conducted on the basis of *inclusion*, if the Press and media had not prepared the ground, offered the means, whereby these rules could be flagrantly abandoned and forgotten without public outcry.

In fact the media, for their part, operate according to another, specific principle. Whether in the case of daily or weekly papers, or radio and TV, the media are governed by a principle of *accumulation*. So that there can be "news" to report

This critique of the legal basis of the charges against the Atomists was published in *La Repubblica* one month after the initial arrests in Padova and Turin.

One is rapidly gaining the impression from the judicial proceedings that there is nothing, literally nothing, in the dossiers of the prosecution to back up the committal to prison and further detainment of Professor Negri and his colleagues and comrades.

The voice on the telephone in the call to the Moro family is suddenly being played down; the places where Negri was supposed to have been are somehow disappearing from the case; and his writings, so far from being "strategic resolutions of the Red Brigades," turn out to be texts which express clear opposition to the positions of the Red Brigades. The prosecuting judges, throughout the committal proceedings, have continuously put off presenting their legal evidence — we are told to "have patience." And meanwhile the committal proceedings have taken the form of an ideological debate on Negri's writings, in a spectacle worthy of the Inquisition. True, the judges have time on their side: the Reate Law (1975) allows them to keep those charged in custody for up to 4 years before they come to trial.

Two principles are at stake in this case, two principles that vitally concern all responsible democrats.

each day, and since repudiations or contradictions from the previous day have no influence whatever on the "news" of the following day, the Press and media can operate an accumulation of everything that is said from one day to the next without fearing any contradiction. The use of the "conditional tense" allows all possibilities to be multiplied and to co-exist. Thus it is "possible" to present Negri as being in Rome, Paris or Milan on the same day! The three "possibilities" are simply accumulated. He is presented at one point as an "active member" of the Red Brigades, or their "hidden leader", and at another as representative of a totally opposed tendency and tactics. No matter... the differing versions are again accumulated.

If we are to believe one French paper (*Le Nouvel Observateur*), we get the following result: even if Negri were not in the Red Brigades, he is an Autonomist, and "we all know who the left Autonomists in Italy are". Whatever the facts, the treatment of Negri becomes justified.

The Press has abandoned itself in this affair to a fantastic accumulation of make-believe, which has *not followed after*, in the wake of, the judiciary, but by their "pre-trial", has actively prepared the way for the judiciary and the police to conceal their total lack of evidence or substance to the charges. The new space for judicial and police repression in Europe today can only function through a crucial preparatory role of the Press and media. All organs of the media, from Left to far Right, have in this case, "made up for", made acceptable this gross breach of justice and due process, it seems that the time has come in Europe, when the old approach that the Press should "keep a certain distance", should represent a certain resistance to "official slogans", will soon no longer apply.

Given the alleged international ramifications of this conspiracy, as reported in the Press ("the French Connection", the "Parisian HQ of the Red Brigades", etc), let it not be thought on this occasion that my letter is a "meddling in Italian affairs of which we are ignorant"<sup>3</sup>. Negri is a political scientist, an intellectual of high standing, in France as well as Italy. Italians and French today have the same problems in facing escalating violence, but also in confronting an escalation of repression that no longer even feels the need to be juridically legitimated — since its legitimation is carried out *in advance* by the Press, the media, the "organs of public opinion".

What we are witnessing here is an authentic judicial slaughter, by the modalities of the media, of men and women who have been interned, indefinitely, on the basis of legal "evidence" of which the least one can say is that it is as unsubstantial and vague as the accusations. Meanwhile, the long-awaited "proofs" are constantly put off until tomorrow. We do not in fact believe in these "proofs" that have so often been promised. We would like more information, instead, on the conditions of those being detained, and the solitary confinement to which they have been subjected. Perhaps we are to await another "prison catastrophe", which would no doubt give the Press their chance to find that elusive "definite proof" of Negri's guilt?

Translated by Committee April 7,  
London

1. Piperno was arrested in Paris on September 18. The Italian authorities have asked for his extradition under the charge of "armed insurrection against the State."
2. Giulio Andreotti: a leader of the DC, he often headed up the Italian government. Enrico Berlinguer: General Secretary of the ICP. He was instrumental in implementing the Historical Compromise.
3. This reproach was made by Italian politicians of both Left and Right, following the "Protest by French intellectuals against Repression in Italy" in 1977.



# The ANSA Story

## Ferruccio Gambino/ Seth Tilet

manipulate also with its own dailies. *Il Giorno* in Milan, for instance, is directly owned by state-owned ENI—ENI, the oil company. It can manipulate through its own party newspapers, for instance the daily, *Il Popolo*, a Christian Democratic newspaper. It can manipulate through large concentrations, the largest publishing concentration being Rizzoli (Mondadori comes in second). It can intimidate or make journalists shy, at the very least, as Giorgio Bocca, the Italian journalist is saying. He says: "When an American journalist interviews a Secretary of State or the Secretary of Labor, he is bold or she is bold. In Italy, when they interview the power structure, they shy away. It is like apologizing for posing a question. So that's one side of the story. The other side is, of course, the general political situation."

They have flair enough to smell what is happening in this country and when the tide is not high . . . or when water is—how do you say that—at low ebb.

They know the ebb tide and the flow tide, let us put it that way, *politically*. So that accounts for large segments of the Italian press. What cannot be controlled directly through the capitalist press is controlled through the *parties*. Of course, the Communist Party has a daily paper, *L'Unita*, and it has *open orders*, so to speak. It has a very straight posture on the case. The Socialist Party has *L'Avanti*, a daily paper and it is the same thing.

Then there are the supporting papers. *Paese Sera* is a supporting *communist* daily. So that is more or less the picture, I think.

T What is the connection with ANSA, how is ANSA controlled?

G ANSA is directly controlled by the government and the executive in this country. ANSA representatives are chosen by government agencies. ANSA is the *direct descendant* of *Agencia Stephane*, and I am sure that in a few years, or maybe in many years, I don't know, somebody will publish again the anthology of orders coming down from the government to ANSA every morning, as *Agencia Stephane* received them in the 30's.

T Did you know that the Director of the Photographic Archives at ANSA is the brother of the Director of Photographic Archives at U.P.I.?

G No.

T Enzo Brizzi and his brother, Renzo Romano Brizzi. I think they're twins.

ANSA in the official Italian news agency. The 'terrorist' image of Autonomy has always been a CO-PRODUCTION of the Italian Judiciary and the news industry. Ferruccio Gambino is professor of Labor Relations at Padua University and one of the last remaining members of its Political Science Faculty, in which Negri also taught. At the time of this interview (Aug. 1st) he had been notified by the police that he too was under investigation.

Seth Tilet How effective is a "Blackout" in the Italian press, how does it function, what is the leverage that's used?

Ferruccio Gambino. The Italian bourgeoisie has always worked quite informally. In the 1870's or 1880's, even early in this century, the Italian policy makers used to meet at the Monte Catini baths in Tuscany in the summer, and they would decide upon the next policies, especially foreign policies, while they were taking therapeutic waters there.

After 1945, some publisher published the orders that the fascist regime was giving to the so called *Agencia Stephane*, which was the main national news agency. Every day the *Agencia Stephane* used to receive orders directly from the executive, sometimes straight from Mussolini. After the second World War and the fall of fascism, things have become somehow better. That is, orders may not be so direct, they can be circumvented, and they focus basically, I think, on the economics of printing and publishing. Government has a direct control on the price of cellulose and paper. It has established a so called National Organisation for Cellulose. It sets the price of newspapers, especially daily newspapers. It has a wide range of power over newspaper, TV, and radio advertising, especially through the *State Owned Industry* and its advertising needs. And it can

# Negri's Interrogation

N They are leaflets that could have been found among the documents of any of the organizations of '68. In any case, they do not indicate a P.O. line as much as the indiscriminate and general praise that the Movement bestowed on the first initiatives of mass armed struggle.

*Public Prosecutor.* Have you ever distributed this kind of leaflet?

N I stopped doing it about ten years ago, around 1970.

J I show you this typewritten material that contains some notes I believe you wrote. Do you want to verify the contents?

N The document contains analysis of the current situation that I think I can agree with. The document in its entirety seems to be mine, without excluding the fact that it may represent the outcome of a collective discussion, and hence contain some points that I could not accept. In general, the document is characterized by the assumption of the irreversible fact of extremely antagonistic class relationships. Therefore, it talks about a "Vietnamese" strategy in the Movement within this given and irreversible situation. It emphasizes the major aspects of mass struggle, which are clarified in the central part of the same document about the four campaigns: concerning the working day and the wage; concerning public expenditure; concerning nuclear power; and against State terrorism. It is clear that when one is speaking about offensive struggle — one is speaking about the material conditions of exploitation in relation to the new conditions of social production (socialized work, off-the-books work, women's work, various methods of extracting absolute surplus value and therefore more brutal exploitation). All this defines a situation of extreme social antagonism among classes and social groups, for which the conclusion inevitably tends to be made in terms of civil war. Notice the huge and dramatic difference that these theses make in relation to the B.R. position.

J I do not quite see this fundamental difference.

N It is the difference between the dismantling of power and the destabilization of the political system. In fact, the fundamental problem is one of destabilizing the political system through the dismantling of the social system of exploitation. This is the revolutionary process as I mean it — a material process simultaneously breaking the whole capitalist machine's domination and providing for the fundamental needs of the proletariat (self-amelioration). The insurrectional process (therefore the process connected to the civil war) can only place itself at the end of the complexity of this social movement. It is at the point of the explosion of objective contradictions that the struggle is intensified and the economic system of exploitation has difficulty keeping its laws functioning. As a consequence, the system that represents it lives only out of the terroristic irrationality of domination — a political class that does not know how to produce surplus value is a dead political class.

PP But I still have not understood the difference from the B.R.

N The difference between what I said and the ideology of the B.R. rests on the following points. First, the conception of organization. The B.R. has an extremely centralized idea of organization (the party), which is presented as the fundamental and exclusive weapon and the determining factor in the clash with the State. The mass movement, while said to be fundamental, is regarded as ineffective without the party's external guide. It is the classic Third International ideology. "Autonomia Operaia," on the contrary — on the basis of the tradition of Italian revolutionary Marxism — considers organization as mass organization that filters and translates into itself, overturning the capitalist organization of social production. "Autonomia" emerges out of the growth of the immediate needs of the proletariat. It is a moment for dismantling through a struggle against exploitation and liberation of proletarian needs.

Secondly, the concept of insurrection. For the B.R., the concept of insurrection is

Arrested on April 7, 1978, Toni Negri appeared a few days later before his judges. As opposed to Oreste Scatzone, Negri then found it advisable to answer questions to his writings. The following transcript is invaluable inasmuch as it exemplifies the "bizarre" procedure adopted by the judges. As it happens, the Autonomists were incriminated on the basis not of any previous evidence, but on their very answers.

*Judge* Tell us what you have written about armed struggle.

Negri In regard to armed struggle my position has been expressed most completely in my book, *33 Lessons on Lenin*, in which a re-examination of Lenin's thought leads to the acceptance of armed struggle as an essential moment in the development of mass and class revolutionary struggle. Yet I have, in all my public statements, always expressed the deepest, widest, reasoned rejection of any form of armed struggle that involves the militarization of the Movement and clandestine activity.

J You have said that most of the militants of "Potere Operaio" (P.O.) were opposed to clandestinization and to armed struggle. I show you two documents which were found in your files. The first is a mimeographed sheet which praises the armed struggle of a few P.O. comrades arrested for possessing Molotov cocktails. The second, also a mimeographed sheet with the P.O. letterhead, explains "why Idaigo Macchiarini and Robert Negret have been kidnapped and put on trial," (two corporate managers, one from Sit-Slemens of Milan and the other from Renault of Paris). I must remind you Macchiarini was kidnapped in 1972 and the action was claimed by the Red Brigades (B.R.).

connected to the issue of taking over State power. For "Autonomia," take-over is a meaningless term at least on two accounts: that no State power exists outside the material organization of production; that there is not revolution except as a transitional process in the making and partly realized. It is therefore clear that "Autonomia" rejects any idea of a State "coup" through actions directed against the institutions. Any action must direct itself toward providing for the fundamental needs of the proletariat. For the B.R., proletarian liberation and any effort and any moment of struggle in this sense are impossible if the State power structure is not attacked and destroyed.

J I show you a series of documents on union issues, in which among other things "attack and turn the tables" is mentioned. I believe that these objectives are the same ones pursued by military and clandestine organizations, such as the B.R.

N Most of these documents — like the ones we discussed earlier — have been published in the journal *Rosso*. I believe that the call for "attack against even democratic union representation," is part of the constant permanent line of "Autonomia" and that it is justified by general course of political relationships in this society. When one speaks of the attack against the union structure, one means the mass opposition to the union and the exercise of the radical democratic rights of the workers and the proletariat.

J Explain the meaning of the expressions "organized axis of Autonomy" and "complementary axis".

N When I speak of "organized axis of Autonomy," I am referring to the autonomous mass vanguard acting in the factories, in the service organizations, in the neighborhoods. By "complementary axis" I mean small spontaneous groups that are working in the area of Autonomy.

J But do you or do you not share the same objectives as the B.R.?

N It seems to me erroneous to assert an unambiguous relationship between the generally developed anti-union polemic in the movement of the Marxist Left and the military practice of the B.R.

J Remember that you also had in your files this document entitled "Outline for the Construction of a Workers' Coordination". Among other things, in this material of yours, it is stated: "The huge platoon of the owners' servants should be placed in a situation of not being harmful. The managers are the first link of the organized chain through which the owners' command is exercised." And later: "Let us organize the proletarian patrol in order to eliminate scabs from the workshops; let us make the patrol an instrument of permanent organization inside and outside the factory..." There is no question that these are typical objectives of the Red Brigades.

N From an even cursory reading of the document, I believe it is not mine.

P P But remember that in in your files there were other documents, handwritten or typed by you, of the same content!

Defense Lawyer. You have to tell us what this document proves! The judicial code requires that the accused be made aware "in a precise and clear manner" of the acts attributed to him as punishable offenses and all the proof relative to such acts.

P P You are trying to obstruct the answering of the question.

N It is useless to get excited since I am willing to answer the question. In my files I was gathering both material I wrote and documents from the various existing political positions in the Movement. The whole of which, as I did once before in the 1960's, would have been donated to a foundation.

J For completeness I now show you the other three documents: a manuscript, "The Patrol, the Brigade, the Red Guard with Tennis Shoes"; typewritten material in which, among other things, it is stated that "the patrol in tennis shoes covers the master's territory and strikes the enemy recomposing the class"; and a letter addressed to you, in which the sender agrees with you concerning the practicality of the patrols.

N The manuscript is the outline of an article I wrote for *Rosso*. The idea of the proletarian patrol seems to me to be a useful tool of organic activity, forced proletariat, which is forced into territorial dispersion of productive activity, forced into "off-the-books" work, diffused work, tertiary work. Only the patrol would be able to create an aggregation of these forces not gathered inside the large factory of capital and therefore allow the ripening of class struggle in terms adjusted to the mobility of this new work force. The function of the patrol is the economic-political representation of the productive proletariat involved in "off-the-books" work, in order to improve working and living conditions.

J We believe that what you define as the "ripening class struggle" is carried out by the patrols through the use of illegal and violent means.

N In the majority of the cases the work of the patrols is not carried out through illegal and violent means, but rather through political pressure and negotiations. The cases in which there are elements of violence, would, I believe, be the kind that are well-known in the history of class struggle when sectors of the unorganized labor force asks for union recognition. One should not forget that the history of union organizations in the large factories has included considerable violence — violence, first of all, in reaction to the repressive forces of capital.

J Now I show you another series of documents that you had filed. There is writing about columns, politico-military cadres, logistical sections and mass work. Specified are the tasks of the military structure, including "action against the enemy, defense action, training, expropriations." Finally, arming, financing, and clandestine behavior. What do you have to say in this regard?

N It is not my material. They are documents that don't have the slightest relationship with the kind of political line I am following. The hand-written notes on the borders are not my handwriting. Those documents were circulated in Milan within the Movement as proposals for discussion that were engaged in by people that I presume later merged into *Prima Linea*.

J Who are these people?



J Who are the persons who supported, as you said earlier, the "directive line of the B.R.," and the B.R.'s initiatives as a moment of unification for the Movement? And who formed the "little groups" that supported the "Clandestine" and "terrorist line"?

N It is difficult, indeed impossible to answer that question.

J You keep talking about the constant rejection of armed struggle. We have obtained a transcript of your statements during the third organizational conference of P.O. in September 1971. You had stated then that "appropriation" on the one hand and "militarization" on the other were absolutely related, and that the development of the "clash" and the "organization" had to proceed together.

N That position (even simply expressed off the cuff and in the course of a very complex and confused conference) was consistent with the positions that I later supported. It is clear that the perspective of armed struggle, as it is called here, refers to the perspective defined in the Marxist classics and does not correspond at all to a particular program for the militarization of the Movement.

D L These are not relevant questions. The accused is being forced at each point to provide not concrete answers on factual elements, but rather to engage in analysis concerning philosophical premises, a specialized lexicon, and correlations among political and historical issues. It seems to us that you expect some element of evidence from the answers. We thus ask that the accused be questioned directly in relation to the charges. In particular, the two reports by the *Digos* (secret police) and the witnesses who will testify.

J I agree. Let us invite the accused to prove his innocence in relation to the following probative elements against him, the sources of which cannot be indicated without prejudicing the judicial inquiry. 1) Statements according to which Negri helped to develop, on the one hand, the military actions of the B.R., and on the other, the mass actions of "Autonomia", the one being coordinated with the other through centralized (central and peripheral) structures. The link between the armed vanguard and the base of the Movement had to be assured by the rigid centralization (the so-called "workers' centralism") of the mass and vanguard initiatives. 2) Statements according to which, in the course of meetings among members of the organization, Negri advocated the necessity to raise the level of confrontation (sabotage of industrial plants, the beating of factory supervisors, proletarian expropriations, and kidnapping and confiscations in reference to union leaders, judges, and factory managers), with the aim of conquering power. 3) Statements according to which Negri pointed to the B.R. and P.O. as connected

esauritivo della realtà. E una giusta-

insieme un'ordin  
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di falsità docum  
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zione? Quando, i  
letto transoccean

Toni Negri con  
la figlia Anna  
a Venezia nel 1965



N I am not able to tell you their names. They were people who hung around in the coordinates of "Autonomia." The organizational model in those documents, however, is pretty much terrorist. A debate on these issues went on around 1976, with these ideas meeting substantial opposition in the Movement.

J But why have you saved several copies of the same text?

N Probably these documents were given to me in order to get my opinion and support. I want to make it clear that it is precisely the abundance of information made available to me that has enabled me to oppose such positions more effectively.

J But you should be able to remember who these people were who gave you these documents and asked for your support.

N I repeat I cannot answer. Terrorists never introduce themselves as such! This material circulates during public meetings and often through several hands.

P P When you speak in this excited tone, you remind me of the voice in the phone call to Mrs. Moro!

N You have no right to make these insinuations! You have to prove what you say first. You are insulting me!

D L I demand that this incident be put in the record.

J Agreed. Let us record everything. But let's be calmer.

N In short, it is just about impossible for me to identify the ones who brought these documents.

J "Elementary Norms of Behavior" is the title of another typewritten document from your files. The concepts presented here are similar to the ones contained in another typewritten page with the title "Norms of Security and Work Style for the Irregular Forces" by the B.R., which was found in the apartment of Via Gradoli. With these documents we have discovered clues concerning the existence of illegal, clandestine, and militarized bodies within the Movement to which you, Professor Negri, are not extraneous.

N Of course I have not written this document. It belongs to documentary material I have gathered. It is worth remembering that the process of gestation and political identification of "Autonomia" in Milan which has been developing in recent years requires the overcoming of the militant "impasse" inside the Movement. It should be clear that the organized "Autonomia" of Milan is struggling against this "impasse".

J There are handwritten notes on a leaflet I have here concerning union issues.

N They are items for a discussion concerning the organization of the struggle against Saturday work.

J What does the expression "I" near the word "leaflet" mean?

N Probably it means that somehow I had taken care of the thing, or that I wanted to take care of it.

J Is this pamphlet, "Workers' Power for Communism," yours? If it is the fruit of a collective work, did you participate in it?

N It is not a pamphlet of mine and I did not collaborate in drawing it up. I have never been a part of the Revolutionary Communist Committees which are given as authors on the first page.

structures, and according to which he participated in B.R. planning. 4) Revelations made by a B.R. member to a person who had later informed the judicial authorities about the direct link between the B.R. and P.O. 5) Statements according to which the militants of P.O. in Padua had available arms and explosives and were training themselves in military techniques. Statements according to which Negri taught the "technique" of building Molotov cocktails.

N I am completely astonished by the probative elements stated here. They are not only untrue accusations, but downright unlikely and incompatible with everything I have said and done during the times I belonged to P.O. and later "Autonomia". The opposition between the B.R. and "Autonomia" is clear from the documents of the two groups themselves. It is preposterous to say that I taught people how to make Molotov cocktails, which, by the way, I do not know how to assemble. I have never spoken in support of making links between the B.R.'s military actions and the mass actions of the organized Autonomy. The accusations are based on pure fabrication—they are fantasies!

J At this point we are questioning all your writings, charging that you present programs tending towards armed struggle and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

N I refuse to accept the legitimacy of your questions and of the reports which were used to justify my arrest. Nothing in my books has any direct organizational relationship. My responsibility is totally as an intellectual who writes and sells books!

J If you have always expressed the rejection of armed struggle, tell us then how you justify this phrase contained in this leaflet: "The heroic struggle of the B.R. and the NAP (Armed Proletariat Nuclei) comrades is the iceberg of the Movement." I want you to notice that the document, taken from your files, has notations and corrections, some of which quite likely are your own.

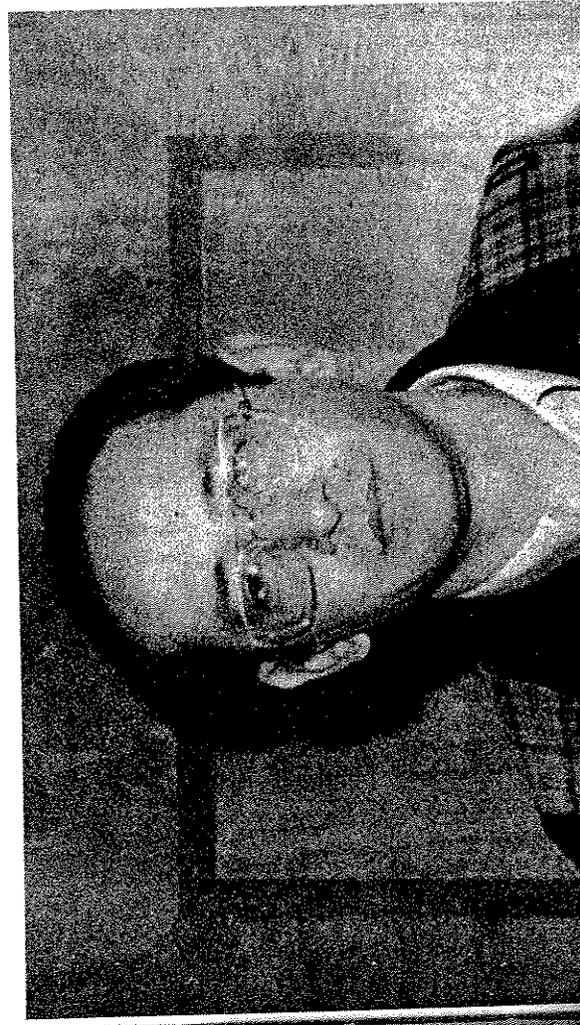
N Yes, the document seems to be mine; at least some of the marginal notations are mine. But it contains classic expressions of Marxism. For "democracy" one should understand the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and for "proletarian dictatorship," the highest form of freedom and democracy. As for the sentence in question, it is indeed necessary to recognize as a fact the emergence of the B.R. and NAP as the tip of the iceberg of the Movement. This does not require one in any way to transform the recognition into a defense, and this does not in any way deny the grave mistake of the B.R. line. At one point I defined the B.R. as a variable of the Movement gone crazy.

I have expressed in the most emphatic way my disagreement regarding the B.R. initiatives—a position that I believe coincides with a very large majority of the comrades of "Autonomia". Therefore, let there be no confusion. At the same time this does not mean that the B.R. comrades should not be respected. For it is necessary to have some respect for all those who are seeking proletarian communist goals, even as one deeply criticizes their "regicide" strategy, which is contrary to all the premises of Marxism. Marx himself tipped his hat to Felice Orsini. Nevertheless, I state again that terrorism can only be fought through an authentic mass political struggle and inside the revolutionary movement.

*Translated by III WW & Phil Mattera*

1. The only "evidence" brought by the judges to justify Negri's arrest were tapes of phone calls made by the Red Brigades to the Moro family, presumably proving that it was Negri's voice. It turned out that the tape had never been analyzed. Their recent analysis by the American expert appointed by the prosecutor remains inconclusive.

II/1 Judge Palombarini questions Toni Negri, May 18, 1979, Padua  
II/2 Negri  
II/3 Chief Prosecutor for the Republic, Pietro Calogero



# Memorial from Prison

party in Italy", so that, by criminalizing the Movement, it can resolve its own inability to function. We are militants and intellectuals of the autonomous Left movement. In striking its blow at us, the State is attributing to us a power as "leaders", a representative role, that we do not possess.

## THE RETROACTIVE CHARGES AGAINST "POTERE OPERAIO" (WORKER'S POWER).

The first accusation against us all relates to having constituted and participated in *Potere Operaio* (1969-1973). Inasmuch as PO is taken by the prosecution to be the "original source" of armed terrorism—of having therefore been collectively responsible for the entire trajectory of armed struggle in Italy in recent years—its dissolution in 1973 is regarded as having been "fictitious": it is alleged to have continued its existence as an armed conspiracy.

A very important preliminary point needs to be made, regarding the consistency of this charge. It is true that all of those who are charged in this case, in one way or another, at different times and at different levels of activity, did participate in the experience of PO. This is a past "associative link" which we have no intention of denying—in fact we regard it, perhaps ingenuously, with pride. But thousands of other comrades also participated in this political experience. One might rightly ask by what criteria so few cards, from such a huge pack, eventually came out in the shuffle. One might think that the accused were the "political leadership" of the PO group. But this is not true—not all the accused played such a part in PO, and of those who did, not all are being charged. So the accusation of having participated in PO is not self-sufficient, is no basis *in itself* for the charge brought. This is the case (if for no other reason) because the PO was in *its own time* investigated on the grounds of being a "subversive organization", and was in fact cleared.

Hence there must be something more behind the charge and the selection of those accused. The allegation runs as follows: *these* individuals are those who *having been* comrades in PO, *subsequently* maintained "associative links of a subversive nature" aimed to direct, in one way or another, the armed struggle in Italy. But here the make-believe behind the accusation is even more astonishing.

From the time that PO dissolved in 1973, some of those presently accused have had *no political links whatsoever* with the rest of the accused. Moreover, in some cases it has been years that some members of the accused have not seen each other! It must be admitted that for a "conspiratorial group" alleged to have been nothing less (in the case of 9 of us) than the "strategic leadership" of the Red Brigades, not to have met each other, even briefly, in all this time constitutes a strange kind of association! And it is not by chance that 6 weeks after the arrests, not one single piece of evidence has been brought to prove or indicate any such association between those charged, from 1973-4 up to the present day. The reason is simple—no such proof exists.

## THE VIOLATIONS OF PROCEDURE BY THE PROSECUTION.

We shall take only a few examples of the legal procedure adopted by the prosecution in the "April 7th case". This is only a summary of a few of the most flagrant abuses of *due process* that we—and we are not the first—have had to face. This is a list of points which are taken from a much fuller documentation of examples contained in the memorandum presented by our legal defence team.

- (A) *Violations of the rights of defence* in the phase of the preliminary investigations ordered by the examining judge. Failure to notify, in some cases, of proceedings against those being investigated, despite the fact that the prosecuting judge, Calogero, has admitted that this judicial inquiry has been going on over a period of two years *before* the arrests;
- (B) *Arbitrary use of coercitive powers*:
  - Issue of arrest warrants either without legal grounds at all, or on "apparent" grounds, altered later, at will.
  - Use of preventive detention for ends other than those specified by law.
- (C) *Arbitrary mode of imprisonment*:
  - Unspecified reasons for differing prison treatment (solitary confinement, etc.) imposed on those detained.

This document was written on May 24, 1979 from the "Special Wing — G 8" of the Rebibbia jail in Rome by Mario Dalmaviva, Luciano Ferrari Bravo, Toni Negri, Oreste Scalzone, Emilio Vesce and Lauso Zagato. Footnotes were added by the Editors.

The arrests and imprisonments put into effect against militants and intellectuals of the Left, starting April 7th 1979, have set in motion a *political trial*. This is not just a trial of ideas, a trial of certain intellectuals, but a judicial prosecution of an entire section of the political movement in Italy—of comrades belonging to the independent Left movement of *Autonomy*. These comrades in no way deny or conceal their record of political militancy in this movement.

We are being tried for a decade of political struggle in Italy, from 1968 to 1979. With this prosecution, State power has spoken out loud and clear—a horrendous alibi for its incapacity to resolve the real underlying problems confronting Italian society in the crisis. This trial is aimed to outlaw the political movement of working class and proletarian autonomy.

In order to succeed, State power has to state and prove that "the party of the new social strata of the proletariat" is the same thing as "the armed party"—i.e. the terrorist groups. They have to be made to appear as identical.

All of us in the Movement know the motive behind this operation. The State "projects" onto these strata and onto the men and women who have lived the social struggles of the new proletariat, the accusation of being terrorists, "the armed

- Refusal to notify, for a period, the whereabouts of those detained, or to notify families of prison transfers, etc.
- (D) *Arbitrary use of norms of territorial judicial competence* (i.e. the division of judicial competence in the case, between Rome and Padova):
  - Abnormal *unilateral decision* on the part of *prosecuting Judge Calogero* as to judicial competence (transferring part of the case to Rome) *after* the request for formalisation of proceedings (i.e. that they be brought before the competent judge in Padova) had been made.

— *Subsequent addition of the charge related to the via Fani* (the Moro kidnapping) case, for the sole purpose of justifying transferral of the judicial competence in the case of some of those accused (to Rome), in order to bypass any potential conflict with the judges in Padova. This was *after* charges of "formation of armed bands" had *already* been brought in Padova.

This relates to other precedents (e.g. in the Valpreda case) which involve the arbitrary transfer of proceedings to Rome — i.e. the informal, but no less real, use of this tactic in order to set up a "special tribunal" for political persecutions?

(E) *Systematic violation of the rights of legal defence in this case*; in the course of the committal hearings:

- Violation of article 365 in the Procedural Code ("the judge must proceed to the formal 'interrogation' without delay").
- Systematic inversion of the burden of proof onto the defence.
- Acquisition of "evidence" a long time after the warrants for custody and detention of the accused had already been made out.
- Lack of any evidence, or precise accusations (to be proved or disproved) related to the charge of "subversive association". The accusations are entirely "hypothetical-deductive", of a "logical" and hence speculative nature.
- Illegal retention of precise information, evidence etc., related to the prosecution charges, thus allowing a continuous fluidity, reformulation and alteration in the accusatory substance of the charges (e.g. request by judge Guasco for formalisation of the charges "pending" / later specification of the actual crimes alleged to have been committed!).
- Systematic and underhand violation of the confidential secrecy of the committal hearings by the prosecuting magistrates (use of insinuating "leaks", informally passed to the Press and media throughout the proceedings — and often later dropped!).

All the above points might appear secondary to anyone not experiencing them first hand! Yet they amount to a real illegality of the mode of the prosecution procedure in this case, a degradation of "due process", by the systematic refusal to back or specify charges by precise accusation, hence ensuring an "open-ended" set of options in the committal process.

The presumption of guilt based on *deductive hypothesis* has been the *leitmotif* in the prosecution procedure right from the start. It covered, from the word go, insurrection, leadership of the Red Brigades, and leadership of the armed struggle in general. In other words, the "generic" and the "particular" are conflated, strung together, to make us responsible, as a "collective plot", for virtually all that has happened in Italy over the past ten years. This is the starting point — the *initial thesis* of the prosecution.

Once this overall hypothesis of guilt is *first* established, any element of *physical* or *mental/intellectual* links that can be found (e.g. Padova University Institute; activities of an academic nature etc.; or similarities between documents — any Left revolutionary literature inevitably has some points of similarity) can then be construed as a "lead" or as "incriminating substance". All such material can be interpreted, pieced together according to the *initial* deductive hypotheses, by a process of *osmosis*. Time and space become irrelevant. Documents or events over a period of ten years are flattened into the present, into a static "present-day" plot for "armed insurrection". In Negri's case, this process of osmosis during the committal hearings has amounted to a crude and arrogant distortion of texts taken out of context, a deliberately falsified reconstruction of his ideas, collapsing the past into the present.

The method of the prosecution's case has been the separation of selected elements and ideas from their overall context. This is done by arbitrary selection of individual phrases from a vast mass of *published and entirely public writings* or statements. Moreover, these are selected from a long time-span, often separated by years. This method of arbitrary separation and reconstruction or hypothetical links between ideas — and events — has been the basic norm in the construction of the prosecution's case against us.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS AND CLASS STRUGGLE.

We wish to make an appeal for the widest possible solidarity with those 23 arrested on April 7th 1979.

The prosecution case against us is overtly political, and we are asking for political solidarity. We wish to emphasise that "political solidarity" does not mean "identifying" with our personal ideas or positions as such — it is correct, we think, to make this clear. To ask for political solidarity in our case is to appeal also to responsible democratic opinion, apart from the Left and communist movement, on the basis of recognizing what is at stake, in terms of the relationship between class forces in this type of political prosecution.

In our case — quite apart from our own political situation — what is being tested or decided, is whether there is to be any further space, politically, for the broad movement that has developed in society, expressing the new needs of the proletariat today. Or, on the other hand, whether the forces in power, the effective "constitutional coalition" that governs Italy, is to become more rigid, and base its political pact on the destruction, criminalization and repression of the class movement in civil society.

The choice is obviously not in our hands! But the prosecution and proceedings against us are an essential part of this project, a key test-case. We are fighting for an outcome on the side of the class movement, and it is on this that we base our calls for solidarity. Let it also be clear that we *also* insist on the defence of certain legal guarantees. This is not opportunism on our part, but relates directly to the struggle and the goals of the class movement itself. Both before, during and after the revolutionary process.

This appeal to civil liberties and defence of legal "due process" is not in our case restricted to the mummified liberal tradition of civil rights (open to many abuses). We call for the guarantee of freedoms that are *historically and dynamically constituted* by the relation of class forces as it exists in all the industrialised countries today.

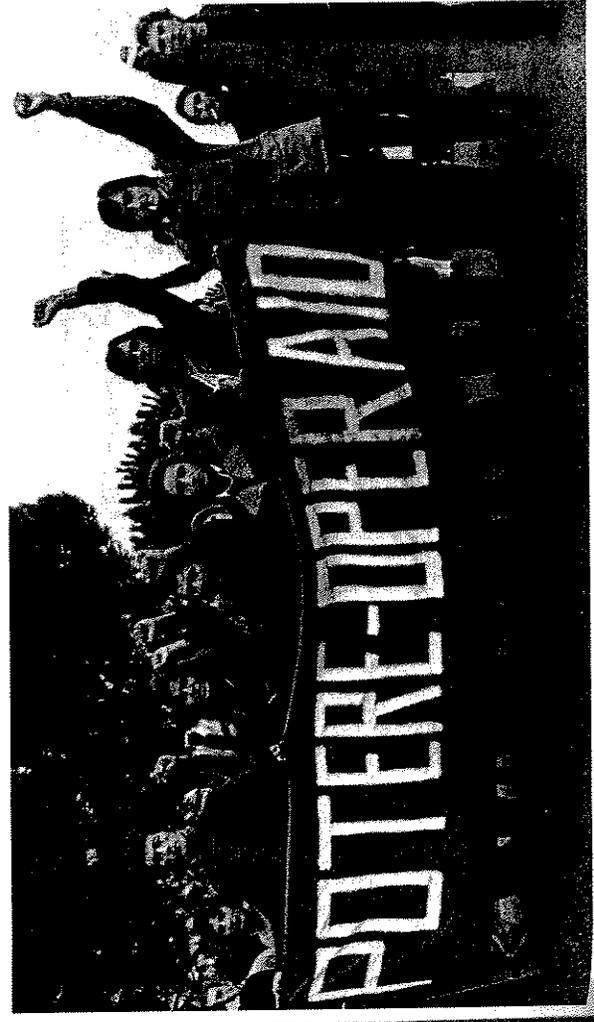


We believe that in Italy, today, and in Europe, the political prosecution of the "Worker's Autonomy" movement has a wider significance, which concerns the broadest possible sections of the class movement in all its various articulations. This is because it represents a specific attempt, an attempt with ominous implications, to "turn the clock back," historically to set up and formalise on a permanent basis a new level of State repression, aimed to attack and destroy the space for independent class politics; to attack the guarantees of rights to express theoretically and exercise in practice any alternative basis of power for the transformation of society; and to attack the spaces for the exercise of "counter-power" — all of which spaces have been fought for and won over the course of the last ten years.

*Translated by Committee April 7, London*

1. This comes in the list covering charges of "subversive association" — Article 270 in the Fascist penal code of 1929. The nearest British equivalent is the charge of *sedition*, as brought against the Betheshanger miners during the War.
2. "Special tribunals" were the political anti-communist courts set up by the Fascists in 1926. It was one of these tribunals that sent Gramsci to prison.
3. Under these vague, unspecified and unsubstantiated charges the accused may be subjected to a possible period of detention of up to FOUR years before they need be brought to trial.

1111 Massa Carrara, November 18, 1972



# The Naked Truth about Moro's Detention

## Franco Piperno

This interview was published in *Il Male* one week after the April 7 arrests. *Il Male* is a satirical weekly magazine linked to the Movement. That Franco Piperno, although wanted by the police, would agree to take part in this parody constitutes an indirect commentary on the "seriousness" of the accusations and the theatricality of the media.

Being convinced that the series of recent arrests involving such eminent personalities of the cultural and theatrical world, such as Toni Negri (culture), Oreste Scalzone (theatre), were part of a farcical pre-electoral setting, we went to find Professor Piperno, who by chance escaped arrest, at his new residence. But we were indeed surprised to find ourselves in front of an individual in an advanced ethylic state who would toast in friendly company the arrest of his long-time rival: Professor Toni Negri. As many do not know, Toni Negri not only held professorship at Padova but he was also the director of an institute, something which has not been let out and which is far from succeeding to Piperno. An ulterior motive for the friction between the two lies in Negri's recent Parisian success at the Sorbonne and at the Eiffel Tower, while Piperno remained in Arcavacata in the province of Cosenza.

**Question** Well Franco, some of Toni's defects?

**Piperno** The most sickening thing about him is his pretense to understand the informatics. In any case, he is a man full of defects.

**Q** And Oreste's defects?

**P** He takes notes on whatever is said.

**Q** And you?

**P** I was the only one in this group without defects.

**Q** But in short, do you make a positive estimate of what has happened?

**P** Substantially yes, also because the unfortunately temporary jailing of these, my dear friends, guarantees the Movement of a series of breakdowns that would have certainly combined either in contrast or in conflict within them.

**Q** Is it true that you are jealous of Negri?

**P** Yes, Above all because he has an undeniable advantage over me: to be able to pass off political punches that he writes as scientific publications. Something which is not accepted by me, being a physicist. With this system, he has gained the professorship, while I am still stabilized.

(...After having indulged a bit more upon personal aspects, we proceeded to ask him the news relating to the judicial and political aspects of the event, as soon as we saw that he was more clear-minded.)

**Q** In your opinion, what are the fragile elements in the warrant for arrest?

**P** In reference to Toni and Oreste, I believe that the weakest element lies in the position that these two friends assumed when it was a question of deciding Moro's fate.

**Q** You were all therefore present at the meeting?

**P** Yes, by now, it's useless denying it. The judges Calogero and Gallucci searched Massimo's Venetian house.

**Q** Which Massimo?

**P** Cacciari naturally! Thus searching Massimo's home, they found the authentic tape of the meeting of the strategic direction on May 1, 1978, which was annually held in Chiavari.

**Q** Who were the participants of the meeting?

**P** Always the same, and that is: Tronti, Asor Rosa, Cacciari, Oreste, Vidali, Rita di Leo, Osvaldo, Pesce, Trombadori. . .

**Q** But Trombadori how? Wasn't Via Rasella<sup>2</sup> enough for him?

**P** But how! dear Antonello is insatiable. At least once a year, he needs to "proceed", it's like a bad habit for him. You need to understand him.

**Q** However, Trombadori often wrote against the Red Brigades, demanding a rapid capture.

**P** Trombadori does what Toni does, and besides, Toni has learned from him.

**Q** Don't you think you're exaggerating these revelations?

**P** You see, I have a scientific background and I pay attention to facts: I know that the judge knows. It is therefore better to precede the adversary, as we did after Feltrinelli's death.<sup>3</sup>

**Q** Since you have decided to talk about everything, who were the other members of the strategic direction?

P Do you mean the effective members or the candidate members?  
Q No. No. the effective ones. The others don't count and we also don't have enough space. Hence, who are they? Moretti?

P No. no. Moretti no.<sup>4</sup> He is an invention of the press. He is only a surrogate member and besides Tronti had strong doubts about him, because he didn't know the writings of Kvasnjak.<sup>5</sup>

Q If not Moretti, who?  
P Pintor and Sofri,<sup>6</sup> but I must tell you that they did not come to the mentioned meeting, claiming to be sick. In reality, they preferred, as many times before, not to take positions on heated arguments.

Q In short, who were the marshalls?  
P I remember everything perfectly. I don't know why, but that afternoon in Chiavari in a house by the sea has remained indelibly impressed upon me. Asor expounded the pros and cons of the execution. But I must say that his discourse was not impartial, in the sense that, in his exposition, the pros prevailed over the cons. The central argument was that by now the games were made in the PCI (Italian Communist Party). The long adventure, undertaken in '69 by Massimo, Mario, Alberto, Rita, Aris and Umberto<sup>7</sup> to free the party from the hands of those who had control of it, while Toni, Oreste and I were occupied with the Movement, had arrived at a dead end. They already foresaw that they would not be elected to the central committee in the next Congress and that the Villari lobby<sup>8</sup> would have prevailed (as it then came about, n.d.r.). And therefore they believed that the only possibility was to cut Moro off and in this manner break up the internal equilibrium of the two biggest parties, whether the DC or the PCI. Asor, I remember well, obsessively repeated the phrase: "let's shuffle the cards", "let's shuffle the cards".

Q And you?  
P I voted in favor.  
Q But why? What did Moro ever do to you? Wasn't he a man like yourself?  
P If it is in this sense, he was even a better man than myself. But I did not have a choice. It's been years now that I do only what Tronti does.

Q And now what plans do you have?  
P To do better than Fiora (Piperno's wife, far more brilliant than her husband, n.d.r.). While she is occupied with the zone south of Volturno, I wish to busy myself with the zone north of Volturno and hope for a reunion... if Lanfranco permits.<sup>9</sup>

Translated by Rosamaria Salamone

1. Mario Tronti, Alberto Asor Rosa, Massimo Cacciari, Rita de Leo are ex-militants of *Potere Operaio* who eventually joined the ICP. Vidali and Trombadori are orthodox militants of the ICP.  
2. Via Rasella: partisan action against the Germans during the WWII. Dozens of citizens of Rome were assassinated as a reprisal.  
3. G.G. Feltrinelli: left-wing publisher found dead in suspicious conditions. It was assumed that he belonged to the Group for Partisan Action.  
4. Mario Moretti has been presented by the media as the mysterious head of the BR.  
5. Mario Tronti: theoretician of the Italian "workerist" Left, now in the ICP.  
6. Luigi Pintor: a leader of "Lotta Continua".  
7. Adriano Sofri: a leader of "Lotta Continua".  
8. Villari: historical official of the ICP.  
9. Fiora Pirri Ardizzone: Piperno's wife, suspected of terrorism and incarcerated. Pace: wanted



# Piperno's Counteroffensive

- Q This is a yacht? It rather looks like a small villa to us...
- P No, no, it's a yacht. We're on the water; the yacht was redone to look like a small villa. It belongs to Crociani,<sup>1</sup> the famous unknown "puppeteer" in the Moro affair.
- Q How are your comrades in jail doing on their own?
- P Oreste Scaizone is in a creative phase, so to speak: he has discovered the fascination of a sexual relation beyond heterosexuality, and he tests this new dimension of freedom all day on Lauso Zagato...
- Q This is a disgrace! Oreste has always been faithful to Lucia!
- P True, but you forget that prison has a peculiar atmosphere, and besides, you probably don't know that we managed to send him a few grams of cocaine through Ferrari Bravo. After a good healthy snort, Oreste lost all his inhibitions—and he had many of them.
- Q And what about Toni Negri? Every morning he gets drunk on Stock 84. Does his drinking have any effect on the interrogations?
- P Of course. The effect is obvious: every time he gets drunk, he talks non-stop for six hours. Spazzai<sup>2</sup> told me that the last time he drank he kept on talking even when the judges and lawyers left, and he stopped only when the guard shut off the light.
- Q Excuse us if we ask a personal question, but do you continue to meet with journalists on this yacht?
- P Yes, but it causes me much trouble, especially with Bocca.<sup>3</sup>
- Q Why him in particular? At bottom he is a democrat...
- P And just like every democrat, he takes advantage as soon as he can. The other night, during one of the many interviews he's done with me, instead of taking notes he kept on staring at, and playing footsie with, Comrade Kioto Lota of the Japanese group Karakiri. Lota had served as an intermediary for the operation against the coast of Montenegro...
- Q In what sense was it an operation? Wasn't there an earthquake?
- P I spent two years at Cosenza setting up the "seismic cannon" with the assistance of the rector, Professor Bucci. Based on the principles of Ugo Amaldi, the cannon generates gravitational waves of arbitrary power. The operation on the Adriatic coast was just the beginning. We planned to attack Tito's revisionism.
- Q Then it is true that a scientific intelligence is at the bottom of the destructive plan which has bloodied our country and Europe for years now?
- P It's true. The judges have discovered this too, and there's no use denying it. The proof of it lies in the fact that, despite the perspicacity of the journalists who are covering the affair, no one has yet asked why on earth only Amerio and Sossi<sup>4</sup> were abducted, after the decision was made at a meeting of *Potere Operaio* to abduct Agnelli and Fanfani.<sup>5</sup> The truth, now clear to the judges, is that even in this case, our line of conduct was guided by the well-known physical law called "the principle of minimization." With this law in mind, I want to give you a sensational prediction. At the most recent meeting of the tactical command, we decided to kidnap Pacchio<sup>6</sup> and the familiar Saragat,<sup>7</sup> but you'll see that in the end we'll limit ourselves to seizing Giacomo Marramao<sup>8</sup> and Augusto, a vintner from Trastevere.

Translated by Lawrence Venuti

Many members of the Italian press expressed their doubts about the authenticity of the foregoing interview. Certainly, it would be unlikely for the wanted head of the Red Brigades to be involved in a parody, let alone to expose himself by granting an interview.

// *Maife* responded to this doubt simply with the publication of this second interview which promises "shocking new revelations from that most wanted fugitive, Franco Piperno: names, weapons, plans, the inside word on the mysterious world of the Red Brigades."

- Q Well, Piperno, how is life on the run?
- P Believe me, it's really not so bad. I've taken refuge in the margins of Italian society and I do my best to survive. The hardest days were the ones at the beginning.
- Q Why?
- P Because at the beginning I was living with the brigades and this meant I had to put up with some unbearable annoyances...
- Q For example?
- P I could never sleep at night because my comrades, being all mad wolves, as Scalfari has lucidly written, howl at the full moon, and as you will recall, there was a full moon the night of 7 April.
- Q And so what did you do?
- P I moved, and now I live on a yacht anchored in this bay. Here, in a word.

1. Crociani is a manager of the State-owned Italian industry who escaped the country after a financial scandal.
2. Giuliano Spazzali is Toni Negri's defense lawyer. He became famous during the Valpreda case.
3. Giorgio Bocca is a well-known journalist of *La Repubblica* and *L'Espresso*.
4. Both were kidnapped by the Red Brigades in 1973. Amerio, a FIAT engineer, headed the personnel office.
5. Umberto Agnelli is the head of FIAT. Fanfani is a high-ranking member of the Christian Democrats. In 1963, he headed the "center-left" coalition with the Socialist Party.
6. Pecchioli is the chief of the federation of Turin's Communist Party. He heads the ICP's Bureau of State's Problems and is considered the "shadow" Minister of the Interior.
7. Giuseppe Saragat founded the Social Democratic Party. He was President of the Italian Republic during the Valpreda affair and was the first to accuse the anarchists for the bombing of the bank in Milan.
8. Giacomo Marramao is a philosopher-historian of the ICP.



# Violence of the State

## I Volsci

Someone might think that by citing Valliani we wish, as usual, to show that he, like democracy, adopts a double standard. He doesn't attack the crimes of the powerful with equal vehemence (rather, he acquits them a priori as he did with Baffi, Sarcinelli<sup>3</sup>, and all the little bureaucrats whom he moreover wants to judge "fiscally" and not penalty). Or someone might believe that we wish to show that Valliani complains of the "senseless dismantling of the most severe laws" when to a great extent the Reale law is more "severe" than the Rocco Codex<sup>4</sup>, and besides, it is still in effect. Someone might even believe that we wish to point out that Valliani doesn't even hide his pleasure with the arrest of Tomi Negri and the other comrades. (By the way, even Pertini complimented the Padua magistrates, but there is no evidence that he telegraphed his indignation to the Catanzaro magistrates when Freda and Ventura<sup>5</sup> escaped). Anyway, if anyone believes this he is mistaken.

It is not our intention to complain about the non-equality of the law nor to emphasize the non-equality of the democracy which we undoubtedly are. Rather we wish to reveal how this state of affairs is inevitable and necessary for the institutions. From the point of view of democrats like Leo Valliani, in fact, it is right that things are this way because it is right that men like him come to the point of calling for the application of violence when it is to be used in the defense of something that exists—democracy, to be exact—and against episodes or persons who in the name of something that doesn't exist—communism—combat these institutions without excluding violence. From one side, there is the tendency to overthrow it. Whoever defends the first is justified in his use of violence, whoever is for the second, is not.

If it were to be shown that democracy doesn't exist, in the sense that it has not been fully realized, there would no longer be any legitimacy for the violence of the state, or at least there would be an equal measure of legitimacy for the violence used to overthrow the state.

The idea that democracy doesn't exist doesn't even occur to Valliani. He sides with Baffi and Sarcinelli, that is, with the institutions and the multi-party system, starting from their evils and their contradictions (scandals, frauds, killings, etc.) which are erased in one blow by the demon of terrorism, which can only be combated with an increase in the number of police, preventive (which in practice becomes definitive) incarceration, and an ulterior arming of the forces of order. In other words, the generalized application of repression and violence without ever doubting the true basis of its legitimacy.

In order to respond in a practical and non-elusive manner to these positions, and therefore without falling into an ideological debate, it is left to us to examine from a very concrete (even if guarded) point of view what the pulpit of democracy, from which the sermons like those of Valliani are preached, is made of.

Now, it seems to us (and we ask nothing but to be proven wrong) that this democracy denies in principle but in fact allows:

1. The systematic fiscal evasion of the capitalists (in vulgar terms, those who accumulate wealth by taking it from the workers), and therefore, the robbery of the citizens and of the State;
2. Thousands of clandestine abortions done in contempt of the dignity and freedom of women, and therefore, the violation of the laws of the State and robbery of the citizens by the physicians who perform such abortions;
3. Hundreds of deaths, thousands of crippling and mutilations at the workplace because of the impunity allowed to the capitalists, which therefore transforms the constitutional declaration of the "right to work" into a "condemnation to work";
4. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed to whom neither the right nor the condemnation to work applies, but to whom is recognized the free will to choose bet-

## HE WHO DOESN'T TERRORIZE BECOMES SICK WITH TERROR

I Volsci (The Volscians) are a group of Autonomists well rooted in the proletarian quarters of Rome. They are considered the "hard" fraction of the movement. I Volsci are known for their political agitation inside the Policlinic and for their active support of the squatter's movement. Their free radio, *Radio Onda Rossa*, covers the metropolitan area.

We present this statement to the politicians, the judges, and the journalists of this country, "One of the most free in the world," asking to be proven wrong.

We are convinced of one thing: the arrest of comrades in Padua, Milan and Rome and the entire investigation opened by the Padua magistracy are the outcome of initiatives taken by democratic people; that is, by men who believe in the institutions, support the multi-party system and who therefore work for the defense of the resultant social order, all of which comprise the existing democracy of our country.

These and many other persons have often alluded, in the newspapers and from the seats of Parliament, to the necessity of putting an end to the organized and diffuse violence, urging us on to the very limits of our constitutional freedoms up to the point of requesting, as La Malfa<sup>1</sup> did, the institution of the death penalty. Incitement to violence in each one of these forms (except for the death penalty) is manifest in what Leo Valliani<sup>2</sup>, just to name someone who well symbolizes the institutions, has been capable of writing in the *Corriere della Sera* from February to April.

that we are better off than under Fascism or than the Chileans under Pinochet. For that someone the fact that democracy has not been fully realized becomes still another reason to defend the status quo, even if only to broaden it through struggle.

In principle this would be an acceptable way of reasoning if it had not already been worn out by recent and past history.

The struggle for democracy in Italy began more than thirty years ago and it was an armed struggle: the workers saved the factories from the Germans in order to see them returned safe and sound to the same bosses as before; the Neapolitans liberated their city by themselves in order to see it sacked by the Lauros and the Gavas<sup>11</sup>; Almirante and the other fascists were given their freedom by Togliatti.

After these initial outcomes, the struggle for democracy has had other products such as the banana, the tobacco and the Anas scandals, the secret funds and bribes at Montedison, Sifar, Vajont, and Lockheed, and the killings from Portella della Ginestra to Reggio Emilia, from Avola to Piazza Fontana, from Brescia to the Italicus.

This is the "slow march of democracy" that has brought us to the present state of affairs which we have described.

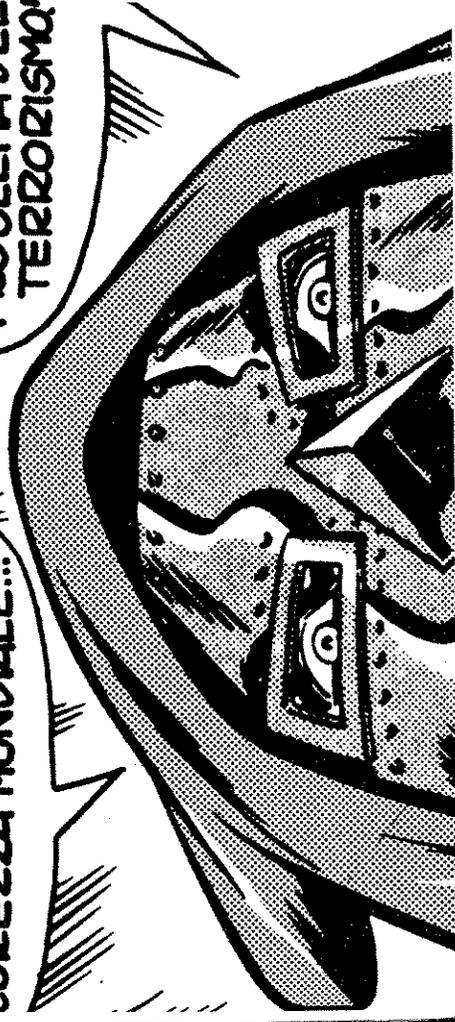
Translated by Mary Jane Ciccarello

1. Ugo La Malfa: Secretary of the Republican Party.
2. Leo Valliani: Historian and Journalist of the *Corriere della Sera*.
3. Paolo Baffi: ex-governor of the *Banca di Italia*. Sarcinelli is a public figure involved in financial scandals.
4. Rocco codex: criminal laws of the Fascist period which makes it possible to convict someone for having "dangerous" opinions.
5. Sandro Pertini: President of the Italian Republic.
6. Freda and Ventura: well-known fascists. They instigated the attack of December 12, 1969 against the National Bank of Agriculture in Milan where 15 persons were killed. It marked the beginning of the "Strategy of tension".
7. Salvatore Manunta: unknown to the Editors.
8. Valpreda: anarchist accused of the bombings of the National Bank of Agriculture. He was proved innocent after 4 years in prison.
9. Castelli: one of the many political collectives of Autonomy.
10. Di Gennaro: Italian magistrate.
11. Both Lauro and Gava belong to the DC.

III/1 / Voisci, May/June 1978

**DATEMI IL COMPLETO CONTROLLO DELLA SICUREZZA MONDIALE...**

**ED IO VI OFFRO UNA FINE DEL PROBLEMA DEL TERRORISMO!**



ween hunger, robbery, drugs, and submerged economy, which would actually be the condemnation to working without the right to work;

5. Tens of homicides by the police or carabinieri caused by their "slipping up" or by invisibility at road blocks, recognized by the Italian State as legal based upon the Reale law;

6. The panic and terror, not counting the damage to health and environment, widespread among the population because of the production of certain materials in plants such as Seveso, Marghera, Manfredonia, Priolo, etc.;

7. The fact that Baffi is not arrested in consideration of his position and his advanced age, while provisional freedom is repeatedly denied to 72 year-old Salvatore Manunta<sup>7</sup> who is seriously ill and in prison for over a year.

The conclusion then is that this democracy permits social inequality, homicide and exploitation in perfect harmony with the laws of the State. Democracy, therefore, has not been fully realized (and let's hope that the usual shithhead, who pretends to demonstrate just the opposite by explaining that if it weren't this way then we wouldn't even be able to say these things, doesn't come forward). We would remind him that being able to say from the very beginning that Valpreda<sup>8</sup> was innocent served no purpose whatsoever as he remained in prison for over three years and he was released only because the truth was imposed upon the democratic institutions by extra-parliamentary struggle.

If democracy has not yet been fully realized, if it is still as much a utopia as communism, then why is its present form nurtured by violence?

Justice helps us to understand why through the conclusions arrived at by the magistrate Luigi Gennaro in regards to the comrades of the Workers and Students Collective of Castelli<sup>9</sup>. We present here a few significant passages from the court order for retrial. We do not know in detail the motivations of the accusation formulated by the magistrate Calogero concerning the Padua comrades, but we believe that those made by Gennaro<sup>10</sup> several months ago may be illustrative of the pretentiousness and the danger with which one part of the magistracy assumes the duty of "resolving" some problems of social and political nature for the multi-party system.

Gennaro no longer judges only the completed fact or the hypothesis of a crime, but he goes beyond them and arrives at social behavior. From here he continues on to political theories and then on to ideas, setting up a true and personal ideological process. The process moves from mass illegality, exemplified by the forms of autoreduction (considered a priori to be an underhanded way of legitimizing crime by comrades), to civil war and finally to terrorist militancy for having defined as comrades the militants of the Red Army Fraction.

At this point the discussion becomes extremely clear: it is no longer a matter of answering the arguments raised by a Leo Valliani on the more or less just use of violence. The existence of democracy is no longer in discussion here, not because it is seen as having been already attained but because it is propped up by the Power of the State, which, as Gennaro states, cannot be usurped.

Other than defense of democracy and liberty, here is the established Order that becomes a part among parts, that seriously attacks men and ideas in virtue of an ideology loosened from social matters and conflicts, abstract and narrow as only the ideology of Power can be.

Even a liberal like Locke affirmed as early as 1690 that no reason of State can stand before abuses and prevarications of power, nor are there any motivations for disorders and bloodshed that can stop the just rebellion against the State.

Someone might say that even though our reasoning makes sense, it is still true

# The Sandstorm Method

## Dario Fo

and terrorists in a logic of conflict between two armed organizations. The clash goes well over the heads of those who are involved only on the level of dismay and fear. Thus an impotent (fatal) tension is created, which upsets any reaction and any real participation in political events, making any discourse drown in the formula: "There is need to establish order, no matter what the cost."

And the coat is the sacrifice of democracy (especially as an active, rational presence in the control of social, judicial, economic, etc., events of life), the instrumental panicky fear of the parties, of the labor unions, the falling apart of the logic of the "unprovided-for/mindless" who are driven by brains hidden in the shadows—the (absolute) non-intervention, better yet, the running away from the commitment to sustain the defense of Civil Rights and its relative struggles, the repression in jails, the refrain when faced with women's actions: all struggles for housing, unemployment, the youth, ecology, nuclear power, disarmament, drugs, etc.

This is how a broad, and very diversified, slice of the electorate manifested its disappointment. All to the advantage of Power, which gained immensely from it. Power has no real interest in really fighting terrorism with determination, by involving, on the democratic plane, the responsible presence of the citizen; this would mean taking away the basic motivations that constitute it, that give it a space for action and a consensus, especially among the emarginated and the hopeless, without any real perspectives.

Power has no real interest in reorganizing (in a controlled, more efficient and democratic form) the police, but prefers to delegate everything to a super-cop (Gen. Della Chiesa) giving him carte blanche so that the big shots may be brought to justice.

The solution to the problem is of no interest to Power or to the Power Party. What interests them is the spectacle and the emotional participation of the spectator citizen in a continuous merry-go-round of bombastic facts, much like a television "mystery" where everyone is the suspect, everyone is the murderer—the accomplice—the instigator—the terrorist—right-hand-man. Even if it cannot be proved that he or she is guilty, anymore, nobody is ever left innocent.

The important thing is the sandstorm, to raise hell, to dazzle, to create a scene. The newspapers and television do not even bother saying anymore "They say," "It appears that," "There is a suspicion;" no: they say: "is" and "it is certain!" Expect that the next day all is denied, in a hush, between the lines.

In this "blizzard," where everyone is screaming "he has the plague," Power has freed itself first of all from the presence of the so-called front-line democrats, the intellectuals, the artists, the free-thinkers: it has assigned them the role of perplexed observers who await clearer developments: "We are waiting for proofs and confirmations, we do not wish to interfere with the process-inquiry, we all are for lawfulness."

In the meantime, the power of spectacle has free reign in this "pot-shot" scene: leaking of news, making of inferences.

It is a very old game, one already well unmasked by Machiavelli, in 1589, in his *Discourses*:

"Consider the cunning that sustains that State: Games of prestige that conjure up profound political designs. Before this spectacle, we most resemble the unwary dulleard at a play, who does not see the ropes and is amazed by a flying aureole.

Let us suppose, then, that just in the middle of the prince's performance, the badly mounted machine gives way. The screens vanish, letting everything be seen: how fast the trick leaps to the spectator's eye!

How simple it all is, and what a vulgar fraud! Look, then, at the pulley's noose!

Dario Fo is a leading Italian dramatist well-known for his satire of Power.

Glytemnestra's invective against Power:

"You have blackened your eyelids with soot, as the tragic actors do to portray a sorrow that you can not even feign. You have pasted tears of melted wax on your cheeks. The swelling drops do not stream down to bathe your mouth with salt. Your grimaces of hopeless suffering are nauseating; they resemble the comic mimes' sneers. Power extends his arms in a plea for help and clemency, but note well how the folds of his chlamys trace broad curves with his solemn pace. This is the significant gesture. With his head slipped inside a huge mask of whitened papier mache, his pupils do not look out through the hollow eyes; the mouth gaping wide in a silent shout like a funnel sends forth reverberations that resemble words. Yet they are only his legal code."

Terrorism never destabilizes the established rule; rather it strengthens it, since it destabilizes the opposition (even when the opposition is most moderate) which is thus forced, in order to avoid being suspiciously drawn in as a cover to terrorism, to accept, support and allow those laws and those uncontrollable, violent acts which will in fact be used against citizens and workers (and their class warfare), not to mention the spontaneous movements of those who have been deceived.

Terrorism compels us to disguise in the facts the "infernal duel" between State

How poorly the mechanism works.

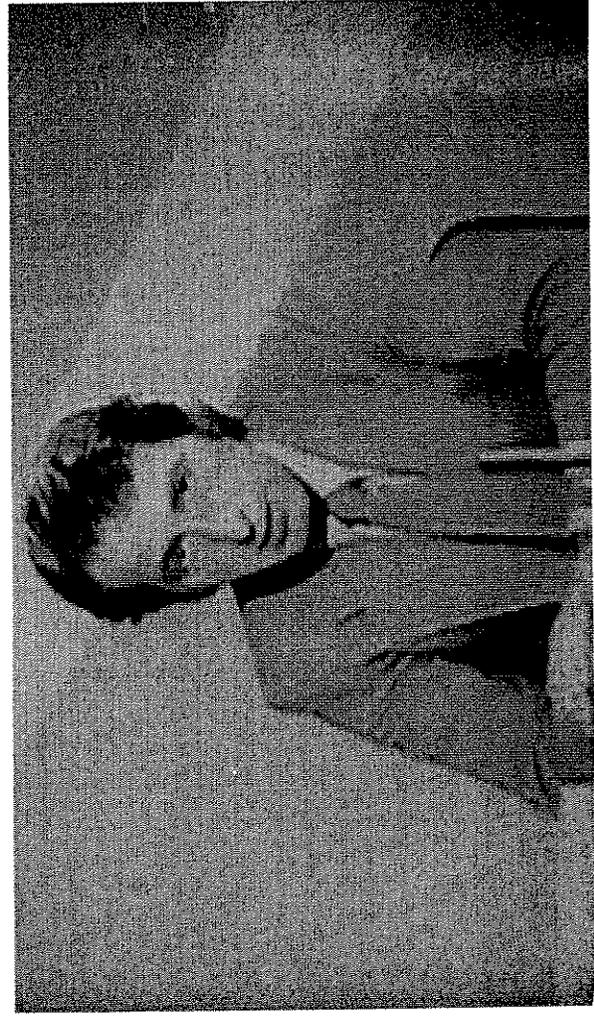
The prince's thoughts and the State's plans: look on what meanness their lot depends! Crude devices fly around terrorizing the people who shake before the incredible prodigy. Here it is, look at it. Look how everyone shudders and trembles! After an instant of alarm at the uncovered trap, the simple audience understands and laughs.

It laughs more than it ever laughed before. Then it stops; indignation and rage replace the laughter. Next the audience will grasp the reason for the incredible fraud.

You too can play this game of uncovering the fraud.

Let us uncover it and we shall see whether and how much the people will laugh, and whether they will grasp the reason."

*Translated by Peter Caravetta,  
James Cascaito & Lawrence Venuti*





# From Terrorism To Guerrilla Warfare

## Franco Piperno

sense that its appropriation equals its "enjoyment." Therefore, production stops being an a priori human characteristic or a moral necessity. Production is investigated and re-dimensioned as the production of "humanly enjoyable" wealth. Here are some of the typical manifestations of this new spontaneity: absenteeism as mass sabotage against the work ethic; shoplifting in supermarkets as an individual re-appropriation of objects, the enjoyment of which has been hindered by monetary mediation; employment simply as a source of income; a "generous availability" in relation to those moments of social activity in which "work and need coincide"; the many different forms of rebellion in which a radical and sometimes violent social malaise is expanded in the "anonymity of daily life." These types of behavior break any relationship between participation in production and the amount of salary received, between working time and the number of objects required for our existence. It is self-evident that, these activities being behavior (and not harmless ideas), their manifestation requires the practice of illegality as a necessary condition for existence.

Beneath this behavior we find a culture that despite the evident naïveté and obvious failures cannot be easily liquidated as false consciousness. Although this culture feeds on alienation and misery, it also holds great promise in that it contains a promise of overcoming, immediately and materially, both alienation and misery. From this derives the issue of immediate fulfillment of body needs, of individual "difference and uniqueness." We presume to have reached the age of fulfillment through the concrete enjoyment of available wealth, since we can now convert "objective wealth into wealth of the subjects." Prolonging the condition of misery is simply an arbitrary outcome, which is technically and socially unacceptable and unjustifiable.

On the other hand, we are not only faced with the urgency of new needs which are pressing for fulfillment within an old world incapable of providing for them. Even the morphology of the modern State changes. We witness the failure of the "economy as structure" or, more precisely, the disappearance of any economic rule, which implies the establishment of an autonomous political power for the control and use of the fruits of social co-operation. In this framework is found the intercorporate war over the allocation of social surplus through monetary means. The new corporate state is consequently revealing its incapacity to provide materially and coherently for the general interest as distinguished from the rapacious demands of corporations. At the same time, even the institutions of representative democracy are emptied of any decision-making strength and survive as a costly ideological apparatus which records and supports operations ripened elsewhere. Political apparatus produces its own results without rules other than the rule of force—and this means that "politics is war in a different form."

In this context, those social needs that cannot be fulfilled by the corporate system because they cannot be treated as commodities, tend to impose themselves by escaping political mediation and by becoming, with no moral reservation, the motivation for warfare. Such a new spontaneity has been perfected in a real sense primarily among women and youth, both employed and unemployed. The State can only exist as a bureaucratic apparatus, superfluous on one hand, and hostile and foreign on the other, appearing to proletarian youth as authoritarian. In this case the term authoritarian does not mean the "limitation of traditional individual liberties," but rather implies that the State imposes and legalizes an arbitrary schism between people and social wealth, between objective wealth and the enjoyment of it, between existing and possible wealth.

The Workers' Movement is not only incapable of translating this new spontaneity into political terms, but is even unable to recognize it and make contact with it. The reason for this incapacity is other than the presumed "betrayal of leadership." The Workers' Movement is in fact a political experience that has exhausted itself over other social issues, other morphologies of the productive process, and another spontaneity. In other words, it was extinguished in a different historical era, in which starvation was the main theme of the division of labor and

In the last ten years we have witnessed a quiet upheaval "in the mode of producing wealth." The productive process exploits nature as a resource rather than redistributing surplus work and consequently reducing working time. To say it in other words, the different forms of social production are no longer organically connected by the law of value. This consequence is of great importance since it involves not only social issues but also labor co-operation. In this context a new proletarian subject is born, who is the producer of wealth but is no longer perceived in terms of productive or unproductive work. Thus, the class composition of the proletariat is changed. In particular, the technological intelligentsia (which could be roughly defined as "non-worker labor") takes on a central position in the production of social wealth. However, we are not talking about the proletarianization of the middle class. The "non-worker laborer," by acting not as part of a residual class but as a material subject of this new mode of production, carries with him behavior, cultural references, and ideologies which cannot be reduced to the historical precedents of workers' struggles.

The change in composition of the proletariat implies a new "spontaneity" that appeared for the first time in 1968. This new spontaneity has its own characteristic relationship to social wealth. In fact, social wealth is enjoyed as use value, in the

Franco Piperno is one of the historical leaders of *Potere Operaio*. Wanted by the police since April 7, he was arrested in Paris on September 18, 1973.

the consequent need of individual self-realization. It is for this reason that the Workers' Movement is out-dated when it fights profit as the source of wealth whereas the entrepreneurial form has gone bankrupt out of an excess of development; when it fights for a national independence whereas there is no longer a national market; when it promotes manual work in an era of automation; when it preaches sacrifice whereas people practice consumption as freedom in daily life. The tragedy of the Workers' Movement is its outdated rhetoric. In the end this proud initiative, so-called "worker becoming the State", is only a residue of the social legitimization of the modern corporate State. At the same time another Workers' Movement is emerging from other needs and forms of struggles. This other Movement not only is becoming autonomous vis-a-vis the first one, but it is also antagonistic to and openly fighting the first one.

These being the facts, the existence of a Movement which practices armed violence in order to pursue its own objectives is somewhat obvious, just like a natural phenomenon. One should be surprised at the opposite. Inside the armed movement, the presence of the Red Brigades is characterized in relation to other armed groups by a practical discourse on "effectiveness." This means not only the coherent and effective use of terrorism (meant according to revolutionary tradition as an instrument of intimidation rather than the material destruction of the enemy), but also the attempt to legitimize the existence of its military organization as an indispensable device in the struggle for social emancipation. The BR's demand for the recognition of their status as fighters is born here. Perhaps formal, but certainly "reasonable."

Having thus fixed the terms of the discussion, we can now face the central political question: the relationship between armed violence and the Movement, or between terrorism and the emergence of the above mentioned, new spontaneity. It is worthwhile, however, to rephrase the question in a "clear and distinct" fashion. We have to investigate (both as "given" and as "possible") the relationship between terrorism and the new spontaneity in order to verify the inter-relationship between the two phenomena. More correctly, we have to discover the possible link through which the new spontaneity can avail itself of the effect of terrorism and, in general, of the armed struggle in its realization as a daily practical emancipatory process. The resolution of this problem holds a "chain of solutions" for other issues like recomposition or de-structuring of the State, expropriation or strengthening of mass struggle. In short, by answering the first question we can understand terrorism. Obviously we cannot answer through biblical "universal meanings" such as the "sacredness of human life," "homicidal fury of the terrorists," "the plot of the super-powers against Eurocommunism," and so on, which are not verifiable.

In the empirical investigation we have to refer to specific episodes. In the early Seventies, the great factory struggles showed that the supervisors lacked any technical productive meaning. In fact, the boss has no real function of coordination in the productive system. Instead his task is to separate the workers from the authority above them. He is an agent of the evaluating process which is extraneous to the process of production, since all the productive acts are made with the workers' co-operation outside the supervisor's function of control and the work cycle. Following this "mass discovery" the intimidation of bosses began and was accompanied occasionally by their assassination. This is now history, which however, gives us some clues to the possible link between Movement and terrorism. Mass struggle can isolate those articulations of power which are devoid of technical foundation and therefore lack the consensus within the productive fabric. (Their existence can only be explained as an arbitrary imposition, as an effect of force by the enemy; their extinction is a problem of material destruction). The network of control over workers' behavior is eroded today, at least in the large factories. We even have an "acceptable proof" of this phenomenon in the effective labor time, which is significantly less than what is expected from the contract, even when all the time spent to sustain the union liturgy is included: official strikes, demonstrations, the speeches of the authorities, and so on.

Let us now examine some of the facts related to Moro's kidnapping. First of all we have to make a marginal but not irrelevant observation: there is no substantial difference between Moro's kidnapping and the terrorist acts against the bosses. They constitute the same path for the mass struggle: from the factory to political power. Needless to say, the new spontaneity is the element that has affected this development, but it is the success reached in the attacks upon the daily life of the masses that has made it a necessary path. Besides, isn't it true that a State fetishism is present in the Italian Communist Party, a fetishism which has been manifested as hysteria among some of the party's leaders? Terrorism, too, has gone from the control of the factory to social control. Such a critical analysis shows the premises of Moro's kidnapping.

In relation to the power that limits the processes of emancipation and forbids, especially for youth, the "endless enjoyment of social wealth," terrorism works in reverse by forbidding the power to forbid. There is a possibility of growth for the Movement within the new open territory. Certainly, we cannot yet outline all the results of such a terrorist act. However, there is enough evidence for everyone to see that the State does not emerge stronger and more legitimate after Moro's kidnapping, but rather more impotent and more ferocious.

The corporate State has immediately perceived the subversive aspect, the threat to the social fabric inherent in Moro's kidnapping. But instead of "sticking to the facts" and analyzing them adequately, doubting the legitimacy of its own existence, it has preferred to consider the Red Brigades as bloodthirsty beasts escaped from their cages. The reduction of terrorism to an issue of public order and of moral hygiene has emptied repressive behavior of meaningfulness and made it ridiculous. It is as if an elephant were chasing a mosquito through the narrow Roman streets — passersby beware! It was at once a tragic and an exhilarating spectacle. In the meantime the high priests of the regime flooded the press and the air-waves with a call to first principles. In tears they launched humanitarian appeals, and solemnly they proclaimed the absolute value of human life. It was a declamatory diarrhea which did not stop them from using Moro's blood, with cynical hypocrisy, to dodge that squaring of accounts which now weighs upon the "upright lives" of the leaders of the regime.

It is not too difficult to understand that the Red Brigades wanted to show with Moro's kidnapping how the high priests of the regime, who are adept at the rites of the Modern State, are neither untouchable, nor unimpeachable. "The infinite power of the State" rests in fact on the clay feet of the "subjects'" passivity.

Furthermore, the Red Brigades, once they apprehended Moro, had intended to pur-



sue another aim (the release of some political prisoners) which would have materially reinforced the organization and would have somewhat legitimized their existence as a military organization breaking the State's monopoly on armed violence. But the kidnapping of a "real personality" like Moro implied the immediate neutralization of his security guards. Once inside the war machine of kidnapping, the death of the five security guards was an inevitable step. The interference in fact was carried out on the firing line.

However, after the State's refusal not only to exchange, but even to bargain, the execution of Moro became another inevitable step; otherwise all future bargaining power would have been lost together with the BR's organizational credibility.

In a sequence of inevitable steps, we have had a very singular action. With Moro's corpse the brigades seemed to contribute to the new political balance which, for a couple of months, the system of parties and syndicates tried to achieve, exorcising the more dangerous and thorny possibility: to have to accommodate a physically alive but politically "foul" Moro, a "ticking bomb" as far as the central government was concerned. Then what are the mistakes that redefined the meaning of Moro's kidnapping?

Firstly, with the very use of kidnapping, blackmailing: a recurrent use in terrorist practice, but already inadequate today since the phenomenon has acquired such power that it required the adoption of real forms of guerrilla warfare. Secondly, to have made such a great show of power for such a minimal objective, which not only was an almost private matter but also quite an unrealistic one: the release of some political prisoners.

Within this imbalance between the destabilizing effectiveness of the intelligent use of military rules and the inept political management of the achieved effects, we have witnessed those spectacular and ambiguous elements represented in the final act: the ingenious and mocking return of Moro's corpse to the proximity of the Ruling Party's headquarters. In a sort of boomerang effect, the BR have been branded with the label of "impotent ferocity," as happens to all those who cause useless deaths.

The debate over the Moro affair has put to the test the "culture of the left" as dominant ideology. Its structural incapacity to discover the causes that underlie and constantly regenerate terrorist practice has emerged. The Red Brigades — lucid "dispensers of death" — have been exposed as puppets in the puppet-masters, powerful but obviously secret, or at best the receptacle for past errors of the communist movement; but in any case, as alien to and enemies of the process of social emancipation.

Some — like Scalfari,<sup>1</sup> curious heirs of the "distinguished Croceans" — have gone even farther: they have expelled the brigades from the human species genetically and consider them maddened wolves — in other words, materialization of evil as infantile category. Everyone knows that a pack of wolves would barely be able to terrorize a remote agricultural community; whereas a complex and ailing society like ours, capable of tolerating with resigned passivity the meaningless ferocity that punctuates the anonymity of daily life, would have quickly minced and digested any damage inflicted by a statistically cruel and bizarre behavior.

But there is more: the culture of the left, resorting to the superstitious use of a-historical and ossified categories ("life," "civil co-existence," "eternal values," "humanity") has revealed its own spasmodic need to endure, the physiological rejection of self-criticism, and hatred for events that threaten those minute virtues on which a whole political class has built its scanty fortune in this post-war period. Let us think, for example, of the question — raised in various quarters — of the "means of struggle" as measure of the true nature of armed violence. This somewhat unexpected reversal — of the traditional cult of the end has been replaced and there presently rages on a sort of idolatry of the means — this

reversal reveals, in the intolerance peculiar to it, a foolish ideological scheme: to remove and exorcise what is new in order to sanctify the means, the political choices, and the "vulgar and self-satisfied" way of life of the red bourgeoisie. Thus, all that talk about life that we have heard, as bewildered spectators, in the weeks of the Moro affair, smells irremediably of rhetoric and death. The proof of this comes from the very comrades of *Lotta Continua* who, involved with unwarranted generosity in an unprecedented priestly mission, have rediscovered very recently the sacredness of life qua biological life — and they retreat with more moral horror before the eventuality of "giving or receiving" — experienced as a catastrophe for the human essence. In reality, human life is not merely a biological miracle. It thrives as a network of social relations; and, in the case of the "agents of domination," it comprises a power sufficient for creating and/or interdicting the life of other men. Thus it can happen — and this is the scandal — that the death of a man results in freedom and life for others. This is a "banal piece of evidence," difficult to accept as a fact; it determines the behavior of all of us in the face of death as daily event. In fact, the inequality that gives hierarchy to the life of men obviously confers various weights to their deaths. Such is the way of the world. And to pretend that "the rules" are different, that "humanity has already been realized," is an expression of sheer "desiderata" when it is not a vulgar ideological lie. And since it is plain today that the future will be inhuman, decency requires that everyone choose his wounded and his dead, that he mourn the latter and cure — if he can — the former.

Often critics have called into question the inconsistency between the political programs of the armed factions and their indubitable operational capacity, which, as in the case of the BR, has attained effects so powerful as to be without precedent. But this divergence between intention and power of action is not, in fact, a real limitation. The truly novel characteristic of Italian terrorism is that "it does not need a program in order to affirm itself." It does not have, despite all things, a social model to offer us. In fact, if we make a distinction between the ideology of the terrorists, which procreates theoretically muddled documents, often hallucinatory, and the chain of events that the terrorist acts produce, the result is as follows: the plan controlling terrorist practice and causing its success is suitable as military strategy, that is, it is designed for the material destruction of the enemy (the State in all its articulations) according to the rules of military intelligence.

This strategy does not need a political program (understood as a design for the forms of production and for the power in the society to be created) since it lives inside the "use-value movement" which we have mentioned earlier, and in fact constitutes one of its most extreme articulations.



The critical consciousness of the possibility of seizing, here and now, social wealth that has been arbitrarily denied, penetrates to youth as common sense. Therefore this consciousness is able not only to replace the traditional political program, but also to become an immediate way of life which establishes itself by its own actions. In other words, if this new spontaneity, based on the use-value movement, is seen as a multiplicity of perceptions, units of behavior, and individuals, then terrorism is not outside the movement, but rather one of its functions. Specifically, this function is to destroy the power of the State, since this power prevents the emergence and the realization of the diverse ideas and concrete needs which form the Movement itself.

It is self-evident that this inter-functional relationship between new spontaneity and terrorism is not an eternal given. It depends upon the modes and the timing according to which terrorism and spontaneity are developed. In particular, it indicates that the situation is at a crossroads.

The Moro affair has marked, for many reasons, the highest point and, at the same time, the limits of terrorism. Now terrorism is forced to make a choice. On the one hand, it may crystallize and perfect itself as a separate populist practice with self-determined forms, timing, and objectives, by, for example, insisting obsessively on the theme of the release of prisoners. In this case, as has already happened elsewhere, the political phenomenon of violence will end up in the category of the case study of social malaise in the age of late capitalism; and thus it will be interpreted as one of the prices to be paid for the survival of the status quo. On the other hand, it may move toward forms of real guerrilla action, and it may consciously set down its roots within the new spontaneity.

However, this transition implies a profound re-structuring of the military organization, whose capacity to last and to extend itself is attributed to "social complexity." Instead of the self-sufficiency of the organization itself. It is obvious that such a successful change will imply an increment in the offensive capacity of the armed struggle.

In the short run, that is in the next few months, this taking root will certainly not occur on the level of behavior: here the difference between the rich and immediate living of the young and the military, rigid, inhuman abstraction of terrorism is irreducible. Vice-versa, the conjoining, as subjective operation, could take place through the objectives that the Movement has promulgated in these years: in the first place, that key idea "less time for work, everyone working." It should be kept in mind, however, that to emphasize intelligently some of the mass objectives and to practice them would mean to discharge on them the indubitable power of the armed struggle.

On the other hand, the new social behavior, confined to a "molecular" impact (rather than "spectacular") with terrorism, would come out profoundly modified and strengthened. The menacing quality of "subversion of existing order" that the new spontaneity carries and conceals in itself would prevail; a quality that — to impose itself — needs to achieve success and to withdraw from the atmosphere — between allowable marginality and harmless dissent — that today limits it and vexes it as a heart condition would.

One cannot in fact forget that the "expropriation of the struggle" and of the mass initiative happens wherever the Movement clashes with obstacles which it cannot remove with appropriate actions; satisfied with the consciousness of its legitimacy, the Movement does not organize itself in order to impose this legitimacy. In the end, its tension is evaporated in an empty "obligation to repeat," which is only the beginning of future passivity and impotence.

Precisely for this reason, the conjunction of the frightening beauty of March 12, 1977 in the Roman streets? with the geometric power displayed in Moro's kidnapping becomes the narrow door through which the subversive process in Italy can either grow or die.

To sum up, we can state that the "serendipitous uniqueness" of the Italian situation consists precisely in the circumstances described earlier. Presently in a state of tumultuous expansion among youth is a way of life based on need, that is, on use-value. This development is accompanied by, in a relationship not devoid of tension and hostility, the definition of a political being which raises in military terms the question of the break-up of the State machinery. As a consequence, Italy, the social practice of use-value is charged with offensive significance and demands a mutation in the mode of production, whereas in other countries the same practice, perhaps wider and richer, lives a virtual, interstitial, and somewhat transient life *side by side* with the capitalist society and its State.

The new corporate State is not capable, at least for the time being, of accommodating the new behavior through any mediation or management of its dynamics. The regime is therefore forced to confront head to head the new spontaneity (which it rejects even as pure datum by denying its existence) while it attempts to destroy it, wishing to respond only in terms of interdiction and death.

In reality, this operation of death and restoration must be based immediately on the social network, represented politically by the Italian Communist Party. However, the process of State institutionalization of this party (with the simultaneous wilting of its reformist-progressive role into impotence) may unleash the social contradictions within it, contradictions which Togliatti's machine had succeeded in suppressing and managing. The costs of such a process are so great as to be — perhaps — unacceptable. The Italian Communist Party risks breaking the branch on which it sits.

As everyone can see, "great is the disorder beneath the heavens, and for that reason the situation bodes well."

1. Eugenio Scalfari: Director of *La Repubblica*, a center-left daily paper.
2. Benedetto Croce: literary philosopher at the beginning of this century.
3. On March 11, 1977, a Bolognese student, Francesco LoRusso, was killed by the police. On March 12, more than 100,000 people demonstrated in Rome. They attacked the seat of the DC, broke open an arsenal, and fought with the police throughout the city.

III/1 via Fani, Rome, March 1978

III/2 Hanns Martin Schleyer, 1973 Photo: Digne Meller Marcovitz

III/3 3/16/44-NAPLES, ITALY: Carrying placards reading "Down with the Fascist King", "Long Live Anglo-American-Soviet Coalition", more than 7,000 Italians paraded to the Galleria Umberto to hear three hours of speeches advocating the overthrow of the monarchy.

