ITALY 1980-81: “AFTER MARX, JAIL!”

The Attempted Destruction of a Communist Movement

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As you will see, part of this book consists of reprints of an Information Bulletin that we have been circulating in Britain and abroad. If you are interested in receiving this Bulletin, contact us at the address above. We also keep an archive of recent leaflets, newspapers etc. of the revolutionary Left in Italy. A photocopy list of the archive is available on request.

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We are always grateful to hear from people who send us articles and reviews about Italy, or news reports and clippings, or translations of Italian Left materials. Some of the fruits of this cooperation are printed here. Thanks to our contributors – and may there be many more!

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Special thanks to Calverts North Star Press, and to Community Press, Islington (which was firebombed by fascists in June, but is now back on its feet again). And to Lotta Continua newspaper. Thanks also to HF, for materials received, and to Phil, for working all night.

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"WE BELIEVE THAT IN ITALY TODAY, AND IN EUROPE, THE POLITICAL PROSECUTION OF THE "WORKERS' AUTONOMY" MOVEMENT HAS A WIDER SIGNIFICANCE WHICH CONCERNS THE WIDEST POSSIBLE SECTIONS OF THE CLASS MOVEMENT IN ALL ITS VARIOUS ARTICULATIONS. THIS IS BECAUSE IT REPRESENTS A SPECIFIC ATTEMPT – AN ATTEMPT WITH GRUESOME IMPLICATIONS – TO "TURN THE CLOCK BACK" HISTORICALLY, TO RETREAT AND FORMALISE ON A PERMANENT BASIS A NEW LEVEL OF STATE REPRESSES AIMED TO ATTACK AND DESTROY THE SPACE FOR INDEPENDENT CLASS POLITICS.

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

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

S. BALEVUTA
S. FERRARI BRAVO
A. BERTINI
S. SCALFIERI
L. VECCHI
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Special Wing G-5, Rebibbia Prison,
00166 Rome, ITALY.

May 10th 1979
The introductory article for this pamphlet is reprinted from the June 1980 edition of L'Esprit. It gives some of the history of the Christian Democrats in Italy—another recent incident which the leaders of the Armoured Party in Italy. The State's counter-attack has involved more than 100,000 arrests in the Left. An attack on the leadership of organisations and autonomia organigrafie. The latter waves have aimed more immediately at political cafes. In these processes, all areas of the country have been affected, and face charges that, in some cases, date back over 10 years.

You Must Accept a Reality

You have been badly informed—worse than the mother of one of Italy's top suspected terrorists in reply to an article in Le Repubblica—"my daughter is not emotionally vulnerable. Even if the police are threatening her, she is strong as a lioness. 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. So far she has managed to understand the article which had been written by one of Italy's leading commentators, Ignazio Bosco—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 insulation against the State, signora Ninni Monnoy remains absolutely convinced that there are many ways of intervening. She and my daughter have chosen here 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 and the repression of the far-left does not strike me as an indication of the extreme diversity of choices facing Italian today. Can repressive measures alone solve the problems of political violence? How is Italy going to live with thousands of people in prison for political reasons? How many people actually sympathise with and support those who have engaged in violence against the regime?

**Armored Struggle, Plights & Special Police Powers**

People have forgotten that it was shortly after the inauguration of the first centred government of 1963, headed by Aldo Moro, that the Christian Democratic Party encouraged the strategy of tension based on the theory of 'opposite extreme' as a way of provoking a reaction and a street war. (Incidentally, the idea was borrowed by a history of 'malignant', 'clandestinos', scoundrels and corruption which is the lowest point in the extreme left's anti-stress right and left national crisis. The Christian Democrats inevitably collaborated with the right to the point of being found out by the Secret Service organisation in special political activities. The bombing of the school of the Basad De Agostini 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. Peter Oespero, later Autonomia Organigrafie, have produced analyses of the role of the PCI in setting the new generation of strategies. While groups like 'Lotta Continua' and 'Il Manifesto' entered the area vacated by the PCI in its movement towards the Centre, a significant number of the extreme left controlled the territory of illegal struggle, helping the formation of what is now commonly referred to as the 'Partito Armato', the Armed Party.

The present situation of organized terrorism, not only for Italy but for the Western world. It is the first time that the problem of armed struggle has come to the public attention in an advanced capitalist country. The comparisons with Latin America frequently made in the Western Press are obviously misleading.

After the 'draft' of General Dalla Chiesa of April and December 1979, arrests have continued unabated and down the country.
A Laboratory of Social Ideas

It is this adamantine 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 aware enough of its kind of extraneous 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 by some guest speakers in the conference. And this remains a topic of discussion.

The role of Gramsci is significant. Gramsci, the revolutionary intellectual, has been elevated, albeit in an expropriated form, to the status of a national hero. The younger generation of students are aware that Gramsci never escaped 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. Nevertheless, it is clear that the armed struggle continues and that the armed groups are prepared to use the same means as those used by the communists in 1932 and as they are used by the various communist groups in the current context of violent conflicts.

More disturbing for the average person is the fact that most of us do not think that there is a need for such violence. "Are you prepared to face the Red Brigadiers? You must publicly state what side you are on," Leonardo Sciascia, a former city councilor, has said. "You may be underestimating the people who may have never been until a few years ago as citizens above suspicion" — lawyers, journalists, professional backgrounds, etc. — and the threat is real. In this way the relationship between the peaceful struggle and the armed struggle is not completely clear.

Finally, if Italy is not a democracy, the armed group is a relationship which is present in the despotic state, and this is a beginning.

In April 7th police operations were planned to take the whole of this area, in all of its complexity; in particular it aimed to impose the present leadership of autonomy. There's no point in repeating the fact that the charge of terrorism was based on the fact that many cases the response was first and foremost that carried ahead by the armed group were terrorist, not left-wing terrorist. It was operating principally at the judicial level, attempting to disrupt the accusations thrown against it.

Workplace Struggles

However, as I said, there was a response, there were struggles, even if they are currently coming to an end. Although I should add that it hasn't completely closed down, even today. For example, a series of strikes is going on in the public sector. In this sector the unions are very weak and the employers face big problems of the unemployability of the workforce. Tempest started in these sectors with the cuts in public spending, and with the restructuration plans that were being made in the industrial sector, but in the public sector too, at the service of the State, the employers, the services, hospitals etc. and public transport. There is the principal area of public spending in Italy. And it was within these 3 fundamental areas (including, obviously, the credit functions) that the idea of cutting back, cutting down, the restriction of public spending and thus the attack on the working levels and reassurances was planned and launched. Nevertheless it is this kind of struggle, the resistance to a heavy attack being carried out on it, which characterizes the new situation of struggle, a sort of unemployability.

Then there is the situation in the North-east, where the situation has been going very heavy restructuring since 1937. It is an area where this was the year when the layoffs and the strikes of the class associations [1] really began to hit the big factories. From Milan to Turin - the redundancies at Innocenti, for example - to the factory in the chemical industry and, concluding with the layoffs at Fiat in October 1980. Thus the struggle has been marked by a very violent attack on job levels, via a "technological leap" combined with the introduction of many "fancy ducks".

Side by side with all this there are the growing normative problems, proba...
lens of the regulation and control of strikes. This is particularly true of the labour force in the public sector. It is true that there are some factors that are forcing the workers to go on strike, but the overall picture is still far from clear. The Phillips formula is not working, and the government is facing a difficult situation. The situation in the private sector is also critical, with many industries facing closure.

In these circumstances, the role of the PCI has been crucial. The PCI has been fighting for the workers' rights and against the government's policies. The PCI has been leading the workers in various strikes and demonstrations, and its support has been crucial in many cases.

Question: Does this mean that the PCI is too strong and needs to be weakened?
Answer: No, it is not about weakening the PCI. It is about finding a way to negotiate with the government and the employers to find a solution that benefits everyone. The PCI has been fighting for the workers' rights, and it is important to continue this fight. However, it is also important to find a way to negotiate and find a solution that is acceptable to both sides.

In conclusion, the situation in Italy is critical, and the PCI has a crucial role to play in finding a solution. The PCI should continue to fight for the workers' rights, but it should also find a way to negotiate and find a solution that is acceptable to both sides.

Interview with Sergio Bologna

Interviewer: How is the situation in Italy currently?
Sergio Bologna: The situation in Italy is currently critical. The government is facing many challenges, and the PCI is playing a crucial role in finding a solution. The PCI has been leading the workers in various strikes and demonstrations, and its support has been crucial in many cases.

Question: What is the role of the PCI in the current situation?
Sergio Bologna: The role of the PCI is to continue fighting for the workers' rights and to find a solution that benefits everyone. The PCI should continue to negotiate with the government and the employers to find a solution that is acceptable to both sides.

In conclusion, the situation in Italy is critical, and the PCI has a crucial role to play in finding a solution. The PCI should continue to fight for the workers' rights, but it should also find a way to negotiate and find a solution that is acceptable to both sides.

Support: An alliance with the German Social Democrats also seemed a possibility for a while, but this too fell through for reasons that were little understood.

The PCI, however, has avoided any attempt to form a new government. Instead, it has focused on building a broad national front and on winning the next general election. This approach has paid off, with the PCI winning a large majority in the election and going on to form a government with the support of other left-wing parties.

Support: The PCI's ability to build a broad national front has been crucial to its success. The party has been able to unite a wide range of left-wing forces, including trade unions, student organizations, and other social movements.

In conclusion, the PCI's ability to build a broad national front and to win the next general election has been crucial to its success. The party has been able to unite a wide range of left-wing forces, and its success has been a source of inspiration for other left-wing parties around the world.

Question: What is the future outlook for the PCI?
Sergio Bologna: The future outlook for the PCI is promising. The party has a solid base of support and has been able to build a broad national front. The PCI will continue to focus on building a government and on winning the next general election. The party will also continue to fight for the workers' rights and to build a more just society.
The Important Effects of Terrorism

Answer: I believe it was the effect of many years of terrorism with these foreign Governments or anyone else who were being incarcerated or injured. This situation could bring about a new version of political terrorism, not just a form of domestic terrorism, that has been going on for many years, and certainly, that has not been resolved and cannot address all the various threats to the order of the world. Furthermore, this problem has simply been thrown out of the factory into the city.

Today, there is a turning point in the wave of sabotage in Naples, even though it is very different from the others. The structure of the wave of sabotage, the lack of a mass movement, the level of the sabotage, the motivations of those involved, the lack of a mass movement, and the ineptitude of the authorities have been pivotal in this situation. It is clear that the authorities have simply been doing their job, and not being held accountable for their actions.

The lack of a mass movement has become very important even in the areas where the subversive economy has once had a certain amount of "safety net" around it, preventing any real unemployment.

In the first composition of the metropolitan proletariat has changed. The main figure is now completely the marginalized proletariat and this creates big problems of how to communicate with the marginalized population. This has led to new types of policies. It has also had, and may have, very serious consequences for public order. What will happen, 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 direct military repression.

Question: What is likely to happen in the space created by this increasing demand for social services? And what might be the impact on the marginalized population?

Answer: While we have always been aware of this gap, we have also been able to manage it in the past. But this has not always proved to be true. The situation is rapidly deteriorating and may even be divided over how to fight it.

Some sections of the Italian parties used the situation to their own advantage - the PSI, the PCI, the PCI, the PSI, the PCI, and the PSI. More importantly, the Italian government used the situation to legitimize the repression. The Left has never been able to mobilize a broad movement, even on the local and national level. At a certain point the PCI turned itself into a sort of ideological mechanism, and the PCI was able to control the situation, and those lacking the PCI were left in a state of total confusion. Some had an attitude of complicity, believing that the reasons behind the arrest struggle; others of opposing it, and yet others an attitude of dialogue, discussion, sympathy and even support. And, the political parties have acted in such a way as to divide the Left.

There is no Left in Italy now. A Left with a platform, a Marxist platform, no longer exists today; there is only the PCI and PCI. Now that the PCI has ended in the collapse of 1980. Here we can turn to the document identifying the central elements of the PCI's collapse and to indicate, within the context of the PCI's collapse, the changes in the PCI's leadership, and the PCI's structure. 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up to 15,000 dead may be a realistic figure.

The economic consequences of the earthquake were enormous, as reported by the Press, so we won’t dwell on them. But we would like to stress a number of points which would have been missed by the Italian government.

Firstly, the role of the Italian Army. One would have expected that in a country like ours, which has a long tradition of military aid, the Army would have been more involved in the relief operations. It was not, however, largely due to the fact that the Army had been involved in the front-line operations. The disaster had clearly demonstrated that the Army was not prepared to deal with such a crisis.

Secondly, the deployment of the relief efforts. The government had moved too slowly to get relief supplies to the affected areas. This was evident from the fact that it took several days for the relief teams to reach the affected areas.

The situation continued to be chaotic as the government was slow to react to the situation. The relief efforts were hampered by the lack of coordination between the various government agencies involved.

All in all, it was a disaster that showed the need for better planning and coordination in such situations.

Sessantano imputati rinvianti dinanzi alla Corte d'Assise di Roma

Chiusa l'inchiesta 7 aprile

In 1018 giudice Negrini, Scanzione e Bignami

A giudizio Negrini, Scanzione e Bignami

1997, pgg. 18-19, giudice istituto Amato ha spiegato i motivi delle sue conclusioni. Dopo imputati sconosciuti, 3 prospetti, 3 sconosciuti dovranno rispondere di insieme.

A Brief History of the April 7th Case

On April 7, 1979, police officers throughout Italy killed hundreds of innocent civilians. Two days after the event, the Italian government announced that it had identified a number of suspects, including soldiers, journalists, and civilians. The government's move was praised by international human rights groups.

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The following article is translated from L'Espresso, April 7th 1980. The article begins by stating: "In 12 months the red brigades released 1000 arrest warrants, issued 45 arrests for the murder of 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."

L'Espresso is a bourgeois magazine, and the article reflects this position in its reporting with the arrests among the autonomia, and also virtually ignores the role of the SNF, thus creating a distorted picture of events. A year has gone by: 360 days of inactivity since the so-called "7th April" arrest, since the big dragnet operation of Easter 1979 in which the Padova judge Pietro Calogerio took everyone by surprise with the issue of 22 arrest warrants designed to strike at the leadership of the area of Autonomia and of the "strategic leadership of the sous-companies known as the Red Brigades." The list of charges has not yet been published but it comes to light that the trial seems a long way distant. Meanwhile the affair has become increasingly complicated. The judicial inquiry has spread 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 "7th operations, 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 machinery has mobilized enormous forces into play. 250 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 22 arrest warrants issued (Toni Negri alone has collected 9), and judicial notices of interest 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 prisons. (For lack of evidence". These figures are bound to change rapidly. As it stands, the topology of the judicial process under taken in the past 12 months is in a state of constant evolution. With the arrest of Pietro Calogerio the handcuffs may close around the wrist of some other person in hiding. For example: the law firm of Agnelli. A "Naval" 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, we receive frequent news from prison remand applications. As regards the procedural strategy adopted by the prosecution (depending on the charges around the central accusation of "armed insurrection against the State", and leaving everything in the hands of the Rome magistrates), this again appears to be changing. Judge Calogerio 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 submenuassociation conspiracy) in the case of these arrested on March 11th, to be conducted at 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, members of the Interior Francesco Cossiga ordered an enormous round-up of ex militants of Politeo Operato. But those arrested (around 200) were soon released for lack of evidence. A political operation, which raised nothing of a scandal. The minister was accused but was both incompetent and of acting with excessive haste. The 'Red Brigades' 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 Calogerio was present with a list of 15 militants of Politeo Operato 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. At issue went by, some of these witnesses were proved correct, some incorrect or inexact, and some were with...
fire at the Fave-Standard factory (October-December 1976), the events in Lottica Con- tinua militante Alessee Campanile (June 1975); the "organisation and leadership role ofazzo "No Trace", "No Tear", "Centre-North" etc. the transfer of Skipper and the Pizzotta massacre, the theft of a number of paintings from the house of an art collector in Rome during the Pizzotta robbery (one dead; 6th December 1974); and obviously, a whole series of lesser offences connected with it -- in the course of completing an essay on Sponzo, both in Rhiba and in the Paliani prison he has been the most active organizer of resistance and to whom all the violations of the law have been ascribed. During his year of imprisonment, Negri has been transferred to 6 different prisons. He has given a number of interviews and has kept a regular correspondence with a number of intellectuals of the European and American left, as well as having spent six months in an Italian prison, when a young man.

The significance of these accusations is based largely on their own account, since Negri has refused to undergo further questioning until the case is decided. The competence of the various judges has been recognised. Further, the arrest warrant is based on an impression and not on any immediate indications, "as if to show the lack of a prosecution's bureau". The charges of which the prosecution says they are certain are that relating to the Sarsonic kidnapping. Already in April 1976 Negri had come under suspicion because of a letter written by the politician and writer Carlo Cattari (who, with Pironio, had organised the Sarono operation) to Renato Curcio, the Red Brigadiers' editor: "In Padova I stayed at Negri's house. However, Negri points out that at the time he was in Padova with a friend to a student called Antonio Liverani (see the article below).

He is accused of having arrived late at the Metropoli journal. For many months, he has been heard from sporadically, through a series of interviews, including an interview organised by the Italian satirical magazine Il Male, and through his collaboration on the first issue of Metropoli. 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 relaxing the atmosphere 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 Viale Stazione railway station: a shoot-out in which an allegedly armed Pironio was pursued by police, who, last month, in fact the ex-Pope Opus Leader was found to be at that moment in Paris, where he was arrested by the French police and handed over to the French authorities because of the amount of money he had been murdered (the "lutezite-Trentonarian."

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**FRANCO PIPERNO**

38 years old. Director of the Physics Department of the University of Calabria. He was arrested on April 9th 1979 on the basis of having arrived late at the meeting of the Metropoli journal. For many months, he has been heard from sporadically, through a series of interviews, including an interview organised by the Italian satirical magazine Il Male, and through his collaboration on the first issue of Metropoli. 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 relaxing the atmosphere of the clash with the terrorists".

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**LAFRANCO FACCI**

36 years old. A member of the Nazi movement. He is the subject of an arrest warrant on June 6th 1979, together with the ex-Pope Opus Leader, the Metropoli magazine, Paolo Vismo, Libero Mancini and Lucio Vismo. He is suspected of having opened a bank account and to have been found in the operation. As a further point, he was added to those of those arrested in the 21st November 1978 arrest of the Christian Front. Pironio, the administrator of the Catholic Church of Metropolitan, has been picked out as a member of the Christian Front. Cattari made a number of threats in the course of the Sarono trial "(if we were to come across a so-called "lutezi" we would kill him)". A meeting was held in his house, consisting of Negri's closest associates. They were very worried about the potential for defectors from the Church. Cattari, Borromeani claims that Negri was planning to start a new movement, not because only at that moment did real- ity that the people responsible for the Sarono kidnapping had been his Antonio friends.

Negri is for the Rome magistrates have seen the papers sent from Milan after January 24th, 1974, indicating that Negri was "not a friend and certainly won't get off the Sarono charge". However, the defence lawyers pressed the other side violently, in regard to Negri's connection with the Sarono case, has denied rebel with impressions and deductions. As for the Sarono operation, the defendant has denied any responsibility, and has 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 a regular correspondence with a number of intellectuals of the European and American left, as well as having spent six months in an Italian prison, when a young man.

**ORESTE SCALZONE**

33 years old. A teacher on the "105" hours courses. Out of all the defendants, he is the most widely known, being the main figure of the Sarono operation. In the popular of the 1968 generation, it was he who, in 1968, organised the "white" strike in the garment factories of the Montecatini area. He is also 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 "P3" faction. He was arrested in the office of the Metropoli magazine in Rome. Cala- gano's arrest warrant names him as "one of the "new leaders" of the Metropoli movement", and charges him with the "dictatorship" of the group after the Bologna Conference in 1973 and the sub- sequent continuation of clandestine activism, which rested on the basis of the July 7th warrant. Meanwhile, in Rome Pironio's position became increasingly serious. On May 29th the disband Red Brigades Adriana Faranda (alias "Dina"), who had been in a Grenoble prison, was reported to have escaped from a police station in Metropoli, which provided precise information of the escape. On November 11th 1979 and 17th the meetings with the Socialist Party, on Pironio's initiative, which confirm its links with the Red Brigades..."
EMILIO VESCOVE
40 years old. Headmaster of the Technische Schule of Padova, niece of a lawyer, was a student at the University of Padova. He was arrested at the age of 17 in 1977 for participating in the protests against the government in Padova. He was later released and deported to Italy in 1980. He is currently serving a sentence of 20 years in prison. His charge is "terrorist activities".

LUCIANO FERRARI BRAVO
An assistant to Toni Negri, was arrested at the University of Padova. He was arrested on his way to lunch at his house of study, when it was found that he had been charged with being "one of the principal leaders of the Padova Opera" and "a leader of the organised area of Padua". He was also known as a member of the "Padova Opera".

When the case documents were transferred to the hands of the judges in Padova, the Rome judges continued charging him with being the "head of the Padova Opera" and others with being "members of the Padova Opera". The main leaders of the Padova Opera, of which he had belonged to the "Negri tendency" after the Rosso Governor's resignation in June 1973, and then of having joined "the ranks of the Anti-Osservatorio". This is the first time that a new charge of "terrorist activities" has been brought against him.

Other evidence against him includes: possession of the duplicated code of the document whose official was found in the notorious Thiene apartment in Padova, which contained the names of three anarchists who were being prosecuted in a minor trial. It is also a document in his diary that "Negri tendency" was not in favour of the strike that took place in Padua in support of the 1974 General Strike. The defendant has denied being the author of the document and having any knowledge of its existence. His defence lawyers have noted that "anyway" in 1974 Padua was a member of the Lotta Continua.

However, the judge Ronotti alleges that Ferrari has confided in another Padua lawyer that "It is Negri, Piperno and one other who has given all the orders". The "other", according to the judge, is Giovanni Battista Bugnaglia.

LAURO ZAGATO
A Padua teacher, was arrested together with Sevoli at the offices of Metropol, to which he was charged with "terrorist activities". He was arrested along with the now familiar political subversion accusation. He was freed from the Padua Osservatorio in appointment to the Rome Osservatorio in Rome.

The arrest of Zago was a/coincidence with the release of the Osservatorio, according to the judge, and also with the presence of his family at the scene. Zago has denied being the author of the document and having any knowledge of its existence. His defence lawyers have noted that "anyway" in 1974 Padua was a member of the Lotta Continua.

Zago is serving a sentence of 20 years in prison.

FERRETTI BRAVO was living in Padova. He refused to be charged with the "revolutionary struggle" leadership role in the Padova Opera", a charge which is based on the written statements of Antonio Ronotti, who recalls him as being one of the "main participants" in the Robolotteria trial.

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 Osservatori in Rome in 1974, in which the ex-Padova Osservatorio leader launched an appeal for a "discussion of the present political situation, the insurrectional possibilities in Europe, and the renewed wave of struggles..."

Zago denies ever receiving such a letter, and says that after the dissolution of Padova Osservatorio he had withdrawn from politics.

One mysterious piece of evidence relating to Dalmaviva has still not been cleared up. In the archive donated by Prof. Federici to Negri there is a piece of paper containing Negri's handwriting: "Dalmaviva Br Br" (it 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". The defendant is now at liberty in Padua, and his warrant has been cancelled. His arrest was a difficult matter for the judge, because of the numerous legal issues that came into force on December 15th 1979. This re-introduced an article that had been abolished in 1956 - by which the Venice Provost General had powers to block the order for their release.

On April 24th the condition of both Galbitteri and Galletti suddenly worsened, so that the judge Pompianini ordered them to be taken to the Neuronal-motor unit of the Padova General Hospital.

Meanwhile, some of the charges against the two Padua teachers have been dropped (for example, that he was one of the leaders of Padova Opera) and had
2 febbraio '79
I compagni M. C. Brinchi, V. De Poeti, C. Diana e Cristofori, accusati di appartenere alla B.R., vengono selvaggamente torturati nella camera di sicurezza della questura di Milano. L'assalto viene iniziato dal compagno Paolo, che confessa il proprio delitto, e termina con l'intervento di un compagno che interviene con le armi a fuoco. La calma sembra essere ritrovata nel corso della notte. Le notizie di questo fatto sono state diffuse da un articolista del quotidiano "Liberazione".

4 febbraio '79
Il tribunale arresta i partecipanti al convegno "Cattivi cessioni". Il compagno B. Pedron, avvocato difensore, denuncia da un panettone il tentativo di esprimere la solidarietà politica.

Febbraio '79
Il compagno S. Bitt, M. Masala, A. Cicoleraude, A. Bitt, R. Viti, F. Frano e S. Furst, del comitato di Milano, sono arrestati e multati per associazione periculenta.

Maggio '79
I compagni V. Aceto e P. Iorio sono accusati di appartenere alla B.R. Vengono arrestati a Milano nel corso di un'azione di reazione.

28 marzo '79
La DIGOS riapre, in seguito all'incontro con i giornalisti. Il compagno Benevento denuncia la situazione di pressione e le violenze subite.

3 aprile '79
La notizia che viene sequestrata preventivamente ancora prima di essere pubblicata. Alcuni giornali prima sono stati requisiti ad Assisi e Padova.

7 aprile '79

4 giugno '79
Il compagno P. Negri, il compagno L. Calabrese, il compagno A. Dei e il compagno S. Scalfarini, accusati di appartenere alla B.R., sono arrestati in Padova. Il compagno S. Scalfarini denuncia di nuovo la situazione di pressione e le violenze subite.

7 giugno '79
Il compagno P. Negri, il compagno L. Calabrese, il compagno A. Dei e il compagno S. Scalfarini, accusati di appartenere alla B.R., sono arrestati in Padova. Il compagno S. Scalfarini denuncia di nuovo la situazione di pressione e le violenze subite.

10 giugno '79
Il compagno P. Negri, il compagno L. Calabrese, il compagno A. Dei e il compagno S. Scalfarini, accusati di appartenere alla B.R., sono arrestati in Padova. Il compagno S. Scalfarini denuncia di nuovo la situazione di pressione e le violenze subite.

17 giugno '79
La notizia che viene sequestrata preventivamente ancora prima di essere pubblicata. Alcuni giornali prima sono stati requisiti ad Assisi e Padova.
This was the follow-up to the “Fiocchi round-up” of December 23th. This time it was not on the San Remo front, but a “reptilian” armed activist, Carlo Curti, one of those of whom Cassola referred to in his San Remo kidnap. He remembered what Fionori had told him to the judges in December, and brought news of other people whose names Fionori had not remembered. This led to the arrest and imprisonment of his brother (worker, brother of Grece, already arrested elsewhere) and his sister (sister of Silvana, arrested in June), GIOVANNI SCODERINICHE, GIOVANNI CALDORO, GIANNI SIRGIO, GIANNI BONARIO, GIANNI SIRGIO, and MARINO PAVAN (teacher and doctor). Three University teachers from Trieste escaped arrest: GIANNI SIRGIO, GIANNI ZAMBONI and MARINA.

CASSARUZZA. All are accused of membership of an armed band, and all have been under the San Remo branch of the prosecution.

An arrest of one of the defendants, Gianni Caloris, was particularly surprising. He has been blind from birth. However, Fionori and Curti maintain that he was a member of the San Remo armad cadres. Gianni Siroco, on the other hand, was a member of the San Remo armad cadres. He is said to be the commandant of the “Crime and Black Band” (a known ITALO SIRGIO [his second name], who has also received judicial notice of prosecution). Accused in the San Remo case are: the San Remo armad cadres, the Veneto defendants, those suspected of the “Northern Group”. The latter is claimed to have organized “arms traffic from and via San Remo on behalf of the Negri Group”.

**Round 3: January ’80**

**Round 4: March ’80**

**Interview with Toni Negri**

What follows is an interview with Toni Negri, imprisoned in Trasviano, Prato. It is a written interview, made a month before the Trasviano prison (see below).

**Question:** You have now been in jail since April 7th, 1979. As you are aware, the pro-activist 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 mainly of “association” which cannot be answered with fingerprint or DNA analysis, but which may have a basis in a realm in which the legal system is badly adapted to intervene – the realm of ideas and images, ways of existence and 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 “provisional imprisonment” of up to 5 years and 4 months before the first trial, and 10 years and 8 months for the second trial. The basic charge on which my comrades and I will probably be found is “association in the preparation of the State”. This carries a sentence of life imprisonment.

**Unprecedented Charges**

With respect to the first charge this has been brought in Italy since the fall of Fascism. Under Fascism the sentence was the usual trial: we are therefore happy that Fascism has been overthrown. It is, however, the only reason for us to feel any pleasure in the fall of Fascism. In any other respects the law is unchanged. In fact, it has been strengthened, and has been applied in wartime: you can be arrested and charged with crimes even if you are not in prison and held for long periods of time. But as I said above, it is the periods of preventive imprisonment which are particularly distressing for us, and the lengths of time they can last.

**Question:** Who made the accusation? It was made by a few judges, whose political alignment with the Italian Communist Party is by now notorious. It has been accepted because the actions of activism had effectively stopped, and through mass action, a protest could be made to put an end to the movement in an alliance with the Christian Democracy.

**Answer:** This very serious charge of insurrection was therefore brought because we were fighting, and that movement, against this betrayal of the class struggle perpetuated by the PCI in its strategy of historic cooptation.

**Question:** What is the “trail of autonomy”, as has been remarked by many, appears as a step in the attempt at criminalization of the autonomous 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 precipitates called to play in this projection of your person as a criminal organisation, and of its theorizations at monstrosity? Do you think this projection of criminalisation is now falling with the failure of the “hard evidence” against the accused?

**Answer:** The accusation cannot fail, because it is not a matter of facing charges against the individuals accused. The truth is that insurrection has never been an organisation, but rather aITT imitating an ensembe of organisations. At the organisational level it was non-existent. At the extra-organisational level it was a movement. The judges, though aware of this, have guaranteed that autonomy was something other than movement and that those responsible for certain newspapers, fake radio stations and national fascist which lived under the government were politically responsible for the whole.

**Criminalising a Movement**

The judges themselves have constructed critical committees where only allegedly autonomous initiatives existed, and criteria of objective responsibility where there were only individual initiatives. The general social phenomena of the workers’ pickets, the blocking of transport, the “well- reduction” of pacts, the occupations of factories and so on, have been labelled artificially to an operational strategy centre which was supposed to have commanded and assumed responsibility for all these acts. This is pure fantasy.

Through a lunatic journalistic campainges of misinformation, figures were created (such as my own) who were supposedly capable of directing these irresponsible social phenomena through orders, communications from little secret committees, special publications, etc. A huge movement which has assailed Italian society and has ravished its members throughout this decade which this way reduced to the pitiful sum total of the experiences, however interesting, of the so-called “theoretical” writings, however important, of a few people.

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 resides Toni Negri the "monstrer". And why a "monstrer"? Because this gentleman, whilst lecturing in Paris, sent off orders which on 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 seen all this, I would have been an excellent manager. But I was not. In reality, the statue taken by myself and my friends against terrorist action has always been an empty slogan. The writing in which we detach ourselves from terrorism is inane. The judges continue to maintain this to be a falsity, an attempt at a cover-up. At this point the figure of the "monstrer" is complete. All that I wrote and said must be considered as a cover-up for my real position as a terrorist. In fact, the only real interest which those in power have in us consists in the criminalisation, through our poor personages, of an entire stratagem of opposition.

The operation is entirely political, and has very little to do with the law. The trials, when they come about, will be political trials. The trials are nothing but those in power wish to achieve, with our arrest and the arrests of the thousand others, the very aim of bringing us together to be able to add state terrorism to their criminalisation of the movement.

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

Answer: My life in prison isn't bad. There are about 3,000 comrades currently held in the Special. The Special has conducted a terrorist operation. There is therefore a very rich level of political discussion. However, we are in a prison, it is indissoluble. So, our conditions of imprisonment are not of the worst. They are perhaps not so bad, since those that the common prisoner had to undergo before the introduction of the prisons is the truth. The words of the prisoners are gay. Everywhere, they are gay. All the comrades inside represent the best of a whole generation of communist militancy that has entered the high echelons of government. So the comrades are on the left. The prison, however, has not improved all that much even by these conditions. But communist life within the prison 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 absence of all possibility of joining in the struggle. Over the last few months, during the struggle at FIAT, the comrades looked to the experience of the workers' struggle through television news broadcasts. And this was done not only daily but for four or five hours a day. The workers who are here in my camp: it was time for us all. It was central to all our discussions. It was fundamental in overcoming our feeling of anger and desire for revenge in order to return to struggle along side our comrades in the working class and proletariat outside prison.

Closing Political Spaces

Question: It seems to me that the MRC assassination provided the lever which the Italian ruling classes needed. It seems to me that "justly justified" heavy satirical repression and the strangling of political space, the precedent of stomping in Italy. Do you agree with that?

Answer: Are your hopes high for a speedy resolution of the Italian left?

The assassination of MRC was the most sensationally and absurd initiative the armed groups could possibly have taken. In 1973 the proletarian movement had reached an extremely high pitch of militancy in all the big Italian cities, bringing to a climax the process of reorganisation of the revolutionary project of struggle which had begun in 1974. But the movement, precisely because of its extreme tissue, was extremely weak. Its problem was how to develop an organisational form for the mobilisation of the masses. The movement was thus characterised by an extremely new, new, developing on the left of the PCI, something that the workers and proletarian movements, a movement of resistance to work, has been struck a severely weakening blow.

Interview with Toni Negri

Autonomia

Question: I don't know if the recovery will come about quickly. I rather doubt it. What is certain is that, if it does, it will be faster than it seems. And in any case, it exists. It still exists, that it has not yet been liquidated. And it is nothing more than a form of mass struggle together with the reconnaissance of political space and the release of the two great factors in the North, and the leaders of the students' movement in the big factories in the North, and the leaders of the PCI are on the left.

Bologna convention of autonomia, nearly all the speakers on the situation were ex-Poitot comrades. Despite the many different approaches, the central argument which emerged from the debates was that which saw the working class tendency towards renewal of work movement within the social makeup of the metropolitan proletariat - brought to the test of the debate through the theoretical and practical contributions of the ex-Poitot 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 Poitot because of their evaluation of both the action of political behaviour through the creation of Factory Councils. We knew that this was an opportunistic operation by the trade unions, but we were as well implicated by the opportunist tendency operation.

On the other hand, the relationship which emerged in 1969 between the new class layer and the old vanguard of the "mass workers" was not an external but essentially founded on agitation. Furthermore, the relationship between working class antagonism in direct production and proletarian antagonism on the social terrain was very similar: "From the City", a slogan of those years, was a slogan based completely on the extension of the action of the factory proletariat.

"Facists, coup d' etats, for you there is no tomorrow. Today we are soldiers, tomorrow we'll be partisans". Soldiers' demos, early '70s.
rather than on the uncovering and unfolding of all its complexities and contradictions. Between 1969 and 1977 we had the formidable existence of women's women's movement. It was in the confrontation—often bitter, always important—between the men that the debate was pushed ahead. Without wanting to exaggerate (because there's no need for this today), I think that the reason why the women's movement in 1974 came essentially from developments in the women's movement, from the political mobilization of the frustrated women of those years on many fronts.

In the meantime, between 1969 and 1977, the initial ambiguity of the trade union movement was clarified for all, workers and proletarians alike. The unions, from 1969 on, were involved in an economic crisis which weakened the authority of the Councils. After 1969, the working class was the first victim of the crisis, an event that turned the austerity policies which were the wares of the PCI in its march towards government. In those years we not only managed, continuously and relentlessly, to denounce the PCI line, but also to live and promote a new social experience: the idea of the movement as a community of economic autonomy, a mass experience of extraproprietorial power. Right. At that moment, in time 1977—now seems so long ago—when the conflicts of the new student proletariat students focused on the work in the "black economy," exploited by the Communist Party administrations in the big cities—raised to such a level of revolutionary desire; then in Rome, where we attempted to link their movement ended in Lamezia (the PCI trade union leader) being physically expelled from us.

Traditional Marxist Analysis

Once again we had anticipated and accelerated the rhythm of events: it would be 1968 before Lamezia was expelled from the gates of FIAT too. But the transformation set in motion in 1977 is still not over. And paradoxically, of that would probably have managed to express to them the social vitality of the new reality, left the Red Brigades did not intervene, with their choice of the path of terrorism, a choice we continue to see as one of tragic error and at worst a betrayal of a previous commitment.

Question: The movement of autonomia claims to speak as part of a "new social movement" or a "mass movement" in which all includes those sectors of the working class through the PCI that society by the present world-wide crisis being in the capitalist economy. This characterization of the problem of the autonomous movement for traditional Marxist class analysis. How do you see your ideas and those new? Are those ideas have a radical nature?

Answer: My comrades and I do not believe

[The rest of the document is not fully legible.]
ed by Minister of Justice Rocco, with a number of cracks papered over (which after all also concern instruction — to promote it is no longer punishable with the death penalty but with life imprisonment, which is much more cruel). So what’s surprising about that? Cultural, technical, economic, conservative interests — even if they are the “sectional” interests of the judiciary — and so on. And I would go back on the same terms as far as it concerns this unexpected concrete exception, an objective case in which the norms dictate no more than the occasional incidental line or two, and which is almost immediately swept under the carpet. In fact, it is all too clear that in choosing the charge to intimidate us, the Roman magistrate was obeying practical imperatives that are transparent, though hardly admissible. In the first place it is within Roman jurisdiction, and it is of little consequence that this in itself demonstrates how these judges are technically incapable, given that unless properly decided by the contrary, the general laws on jurisdiction are applicable also to articles 281. In the second place, and this is considerably more important, to ensure a period of preventive detention that is normally open-ended. As everyone knows, thanks to the Costa law, for a crime of this nature the maximum prison term is 4 years, so 2 years half in prison awaiting your first sentence.

Corrections Has Its Price

But coherence has its price, and it doesn’t seem appropriate right now to re-examine a theory of the State and 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 define is what it means to be clear about a misunderstanding, let’s use the one pursued by the Rome judge — that is, the reversion of an insurrectional phenomenon that was the historical property of the 1968 group Potere Operaio. Agitation for an insurrectional perspective (which never even began to become a theory of the State and capitalism in disintegration) constituted a last resort to articulate leftist grammar (deus-ex-machina?) on a theoretical level. Working class autonomy has never assumed the form of a political party, and that is a political party, or even a political party, or even an insurrectional phenomenon.

Well then? The question is posed again. If a judge should read not the individual elements but the totality of elements of autonomy as insurrection — from the self-reflections of the organization, from the struggle around “social” income, to organization against fascists and drug dealers in the communities — then what is the explanation? It’s too easy to dispose of it by pointing to the quasi-fascist paranoia of a single judge. Calabresi revealed it recently with astonishing clarity: the real trick represented by autonomy lay in its possibility of destabilizing young people through the potential for building paradise on this earth. The Roman judge, who knows his way around, is not so ingenioso and given away a lot of his ideological tactics. But between the two of them they are actually giving a faithful interpretation of a paranoia which now permeates the entire society.

It is the paranoia of those who feel themselves under siege, and can’t, or won’t admit to the growing dissatisfaction they feel around them. The situation is quite unique. The enactment of a trial for insurrection is deserved. That is, for a crime that implies a present danger that would affect the fabric of consciousness within the institutions of which the parties constitute the backbone. And none of these is making any kind of comment — not even the one behind the proceedings. So wouldn’t it be the appropriate thing to finally demonstrate the obvious generalities of the crust, and by convincing the guilty ones, to celebrate the end of the danger? Otherwise, if the trial ever goes ahead on this charge, how long will the present silence last?

Translation

□ EN 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 L’Espresso, March 1981. It details the thinness of the evidence against some of the accused from the Autonomy movement.

I have just finished reading the 140-page list of charges which a public prosecutor Calapani 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 GIACCOLO BALESTRINI is accused of subversion and membership of an armed organization. But what’s in heaven’s name against him?

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

And that, as they say, is that. By virtue of these weighty and undeniable conclusive shreds of evidence, Balesstri has been forced to go underground and faces the prospect of years of imprisonment. Ever since these troubles descended on him, this is the first time he has been given a large enough share of the blame to make the charge of terrorism stick. Indeed, it seems that in working with him they have developed a dislike for Balesstri 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 Balesstri as a citizen.

What about MARIELLA MARINCOLI? 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 Maiello, stated that his wife Lele also took part in the Organisation."

And without Fioroni (i.e., one of the political supergrassesses—who what a weight of detective work would have been needed to find out that ITALO BRUGOSI used to be a member of Potere Operaio! Judge Calapani reveals that:

"According to Fioroni he hold 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 Brugosi was a...
leading militant of Potere Operaio at the Porto Marghera petrochemical
plant, elected to the Works Committee on the Potere Operaio ticket, re-elected
to the factory council, and extremely well-known in the workers’ movement.
But when Floroni speaks, of course, everything appears in a new light.
Some aspects of these charges are, frankly, astounding. JANOSZ CHVÁL
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 Floroni? No, but the charge is argued as follows: “As regards
the first action taken by PARA, Novak, an important figure in PARA, 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 PARA?
It is Floroni’s say-so. And thus the circle is closed.

The evidence that OPERE SCALZONE planned the Vedano Olona robbery is
inductive, but clearly overwhelming! He was in the public gallery at the trial
of the two robbers. And what proof is there that DALLAVIA and MANDRAZET
were members of the Organised Anarchist? 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*. Ferraga 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 Sarconi, 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 Floroni’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 “0” (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 Cappussi puts it, bring
young people back to democracy?

Translated from L’Espresso

THE SUPPORT CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRISONERS IN LONDON

* Review A BIT OF BALESTRINI

Then we decided to move on to Nichelino, where the battle
had been going on since the morning... All those immigrants,
those thousands of proletarians who live in Nichelino, had
built barricades all over the place, using cement drainage pipes. Via
Satriano, the main street that crosses Nichelino, was blocked
by more than 10 barricades, made out of burning cars and
trucks, 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 street
lamps, and all you could see was the flames. The police played
for time — they didn’t attack, but let us go. In fact, they
only attacked at four in the morning, when reinforcements
arrived. Almost all the workers were dead tired, having been
battling for over 12 hours. The police relied each other in
relays.

The reinforcement jeeps and lorries arrived by the back
route that we had taken earlier — which meant that we were
encouraged, and that we won. 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 carabinieri was chasing after me. Then I
saw a comrade who had been running with me, jump on the
carabinieri. They fought, and the carabinieri 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... They
are there!” I saw a huge cloud of smoke in the middle of
the avenue, and everyone was running down the avenue
shouting: “There, from the middle of the smoke, the police
appeared in their armoured vehicles, with their lights shining
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 black clouds, with lots of noise, of shouting,
shouts and explosions. On my left I heard the rushing and the
strains of police cars racing up the avenue. Two motorcycles
burnt 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. Aggiato, non è sicuro del suo destino. Teme anche (e a ciò giunge la barbarie di un sistema carcereale) che un miglioramento di salute lo riporti in carcere.

Oreste ringrazia tutti quanti gli sono stati vicini.

Che questi'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, molti vengono ancora peggio di Oreste.

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

fot. Angelo Sciapioni

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 PDPS, 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 La Repubblica 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 evidences; some of them, after a year in jail, 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 29th 1981, with the judges about to set his committal proceeding, 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 uncertainty of no-imprisonment 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.H.
Gianni Brogiò was employed in an engineering factory in Porto Marghera. He was killed on January 31st, 1980, on orders from Judge Calogero. He fell victim to the Flaminio-Casinati team, 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 Foro Operaio during the hot years of the workers' struggles at Porto Marghera, with all that this implies in terms of Calogero's accounting: namely establishment of and participation in armed bands under various names including ControlNord, 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 in one. He was constantly present and active in the struggles. Foro Operaio, in the early 1970s, was effectively the main expression for the workers' struggles at Marghera. Amongst other things, he was overworked and underpaid, 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 uses more or less means nothing other than the application of direct objectives: such as refusal of piecework, of overtime, of 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, threats, 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 Foro 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 restructuring.

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 continued to believe that the struggle was 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 arrest 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 sprang from the brain of the "repentant" Casimiri - 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. Nor has he 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.
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 RANUM. After a short period of work with the Calarca 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 commander commander Osvaldo Poppo ("Davide"). Later I command the Fourth Carlo Scarabelli Division. After the Battle of Montefiorino (August 1944) I took over as Commissar General of the Antonio Ferrari Brigades. One of my people in that period was Leonardo Monti—the father of the Mauro Monti who has now had an arrest. Later I was appointed Comissar General of the Set Gardini Brigades with the responsibility for the liberation of Bologna. We passed through the war front and joined up with the forces of Comissar Armando (Mario Ricci) at Lissano in Belvedere, where I was appointed Commissar General of the Modena Division.

23rd April 1945—The Liberation.

1946

In order to fight the charges brought against me, I was forced to flee to France. There I learnt that I was accused of being responsible for the killing of a doctor in Spilamberto—the secretary of the local branch of the Fascist Party. I emigrated to Czechoslovakia, where I remain for about four years, living as a political refugee in an ex-concentration 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.

1960

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 quickly 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 65, after a lifetime 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—excluding various jobs that were not strictly mine—while certain others, such as Marcello Massi and his acolyte, were more concerned with making themselves careers in the Party, and let their work slide.

1977

At the Bologna Conference, called by the 177 Movement to protest against the repression, I denounce the Party leadership in the form of Sangheri and Pajetta, saying that theirs was a barafaced lie, to deny the violence that the State had perpetrated against the workers and the students—the violence that 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.
Pacifist 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 (in reducing sentences for political supergrassers) 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 organizations. 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 recognize the existence of a political opposition outside of the formal political institutions. I have often heard how much bloodshed should have been saved if the State had accepted the path of negotiation during the Moro kidnapping.

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 criminalized every form of dissent which 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 voice in the end of the road...the present leadership of the Communist Party in the Great Party of Recenters: repentant of their opposition to the regime; repentant of their Marxist past; repentant that it was some workers who led the Party; repentant of the forms of struggle which 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 comradess are right when they write: "From PCI to PDRI - The History of a Tendency" (in PDRI is the name of one of the political supergrassers).

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. In and it remains 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 permitted to support this State - those who, while not belonging to the armed organizations, 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, the State kidnaps and imprisons the suspected "kidnappers" - those who are on its wanted list - as a kind of blackmail. I AM IN PRISON BECAUSE I AM MAURICIO'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.

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 Pioroni Law promising remission. Worms like Viscardi who kill a comrade, or former (Wacher), 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 F.36 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 Ossalati 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 comradess who have been imprisoned by this judge are inside on no evidence, save the desire of the powers-to-be to strike a blow at that area of social insubordination which in Bologna, obviously, is directed principally against the Communist Party (in: as the regional governing party).

Some have already been released: Brunetti, Andriani, Rocco Franco. 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 della Cà, Alessandro Marchi, Nicoletta Mazzetti, Carlo Castellani, Gian Paolo Assarono, Valerio Guisardi, Tiziano Cardetti, Gabriella Gabelloni, Valerio Surana, will also be released - in drabs and drabs, as always happens. Because the emotion and furore must always be big when they are arrested - and tiny when they are released. And Judge Monti, the son of my old partizan comrade Leonadro, will inevitably finally come to understand the future that lies in store for him, as for the likes of Castellani and Cardetti, and the first the Laurino, 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 Bigrnani ("Guido")
S.Giovanni in Monte Prison,
Bologna.
24th December 1969

• "I AM COMING TO THE END OF MY LIFE KNOWING THAT NOBODY HAS EVER BEEN ABLE TO DESTROY MY HONOR AS A MAN AND AS A COMMUNIST BY WHAT - FOR YOU, MONITO, AND VIGNA, AND CHIALATI, 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 Bigmiani had been arrested on the basis of the so-called "Moray kidnaps" and imprisoned the in Bologna. The State demands that he reveals the whereabouts of his son, who is on the run. In this letter, published by Radio Carolina, Bologna, he proudly affirms his record as a communist and partisan.
DOSSIER

A PRISONER ON HUNGER STRIKE

THE STORY OF A POLITICAL PRISONER AND HOW HE FOUGHT THE NEW CHARGES MOUNTED AGAINST HIM.

This article describes how, once imprisoned, he continued to fight against the new charges mounted against him. In 1969, in Turin, MARIO DALMAREVA, who was a member of a revolutionary group, was arrested and charged with being a member of a group. He was arrested for his participation in a protest against the policies of the Italian government.

The article discusses the political climate of the time, the struggle for freedom, and the importance of solidarity. It highlights the role of the Red Brigades in the struggle for political freedom.

The article concludes with a discussion of the impact of the political situation on the individual, and the importance of continuing the struggle for political freedom.

HUNGER STRIKE BY POLITICAL DETAINEE

I am a political prisoner and have been on a hunger strike for several months. I have been detained without charge, and I have been denied any legal representation.

The lack of legal representation has made it difficult for me to understand the charges against me. I have been denied access to my legal files, and I have been denied the opportunity to present my case in court.

The hunger strike is my way of protest against the lack of legal representation and the denial of my rights. I have been denied the opportunity to present my case in court, and I have been denied the opportunity to present my case in court.

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THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ITALY

The April 3rd 1981 edition of the Italian newspaper La Repubblica carried a report of a meeting of the Italian section of Amnesty International. That report included the following:

"A red-bearded Dutchman, Doro Korff...the head of the European section of Amnesty’s research department, dealt with the question of Italy. He said: ‘We are very concerned at the possibility that the penal system in Italy may be subjected to abuses of a political nature.’

Amnesty’s report devotes 4 pages to Italy.

‘In Italy,’ said Korff, ‘there are problems concerning human rights, and we are trying to analyse them. There are laws which are formulated in a vague manner, which can be used in order to eliminate political dissent.

‘The majority of these laws refer to acts of political violence, but they have resulted in the imprisonment of people who appear to have very slender links with violent organizations. This is the case for a number of the April 7th defendants.’ The names of Camillo di Roscio, Rosario Tambone, Sandro Sernesi and Anna del Ro were cited. Later, in a discussion of maximum security prisons (Amnesty has been conducting an inquiry into the effects of these prisons in West Germany) the names of Mario Calsavara and Luciano Ferrari Bravo cropped up.

The names of Ivo Gallinberti and Alberto Gallocco also occur in the report. Amnesty has asked for both to be released from jail, on grounds of ill-health. They had asked also for the release of Alberto Buenochoi, arrested as a member of the ANM, who had become sick in prison. He was finally released. A few months later he committed suicide.

‘I am not saying that there is absolutely no evidence against these defendants,’ said Korff, ‘since, in such an event we would have considered them as “prisoners of conscience” and would have adopted them. However, there should be an obligation to provide public opinion with concrete evidence, and a fair trial within a reasonable period.

Translated from La Repubblica
April 3rd 1981

COMRADES,

Perhaps I could best start with a joke. I have a proposal: why don’t we change the title of this event? Instead of “April 7th, April — we should call it “April 7th, Jail”.

In short, I aim to speak of problems of difficulty and horror experiences, such as the criminalization, the imprisonment, and the transformation of the ruling power system, that apply in Italy today. This is the contribution that I want to make, in the name of our organization, in the course of our debate.

For many — too many — comrades in Italy and in other countries of Europe. “April” has not yet come. They are still enduring a hard and cold winter of segregation, separation and persecution.

Twenty days ago in Bologna there was a strong and beautiful demonstration in memory of Francesco Lorusso, a comrade killed in March 1977 by the Carabinieri (a special police unit of the Italian state). In that demonstration, everyone was shouting a particular slogan: “Comrades out of the prisons, because Spring is coming”. In Italian the slogan has a very beautiful ring. This slogan serves to remind us that we must intensify our effort via debate and political activity, for the liberation of all the comrades, of all the political prisoners and also of the whole imprisoned proletariat.

The discussion could be confined within boundaries of single nations and countries. Nations are like prisons, where proletarians and revolutionaries are divided, segregated and shut up — especially today.

Information, debate and propaganda: those of course are really necessary. But we need to develop a particular understanding of what the prison is today. In short, the nature of the general transformation of Power we are experiencing today.

I would like to begin with some information, and an assessment of the situation in Italy today.

1) It is perfectly understandable that ten glorious years of continuous class struggle in Italy, with the fear it has produced in bourgeois Power by the State, have also produced a hard, ruthless and enormous repression. More than 2,000 political prisoners are today locked away in Italian prisons. This is the fact from which we have to begin. The class character of this repression is clear: anyone who has fought in the factories, in the schools, the metropolitan areas etc., is persecuted. Police action after police action: a whole breed of revolutionaries has been criminalized.

The purpose of this general operation, however, is not only for the State to take revenge for the past. They don’t only want to hit whoever is guilty of all the various forms of struggles, they want to force the State to take revenge for the past. They don’t want to stop the State from taking revenge for the past.
torture or sensory deprivation, and who end up objectively being held captive. The State now sees no problem with the use of torture of losing control of your mind and body. In the past year in Italy we have seen a real collapse of many comas, as an efect of isolation, and the loss of all relation with the outside world. We must also consider that the Italian State (like the German, or British, etc.) is developing new scientific means for the control and destruction of revolutionaries.

At this point we should add that there has also been a cultural phenomenon that has aided the State process of criminalization: the mentality of "vulnous", depression, the fear that things are slipping away, an ideology of the crisis of revolutionaries perspectives — all this has become very widespread recently. It has helped the State repression, objectively, because it has promoted a counterposition (sometimes a philosophical counterposition) between people's individual self-interest and political activity (although this is a kind of "vulnous" depression, an alienating kind of political activity). For this reason we think that the psychological and cultural struggle against this cultivation of depression, that depression, as well as against the destruction of the "historical memory" of the struggles.

3) Prison as a laboratory of social discipline. In the Italian movement, it is clearer now than the 1980s are really very different from the 1970s. The force of power has changed and is still changing. The old shape of the State is transforming in a new shape. This is also for international reasons that I won't go into here.

We cannot respond to these transformations in the old ways. So it is necessary to understand the present reality of the struggle, especially what is new in this process.

I have said that the State is not only seeking a revenge. I have said that it wants to erase the "historical memory" of the struggles. It seeks a new situation (or for the 1990s, a new situation of repression, for example. Everybody lives in a condition in which every action remains subject to surveillance. We are all being watched, because the disciplinary character of the capitalist mode of production now requires a deep-rooted molecularization of life, a modernization which is a pre-condition for this control.

Prison has entered completely into society, within a whole system must offer "laws". But it does not imply that the struggle becomes impossible. You can observe this process in every part of the country. Look at the transformation, for example of the Taylorist system of production: the "wide replacement of the assembly line with so-called "decentralised production". The same is true of all the structures inside and outside direct production. Once upon a time the Prisons were modelled on the factories. Now it seems that factories are modelled on the prisons. What is really frightening is the "prison" — that is, "prisons without walls". This is the starting point also, for an understanding of the "prisons with walls".

The Prisoners Fight Back:

In Italy, there is a "social climate with walls": large, medium, and small. A whole system of division. In Italy this system is known as the "circuit of differentiations". Moreover, prisons are divided into different categories. For example: the "social climate with walls" is like a "prison", but rather the destruction of the prisoner. Their "model" is the German prisoners. At the same time, as a new way, prisoners are being written off, while others are being penalised more brutally. The State, for this purpose, constructs a new and universal hierarchy of crimes and punishment. At the top of the list is the crime of political and social subversion. For this reason, in Italy, there is a growing phenomenon of garmento — a civil rights movement, a democratic and reformist protest against the dictation of legal guarantees.

It is necessary to remember this fact, because criminalisation cannot be understood only as "more repression"! It is a writer of revolutionaries perspectives — all this has become very widespread recently. It has helped the State repression, objectively, because it has promoted a counterposition (sometimes a philosophical counterposition) between people's individual self-interest and political activity (although this is a kind of "vulnous" depression, an alienating kind of political activity). For this reason we think that the psychological and cultural struggle against this cultivation of depression, that depression, as well as against the destruction of the "historical memory" of the struggles.

4) I want to add something now about the political debate in France, especially the discussions about the prisoners. I think it is a great deal, because it is not easy to give a "history" of the prisoners'.

The discussion within the prison has provided the basis of the continuous restructuring of the prison-institution, even when there is not a direct intervention by Parliament and Government.

Prisoners fight for their immediate needs: survival, health, food, sanitation, etc. But they also fight for political demands to break the separation between "inside" and "outside" and to assert their own identity as political subjects.

About the first point, it regards their living conditions and needs. These are important things, and are arguably the "normal" things, because if they don't defend their lives, it is becoming harder and harder to destroy the "prison-institution". We think that it is a mistake for people (including the government) to avoid "small reforms" or "small reforms" of the "social revolutionaries", which are not the same as a "minimum" from a "maximum" perspective. Against the "social imprisonment" there are two conditions: firstly, for victory — conditions that entail a long-term struggle: a wide and active mobilisation outside, and the consciousness and organisation of the prisoners inside.

Regarding the second point: it is very important that the prisoners fight for general goals that are important for everybody. It is not possible to discuss here all the various different political issues "inside" the prisoners' movement in Italy. Regarding revolutionary strategies we are in a situation of open debate among revolutionaries, with strong disagreements among them. However, before concluding, we would like to say one thing: the liberation of all the prisoners requires a political outlook that demands the abolition of the whole prison system. This process, as opposed to the traditional historical experiences of socialism, is for a society without prisons.

We say: No more prisons! It is absurd, mistaken, or worse, to believe in "socialist" prisons or "people's prisons".

The prisoners' struggle is taking place all over Italy, it is still in development, is for a continuous revolutionary process. For this we ask for a contribution, both in theory and in practice, of all comrades, of many countries.

To the imprisoned comrades, to all the segregated sisters and brothers, for victory and for liberation!:

• Lotta Continua per il Comunismo

London
April 3rd 1981.

In Europe the Icelandic political refugee is now becoming a familiar figure. Earlier this week it was talk that the French Government would consider giving political asylum to Italian militants. Perhaps with Mitteiello's new socialist Government this will become a reality, and we shall see one EEC country offering shelter to the political dissidents of another.

L'ultimo garanzia dopo l'approvazione delle leggi coattive antirossiste.
PRESS CONFERENCE

ITALY 1981

- ITALY 1981 -
- 3,500 POLITICAL PRISONERS -
- WHY, AND WHAT CAN BE DONE? -

Meeting:
Small Hall, County Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC 1

Monday 6th April 7.30pm

On the second occasion of the "7th April" arrests in Italy, a
solidarity meeting/protest conference is being called in London
to publicise the plight of some 3,500 men and women being held
without trial, on political charges, in jails in Italy.

Speakers from Italy, France, the USA and Britain will outline the
charges being brought, the nature of conditions in prison, and
the steps being taken to organize an international campaign of
support.

An illustration of the gravity of the situation: many of the
Autonomy militants are being charged with "insurrection against
the powers of the State". This charge was instituted under
Fascism and was never repealed. Communist Party magistrates have
been to the forefront in the prosecution of the Autonomy and the Left.

A new social and political structure of repression is being experi-
enced.

We are particularly concerned to break the wall of silence that has
descended on these matters in Britain. In short, the largest
revolutionary consciousness movement that the West has seen in
many decades is being destroyed, piecemeal, under our noses.

And the British press - both Right and Left - stays silent.

As an example: In October 1980 two Italians were arrested in London.
A passing note in the "Guardian" identified them as Fascists
wanted for the Bologna bombing. Then...silence...until March
25th. In March 25th...the London magistrates heard the case for these people to be
extradited - for political crimes - was granted.

And no one single word was heard in the Press, radio or TV. A
comparison might be made between this Star Chamber approach, and the
uncharted movement of protest that accompanied the Italian
Government's attempts to extradite N. Pippemo and I. Pace from France
in 1980, or the campaign organised in this country in support of
Astrid Proll.

In due course you should receive this Announcement that your publica-
tion might see fit to cover the Meeting, this Monday.

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We would also draw your attention to the fact that a conference in
beheld in London on 25th March, which will be looking at the development of autonomous move-
ments and political repression in Italy and in Europe as a whole.

The Italy 79 Committee
March 21st 1981

DOSSIER: ENDE THE PRESS BLACKOUT

Anyone who has followed the fortunes of the mass Left movement in Italy is aware that a tragedy is taking place. This mass movement is being subjected to a systematic Press blackout regarding these developments.

One of the cases cited is that of 350 prisoners being subjected to a violent attack by Fascist gangland operators.

An example: While the Polish media's struggle against censorship is still officially departmental, the Italian press, in September 1980, reported only one or two column inches.

Another case is the case of MARIO FERRANDI:

Extradition Proceedings against an Italian in London

In November 1980 the Guardian newspaper informed us that 2 Italians had
been arrested in London, in connection (it said) with the Fascist bombings in Bologna. Then, on Monday March 21st 1981 ...when a London magistrate heard the case presented by the British Government for these people to be extraded.

The extradition order was granted, on the points made by the magistrate. It then turned out that the prisoners were not Fascist at all, but were of the Left...

Marco Compari, and Mario Ferrandi (known as "The Rubbi"), and alleged member of Prima Linea) are now awaiting their appeal against extradition, which is due to take place this week (April 9th, we believe).

The extraordinary thing is that Ferrandi has been kept in a top security wing of Britain's Prison for six months, under restricted visiting conditions, awaiting extradition. During all that time his case did not feature in the media. And the day after the extradition order was granted, not one British newspaper, of Right or Left, saw fit to publish the fact.

Unfavourable comparisons can be made between this trial-in-silence and the broad-based movement of protest that accompanied the Italian Government's attempt to extradite N. Pippemo and I. Pace from France (against charges of political crimes, or the campaign organis-
ing this country in support of Astrid Proll.

The charges against Ferrandi were outlined in Corriere della Sera on March 25th. They include the complicity of a personal manager and a general manager of two firms, the killing of a drug dealer, the killing of a policeman during a demonstration, an arson attempt against a prison administration office and an armed robbery. Ferrandi points out, first, that the charges against him are based on the evidence of a political terrorist ("pentito"), and second, that all the alleged crimes have quite clear political connotations. The charges against him are political, and thus in contravention of the extradition treaty (1973) between Italy and Britain.

Ferrandi's appeal against extradition will be heard this week.

Leaflet published by Italy 79 Committee: 6 April 1981

Teeth & Bones

The above-mentioned censorship of Italian media is not purely
partly at an official level. It is now a policy of the Italian media to censor
out of existence the armed groups and terrorist
Sho, for example, of them, terrorism and the extra-Parliamentary Left are one
and the same thing. That blanket censorship
ship tends to cover the attack on that

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS."

"Why do the papers no longer say anything about the Government's tax and other measures?"
"It only affects a minority."
"But the laws don't sti say anything either."
"They are the insurance minority."

"Lois kiština December 1979"

broaden Left movement as well. In the
same way that the British media attempt
to censor the IRA and the Irish struggle out of existence.

The censorship also exists informally. For example, you might think that
the Guardian newspaper might make good claims to liberalism by publicising what happens in Italy (the repression, the destruction of this movement). But the Guardian newspaper reporting has been even more despicable than those who have simply ignored Italy. The Guardian, in the shape of correspondent George Armstrong, totally trivializes Italy.

Armstrong did one honest thing, way back in 1976. He published an article just
after the April 7th arrests, strongly

suggesting (as he has subsequently proved) that the "Red Brigade" charges were
a crap.

Stue that time he has dropped the affair like a hot potato. And
his articles now are like a modem-day version of the anti-stagist guff. For
him Italy is picturesque, comical,
whimsical, artistt, and, of course, basically

bureaucratic. As an example: the coast that
ings the heel of his papoule every time he
tries to talk about the question, in order to upseat his estranged wife who
lives nearby. Or the burning issue of whether the bones of Venetian Emmanuel III and his wife
should be laid to rest in Rome. And

Armstrong has a wife. He has contacts
amongst radicals. He knows what is
happening to the Left movement. But he
seems not to write about it. One of the
most disgusting instances was in March 1981. Armstrong had gone to Padova on the
self-same day that Judge Calogero re-arrested 5 comrades (from Padova in
circumstances that were scandalous and a
considerable blow to the movement. His article that day consisted of a minute examination and examination of the ex-
humed remains of Saint Anthony—all
discussed in folio and even more.

Would this man have served similar fine from Chile, or El Salvador, or Argentina?

George Armstrong

Under Armstrong's revisionist reporting in the matter of counting St. Anthony's teeth seems not to apply to the
occasions when he deals in political
matters. An example: shortly before the release of James Hoff in Italy, was granted by the
British Government for these people to be extradited.

The extradition order was granted, on the points made by the magistrate. It then turned out that the prisoners were not Fascist at all, but were of the Left...

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We would also draw your attention to the fact that a conference in
beheld in London on 25th March, which will be looking at the development of autonomous move-
ments and political repression in Italy and in Europe as a whole.
Translation

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE PROTECTION OF PRISONERS

Document

The following is a translation of an International Committee document for the liberation of the April 7th defendants:

The creation of an international committee for the liberation of the April 7th defendants

Following the seminar held on "War Beyond War" at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 6-7th June 1980, a meeting was called for the participants to discuss in more detail the juridical and political aspects of the "Negri Affair".

A number of initiatives and positions have already been taken in France following the arrests of April 7th 1979, the extradition of Papenoo and Pace, and the enactment in Italy of particularly repressive laws (via the decree of 15th December 1979) in the areas of civil liberties and the right to legal defence. These initiatives laid the ground for a further initiative which has arisen from the seminar.

Given the deeply disturbing nature of this "judicial process", and given the absurd position of Negri and the others who have been imprisoned, or are wanted, post-April 7th and December 31st 1979, now that the principle charges in the "Negri affair" have been dropped (i.e. the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro), the participants in the seminar have decided to alert international opinion to the state of affairs.

They have decided to set up a committee. The aims of this committee are as follows:

1. To obtain the immediate release from prison of the April 7th and December 31st defendants, together with a guarantee, after these 14 months of imprisonment since the first arrests, that the charges that still hang over them should be brought to trial as soon as possible - or, if evidence to support them cannot be provided, that they be dropped.

2. To achieve this, the committee intends to provide more information on the judicial, political and prison situation in Italy, as well as its ramifications at the European level and in terms of extradition etc.

The committee will launch an international appeal, on the basis of numerous international initiatives that have already been developed in France, Britain, Germany, Spain, Holland, Japan, Canada, Australia and the USA.

The committee will collect and distribute information aimed at illuminating international opinion on one of the particularly emblematic aspects of the workings of the judicial machine in Western Europe.

The committee will take all possible steps in this direction, by approaching groups, organisations, parties and authorities, particularly in Italy and in Europe. It will undertake political, artistic and fund-raising activities in order to contribute to the eventual release from prison of Negri and his comrades.

International Committee for the Liberation of the April 7th Defendants.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE PROTECTION OF PRISONERS

At the Press Conference "Italy 1981" called by the Italy 79 Committee, the following Press Notice was read aloud and distributed by a member of the audience.

PRESS NOTICE

While there are now some 3,500 members of autonomous and urban guerrilla groups imprisoned in Italy, the situation in other European countries is very similar. Political prisoners mainly in Spain, Turkey, West Germany, England and Northern Ireland are kept under conditions aimed to crush their political identity. The policy of criminalisation is opposed most fiercely by political prisoners in Northern Ireland and West Germany. Since the beginning of March 8 Republican prisoners are on hunger-strike for the demand of political status at the Maze prison in Long Kesh. In West Germany 26 prisoners of the Red Army Faction are now in their 10th week of a hunger strike that began February 2nd 1981. In their hunger-strike declaration they express their solidarity with the political prisoners of the IRA, INLA, Brigate Rosse and those who are carrying on with their struggle inside the prisons.

The demands of the prisoners of the RAP on hunger strike are:

- The minimal guarantees of the Geneva Convention be applied to the prisoners of the RAP and other anti-imperialist resistance groups; that is to say:
  - that those prisoners be able to associate under conditions that make interaction possible, that is to say, that prisoners be able to associate under conditions that make interaction possible, this means the abolition of the control of all communications electronically, acoustically and optically, the abolition of all forms of isolation that are sound/light/air conditioned.
  - that conditions of imprisonment are independently controlled by the international commission for the protection of prisoners and against conditions of isolation.
  - that further circumstances for release as his physical recovery from brain damage cannot take place under conditions of isolation/immobilisation.
  - the release of Verka Becker who was diagnosed as suffering from tuberculosis during his imprisonment.

Note 1: Article 75 of the Geneva Convention of 1949 lays down the fundamental guarantees to be accorded to "persons who are in the power of a party to the conflict" - that is to say Prisoner of War status. The 1949 Convention relates to prisoners who are captured as a result of an international conflict. The additional protocol of 1977 cover armed conflicts which are not of an international character. This means that the conditions of the anti-imperialist resistance movements of national liberation struggles & urban guerrilla warfare being waged in the 3rd World & the metropolitan countries should also be accorded such political status.

Note 2: The West German State applies special programmes of imprisonment only against those prisoners who come from militant anti-imperialist resistance groups. These prisoners are subjected to isolation torture in the silent cells of the new
"High Security Wings" - many for over 4 years. With no association periods at all, some with absolutely no exercise period either. The isolation cells are air-conditioned, sound-proofed, white-walled and constantly lit. Surveillance of the prisoner is total. Cameras and microphones are stationed in each cell, on each wing, and around exercise yards. If prisoners do have association it is behind a partition window of bullet-proof glass. Visits are for 1 hour per month in similar conditions, if permitted at all. Strip searches take place for prisoners and visitors before and after any visit or association. The State has acknowledged the political content of their struggle by the methods it employs to try and crush it.

Note 7: Gunther Sonnenburg was arrested in 1977, and during the arrest was shot in the head. He sustained brain damage, and has been in isolation ever since. He does not get the medical treatment he needs to make a recovery. Since he is not fit to stay in prison he should be released immediately.

International Commission for the Protection of Prisoners
London, April 7th 1981.

NOTE

The above article makes clear that both the methods of repression adopted by the State and the forms of struggle adopted by prisoners have a lot in common in the Europe of the 1980s. Prison regimes and systems are planned and modelled at an international level - but the resistance to them tends to be confined within national boundaries.

Our book tries to break across these frontiers, with an account of the modes of repression in Italy. In addition, for readers abroad who may not have followed the campaign, we include the following two items related to the fight for political status in Ireland.

As we go to press, Joe McDonnell has died - the fifth hunger striker to give his life in the new wave of the campaign for Political Status. And still the British Government remains intransigent.
Dossier Support The Hunger Strike

Bobby Sands, age 27, was first arrested when he was 18. He has spent 6 months in freedom in the last 8 years. He is now on hunger strike for the 5 demands.

Like most of the men in the H-Blocks and the women in Armagh, Bobby Sands was a young teenager when the Civil Rights movement marched out of the ghettos to demand by peaceful means, basic civil rights and an end to internment where all the best jobs and housing went to the loyalist community. They saw these marches attacked by the RUC and in 1972 in Derry witnessed 14 protestors shot dead by the army on a peaceful march.

Bobby was 17 when a policy of imprisoning without trial large numbers of the nationalist community was begun. After a few years, internment had become an international embarrassment, and the Diplock Court system was introduced. This system dealt only with scheduled offenders as opposed to ordinary criminal offenders.

Sands was arrested in 1974, held for six days in the Castlecrag interrogation centre and convicted by a Diplock Court. These courts have only one judge and no jury. 80% of the convictions are by confession alone. These confessions are often obtained in conditions of extreme brutality. (Amnesty International Report, Bremet Report, 1979). Prisoners convicted under this system were granted Special Category status in prison. Prisoners were allowed to wear their own clothes, organise their own recreation and education, and were not required to do prison work.

However, Special Category status was not allowed to prisoners convicted after March 1st, 1976. This was as a result of a change in Government policy, which now attempted to deny the political nature of these offenders.

Like other prisoners after this date, Bobby Sands refused to work in prison uniform and had only a blanket to wear. In an attempt to break the protest, prison officers began a campaign of harassment and beatings. Prisoners were refused radio, reading or writing material, and were only allowed visits if they put on prison uniform and endured internal body searches.

Protesting against this maltreatment, prisoners in the H-Blocks in 1978 refused to leave their cells. Because the warders refused to empty the slop buckets, the prisoners were forced to live with their own excreta and faeces. The brutality was not as consistently severe in Armagh Jail, but in February 1978 the women prisoners were forced into a "dirty protest" of their own.

Despite concerns about the conditions the prisoners refused to live in, the Government refused to make any changes in the prison regime. To break the deadlock 7 prisoners began a hunger strike in October 1980. They were joined by three women prisoners in Armagh Jail. Increased Irish and international support built up during the hunger strike, and the government was forced to come to terms with the prisoners.

In December 1980 when Sean McKenna was at death's door the prisoners were shown a 34-page document and a statement to be made by Humphrey Atkins in the House of Commons of December 19th. These documents contained the essence of the 5 demands. The agreement between the prisoners and the Home Office was confirmed by verbal assurances of a generous interpretation of the agreement made by a special acting as an intermediary. The prisoners called off their hunger strike.

3 Months of Government Deceit

December 19th: Hunger Strike Ends, H-Block prisoners stage on protest until the demands are implemented.

January: In Armagh Jail Governor Scott refuses to discuss self-education classes, contrary to the agreement. Prisoners remain on protest.

January 10th: The prison authorities met with Bobby Sands, a representative of the prisoners.

January 12/14th: 100 H-Block men move into clean cells and begin stopping out. A Government's statement was given to them saying that those prepared to wear civilian type clothing would be given the chance to wear their own clothes.

January 16th: A pilot scheme where 20 prisoners were to go through the sixty by sixty procedure agreed upon was to be implemented. However, Governor Hilditch asked for a week's grace. As a condition of goodwill the prisoners agreed to this. In Armagh Jail the women who were still on protest were awaiting the results of the pilot scheme before coming again regarding their own educational facilities.

January 23rd: The pilot scheme begins. 20 men washed, shaved, and shopped out their cells. They were now off the protest as agreed by the Atkins document. They asked for their clothes, which had been brought by their relatives to the prison. This request was refused, in direct contradiction to the Atkins agreement.

January 27th: In H-5 prisoners smash all their cell furniture in protest against the increasing harassment from warders. In response they were attacked by the warders, resulting in some serious injuries. Six men were subjected to a brutal analysis, search which the prisoners claim amounted to "a sexual assault". All prisoners who had come off now reverted to the blanket protest.

February 2nd: Prisoners announce a new Hunger Strike, to commence on March 1st.

February 13th: The former hunger-striker released from hospital, immediately begin blanket protest.

March 1st: Bobby Sands begins a hunger strike until death.

March 2nd: Prisoners stage a "dirty protest" to concentrate attention on the main issue of the protest.

March 14th: Francis Hughes begins Hunger Strike.

March 22nd: Raymond McCreesh and Paty O'Hara join Hunger Strike.

The house of cards with bars of iron

Call on the government to implement the 5 demands

The Government has been unable to do anything about the prisoners' spirit, and as the continuity of the hunger strike continues, efforts are being made to—closed down the protest. Large demonstrations in London and New York illustrate the feelings of the Irish people. It is up to you to break the wall of silence in this country.

National Demonstration: London, April 26th

Leaflet produced by H-Block/Armagh Committee, London
**The Prosecution's Case Collapses**

An analysis of the judicial proceedings undertaken by Procurator-Substitute Ciampi against the April 7th defendants. A scandalous piece of bluff, a framework of charges wholly different from the original charges under which they were arrested — a framework which is extremely weak at the level of proof and evidence. For how long can the Italian Communist Party, the Press bureau and the forces of power continue to keep this farce alive?

"Two weeks ago Procurator Ciampi published the findings of his judicial inquiry on the April 7th defendants. This document has even been a surprise to those who have had doubts and reservations, who have expressed criticisms of the general outlines of these judicial proceedings. For 62 months Negri and the other defendants have had half the judges in Italy, and the whole of the Italian Press helping monstrous accusation after monstrous accusation on their heads. It would have been reasonable, at this point, to expect at least some actual evidence to support at least some of these charges. But instead, what do we have? A scandalous piece of bluff, a framework of charges that is entirely different from the original charges — a set of accusations which on the one hand carry even more severe sentences, and on the other hand have very little evidence to back the charges against the majority of the defendants."

**The Position Outlined by Judge Calogero: The "Calogero Thesis"**

It might be useful to remind those who have commented on Ciampi's document (perhaps without reading it), and who have used phrases like "The Calogero thesis is confirmed" and "the line between Workers' Autonomy and the Red Brigades is proved" etc., what the accusations brought against Negri and his comrades actually were.

The charges brought by Padova Judge Calogero in the arrest warrants issued on April 6th 1975 were:

1) That Negri, Fer-Jan, Speranza, Peri, Scollo, Dalbrutto, Toschi, Zago, Nicotri, Marangulo, Pancini, Roberto Ferrari and Mari del Carro were the founders, organisers and leaders of an "organisation going under the name Red Brigades".

2) That, at the same time, they inspired and were the leaders of various "interlinked organisations, going under various names," but constituting the so-called "Organised Workers' Autonomy." This was alleged to be the cover organisation for all remaining strands of the Italian terrorist movement which developed alongside the Red Brigades since the period of what the prosecution alleges was the "false" dissolution of Potere Operaio in 1972.

In other words, they were accused of being the secret brain and the equally secret leadership of all Italian terrorism, ranging from organised international cooperation..."
and conspiratorial terrorism to the more diffused and localised forms. These were said to be divergent only in appearance, but in reality were inspired by a common motivation, programme and strategy.

On the same day another arrest warrant, issued by the Rome Procuurat, and implicating Negri - along with Alunni, Morotti, Morucci, Gallinari etc. - in the Moro assassination, was served to supplant and expand upon these convictions. He was also charged with single-handedly promoting an armed insurrection against the State. A few months later a new arrest warrant was issued in Rome, accusing Negri, along with various members of the Red Brigades and of the attempted murders of Velerio Traversi, Emilio Rossi, Renzo Cassicfesto, Mario Portini, Publici Fiori, Raffaele de Rossa and Giacomo Mochelli, as well as dozens of other crimes.

These, then, were the original elements of the "Calogero theorem", we have been waiting for nearly two years to see if such a thing will ever come into being - something other than the constant reference to "Negrioni" that Negri has written. We have been waiting for some indication of the existence of concrete evidence, but what has happened instead is that the charges have been increasingly inflated and made more serious, with a host of new arrest warrants, substituting for old or extending one another. At the same time, the original charges, instead of being corroborated, have, by one, by one, been completely disproved.

This first part of this construction to collapse came about 3 months after 7th April 1979, when the most serious of the charges - that accusing Negri and the others of being the leaders and founders of the Red Brigades - fell for lack of evidence. On 7th July of 1979, the State, which, as far as we know, had nothing to lose, "substituted" the indictment on 7th April, 7th no mention is made of the Red Brigades. The defendants are accused of having organised something which was rather vaguely defined as "subversive association constituting a threat to the state". As for the law by which the number of charges was increased: All the defendants were charged with "armed insurrection against the State". In the subsequent warrant of August 29th, hastily thrown together to obtain the extradition of Piperno and Pace from France, charges against those defendants were expanded and clarified, in the Moro assassination. Negri was also charged with various other crimes (the Palma killing, the attempted killings of Traversi, Cassicfesto etc). All of this, except for two pages on Piperno and Pace, did not include no much as a single line of proof.

A second stage to the collapse took place in the first few months of 1980, when, following Piperno's testimony (as to the "pentiti", or "repentant terrorists"), the charge against Negri - which had been dropped for so long, what with overseas research into the famous telephone call to Moro - amounted to a new involvement in the Moro assassination, and fell. Lastly, on November 19th 1980, during the judicial inquiry against the Red Brigades accused of the Moro assassination, the Rome Procuurat explicitly recognised that the April 7th defendants had nothing to do with the Red Brigades, and asked for Negri to be released and completely absolved of the Moro assassination and for him to be absolved of all - except all - the terrorist crimes for which he had previously been charged (Palma, Traversi etc), apart from "subversive association", "formation of an armed band" and "armed insurrection".

At this point, given the fact that not one single word of the original hearings has changed, it is rather difficult to understand what was this "armed insurrection" which was allegedly promoted by Negri and his comrades. Nevertheless, an extraordinary problem now confronted the judge. The Roman judges realised that, since all of the charges under their jurisdiction (Negri) have fallen, there is no point in "armed insurrection" but quite likely - was only the crime that could justify Rome's continued jurisdiction and the extension of the pre-trial detention period. Although the Red Brigades
consists entirely of the statements of Fioroni and Casinetti (in two "pentiti") who were the people who carried out a large part of the above crimes. Negri is always accused as the prime mover of these crimes — sometimes by himself, sometimes (more often) by a process of "deduction" — by virtue of his stated position as "leader" who knew about everything, and whose word was law regarding everything that happened in the "organisation". In Fioroni's statement regarding the Varonio kidnap, Negri's name is not even mentioned except in connection with a "commission of inquiry" called by him after the event. But this very fact that Negri is not directly cited is seen by the legal authorities as "an indication of Fioroni's honesty. If he had really wanted to implicate his comrades in the crimes in question, he could have stated specifically that they had talked about it — whereas he remains totally silent on the matter."

Now, regarding the crimes of association — and in particular "armed insurrection" — the "evidence" consists wholly of the fact of membership of Ente Operai, plus the subsequent relationship between Negri, Piperno and Sciolone. Negri's writings are rich in the vocabulary of those themes, singing the praise of armed revolution. For Luciano Ferrari Bravo the sole evidence for which he was editor of Rosso and Autonomia, and that he had made notes in a notebook (taken from him) regarding outlines for articles or general directions for those journals. As for Alberto Marchi and Mario Dalmauca, the "evidence", apart from their long-distance membership of Ente Operai and their participation in the organisation's conferences, consists entirely of two items: (a) the accusation of having taken part in a meeting the day after the 11th December 1971 demonstration in Milan, during which the failure (1) to use Molotov cocktails on the demonstration was discussed; and (b) the fact that they had been sent a letter from Create Sciolone (19th January 1971), inviting them to a meeting on the subject of "organisation, civil war, political revolution and the abolition of the State".

As for Nanni Balestrini, there really is no evidence — unless you count as evidence those 8 lines from the report of the judicial inquiry:

"The accused, resident in Rome at the time, was telephoned by Picorino and Sciolone, trying to trick him into joining them. He was held up and later for an appointment in Genoa (end-December 1970). Balestrini's name also figures a number of times in Negri's 1975 diary, in relation to the editorial group of Rosso. The importance of Rosso magazine at the level of armed struggle has already been pointed out. These two elements demonstrate an uninterrupted continuity in Balestrini's presence and activity in the 0 (in: "Organisation")."

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Fourth, and finally, "armed insurrection against the powers of the State". Until 2 weeks ago, the "armed insurrection" which the April 7th defendants were charged with was carried out "in conjunction with" Alban, Moratti, Morucci, Gualini etc (at Red Brigades). Now that the judicial inquiry against the defendants has run its course separately from that against the Red Brigades, the April 7th defendants are still being charged with armed insurrection — but no longer "in conjunction with" the Red Brigades. Thus we are presumably dealing with a different insurrection. We shall not dwell on the judicial absurdity of this notification, as regards proceeding on this specific charge. The problem is — what exactly was that insurrection? Obviously not the Red Brigades' one, but the "April 7th" insurrection — carried out, according to the judges, from 1971 onwards, and particularly between 1973 and 1974, to be evidence (in the absence of other proofs) in the confessions of postage stamps and the attempted robberies. The weapons involved — the execution readily admits — were probably few. But the defendants allegedly made up for this shortcoming "by playing the card of incitement and propaganda" through "both a continuous string of conferences and meetings, starting with November 1971 in Rome — and also a

weighty publishing activity in the form of numerous publications."

At any rate, the judges add, it could not be otherwise, since one cannot, even at the level of logic, accept the hypothesis that one of the capacity, the determination and the leadership qualities of Negri, Piperno, Sciolone etc, and, since as early as 1971, began to discuss armed struggle, and frizzled around discussing the armed struggle for around 10 years without making the slightest preparations to bring about the armed crime under examination. Unless it can be shown that Piperno, Negri, Sciolone etc are merely inert word-sayers — contrary to the obvious and enthusiastic opinions of many who have described them."

I would not wish, with these conical quotations, to speak too much ill of the Giannini inquiry. Regardless of all this, it is still the most honest prosecution document of the whole April 7th affair. While it is true that it contains not the slightest evidence that could actually be called on "element of proof", it is also true that in the past 2 years, have been more true of the other inquiries that, in the course of the past 2 years, have peeled these incredible mountains of accusations against the defendants. Compared with all these other arrest warrants, expressed opinions etc of recent months, it has at least the merit of having drastically reshaped the charges, demolishing the previous "house of cards", and making possible — even if very late in the proceedings — a concrete defence.

One burning question remains — a question which will never be completely answered. How did this trial come about in the first place — and how has it been able to survive? And — an even more agonizing question — why, has it been possible for the Italian Communist Party, the Left and the Press to have cultivated it — and to continue to cultivate it — without making any attempt at self-criticism, even now, when the only remaining substance of the case is a skeleton in their respective cupboards?

*Luigi Forrajoli
Translated from Quotidiani dei Laboratori
February 6th 1981.*

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**An Arrest: Scenes of Eyewitness Life in Italy**

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As of April 1981, the final trial of legal charges against "the autonmi" was published in a 1,000-page document produced by Judge Campana. The following account is from the ICAN Bulletin, April 1981.

Following the release of the Campana document, the judge in charge of the case, Francesco Arato, reviewed the conclusions of the prosecutors and offered a revised statement of the charges. In a document of more than 1,000 pages, Arato made some modifications of the charges relating to specific acts—most importantly, the dropping of more of the kidnapping and murder charges against Negri—and he once again reaffirmed the allegations of "crimes of association." Otherwise, the bulk of Campana’s brief structure was accepted as the basis for a trial that prosecutors say may begin later this year.

However, Arato said that a structure could turn out to be, it is not all that clear how much damage can be done to the case in the coming months and years. The state has been building its case against them through the very same process that has resulted in the "Special Prison" which has been established in the past four years, mainly for political detainees. These prisons—which had been created solely on the basis of ministerial decree and never legislated, thus making them unconstitutional—are notorious for their inhuman conditions, including physical abuse and severe restrictions on correspondence and visitation. The BR inmates, who consider themselves prisoners of war, have been fighting against these conditions by staging revolts in coordination with attacks on prison and police officials by their members on the outside. By placing many of the April 7th prisoners in the middle of these situations, the state has sought to achieve two aims. First, to once again blur the public’s mind the distinction between April 7th Autonomia people and the Red Brigades, seeking to place them both under the banner of "revolutionary terrorist prisoners." Second, to force the April 7th people into a position of having either to join forces with the BR or else face the inevitable from the revolts and face retribution by the other inmates.

These dynamics were exhibited quite clearly at the end of last year at the Special Prison at Trani. On December 28th, imprisoned members of the Red Brigades, following the BR kidnapping two weeks earlier of the magistrate Giovanni D’Urso, joined with some "common prisoners" in overpowering guards and taking control of the jail. Negri and the eight or so other April 7th defendants at Trani refused to participate in the revolt, expressing some suspicions about its origins and in any event not wanting to collaborate with the BR. Nevertheless, police were taking the prison the next day with an overwhelming display of force (despite the fact that the more they arrested, the more violent the reaction). The major newspapers of the country and all Europe were reporting with blaring headlines that Negri had masterminded the uprising. The press simply ignored the fact that the April 7th people at Trani had issued a public statement dissociating themselves from the revolt. Although the press soon withdrew their accusation, the prosecutors did not; Negri and the others were charged along with the BR with organizing the revolt—a charge which could add 20 years to their eventual sentences. In several cases of April 7th people accused of less serious "crimes of association," these new charges will keep them in jail beyond what would have been the expiration of their periods of pre-trial detention this year. In addition, when the police and guards retook control of the prison, the BR eventually forced the April 7th defendants to participate in the revolt and those who refused—to severe beatings. After a five-day period in which all communication with lawyers and relatives was cut off, it was discovered that many of the inmates, including the April 7th people, had sustained serious injuries, including many broken limbs.

Another dramatic example of the way in which imprisonment in the special jails has been used against the April 7th defendants is the case of Mario Dalmazza. Although the supposed evidence against Dalmazza was among the most lurid of the April 7th cases, he was sent to one of the worst Special Prisons in Italy, Asinara, located on an island off the coast of Sardinia. In October 1979 Dalmazza refused to participate in a BR revolt, locking himself in a room instead. Nevertheless, after the uprising ended he was, like the April 7th people at Trani a year later, equally charged with participation, as well as attempted murder of several guards. Fearful of what would happen during future revolts the BR had threatened his life, Dalmazza demanded transfer to a regular prison. After that request was repeatedly denied, he started a hunger strike on January 12th of this year. Dalmazza said this was the only way he could dramatize his situation and save himself in the event of a new BR uprising in the wake of the one at Trani. After two weeks of the strike the authorities relented and moved him to a regular prison.

The cases of Trani and Dalmazza make it clear that the Special Prisons have become the main means of last resort in the state’s efforts to punish the April 7th defendants regardless of legal or political obstacles. The charges brought against the defendants for BR revolts they had nothing to do with are designed to make up for the deficiencies in the original criminal case, and they ensure that the April 7th people will remain imprisoned indefinitely. As a possible beginning of a trial grows nearer, the April 7th defendants and their families and lawyers have called for a renewed and broad-based groups in Italy and abroad to publicize the scandalous way in which the case continues to be handled by the prosecutors and judges. The defense group in Paris, the International Committee for the Defense of the April 7th Defendants, has already issued an appeal for an international commission of inquiry on the April 7th case and the general conditions of political prisoners in Italy. The context of that appeal, which was endorced by the several hundred participants at an international conference of political prisoners held in Italy in London in early April this year, reads as follows:

**APEAL ON ITALY: FOR A DE-ESCALATION OF THE JUDICIAL SITUATION**

In the face of the repressive spiral in Italy, which creates the conditions for military escalation and a state terror which we totally condemn, there is an urgent need to open the way to a de-escalation to bring this process to an end.

For this reason we propose:
1) To call for the formation of an international commission of inquiry to assess the trials and the reality of the general degradation of individual and collective civil rights in Italy in the legal and prison systems; and in particular to undertake an investigation into the case of those arrested April 7th, 1979, who have been used effectively as hostages in an operation aimed at changing the political regime in Italy.
2) To call IMMEDIATELY for the CONDITIONAL RELEASE of those imprisoned on April 7th, together with those who have suffered the effect of the same mechanism of amalgamation under the general umbrella of "terrorist" charges. We call for this release immediately, without waiting for the conclusion of the trial, which has been continuously postponed and which is likely to take place in a procedural context as irregular as that of the pre-trial investigation.
3) To orient public opinion, both Italian and international, towards a solution which halts the present military escalation and towards a basis for discussion of a general amnesty for political prisoners in Italy.

**Translation**

- **TRANI: A STORY OF STATE BRUTALITY**

The following article is translated from "Trani: Basta cieli supernovari," a pamphlet published by the Comitato Autonimo Operaio, Via San Vito 6, Rome, January 1979. It is an account of the revolt at Trani Special Prison, drawn up immediately after the event, on the basis of conversations with prisoners during visits etc.

"This is Trani, seen through the eyes of Giorgio Baumgartner, Luciano Mieri, Emilio Vocco and Toni Negri, reported via their comrades.

A difficult, fragmented account, drawn up only two weeks after the event, and highlighted by their bruised and swollen faces, by their bitter mood, by the disgusting conditions of prison visits - dividing glass partitions, communication via microphones, the confusion, the twenty short minutes of a prison visit.

**The Background**

On December 12th 1980 the Red Brigades kidnapped the magistrate D'Urso, in order to "get Asinara closed" (the most antiquated prison island). Some days later at Palmi prison, prisoners held a brief stoppage during their association period. At Ponzano prison only one section of prisoners kicked the backside.

At Trani, up until the 20th of December, there was nothing.

In Trani Special Prison, the political geography has developed as follows:

- a) The Struggle Committee (around the Red Brigades) - an organized structure.
- b) The Autonomous Collective (around Prima Lines) - an organized structure.
- c) The April 7th comrades - who do not recognize themselves in any existing organizational structure.
- d) The comrades of the Polinoncio Collective - ditto.
- e) Other comrades - ditto.

The Special Wing is situated on 3 floors of a separate block. A stairwell divides each floor into two sections.

On the ground floor there are "dangerous" criminals.

On the first floor there are Red Brigades and Prima Lines members.

On the third floor (A-Section) there are single-room cells; these hold a number of Red Brigades, as well as Toni Negri and others. In B-Section - cells holding 5 people in only 2 rooms - Baumgartner, Mieri, Ferrari Bravo and one other are held. Emilio Vocco is held in a separate cell.

The cells have double doors - an internal door, made of iron bars, which...
is closed all day, and an outer door, of sheet steel with a spy-hole, which is closed at night.

The Revolt

It is 3.30pm on the afternoon of December 12th. Most people have returned from the afternoon exercise period. Luciano, Giorgio and Luciano are already in their cell when the barred door is closed. A short while later our comrades gathered that something was up, because the guards started shouting. They came and locked the cell's outer door, and would not explain what was happening. Luciano managed to use a small mirror to see that masked men were moving around the wing. After an hour and a half their cell-door is forced off its hinges and broken open by the "masked" prisoners.

Prison warder Telese was taken hostage, after being wounded with a makeshift dagger, by elements of the Struggle Committee. It was not clear whether this had happened during the return from exercise, or after they had returned to their cells (whose bars had previously been removed). Then, under his orders, the Struggle Committee released their associates from their cells. The other guards were taken hostage, and the whole wing was soon under their control.

From 5.00pm to Nightfall

The prison authorities' first act of retaliation is to cut off electricity, water and heating, and the TV. The Struggle Committee negotiates with the Governor via the internal telephone on the first floor. Luciano and the other comrades stay out of the way on the second floor. The guards are then taken in to the second floor and divided up between A-section and B-section.

Guard Telese's Condition Worsens

The Struggle Committee telephone the authorities to come and take Telese because his condition is getting worse, and they do not have the medical means to see to him. The authorities reply "get your doctor to look after him" (referred to Giorgio Baumgartner). Only at this point did the Struggle Committee release key Giorgio. He offered first aid, and himself asked the authorities for antibiotics and other medications, along with professional opinion, and sedatives to calm the hostage guard. Giorgio also asked for the electricity to be switched on again so that he could see the wounds. He received no reply. Our comrades spent the night in their cell.

The Statement of Scenarios

This publicity-seeking Socialist Senator has stated various things about Baumgartner and Negri that are entirely false. Not only did Vona not lead the revolt, but he also dissociated himself from it. Furthermore, Giorgio never came down from the second floor, and never took part in any negotiation or delegation - which anyway all took place on the first floor, or the ground floor.

The Elites

December 29th - the following day. The Struggle Committee had not foreseen the Elites, since they felt safe, on reason of holding the hostages. All through the morning, and right up to the last moment, Governor Brunetti was asking the Struggle Committee to release the hostages in order to avoid the worst.

But the worst had already been decided on. The "political situation" required a certain type of response. Brunetti was overruled, and lost his job. The political parties put on their kimah!

4.30 PM

The sun is about to set. The dull noise of helicopters overhead announced

to the prisoners that the solution was to be military. A general stumped, and cries of "They'll kill us all!" The Struggle Committee withdrew to the first floor, and barricaded themselves in their cells. On the second floor the guard-hostages crouched to Giorgio, asking with hysteria, "Doctor, save us, we don't want to die!" In fact they prevented him from seeking refuge in his cell. He stayed with the guards, and they all sprang on the floor, sheltering from the grenades and bullets behind tables and washstands.

The air shakers with a tremendous noise of explosions and flying helicopters. The Assault Squad arrived via a trapdoor in the roof of the second floor. There is a bone-crushing, defacing crush as they throw thunderflash bombs. The Assault Squad troops pour through, and shoot like madmen. All you see is their robot-shadow cast in shafts of light as their torches sliced through the dark of the prison cells.

The Sedition and Violence of the Assault Squad

- Venice has two ribs broken by a kick.
- Baumgartner - who was sprayed on the floor - has his hand stumped, breaking his fingers.
- Kieri has his arm dislocated.
- Negri is kicked in the head.

The comrades are in a state of terror. They are defaced by the din, dazzled by the light. When they hesitate in giving their summates, the troops react even more violently.

Venice's Account

"Ribs broken, a stabbing pain, loses his sight, struggles for breath, is sent crashing down the stairs. They pull his hair Yo make him fall. They ask him who is the "comrade of him who is you afraid...". After pointing their guns in his face, they fire half an inch over his head. Then, after this mock execution, they send him tumbling down to the Mufi squad".

Kieri's Account

"Remember one guard-hostage, who tried to identify himself, and the Assault Squad kicked him down. Kieri was made to get up, hands and face against the wall. They took him to the stairwell and put a gun in his mouth "Command...you afraid...". "Yes...I'm afraid!" Then they fired a single shot over his head, and kept of plaster from the wall fell on him. He was pushed and kicked from the second floor to the ground floor, where the Mufi squad were waiting".

Baumgartner's Account

"Giorgio didn't react. He was stunned by the deafening noise and the pain in his head. They take him to the stairwell and put a gun in his mouth. Then they fired over his head, as if they were an execution squad. In the dark he was sent tumbling down to the ground floor. He thought he was now out of the "pogrom", but didn't realise that he was now in the hands of the Mufi squad."

The Mufi Squad Beat the Prisoners

In the corridor that led outside, there were two lines of hooded men the Mufi squad, armed with clubs. (The hoods are part of their official equipment). It is thought that they were prison guards, because of the prisoners by their manes and by the case they were involved in.

Emilio Venice: The Mufi's shout "It's the Pedevan". Emilio, in agony with his broken ribs, didn't manage to protect himself from the hail of blows. He was clubbed up and down the line twice before being dragged out into the exercise yard.

Kieri and Negri: Get off more lightly, because they were the first ones down.
Bauerngarten: "It's the one with the missiles". He receives an immediate blow to the stomach. His glasses fall off and he falls to the Ground. They kick him. Half-framing he tries to drag himself outside, but they bring him back for another kicking. He glimpses a Carabinieri saying to the Mufti 'That's enough...you're killing him'. The Carabinieri try to get him away from the Mufti, but they drag him back, kicking and clubbing him. Then they hurl him bodily towards the cells. Semi-conscious, all he feels is two hands dragging him into the cell. This was Reggi and Merci.

But this was not the end of it. In the cells the Muftis came in to count them. Everyone had to stand up. Vesce and Bauerngarten, in a state of agony, are told to stand up. They can't - so they receive a kicking - until an officer calls off the Mufti squad and shouts: "You can thank the hostage-guarders...you say you didn't treat them badly...now you can go to the medical wing".

The comrades thought it was a trick, and didn't move. Eventually some put their names down.

The records show:
- 41 people given medical treatment.
- 17 broken limbs.
- 5 of the most severely injured are forced to spend the night in isolation cells: Bauerngarten (broken fingers), Jovine (badly beaten up), Ricciardi (teeth smashed), Maria (many stitches) and others.

The Screw's Revenge

The prisoners were kept all night in the exercise yard, half naked and freezing. From the yard they heard noises of smashing and laughter. This was the orgiastic ritual of destruction - of the prisoners' personal things, of a large piece of the yard. The Barbarous war crime of the victors over the vanquished, the reward for the State's "armed bands".

Everything is reduced to shreds - hardly a stitch of clothing survived the orgy intact. The wings were flooded, radiators were pulled out, toilets were smashed and windows broken, and the shoddy prison furniture destroyed. The prisoners' letters, lovingly kept, their books, their defence documents, were piled onto a fire and burned.

The Present Situation is Desperate

Since December 31st the prisoners have been transferred to the ground floor. They are being locked up 12-15 to a cell.

Their conditions are horrific - a mattress and one blanket to sleep with. An earth closet as a toilet, in front of everyone. Locked up for 23 hours of 24 hours, lying down because they can't stand up. Given these terrible, sub-human sanitary/hygienic conditions they are protesting by throwing their excreta out into the corridors.

The reprisals are continuing. The atmosphere is very tense.

Before the Release of Magistrato D'Onis - Woken at 2 in the morning, half naked and frozen, they were taken off for interrogation under a warrant from Judge Zia.
- A prisoner tried to punch a warder who had hit him a bastard. Not only was he charged, he was also taken to a basement cell, stripped and beaten by the Muftis. The prisoners had to organise a protest in order to get him back and stop the beating.

After D'Onis' release - The night-search on January 21st, looking for arms, based on "an internal rumour". This was carried out in such a way as to provoke torture and tension, and so allow further reprisals by the Muftis.

ITALY'S anti-terrorist forces yesterday scored a spectacular success in stemming a top security jail and freeing 15 prisoners who were being held hostage by Islamic terrorists.

A police operation, by the anti-terrorist squad of Carabinieri, the paramilitary police, almost exactly 24 hours after obtaining a warrant, was able to be carried out for the first time. The operation was carried out with the help of the Red Brigades, a group of terrorists composed of mainly left-wing terrorists and members of the Basque separatists in Spain.

The operation was carried out by the anti-terrorist squad of Carabinieri, the paramilitary police, almost exactly 24 hours after obtaining a warrant, was able to be carried out for the first time. The operation was carried out with the help of the Red Brigades, a group of terrorists composed of mainly left-wing terrorists and members of the Basque separatists in Spain.

The terrorists are accused of taking hostages and humiliation grounds.

The transfer of the last imprisoned terrorist from Assisi, who was already in temporary detention, to the Central Prison of Assisi, was announced on Sunday night. The terrorist was one of the 15 prisoners, who were freed on Saturday night, and who were due to be transferred to the Central Prison of Assisi.

The transfer was made after the terrorist was subjected to a search and interrogation by the police. The terrorist was then placed in temporary detention at the Central Prison of Assisi, where he will remain until the trial of the 15 prisoners, who were freed on Saturday night, is scheduled to begin.

The terrorist was one of the 15 prisoners, who were freed on Saturday night, and who were due to be transferred to the Central Prison of Assisi.
Dear Felix,

I am writing from Rome, where I was transferred after a month of indescribable events at Trani. I am uncertain as to the reasons for the transfer. Events of all kinds: war of captivity, judicial war... ferocious, inhuman, sadistic. One day I shall describe them. We shall recount them to the world. Life and death seized on the instant are not very gay. Every moment is problematical. But when the thought of death simulates itself into the bivalencies of the everyday — day after day in a political scenario dominated by the polarity of opposing, extremist initiatives (of resistance, of repression), which has lasted without interruption for a month now, at these moments the entire thing becomes absurd.

In addition, as soon as I arrived in Rome I witnessed a succession of atrocities in the prison. What sort of world is this? The whole story is inane and absurd. The prison drama is unfolding with the judicial proceedings. The charges have been presented by the public prosecutor. Nothing has changed as regards the substance of the accusations which have been hanging over me for two years now. The basis of the accusations is flimsy, but their scope is menacing. They are clearly animated by the will to destroy. This trial is an integral part of a comprehensive political strategy of State repression. The accusation has been elaborated at this level, which is why it isn’t simply a case of a judicial accusation, but rather a public text through which the State is searching for an authoritarian legitimation of its political policies.

You understand very well how difficult it is, perhaps impossible and in any case ineffective, to fight against this over-determination. Personally, I am very, very tired. I don’t know today where I am going to spend the months to come, whether in Rome or in another prison. I’m waiting for news, I hope to avoid being shut up in a special security prison. In the special prisons one ends by being crushed. Crushed between the violence of the prison authorities — the very face of the State — and the militarised violence of the resistance. The result is the loss of one’s identity and the collapse of all autonomy — personal and political. I don’t know how this horrible story is going to finish. But I see less and less clearly.

For the rest, life carries on — in the most drarly fashion. At Trani, after the revolt, all, or almost all, of my work was destroyed. To start over again isn’t easy for me. I have always worked on accumulated material. To see it destroyed destroys a little bit of oneself. At the same time as the logic of my progression with research, however, I’ve been able to resume a certain working rhythm. I’m animated by good, rational intentions, but lack a certain dynamism and vital stimulation.

It’s fairly grey today. Excuse me, I’m in bad form. But my temper is no worse than when the sun shines. After two years of prison, it becomes intolerable. One doesn’t get used to it.

A propos. My book on Spinosa has come out. I hope that Sylvie has sent a copy to you and to Gilles Deleuze.

Claud, dear Felix
Je t’embrasse tres fort,
— Tonl.
Interview with Lisi del Rey

Lisi del Rey with her children

I'd been wanting to interview Lisi for some time: more, thinking back now, as a way of telling the story of the direct and physical struggle by working women and intellectuals in Italy then as a feminist thimble or as a worker, she would have a special relevance for women.

Arrests, imprisonments, house searches, and confiscations of books. Probably more than 2,000 people are in jail in Italy now facing charges, ranging from the murder of a student to the burning of a factory. The list of political prisoners is long. It is because of their identification with an organization called Autonomia Operaia, some, including Lisi herself, are awaiting trial on charges under the Rocco penal code, dating back to the suspension of the Left under charges like "subversive association" which have not been used for decades and which, even the courts are not certain how to interpret.

The near absence of legal precedent adds to the feeling of fear and disorient- ation. The problem is how to argue to authorities of the State and police, no logic in the choice of who is to be singled out next, where to strike the balance between punishment may be. On the wave of public sympathy, the movement has won wider public awareness than the growth of terrorism, and the kidnapping and assassination of Moro in particular has won them a sympathy that has been widely acknowledged with the growth of terrorism, and a wave of sympathy that has been widely acknowledged, sympathy that has been widely acknowledged by the government.

The movement continues to call for broader reforms. It is also worth noting that the movement, which has been the subject of much discussion in Italy in recent years, has not been without its critics. Some have argued that the movement's goals are too radical, and that its methods are too violent. Others have criticized the movement for its lack of representation, arguing that it has been dominated by a small group of wealthy and powerful individuals.

The movement has been active in a number of ways, including organizing protests and demonstrations, and using social media to spread its message. It has also been involved in providing support to prisoners, and in organizing legal aid for those arrested.

In recent years, the movement has faced significant challenges. For example, some of its leaders have been arrested, and it has faced criticism from both the left and the right for its methods. Despite these challenges, the movement continues to be active, and its supporters remain committed to its goals. Whether it will succeed remains to be seen. But one thing is clear: the movement is not going away anytime soon. It continues to be a force for change in Italy, and its influence will likely be felt for many years to come.
In June 1973 in Italy, the "191" was passed, for the first time legislating abortion (although with a series of conditions) and making it available on the National Health.

In the Summer of 1980 the "Move- ment for Life" (the Italian equivalent of SPUC) launched a campaign for refer- endum for the abolition of the "191". Only one will reach the public on May 17th: the so-called "minimal" proposal which, if passed, will permit abortion only in cases of extreme physical danger to the mother if the pregnancy is continu-

Profiling from the wave of repression which has filled the jails in Italy, more than 3,000 political prisoners and made all forms of political struggle extremely difficult for the Left, the forces of the Right, orchestrated by the Church, have themselves consequently behind this attempt to take away the fruit of more than 5 years of struggle of the women's movement.

In every church the priests and bishops powerful figures in this country with its dominant Catholic ideology - tremen- dously preach against "the carnage of the innocent", and from every street corner the Movement for Life hand out leaflets which graphically "describe" fantastic horrors of abortion and paint ghastly pictures of screaming infants torn from the womb, suffocated or with their necks cut off in the oven.

And what is the situation to which they would have us return?

Every year in Italy about 3 million backstreet abortions took place in conditions which ranged from the atrocious to the "merely" humiliating. Every year some 20,000 women lost their lives in consequence. Every year millions of women, on finding themselves pregnant, were faced with the "choice" between bearing and bringing up a child they were not ready for - with all the compromises and sacrifices this implies; travelling to England or some other country with more liberal abortion laws for those who were able to scrape together the money; or leaving their blood, and sometimes their lives, on some backstreet kitchen table.

The Struggle for Abortion

When the first feminist groups sprung up in the early 1970s they were faced with a rear guard action in the form of a militant battle to fight: for the right to children when they chose - for the right to women to have the power of choice and control over their own bodies - to information and access to safe, quick, and temporary prevention and to protection against the violence of the State against the women.

As a first step, the women realised abortion would have to be brought out of the obituary pages of the local news- papers and into the light of day. An opportunity to do just this soon arose.

In Padova, in Spring 1973, Gigliola Pacifici was arrested and charged with having procured herself an abortion.

Gigliola was not quite 17 years old when the "choice" to undergo the opera- tion, which took place without anaesthe- tic or medical assistance on a kitchen table. She nearly died from an infection resulting from the abortion - and now must pay again, this time with from 2 to 5 years in jail. The new-born feminist movement rallied behind Gigliola, deciding, with her approval, to turn the trial upside-down - converting it into a condemnation of the State and Church for all the women's blood that had been spilt on the altar of Christ and civil morality.

In the months preceding the trial the few hundred women who made up the feminist movement at the time quickly learnt how to organise themselves - produc- ing leaflets and documents and calling meetings and assemblies to publicise the case and the basic demand for a woman's right to control her own fertility.

On June 5th 1973, the day before Gigliola's trial, women from all over Italy arrived in Padova to participate in a mass- thrower march through the city. The following day the court room was crowd- ed with women, shouting slogans such as "We have all had abortions", even as they were being dragged out by the carabinieri.

Despite her lack of preference for her "crime" Gigliola was acquitted.

The next important engagement in the battle for abortion took place in Trento, in December 1974. An important woman of the student movement, the leader of the student group of the University of Church's anti-abortion propaganda women referred to this as the "27 women of Trento". Were arrested, 12th 1975, for example, 5,000 women who had been arrested under the new law. After 40 women had been taken in for questioning by the police, suspected of being "abortionists".

Little more than a month later, on the occasion of the "big trial", thousands of women from all walks of life poured into Trento for a national demonstration in solidarity with the 273 women on trial, and for a woman's right to choose.

Refusing the luck-alley route which had been conceded to them, the chanting, singing, shouting women marched "straight as an arrow" to the court rooms. Here the loudspeaker van was driven right up to the doors blasting out feminist songs; and posters with a wreath which matched the violence which could stand by while so many women died from back street abortions, were attached to the doors. A brief rally was held, and then the demonstra- tion proceeded to the Curia. The walls of this edifice were covered in painted alabaster with the words of the Romuli.

BELZERU - PAOLO VI, IL DIAVOLO... LUCIFERO (in Nabokov's novel Pepe Paul VI, the devil)

"If pirates could get pregnant, abortion would be a service." (Gigliola)

Over the 1½ years since Gigliola's trial the Women's Movement had grown enormously. The pressure was building up, the women were becoming aware of the "feminist" peril and the Party's talk of reform was now beginning. Even within the Left parties women were beginning, independently from the Party, to take the lead in demand for abortion. The women's movement was growing and organiz-
Dear Sisters,

We are taking advantage of the space opened in Quotidiani Domani to discuss the question of abortion, a discussion started in various large meetings held in Italy, including the one in Rome after the massacre of 3,000 women called on November 13th, 1980 for the defense of the referendum (for the law on demand; safe contraceptive methods; money for the children of working women who are forced to be on strike and to be able to become mothers when and as we want; less work inside the house; a new opening of political space as a necessary step in our response to the criminalisation of women.

During this debate, as far as the two referenda on abortion are concerned, it is obvious that consensus emerged that:

(a) the political terrain of the referendum, just as the whole terrain of politics and legislation, is completely foreign to the idea of the movement for the definition of a true mobilisation expressed by the feminist movement;

(b) the attempt is being made to choose those the "blind alley" imposed on the movement (whether to vote yes or no at the Radical Party's referendum) and the provocation of the specific fact of a "yes or no at the referendum promoted by the Movement for Life".

That is, we are being forced to choose between the defense — as the PCI would have us do — of a fundamental right, or an imposition, and, very largely ignored, and a "substitute" — as the Radical Party does — of a law which will still leave our real needs largely unsatisfied. Even if the PCI can defend, officially, the right to free abortion on demand as a maximum limit, for safe contraception so as not to have to, for the right to choose to have the children we want, for the right to live our sexuality from the single issue of abortion, and, anyway, not even enforced.

The State continues to be elastic on the question of abortion, in the Planting Clinics and hospitals on the question of abortion, in the sense of controlled contraception, and the provision of information and on distribution of such material to women (information about the violence of abortion) and on the question of income for fertility after the termination of the social value of maternity they recognize with such provisions as cuts in public spending etc.

It must now be clear to all of us that the problems of abortion do not constitute a possible terrain of mediation for the interests and struggles of women which have made themselves felt in the last ten years. It is enough to say that the party-state is playing the game of qualitative and quantitative referenda, instead of using the confrontation to get to grips with the real level of obscenities and the health care — a travesty of our real needs and a demonstration of an inability to mobilise our struggles, unless the referendum is a failed attempt at massacres. Radicalism, because of the character of the moment, has responded to the proposal by deserting the battlefield.

In order to oblige contradictional authority that all the men of the realm have been called on to vote on an issue which they are even less familiar with than the use of a pressure cooker, should also be underlined. This practice of "democracy" is used to deny us publicly our autonomy from men — and through men — from the State.

These referenda on abortion are nowhere taken place as a general political rejection and repression, in which the various political forces precipitate themselves in the arena just as they do in order to assert adherence to one or other of the political programmes; programmes in all cases for the protection, or death, of women (depending largely, in reality, in relation to women). What the PCI has to say about a political programme is that, while we are and are conducting a general action of the suffocation and defeat of all the movements that are in the same time as the struggle.

From real wage cuts to layoffs (both of the "end first and foremost women", to the attack on material living conditions of the vast majority which includes not only price rises but also the attack on prostitutes, the increase in the incidence of rape and so on) the whole political space for autonomous women's activity is being nullified by the criminalisation of the political forms of dissent which step outside the boundaries of the institutional channels, and which is at the same time as the struggle is being given to the Catholic crusades — to the reorganisation of one or other of the legal representatives of the movement for abortion, only supports to spend 3 days in hospital, and because of "consciousness objections", which is widespread in the public sector, but not in the private, where a lot of money can be made, to the closure of reproduction of private clinics — a tendency which is anyway being realised throughout the health care world, and which allows the PCI to vote.

It remains to be said, however, that the referenda on abortion proposed in the Radical Party programme might prevent the negotiation of the worsening of the law of termination, or the only ideology (Catholicism) that was both part of the preparation of the law of abortion and a woman's right to choose, and at the same time to continue the great work of the previous levels of our political struggle.

The Freemason Scandal

More, under the name of the present judge's uniform person in quite a different way to that of the Solidarity of the Italian Masons' Lodge "PZZ", constituting a scandal, it was not enough to stir the party, it was the Bologna explosion that revealed it.

The heads of the secret services, two ministers in the present government, and a number of prominent figures in the Masonic world, including magistrates, the national secretary of inside action, and Socialist and Communist politicians and MPs, were arrested. It is an "official" arrest of VIPs, editors, top civil servants, diplomats, bankers, TV chiefs and Universities. Everyone has been disclosed to be among the membership of this conspiracy. According to the handbook provided with the membership card, the aim of this conspiracy is "to obtain more power", and members are all sworn to secrecy and to the "blind obedience" to the Grand Master, one Lise Gell, a Right-wing Radio- American fundamentalist in whose name is being held abroad.

This operatic organization is being regarded as the scandal of the past decade, including that of the Mazzini that, the billionnaire banker Sindona and is strongly suspected of being behind the "tragedy of terrorism" which resulted in the destruction of the Strike Center building in Bologna and the bomb explosion of last year.

Unionists have constantly disclosed the list of 933 names of members at the request of the Milanesi judges who are investigating the Milan police and Socialist network. One raffication of this "scandal of freemasons" is of the arrest of top Milanesi financiers who were arrested in Milan, only one at dawn on May 20th, on a charge of illegal export of capital. The Milanesi Stock Exchange trembled.

This is a political upheaval in the near future. The forthcoming local elections on June 21st will provide a good thermometer of the mood of the country.

Together with the Catholic-promoted referendum on the law relating to abortion and a law on demand (both of which were opposed by the small, right-wing Radical Party) were voted at the referendum on the law relating to abortion.

A referendum to liberalise even further the existing abortion law, in particular to shorten the waiting period for abortion, and make it possible for doctors who are unable to perform an abortion, and, anyway, not even enforced.

The disappointing results of these civil liberties referendum may have many reasons, from the fact that the campaign was now only of "law and order"; the fact that the supporters of these referenda had almost no access to the radio or press; the fact that the police, at the death of the man of the "scandal of freemasons", and is automatically suspected of being behind the "tragedy of terrorism", has been turned aside by the Milan police and Socialist network. One raffication of this "scandal of freemasons" is of the arrest of top Milanesi financiers who were arrested in Milan, only one at dawn on May 20th, on a charge of illegal export of capital. The Milanesi Stock Exchange trembled.

One of the most interesting results of these elections is the large numbers of votes "to the extreme". As soon as the results are known, the trend will be confirmed: most of the votes are "to the extreme", in both senses.

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A referendum to abolish the "Scusa Law", which entails police powers to hold people on the street for reasons to search "adjacent blocks of apartment blocks" without warrant when hunting "scums" (the people of "law and order") and is supported by the above-mentioned Mr. Gell, a Right-wing Radio-American fundamentalist in whose name is being held abroad.

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DOSSIER
FIAT: A HISTORIC TRIAL OF STRENGTH

The accounts contained in this pamphlet make no sense, except in the general class context. For this reason we include the following account of the September 1980 struggle against mass sackings at the FIAT motor company. The events raised many questions — and few answers.

In September/October 1980 all eyes in Italy were focused on a crucial workers' struggle, whose outcome will define the future balance of class power in Italy. The FIAT motor company announced their intention to sack 14,500 workers. Their intention was to immobilise, to destroy a class vanguard.

The Vanguard Role of the FIAT Workers

FIAT represents something very special in the history of the working-class revolutionary communist movement. It means the Factory Occupations of the 1930s, the work of Antonio Gramsci and Ordine Nuovo, and the founding role of Italy's Communist Party. It means the anti-Nazi and anti-capitalist (Risistance) movement of World War II and after (the radical workplace organisation, the punging of the factories). It means the wavy of France's "May '68" drawn out and spread into a political and revolutionary movement that has lasted for 10 years. It means the "Hot Autumn" of 1969-70, with its revolutionary demands for equal wages for all, not linked to productivity; immediate reductions of working hours, abolition of compulsory overtime; moves to the abolition of all grading divisions; complete parity with white-collar workers; and the development of a ground-level shop stewards' network (brigatismo), which partially transformed and democratized the Trade Unions from below.

In books, tracts, leaflets, theses and pamphlets the FIAT working-class has been studied and understood better than any other industrial political reality in the world today. Groups like Lotto Continua and Polizia Repressiva were born here, and developed years of mass political work. Based on FIAT and the associated engineering industry, Pia is a radical and interventionist Trade Union structure, with big printing presses, educational courses, magazines of educational pamphlets for workers, and officers for culture, study and factory liaison.

In ten years of the composition of that working-class tradition, the explosive, violent, and often anti-social action of the late 60s led to spontaneous forms of action of the Hot Autumn. That raw labour was slowly integrated into factory life, while also providing many of the long-term militants. Then, the nature of the new labour-intake of the 1970s: this has been dictated by Italy's labour laws — the young unemployed of the North, the women, the second-generation immigrants — all with a far higher degree of education than their predecessors in the factory, and many with experience of the communist, feminist and youth movements behind them.

At certain points in FIAT's recent history, both Left and Right have been able to claim that "non-productivity" rules at FIAT. The employers' Press has talked of "The Uncoverable Factory", of workers' intransigence, and abnormality at a mass level (at least up until the defeat of September 1980). At the same time, violence has played a role in the struggle. Inside the factory, individual hard-line foremen have been beaten up by groups of workers, or chained to machines, or marched round the factory at the head of workers: "internal demonstrations" (corporate). Outside the factory, armed political groups like Prima Linea and the Red Brigades have been involved — up to 1980 — in kidnappings, shootings and killings of FIAT management personnel: a campaign to strike fear into management. From subsequent arrests it appears that the armed political groups had members among the FIAT workforce.

Faced with abuse and violence inside and outside the factory, management was losing its will to manage. Perhaps with a "social contract", with the unions, FIAT might have found the will to struggle on. But in 1980 the bosses moved out of the car market. Their much-hoped-for European market share planered. Their sales campaign in the UK, for instance, tried repeatedly to undercut the opposition, but with little success. Drawing a deep breath, and almost certainly (but not documentedly) following Michael Edwards' model of action at British Leyland, the Company launched their attack.

At the moment of writing it appears that the FIAT working-class has suffered a historic defeat: bastions of working-class power in the North of Italy, such as Turin, have been dealt a severe blow.

FIAT's aim, in short, both for their own sake and for the Italian working class as a whole, was to dismantle the structural and economic base which had undermined the working-class political vanguard of Northern Italy, in the same way that the industrial relations and political heartlands of the British Midlands and America's Detroit have been dismantled and deindustrialised in the past 5 years.

An Outline of Developments:
September/October 1980

To summarise: in late 1979 FIAT had sacked 61 workers for moral behaviour not consistent with the working-class of the Company. The Trade Unions were slow and divided in their reaction — at least because some of the workers were accused of using violence and abuse during strikes, and the PCI and the Unions were as concerned as FIAT management that they should be disciplined.

The way was thus open for further moves. After the 1980 Summer shutdown FIAT went for the big one: 14,500 workers were to be sacked from the car factories of the North. The biggest mass "social contract" in Italian history. There was uproar — but also great confusion. Tactically from the top, from the national Trade Union leadership were virtually non-existent. The initiative was left to the shop-floor workers, with old-timers rank and file council members playing a mobilising role. Strikes and protests began at all FIAT plants in Turin (and there are many).

This wave of action fed into all-out strikes. The massive 58,000...
strong FIAT-Mirafiori plant and others were picketing day and night, with music and pickets (sometimes weak, but sometimes up to 300 strong), with music, food, dancing, parties, and even more. The factories had red flags flying at the gates, delegations of workers went to other factories—direct to the citizens of Turin—to seek their support.

The plans to “modernize” the factories, to cut into the economic heart of Turin, in a cumulative series of secondary effects, took on an ominous tone. On September 24th, three mass demonstrations—of students marched from the factories, down the long boulevards into Turin’s city center, into the heart of the red flag flew, and thousands sang the Red Flag and the International. Before and after, the same chant was repeated: "Let’s break the factories, let’s break the factories!"

The crisis is a result of, and a response to, an accumulation of working class power. It is a crisis of conflict over the class-power balance. Thus, it was at FIAT. Mainly skill need to be exercised. We shall shortly be publishing The Book of FIAT. This will be a collection of articles, essays, interviews, and photographs documenting the workers’ struggle at FIAT from 1912 to the present day. The book will examine in detail questions and problems of class composition and class organization during the previous phase of the strike. For the moment, there is a number of "pointing arisings" that we shall be examining in more detail later.

1. Given that FIAT car production is now an important sector of the Western capitalist class, the issue of the FIAT factories is crucial for general political calculations. Historically, FIAT, and the management of engineering workers, has provided a base for the Party’s strategy, putting the "Comintern Compromise," putting a new "Front of the Working Class" on a new footing. In the present case, said Berlinguer, the Party’s intention was to get the factories withdrawn, and set up a "new Front of the Working Class." With the factories not withdrawn, the Government fell.

FIAT withdrew the factories. Negotiations also began for a new Government formula. The Communist Party was temporarily jubilant. But a fear and uncertainty hung over those negotiations not unconnected, the Government fell.

The Silent Majority: The State, the judiciary, the Police, the employers and the "silent majority" of workers, lower management and "moderate" unions all voted against the "left" on the new Government Plan to move. FIAT replaced the 14,500 walkouts with lockouts (on 80% of the workforce, for 3 months) for 24,000 workers... a list drawn up by FIAT’s Personnel Department, and the local Police, (fig most of the CP’s cell in the Press Shop... many, many shop stewards, etc.)

The campaign appeals to public opinion, police and armoured cars began to appear in front of picket lines. The "conciliation" began with legal proceedings in the labor courts, for their "right to work" to be upheld. There were isolated clashes, but the authorities won; right-wing tried to break the picket lines.

Then, in early October, an estimated 40,000 foremen, supervisors, middle managers, and trade unionists marched through Turin in a completely unexpected show of force. This strength was underpinned by the great fear that the whole enterprise was about to fall "into the hands of the laborers," as the more effective forms of class struggle. To the dismay of the FIAT workers who had been under pressure from the unions, running scared, scared a deal that gave the workers an ounce more than what FIAT had already demanded. And, unlike previous new laws, they were popularly supported, mass, politically selective, non-notating layoffs.

In short, the political movement of the FIAT workers had been defeated in the field of tactics. The unions and the Communist Party, in a moment of (not unjustified) fear, had run up the white flag on what was described as "the heroic last stand." In a "return of the repressed," the socialist revolution had found a point of unity, a moment of joint struggle to the growing working class masses in the society of the "lost decade." Sociologists are already talking of the "organized indiscipline" being "released to minorization in society." And we are left with a mass of vital political questions.

In Italy 1977-78: Living with an Earthquake

A collection of 100 revolutionary and working class songs from Britain and abroad, fully illustrated. Includes sections of Women’s songs, Irish songs, Prison songs, Army songs and many others. Contains guitar-chord notations, a chart of guitar chords, and a 2-page song list. The best revolutionary song-book in the English-speaking world (we think)! The new edition also contains printed music for the songs. Printed A4 size, plenty of cartoons and photos, 2-colour board cover. Price £1.25 plus 25p postage.

Fighting the Layoffs at Ford’s ("The Little Red Blue Book")


A Songbook of Revolutionary Songs and Other Items

A 240-page, A4 size book dealing with the development of the ideas and practice of Working Class Autonomy in Italy. Contents include articles by Mario Tronti, Sergio Bologna and Toni Negri, documents of Potere Operaio, and a Dossier of the arrests on April 7th 1979. This book, unfortunately, is out of print — but we are looking for a publisher interested in doing a reprint. Sooner, rather than later, we hope.
After the Moro kidnap... the most terrifying campaign of repression we have ever known was set into motion. 5,000 comrades have been thrown into jail in these last two years. The repressive forces of the bourgeoisie, with the cooperation of those of the trade unions and the PCI, have swept the board clean of an entire generation of militants. The movement's political space has been enormously restricted. Practically all of its papers and journals have been banned. The space held by the comrades of autonomia inside the universities and factories has been closed. In the name of stamping out terrorism a great proletarian movement of an entirely new sort, a movement of young workers and metropolitan proletarians, a movement of resistance to work, has been struck a severely weakening blow.

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

Toni Negri, Trani Prison, November 1980