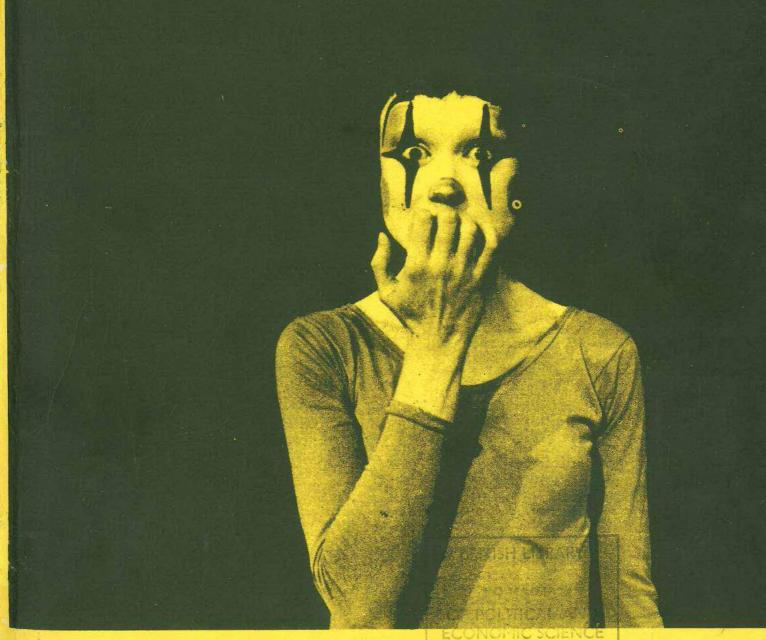
# O ITALY 1980-81 AFTER MARK, JAIL!



The Attempted Destruction of a Communist Movement



REDNOTES



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The Attempted Destruction of a Communist Movement

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"WE BELIEVE THAT IN ITALY TODAY, AND IN EUROPE, THE POLITICA PROSECUTION OF THE "WORKERS' 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 WIT 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.

THIS TRIAL IS AIMED TO OUTLAW THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF WORK ING CLASS AND PROLETARIAN AUTONOMY.

WE ARE MILITANTS AND INTELLECTUALS OF THE AUTONOMOUS LEFT MOVEMENT....THE PROSECUTION AGAINST US IS OVERTLY POLITICAL, AND WE ARE ASKING FOR POLITICAL SOLIDARITY."

M.DALMAVIVA L.FERRARI BRAVO

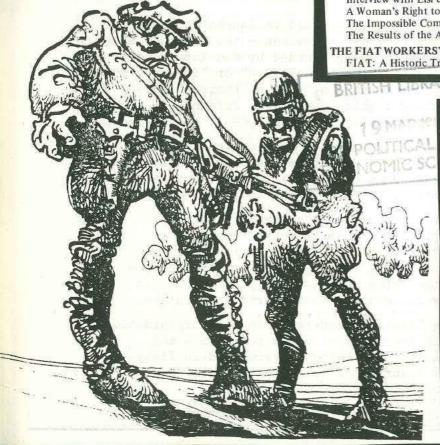
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May 10th 1979

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"There is no Left in Italy now. A Left with a platform no longer exists in Italy today. By now, the only Left which exists lives in and around the jails. Sergio Bologna, March 1981

# IMTRODUCTION

This week Britain is in the grip of riots. Young and old people, black and white, men and women, employed and unemployed have been attacking police, burning property and looting stores. A whole sector of people in the working class communities have found a voice that they didn't have before. Official society will try to rub out this experience, crush it, forget it, make it out to be an anomaly, and punish it ruthlessly...but that movement of people cannot be crushed. It has real material roots, and that public voice which it found spontaneously during the rioting must now find a longer term, more organised expression. This, it seems to us, is a project for the coming months.

This experience has not been limited to Britain and Ireland. Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Zurich, Athens and Amsterdam have all experienced the same. And in Italy it was this experience that the <u>autonomia</u> was trying to understand, interpret and turn into organisation.

It seems that in Italy a broad working class movement is in the process of being defeated. The <u>autonomia</u> has been one strand inside that movement, showing itself in the working class, in the women's movement, in the "alternative" movement of young people, in culture and forms of social organisation. The movement of <u>autonomy</u> saw itself separate from and opposed to the further development of capitalist society, and for a communist future (though the terms of that communism were always, and are still, open to debate). And it is precisely that movement which has now come under attack from the police, the judiciary and the established political parties.

This book does not speak as a voice for the <u>autonomy</u>. We would have many points of disagreement with what was anyway a very diffuse and fragmented movement. But the <u>autonomy</u> had identified an important pulse in the struggle. and had started to organise around it. And that pulse was beating throughout Europe. It was no accident that the April 7th arrests in Italy came so soon after <u>autonomes</u> had rioted in the streets of Paris: the "movement" is European, and the European State has moved to kill its political expression at birth.

If it were not so bitterly sad and tragic, it would be laughable. Hundreds and hundreds of comrades, young and old, men and women - the cream of a generation of communist militants - are being rounded up and imprisoned. They are charged for crimes like "subversive association" or "insurrection against the State" - vague and nebulous charges, with no basis of proof, but which may carry life sentences; charges which suffice to criminalise a whole decade of dissent and revolutionary organisation from 1969 to the present.

We need not waste words to describe this book. It is a collection of interviews, translated articles, leaflets etc about the attack being mounted against organised (and unorganised) forms of resistance and dissidence in Italy. It is an act of information, but also of solidarity.

The experiences described in this book are not "foreign" or "other". Republicans in Ireland, for example, know what it means to have your movement "criminalised" - hence the prisoners' hunger strikes for Political Status. And today, on the news, Thatcher's government is preparing the concentration camps, the water cannons, the plastic bullets and the gas for use against the working class on the British mainland.

A situation like this demands new levels of understanding and organisation. Somewhere in all this upheaval lie the seeds of a new politics — and we believe that a similar new politics was being experimented in Italy during the past 5 years. Our book describes some of what was being attempted. We hope you find it useful.

London, July 13th 1981

# ARTICLE THE ITALIAN INQUISITION

□ The introductory article for this pamphlet is reprinted from the June 1980 edition of Issues. It gives some of the history of the Partito Armato — the recent development of the "Armed Party" in Italy. The State's counter-attack has involved wave after wave of arrests in the Left movement. The first waves aimed at the leadership of organisations like Autonomia Operaia. The later waves have aimed more at intermediate political cadres. In these prosecutions whole areas of the Left have been "criminalised", and face charges that, in some cases, date back over 10 years.

You Must Accept a Reality

'You have been badly informed' — writes the mother of one of Italy's top suspected terrorists in reply to an article published in La Republica — 'my daughter is not emotionally vulnerable. Even if she looks minute and charming, she is strong as iron. She is not destroyed. She is facing jail with courage and a sense of humour. She believes that prison itself is a terrain of struggle. It may be difficult for a man to understand (the article had been written by one of Italy's leading commentators, signor Bocca) but you must accept a reality in which women do not need men in order to be housewives or revolutionaries, in order to live or die'.

Far from sharing her daughter's suspected interest in armed struggle and insurrection against the State, signora Ninni Monroy remains nevertheless convinced that 'there are many ways of interpreting life and my daughter has chosen hers'. It is the kind of argument that however tactfully expressed, (or because it is so tactfully expressed) causes anger in Italian government circles and in the PCI. The fact that the attempt to get the vox populi on the side of the 'iron fist' against political violence is only partly successful is an indication of the extraordinary complex choices facing Italians today. Can repressive measures alone solve the problems of political violence? How is Italy going to face the next decade with thousands of people in prison for political reasons? How many people actually sympathize with and support those who have engaged in violence against the State?

Armed Struggle, Prisons & Special Police Powers

People have not forgotten that it was shortly after the inauguration of the first centre-left government of 1963, headed by Aldo Moro, that the Christian Democratic Party encouraged the strategy of tension based on the theory of 'opposite extremes'. For nearly a decade, a ruling party already discredited by a history of 'malgoverno', 'clientelismo', scandals and corruption of all kinds — played the extreme left against the extreme right. The Christian Democrats inevitable collaborated with the right to the point of being found enmeshed via the Secret Service in many terrorist activities. The bombing atrocity at the Banca Del Agricoltura in Milan where 16 people were killed marked the real beginning of right-wing terrorism.

Although the extreme right proved ideologically incapable of transcending the ideas of old fascist intellectuals, the extreme left has developed progressive theories and highly articulate analyses of the economic and political situation. Potere Operaio, later Autonomia Organizata, have produced analyses of the new class composition and the new categories of struggle. While groups like 'Lotta Continua' and 'Il Manifesto' entered the area vacated by the PCI in its movement towards the Centre, a smaller section of the extreme left abandoned the terrain of legal struggle, helping the formation of what is now commonly referred to as the 'Partito Armato', the Armed Party.

It is a new and disturbing reality, not only for Italians but for the Western world. It is the first time that the problem of armed struggle has acquired such dimensions in an advanced capitalist country. The comparisons with Latin America frequently made in the Western Press are obviously misleading.

After the 'blitz' of General Dalla Chiesa of April and December 1979, arrests have continued unabated up and down the country which in certain cases have led to the arbitrary killing of suspects. Left-wing lawyers have been apprehended and some driven to suicide, while the conditions under which the questioning of suspected terrorists takes place seems to indicate that 'torture' is not too strong a word.

After much speculation about the 'special powers' of General Dalla Chiesa, now in charge of the Pastrengo Division which commands 25,000 people in Northern Italy, it has finally been revealed that he is to report directly to the Home Secretary. This special relationship between the Ministry and a General, which has not even been discussed in Parliament has disturbed many Italian political observers. While there seems to be no end to the wave of arrests, the twelve top security jails are already known to be overcrowded and more than 1,000 people are in prison, suspected of various kinds of terrorist activities: the kidnapping and killing of signor Moro, insurrection against the State or participation in one of the subversive organizations, (said to number about 100).

Shortly before the implementation of the emergency measures at the beginning of this year, the Under-Secretary of State, Franco Mazzola, declared that a government estimate had put the number of terrorists and sympathizers at 100,000. Although (as he told an audience of startled journalists) only a few hundred of them could actually be classified as 'full time soldiers', the government was just as determined to clamp down on their supporters. This was made plain by the nature of the new measures, which bear the mark of the British Prevention of Terrorism Act as well as the 'Law for the Protection of Communal Peace' adopted by the West German government in 1976. The most important aspect of the emergency laws (passed on a vote of confidence because of effective filibustering by the Radicals), consists in a swing towards preventive measures accompanied by the use of terms such as 'suspicions', 'indications' or 'suppositions'. Thus the mere fact of being found in possession of 'documents or things' deemed to have subversive ends, can be punished with up to six years imprisonment. This term can be extended to ten years if the material thought to contain incitement, or apologia, or instructions for the purpose of committing crimes, is actually disseminated.

'Giving shelter' or 'assistance' to people who might be found guilty at a later stage of belonging to a criminal organization (a minimum of three people with access to arms or ammunition) can be punished with up to three years in jail. However, in this case, the authorities have bowed to the sacredness of family bonds by excluding parents and relatives from this provision. In principle at least, those on the run can seek shelter with parents or siblings, and see what happens. An extremely controversial clause is that which halves the punishment for anyone who decides to inform and cooperate with the authorities.

Other measures now allow the police to seal off entire districts, and to enter and search houses and blocks of flats without a warrant. Anyone can be detained for questioning for up to 48 hours without the right to see a lawyer, while, having been charged and imprisoned, a person can wait for up to twelve years in jail before a final judgement is passed on whether he is guilty or innocent. It is hardly surprising that some people have seen this as a 'legal coup d'etat'. The fact that for the first time since 1945 the job of Prefect has gone to a top military man (in Genoa) has only added weight to the argument that the country is increasingly controlled by the military.

Movements against Repression: the "Garantismo" For over a year, prior to the passing of these new laws, several appeals have been circulated expressing deep reservations about the anti-terrorist measures in the Constitution. The fact that some of these appeals have been signed by some prominent Communist MPs and intellectuals has so angered the PCI that some political observers anticipate a repetition of the kind of purge carried out against members of 'Il Manifesto' in 1969. Sharp divisions have emerged in all the main parties in relation

to the 'garantismo' movement.

The 'garantisti' are people of different political persuasions — socialists, communists, radicals, libertarians, members of extreme left-wing parties — who share the same preoccupation with the preservation of civil liberties, including freedom of expression, even though they fully realize the difficulty in distinguishing between words and actions. This is especially so when revolutionary theories are expounded as in the case of Professor Negri.

What the 'garantisti' want is that justice be seen to be done and are determined to stick to the principle that people must be considered innocent until they are found guilty. They keep reminding Italians that over a year has gone by since the arrests of 7 April while the proclaimed 'decisive evidence' said to be in the hands of the authorities, have actually failed to materialize. Their favourite expressions are 'maccartismo', 'germanizzazione' (West-Germanization) and 'inquisizione' but of course no amount of verbal distancing can change the fact that the phenomenon is essentially Italian, not least because for the first time the criminalization of large sections of the far left is taking place with the sanction of the Communist Party. It is not surprising that while the 'garantismo' movement (now being referred to as PGI, Partito Garantista Italiano,) is open to everybody, the only people who join it in an open dissent with their party are the Communists of the PCI. L'Unita has denounced the movement from the outset with articles thundering against the 'indecency' of its views. It has also referred to one of its most prominent members, Giorgio Bocca as a cretin and an imbecile. Bocca has published a number of books on the question of political violence in Italy. (The last one, Il Caso 7 Aprile, Toni Negri e la Grande Inquisizione, has just appeared.)

Sciascia, Magistratura Democratica, and Toni Negri Ironically the PCI itself was partly responsible for the formation of the 'garantismo', when Moro was kidnapped the Party promptly called on intellectuals to come out in support of the state. The call was intended to isolate and publicly ostracize all those who had characterised those who had engaged in violent actions and perhaps enlisted themselves in the Partito Armato as 'compagni che sbagliano' (comrades who have made mistakes). This definition, very common in newspapers such as Lotta Continua and Il Manifesto was sufficiently lenient and non critical to cause a huge scandal. In an attempt to teach the extreme left a lesson, the PCI delivered its ultimatum to the intellectuals who were supposed to clarify this dangerous confusion. 'Are you with the State or with the Red Brigades? You must publicly state which side you are on'. Leonardo Sciascia, unquestionably one of Italy's leading intellectuals, who has since joined the Radicals and is an MP both in Rome and Strasbourg, was one of those who did not respond in the way the PCI would have liked. 'They want me to say that one has to defend this State as it is', he wrote. 'My work of a lifetime, all that I have written and said prove quite clearly that I cannot be on the side of the Red Brigades. But I will not exchange my freedom and dignity, nor the Constitution, for a bit of public order. I am on the side of the Constitution. The State as it is today, is an empty shell.' Sciascia was refusing to bow and come out in support of this State, in the name of something which sounded strange and also alarming: dignity.

Sciascia's uncompromising stance was taken up and developed further by most of the people who have since joined the 'garantismo' movement. Some of its supporters, like Salvatore Senese, the National Secretary of a highly influential group of left-wing magistrates, Magistratura Democratica, believe that 'garantismo', far from playing the role of sympathizer of terrorism as the Christian Democrats and the PCI would have it, 'is the only force in Italy today capable of preventing a large section of the population from detaching itself even further from the State, and falling into the trap of illegal struggle'.

On the other hand, Professor Negri and other members of Autonomia Organizata and the 'Movimento' are very sceptical about the interpretation of 'garantismo', particularly in relation to its liberal principles such as freedom of speech. There has been a sharp exchange between the semiologist Umberto Eco and Negri on this matter. 'You have known me for 25 years

and have never considered me an idiot', wrote Negri, in response to Eco's demand that he comment on the attack on a university professor who was shot in the legs. 'Do you really believe that in this country one can say what he thinks ... ?' For Negri, the future of Italy is based very strictly on a political solution. 'In Italy, armed struggle is a reality... It would be grotesque to try and exorcise it by attributing the phenomenon to the subjectivity of a few dozen comrades. In fact the only alternative that exists to prevent the spreading of civil war, consists in the recognition of the new interests and needs of the proletariat. Interests which can no longer be mediated by the existing parties. The outcome will depend on whether the institutionalized political forces will decide to exercise further repression and move towards the destruction and annihilation of sections of the proletariat, or whether the proletariat will succeed in creating new spaces to express its new needs in a dialectical way'. And he adds, 'We are definitely against terrorism, but we are interested in the reasonability of the struggle, including armed struggle.'

A Laboratory of Social Ideas

It is this adamant stand which makes it very difficult to discuss ways of finding a solution to the problem of revolutionary intellectuals imprisoned in Italy. The Socialist Party is acutely aware that some kind of extraordinary political initiative may be necessary, but although senior party members have in the past met representatives of Autonomia Operaia, such as Piperno and Pace, who are now also in prison, it is more likely that possible solutions will emerge from different quarters. Piperno thus suggested an amnesty which was given space in Lotta Continua and 'read with interest' by some garantisti, and this remains a topic of discussion.

The role of Gramsci in this debate is important. Gramsci, the revolutionary intellectual, has been elevated, albeit in an expurgated form, to the status of a national hero. The younger generation of students are aware that Gramsci never excluded the use of violence in the overthrow of the capitalist State just as everyone knows that he died in prison at the hands of the fascists. Brecht has also been discussed in relation to political violence. Italy is clearly very different today, but the reminder is an apt and disturbing one. Inevitably comparisons have already been made between the hunt and trials of Communists in 1923 (a warrant was issued against Gramsci in February of that year) and some of the trials which will intersperse the next ten or twenty years of Italian political and cultural life.

Even more disturbing for the average person is the fact that apart from factory workers and so-called 'emarginati', so many people who might have been described until a few years ago as 'citizens above suspicion' — lawyers, journalists, professional broadcasters, electronic engineers, medical practitioners, poets — end up in jail. Some of them are 30-45 years old. Suddenly it's no longer 'just a question of students' and the wave of rebellion against the State and the degree of dissidence vis-à-vis the Communist Party in particular appears strangely mature.

A few years ago, everyone was quite happy to hear Italy being described as a laboratory of ideas. But now that it has become clear that some of these ideas seem to require an arsenal to be put into practice, the enthusiasm has quietened down considerably. While most people are holding their breath, no doubt there are others in Italy and abroad who want to see this excessively dangerous experiment cease at once and the entire laboratory locked up.



☐ The following interview is with Sergio Bologna, one of the Editorial Board of the journal Primo Maggio (First of May). He relates the wave of arrests to the wider context of the class struggle in Italy and the restructuration of Italian capitalism. He deals in particular with the key role of the Faculty of Social & Political Sciences at Padova University - the base of many of the original April 7th defendants. He also looks at the effects of political terrorism in Italy, especially on the Left.

Question: What was the real target of the repressive attack launched by the state in the late 1970s?

Answer: The real target was essentially autonomia organizzata, or certain sectors of autonomia, especially in Padova but also in Rome and Milan. Rome and Padova were autonomia's main centres of organisation; this became particularly clear during the Bologna Convention. It was here that autonomia operaia first assumed hegemony in the debate . . .

Question: You mean the Bologna Convention of 1977?

Answer: Yes, September 1977. But autonomia committed a serious error at this point, I think: the error of coming away from the Convention without a well-defined common programme. This error was later to allow the armed groups to insert themselves in this same social area covered by autonomia, and to recruit their militants from within it. I think it is clear that this is the area from which the armed groups recruited their militants. In this way the relationship between autonomia operaia, autonomia in general, and the armed groups is a relationship which was present in the dynamic of the struggles from the very beginning.

The April 7th police operation was planned to take in the whole of this area, in all of its complexity; in particular it aimed to imprison the presumed leadership of autonomia. There's no point in my repeating the fact that the charges are an absurdity, but I think it's important that we discuss the substance, the political content of the attack

The repressive attack was aimed at the whole social area represented by autonomia, at a whole history of struggles in Italy over the last 10 years, but in particular from 1977 on. This was a very important period, in which struggles began to have as their base a very different social area: the so-called "new social subjects", the metropolitan proletariat, women, the "diffused worker" etc.

The organisational characteristics of work in that period - the way it was

being geographically dispersed and decentralised - imposed, if you like, a real subjective necessity for the development of a form of organisation. A big debate developed in the years preceding 1977 on the question of the relationship between these new subjects and forms of organisation. Some sectors of autonomia wanted to privilege a party form; others tended to privilege a more movementist form, linked to the struggles themselves as they arose, with contacts and coordination between the various collectives at a regional level and within the various categories and sectors. We can say that all this was the target for the attack that began on April 7th.

Clearly there was also the objective, for some sections of the main political parties, of mediation, of becoming involved in the plans and negotiations which might have been going on (we don't know if they were going on) behind the scenes of the Moro kidnap. Undoubtedly the PSI was carrying out an operation of mediation during the kidnapping, in an attempt to save the life of the Christian Democrat leader. And some exponents of autonomia probably participated in this attempt. This mediation was impeded by other political forces who wanted to be sure that there were no other political objectives behind it. So there was also this tactical objective of attacking the so-called "party of mediation".

The operation, then, was intended to hit this whole social area represented by autonomia. And we should add that the autonomia did respond. But the repression went on intensifying, and was helped by the fact that in many cases the response was first and foremost that carried ahead by the armed groups, the terrorists, while autonomia was left completely defenceless. It was operating principally at the judicial level, attempting

to disprove the accusations thrown against it.

Workplace Struggles

However, as I said, there was a response, there were struggles, even if the cycle of struggles was coming to an end. Although I should add that it hasn't completely closed, even today. For example, a series of strikes is going on in the public sector. In this sector the unions are very weak and thus the employer faces a big problem of the ungovernability of the labour force. Ferment started in these sectors with the cuts in public spending, and with the restructuration plans that were going ahead not only in the industrial sector, but in the public sector too, at the level of welfare assistance, the services, hospitals etc, and public transport. These are the three principal areas of public spending in Italy. And it was within these 3 fundamental areas (including, obviously, the credit and finance sectors), that the restructuring, the restriction of public spending and thus the attack on the wage levels and manning levels was planned and launched. Nevertheless it is this sector which continues, despite the heavy attack being carried out on it, to produce pointers, moments of struggle, a sort of ungovernability.

Then there is the situation in the big factories, which have been undergoing very heavy restructuring since 1975. I say 1975 because this was the year when the lavoffs and the use of cassa integrazione [1] really began to bite in the big factories. From Milan - the redundancies at Innocenti, for example - to the crisis in the chemical industry, and concluding with the layoffs at FIAT in October 1980. Thus in the big factories too, there has been a very violent attack on job levels, via a "technological leap" combined with the closure of many

ducks".

Side by side with all this there are the growing normative problems, prob-



"Whose bright idea was it to celebrate Gramsci's 40th anniversary in period costume?"

lems of the regulation and control of strikes. This is particularly true of the labour force in the public sector. Right now, in fact, a discussion is going on over whether strikes in the public sector should be regulated.

So, to go back to what we were saying earlier, the arrests of April 7th, December 21st, etc were not able to undermine completely the whole arena of social conflict, but they were able to attack its organised moments. Then, in 1980, the big crisis of the armed movements began. In my opinion it had already begun much earlier, but all the recent pentimenti, confessions etc, have meant a complete collapse for the Red Brigades, as well as for Prima Linea and all the other minor groups.

The constant trickle of arrests, added to the big "blitz" operations, have meant that the number of polit-

point where the Ministry is taking measures to build 84 new prisons.

This leads me to believe that unless there is some form of social measure, some form of amnesty, the problem of the prison population risks becoming a long term problem in Italy. The repression has created within itself a whole series of problems, and it remains to be seen how they will be resolved. So, this has given you a synthesis of the objectives of the attack which began with April 7th, and some of the consequences arising from that operation.

Question: Does this question of the reorganisation and restructuring of the industrial and public sectors, and all its various consequences, explain the enormous violence of the state's response to the organisation of this social terrain, a response which was so much harder and more widely articulappeared in the process of decentralisation).

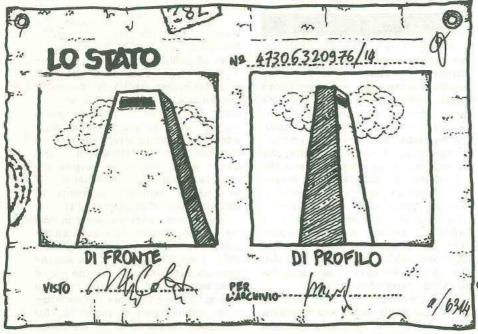
Then, with the European crisis, large numbers of emigrants began to return from abroad. The problem of unemployment in Italy, for many years, for decades in fact, had been resolved at least in part through emigration; many people were forced to emigrate in order to find work. But factories in Europe are no longer absorbing labour, or are absorbing labour of a different sort (Mediterranean, Asian and Black labour). This has exacerbated the problem of unemploy-Unemployment no longer concerns the big urban centres alone, but the whole country. The South is obviously particularly affected by the return of the emigrants.

All of this has served to make the general problem of social ungovernability much more acute, and it is this question of social ungovernability which, in recent times, has proved to be Italy's major problem, particularly when this ungovernability began to throw up moments of organisation. The repression was thus intended to hit at a political stratum: not only the organisation of terrorism, but also the political strata which had formed within the universities, schools, factories and so on. The repression had to hit very widely precisely because this social area is very wide, very diffused. There are over 3,000 political prisoners in the jails now, and only 1/5 of them belong to terrorist organisations. All the others are nothing more than comrades who have been involved in the organisation of struggles.

Question: Why was the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences here in Padova so important, so symbolic in the repressive operation against autonomia?

Answer: This was because the Faculty of Social Sciences had represented for a long time a sort of synthesis between theoretical production and political practice. Of course, this was true of other places as well as Padova; there is a very large number of university professors in jail. This synthesis between theory and practice has produced a conflictuality diffused around all the big university cities - think of Bologna, for example, or Rome, Milan, Naples, Bari. All these big university centres were also centres for this sort of theoretical production and political organisation. Padova was simply the first among these centres, a sort of model.

Then there was the question of the prestige, the standing of the Faculty here, of Toni Negri and so on. But above all Padova was important for the continuity of the theoretical production. One of the key points in the magistrates' inquiries has been this element of continuity. This appears in the political interest they have shown



ical prisoners in Italy has risen to a point unknown even under fascism: about 3,000-3,500 political prisoners. This has created another very serious problem, a future problem — the problem of the prison population, the imprisoned proletariat. Thus another, new, social subject has been created. This is no longer a minority problem, but a mass situation, because side by side with the political prisoners are all their family and friends, and now we are talking about a large slice of the

population.

This is not a situation which can be quickly resolved, because the sent-ences being handed out are very long, and there has been the use of long periods of "preventive imprisonment". We now have a new problem of ungovernability—the ungovernability of the prisons. The prisons are literally exploding. Apart from the fact that they can no longer physically contain the rising number of prisoners, the prisoners themselves have begun organising and giving life to ongoing forms of struggle. We have now reached the

ated than anything which occurred, for example, in 1968?

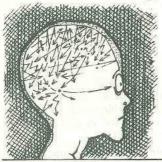
Answer: Yes, but another problem must be considered in addition to this. There has not only been the reorganisation of big industry, but of small and medium industry too, Italy, like many other countries, had chosen as its model for economic development the model of the "submerged economy", and this gave a considerable degree of equilibrium to the labour market from 1976 onwards. The small and medium industries have shown a much higher rate of profit than big industry in many cases, because the unions' control over the labour force was practically non-existent, and thus the employers didn't run into the same problems of rigidity in the use of the labour force. But with the crisis in Europe as a whole, this sector too was to enter into crisis, especially given that the small and medium industries are often closely linked to and interdependent with big industries (they are often productive units which

in those comrades who were militants in Potere Operaio at the beginning of the '70s. The recent inquiries all lean very heavily on this question of continuity. They started with PO, and now they're starting on Lotta Continua.

Question: Why was the response to the repression from the Left within the working class so weak and fractured?

Answer: Well, I think the reason is exactly what we were talking about before: the crisis associated with the reorganisation of industry, with the unemployment, and with the breakup of class composition. These are the fundamental elements.

Another element is, of course, that the Italian state apparatuses have been reorganised for a repressive function to a quite incredible extent. There are 5 police forces in Italy, and each one



now has its special unit, specifically adapted to combatting the phenomenon of conflictuality. Thus there has been an enormous enlargement of the repressive powers of the state. Italy now has the largest number of police per head of population of any country in Europe.

Question: But it is not only the response to direct state repression which is missing. The whole area of daily struggles, for example, for political space, or for the provision of services—in other words, of positive demands—has also been more or less absent.

Answer: But we shouldn't forget that reformism has also had its effect. There hasn't only been repression. In some regions, especially those governed by the Communist Party (Emilia etc), but even in some regions governed by the Christian Democrats, the local governments have tried to offer some reformist response: a response which has often tended to cut the ground away from under moments of conflictuality.

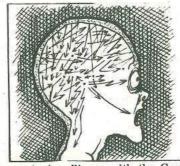
Question: But there has also been a participation by reformist sectors in the strategy of repression, in the annihilation of the needs expressed by the struggles of autonomia over the last few years, and in particular since 1977. Reformism has assumed a very clear position of slamming the door on these needs. The whole personnel of the reformist structure has been coopted within the repressive operation. This became very clear during the April 7th question. This is another aspect which should be explained—

namely the role the PCI has played over the last few years.

Answer: The role of the PCI was essentially defined at the moment in which it chose the road of the Historic Compromise. And the kidnapping of Aldo Moro was the moment of maximum crisis for the Historic Compromise. But even today the PCI has not abandoned the strategy of the Historic Compromise. What has changed, rather, is the increasing unwillingness on the part of the Christian Democrats to accept it, and above all the strategy of the PSI (which has always attempted to oppose this strategy) intervening between the DC and the PCI, and alternating between alliance with the DC and an acceptance of the Left. The PSI has performed the role of a sort of independent variable in the political system, having perceived a danger of its being "squeezed out" in the Historic Com-

The PCI's prospects have slowly been disintegrating over the last few years. Partly because it has gradually been losing its political partners. And partly, perhaps, because by now, even internationally, doubts are creeping in about the PCI's real possibilities of entering into government.

At the international level too the PCI has found itself very weak and on unsure ground. The Party's project could only work in the context of an international policy, at least at the European level. But no European Communist Party, apart from the Spanish one, was prepared to give it



support. An alliance with the German Social Democrats also seemed a possibility for a while, but this too fell through. So, one by one, the PCI has lost not only its national but also its international political partners.

It has also been having increasing difficulties with the Soviet Union, in this period of tendency towards a new phase of Cold War. Over the last few years the PCI had begun a dialogue with some elements in the American Democratic Party, but now the Democrats have been replaced and Reagan has been elected. The effect of this will be felt at the level of foreign affairs, including the relationship between the US and the Communist parties of Western Europe. Thus the PCI will no longer be able to find partners in certain circles within the American Democrats either. The PCI's "solution" (the "Italian road to

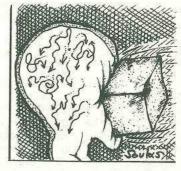
socialism" independent from the Soviet Union) is coming under more and more pressure from the impending Cold War, which is putting even German Social Democracy under pressure. So not only the PCI but German Social Democracy too finds itself in crisis, upsetting the whole hypothesis of a third force in Europe which would counterpose the two big power-blocs.

The PCI is at present tragically incapable of formulating policy; at the level of local government etc, it has been reduced to operating on a day to day basis. It is in a blind alley, with no strategy and no programme. It is finding it very hard to reformulate a strategy. For all the above reasons, the Historic Compromise has failed, and the PCI has become almost "inert" within the Italian political scene.

And undoubtedly now a "new Right" is coming into being in Italy, no longer represented by the MSI (Movimento Sociale Italiano - the neo-fascist party) but by a new sort of mentality; a new bourgeois mentality and also a new working class mentality. What happened at FIAT was fairly significant in this context. The demonstration of the 40,000 was not made up only of foremen; there were foremen, but there were workers too. Each foreman took along 5, 6, 7 workers from his section, so we can't say it was only foremen. It was organised by the foremen, but a lot of workers participated too. So, this "new Right" exists, and in many cases it is formed by PCI cadres. It's a new Right mentality on the question of work; against the refusal of work, for a respect for work, a respect for the company, for bourgeois life and its customs and so on.

Question: Does it make sense, then, to pose an equation whereby the party system is seen as an apparatus antagonistic both to the social and political autonomy expressed over the last few years, and to the new Right?

Answer: I think so. But we must add here that the party-system has lost a great deal of legitimacy. We see this in the phenomenon of what is being called "the Abstention Party". This is a very new phenomenon in Italy; there has never been such a high level of electoral abstention in Italy as there was in



1979. And this is probably a phenomenon which is destined to grow, It means that civil society is increasingly

detaching itself from the party system. We're getting closer to the American situation in which only 30-40% of people participate in the elections.

Question: What is likely to happen in the space created by this increasing detachment from the party system?

Answer: Well, we always believed that this would be a space within which the struggles of autonomia would grow, but this has not always proved to be true. It is not an equation which can easily be verified. It may be true, but on the other hand, so far it has not happened. The exact opposite may happen - namely the formation of a huge mass of qualunquismo [2] which sees politics as by now having nothing more to say.

Question: As far as the factory is concerned, was this "new Right" working class created by the changing class composition within the factory resulting from the introduction of new technology, or was it something else as well?

> The Important Effects of Terrorism

Answer: I believe it was also the effect of many years of terrorism. Who are these foremen? They are those who more than anyone else are afraid, of being kneecapped or injured. This situation could bring about a new version of the "yellow union", although FIAT probably doesn't need it now, since the factory has been "normalised" and authority has been reimposed. However, it is clear that this huge process of restructuring has not resolved and cannot resolve all the employer's problems of command: the problem has simply been thrown out of the factory into the city.

Turin today is turning into a sort of Naples, even though it's a very different sort of city. The structure of the labour market has changed enormously. The lack of work at a mass level is now juxtaposed with a lack of work at a metropolitan level, at the level of the submerged economy, etc. So now it's difficult for someone on the cassa integrazione, or a young unem-ployed person, to find work even in the submerged economy. Thus the problem of unemployment has become very important even in the areas where the submerged economy had once formed a sort of "safety net" around the big factory, absorb-

ing unemployment.

In this way the composition of the metropolitan proletariat has changed. The main figure is now that of the completely marginalised proletarian, and this creates big problems of "ungovernability", for welfare state type policies. It has also had, and may have, very serious consequences for public order. What will happen now I don't know. I believe that the whole repressive apparatus of the state will make a further qualitative leap; at the fiscal level, at the level of public spending cuts, at the level of incomes policy and the regulation of strikes, above and beyond the directly military level and the prisons.

Question: We haven't yet talked much about the impact of terrorism on this situation. What has been happening to the armed groups over the last period, for example since the kidnapping of D'Urso (December 1980), and what sort of prospects do they have?

Answer: I think it would be better to start from Moro, the action which marks the high point for the terrorist groups, and also, if you like, the moment from which their subsequent decline set in. This is true in the sense that, with the kidnapping of Moro, Italian terrorism reached its highest point in terms of its own objectives; it had managed to throw the government, the party-system into complete crisis. In this sense they achieved a real political result. The objective of freeing the political prisoners was not obtained, but probably this was not even the real aim. From this high point, then, a phase began which, although it was still one of expansion (because the number of terrorist attacks was still increasing), was also one of internal crisis, probably accelerated by the wave of repression after April 7th.

The phase ended in the collapse of 1980. Here we can turn to the documents coming out of the prisons at the beginning of 1980, written by the "historic leadership" of the Red Brigades, in which they are critical of the "militaristic subjectivity", as they call it, of the organisation outside the prisons. It's not very clear exactly what they meant or to whom they were alluding, but it was certainly a criticism of the "extermination campaign" - directed at the police force and the magistrates, of these deaths, one after the other, deaths virtually every week. Deaths without any purpose or political perspective, which just created a sense of isolation, not only from the people in general, but even among the organisation's militants themselves. This obviously threw the organisations into internal crisis. So then we had the phenomenon of repentance, the "repentant terrorists", Peci etc, and the general crisis of the Red Brigades, and also of Prima Linea, which broke up completely, and of the minor organisations.

There was an attempt by those in jail to re-assume political control of the organisations, to impose a new political line, but I believe by now they have been defeated. The arrests go on, practically every day. Since April 7th people are being arrested every day. Or even if someone isn't arrested, new evidence emerges, new people are put on the wanted list, new arrest warrants are issued, even for people who haven't done anything. People who just threw a Molotov cocktail during some demonstration, who at one time would have been

charged with seditious demonstration. now face charges of membership of armed bands, as if they had killed someone, and risk from 10 to 15 years in prison.

The Only Left in Italy Exists In and Around the Jails Question: Did the Left undervalue the

impact of terrorism?

Answer: Very much so. The Left has been completely thrown off balance. We didn't know what to do, we were very divided over how to fight it.

Some sectors of the main parties used the situation to their own advantage - the PSI, the DC, the PCI and so on were able to use the situation to legitimate the repression. The Left was completely cut out of the scene. At a certain point the PCI turned itself into a sort of ideological standard-bearer of the struggle against terrorism, and those to the left of the PCI were left in a state of total confusion. Some had an attitude of comprehending the reasons behind the armed struggle; others of opposing it; and yet others an attitude of dialogue, discussion, sympathy and even support. And this whole series of contrary positions have acted in such a way as to destroy the Left.

There is no Left in Italy now. A Left with a platform, a Marxist platform, no longer exists in Italy today. By now, the only Left which exists lives in and around the jails.

Question: Can this crisis of identity, this lack of identity within the Italian Left be resolved? Is there any tendency to reconstruct a Left which might resolve this ambiguity, this confusion, which today terms like "class' or "proletariat" are inadequate to define? Is there any way out of this situation in which the prisons are beginning to fill up not only with militants, but with class sectors which are forced to enter into conflict?

Answer: It's a problem which cannot be resolved in the short term. The only thing which might be able to resolve it would be a Right-wing government sufficiently strong to call a sort of amnesty, similar to that called by Togliatti for the Fascists when he became Minister of Justice. I believe that only a Right-wing government with a repressive apparatus which is able to militarise society to an enormous degree could grant this sort of amnesty.

■ Interview recorded in Padova March 18th 1981

Note:

The Cassa Integrazione Guadagni is a nationally established lay-off fund, linked to the Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale, and financed by contributions from workers, employers and the State. It pays a certain percentage of the basic wage to workers laid off for given periods.

☐ Two recent events have had a profound effect on the balance of political power in Italy: FIAT's decision to sack 14,500 workers (Sept. 1980). And the Earthquake (Nov. 1980). This interview, with two Italian autonomists, assesses their impact.

Question: Could you give us a general overview of what is happening in Italy at present. What have been the significant traits of the situation, say, since Summer

Answer: What we have seen in Italy during the last few months has been primarily the continuation of the repression of the revolutionary movement and a general stepping-up of the offensive of the bourgeoisie, which has been hitting us for the last two years now. The armed organisations have continued to suffer severe losses both inside and outside the prisons. For example, the strategy of prison rebellion/mass escape which had been elaborated by the prisoner comrades has been largely defused and neutralised by the building and reinforcement of the Special Prisons.

At the same time, the fact that a significant number of captured militants have cooperated with the repressive forces, has produced not only a string of also a general demoralisation and disorganisation which has affected all sectors of the movement. The recent defeat at FIAT was the highlight of the difficult period we are going through in Italy right now.

Question: Let us take some of these points in turn. Tell us what happened at FIAT.

Answer: All through the late '70s FIAT had been restructuring its cycle of production...not only have many units of production been shifted abroad, but also smaller "diffuse" factories have been spread around Italy. Even in the remaining big concentrations of production, the introduction of computer technology and robots has meant a complete reorganisation of the assembly lines. For example, the old situation where large numbers of workers would all work together inside one shop is largely gone forever. Now, the average number of workers working in one location at the same time is about 4-5! One can imagine the effect of this on the organisation of the workers.

About a year ago, FIAT sacked 61 militants, under a flurry of propaganda about their being "terrorists" or "connected to terrorists". Although opposition to that manoeuvre was relatively strong, and even the Trade Unions were forced to take some kind of position in support of the 61, the long process of tribunals/ law courts/mediation has exhausted the militancy of the movement. So, when FIAT suddenly announced the redundancies for 14,000 workers this Autumn, many comrades and organisations were caught unawares.

There were a number of occasions when it seemed that opposition to this massive sacking would develop. There was a lot of talk of occupying the factories; large and militant pickets were set up . . . but there were two events which shattered the potential of any serious resistance.

The first was the organisation of a workers' demonstration by FIAT. The firm brought about 40,000 people from around the country, to Turin, where they marched in support of FIAT's plans. The Trade Unions latched onto this and started a whole panic about "the class being divided" etc.

Then, in the immediate aftermath, came the second event. FIAT management and the Unions worked out a compromise, where instead of the 14,000 redundancies, the Unions agreed to accept 24,000 "temporary" layoffs. FIAT guaranteed that the majority of these 24,000 workers would be reemployed "somewhere in Italy" within the next 3 years. This scheme really broke the back of the opposition.

arrests and the discovery of hide-outs, but Question: How did the shop-floor militants react to this? And could you elaborate on the particular role of the Communist Party militants inside FIAT?

> Answer: On your first question . . . Many stewards, shop floor delegates etc really wanted to fight. The idea of an occupation was tossed around a lot. What we also saw was a massive rift between the FIAT Trade Union structure and not only the national but also the local Trade Union organisation . . . around the city of Turin. After the compromise was accept-ed, many people publicly resigned from the Union. The fact that very little con- Answer: The earthquake was a hard blow on crete organisation came out of that anger must be related to the absence of revolutionary intervention at FIAT, compared with the past, and the related general disorganisation of the movement in Italy.

The PCI-influenced shop stewards were part of that process . . . which brings

us to the second part of your question. What made their situation even more complex and ambiguous was the fact that their Party took, for the first time in a long, long time, a clear-cut hard line. The PCI daily paper L'Unita was calling for a factory occupation. Now, there are many reasons for this . . . very few of them to do with FIAT . . . we will come back to them presently. But what the Party did not do was to implement that call, in practical terms. For the first time the base of the Party appeared to be now behind the Party line. The Party never explained how, and certainly never pushed its large base inside FIAT, to move into action.

Question: With the place that FIAT occupies in Italian industry, do you expect this state of affairs to have a profound influence in other factories across the country?

Answer: Certainly! FIAT is the "thermometer" of Italian industry. With that precious victory under its belt. Italian capital will now move and try to emulate the tactics used in FIAT, using them elsewhere. Already in the large steel complex of ITALSIDER in Genova robots are being used and introduced on a massive scale. And large scale redundancies are coming. With inflation and unemployment running as high as they are, it is going to be a very hard period ahead.

### The Earthquake

Question: Before we get back to some other points arising out of your initial statements, could you talk to us a bit about the recent earthquake and its effects on the people and the political system?

the people living in some of the poorest areas of the country. For them, the next couple of years will be literally a battle between life and death. The number of people killed is still uncertain...the State has, obviously, tried to minimise the casualties. We calculate that anything



d'Amico, omen from a (Photo: Tano c up to 15,000 dead may be a realistic figure.

The economic consequences of the earthquake have been commented upon by the Press, so we won't dwell on them, But we would like to stress a number of points which may be little known outside Italy.

Firstly, the role of the Italian Army. One would have expected that in a country like ours, which has a largely conscript Army, the soldiers would have been in the forefront of relief operations. But that is not what happened. The main role of the Army has been conceived and operated as one of social control. Relief came a long way behind, as a social priority. This has incensed even sections of the bourgeoisie. There have been reports of Army units, backed by units of the German Army, coming into the 'quake areas equipped only with explosives - which they proceeded to use to flatten villages which had people still trapped under the rubble. This kind of carry-on, together with the large-scale misappropriation of relief funds and materials, has raised a furore. It reinforced the scepticism of large numbers of people towards the State and the Christian Democrat Government.

Question: And did the PCI try to profit from this?

Answer: Yes, that was our second point. For the first time since the Historic Compromise strategy was elaborated by Berlinguer, the PCI has taken up a clear oppositional stance. They don't want to work with corrupt politicians, they keep saying ... so they are on the offensive. Which explains their stance towards the FIAT events mentioned earlier. They probably calculate that popular dissatisfaction with the Christian Democrats is so high that any election right now may make it the largest Party in the country. The earthquake brought so much shit to the surface that it's hard to see how the Christian Democrats could recuperate all

This brings us to our third point. As it became patently obvious that State relief was either not reaching the people, or when it arrived it was plainly insufficient, relief brigades were formed among the Left movement. The first such brigade to reach the people was a group of Engineering Union members (FLM). The PCI also sent a number of brigades. But what is the most interesting point for us is that comrades of the Autonomy movement, about 100 from Rome, and 50 from the rest of the country, set up a hospital/First Aid centre and a canteen, serving 800 hot meals three times a day in one of the remotest and worst-hit areas, near Conza.

In our opinion this represents a tremendous breakthrough. The local population accepted us warmly, knowing very Answer: This is a complex question. First of well who we were and why we were there. There have been a number of clashes with the Carabinieri and the soldiers, who on occasions were forced to come and eat the food prepared by the comrades. In one particular incident, 9

comrades were arrested and sent back to Rome, accused of "causing dissension among the population", because they pointed the finger and organised the people against gross misappropriation of relief funds by a local colonel.

Question: Do the comrades see this work as a one-off attempt, or are there plans to continue and consolidate the gains made?

Answer: All of us see it as a highly successful - and practical - attempt to grow roots among the people, while being helpful and answering the people's needs, 5 trucks a day come from the city. We want to keep this up all through the winter, and try to bring all the people who have been there for a general assembly some time in the Summer . . . probably during the holidays, in August.

# Rebuilding the Autonomy

Question: Do you think that this kind of valuable practical experience may act as an impetus for reorganisation for the dispersed forces of the Autonomous movement?

Answer: I hope it does, for we are in desperate need of reorganisation. We have lost many people . . . in prison, or who have simply ceased being politically active. Even during the last year when quite a significant number of comrades got mobilised around the question of opposing repression...even then the haemorrhage has continued. The overall class recomposition which hit the class as whole hit us hard too, Repression accentuated the problems, and we were left with no capacity to fight, to hit back.

We need time desperately to reassess our experiences. Many theories were accepted too glibly. For example, the whole practice of the movement, on the question of social needs, was interpreted, I believe, too individualistically, Many comrades started from the recognition of absenteeism as an aspect of the general refusal of the class to be exploited, and ended up in a mass process of selfimposed redundancies. People packed in their jobs. This weakened us in the workplaces and left the stage open for all kinds of trips.

A lot of discussion is taking place locally. Let's hope that it's going to be generalised and turned into new forms of organisation. In a certain sense we think it is true to say that the historical phase of Autonomia Operaia - as a political organisation - is over and finished with. We are moving on.

Question: In the above context, how do you evaluate the recent re-emergence of the armed organisations (and particularly the Red Brigades), which according to the State and many "objective" observers, were supposed to be dead and buried?

all, let us point out that we have very little contact with the armed organisations, so that any opinion or judgement we make is based on information available publicly and our political analysis of the situation.

First of all, it is undeniable that the armed organisations have been hit very hard . . . they have suffered heavy losses. I personally doubt that Prima Linea and all the other smaller groups will ever recover. So "armed organisations" today really means the Red Brigades.

The Red Brigades were also hit hard They lost many militants, leading cadres. The fact that some of their leading cadres like Peci began talking to the cops demoralised further the prisoners and their support base outside. The general decline of the popular movement, the sackings of the 61 at FIAT (among whom were Red Brigades militants who ended in prison), the recent defeat at FIAT . . . all these events must have affected the morale, the fighting spirit and the political line of the organisation. It was common knowledge that the remaining RB structures were reorganising while at the same time engaging in a thorough debate on the future of the organisation.

You see, what most people overlook is that while the claims of the Red Brigades to be the organisational leading detachment of the class and the movement are, obviously, exaggerated, it is nevertheless undeniably true that the militants of the RB are inside the class and the movement - and as such are both having an effect, and in turn being affected by changes taking place. Their actions, which appear detached from the logic of the development of struggle, do, nevertheless, constitute an important signpost of what is possible . . . or impossible, as the case may be.

Question: Transpose the above to the recent actions, and what do you get?

Answer: If one examines the 3 recent actions claimed by the RB (the execution of the two managers, of FALK [steel] and MARELLI [electronics], and the more recent kidnapping of the magistrate D'Urso, who was the Coordinator of the Special Prisons), one gets two visions. One, the traditional RB perspective of attacking capital and State in a vision of class/civil war. In the first two actions there was no discernible agitation, no working class mobilisation in either of the two factories whose managers were attacked. These actions leave people slightly perplexed and cold. They demonstrate, of course, that the claims of the State about the RB being dead are just superficial claims and no more.

The third action, on the contrary, is part of another vision. It hits the State in a very sensitive area, demonstrating its vulnerability where it is supposed to be the strongest (its judiciary/repressive branches), and reflects a popular feeling against the whole terror of the Special Prisons and what they represent in society. The demand for the closure of the Special Prison at Asinara, which followed the kidnapping, was a truly popular demand. It divides the political parties and the State, and unifies the movement.

■ Interview recorded in Dublin 27th December 1980 by Rebel magazine. Sessantanove imputati rinviati dinanzi alla Corte d'Assise di Roma

# Chiusa l'inchiesta 7 aprile A giudizio Negri, Scalzone e Bignami

In 1018 pagine, il giudice istruttore Amato ha spiegato i motivi delle sue conclusioni - Due imputati deceduti, 4 prosciolti, 5 (tratiti deceduti, 4 prosciolti, 6 (tratiti deceduti, 6

ne non estradati - Dodici Juestro e omicidio Saronio

A Brief History of the April 7th Case

On April 7, 1979, police officers throughout Italy raided hundreds of homes and arrested about two dozen people in what said to be a major step forward in the investigation of the kidnapping and assassination of Aldo Moro a year before. Although the Moro action was carried out by the Red Brigades, those arrested April 7th turned out to be university teachers, writers, journalists, and others identified not with "terrorist" organizations but with the political movement to the left of the Communist Party. The best known among them was Prof. Antonio Negri, who had written widely on political philosophy and the theory of the state.

The prosecutors in the case soon charged Negri and the others with being the "secret brains" behind the Red Brigades and virtually all "terrorist" actions which had occured in Italy in the previous decade. The defendants, who included a number of former leaders of the group Potere Operaio (Workers Power), which was dissolved in 1973, charged that the case was a frame-up created by the ruling Christian Democrats (to make up for their failure to capture the real assassins of Moro) and by the Communist Party (to attract support in the coming election by appearing as a tough "law and order" party).

In the initial pre-trial interrogations which were leaked to the press, it was apparent that the defendants were being tried for their political *ideas* and *writings*. The only piece of concrete evidence that the prosecutors offered was a tape recording of a phone call make to Mrs. Moro by the Red Brigades while her husband was being held. The prosecutors claimed Negri had made that call.

After long delays, a team of six Italian experts said there was no conclusive evidence that the voice on the tape was that of Negri. One expert consulted in the U.S., under irregular circumstances, did claim that it probably was Negri.

All of this became moot, however, early in 1980 when police captured Patrizio Peci, an important leader of the Red Brigades. Peci decided to collaborate with the authorities, but to their dismay he said that Negri and the other April 7th defendants had nothing to do with the Moro affair or the Red Brigades.

Although they were forced to publicly absolve Negri and the others of the Moro charge, the presecutors simply proceeded to rewrite the allegations in more general terms, accusing Negri and company of organizing and promoting a grand but unspecified insurrection to bring down the state.

■ Reprinted from the Bulletin of the American Campaign Against Repression in Italy (CARI)
Spring 1981

ROMA — A due anni da un 7 aprile, quello del 1979, ormai entrato nella storia giudiziaria del paese, si è conclusa la maxi-inchiesta che proprio da quella data, e dal blitz allora ordinato dal Pm di Padova Pietro Calogero, ha preso il nome. In 1018 pagine, il giudice istruttore Francesco Amato, che ha ereditato le indagini ben presto trasferite dal Veneto a Roma, ha spiegato i motivi per cui 12 persone dovranno rispondere davanti alla corte d'Assise di insurrezione armata contro i poteri dello Stato (un reato gravis simo, punito con l'ergastolo, mai contestato in Italia), 40 di costituzione di banda armataºe associazione sovversiva, 27 di partecipazione a banda armata e ad associazione sovversiva, e parecchie di esse anche di altri

dovranno rispondere di insu

Nel lunghissimo elenco di nomi di imputati spicca quello di Toni Negri, il professore padovano in un primo tempo accusato, e poi scagionato, anche del delitto Moro. Le accuse che il giudice Amato gli rivolge sono pesantissime e, oltre i reati cosiddetti «associativi» (insurrezione, banda armata e associazione sovversiva), riguardano anche la rapina di Argelato conclusasi con l'omicidio di un brigadiere, il tentato sequestro di Carlo Duina, rapine, episodi di ricettazione, furti, violazione della legge sulle armi, attentato alla Face Standard.

Del reato più grave, l'insurrezione, devono rispondere, oltre Negri, anche Oreste Scalzone, che, fuggito di recente all'estero dopo aver ottenuto la libertà provvisoria per motivi di salute, è ora perseguito da un nuovo mandato di cattura: Mario Dalmaviva. Emilio Vesce. Silvana Marelli, Franco Tommei, Egidio Monferdin, Luciano Ferrari Bravo, l'esponente di «Prima linea» Maurice Bigna mi, e i latitanti Paolo Ceriani Sebregondi (appartenente alle «Formazioni combattenti comuniste», evaso dal carcere di

Cristina-Cazzaniga, i primi due «per denegata concessione dell' estradizione» (vennero arrestati in Francia), gli altri «perché allo mata e ad associazione sovversiva sono accusati Maria Adelaide Airaghi, Marco Bellavita, Mauro Borromeo, Renata Cariella Marinoni, Giuseppe Nicotri, Francesco Pardi Massimo Pavan, Maria Perillo, Caterina Pilenga, Cataldo Quinto, Umberto Salvagno, Italo Sbrogio, Giorgio Scroffernecher, Rolando Strano, Antonio Temil, Fabio Vedovato, Elena Vetterli.

Tra le altre imputazioni spiccano quelle contestate a Jaroslav Novak (quattro attentati e detenzione di armi ed esplosivi), a Oreste Scalzone (rapina, tentato omicidio, minacce per un episodio avvenuto il 6 marzo 1973, i cui responsabili sono stati già processati e condannati), a Egidio Monferdin e Silvana Marelli (sequestro e omicidio Saronio, occultamento di cadavere, reati per i quali sono stati già condannati Fioroni e Casirati).

# La testimonianza del primo pentito

Per quanto riguarda i reati più gravi, della rapina di Argelato, conclusasi con un omicidio, dovrà rispondere il solo Negri, mentre dell'attentato alla Face Standard, in un primo tempo attribuito a Petra Krause, sono accusati Cavallina, Funaro, Negri, Pancino, Tommei, Pilenga, Silvana Marelli e Oreste Strano. Sempre per il caso Saronio sono stati prosciolti Tommei e Pancino.

Per completare questo primo, sommario quadro, va detto che tutti i fatti commessi da una non meglio identificata «Organizzazione che, secondo l'accusa, faceva, capo a Toni Negri, sarebbero stati compiuti tra il 73 e il '75. Solo i tre reati «associativi», dai quali aveva preso il via l'indagine padovana, si sarebbero estesi fino al momento dell'arresto dei principali imputati, cioè fino al 7 aprile '79. Fu

THE APRIL 7th CASE

# REVIEW APRIL 7th: ONE YEAR AFTER

□ The following article is translated from L'Espresso, April 7th 1980. The article began by stating: "In 12 months there have been 4 dragnet operations, 127 warrants issued, and 64 arrests. The inquiries are being led by 20 magistrates from 6 different cities. What have they discovered? What will they do? What follows is a complete overview of the various aspects of the judicial proceedings and the people involved."

Readers should note that L'Espresso is a bourgeois magazine, and the article reflects this position It is concerned only with the arrests among the autonomia, and also virtually ignores the fate of the women arrested in this period.

A year has gone by: 365 days of imprisonment since the "April 7th" arrests, since the big dragnet operation of Easter 1979 in which the Padova judge Pietro Calogero took everyone by surprise with the issue of 22 arrest warrants designed to strike at the leadership of the area of Autonomia and at the "strategic leadership of the group known as the Red Brigades". The list of charges has not yet been finalised, and committal for trial seems a long way distant. Meantime the affair has become increasingly complicated. The judicial inquiry has sprouted in a number of directions and has turned into an intricate maze within which it is hard to find one's orientation. Three further operations have followed the first big wave of arrests: the "blitz" operations of December 21st 1979, January 24th 1980 and March 11th 1980. (See below)

# A Vast Operation

A few figures are indicative of the scale of the operation. The judicial machine has mobilised enormous forces into play. 20 magistrates have been drafted onto the case, coming from 6 different cities (8 from Rome, 6 in Padova, 3 in Milan and the other three in Turin, Trieste and Reggio Emilia). There have been 127 warrants issued (Toni Negri alone has collected 9), and judicial notices of intent to prosecute have appeared in enormous numbers. There are presently 64 defendants in prison. 20 people have gone underground and so far there have been 8 releases from prison "for lack of evidence". These figures are bound to change rapidly. As it stands, the topography of the judicial process undertaken in the past 12 months is in a state of constant evolution. At any moment the handcuffs may close around the wrist of some other person in hiding. For example, it is known that the Padova Attorney is examining the possibility of bringing charges against a further 40 people, and warrants for a dozen of these are already awaiting signatures. Furthermore, new releases from prison remain a possibility.

As regards the procedural strategy

adopted by the prosecution (concentrating the charges around the central accusation of "armed insurrection against the State", and leaving everything in the hands of the Rome magistrates), this too appears to be changing. Judge Calogero has asked for a speedy trial on the "concrete" criminal charges (robbery, theft, violence etc) and an "enabling" trial on the "crimes of association" (formation of armed bands, and subversive association/ conspiracy) in the case of those arrested 11th, to be conducted at on March Padova, without recourse to the Rome magistrates.

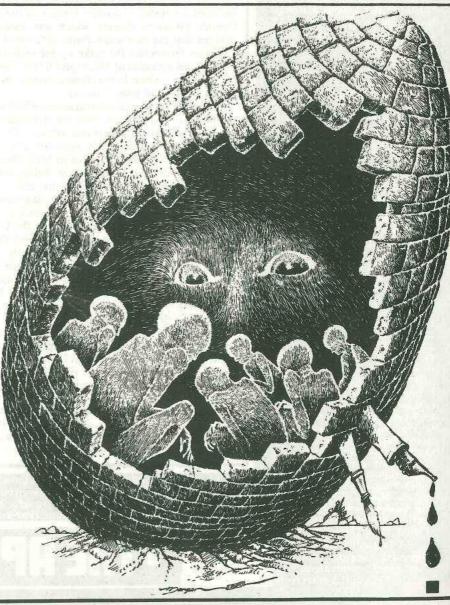
But what are the roots of this trial—the biggest political trial of Italy's post-War history? (Even the judges are calling it this.) For the roots, we have to go back to the Moro kidnap. Immediately after the via Fani massacre and his kidnap, Minister of the Interior Francesco Cossiga ordered an enormous round-up of exmilitants of Potere Operaio. But those arrested (around 200) were soon released for lack of evidence. A polemical oper-

ation, which raised something of a scandal. The Minister was accused both of being incompetent and of acting with excessive haste.

# The 'Red Brigade' Charges

At a certain point the Communist Party's "Affairs of State" department steps into the picture: the PCI's judicial experts decided to take a closer look at things. They organised a close examination of the political area of the "armed party". The Padova federation of the Communist Party was particularly active in collaboration with the examining magistrates. Judge Calogero was presented with a list of ex-militants of Potere Operaio and ex-sympathisers of the area of Autonomia who had joined the Communist Party. These lists provided the witnesses (see below) whose testimonies were the basis for the initial arrest warrants of April 7th 1979.

As time went by, some of these witnesses were proved correct, some incorrect or inexact, and some were with-



drawn. Some charges were dropped and some defendants were released from prison. Doubts begin to arise. But in December a new element comes into play: in Matera prison an ex-militant of Potere Operaio begins to talk. This was Carlo Fioroni, an ex-friend of the leftwing publisher Feltrinelli, and one of the kidnappers in the Saronio case. He made a long confession/accusation in which he implicated about 140 of his one-time friends and acquaintances. This led to the arrest warrants issued on December 21st, and then, following the confirmatory confessions of Carlo Casirati (sentenced together with Fioroni for the Saronio kidnap), the arrests of January 24th.

During these months the prosecution's hypothesis also underwent an evolution. At first Judge Calogero's analysis tended to reconstruct the facts within a "continuity of subversion", an underground "red thread" which, over the span of a decade, was supposed to link the leadership of Potere Operaio with the leadership of the area of Autonomia and of the

Red Brigades. This reconstruction was eventually seen to be too schematic and artificial.

Now the enquiring magistrates (Palombarini, Fabiani, Imposimato, Sica, Amato etc) aimed rather at clarifying the role of a number of "clandestine organisational sectors" chosen with precision, and basing their charges on "concrete crimes". And in the light of more recent revelations, the evidence linking a number of the defendants with the massacre in via Fani and the kidnap and murder of Aldo Moro appears to be evaporating. The instructing judges are still examining the possibility of re-framing the Rome section of the charges under the umbrella accusation of "armed insurrection". This is one of the most serious crimes in the Italian penal code, a charge carrying life imprisonment. Until now it had only been used once: it was not used either against the attempted coup d'etat of Junio Valerio Borghese, or against captured leaders of the Red Brigades such as Renato Curcio and Alberto Franceschini. ion and Sabotage]. But the most concrete and serious charge against Negri is that he was the Red Brigader who telephoned the Moro household during the kidnap in order to demand negotiations with Zaccagnini. This charge was a surprise move by the prosecution. "When you talk in that agitated manner, your voice reminds me of the telephone caller to Mrs Moro", he was told by Judge Guasco during his interrogation on April 21st.

### Weak Evidence

After months of inquiries this evidence has been given considerably less weight in the proceedings (in fact Judge Guasco has asked that Negri have the charges related to the Moro case dropped): out of the nine experts asked to compare Negri's voice with the recording of the telephonecaller, only the Italian/American Oscar Tosi stated that the voice of the Red Brigades caller "may, with a high degree of probability, be that of Negri". The others either exclude this possibility, or find it dubious. Meanwhile the defence lawyers say that they have traced a restaurant in Milan where Negri was eating. together with a number of other people, at the moment when the Red Brigader was telephoning from Rome. Finally, a while before the recent arrest of Patrizio Peci, a Red Brigader, there was a rumour that he was the person who had called Mrs Moro, and that he had decided to provide proof of the fact. However, the prosecuting magistrates maintain that their case is not based simply on "voice tests", but also on "other elements". According to their version it was Judge Alessandrini himself who had recognised the voice of the Autonomist theorist (at a dinner at the house of Judge Bevere, where he met Negri). This "link" led to a notice of intent to prosecute: Negri was accused of the killing of Judge Alessandrini, which was carried out by Prima Linea in January 1979.

Negri's position worsened considerably in December/January, when he was hit with 6 further warrants and 3 notices of intent to prosecute, issued by judges in 4 different cities (Milan, Trieste, Turin and Reggio Emilia). He was accused of the kidnapping of his friend Carlo Saronio (April 1975); the attempted kidnapping of the industrialist Giuseppe Duina (December 1974); the kidnapping of the industrialist Labate (February 1973); the



# **ROUND 1: APRIL '79**

In the pages that follow we have tried to provide the broadest possible overview of the complexities of this year-long inquiry. As regards "April 7th" and "December 21st" we have examined in detail the charges affecting the most important defendants. As regards the more recent arrests (January 24th and March 11th), since the prosecution's charges and the defence lines are not yet clear, we have limited ourselves to a broad reconstruction.

# THE FIRST ROUND-UP OPERATION: APRIL 7th 1979 ANTONIO NEGRI

47 years old. Professor of "State Doctrine" at the University of Padova. He is seen by the inquiring magistrates as the "number one" figure, the leading actor in the past 10 years of subversion in Italy. So far he has collected 9 separate warrants and 3 judicial warnings of intent to prosecute. The charges number around 80, and range from non-payment of road tax for the Renault in which Aldo Moro's body was found, to around 15 murders and kidnappings, in addition to the charge of "armed insurrection against the State". It is against Negri that the imaginings of the mass media have been unleashed with the greatest ferocity: "the armed prophet", "the bespectacled Devil", "the immobile motor of subversion" etc.

Antonio Negri, Professor of State Doctrine at Padova University, was arrested at home at the end of a search in Milan, where he had just arrived back from Paris (where he was teaching a course on the *Grundrisse* at the Sorbonne) He was shown two warrants: one from the Padova Judge Calogero, and one from the Rome Judge Achille Gallucci. He was the only one of the April 7th arrestees to be immediately charged

with the Via Fani massacre and the Moro kidnap. He was also the first to be transferred to Rebibbia Prison in Rome, where he was questioned three times in a row. He spoke for hour after hour, with a patient rebuttal of the charges brought against him, dwelling at length on the differences between his thought and the viewpoint of the Red Brigades, and tracing the history of Potere Operaio, Autonomia etc. During his third interrogation he referred the inquiring magistrates to the voluminous collection of documents that he had donated to the Feltrin-Foundation: packets of letters, duplicated documents, leaflets, manuscripts, discussion drafts etc. This material was used by the magistrates to draw up fresh charges against him and against others of the defendants. As of that moment his lawyers urged him to be more cautious in his deposition. However, he was questioned a further 5 or 6 times in May, July and November. Only at the end of January 1980, when confronted by judges from 5 different cities, did he refuse to reply "until there is a clarification of which tribunal is to be interrogating me".

According to the first series of charges, Negri was supposed to be the organisational brains behind a number of "armed bands going under a number of names": the secret leader of a sort of octopus, the armed party, "whose tentacles are concealed as occasion demands behind various names of convenience". According to this interpretation, the dissolution of Potere Operaio after the Rosolina Conference of June 1973 was simply a cover move, to conceal the transition to clandestine activities. Thus certain written utterances of the Padova professor could be taken as incautious confessions (eg: "every time I put on my street-fighting scarf I feel the warmth of proletarian and working-class solidarity") [from Dominfire at the Face-Standard factory (October 1974); the murder of the Lotta Continua militant Alceste Campanile (June 1975); the "organisation and leadership of armed bands under the names "Illegal Work", "No Truce", "Centre-North" etc; the transfer of Skorpion machine guns from Austria, the theft of a number of paintings from the house of an art collector in Comasco; the bloody Argelato robbery (one dead; 5th December 1974); and obviously, a whole series of lesser offences connected with these episodes.

The evidence on which these accusations is based is largely unavailable, since Negri has refused to undergo furtner questioning until the question of the competence of the various judges has been resolved. Furthermore, the arrest warrants contain only the broadest of not to show indications, "so as the prosecution's hand". One of the charges of which the prosecution say they are certain is that relating to the Saronio kidnap. Already in April 1979 Negri had come under suspicion because of a letter written by the politicised robber Carlo Casirati (who, with Fioroni, had organised the Saronio kidnap) to Renato Curcio, the Red Brigade leader. It reads: "In Padova I stayed at Negri's house". However, Negri points out that at the time his Padova house was being let to a student called Antonio Liverani (see below).

# Hearsay

However, Fioroni then steps into the picture, claiming, in his confessions, that he had heard from Casirati that "the Saronio operation was decided by the Negri group", as a form of self-financing. In January this statement was substantiated from prison by Casirati, who maintained that: "The kidnap decision was taken at a meeting in which Toni Negri took part ... Out of the 5 billion lire that were to be asked for ransom, 10% was to go to the Negri group, and the rest to the various underworld figures involved in the operation". A further pointer was added by one of those arrested in the December 21st round-up, Mauro Borromeo, the administrator of the Catholic University of Milan. He said that when Casirati made a number of threats in the course of the Saronio trial ("If I were to name certain names, feathers would fly") a meeting was held in his house, consisting of Negri's closest associates. They seemed very worried by any further confessions by Casirati, Borromeo claims that he said to them: "So . . . it was you!" because only at that moment did he realise that the people responsible for the Saronio kidnap had been his Autonomia friends.

A number of the Rome magistrates, having seen the papers sent from Milan after January 24th, commented that "Negri might get off the Moro hook, but he certainly won't get off the Saronio charge". However, the defence lawyers present the other side of the coin. "Fioroni, in regard to Negri's connection with the Saronio case, has dealt solely

with impressions and deductions. As for the witness/defendant Casirati, his credibility is zero. Both as regards the Via Zabarella killings and as regards the Duina kidnapping, have been scandalously untrue, and have been proven as such".

During his year of imprisonment Negri has been transferred to 6 different prisons. He has given a number of interviews, and has kept up a regular correspondence with a number of intellectuals of the European and American left. He studies six hours a day, and is in the process of completing an essay on Spinoza. Both in Rebibbia and in the Palmi prison

he has been the most active organiser of seminars, reading groups, debates etc, which serve to keep up the morale of his co-defendants. In a long letter to La Repubblica newspaper he has asked at least for guarantees on 3 points: 1) to know which is the tribunal which is competent to judge him; 2) to be able to be questioned during the public hearing of the appeal in the Saronio case; 3) to be brought as soon as possible to trial for the Moro kidnap "without having to endure the possible 12 years of preventive detention".



### FRANCO PIPERNO

38 years old. Director of the Physics Department of the University of Calabria. He escaped arrest on April 7th by the fact of having arrived late at the meeting of the Metropolis journal. For several months he remained in Rome, in hiding (he was to move to Paris in June 1979), but nonetheless remained in the public eye through a series of interviews etc with Italian weekly and daily newspapers, through photographic "happenings" organised by the Italian satirical magazine Il Male, and through his collaboration on the first issue of Metropolis. There was a lot of discussion raised by an article he wrote for Lotta Continua, in which he proposed an amnesty for political prisoners "as a possible way of resisting the barbarisation of the clash with the terrorists".

On August 17th 1979 he too, along with the other defendants in the Rome section of the prosecution, became the subject of an arrest warrant for "armed insurrection". On August 17th there was a mysterious scene at Viareggio railway station: a shoot-out in which an allegedly armed Piperno was pursued by police, who lost him. In fact the ex-Potere Operaio leader was to be found at that moment in Paris, where he was arrested by French gendarmes at a table outside the Bar Madeleine-Tronchet.

This began the extradition proceedings, requested by Judge Gallucci, on the basis of the July 7th warrant. Meanwhile, in Rome Piperno's position became increasingly serious. On May 29th the dissident Red Brigaders Adriana Faranda and Valerio Morrucci were arrested in the house of Giuliana Conforto, a physics teacher and friend of Piperno, who stated that it had been Piperno who had asked her to put up the couple. Furthermore, the prosecution's interest was further

aroused by the publication of the first issue of Metropoli, which carried a cartoon history of the Moro kidnap, in which the face of one of the politicians in favour of negotiations to save Moro's life bore a close resemblance to Claudio Signorile, vice-secretary of the Socialist Party. This raised the question of the contacts between the Socialists and the Autonomists. It emerged that Piperno had held three meetings with Signorile, claiming that Moro's life could be saved, and urging him to press the Christian Democrats into making some form of opening. This was taken by the prosecution as proof that Piperno was a spokes-

man for the Red Brigades. Thus, on August 29th, just as the French Chambre d'Accusation was about to reject extradition, a fresh warrant arrived, which threw Piperno's case wide open again. It contained 46 charges, including the Via Fani massacre, the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, the murder of Judge Palmi, the attack on the Christian Democrat offices in Piazza Nicosia etc. On October 17th, following a long procedural wrangle, the Chambre d'Accusation finally conceded extradition - but only "for the crimes of kidnapping and murdering Aldo Moro", describing these as political crimes, but as "particularly odious and therefore meriting extradition". This decision would mean that Piperno would not have to answer the prosecution's charges relating to the other 44 prosecution charges, including the Via Fani massacre, at least in theory. In the eyes of the French judges, the relevant evidence in Piperno's case was threefold: "the fact of having provided refuge to Faranda and Morrucci", "the cartoonstrip in Metropoli which provided precise details of Moro's place of internment", and "the meetings with the Socialist Party, on Piperno's initiative, which confirm his links with the Red Brigades".

However, as the prosecution case has proceeded, these three charges have virtually been completely dropped. The suggestion that the *Metropoli* cartoon represented accurately the Moro prison has been discounted. The cartoonist, Beppe Madaudo, has explained that the offending scenes had been copied from a photo-romance magazine, which he was able to produce. Then Signorile and the journalists Zanetti and Scialoja stated to the prosecution judges that the meeting with Piperno had happened on the initiative of the Socialist Party.

Signorile also stated that Piperno had played a purely advisory role "without any suggestion that he had a direct link with the Red Brigades". Finally, following the witness statement of a Radical Party journalist, Aurelio Candido, in February 1980, it became clear that it was not Piperno who had introduced Faranda and Morrucci to Conforto, but Lanfranco Pace (see below). This was then confirmed by Pace himself, and by Faranda and Morrucci, who had stated from the start that "it was not Piperno who took us to Viale Giulio Cesare". Furthermore, Fioroni's confessions had resulted in only one judicial communication to Piperno - that of December 21st 1979 in which he was singled out as a leading member of the FARO paramilitary group ("which functioned between March 9th and March 13th 1972") and was accused of being the mysterious "Saetta", Feltrinelli's clandestine spokesman.

Piperno has been interrogated 3 times and has refused to answer any questions other than those for the charges on which he was extradited. He passes his time in his cell reading Hebrew literature, writing autobiographical stories, and working on an essay on energy physics.

- ...... ...... B. GE

### LANFRANCO PACE

38 years old. A researcher in socioeconomics. He was the subject of an arrest warrant on June 6th 1979, together with 3 other editors of the magazine Metropoli, Paolo Virno, Libero Maesano and Lucio Castellano (see below). He escaped arrest, and took refuge in Paris. The judges began by bringing up his past involvement in the Rome leadership group of Potere Operaio (along with Valerio Morrucci), as well as the publication in Metropoli of the Red Brigades communique relating to the attacks on the Christian Democrat offices in Piazza Nicosia, Rome, When the facts emerged of the contacts between the Autonomia and the Socialist Party during the Moro kidnap, Pace was also charged, along with Piperno, of being a spokesman for the terrorists, of being a sort of ambassador for them.

He took refuge in France. Then, at the end of a Press Conference held in the Hotel Lutetia in Paris on September 14th 1979 (at which the Radical Party's Marco Pannella was also present) he surrendered himself. He was extradited on November 7th. His judicial position is more clear-cut than that of Piperno, inasmuch as the Radical Party journalist Aurelio

Candido confessed to the magistrates that he too had taken Faranda and Morrucci under his roof when they had been presented to him, under false names, by Pace. This was further verification that it had been Pace and not Piperno who had brought Faranda and Morrucci to the house of Conforto. At this point the case against Pace takes on a certain autonomy in relation to Piperno's case.

Regarding Pace's role in the "party of

negotiations" during the Moro kidnap, it emerged that he had been asked to speak with Craxi by the Socialist Party Senator Landolfi, an old friend of his, whom he had met by chance on the morning of May 6th 1978. Landolfi, having listened to Pace's opinions on the possibilities of saving Moro's life, was of the opinion that this might be of interest to the Socialist Party secretary.



# ORESTE SCALZONE

33 years old. A teacher on the "150 hours" courses. Out of all the defendants he is possibly the best known and most popular of the 1968 generation. It was he who, in 1968, was received by Communist Party secretary Luigi Longo as spokesman for the student movement. He has always devoted all his energies to politics, and he is the only one of the "old leaders" who managed to re-emerge in the Movement of 1977, where he chaired the big meeting of the Autonomia in Bologna, and opposed the forces of the "P.38" faction.

He was arrested in the offices of the Metropoli magazine in Rome. Calogero's arrest warrant names him as "one of the principle leaders of Potere Operaio", and charges him with the "fictitious" dissolution of the group after the Rosolina Conference in 1973 and the subsequent continuation of clandestine subversive activities within the framework of the Autonomia and the strategic leadership of the Red Brigades. On July 7th a second arrest warrant is issued against Scalzone, this time emanating from the Rome Judge Gallucci. The charges are more or less identical, except that they are now placed within a framework of "armed insurrection against the State".

Finally, there is the third warrant of December 21st: "On the basis of statements made by the witness Fioroni, and objective confirmatory evidence" the Milan magistrates accuse him once again of having been a "national leader of Potere Operaio; of having met Feltrinelli several times in Milan and Genoa and of having helped him to emigrate to Switzerland; of having attended, together with Piperno and Negri, a meeting in

December 1971 with the intention of creating a clandestine section known as "Lavoro Illegale" ("Illegal Work"). He is further under suspicion of possession of a false driving licence (under his own name, however) coming from the same (stolen) stock to which belonged the licences found on a number of the people involved in the Argelato robbery. "Oreste had faked a driving licence so as to make me believe that he had passed his driving test—something I had been pushing him to do for years" says his wife Lucia.

Scalzone has been questioned 3 times by the prosecuting magistrates. He has denied that the Rosolina Conference had ratified a transition from legality into clandestine work on the part of Potere Operaio. During his second interrogation, the judge also suggested that he had been seen to fire a gun during the events of March 12th 1977 in Bologna. The defendant was able to prove that, on the day in question, he had been involved in a student demonstration through the streets of Rome; this fact was reported in the pages of Paese Sera on the day in question.

Regarding the charges contained in the December 21st warrant, Scalzone, now in the Palmi Prison, decided not to submit to further interrogation "until a single tribunal is properly organised for me to make my answers to".

After several months of frenetic activity in Rebibbia Prison (articles, interviews, essays, letters etc), during which he had to endure the restrictive regime and particularly harsh conditions of the "Special Prisons", his already poor health (slipped disc, chronic bronchitis) has been worsening. For reasons of "image", however, this is something that Scalzone would prefer not to have known.

# "METROPOLIS" LUCIO CASTELLANO, LIBERO MAESANO & PAOLO VIRNO

These three are ex-militants of Potere Operaio, who were arrested on June 6th 1979. They are members of the editorial group of the magazine Metropoli. The intention had been that this journal would serve as the single voice of the various groups of the Autonomia, but differences proved stronger than points of agreement, and Metropoli (of which thus far only one single copy has been published, since the materials for later issues have been seized by the police before they could be published) finally emerged as the voice of the Scalzone-Piperno tendency. No sooner had it been published (in May 1979) than it came within the judges' firing line.

What particularly interested them was a long cartoon strip relating to the Moro kidnap. According to the judges "too many of the details of the cartoon corresponded to intimate details of the case that had become known to the prosecution". For example, the face of a person supposedly in favour of negotiations to save Moro's life was very similar to that of the vice-secretary of the Socialist Party, Claudio Signorile; the drawing of the delivery van in which Moro was driven after the kidnap was "a striking resemblance" to the real one; and the drawings of the prison in which Moro was kept were "very similar to the hide-out discovered on the

estate near Rieti".

On June 6th 1979, immediately after an editorial meeting, Maesano, a 30-year old bank employee, was arrested in a bar; Castellano was followed to the Pantheon, where he was arrested as he ate in a restaurant; and Virno, a 27-year old Neapolitan, was arrested in the afternoon, when he returned home. They were all charged as belonging to the editorial group of Metropoli, a magazine which the judges considered to have been the "voice of the Rome column of the Red Brigades'

Particular reference was made to the Moro cartoon. In fact, the cartoonist has explained to the judges that the model for the van that transported Moro was his own van; and that the scenes in the Red Brigades' prison were in fact copied from a 1950s photo-romance magazine Gran Hotel - which he showed

to the judges.

Judge Gallucci has also charged Maesano with "friendship with Valerio Morrucci" (a friendship which has apparently been documented up until 1976), and with "the presence, in his diary, of a phone number, 2384887, which, suitably altered, could refer to the house of the mother of Faranda". Virno and Castellano, on the other hand, apart from their militant past in Potere Operaio, have also been charged for the contents of a number of articles published in Metropoli and for a number of documents held in the magazine's files. None of the 3 received further charges on December 21st or January 24th.

ion, he too was the subject of a warrant alleging "armed insurrection against the State". On December 21st, after Fioroni's statement had been heard by the judges, he received a third warrant from the Milan judges. This time he was charged with having been "the political commissar of the clandestine section of Potere Operaio known as 'Lavoro Illegale'."

It is undeniable that Vesce was a member - even a leader - of Potere Operaio. It is also proven that he was the "responsible editor" of the magazines and newspapers cited (with the exception of Controinformazione), However we shall have to await further specification of the charges before we know in what sense the judges consider this to be a crime of "insurrection". As regards the charges relating to the mysterious group "Lavoro Illegale", it is hard to know whether they have any substance. In fact the interrogation on this question was suspended when Vesce refused to reply, describing Fioroni's statement as "a joke". However, the accusation regarding the homogeneity of the Movement with the armed party has been dropped: it turned out that this was the original draft of an article by the sociologist Sabino Acquaviva, which was then published in Corriere della Sera,

Vesce has so far been held in 7 different prisons. He has lost 12 kilos in weight since a hunger strike in June. He has also been suffering from severe depression, which has been made worse by the fact that his wife, Gabriella, was recently hospitalised for nervous exhaust-

# LUCIANO FERRARI BRAVO

An assistant of Toni Negri, at the University of Padova. He was arrested on his way to lunch at the house of his wife, from whom he lives separated. He was the first to be interrogated by Calogero, and apart from being charged with being "one of the principal leaders of Potere Operaio" and "a leader of the organised area of Autonomy as well as a member of the strategic leadership of the Red Brigades" (the joint charge against all those April 7th defendants who were subsequently transferred to Rome), he is also charged with being "close" to Toni Negri - in fact with being his "right hand man". The evidence against him includes articles published in Rosso and Autonomia (he was on the editorial committee of the latter magazine).

Other evidence charged against him includes: possession of the duplicated copy of a document whose original was found in the notorious Thiene apartment where a bomb had exploded in the hands of three autonomists who were priming it. Also an appointment in his diary referring to one "Gallinari". The defendant has stated that copies of the document in question were quite widespread in certain areas of the movement, and that he kept his copy in order to write something about it in Autonomia. As regards "Gallinari", this was not at all the Red Brigader of the same name, but the name of the landlord of the flat in which



"Serious, sober, reserved sort of chap. Well regarded by his colleagues, very proper with his students, polite and discreet towards everyone . . . " Thinks: "The perfect model of a Red Brigades leader."

# EMILIO VESCE

40 years old. Headmaster of the Technical School of Piove, Sacco. He was arrested at two in the afternoon on his doorstep in the outskirts of Padova. Judge Calogero has charged him with being "one of the main leaders of Potere Operaio" I having belonged to the "Negri tendency" after the Rosolina conference in June 1973, and of then having "joined the ranks of Autonomia Operaia". This is the equivalent of a charge of "armed insurrection". The Padova judge further accuses him of editorship of the magazines Rosso and Autonomia. The basis for

these charges was the witness statement by a CGIL trade unionist in Padova, Antonio Romito.

When the case documents were transferred into the hands of Judge Gallucci, the Rome judges further charged Vesce with having organised "the printing of Potere Operaio" and the magazine Controinformazione (considered to be a voice for the Red Brigades). He was also charged with authorship of a document which appeared the phrase: "there is no difference between the Movement and the armed party". On July 7th 1979, along with the other defendants arrested on April 7th under the Rome prosecutFerrari Bravo was living in Padova. His defence lawyers, Adolfo Gatti and Tommaso Mancini, have brought forward a number of witnesses to testify that the defendant had "drawn away from politics as early as 1971". Of all those arrested on April 7th, he and Lauso Zagato are the only ones not to have received fresh warrants in the second "blitz" of December 21st 1979.



# LAUSO ZAGATO

A Padovan, and a high school teacher in Monselice. He was arrested together with Scalzone at the offices of Metropoli, to which he was a contributor. Calogero has charged him with the now familiar political/subversive accusations regarding the transition from Potere Operaio to Autonomia. According to the witness statements of Antonio Romito, the defendant was secretary of the Emilia and Veneto sections of Potere Operaio. But the charges against Zagato are based on two other elements: a hand-written 24page document, containing a list of the "revolutionary struggle" projects of Potere Operaio in 1971; and a further statement by Romito, that in 1974 Zagato was present together with Scalzone at a Padova meeting with the FIAT worker Cristoforo Piancone, a Red Brigader who was later arrested in Turin following a shoot-out (1977). The defendant has denied being the author of the document and having attended the meeting. His defence lawyers have noted that "anyway" in 1974 Piancone was a member of Lotta Continua.

However, the witness Romito alleges that Zagato had confided in another Padova autonomist, Massimo Tramonte, that: "It is Negri, Piperno and one other who are pulling the strings of the Red Brigades". The "other", according to the judges, is Giovanbattista Lazagna.

Fioroni's only comment on this excomrade of his is that he was "one of the main exponents of Potere Operaio". Zagato did not receive any further warrant on December 21st.

### MARIO DALMAVIVA

40 years old. Manager of a Turin advertising agency. Heavy-built, with a certain resemblance to Bud Spencer. Ex-organiser in the FIAT struggles in 1969. He was arrested at home with his wife on April

7th 1979. He has been charged with the customary "leadership role in Potere Operaio", a charge which is based mainly on the witness statements of Antonio Romito, who recalls him as being one of the "main participants" in the Rosolina Conference.

The judges, having drawn him into the Rome section of the prosecution case, showed him a letter which he was supposed to have received from Oreste Scalzone in 1974, in which the ex-Potere Operaio leader launched an appeal for a "discussion of the present political conjuncture, the insurrectional possibilities in Europe, and the renewed wave of struggles..." Dalmaviva denies ever having received the letter, and says that after the dissolution of Potere Operaio he had withdrawn from politics.

One mysterious piece of evidence relating to Dalmaviva has still not been cleared up. In the archive donated to the Feltrinelli Foundation by Negri there is a piece of paper containing Negri's handwritten note: "Dalmaviva Br = Br" (Br being a possible abbreviation for Red Brigades). In the light of this, Dalmaviva, whose release from prison had previously been considered likely, became the subject of a fresh warrant, issued on July 7th, for "armed insurrection against the State". Fioroni's revelations on the subject of Dalmaviva state only that he was one of the more active PO cadres at the 1971 Conference". On the basis of this statement, the Rome magistrates hit him with a further warrant on December 21st this time for participation in an "armed band"

# IVO GALLIMBERTI

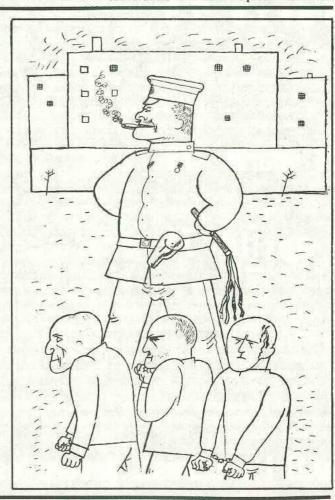
A teacher of electrical engineering, he has several times been on the point of being released from prison. But for one reason or another, the release has each time been put off at the last minute. The last time, he asked to be released because of the serious state of his health (together with Alberto Galeotto, charged with the Thiene bomb explosion of April 12th, 1979), Judge Calogero stated that he was prepared to accept his release, and the Instructing Judge, Palombarini, had signed the order.

Medical examination by both prosecution and defence lawyers have confirmed a "state of deep psycho-physical exhaustion". Gallimberti has lost 16 kilos, finds difficulty in speaking, and suffers from loss of his sense of balance. Galeotto, for his part, has already tried to commit suicide twice in prison. However, the two defendants found themselves victims of the new anti-terrorist laws that came into force on December 15th 1979. These re-introduced an article that had been abolished in 1955 — by which the Venice Procurator General had powers to block the order for their release.

On April 24th the condition of both Gallimberti and Galetto suddenly worsened, to such an extent that Judge Palombarini ordered them to be taken at once to the Neurological department of the Padova General Hospital.

Meanwhile, some of the charges against the Padova teacher have been dropped (for example, that he was one of the leaders of Potere Operaio and had

Perfect Democracy: George Grosz.



# LIBERTA PER I COMUNISTI

2 febbraio 79 I compagni M. C. Brioschi, V. De Ponti, C. Diana e Cristofori, accusati di appartenere alle B. R., vengono selvaggiamente torturati nelle camere di sicurezza della questura di Milano (pugni, calci, schiaffi, pressione con le nocche delle dita sulle tempie vengono inflitti ai compagni, dopo che erano stati legati nudi a un tavolo).

Altri compagni vengono minacciati e torturati, come testimoniano le interviste rilasciate dagli stessi al Quotidiano dei Lavoratori ed altri quotidiani. Il compagno Tino Cortiana, dopo esser stato sbattuto per varie carceri, viene relegato nel Lager di V. Franchi a Reggio E. e successivamente nel carcere punitivo di Udine col tentativo di distruggere l'integrità psichica.

4 febbraio '79 La P. S. e C. C. dopo aver circondato l'intero Quartiere Tiburtino con blindati e con l'impiego di alcune centinaia di uomini, fanno irruzione nella sede del Comitato Popolare Tiburtino e arrestano tutti i partecipanti al convegno "Carcere Repressione,".

Febbraio '79 I compagni S. Bitti, M. Masala, A. Casagrande, A. Bitti, R. Vitrani, A. Franco e S. Fatone del collettivo della Barona, accusati di aver partecipato all'uccisione dell'orefice Torreggiani vengono torturati nelle camere di sicurezza della questura di Milano. I compagni sono stati picchiati con pugni, calci e schiatti, denudati, bruciati ai testicoli con accendini e sigarette, costretti ad ingurgitare acqua salata con una pompa. Altre denunce di un pregiudicato comune A. Vassi e di un cittadino scambiato per un "terrorista,", A. Macina, testimoniano la vocazione di torturatori degli uomini della DIGOS milanese.

Marzo 79 I compagni V. Acella e R. Fiore accusati di appartenere alle B.R. vengono torturati nella Questura di Torino.

I compagni BARBARA AZZARONI e MATTEO CAGGEGGI vengono fucilati a freddo in un bar di Torino dalle Squadre Speciali.

I loro corpi denudati in segno di ulteriore spregio vengono tenuti esposti per ore.

A Parma DIGOS e C. C. fermano alcuni compagni, fanno irruzione nella sede di Radio Area emittente Comunista e perquisiscono altre sedi e locali di ritrovo di compagni.

Vasta operazione della polizia che porta all'arresto di decine di compagni in Toscana, a Varese e a Bergamo con imputazioni gravissime e ad effetto basate su sospetti mai suffragati da prove.

28 marzo 79 La DIGOS irrompe nella sede del giornale Carcere Informazione sequestrando tutto il associazione sovversiva.

E' la prima volta che un giornale viene sequestrato preventivamente ancor prima di uscire. Alcuni giorni prima stessa sorte era stata riservata ad Anarchismo a Palermo.

Aprile '79 Nel corso di una vasta operazione della DIGOS vengono arrestati a PADOVA, ROMA, P. Nicotri, I. Galimberti, M. Sturaro, G. Bianchini, L. Ferrari Bravo, O. Scalzone, M. Tramonti, L. Zagato, M. Dalmaviva e criminalizzati i giornali Rosso, Controinformazione, Autonomia, Metropoli. Gli ordini di cattura per "aver organizzato e diretto una associazione denominata P. O. e altre analoghe associazioni variamente denominate e collegate tra loro e riferibili tutte alla cosidetta Autonomia Operaia organizzata, e inoltre "per aver organizzato e diretto una associazione denominata B. R. costituita in banda armata con organizzazione paramilitare, sono 22, le comunicazioni giudiziarie oltre 70.

Con questa operazione hanno un obbiettivo molto preciso: stroncare con tutti i mezzi ogni forma di antagonismo organizzato e non al sistema del capitale. La ferocia con cui i vari poliziotti e magistrati "speciali, incarcerano i comunisti rivoluzionari, è uguale la ferocia con cui i padroni programmano i licenziamenti e l'intensificazione dello struttamento nelle fabbriche, sul territorio degli strati popolari.

Compito dei comunisti, dei proletari, di tutti i lavoratori e degli sfruttati, è organizzare la lotta e la resistenza al progetto padronale e ai suoi sgherri, nelle fabbriche, nelle scuole, nei quartieri, nella lotta quotidiana per migliori condizioni di vita e per un avvenire comunista.

Tutti i comunisti devono essere liberati

Coord Regionale contro la repressione

taken part in the Rosolina Conference). Only one piece of evidence remains in his case: the charge of having been part of the editorial committee of the magazine Autonomia. But the articles written by him were concerned with questions of science, and have been described by Palombarini as "irrelevant, from the prosecution's point of view".

### GIANFRANCO PANCINO

Ex-Milan doctor specialising in workrelated ailments. Underground since 1977.

He is the next in line after Toni Negri, with the largest number of charges against him. On April 7th, when he was included in Calogero's arrest warrants, Pancino was already underground. In fact he had already been made the subject of an arrest warrant in 1977, when the Milan magistracy were inquiring into Soccorso Rosso (Red Aid). It was Romito, the PCI witness, who stated that Pancino was one of the most influential members of Potere Operaio, and that he had been one of the firmest supporters of the "Negri tendency" at the Rosolina Conference. However, his prolonged absence underground has prevented the magistrates from drawing him much into the limelight.

Fioroni describes Pancino as "one of Negri's closest collaborators, certainly in the leadership of the organisation". He also accuses him specifically of having conceived the plan of setting fire to ITT/Face-Standard's plant at Fizzonasco, along with "other exemplary attentats against police call-boxes and against a carabinieri barracks". In these attempts, says Fioroni, "young people of less than 20 years old were sent in to take considerable risks, including the son of Dario Fo".

The Saronio kidnapper, Carlo Casirati, cites Pancino in his "deposition" as one of the proposers of a plan of robberies as a means to finance the "North-Centre Cell" led by Toni Negri, immediately after the dissolution of Potere Operaio. Following these fresh accusations against Pancino, a new warrant was issued, alleging Pancino's involvement in "acts preparatory to the attempted kidnapping of the industrialist Giuseppe Duina".

On April 7th 1979 the following were also arrested: PAOLO BENVEGNU (a bachelor of political sciences), MARZIO STURARO (high school teacher) and LUCIANO MIONI (university student). Others have gone underground: NANNI (poet and author), BALESTRINI ROBERTO FERRARI (engineer), GIOVANBATTISTA MARONGIU (university assistant), GIANNI BOETTO (footballer) and PIERO DESPALI (bachelor of political science, brother of Giacomo, the teacher arrested on March 11th 1980).

killed because he knew too much about the Saronio kidnap.

### MAURO BORROMEO

50 years old. Administrator of the Catholic University of Milan. Considered to be far removed from political interests. His presence among those arrested was considered one of the surprises of the December 21st blitz. The surprise grew when Borromeo confirmed the judges' view that he was a sympathiser of the "Negri tendency". In effect, Borromeo used to lend out his houses in the country for secret discussions and meetings. According to Casirati, Borromeo had

According to Casirati, Borromeo had organised a dinner at his Milan apartment on the evening of the Saronio kidnap (April 1975), bringing together the group who had conceived the operation, and offering them an alibi thereby. For his part, the defendant admitted to another dinner held at his flat last year, during the Saronio trial: that evening various members of the "Negri group" had appeared very worried by some of the insinuations Casirati was making in the court-room. At that moment, says Borromeo, I realised that my friends had been involved in the kidnap.

### ANTONIO TEMIL

A student of electrical engineering in Padova. He has been named by Fioroni as an "expert in priming devices for the remote-controlled detonation of explosives, and an expert in telephone tapping and radio transmission". Fioroni claims to have attended a paramilitary camp on the Asiago Plain, where Temil was the instructor in techniques for exploding dynamite. Fioroni also asserts



that Temil was a member of the "clandestine organisation headed by Toni Negri, and known as "North-Central". Like all the members of this ill-defined group, he was to remain unknown to the members of Potere Operaio, first, and Autonomia later.

In Padova, Temil's electro-technical expertise was known—so that it was to him that the autonomists entrusted the construction of the Radio Sherwood transmitter. During questioning by Calogero, Temil stated that he had left the Movement in the Spring of 1974; then, during questioning by Judge Amato in Rome, he admitted to having met

# **ROUND 2: DECEMBER '79**

# THE SECOND ROUND-UP OPERATION: 21st DECEMBER 1979

### ANTONIO LIVERANI

Liverani was named by Toni Negri as a defence witness, regarding the question of hospitality allegedly provided by Carlo Casirati, the material organiser of the kidnapping of the engineer Carlo Saronio. Negri has been accused of having put up Casirati, the "politicised robber", in his house in Padova. When Liverani was questioned as a witness, he said that in fact it was he who had put Casirati up in the house that Negri had rented to him on the occasion of his transfer to Milan—all "unbeknownst to Negri".

On December 21st Liverani too was charged, on the basis of a warrant issued by the Milan magistracy. The charges against him are based on statements in Fioroni's testimony, that he was "the person in Padova who was concerned specifically with the falsification of documents, as well as being a member of the military structure of the group headed by Negri". The super-witness added, further, that it had been Liverani who supplied him with a "false Italian passport" - the one which was taken from him when he was arrested in Switzerland in 1975. Fioroni too states that he knew that Liverani had met Casirati in Padova some time previously to the Saronio kidnap. On this point Fioroni's statement is indirectly confirmed by statements from Negri himself.

# EGIDIO MONFERDIN

36 years old. A doctor at the Old People's Hospital in Venice. According to Fioroni, he was the fiance of Sylvana Marelli, arrested in June 1979 in the via Castelfidardo hide-out in Milan, and regularly shuttled (at least once a week) between Milan and Venice on behalf of the "Negri group".

Again, according to Fioroni, "Monferdin, together with Tony Liverani and Gianantonio Baietta (note: both of whom were also arrested on December 21st), planned three armed robberies for Casirati to carry out in the Veneto region." Monferdin was supposed to have also operated "in conjunction with Casirati" in the Saronio kidnap, and also to have taken part in the organisation of a "day of guerrilla action in Milan" (December 12th 1971). With Toni Temil and others he is also supposed to have taken part in exercises with arms and explosives on the Asiago Plain. Casirati, for his part, has confirmed these accusations, specifying that the planned robberies were never in fact carried out. However, the most serious charge against Monferdin came a while after, from the judges in Reggio Emilia: he was accused of having killed the young Lotta Continua militant Alceste Campanile. The prosecution suspects that Campanile was

Casirati once during a meeting in Porto Marghera, where Casirati was presented to him under another name. ("I recognised him when I saw his photograph in the papers in relation to the Saronio kidnapping").

ping").

On January 24th a second warrant was issued against him by Judge Spataro in Milan, accusing him of having participated "together with Negri, Pancino and Monferdin in acts preparatory to the kidnapping attempt on the industrialist Giuseppe Duina in Segrate, December 20th 1974". However, Temil has an alibi for that day. He was getting married in a church in Padova.

# ALBERTO MAGNAGHI

An architect. Teacher at the Milan Polytechnic. Director of the review Quaderni del Territorio. His name had already appeared on the list of those arrested on April 7th (as an "important leader of Potere Operaio" who had then entered Autonomia), but at the last moment Calogero had not signed the warrant against him, considering that there was insufficient proof. It was Fioroni's statement that sparked his arrest on December 21st, on the grounds that he had allegedly been one of those in favour of militarisation and the theory of insurrection ("together with Negri, Piperno and Scalzone", says Fioroni) during the 1971 Rome conference of Potere Operaio. Also that he was a member of "the clandestine section of Potere Operaio known as Lavoro Illegale", and that he "had perhaps taken part in the organisation of guerrilla operations leading up the demonstration of December 12th 1971 in Milan." "Organisation of the operations", according to Fioroni, consisted of preparing molotov cocktails. And this seems to have been the principal element on which the accusation of "insurrection" is based - even though that demonstration had not taken place, because it was banned by the police.

### IARO NOVACK

36 years old. Employed by a record distribution wholesaler. Fioroni accuses him of having been "an authoritative member of the Lavoro Illegale section of Potere Operaio", and of having taken part in FARO, a small paramilitary group linked to PO. Fioroni states that in the Spring of 1972, when he had fled to Switzerland after the death of Feltrinelli, Novack went to find him, bringing him 70,000 lire. The defendant told the Milan magistrates that he had gone to Switzerland together with the journalist Mario Scialoja who was intending to interview Fioroni, and that the 70,000 lire were in recompense for expenses incurred in the interview. This version of the facts was confirmed by the journalist (L'Espresso January 27th 1980), and is proved by a number of photographs taken during the interview.

On December 21st warrants were also issued against: GIANMARIA BAIETTA (printer), AUGUSTO FINZI (white collar worker at Montedison of Porto Marghera), GIORGIO RAITERI (doctor), SILVANA MARELLI (already arrested the previous year in the hide-out in Via Castelfidardo, Milan), ARRIGO CAVALLINA (also involved in the Via Castelfidardo affair), ALBERTO **FUNARO** (journalist), DOMENICO ZINGA and FRANCESCO SCATTOLIN (both in prison since 1973 for a bank robbery at Velano Olona), ORESTE STRANO (worker), ROMANO MADERA (teacher), MARCO BELLA-(photographer and journalist), FRANCO TOMMEI (teacher), ADRIANA SERVIDA, FRANCO GAVAZZENI (Pavia university teacher) and CATER-INA PILENGA (broadcaster with the RAI in Milan). There is nobody in hiding in this round-up.

# **ROUND 3: JANUARY '80**

This was the follow-up to the "Fioroni round-up" of December 21st. This time it was based on statements by another "repentant" armed activist, Carlo Casirati, one of those involved in the Saronio kidnap. He confirmed many of the things that Fioroni had told to the judges in December, and brought to light 11 other people whose names Fiornoi had not remembered. This led to the arrest and imprisonment of: ROLANDO STRANO (worker, brother of Oreste, already arrested in December), MARIELLA MARELLI (sister of Silvana, arrested in June), GIORGIO SCHOFFERNACHER, GIO-VANNI CALORIA (teacher at the Institute for the Blind in Milan, contributor to the free radios), QUINTO CATALDO (Alfa Romeo worker), and the Venetians GIANNI SBROGIO, MASSIMO PAVAN (worker) and FABIO VEDOVATO (doctor). Three University teachers from Trieste escaped arrest: GIANNI SERENO, GIANNI ZAMBON and MARINA

CATTARUZZA. All are accused of membership of an armed band, and all have been taken under the Rome branch of the prosecution.

The arrest of one of the defendants, Gianni Caloria, is particularly surprising. He has been blind from birth. However, Fioroni and Casirati maintain that he was a member of Potere Operaio cadre school. Gianni Sbrogio, on the other hand, was one of the key figures in workers' struggles at Montedison in Porto Marghera, the brother of the betterknown ITALO SBROGIO (who has also received judicial notice of prosecution). According to the evidence gathered by the prosecution, the Venice defendants were supposedly part of the "North-Central" cell, while the Triestians are claimed to have organised "arms traffic from Austria on behalf of the 'Negri Group'."

# ROUND 4: MARCH'80

This blitz is unlikely to be the last This time only the Padova Autonomy was hit. As on April 7th, one of the warrants was signed by the Rome Judge Gallucci. while all the others (36 in all) came from the Procurator of the Republic in Padova. Gallucci charged "armed insurrection against the State", against LAURA BETTINI (daughter of a literature teacher) who had left Potere Operaio in 1972 and moved to France (she had returned to Padova in 1978). The charge is based on her past friendship with Toni Negri, with whom she is alleged to have had contact in France. Judges Calogero and Borraccetti on the other hand, issued charges of "membership of an armed band" against 35 people, all under 30 years of age. Those arrested number 23: DANIELA SARINUTO, GIOVINELLA MAZZACURATI, GIACOMO DESPALI, ANDREA MIGNONE and his wife, MIRIAM MIGNONE, TIZIANO CREMA, GIUSEPPE PEROZZO, MARINA NAZZARI, MARCO CAPUZZO, SUSANNA SCOTTI, ROBERTO ULAR-GIU, MAURIZIO MOLINARI, SERGIO SARCINELLI, DIEGO BOSCAROLO, GIANFRANCO FERRI. AUGUSTO ROSSI, MARCO RIGAMO, SCAPOLO, LOREDANA MASSIMO OMETTO, ANDREA NESE, CECILIA ZOCCALI, ENRICO GRASSETTO, ALBERTO ZORZI. One of the warrants applied to PAOLO BENVEGNU, who was already imprisoned on April 7th.

It appears that the Padova magistrates have a further dozen warrants up their sleeves, and about 30 more names on their list. According to the prosecution, the March round-up was aimed "at the intermediate cadres of Autonomy, an organisation which had already had its head cut off in the April 7th blitz". Boscarolo has been charged with a robbery that took place on July 3rd 1978. However, on that day he was in hospital, guarded by carabinieri, and under interrogation by Calogero himself! This oversight has aroused a lot of comment.

However, these new arrests by Calogero have embarked on a new strategy. He is asking that the charges related to concrete crimes (robbery, assault, molotovs etc) be brought to trial as soon as possible. He is requesting formal proceedings only on the "crimes of association" ("membership of an armed band" and "subversive association"). This move has aroused polemic among the defence lawyers, to the effect that once again Calogero is trying to escape the overseeing audit of the Instructing Judge Palombarini.

■ Translated from L'Espresso April 7th 1980

# Justice - Italian Style

# INTERVIEW WITH TONINEGRI

□What follows is an interview with Toni Negri, imprisoned in Trani Prison. It is a written interview, made a month before the Trani Prison revolt (see below).

Question: You have now been in jail since April 7th 1979, and since this date objective evidence has cleared you of what one might call the 'black or white' criminal charges against you, such as involvement in the Moro assassination. The charges which remain are precisely those which cannot be answered with fingerprints or alibis. These accusations reside in a realm in which the legal system is badly adapted to intervene - the realm of ideas and the theoretical and historical continuity and compatibility between various political groups. Can you say something about those charges, and the legal situation in which you and the other comrades in jail find yourselves?

Answer: Our trial will take place in another couple of years or so, since Italian law allows a period of "preventive imprisonment" of up to 5 years and 4 months before the first trial, and 10 years and 8 months before the final trial. The basic charge which my comrades and I will probably face at our trial is "armed insurrection against the powers of the State". This charge carries a sentence of life imprisonment.

### Unprecedented Charges

This is the first time this charge has been brought in Italy since the fall of Fascism. Under Fascism the sentence was the firing squad: we are therefore happy Fascism has been overthrown. It is, however, the only reason for us to feel any pleasure in the fall of Fascism. In all other respects the law is unchanged. In fact, repressive laws have since been increased enormously in number and carry far heavier sentences. Legal procedures have taken on the characteristics of those applying in wartime: you can be arrested and interrogated without legal assistance and held for long periods of time, But as I said above, it is the periods of preventive imprisonment that have reached levels that are quite incredible.

Anyway, let's return to the charges being levelled against us. We stand accused of having attempted to incite an armed insurrection. The state accuses us because it recognises a real danger in the actions of proletarian and working class agitation that we carried on throughout the 1960s. Now, I and the comrades who were working for the development of working class and proletarian autonomy in the 1960s would have been very happy if we had really placed the reproductive institutions of capital in such extreme peril. Unfortunately our actions, despite their undeniable importance, were never this significant: even the bourgeoisie never seems to have felt there was a real danger



of insurrection. But on 7th April 1979 this accusation was nevertheless brought against us.

Who made this accusation? It was made by a few judges, whose political alignment with the Italian Communist Party is by now notorious. It was brought because the actions of autonomia had effectively impeded, through mass action, the PCI's chances of entering into government through an alliance with the Christian Democracy.

This very serious charge of insurrection was therefore brought because we struggled on class terrain, on mass terrain, against this betrayal of the class struggle perpetrated by the PCI in its strategy of Historic Compromise.

Question: The "trial of autonomia", as has been remarked by many, appears as a step in the attempt at criminalisation of the autonomia movement. You, as I remember reading in an article, were shocked by the projection of yourself in the daily press as a "monster". What were the processes called into play in this projection of autonomia as a criminal organisation, and of its theoreticians as monsters? And do you think this project of criminalisation is now failing with the failure of the "hard evidence" against the accused?

Answer: The accusation cannot fail, because it is not based on objective evidence against the individuals accused. The truth is that autonomia has never been an organisation, but rather an often-fluctuating ensemble of organisations. At the organisational level it was non-existent.

Autonomia was a movement. The judges, though well aware of this, have pretended that autonomia was something other than a movement and that those responsible for certain newspapers, free radios and organisational fractions which lived within the movement were politically responsible for the whole.

# Criminalising a Movement

The judges themselves have constructed central committees where only spontaneous initiatives existed, and criteria of objective responsibility where there were only individual initiatives. The great social phenomena of the workers' pickets, the blockading of transport, the "self-reduction" of prices, the occupations of housing and so on, have been linked artificially to an operational strategic centre which was supposed to have commanded and assumed responsibility for all these actions. This is pure fantasy.

Through a lunatic journalistic campaign of mystification, figures were created (such as my own) who were supposedly capable of directing these impressive social phenomena through orders, communications from little secret committees, special agents etc etc. A huge movement which has assailed Italian society throughout this decade was in this way reduced to the pitiful sum total of the experiences, however interesting, of a few individuals, to the ideas and writings, however important, of a few persons.

Social and mass class autonomy, and the organisations living within it, have, in this hypothetical accusation, been tied to an organisational centre, at whose head presides Toni Negri the "monster". And why a "monster"? Because this gentleman, whilst lecturing in Paris, sent off orders which on the one hand set into motion hundreds of thousands of young people throughout Italy, in the factories, in the schools and on the streets. On the other hand, this gentleman was busy organising all of the military and underground struggles that were going on in Italy in the same period: in other words, he was the head of the Red Brigades, of Prima Linea, and of all the other underground groups.

# A Political Operation

There's no doubt that if I had really been all this, I would have been an excellent manager. But I was not. In reality the stance taken by myself and my friends against terrorist action has always been amply evident. The writings in which we detach ourselves from terrorism are innumerable. The judges continue to maintain this to be a falsity, an attempt at a cover-up. At this point the figure of the "monster" is complete. All that I wrote and said must be considered as a cover-up for my real position as a terrorist. In effect, the only real interest which those in power have in us consists in the criminalisation, through our poor personages, of an entire movement of social opposition.

This operation is entirely political, and has very little to do with the law. The trials, when they come about, will be political trials. The important thing that those in power wish to achieve, with

our arrests and the arrests of the thousands of comrades arrested after us, is to be able to add state terrorism to their criminalisation of the movement.

Question: A personal question. What has your experience of prison been like?

Answer: My life in prison isn't bad. There are about 3,000 comrades currently held in the Special Prisons (for 'terrorists'). There is therefore a very rich level of political discussion. Our strength, even in prison, is indubitable. So, our conditions of imprisonment are not of the worst. They are without doubt better than those that the common prisoner had to undergo before the influx of comrades into the prisons. The truth is that the warders and prison governors are afraid. Furthermore, everyone knows that the comrades inside represent the best of a whole generation of communist militants. Some warders are communists, and some governors are on the left.

Life in prison, however, is not improved all that much even by these conditions. But communist life within the prisons is not only strong, but also rich in vital initiatives. The worst part of prison, or rather of this sort of concentration camp where we have been herded, is above all the lack of news and information, and the impossibility of joining in the struggle. Over the last few months, during the struggle at FIAT, the comrades looked forward with enormous excitement to the television news broadcasts. And this was true not only for the four or five FIAT workers who are here in my camp: it was true for us all. It was central to all our discussions. It was fundamental in increasing our feeling of anger and desire for freedom to return to struggle alongside our comrades in the working class and proletariat outside prison.

# **Closing Political Spaces**

Question: It seems to me that the Moro assassination provided the lever which the Italian ruling classes needed. It has served to "justify" heavy intellectual repression and the strangling of political space on the pretext of stamping out terrorism in Italy. Do you agree with this? Are your hopes high for a speedy recovery of the Italian left?

Answer: The assassination of Moro was the most senseless and absurd initiative the armed groups could possibly have undertaken. In 1977 the proletarian movement had reached an extremely high pitch of mobilisation in all the big Italian cities, bringing to a climax the process of reformulation of the homogeneity of aims of struggle which had begun in 1974. But the movement, precisely because of its extensive nature, was extremely weak. Its problem was how to develop an organisational form springing from its roots in the city, in the factories, in all the various workplaces.

We were all involved in working to-

 (Left) As part of the process of depicting Negri as a "monster", the Press have used heavily touched-up photographs. Note inked-in lines. wards this development. In Septembe 1977 there was a mass assembly i Bologna which saw the participation of about 30,000 activists: everyone had understood that the principal and fundamental problem was to find roots and a organisational form. It was still necessar to press ahead with the extension of the movement. And it was possible.



Onto this "tissue", the Red Brigades of group holding a Marxist-Leninist ideology grafted its theory of the taking-over of the leadership of the entire movement by the armed vanguard. The murder of Moro after a month of imprisonment we supposed to demonstrate the Re Brigades as being the leading force, the hegemony, the 'Bolshevik' leadership of the movement.

In reality the result was the opposito what the RB expected. The movemer was fully engaged, in all its weakness an all its strength, in the project of rooting itself and finding its organisational form. The RB were shown up for what the were — a wild variable. But on this basis the basis that the Moro assassinated determined in the bourgeoisie, the most terrifying campaign of repression we have ever known was set into motion. 3,00 comrades have been thrown into jail these last two years.

The repressive forces of the bourg oisie, with the cooperation of those the trade unions and the PCI, have swer the board clean of an entire generation of militants. The movement's political space has been enormously restricted. Practi ally all of its papers and its journals have been banned. The space held by the comrades of autonomia inside the un versities and factories has been closed. the name of stamping out terrorism great proletarian movement of an entire new sort, developing on the left of the PCI, a movement of young workers an metropolitan proletarians, a movement resistance to work, has been struck severely weakening blow.

Autonom

I don't know if the recovery will com about quickly. I rather doubt it. What certain, though, is that the movement still exists, that it has not yet been beaten. Today the problem is the revivof mass struggle together with the recorduest of political space and the release of the comrades from prison.

Question: Calogero (the public prosecuto has a theorem: Potere Operaio = Auto omia = Red Brigades. The left has anothe

Calogero = PCI = Historic Compromise = the solidification of political/hegemonic control by the ruling block in Italy. Can you comment on the role the PCI has played in recent years?

Answer: The equation whereby the PCI is supposed to consolidate its own hegemony via the repressive operation mounted against the class Left has already been thrown into crisis. The PCI has helped the bourgeoisie to emerge from the deepest crisis it has ever had to undergo, and now it has unceremoniously been shown the back door. Despite this, the PCI has not gone back on the question of repression. Its Stalinist soul has got the better even over political and opportunistic considerations. The enemy to its left must be fought by whatever means. It matters not that this repressive operation serves as a testing ground for operations which, tomorrow, the bourgeoisie might use against the PCI itself. The revisionist hatred of the left is blind,

# The Communist Party

The masochistic behaviour of the PCI, however, is not only apparent at the level of repression. The last decade has seen a development in the class struggle in Italy which has been able to find in the PCI an element of mediation with the bourgeoisie. In this context the PCI attempted to win back its hegemony over the more active layers of the class, the hegemony it had lost in 1968-69. When it realised that this recuperation was impossible, it unleashed the repression. But without a left wing capable of acting within the factories and the cities, the mediatory action of the PCI proved to be useless to the bourgeoisie. The PCI has therefore been thrown back into opposition.

At this point, gripped by a last tremor of resistance, the PCI placed itself at the head of the struggle. But it was not to last. The unions, by now used to transformism and opportunism, abandoned it forthwith, while the working class left correctly regarded with great suspicion any foray into the class struggle by the PCI. It was this fact that led to the defeat of all the struggles to which the PCI had offered its protection.

Today, within the PCI, a series of political theses of autonomy have begun to develop. But nobody deludes themselves that the Stalinist sectarianism of the PCI can be overcome.

### Potere Operaio

Question: In your view what were the major contributions of Potere Operaio to working class thought and struggle, which led to its leadership being singled out for particular attack in the "case against autonomia".

Answer: This is a difficult question to answer. Potop was a complex phenomenon. Its most significant organisational characteristic was without any doubt the fact of being able to unify organically the working class vanguard in certain of the big factories in the North, and the leaders of the students' movement in the big Italian universities. This organic link

provided a very specific political personnel, capable of both mass action and theoretical analysis.

Potop was perhaps the only group among those arising from 1968 able to maintain an incredible homogeneity of political positions after its dissolution. This fact has caused the magistrates mistakenly to believe in an entrist operation conducted by Potop throughout the entire movement, through its dissolution. Furthermore, Potop was for a long period - both in its group constitution and in the later phase of dispersal - firstly the carrier of the debate on the refusal of work, and second the initiator of the debate on the new subject-figure of the metropolitan proletariat. Autonomia concerned, from the concepts developed by the Potop cadres who continued to work politically after the dissolution, either as individuals, or in small groups within the movement.

Potop was dissolved at the Rosolina Convention in 1973. But in 1977 at the

centrality of their theoretical arguments and the continuity of their political action. Personally, I'm very happy this has happened: it's the proof that, at the moment that other comrades and myself (a minority, but a far-seeing one), realising the enormous intellectual wealth Potop had accumulated and convinced of the group's poverty of experience, imposed its dissolution, we had taken a historic and fundamental step.

# The "New Class Lavers"

Question: What happened in 1977 which makes that year such a radical "break" for working class struggle and culture in Italy?

was really born, as far as theory is Answer: What happened in 1977 was that which we did not have the strength to bring about in 1969: the mass break of the proletariat from the reformist organisations. In 1969 we had built up a radical and democratic class behaviour in the factories. The PCI and the unions ably disposed themselves of this transform-



• "Fascists, coup d'etatists, for you there is no tomorrow. Today we are soldiers, tomorrow we'll be partisans". Soldiers' demo, early '70s.

Bologna convention of autonomia, nearly all the speakers on the Italian situation were ex-Potop comrades. Despite the many different approaches, the central argument which emerged that which saw the working class tendency towards refusal of work emerging within the social make-up of the metropolitan proletariat - was brought to the centre of the debate through the theoretical and agitational contribution of the ex-Potop comrades.

Today the prisons are full of these comrades. I've never tried to work out how many there are, but there are many ... many. The institutions of power have thus singled out the leadership of Potop because of their evaluation of both the

ation of political behaviour through the creation of Factory Councils. We knew that this was an opportunistic operation by the trade unions, but we too were imprisoned by the ambiguity of this operation

On the other hand, the relationship which emerged in 1969 between the new class layers and the old vanguard of the "mass worker" was very external, essentially founded on agitation. Furthermore, the relationship between working class antagonism in direct production and proletarian antagonism on the social terrain was very unclear: "Take Over The City", a slogan of those years, was a slogan based completely on the extension of the action of the factory proletariat,

rather than on the uncovering and unfolding of what was a complex social subjectfigure. Between 1969 and 1977 we had the formidable existence of a powerful women's movement. It was in the confrontation - often bitter, always important - with the women's movement that the debate was pushed ahead. Without wishing to exaggerate (because there's often been a certain coyness in the admission) I believe that the reasons which lay behind the dissolution of Potop in 1974 came essentially from developments in the women's movement, from the positive transformation that the frustrations of the women wrought on many Potop cadres.

In the meantime, between 1969 and 1977, the initial ambiguity of the trade union debate on the Factory Councils was clarified for all, workers and proletarians alike. The unions, from 1969 on, were making a concerted effort to weaken the authority of the Councils. Above all, they were trying to bend them to the austerity policies which were the war-cry of the PCI in its march towards government. In those years we not only managed, continuously and relentlessly, to demystify the PCI line, but also to live and promote a new social experience: the experience of the movement as a community, promoted directly through a mass experience of expropriation and counter-power. Right, At this moment in time, 1977 "broke out". First in Bologna, where the clashes of the new student proletariat (students forced to work in the "black economy", exploited by the Communist Party administrations in the big cities) raised enormously the level of revolutionary desire; then in Rome, where the PCI's attempt to recuperate the movement ended in Lama (the PCI's trade union leader) being physically expelled from the University.

# Traditional Marxist Analysis

Once again we had anticipated and accelerated the rhythm of events: it would be 1980 before Lama was expelled from the gates of FIAT too. But the transformation set in motion in 1977 is still fundamental. As I have already said, we would probably have managed to organisationally the social reality of the new mass Left, if the Red Brigades had not intervened, with their choice of the path of homicide and terrorism, a choice which we continue to see as at best a tragic error and at worst a betrayal and a provocation.

Question: The movement of autonomia claims to speak as part of a "new social majority of the proletariat", a majority which includes all those sectors of the working class thrown to the margins of society by the present world-wide crisis racking the capitalist economy. This clearly raises some major question marks for traditional Marxist class analysis. How far do you see your own ideas and those of other comrades inside and outside of jail as a radical departure in Marxist theory?

Answer: My comrades and I do not believe

that our analysis is other than a Marxist analysis. It's a completion, a development of it. We believe that the proletarian subject is formed in the conjunction between work time and life time; that society is subsumed in capital, forming a homogenous tissue of exploitation. The crucial problem is this: capital has become really 'social capital" and capitalist society has become - really, not by analogy - a "social factory". Education, welfare, family life, transport, culture etc, are all implicated in capitalist accumulation. The conflict between human desires and capital is direct. The mechanism of the production and reproduction of labour power is wholly internal to capital. This is the fundamental point. If all this is true, and if in consequence the proletarian subject develops within all of these Answer: Clearly, I'm in agreement with yo life conditions, then the true barrier to the valorisation of capital consists in the relationship between production and reproduction. Our subject is not so much an extreme fruit of the crisis of capitalism as a product of its restructuring.

### We Are Readers of Marx

I don't believe that anything I am saying is less than orthodox Marxism. It is, at any event, the truth, even if it is not orthodox. Orthodoxy does not concern me much. I am a Marxist solely because Marx's analysis is in agreement with phenomena and behaviours that I perceive. As for the fact that our subjectivism is not in agreement with the established currents of Marxist tradition, this means only that other authors are in error. We are not inventors of anything. We are just readers of Marx, and political revolutionary agitators in our time.

Question: Reading your Domination and Sabotage (translated in Working Class Autonomy & the Crisis, Red Notes/CSE Books, 1979) I was struck particularly by your discussion of public spending and the wage, parts of which I quote:

"Public spending and the wage are themes to which the analysis, the theory and the practice of revolutionaries will continually have to return, because in a situation of discontinuity in the cyclicity of the class struggle, the problem of public spending will, in the coming years, assume the same importance as the wage, narrowly defined, has had in past years."

and later:

"The privileged place of the wage in the continuity of proletarian struggles must, today, be extended to the struggle over public spending cuts. Only this struggle can enable the full self-recognition of the proletariat; can fix the bases of self-valorisation; can attack directly the theory and practice of income-as-revenue.'

This seems to me a very important concept for the strategy and tactics of working class struggle today. The mass vanguard of the proletarian movement is no longer to be found at the point of production, on the broad and largely mascul-

ine shoulders of the the factory wor "guaranteed" by powerful trade unio but among traditionally weaker sector. the proletariat — women, the unempl ed, immigrants and so on - as the me consumers and providers of well services. The nurses in struggle for proved wages and conditions and the improved nursing facilities in hospitals; women demanding the proion of refuges and nursery facility groups forming to fight cuts in educati and health services; youth demand more cultural and social facilities; these now move from the back pages the annals of socialist historiography take on capital as major protagonists the class struggle. Can you enlarge on t

reflections on the theme of class strugg struggle over public spending, and w your consequent identification of t social subjects. You ask me to enlar on this theme.

Well, then, I believe that today, Italy at least, the problem is to und stand the limits of this argument. He the separate leadership of this programm has often led the various groups a layers of the class into the hands capital: the acceptance of particul demands means the incorporation these particular forces, and the split, t division of the general revolutiona action. Since there are no ideologi which can link diverse class interests an abstract level, a reflection which c thread right through the various diffe ent realities is of prime importance.

# Not in Ideology but in Concre Action and Revolutionary Though

The unification of the struggle of o layer with that of another cannot imposed through ideologies and valu systems - this is the road taken by t Right. We must find within the imme iacy of the interests of particular grou the political mediation of the comme interest, the desire for communism. V comrades in jail, we 3,000 revolutiona militants shut away inside the Spec Prisons of the democratic Italian stat are sure that this desire lives within the masses. Above all, we must press forwa a mediation rooted in reflection on the interests of the individual strata: cla unity is to be found deep within the process of class self-valorisation. Not ideology, but in concrete action ar revolutionary thought.

Interview obtained in the Trani Special Priso November 198



# REVIEW ON A PHANTOM

☐ Toni Negri and Luciano Ferrari Bravo were asked to write an article for the revolutionary magazine Metropoli, about the concept of "insurrection". It is under a charge of "armed insurrection against the powers of the State" that they now face possible life imprisonment. What follows is an edited version.

The Concept of Insurrection We have been asked to answer the question as to why the State can still have a place for a crime like "insurrection" in its Penal Code.

In reality the crime of "insurrection" is like the cobra in the popular song: whatever you do, you can never manage to catch hold of it. Its essence does not lie in logic, but in something else. From a doctrinal point of view, it is a masterpiece of legal "ambiguity" [ . . . ]

It seems to us . . . that the magistrates' manner of proceeding towards us was completely illegal, and that the ultimate interpretation of the crime of insurrection, were it rendered effective, would be unconstitutional. In fact it's clear that, given the impossibility of the other two ways of considering the crime of insurrection (the one relating to the effectivity of the attack on all the institutions insofar as it is excluded from the charge itself; and the one relating to legitimacy, because the heart of the state is not there and anyway it wasn't Moro and in any case it has nothing to do with us) - in the heads of our accusers the crime of insurrection rests only on a misinterpretation (a vulgarly contrived interpretation) of the Italian constitution.

In other words, it is maintained that the formal constitution, which is the only basis and reference for the definition of an example of constitutional crime, is determined by its materiality. When we were arrested, this consisted in the search for the Historic Compromise. That is, in the alliance between two parties, as bearers of the national interest. I must confess I don't know which is more insurrectionalist: an interpretation like this, or what we are accused of. But thus it is: we are in jail, while the way things are now, the magistrates have a licence to kill. To kill the constitution too?

arrested

been

have

Let us suppose that our magistrates' interpretation should acquire legal validity (what it amounts to is this: the regime of the parties, the party-system that has been established in Parliament is untouchable; the will and the action to alter it is insurrectional).

From this there follow a number of undoubtedly amusing paradoxes:

1 That every act implying an alteration of the material constitution (of the parties and the corporations) whatever its source, would qualify as insurrection.

2 That insurrection, breaking this corporate materiality of the political order,

would be an act attributable to the formal constitution.

In attributing the crime of insurrection to us, the magistrate is distorting the concept of the constitution in an abnormal and absurd fashion. It is no accident that behind this charge are two magistrates who are notorious: Ciccio Amato, who acquitted Sogno and Cavallo in an investigation of a charge of conspiracy against the State; Ciampani, whose family situation is so compromised by fascism that it is really hard to understand why he doesn't leave his post as public prosecutor—even if it's quite easy to understand why he should maintain this interpretation of consitutional crime.

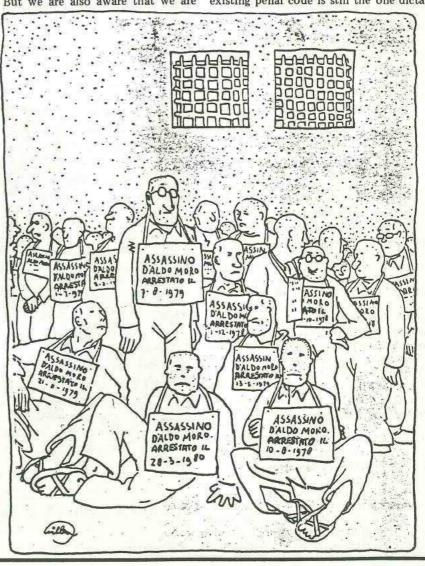
If things stand in these terms we cannot see why at this point an approach should not be made to the Constitutional Court, to inquire what are the fixed terms of the present constitutional system. If the State in effect is the State of the parties and of their specific alliances, it could even be that we are considered liable to be judged of the crime of insurrection. Be warned. We are well aware that the Italian State is a state in disintegration, the prey of corporate party interests. But we are also aware that we are

strong enough to prevent this recognition being given by the greatest organ of the constitution.

We know that within the organ of the constitution that should be addressed there are individuals who have maintained (with the aim of facilitating the constitutional legitimacy of the PCI) a static definition of the Constitution. But we know that struggles have altered the situation and that today mobility is not just in the bosses' interest, but also in the interest of all those forces that incline towards a reconstruction of the working-class and proletarian movement.

Well then: what is the system's degree of mobility? Is it possible — since this is what is involved — to conceive of transformation? Tell us no. Say it, and confirm the positions of Ciccio Amato and Ciampani, if you believe it.

But along this road isn't there a risk of bestowing an undeserved theoretical dignity on something that has very little dignity about it at all? The risk is certainly there. The initial question also allows for a very banal answer: the Party-state still allows room for the crime of insurrection for the very same reason that the existing penal code is still the one dictat-



ed by Minister of Justice Rocco, with a number of cracks papered over (which after all also concern insurrection to promote it is no longer punishable with the death penalty but with life imprisonment, which is much more civilised). So what's surprising about that? Cultural backwardness, conservative interests - even if they are the "sectional" interests of the judiciary - and so on. And it could go on in the same terms as far as it concerns this unexpected concrete exhumation of a case to which the manuals dictate no more than the occasional incidental line or two, and which is almost entirely without precedent. In fact it is all too clear that in choosing the charge to incriminate us, the Roman magistrate was obeying practical imperatives that are transparent, though hardly admissible. In the first place to fix it within Roman jurisdiction, and it is of little consequence that this in itself demonstrates how these judges are even technically imprecise, given that unless proved to the contrary, the general laws on jurisdiction are applicable also to article 284.

In the second place, and this is considerably more important, to ensure a period of preventive detention that is practically open-ended. As everyone knows, thanks to the Cossiga law, for a crime of this nature you can spend up to five and a half years in prison awaiting your first sentence.

# Coherence Has Its Price

But coherence has its price, and it doesn't seem appropriate right now to re-exhume a theory of the State and/or capitalism in disintegration. So let's reformulate the question. In the first place, is working class autonomy, or has it ever been in fact, an insurrectional phenomenon? The very first thing we need to do here is clear up a misunderstanding - the one pursued by the Rome judge - that is, the resurrection of an insurrectionalist thematic that was the historical property of the 1968 group Potere Operaio. Agitation for an insurrectional perspective (which never even began to become a theory, far less an insurrectionary practice) constituted a last resort to articulate leninist goals (vieux-leninist?) on a theoretical and 'workerist' corpus, and above all, on a transformation of its referent, of the social subject of the struggles which '68 had begun to reveal in all their breadth, Potere Operaio said insurrection for the same reasons Lotta Continua said "Take over the city" and Il Manifesto (Yes, Magri himself) put forward guerrilla warfare in the factories. The judges obviously forget, or better still, they are obliged to conceal by whatever means possible, the small detail that P.O. was the very first group to take note historically of the impracticability and inadequacy of that attempt at articulation, and to dissolve. From then on, and from the 7th April defendants themselves, follows a constant polemic against insurrectionist tendencies - to the point where insurrectionism is defined as a scourge of the movement (cf Negri, Domination

and Sabotage, page 15). What does this mean? That insurrectionist tendencies have run through the movement is no less true than is the fact that only impudent opportunism would ever exclude popular insurrection from the horizon of class struggle. Apart from typologies of political science which are not pertinent here, an insurrectional phenomenology is still part of the exercise of the people's right of resistance — as a last resort to block the challenging of pre-existing mass victories, or the last resort to breaking the stalemate on an impassable situation.

And phenomena of this kind have been clearly in evidence throughout the last 20 years of Italian history. Has everyone forgotten July 1960? (And, incidentally, has everyone forgotten Nenni's exaltation of "street-action" and also his innovative effectiveness on the institutional terrain?)

But what has all that got to do with autonomy? Manifestly nothing. Autonomy has a theory and a practice — albeit partial and tendential — which pursue the independent positivity of the "refusal of work". The theory and practice of the construction of the full potential of proletarian power — directed and organised by the proletariat itself.

Is autonomy a "subversive" phenomenon? Nobody can deny it. For that reason, a theory and practice of the use of force is also germane to it, as another, essential, facet of the construction of working-class power. But autonomy has always rejected, with equal decisiveness, the terrorist and the insurrectionist deviations.

Well then? The question is posed again. If a judge should read not the ind-

ividual elements but the totality of elen ents of autonomy as insurrection - from the self-reductions to the occupation from the struggle around "social" incomto organisation against fascists and dru dealers in the communities — then what the explanation? It's too easy to dispos of it by pointing to the quasi-fascis paranoia of a single judge. Calogero reealed it recently with astonishing clarity the real risk represented by autonomy la in its possiblity of deluding youg peopl about the potential for building paradis on this earth. The Roman judge, wh knows his way around, is not so ingent ous and gives away less of his ideological tics. But between the two of them the are actually giving a faithful interpret ation of a paranoia which by now per meates the entire party system.

It is the paranoia of those who fee themselves under siege, and can't, o won't admit to the growing disaffection they feel around them. The situation quite unique. The enactment of a tria for insurrection is desired. That is, for crime that implies a present danger tha would affect the fabric of consensus with in the institutions of which the partie constitute the backbone. And none o these is making any kind of commentnot even the one behind the proceedings So wouldn't this be the appropriat moment finally to demonstrate the obs cure genesis of the crisis, and by convict ing the guilty ones, to celebrate the enof the danger? Otherwise, if the April 7th trial goes ahead on this charge, how loncan the present silence last?

> Trani Prison October 1986



■Two comrades are arrested — and immediately liberated, Early '70s

# BENUTES



Translation

RN: 5.4.81 (1)

ON READING THE 140 PAGES OF CHARGES AGAINST
THE "APRIL 7th" DEFENDANTS - "THAT'S SOME STORY!"

The following article is by Giorgio Bocca, and is translated from <u>L'Espresso</u>, March 1981. He details the flimsiness of the evidence against some of the accused from the Autonomy movement.

I have just finished reading the 140-page list of charges which public prosecutor Ciampani has just formally brought against Antonio Negri and his comrades of Potere Operaio and the Autonomy. I have already written a book about the "7th April" case in general, and so I will not go over that ground again. Instead I want to make some observations about the lesser defendants.

For example, the poet and novelist GIANCARLO BALESTRINI is accused of subversion and membership of an armed organisation. But what, in heaven's name, is the evidence against him?

"Fioroni and Scalzone telephoned the accused, resident in Rome at the time, in order to get in touch with Feltrinelli when the latter was held up and late for an appointment in Genoa....Balestrini's name appears several times in Negri's diary for 1975, in connection with the editorial group of Rosso. The significance of Rosso in relation to armed struggle has already been pointed out. The two above elements show an uninterrupted continuity in the presence and activity of Balestrini in the 0." (Editor's note: '0' stands for Negri's Organisation)

And that, as they say, is that. By virtue of these weighty and undeniably conclusive shreds of evidence, Balestrini has been forced to go underground and faces the prospect of years of imprisonment. Ever since these troubles descended on him, the 'literati' who produced the magazine Alfabeta with him have developed a dislike for Balestrini as a poet. As might be expected, they haven't felt fit to lift their pens in his defence. It would be no bad thing if they were to take a little interest in the position of Balestrini as a citizen.

What about MARIELLA MARINONI? Why is she, someone who has been a political militant for at least seven years, accused of subversion? The damning evidence against her is this:

"Fioroni, speaking of Romano Madera, stated that his wife Lele also took part in the Organisation."

And without Fioroni (tn: one of the political supergrasses), what a weight of detective work would have been needed to find out that ITALO SBROGIO used to be a member of Potere Operaio! Judge Ciampani reveals that:

"According to Fioroni he held a position of importance in the Organisation - in the Veneto region, to be precise".

Well, to be precise, we would remind our readers that Italo Sbrogio was a

leading militant of Potere Operaio at the Porto Marghera petrochemical plant, elected to the Works Committee on the Potere Operaio ticket, re-electe to the factory council, and extremely well-known in the workers' movement. But when Fioroni speaks, of course, everything appears in a new light. Some aspects of these charges are, frankly, astounding. JAROSLAW NOVAK, for example, is charged with having planted a bomb in the Rome carabinieri barracks in via Celimontana. Did somebody see him? Did someone mention his presence to Fioroni? No, but the charge is argued as follows: "As regards the first actions taken by FARO, Novak, an important figure in FARO, is to be committed for trial, since his position certainly implies that Novak took part in the crime". What is the evidence for Novak's importance within FARO? It is Fioroni's say-so. And thus the circle is closed.

The evidence that ORESTE SCALZONE planned the Vedano Olona robbery is inductive, but clearly overwhelming! He was in the public gallery at the tria of the two robbers. And what proof is there that DALMAVIVA and MAGNAGHI were members of the Organised Autonomy? Well, there's a letter that nails them. Written by Scalzone in 1977, it invites old comrades to a conference in which discussion was to be on the armed struggle, insurrection and the extinction of the State". Permaps also on the Apocalypse according to St John

As is known, the April 7th case relates to a number of episodes: some base like the killing of Saronio, others vile, like the attacks on the professors at Padova, and others demented. We know that some horrible stories lie behind the April 7th case and we do not in any way intend to cover them up. We are not among those who deny all validity to Fioroni's testimony. To put it briefly, we are not part of the "innocentist" camp. What we want to know is why - politically, juridically and morally it was thought necessary to throw onto the pile people who, it seems, are only guilty of having been, for one or two years, close to the "O" (as the word "organisation" is here abbreviated, although heaven knows why). Is this the road that is supposed to lead to a political solution to terrorism and, as General Cappuzzo puts it, bring young people back to democracy?

> ■ Translated from <u>L'Espresso</u> March 1981, p. 23.

O The poet and novelist Nanni Balestrini went underground in 1979, to escape charges of subversive association and

armed organisation. To give an idea of the nature of his writing we print here a translation of his best-known book

"We Want Everything" "We Want Everything" — a real litaccount of an immigrant worker's involved ment in the FIAT struggle of 1969-70,

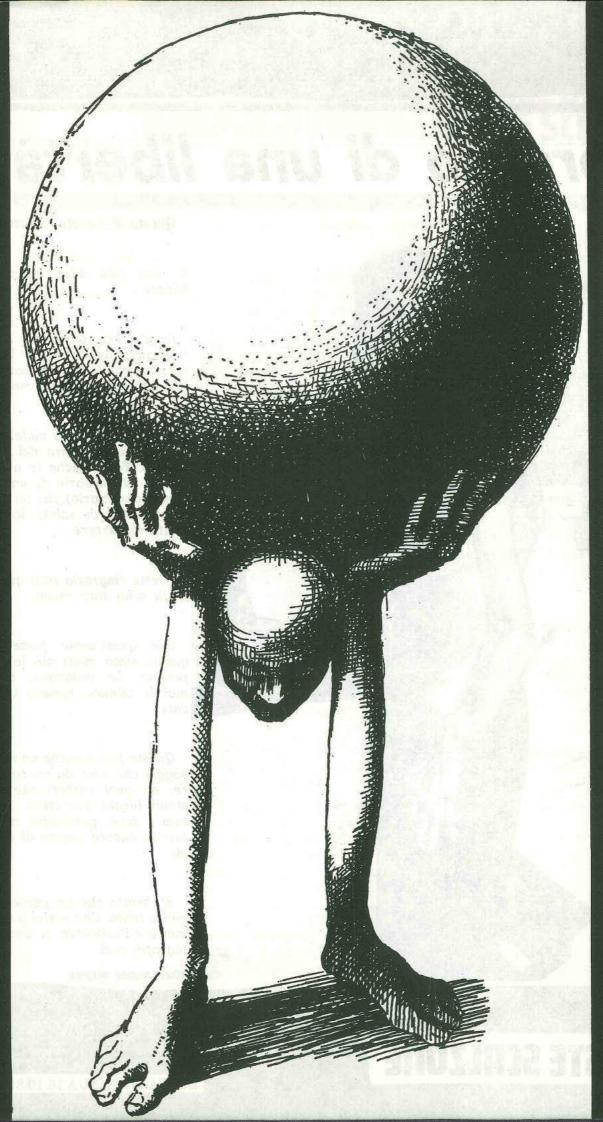
Then we decided to move on to Nichelino, where the battle had been going on since the afternoon . . . All those immigrants, those thousands of proletarians who live in Nichelino, had built barricades all over the place, using cement drainpipes. Via Sestriere, the main street that crosses Nichelino, was blocked by more than 10 barricades made out of burning cars and trailers, traffic lights, rocks and timber. They made a big fire out of wood from a house that was under construction: the whole site was burning. They threw rocks to smash the streetlamps, and all you could see was the flames. The police played for time—they didn't attack, but let us be. In fact, they only attacked at four in the morning, when reinforcements arrived. Almost all the workers were dead tired, having for every 12 hours. The police religional and the best lines for every 12 hours. The police religional and the best lines for every 12 hours. The police religional and the best lines for every 12 hours. The police religional and the best lines for every 12 hours. The police religions the lines for every 12 hours. battling for over 12 hours. The police relieved each other in

The reinforcement jeeps and lorries arrived by the back route that we had taken earlier — which meant that we were encircled, and had to make our escape. The carabinieri had got out of a lorry, and started chasing us, firing teargas as they came. I was dog tired. I ran and ran. As I was running, I tripped against a rock. I stopped to glance at my shoe, and noticed that a lone carabiniere was chasing after me. Then I saw a comrade, who had been running with me, jump on the carabiniere. They fought, and the carabiniere fell. Then, at

the top of the road I saw smoke rising. We reached the top, and from there you could see the whole wide avenue, with the battle going on. You couldn't tell who had the upper hand, everything was so confused. All I wanted was one simple thing to stop and have a shit somewhere - but I couldn't.

Some carabinieri attacked us, and I never made it to the centre of the battle, where the fighting was hardest. Just at that moment I heard someone shout: "There they are!" I saw a huge cloud of smoke in the middle of the avenue, and everyone was running down the avenue shouting. Then, from the middle of the smoke, the police appeared in their armoured vehicles, with their lights lighting up the proceedings. They started firing off teargas. There was a building site at the side of the road, and some comrades had started to gather there. The comrade who was with me headed off towards the building site, and I followed him.
We could no longer see what was going on below, down on

the avenue. Nothing but smoke and shouting and explosions. The avenue was hidden by a pall of dust and smoke. You could only see shadows, with a lot of noise, of shouting, sirens and explosions. On my left I heard the revving and the sirens of police wagons coming up the avenue. Two molotovs burst in flames in the middle of the road . . .



# Il prezzo di una libertà

Questo è Oreste Scalzone.

E' una foto dura da pubblicare

Oreste ora è libero. Non sappiamo quanto potrà liberarsi di quello che ha patito. Noi tutti glielo auguriamo.

Oreste sta ancora male. Agitato, non è sicuro del suo
destino. Teme anche (e a ciò
giunge la barbarie di un sistema carcerario) che un miglioramento di salute lo rimetta in carcere.

Oreste ringrazia tutti quanti gli sono stati vicini.

Che quest'uomo fosse in questo stato molti già lo sapevano. Lo pesavano, caso mai le bilance fossero truccate.

Questa foto è anche un messaggio che esce da un carcere, da quei carceri che restano luoghi misteriosi, lontani e dove, purtroppo, moltvivono ancora peggio di Oreste.

E' brutto che un paese arrivi a tanto. Che arrivi a permettere l'esistenza di una fotografia così.

foto Angelo Scipioni

**ORESTE SCALZONE** 

LOTTA CONTINUA 16.10.80

# DOSSIER THE CASE OF ORESTE SCALZONE

Red Notes: March 4th 1981

Translation from ACTES: Cahiers d'Action Juridique No.29.

# • ORESTE SCALZONE

Oreste Scalzone was finally granted bail (provisional liberty) on September 16th 1980, but his health has been reduced to such a state in prison that he is now compelled to remain in hospital.

Imprisoned on April 7th 1979, Scalzone has done the 'Grand Tour' of Italy's "Special Prisons" - Cuneo, Palermo, Termini Imerese and finally Rebibbia prison in Rome. In the past 6 months his health has deteriorated drastically. Scalzone, a militant of the '68 generation, has an old injury dating from those times, next to his spinal column. In addition other conditions have reduced him to the point of not being able to eat. In July 1980 he weighed 46 kilos.

From that date a number of initiatives have been taken, in Parliament and in the Press, to effect his release on bail. Politicians from numerous parties, ranging from the Socialists and Communists to the Radicals and PDUP, have interceded for him, and signatures flowed in to the committee that was formed in Milan.

Despite all this, Oreste was refused bail on August 1st. The judge was of the opinion that his state of health was not alarming! A new application was then made, by three lawyers engaged at the Committee's expense.

Expert opinion stated that Scalzone was dying. He was transferred to Regina Coeli prison, where he underwent an appendicitis operation in the prison hospital. The operation worsened his condition. His weight dropped to 42 kilos, and his right arm was paralysed. On September 2nd he was finally transferred to Gemelli Hospital, a civilian hospital, under the permanent surveillance of two police officers stationed in his room. "It's worse than prison," he said, "At least in prison they're outside your door".

On September 9th Stefano Rodota wrote an article in <u>La Repubblica</u> entitled: "If Judges Play with the Life of a Man". It was still another week before Scalzone was released.

Scalzone's case is only the most extreme of those April 7th defendants, who have been imprisoned for over a year, on charges that rest on the most fragile of evidence; some of them, after a year in gaol, have not even been questioned by the magistrates — and this in a country where preventive detention can last for up to 12 years, and where no date has been fixed for their trials. This situation is intolerable.

\*\*\* On September 16th 1980, after 17 months in prison, and a long public campaign, Scalzone was released on bail ("provisional liberty") to await trial. He was seriously ill. On March 25th 1981, with the judges about to settle his committal proceedings, the newspapers were reporting that he was nowhere to be found in Rome (where he was supposed to live, as a condition of his bail). In fact, as became clear, he and his wife had fled Rome, and had probably left Italy. Faced with the uncertainties of reimprisonment at any time - and the certain physical and mental destruction that this has involved for him so far - he removed himself, and joined the very many Italian militants who are on the run.

R.N.

# DOSSIER WHO IS GIANNI SBROGIO?

Gianni Sbrogio was employed in an engineering factory in Porto Marghera. He was arrested on January 24th 1980, on orders from Judge Calogero. He fell victim to the Fioroni-Casirati twosome, and was cast into the cauldron of the "April 7th affair".

What is he accused of? First and foremost of having been a member of Potere Operaio during the hot years of the workers' struggles at Porto Marghera, with all that this implies in terms of Calogero's equations: namely establishment of and participation in armed bands under various names including CentroNord, FARO and the Red Brigades. He is also accused of having taken part in an "attempted" robbery in 1974.

The fact that Gianni was well known in factory circles in Porto Marghera is a mystery to no-one. He was constantly present and active in the struggles. Potere Operaio, in the early 1970s, was effectively the main expression for the workers' struggles at Marghera - struggles which were over wages and hours, but also over the capitalist organisation of work: workers' struggles to win political dignity and power as a class, both in the factory and in society at large.

We would point out to Calogero that the term "factory warfare" which he finds so suspect meant nothing more than the application of direct objectives: such as refusal of piecework, of overtime, the self-reduction of workloads, refusing to work in hazardous conditions etc. And in fact even the Union was using this same language.

But this is the way Calogero sees things: If these people were theorising factory warfare, then everything that has happened since, by way of a variety of robberies, personal attacks etc, can be laid at their door. This is the same as saying that, if terrorism exists in Italy, it is the fault of those who lived the struggles of '68.

After the dissolution of Potere Operaio, when everyone went their own ways, Gianni committed the sin of staying active in the struggles. For example, when there was the Self-Reduction of electricity bills, or when there were community struggles against the cost of living, or struggles in the factory against sackings and factory restructuration.

Needless to say, in the factory Gianni has always been a stubborn opponent of the official Union line and, together with other comrades, he has been a point of reference for those who continue to believe that the struggle is the only way to resist the employer's counter-attack.

A word or two about the specific charges: the day after December 21st and, again, after the arrests of January 24th, the newspapers, with the Communist Party's L'Unità in the front line, thundered that, finally, nobody could any longer complain of a "trial of political ideas". Here at last were specific crimes - and how! - such as robberies etc. But 6 whole months after the imprisonment of this comrade, still no specific charges have been made - for example, the date, the place, and the nature of this "attempted" robbery - a robbery of which nobody seems to have been aware at the time! This episode too appears to have sprung from the brain of the "repentant" Casirati - whose fertile imagination has already been displayed in other cases.

■Since his arrest, Gianni has been questioned by Judge Calogero - and then nothing further. He has not been given the opportunity to appear before a judge. Now he has learnt - from the newspapers - that the arrest warrant against him and his companions has been renewed....but he has not yet been notified formally of any of this. In short, he, like so many others of the defendants, is being refused the right to defend himself.

# REDNOTES



Translation

RN: 1.4.81.

- AN OPEN LETTER FROM THE PARTISAN T.BIGNAMI ("GUIDO") TO THE JUDGES.
- In 1926 I joined the via S.Croce cell of the Communist Party. This was under the Fascist regime. Everytime that comrades were rounded up and arrested, the regime was able via the militia, the police and the judges to make the weaker comrades talk. If you were arrested by the militia, before handing you over to the magistrates for questioning, they took you to the barracks in via Mascarella and tortured you for several days. For several days neither your family or your lawyers had any idea where you had been taken. The identical procedure that is being used in many cases in Italy today.
- 1930 The hard years of repression. There were many comrades who chose the path of collaboration with the regime. These were the first "repenters" in the history of the class struggle in Italy. I remember in particular a charge that was brought against me in 1932, arising from one Bruno Trombetti, who was collaborating fully with the regime. Today this Trombetti, ex-Union official, and representative of the Communist Party, is one of the most faithful strong-arm men in the Party's stewarding apparatus.

I have been imprisoned ten times in my life.

1931 In 1931 I was the courier bringing the Party's clandestine newspapers from France to Italy. In 1932 I was Secretary of the Bologna communist youth federation. In 1932 I set up a party cell in the Weber factory, which was launched on May 1st with the distribution of clandestine leaflets denouncing the government's warmongering policies.

I was arrested - the only one of our group to be taken - on the basis of Trombetti's accusations against me. I was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment - but was then released under the amnesty. I came out of prison in 1933, and found myself sacked.

- 1934 I was hired at the Drusiani factory, where, on the Party's orders, I set up another cell.
- 1936-7 Because I was continually being arrested in Bologna, I was forced to go and look for a job in Reggio Emilia. There I joined up the the Party cell at the OMI factory. On January 6th (1936) I was arrested, and sentenced to two years probation/special control. I had to sign regularly at the police station. In this period I was running the Party cells in the Malpighi area, together with comrades Fontana and Mario Pelloni. I was working in the Tartarini/Masotti factory by this time, and had founded another Party cell. Then I opened a small workshop in Casaleccio di Reno, and joined the local resistance.

26th July 1943 I hear the news of the fall of Fascism. I close the workshop,

# RN: 1.4.81 (2)

and join other comrades at the head of the flood of workers who were going on a victory demonstration. After 2 or 3 days I was arrested, and sentenced to 2 years and four months imprisonment. When I came out of prison, by virtue of the amnesty that had been granted by the Government that took over from Badoglio, I took the road of clandestinity. As far as the Government was concerned, I had become a BANDIT. After a short period of work with the Calcara GAP (Partisan Action Group), the Party sent me to Spilamberto, and then on into the mountains.

1944 The Montefiorino Republic is set up. I stood in for comrade commander Osvaldo Poppi ("Davide"). Later I commanded the Fourth Carlo Scarabelli Division. After the Battle of Montefiorino (August 1944) I took over as Commisar General of the Antonio Ferrari Brigade. One of my people in that period was Leandro Monti - the father of the Mauro Monti who has now had me arrested. Later I was appointed Commissar General of the Est Giardini Brigade Group, with the responsibility for the liberation of Bologna. We passed through the war front and joined up with the forces of Commander Armando (Mario Ricci) at Lizzano in Belvedere, where I was appointed Commissar General of the Modena Division.

25th April 1945 - The Liberation.

- I am forced to flee to France. There I learn that I am accused of being responsible for the killing of a doctor in Spilamberto the secretary of the local branch of the Fascist Party. I emigrate to Czechoslovakia, where I remain for about four years, living as a political refugee in an exconcentration camp.
- 1950 I am cleared of the killing. I return to Paris, since in Italy I had lost everything job, house, workshop. A year later my son Maurice is born.
- 1964 I return to Italy. I am unemployed up until 1968: because of my political record nobody was willing to employ me.
- 1968 I manage to get papers as a heating engineer, and am taken on by the Bologna City Council. There, in the course of trade union struggle, I and others in the same position as myself found ourselves again with a role to play. This was in the early 1970s, at the youthful age of 63, after a lifetime spent at the service of the proletariat.

By now I am a skilled worker. I graduate to the workshops. The Party had set up a group of "model workers" as an example for other workers to follow. I can honestly say that I was utterly conscientious in my work - including various jobs that were not strictly mine - while certain others, such as Marcello Mazza and his acolytes, were more concerned with making themselves careers in the Party, and let their work slide.

1977 At the Bologna Conference, called by the '77 Movement to protest against the repression, I denounce the Party leadership in the form of Zangheri and Pajetta, saying that theirs was a barefaced lie, to deny the violence that the State had perpetrated against the workers and the students - the violence that had led to the murder of comrade Francesco Lorusso.

From that moment I gave up my Party card, since I considered the Party's political line to be against the workers' interests.

1978 I have an operation for cancer of the intestine. In September my son Maurice is accused by the Communist Party's newspaper L'Unità of being a terrorist. I advise him to emigrate to France, to avoid being arrested. That moment was the last I saw of him.

# RN: 1.4.81 (3)

15th October 1980 I am arrested by Dr Mauro Monti - the son of the partisan. I am alleged - falsely - to have been a member of a subversive association, and of an armed band, inasmuch as I am accused of having rented a flat in Sorrento on behalf of my son. Later I am accused by the Florence judges Vigna and Chelazzi of having made explosive materials for the <a href="Prima Linea">Prima Linea</a> organisation. These charges arise from accusations made by two "repentant militants", Viscardi and Fagioli.

# REGARDING THE PRESENT GOVERNING REGIME IN ITALY

At this point I think it would be worth weighing up these various points, and making some observations about the present political situation.

The Fascist regime also claimed to be democratic, in its time. But leaving aside political considerations, the facts speak for themselves:

In 1945, after 24 years of Fascism in Italy, the number of self-declared political prisoners in Italy stood at 3,000. They were called "bandits" - but the day after the Liberation they were recognised not only as political, but also as national heroes and as our liberators from oppression.

In 1980, after over 30 years of anti-Fascist "democracy", there are over 3,000 prisoners who claim the status of political prisoners. They in turn are called criminals and terrorists. The question of the recognition of their political status is now a matter of international concern. Liberation movements throughout the world are demanding this recognition, using forms and systems of struggle that I need not comment on here. One thing is certain: we are not dealing with a handful of isolated crazies, but with widespread movements which are born from the social/economic situation in which we live today. One further fact is certain: when a regime imagines that it can resolve this serious problem by overturning the very foundations of law on which it is based (viz. by the use of Special Laws, Special Prisons, police licence to kill etc), this will simply give new strength, ultimately, to the feeling of popular discontent, and therefore to an opposition which may prove to be armed and violent. Once again the regime reveals its structural inability to resolve the social and economic problems referred to above.

What else can this state expect - a state which has legalised black-mail, swindles and financial scandals (see Sindona, Caltagirone, the oil scandal, Pecorelli, construction scandals, secret arms sales, secret subcontracting deals etc etc)? What else can this state expect, when they prepare the way for pseudo political alternatives via massacres of its own citizenry (from Piazza Fontana, Milan 1969 to August 12th 1980 in Bologna)? Massacres in which the highest political leaders are openly involved, the people whom the State should be watching over. Andreotti, Rumor, Casardi, Miceli, Maletti, La Bruna - who were they really working for? And the secret services...who are they working for?

If those who oppose this State (at this point I am not concerned with the question whether they are armed or not) are defined as criminals, then how can we begin to describe those who stand at the head of this State? And when the judge finds you "guilty", what better proof can there be of your innocence than the fact that they have found you guilty?

# REGARDING THE SO-CALLED REPENTANT MILITANTS

As I have already said, in the course of my life, and especially under the

# RN: 1.4.81 (4)

Fascist regime, I have known and seen hundreds of comrades and others who, under the pressure of the torture by their inquisitors, have not only talked, but have also denounced innocent people. History repeats itself, but never in the same way. The difference today is that today, with the democratic guarantees afforded by a law specially created for the purpose, the man who "repents" becomes a new patriot, a national hero, and everything he says is taken as gospel truth.

I am convinced that this law (tn: reducing sentences for political supergrasses) is not only criminal, from a moral point of view, but can also be seen in juridical terms as an incitement to crime. Its effect is to reduce the penalty for a crime prior to the enactment of that crime. In short, it regards the crime, the killing, as a necessary sacrifice in the process of dismantling the subversive organisations. It is the law of this self-same State that prefers to let a hostage die at the hands of the Red Brigades rather than recognise the existence of a political opposition outside of the formal political institutions. I have often asked myself how much bloodshed could have been saved if the State had accepted the path of negotiation during the Moro kidnap.

# REGARDING THE EX-COMMUNIST PARTY

In my opinion the Communist Party has the largest share of responsibility for the war-situation that has been created in our country. Because it has criminalised every form of dissent which it has not been able to draw under its own political control...to the point where they even brand as Fascists non-violent people such as the Radicals, because they are not under the Party's control. The Radicals, who, incidentally, in my opinion represent the last shred of democratic cover that this State can hope for. The present leadership of the Communist Party is the Great Party of Repenters: repentant of their opposition to the regime; repentant of their marxist roots; repentant that it was once workers who led the Party; repentant of the forms of struggle that it has used in its time (including the armed struggle); repentant of the promises it has made to the working class. Repentant, yes....but repentant in such a way that it has now become the most savage of policemen against the new opposition, the new movement of proletarian autonomy.

The comrades are right when they write: "From PCI to PECI - The History of a Tendency" (tn: Peci is the name of one of the political supergrasses).

But bitter jokes aside, I am proud to have belonged to this Party - just as I am now proud that I am no longer a member of it, because it has long since parted company with communism. Im and and remain what I have always been. Now, as then, I am a Marxist, in prison. While the likes of Mr Donat-Cattin - who has been publicly proven to have helped his son escape arrest - are free to pursue their careers.

# REGARDING THE JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS IN BOLOGNA

Today, just like before the War, those who end up in prison are not only those who openly fight the system, but also the whole area of those who are not prepared to support this State - those who, while not belonging to the armed organisations, still denounce the crimes, the scandals and the evils of this State.

But the repression does not stop here. Using techniques which are entirely South American in style, the techniques of an openly Fascist state, this Italian State kidnaps and imprisons the friends and relations of those who are on its wanted list - as a kind of blackmail. I AM IN PRISON BECAUSE I AM MAURICE'S FATHER. They have suggested that I call on my son to give himself up. They have asked me to tell where he is, or where he might be.

# RN: 1.4.81 (5)

And they are inventing false charges against me, to make this blackmail more plausible. Today, as before the War, and as in Chile and Uruguay, they are using the lowest, vilest of people as informers, tempting them into making false statements, with the carrot of the Fioroni Law promising remission. Worms like Viscardi who kill a comrade, calling him an informer (Waccher), and who then not only become informers in turn, but even stoop to inventing accusations because they are terrified of prison. Viscardi, the hardman with the P.38 handgun, who even stoops to informing on the doctor who saved his life when he was wounded.

The judicial proceedings being carried out in Bologna, by the man who has replaced Ctalanotti as the PCI's tool within the magistracy, are the proof of what I have stated above. Mauro Monti. In due time I shall have some revelations to make on this man and the way he has openly violated laws that he is supposed to keep and apply. The comrades who have been imprisoned by this judge are inside on no evidence, save the desire of the powers-that-be to strike a blow at that area of social insubordination which in Bologna, obviously, is directed principally against the Communist Party (tn: as the regional governing party).

Some have already been released: Brunetti, Andriani, Rocco Fresca. These are the first proofs that the "repenters" are telling lies. Brunetti too, who has been re-arrested on the basis of the same accusations, will shortly have to be released again. Gabriella dalla Cå, Allessandra Marchi, Nicoletta Mazzetti, Carlo Catellani, Ciano, Paolo Azzaroni, Valerio Guizzardi, Tiziano Cardetti, Gabriella Gabrielli, Wainer Burani, will also be released — in dribs and drabs, as always happens. Because the commotion and furore must always be big when they are arrested — and tiny when they are released. And Judge Monti, the son of my old partisan comrade Leandro, will inevitably finally come to understand the future that lies in store for him, as for the likes of Catalanotti and Calogero: first the laurels, and then the nettles. From the top of the tip to the bottom of the heap.

Perhaps I shall be the only one who will not live to see how all this will turn out. It is possible that my illness will take its toll before sentence has been passed in my own case — and before sentence is passed by the revolutionary tribunal of the people.

■ Signed:
The Partisan Torquato Bignami ("Guido")
S.Giovanni in Monte Prison,
Bologna.

29th December 1980

"I AM COMING TO THE END OF MY LIFE KNOWING THAT NOBODY HAS EVER BEEN ABLE TO DESTROY MY DIGNITY AS A MAN AND AS A COMMUNIST. AND THAT — FOR YOU, MONTI, AND VIGNA, AND CHELAZZI, AND THE OTHERS WHO WILL JOIN YOU — WILL BE A FAR MORE TERRIBLE CANCER THAN THE CANCER WHICH IS NOW DESTROYING ME."

Note: At the age of 76, Torquato Bignami has been arrested on the basis of informers' allegations in Bologna. The State demands that he reveals the whereabouts of his son, who is on the run. In this leaflet, published by Radio Carolina, Bologna, he proudly affirms his record as a communist and partisan.