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325 #10

Editorial

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Welcome to **325**, an anarchic project of counter-information and armed critique. As we put this issue together, which is one of our shortest and most concentrated in content, Autumn falls and climate chaos storms USA. The origins of this periodical started 10 years ago and from the love, nurture and reciprocation that **325** has received, it has grown to become part of a dynamic international tendency. **325** provides some context and free-space for not only anti-prison dialogues and anarchist-insurrectionary action, but for anti-system and anti-market praxis. It is a meeting place of affinities and unknown friends who have decided to find each other and confront the existent.

With this issue we wanted to explore the topic of the 'prison-society' and the logic of information technology which makes it possible. Other articles outside this section in the magazine speak for themselves, such as the article **Disreputable Mavericks** by **Venona Q.;** the presentation by **Jean Weir** (which considers at points the armed group **Azione Rivoluzionaria**); the interview with **3 eco-anarchists** in the UK; the necessary proposal **Lone wolves are not alone** by the **Conspiracy of Cells of Fire / FAI-FRI**... and more...

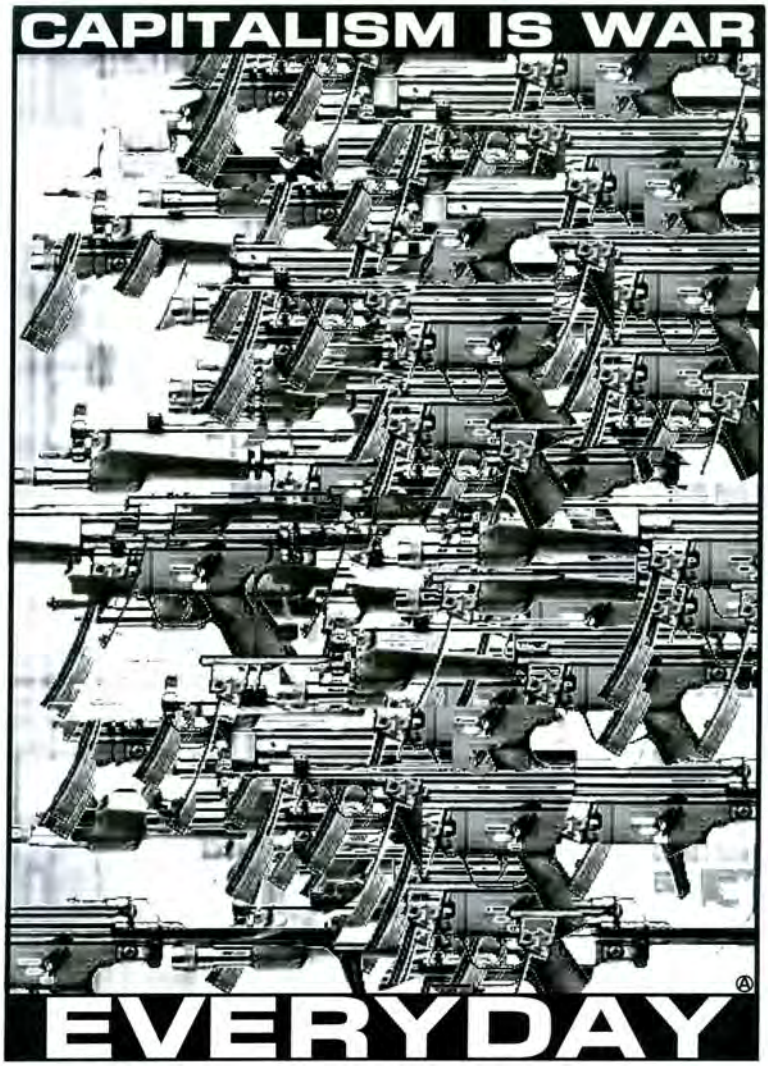
Our relentless sister publication, **Dark Nights**, which is now a downloadable monthly on our website, also carries regular anti-repression reports, prisoners letters and direct action news circulated via the **international network of translation & counter-information** and so reduces the need for **325** magazine to contain an almost chronological overview of the events of the year through this lens.

We are proud of everything this zine has achieved and played a role in during the ten issues that we have been pasting it to together, and warmth is extended to all those individuals who have played a part in whatever way with us.

All those who fight against us only make us more committed and prove the intractability of the new urban struggle. Repression will not stop the hurricane, the diverse refusal spreads alongside the growth of the new urban guerilla, who begin new developments in global and local phases of direct action unpredictably.

Affinity groups; permanent conflict; subversion; mutual aid; international solidarity - The evolution of the lasting asymmetric insurgence is only becoming more evident. From strikes and street barricades, to sabotage and attentats, the struggle continues to send a vision of freedom around the world for all to see and act upon.

Against State, Capital and the network of domination.



Contents:

2 - Editorial
3 - One Year After...
5 - On talking less...
6 - Direct Action Chronology
8 - War against the information-age: a future of mass social control
10 - "Class Modifications" by Alfredo M. Bonanno
11 - Perspectives about the energetic collapse of the techno-industrial society
13 - Bio-economy, a way out of the crisis...
16 - "Excluded and Included" by Alfredo M. Bonanno
17 - Science in the aid of control: Robotics and aerial drones
19 - Earthquake in Emilia Romagna: drones, surveillance and social control
20 - Radioactive spills and nuclear crisis
21 - "On Sabotage and Terrorism" by ProvocAzione
22 - "Fragment: Illegality" by L
23 - "Disreputable mavericks - a measure of unpopularity" by Venona Q.
24 - "With all means possible" by Mario 'Tripa' Lopez
25 - "Tattoo" by Landeg White
26 - "Armed Struggle and the Revolutionary Movement" by Jean Weir
29 - Solidarity with Sonja & Christian - Revolutionary Cells (RZ)
31 - Interview with 3 eco-anarchists from UK
41 - "Lone wolves are not alone..." by FAI-IRF/CCF

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EXPERIENCE IS OUR MOST POTENT ALLY

One Year After...

One year after the **August 2011** rebellion thousands sit in jail while the government, rich and cops continue lording it up. The climate chaos caused by industrial capitalism seems more obvious, even to us without a scientific understanding of the issue, never-ending rain and torrential flooding has replaced the heat waves of previous British summers. Misery increases throughout the base population while the elite spit their contempt at the poor.
The London Olympics was a spectacle of police militarisation, social control and flag waving *'all in this together'* bullshit. Anyway, the reality around us is obvious. The world ecology is going down the pan and the dominators – the capitalist class, the different governments, international finance – are consolidating their control, creating walled prison-societies with extensive surveillance and militarised police while increasing the subjugation of workers and the whole social base to the demands of the economy. They socialise the expenses of economic and ecological chaos and privatise the profits.

A neat trick. In this context the powerlessness of 'struggle' within the legal framework of democracy is obvious. The non-violent social movements, 'radical' organisations and trade unions are impotent and can only hope to support their own internal hierarchies while pleading for bread from the elite's table, spouting hot air and indignantly complaining.

Rioting and direct attacks on the system are our reply to all this. We don't believe in the old socialist hang-up of 'mass' versus 'minority' action because we're not democrats or populists, we are revolutionaries – individuals who act in revolt in the first person, for ourselves, without mediation, leaders or any need for 'social consensus'. We're not lefty activists 'serving the people' (whatever that means!).

Here we'd like to address other people who also feel the need for a revolutionary perspective and projectuality. All you that want to see uprisings like that of August 2011 spread, intensify and continue.

Those who do not believe the time is now to organise ourselves individually and in clandestine formations to carry out violence against the system say that such orientation and activities are pointless in times of social peace without a 'working class revolution' or 'mass movement'. Well, we can clearly see that when a 'mass' uprising occurred in the UK, anarchists for the most part stayed at the sidelines of the revolt either shaking their heads dubiously or clapping from the couch.

The possibilities of revolutionary self-organisation

We were among the rioters but we believe that much more can be accomplished. Spontaneity can be powerful but for revolutionaries that's not enough. We must be prepared to advance our creative-destructive project with consistency and clarity. This begins at an individual level and we should never underestimate the effects a single person who has clarified their ideas and acts with precision and dedication can have. And the strength of the affinity group (a 'cell' of two or more friends-comrades that's based on close mutual knowledge and trust – which comes about through discussion and action together) and of the wider revolutionary 'front' is based on the strength of the individuals that make it up.

Obviously such an informal revolutionary organisation cannot effectively just spring up and leap into action when uprisings 'occur' but must be honed beforehand. (It's worth pointing out that uprisings cannot be delineated in space-time as narrowly as politicos tend to do but are the big explosion of rebellious tendencies that are already in motion – or did you think that the rioters in Tottenham had never run together and faced the law?) Revolutionaries must become used to carrying out actions individually and together, analysing the social context and ourselves, becoming familiar with the means and methods of attack, having an on-going project and a plan how to act in insurrectionary (and potentially insurrectionary) situations that may arise.
This includes becoming familiar with the enemy and the structures and mechanisms of the system, so they can be effectively struck. Agility is essential because quick reactions to social events can be decisive and have far-reaching effects – if it takes us days or weeks to respond to a situation it may well have totally passed us by.

Tactical strikes on the functioning of the system

In insurrectionary moments, such as August 2011, revolutionaries can act to spread and extend the suspension of normality, focus on particular targets influencing the direction and narrative of the revolt, and (tactically) escalating the conflict and weakening the forces of repression. In these moments of chaos it's also possible to seize resources for ourselves through break-ins and armed robberies with greater chances of success and it's possible to hit targets of particular significance to us. You can

complain from the sidelines that an uprising is too consumerist and focused on looting or you can get stuck in and take things in the direction you'd like things to be going.

In terms of sabotaging normality and spreading chaos relevant targets include the electrical infrastructure, rail grid, underground and buses, fiber-optic cables (for internet and TV), transmission masts used by the police and firefighters, radio stations, and mobile networks (though its' worth remembering that uprisings nowadays often utilize mobile phones, though this is not always a positive thing as phone records may be used against rioters later by the State). Mass burning of cars, bins, barricades made from tires, and so on are also possibilities. Signals of lawlessness and disorder provoke lawlessness and disorder, as the police well know.
'Crisis' can lead to a carnivalesque, tense and exciting atmosphere where the suffocation of everyday life is replaced with a sense of widened possibilities. People come out into the street.
If revolutionaries strike the infrastructure of transport and mass indoctrination (TV and also internet!) people cannot go to work or receive the usual line of opinions from the system. This is a way of spreading and lengthening insurrectionary situations. If schools, universities and workplaces are attacked and either destroyed or temporarily shut down a return to normality is blocked and these miserable places are struck which is a worthwhile end in and of itself. Of course, we cannot ignore the backlash of reactionary contented slaves but we're not that bothered by this inevitability.
No revolutionary should be, as this has always happened before throughout history in reaction to all but the most superficial and reformist struggles.

Anarchists in the last few years in the UK have already been burning police, private security and other corporate vehicles, transmission masts, and the signal cables of the rail network. Simple explanations of how to manufacture basic incendiary and explosive devices with materials available to anyone are readily available online. There are many suggestive examples of fiber-optic cable sabotage as well. For instance in Nord Pas de Calais, France, on July 19th, 2010, anonymous saboteurs cut the fiber-optic cable between the TV-signal broadcaster and the transmitters, preventing the broadcasting of regional programming by France 3. And on March 28, 2011, a 75-year old pensioner in Georgia was digging around for scrap metal in a rural area and accidentally cut a fiber-optic cable that disabled the internet for thousands in Georgia and neighboring country Armenia.

Of course periods of rioting end and the State takes its' revenge.
What then? Well after the August 2011 revolt incidents of rebellious arson continued – even kids setting bins on fire counts, it's a manifestation of a desire to keep the 'exciting' (enlivening) carnival of destruction going. Unfortunately it wasn't the catalyst for any consciously revolutionary movement to emerge. Here the possibilities of a visible and permanent anarchist struggle are worth considering – including action within the framework of open informal organisations like the **Black Bloc**, the **Earth Liberation Front (ELF)** and the **Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI) / International Revolutionary Front (FRI)**.
If anarchists had been a publicly visible force of anti-system violence – before, during, and after the uprising – it seems far from improbable that at least some rioters who didn't want to stop when everyone else stopped might have joined this movement. This movement isn't a 'political' movement but the movement of permanent conflict with authority.
We also think that the police, politicians and media deserve a reply to their terrorism against the rebellious sectors of the population and 'an eye for an eye' is in order. They shoot us, taser us, beat us up, throw us in jail, and evict us and our families from our homes, while dehumanizing and belittling us. When will we return that terror to where they live? To their homes and offices? When will they feel a bit of the violence they've directed at us all these years, all these generations? It's an open question. An open possibility.

Spreading anarchist ideas and the spirit of revolt through action

In a world of so many so-called communication technologies, human communication is actually extremely impoverished.
Unsurprising, and just another example of how technological systems have mutilated us.
In the cybernetic democracy of the totalitarian new world order, the pre-packaged opinions and 'Likes/ Dislikes' of the atomised consumer-citizen cogs replace the give and take, richness and depth, of real communication. Language itself has been drained of meaning, so that at times the metropolis is just like the Tower of Bable, where nobody can understand each other (apart from subgroups divided by walls, physical and not). Action breathes life into ideas and opens up new possibilities of direct communication of subversive and revolutionary values and goals. Those who have claimed attacks with communiqués and explained their method have contributed to others knowledge of how to carry out such actions, as well as spreading revolutionary anarchist discourse.
So the minimal actions of attack carried out singularly or by affinity groups mainly for 'practice' can be worth communicating.
Communiqués can be a signal of disorder letting other potential comrades out there know anarchist subversion is a reality. Also, if communiqués are sent to the mass media they may reach many more than the obscure zines and blogs of the movement, spreading revolutionary anarchist ideas and practices. It's a possibility among many, to be considered in the given circumstances without either any kind of fetishism or any purist dogmatic refusal.

We aim for the creation of a multiform anti-authoritarian struggle that is based on insurrection right away, drawing from desire and conscience rather than tired political

schemes. Nothing is coming except chaos as there are greater disruptions and conflicts within the system, and all beings that want to not only survive but survive with dignity in accordance with their nature must create a force.
Educationalists hope to change the minds of the masses through passive protests and shrill arguments 'exposing' the evils of the system – in the face of the media forces the system has, the unappealing ineffectiveness of these reformists, and the force of everyday life in the system ('normality'), these efforts are insignificant. People know it's all fucked up – there is just a lack of defiant spirit or expansions of the horizon of possibilities through the 'insurrectionary break'. Violence has always been the tool of the oppressed and it is through action that anti-authoritarian values can spread. These values are active revolt, not passive contemplation of the evils of the state and capitalism, much less a Messianic faith in some mass movement that will appear from nowhere and liberate humanity!

The revolutionary wager

The secret is to begin. To begin to organise ourselves and assess our possibilities as determined individuals, organise ourselves into affinity groups with trusted comrades, enter into common struggle alongside other comrades of the international autonomous insurrectionalist movement and as part of the subversive struggle of the oppressed against domination – whose faces may not be known to us and who know speak many different languages. With courage (in our ideas as well as our actions!), dedication and perseverance, resourcefulness and creativity we can achieve much. What we write here is as much a self-clarification and attempt to put down some directions we'd like to move in as it is an invitation to people throughout the UK and beyond to self-organise and attack.
We have not even begun to really see what is possible.

"What forms will this action take? All forms, – indeed, the most varied forms, dictated by circumstances, temperament, and the means at disposal. Sometimes tragic, sometimes humorous, but always daring; sometimes collective, sometimes purely individual, this policy of action will neglect none of the means at hand, no event of public life, in order to keep the spirit alive, to propagate and find expression for dissatisfaction, to excite hatred against exploiters, to ridicule the government and expose its weakness, and above all and always, by actual example, to awaken courage and fan the spirit of revolt."
- **Peter Kropotkin**, The Spirit of Revolt

On talking less...

It can be asked that in an magazine of thousands of words, what place has the guidance of *"less talk"* - unless it is finished by the usual rejoinder; *"more action"*. Yet, we're uneasy with this slogan. If our actions are accompanied by imprecise words, how can the struggle against the system be outlined accurately? Is it possible to fight using the reductionist language that always seems to end up scrolling past and through us in both phrase and concept?

In these societies which sell our rebellion back to us, we should be aware, self-critical and able to move in terms of how we communicate - how the information of *who we are* and *what we want* is expressed and received. To be closed within a bubble of self-reference that does not look forward is not something we want to reproduce, because such a thing can't grow and become more than it is.

In our own experience, anarchists write because they want to maintain the presence of struggle and tension against the capitalist social peace and because they want to communicate with anarchists in other countries. Anarchists write in order to boost rebellion, because there are many people both inside and outside the prison walls who want to hear, write and discuss about it.

Anarchists write because direct action in it's truest sense is frequently not possible - we cannot destroy whole, governments, transnational industries, corporations or relationships by attacking single or even multiple targets, which is often all we can do at any one time - although we would wish it to be otherwise. Even taking out a piece of infrastructure or the entire houses of parliament is not enough to put the brakes on the system, though it might disrupt it for a while. Actions sometimes require an explanation. However, we just say that communication appears to be appropriate at times, but certainly not at all times. As in

everything, we must try to remain flexible. To assess moment by moment the climate in which we are living, how things change, reflections on the impact of our actions and our words, and digesting events and incidents (and anarchist responses to and engagements in these). Since all is in flux, we must be also. We have as our goal and as our teacher the concept of congruence - that the strength of our actions is congruent with the force of our words and vice versa. It is generally our opinion that any communications should generally aim to be concise, interesting, well-researched and not complicated or longer than needed, to prevent specialisation and political separation. The different elements that we arrange during the sabotage action or the violent attack are the angles of approach entering into a curve, a spiral which doesn't repeat what went before but continues onwards, learning from its descent, perfecting its trajectory.

One of the features of anarchic-insurrectional struggle is that of self-replication, the desire being for the analyses and methods of attack to spread throughout the base population. In order for these things to spread, one must disclose them. This requires the use of some kind of information conduit and also the ability to choose the most appropriate symbolism and be able to explain it into a context. In a world in which our communities are not geographical, familial, work-based etc., then we are left to fall back on disseminating our ideas and our actions through other means than face-to-face; or simply relying on the passers-by who witness the burned out building or car - whose demise is often meaningless without an explanation, much like an alphabet is before you learn to read. Maybe some think that no interpreter is needed, but by refusing to communicate the intent of anarchic acts, the problem is that the anarchist project simply becomes a dialogue between the anarchists, police crime statistics and the media-spectacle, rather than a dialogue being potentially opened between the anarchists and other rebels in the base population.

To spread insurrectionary ideas by refusing to communicate them is like attempting to spread a potent virus by keeping the carriers in quarantine!

One of the key symptoms of the system we live in is isolation. We do not valorise this isolation by adopting the strategy of absolutely unknown affinity groups performing uncommunicated acts of destruction, although it'll definitely play a part.

Isolation is the great weapon of the State, of Capital, of the Security Services, of Society. And it is a great killer not only of individuals on a daily basis, but also of revolutionary spirit. Revolutions require momentum. Insurrections require momentum. Change of any kind, if it is to move out of simple doubts, questions, concepts and dreams, requires momentum. This arises out of a collective transformation that comes about through communication. This is surely what the insurrectional strategy is. To act, to agitate, to disseminate methods and thus to open up terrains and spread the conflict, individually and collectively.

DIRECT ACTION CHRONOLOGY

This is a brief incomplete list of attacks, rebellion and sabotage that happened over the last 3 months that hasn't appeared in ***Dark Nights****. For more reports you can follow the updates from the* ***international counter-information and translation network*** *listed on our website. Fire to the System!*

26 October, West Burton, UK: 30 environmental activists shut down the new West Burton power station before climbing the chimneys to prevent it being switched on again. At 2am, under cover of darkness, fifteen of them infiltrated the site, split into two groups and began the 300ft climb to the top. They built barricades to defend their positions. The plant was shut down. The action was to highlight natural gas exploitation, climate chaos and fuel poverty.

23 October, Bristol, UK: A CCTV company which places cameras in schools gets one of their vehicles burnt in revenge by the **Anti-surveillance cores**.

19 October, London, UK: The "Spirit of London" bus which was the tribute replacement for the double-decker destroyed in the 7/7 terrorist attacks was burned, destroying the entire upper deck. 2 teenage girls were arrested.

18 October, Trento, Italy: Mobile phone mast set on fire in solidarity with persecuted anarchist Massimo Passamani, who is on house arrest accused of subversive association. From the communique: *"Let's hit Capital. Let's hit its ability of electronic reproduction. Freedom for Massimo".*

18 October, Cardiff, UK: Offices of the UK Border Agency *[immigration police]* get their windows smashed and sloganised because of the forced removal of the Saleh family to Egypt. Resistance to the deportation was very active and anger against all borders and regimes grows.

10 & 12 October, Athens, Greece: AB Vassilopoulos supermarket branch and Postbank branch torched by **Revolutionary Groups for the Dispersion of Terror - CCF/FAI**.

29 September, Athens, Greece: An anarchist 'commando' unit attacked an anti-riot unit with molotov

cocktails. The action is claimed against the repression of the general strike and in *"solidarity to all dignified hostages of domination"*.

29 September, Athens, Greece: Acropolis police station attacked with molotov cocktails and barrels of petrol. *"It was a dynamic reflective move as an answer to the orgy of police oppression of a junta style that we all experienced on the day of the general strike on 26/9, with the hundreds of detainments, arrests, the public humiliation of the arrestees, the chemicals and the beatings at pre-gatherings in neighbourhoods of Athens and the main demonstration. The scumbags of the Greek police, from the leadership down to the last little cop guarding a police station, should know that nothing remains unanswered. ... Incendiary greetings and raised fists to all the comrades who are being tried for the cases of the* ***Revolutionary Organisation Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (RO-CCF)*** *on October 8th. Honour forever to comrade Lambros Foundas*, who was, is and will be forever by our side at every moment of the attack."*

27 September, Buenos Aires, Argentina: Police car torched by **FAI / Cholera Cell** in Buenos Aires.

26 September, Nottingham, UK: 2 G4S private security vehicles get slashed tires, paint-stripped and exhaust pipes snapped by anarchists.

24 September, Athens, Greece: The anarchist group **Fires on the Horizon / FAI** take responsibility for burning offices of Transam Trading Co Ltd, which sells high technology control systems, specializing in various types of high-tech cameras and X-ray systems to scan packages-parcels etc.

24 September 24, Valley of Chalco, Mexico: A police patrol car is ambushed and opened fire on, killing all police on board. **Insurrectional Cell Mariano Sanchez Anon / FAI** take responsibility for the act.

23 & 24 September, Chelyabinsk, Kolomna, Russia: 18 pheasants liberated, a mobile phone mast torched, and apple and maple trees planted on territories where it had been possible to stop a clear-cut. **Wolfpack ELF/ALF-Russia - FAI** took responsibility.

21 September, Athens, Greece: Concentration outside the German Embassy with banners and solgans of solidarity for Sonja Suder (79) and Christian Gauger (70), who are accused being members of the **Revolutionary Cells (RZ)** and taking part in direct actions in the 1970's. Both were fugitives for more than 20 years in France, but last year the French State decided to hand them over to Germany.

18 September, Manchester, UK: 2 police officers executed with pistol and grenade.

18 September, Trento, Italy: In the centre of the city about 30 CCTV cameras are vandalised with red paint and many slogans painted for the freedom of imprisoned anarchists.

16 September, Catania, Sicily: 3 banks got attacked in the night, windows destroyed, ATMs sabotaged and slogans written for anarchist prisoners.

14 September, Vienna, Austria: The Greek Embassy is attacked with paintbombs and a window is destroyed, the actions is claimed in solidarity with the Delta squat in Thessaloniki, Greece, which was raided and evicted by police, and where one comrade - Gustavo E. Gonzales - is still imprisoned.

14 September, Santiago, Chile: **Autonomous Cell of Revolutionary Crime** take responsibility for a bombing of an Automotora ONE car dealership and Jaime Guzman Memorial, a symbol of capitalist domination.

13 September, HMP Dartmoor, UK: 2 prisoners managed to get onto the roof of the prison for a protest of several hours, before being brought down by screws. This follows a 9-hour protest by 3 prisoners in HMP Coldingly, Surrey on the 27 August.

11 & 12 September, Catania, Sicily: 8 ATMs sabotaged and a bank window smashed in the city and surrounding areas, claimed for anarchist prisoners.

13 September, Larisa Prisons, Greece: The inmates begin a work-strike and the next day some begin a hungerstrike, demanding better conditions and an end to the prison-system. Inmates in Trikala, Grevena, Domokos, Malandrino, Komotini, Korydallos, Patras, Corfu, Chios, navplio, Diavata and Alikarnassos also participate in the joint mobilisation.

9 September, Santiago, Chile: **Autonomous Cell of Revolutionary Crime - Black Flag (NACR-BN)** takes responsibility for the placing of an explosive device against the Union Club, a place of the bourgeoisie.

8 September, Santiago, Chile: Bank of Chile blown up by the **Vandalist Cell for the Spread of Rancor / FAI**.

5 September, Buenos Aires, Argentina: Leloir Institute of Switzerland attacked with rocks and paint bombs, banner unfurled in a gesture of solidarity with eco-anarchist prisoner Marco Camenisch.

4 September, Farindola, Abruzzo, Italy: Incendiary attack on mobile phone mast claimed in solidarity with those under repression in the country.

2 September, Turin, Italy: Around 30 hooded comrades destroyed 3 banks, wrote anti-system slogans and broke CCTV cameras, they were armed with paint, stones, sharp sticks and metal bars.

31 August, Manado, Indonesia: Electrical substation attacked with incendiary device by **Long-Live Luciano Tortuga Cell - International Conspiracy for Revenge - FAI/FRI**. Action claimed for anarchist prisoners worldwide and imprisoned comrades in Indonesia.

29 August, Parma, Italy: 3 mobile phone masts set on fire in solidarity with anarchist prisoners.

19 August, Buenos Aires, Argentina: FIAT car-showroom torched by **Friends of the Earth / FAI**. Claimed for anarchist prisoners

13 August, Athens, Greece: The HQ of Trastor REIC, a large real-estate agency, is attacked with an incendiary device by **FAI-FRI Unit 'Fire to sweatshops'**. Claimed for anarchist prisoners.

** Lambros Foundas is a slain anarchist combatant and member of the armed group* **Revolutionary Struggle**.

War against the information-age: a future of mass social control

As capitalist imperialism consolidates its economic borders through an ongoing paramilitarisation process and harmonised internal policing structure to cope with increased external war and social-ecological collapse, there is an amplification of repression in response to the manufactured 'crisis' of the bankers. Enough decentralisation in the hegemony is maintained to allow internal security services to retain sufficient self-rule to operate according to the local situations, but generally speaking, the areas of amplification - 'terrorism' and immigration (specifically mass incarceration and deportation) - correspond with a rise in an encouraged nationalism and the prison-society.

The legislature of the new authoritarianism is in fact not a new set of laws, but rather the amplification and conjunction of existing laws that carry themselves forward to meet *"new threats"*. The prison-society is firstly an information-age authoritarian social model, as information technology and the new sciences are the key to its infrastructural progress and evolution. The prison-society is not just the regime of 'intelligent' surveillance cameras, databases, police-stations and prisons, it is urban planning, biometrics, contactless smart chips, electronic tagging and pattern recognition. It is satellite mapping, private security armies, automated drones and unmanned border planes. It is universalisation of social welfare systems, banking and corporate services. It is telephone voice analysis, high-definition CCTV, facial-recognition systems, "X-Ray" microwave scanners, covert units of police for breaking and entry, bugging and tailing, and the global surveillance network, **Echelon**. It is blacklists of 'subversives', 'criminals', 'immigrants' and 'terrorists'. It is concepts and viral messages from the powerful, beamed directly into your head 24 hours a day, reprogramming your reality through television, newspapers, advertising, radio and internet.

It is the strength of the marketing poll, the consumer survey and the pressure group. It is the tax office, the exchange rate, the currencies and their manipulation. It is the details of countless numbers of individuals being processed by machines. It is statistics and their virtualisation.

It is in the minutiae; it controls your existence without you even seeing a prison-guard, it controls your routine, sets the clock, sets the debt and spends the wage. It fits the lock and fills the cell. It is an industry, a society, a way of living. It is the future you were born for, and the life of regulatory servility it forms people to fulfil.

Embryonic, it is distributed and skeletal in form at present, but already controls all important state structures in the post-industrial centres of power. To a lesser extent in the peripheries, such as South East Asia and Latin America, the prison-society is reconciling and overcoming the contradictions inherent in the classical fascist and dictatorial social control model through consumerism.

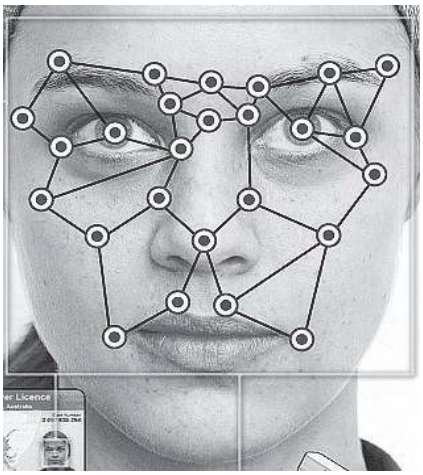
The control society being constructed gathers enough information to assess individual activity and potential for deviation from top-down generated norms. This includes monitoring physical features (eg: maintaining a national computerised biometric and DNA database etc.) and location (eg: GPS, mobile-phone location, financial services tracking, internet tracking etc.), combined with behavioural patterns such as what is consumed and accessed (eg: library books, food shopping, transport, leisure etc.). The outcome is the dream of the cyberneticians of social control – the perfectly ordered utopia where each polices the other and the machine runs all.

Geotime, a security programme used by the US military, and now being used by the London Metropolitan Police creates a graph of an individual's movements and communications with other people on a three-dimensional graphic. It can be used to collate information gathered from social networking sites, satellite navigation equipment, mobile phones, financial transactions and IP network logs. Links between entities can represent communications, relationships, transactions, message logs, etc and are visualised over time to reveal temporal patterns and behaviours, and to highlight previously undetected links. Once millions and millions of pieces of microdata are aggregated, you end up with a very high-resolution picture of a targeted individual or group of individuals. Curtis Garton, product management director for **Oculus**, the company that markets the programme, is quoted as saying *"... in terms of commercial sales pretty much anybody can buy,"*. Professor Anthony Glees, director of the University of Buckingham's Centre for Security and Intelligence Studies, said he was aware of tracking software such as Geotime, the use of which he described as *"absolutely right"*. He is quoted as saying: *"My feeling is: if it can be done, and if its purpose is the protection of the ordinary citizen that wants to go about their lawful business ... then it's absolutely fine."*
These product developers and academics of social control are the architects of structural hierarchy and injustice.

New technology is introduced in the following sequence: military hardware/

personnel (eg: internet; cybernetics, satellite technology, microwaves etc.); prison & policing (eg: electronic tagging, 'non-lethal' weapons, 'area of denial' systems, 'public disorder' situations etc.); civil population (eg: home CCTV systems, personal computers, new products, leisure time etc.).
This sequence returns military advances to entertainment, and conditions the population to be dependent on the pieces imposed on it by the system of militarism.

Technology seeks to disappear, in an ongoing process of miniaturisation, nanotechnology being the present expression of this tendency. This is to become the invisible background and context of what we do and how we live. Machines and the bureaucratic processes they initiate have come to dominate human behaviour and damage the Earth. It has created a situation where ordinary people are excluded from the processes of the system around them and lack the ability to make any real decisions over their lives. In the creation of 'useful' tools, human skills have migrated to machines. Modern social control is now defined by growing militarisation of the internal police force and transport infrastructure, with development in the use of cutting-edge technologies in the gathering and profiling of information that can be used and acted on in a model of population management. All this requires networks, servers, routers, transmission and conduit systems, admins, back-ups, contingency exercises. Cybernetic modelling by multinational corporations and information-age nation states already altered warfare and civil planning decades ago. The management of a city is the management of only so much information. The political and capitalist functionaries understand this, that is why it is logical to them to allow machines to become the city.



Technological convergence in fields such as artificial intelligence, biotech, robotics, nanotech and information technology is the current expression of hierarchical relationships that are based on a newly defined poverty gap of understanding, knowledge and language.

Control of information is the defining factor in the control of modern wars. As our lives take place in a social war for survival against the techno-system, information warfare and information control/distribution are two key factors in the new urban war which is taking place between the system and the people of the world it wants to conquer. The social clash is defined by access to information like any other resource or commodity. Huge gulfs in access are simply a form of the division facing excluded people, who have been cut from the means to secure their survival.

Information technology has its basis in a purely productive, quantitative sense: mass society requires it. Information technology is what enabled the Third Reich to execute its final solution: the well known machines of **IBM** completed a feat that would have taken civil servants too long to do before the end of the war, and filed 6 million people to their deaths. Efficiency and utilitarianism combine to form the present.

In the capitalist economy, the flow of information is encountered as an item to be processed with as much scrutiny as any other controlled item. Information is as precious as, sometimes more than, the realities it refers to. Accordingly truth has a value (economic), secrecy being quantifiable.

The 'intelligence agencies' and units of secret police decreasingly rely on so-called 'human intelligence': less people on the street, less physical surveillance but more agents behind desks analysing 'signal intelligence' instead. Presently machines can scan for keywords and patterns, but it takes transcription and analysis by humans, which still takes time. This means that often digital methods of monitoring can be defeated by face-to-face informal meetings and being aware of the operating environment. Despite the buggings, tailings and psy-war, direct action and sabotage continues to spread, along with the internationalist anarchic virus.

Information control is a state of war: internal borders, check points, so-called 'green zones' and 'total security' environments. The important questions are still: who knows what, where, when, how and why! Information war is "impervious branding", "negative briefings", it is the "spinning of facts", black and grey propaganda, the fabrication of "narratives" etc. It is a list of names, a list of materials or a list of instructions.

Internet and social media are transforming the way people interact, and what they demand, as. Information which was not widely spread 30, even 20 years ago now circulates freely, and there are more possibilities to access previously 'forbidden' knowledge than ever before. From trade secrets on methods of production, to government files on wartime atrocities, it is easier to find out about several different shades of truth than ever before, but it is absolutely meaningless without the will to use this information to act. Through consumerism, a comfortable liberalism has

evolved in the post-industrial core. In the long term, the failure of traditional supplies of resources (the situation of peak oil production) will lead to shortages and conflict. The nation-states cannot fulfil the demands of the people any more, and their only future is to sell out to corporatism if they wish to hold their ranking positions and maintain order. They are entering a period of unprecedented 'crisis', with little hope of recovery unless the development of new technologies for energy supply and production can prevent an overwhelming collapse in industry due to the depletion of resources and the fact of scarcity. Despite this, capitalism can and will adapt to any phase of deprivation, as the plan of the banks is to capture as much social wealth as is possible and eviscerate the ability of the nation-state to resist their manipulation of the economy and government.

Reconfigurement of power appears immanent, accompanied by a totalising interlinked corporatist future. Corporations are networked entities that have monolithic agendas, but because they are subject to the whims of Capital and State, they constantly break apart and reconfigure. The actually immutable nation-states cannot adapt to the new cybernetic, networked, corporative future unless the 'democratic' relationship it manages itself on is rejected for the adoption of the prison-society as the social model. It already moves in this direction knowingly. The nation-states will be superseded by the corporations and will come to rely on them more, whilst the corporations rely on them less. If the nation-states seek to dominate or subvert them, they'll most likely fail.

Now a point is reached where the strategic narratives which kept back the unleashing of revolutionary libertarian violence are crumbling as populations in revolt confront the plans of the rich. The post-industrial nation-states are at risk, and are increasingly revealing their own developed and connected prison-society projects; the ascendant form of power relations backed by the multinational corporations.

Some of these corporations have greater gross domestic product and paramilitary capabilities than many countries and are responsible for more injustice and exploitation than many small dictatorial states.

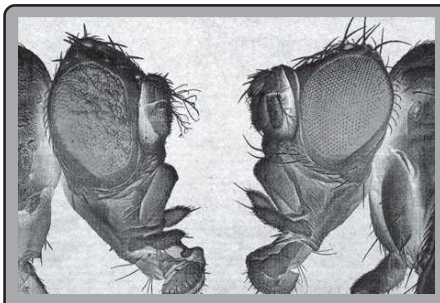
In the globalist modern society, attacks should be properly understood as information. Rapidly moving image-narratives and violent models of urban rebellion against the system have spread, moving amongst the disaffected of the world. In the age of instantaneous data-exchange, the actual technical rupture created by sabotage is often minor compared to the impact it imparts as a signifier of collapse and refusal. The capitalist system and civilisation itself can absorb the vast majority of sabotages and attacks, but the new media which is based on self-production and self-replication is creating international 'communities' of rebellion with shared intersecting global histories. Highly symbolic content exchange, theme-repetition, maximum-distribution and propulsive coherence are the aim. The destructive violent attack or anarchist sabotage, added to its method of communication - the powerful image or communique - is the blood of the new anarchist direct action, communicating a radicalised awareness based on methods of participatory organisation and the proliferation of destructive and iconoclastic ideas.

Anarchistic and nihilist ideas are anathema to the information-age, they are the glitch in the database society which escapes classification and control. The imagination walking; dangerous and capable of unforeseen actions and moments of interconnection.

The future of civilisation is an increasing merger of state and corporate power, with the new sciences as an essential ally. With war and crisis always as a pretext, the elite have declared dominion over every free individual, animal, plant and wilderness.

Emerging as the omnipresent machine intelligence that forms human beings to its whims, it damages and manipulates entire continents of beings. Reflecting our emptiness and our loss, the prison-society must be fought, because the logic which it operates on is a system of closure of parameters that work by exclusion of vast amounts of alternative possibilities and potentials. It is self-referential and non-creative; it pursues a model of progress that is the abolition of personal individuality and freedom.

Our struggle pushes forward into the future, let's strike again the concepts and mechanisms of their control.



Class Modifications

... The revolutionary motto, *'We can destroy everything because we can build everything again, as it is us who produced everything'*, attributed to Durruti, but which however circulates (and circulates) within the traditional working class (which in some ways still persists as a class, in the defence of wages if nothing else); is no longer correct.

Today we could substitute it with another kind: *'We must destroy everything, because we will never be able to use in a libertarian way what the bosses are building to guarantee their dominion, and because it is a question of something that we could never* ***know*** *remaining within a class dimension such as that of today.'*

In the past, destruction might have been an 'accident', Not serious in any case, because from the ruins we could have rebuilt a world of freedom. Today it becomes a necessary road, because only through the destruction of everything that the bosses are building, at least starting from the use of post-industrial technologies, shall we be able to build the free society of tomorrow.

Alfredo M. Bonanno

Verde: new UK anarchist distro & press

Sovereign Self - *Highwayman Press*
Freedom: My Dream - *E. Arrigoni*
Origins of the 1% - *John Zerzan*
Uncivilized: *Best of Green Anarchy*
Enemies of Society: *An anthology of individualist & egoist thought*
Destroying Civilization, Destroying Nature - *Wolfi Landstreicher*
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Perspectives about the energetic collapse of the techno-industrial society

Practically everything we do, from eating an ice cream to crossing the Atlantic, and from baking a loaf to writing a novel, involves the use of coal, directly or indirectly. For all the arts of peace coal is needed; if war breaks out it is needed all the more. In time of revolution the miner must go on working or the revolution must stop, for revolution as much as reaction needs coal. Whatever may be happening on the surface, the hacking and shovelling have got to continue without a pause, or at any rate without pausing for more than a few weeks at the most. In order that Hitler may march the goose-step, that the Pope may denounce Bolshevism, that the cricket crowds may assemble at Lords, that the poets may scratch one another's backs, coal has got to be forthcoming. But on the whole we are not aware of it; we all know that we 'must have coal', but we seldom or never remember what coal-getting involves.
From *"Down the mine"*, an essay by
George Orwell

Let's start with a proven fact: every system of production is sustained on the finite availability of material; human and energetic resources. A lack of one of the latter will see the collapse of one production system to give way to another. Entire Empires (from the Maya to the Romans) fell because of the burnout of natural or human resources, more than from external enemy attack. Before industrial and global civilization arrived there was a solution for the population: many could escape to other lands not so devastated by human action or to rural areas, but now the situation is different because there are almost no lands free of human intervention.

Another thing: the discovery of new power sources involves more complex, hierarchical and massive social models. Not to mention the military/police forces required to conquer the few deposits left of these sources. It's obvious that in a system where human, vegetable and animal energy prevail over the rest, it will be easier to obtain a certain autonomy; as a protocol of control and centralization over the production, transport and transformation is not necessary..
Just like petroleum or other fossil resources, massive construction of solar cells, nuclear plants and giant mills require high specialization levels and an enormous amount of investment (which only a State or a big Corporation can afford).

Until now, industrial society has been possible thanks to these fossil energy sources. They were cheap, very efficient, and thanks to petroleum, very easy to handle. As the economy grew it was necessary to increase production as well. But everything has a limit, infinite growth is impossible and this or maybe last year we reached that limit, the global oil peak according to the theories of the engineer Hubbert arrived. Without enough petroleum the economy doesn't grow and in capitalism that means crisis, inflation, unemployment and so on (and we are living in the preliminary stages, wars for resource control included). But it won't be a typical crisis, as the ex-environment French minister Yves Cochet said: *"When petroleum reaches $100 it won't be a normal crisis, it will be the end of the world as we know it"* (The recent financial crisis proves it clearly).

We are not talking of travelling less by car, we are talking about food, water, health, everything, because in this age everything depends on petroleum. The other day we could see a curious news item hidden among the rest of the news: the USA is going to ration rice because producing countries such as Vietnam and Cambodia are closing their frontiers to exports. More hidden news is riots and protests that are spreading all over the Third World countries because of the price of grain. In contrast, as hunger spreads, the European Union wants 10% of fuel to be "biofuel", paying farmers to quit their traditional crops, while the USA also support the use of corn as fuel. If that's not a cover for mass murder what is?

Far away are the Leninist utopia which led to the Soviet nightmare, or the anarchist self-managed version, or the new ecologist dream of green cities and electric cars. Lies that hide the most important thing: material and energetic abundance are based on:

1. The harvest of the natural resources and the continuous war to control them.
2. The existence of a caste of technocrats and specialists who govern each specific part of people's lives where politicians are nothing but the mere spokesmen of the latter. (And in a supposed assembly and self-managed system it won't be any different as nobody would be able to question them).
3. The necessity of a central power who rules (or seems to rule) in this constant fight for resources.
4. The exploitation and alienation of humankind.
5. The extermination of cultures that don't share the productive mentality as well as the destruction of their land.

Utopia or Survival

So, this new crisis, in contradiction with others, will not have a solution. *Roman Pax* times are over and war will be our daily bread. Iraq and Afghanistan are just an interlude. Of course the system will need to justify a lot of sacrifice and restrictions. Now we can see their new discourses: because of ecology (Climate Change) they need to build more nuclear plants, because of security (self-made terrorism like 911 etc) they need to control the population and make special laws (i.e. Patriot Act), as well as invade other countries, because China and India are growing so much we have higher

prices... We'll find a kind of "ecofascism" that will probably not abandon its democratic rhetoric but in fact will try to control us very closely under the flag of sustainable development and environmental protection.

Now, we are seeing the first symptoms in society, with the financial crisis, the Wall Street Crash, unemployment, inflation, house evictions... the next step will be riots and they know very well what to do. Previously, a new military unit with 4000 soldiers was transferred from Iraq back to the USA, ready to act in case of emergencies and terrorist attacks, and also equipped with "non-lethal" weapons in case of "civil riots" according to Commander Robert Cloutier.

In the early 20th Century our comrades had clear ideas and revolutionary programs: in times of crisis the workers must take control of the factories and the peasants control of the land - while mass insurrections destroy the repressive institutions - and organize themselves in councils based upon mutual aid and solidarity. But, is that possible now? What kind of workers and peasants are we talking about? Someone that knows how to produce a potato or a chair or a car without hyper-technified machines, microcomputers, the hierarchical structure or super-specialized engineers? Do we have a tradition of solidarity and mutual aid in labour struggles?

Hit Where It Hurts

What options do we have in this panorama? Well, I think the first thing is to leave all our ideological baggage for a moment and start to discuss what we understand by "revolution" at this time, putting aside utopian dreams in order to objectively analyse reality and ourselves. The good things and the bad, the opportunity of a crisis for social disintegration, but also to recognize our weak points such as selfishness or comfort-dependency (and revolutionaries are far from being free from these social tendencies).

For example, to say that the conquest of "media production" by the proletariat is a liberating utopia when today that media needs a huge degree of specialization, when the energetic and environmental cost is brutal, when production is so complex that pieces made in China and Malaysia are assembled in Romania so a computer can be sold in the USA... it will bring us to suicide, a self-managed suicide, not governed by the bourgeoisie but by machines.

Well, and why not confront reality directly? A real revolutionary change will reduce the production of goods and will end the comfort and the abundance that we are accustomed to and that everyone (capitalists, leftists, good-minded ecologists...) promise to maintain at all costs. Also many anarchists won't accept this kind of society in the first stages because it will be very hard work to recover old production methods and communitarian life. It's normal to be afraid if you can't answer securely the question *"will I eat tomorrow?"*. In Spain there was recently a very strong transporters' wildcat strike because of the high cost of fuel. During the first days people "assaulted" the supermarkets taking lots of goods such as rice, chocolate or milk. For me (and I was aware it could happen someday) it was a shock to see the food shelves empty and car queues at the gas stations trying to get a little diesel. Finally the government used the police to break up the lorry blockades (sometimes shooting their guns) while the media called the striking transporter workers "terrorists". What would have happened if the strike had lasted two weeks instead of four days?

The central question is *"Is it possible to articulate a mass movement based upon a critique of economic growth and the 'improvement' of standards of living?"*
I think the answer is clearly NO. It will be a movement condemned to be minoritarian. That is the reality now, but it could be different if the depletion of the resources forces social change where material improvement is not the basis. But to be a minority is no reason to avoid acting. When the system starts decomposing itself and citizens doubt or don't want to defend it there is a possibility of hitting it. The hedonistic, incredulous and immoral society created by techno-industrial capitalism can be its own tomb, because without values such as religion, patriotism or the "common good", who will risk their life to defend it? Each one will try to save himself as people start to fight each other, the capitalists the same as the workers (maybe with some small exceptions).

I think the recent clashes in the French ghettos can give us some idea of the future. There some anarchists and revolutionaries could take part in the riots, but many of them from the middle classes were seen as enemies (no different from the police forces or the politicians). Some "anarchists" surprised by the violence and lack of political goals of the rioters tried to justify them by talking about racism, unemployment, poor services... Some others expressed solidarity with the riots in actions of anti-capitalist political content (like the attacks on French car showrooms in Greece). But as we know no one arose seriously to attack the weak points of the system. For example, a general blackout or even some little ones could have given the rebels time to spread the radius of their action and distract the repressive forces... but revolts are not revolutions and even less in this kind of society.

Building Revolution

So here we are, at the burial of the old theories that were our guidelines for decades, trying to find a light in a dark tunnel. What to do now? It's not easy to answer that. Each individual, every group must discuss it analysing their social and natural environment. Two things are catalysts for bringing real social change: to recover community relationships and recover natural contact.

For example, self-managed social centres (if they go further than aesthetics, bars and labels) can be a place for self-organization, can have contact with the neighbourhood and social struggles, can organize self-defense, deliver information, do workshops to learn... and some of

them, realizing that recycling or appropriating products (capitalist rubbish) is not enough, start to grow their own food in squatted gardens.

But it's not enough when you have to create a completely different kind of life and relationships, when your critique starts with the city and the industrial system itself. Can we imagine a different social system in a monster city like London? Everything is so big and artificial that a non-complex and non-pyramidal way of living based on respect for nature is completely impossible. What will those 10 million people do when their bureaucratic and capitalist jobs become useless? They need to eat and they need housing but they don't know how to do it, they need a legion of poor peasants and workers in the third world countries to produce it.

So, if we don't want to have States or power centres, we must live without this kind of monster city, a rural change is necessary. There autonomy can be more than just a word and we can recover very important knowledge to produce on a small scale (food, housing, clothes...) with the necessary respect for the environment, facing with direct actions the attacks of urban/industrial capitalism to control the natural resources. It's not only to criticize, it's to find real solutions implementing non-specialized, non technified, non-hierarchical and low-energy lifestyles that can help to survive if the system collapses.

There isn't a magical recipe to fight, in the cities it is difficult to get a great degree of autonomy but it's easier to get in touch with social struggles and the contrary in the country. Communication between both is necessary, to support different struggles wherever they explode, to exchange knowledge and products, to defend ourselves, to have a deeper perspective of the situation and hit where it hurts.

There won't be any revolution without autonomy and there won't be any revolution in isolated rural communes, so this text wants to start an imperative discussion to avoid being surprised in the critical moments that we are going to live (and we don't have much time).

Bio-economy, a way out of the crisis...

... and in case someone still thinks that biotechnology doesn't exist in Italy ...

From *Terra Selvaggia*,
Issue 26, July 2012

This is an example of how the 'crisis' has become a driver for innovation and a way of strengthening the system of dominion: of course, **one must believe** that innovation is the most important factor for economic development and job creation.

'*We are going through an extremely difficult moment, like all moments of transition are. For this reason we must be able to live through it and make the best of it. Certainly in the last decades Italian biotechnologies have improved enormously, but even more extraordinary and thrilling – let me say this – is the possibility for our enterprises to take part in the affirmation of a new model of sustainable development, which can open new markets, create value and generate jobs... this is the right moment to define the strategic lines of intervention in order to re-launch the industrial system, whose competitiveness is inextricably linked to our ability to think of the future in terms of economy of knowledge.*'

This is the trend of the 2012 edition of the Report on Biotechnologies in Italy, written by Assobiotec[1] in collaboration with Farmindustria[2]. The biotech sector wants to collaborate in full to the solution of the 'crisis' (what a benefactor!) and establish itself in all economic and social fields, by also exploiting (and why not?) the feeling of disorientation and fear that this 'crisis' is spreading in such an effective way.

According to a journal of the sector, there are more than 6 million of scientists in the world at the moment, more than there have ever been throughout all the past centuries. In the last ten years the number of researchers in the developed countries has increased of almost 50%. But they are never enough...

A recent pamphlet sponsored by the Italian government and Confindustria[3] in order to boost the enrolment of students to university scientific courses opens with this piece, which eloquently explains 'why Italy needs more scientists':

'*The countries that have a significant number of scientists capable of discover, invent and develop new things are the wealthier countries, where quality of life improves constantly. Because science sorts problems out. Sometimes technology creates problems, but even in this case solutions*

must be found through scientific methods. For this reason scientific culture has become the culture all advanced, wealthier and strongest societies are based on, especially in times of economic crisis, when knowledge becomes a fundamental factor for recovery.'

We publish a summary of the aforesaid Report, and we keep its language 'as if it was ours', which is dramatically sarcastic on this subject, without comments or analysis, as we are convinced that an overall reading of the pages of this magazine provides sufficient analysis. We report this language in spite of its mystifying and megalomaniac projections pregnant with autistic positivism, which are mainly the result of statistic manipulations, whose data based on interpretations and pre-imposed criteria (methodological and statistic parameters modelled on the international Centre of Studies of Ernst & Young), only confirm the same projections. This is a method that the scientific world uses in order to trace its important 'victories' and 'truths'.

It is well known that biotechnologies are not only the GM of the food industry, which people mistakenly think have been defeated. Here they also become one of the most prominent and promising sectors for economic recovery.

From our System-Country:

Biotechnologies represent a set of enabling technologies, which can be applied to a vast range of industrial and economic sectors: textile and paper industries, food and chemical industries, the sectors of energy, environment, IT and construction, etc.

Considering their spread and the significant increase in production they can generate, they are fully included in so called Key Enabling Technologies (KET), as also declared by the EU. In fact, a prerogative of KET is the increase of the production of a system through the improvement of the efficiency of existing processes. Besides the red, white and green sectors, biotechnologies are being applied to other industries. For this reason biotech is seen as a mega-industry.

It is not by chance that OCSE[4] predicts that by 2030 biotechnologies will have a pivotal role in 80% production of drugs, 35% production of chemical and industrial products and 50% production of agricultural products, for an overall estimate of 2.7% of the world GDP. The picture of the company as 'final user' is taking shape, that is to say an enterprise which operates in a 'traditional' sector but which integrates biotech products or technologies in its production processes, with the aim of improving their yield and quality or decreasing their environmental impact.

To give only a few examples: since antibiotics are being produced through fermentation energy consumption has been reduced by 50% and polluting emissions by 65%. These figures even exceed 90% in the case of vitamin B2 production.

The next goal is to find a substitute for oil. The idea is to substitute an economy based on hydrocarbons with one based on carbohydrates, i.e. sugars, which can be used to fabricate a huge number of other molecules just as living organisms do in nature.

That is why we talk more and more often of bio-economy when we refer to a model of sustainable development, within which great emphasis is given to the production of biomasses and their conversion to a vast range of industrial products, such as: textile fibres, cellulose, paper, energy, plastics, substances for the food and health sectors. Today in Europe bio-economy is worth more than 2,000-billion euro a year and employs more than 22 million people.

No other production process is less invasive on the environment than that of natural processes, from which not by chance biotechnologies originate. Biotechnology is the challenge that Europe is taking to affirm a new model of sustainable development, capable of generating money and jobs. Italy can take this chance too, if it can remove the obstacles that limit its potentialities and ability to generate innovation.

What are these obstacles precisely? As for the ideological ones, will it be the 'crisis' to remove them?

The development of biotechnologies, and the impact they will have in the affirmation of the bio-economy model, is strictly connected to our ability to sustain research and innovation, by creating the optimal conditions for the creation and growth of new entrepreneurial projects. Incentives for innovation and fiscal policies in favour of research are therefore key tools for the development of projects and initiatives of innovation.

Compared to the measures adopted in other European countries in order to attract talented or high skilled people, the actions taken in Italy have always been poor and limited to Universities only. Therefore it was important that a fiscal bonus was introduced to 'bring brains back' to Italy, which was launched in June 2011 by the Ministry of Economy and Finance through the Bill 238/2010 as well as Bill 98/2011, which establishes precise fiscal incentives for those who invest in Venture Capitals devoted to the implementation of innovative companies. The capital gains originating from this participation are not subjected to taxation. Introduced in Italy in 2007, tax credits have also constituted an important instrument in order to support industrial growth (10% credit on R&S expenditures) and the collaboration between academia and industry (40% credit on R&S expenditures incurred in collaboration with non profit research centres).

In Italy, however, this system presents objective limits to the possibility of generating innovation, limits that often concern the laboratories where the latter originates, and which compromise its transformation in opportunities for enterprises to open new markets. First of all, the costs of patents remain very high and are often too expensive for both the many Italian biotech companies and the Universities.

For these reason, great hopes are placed in the recent European initiative concerning the acceleration of the EU patent. In the best countries, the Anglo-Saxon ones, local legislation and university policies are designed in a way that encourages the creation of a suitable environment for the transformation of the results of research into innovation that can be exported on an industrial level. The Agency for the Spread of Technologies for Innovation has been active in Italy for some years. It was created with the aim of promoting the integration between the system of research and the production one.

However, the Italian experience cannot be compared to that of the Transfer Strategy Board, promoted by the British Ministry of Research. It is noteworthy, even if on a different level, the commitment of NetVal, the Italian association of

universities offices for technological transfer, to the development and exploitation of research results through the collaboration with the industrial and economic system, the institutions, industrial associations, venture capitalists and the finance sector.

At the end of 2011, 394 biotech companies were detected in Italy, which are committed to activities of research and development. Of these, 238 fall within the definition of pure biotech, i.e. these are companies that 'use modern biotech technologies in order to develop products or services for human and animal health, agricultural productivity, renewable resources, industrial production and the protection of the environment', according to the definition offered by Ernst & Young. And obviously their 'core business' is represented by activities exclusively linked to biotechnologies.

Biotechnology applied to the health industry is the leading sector also in our country. Of the 394 companies detected, 238 are in fact operative in this sector. It is called red biotech and concerns the health industry. As for the other areas of application, 61 companies operate in the GPTA segment (Genomics, Proteomics and Enabling Technologies: analysis of the structure and functions of genes, analysis of expression, structure, post-translational modification, bioinformatics, bio-chips, biopharmaceutical production, etc), 43 are exclusively dedicated to green biotech (food biotechnologies: biotechnological methods for the productions of crops to be applied to the food industry, the chemical sector, production, molecular pharming – production of medicines in plants – tests for the detection of ingredients and contaminants in food products), 35 are solely active in white biotech (industrial biotechnologies: biotechnological methods for the production and processing of chemical products, materials and fuels, including technologies of environmental bioremediation), whereas 50 companies operate in various areas of application (multi core).
Financial data also confirm that the biotech sector is in constant growth, with a turnover of more than 7 billion euro and an increase of 4% compared to last year's data.

RED BIOTECH. Biotechnology applied to the health industry for the production of drugs is an important reality in our country today, as 188 companies operate in this sector. This area offers the most important contributions to the treatment of rare diseases, whose drugs of reference come from biotechnologies, but also of other pathologies that have a relevant social impact.

Patients benefiting from this kind of therapies are more than 350 millions. The assessment hitherto exposed shows the presence of a high number (319), which is in constant growth, of projects being developed over the territory, 61% of which are in an advanced stage of texting, especially regarding the cure of cancer (45%) and metabolic, hepatic and endocrine diseases. 84 projects in discovery add to these ones.

But biotechnology applied to the health sector is also an important driver for industrial development in a sector on the frontier of technology. In fact, not only do biotechnology drugs represent the future of therapies but they are also 20% of the drugs on the market. Even in Italy, advanced therapies confirm themselves as an extremely dynamic area of biotechnological research: only in 2011, 4 projects of cell therapy and 6 of gene therapy have been started. The sector of biotechnological diagnostics is the one that is benefiting most from the progress of scientific research. New technologies of analysis deriving from molecular biology, immunochemistry, genomics and nanotechnologies are largely accessible today and have led to the diagnosis of diseases whose existence was unknown once upon a time. By now doctors and researchers have a range of instruments, antibodies, DNA probe, chips, cell texts, which are being applied in the most various fields of clinical practice and research.
'*Both cancers, for most of which there exist no adequate treatment, and diseases of the central nervous system, which also include neurological and degenerative syndromes correlated to the growth of life expectancy and the percentage increase of the elderly population, are among the markets that have been showing the highest growth rates in industrialized countries in the last years*.'

Nanotechnology is also mainly applied to the red sector. Being the result of the application of nanotechnology to biology and biochemistry, nanotechnologies constitute one of the most promising sectors of scientific research. It has emerged that 63 companies were active in this sector in Italy in 2010.

GREEN BIOTECH. It is estimated that by 2015, about half of the global production of food, bran and industrial seeds will be generated from vegetable species developed by using one or more biotechnological applications. The role of innovative biotechnologies in food production is being played on two different levels, that is to say: for the improvement of quantity and quality of products of plant origin (cereals, vegetables and fruits) and animal origin (milk, meat and eggs); for the improvement of use, processing and preservation of raw materials and derived foods. Regarding the sector of agro-food biotechnology, Italy can count on really unique conditions such as microclimates, biodiversity and potential market niches. Hence the importance of agro-food diagnostics for the certification of the origin and genuineness of the numerous made in Italy products, which are being enjoyed worldwide.

The position of the State members of the EU on the introduction of GM plants in agriculture remains widely contradictory and orientated to widespread ostracism: thirteen States have adopted legal measures which de facto declare their prohibition. However, numerous and extensive research concerning the coexistence between conventional crops and those developed from modern techniques of genetic transformation have been developed in the last years. Based on collected evidence, protocols of coexistence are being developed, with the aim of putting mutually compatible different forms of agriculture into practice and make them mutually compatible.

In spite of all evidence confirming the applicability and practicality of GM technologies and crops, in 2012 Europe is still holding the latter on the edge. Italy is also siding with the front of no. If the propaganda feeding a culture of suspicion in terms of safety for health and the environment has gradually faded, other considerations of a purely economic nature have remained on the first line. The argument underlying this attitude is that Italian agriculture, based on quality local products, does not need the innovation originating from GM and can safely continue to rely on usual agronomic practices without investing in the selection and genetic improvement of traditional varieties.

However, Italian research has played certainly not a secondary role as concerns

the union between tree crops and biotechnology, if we consider the intervention of several bodies of public research – Universities of Bologna, Ancona, Viterbo – whose scientific priorities are surely independent from the conditioning of economic and commercial interests of GM multinationals.

Among the many examples, let's consider the Grapevine on which techniques have been tested in order to improve resistance to viral diseases and to select varieties of seedless grapes, a characteristic very much appreciated by consumers, or the techniques tested on strawberry and raspberry in order to improve the fertility of the plant and the weigh of the fruits. The importance of genetic improvement in agriculture is pretty clear as concerns both the efficiency of cultivation techniques and the improvement of the quality of the products. Not by chance research in Italy has been conducted precisely following these two directions.

WHITE BIOTECH. Industrial biotechnologies use enzymes and microorganisms in order to develop bio-products in several sectors, such as bio-energy, from textile to detergents, from cosmetics to polymers, from paper to animal feeding, from paints to food production, from waste disposal to leather processing, and many more. In fact, the use of renewable raw materials represents one of the most innovative and promising approaches to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Moreover, white technologies allow the improvement of industrial processes yield and the value of production, with huge advantages in terms of economy and environmental protection. OCSE estimates predict that by 2030 industrial and agro-food biotechnologies will account for 74% of gross value of the overall biotechnological sector. In fact, the use of enzymes in the paper industry, in the processing of fibres (bio-pulping) and of whitening (bio-bleaching) constitutes a rapid and cheap method with low environmental impact, which has been by now adopted by all the leading industries of the sector. It is estimated that the introduction of biotechnologies has determined average savings for 13.5 euro for any ton of paper produced. As paper production in Italy is approximately 5.5 millions of tons, these savings amount to a total of 75 million euro a year.

As we have seen, throughout the years biotechnologies have made it possible the improvement of processing in many industrial sectors and today they amount to between 0.4% and 1.1% of the global GDP, with an average growth of 11% in the last three years.

'*It is necessary to feed the system in order not to lose ground in international competition: research generates innovation, which thanks to therapeutic improvements, in turn promotes the sustainability of the system by releasing resources to be once again invested in R&S. Not by chance, Life Sciences and biotechnologies are considered a useful instrument to guarantee the achievement of the goal by all countries of advanced economies*.'

From the war 'that was' to the adoption of GM technologies, therefore, have 'only' remained the wars that biotechnologies are waging against life and the Earth?

The authors of the corporate report are:
Assiobiotec: Rita Fucci, Alessandra Mancia, Alvise Sagramoso, Leonardo Vingiani.
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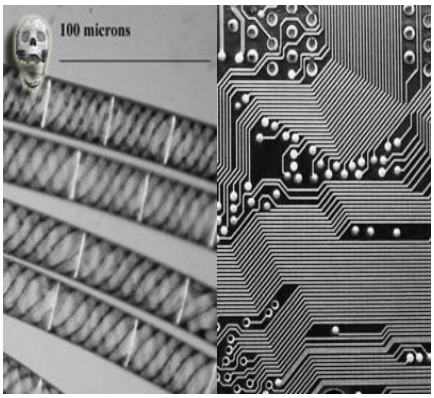
With the contributions of: Alessandro Sidoli (*Assiobiotec President*), Massimo Scaccabarozzi (*Farmindustria President*)

For more info and the 2011 list of Assiobiotec companies, see *'Nanotecnologie – La pietra filosofale del dominio' by* ***Il Silvestre***

Notes
[1] *Italian Association for the Development of Biotechnologies.*
[2] *Italian Association of Drug Companies.*
[3] *Italian Employers' Federation.*
[4] *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.*



Excluded and Included

Some time ago I proposed a distinction based on these two concepts. On the one hand, the included, enclosed within their Teutonic castle and, only for this, dominators; on the other hand, the excluded, destined for a passive use of technology, dispossessed of anything that will never be more than their aim of 'work' and, precisely because of this, dominated.

I have explained, and it seems to me in an exhaustive way, that this distinction adapts itself sufficiently (still remaining a model of reasoning) to post-industrial reality.
Today's technology is wealth, far beyond simple 'financial capital', which will diminish more and more.
This technology will not be able to be shared by all. The majority will have the ability of a passive use only and will not understand anything beyond simple pushing of buttons.The few (the included) will elaborate research and manage power through possession which is exclusive to them.

To guarantee the net and definitive separation, to avoid the excluded from being able to take possession of this technology, a precise wall has to be built, far more efficient than the old walls of the past- the safes, the prisons and the asylums: this will be the wall of the lack of interest. One cannot be interested in something one doesn't know, one cannot struggle to have something that is 'other' from us, that we do not want to possess because we do not know about it. And the more we are cut out from technology, the more we shall end up disinteresting ourselves (also, and principally, in the destructive sense), and this process of disinterest will be parallel to the growth in our ignorance, from our progressive distance, the reduction of our intellectual capacity, knowing, volitive, etc.

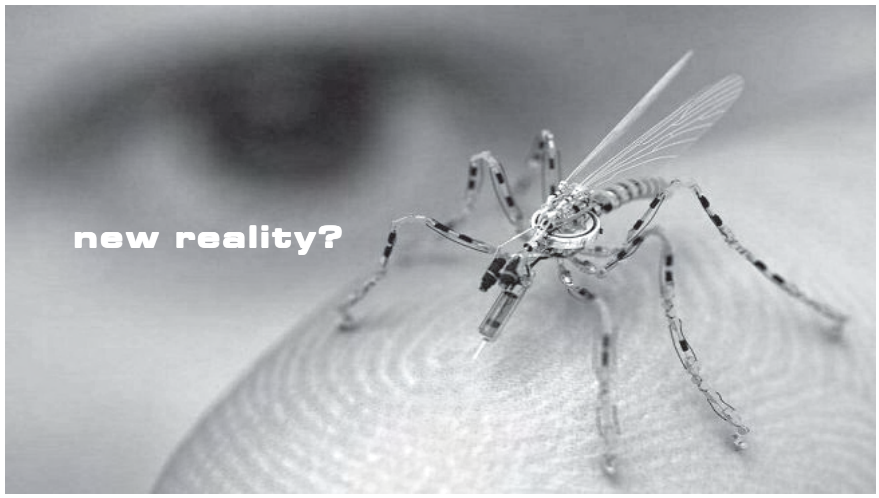
Alfredo M. Bonanno

Science in the aid of control : Robotics and aerial drones

Robots have been a feature of manufacturing for over 20 years. Even in hazardous or unpleasant environments, many repetitive and unpleasant tasks have been successfully automated and almost all high-end production is routinely done using robot technology. More recently 3D software that enables a production robot to be designed in parallel with the product under development is reducing the time taken to get new products on the market. The vast majority of robots work in factories performing the industrial functions of brainless machines. Factories that run *"lights out"* are fully automated and require no human presence on-site. Thus, these factories can be run *with the lights off*. Many factories are capable of lights-out production, but very few run exclusively lights-out. **FANUC**, the Japanese robotics company, has been operating a *"lights out"* factory for robots since 2001. Robots are building other robots at a rate of about 50 per 24-hour shift and can run unsupervised for as long as 30 days at a time Now, a combination of increased computing power and advances made in the field of artificial intelligence have now made software smart enough to make robots change their level of operation and competency. One area where even more advances in their autonomy has been made is the development of **unmanned aerial vehicles**, or **UAVs**. These are essentially remotely-controlled spy planes that are capable of flying themselves if they lose contact with their pilot. Latest news of the United States Military in their UAV warfare programme include developing insect-sized drones. A team of researchers at the Johns Hopkins University in conjunction with the US Air Force Office of Scientific Research at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Arlington, Virginia, is helping develop what they are calling a **micro aerial vehicle (MAV)** that will undertake various espionage tasks. The robotic insect can effortlessly infiltrate urban areas, where dense concentrations of buildings and people, along with unpredictable winds and other obstacles make it impractical. It can be controlled from a great distance and is equipped with a camera and a built-in microphone. The new device has the capability to land precisely on human skin, use its super-micron sized needle to take DNA samples and fly off again at speed. All people feel is the pain of a mosquito bite without the burning sensation and the swelling. The hard-to-detect surveillance drone can also inject a **micro radio frequency identification (RFID)** tracking device right under skin, and can be used to inject toxins into enemies during wars.

As early as in 2007, the US government was accused of secretly developing robotic insect spies when anti-war protesters in the United States saw some flying objects similar to dragonflies or little helicopters hovering above them. The US is not alone in miniaturizing drones that imitate nature: France, the Netherlands and Israel are also developing similar devices. France has developed flapping wing bio-inspired micro drones. The Netherlands **BioMAV (Biologically Inspired AI for Micro Aerial Vehicles)** has also built Parrot AR drones. Meanwhile, **Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI)** has produced a butterfly-shaped drone, weighing just 20 grams, which can gather intelligence inside buildings. The insect drone, with its 0.15-gram camera and memory card, is managed remotely with a special helmet. Putting on the helmet, the operator finds themselves in the "butterfly's cockpit" and virtually sees what the butterfly sees in real time. British military hardware companies are also developing smaller versions of their remote-controlled drones which carry missiles in Afghanistan like the Reaper and Predator drones constructed by US company **General Atomics**.

Drone strikes are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of civilians in Pakistan and Afghanistan. They are also being used in targeted imperialist killings in countries which are not at war i.e. Yemen and Somalia. The western powers of UK, USA & Israel have made the term 'drone war' synonymous with indiscriminate butchery. The UK government's intelligence and surveillance operation GCHQ in Cheltenham passes information to the US to help it locate targets for drone attacks. A GCHQ official said the agency was proud of providing "locational intelligence" to the CIA. US base Menwith Hill on the Yorkshire Moors - home to 1,000 US military and civilian personnel and operating independently of British control

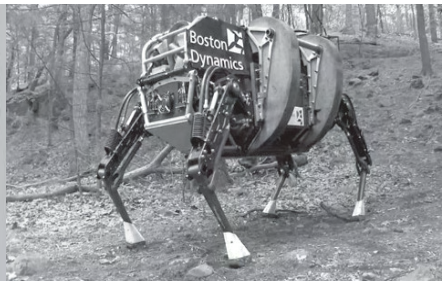


- is also known to be gathering information for use in drone attacks. Britain has spent over £2bn on buying and developing deadly military drones in the last five years and plans to invest an extra £2bn for newer types of drones. Britain uses drones extensively in its foreign wars. Previously controlled remotely from the Nevada Desert, the UK drone control base has moved to RAF Waddington in Lincolnshire. Britain has been renting a surveillance drone from Israel, the **Hermes 450**, but will soon have its updated equivalent, the **Watchkeeper** drone, in service. This is a surveillance and targeting drone and is being produced in Leicester with the engine made in Shenstone near Lichfield at the Israeli owned **Elbit** factory. **BAE Systems** is also developing the **Mantis** drone which is not remotely controlled but runs on a preprogrammed plan. 31 countries now have large drones in military use which can fly for longer periods than piloted aircraft.

The potential use of unmanned autonomous drones for mass civil control in Britain has arrived. Senior UK police officers are in favour of expanding the domestic use of unmanned assassination drones for social control purposes, as they see their operation as a cheaper alternative to manned helicopters. The police have already been given the permission to deploy unmanned assassination drones under the disguise of a sky-based system of **Closed Circuit Television (CCTV)**. The British government also grants unmonitored "blanket permission" to almost 60 companies a year so that they can fly unmanned drones to spy on the population. Britain is already home to one fifth of the world's total CCTV cameras. The British government spent over £3 million on installing CCTV cameras during the short span of time between 2007 and 2010. Nevertheless, nine out of ten CCTV cameras installed by Transport for London fail to solve even a single crime, according to state data. Several schemes aiming to develop aerial civilian surveillance and policing roles for killer drones similar to the type the Royal Air Force operate in the colonialist wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan are ongoing. In one of the world's most advanced trials of UAVs, **BAE Systems** has teamed up with British firms **Cobham**, **Rolls-Royce** and **QinetiQ**, along with German company **Cassidian** and French-owned **Thales UK**, to develop a £62 million part-UK government-funded project called **Astraea**. Kent Police are working on a £3 million project with partners in the UK, France and the Netherlands to explore the use of unmanned aircraft to patrol the coastline and the English Channel. The British skies could become covered with armed flying cameras at a time of tightening economic austerity and cuts, because the project of social control must progress at any cost. It is inevitable that Britain will want to use these new technologies to cement the creation of the prison-society, as UK is already a surveillance state and an example of modern imperialism.

In tandem, the European Commission aims to spend £260 million on its **'Eurosur'** project, which includes a plan for surveillance drones to patrol the Mediterranean coast. The umbrella body for EC border agencies, **Frontex**, has pushed the project as part of its links with defence companies. One of the drone craft, the Spanish-built **Fulmar**, has a 10ft wingspan, cruises at 60mph and can stay up for eight hours. The larger Israeli-manufactured **Heron** is 26ft long and can fly for 52 hours at 35,000ft. Both can carry infrared sensors and sophisticated video cameras which send a live video-feed back to a remote pilot at a ground station. The EC wants to set up the network, which includes using satellites positioning and communication, by 2013.

NASA, who have developed many space exploration robots, have already sent robotic rovers to Mars, developed robotic dirt scoopers, "flying eyes" and probes for interplanetary exploration and even sent 'droids off to try to explore asteroids. Space probes such as **Huygens** (which landed on Titan) and Russia's **Venera 9** (which landed on Venus) are sometimes



considered robots too. Robotic submarines have now become an important way of exploring the deep ocean or ice-capped waters, while heat resistant robots are now used to patrol and monitor the activity in volcanoes. Robots now assist surgeons to perform precision procedures. The most successful of these is arguably the **'da Vinci'** robotic surgical system, which is used for keyhole surgery, to operate on anything from gall bladder removals and brain surgery to heart bypasses. Similarly, tiny wireless and robotic camera-capsules have been used diagnostically, by allowing them to pass through a patient's digestive system. Others have been designed to move about by remote control in the abdominal cavity, beaming images back to the surgeon, or even taking biopsy samples. There are still many challenges facing robotics. These include producing better **actuators** (which control how robots move), **sensors** (which allow them to detect their environment) and ultimately making 'bots much **smarter**. Current motors, and hydraulic or pneumatic actuators, are either too weak, or too bulky and noisy.

Drone research is even using sophisticated biotechnology. **Darpa** (American governmental research agency) has implanted gold-plated electrodes into the pupae of tobacco hawkmoths with the intention of learning how to control animals remotely. There is also interest in such work in the UK. The Ministry of Defence's **Defence Science and Technology Laboratory (DSTL)**, which works out of Porton Down in Wiltshire and at other locations, this summer produced a briefing on current research *"to stimulate new lines of thought"*. The review references a US patent on an *"animal sensor network"*. The US study, it said, aimed to develop a "*method for the remote guidance and training of free-roaming animal sensor networks*". It continued: *"Electrodes implanted into the*

nervous systems of animals are used to provide clues and rewards by stimulating specific regions of the the brain to induce desired behaviours such as the direction and speed of movement. Each animal carries a backpack containing wireless networking equipment, sensors, and data storage and processing equipment."

Nanorobotics is the emerging next logical step for robotics to make - the creation of infinitesimally small machines or autonomous robots whose components are at, or close to, the scale of a nanometer. These devices are largely in the research-and-development phase but some primitive molecular machines have been tested. An example is a sensor having a switch approximately 1.5 nanometers across, capable of counting specific molecules in a chemical sample. Rice University, USA, has demonstrated a single-molecule car developed by a chemical process and including buckyballs *[structures named after Buckminster Fuller]* for wheels. It is actuated by controlling the environmental temperature and by positioning a scanning tunnelling microscope tip.

Bristol Robotics Laboratory of the University of Bristol is a development centre under the direction of Professor Chris Melhuish. They are in the business of developing robotic-systems. Here is some paradigm-changing examples of what they are developing:

Energy Autonomy: Ecobot
Energetically autonomous robots. Technology is employed to extract electrical energy from refined foods such as sugar and unrefined foods such as insects and fruit. This is achieved by extracting electrons from the microbial metabolic processes. To be truly autonomous, robots will be required to incorporate in their behavioural repertoire actions that involve searching, collecting and digesting an energy source. This has far-reaching implications for use.

Swarming: Collective motion
Developing a set of algorithms for use on a group of flying autonomous robots. A group of physical robots has been designed and constructed and have been used to demonstrate how swarming and homing in three dimensions can be achieved using only simple rules. The robots employ helium balloons (blimps) and therefore have a limited payload for the propulsion, communication and localisation systems. This inspiration comes from social insects that employ only local sensing and communication and do not directly communicate with all group members.

Tactile Sensors
This is a collaborative project with the Adaptive Behaviour Research Group at the University of Sheffield. The study investigates a biomimetic (artificial mimicking) system which could provide a novel form of robot tactile sensor capable of texture discrimination and object recognition.

Dynamic soaring UAV
Albatrosses use dynamic soaring to cross thousands of miles of open ocean. This project aims to use dynamic soaring to overcome endurance limitations of small Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs).

Learning in Swarm Robotic Systems
The aim of this project is to design a swarming robotic-system with the ability to learn and interact through foraging-like tasks.

Towards Empathy in Humanoids
This project is concerned with the believability of emotionally expressive robots. The aim is to generate facial behaviour in a humanoid robot head, so that if a person speaks to the robot, the person would feel listened to in a sympathetic way. In this study they will pursue techniques for the classification of dynamic facial expressions in humans and the generation of appropriate dynamic expression in the robot. This will require 'theory of mind' models as well as dynamic emotional models.

Robot Gesturing
This project focuses upon the production of credible conversational gestures by an anthropomorphic robot. Gestures are an integral part of human communication, not only for semantic content but also for evidence of speaker thought processes and engagement of the conversational partner. Of particular interest is how the gestures affect a person's interactions with, and feelings towards, the robot.

These fields of development are all known as **biomimetic technology**; the recognition of, and the mimicking of biological patterns by robots.

Industrial-technological-civilisation has reduced the last remaining wild spaces to merely places to be used for what it contains in terms of materials and offers nothing but a parasitic hollow assimilating standardisation.

Something has been overlooked in the lust for progress, and lost in categorisation and acquisition.

The shape and spark of life.

Some untamed wolves

Earthquake in Emilia Romagna : drones, surveillance and social control

Immediately after the devastating earthquake that struck the Emilia Romagna region (northern Italy) in May 2012, the Italian State set camps for the earthquake victims, run by the Civil Protection, a body that intervenes in situations of 'natural disasters' and other kinds of 'emergency'. As happened with the earthquake in L'Aquila (central Italy) in 2009, these camps are heavily patrolled by the forces of order and prevent all sorts of self-management by the local people. Areas overwhelmed by earthquakes, therefore, turn into laboratories for social control: proper check-points are set up in the camps for anyone who wants to go out or come in, searches are made on the refugees, nothing can be self-organised, everything is managed by the Civil Protection even to what people in the camps have to eat and drink. No internet, no leaflets, no kitchens, no space for discussions.

In the aftermath of the earthquake in Emilia Romagna, however, some local people organized themselves in self-managed camps, also supported by

anarchist comrades of the area. Now the Italian State wants to evict all self-managed camps and force anyone to submit to the State-controlled camps.

This text, written by comrades from Ferrara, offers a worrying insight into the militarization of the territory devastated by the recent earthquake:

In order to carry out activities of structural control and to contrast so called looting in the houses destroyed by the earthquake, cops all over Emilia Romagna are relying on drones developed by **GREAL (Geographic Research And Application Laboratory)** of the European University of Rome. Apart from watching all kinds of targets, these drones equipped with cameras can easily sneak into houses and sheds, and eventually record and elaborate the images on computer, which are subsequently put at the authority's disposal. If in the aftermath of the earthquake, drones were used 'only' to help operations of structural reconstruction and demolition, now they are being set on everywhere, with the excuse that they can assess cracks and critical situations near houses and sheds and prevent looting.

So we have come to a situation where control on populations is assured not only by a massive presence of mobile units of police and the army but also by aerial technological surveillance. A synergy between large video monitoring and widespread military presence on the territory, which will be indispensable to the forces of order in the supposed eviction of self-managed camps. On Monday 18th June, in fact, the decree ordering the forced eviction of self-managed camps became effective for some towns hit by the earthquake.

As usual, anti-insurrectional and 'emergency' aerial espionage at low altitude through drones represents a main instrument of control and acquisition of data, which will be useful to military and police operations.

A video surveillance in real time run at distance, which allows to keep any movements under control, even in little villages where there are few cameras, and therefore it becomes particularly useful in case of forced evictions and in front of the probable reaction of the evacuated populations. On this occasion too, cops and militaries are relying on the precious help of Italian Universities and their research apparatus to fulfil their operations of espionage and social control.

Just like in L'Aquila, in anticipation of future insurrectional situations, the alliance between research, emergency management in scenarios of crisis and military presence finds its test-bed in so called 'natural disasters', where regimentation of the population and physical/technological control over it becomes of paramount and strategic importance for dominion.

Research-info:
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Email: **gianluca.casagrande@greal.eu**

Radioactive spills and nuclear crisis

Nuclear energy is bound up with the interests of the military-industrial complex, it is solely a dirty business of pollution, war, genocide and total ecological destruction. It requires massive amounts of energy, security, militaristic logic and contingency. Generally, the energy industries are huge mafias who loot and exploit everything and everyone; raising prices, decimating areas, causing untold misery etc. In Britain, the nuclear power plants are ageing and almost obsolete, and in a condition of decay and degeneration. Many of the facilities for storing the radioactive waste have never been properly inspected and even the scientists themselves do not know the condition and inventory of some of the storage facilities. When the old enemy, the **Conservative Party**, regained control of the country through the coalition government, they pushed ahead with a plan for eight new nuclear power stations. The energy 'crisis' has, as a predicted effect, possible energy shortages within the next 5 years for the islands, and soaring prices which will hit the population hard in the time of so-called *"economic austerity measures"*, maybe leading to social revolts. The government and the corporations see the situation as a lucrative opportunity to *"revitalise"* the economy through nuclear power, which is now being touted as a solution for **'Climate Change'**. Due to wrangling and lack of finance-investment, of this plan for eight new plants, only two places for the positioning of new reactors are still on the table: Hinkley in Somerset (only 30 miles away from the city of Bristol) and Sizewell in Suffolk (near a fishing village and the small town of Leiston). The nuclear waste from these new reactors would be stored on site for at least 100 years, as it would be too hazardous to move. The problem of nuclear waste is a serious issue, as Britain is 30 years behind the schedule and developments of other countries in dealing with the waste, the matter is literally a time bomb waiting to happen. Nuclear waste is deadly for hundreds of thousands of years. The production of this deadly material must stop immediately.

The government is in favour of building vast new underground storage facilities in the UK for the deep geological storage of the deadly waste in a network of tunnels. In Kent, residents recently voted against a possible nuclear waste dump which was marked for their district but the council remains in talks with the **'Department for Energy and Climate Change'**. The project planned is for a 250 acre £12 billion underground storage centre. In one plan in Cumbria, to serve the notorious Sellafield nuclear plant, the government and the corporations want to build a huge mega-project which would take 100 years to build and has been compared to such excavation and engineering projects such as the Channel Tunnel, as it would be of similar size, covering a massive area underground. The project would cover 5 x 5 km, cost £30 Billion and be in the Lake District, one of the most beautiful natural spaces left in the UK. The geology of the area is unsuitable and not at all stable enough to contain the radioactive waste, the site has to perform well enough to reliably retain

radioactivity for one million years into the future. A 5km horizontal excavation may intersect 4 or 5 major geological faults, and a host of smaller faults and fractures – any one of which could be a conduit for groundwater flow through the waste and towards the surface. The Lake District is the site of a very ancient subsided and faulted volcano, superimposed onto which are an additional series of sediments, which are faulted to form a subsiding sedimentary basin. By contrast, other nations such as France or Switzerland, have chosen unfaulted regions where the geology is predictable, such as very flat areas, for their nuclear waste storage.

In 2011, the UK government admitted that tens of thousands of radioactive fuel fragments escaped from the Dounreay plant in Scotland between 1963 and 1984, polluting local beaches, the coastline and the seabed. Fishing has been banned within a two-kilometre radius of the plant since1997. The most radioactive of the particles are regarded by experts as potentially lethal if ingested. Similar in size to grains of sand, they contain caesium-137, which has a half-life of 30 years, but they can also incorporate traces of plutonium-239, which has a half-life of over 24,000 years – meaning that is the time period for half of the material to break down. The sea-bed is irreparably damaged, and the authorities have given up attempting to deal with the ecological damage. Earlier this year, a leaked report in the mainstream media unveiled details of two incidents of radioactive spills and a breakdown in an emergency cooling system at the decrepit UK nuke plants.
The report said a number of shortfalls was exposed; at Torness nuclear power station, groundwater was contaminated with radioactive tritium (a form of hydrogen) leaking from two pipelines. Meanwhile, at Hartlepool nuclear station on the north-east coast of England, the back-up cooling system was put out of action by a faulty valve. Also reported was the serious incident when a open brown pool containing plutonium, five times the legal safety limit, formed from leaks from an old ventilation duct at the Sellafield nuclear complex. There are more than 1,000 installations at Sellafield, a 6 sq km site in Cumbria which has been the poisonous centre of the UK's nuclear industry for decades. Some of the ponds inside the silos contain highly radioactive waste that has been stored in water since the 1950s and 60s. The area was first used for the production of plutonium for atomic weapons after World War II. Cladding and fuel rods were often thrown into the ponds and the sludge that remains is incredibly toxic.

The government committed £73 billion in total to clean up Britain's nuclear sites and most of this has gone to Sellafield. The Sellafield silo named B30, was described by a Sellafield executive as *"the most hazardous industrial building in western Europe."* **Sellafield Ltd**, the company responsible for waste management on the site, admitted it was looking at using a micro-drone and blamed *"poor record-keeping during the 1950s"* for the fact the contents of some buildings remained a mystery.
The scientists are so ignorant of the interiors that a drone is being developed for use in some of Sellafield's oldest radioactive silos because they are simply not sure what is inside them. They aim to use this autonomous aircraft to map the insides of the warehouses with lasers, similar to military reconnaissance drones, to view the inside of the chambers that have not been observed for decades.
The drones are not expected to make it back out of the silos, as the radioactivity is so destructive. The clean up will cost many billions of pounds and the drone is being developed with the University of Warwick. The university has built a **'hexacopter'**, which has six separate rotary engines. It is also equipped with **LIDAR** (light detection and ranging), remote-sensing technology that uses lasers to create detailed three-dimensional images which can be viewed from any angle.

The likelihood of a European Fukushima-type accident is an ever present reality because the corporations cannot be trusted with any social responsibility.
The gaze of the world's media has passed elsewhere, but in Japan the triple reactor meltdown in Fukushima is still in full effect. All of the fuel pools in reactors 1,2,3 & 4 are in bad condition. The pool in reactor 4 is of particular concern. Thousands of highly radioactive spent fuel rods are at risk of further explosions.
If such an event occurs, high levels of radioactive contamination could spread as far as Tokyo. It must not be forgotten that the nuclear industry is never acceptable and has proved itself to be an immense folly.

Let's do what we can to stop the creation of a world of poison and militaristic control.

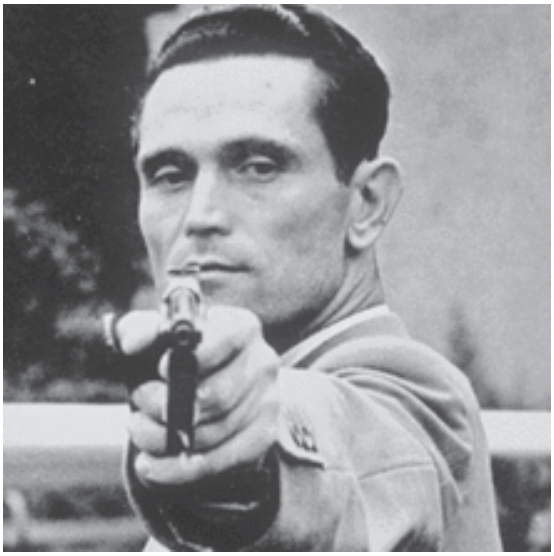
On Sabotage and Terrorism

(...) First, a few clear words, even if we run the risk of being repetitive and saying the obvious: the only terrorist is the State, with all its institutions, structures of exploitation and oppression. We will not tolerate the label of eco-terrorism or terrorism applied to any comrade or individual who rebels and decides to act against exploitation, pollution or any of the other appendices of power. (...)

Anyone who acts to respond to a structure that oppresses, exploits or pollutes, can never be considered a terrorist, but a militant in the struggle for their freedom and others', for the construction of a new world. (...)

It is necessary to repeat that those responsible for any eventual nuclear pollution are the governments, the builders and those who make the nuclear plants function, not those who are struggling against them. Moreover, the statistics speak clearly, the numerous radioactive leakages, the escape of poisonous gases, the discharge of polluting substances, all these cannot be said to have come about due to attacks by ecologists, revolutionaries, or even by attacks by secret services or *"terrorists linked to foreign powers"*. The pollution is due to carelessness, lack of security systems, accidents, and to the very presence of the nuclear power plants and other such industries in the first place, and that's without even mentioning the many accidents that have occurred in the past and been covered up. ... We think that the awareness of exploitation, oppression and pollution does not need to be explained as it can only be lived, and only those who have made a choice on the opposite side, a conditioned choice if we like, but still a choice, which does not have a consciousness of all that. The task of anarchists, of revolutionaries, our task, is that of demonstrating the justice of rebellion and that this is possible, giving indications, beginning to weaken small centres of power, and showing by example how to attack the structures of death, how to identify their weak points. Only with the generalisation of the attack will it be possible to lay the foundations for a radical change.

ProvocAzione



Fragment: Illegality

This brief text about illegality is another contribution towards critical individualist writings against 'civil anarchism'[1]*, sketched out previously by Venona Q. and the comrades of Dark Matter Publications. This text does not aim to be comprehensive, and concerns expropriations/robberies, the black market, fraud etc. In a future fragment I will write about my views on the so-called 'criminal' aspect of anarchist sabotage and violence.*

As people seek a way out of the alienated exploitation we are forced to inhabit, illegal actions are increasingly popular and necessary. When anarchists choose illegality, we do not mean actions at the expense of others, although at times each of us might choose our own path to follow, regardless of the perspective of a collective or relationships we are involved with.

As well as supporting the struggles of those who end up in prison - not out of compassion, but affinity and solidarity in struggle, I'm with all those proper rebels who are in a life of being *extra-legal, illegal* or *alegal,* as they like to define it. Those who are forced by this system to be outlaws, and those who choose it.

The requirements for a decent living should be shared and given to any who needs them, with education and liberation of each and every individual always as a goal. Our anarchist-individualism, our *alegalism*, i.e. our disregard for *all rules* made by the powerful classes, is shown in the values of each decision we make, without acting from premises set by society, and that is precisely what the law and the conforming citizens dislike. What difference an act, illegal or legal, if it diminishes anarchist ideas of self-organisation and mutual aid? As an anarchist, I reject moral codes, but I have the measure of my principles to hold against my life, and no government, police officer or security guard will take that from me.

Illegalism is as good a means as any other to acquire funds for our lives and struggle, and taking aside for a moment that "crimes" against *property* or *oppression* are perfectly valid, the main question should possibly be, *what are my values in this act*, are they harmful to the development of libertarian realities or not? Rather than respecting the harm caused against any imagined 'social good', 'rights' or 'laws' of society.

The prisons and the police are how the politicians in session impose their decisions, creating a detention economy for "criminal" people and attempting to resolve the contradictions of their world. This whole world is made for a judicial-penal-corporate system which will never "rehabilitate" anyone. Few things power it more than the morals that the media and the state teaches to its 'citizens'.

As criminality is just another way of living for a sizeable sector of society, across many classes, it is a business with the same demands and variations, but it is deeply part of the hidden history of power and capitalism.

For anarchists involved in revolutionary acts, the tension around illegalism is often about the moralism it rouses, and the police attention it generates. It can bring you problems; break the law often enough, and chances are, sometime or other, you're going to get caught. It's a 'law' of the possibilities of criminal averages. You either have to develop yourself,- get wise about it -, or fail spectacularly if you let your gall run away with your senses. And then there is the mistakes. Anarchist history provides examples of the so-called 'failure' of illegalist anarchist actions, sometimes occasionally encouraged and disrupted by informers or undercover police. However, nobody hears about the successful crimes other than as a statistic in the police records or a TV bulletin, and armed robbers and thieves very rarely issue communiques.

These experiences, realities and memories exist outside "acceptable" behaviour in society, but some of these realities contain a shared struggle, self-sufficiency and a lack of respect for the system and its willing dupes. All this is rarely ever written down, and the motivations of the people involved are lost and mostly never recorded.

Grim realities exist wherever poverty spreads and for the capitalist system, prison is it's chief remedy, and it is the main method of suppression. Those who have contempt for the 'law' in an era of widespread hypocrisy can only expect its hatred, and to be painted in the worst images, whilst the expert terrorisers continue their business legally.

As for myself, I am criminal and selfish, and I do not apologise to anyone for that.

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(Footnotes)

[1] See **Subversive disassociation - Fragment against civil anarchism.** Dark Nights 27 http://325.nostate.net/?p=6487

Disreputable mavericks - a measure of unpopularity

Most people want to be liked. It is how we get on in the world. It's what we learn to do as infants. We are cute, affectionate and vulnerable and in this way we get looked after and we survive. As adults, we still want to be liked, using this measure to navigate the social, political and cultural codes in order to get on, impact our world, be happy and survive further: we want to be liked by employers, neighbours, friends, colleagues, fellows and comrades, and by 'the people'. But, as adults and even as children, it is in fact a poor survival which is lived at the expense of the self and when being liked means compromise, and the with-holding of the individual.

In the last couple of years, a tendency has re-emerged in anarchism where the desire to be liked plays second fiddle to other considerations. Nihilists, anarcho-insurrectionalists and individualist anarchists have dared 'not to care' what others think of them, including that messy category known as 'the people' . This has been met with a certain fury from within the activist-anarchist milieu. The fury is dressed up as theoretical difference and derision, but I think it reaches deeper than that.

It seems that there is something absolutely enraging about coming across people who do not care what you think and will continue not to care what you think regardless of whether they end up friendless, ostracised, in prison, dead or wrong.

Anarchism has always been a minority game. It is not the desire of anarchists to be minoritarian, but it is the reality. We would all love it if seven billion people decided to live according to the various anarchist principles, to fight for this, to experiment, to refuse civilisation and authority and create a new world together. Activism, which has come under some attack by the more unwieldy of the anarchists over the last couple of years, is fettered less by the potential or real radicalism and 'goodness' at the heart of the people who define themselves as activists as by the desire to be liked (leading to the bizarre idea that 'ordinary people' are terribly frightened by and 'put off' by certain ideas which says a lot more about the anarchist-activist and their cultural-class origin than about the former).

The educational system trains us 'to be liked at all costs'. It is the first step towards social control through conformity and de-individuation. Plunged into the impersonal and social educational arenas of control at a young age, the overriding programme is to be popular. Interestingly, the least popular children are often those that are viewed as the favourites of authority (the teachers), but by the time people leave school, fitting in with the social norm – the one dictated by authority and reinforced by the social consensus (the group mind) – is what makes you 'popular'. The eccentrics at this point – the ones who were the 'teachers pets' – have now switched their position from one of a perceived allegiance to authority to a frequent and actual distaste for authority and therefore remain unpopular. I don't have an answer for this apparent contradiction: I have a feeling that it is less about authority itself as about the individual (driven to learn rather than socialise) versus the group. This is the story of Society versus the individual and it is Society that maintains the State.

Frequently 'being liked' means being in denial of the self, of who we are as individuals or as small groups of individuals. Throughout history, there have been people who put 'being liked' to one side in pursuit of a greater ideal: innovation, hereticism, individual truth and rebellion. Indeed these things can only come to their own when one has achieved a certain freedom from popularity, and because they are pursued with honesty and integrity – not from a desire to manipulate others into agreeing with or liking you – will ultimately be met with respect if not agreement.

The nihilists have embraced 'not being liked' because they understand this. Many infamous historical figures lived and died in poverty and isolation: seminal writers, ground-breaking thinkers, scientists, and rebels lived such lives on the margins, shunned by neighbours and murdered by the Church, the people and the State in their own time. I don't want to glorify the condition of alienation, loneliness or anti-sociality, but there is a point at which if we are to remain true to ourselves and also more united amongst ourselves as anarchists of slightly different persuasions (in both vision and tactic), a certain amount of these qualities to our lives must be dealt with: we are unlikely to be popular.

It has been written that we are all born out of the time we would be best in. This means that our presence in the world will necessarily be uncomfortable as our very essence is in

contradiction with the times. I know what this means, but I don't entirely agree with this. But if Fate has a hand as it seems to suggest, then I would add that we are born in the time that is intolerable to us so that we can fight against it. Perhaps we are anarchists from the future, with the mission of steering the present. It is always an exhilarating time to be an anarchist, and now that Capital and the State stand naked in their plunder, brutality and indifference to 'the people', anarchism as an idea is especially resonant, particularly the more uncontrollable kind whose words and actions are reflected in the spontaneous rebellions of the excluded.

We are all 'good people'. But it has to be enough for us alone to know it or we are doomed to forever draw back from the brink of dramatic social change (change which will always be fought against by the majority up to a point) by watering down our politics or withdrawing altogether.

We want something different. We want an end to all this, where most are willing to tolerate it. We want an end to the injustice, poverty, depression, the deathly social peace and we must want it at any cost. In order to succeed, at least in ourselves, we have to accept, we have to learn to value that which seems its own heresy in this age which has brought us 'the science of happiness'. We have to be comfortable with our unpopularity, even to take joy in standing against the mass when it is against us, to take joy in our individuality and even to take joy in the terror all of us, no matter how softly we try to tread, instil in both the State and the Mass.

Venona Q.

This fragment is another contribution towards critical writings against 'civil anarchism'.
See **Scandalous Thoughts - some notes on civil anarchism**
http://325.nostate.net/?p=5371

WITH ALL MEANS POSSIBLE

LETTER FROM ANARCHIST PRISONER MARIO TRIPA LOPEZ

This text was written by Mario on the 9th of August for an Anti-Prison Gathering in Mexico, which took place the 17-18 of August 2012.
Mario was injured during the transport of an improvised incendiary device and jailed. He is awaiting trial on remand.

The silence and the distance so widely suggested by Power, do nothing more than increase the thickness of the walls of the prison where they are locked up.
The path of complicity is very distinct, the path which opens way for those who want these walls to jump in the air.
"The resolution of a problem."
Italy, 1994.

Now, when I find myself behind these walls and still in the sick-bay of the southern prison of Mexico City, waiting for my partial recuperation, I see through the barred window and my vision is struck with two big barbed-wired walls, protected by a look-out tower, which only marks one long division between one prison and another, between the prison and its terror, and the city and its enclosure. Two parallel worlds, uniformed in only one color. Two societies with one unique end: control. Being here I give credit to **Xose Tarrio** *[a comrade killed by the FEIS isolation units of Spain]* and **Marcelo Villaroel** *[an imprisoned comrade accused of bank robberies in Chile]*, I affirm that analysis as much as critique against prisons must come from the political axis and from ideas, but also -and very importantly- it must come from the personal experience of it, from the perspectives of those who live and walk within it.

Prisons are also centres of self-extermination, in occasions one of all against all, a place where one struggles to survive, where more than acquiring respect, it induces fear. But I have to and we have to be clear, that this self-extermination is brought about directly by the state and capital, which through terror, fear, corruption, overcrowding and overpopulation, drugs, medical negligence etc. put the individual in a situation of stress, confusion, euphoric depression and anger. In a whole, an environment of pressure that makes this place a true and permanent battlefield. Obviously I am speaking of the prison that I have ended up living in. Even despite all of this, I can make out the minimal solidarity and companionship between prisoners, even despite the principle rule: "In jail you walk alone and you look out for yourself and only yourself".

Prison is a clear reflection of the exterior world, of a society that rots and decomposes, saturated in the same contradictions of the system.

The "module" is the penitentiary space inside the prison, meaning a prison within a prison. All of this is a structure of social control, but unlike some prisons or modules of maximum security, here perhaps the punishment is to survive the worst and vilest conditions of life.
The "module" is the worst punishment for the problematic prisoners as much as those who put up a protest. The beatings of the guards, the psychological terror are, together with the module, the principal methods of control. Proof of the cowards with badges and truncheons´s power.

The prison where I find myself is in some ways different to many others that compañer@s have lived through: the permanent isolation modules, the maximum security prisons, the FIES, were created in a strategic and coldly calculated manner to physically and psychologically rob an individual of their capacity to question, create, criticize, think and, finally, to make her or him a living ghost and dependent on the system- without autonomy, without capacity of free and conscious decision.

The white walls, without natural light, without recreational activities or sports, with surveillance 24 hours a day. They are looking to kill the warrior spirit of the "social rebels" at its root; those who do not accept and who rebel even without academic analysis or without political conscience. They are made to annihilate the conviction and the fight of our affinities and political prisoners. This prison is a clear reflection of the capitalist society, its failures, its social vices, its hypocrisy and its spectacle. The clear difference is the fact that here everything is more intense: the prisoners stabbed, burnt and beaten are an every day occurrence, and all caused by the reduction of vital space to a dear minimum.

Despite all of this, not all here is mere submission. Actually the

opposite, I also find myself with buddies who maintain an open and critical mentality, with a clear and visible tension to break the apparent "existing order" and to fight, at least to "better their life conditions". Being not so politicized and with the intention of radicalising their thinking, they value their fight and don´t leave it to one side, well those who live in these conditions know very well what their re-vindications are. However, we won´t lose our direction, I maintain another stance on the fight against prisons, one which, more than abolitionist, my perspectives and my acts are directed towards the total destruction of prisons as both physical and mental structures of social control.

The so-called "rehabilitation" or "social reinsertion" is nowhere to be found here, it all becomes a farce, a circus in a power game of which psychologists, criminologists and sociologists all contribute to. This is something that all of the prisoner population knows: "prison is the best crime school". To this point, as an anarchist, the proposal of rehabilitation doesn´t mean anything positive, it would simply be – or is – an attempt to reinsert all the dissidents into the capitalist community and that, by one form or another, contribute to the perfect functioning of the mega machine. This is the only positive rehabilitation for the State / Capital.

Before I conclude this brief explanation, I´d like to make a clarification that I consider necessary. In this text I have put attention only in the prison systems, but when I talk about prison, I also refer to whatever type of mental or physical enclosure: from the enclosure and torture of non-human animals, such as in circuses, zoos or vivisection laboratories, the conditions of overcrowding that humans imposes itself on nature in the search for well-being and progress.
The punishment that is imposed in schools, the torture of the mental institutions, of the "husband" who locks up and deprives his children and *compañera* of her freedom, even kidnappings based on political or common motives etc. All of these are also situations of imprisonment - social relationships which have to be destroyed.

This brief experience, and the rest of it I still have to live, has made it clear to me that we need to sharpen our knives and direct ourselves towards a more objective and direct fight against the prison system. We have to open up our proposals to other fields, to other fights and increase the anti-prison activities- like this one where we find ourselves. Because we have the absolute necessity of propagating the idea of the destruction of this and any prison society.

Without reforms nor abolition. Let´s sharpen our knives, our critiques and our analysis, leaving behind the luke-warm positions and the waiting, eliminating the false discourse of "guilty" and "innocent" from our struggle, a discourse of the juridical system of the state that only contributes to the multitude and criminalization of compañer@s who are prisoners for being consequent with their ideas of attacking the power. An anti-prison struggle that maintains in the social, a true and real social interruption and not a fictitious one, an anti-prisons struggle with projectuality from the grassroots, and not just a simple activity that limits itself to reaffirming our theory. A struggle within a struggle, against all and for total liberation.

Compañer@s, lastly I want to take advantage of this space to send my revolutionary solidarity- although only words- for the anarchist prisoners in Italy, Greece, Spain, Bolivia and Indonesia, with the Chilean compañero on the run **Diego Rios** and **Mono**. A strong embrace to **Gabriel Pombo da Silva** and **Marco Camenisch** *[anarchist prisoners in Germany & Switzerland respectively]*. Solidarity with all the anarchist prisoners of the world whose names I don´t remember at this moment, but who are present in the struggle. Solidarity with my sister of affinity **Felicity Ryder**, who from clandestinity maintains herself face to face with the enemy- her attitude of life.

Compañer@s, I have a long journey to take and, all of us together, a fight to continue.

For freedom. For anarchy.
Tear down the walls of the prisons!
By all means necessary- without symbols or leaders.
Social war on all fronts!

Mario Antonio Lopez
Anarchist prisoner of Mexico City,
Reclusorio Sur
Mexico City, 9 August 2012

P.S. The fight against prisons is part of the total struggle, and is a battlefield against power without putting all the rest to one side.
Total Freedom.

Thanks for the space and for the solidarity.

Tattoo

(to the sound of Greek bagpipes)

Today, the Greek Government
executed by firing squad
1000 pensioners, along
with 2000 workers, as part
of a package of financial
reforms, to reassure
the markets and permit
the Troika to release one
more tranch of the bail-out.

How one feels for the victims
In all this, the bankers
criminalised, shorn
of bonuses, the markets
bearish, nervous as
kittens, the green back,
the pound, the tsunami-
floating yen, scurrying
between time-sealed

vaults and safe-havens,
exposed to the sniping
of credit default swaps
as Molotov cocktails
rain down relentlessly
from Fitch's, Moody's,
and S.& P.'s. Will
the friendly Troika
contrive fresh reforms?

Will our young friend,
the euro, be vaporised?
Growth is a must, come
what may, be it 3000
health workers hung,
drawn and quartered,
4000 firemen burned
at the stake, even
the odd politician garrotted.

Landeg White

***Landeg White** is a scholar, translator, novelist and poet, who has taught at universities in Trinidad, Malawi, Sierra Leone, the University of the West Indies, Trinidad, the University of Malawi and was the Director of the Centre for South African Studies at York University. His most recent book is "Studying to be Singular: John Gabriel Stedman, 1744-1797".*

http://www.landegwhite.com

Poem released for the date of the combative **Nov 14 general strike** called for the entire southern european area.

ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Athens, Greece: A transcription of a brief presentation by Jean Weir of Elephant Editions during an international conference called by the members of the armed group Revolutionary Struggle. The event took place on the 7-8 June 2012 and concerned the armed movements in Europe and their history, plus the prospect of global social revolution as an answer to the systemic crisis. Speakers also included Brigitte Asdonk (Red Army Faction), Bertrand Sassoye (Communist Combatant Cells), Jose Rodriguez, Andreas Vogel (June 2nd Movement), Christos Tsigaridas (Revolutionary Popular Struggle) and Commission for an International Red Help.

Nikos Maziotis and Pola Roupa of Revolutionary Struggle also made presentations at the conference. These comrades have since gone into clandestinity, from where we hope the authorities never touch them again.

Athens, Greece. A hot university, barricaded in, riot cops positioned outside. A transcript not to be lost in translation or memory...

[Chairs clatter, screech on the floor. People cough. The flick of lighters. Quiet chatter in the crowd is a deafening roar... Attention focuses and wanders off in the heat... The microphone is being set-up...]

.. chaos...

I think I distinguished myself on the poster here as not having an organisation or an acronym after my name, (but a great word, "England"!), so that requires an explanation. I don't belong to any organisation or acronym, and of course, that was always a conscious choice in my life and the years I've lived through, these choices were, as the comrades here already explained, were there for everybody to make, if they so desired.

As is the case today; we are here now tonight because the comrades of **Revolutionary Struggle** made an invitation to the movement of this kind.

Given the state of the reality that we are living in today, the only choice we have is to attack and destroy this world, as it exists in the form it exists at the moment, so the question is, how do we go about this and what forms do we use?
The comrades of Revolutionary Struggle made their choice, they didn't ask the consensus of the comrades in an assembly - they're individuals, they made their decisions as free individuals, stood by them and acted coherently and are taking the consequences.

They have emerged from the belly of the beast to come back into the movement to embrace the comrades with their proposals, and this, I think, is what defines this moment, which is this two days *[of the conference]*.

So this encounter also has the characteristic of the struggle, it is a moment of struggle, not just a moment for reminiscing or talking about the past, therefore it is a moment of solidarity, because there is no difference between solidarity and struggle, for us solidarity is a continuation of the struggle everywhere.

For anarchists, we don't have a linear view of the past, and then, *into the future*.
We don't have a history with a capital 'H', but a patrimony, a heritage - which is still alive today.

Some of the comrades of the past, and even a century before, are still alive in the struggle, and there are many aspects of the anarchist movement which could be summed up as the armed, violent, section of attack against the system, and much of this movement has disappeared, because it hasn't been recorded, it does not have it's reference points, it doesn't have historians.

I would like to just say, that I would like to consider myself an element of a tension towards the attempt to move towards the attack and destruction of the existent, this is something which can't be described or quantified. It is a qualitative tendency which exists in the movement, which is giving itself moments of experimentation, and also evaluation of methods, which is a question which is posed to us tonight, that of the armed struggle.

One more thing I'd like to say on the subject of England, there are some comrades who are also here with us in spirit from England, they send their love and their solidarity to the comrades who are promoting this event, as well as to all the comrades in the prisons and those fighting in the streets. Greece is a great inspiration and continues to be a great inspiration in this context. And some of the comrades in England are working assidously to make known many aspects of the struggle here, including the documents and reporting of the trial of the comrades of Revolutionary Struggle.

Armed struggle is a method, it is not the whole of the struggle, it's a selection of a choice of field. It is done in a certain way, with certain objectives, but we, as anarchists, we also have other methods, which we apply at the same time or at different times. So, we are having to continually work out which strategy to use against the enemy at a given moment.

We don't make a political analysis, we want the destruction of politics, but we make a social analysis at the level of the exploited, with whom we will have to carry out this destruction.

So, with that rather garbled introduction, (because I belong to the barbarians, the stammerers, I do not have a political way of reasoning,) nevertheless, the comrades who made the proposition have put us in a situation where we have to make an effort also, to look at certain things more closely which seemed already given, to look at them again in the problematic. One of the problematics for anarchists has occasionally been - Is it possible for anarchists to act within a closed group, clandestine or otherwise, in the dimension of armed struggle? Or does the

group end up by definition closing itself and separating itself from our other comrades in struggle, i.e. the exploited, the excluded.

We have our thoughts, we have our ideas on this question, we have our experiments, we have our methodology, but everything is in the dimension of a great flux of reality that we live in, nothing is fixed and nothing is certain forever. We play the game, the way we decide, we take responsibility for our actions, and when needed we pay the price, we make our own rules, but we're free to break them whenever we like, because we haven't sworn any allegiance to anyone.

- I know, everyone is tired, I don't know if we are still barricaded in by the riot cops, and this meeting is like one taking place in a bunker; which is a reality check for anyone, but there is never any doubt about being in a war here in Greece. -

Very briefly, they've been mentioned before, but the various experiments and experiences of armed struggle (in the sense of the closed group – because this can take place in other circumstances):

There was the **1st of May Group**, which was active at the end of the 60s, that carried out various attacks in different cities in Europe, against Franco-ism and also against the murder of *[Giuseppe]* Pinelli*. Sometimes doing co-ordinated bombings in different cities on the same day. One aspect which underlined, and for them, seemed to verify the fact that they were anarchists, was the fact that they attacked property not individuals. "We attack property, not people" was one of their slogans. Now, of course, we know very well that anarchists do not attack "people", anarchists attack class enemies. These are not people.

Another group, the **Angry Brigade**, which was active in England, they carried out various attacks over a number of years, the specific interest that they generated was because they didn't write long communiques, just very short and to incite the people to attack themselves. I don't have their exact words here, but one of their communiques was *"what do you want, sit here gazing into nothing in a drug-store drinking tasteless coffee, or blow it up?"* Some of their first communiques were just three words, or a few syllables. It would be fascinating to talk about the group but I don't think we have time and I don't think it is particularly relevant to the points we want to make, but I do think that one of the great developments they made to the anarchist approach to armed attack was the very fact of short communiques.

Now I come to Italy, at the end of the 70s, to briefly look at an armed struggle group named **Azione Rivoluzionaria**, which named itself specifically anarchist.

Now there is a strange feeling for going into talking about an armed group, as an outsider, not as a member of the group, because we know normally those who do that are the other side - the enemy, the cops and so on. One of the main aspects of the armed closed organisation is the fact that their actions belong to them.

So, in the latter part of the 70s, some members of the anarcho-libertarian area – firstly, we have to say that '77 is a context - known in Italy as the *"Anni di plombo"* - the "Years of Lead", because there was thousands of people in the streets, demonstrating, and there was a diffused armed guerilla in the whole of Italy in those years - there were many armed groups, of the closed Marxist-Leninist kind, and there was a critique of these groups, and this critique was active, in the form of small nuclei of attack. These groups either did not claim their attacks at all or invented a name for each series of actions or specific attack. **Azione Rivoluzionaria** formed in a moment of very widely diffused liberatory violence. Young people had lost all their taboos about violence and in '77 when the communist-syndicalists went to speak to the students in the occupied university of Rome, they were chased out of the university, and this time was a moment of liberation for many, many, young people. When later, a young member of **Lotta Continua**, Francesca Russo, was killed, there was a massive rebellion in the streets and the rebels were smashing the gun-shop windows, arming themselves and shooting the cops. The whole of these years, I don't know if they have been recorded in Greece or not, but they are worthy of examination, because these moments were happening in a time of capitalist restructuring, which has now taken place. All the heavy industry of FIAT and the other productive centres were closing down, thousands of men were redundant, thousands of young people realised they had no future in the terms of the capitalist society.

For the closed clandestine organisations, the moment had come; for the **Red Brigades**, for example, the question became: "Either enlist, or desist", meaning "Join the organisation – or stay at home and watch us". This lead to a massive situation of enrolment in the organisation, which contributed afterwards to a collapse not only of the organisation but the whole concept of revolution and attack. It has already been mentioned that there were 4000 comrades in the prison, and the State found the way to get a profession of desistance: *"pentiti"* - repentance and denunciation of the struggle.

To get back to **AR**, it was a very interesting attempt to do something different, to quote them:

"The movement does not put off the class struggle but takes it on in first person. What we want is to carry out a destructive critique of the State with the use of revolutionary violence. Armed struggle, propaganda by the deed - We want to hasten the time and widen the internal front of the clash in order to reach a destabilization of the State. Armed struggle is the only force credible of making any project today. Create, organise, 10, 100, 1000 armed nuclei. ... Ours is a revolutionary organisation in which we meet at an informal level, on the basis of various different ideas and experiences of differing comrades."

... The existence of this group within the movement at the time, stimulated a part of the anarchist movement with a critique of the armed struggle method. This critique was put into practice a decade later in the 80s, in the form of affinity groups; in this case against the nuclear industry in Italy. Many of the actions consisted of sawing down pylons, but these actions were not explained in communiques, rather the anarchists were present in their critique of the big demonstrations and campaigns, in their own meetings and interventions. The essence of this methodology is that there is not one apocalyptic moment when revolution will occur as a result of a crisis of Capital. "Crisis" is one of the mechanisms of Capital which undergoes recurrent crisis.

These crises lead to increasing discomfort which lead to rebellion and organisation. They also lead to a proliferation of reformist groups that aim to alleviate the distress of the exploited. So, if we say,

rather than aiming towards one moment of revolution, we are aiming at moments of insurrection, which are partial moments, without being complete, this is more to the point.

This was also attempted in the moments in the 80s during the struggle against American cruise missile bases in Sicily, Italy. This became also an intermediate struggle, again we don't have time now to explain fully, but this is a moment of time when anarchists in Italy attempted in those years to activate an insurrectional struggle. This time, the intention was to create organisms created by anarchists, but adopted by people who were not anarchist, because the essence of insurrectionary struggle is taking back our lives and our actions without delegating the struggle to anyone. Not to an armed group nor a trade union.

To close, when we are looking for our accomplices in the struggle, we need to look beyond the movement, to the exploited in society, this 'thing' called "society". Not to draw them into the movement but to push them to attack. - *I'm sorry if I have strayed from the topic of the historical reality of the armed struggle, but I find it difficult to look at reality in a purely historical dimension and I realise that the intervention in terms of the language and translation has been very incomplete.* - This is because there isn't an answer, there are questions and propositions that we need to look at and experiment with.

Our point of reference must always be the destruction of this world which is based on work and exploitation. To enter the adventure of freedom, where the means of survival belong to everyone.
To each according to their needs, from each according to their abilities, desires and without coercion – or moral pressure which also must disappear from this world!

Let's work with whichever method we desire to destroy the existent!

Let's destroy the spectacle of representation and I'll be the first to break the microphone!

* Giuseepe Pinelli; an anarchist who was kiled by police in Milan, Italy, 1969.

AZIONE RIVOLUZIONARIA Chronology

Sources: AA.VV, *La mappa perduta* [The Lost Map], Rome, 1994.

In 1977, some militants of the anarcho-libertarian area created the armed organization *Azione Rivoluzionaria* [Revolutionary Action]. They did so after recognizing the potentialities of strength expressed by the Movement in 1977 and referring to the cultural elaborations of situationism and of the Red Army Faction (RAF).

The general political theory of this group was exposed in *Primo documento teorico* [First theoretical document], published in January 1978. The fundamental point of *Azione Rivoluzionaria* is that of the affinity groups: *'when traditional links are substituted by deep sympathetic relations, characterized by the utmost closeness, knowledge and reciprocal trust among its members'*.

This outline also led to the formation of feminist affinity groups, with their autonomous theories.

One of the first actions of *Azione Rivoluzionaria* was the wounding of Alberto Mammoli, the doctor of the Pisa prison (Pisa 30-3-77).
The claim mentioned the death of anarchist Franco Serantini (Pisa 5-5-72), following the beating he was inflicted in the police headquarters after he was arrested, and the failure of the health executives of the prison to provide medical assistance.

Between March and September 1977 *Azione Rivoluzionaria* increased its presence in Lombardy, Piedmont, Tuscany and Liguria.
By placing an explosive device against the premises of Turin daily *La Stampa* (17-9-77) and wounding Nino Ferrero, a journalist of daily *L'Unità* (18 9-77), *Azione Rivoluzionaria* started off a national campaign against *'manipulation techniques aiming at gaining general consensus'* adopted by the mainstream media.

In particular, the daily *La Stampa* was hit because of its reports on the death of two militants of the organizations, Aldo Marin Pinones and Attilio Di Napoli, which took place on August 4 1977 in Turin.

This campaign continued in 1978 with an attack on the offices of *Corriere della Sera* (Milano 24-2-78) and of *Gazzetta del Popolo* (Aosta 29-7-78).

On October 19 1977, a group of *Azione Rivoluzionaria* tried to kidnap shipping magnate Tito Neri in Livorno.
The action failed and the militants were arrested.

In April 1978 AR also carried out an action in Rome, by placing three explosive devices against the premises of the *Banco di Roma* [an important bank], a Ferrari agency and a car showroom on *via Togliatti*.

In June1978 Azione Rivoluzionaria carried out an attack on the premises of *Democrazia Cristiana* [Christian Democratic party] in Aosta. In the claim the organization demanded that *'authorization to speak in the piazza of Aosta be revoked from Movimento Sociale Italiano [a fascist party]'* (18 and 19-6-78).

The general thesis of AR were widely exposed in the document *Appunti per una discussione interna ed esterna* [Notes for internal and external discussion], written in the summer of 1978.

During the trial that took place in Livorno between June 1979 and July 1981, some militants of *Azione Rivoluzionaria* presented a document, where they officially announced the end of the organization.

On October 4 1979, during a trial that took place in Turin, militants of the organization remembered Salvatore Cinieri, who had been killed in the Turin prison by a common prisoner on the 27th of the previous month.

On April 11 1981, Gianfranco Faina, considered as the founder of AR, died of cancer.

After the dissolution of the organization, some militants joined the armed group *Prima Linea*.

88 people were prosecuted for their involvement with *Azione Rivoluzionaria*.

SOLIDARITY WITH SONJA AND CHRISTIAN

REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (RZ)

After 33 years in French exile, **Sonja Suder**, 79, and **Christian Gauger**, 70, were extradited to Germany on September 14, 2011. Christian was transported across the border in an ambulance! Sonja was jailed in Frankfurt-Preungesheim; Christian in a prison hospital. Christian, who suffered cardiac arrest in October of 1997 and has since been under constant medical and personal care, wasn't released from detention until one month after his extradition; he now is forced to report to the cops twice per week.
Sonja, who continues to be detained in Preungesheim, is likely the oldest woman in Europe awaiting - and now facing - trial in jail. Prosecutors brought charges in November and are planning to bring the cases to trial in 2012.

A Long Tradition of Resistance

As part of the political radical left, the **Revolutionaere Zellen (Revolutionary Cells, RZ)** started tackling the revolutionary perspective in the BRD in 1973, striving to identify novel formats of militancy and starting points for resistance. It formed a third urban guerilla group, next to **RAF (Red Army Faction)** and **Bewegung 2. Juni (2nd June Movement)**; however, RZ opted against a vanguard position, choosing to act from within the "legal" radical left movement instead of going underground. In the mid-1970s, RZ spawned a feminist organization, **Rote Zora**. RZ and Rote Zora ceased action in the early 1990s.

Sonja and Christian are charged with two of roughly a dozen anti-nuclear attacks conducted by RZ. The first, on August 22, 1977, was directed against the German MAN corporation and its aid in the development of South African nuclear bombs. MAN was selling compressors for an uranium enrichment plant to the racist Apartheid regime. The second attack, conducted shortly thereafter, was directed against the KSB corporation, then the world's leading manufacturer of cooling circuit pumps for nuclear power plants. Sonja and Christian are also blamed for an RZ arson attack against Heidelberg castle on May 18, 1978. The goal of the attack was to illuminate the contradiction between the chic tourist façade of Heidelberg and the policy of razing entire sectors of town in the interest of profiteers.

Fabricated Testimony

Regarding all three charges, the prosecution relies on the so-called "testimony" of **Hermann F.**, testimony fabricated under conditions akin to torture. In the summer of 1978, an explosive device purportedly destined for an RZ action against the consulate of Argentina's military dictatorship in Munich, had detonated on Hermann's knees, causing severe injuries. He survived, but lost his eyes, both legs and suffered severe burns. Under the influence of potent pain killers and sedatives, he was hospitalized and later brought to police barracks,where he was held under total isolation. State security officers, prosecutors and judges who took copious notes were his sole "persons of contact." Hermann remained in a state of absolute helplessness and reduced perception for 18 weeks. Contacts with friends and a trusted lawyer were prevented and manipulated. When he finally escaped isolation, Hermann F. rejected his purported testimony as construed and not his own.

33 Years of Exile

In the fall of 1978, one year after the **"German Autumn"** and in the midst of a state hunt for radical leftists, Sonja and Christian notice that they are being followed. They travel abroad, to an unknown destination. It isn't until later that they learn of the accusations raised against them.

In 2000, 22 years after their disappearance, Sonja and Christian are arrested in Paris. In the meantime, another charge has been added: After 24 years, government witness **Hans Joachim Klein** has suddenly claimed to remember that Sonja transported weapons to Vienna in 1975, for an attack by a Palestinian-German commando against the **OPEC** oil minister conference. (Klein participated in the attack, but soon took his distance from it and them; aided by German Greens and former leftists, and with the knowledge of the German secret service, he lived in France until 1999. After his politically forced arrest, followed by copious testimony, he was convicted in 2000 in Frankfurt, but soon released and pardoned. Frankfurt district court rejected Klein's testimony against Sonja and others as not credible during his trial in 2000: and yet, his claims are still being repeated in the recent warrant and charges against her.)
Those German accusations not-with-standing, a French court rejected the German extradition request in 2000. After posting bail of a few hundred Euros, both were allowed to remain in France. But in 2007, prodded by the Paris representative of the German federal criminal police BKA, German prosecutors took advantage of recent changes in EU law to submit a "European" arrest warrant. Though the warrant contains no new information, simply representing a change in format, the French authorities under Sarkozy agree to it in 2010.

No Deal. No Testimony

Sonja and Christian come from the Left of the 1960s and 1970s; they were fighting the systems of prison and repression back then. Ten years ago, they refused to take a deal offered by the

German prosecution, which promised respite from custody and parole in exchange for their voluntary return to Germany and a confession. They have consistently refused to testify. Sonja said, in a 2010 interview: *"If you have agreed beforehand, 'should something happen, no word, no testimony,' then you feel very secure."*

Their life demonstrates that it was and remains possible to live without a bourgeois career and without adapting to the ruling system. They are 1968'ers that did not morph into Greens, opportunists or power-hungry politicians. Activists of the Left do not need to sacrifice their political and personal integrity to so-called practical constraints. Sonja and Christian's extradition and trial have been so doggedly pursued for only one reason: because they refuse to cooperate with the state security apparatus.

The Real Crime

All political trials aim at redefining legitimate resistance as criminal acts. The real crime here, however, was arming a racist regime, not the militant resistance against it; the real crime was and is the destruction of livable and affordable neighborhoods, not the protest against gentrification; the real crime was and is the nuclear program, not anti-nuclear resistance.

While the BRD government keeps supporting nuclear exports of German firms, and while no corporation has been taken to task for its support of the Apartheid regime, Sonja and Christian are to be tried based on acts against those crimes after three decades. They weren't imprisoned until EU law had been tightened to the detriment of refugees and asylum seekers.

Freedom and happiness for Sonja and Christian!

Their steadfast attitude despite Christian's severe illness and despite three decades of exile deserves respect and international solidarity from all those who have resisted and are resisting prison, the state security justice system, the nuclear mafia, racism and gentrification.

It is no coincidence that, on the occasion of Castor 2011 in the Wendland, banners and fliers underlined the long tradition of anti-nuclear resistance since the 1970s and called for solidarity with Sonja and Christian.

The Trial

On the 21st of September 2012 the trial against the two began in the high-security department of Frankfurt's courthouse. More than 100 comrades from Germany and France held a rally chanting slogans and holding banners. As Sonja and Christian entered the room, the comrades, who filled the room entirely, cheered loudly at them and shouted against the judge.

The trial will going on for a few months and comrades will keep attending it and showing solidarity there to the comrades. Christian, who is still suffering from the health damage from 1997, is undergoing an immense stress when attending the trials, which sometimes have to be shortened because of his state.
During the first days, the judge even tried to break the refusal of a long term comrade, **S.**, who used to be in a relationship with Hermann F. at the time and was also indicted for membership in the RZ, to make any declaration about the two comrades.

The judge threatened her with the *"Beugehaft"* (which means that you can be either sentenced to a fine or imprisoned up to six months upon an "unjustified" refusal to testify in front of a court - it has been used largely against radicals during the past decades), although S. stood her ground and remains unbroken in her statement.

The Solidarity

Several banners have been hung all over Germany but also in France and Greece, graffiti and stencils have been spraypainted, stickers and posters produced information events hold, several rallies have been held in front of the prison where Sonja is sitting, representatives of the German State such as the Goethe Institute in Thessaloniki and Paris or the German Embassy in Paris have been made a target of protests as well as also the institutions enforcing the law, such as the Main Court in Hamburg which has been attacked on the 30th of July with stones, paintbombs and a burning barricade made of tyres.
It has been made clear that time does not wash away our fierce memory of a struggle against this capitalist system and those who are struggling with us - no matter if now or 30 years ago - are not going to be left alone in the hand of the State.

For all these reasons it is still vital to keep showing any form of solidarity with Sonja and Christian - against all prisons and any form of repression.

You can write to Sonja:

Sonja Suder
JVA Frankfurt III
Obere Kreuzäckerstr. 4
60435 Frankfurt / Main
Germany

For further information:

http://www.abc-berlin.net
http://www.verdammtlangquer.org/
http://solizorn.wordpress.com/
http://www.freilassung.de/ (with several texts about the history of the RZ)

Photo translations:

1- Billboard with the head of the rhino poking through the wall - it reads: "Every heart is a revolutionary cell - Freedom and happiness for Sonja and Christian!"

2- The banner reads: "Solidarity with Sonja and Christian - Yesterday like nowadays - Thousands of reasons to revolt"

Interview with 3 eco-anarchists from UK

Interview between anarchists in Philippines and eco-anarchists active in UK. The anarchist comrades in Philippines are active in indigenous solidarity, anti-mining and mega-development projects, developing social centres, radical info projects, etc. This interview is part of a project of theirs based around the theme of 'radical ecology'.

What is your view on radical ecology?

X: I haven't given the term 'radical ecology' much thought for years now, partly because it has become a basic philosophical foundation. Although the book titled 'Radical Ecology' written by Carolyn Merchant was very popular and definitive in 1990s Britain - informing some of the perspectives held by those involved in the anti-roads, environmental and **Earth First!** Movements - it is not a term that I hear very often now. People were influenced by many things at that time: deep ecology, social ecology, the Situationists. Certainly, fifteen years later, my personal trajectory (and that of others too) has been deeply touched by primitivist arguments, anti-civilisation and individualist-insurrectionist-nihilist anarchist critique. The underlying world-view of all of these I believe to be largely synonymous with the philosophy of radical ecology. My view is that these ideas are crucial and inevitable: nothing can be reformed, it all has to go and we cannot wait for everyone else to agree. Civilisation is completely incompatible with radical ecology.

Y: It is important - if we are interested in real freedom (not so-called "democratic freedom") and the health of ourselves and the planet - that we radically defend the existing wildernesses and the last free places of nature. We are the last generation of people that will be able to make any kind of critical intervention for the protection of many species of plants, animals and last remaining wild places. Ongoing, there is a rapid assault on the biosphere by the industrial-technological system, all life is degraded by capital, manipulated and destroyed for profit and control. If we are to act, we have to act now, as it is clear that the reformist demands asked of "our democratically elected leaders" to "protect the planet" at "climate change" conferences have failed, and this is only really the tip of the (melting) iceberg.

Z: The important contribution of anti-civilisation ideas to a 'radical ecological' standpoint seems to me to be envisioning the Wild as something that is not just a separate preserve for us to defend and fetishise, but something also within ourselves that is constantly under attack by the domestication of the Capitalist system and the Industrial Society since birth. We realise whatever ecosystem that makes up the fragile web of life on the planet is a vital part of our own freedom as well as those we share the Earth with, so of course it is in our self-interest to fight against all control and taming. In this way, as my comrade mentions, situationist-individualist-insurrectionary tendencies combine to make anti-civ thought stand apart from the moralistic environmentalism practised and preached by the Left (and increasingly the Right), firmly rooting itself in each rebel's own struggle to destroy the whole suffocating legacy of civilisation on her/his own body and psyche.

What kind of actions being taken by radical ecologists? Does it involve theory and applications?

X: Historically, radical ecology meant taking radical aggressive and defensive action as opposed to petitioning, lobbying, pleading and accepting technological, mainstream, corporate and also 'developmental' (NGO) solutions to ecological and environmental problems. It was a praxis in which theory, lifestyle and action were woven together. In the UK in the 1990s, this was expressed on two fronts: the urban and the 'rural'. You had the camps, where people actually left the urban centres and returned to the woodlands or revived a more nomadic lifestyle by becoming 'travellers'. The camps occupied threatened land, created new radical communities within them, developed their ideas and practised them directly in a form of relating to each other and the land which was in opposition to the dominant culture, defended areas with their bodies and carried out attacks against the machinery, the work and also invaded the administrative offices.

Meanwhile, in the cities, there was a more intellectual, situationist critique arising that also attacked the ideas and ways of the dominant culture and of urban life through interventions such as **Reclaim the Streets**. The camps were very strong in the 1990s and involved thousands of people. **Earth First!** is still going and eco-villages or camps still occur from time to time, although they are generally very small projects. In the UK, anyway, there is no wilderness left and when we fight against the destruction of the Earth here, we are fighting for the preservation of relatively sterile green space against the final encroachments of industry and housing, for the preservation of tiny patches of woodland which are probably not very old in most cases anyway or we fight against increased monoculture as in the attacks against genetically modified crops.

Y: As there is no more wilderness in the UK that is not essentially a large park, the last two decades of environmental activism in UK, as elsewhere, have failed to address the damage and commodification done to the environment globally. The major hotspots of the environmental frontline are elsewhere but the companies and individuals causing the damage can often be found here. The fight against nanotechnology and bioscience is the new front. Whilst activities which, at a social level inform and excite the general masses of people towards changing their lifestyles, behaviours and consumer choices, have some minor validity, it is clear that without the organisation of international direct action towards the overthrow of the capitalist-industrial model, "democratic totalitarianism" will absorb reformist demands for the restoration of the environment and use them to it's own advantage. We can't buy, lobby or protest against climate change, we have to overturn the entire system. In this regard, the tactics that are potent, are those of committed revolutionary and insurrectional activity that aims at the technological system and its functionaries.

It might be useful to look at the example of the **Earth Liberation Front (ELF)**, which dedicates itself to radical direct action which aims to protect all life on the planet. Although the informal organization had a beginning in the UK, the level of action taken by the majority of the radical ecological movement in the UK now does not pose a threat to the ecologically destructive workings of capitalism. and has not in any way suffered the same kind of repression directed towards the **ELF** in the United States.

You can also consider the actions of a specific anti-industrial group in Mexico, the ***Individualidades Tendiendo a lo Salvaje (ITS)***, and the replicating format of the **Informal Anarchist Federation / International Revolutionary Front (FAI / FRI)** . They are potent examples of where anti-social, anarchist and nihilist-egoist praxis meets anti-civilisation ideas and has created a distinct tendency of attack. The continuing fusion of cells of the **ELF** with the **FAI / FRI** is something to be welcomed and encouraged.

Whilst I have no love of conflict, I think that critical attacks against the system are what are needed to fight this rotten civilization which is destroying everything, before it takes the planet and every species with it into ecological collapse and modern authoritarianism.

The bosses and important figures of multi-national companies and state institutions are responsible for their choices and those who make decisions which counter the survival of the planet and the liberty of the general masses of people should expect to be attacked. Not only guilty individuals, but an extensive web of facilities, machinery, generators, cables, pylons, repeaters and signal boxes are part of what keep the industrial-technological system running, and at all times it is possible to attack it, as there is no way the state and the corporations can protect each and every weak point and crucial target in the grid. This grid is based on war, finite mineral extraction, mass consumption and centralisation of power. The horror of nuclear energy and the burning of dirty fossil fuels to generate electrical energy has had pollutive consequences the like of which the world has never seen, and our planet has been irrevocably changed, with lasting effects for thousands of years. Now even the most intimate foundations of reality and nature are being tampered with in the form of nanotechnology and biotechnology. These crude and manipulative sciences are completely subservient to capitalism and the military, and are funded by megamoney.

Z: 'Radical ecological action' of the kind most seen in the UK today says nothing to me, as most of the

'radicality' seems to revolve around breaking minor laws, waiting to be arrested and photographed, going to court and then starting over again (until further education, parenthood or 'normal life' become too irresistible). Their projects aren't arriving at a critique of the nature of civilisation so are bound to remain caught up in the ribbons of activist chivalry that is painfully transparent in offering no significant break with the Industrial Society or their own sad comfort. An example could be the recent mobilisation against a GM testing field; whereas last decade the advance of genetically-modified crops was halted in no small part by sustained destruction of the plants by smaller and larger anti-biotechnology groups, all that remains this time around are activists calling for the scientists to "demonstrate sensitivity to public concern by harvesting the crop before pollination, removing any risk of contamination with non-GM plants", and who then "linked arms [...] and walked calmly towards the site, before being stopped by police lines" and settled down for a "GM-free" picnic (words from their own statement).

A small fringe of direct action attacks have continued (direct action as in damaging the institutions and structures responsible for ecological degradation, social control and alienation, rather than asking or demanding our enemies to adjust for us), such as construction equipment getting sabotaged in Scotland around open-cast coal mining, banks funding ecocidal expansion projects like the Tar Sands of Canada or fashion boutiques profiting from animal slavery being smashed in Bristol along with burning power company vehicles and radio transmission masts, and an action against machinery at a mega-quarry in Lincolnshire. Animal liberationists, while far from the peak of activity that defined the UK as a major terrain of struggle over the past generation (and having faced significant repression, largely alone), continue with disrupting hunting, freeing animals and

attacking vivisection companies or their contractors from time to time, but their discourse is also more often than not reformist rather than Earth liberatory and doesn't always position itself against even capitalism, let alone science and industrialisation.

Much more is needed, but I think it's important to take the time and space to build a strong and heart-felt praxis that links action and theory instead of feeling that "there is no time, we must do something, anything," that seems to plague the environmental movement and leave the door open to recuperation by green capitalist technology "solutions" or eco-austerity fascism.

Do radical ecologists share common beliefs with other environmental movements? How do radical ecologists relate with other groups that are not radical?

X: In terms of saving fragments of land or supporting those in other countries, then of course there are some shared goals at times. But environmentalism is by nature anthropocentric, tends to be very narrow and reformist, and frequently solicits state or state-media intervention which is a strategy in conflict with anarchist and anti-civilisation thought. You can see this very clearly in the greenwash campaigns of corporate monsters like BP. They are environmentalists after a fashion. Greenpeace also is basically a corporation full of people who have no developed anarchist or radical agenda, and simply want a well-paid job that is exciting. Environmentalists and non-radical groups are basically untrustworthy because they lack a deep critique and certainly 'radicals' regard them as recuperators if not outright enemies. These groups do not want radical social change. They want solutions that will enable them to maintain the system and their perceived 'comforts' in it. One of the most important tenets of radical ecology and anti-civilisation thought is that everything must be taken as a whole, and that such things as technological fixes for environmental problems are only short-term panaceas which ultimately reinforce the death machine we live in. I think radical ecology was and is a response to this 'anything goes as long as something is saved now' environmental mentality.

Radical ecologists such as **Earth First!** never got on very well with groups that weren't radical and there were always many arguments between the two on issues of both theory and practice. The anti-GM campaign between 2000 and 2005 was one such arena of conflict, with the environmentalists taking a middle-class, softly-softly, not-in-our-backyard approach, and the radicals using it as an opportunity to critique the global techno-industrial machine, and making direct attacks on the crops, the farm machinery and sometimes the farmers themselves. The radical ecology camp also had a very strong critique of the NGO and the idea of 'development' which was perceived as a disaster for the global south. This was not shared or even understood by simple environmental and non-radical groups.

Saying that, people spent some years at Rossport in the West of

Ireland more recently, fighting alongside the tiny local community there against a proposed Shell gas pipeline. They did succeed in forging a relationship with the locals and I think it was a very positive campaign with some very hardcore actions, and an exchange of more radical ideas.

Y: But, whilst Rossport is viewed as a fairly successful campaign in terms of its longevity and 'outsider' activist participation, the community and visiting activist subculture are failing to stop Shell. The actions against the pipeline have remained at a fairly sterile level of non-violent blockades and pretty traditional pacifist actions.
They have been terrorised by the security employed by Shell, who naturally beat people up, sinking local's fishing boats and generally act like paramilitaries. Interest in the 'outsider' activist participation seems to have waxed and waned, as the topic gains some small amount of interest and the campaign has been hit repeatedly by repression and prison for those taking part, especially the locals. There has always been this dynamic, between the organisations/tendencies of radical ecology and nonradical. If the existence of reformist ecological groups is often threatened by the presence of eco-militants, and to the extent that these groups are hostile to radicals, eco-militants shouldn't mix with them. If there can be a harmonious and non-sectarian joint-struggle, all the better, but if there is an antagonism between those of action and those of compromise, and since there is no time left for the planet, what place has compromise and reform?

Z: My responsibility is to honour my values and fight unrelentingly until all are free. This has to be expressed in the means as well as the ends, and if that goal is unattainable in my lifetime then I would rather live an impassioned, authentic and combative journey alongside people with similar wills than alongside those who don't. I have friends who share quite few of my positions, but in terms of who I struggle with it's not acceptable to pretend that we're in the same fight where my goals are compromised.

Is radical ecology related to anarchism? How? What are its features and how does it works?

X: Radical ecology cannot help but be anarchistic although I remember attending an **EF!** Gathering in the States twelve years ago, and was shocked to hear people say things like 'it doesn't matter how we treat each other, it's the wilderness that's important'. I don't know if that was shared by many people, but it used to be a feature of 'biocentric' as opposed to 'anthropocentric' radical ecological positions. Of course, it makes no sense because the point is that we and everything else on and inside the Earth are intimately connected. We do not exist separately from these diverse and complicated ecological relationships although the global capitalist system tries hard to make us think we do and can (and also that it is desirable to do so). Many people understand now that cycles of abuse and violence amongst humans variously reflect and inform how we treat the Earth. And naturally, human cultures self-organised upon anarchist principles is the only real way that we can live in harmony with nature and with ourselves. This means living and organizing along a principle of non-hierarchical relationship meaning that you have to consider the opinions, needs, survival and freedom of others, including the non-human world, but also staying true to yourself as an individual. The principle of equality means that you dismantle the idea of importance along species lines. The principle of direct action means that you have to take back your own power and attack that which threatens liberty. Also, anarchism simply cannot work on a mass scale, in my opinion, and so human societies must remain small. Some theorists would argue that no more than 100 people can live in an anarchistic society. The anarcho-syndicalists, who do not envision the destruction of industry, would argue otherwise. There are many different tendencies in anarchism so imagined futures are all different.

Y: For me, anarchism is about a radical individualist and communitarian anti-authoritarian approach to life which seeks to directly transform every aspect of it: social, political, economic, sexual, philosophical and ecological etc.

Z: Although there have always been self-described anarchists expressing 'naturalist', 'romanticist' ideas, the anarchy I feel and seek isn't much reflected by Anarchism in many of its workerist, urbanised forms today (as opposed to the unannounced 'anarchism' of surviving human cultures who generally live reciprocally with their environment). But anarchy runs deeper than that, as collective and individual rebellions throughout history shows and the natural biosphere exhibits, as a constant tension between freedom and death.

I can't speak for all anarchists as for sure they don't all agree, which isn't a bad thing as to me an integral part of anarchy is refusing to set templates for the future and fixed 'Truths'. But I tend to relate to anarchists who want to make their own clear initiatives and actions that reflect our ends of creating revolution in everyday life by confrontationally disrupting the economy and social order or forming relationships which combat our isolation and subvert both bourgeois standards and their flipside, the submissive worker. Then there's the challenge of also taking a position within existing situations – ecological, social or individual – that interest us (with total rejection of political methods and reformism), which is defined by hostility to the authorities, making links of solidarity between others who are also resisting their oppression beyond the one point which has brought people's attention to that instance, and a will to always be part of a push further towards freedom, the full reappropriation of our existences, nothing less. These situations could be specific to your neighbourhood, national, or international - Capital organises across State borders and so must we.

There's the need to build a polymorphic anarchist practice, meaning one that embraces and utilizes many forms of attack on the structures and relationships that divide us, but crucially must include a militant presence on the streets. Otherwise our aspirations become only so much hot air in the face of the system.

And of course there's the challenge of overcoming the tools that are actively used against us. Our enemies are armed with wage-slavery, the military, policing in various shades, the propaganda of 'public opinion', spellbinding technologies, TV, newspapers, lies and deception. On our side we have courage, solidarity, creativity, rage, love, decentralised organisation, fighting spirit and the fierce wish not to be subdued. And hopefully the intelligence to know how to make best use of these weapons.

That is my opinion, anyway. Quite a challenge all in all, but there you go, it might be a cliché but if it was easy they wouldn't call it struggle, and a struggle so difficult but beautiful that I'm proud it's a part of me. I couldn't begin to touch on the features of radical ecology within this and how it works, I think that's something we spend our entire lives working out and exploring, and I hope that I spend enough time in undomesticated environments to feel some of these lessons in my skin, although it's pretty hard here to find space away from the machinery of the Spectacle and even when we do it's often mediated by the desires implanted in us by technologically dependent culture.

What do you think are the main factors leading to the ecological crisis? How do radical ecologists respond to ecological crises?

X: The main factors leading to ecological crisis is really one feature: civilization. Any mass social system will lead to ecological crisis. Tribal societies have survived for millennia (unless wiped out by other human beings), many civilisations have come and gone. Civilisation is incompatible with life. Urbanisation requires centralized water, energy and food supplies. It requires that people are disconnected from self-sufficiency and from the very idea that it is the natural world and self-organization that can supply basic needs. This leads to the necessity of and dependence upon the State. As well as a destruction of the spirit of the people. The dependence on the State machinery means that people consume rather than create satisfaction of their needs.

Of course, mass social systems - civilization – are always originally forced on the people by the rich and those with armies. It is their intent to develop dependency, because then they can sell things to a people who no longer care where it comes from (because they no longer have any relationship to it). Technological society has created other needs such as mobile phones, television, computers etc which are ecologically devastating (in terms of human relationships and social structures also).
Some radical ecologists here continue to set up camps and make sabotage attacks that have more of an 'environmental' focus. Others are more anarchist-nihilist, insurrectionist, a tendency which seems less 'green' but is actually deeply informed by anti-civilisation theories and whose arena is generally the urban prisons of modern society. There is something of a contradiction at work here because this tendency is also frequently individualist which seems at odds with the profound meanings of both radical ecology and anti-civilisation i.e. interdependence. But I think it is a mistake to understand individualism as a 'selfish, ego-driven' idea. For me, it means that in a society which functions through the cage of the social norm (and also leftist movements), and where no real communities exist, as anarchists it is important to challenge this and rediscover ourselves. And to set the stage for any future anarchist society which I would hope would not replicate the imposition of totality in any form, but would foster the manifestation of desire and experiment in strong individuals and like-minded others.

Others still respond to ecological crisis by choosing often but not entirely parasitic lifestyles (such as squatting, stealing and skipping), others focus on establishing sustainable communities - although in my experience these tend not to be very sustainable as they are based on false communities where there is no real affinity between the people and so tend to break down within five to ten years. **Reclaim the Fields** recently emerged and in one case attempted to bring back the idea and the rights of 'the peasant' to defend land they had squatted. This group tries to act in line with those in the global south.

Y: I think that the greed and recklessness of mass industrial-technological society is responsible for the ecological crisis. Each individual must discover their active response to this, and despite the many actions and tendencies we've mentioned, there is no real indication that any of these responses are adequate, and more evidence to suggest that most are futile on a global scale.

Z: You could argue that humans (like other animals) may have always had some detrimental effect of some of the ecosystems that they have inhabited, but never at level that the planet could not cope with, even if it lead to the extinction or dislocation of another species. But the sheer scale of the ecological crisis that we face today is only made possible by mass society, sedentary living and industrialism. Those in the UK at least who seem to consider themselves radical ecologists do not always have an anti-state perspective – hence the energy that is poured into essentially lobbying projects (rather than the destruction of society as we know it), which by definition need the technological-industrial system to achieve their aims, i.e. 'alternative energy' and so on.

What is view on ecological sustainability? Do you believe in a future ecological society? What kind of process should be done to achieve such vision?

X: Honestly, right now, I do not believe that we will achieve a future ecological society through our own actions. That's why I am a nihilist. I doubt that ecological sustainability can be achieved without a radical overhaul of population numbers and Western dominance (financial, military and theoretical) and I can't see that happening without some massive global natural disaster or ecological breakdown. To achieve ecological sustainability on a global scale from within our current situation would require particularly the people in the global north to sacrifice their own material comforts and to voluntarily submit themselves to extreme deprivation and possibly death. I say this because we here are completely dependent on mass agriculture (i.e. industrial farming of cash crops in other countries) and our own land is so degraded, I do not think it would sustain the 65 million people on this island. I cannot see the people doing this. People are afraid here because even if they have never articulated it to themselves, they know they do not know how to live without the system, even if they hate it and are sick and unhappy. It also requires those in the global south to stop buying any of the lies of the West such as 'higher standard of living' and 'development', and to stop in any way wanting 'democracy' for example.

So I do not believe in any bright future like I used to when I was younger. I lost my faith. But I fight anyway because I must, because we cannot *"go gently into that good night, but must rage, rage against the dying of the light"* as Dylan Thomas wrote. I fight because somewhere inside me I hope for a miracle. I fight because to change one person's thoughts and one person's life is achievable. And I fight because somewhere in the world other people are fighting who still know how to live, who inspire me and who still have something to save and I hope they win.

Ecological sustainability is also part and parcel of the capitalist project. Even the corporations know that resources are finite and that to ensure continuing profits and existence, they must also manage the Earth's resources more cleverly. The term sustainability is primarily economic in origin and intent. It is about continuing civilization and maintaining the idea that the Earth is a essentially a resource for the human species to use rather than live within i.e. it came about through the desire to sustain the way we live whilst not destroying the environment completely. It does not describe a radical break with the way we live.

Y: Ecological sustainability sounds like a great idea but I have no optimism that such a thing is possible on a mass global level and I don't believe that I can make any meaningful contribution towards

such a society. I often think that there appears to be no possibility for widespread positive social or ecological change in my lifetime. My actions can only contribute towards more social breakdown, as that is the only foreseeable immediate prospect for the future for billions of people. With this in my mind, the only thing left, for my life, is to organise a present reality which has the potential to strike the enemy as hard as possible, in as many places as possible. I think that there is no one single process that can change the lives of masses of people for the better.

Z: I think that an ecological society (if it would even still be called 'society') is possible in the event of industrial collapse and a population plummet necessitating it for survival, given the history of civilisations basically making their own fate by outstripping the finite resources that keep them going. Ultimately, I find it hard to believe that capitalism will destroy "all life on Earth" before it destroys itself, although it's quite feasible that with temperature rise from global warming that it would look like a pretty different Earth to what we know today. However the scariest thing for me is what life will be like within this system before its end; a future nightmare that the technological system is working hard to extend indefinitely through nanotechnology, biotechnology, robotics... to freeze us into an artificial ecology with completely unknown aberrant effects, for the self-perpetuation of exploitation, domination and commercialisation. So these fields, along with fierce defence of the 'ecological hotspots' such as the South Pacific, are of utmost importance. But all we can likely achieve is to be an uncontrollable, dignified blaze of life unwilling to be subdued, unable to make a significant dent into the functioning of what brings us closer to extinction or slavery. This is not a problem to me, more a revelation which could be a useful transition to a stronger fight against all oppression and domestication – because even if we are just laughing into the wind, no-one can remove the meaning and expression that we take from remaining hostile to every trap this world has to offer. And we simply don't know what is really "possible", "achievable", but we don't need hope or any other spook to lead us on.

In the Philippines, subsistent communities still exist most specially in rural areas where people farm, fish and seasonal hunting. This includes indigenous and peasant communities. Reaction to free-market capitalism is more addressed by activists than subsistent communities as such that later will be displaced by development projects and resource extraction. What can you say about this matter?

Y: I do not have experience of such things, I can't say anything about it other than to say I would like to know more about it. That I have something to learn from these communities. That I am willing to listen and see how our fights combine and differ.

Z: Yeah, I haven't experienced this situation as I understand it. It seems like there are subsistent communities that are fighting development projects and resource extraction, Kulon Progo in Indonesia for example, but I don't know what that is in proportion to activist involvement.

Do you think social, political and economic aspect is related to ecological destruction? How about racism, sexism and the question of class?

X: Of course. The revelations of the primitivist and the anti-civilisation critique were that the idea of the early-dying, near starvation, brutal savage life of non-civilised peoples was probably a total myth propagated by those in power. And the last ten years has seen a complete revision of that terrible fable. Now there is an understanding that such horrors as racism, sexism and class were a necessary invention in order to usher in the current civilisation and lead to a mass rationalisation, acceptance and complicity with it. Now we think that such social issues emerged with agriculture and the original division of labour and becoming sedentary populations that came with farming. With farming, people had more children, people began to accumulate food and goods, and population pressures became a problem (and with that, not having direct relationship to everyone in your community), reliance on unstable monoculture and accumulation, slowly gave rise to power, division (class, race, gender, nature versus human) and war. Populations which didn't move and were growing meant that sanitation became an issue, eventually issuing in Western medicine (and with it the destruction of local herbal knowledge) and increased need for bureaucratic intervention.

Historically, in the global north as with everywhere, we see racism as necessary to ensure public acceptance of slavery and poor conditions that were vital to colonise other countries and get the back-breaking work done for maximum profit. According to some historians, racism was literally invented to break the rebellions that were being fought by poor, dispossessed 'blacks and whites' together. And to push down working conditions and wages domestically. Racism is a vital function of social control. Now, in a society where unemployment is high, the cost of living is through the roof and wages are low, it is absolutely vital to keep people hating 'the immigrants' to keep them from rising up against the State which by some miracle of media and mass stupidity succeeds in playing 'the victim' against a cunning army of illegal immigrants who somehow manage to take it for all it's worth – I mean, it's blatantly ridiculous, but it's easier for people to hate or attack or blame that guy down the road from Ukraine or Ghana than to hate and attack this leviathan, the State.
Sexism was generated for the same reasons. This was done initially through the terrible 'witch-hunts' in Europe where millions of women were killed and the 'feminine' idea and nature-based ways of living were completely destroyed. Women

have always been powerful in small communities, they had a lot of wisdom, and it was necessary to create domestic racism so that the 'men' would perceive their allies not as the women they shared their home with, but the 'men' who were controlling them. The home (and by extension the subsistence community) – which had been the basis of spiritual, nature-based, social, economic life and union – now became the place where the 'enemy' was. The natural place of affinity for the man now became industry – the factory, the government, the battlefield, the corporation, and the urban enclave.

Class also emerged as a direct result of urbanization. You cannot build a civilization without some people doing the back-breaking, dangerous work of construction. You need a working class. You need a ruling class. No one would do it, unless you created a class of people who understood themselves – first through the imposition of force, and then through given ideas of class (done through the force of education and media) – to be subordinate to another group of people. In the UK, this is possibly more a tool that has been used than in other countries, partly because we are a monarchy and an island.

Y: The system of domination is capable of destroying and transforming the natural environment to a tampered and manipulated product, that it is constantly being further transfigured by processes of exploitation. In this way, ecological collapse is not so much of a problem for the capitalist-industrial-technological system but of all those who are subject to it. The upper class and the corporations have plans and forecasts for their futures stretching into the hundreds and thousands of years. What projection forecast do billions of people have? Nothing. A technology like nuclear energy already is fixed on the basis of a matrix of hierarchical relationships; not simply that this radioactive waste will be dangerous for thousands of years. If after processing, the nuclear material will require disposal into high-tech storage and maintenance for many, many generations, what does that mean for the sociological basis that the technical apparatus rests on; of mines, extraction, factories, bosses, military, secure-protection-storage, political power...

These questions, of the plight of the environment, and also the sociological problems of class, racism and sexism are part of our fight for total liberation. However, we must always be aware that capitalism and technology are a complex set of social and technical arrangements, which adjusts to social and ecological realities and is more than capable of producing well-ordered societies, with the illusions of "equality" for all, but of course, it's not the "equality" found in the unknown freedom of the chaotic and complex natural world. In the future, I can conceive of modern dictatorships, where the questions of class, sexism and racism might have been abolished, but the same authoritarianism rules, and wind-farms and solar energy only provide power to the continuation of this futuristic emptiness.

How does radical ecologists in the global north view ecological crisis in the global south? Corruption and bribery is very rampant in the Philippines as the country is very poor. This leads the way for mining and other development projects secure control and domination. Is there any actions being taken by radical ecologists in the global north in consideration to the global south?

X: Corruption and bribery is rampant everywhere, just in some cases more subtle or hidden. Some radical ecologists believe that the global north is dead and buried. We lost the war centuries ago, and now all we can look to is the global south which still has people who live more nature-based lives and have been less contaminated by civilization. Also the people in the global south still live within rich ecological areas whereas there is little wilderness left in the North so it is very important to support these struggles. **Solidarity South Pacific** was set up for this very reason. I would say that a great many actions in the global north happen with an understanding of what is going on in the global south. Sometimes attacks are made directly in solidarity with peoples fighting in the global south. But in terms of affect, there is little people here can do that is not symbolic. This might be good for the morale of people elsewhere, but it is not actually going to change anything. That must be fought on the ground in the global south.

Z: Corruption and bribery are so prolific here that they are not just invisible, but are the very basis for economic activity (especially in areas such as urban development), this can be easy to forget when you see lower-level corruption in other countries that doesn't happen behind such closed doors or before such closed minds. Recently there have been very public media stories in the UK on, among other things, close relations between the police and journalists, bankers writing themselves huge bonuses and fixing interest rates in their favour, and widespread embezzlement of funds by members of the parliament. About consideration for the struggles of the global south, I think that there is a medium level of 'solidarity' purported by the activist/social anarchist movement, although you could critique it on at least two fronts;

1) Making these struggles into a fetish or ideal without having any unmediated understanding of people's actual experiences there, often leading to leftists supporting **Zapatista** armed struggle for instance but denying the validity or relevance to such tactics being used 'here', where said leftists might actually experience some personal danger.

2) Whilst as has been described, the ecological front-line has already advanced over much of the global north (although not all, as current interest in industrialising previously unusable areas in Siberia,

Scandinavia and northernmost America shows, thanks to global warming...) and the battle in the south is paramount for the health of the current planet-system, a genuine revolutionary project cannot come from support for the 'Other' without a firm grounding in individual revolt for individual liberty.

This is a recurrent problem in radical circles; if someone doesn't have self-interest in their struggle then they invariably drift away when they get bored, which is a pretty poor 'solidarity' to show anyone. Where specific and clear interests of the oppressors of the global south movements exist here they can of course be struck, and this can be powerful and beautiful and bolster both parties, but in the end it is civilisation that must be taken as the root problem and attacked as such. Most often this is expressed against structures and individuals who are a visible or less-visible part of the power structure that dictates our living conditions, which may often seem irrelevant for specific movements in the global south, but is obviously still part of an uprising against the totality which keeps us all impoverished. And many, many of the headquarters and key staff of the capitalist order that expands worldwide are in the global north...

In the Philippines, there were various incidents of killing and murder of anti-mining activists (documented and undocumented) and community members who are defending their land, livelihood and people. Security forces of mining company gunned down activists in point blank. Many people are scared until pacified. How about in your place, what kind of repression?

X: The particular type of repression faced by people in the global south was already faced and lost by people here centuries ago. The people here are largely completely pacified, fearful and urban. We no longer regularly experience direct executions of opposition forces, although the police here are becoming armed, and there are murders of black people relatively often by the police here – on the

streets and in custody. The anarchists who take action sometimes get arrested, put in jail, and surveilled. The UK is covered in cameras. For example, it is impossible to move around without being on camera, and on the roads your vehicle registration is logged every couple of miles by ANPR (Automatic Number Plate Recognition) cameras. This is meant to create a deep psychological effect: *"that you cannot get away with anything"*. That there is no chance you will not get caught. This results in people making attacks less and less since you must always think that you will get caught, so an action assumes this mammoth importance – is this the action you want to go to jail for? Since most actions will be symbolic – no single action will break down the state or this or that corporation – then people often decide that it is not worth going to jail for and so do 'community work'. Hence even the anarchists become slowly paralysed and pacified.

The repression following the August Riots was intense. There were 'digitrucks' driving around the cities with footage of the rioters playing on a screen, asking people to snitch on anyone they recognized. There was a system of collective punishment imposed where the families of convicted rioters in council housing lost their homes and there were terrible morning raids on people's homes. The police are still going through CCTV footage and all mobile and social networking websites were ordered to hand over their records. The state here really encourages a culture of snitching, so you often feel more afraid of 'citizens' than the police themselves. The desire for conformity here is very strong.

Repression here is endemic. It is social and often more subtle than you would see in other countries. For example, there is a war on kids in both the UK and the USA, where any child who is bored, disruptive, anti-authoritarian, questioning, energetic and rebellious is basically being told they have a psychiatric or rather a 'psychosocial' disorder and subjected to 'behavioural' therapies in order to get them to become more compliant and passive or they are medicated. This is a very terrifying development. Psychiatry has always been a very ugly arm of the dominant order, used to pacify, incarcerate and annihilate (without physical death) its opponents, but we now see it being used as a systematic weapon against the soul of a whole generation.

What is your view on solidarity and international ecological resistance?

X: One thing that is absolutely paramount for me is to 'level struggle'. Earlier you asked what is being done by those in the global north in consideration of those in the global south. The question might also be asked the other way round. A big thing for me is to

dismantle the idea of 'privilege' which is basically founded on the materialist rhetoric of the dominant capitalist agenda. I believe it does us all a great disservice to separate each other into the 'poor south' and the 'rich north'. Of course, in some ways this is accurate, but the point for me is to really understand that there is no good place in capitalism. We could say that the global south in general is richer in spiritual, community or fighting terms than those in the global north. The people in the north are in my opinion suicidal, profoundly sick physically and emotionally and those of us who are politically conscious and desire to attack are unbelievably isolated and very few and more or less completely trapped in the military-technological-industrial system.

So to me solidarity requires us to understand that we are all connected and all suffering in different ways from our incorporation into the death machine. Those in the global north should always act where possible in direct support of struggles in the global south through attack and propaganda but it is vital to not only act on behalf of others, but on our own terms and on behalf of ourselves. This is true solidarity. My question of what can the global south do for the global north is for those in the global south to avoid at all costs being seduced by the West in any way, including such ghouls as 'democracy' or 'education' or 'development' and to assert existing traditional, small-scale ways of living against more 'modern ways' and return to these ways if that is possible. There is a very good film called 'Lessons from Ladakh' about the destructive impact of development and education on the traditional people there.

The people were persuaded to send their children to school with the aim of giving their children better opportunities to participate in the global arena. The result was the children were taken away from local education (living on the land, traditional ways, language) into a formal Western school system which ultimately gave them a halfbaked education and left them stuck between two worlds. The education did not and could not include them in capitalism to any degree, but it also left them useless to their traditional communities. It was a disaster. It is always a disaster. Western ideas have nothing to offer the human or natural community of beings. They are anathema to life.

A very important thing for those of us in the global north to do is to make clear our anti-civilisation critique, to demolish the myths that circulate that the West is a good place to be, to destroy the notion that there is anything positive about political democracy. We still see these arguments so much amongst the less radical activists and the left. There is no such thing as democracy in a mass society. It can only truly exist in small human societies where everyone knows everyone else and then it would be called something else or it would not need to be named at all. We need to be clear that everything has to go. We have no future to offer. It might be – at this point – that the human species has no future.

Don't buy any of the lies put out by Western corporations, governments, or charities. You must be strong and absolutely hard in this. Don't even listen to them. Do not give them a minute of your time, even the ones which seem to care for you. They do not.

They are all part of a totally destructive system. Do not let them touch you or your children with any of their ways, their clothes, their things, their ideas, their offers of education, technology or help. You must resist anyone from the West or who acts according to the ideas of the West - even the 'anarchists' - because we are all so embedded in the machine that we are dangerous even if we think we are not!

One more question; how does anarchist culture could be applied in rural areas besides cities?

X: I have lived outside the cities for a couple of years now, and I don't have much hope for any kind of intervention outside the cities here in the UK. The people in rural areas here are either very rich, or very cut-off and narrow-minded in their experience and their ideas. I think in some parts of the world, it is different. Over the world, many existing pastoral, subsistence and tribal communities are essentially egalitarian and the anarchism has little to teach. Where it does not already exist, then those with the opportunity to do so can engage with local struggle, behaving along anarchist principles. Maybe people will learn from this and replicate anarchist styles of organization, maybe they won't.

Y: Cities and industrial areas are usually the locus of the anarchist culture, but I think that it is possible to have quite a widespread and lasting effect in rural and isolated areas with the regular activities of informal groups of discussion and action. Informal or public social centres in rural areas - because of the isolation - can have the galvanising effect of bringing people together who otherwise wouldn't have met, and can be a place of unlikely exchange and regular gathering.

These centres help other places have the courage to become more visible and can help create a good network for action on common issues. Written propaganda and direct praxis helps bring out the antagonistic elements of the surrounding areas, and often will last longer in the case of flyposters and written graffiti slogans) and quite often will get a better circulation (in the case of magazines, leaflets, film-showings etc) from the non-regular occurrence of these actions/ propaganda making it into the rural areas. However, there is of course the problem of being isolated and easily repressed in areas where there is fewer places to blend in, like in a city, and if the rural areas are reactionary that is a serious problem. In rural areas there is often to be found exposed infrastructure for electrical, televisual,

communications, internet transmission for civilian, military, government and corporate use. From looking at the interlocking nature of such things we can understand how it is possible to attack the apparatus of the enemy, to cut off different parts of the functioning body. In the case of electrical pylons, -to return to an earlier point-, the comrades in Italy made a theme of striking at the pylons which conducted the energy coming from and to the powerplants of nuclear energy. These actions, which often no-one took responsibility for, were easily repeated and spread very quickly, the affinity groups managed to evade arrest by working in small groups of trusted friends. These actions caused economic damage which became a serious problem for the Italian state and their friends in the nuclear industry.

Z: Rural areas are the only places where anarchist culture has been the primary relationship for any significant time-frame. I'm not saying that this somehow 'proves' or 'determines' what's possible, but it's worth noting and I personally have no desire to see the city continued as a model, in the existing sense, which is impossible to separate from the needs of class society and social control, which have been the driving forces in urban planning from the beginning. But there are opportunities everywhere and always in the present day to violently dismantle pieces of this reality, whether in the countryside or the city there are different advantages and disadvantages.

14.7.2012

FAI-IRF/CCF

"Lone wolves are not alone…"

Written by Conspiracy of Cells of Fire : Imprisoned Members Cell FAI-FRI

Today we live in the time of fear, the kingdom of degeneration. All around us spreads a sick world which refuses however to die. The world of economy falls but does not collapse. All preachers of every ideology, scientists, economists, journalists, politicians, sociologists, syndicalists, leftists, humanitarians, agree to a common truth, called "economic crisis".

Thus the ghost of the economic crisis hovers above the formerly privileged territory of the western civilization, after leaving behind it hecatombs of dead people and ruins of war in the "undeveloped countries" of the rest of the world.

But we refuse the truth they offer us. We refuse to be lost in mathematical equations, economical terms and loan contracts. We refuse to accept that life is shoved into statistics. Numbers cannot explain why our existence gets poorer. We speak of a different poverty and not only the poverty of the supermarkets. We speak of the poverty in words, emotions, thoughts, wanderings, tensions. We speak of the unity which resides inside the modern people-pets of the cages of the metropolis who by themselves imprisoned themselves.

Today there is a crisis which makes our life poorer, but this is not the economic crisis, it is the crisis of values. Society traded the values of freedom, respect, solidarity, dignity, with a position in consumerist paradise. Now is the time for it to fall in its hell, since today it experiences the collapsing of the system which it faithfully prayed to all these years.

The ambassadors of the modern way of life speak of the saviour of economy through corrective changes and development programs, while the ideologists of the left beg for the cleansing of institutions. Unfortunately, in Greece the tension of bureaucratic social anarchy also joins the dance of the absurd and fantasises the revival of dead ideologies speaking of self-management of the production means and workers collectives.

Thus the socialist anarchists, while refusing the system, instead of destroying class identities and economy, speak their language. They speak of the overthrowing of the existent, without however uprooting from inside them the economic-centric logic. For us, as anarcho-individualists and nihilists, economy is not the key for liberation. Economy is a part of the problem and the problem itself. The only way to strike the heart of the problem is to destroy the economy and its distinctions and speak of human relations. The world will not become prettier or more free if we collectivise work but only if we blow up the relation of work and destroy its mentality, its ethics and culture. The same will happen with friendship, love, pleasure, the meaning of life itself.

On the road for continuous anarchist insurrection we do not keep anything which holds us down on the past. We tear down the myths of the revolutionary subject, of the proletariat, of the eternal wait for the right objective conditions, the social likeness towards the population, this slow moving mass which with its inactivity stops us from breathing….

Therefore, looking back in time, we recognize as our own prints, the traces left behind by some

lone wolves, who walked then against their time. It is all those conspiratorial anarchists illegalists who made the anarchist insurrection their only home land. It is those who chose to stay away from the glory of the dead ideologies and bureaucracy of the social anarchism which awaits the masses in order to begin its insurrection. Lone and unique they armed their desires, out aside the pathetic rot of the mob and went on to the storming of heaven.

Their star fills our eyes, the fire floods our thoughts, the vendetta of revenge beats in our hearts and, our hands embrace the guns and dynamite which they inherited to us. We live for an endless explosion of actions, thoughts, feelings, desires, which reaches the edge of the world.

There is no nostalgia, there is only today, while tomorrow is already late. Today is our turn, our life, our time.
Anarcho-individualism and nihilism, the gates of the new anarchy, invite us. In the era of generalised crisis, the sun of the new anarchy continues to rise. Now that the global economy is ill, we do not look for the "just" social cure, but on the contrary we seek the poison for its final death.

As we wrote above, life, before being strangled biologically from the economic crisis, had already been cut in its desperation, the illusions and the loneliness of modern society.

It is important therefore, to think, to feel and attack against anything which glorifies the empire of authority, against anything which preserves the religion of economy, anything which carries the death of silence and immobility. And if sometimes we seem like lone crazy people, the sure thing is that we are not alone. We live in a home full of voices, dreams, desires, laughter, melancholies, actions… Our home has no hosts and guests; it belongs to all of us. In our home we do not speak just one language but many and we always communicate with our eyes.
The basement of our home is full of weapons, explosives, plans, communiques, whatever the enemy snatches from us, our hands and desires will never remain unarmed. At the table of our home there are always spaces and glasses of wine for new friends and comrades who we never met before. There are as well some empty places for the brothers and sisters who are absent, for our dead, for the wanted, for the imprisoned, but their glasses are always full because they are always next us too. Our home has no doors, no rooms, not even walls. Our home has no roof because it would hide the sky and stars. Our home has no windows because it would stop the wind. Our home has no street or number. Our home has no name and lives in our hearts.

Our home is FAI-IRF and we will never abandon it, neither in the easy moments nor the tough times.

FAI-IRF is the lost Atlantis of the practical theory. It is the meeting point of thought and action, imagination and the present, violence with poetry, desire with decision, the 'I' with the us...

This moment it is important that there are many dozens of anarchist individualities and cells participating in the network FAI-IRF. FAI-IRF is an illegal anarchist union of egoists which despises the gather-ism of Marxist organizations and the bureaucracy of the anarchist reformists.

There is no protocol or rules. Our only compass is our values: direct action, anarchist critique towards the social silence, international solidarity, constant insurrection... At the same time all of us anarchists of praxis preserve unquenchable the desire to continuously recreate the formation of FAI-IRF with as an epicentre the human desires. We do not even feel the need to propose to society some ready-made recipe for happiness. Our life does not need ready-made solutions. Besides, experimentation even a mistake is the best way for the discovery of freedom. From the still waters of traditional ideologies you can expect only poison.

The insurrectionist-nihilist anarchist thought remains alive, not as a flawless and final ideology, but on the contrary when it seeks the dialectic confrontation either in order to try itself by overpassing the disagreements it has to confront, or when it discovers its gaps and re creates itself with beginning point evolution. Thus, also FAI-IRF is not the end of the road of final utopia but one of the roads for the constant course towards anarchy.

This is why when someone reads the dozens of responsibility claims of the cells of FAI-IRF internationally they will locate some differences, even some disagreements. This is the beauty and uniqueness of the new anarchy. Besides the basic values shared by us the conspirators of the Black International, there are the specificities of each one of us which promote the constant search of our existence.

Because we will always discover independent areas of ourselves, unknown passions, unlimited desires which arm the bet of Existence, replacing the misery and correctness of economic equations which are praised by the overgrown revolutionary ideologies.

Today FAI-IRF is not simply an idea, just as the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire is not limited to the land of the Greek state. Our desire is to not drain ourselves at making our existence known. Our spreading to dozens of countries transfers us to an asymmetric threat for the interior of the states. The CCF of Mexico transforms the words into fire, in Russia and Belarus the Conspiracy transforms the frozen rooftops into lava, and in Italy the Olga cell of FAI writes its own poetry with bullets. At the same time dozens of conspirators in Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Brazil, Spain, England, Poland, Greece, Indonesia, Australia conspire with chaos and transfer the fire of anarchy into the foundations of the existent.

This is why we constantly create new invisible crossroads of meeting and communication in order to talk about the death of the existence and the storm of new anarchy. We want our fire to be written in all languages. Tireless comrades constantly translate prisoners texts, books, responsibility claims, while at the same time solidarity is internationalized and the FAI-IRF network becomes the Lernaen Hydra of the new anarchy. For every arrest of a cell, two new ones are ready to attack.

Thus we enter the land of continuous anarchist insurrection. In our uncontrollable course for the destruction of authority, we meet across us the enemy and its conservative powers, but besides them there is still a lot of excuses, inhibitions and dilemmas which attempt to make our feet heavy, bothering our walk. Often these camouflaged cowardices disguised as theoretical analysis live in the bureaucracy of the circles of social anarchism which hopes for the mass awakening of society. Thus the words "anarchy" "direct action" "anarchist insurrection" get confused, they lose their sharp content and remain handicapped going around like harmless blabbering in student amphitheatres... This is why we see in Bolivia that there is an "anarchist organization" which states its conformity to the state authorities and is indifferent to the imprisoned Bolivian comrades accused of being part of FAI, in Italy parasitic anarcho-hippies who with a text of theirs condemned and slandered the action of the Olga cell of FAI, in Germany a part of the anarchists forget and slander the imprisoned comrades (e.g. Aachen4 case) while in Greece many from the anti-authoritarian movement discuss about whether or not they will vote for Syriza (left party) in the elections and generally there being a turn towards collectivization through workers and "white" democratic assemblies.

We on our side want to avoid such misunderstandings and make this confusion untouchable. Therefore it is necessary that we make a clear separating line between the insurrectionist-nihilistic circles and the refuges of reformism. This is why we would like every text and act of ours to be immediately recognized, adopting our own stigma. The stigma of continuous anarchist attack.

But it is not enough to speak about the attack, on the contrary we desire to be a part of the attack. This is why through this text we want to throw a proposition into the fire of the battle. a proposition which is being discussed for some time now in the circles of the new anarchy in Greece. We mean the transmission of technical knowledge and experiences for the construction of explosive and incendiary devices and for the spreading of other forms of sabotage. Through small printed practical manuals or through digital form on the internet we can share information, patents, technical points, ideas, applications, diagrams and enrich our arsenal. When knowledge and experience are shared, they become dangerous. First of all it brings down the separation between theory and practice and the myth of the "specialists" of violence is abolished. At the same time the fetishisms

of Marxist ideological rigidities about the avant-guard of "armed struggle" are withdrawn and the illusions of the hierarchy of the means cease. Between the bullet in the head of a cop and the rock in window front there is an invisible line connecting them.

We want to make this line visible. Everything is for everyone, there are not specialists of violence, there are individualities and choices...

We do not share our choices only by speaking and writing texts against the state and its society but also when we offer each other possible practical ways.

To make our theory practice. This is why we propose to the comrades of the FAI-IRF that we proceed to the publication of manuals which describe i.e. the way to construct an explosive mechanism, the wiring of a time bomb, the assembling of a parcel bomb, the use of a home-made system of time-delaying in incendiary attacks, the strengthening of the destructive power of a molotov, the synthesis and mixtures of ingredients for the creation of explosive materials... also our "work" in the chaotic arts of sabotage can open its thematology from the destruction of cameras, the blocking of ATMs and the construction of home-made smoke bombs up to burgling and stealing cars and motorbikes and the conservation and use of weapons.

All this knowledge which is conquered everyday and cannot and shouldn't be a privilege of an initiated elite of veterans of praxis. On the contrary we want to acquire a common arsenal with all anarchists of praxis where we will share ideas and practices in order to strengthen the constant anarchist insurrection against the Existing. Thus, comrades which carry inside them the wolf of praxis, but have not yet acquired technical knowledge in order to intensify their attacks against the social structures of the system, now with this proposition get access to an endless stock of destructive and chaotic ingenuity which will strengthen their fire.

Of course these practical manuals will not be considered the "holy bible" of the anarchists of praxis since they will be constantly renewed and enriched, since the experimentation and searching never stops.

Also we stress that because of the public character of the spreading of the techniques and the forms of sabotage, it is sure that the eyes of the police will constantly be on our attempt.

This is why this letter is made with special attention. Not only so the enemy cannot track us, but also so we don't give them information they don't know, helping them without meaning to, "neutralize" our attacks. For example in the presentation of a time bomb, there will always be variations so the police are confused and it is not easy to deactivate it without the danger of blowing up their bomb disposal team.

This way we strengthen the union of anarcho individualists - nihilists promoting the constant clash with the world of authority and the social mass. It's the new way of the new anarchy to attack without relying on the vague sympathy for the proletariat and the economism of classes, but instead abolishing the classes themselves. Neither rich nor poor, neither bosses nor workers, but autonomous individuals with anarchist values and choices.

At the same time we abandon the victimized image of the "social fighter", who is being attacked by the state. Several comrades of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire and nuclei of FAI are now in prison, from where we write this text. Not for a moment however do we beg for our "rights" from the state, nor do we invoke its laws. When we chose to arm ourselves and to assassinate social peace, we knew the consequence of the choice we made. The fact that we are in the prisons of the enemy does not make us harmless. We are creating and organizing 10, 100, 1000 cells of the Informal Anarchist Federation and the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire. Neither will we become "anarchist writers" who will publish our theories from inside prison. Our words are our thoughts which were anxious to become actions. Every day, every night we breathe for them. We still have some scores to set with the existent and we keep the knife between our teeth. Our strategy is to make chaos our friend. That is where all forces of the negative are liberated. Conventions, hypocrisies, ethics, cowardices are abolished there.

Brothers and Sisters let's dare everything. Political executions, blowing up government buildings, bank robberies, arsons of symbols of authority, molotov on the cops, knifes in fascists, communiques, texts, discussions and whatever promotes the spreading of the new anarchy and the progression of the Black International of the Anarchists of Praxis.

DIRECT CONSTANT
ANARCHIST INSURRECTION

P.S. The text *"Lone wolves are not alone... FAI/IRF/CCF"* is dedicated to our brothers and sisters all around the world, to the dead, the prisoners and those wanted...
In this difficult time we send our most warm greetings to the wanted comrades in Greece: **G.Mihailidis** and **D.Politis**, who are accused for participation in the CCF, the wanted comrade in Mexico, **Felicity Ryder**, and the imprisoned comrade **Mario Lopez** who was injured by an incendiary device he was transferring.

At the same time our thought and heart is next to the comrades in Italy who are experiencing repeated oppressive operations.
Strength comrades.

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"This pamphlet is a meeting point of comrades from all over the world. An imaginary meeting since the walls and bars of the prisons where we are temporarily keep our bodies hostage." **CCF**

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"They might have imprisoned our bodies but not our ideas, beliefs and values, which will continue to escape through various projects of insubordination." **CCF**

... **325 #10** is dedicated to the living memory of **Franco B.**, who passed away this year but who will remain in our struggle always.

Until the next time we meet,

Long live Anarchy!

325

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