

Antonio Negri, 1933-2023

Sandro Mezzadra

For Toni Negri. Notes towards a biography of his work.

I.

Faced with Toni Negri's work, consisting of dozens of books and hundreds of articles written over a period of seventy years, the search for some criteria for interpretation is as necessary as it is arduous.¹ In a beautiful interview, conducted by Vittorio Morfino and Elia Zaru in 2018, Negri essentially accepted the division of his thought into three main phases, marked respectively by the dominant presence of Marx, that of Spinoza, and the confrontation with Deleuze, Guattari and Foucault.² However, it is clear that Negri's Marx in the 1960s is very different from that of the 1970s, while his work on Spinoza is also intertwined, in terms of time, with his dialogue with contemporary French philosophy. More than forty years passed between the publication of Negri's first major book on Spinoza, written in prison and published in 1981, and his death, most notably marked by his encounter with Michael Hardt and the writing of *Empire*, which also constituted an important turning point from a philosophical point of view. Moreover, from the outset, Negri's intellectual work has been, in an irreducible way, an expression of radical militancy and political passion – he chose to title his autobiography *Story of a Communist*. Other turning points marked his life: *Quaderni rossi*, *Potere Operaio*, Workers' Autonomy, the great French strikes of 1995, the global movement between Seattle and Genova, his involvement in the Latin American struggles and the debates of the last twenty years, to name but a few. It is in this sense that, in his own words, 'the presence of Marx holds all the phases together' in his thinking.³

In sketching a brief profile of Negri's formidable tra-

jectory, I would like to try to weave together the plane of theory and the plane of militancy that he himself taught us to keep united, even in conditions that have changed drastically throughout his life (both for historical and biographical reasons). Let us begin by remembering that Negri was not born as a Marxist. In the cultural climate of the University of Padua, where he enrolled in the Faculty of Philosophy in 1952, his studies focused rather on classical themes of German philosophy, to which he dedicated his first three books: historicism, the young Hegel, Kantian legal formalism and its post-revolutionary twists.⁴ These are important works, destined to leave a lasting mark. From Wilhelm Dilthey, in particular, Negri takes up a concept of historicity and historical expression that would long shape his thinking, while his research on the origins of legal formalism forms a solid basis for his essential work of critique of law in the 1960s and 1970s. The philosophy of law, in the particular form that it took in Italian universities in those years under the name of *Dottrina dello Stato* (State Doctrine), was in any case the main field in which Negri's theoretical work was carried out between the 1950s and the beginning of the following decade. It was his socialist political militancy and, above all, his encounter with the working class of Porto Marghera that determined a first turning point in his studies. 'I was a communist before I was a Marxist', Negri often said. But he became a Marxist shortly afterwards, studying in particular the first book of *Capital* and verifying its categories and analyses in the factory through 'militant inquiry' and continuous discussion with those workers who, in the Veneto region in the early 1960s, were discovering exploitation and reinventing class struggle. The result was a reading of Marx that was very different from that of Frankfurt or Althusser, to mention two of the most influential in Europe in the 1960s.

This was the time when Italian workerism was born, through magazines such as *Quaderni rossi* (1961-1966) and *Classe operaia* (1964-1967), to which Negri contributed passionately, engaging in debates with Raniero Panzieri, Mario Tronti, Romano Alquati and Guido Bianchini, among others, and contributing to outlining the profile of a new working-class subject. Meanwhile, his reading of Marx also reoriented his work in the field of law, as can be seen in particular in a long essay on labour and the Constitution, written in 1964 but published more than ten years later.⁵ Drawing on fundamental ideas from Italian and German constitutional doctrine, Negri traces here the many ways in which capital is forced to confront the insurgency of the working class and the proletariat, transferring to the state and the Constitution – and thus socialising – the set of contradictions that constitute it. This laid the foundations for the interventions of the 1970s in the debates on the Marxist theory of the state, while a series of historical studies on the origins of the modern state would be taken up many years later in a book such as *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State*.⁶ This is one of the most important aspects of Negri's work, which combines a militant rejection of socialist reformism with regard to the state with the identification of specific lines of crisis within the latter (in particular in the figure he defines as the 'planner-state'), which would only emerge clearly in the context of the debates on globalisation.

II.

If the encounter with the working class in Marghera had already introduced a discontinuity in this first phase of Negri's trajectory, placing the confrontation with Marx at its centre, the red biennium of 1968/69 – the combination of global student uprisings and worker uprisings in the factories of northern Italy – marked a further turning point, fraught with political, theoretical and even biographical consequences. During the long Italian 1968, militancy became for Negri, as it did for thousands of women and men, a criterion for reinventing life. There is continuity here with the 'workerist' experience of previous years, but there are also new features. With the birth of *Potere operaio* (Workers' Power), militancy became political in every sense, building on the assumption that the possibility of a communist revolution in Italy

had in fact opened up. Within a few years, a debate took place within that organisation, which was certainly not without simplifications and voluntaristic accelerations, but was extremely advanced on issues such as the relationship between mass struggles and party action, the transformations in class composition driven by the great struggles of 1969, and the use of violence. The story of *Potere Operaio* came to an end in 1973, when, on the initiative of Negri and some autonomous assemblies of factories in the north, the development of *Autonomia operaia* (Workers' autonomy) gained momentum.

At the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, Negri had turned the Institute of State Doctrine at the University of Padua into a sort of collective brain at the service of the movement. It is a story yet to be written, in which figures such as Alisa Del Re and Maria Rosa Della Costa, Luciano Ferrari Bravo and Ferruccio Gambino participated. The practice of militant inquiry spanned research projects of great academic importance and, at the same time, were resolutely militant, while two series published by Feltrinelli – 'Materiali marxisti' (Marxist Materials) and 'Opuscoli marxisti' (Marxist Pamphlets) – ensured the publication of texts produced within the Padua Institute (including those by Negri) and the documentation of international debate. In the Institute Negri held a course ('33 lessons') on Lenin in 1972/73. The book that collects these lectures offers a particularly effective point of view on his political militancy during those years, not least because – conceived from within the experience of *Potere operaio* – it was published in 1977, four years after the group's dissolution and while the experience of organised Workers' autonomy was in full swing.⁷ *Factory of Strategy: 33 Lessons on Lenin*, moreover, exalts Lenin's drive for theoretical and political innovation against any dogmatic reading of Leninism, and offers a set of original considerations on the relationship between the autonomous dynamics of struggles and their political direction, which was at the centre of debates in the Italian movement at the time.

For Negri, who moved to Milan and coordinated the editorial work of the magazine *Rosso*, the years of Autonomy were as frenetic from a political point of view as they were fruitful from a theoretical point of view. The hypothesis of the 'socialised worker' anticipates the end of the centrality of the factory and attempts to interpret it in an offensive way, as a new opportunity, betting on

the social diffusion – in neighbourhoods, in the service sector, in ways of life – of the struggles and behaviours of workers that had thrown ‘Fordism’ into crisis.⁸ Marx is bent here toward an antagonistic reading of the socialisation of the capital relation, following an interpretative line developed in the Paris seminars of 1978 and then in *Marx beyond Marx*.⁹ If, as mentioned above, the dimension of workers’ subjectivity was already at the centre of Negri’s research in the 1960s, now – outside the factory – it is a question of grasping a plurality of processes of subjectivation that displace Marxist analysis and communist politics. To register this dislocation and yet to persist tenaciously in the requalification of both: this, in the end, is the working programme that Negri would follow in the decades to come. His research in the 1970s, moreover, presents other aspects that would leave a lasting mark on his thinking: to mention just one, the revival of the workerist theme of ‘refusal of work’ – of sabotage, strikes, direct action – takes on an affirmative tone even in the most militant writings, foreshadowing his later work on the concept of ‘constituent power’. The refusal of work, we read for example in *Domination and Sabotage*, is the ‘content of the process of self-valorisation’, whose goal is ‘the complete liberation of living labour, in production and reproduction, is the complete utilisation of wealth in the service of collective freedom’.¹⁰

III.

Negri’s arrest on 7 April 1979 was part of a major judicial operation against the Autonomy, which led to the imprisonment of hundreds of militants on the basis of hyperbolic and specious charges. It is not necessary here to reconstruct this event, which nevertheless constitutes a turning point of great importance in Italian history.¹¹ More importantly, it should be emphasised that the arrests of 7 April took place in a context of militarisation of the conflict by armed organisations and an overall retreat of the workers’ struggles, confirmed the following year by an epoch-making defeat at Fiat. Thus ended the long Italian 1968, and Negri lived in prison (until his election on the Radical Party list in 1983) the beginning of a veritable ‘counter-revolution’, destined to completely reorganise social and political relations in the country, within an international context marked by the victories of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom (1979) and

Ronald Reagan in the United States (1980). Despite the harsh conditions of imprisonment in those years, Negri never stopped working. His first book on Spinoza, *The Savage Anomaly*, was written in high-security prisons and also constitutes a philosophical diary of the struggles of previous years and an attempt to lay new foundations for those to come.¹² Sure, Spinoza would henceforth be a fundamental reference point for Negri – suffice it to think of the category of ‘multitude’ with which he began to work in his 1981 book – but he understood Spinoza’s thought within an axis that led from Machiavelli to Marx, configuring a radical materialist alternative within modernity. *The Savage Anomaly* marks a discontinuity in his career, but his departure from dialectics and his insistence on the ontologically constitutive dimension of politics had been prepared by his engagement with Marx’s *Grundrisse* and by his own reflection on the concepts of autonomy and self-valorisation – as well as on the terrain of temporality.¹³

Arriving in Paris to escape a new arrest in 1983, Negri began – in exile – another particularly fruitful period of his life. His engagement with the thought of Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, and his friendship with the latter in particular, initiated a profound renewal of his thinking.¹⁴ From a philosophical point of view, his early years in Paris were characterised by work on affirmative ontology, including through his work on Giacomo Leopardi and the Book of Job, while a 1987 volume – *Fabbriche del Soggetto* (Factory of the Subject) – revisited his reflection on Marx’s category of real subsumption, exploring its implications in the face of the emerging new capitalist formation.¹⁵ But these were also the years in which Negri prepared one of his most important books, *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State*, a compelling reconstruction of the revolutionary thought and practice that traverse and fracture Western modernity. Here, as already mentioned, the themes addressed in his research on the origins of the modern state return, filtered through the new sensibility he developed in his study of Spinoza. A powerful tension invests concepts such as democracy, sovereignty and constitution, while constituent power asserts itself as a practice that runs through great texts and revolutionary uprisings, keeping the possibility of revolution constantly open.¹⁶

These years in Paris, however, were also marked by joint work with researchers such as Antonella Corsani

and Maurizio Lazzarato, with whom Negri relaunched (and appropriately updated) the workerist method of militant inquiry. This resulted in very important research work on the transformations of labour and public spaces in the Paris metropolitan area, in which concepts such as that of the 'pool of immaterial labour' were tested, the first piece of an analysis of the transformations of capital and labour after the end of Fordism that Negri would continue until his final years, with constant attention to the metropolitan dimension.¹⁷ It was around these themes that a new season of Negri's militancy took shape.

The founding of the journal *Futur Antérieur* in 1990 with Jean-Marie Vincent and Denis Berger established a platform for dialogue between Italian Marxism of the workerist tradition and some of the most interesting strands of French Marxism, making possible a political intervention open to major themes of international debate (*Futur Antérieur* published texts by Donna Haraway and Lula, the future President of Brazil). The great French strikes of 1995 were a crucial turning point for Negri, who saw them as a test of some of his working hypotheses and as a foreshadowing of a new form of metropolitan strike.¹⁸ In the meantime, he had resumed relations with part of the Italian autonomous movement (the Veneto movement) and, through a series of seminars held in Paris, the foundations had been laid for a new possibility of political intervention in Italy as well.¹⁹ When, in 1997, Negri decided to return to Italy, he knew that prison still awaited him, but he counted on the new political movements that had developed in previous years not only to settle the legal accounts of the 1970s but above all to open a new cycle of struggles. A magazine such as *Posse*, which Negri helped to found and edit upon his return to Italy, aimed to test this hypothesis, one that would find some confirmation in particular during the protests against the G8 summit in Genova in July 2001.²⁰

IV.

If we recall the melancholic tones with which much of the left discussed 'globalisation' and 'neoliberalism' in the 1990s, we can understand the rupture brought about by the publication of *Empire*.²¹ A new and audacious grand narrative overturns the meaning of globalisation processes, pointing to the combined thrust of workers' struggles and struggles against colonialism and imperial-

ism as the essential engine that drove capital to become global in the twentieth century. Written together with Michael Hardt, whom Negri had met several years earlier in Paris while Hardt was working on the English translation of *Anomalia selvaggia*, *Empire* certainly does not deny the harshness and violence of capital's domination, but – and this is a distinctive feature of Negri's entire trajectory – it moves towards the search for a subjective point of view that can effectively guarantee its critique and, indeed, its reversal. In this sense, the figure of the multitude definitively takes centre stage in Negri's research, who, together with Hardt, will openly rethink its relationship with class.²² Written in the second half of the 1990s, in a context completely different from the current conjuncture of global turmoil, *Empire* may seem outdated on several points (for example, the relationship between capital and war, or between Empire and imperialism). But the description of the processes of capitalist unification at the global level remains powerful and evocative, as does the tension towards the opening of new spaces for political action, which explains its wide resonance within the global movement that took shape between Seattle, Porto Alegre and Genoa. In particular, the thesis that internal political and legal relations must be analysed in analogy with the supranational dimension lays the foundations for a radical innovation in the way internationalism is understood, beyond the logic of an alliance or solidarity between movements on a national basis.²³

This last point offers a key to understanding an important aspect of Negri's biography over the last twenty years. When he regained his passport in 2003, he was seventy years old: drawing also on the success of *Empire*, he began to travel around Europe and then went to Canada, China and many other places; only the United States refused him entry. Above all, he travelled to Latin America, first to Brazil, but then to Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela. These were the years when the new 'progressive' Latin American governments were in power; and Negri participated in the debates that took place both within the governments and in the social movements that had paved the ground for those political experiences. Through his travels, many encounters and readings, he studied these experiences in order to derive lessons that could also be translated into different contexts, such as Italy and Europe: from a methodolo-

gical point of view, there is a profound innovation here with respect to the way in which workerism itself had conceived the relationships between different areas of the world. Another important book written with Hardt, *Commonwealth*, registers the displacements and enrichments that this attitude also produces on the level of theory.²⁴ The search for new political spaces in which to wage the struggle for liberation in a now globalised world led him to closely follow the integration processes underway in Latin America, in the attempt to establish a set of resonances with his radical Europeanism, which was at the centre of much controversy in France due to his position in favour of the European Constitution in the 2005 referendum.²⁵

Nonetheless, the encounter with Hardt left an indelible mark on the last twenty-five years of Negri's life. The many books they wrote together, on war and democracy, on the multitude and assembly, had an effect that partly transformed his own writing style.²⁶ Above all, they offered Negri a set of themes on which he continued

his research both individually and, above all, within the networks (such as Uninomade and Euronomade) that he helped to build in Italy and France – where he eventually returned to live, in Paris – to relaunch the workerist method of inquiry. As the years went by, instead of resting on what he had accomplished over a long and intense life, Negri became increasingly restless, dissatisfied and demanding with himself and with his comrades. In theoretical terms, his work on the themes of the common, cognitive capitalism and the multitudinous composition of contemporary living labour constantly confronted him with the need for practical verification (as well as leading him to work in an original way on Marx's category of 'fixed capital').²⁷ Politically, his passionate participation in the Spanish movement of 15 May 2011, as well as in the uprisings in the Maghreb and Mashreq and the subsequent cycle of 'Occupy' struggles, led him to formulate, together with Hardt, a series of hypotheses on the question of leadership, bringing it back within the dynamics of social movements and struggles.²⁸ Faced with the im-



Lecture by Antonio Negri as part of the Second Marx Autumn School, Berlin, November 21 2009. (Photograph by Rosa Luxemburg-Stiftung, Wikimedia Commons, Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license.)

passe and the defeats of these movements, however, he began to ask – on the basis of those same hypotheses – how to intertwine those dynamics and struggles with a ‘vertical’ dimension which, far from extinguishing their creativity, would enhance and multiply their power.²⁹ In fact, the effectiveness of transformative political action is a question that Negri kept reformulating, particularly in the face of the highest moments of struggle in France in recent years – from the rise of the yellow vests in 2018 to the movement against pension reform in 2023. It is perhaps not a coincidence, in this sense, that one of his latest writings was dedicated to Lenin.³⁰

V.

Concluding the third volume of his autobiography, published in 2020, Negri does not hesitate to assert that the world has been changing for the worse. ‘We are facing a resurgent fascism’, he writes, adding that ‘we must prepare ourselves for the extreme consequences to which fascism can lead: war’. Faced with this risk, which is more relevant today than ever, he reaffirms the radical nature of what he often called his communist desire: ‘We must rebel. We must resist. My life is coming to an end, and fighting after the age of eighty becomes difficult. But what remains of my soul leads me to this decision’. Toni is gone, but what remains with us is the testimony of a life and a body of work that call us to thought and action – to persevere in that ‘art of subversion and liberation’ that is constantly renewed through the generations, affirming the reasons for life against those for death.³¹

Sandro Mezzadra is Professor of Political Theory at the University of Bologna. He is author of, among other works, The Marxian Workshops: Producing Subjects (2018) and, with Brett Nielson, The Rest and the West: Capital and Power in a Multipolar World (2024).

Notes

1. This text was originally published in Italian in *Actuel Marx*, 2024/2, No. 76.
2. Vittorio Morfino and Elia Zaru, ‘*Storia, politica, filosofia. Intervista ad Antonio Negri*’, *Etica & Politica* 20:1 (2018), 200. However, bear in mind the three volumes of Negri’s autobiography (*Storia di un comunista, Galera ed esilio, Da Genova a domani*) published by Ponte alle Grazie, edited by Girolamo De Michele between 2015 and 2020 (the first

volume has come out in English from Eris Press in 2024: *Story of a Communist: A Memoir*, translated by Ed Emery). An extraordinary profile of Negri is that traced by Judith Revel, ‘Toni, singolare comune’, *EuroNomade*, 6 January 2024, <https://www.euronomade.info/toni-singolare-comune/>

3. Morfino and Zaru, ‘*Storia, politica, filosofia*’, 200.
4. See Antonio Negri, *Stato e diritto nel giovane Hegel. Studio sulla genesi illuministica della filosofia giuridica e politica di Hegel* (Padua: Cedam, 1958); Antonio Negri, *Saggi sullo storicismo tedesco: Dilthey e Meinecke* (Milan, Feltrinelli, 1959); Antonio Negri, *Alle origini del formalismo giuridico. Studio sul problema della forma in Kant e nei giuristi kantiani tra il 1789 e il 1802* (Padua: Cedam, 1962). But bear in mind Antonio Negri’s important translation of G.W.F. Hegel’s *Writings on the Philosophy of Right: Scritti di filosofia del diritto (1802-1803)* (Bari: Laterza, 1962).
5. See Negri, ‘Il lavoro nella Costituzione’ (1964) in *La forma Stato: Per la critica dell’economia politica della Costituzione* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1977), 27–110. This essay, as well as other key chapters of the book, is available in English in the first part of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Labor of Dionysus: A Critique of the State-Form* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).
6. See, in the first sense, Antonio Negri, *La forma Stato, Problemi di storia dello Stato moderno in Francia: 1610-1650*, in *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 22 (1967), 182–220; Negri *Political Descartes: Reason, Ideology, and the Bourgeois Project* (1970), eds. M. Mandarini and A. Toscano (London: Verso, 2007); and F. Borkenau, H. Grossmann, A. Negri, *Manifattura, società borghese, ideologia*, edited by P. Schiera (Rome: Savelli, 1978).
7. See Antonio Negri, *Factory of Strategy: Thirty-Three Lessons on Lenin* (1977), trans. A. Bove (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). As early as 1969, Negri had proposed the centrality of the ‘Lenin problem’ to *Potere Operaio*: see, ‘Cominciamo a dire Lenin’, in *Potere Operaio* I (2–9 October 1969), 3.
8. See Antonio Negri, *Dall’operaio massa all’operaio sociale: Intervista sull’operaismo* (Milano: Multhipla, 1979).
9. See Antonio Negri, *Marx Beyond Marx: Lessons on the Grundrisse* (1979), trans. H. Cleaver, M. Ryan and M. Viano, ed. J. Fleming (Brooklyn and London: Autonomedia/Pluto, 1991).
10. Antonio Negri, *Il dominio e il sabotaggio: Sul metodo marxista della trasformazione sociale* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1977), 55.
11. See, however, Antonio Negri et al, *Processo sette aprile: Padova trent’anni dopo* (Roma, Manifestolibri, 2009), which includes a text by Negri himself.
12. Antonio Negri, *The Savage Anomaly: The Power of*

Spinoza's *Metaphysics and Politics* (1981), trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

13. See in this regard Antonio Negri, *Macchina tempo: Rompicapi, costituzione, liberazione* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1982), and the revival of these themes in *Kairòs, Alma Venus, multitudine: Nove lezioni impartite a me stesso* (Roma: Manifestolibri, 2000).

14. See Felix Guattari and Antonio Negri, *Communists Like Us: New Spaces of Liberty: New Lines of Alliance* (1989) (New York / Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 1990).

15. See respectively Antonio Negri, *Flower of the Desert: Giacomo Leopardi's Poetic Ontology*, trans. T. S. Murphy, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015); *The Labour of Job: The Biblical Text as a Parable of Human Labour* (1990), trans. M. Mandarini (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); *Fabbriche del soggetto* (Livorno: Secolo 21, 1987).

16. Antonio Negri, *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State* (1992), trans. M. Bosagli (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

17. See 'Come gli asini nel deserto: Conversazione con Antonio Negri', in Antonio Negri, *L'inchiesta metropolitana*, eds. P. Do and A. De Nicola (Rome: Manifestolibri, 2023), 19–41.

18. See the contributions collected in issue 33/34 of *Futur Antérieur* (1996/1).

19. See Antonio Negri, *L'inverno è finito*, ed. B. Caccia (Roma: Castelvecchi, 1995).

20. See in this regard, *Posse, Il lavoro di Genova* (Roma: Manifestolibri, 2001).

21. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

22. See, for example, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, 'Empire, Twenty Years On', in *New Left Review* 120 (2019), 67–92.

23. Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, 16. For an updated use of the 'supranational analogy', see Michael Hardt and Sandro Mezzadra, 'Capital and the Global War Regime', *Portolan*, 31 October 2025, <https://portolan-journal.org/?post=capital-and-the-global-war-regime>.

24. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009). See also Giuseppe Cocco and Antonio Negri, *Global. Biopotere e lotte in America Latina* (Roma: Manifestolibri, 2006).

25. See, with regard to Europe, Antonio Negri, *L'Europa e l'Impero: Riflessioni su un processo costituente* (Roma: Manifestolibri, 2003).

26. See in particular, in addition to the aforementioned Commonwealth and Assembly, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2004).

27. See, for example, Antonio Negri, 'Appropriazione di capitale fisso: una metafora?', 3 March 2017, <https://www.euronomade.info/appropriazione-di-capitale-fisso-una-metafora/>

28. See Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Assembly* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). On the Spanish movement, see R. Sánchez Cedillo, *Lo absoluto de la democracia: Contrapoderes, cuerpos-máquina, sistema red transindividual* (Malaga: Subtextos, 2021), with a preface by Negri (9–19). On the Occupy movement, see Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Declaration* (New York: Argo-Navis, 2012).

29. See, for example, Sandro Mezzadra and Antonio Negri, 'Politiche di coalizione nella crisi europea', 7 August 2015, <https://www.euronomade.info/politiche-coalizione-nella-crisi-europea/>

30. Antonio Negri, Preface, in Lenin, *Stato e rivoluzione* (Milan: Pigreco, 2022) 7–20.

31. Antonio Negri, *Da Genova a domani*, 30.

