

evidence recovered from a "little tin box" that Negri consigned to safekeeping with a friend when he was notified that he was about to be arrested. The documents are reported to include case studies written by Negri of various Red Brigades cells, criticisms of various attacks carried out by the group, and recommendations for correcting strategic and tactical errors by the terrorists. Third, there is evidence gathered from the months of wiretaps and other surveillance of Negri and his friends, including rumors that computer-analyzed voice prints can identify him as the anonymous Red Brigades spokesman who telephoned the wife of Aldo Moro and announced that "the sentence would be executed" unless she managed to convince the government to grant the terrorists demands.

Theory and practice

The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) has led a chorus of defenders of the professors' right to preach assassination and destabilization. The Socialist daily, *Avanti*, has maintained that there is a difference between the Red Brigades terrorism and the supposedly legitimate Autonomist violence. And the Socialist-linked *La Repubblica* on April 11 published an interview with Franco Piperno, a fugitive wanted in the Padua case, in which Piperno threatened Calogero, the PCI and the government as well as informing its readers that "in 10 pages of documentation" there was "no proof."

The protest is international. the *New York Times* stressed on April 17 that "left-wing newspapers (were) raising questions about the legality of the terrorist inquiry" and devoted much of its article to the radical lawyers' countercharges against the Padua magistrates. In Paris, a "Collective for Information on the Italian Situation" has prepared an information packet in Negri's defense and Jean-Paul Sartre, a well-known crony of the Baader-Meinhof terrorists, has actually gone to Rome to defend his old friends and collaborators.

The most fervent argument, however, came from PSI member and long-time terrorist sympathizer Norberto Bobbio, who was reported by *Corriere della Sera* of April 11 to have said that "among the theoreticians of the new left, he (Negri) is one of the most culturally advanced. He is a serious and profound scholar. It is very difficult, if not absurd, to establish a connection between thought and praxis."

—Mary Sonnenblick

Who is Antonio Negri?

Antonio "Toni" Negri, professor of Comparative Science at the University of Padua, is one of the single most important controllers of terrorism in Italy. Facing charges for armed conspiracy to overthrow the state, Negri and his colleagues are only meeting their long-delayed day of reckoning.

Toni Negri began his political career as a member of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI). In the mid-1950s, he allegedly left the PSI and became the editor and founder of two left-wing magazines: *Quaderni Rossi* (Red Notebooks) and *Contropiano* (Counterplan). In a short time, both magazines became the theoretical spokesmen for a new wave of anarcho-syndicalism identified by the generic name of operaismo (workerism).

By the mid-1960s, the ideas generated in *Quaderni Rossi* were appropriated by each and every one of the Maoist and anarchist countergangs which sprang out of the student movement. The ideas promoted by Negri in his magazines and books were straightforward: the state must be destroyed. In order to achieve that aim, the "revolutionary movement" had to pass from words and theories to deeds and the formation of the armed infrastructure required to "achieve our task." Negri continued to elaborate these ideas from his professorial chair at the University of Padua, a post he obtained in 1966 under the protection of PSI Central Committee member and "political linguist" Norberto Bobbio.

From Potere Operaio

Having laid the groundwork for indoctrination and recruitment, Negri founded the countergang Potere Operaio (workers' power) in 1967. He was assisted by Paul Piccone, editor of the Frankfurt School-linked magazine *Telos*, and the terrorist publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli. For several years up to his arrest two weeks ago, Negri was one of the directors of the "Marxist collection" for the Feltrinelli publishing House.

With the founding of Potere Operaio, the notion was conceived and extensively discussed of launching two countergangs at the same time, according to the testimony of police infiltrators. While one of the gangs would provide a "legal," above-ground cover, the second would be an underground terrorist organization.

In 1969, a group "split" from Potere Operaio ostensibly over the question of supporting terrorism. The group constituted itself as the "respectable" extraparliamentary grouplet Lotta Continua.

By 1973, the nucleus that remained of Potere Operaio began to collaborate and engage in "theoretical

discussions" with the Colletivo Politico Metropolitano (Urban Political Collective) led by Renato Curcio, a former sociology student at the University of Trento. The discussions led to the creation of the Red Brigades—under Curcio's direction—in 1974.

In the meantime, Marco Boato, a member of Curcio's Colletivo and also a former student at Trento, became a national leader for Lotta Continua. Lotta Continua was given international prominence and recognition by *Radical America*, which devoted its entire March-April 1973 issue to expounding on the revolutionary virtues of the Italian countergang. Lotta Continua could count on the active support of Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnett from the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies.

With both sides of the operation in place, Negri withdrew from visible participation in the activities of the two groups and turned to propagating his "revolutionary theories" from Padua, protected by the influence provided by his wife's noble Venetian family and his sacred "freedom of speech."

To jail

Negri's luck has finally turned sour. Today, he is kept in isolation at a Roman jail. In May 1977, he and the entire faculty of the Political Science Department of Padua University were indicted under charges of "subversive association," but were released for "lack of evidence." Since then, and, particularly, during and after the kidnapping of former premier Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades, Negri and company were placed under strict and continuous surveillance. The monitoring of his activities has given the Italian judiciary the concrete evidence of his subversive activities. It has also given French, Italian, and German intelligence the names, addresses, and phone numbers of every major terrorist controller in Europe and the United States. Those European intelligence services are ready to move on the control centers of terrorism.

As one Italian magistrate put it to the press corps two weeks ago: "This is only the first phase; stay tuned and you will see, you will see. . ."

—R.D. Cedeno

Evidence against Negri

Excerpted here is an article from the April 21 edition of the Rome daily La Repubblica.

The "clues" can be summed up in five points: the first, on which the investigators have placed all their cards, would justify their triumphant self-confidence....The documents seized from Negri, and other papers found in a Milanese Red Brigades hideout, the evidence of mysterious trips and movements by the accused, the taps on his phone, and Red Brigades tape recordings.

The second point deals with "ideological enunciations put out by Negri since 1971, inciting insurrection...enunciations whose content reappears in the pamphlets of the Red Brigades and of similar armed gangs, as well as in leaflets claiming responsibility for criminal acts." It is appropriate to report here some of the quotes, taken from the speeches, conferences and writings of the professor, which (Prosecuting Judge) Callucci considers evidence:

"Insurrection is the rationality of a materialist and dialectical point of view confronted with the desperate irrationality of repression....In this jungle of the social fabric, the vanguard can today construct focal points of revolutionary struggle around which the masses of the exploited converge....To put into action all the mechanisms of an organization to realize these goals is our immediate task....Organization means the direct reappropriation of the existing wealth, to destroy it or to liberate intervention forces. To rebel, insurgency, is the dialectic link of every sequence of revolutionary action...."

The third point treats of the "obvious reappearance of such enunciations in the pamphlets, the leaflets, and the communiqués signed by the Red Brigades and other such subversive organizations."