

CHAPTER 48

THE SITUATION IN THE FACTORIES - 1980

by Ed Emery

When journalists and employers talk about the “crisis of the motor industry”, they often blame the “idle workers”. The trade unions, on the other hand, run to say that the workers are not idle, that they are keen to produce, and that the fault lies with corrupt and inefficient management.

In the big industrial concentrations of Northern Italy, industrial discipline has broken down in many large factories – showing itself in open contempt for management, growing levels of absenteeism, sabotage and various forms of violence against management representatives. This is particularly true in factories like the FIAT-Mirafiori and FIAT-Rivalta car plants.

In other words, the system of the large assembly line factory (the system that represented the most advanced point of capitalism’s brutality against the working class) has broken down. The image of the “honest, hardworking worker, accepting the power of the masters” has given way to a new image. The old composition of the working class has changed. The working class in the factory is now exercising its power against the employers and the capitalist system. And the newspapers, radio and TV go to town, claiming that the “honest worker” has been transformed into longhaired hippies making love in empty car-bodies and displaying complete contempt for work, for the trade unions, and for the Party.

From what we write below it is clear that there is a new behaviour of the working class at FIAT. The old system of exploitation is being challenged. The employer tries to find new ways to impose his domination. The choice now is between a further advance towards workers’ power in the factories (and in society), or a return to “factory barbarism”, with the employers in control.

This is a situation which must interest workers everywhere. How and why we can deprive the employers of their “right to manage” – a right which they never had, and which they can only exercise over us when the power balance is in their favour.

In what follows, in case anyone thinks we are over-stating the case, we have tried to draw on many sources in order to cross-check – newspapers, employers’ reports and accounts by fellow workers (We are grateful to H.P. for making available the information and translations contained here.)

A DESCRIPTION OF THE FIAT-MIRAFIORI FACTORY

The newspaper *La Repubblica* (21 February 1980) published the following description of the Mirafiori plant: “Mirafiori is the biggest city-factory in the world.

It occupies a huge rectangle just outside the centre of Turin. The short side looks out over Corso Giovanni Agnelli [named after FIAT's owner], a wide road leading up into the valley of Pinerolo. Corso Agnelli joins Corso Unione Sovietica [Soviet Union Avenue] just outside the plant – a broad, **^A-mile** avenue leading directly into Turin's city centre.

“The plant has a surface area of three million square metres, half of which is covered by factory buildings. The surrounding wall is **4%** miles long, broken by 32 gates. In the early '70s you could read the slogans of the workers' battles, written in letters often a yard and a half high, down the factory walls: “The only music the bosses can hear is the sound of shutdown machinery”; “We want the sun in Turin too!”; “Agnelli to the presses, the workers to the hills”.

“Inside Mirafiori there are over 30 miles of railway tracks, and almost 120 miles of conveyor lines. (One of these conveyors still has 60 radiators belonging to the old FIAT 600 model, forgotten for more than ten years, going round the factory. Nobody knows how to get them down without stopping the whole factory.)

“There are 13,000 pieces of machinery, ranging from the simplest to the most complicated, and 666 stamping-presses (the biggest are the size of a small family house and they make a hell of a din).

“The energy consumed at Mirafiori is equivalent to burning 290,000 tonnes of oil per year.

[INSERT PICTURE – WORKERS AND FLAG]

“From this city of iron, cement and machinery, up to 3,000 vehicles a day can be produced between six in the morning and ten at night. Nearly three cars a minute, one every 25 seconds. This, at least, is what FIAT publications claim. Today, though, only 1,500-1,700 emerge every day, one every 35 seconds.

“In the past, this city-factory is reputed to have held as many as 65,000 workers. We cannot be sure how many work there today. The Communist Party talks of 57,000, but according to FIAT there are nearer 59,000. The Company explains that in the auto sector (power-train, body and assembly) there are 44,000 workers today, of whom 7,000 (16% of the total) are women. There are 10,500 white collar workers, of whom 2,500 are women. In the Foundry there are 900 white collar workers (250 women) and 3,500 manual workers (40 women). That makes a total of 58,930: a fair-size provincial town. 70% of the workers are between 25 and 45 years of age (the percentage is more or less equal for men and women). 20% of male workers and only 9% of female workers fall into the 20-25 age group. Approximately one in two workers at Mirafiori is between 20 and 35 years old. Workers above the age of 45 are less than 9% of the total.

“It is inside Mirafiori, this vast ‘city-factory’, that the famous breakdown of discipline has shown itself most strongly.”

RELATIONS WITH FOREMEN

The “small” foremen, chargehands and team leaders have apparently taken the main brunt of the punishment. They are in the front line. They work directly with workers, but they are representatives of management. FIAT foremen are scared. They no longer know where they fit in, or what the future holds for them. Foremen have been particular targets, not only for the insults and anger of the workers, but also for the terrorist groups such as the Red Brigades and Prima Linea (‘Front Line’). Between 1973 and early 1980, terrorists have hit 20 times at Mirafiori. 14 foremen have been wounded. The result is, naturally enough, terror in their ranks.

The following quotes come from an interview with a FIAT foreman, who wished to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals:

“We just have to take it. . . I've always been alright, personally. They haven't even set fire to my car – probably because I always take a different route to work and always park in a different place.

“We foremen have given up. All that's missing is for us to start going sick – but in effect, we might as well. I know that if a customer has brakes which don't work, or a scratched piston, it's our fault as well. But it's become hard to behave by the rule book... When someone asks me who I am and where I work, I don't know how to answer. Am I a foreman? No. Not any more. I'm just someone who does his job badly, or rather, who doesn't know what his job is.”

The words of this foreman-who-is-no-longer-a-foreman are echoed by others:

“Look, strictly speaking it's against the rules to have more than 3 people working on one body. It's been shown that the work done is sub-standard, that confusion results, and then the whole body has to be returned to repair. But the foremen are not here to get discipline respected. You don't necessarily see the violence, but it's here, everywhere. It's present in the fact that we've given up command. We come to some sort of agreement, and get on as best we can. ”

The young workers themselves explain the thing in different terms: Mario, 22 years old, Mirafiori Body Plant, talking about relations with foremen:

“On the lines there are people who can quote Foucault (a psychologist) and the creeps explode with rage because they haven't even heard of him. Then there are the gays. They blow them kisses and write ‘Long Live Renato Zero’ (a pop singer) on the walls. Others roll a joint and laugh like they're crazy-high. The feminists, too, giggle every time a men tries to give them orders. The FIAT foremen have never seen the workers laughing, and they get really angry.”

THE SACKING OF “THE FIAT 61”: OCTOBER 1979

On 9 October 1979, 61 FIAT workers in Turin received disciplinary letters from the Company. They were to be sacked, for reasons of behaviour not consistent with the well-being of the Company. Specific charges were not drawn up, as yet. The implication, as reported in the newspapers, was that they were being sacked for armed action and terrorism in the factories. The fact, though, was that they were chosen as scapegoats – the behaviour of which they were accused was commonplace among very many workers in the 10 years since the Hot Autumn

of 1969. FIAT achieved a number of things by sacking these workers: it creamed off a good part of the political leadership in the factories to the left of the Communist Party; it created the fear of sacking among other militants; it divided the unions on the question of whether and how these workers should be defended; and it opened the way to the mass sackings of September 1980.

However, the charge sheet drawn up by the Company against these workers gives some idea of the extent of breakdown of discipline in the car factories. To a certain extent the charges are Company propaganda – but they relate to things that have clearly been happening in the factories, as testified in interviews with FIAT workers.

[a] The ‘Cortei’, or Internal Marches

A total of 29 episodes of alleged violence occurred during the course of *cortei* and demonstrations. Three of the workers, nicknamed the Red Kerchief Band (because of their habit of covering their faces during demonstrations) are accused of having been “armed with iron bars” and of committing “acts of violence on foremen and office workers” during *cortei* on the days of 6 and 11 July 1979. 25 of the sacked workers are accused of intimidating workers not taking part in the marches. Another worker is accused of forcing foremen and office workers to carry banners and placards and march at the head of the *cortei*.

[INSERT PICTURE – THE FIAT FACTORY]

[b] Verbal and Non-Verbal Intimidation

35 charges of intimidation, mostly involving insults to foremen, who were the subject of such remarks as: jackal, clown, parasite, worm, slave, idiot and turd. Some more sinister remarks were also reported: “We’ll shorten your legs for you”; “I’ve never known so many people so happy to die young”; “Our organisation knows your car number plate and address”.

[c] Sabotage

Sabotage exists at FIAT, like in any other car plant. It ranges from a simple lack of interest in work (the papers call this “collective sabotage”: “This practice is based on a sort of negative cooperation which, by adding absent-mindedness to absent-mindedness during the production and quality control of a component, progressively reduces it to waste”) to acts requiring a greater degree of dedication and imagination. (“At Rivalta, in the Paint Shop, a new form of sabotage with highly artistic value has been invented, the result being a series of multi-coloured FIAT 128s, which would probably have pleased and excited Andy Warhol, but did less for Agnelli, despite his well-known passion for modern art”).

Specific sabotage charges regarding machinery were not brought against the 61, but the practice is widespread. It takes traditional as well as novel forms: the incorporation of minor but irritating defects into the finished vehicle; “inexplicable” machinery breakdowns; pure vandalism, in the shape of rows of shiny new cars with broken windscreen wipers etc.

[d] Self-Reduction of Work

There are 49 charges under this heading, most of which involve arriving at work late, leaving work early, and general negligence. One worker was accused of having “frequently abandoned his place of work, and working insufficiently, with very poor quality”. Several others are charged with having left their work stations to go to the General Foreman’s office, where they “would suddenly open the door and start beating noisily with iron bars and hammers on empty bins brought along for that purpose, or on pieces of metal found in the area”. Another worker was charged that, when reprimanded for doing sub-standard work, he replied: “Just the fact of getting up in the morning and coming into work more than justifies the wages I get.”

The news magazine *L’Espresso* sent a journalist into the plant, who commented on the atmosphere of “non-work”: “Non-work... something peculiar but real. At any one moment the people intent on work, screwing in bolts and assembling mudguards are few. Many others are walking up and down the line with the slightly distracted air of one marking time. Every 10-12 yards there are benches, like park benches, where an old worker sits reading the *Sport Gazette*, a youth younger than 20 leafs through strip cartoons, and two girls chat in low voices”. Of course, the appearance of slow-moving production can be deceptive – but it appears that at FIAT the lower work pressures are real.

[e] ‘Creative’ Sabotage

This charge involves the carrying out of alternative activities in the factory. For example, one worker was accused of setting up an “alternative canteen” in the ; plant. He took over an area near where he worked, and regularly used it “to cook food destined for an alternative restaurant”. Another worker has been accused of “abandoning his work station, sometimes for long periods of time, during which he sold table cloths and sheets”. In the words of one Communist Party maintenance worker: “FIAT-Mirafiori is like a giant flea market. Here you can buy anything short of a railway train – and that’s only because they couldn’t get it into the factory! Contraband tobacco, tights, biros, ties, food. I know someone who comes in in the morning with 30 rolls, and during the break he goes round selling them. Then there’s the fellow in the Press Shop, who was cooking food: the alternative canteen he called it, with meals at 2,000 lire (£1) a head!”

[f] The Organisation of Non-Union Struggles

Twenty-one of the 61 were also charged with leading unofficial action in the plant. Three were charged with having organised, between them, “more than 120 stoppages, causing loss of production and suspension of work activities on the line”.

It is this sort of unofficial action which often develops into “internal marches” (*cortei*): “There are two sorts of demonstrations dear to the hearts of the young workers: the silent procession of 50-100 people which suddenly, unanimously stops work in one section and walks through into another, breaking glass and cases as they go; or the big, violent, carnival procession, in which they advance, beating spanners against car panels and herding the foremen ahead with kicks up the backside. In both cases the demonstrations are against and outside the control of the Union.” (*L’Espresso*, October 1979)

[g] Love in the Factory

One of the things that has scandalised the Press is that workers actually make love in the factory. Apparently it's quite common to find used condoms littering empty car bodies. "Some years ago, a personnel chief was shocked to hear that a man and a woman had been discovered making love on the back seat of a FIAT 130 in the plant ("A 130! Our flagship! A 3-litre engine!") Now this sort of thing is not in the least surprising. One tries not to see it, but the evidence is there: closed doors, couples disappearing for minutes on end, used condoms littering the floor" (*La Repubblica*). "Yes, of course there are those who screw. There are a lot of women in the factory now, and when straw is left near a fire..."

[h] The Organisation of Violence

The most serious charges – against 23 of the 61 sacked – are of participating in violent groups. Six have been charged with propagandising armed nuclei inside the factory. FIAT apparently believes that these forms of action can be laid at the doors of a few members of a few political groups – despite the obvious evidence that these forms of struggle have been used repeatedly by workers since the hot days of 1969-70. In the words of one personnel officer: "Yes, we've got the Red Brigades in here, and Workers' Autonomy too. But it's difficult to isolate them, to find out who they are. We only find out about sabotage, for example, later, as it filters back from the retailers. We can't find out who they are, so we can't do anything about it."

CONTROLLING WORK LOADS

In general, production rhythms at Mirafiori are fairly relaxed. In the words of a FIAT official: "They have about 40 minutes per day break-time, on average, which they can take when they want... There is a certain number of substitute workers (we call them 'jokers', because they can substitute anywhere in the pack) who take over. So, you see, there is an informal control over the break-times they take. And, as you see, the work timings are not very fast. Workers can choose whether to take a rest, perhaps smoke a cigarette between jobs, or whether to accumulate time and take a longer break later on."

[INSERT PICTURE – SPANNERS FLOWER]

A Mirafiori shop steward told us:

"That's a sign of our strength. We're proud of it". Before, the immigrants from the South, who were new to the factory, would get very nervous when the time and motion men came round with their stop-watches. Now, of course, the attitude is completely different. They have to be grateful if they see any work at all. In some the cases the time and motion men have to negotiate with the shop stewards first, to catch them working."

Since the 1971 FIAT national agreement, the shop stewards (*delegati*) have the right to negotiate any changes in production practice – the number of direct workers and relief-workers, the number of pieces to be produced etc. In addition to this increased control over timings, there have also been big gains in official break-time. All workers now have the right to 40 minutes over and above the half-hour meal break. Most enjoy other break periods as well, negotiated on the basis

of their particular working conditions; most Foundry workers, for example, where work is among the most physically demanding and damaging to health, have the right to 3 x 30 minutes rest time, in addition to the meal break. There has been a drastic reduction in the actual time worked, per worker.

But, contrary to what the newspapers would have us believe, this “non-work” is not just the result of individual “anarchism” in the factory. It is also the result of years of successful struggle aimed at improving conditions and reducing hours in the factory.

Struggle Politics

In any war the generals need to know the strength and make-up of the forces they are fighting against. They also need to know the strength and composition of their own forces. This is equally true in the class war. The trade unions and the Left movement in Turin are very concerned today to analyse and understand the changing strength and composition of the class forces fighting FIAT. Their studies make interesting reading.

In the past 2 years FIAT has taken on 10,000 new workers, after a period in which new starters were blocked. These have been a particular kind of worker, and have resulted in changes probably at least as important as the changes provoked by the influx of young, Southern Italian immigrants in the 1960s (the years of expansion, when 20,000 new workers were taken on).

From 1974 onwards there had been very little recruitment; turnover was nothing like replaced (natural wastage); and employment at FIAT had been dropping steadily – at a rate of 12,000 a year, according to some estimates.

In the meantime, the laws governing the procedures for taking on new workers had changed. Previously new workers were often taken on through a system of “recommendation” – often through the local priest. But FIAT was now forced to accept workers sent down by the *ufficio di collocamento* – the equivalent of the British Job Centre. The result was that the new workers were a fairly accurate cross-section of the unemployed in Turin: mainly young; more highly educated than the previous intake (often with high school and university behind them); in search of a first job, and with a very high proportion of women (about 65%). Unlike in Britain, the trade unions have not fought to keep women off the car assembly lines.

So, this mass influx was not a repeat of the *Treno del Sole* (“Train from the Sun”) of the 1960s, when thousands of young male southern immigrants arrived at Turin’s Porta Nuova station, with cardboard suitcases containing the last fragmentary mementos of agricultural life in the South. The new workers, although they are often of Southern descent, have lived their lives in the suburbs of the big city. The men are mainly young (65% of them are under the age of 25) and the women tend to be older (a reflection of the real structure of unemployment, as many women look for jobs as their children reach school age).

CHANGES IN THE FACTORY

The newspapers draw a picture of the giant factory in the grip of violent and unpredictable youth, and trace FIAT’s present ungovernability to the recent labour intake. But the forms of struggle for which they are blamed – the “micro-conflictuality” of non-union-led struggles, the violent internal marches, the blockading of goods and many others – are a heritage of struggle that has been

developing since 1968-9, long before the intake of the 10,000 new workers (even though they are used and developed, often with great enthusiasm, by the new workers).

Many of the new intake of workers had experienced the upsurge of the youth movement of 1977-8; many had been students in high schools and colleges; some had experienced the revolutionary Left organisations; some had contact or involvement with the women's movement and feminist ideas. The boredom of the assembly line was not an attractive proposition. Unquestioning obedience to lower-range management was not how they saw the world. These workers hoped to move on to greater things sooner rather than later – for many of them the FIAT factory was not a long-term proposition. Their sense of being more educated and intelligent than lower-level management made plant discipline harder to enforce. The factory and work were not their only world – music, clubs and life outside the factory were just as important. All this leads to an attempt to escape from the factory, to escape from its discipline. This is reflected in the levels of absenteeism at FIAT.

ABSENTEEISM FROM WORK... AND ABSENTEEISM FROM THE STRUGGLE

Absenteeism from work is high at Mirafiori – although not as high as the record levels reached at the Alfa Romeo plant in Naples. This is a worry for the employers.

But the trade unions and militants face another worry – the absenteeism from the struggle. At Mirafiori, the older generation (those who have lived the ten years of struggle since the “Hot Autumn” of 1969) accuse the younger workers of individualism:

“We hoped that the new workers would bring with them a fresh wave of struggle, but it's still the old ones, from 10 years back, who have to try and convince the young ones to stick with us. It's always us, with 10, 30 years of factory work behind us, who are here during the struggles.”

“...The young people have other interests. They're not interested in the factory, you see. They even climb over the walls, you see (trans. note: during strikes). And it's us older ones who have to stand firm. They don't seem to understand that we're playing for everything here in the factory, for our working rights. They know that we're struggling for them as well.”

The point is that when the unions call strikes for issues of “national importance”, the younger workers often do not participate. This does not mean that the younger workers are not politically involved. There is a big disillusionment with the Union. For example, for the way that the union did not rally to the support of the 61 workers sacked in 1979. Or the statement by a leading Communist trade unionist that FIAT's 1978/79 labour intake was “scraping the bottom of the barrel”. Or the fact that the Works Committees have tended to dissolve into inaction and ineffectiveness, answerable to nobody but themselves.

[INSERT PICTURE – KICKING]

But the younger workers have also been absent from local, in-plant issues. On one occasion thousands of Mirafiori workers were laid off as a result of a strike in the Paint Shop. The workers, as on other occasions, moved “instinctively” to blockade the factory gates, stopping movement of goods, and keeping workers in the plant. But a new factor emerged – the young ones tried to “escape” – they looked for ways to get round the picket lines, or climbed over the factory walls to escape into the city.

At the same time, though, FIAT union officials make it clear that the internal forms of struggle over specific issues have not fallen off (e.g. where brief strikes over specific issues develop into internal marches, *cortei*, informal meetings and short occupations). The younger workers are active over questions concerning the organisation of work and problems of the working environment. In the words of one trade union official:

“I wouldn't say there has been a drop in the level of participation in struggles. The young are interested in different things: they are particularly interested in questions related to the organisation of work. There's a noticeable increase in activity over this. They've got a much higher level of schooling, they feel the alienation in the factory much more strongly than the older workers. They don't want to go on working in the same position for years. They very quickly look for a new job. ”

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO LEFT POLITICS?

Does this new composition of the working class find its organised expression in the left-wing organisations? We would say no. For a start, the organisations of the revolutionary Left are almost wholly absent, in any organised sense. Lotta Continua – who best represented the workers' struggles at FIAT in the years following 1969 – dissolved in 1977. Workers' Autonomy, the federated non-party network that was the best expression of the post-1977 Movement, has been battered into the ground by judicial and police state repression. Individual members of those movements have had to keep their heads down in the factory, and some of the best were sacked with “the 61”.

At a political level, there is a disillusionment with the revolutionary Left groupings both inside and outside of Parliament. Although this Left has been the biggest in Western Europe, it has failed to advance and consolidate, either in electoral terms, or in its influence in society. In many of the groups, a narrow definition of Marxism and Leninism has also led to a mistrust of the culture and practice of the growing layers of unemployed, and underemployed and variously-employed young people – so they have become still further isolated.

As for the Communist Party (which has been advancing and consolidating), not only does it fail to attract the young and “marginalised” – it is also in the front line in persecuting them. The Party is so concerned to establish its image as a super-respectable governing Party that it has taken up a more radical Law and Order stance than many right-wing parties. The result is that it hounds any radical, deviant behaviour – often to the extent of denunciation to the police. The Party is also dedicated to restoring Law and Order in the factories: the factories are a place to produce. Productivity is a great slogan of the Communist Party today. Anyone who does not identify with productivity becomes an enemy of socialist society, in the Party's eyes. In the words of a CP maintenance engineer from FIAT-Mirafiori:

"So, you go and try to explain things to the young ones. If you tell them that work dignifies a man, they laugh in your face. But there is a bit of truth in that. At least work helps you not to be idle, helps you to create. Of course, the main part of the gain goes to your exploiter. But it's in work that you see the weight that you have as a human being, and your ability to use this weight against the employer, to help your class to free itself, to go from being exploited to being the producer, who decides (as Enrico Berlinguer would say) what to produce, and how. I have been doing this for years, and I'm lucky. My idealism saves me. It enables me to avoid bad thoughts. It prevents me from thinking (like that foreman said) 'FIAT is a shit-hole factory'. I would never say that! It's a very short step from saying FIAT's a shit-heap, to becoming a Red Brigader..."

However, many factors are going to change the political outlook of workers, both young and old, in the FIAT factories. The general economic decline will increase unemployment, particularly among the young; this will alter attitudes towards remaining in the factory. One result of the higher unemployment has been more young people staying in higher education – so that when they find their first job in the car factories, they are ready to fight for new things and in new ways. The reduction in public spending will reduce the number of public service jobs available for the more educated young people – therefore more will probably stay in the factory. And inside the plants, the increasing levels of new technology are going to lead to more and more de-skilling of the workforce – so that the new automation will increase the tensions and strains of soul-destroying life in the factory. All this will add to making for new possibilities of politics in the FIAT factories.

But far and away the most important factor in changing the political behaviour of the FIAT workers will be the outcome of the mass struggle against the Company's redundancy plans in 1980-1. This struggle has already led to new forms of struggle and new levels of solidarity, both inside and outside the factories.

AND FINALLY....

And finally, here are some comments by some of the "new workers" of 1978-9, about how they see the factory:

"Anyway, we young ones go into the factory with a different kind of experience, a less serious way of seeing things; a bit of the outside world comes into the factory with us, and even if it doesn't change it, this feeling exists... Perhaps we've got a different way of seeing our lives. The 8 hours we spend in the factory are like between brackets. When you get out, even if you're a bit tired, you don't go home. For example, I buy about two books every week. I'm interested in psychology, even though for the moment I've no intention of going to university. Many of the others are already at university... I think a lot of them already have diplomas or study in the evenings.

"We work as workers, but we're not. I, at least, don't feel like a worker. I'm hoping to get out fairly soon, and anyway after the first fortnight I'd organised my work as I wanted it without getting too worried about it, and no-one says anything. On the assembly line where I work, for example, there are no fixed work stations. You can change over. So, first thing in the morning there's a scramble for the quietest jobs. They even play cards for it... All of this allows us to regulate our effort to a certain extent..." And as for the idea of the "progressive working class vanguard" at FIAT, a woman worker comments:

"I thought I knew the mythic working class. I've met some chauvinists here who look at my arse, make heavy remarks if I tell them I've been singing and playing guitar with my friends... As soon as I can I'm getting out."

And another:

"A woman on the line is never alone. There's always a queue of males who take it in turns to go and tease her, tell jokes, you know, irritate her. And I'm not prepared to hang round listening to these people. A comrade who came to see me on the line said: 'You've got a fairly cold relationship with the people in your section'. 'Yes', I said, 'but that's the way I wanted it'. And he says: 'No, no, you should talk with them, discuss things.' But what would I discuss – cunt and prick? Because they don't want to know about anything else."

And a young worker from the Press Shop at Mirafiori:

"Look at me, look at me well. My gym-shoes say discotheque; my shirt says 'extremist'; I've got the hair of a pop-singer; and an ear-ring like a homosexual. Nothing about me says 'worker'! Why? Because those who work with me are dead men, the living dead, working corpses, and if anyone comes into our department, I want them to see that I'm different."

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