

INSURRECTION

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Back again!

And much has happened lately to encourage us to repropose—more clearly and more directly—a road towards a form of anarchist organisation and action that is relevant to the present day.

In the period that has elapsed since we last produced an issue of *Insurrection* we have seen: a more advanced restructuring of capital, reduction in the importance of the political apparatus, the phenomenon of planetary reformism (ie Russia, China), and a tighter control over Third World struggles, all part of the ruthless trajectory of a self-propelled mechanism that will not come to a halt until it reaches the ultimate destruction of all that contains a thrust towards life—or until it is destroyed.

Not much cause for encouragement you might say. Certainly an assessment of the struggle against this reality based on the logic of counter-attack in quantitative or military terms is doomed to failure. This has been demonstrated over the past decade on the one hand by the decline in the trade unions, on the other that of the clandestine armed groups. The latter, from being the stars of the front pages all over Europe for a decade, have become in their miserable remains nothing more than a scarecrow flying a tattered flag of surrender, repentance and complicity.

But scarecrows serve against the high flyers, those who want to take over the cabbage patch to exploit it as their own. They have little effect on the contradictions within the field subjected to a planned culture which in order to survive must dominate the whole of the living terrain upon which it has imposed its project. We can see this in many areas of the world today, not least in Western Europe and Britain itself. Here the contradictions produced by the relentless restructuring of capital, the instauration of information technology, robotisation of production, redundancy of the traditional worker, urban projects of 'social dispersion', reduced schooling, reduced public spending, increased policing, self-policing, creation of consensus, etc, are enough to show that capital's transition to its post-industrial phase is not going to happen smoothly. The mini-riots, intergang violence amalgamated into attacks against police, arson attacks, acts of sabotage, small actions undertaken by individuals or groups of individuals in various parts of the social terrain, all point to a new direction that the struggle is taking, one that is turning away from the old massive structures which could count thousands of members, but filtered down through a tightly hierarchal structure; and away from the closed, clandestine specific groups with their logic.

Small actions, therefore, easily reproducible, requiring un-
sophisticated means simplicity and spontaneity
They make a mockery of even the most advanced technological developments in counter-insurgency. This is what capital and the State are afraid of, this is the news that never makes the headlines but is carefully concealed from the public eye. This is the good news that we intend to spread and augment in this and our future work.

which substantially followed the directives of a few, archical structure; and away from the closed, clandestine actions carried out in a neomilitary

fore, easily reproducible, requiring un-
that are available to all, are by their very
taneity uncontrollable.



With this issue of Insurrection we are addressing ourselves to anarchists and all those who feel themselves to be in a situation of antagonism against the domination of the State and capital. We also address ourselves to those who are disheartened and perhaps even disgusted by the absorption of certain structures that once held high banners and hopes within the workers movement. We address ourselves to those who have begun to see the charade of pacifism as futile in the attempt to move the nuclear industry (both civil and military) an inch. We address ourselves to those who realise that school has taught them nothing and that university is becoming more and more an annex of industrial development. We address ourselves to those who see that science is no longer neutral—if it ever was—and to those who see that the struggle against the vile experimentation on animals in all fields cannot be fought as a single issue struggle but must be brought into the global project of the capitalist enterprise. We address ourselves to those who see that the feminist movement while bringing women's issues into the open, cannot alone bring women to be free beings. We address ourselves to those who see that although the colour of their skin is the most immediate cause of their oppression, to fight back on that level alone merely leads to a more refined form of exploitation. To those who see that even if their colonial exploiters are chased away they will still a local bourgeoisie to contend with. To those who see that moral indignation is not enough. That simply adhering to a movement in name and having no concrete project is not enough. We address ourselves to those who want to take the risk of throwing old schema out of the window and look for a new road. An informal, flexible road. One which requires the constant engagement of comrades in a dimension of permanent conflictuality, not sporadic moments, spectacular displays of numerical strength. To those for whom reform is nothing but a support to capital. To those who are not afraid to speak of revolution without a cynical smile on their lips. For those who want everything now and are prepared to make sure they get it, realising that this can only be done through the development of both a specific anarchist movement organised informally, and the relationship of that movement with mass organisms which give themselves intermediate aims in an insurrectional logic. We address ourselves to those therefore who realise that this road is one that we must work to create, experimenting together.

What we are offering here is one instrument in that project. Not abstract theory but an attempt to go forward and develop means that are adequate to the present day in the

struggle towards a free society. Much of the analytical and theoretical contributions are the fruit of involvement in the struggle elsewhere in recent years, also by some of the Insurrection comrades ourselves. It is therefore also an attempt to break down some of the geographical and linguistic barriers that are an obstacle preventing a full development of the struggle.



SOCIAL CONFLICT

As the clash between oppression and exploitation continues the struggle must be direct and based on permanent conflict. Any attempt to mediate with the institutional forces leads to selling out the potential for revolutionary struggle.

As the situation today becomes increasingly difficult to endure, it becomes the more important to realise that attitudes of accomodation and compromise are causing serious damage to the development of revolutionary struggle.

If we intend to change our situation we cannot continue with ideology. We must examine the relations within exploitation and repression and take an unreservedly active part in the struggle. We must single out precise objectives and back them up with methods that show a subversive strategy capable of expressing a global project of proletarian self liberation.

Permanent conflictuality can only be carried out on the basis of a correct evaluation of capital and the State and their role in the social conflict.

As anarchists we know that although many people go on demonstrations, the social question cannot be resolved through mediation with the institutions. This might lead to an evolution of society but avoids the necessary destruction of all the structures of dominion. A correct analysis imposes the need to use violence. The bosses will not give up what they have spontaneously. The only thing that will be effective is the organised material strength that proletarians have at

their disposition.

The knowledge that this frightens our armchair intellectuals is nothing new. Their aim is to safeguard their privilege and conceal the necessarily destructive part of the anarchist revolutionary project that is not very palatable to the many liberal democrats.

They point out the bad element inciting the arousal of class hatred, unleashing bad passions and social warfare. This perspective is demonised by those who would preserve their own personal tranquility, the bigots of the movement who extoll the virtues of nonviolence, pacifism, etc. Those who do not agree and who do not identify themselves with their practices, are deemed the violent and intolerant part of the movement who have still to learn the ways of the world.

In reality nonviolence, pacifism and tolerance are very useful to the bosses, certainly not to the exploited whose social conditions are in open contrast to concepts of resignation. Democracy is a refined system of domination, preferable to most dictatorships, but not for this does it justify compromise.

In this dimension conflictuality should be seen as a permanent element in the struggle against those in power. A struggle which lacks this element ends up pushing us towards mediating with the institutions, grows accustomed to the habits of delegating and believing in an illusory emancipation carried out by parliamentary decree, to the very point of actively participating in our own exploitation ourselves.

This is what is beginning to happen.

Democratic conflict invites the exploited to be passive and have faith in their 'leaders', to the point of docility. But revolutionaries are refusing to water down their ideas and actions with the humanitarian chatter of the reformists.

No synthesis is possible between dominator and dominated, between exploiter and exploited. Our logic leads to the suppression of one or other of the terms. To reach this we must extend permanent conflictuality. Every experience of daily life becomes valid if it is expressed as part of an antagonistic struggle that is openly and violently against the present state of affairs.

p.p.



Beyond Workerism Beyond Syndicalism

Trade unionism is in its decline. In good as in evil with this structural form of struggle an era is disappearing, a model and a future world seen in terms of an improved and corrected reproduction of the old one.

We are moving towards new and profound transformations. In the productive structure, in the social structure.

Methods of struggle, perspectives, even short term projects are also transforming.

In an expanding industrial society the trade union moves from instrument of struggle to instrument supporting the productive structure itself.

Revolutionary syndicalism has also played its part: pushing the most combative workers forward but, at the same time, pushing them backwards in terms of capacity to see the future society or the creative needs of the revolution. Everything remained parcelled up within the factory dimension. Workerism is not just common to authoritarian communism. Singling out privileged areas of the class clash is still today one of the most deep-rooted habits that it is difficult to lose.

The end of trade-unionsism therefore. We have been saying so for fifteen years now. At one time this caused criticism and amazement, especially when we included anarcho-syndicalism in our critique. We are more easily accepted today. Basically, who does not criticise the trade unions today? No one, or almost no one.

But the connection is overlooked. Our criticism of trade unionism was also criticism of the "quantitative" method that has all the characteristics of the party in embryo. It was also a critique of the specific organisations of synthesis. It was also a critique of class respectability borrowed from the bourgeoisie and filtered through the clichés of so-called proletarian morals. All that cannot be ignored.

If many comrades agree with us today in our now traditional critique of trade-unionism those who share a view of all the consequences that it gives rise to are but a few.

We can only intervene in the world of production using means that do not

place themselves in the quantitative perspective. They cannot therefore claim to have specific anarchist organisations behind them working on the hypothesis of revolutionary synthesis.

This leads us to a different method of intervention, that of building factory "nucleii" or zonal "nucleii" which limit themselves to keeping in contact with a specific anarchist structure, and are exclusively based on affinity. It is from the relationship between the base nucleus and specific anarchist structure that a new model of revolutionary struggle

on the horizon. Already the classical workers' front no longer exists. Likewise the trade union as is obvious. At least it no longer exists in the form in which we have known until now. It has become a firm like any other.

A network of increasingly different relations, all under the banner of participation, pluralism, democracy, etc, will spread over society bridle almost all the forces of subversion. The extreme aspects of the revolutionary project will be systematically criminalised.

But the struggle will take new roads,

**The end of syndicalism corresponds to the end of workerism
For us it is also the end of the quantitative illusion of the party and
the specific organisation of synthesis
The revolt of tomorrow must look for new roads**



emerge to attack the structures of capital and the State through recourse to insurrectional methods.

This allows for a better following of the profound transformations that are taking place in the productive structure. **The factory is about to disappear, new productive organisations are taking its place, based mainly on automation. The workers of yesterday will become partially integrated into a supporting situation or simply into a situation of social security in the short-term, survival in the long one. New forms of work will appear**

will filter towards a thousand new subterranean channels, emerging in a hundred thousand explosions of rage and destruction, with new and incomprehensible symbology.

As anarchists we must be careful, we carriers of an often heavy mortgage from the past, not to remain distanced from a phenomenon that we end up not understanding and whose violence could one fine day even scare us. And in the first case we must be careful to develop our analysis in full.

a.m.b.



Beyond the Structure of Synthesis

INSTEAD OF AN ANARCHIST ORGANISATION OF SYNTHESIS WE PROPOSE AN INFORMAL ANARCHIST ORGANISATION BASED ON STRUGGLE AND THE ANALYSES THAT EMERGE FROM IT

Anarchists of all tendencies refuse the model of hierarchical and authoritarian organisation. They refuse parties, vertical structures which impose directives from above in a more or less obvious way. In positing the liberatory revolution as the only social solution possible, anarchists consider that the means used in bringing about this transformation will condition the ends that are achieved. And authoritarian organisations are certainly not in-

an anarchist structure such as a structure of synthesis presents not a few dangers

struments that lead to liberation.

At the same time it is not enough to agree with this in words alone. It is also necessary to put it into practise. In our opinion an anarchist structure such as a structure of synthesis presents not a few dangers. When this kind of organisation develops to full strength as it did in Spain in '36 it begins to resemble a party. Synthesis becomes control. Certainly in quiet periods this is barely visible, so what we are saying now might seem like blasphemy.

This kind of structure is based on groups or individuals who are in more or less constant contact with each other, and has its culminating moment in periodical congresses. In these congresses the basic analysis is discussed, a programme is drawn up and tasks are divided covering the whole range of social intervention. It is an organisation of synthesis because it sets itself up as a point of reference capable of synthesizing the struggles taking place within the class clash. Various groups intervene in the struggles, give their contribution, but do not lose sight of the theoretical and practical orientation that the organisation as a whole decided upon during the congress.

Now, in our opinion, an organisation structured in this way runs the risk of being behind in respect of the effective level of the struggle, as its main aim is that of carrying the struggle to within its project of synthesis, not of pushing it towards its insurrectional realisation. One of its main objectives is quantitative growth in membership. It therefore tends to draw the struggle to the lowest common denominator by proposing caution aimed at putting a brake on any flight forwards or any choice of objectives that are too exposed or risky.

Of course that does not mean that all the groups belonging to the organisation of synthesis automatically act in this way: often comrades are autonomous enough to choose the most effective proposals and objectives in a given situation of struggle. It is a mechanism intrinsic to the organisation of synthesis however that leads it to making decisions that are not adequate to the situation, as the main aim of the organisation is to grow to develop as wide a front of struggle as possible. It tends not to take a clear and net position on issues, but finds a way, a political road that displeases the fewest and is digestable to most.

the main fear is that of the unknown which pushes us towards organisational schema and formalism

The reactions we get when making criticisms such as this are often dictated by fear and prejudice. The main fear is that of the unknown which pushes us towards organisational schema and formalism among comrades. This safeguards us from the search hinged on the risk of finding ourselves involved in unknown experiences. This is quite obvious when we see the great need some comrades have

for a formal organisation that obeys the requirements of constancy, stability and work that is programmed in advance.

In reality these elements serve us in our need for certainty and not for revolutionary necessity.

On the contrary we think that the informal organisation can supply valid starting points for getting out of this uncertainty.

This different type of organisation seems to us to be capable of developing—contrary to an organisation of synthesis—more concrete and productive relationships as they are based on affinity and reciprocal knowledge. Moreover, the moment where it reaches its true potential is when it participates in concrete situations of struggle, not when drawing up theoretical or practical platforms, statutes or associative rules.

an organisation structured informally is not built on the basis of a programme fixed in a congress

An organisation structured informally is not built on the basis of a programme fixed in a congress. The project is realised by the comrades themselves in the course of the struggle and during the development of the struggle itself. This organisation has no privileged instrument of theoretical and practical elaboration, nor does it have problems of synthesis. Its basic project is that of intervening in a struggle with an insurrectional objective.

However great the limitations of the comrades involved in the informal kind of anarchist organisation might be, and what the latter's defects might be, the method still seems valid to us and we consider a theoretical and practical exploration of it to be worthwhile.



Autonomous Base Nucleus

Mass structures, autonomous base nuclei are the element linking the specific informal anarchist organisation to social struggles.

The autonomous base nucleus is not an entirely new form of struggle. Attempts have been made to develop these structures in Italy over the past ten years. The most notable of these was the Autonomous Movement of the Turin Railway Workers(1), and the Self-managed Leagues against the cruise missile base in Comiso(2).

We believe the revolutionary struggle is without doubt a mass struggle. We therefore see the need to build structures capable of organising as many groups of exploited as possible.

We have always considered the syndicalist perspective critically both because of its limitations as an instrument, and because of its tragic historical involution that no anarchist lick of paint can cover up. So we reached the hypothesis of building autonomous base nuclei lacking the characteristics of mini-syndicalist structures, having other aims and organisational relations.

a considerable barrier of reticence and incomprehension has been met among comrades

Through these structures an attempt has been made to link the specific anarchist movement to social struggles. A considerable barrier of reticence and incomprehension has been met among comrades and this has been an obstacle in realising this organisational method. It is in moments of action that differences emerge among comrades who all agree in principle with anarchist propaganda, the struggle against the State, self-management and direct action. When we move into an organisational phase, however, we must

develop a project that is in touch with the present level of the clash between classes.

We believe that due to profound social transformation it is unthinkable for one single structure to try to contain all social and economic struggle within it. In any case, why should the exploited have to enter and become part of a specific anarchist organisation in order to carry out their struggle?

A radical change in the way society—exploitation—is being run can only be achieved by revolution. That is why we are trying to intervene with an insurrectional project. Struggles of tomorrow will only have a positive outcome if the relationship between informal specific anarchist structure and the mass structure of autonomous base nuclei is clarified and put into effect.

The main aim of the nucleus is not to abolish the State or capital which are practicably unattackable so long as they remain a general concept. The objective of the nucleus is to fight and attack *this* State and *this* Capital in their smaller and more attainable structures, having recourse to an insurrectional method.

The autonomous base groups are mass structures and constitute the point of encounter between the informal anarchist organisation and social struggles.

The organisation within the nucleus distinguishes itself by the following characteristics:

- a) autonomy from any political, trade union or syndical force;
- b) permanent conflictuality (a constant and effective struggle towards the aims that are decided upon, not sporadic occasional interventions);
- c) attack (the refusal of compromise, mediation or accommodation that questions the attack on the chosen objective).

As far as aims are concerned, these are decided upon and realised through attacks upon the repressive, military and

productive structures, etc. The importance of permanent conflictuality and attack is fundamental.

These attacks are organised by the nuclei in collaboration with specific anarchist structures which provide practical and theoretical support, developing the search for the means required for the ac-

the objective of the nucleus is to fight and attack this State and this Capital in their smaller and more attainable structures

tion, pointing out the structures and individuals responsible for repression, and offering a minimum of defence against attempts at political or ideological recuperation by power or against repression pure and simple.

At first sight the relationship between specific anarchist organisation and autonomous base nucleus might seem contradictory. The specific structure follows an insurrectional perspective, while the base nuclei seem to be in quite another dimension, that of intermediate struggle. But this struggle only remains such at the beginning. If the analysis on which the project is based coincides with the interests of the exploited in the situation in which they find themselves, then an insurrectional outcome to the struggle is possible. Of course this outcome is not certain. That cannot be guaranteed by anyone.

This method has been accused of being incomplete and of not taking into account the fact that an attack against one or more structures always ends up increasing repression. Comrades can reflect on these accusations. We think it is never possible to see the outcome of a struggle in advance. Even a limited struggle can have the most unexpected consequences. And in any case, the passage from the various insurrections—limited and circumscribed—to revolution can never be guaranteed in advance by any procedure. We go forward by trial and error, and say to whoever has a better method—carry on.

The Informal Organisation

The informal anarchist organisation has nothing to do with programmes, platforms or flags but is based on a common affinity between comrades whose objective is to intervene in struggles in an insurrectional direction. In that way it is possible to be present in and heighten the class struggle.

Anarchist groups and individuals are often spread over the territory with little contact between them and few ideas on methods and possibilities of intervention in social reality.

There is a certain presence in some areas, especially of a syndicalist nature. In others there is action against nuclear installations. The widest area of intervention is that of counter-information and propaganda.

An anarchist movement that is really



active and incisive needs two main factors: an agile and effective instrument and an objective that is sufficiently clear in perspective.

We think the informal organisation and insurrection are the concrete possibilities that present themselves at the present time.

It has already been said that the organisation of synthesis, based on the congress and political programme, is a structure that because of its internal characteristics and the mechanisms that support it, cannot be a valid instrument for comrades wanting to move in an insurrectional perspective. Political pro-



grammes and platforms are organisational models which, from an insurrectional point of view, have seen their day.

One thing that is indispensable in the informal anarchist organisation is reciprocal knowledge between members. This and affinity among comrades is what characterises the informal form of organisation.

We have all reached anarchist positions through time, maturing certain convictions concerning social problems. We also have some idea of how to intervene in social reality and the relative strategic choices to be made. Well, let us go into these problems, ascertain whether we agree on certain points, show each other how we think.

Certainly, it is not easy. It is nevertheless indispensable to confront one another. Without this no kind of informal structure or informal relationship is possible.

The informal proposal does not mean one has to agree on every single problem that arises. Affinity does not possess a uniform level of intensity. Knowledge of



another is an infinite process that reaches greater or lesser depth according to the circumstances and the objectives one is trying to reach.

The basic project of an informal anarchist organisation has, in our opinion, the objective of intervening in struggles in an insurrectional logic. This organisation does not give one area privilege over another, does not have a stable centrality. It singles out an objective which at a given moment presents a particularly acute area of social conflict and works in a perspective of insurrection.

The debate is open on this point.

Criticisms that insurrection is not a valid proposal today, sometimes confuse insurrection with the old "propaganda by the deed". On the contrary we think that the insurrectional project gives itself the aim of attacking power in each one of its manifestations by the stimulation of the anarchist informal organisation, but



always with mass participation, showing in deed the possibility and validity of such attacks.

In that way it is possible to be present in the class struggle and heighten the level of it.

We see the informal organisation therefore as a number of comrades linked by a common affinity. The wider the range of problems these comrades face as a whole, the greater their affinity will be. It follows that the real organisation, the effective capacity to act together, ie knowing where to find each other, the study and analysis of problems together, and the passing to action, all takes place in relation to the affinity reached and has nothing to do with programmes, platforms, flags or more or less camouflaged parties. The informal anarchist organisa-



tion is therefore a specific organisation which gathers around a common affinity.

Undoubtedly it will tend towards a growth in numbers, but this is not the main aim of activity. As the organism born in this way develops it will give itself common means of intervention. First of all an instrument of debate necessary for analytical examination, such as a paper or review, capable of supplying indications on a wide range of problems and of becoming a point of reference for continually verifying affinity or divergence of opinion between groups and individual comrades.

Secondly these specific groups can also form base structures involving the exploited in specific areas of struggle, not as an element of growth in the speci-



fic movement. In this optic it becomes dispersive to give life to a permanent structure to confront specific problems.

The base structures have a single objective. When this objective has been reached, or the attempt fails, the structure either widens into a situation of generalised insurrection, or dismantles as the case may be.

It should be stressed here that although the element holding the informal organisation together is undoubtedly affinity, its propulsive element is always action. If it limits itself to the first alone, all relationships will become arid in the bizantian perfectionism of whoever has nothing better to do than try to hide one's will to do nothing.

The problems that have been touched on here deserve more going into and we invite all comrades to take part in a discussion of them. g.c.

Repression against the Anarchist Movement in Greece

The Greek Home Minister has unleashed a vast terroristic operation against the anarchist movement following a series of proletarian attacks in Athens protesting against police brutality.

The Minister has made statements to the effect that clandestine armed groups operating in Greece must be dismantled. This is aimed at creating a climate of social tension to justify the State's repressive projects against the revolutionary movement.

To this avail the State has used the bourgeois press to manipulate public opinion, circulating false news criminalising the anarchist movement and, more specifically, the newly-formed Greek Anarchist Union.

This repressive scenario consists in trying to present the Anarchist Union—formed during the first Pan-Hellenic Anarchist Conference held in Athens in May this year—as a decision-making and operational centre for all the autonomous actions of proletarian attack against repression recently carried out in Greece.

The Greek anarchist movement is mobilising in protest against this repressive manipulation with actions of counter-information at public level.

But the arrest of two anarchist comrades, Clearchos Shimeos and Christoforos Marinos in a stolen car in Athens, and the killing of comrade Michalis Prekas by the police, have supplied the forces of repression with a further alibi for intensifying their attack against the movement. Two more comrades, Evangelia Voghiatei and Gerasimos Boukouvalas, have now been arrested, the latter belonging to the Greek Anarchist Union.

The Greek anarchist movement is now organising to defend its arrested militants politically. They are accused of belonging to an armed group, theft and illegal possession of firearms. These accusations are based exclusively on the State's need to justify and further intensify its preceding repressive scenario.

The defence of the comrades now being organised by the Greek anarchist movement is not based on the guilty/innocent logic, but supports the revolutionary integrity and identity of the arrested comrades, independently of the accusations made by the repressive organs of the State.



We ask for the active solidarity of the whole international anarchist movement in our struggle against the State and capitalist domination and exploitation which is striking us particularly at this time.

Some comrades of the Greek Anarchist Union

The Affinity Group

Contrary to what is often believed, affinity between comrades does not depend on sympathy or sentiment. To have affinity means to have knowledge of the other, to know how they think on social issues and how they think they can intervene in the social clash. This deepening of knowledge between comrades is an aspect that is often neglected, impeding effective action.

One of the most difficult problems anarchists have had to face throughout their history is what form of organisation to adopt in the struggle.

At the two ends of the spectrum we find on the one hand the individualists who refuse any kind of stable relationship; on the other those who support a permanent organisation which acts on a programme established at the moment of its constitution.

One of the reasons for this deficiency is in our opinion lack of perspective.

Clearly no one has a sure recipe that contains no defects: we can however point out the limitations we see in certain kinds of organisation, and indicate possible alternatives.

One of these is known as "affinity groups".

The term requires an explanation.



Both of the forms sketched out here have characteristics that are criticisable from an insurrectional point of view.

In fact, when individualists single out and strike the class enemy they are sometimes far ahead of the most combative of the class components of the time, and their action is not understood. On the contrary, those who support the need for a permanent organisation often wait until there is already a considerable number of exploited indicating how and when to strike the class enemy. The former carry out actions that turn out to be too far ahead of the level of the struggle, the latter too far behind.

Affinity is often confused with sentiment. Although not distinctly separate, the two terms should not be considered synonymous. There could be comrades with whom we consider we have an affinity, but whom we do not find sympathetic and vice versa.

Basically, to have an affinity with a comrade means to know them, to have deepened one's knowledge of them. As that knowledge grows, the affinity can increase to the point of making an action together possible; but it can also diminish to the point of making it practically impossible.

Knowledge of another is an in-

finite process which can stop at any level according to the circumstances and objectives one wants to reach together. One could therefore have an affinity for doing some things and not others. It becomes obvious that when one speaks of knowledge that does not mean it is necessary to discuss one's personal problems, although these can become important when they interfere with the process of deepening knowledge of one another.

In this sense having knowledge of the other does not necessarily mean having an intimate relationship. What it is necessary to know is how the comrade thinks concerning the social problems which the class struggle confronts him with, how he thinks he can intervene, what methods he thinks should be used in given situations, etc.

The first step in the deepening of knowledge between comrades is discussion. It is preferable to have a clarifying premiss, such as something written, so the various problems can be gone into well.

Once the essentials are clarified the affinity group or groups are practically formed. The deepening of knowledge between comrades continues in relation to their action as a group and the latter's encounter with reality as a whole. While this process is taking place their knowledge often widens and strong bonds between comrades often emerge. This however is a consequence of the affinity, not its primal aim.

It often happens that comrades go about things the other way round, beginning some kind of activity and only proceeding to the necessary clarifications later, without ever having assessed the level of affinity required to do anything together. Things are left to chance, as though some kind of clarity were automatically to emerge from the group simply by its formation. Of course this does not happen: the group either stagnates because there is no clear road for it to take, or it follows the tendency of the comrade or comrades who have the clearest ideas as to what they want to do while others allow themselves to be pulled along, often with little enthusiasm or real engagement.

The affinity group on the other hand finds it has great potential and is immediately addressed towards action, basing itself not on the quantity of its adherents, but on the qualitative strength of a number of individuals working together in a projectuality that they develop together as they go along. From being a specific structure of the anarchist movement and the whole arc of activity that this presents—propaganda, direct action, perhaps producing a paper, working within an informal organisation—it can also look outwards to forming a base nucleus or some other mass structure and thus intervene more effectively in the social clash.

o.v.

A CONSIDERABLE PART OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT SHARES INSURRECTIONAL POSITIONS, BUT THEY ARE THEORETICAL STANDS ONLY. WE THINK THAT A NEW WAY TO CONSIDER INSURRECTION IS POSSIBLE.

apart from a few not very significant fringes, the international anarchist movement shares theoretical positions of a revolutionary character. The liberal-democratic vein, important as far as it shows a possible line of involution, remains on the margins.

In turn almost the whole of the revolutionary anarchist positions—with different nuances—see insurrection as a necessary phase along the road to revolution.

But this insurrection is seen as a mass revolt due to certain socio-economic forces that serve to set it off. The role of the anarchist movement is to limit itself to understanding these conditions and economic and social contradictions to make them more comprehensible to the mass. Basically, a role of propaganda and counterinformation.

Often even the anarchist comrades who see the need for violent struggle against the structures of oppression without half measures, limit themselves to this part of the analysis and do not feel obliged to go any further. The mass—they say—must do everything themselves. Anything else would be authoritarian on the part of the specific anarchist organisation and could turn out to be disastrous.

This idea of insurrection might have been logical when nearly the whole of the anarchist movement was on positions of synthesis, ie in the dimension of the big (or not so big) quantitative organisations. Through the instrument of the syndicalist organisation they planned to address the whole of the social and economic struggles into a situation of waiting for a breaking out of the revolutionary moment.

There is a different way to envisage revolutionary struggle in an insurrectionalist key in our opinion.

We consider that the anarchist organisation, so long as it is informal, can contribute to the constitution of autonomous base nuclei which, as mass organisations, can programme attacks against structures of social, economic and military repression. These attacks, even if circumscribed, have all the methodolo-



insurrection

gical characteristics and practises of insurrectional phenomena when not left to the blind forces of social and economic conflict but are brought into an anarchist projectuality based on the principles of autonomy, direct action

constant attack and the refusal to compromise.

In a word, this is the insurrectional conception that we are inviting all comrades interested to assess with critiques, analysis and debate.

a.m.b.

INTERNATIONALISM

the struggle alongside the exploited of the world cannot simply be reduced to collecting signatures or to counterinformation
it must complete itself with an attack against those responsible
—internal and external—for exploitation

A restricted view of the struggle is doomed to failure. If not in terms of immediate results (improved conditions, growth of revolutionary consciousness, development of the movement, etc) at least in the long term modifying of power relations.

The revolutionary struggle is "total". It involves the possibility of life for the exploited in all the different parts of the world, hence the need for the "total" intervention of the revolutionary even when operating in a circumscribed and therefore "immediate" struggle.

But this interest cannot limit itself to simply reading the newspapers and keeping oneself informed on what is happening in the world. It must go a little (or a lot) further than that.

Proletarian internationalism is an active intervention, a participation in the struggles of the exploited that extends everywhere.

But there is a mistaken way of considering this basic revolutionary perspective. It was applied by the authoritarian parts of the movement in the seventies with disastrous results. This mistake has mechanical characteristics and consists of taking what one considers to be the highest point of the clash (ie the situation of peoples in the third world) where social and economic conflicts are more obvious, and carrying them—as a strategic and methodological proposal—to within the situation of the more advanced countries (the so-called metropolitan situations). In the past one heard of bringing

Vietnam to Berlin or London or Milan. The mistake was in sanctifying the open armed clash unreservedly and in transferring these aspects to situations which had, and still have very different characteristics.

But in practice it was not a question of real proletarian internationalism. The far-off situation was seen as an occasion for pushing the local situation. The transfer en bloc of the methods and slogans was done with a view to obtaining sympathy and propaganda on the wave of results that the struggle of those far-off peoples were achieving.

We consider that today more than ever real proletarian internationalism can go towards one of two solutions. Firstly, the classical one which is spoken about less and less now and has come to be seen only through the distorting lense of a now out-dated romanticism, is that of direct participation through internationalist groups or brigades. A lot could be said on the subject which we shall put off until some future date where it can be gone into in more detail among comrades.

Alternatively there is the other aspect, that of real "support" to the internationalist struggle.

It should be said that this support cannot be reduced to a simple subscription. Even if very useful, it is certainly not the first thing that the exploited engaged in a struggle expect. There is also the so-called "political" support, ie counter-information, demonstrations, picketing of consulates and embassies, letters of protest. All very useful things.

And then there is the attack against those responsible for exploitation. Both internally and externally. Without wanting to give this aspect privilege over all the others, we must say—very clearly—that to do only the first means rendering such activity ineffective. It means reducing the manifestation of thought and opinion to a banal exercise of democratic dissent. It means the transformation of financial support into an act of charity which is mainly an alibi for oneself. To do the two things together has a more serious significance and corresponds to what we consider to be true proletarian internationalism. a.m.b.





ANTI- NUCLEAR SABOTAGE IN ITALY

**A collection of communiques,
leaflets and analyses from the anti-
nuclear struggle developing
informally in Italy in the logic of
direct action against the military
and civil structures responsible for
the nuclear project.**

On October 10 1986 anarchist and autonomous demonstrators destroy a large part of the structures (bulldozers, excavators and drilling machinery on the building site of the nuclear plant under construction at Trino Vercellese.

On December 9 autonomists and anarchists demonstrate against the nuclear power station of Montalto di Castro by blocking entrance to the plant.

In Segrate, Milan, on February 18 the research centre CISE involved in laser research finds its gates chained shut, leaflet found saying: "sabotage the research centres, universities, death production".



In early December we struck the carabinieri General Casarico by devastating and setting fire to his country home near Palermo

Casarico, as well as being a general in the Carabinieri (which in itself would be sufficient to justify our attack) is also a nazi. He was in fact regional military commander on whom depended the surveillance of the hospital in Celio, Rome where the unforgettable Kappler was being treated.

Everyone knows about the mysterious escape of the nazi torturer. At the time it emerged clearly that there was connivance between the organisers of the escape and the secret services, and in particular with its main responsible, no less than General Casarico himself.

By the trickery typical of Power, he was demoted to colonel at the time to placate the wrath of public opinion enraged at the superficiality and incompetence of the surveillance service. Of course the State, which behind the mask of democracy is essentially fascist, had no interest in punishing one of its faithful servants, so about a year later the neo-colonel was again promoted to general, to the insult of all sincere antifascists and all the victims of the mass graves.

But the proletariat do not forget and, taking the concepts of militant antifascism in first person and refusing to delegate them to any pseudo-justice of this or any other State, pass to action directly to drive out these rats from the sewers.

Revolutionary Nuclei

To limit the antinuclear struggle to demanding the closure of the electronuclear plants that are functioning or to preventing those under construction from being built, does not even scratch the surface of the development of atom technology. The antinuclear argument has mainly limited itself to detail up till now. Its main arguments have been superficial, based mainly on underlining the risks of the civil use of the atom from the biological and ecological points of view, or to criticising it from an economic point of view because it is unproductive. A social analysis of the problem has remained in the shadows or been treated only marginally. This is the aspect on which we mean to centre our attention.

Now that the myth of neutrality of science and scientific research has collapsed one can clearly see the former's relationship with the structures of Power.

...The antagonist movement must take account of this situation in order to develop an opposition to the nuclear project that is autonomous and radical.

It is not enough to denounce the role of the false opposition of the institutional forces, the denunciation should also be extended to the soft opposition that cannot be directly framed within the institutional level (greens, environmentalists, pacifists, antimilitarists, religious protestors, etc) who in their practical proposals for struggle do not question the relationship with domination at all. On the contrary the actions of the former turn out to be functional to reforming the very relationships with domination because they propose a better administrative management through the constitution of new institutions at local level.

In proposing the closure of the nuclear power stations, the fictitious opposition to nuclear power goes towards eliminating the most obvious contradictions through the constitution of alternative energy sources. This critique remains at the level of the single aspect, glosses over the real problem, which remains that of the interests of Power that are at the base of the expansion of the nuclear project...Once freed from the most obvious contradictions of the electronuclear plants, nuclear research could carry on its role peacefully and could also adopt new ones. The industries producing this technology of death could, in absolute silence, continue to produce and export to the developing countries. This project would guarantee the countries exporting nuclear technology total control over the countries acquiring it. In turn the regimes of these countries could have an enforced industrialisation with the instoration of centralised and authoritarian systems of development which could not fail to base themselves on a militaristic logic, which would use the nuclear availability as blackmail at an internal level against the population, in view of possible breaking out of social rebellion.

In turn, within the producing countries, the very existence of atomic technology, under the claim of security, would lead to the need for an army of overseers. This army, once it has become aware of its own importance and role, could use itself as a threat to blackmail the population, who would then find themselves under regimes far more authoritarian than the present.

Biological and ecological destruction appears at this point as an effect and not the real cause. This must be found in the project of control and forced consensus that such technology makes possible. In fact such technology could extend the power of the sacerdotal caste of the scientists who would no longer simply have laboratories as their field of action, but society itself, unsuspecting population included.

For these reasons it is necessary to risk everything today either for man's complete liberation or his total subjection. Any appeal to humanitarianism or pacifism obscures this point of departure.

ProvocAzione

A meeting took place in Rome of all the comrades interested in an antinuclear demonstration to be held concurrently with the National Energy Conference on February 24 to 27 in that city instead of Venice as originally planned.

The proposal expressed in the following circular was the basis for the meeting. It had been read and discussed by comrades in many parts of Italy beforehand: on December 17 in the Faculty of Political Science at Milan University, at a conference in Bologna on January 11, at an antinuclear meeting in Dolo on January 17, for example. The meeting ended in a decision to demonstrate in Rome on February 27.

From the events at Trino Vercellese(1) to those at Montalto di Castro(2), all the different forms of opposition that make up the antinuclear front and their different positions have become evident.

We have reached a vital crossroads: on the one side all the reformist political forces who propose and support referendum and put the struggle on an institutional level, integrating what was once an autonomous movement into the parliamentary logic (see Communist Party, Proletarian Democracy, Greens, environmentalists and various pacifists). On the other side are the antagonists in favour of the development and broadening of anti-institutional opposition in the social field, starting from the refusal of the former's proposals and pointing out the need for the antinuclear struggle to remain within a class dimension, outside the institutional framework, autonomous from the parties and based on direct action and total selfmanagement (anarchists, libertarians, autonomists and other nonaligned comrades who agree on these points).

Given the urgent need for social intervention that these questions cause, we feel the time has come for the whole movement to put an end to delay and take a clear public position on this question.

An occasion for this could be a demonstration to be held in Venice on the occasion of the National Energy Conference promoted by the ENEL(3) and the ENEA(4) with the patronage and participation of all the parliamentary forces. We therefore propose a demonstration based on the following aims:

1) To come out and demonstrate outside and against the institutional framework and so break away from the terrorist image presented by the media who say the only possible form of opposition is the institutional one. This is the first step in contributing to dissolving the blackmail hanging over any autonomous social initiative due to the special laws now in force. The aim of this is to make possible the creation of a mass movement of antagonism that is autonomous, anti-institutional and anticapitalist which moves outside the path of fictitious opposition of the reformist parties.

2) To underline the validity of all subversive forms of struggle expressed as direct action by their complete self-management and refusal of the parliamentary logic and delegation. To oppose all referendums proposed by the political forces, affirming revolutionary abstentionism as the only road for a real development of an antinuclear struggle that expresses itself in direct opposition, not only through blockades at the plants, but extended over the whole social territory, for a generalisation of the attack on atomic technology. Seeing the factories producing such technology, nuclear research centres both nationalised and private, ENEL offices, etc as objectives also to be aimed at.

3) To oppose the nuclear military project, fight to dismantle the missile bases and all the atomic armaments present in the national territory. Taking up a coherent antimilitarism starting from subversive agitation at social level among those called to do military service. Indicating refusal through mass desertion. Carrying the attack to recruiting

drives of both army and police including the private sector. Contesting all military parades and conferences linked to armaments, inviting proletarians to undo control in the barracks through acts of rebellion against military discipline. All this to confirm socially our deep hostility and desire to oppose ourselves to repression and the militarisation of the social territory radically, demonstrating a sense of permanent conflict against all the structures of dominion.

4) Parallel to this, to carry out actions that operate forms of direct pressure on the media in such a way as to prevent any terroristic criminalisation of these subversive expressions of opposition demonstrating against the death project of capital and the State, as it is precisely these practices that prepare the field for State repression.

In our opinion the anarchist movement should begin to express itself concretely. It must make clear its will to qualitatively raise the social clash, with autonomous and anti-institutional struggle against authoritarianism, levelling and massification produced by an artificial opposition expressed by the reformist movements and parties in an attempt to recuperate the antagonists.

For this reason we propose a large NATIONAL ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATION to be held in Venice on January 24 on the last day of the National Energy Conference.

— NO TO THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY, MILITARISM AND STATE REPRESSION

— NO TO REFERENDUMS, DELEGATION AND THE PARLIAMENTARY LOGIC

— NO TO CRIMINALISATION AND REPRESSION OF THE ANTAGONIST MOVEMENT BY PARTIES, UNIONS, MEDIA, JUDICIARY, POLICE

— NO TO SOCIAL CONTROL AND MILITARISATION OF THE SOCIAL TERRITORY

— YES TO DIRECT ACTION, SELF-MANAGEMENT, ANTI-NUCLEAR STRUGGLE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT OUTSIDE THE INSTITUTIONS

— YES TO THE SPREADING OF THE SOCIAL ATTACK AGAINST NUCLEAR ENERGY TO ALL THE TERRITORIAL STRUCTURES THAT CONTRIBUTE TO ITS DEVELOPMENT BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY.



January 22 anarchist deserter Orazio Valastro is arrested during an antimilitarist demonstration in Catania organised by the local anarchist group. He had recently returned from France where he had been living to avoid arrest, having already done several months in prison and finding himself faced with a prospect of

release. This situation could go on till he reached the age of 45. He had returned from France in the conviction that it was necessary to continue his struggle against the Italian military structure and logic.

AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER! LET US FAN THE FLAMES OF REVOLT!

All those who support the nuclear plan in Italy, which is sponsored by the ENEL, the ENEA and the government, have made an appointment at the great National Energy Conference in Rome (February 24/27). They are dreaming of the "atomic orgasm". Their apparent enemies, the Greens, environmentalists, the pacifists are playing the card of the referendum, like civil rights conjurers with the aim of drawing us into their miserable parliamentary spectacle. It is very important for them to make the reformist illusion seem like the possibility for transforming this society, and so consign us into the hands of our enemies without any trouble. We will not fall victim to the trap laid by these false opposers who, because of their own power-wielding interests are aiming at bartering our struggle with the institutions.

NO TO THE REFERENDUM

No illusions. Peaceful coexistence in today's society of the spectacle simply means an equilibrium of the terror instaurated by the State police bodies, along with the parties and the trade unions.

Each day is a war that one fights so as not to succumb, so as not to die right away. It is a struggle for survival at knife-point which leads the exploited to docilely follow the indications of their butchers, the Power specialists. Instead of lining up against the real enemy, they often walk side by side with them.

We must make our dreams a new reality that rises up against the old one that would nail us to the hearse of power. We shall unmask all those who are against subversion and who want the perpetuation of existing society. Let us put an end to the miserable spectacle produced by capital that reduces



life to mere mercantile survival, where every social relationship is reduced to a constant prostitution of oneself. Let us burn every political perspective that prevents the putting into practice of real freedom, generalised self-management applied to every aspect of life. We are for social Insurrection and Anarchy: that is why we are not interested in resolving the problems and contradictions of this system of death.

To the mountains of scrap paper produced by those who support and practice parliamentary referendums, we oppose *d i r e c t a c t i o n*, the only possibility of really transforming this society because it points out the need for attack against the structures of dominion (including the nuclear ones) and the objectives to aim at. Our allies and accomplices are the antagonists and rebels, because they want to live, not vegetate, rising up and making a mockery of the reformists preaching survival.

We do not want to simply shut down the power stations that are functioning or being built, but aim towards the destruction of all the production of death and the whole atom technology. Not at saving a part of it as the reformists would like to do, reducing the question to the closure of a few stations.

The media publicity serves the government so that it can finish building those under construction in the shortest possible time, fix the time for the dismantling of those already functioning (all the fission stations) and finally relaunch the research plan for the exploitation of "fusion" nuclear energy. We denounce the fictitious operation (by the Socialist Party, Proletarian Democracy, the Greens, the environmentalists) who first agreed to participate in the conference, then declined the invitation accusing it of being a "nuclear Trojan horse" and are basing everything on the referendum. So their "nuclear battle" simply consists of requesting the closure of the plants in operation and cessation of work on those under construction. Circumscribing the antinuclear struggle in this way they are doing a great service to the industries producing such technology (eg Ansaldo who produce reactors) and the petrol multinationals (AGIP, ESSO etc) who have invested massive amounts of capital in the development of the nuclear industry and who are not in the least touched by these requests. In fact the profits linked to the construction of the plants in our country are so small compared to their foreign trade. It is up to comrades to unravel this swindle desired not only by the government but by all those who support the referendum. We must look at the reasons behind things and radicalise and extend the struggle which in our opinion must undo the plans of those in favour of nuclear power by working territorially for the dismantling of the industries producing nuclear technology with proletarian direct action. No one can offer us any alternative to struggle outside the institutions which are all, willingly or not, constrained to game-playing.

Even the tranquil citizens who are watching us bemused or annoyed while we demonstrate to day find themselves faced with a choice. This could be the beginning of something new, something that does not exist yet because we must build it together.

Or are you also for the end of everything, prepared to succumb to permanent survival?

"Anarchismo" and "Provocazione" editorial group
Palermo Anarchist Group
Catania Anarchist Group
Rome Anarchist Group
Anarchist Committee for Social
Counterinformation, Milan

High tension ENEL pylons in Agro di S. Caterina Jonion (Cosenza) were sawn at the base on the night of July 12. After having sawn the pylons the unknown nightworkers pulled them down, putting out of action an electroduct line of 150 thousand volts.

The same fate befell another ENEL pylon in the area of Pec del Brasimone, whose closure was one of the objectives of the antagonist movement. The pylon, which feeds the nuclear reactor of Pec, was sabotaged on September 9 by unknown persons who left a leaflet on the spot: "No to the nuclear and coal power stations. no to war, no to the energy bosses".

In the puerile attempt to block the antimilitarist initiatives undertaken in support of the struggle of Orazio Valastro and Giuseppe Coniglio, the police have begun to apply a constant logic of intimidation towards the anarchists.

The repeated demonstrations, leafletting, loudhailing, graffiti and posters appearing in the city are clearly striking home, and the organs of power and systematic repression have rolled over in the mud they normally lie in.

Blanket control of all present at the public presentation by 30 February Anarchist Circle and Palermo Anarchist Group; posters belonging to the exhibition pulled down; raids on the homes of the most combative comrades the following morning; charges of "instigation to commit a crime" and "slandering of the armed forces"; comrades called to police headquarters under pretext of finding who was responsible for graffiti, and the sequestration of the photographic exhibition.

The obvious aim is to intimidate and keep quiet the only really antagonistic voice in the city, that of the anarchists. Aim that has failed miserably given the comrades' coherent and combative response to these mercenaries. The only thing they managed to take home was 'a bad image'.

Palermo Anarchist Group



At the end of July a special convoy carrying a motor destined for the cooling system at the Montalto di Castro nuclear power station was attacked.

The convoy had to stop in a parking space during the night following a block in traffic of heavy lorries and long vehicles.

The engine, valued at over three billion lire was set fire to by persons unknown with petrol which according to police only damaged the electrical system slightly, while more serious damage was done to the special trailer it was being transported on.

Immediately all the various environmentalist associations took a distance from the attack, "an act quite extraneous to the history and methods of the Italian antinuclear movement. The same applies to the Greens, who stated, "the nuclear project can only be stopped by rigorously nonviolent actions and a wide possibility for debate and discussion".



At the end of July Orazio Valastro was released from Palermo military prison. The demonstrations held in his favour and the struggles carried out by Orazio personally in prison, finally obliged the Italian army to step back, cancelling the threat hanging over him of repeated imprisonment till the age of 45.

Not being able to save face any other way, the warlords responsible for so-called military justice had recourse to the formula of reforming Orazio, declaring him 'sociopathic' therefore illadapted for military service. This decision was made by the army alone. Orazio, in line with his uncompromising stand against the army refused to sign anything to this effect. All the same if 'sociopathic' means to be against the army and capitalist society with all their logic of exploitation and death, then here's hoping that deserters, anarchists and 'sociopaths' will multiply.

Giuseppe Coniglio is arrested on August 25 and taken to Palermo military prison. Between the time of publicly refusing the army and his arrest he had participated in many debates, punk concerts and exhibitions, etc, making his choice and his reasons known all over the country.

On February 24, the opening day of the National Energy Conference, a demonstration of secondary school pupils took place in Turin. Although the demo had been organised by the official left youth parties, the day was spoiled for them when part of the students, along with anarchists and autonomists, broke into the Chamber of Commerce which was on the route and interrupted a meeting of the representatives of the environmentalist movement. Speakers were insulted, and paint bombs thrown against the official speakers.



February 27, the last day of the National Energy Conference, was one rich in antinuclear activity. Among other things the "national antinuclear coordination" organised a blockade, a march and a meeting with the workers and local population at Montalto di Castro. In Rome the demonstration organised by a part of the anarchist movement took place, marked by a clear choice and determination to radicalise the antinuclear struggle and move towards a qualitative development of objectives spread over the whole social territory.



In Rome "Friends of the Earth" shock some incredulous comrades by participating in a demonstration organised by the fascist ecology group "Fare Verde" (do green).

March 13 Giuseppe Coniglio tears up his call up card, explaining his antimilitarist convictions which led him to totally object to doing national service. This took place during a public meeting of the Orazio Valastro Committee at the social science faculty at Catania University.

Leaflet given out on an antimilitarist demo in Catania on April 4 1987

In recent times Sicily has become more and more militarised. (Comiso; firing range in the Nebrodi mountains, proposed depot for radioactive waste in Pasquasia, etc) and increasingly drawn into international tension in the Mediterranean (American aggression in Libya, Italian intervention in the Lebanon).

But military is also nuclear. In fact civil nuclear production does not exist because all the research in this field is carried out within the military structures then passed into the civil field. Moreover, a large part of the radioactive waste from the nuclear power stations is used for the building of atomic weapons.

The antinuclear struggle therefore also passes into the struggle against the military and therefore to the refusal of national service.

The oppressive and dehumanising institution of the army is moreover one of the reasons that is pushing many young men to commit suicide in the barracks because they cannot find any meaning in that year of enforced detention.

But thousands of other youths are rebelling every day choosing different forms of struggle (from conscientious objection to total objection, to desertion). Among these the anarchist Orazio Valastro who has deserted the army and was already sentenced to five months' imprisonment in 1982 and to 8 months in February 1987. He risks spending most of the rest of his life till the age of 45 in prison.

Let us rebel against the logic of the State that wants young people to commit suicide in the barracks and put in prison all those who rebel against this logic.

Against the militarisation and nuclearisation of the social territory.

For the liberation of Orazio Valastro and all the other antimilitarists in prison.

Catania Antimilitarist Committee

We have destroyed the high tension line carrying (wasted) electric energy to the mastodonic mine of Pasquasia, since its origin place of assassination of proletarians (so-called accidents at work) and temple of the historic boss-capitalist-mafia exploitation. It is quite logical that it should now become a place of total extermination, transformed into a homicidal dustbin for radioactive waste. Here is progress for Sicily!

They empty the land of its sons, its identity, then fill it with death and destruction. See our own and the American military bases, nuclear and coal power stations and other highly noxious establishments. We are no longer prepared to be conned! Parties, institutions, religious sects, 'men of culture' and environmentalists have the duty-role of stemming and dissipating the just rage/fear, the capacity for self-determining the safeguarding of our life, our present and our future. In good or bad faith they are an important part of the gigantic repressive counter-revolutionary machine. This machine that must prevent escapes from this generalised prison that the cooked and precooked and coerced schemes of legality and constitutionality represent for the survival of capitalism and the State. They have always been, and if possible are now even more, criminal, warmongering and genocidal assassins.

The final course in this mad race towards perpetual enrichment and global domination, shamelessly passed off as progress, civil society, etc, is the total destruction of our planet which is now taking place. To speak, write, dance, sing, march is not enough to stop this madness and free ourselves from its ferocious oppression. Pacifism is nothing but a jailer (even if among the more intelligent) of men, women and children for the slaughter! We maintain: we can and we must take our fate into our own hands and organise ourselves. Sabotage. Attack. Insurge.

Combattent union against nuclear power

Against the construction of the nuclear and coal power stations.

For the dismantling of all the existing plants for both civil and military use.

On March 8 we cut down a high tension pylon in the Lamezia Terme (Cosenza) region. In this way we mean to strike at the infamous ENEL gang, protagonists in the atomic project in Italy and abroad. We delegate our freedom to control our lives to no one and want to destroy the one they have organised for us now. The misery of waged work, nuclear death, the increasing militarisation of our territory and society itself are the prisons that call themselves social democracy.

The nuclear nightmare is an effective policeman for terrorising the population, creating that state of impotence and delegation in order to continue to govern us. The complicity of the political parties with words and power games and sweet illusions through referendums is clearly trying to kill the antinuclear struggle and bury it in an institutional field. We refuse this.

The farce of the National Energy Conference called by the ENEL, the ENEA and the Government, shows the clear will to make a choice decided upon long ago seem like something to be discussed in Parliament.

Let us spread sabotage over the whole territory striking the structures that are bringing about such projects of death.
Antinuclear revolutionaries

Raids and intimidation in Sicily: four in Ragusa (Franco Leggio, editor of "La Fiaccola" anarchist publications, Pippo Gurrieri, editor of anarchist paper "Sicilia Libertaria", Ragusa anarchist circle, and another comrade); one in Modica, the printer who prints "Sicilia Libertaria"; one in Giarratana (home of anarchist antimilitarist Pippo Scarso) and two in Pietrapertusa (village near Pasquasia). The reason for the raids: searching for arms and explosive material. The only thing found was a copy of a leaflet published in *Sicilia Libertaria* concerning the attack on the Pasquasia pylon.

We have sabotaged a high tension pylon above Crotona, where factories pour out toxic clouds, pollution, exploitation, products as useless as they are poisonous.

THE MAFIA OF CAPITAL AND ITS STATES IS PUTTING INTO EFFECT THE ABSOLUTE DESTRUCTION OF LIFE ON EARTH!!

Their accomplices are the politicians, parties, trades unions, "men of culture", "scientists". The enforced accomplices to their own extermination are the people corrupted and subjected by the myths of "wellbeing", "commodity", "Civility", "progress". We are fighting to free ourselves from this imminent perspective. That can only seriously come about after the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and of the environment.

So we are attacking with **SABOTAGE**, with the **REFUSAL OF CONSUMERISM AND WASTE**, and say: stop immediately every kind of industrial production and carburation (traffic, heating, industry) that is even slightly polluting, and all the other processes of plundering of the environment that are just as stupid and homicidal.

**NO TO IMPERIALIST WAR
NO TO NUCLEAR POWER
NO TO GIOIA TAURO**

who acts for themselves...acts for three.

Palermo Tribunal open instruction against eight people including anarchist comrade Alfredo Bonanno. They are all accused of theft, arson and defamation. The accusation relates to the attack on General Casarico's holiday home about which a communique was published in the anarchist monthly *Provocazione* of which Alfredo is editor.

Orazio Valastro is accused by the Public Procurator of the Turin Tribunal of "condoning various crimes, instigating soldiers to break the law, violation of sworn duties inherent to his status as a soldier". At the same time Alfredo Bonanno is accused of "instigation to commit a crime and instigation to soldiers to break the law". He responds by republishing the article at the source of these accusations.



May 17 a meeting is held in Rome where a national defence committee for the defence of Orazio Valastro is formed to coordinate the many demonstrations, pickets, etc that are taking place in many parts of Italy demanding his immediate release from prison.

A main line of the municipal firm of Vicenza at the edge of town was destroyed by flames on the night of Tuesday June 9.

The damage caused by the fire cost about two thousand pounds. The plant is near the old wall of the Ederle barracks, seat of the Setaf (Southern European Task Force).

The action was claimed in a communique to the local paper signed "communist nucleus" which stated that the attack was carried out in protest against the Venice summit.

...Radical opposition also means knowledge. In the specific case of the nuclear question, rather than lists of facts and statistics, it is interesting to observe for example that as it is the system that pays science, this is never neutral. Given that the system bases its existence on profit, it is mathematically certain that science will operate with that aim. Poor-lucid-shining-robotised-opposers who believe it is enough to find clean energy and everything will be all right. Suffice it to remember that until not long ago ESSO contributed to the construction of nuclear plants to the tune of millions. Now, given the perhaps too many critics and perplexities back home in the USA, the multinational has begun to occupy itself with solar energy. No sooner said than done: ESSO now control 80 per cent of the world market for the production of solar panels. If you don't know how photovoltaic cells are built, try asking those who make them how ecological the acids and the rubbish they handle (and the perfumes they breathe) are.

Dolo "Kollective"

On October 15 in the mountainous area of 'Noce' in the comune of Santa Severina in the province of Catanzaro, an 150 thousand kilowatt ENEL electricity pylon was partly sawn down.

At the base of the pylon the carabinieri found a timer device and some leaflets, perhaps claiming the action which the unknown saboteurs had left behind.



Palermo Military Tribunal sentences Giuseppe Coniglio to 14 months' prison.

Total objector Giuseppe also went on a hunger strike for 15 days when he was first imprisoned in protest against attempts by the military screws to get him to wear prison army uniform (a boiler suit).

Pylon sabotaged at S. Giovanni in P.! Happy New Year! By the 'Wildcats'.

Let's put some colour in life carrying out direct action against the structures of death, the State, Capital.

10-100-1.000 pylons down!!

Pylon sabotaged at Monterenzio (BO) January 6 1988.

We want to breathe AIR not inhale foul homicidal waste.

We want to drink WATER not toxic and repulsive gunge.

We want to eat FOOD not radioactive, dangerous and disgusting 'alimentation'.

We want to work to LIVE not die producing surplus value for the few; waste; military and repressive structures of unheard dimensions.

We want to LIVE AND DIE WITH DIGNITY respecting our nurse, the earth and her children.

We do not want to vegetate in a 'civil' 'free' 'democratic' 'society' that is nothing other than the annihilation of everything that is beautiful, is nothing but genocide, suffering, the annihilation of life.

We want PEACE not social peace, which is the essential condition for the quiet accomplishment of the end of the world at the hands of the imperialist powers and their accomplice peoples and States.

So:
SABOTAGE WAR
to reaffirm DIGNITY

the tribe at war for life

10, 100, 1,000 ENEL pylons down. Against nuclear power plants. A

Sabotage the ENEL structures. Direct action against nuclear power. A

The State and ENEL are terrorists. No to nuclear power A

These writings appeared in Palermo in solidarity with the actions where electricity pylons of the ENEL company were sawn through in Caorsa and Montalto (central line). These are the latest examples in a series of acts of sabotage that have been carried out for some time now all over Italy.

We think the development of this type of action is really incisive in the antinuclear struggle against the State. Not by chance has it unleashed repressive action against all the comrades in the area where the sabotage was carried out. The latest example is the raids in Bologna, and at the home of editor of *Provocazione* and *Anarchismo* in Catania.

Why are the police and the judiciary unleashing such a disproportionate response to this kind of action? In our opinion these direct actions that anyone can accomplish at any time and in any place, possibly frighten them more than the very formation of a closed armed group. This is because the specific armed group is controllable due to the programme and logic that it adheres to, while the spreading of acts of sabotage puts the power structure in difficulty because anyone can carry out such acts. It is enough to obtain a hacksaw and choose a pylon.

This does not please the Greens, the pacifists or environmentalists because such actions undermine their work as politicians tending to homogenise the movement to their practice of platonic dissent.

Against the high priests of ecology we reaffirm our antagonism and disdain.

For we antagonists direct action is an attack against the structures producing nuclear energy.

Palermo anarchist group



We don't know whether the damage was slight or not, and we are not particularly interested. It is the method that counts. We consider once again, and are saying it loud and clear before a heavy hand comes down over our mouths, that it is a method of great interest for the development of the antinuclear—and not only antinuclear—struggle.

The method of direct attack against small objectives spread over the social territory is far more effective than the great spectacular actions and the demonstrations that are as spectacular as they are innocuous. The State knows very well how to manage and exploit these grand actions (kidnappings, armed attacks against large objectives, in fact all of that revolutionary apparatus that requires considerable availability of means and training). It also knows how to exploit the great demonstrations that serve as a safety valve when the pressure of the mass gets too great. What it does not know, and no State can afford a blanket control of the kind without transforming itself into a repressive monster, is how to control and prevent simple direct attacks against the distribution over the social territory of structures that are responsible for projects of repression and death.

A sign of not knowing what to do comes from the comments of the politicians and professionals of repression concerning this action. Right away they began to cry "terrorism", "provocation", speak of monstrous degeneration, episodes that "have nothing to do with the environmentalist movement", and such like. The police have made it known that they have "intensified surveillance" in the Caorsa and Montalto areas. We do not know what the Minister for Home Affairs or the Defence Minister thinks. Perhaps they are studying the way to put a carabinieri or a policeman at the foot of each electricity pylon? Anything is possible. But Italy is a large country. There are many pylons, and saws are on sale freely in all ironmongers' shops.

Provocazione

Sabotage in Bologna during the night between 27-28 February. Two ENEL pylons were sawn down with simple hacksaws.

The bosses of the earth and their Press lie to us! To keep us down while the planet is being bumped off with all of us living on it.

NO to the bosses of the earth.
NO to nuclear power.
NO to the F 16s.

During the night between 12 and 13 March another two pylons were sawn down: one in the area of Rome Settebagni, a few metres from the southbound motorway; another in the Rogliano (Cosenza) area.

The sabotage was claimed with a letter to the press agency Ansa, in which unknown comrades declared themselves to be against nuclear power stations.

During the night of February 17-18 two electricity pylons were attacked: one in the region of Montalto di Castro and one near the nuclear power plant in Caorsa.

As often happens, the news concerning the damage is contradictory: some speak of serious damage which would have been even greater had the pylon fallen completely. Others speak of slight damage. The confusion is considerable and makes us think about the way these two items of news were given. Clearly it is worrying news for the State/establishment/media, because it concerns a revolutionary practice, sabotage, which the State has, ever since the beginning of workers' movement struggles, always had great difficulty in controlling.



On April 13, the day on which the TAR (Regional Administrative Tribunal) of Lazio granted a repeal to the ENEL who were asking for work to be allowed to recommence on the electronuclear plant at Montalto di Castro (the next day Industry minister Battaglia blocked the TAR injunction again "until the Government expresses itself on the reconversion of the plant"), three bomb attacks took place against the nuclear project.

During the night paper bombs exploded against an ENEL research laboratory and two firms, the Carlo Gavazzi controls Co which produces condensers and the Passoni and Villa Co which produces electrical and electronic components.

The attacks were claimed by anarchist comrades in a leaflet which reached the ANSA press agency and Radio Popolare in Milan the next day.

Immediately—with quite singular haste—some components of the Milan anarchist movement released a communique (see below). The environmental association "Citta Verde" (Green City) also made a declaration.

About a week later, on April 19, another antinuclear bomb exploded against the FITRE electronic communications agency in Milan. This attack was also signed with an encircled A.

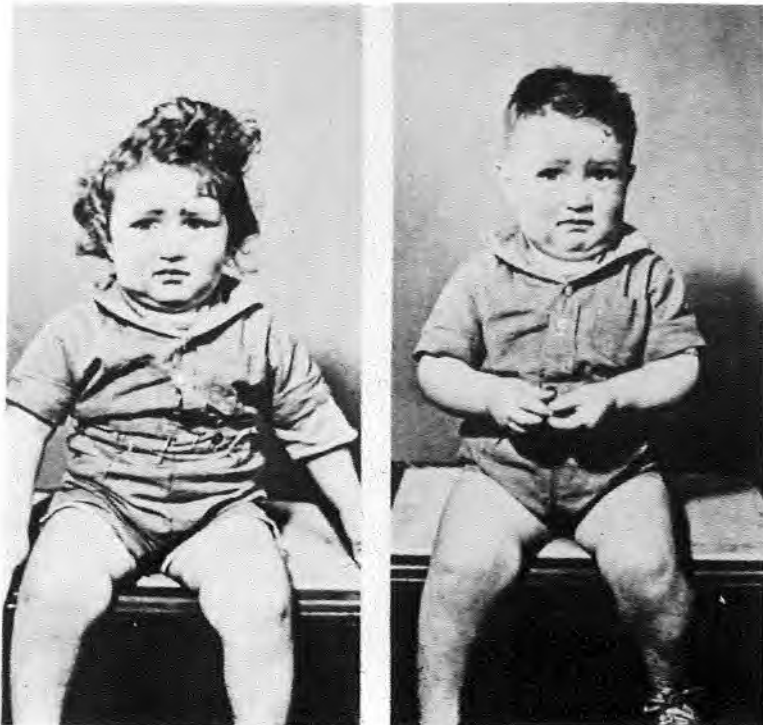
ENEL—thermal and nuclear research laboratory.
C. Gavazzi controls Co.—interests in the nuclear sector and the South African regime.
Passoni and Villa Co.—interests in the nuclear sector.
Against capital and the State, struggle against the nuclear industry.
"...screams with its redeeming breach, DYNAMITE."

We are getting closer. (A)

*from song by ballad singer Francesco Guccini

Against the nuclear industry, we have attacked the FITRE electronic-communications company, via Valsoldi 15.

We are getting closer. (A)



The Milan anarchists of Rivista "A", anarchist circle "Ponte della Ghisolfa", Milan FAI (Anarchist Federation) and Utopia bookshop, in confirming their engagement within the struggle movement against the civil and military nuclear programme, consider that such acts do not serve the growth of libertarian consciousness and the anti-nuclear movement of which they are an active part.

Following the news of the explosion of paper-bombs near the Enel offices in Milan which were claimed by non specified "anarchists" the Milan anarchists who recognise themselves in the organisations and initiatives listed below, in confirming their engagement within the movement of struggle against the civil and military nuclear industry, the day after the provocative decision by the Lazio TAR to grant the appeal by the ENEL against the suspension of work on the Montalto di Castro power station, consider that such acts do not contribute to the growth of that libertarian consciousness and anti-nuclear movement of which they feel themselves to be an active part.

"A"—Rivista Anarchica
Anarchist Circle "Ponte della Ghisolfa"
Milan FAI (Italian Anarchist Federation)
Utopia Bookshop



Not only do we not recognise ourselves in the positions expressed in the communiques, but we consider them a social democratic position dictated by a spirit of pusillanimity and cowardice aimed at keeping away possible repression from oneself. We recognise such antinuclear actions as anarchist and insurrectionalist and we openly give our solidarity to the comrades who carried them out coherently with what we always maintain on the need for the practice of objectives spread over the social territory and the radical attack against the atom technology, not only against the nuclear plants.

We consider these practices of sabotage useful to increase the awareness of the exploited in a revolutionary sense, in that they contribute to dissolving the present spectacle put into effect by the fictitious antinuclear opposition in a parliamentary ambit. They also radicalise the social clash, inviting proletarians to carry out their own subversive direct action outside and against any delegation. The development of the antinuclear movement in a revolutionary direction also passes by this road.

As always, we shall continue to support coherently and with dignity these positions and everything that comrades do in this direction, publishing eventual communiques that reach our editorial, against any cowardly attempt at internal or external isolation and criminalisation carried out by the crows of social democracy within the antinuclear movement. Without fear, as it should be for undomesticated anarchists, but in struggle against the State and capital, we are not afraid to confront repression openly.

Milan editorial of "Anarchismo" and "Provocazione"

Two years on from the Chernobyl tragedy all the power games on the atom front in Italy are over.

Following last year's referendum consultations where the majority of the population expressed themselves as being against nuclear energy, the spectacle is over.

The parliamentophile toxic cloud formed within the antinuclear movement seems to have dissipated, its main protagonists finally throwing away the mask of false opposition, declaring themselves satisfied with the decisions just made by the new De Mita government. The latter as a first act has decided not to continue completion of the work on the electro-nuclear power station at Montalto di Castro (VT), in spite of the "go ahead" given by the TAR of Lazio with the sentence of April 13 1988, and industry Minister Battaglia has communicated such a decision to the ENEL in a letter saying: "The line on which the government is constituted is that of the non completion of the nuclear centres".

It is in actual fact a peremptory invitation to the ENEL to wait until the Cabinet expresses itself concerning the project of the polyvalent reconversion of the plants (to gas or methane); and, more generally, they have to wait for the directive line on which the new National Energy Plan will be traced, which will probably be presented in May. This invitation by the government has been accompanied by ample guarantees to the ENEL on financially covering the costs that the company will have to meet because of this interruption; this reassurance has led the ENEL to repay the contracted firms payment of 90 per cent of the sum due. The reason for this was to undo the threat of the workers working on the plant of carrying out more blockades and demonstrations such as happened in March to defend their wages.

For Montalto di Castro over 4,000 billion lire have already been spent and will never be recuperated.

Moreover, as far as the other two electronuclear plants that are functioning are concerned, the one in Trino 1 (VC) and that in Caorso (PC), they have now been closed for several months, while work on the Trino 2 has been interrupted. All together the energy of Montalto, Trino and Caorso was to produce about 3000 megawatts, a ridiculous sum in the face of national energy needs.

The Communist Party are now speaking of "out of nuclear energy" in its project of maintaining "only a technological presidium".

With its far-seeing decision, the government, as well as being freed from the fictitious opposition to the nuclear programme (Greens, Proletarian Democracy, Communist Party of Italy, Socialist Party and various other environmentalist associations), has taken away any reason for struggle from those who follow the great symbolic objectives. Over the past twelve years they have participated in blockades, demonstrations, decisions and counter-decisions, recourse and appeals, also at institutional level.

That such centralised objectives are no more than an empty wrapping is a fact that can no longer be in any doubt today as the great technological transformations operated by capital have led to decentralising and pulverisation of its industrial project over the whole territory, and the consequent abandoning of the "great cathedrals" (read graveyard factories). Any kind of struggle—moreover in defence of an arrangement that is gradually disappearing—based on huge

central objectives, has dragged along the old proletarian composition of these large production areas, breaking them up over the territory.

In fact the symbolic objectives of that struggle do not seem to have altered capital's projects of restructuring and State control; in fact, though not deliberately, they have ended up favouring it, making the proletarian movement retreat to a defensive position that saw it losing on all fronts concerning the social and economic conditions acquired, with the loss of large slices of guaranteed income by large social groupings due to the sackings. The quality of life has also suddenly been reduced.

Now that it seems the nuclear power stations have formally been put down by the Government, how can these antagonists who on this level have fought generously, defying police baton charges and—worse—the incomprehension of the workers, more intent on saving their own miserable salaries than on putting an end to the death productions, react?

The production of death has not been interrupted by the closure of the plants.

Now what faces all of us is the serious problem of how to attack and destroy the development of atom technology, which is not only interested in keeping a few nuclear power stations functioning. The closure of these has on the contrary served to liberate them of the weight of heavy contestation. There is an inseparable link between the civil and military nuclear industry, the militarisation of the social territory, the nuclear research centres all over the country (civil and military) and industries producing such technology which have contacts with all the new technology present in our country: electronics, micro-electric, information technology, etc. If there is no light thrown on the complexive technological development of capital and the State, where each application of a new technology is strictly linked with other interdependent ones, one ends up fighting only one tentacle, allowing the system to go ahead in an unabated development and domination over society: the tentacle simply reforms elsewhere, condemning us to a sterile and just as unproductive toil of Sisyphus.

We should be looking for example with a great deal of attention at what is happening in the military field in our country. Very probably the same phenomenon as is happening today in the field of arms production will take place; that is, we could become among the largest exporters of such technology, clandestinely and also officially, precisely in virtue of the European Unity of 1992 where frontiers will be abolished, and the multinational dimension of our industries will allow for this kind of game.

One thinks, among other things, of what the Financial Times of last November says where one learns of a report of the American government which was to remain secret (but was instead distributed to thousands of representatives of computer-producing companies) which allied countries are able to produce nuclear arms at the present time. Many of these plants already exist in the countries and are deliberately kept hidden. But, according to this "secret" American military report, countries figure in the list that are officially "nuclear-free". The list includes Australia with 5 plants, Belgium with 12, Canada with 13, Denmark with 1, Germany with 37, France with 29, Greece with 2, Italy with 27, Japan with 31, Holland with 9, Norway with 3, Portugal with 2, Great Britain with 25. As we can see Italy, with no functioning nuclear power stations, finds itself in fourth place.

To struggle against this proliferation of technologies, not only against the nuclear one—if it is true as we have said that in Italy we shall soon assist in an uncontrolled spreading of the same nuclear technology under other names—means to oppose oneself concretely to development on a planetary scale of the projects of domination and ecological devastation of the planet..

Provocazione

(1), (2)
(from page 3)



(3) ENEL: Ente Nazionale per l'Energia Elettrica
(National Electricity Board)

(4) ENEA: Ente Nazionale per l'Energia Alternativa
(Alternative Energy Board)

As cadres of "popular professionalism" we reply to your question on how to saw down the pylons of the atom mafia.

The best way is the following:

You need 6 hacksaws. Advantage: easier to carry, make less noise, far less expensive. Disadvantages: sawing takes a long time.

Moreover you need:

6 100 ml bottles of oil, 15 spare re-enforced blades, 2 pocket torches with side light screened, something to mark parts to be sawn, a handkerchief (on which to change the blades), a tree trunk about 2½ metres long by 15 cm in diameter, heavy winter socks to wear over shoes, gloves.

The best recipe is:

1) Mark all the parts to be sawn, saw all the inferior transversal bars joining the four pillars (at the same level as central pillars are to be cut).

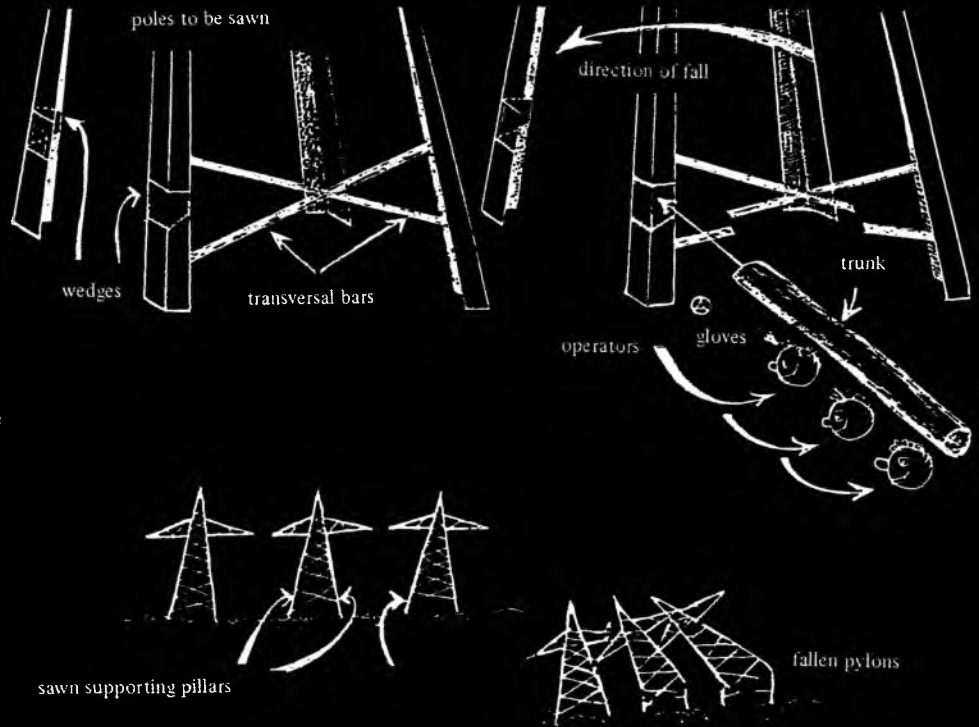
2) Saw a wedge in the two pillars in the direction of the fall (the pillars chosen must be parallel to the electricity cables). For the wedge, first saw diagonally towards the direction of the fall (about 30 degrees) towards the bottom. From a 90 degree angle continue to saw horizontally. Complete the cut, then saw the two pillars horizontally about 15 cm above the oblique cut. Use the saw in two each using both hands (it should only be drawn: it's less tiring and makes less noise).

3) When the pillars have been sawn, put all the tools that have been used together and go to about 150 yards away along the line of escape. Two or three people stay by the pylon. With the help of the tree trunk push the wedges out of the pillars. Nothing happens after the first wedge. When the second wedge falls it is time to leave in the opposite direction to that of the fall (taking small steps, one foot always in contact with the earth). The pylon falls in the direction in which the pillars have been sawn.

4) The time of the fall is a minimum of two seconds. The cables are pulled to the ground by the pylons. Stay bent and very stable. When the cable makes contact with the ground a short circuit is formed.

The action is not advised in the rain as the presence of water makes it dangerous. Calculate enough time, it is not a five minute action. We consider the only dangerous phase to be that of sawing the pillars.

Revolutionary Operators



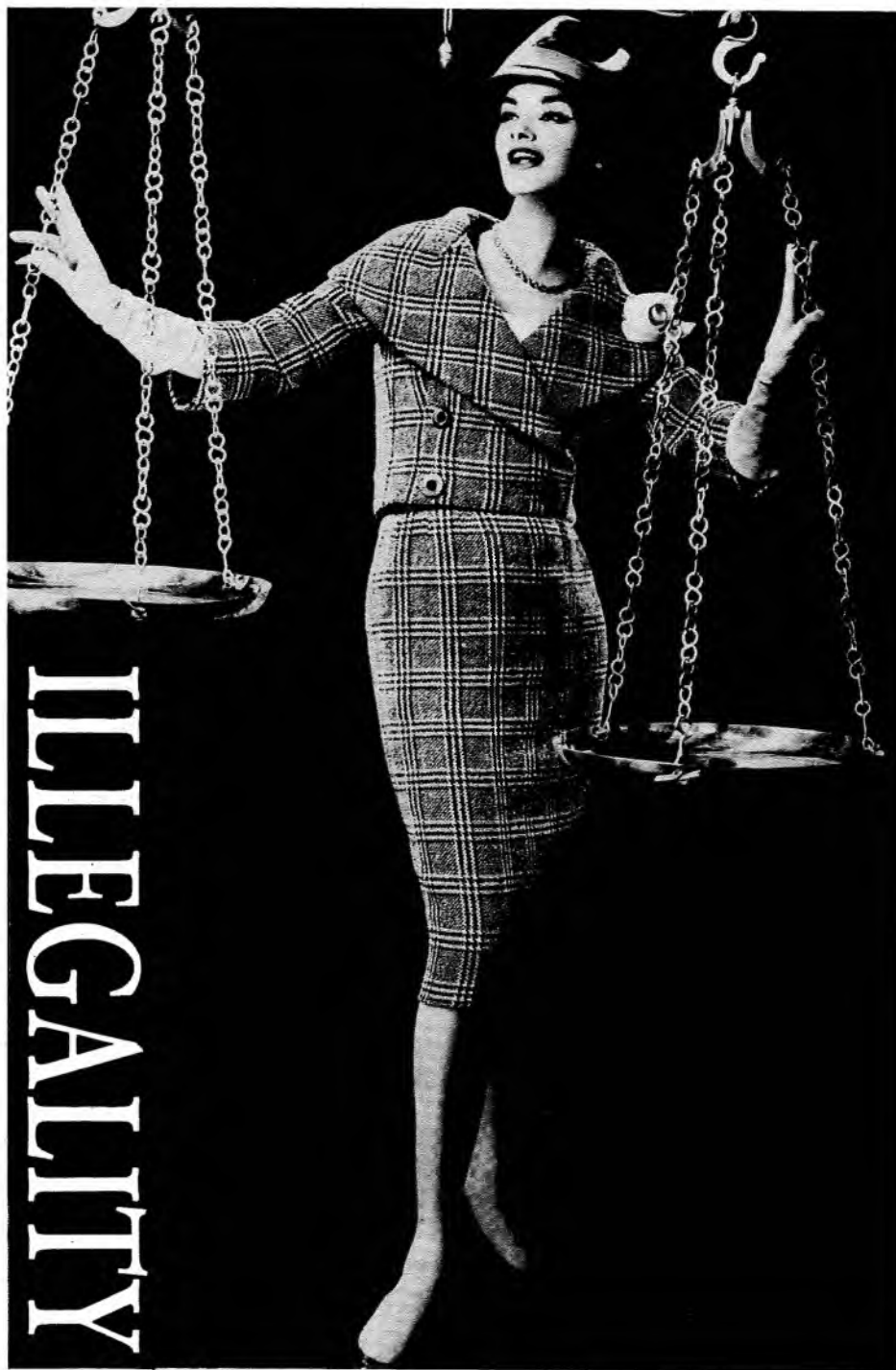
Till we saw again

Learn and apply!



Revolutionary Operators





Simply spreading facts that have been distorted or concealed by the institutional information system constitutes an "illegal" action. Not against one precise law (except in the case of the so-called 'State-secret'), but something that goes against the management of social control on which the State's very possibility of having its laws respected is based.

A wide area of behaviour exists therefore that attracts the attention of the State's repressive organs just as much if not more than that which clearly breaks a specific law.

It can be extremely damaging to the project of State control for certain news to be in circulation at a given moment, at least as damaging as actions falling into the "illegal" category.

This shows that the line between "formal" legality and that of "real" legal-

ity fluctuates according to the repressive projects being put into action.

It varies according to the relationship between State and capital at a given time, and this is established less through recourse to precise laws than through a myriad of controls and dissuasions that only evolve into actual repressive actions in specific cases.

Relation between politics and illegality

Basically all political critique remains within the field of illegality. In fact it bolsters the social fabric and allows it to overcome certain defects and deficiencies caused by capital's contradictions and some excessively rigid aspects of the State.

But no political critique can reach the total negation of State and capital. If

it did it would become a social critique—as in the case of anarchist critiques—and would cease to be a constructive contribution to the institutional fabric, and so becomes "illegal".

Periods of institutional and social equilibrium can exist that allow the existence of a social critique of a radically anarchist nature, but that does not alter the substantially "illegal" character of this critique.

On the other hand, even behaviour that comes heavily under the jurisdiction of the penal code can be considered differently in the light of a relationship of a political kind. For example, the armed struggle of a combatant party is undoubtedly an illegal action in the formal sense of the word, but at a given moment it can become functional to the State and capital's projects of recuperation and restructuring. Here it ensues that a possible agreement between combatant party and State is not impossible.

This is not as absurd as it seems. The combatant party puts itself within the logic of destabilising the existing ruling power for the construction of a future power that is different in form but identical in substance.

In this project, as soon as it is realised that there is no outlet for a military confrontation they make a deal. The amnesty that is being talked about so much in Italy today with the Red Brigades is one such deal.

As we can see, while simple anarchist critique—radical and total in content—always remains "illegal", even the armed struggle of the combatant parties can at a given moment enter the domain of "legality". That clearly demonstrates the "fluctuating" nature of legality and the State's capacity to adapt this to levels of social control.

The exercise of control

The instruments of repression only use brute force minimally. They function to a far greater extent as instruments of social control preventively.

This is applied through a series of provisions for all the forms of potential illegality and deviant behaviour. Potential illegality comes within the law today, but the farseeing eye of the censor looks ahead to foresee their possible outcome. In the same way social deviance today might be a possible object of study or surprise, tomorrow it could become a concrete manifestation of social subversion.

a.m.b.

One of the most disputed principles of the anarchist struggle is that of seeing the possibility for developing a revolutionary dimension within the national one.

This problem gives rise to much fear and incomprehension.

It is said that anarchism, being internationalist, should not concern itself with events related to situations within single nations. The clash between classes puts all proletarians on the same level against the exploiters, so one part cannot be extracted from the social war and restricted to within a single territory or nation.

Other dangers are listed with reference to specific historical situations: dangers of involution, of transforming the national liberation struggle into a florid new nationalism or of giving the local bourgeoisie preference over the foreign one. And many other arguments which to tell the truth are not always serene or well thought out.

Many comrades have not thought sufficiently about this thorny problem. They express judgements based on preconceived ideas, not on an evaluation of the limits or possibilities of a struggle for national liberation carried out by anarchists and laid out on anarchist principles.

As the idea of revolution breaking out all over the planet at the same time is unthinkable, it should not be impossible to envisage a breakout of revolutionary events in one specific place at a time. Now if this is reasonable enough one must admit then that a correct anarchist analysis applied to the main areas of tension would lead to the possibility of intervening in an organised and strategically clear way.

Certain situations exist in the world today that present contradictions of a predominantly national kind. Why is it that anarchists must stay outside them? Perhaps because recent experience has shown that these situations often have reactionary outcomes? Or because nearly all of them are dominated by marxist positions? These are not good enough reasons. One could reply to the first that there is no such situation as one that can guarantee a revolutionary or progressive outcome in advance, but rather that such an outcome would be more probable in the presence of anarchists and their struggle. To the second one could say that the relationship between marxism and the national liberation struggle is purely instrumental. That is, the people in struggle have adopted—especially in Africa and South America—certain marxist ele-

National Liberation Struggle

We must get out of the contradictions and ambiguities that anarchists find themselves in when considering the problem of the national liberation struggle. A proposal for an international anarchist confederation for national liberation.



ments as they have nothing else at their disposition. And is this not perhaps the fault of the anarchists?

We are therefore for intervention in the various national liberation struggles. Not just a general one of solidarity or, worse still, that of systematically drawing political distinctions. We are for an active intervention.

By active intervention we mean not only "real" international solidarity con-

sisting of attacking the common enemy; but also an intervention based on analysis and organisational proposals.

One of the proposals that seems right at the present time and which could become a point of reference in the future, is that of forming an International Confederation for National Liberation, accepting the distinguishing factor of the insurrectional method and the refusal of interclassism.

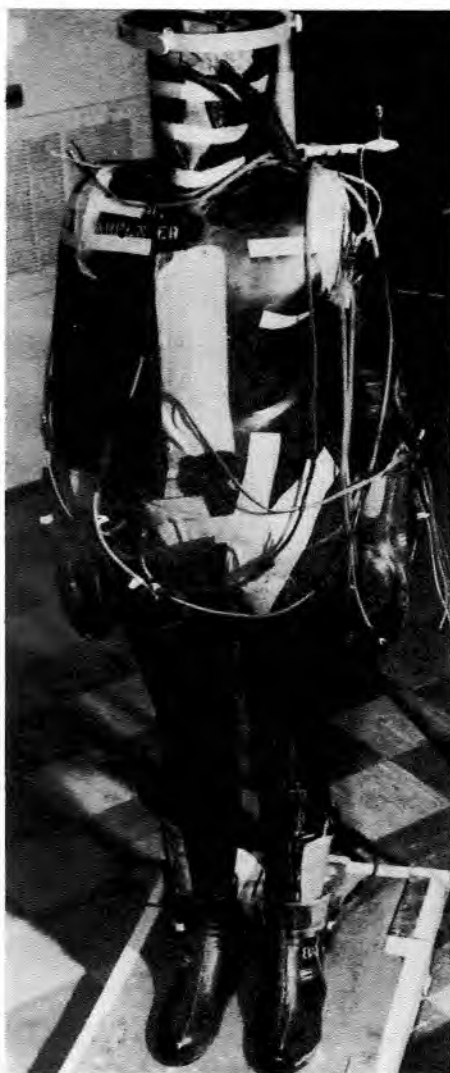
The Nuclear

Much is being said in the Press about bribery and corruption within the Mol nuclear processing plant in Belgium where 321 barrels of plutonium bearing waste material was illegally shipped to plants in West Germany by the German transport firm Transnuklear. The extracted plutonium is then secretly shipped to Pakistan for nuclear arms production.

Meanwhile, the great legal international nuclear mafia continues its world-wide trafficking undisturbed. British Nuclear Fuels regularly imports huge amounts of uranium from South Africa unhindered by such legal niceties as EEC or Commonwealth trade restrictions. Last year of the 1,000 tonnes of unprocessed uranium imported from South Africa, 20 tonnes came to Britain. Processed—probably at Springfields, Preston—it was then exported to “overseas customers”.

In fact, the whole nuclear industry, using the “terrorist threat” as justification for secrecy and policing by special forces, is based on lies, cover-ups, falsifying reports, secret deals, threats, blackmail, murder, genocide.

Protection money, not extracted at the barrel of a gun, but through the legal taxation system under threat of imprisonment, is paid by the mass of exploited to subsidise the production of a whole arsenal of (secret) weaponry and reactors many of which are now dangerously redundant but kept functioning. For example the ones at Chapel Cross, Dumfriesshire and Calder Hall, Sellafield are now 12 years over their 20 year “safety” limit. They supply plutonium for the Trident and nuclear weapons programme, so attempts to have them shut down because of their incapacity to withstand



even a minor earth tremor, have been waived.

Little distinction can be made in fact between “military” and “civil” nuclear plants as the latter’s waste products produce material for nuclear bombs. For example “spent fuel”—still radioactive—from Dungeness on the Kent coast is transported by train through South London regularly in 44 tonne flasks holding more radioactivity than the Hiroshima bomb, to Sellafield where plutonium is tracted from it to make nuclear weapons. However, the so-called civil area of nuclear power production is about to undergo partial privatisation. And the 12 area electricity boards to be privatised are each to be “obliged” (in true mafia style) to ensure that 20% of their power is not of fossil origin, ie will be mainly nuclear. The high costs of maintaining even official safety standards is so high that it is to be expected that even more cover-ups will take place in the future. It was engineers employed at Trwsfyndd power station in Snowdonia who informed the public of their fears concerning secret cooling tests that were being planned and the danger they would have put the local population in. People in the area were ready to evacuate their children before the tests were finally abandoned due to local and international pressure.

Mafia

Apart from the megaplants that are an ever increasing threat to surrounding populations (and beyond, as Chernobyl has shown), there are 1,000 authorised nuclear dumping sites in Britain, and 6,000 sites where it is legally permitted to handle and store radioactive waste. These sites are all protected by the secrecy of the Radioactive Substances Act 1960, where any disclosure of information is punishable by imprisonment.

British Telecom are storing radioactive tritium gas (from the dials of some of the 2 million luminous telephone dials they are dismantling) in leaky containers in a disused car park in Islwyn, Wales. They plan to store between 200,000 and 400,000 curies of tritium gas at the site in Cwmcam. This substance is easily absorbed into the human body. One curie is sufficient to kill.

“Cancer clusters”, child leukemia, the near accidents, accidents and potential accidents are ignored by these mafiosi whose only aim is profit and an ever increasing control of the population. The gang is a tight collaboration of Capital, both public and private, and the State, in the form of judiciary, police, secret services, government, army, etc. These are all structures that are quite identifiable and composed of individuals each one of whom is responsible in one way or another for this project of death.

The struggle against the nuclear project must therefore widen into a global attack against all these structures of dominion by developing the practice of direct action and constant conflictuality in a logic that goes towards mass rebellion. Anything less merely serves to give credibility to the assassins. j.w.

The Struggle in Palestine

The cultural stereo-type presented by the media in past years of the "Palestinian-Arab terrorist" has miserably crumbled over the past months. The true and only terrorists, even to the most politically naive eyes, are the officers of the Israeli army who are ordering their soldiers to turn their guns on young people whose only arms are sticks and stones.

It is striking to see the victims of so many massacres carried out in their time by the Nazis, in the reversed role of persecutors and racist exterminators of another people.

Certainly this is not something recent, but it seems that the world has only become aware of it now.

Now we have before our eyes the vision of a Hebrew colony which, coming from the United States or elsewhere, has invaded the land of the Palestinian poor, suing the organised force of their army, one of the most equipped and militarily prepared in the world, to chase them out of their homes. The numerous acts of violence addressed against this people—ig-

of a few notable individuals who have denounced the atrocities taking place) have chosen to support this racist society purely because it belongs to their own ethnic strain. This strikes a chord with the Hitlerian racism against the ethnic minorities in order to save and purify the Arian race. Such is happening in Palestine today.

The young people rebelling in the camps of Gaza and Cisjordania today were all born under Israeli occupation. Their oppressors and torturers had illuded themselves that after having chased the PLO militants away it had vanquished internal resistance. Twenty one years of military occupation and colonisation of these territories should have erased any trace whatsoever of the old economic and social conformation of the area; and the Israelis were counting on the fact that this new generation of Palestinians born under their State domination would not have the same motives as their fathers to rebel.

It was not like that. In past months all illusions of social pacification have died for the Israeli State, and the Zionist dream of socio-political integration of the occupied territories is disappearing. On the other hand the weight of the PLO inside the Palestinian camps is no longer what it was. Now most of its militants have been living in exile in nations territorially far away from the area. The revolt of the young was born spontaneously, not organised by political organisations, so the PLO is doing everything it can these days to recuperate it.

The young Palestinians no longer believe in the politics of diplomacy acted out by Arafat, nor do they believe that it is enough to carry out some armed action against the Israeli State outside the occupied territories. They mean—as they are demonstrating—to radicalise the violent social clash precisely in the territories in which they are living. In this sense they are showing a social insurrectionalist practice that is far more danger-

ous for the stability of the Israeli State than the strikes which, although they cause economic damage, do not worry it in the same way. Threatening the Palestinian workers with hunger or mass sackings has been a tactic that has always worked up till now.

All the same, although the PLO has been greatly weakened, the same cannot be said for the Islamic religion which seems to be strengthening itself behind the scenes of the conflict.

The main internal danger for the young Palestinians is precisely that of the taking root of Islamic integralism within their ranks, shown by the fact that the religious caste has, for its own ends of power, unconditionally supported the revolt. The Palestinian worthies are not coming out into the streets but they are there, waiting like vultures to take the

place of the Israelis.

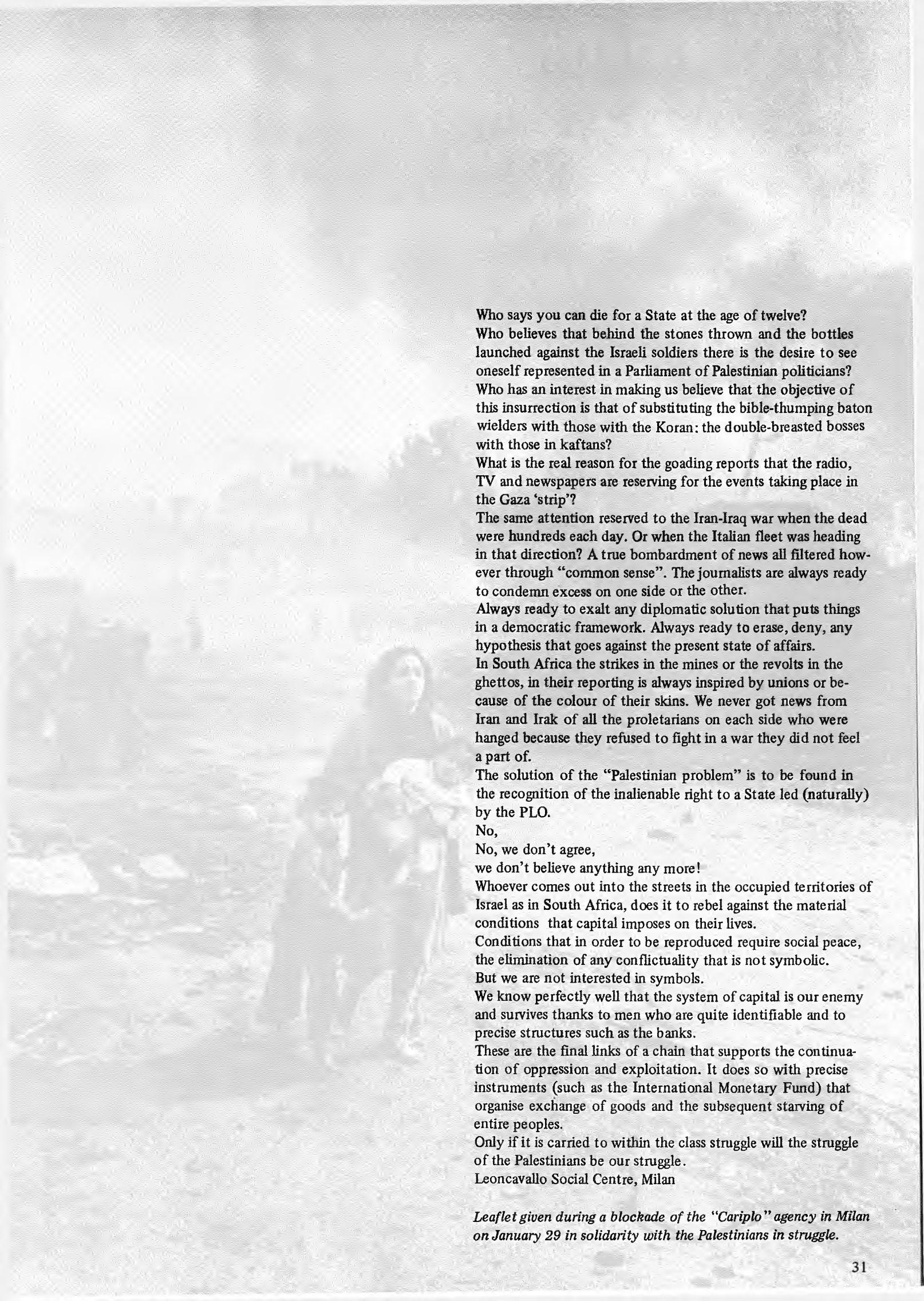
A dark shadow falls over the liberation struggle that is taking place today by the Palestinian people in revolt. It is the will to form a new State either secular or religious depending on the forces that prevail.

What is to be hoped therefore is that the armed clash in this insurrectionalist movement should deepen in such a way that the question does not simply concern itself with the institution of a new State but of going beyond such a miserable political horizon and with it the reproduction of capitalist modes of production.

The young Palestinians, acting directly without leaders, self-managing their struggle, could in fact take this road, utopian as it might seem, having already put the old PLO leader Arafat in crisis. (To a journalist interviewing him, asking who was their "leader", a Palestinian boy replied, "Whoever has a stone in his hand").

But now they must also put the Ayatollah of fundamentalist Islam in crisis to widen their horizons of real liberation.

P.P.



Who says you can die for a State at the age of twelve?
Who believes that behind the stones thrown and the bottles
launched against the Israeli soldiers there is the desire to see
oneself represented in a Parliament of Palestinian politicians?
Who has an interest in making us believe that the objective of
this insurrection is that of substituting the bible-thumping baton
wielders with those with the Koran; the double-breasted bosses
with those in kaftans?

What is the real reason for the goading reports that the radio,
TV and newspapers are reserving for the events taking place in
the Gaza 'strip'?

The same attention reserved to the Iran-Iraq war when the dead
were hundreds each day. Or when the Italian fleet was heading
in that direction? A true bombardment of news all filtered how-
ever through "common sense". The journalists are always ready
to condemn excess on one side or the other.

Always ready to exalt any diplomatic solution that puts things
in a democratic framework. Always ready to erase, deny, any
hypothesis that goes against the present state of affairs.

In South Africa the strikes in the mines or the revolts in the
ghettos, in their reporting is always inspired by unions or be-
cause of the colour of their skins. We never got news from
Iran and Irak of all the proletarians on each side who were
hanged because they refused to fight in a war they did not feel
a part of.

The solution of the "Palestinian problem" is to be found in
the recognition of the inalienable right to a State led (naturally)
by the PLO.

No,

No, we don't agree,
we don't believe anything any more!

Whoever comes out into the streets in the occupied territories of
Israel as in South Africa, does it to rebel against the material
conditions that capital imposes on their lives.

Conditions that in order to be reproduced require social peace,
the elimination of any conflictuality that is not symbolic.

But we are not interested in symbols.

We know perfectly well that the system of capital is our enemy
and survives thanks to men who are quite identifiable and to
precise structures such as the banks.

These are the final links of a chain that supports the continua-
tion of oppression and exploitation. It does so with precise
instruments (such as the International Monetary Fund) that
organise exchange of goods and the subsequent starving of
entire peoples.

Only if it is carried to within the class struggle will the struggle
of the Palestinians be our struggle.

Leoncavallo Social Centre, Milan

*Leaflet given during a blockade of the "Cariplo" agency in Milan
on January 29 in solidarity with the Palestinians in struggle.*

Breaking out of the Ghetto

The struggles taking place in the inner city ghettos are often misunderstood as mindless violence. The young struggling against exclusion and boredom are advanced elements of the class clash. The ghetto walls must be broken down, not enclosed.

The young Palestinians throwing stones at the Israeli army rightly have the sympathy and solidarity of comrades who see them in their just struggle for freedom their colonial oppressors. When we see even the very young of Belfast throwing stones at British soldiers we have no doubt about their rebellion against the occupying army whose tanks and barbed wire enclose their ghettos.

There is an area of young people today however who find themselves in just as hard a battle against their oppressors who find themselves constantly emarginated and criminalised. These young people do not find themselves fighting a liberation struggle against an external invader, but are immersed in an internal class struggle that is so mystified that its horizons are unclear even to themselves. This war is taking place within what have come to be known as the "inner cities" of Britain, areas that are now recognised by the class enemy—the capitalists, with the monarchy leading, and the State in all its forms—as the most fragile part of the class society, one that could open up the most gigantic crack and give way to unprecedented violence.

The young struggling for survival from exclusion and boredom in the deadly atmosphere of the ghettos of the eighties are in fact among the most advanced elements in the struggle in Britain. As such they find themselves surrounded by a sea of hostility and incomprehension, even by those who in terms of their official class positions should be their comrades in struggle. No trade union or left wing party has anything to say about their struggle. They are among the first to criminalise it and relegate its protagonists to the realm of social deviance, perhaps with the distinguishing variable that instead of the 'short sharp shock treatment' they prefer to employ an army of soft cops and social psychiatrists.

The anarchist movement itself, anti-authoritarian by definition and revolutionary in perspective, has so far produced nothing tangible as a project of strug-



gle which encompasses the "real" anarchists, the visceral antiauthoritarians. The forms the violence from the ghettos takes does not have the content of moral social activity that anarchists want to find. This cannot emerge spontaneously from situations of brute exploitation such as exist in the urban enclosures. Suggestions such as those of taking this morality into the ghettos which are then to be defended and "self-managed" in our opinion are quite out of place. They ring of the old "Takeover the City" slogans of Lotta Continua years ago, now just as dead as that organisation itself. The problem is not self-managing the ghettos, but breaking them down. This can only come about through clear indications of a class nature, indicating objectives in that dimension and acting to extend the class attack.

The article by the Plymouth comrades gives an indication of what is happening in most major—and many smaller cities in Britain today. These events do not reach the headlines. In fact most of what happens is not reported at all.

Clearly the conditions of the clash are very different to those where the presence of a tangible "outside enemy" has clarified the position of the whole of the exploited against the common enemy. There is no doubt in Sharpeville or Palestine or Belfast about what happens to those who collaborate with the police. In this country on the contrary, the fact that the latter have made inroads into gaining the active collaboration of people

within the ghettos themselves shows the barriers of fear and incomprehension that exist and divide the exploited in one area.

Levels of cultural and social mystification have succeeded to some extent in confusing class divisions. By defining the violence of the young in pathological or ethnic terms the latter find themselves isolated and ostracised even by those who are nearest to them in terms of exploitation.

The dividing line is a fine one, however, and it can take only a mass confrontation with the 'forces of order' to demonstrate to all where the real enemy lies. This happened in the Brixton riots for example where parents, seeing the police brutality at close hand, immediately moved from a tacit consensus to open antagonism towards them.

Maintaining consensus from people who have very little to gain from the "social order" involves a complex network of media, social workers, school teachers, community leaders, community police, etc, all of whom are recognised as being in positions of authority. That authority is tolerated unwillingly today. It could break down completely tomorrow.

Our work must therefore be in the direction of continually clarifying and extending the class attack by identifying and striking objectives that are easily attainable and comprehensible in the perspective of breaking down the walls of the ghettos and opening up a perspective of mass action against the common enemy.

j.w.

Mini Riots in Plymouth

Attacks on police, burning cars and mass looting are common occurrences. Community workers, church leaders and 'soft' police have joined forces to recuperate the rebellion. We must clarify and extend this class violence.

The centre of Plymouth and its lustreless shopping precinct full of mega-stores churning out consumer trash seems far from pitched battles with police, but these take place regularly on the estates where the inhabitants, especially the young, are excluded from the dubious privilege of participating in the consumerist ritual. As one concerned "community worker" said, there is a Kind of Berlin Wall separating the young estate dwellers from the city centre amenities.

The main scenes of riot are Union Street, the North Prospect Estate, Devonport, Stonehouse, Mount Gould and Plymstock.

North Prospect in particular has a history of riots and frequent attacks on the police. "It was an accepted fact that

hoax calls are made to the police who are subsequently ambushed on their arrival

every November 5 a few police cars would be turned over, trees pulled up and fences pulled down." (ex-resident) Violence is often spontaneous, the people arrested are often very drunk. Shops in the area are looted and alcohol is taken. Sometimes however the violence is more organised: hoax calls are made to the police who are subsequently ambushed on their arrival. The police and their vehicles are generally considered to be legitimate targets.

In September '86 a miniriot took place on the estate. The locally infamous "Swilly", the "homes for heroes" of Plymouth's first post-war "garden suburb" found itself the scene of burning barricades after police attempted (and failed) to arrest youths assembled in Wordsworth Road. Windows were broken, fencing ripped out, cars smashed and houses were stoned. By 10.00 pm after a fierce battle with police, three arrests were made and damage was cleared up. The event shook Plymouth however and an army of church crusaders, community police and neighbourhood watchers were mobilised to ensure a redress of the balance of class power.

At Mount Gould it was the closing down of the local youth club that was the catalyst for violence escalating into riot. The property was owned by a local hospital who wanted to take it back and use it.



The youths and children of the area, finding themselves robbed of the one space they had been conceded till then responded by attacking the hospital with stones. Caches of petrol bombs were dis-

The riot that ensued resulted in considerable damage being done to private and police property.

covered in the area. Nurses were attacked. The riot that ensued resulted in considerable damage being done to private and police property. One of the children (aged between seven and twelve) said they rioted because they saw what Swilly (see above) had achieved (ie heavy grants, large-scale media coverage).

Another typical kind of fighting is that between estates. While this was taking place between Mount Gould and Plymstock residents aged from seven to seventeen, police turned up to separate them and were immediately and spontaneously attacked by both sides recognising the common enemy. They were petrol bombed and a cat and mouse situation

followed. Many young children were arrested. The Plymstock youth club was raided commando-style, with children and teenagers held against the wall, dogs used, etc. Local community (soft police) workers were shocked and changed their view of the police.

Plymouth's main night club (and consequently red light) area, Union Street, is the scene of frequently reported violence (unlike the rest). Every Friday and Saturday at closing time (2.00 am) sailors and marines pour out of the clubs pissed to the eyeballs. Police are attacked frequently in this area and a favourite sport is that of 'turning the riot vans over'. Some of the riots in that area have been organised by local 'community activists'

Looting is becoming a frequent event, as is 'community shopping'—mass shoplifting or daylight looting.

Fire Attacks on Police Stations and Courts

The West Ham police station was set fire to on November 5 last year, Newham East Court, Stratford on March 3, Forest Gate police station met the same fate on March 5 and so did Newham West Court on March 7. A fifty-three year old unemployed man Charles White has been held in custody.

Three red light cinemas, the Embassy, the Orfeo and the Etoile in Palermo, Sicily, specialised in pronographic films were struck recently.



The news comes to us from anarchist monthly *Provocazione*. Here is what they say: "In Palermo the cinemas Embassy, Orfeo and the Etoile, specialised in pornographic films, have been struck. Nothing

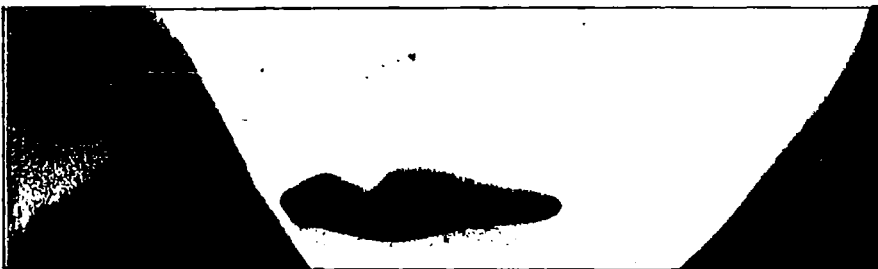


can be more squalid than these localities. Personally we have nothing against eroticism or the fantasy of love. But pornographic reification is as far as one can imagine from creativity, inventiveness, the uncertainty and the problematic search for pleasure (one's own and that of others). This leaflet was left in the areas where the actions took place: "We have stunk out the temple of the cult of reification. rane.



imprisonment of the most beautiful thing we can make and feel, love, so as not to become slaves and accomplices of the annihilation of our real needs. First they take them from us, then sell back disgusting, alienating and toxic surrogates through the mercantile system, making tasty profits. As well as the joke, damage as well!!! Capitalism, its agents and its goods must be attacked and destroyed. We refuse to go along with them. Against the culture of death, war, hunger: permanent rebellion.

Revolutionary Nucleus



The leaflet also gave a few instructions on how to produce a highly stinking compost capable of lasting for a considerable time, so much so as to cause the immediate rush from the localities in question, followed by lengthy, expensive procedures of disinfection. "Take some good large potatoes, cut off the tops, empty the rest without breaking it using a spoon. Fill with oil (old engine oil works best but any will do) and a handful of earth. Put the top back on tightly and attach with string or toothpicks. The 'restructured' potatoe should then be put in a jar of water full to the brim. Close tightly. A week later, holding your nose, use and discard."

Grand National Sabotage

On the morning of the Grand National, day when horses are pushed to the slaughter by the multi-million pound gambling business based on illusions of wealth by the poor, and the greed of the rich to get richer, thirty William Hill betting shop doors in London were found sealed with superglue.

attempting to see the pigs get a beating they will remember. Another reason for their intervention is to try to get Union Street shut down because of the 'hard line' violence it produces and the effect this has on nearby estates.

The 'organised riot' was met by an army of bouncers and doormen who intervened. A masked rioter interviewed on local television next day threatened retribution against the doormen for their "lack of working class solidarity".

There are frequent attacks on police in other areas too. Looting is becoming a frequent event, as is 'community shopping'—mass shoplifting or daylight looting. Highly concealed spy cameras are being fitted by police to try to end this 'organised crime'. The main police response in an area that until recently was under the auspices of Super Soft Cop Anderson, is 'community policing'. They have set up a massive surveillance scheme with unpaid informers on every street, and neighbourhood watch systems. The real purpose of this is capillary social control. The police are on school boards of governors. They run several youth clubs and even took 100 kids on holiday—what better way to find out what is going on—kids (if they are young enough) will talk! Some residents have offered their homes as surveillance points for cops who are very much into 'soft policing', often stopping and 'chatting' to find out more information. They are trying to get the council to open up school playgrounds as playing areas at night. These

We feel this situation is not limited to Plymouth and ask comrades in other areas to make known what is really happening in this country.

are to be well lit to allow police to watch and listen to what is going on.

These new advances in policing and control are to a large extent based on the consent of some of the people on the estates in question. This consent is given in some cases because of fear produced by a violence they cannot always understand.

We feel this situation is not limited to Plymouth and, because such and similar facts are not widely reported, we ask comrades in other areas to make known what is really happening in this country and open up a debate on the question, in the perspective of future action.

Some comrades from Plymouth

Israeli Products Attacked in Solidarity with the Palestinians in Struggle

Various anonymous telephone calls have been made to daily papers in Italy warning that quantities of Jaffa oranges had been poisoned in solidarity with the Palestinians in struggle. The news caused panic.

In Rome the press received notification from 'Metropolitan Proletarians' in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinians, that grafruit had been poisoned. 70,000,000 kilos of the fruit were removed from commerce and supplies to all American military bases in Europe blocked.

On analysis it transpired that the grapefruit contained a harmless blue dye used in certain gourmet fish dishes.



Anti-NATO Attack in Spain

On April 16 a bomb exploded inside the telecommunications centre of the American civil aviation in Los Santos de La Humosa, which is ten kilometres away from the Torrejon US air base, near Madrid.

The explosion caused considerable material damage and no victims. So far no one has claimed responsibility for it.

Prison Parcels

This time for the governors. Two parcel bombs arrived addressed to the directors of two Spanish prisons where Basque guerrillas are being held.

Breaking Out

Seven prisoners being held in cells in subhuman conditions liberated themselves by hitting a police sergeant over the head during an "exercise period" in a cramped corridor. Four police screws were then overpowered and found themselves locked in one of their own cells. Meanwhile the seven unlocked a few doors and walked out of South West London magistrate's court police station unnoticed. A few days later a 21 year old prisoner being transferred from Alton to Winchester prison attacked his escorts during the journey, broke free from his handcuffs and escaped in a police car. The car was later found near Whitehall.



Murder by Media

On March 20, 30 year old James Connelly was found dying in a pool of blood in Walworth, South London. A labourer, he had been in England for just four weeks, his home being in Galway, Eire. He had gone out to buy cigarettes and was stabbed and beaten to death., probably because of his strong Irish accent.

This comes as a direct result of the crescendo of anti-Irish hysteria reached by the Press following the spontaneous crowd reaction against the sudden eruption of two British soldiers at an IRA militant's funeral in Belfast—driving at speed into the crowd, armed, in plain clothes—in the context of the massacre that had taken place two days before .

He is not the only the victim of media-incited hatred of the Irish people. A 52-year old Irish woman was stabbed to death outside a Birmingham pub at the same time, following a row about the same event.

In their delay in handing over the video film of the event, the local BBC boss tried to maintain a position of the media's "independence" from the State. In fact he was only trying to save his own skin.

Without the constant attack on the exploited of Ireland by the media through stereotyping, 'Irish jokes', political fiction (eg TV plays depicting English housewives being blown up by explosives planted in milk bottles by the IRA), misreporting, mystification, all with the underlying theme that being Irish is equivalent to being a crazy violent psychopath.

Without this indispensable work by the media, the British army would not have been able to continue its colonial repression, the beatings, the shootings, killing of children with rubber bullets, the body-searches, the barbed wire. All this, filtered through media lies and distortions are made to seem to the differently but equally exploited of "mainland" oppression, seem not only normal but necessary.

Real internationalist solidarity with the exploited of Ireland must not only include active counter-information but a decided attack on the structures of the media, class war propaganda machine of the State.



Sabotage against the BBC

Four high school pupils had no intentions of playing the game and asking any questions of the establishment pundits. They were all suspended after cutting a cable and wrecking a live broadcast of BBC 4's "Any Questions" at William Farr High School near Lincoln.

Theoretical Clarity

A radical critique of the Labour Party's swindling, embroiling and repressing of workers and exploited for the most part of this century, reached home in the form of a brick through Neil Kinnock's front window. A china ornament was smashed.

Black Liberation

An incendiary device was found on an estate in Pendeford, Wolverhampton just before Home Office minister John Patten was due to arrive to launch a campaign to "cut crime in Britain's inner cities". A call to a local newspaper explained: "if the police do not stop their oppressive surveillance of the black community we will continue our struggle until one of them is dead".

Already in March last year an incendiary device was found outside the Wolverhampton civic centre; in July a car wired with a bomb was left outside the Birmingham Road police station, and in November a police car was petrol bombed when it responded to a hoax call. The Black Liberation Front has also claimed the launching of bricks through the windows of the homes of former Wolverhampton Council labour leader John Bird, and that of a black councillor Mel Chevanne Reeves.

These actions follow the death of Clinton McCurbin, murdered in February last year by police who were arresting him. Needless to say local black leaders whose role is to placate the black population, especially the young, controlling and rechanneling their liberatory needs into harmless repetitive enactment within a tightly ghettoised mentality, have condemned and taken a distance from these attacks with cries of 'agent-provocateurs' 'fascists' and such like, showing their own racism by stating that no black group would want to attack black leaders and politicians. Why not?

Direct Action against Shell in Holland

One day early in March, the Shell petrol pumps in over 20 Dutch towns were damaged in protest against the company's refusal to stop dealing with South Africa. Petrol hoses were cut, self-service machines wrecked and the slogans "Shell blood" and "Shell supports Apartheid" were painted at the sites.

Rioting in Shaftesbury Avenue

English football fans fought police and smashed shop windows in Shaftesbury Avenue on the day of the England/Holland football match. Later, at the match itself, police in riot gear came under a barrage of cans by about 500 English supporters outside the stadium.

PRISON

As anarchists we are against all prisons. Mass breakouts, individual escapes, attacks on prisons under construction, counter-information, are some of the struggles that come from this area of ultimate restraint by capital and the State.

However, with the restructuring of capital we can also see the beginnings of what will be a vast restructuring of prison as it manifests itself today. The prison of the future will extend over the whole territory. Old ideas of social correction when it was believed that detention would alter behaviour, will come to be substituted by the ideology of control and consensus.

The enclosed space gives little guarantee of control. Apart from increasing social tension the traditional type of prison is becoming more and more contradictory and expensive.

Easier to build a wall around the dominant class. Not a brick wall but a wall of "diversity": diversity of language, values, perspective, culture, etc.

It won't be easy to scale this wall. As for the irreducibles, those who continue to show signs of danger for the State's plans of control, there will always be the traditional prisons, increasingly isolated, increasingly "super", and increasingly "special".

Physical annihilation will take the place of social orthopaedics in those cases. Prison will return to its old role of being a rational system for securing the death of the prisoner in the shortest possible time. The illusions of the Enlightenment will disappear for ever.

But apart from this minority of irreducibles, what interests Power is the control of the great mass of exploited. And this control will necessarily come about in a "consensual" way, not in an "obligatory" or "violently" contradictory way.

The first objective to be reached therefore will be that of "participation". The greatest number of people will be enclosed in a project of "recuperation" at all levels. They will have the illusion that they are "participating" in the management of public affairs: in the programming of their own lives.

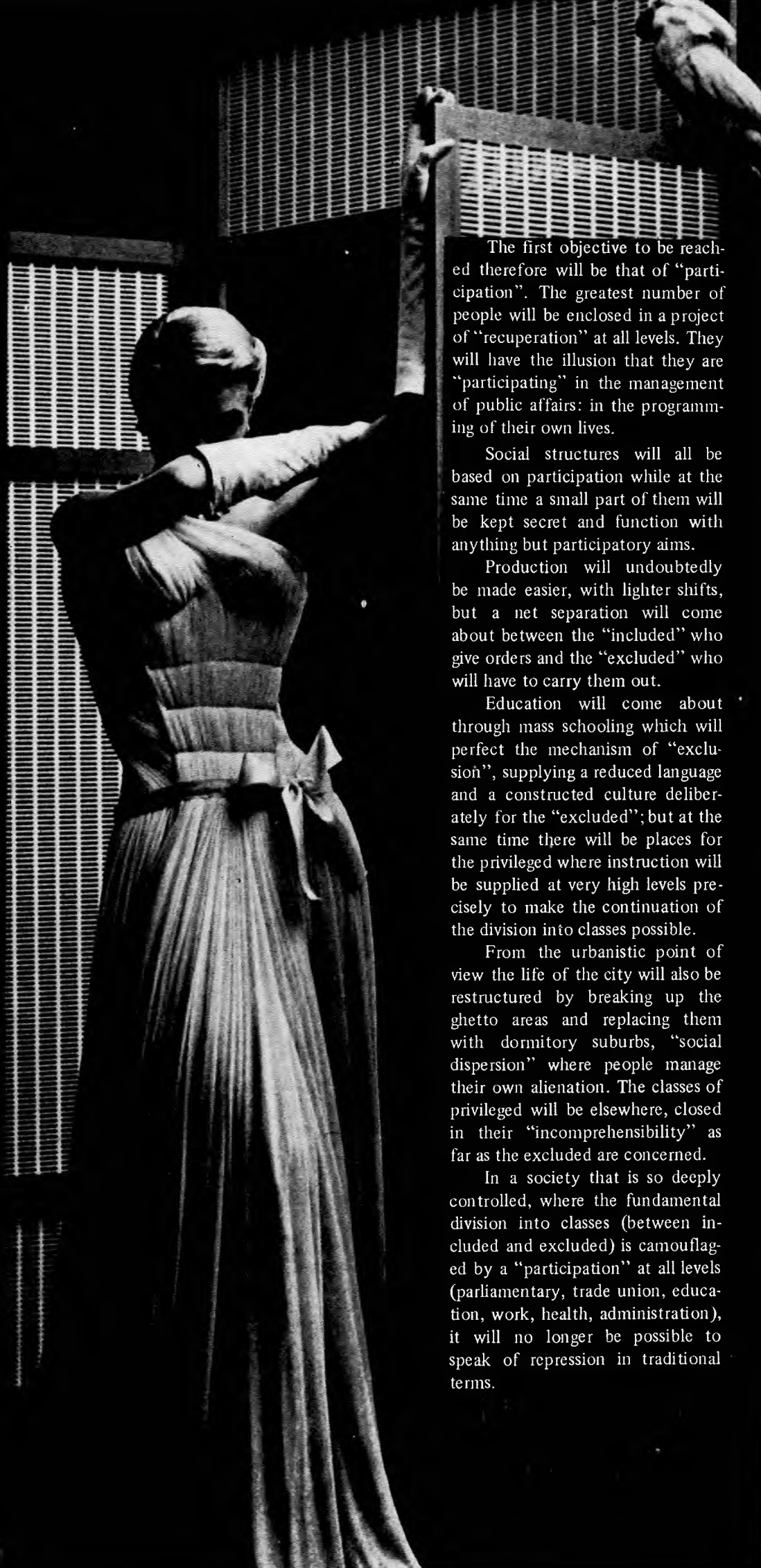
Social structures will all be based on participation while at the same time a small part of them will be kept secret and function with anything but participatory aims.

Production will undoubtedly be made easier, with lighter shifts, but a net separation will come about between the "included" who give orders and the "excluded" who will have to carry them out.

Education will come about through mass schooling which will perfect the mechanism of "exclusion", supplying a reduced language and a constructed culture deliberately for the "excluded"; but at the same time there will be places for the privileged where instruction will be supplied at very high levels precisely to make the continuation of the division into classes possible.

From the urbanistic point of view the life of the city will also be restructured by breaking up the ghetto areas and replacing them with dormitory suburbs, "social dispersion" where people manage their own alienation. The classes of privileged will be elsewhere, closed in their "incomprehensibility" as far as the excluded are concerned.

In a society that is so deeply controlled, where the fundamental division into classes (between included and excluded) is camouflaged by a "participation" at all levels (parliamentary, trade union, education, work, health, administration), it will no longer be possible to speak of repression in traditional terms.



Sabotage Against Two Bastions of the British Ruling Class

During the night of March 6 two incendiary devices ignited, one in Selfridges in Oxford Street, the other in Harrods in Knightsbridge. The actions speak for themselves. Not only were they striking at merchandise and consumerism, the objectives chosen are in themselves monuments of a class that enriches itself through the rationally planned exploitation and genocide of men, women, children and animals that knows no national boundaries.

Molotovs Against the Police in Belgium

On April 23 in Brussels nine police cars were set alight.

Two cars were struck by molotovs while they were parked in front of police stations. The others were set fire to directly inside a private garage where they were being overhauled.

Massacre of Tikuna Indians in Brazil

The Tikuna are the largest Indian tribe in Brazil. The Amazon region, their home, is under invasion from timber companies and gold prospectors.

At the end of March a group of about 90 men, women and children had gone to Capacete as they had an appointment with a National Indian Agency lawyer and a police officer concerning the theft of one of their animals by a local trader and timber operator.

Camped around the house of a relative, the people waited in vain for the officials to show up. Instead the timber operator appeared himself, with about 20 armed men who immediately began shooting the unarmed Indians. Fourteen of the men, women and children were shot dead as they ran for their canoes in an attempt to escape. 27 were wounded. No one has been arrested.

This is just the latest act of blind violence in the attempt to move the Indians off land that is coveted by timber companies, mining companies and gold prospectors. The National Indian Agency is helping them in their genocidal project by removing doctors and nurses, leaving the Indians without any medical assistance to fight the disease brought in by these new invaders.

Paint Bombs Against the 'Restotram' in Turin

In April the "Ristotram", a luxurious mini-"Orient-Express" reserved for the bored rich bourgeoisie who have lunch while going on a tourist trip round the city, assisted by a number of fascinating hostesses, was inaugurated in Turin.

But on April 23 some of the corpses in party clothes suddenly found their "journey" brightened up when the white carriages were hit by paint-bombs thrown by a group of young people who had surrounded them outside the Duomo cathedral. Some windows of the luxury tram were broken and passengers were stained with black and red paint.

Paper Protest

On Easter Monday CND demonstrators outside Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Establishment, Berkshire, tied thousands of paper doves to the perimeter fence.

Living with Danger

On March 31 a French Mirage jet crashed into a hillside near three nuclear power stations in Bavaria. Around the same time an unexploded mortar bomb was discovered buried at the site used to store radioactive waste from Sellafield.



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ANALYSIS FOR AN ANARCHIST PERSPECTIVE AGAINST POST INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

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With the industrial worker no longer central to production as emphasis changes from industrial to intellectual technology in the creation of post industrial capitalism, *Riot to Insurrection* shows how this new logic of capital is creating islands of privilege for those INCLUDED in its project. Changes such as decentralisation of production, use of computers, robots, the pre-eminence of the services sector, polarisation of education, all create barriers against the mass of EXCLUDED who will only be allowed access to enough of this new dominant LANGUAGE to use passively. This inaccessibility and segregation is essential to the repressive project because without a LANGUAGE in common the EXCLUDED are deprived of even knowing what to ask for. This results in the latter being pushed in a thousand ways towards impetuous, irrational, spontaneous rebellion. For in this new phase Capital has made reformist politics and parties redundant along with the industrial worker. The class struggle has not been overcome as some say therefore but has changed its form. *Riot to insurrection* gives a clear perspective of what is happening around us and with its analysis opens a door to formulating new ways of organisation and intervention. With this short and concise pocketbook ELEPHANT EDITIONS have brought to the attention of English readers an essential analysis which will stimulate to say the least.

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FOR THE COMPLETE OVERTHROWAL OF EXISTING SOCIETY

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AND LET YOUR IMAGINATION DANCE FREE
BEYOND TABOOS AND INHIBITIONS

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THAT SUBMERGE REALITY UNDER STRUCTURAL GHOSTS
CONGEALING PASSION AND LIFE
WITHIN THE PREFABRICATED SCENARIO OF TERROR
WHICH LIKE GANGRENE SPREADS ITS DEATH SONG

DON'T BE CAGED INTO COLLECTIVE ALIENATION
THAT MENTAL PRISON OF CAPITAL AND STATE

TO SEE IT SHATTER WON'T BE A HAPPY SIGHT FOR THEM

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