

INSURRECTION

ANARCHIST MAGAZINE · ISSUE FIVE · AUTUMN 1988 · £1.00

**A QUESTION
OF CLASS**

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TECHNOLOGY**

**AGAINST
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INFORMATION
TECHNOLOGY**



Editorial

The passage to post-industrial capitalism is not complete. It is a thorny road, opening up new contradictions which previous forms of exploitation that nailed masses of people to the workplace were able to suffocate.

What little remains of the traditional workforce is still being tailored down through early retirements and redundancies. Those for whom there is still a place are finding themselves accomplices to a production process that demands no-strike deals and even no union presence at all.

The rest of the exploited have become a mobile army of underpaid, unskilled workers, students or unemployed. The single individual sometimes finds him/herself adopting these different roles in rotation, seeing no outlet on the horizon, facing a future of vague questions that hold no apparent solution.

The absence of the great military-style factories has led to a mass regimentation into leisure centres, football stadiums, discos, mega-concerts, etc, to dilute and channel frustrations and aspirations into these modern day enclaves. To some extent they are succeeding, but the containment is far from being complete. The much publicised rural violence, inner city riots and football hooliganism are the arenas where some of the deeper contrasts of this project of cultural and social annihilation, and the blind, inarticulate struggle to "be", are expressing themselves.

It is clear then that the new structure of capital that is emerging is also defining the conditions of the struggle. The State's aim is to render the latter impotent, but the ineliminable fact of exploitation makes that impossible.

What is being eliminated is the old concept of struggle within the factory gates. At best it is now taking place outside them, after the key has been thrown away. That does not mean the struggle has become redundant. It means we have to open our eyes to see where it really is taking place. Nor does it mean that the struggle at the factory gate has lost its validity—it hasn't if it is taken away from the logic of union bargaining and linked to the whole social process. In this context anarchist dreams of building huge organisations in

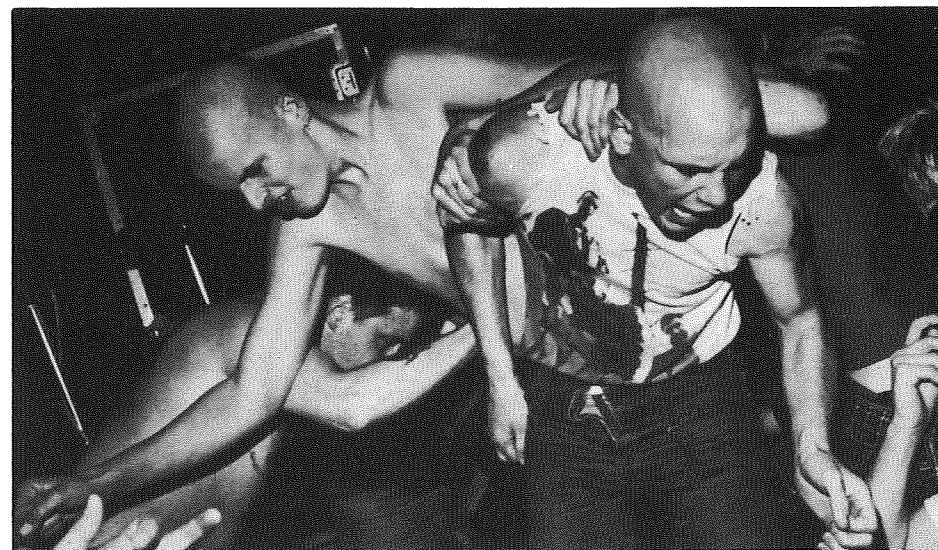
Street art in Edinburgh

The Edinburgh Festival is a now renowned moment of triumph for official 'culture'. Crowds throng from over the whole world to participate in this intensive period of artistic consumerism. The whole city is invaded by money spinning tourists, causing prices to rise and pushing the exploited of the Scottish capital even further into a world of exclusion.

The grim housing estates which enclose masses of young people with one of the highest unemploy-

ment levels in Britain, are scenes of violence and drug taking. The town is now recognised as the 'AIDS capital of Europe', partly as a consequence of this. Clearly the Festival has little to do with this reality behind the scenes.

This year, however, some of the excluded came out into the streets too. Official street performers and 'artists' were attacked on numerous occasions, as were those giving out leaflets advertising some of the events at the Festival.



Total objection against apartheid

On July 25 a white South African student, David Bruce, was sentenced to six years imprisonment for refusing to do military service. That is the longest sentence ever imposed on an objector against the army in South Africa. He could have avoided a jail sentence by accepting a non-combatant status in the South African 'defence' force, but refused.

In fact the army stopped releasing the figures for desertion and objection in 1985 due to the great increase in numbers defecting. The figures for that year were, about 10 percent—1,500 of those

eligible for military service as well as the 6,000 exempted because they had student status. The State is now secretly trying to negotiate some kind of 'civilian status' solution such as that of 'civil service' in Italy in order to try to reverse the refusal of many young whites to participate in the atrocities carried out by the army systematically against the black South Africans.

Following David Bruce's action 143 more men due to do military service publicly announced that they refused to fight for apartheid.

Taking arms in Athens

On Sunday August 14 in Athens, a group of armed masked people raided a police station, taking away arms and walkie talkies after having tied up and gagged the police present.

ETA

On the weekend of 11/12 August ETA militants carried out twelve bomb attacks causing millions of pounds worth of damage demonstrating that despite the many arrests that have been made recently they are still active and capable of carrying on the struggle against the colonialism of the Spanish State.

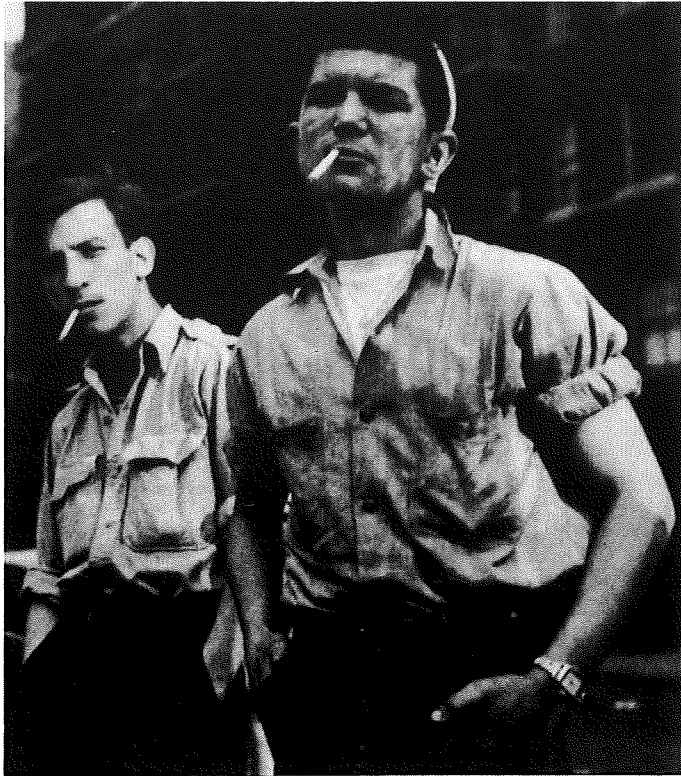
Punx in Turin cathedral

Just like the old days in Paris when Albert Libertad used to interrupt sermons in the Sacre Coeur, a group of about a dozen punx entered Turin cathedral during a service and interrupted the sermon chanting, "It's not true! It's not true!". Then they spread out throughout the church, handing out leaflets containing "extremely vulgar phrases, insults and bad taste".

Some of the comrades were arrested and charged with "interrupting a religious ceremony" and "insulting the Pontefice in his role as a foreign head of State".

Continuing the propaganda against the Pope's visit to Turin, a number of comrades were arrested while flyposting a somewhat ironical poster against the Roman dignitary. They also distributed leaflets containing Antoin Artaud's "Letter of supplication to the Pope" and De Sade's "Another effort, people of France, and you will become republicans".

POLAND: the role of Solidarnosc



The role of Solidarnosc in recuperating and extinguishing the struggle in Poland has become clear over the past few weeks. Any illusions on the use of the trade union structure today, even against a communist dictatorship, can now be dispelled

Anyone who might have been in any doubt about *Solidarnosc* until now can take a look at recent events. Those who support the “revolutionary” union can feel satisfied. All the hotbeds of real revolt, all attempts to put a dictatorial and oppressive regime in crisis, and all the stimulants towards immediate change instead of promises have been put to rest.

Even some anarchist comrades persist in defending *Solidarnosc*, pointing out that there are anarchists in the union—as though the presence of anarchists in any power structure could transform it into the golden bough.

Certainly, in a context such as the Polish one which is characterised by incredible poverty compared to western countries, the syndicalist myth can still assemble people. But it does not take long for this perspective of struggle to come to the fore in all its force.

The union, no matter how one looks at it, is always an element of order that puts a brake on the real movement. One of the *Solidarnosc* counsellors declared following

Walesa's intervention and mediation—the most difficult of his whole career—that the young Polish workers are no longer under the control of the Party or even the church and *Solidarnosc*. The conclusion of this union adviser was that if there are no economic improvements soon, it will be impossible to control not only the young, but perhaps all of the Polish workers.

The government representative expressed his views on the unifying role of the Polish church during the strikes: the bishops and cardinals had intervened directly to correct some of the worse acts of repression that might have sparked off a spiral of rebellion.

But what is most significant in terms of the divergence between the real interests of the base and the leaders' intentions, is the latter's claim to get government recognition for *Solidarnosc*. This undeniably political fact is aimed at a radical transformation of the power structure in Poland, but means nothing more than a perspective of democratising political relations. Although there would obviously be

some positive aspects to such a process, certainly better than the atrocities of a dictatorial communist regime, we must not forget that something quite different could come from the rebellion of the Polish workers. In the first place a violent and immediate transformation of those relations of power, followed by a radical upheaval, a revolutionary situation.

Undoubtedly a generalised revolt in Poland would put at risk not only that country's political and social order, but also that of the whole area of real socialism, which cannot afford to run such a risk in a delicate moment such as the present.

However, a vast and extended insurrection fed by the rage of those who have no other possibility of survival, could eliminate any mediating structure such as *Solidarnosc* or the church, leaving State power bare before its responsibilities.

Solidarnosc, arm in arm with the church, bears great responsibility in preventing this from coming about.

order to expropriate the means of production and put them to good social use for the benefit of all, refer to a reality that no longer exists. They are based on a sentimental link with the past and have no bearing on what is happening today or will happen in the future. To take over the capitalist system of production today would be to inherit a militarily planned, death-orientated structure which could never be put to “good” social use. First, because we do not possess the language with which to use it. Second, because there can be no good use of a network of data and technology whose sole purpose is power and the accumulation of knowledge related to that technology. Anything else is marginal and subjugated to this project. There is nothing left but to destroy it all, and from this to build a new world with man as its point of reference.

To flank trade union conflicts that arise from the restructuring of capital, without bringing a new element into these conflicts that aims to take them beyond their uniquely political nature, can only fuel illusions among those who are paying a high price for their new misery. Comrades who see these struggles as the privileged sector for intervention and go into them acritically, bear considerable responsibility.

Various factors come to play: illusion, ignorance, a sense of guilt, the refusal to see the need for analysis, the need to feel the immediate satisfaction of striking a few cops, and so on.

Another reason is the conformism within some areas of the movement to a kind of workerist fundamentalism that reduces comrades to enacting a parody of party politics, with the variant that they are less efficient, and adhere to different (but just as rigid) rules of behaviour and costume.

They condemn the actions of individuals or small groups as “irrational” or “elitist”. In this way a preventive censorship is taking place within the movement, in the attempt to ensure that order remains within the ranks, that nothing will happen to rock the boat of a reasonably planned, painstakingly structured phantom that in some way, some how, some time, is to take humanity into a new world of freedom and creativity.

Then there are those who do act, who do appreciate the value of the small group, the simple action, the superfluity of organisation without action. These groups have given a considerable methodological contribution to the struggle. What they lack is a social and class perspective with the result that their actions, no matter how well prepared and successful in the immediate sense, fall into the logic of reformism due to the comrades' obtuseness in seeing the struggle in one single issue. Here we can include the active part of the feminist movement, the anti-nuclear activists, the ecology direct action groups, animal liberation groups, radical homosexuals, etc.

On the one hand we have fear of the freedom to make decisions and act on one's own initiative and responsibility. On the other, the fear of moving into a radical critique of the whole of social relations. There is nothing ‘abnormal’ about these fears. They are a more than normal product of society under capitalism. They can be overcome. Not all at once. But the construction of the self that has been stolen from us can only come about through acting now, in a perspective of revolutionary totality.



A QUESTION OF CLASS

Contrary to what many believe, class is not a marxist concept. While we reject the marxist claims to the historic role of the industrial working class above all the other exploited, it is obvious that society is still divided into opposing classes. The terms of this division are changing with the modification of capital. It is important to recognise this in order to address our attack towards the right objectives in the struggle.

Many anarchists believe that the idea of "class" is a marxist concept, therefore they have no interest in it and they try to work out other ways of accounting for social divisions.

These divisions clearly exist. Conflict and suffering dominate present day reality. The great masses who support the profiteers and their henchmen are barely managing to survive themselves.

It is therefore necessary to trace the outlines of the groupings or individuals who share the same economic, political and cultural social situation, no matter how difficult that may be.

the term "class" has been dominated by marxist mystification for the past forty years

It is true that the term "class" has been dominated by Marxist mystification for the past forty years. This is not so much in Marx's identification of classes, as his claim that the industrial working class were historically destined to bring about not only their own liberation, but also that of the whole of humanity, through the guidance of the party that claimed to represent it.

Any anarchist can see how absurd and mistaken this concept of class is. But we should remember that this is not so much to do with the concept of class, as the deter-



ministic and messianic role that was thrust upon the industrial working class.

we think that the concept of class is not only valid, but necessary

We think that the concept of class is not only valid, but necessary. It is an instrument to guide us through the flux of the various aspects of social reality. What we are not interested in are the mystical claims about the destiny of the industrial working class.

One thing we can say with certainty is that the productive structures that defined class divisions in

the recent past are now undergoing profound changes. What is also certain is that although different in many respects, a conflict which is just as bitter is being reproduced. The problem is to see how this is happening. What are we dealing with today? What marks the boundary between the dominating part of humanity and the rest?

This is such an important question that it puts the need to study intermediate strata into second place for the time being. Equally unimportant—for the time being—is the need to consider a repartition into three or more classes. What interests us now is the progressive disappearance of traditional class divisions and the emergence of a new one.

the preceding class division was based on a "lack" of something

Clearly such an argument needs more space than we can dedicate to it here, but we shall do the best we can. The preceding class division was based on a "lack". There was something that was considered the "common good" which was divided into unequal parts. The class in power took possession of the greater part of this good (commonly known as wealth), and from this unjust profit drew the means to continue exploitation and domination. In the first place these were the cultural and ideological means

Solidarity with black South Africans The CARIPLO bank in Milan attacked

Two branches of the Lombardy Savings Bank in Milan were the object of an attack at the end of June. At the branch number 33, in viale Lunigiana, the cash dispenser was covered in petrol and set alight. The same fate met the one in via Dalmazia 44.

The actions were claimed in a short communique:

CARIPLO bank branches 33 and 44 in flames

Attack the supporters of apartheid Prevent the assassination of the Sharpeville Six and the other black people in revolt

No act of revolt is useless. No act of revolt is insignificant.

Direct action against States.

Ⓐ

The Palestinian struggle continues

The Palestinians in struggle continue to die, but they are no longer news. A few lines lost in a sea of more recent events, some concerning even greater massacres in other parts of the world. It is clear that war and death are still man's favorite sport.

It is impossible however to go into everything that is happening in the world. We must instead focus our interest on situations that we understand best and try to do something about them, at least at the level of counter-information if nothing else.

As far as the Palestinian struggle is concerned, we must underline the importance of an insurrectional struggle that has been going on for over nine months, and which is putting one of the strongest armies in the world in great difficulty.

In spite of the brutal beatings,

imprisonment, torture and killing of the young Palestinians and the systematic burning of the homes of the Palestinian people, the struggle continues unabated.

Israel would not be able to continue its war on the Palestinian people were it not for the interests and financial and political support that they get from the USA and the European countries that have a vested interest in maintaining the Zionist State.

There have been a number of actions of solidarity in Italy and France, such as pickets of banks and airlines, boycotts and sabotage of Israeli products and demonstrations.

Like the struggle of the South African blacks against apartheid, the Palestinians in struggle need internationalist revolutionary solidarity.

IMF in Berlin

IN THE besieged city of Berlin, the IMF met to face the question of the 'Third World'. The latter, robbed of their natural resources by the multinationals, verging on ecological disaster, unable to feed their own children, now find themselves up to the eyes in debt to those who have

stolen everything from them. Only to pay of the interest on these debts would mean total starvation or revolution. The superpowers cannot afford to take such a risk by enforcing payment, so a decision has been made by the IMF to reduce the levels of interest 'owed'.

Anti-American demo in Toronto

Following the American raid on the Iranian airbus killing all those on board, a demonstration was held outside the American Embassy in Toronto.

A few hundred anarchist comrades from all over North America and beyond who were in Toronto for the Survival Gathering burned the American flag outside the embassy. Other flags were set alight. There were violent clashes between the demonstrators and mounted police. 32 comrades were arrested and released within the following few days.

40 Boxers

In Port Talbot, South Wales, 40 amateur boxers were arrested following a battle in the street when they were refused admission to a night club on a housing estate.



Simply a rationalisation of the plundering that has taken place until now. The multinationals reign supreme.

Tens of thousands demonstrated against this decision, refusing to give their consensus to such a politics. For the first time ever it was the economists themselves who descended into the streets and universities to flank the policemen's batons with economic theories and mystifications to try to placate the anger of those demonstrating.

In this context the RAF/BR attempted to strike this project in the person of undersecretary Hans Tietmeyer.

Anti-Yuppie demo in New York

A street battle worthy of the Bronx or Harlem broke out in a leafy park in a residential area of New York at the beginning of August.

The Lower East Side of Manhattan has been the home of many artists, anarchists and punks for a considerable number of years where they have been actively involved in social struggles in the area. Now the Losida, as it is has been named, is becoming a point of vested interest for New York yuppies willing to pay up to a million dollars for a luxury condominium.

The new residents complained to police about the noise coming regularly from the local Tompkins Park which is a space used regularly by comrades in the hot summer New York nights. A curfew was imposed for 1 am. A protest march took place on August 10. It was charged by mounted officers followed by baton-wielding riot cops.

What ensued turned out to be the heaviest street battle New York has seen in years. The curfew has now been lifted.

A hammer to the steps of the courts in Trento

In Trento, Italy, a man confined to a wheelchair destroyed the steps leading to the Court chambers with a hammer. He had just been sentenced to pay a fine of 1,000 lire (about 40 pounds) for having destroyed the steps up to the city's main post office in the same way. The sentence had been pronounced in his absence as the accused had refused to enter the court as there was no wheelchair ramp.



The struggle against the Poll Tax in Scotland

Edinburgh Tax office telephones were inundated with calls following the distribution of a leaflet in the town stating that, for Poll Tax purposes a urine sample was required from all citizens.

The Poll tax is due to be introduced in Scotland next April, and canvassing has already been done for the purposes of compiling a register of all those eligible to pay. Anarchist comrades are active in both Edinburgh and Glasgow in the struggle against the Poll Tax. Their objective is a collective refusal to pay the tax.

There are already 23 anti-poll tax groups in Edinburgh, and 31 in Glasgow. These community-based groups are brought together in city-wide federations. Many have

street coordinators, and/or committees. They distribute leaflets and talk to people door to door. The false positions of the Labour Party and the SNP are denounced, and the formation of self-managed groups is continuing.

In one street in Ruchazie, Glasgow, residents have returned all their registration cards together, blank, to the Registration Office. In Dunterlie, Barrhead Tenants Association members dumped the area's poll tax forms—still blank—at the Paisley Registration Office.

In Pollockshields, Glasgow, a poll tax canvasser was attacked and a number of poll tax registration officers have resigned due to widespread hostility. Snoopers have needed police protection.

on which a whole scale of values was based and which condemned the expropriated mass to what seemed an irreversible situation.

In fact, the profound contradictions within the system itself had just as radical effect on it as the struggle against such forms of domination. Recurring social problems were solved by improving working conditions.

The situation was becoming intolerable for capital and it had to strengthen its structures by increasing collaboration between States. But it has been advanced technology that has made a decisive impact by making the restructuring of production possible.

class difference is no longer created by not possessing "as much" as the other, but by the fact that one part possesses "something" that the other does not.

We are now heading towards a radically different situation. The question of "lack" is becoming more hazy, while the question of "possession" is emerging. Class difference is no longer created by not possessing "as much" as the other, but by the fact—unique in the history of mankind—that one part possesses "something" that the other does not.

To understand this better we must remember that in the past the exploited class always "possessed" something, even if it was only their "working strength", ie their capacity to produce. They were always forced to sell it, that is true, and often at a very low price, but the other side always needed it. The bargaining could even reach the point of these miserable vendors of their labour power being grabbed by the scruff of the neck, but no one could deny that the working class had a "possession" that was part of the same scale of values as that of the dominant class. In the past, exploiters and exploited faced each other (also within the considerable range of class stratifications) on the basis of a "possession" that was common to both, but

owned unequally. Now one side possesses something that the other does not, and never will.

the "excluded" part of humanity will not be able to realise what has been taken from them because it will no longer belong to the same scale of values

This "thing" is technology: the technological management of dominion, the construction of an exclusive "language" belonging to a class of "included". They are surrounding themselves with a great wall that is far higher than the one in the past that consisted of material wealth and was defended by bodyguards and safes. This wall will



be a radical separation, so clear cut as to be incomprehensible—in the short term—to those who do not find themselves within the process of inclusion. The remainder, the "excluded" will become a class of external "beneficiaries", capable only of using secondary technology and perfectly instrumental to the project of dominion.

The "excluded" part of humanity will not be able, at least for a very long time to come, to realise what has been taken from them, because it will be a product that no longer belongs to the same scale of values. In building this new and, they hope, final separation, they

are also building a new moral code that no longer belongs to the same scale of values, a kind of moral code that it no longer intends to share with others, with those who belong to the world of the excluded. In the past the Achille's heel was precisely this moral code. It was useful in many ways towards ensuring a better control, but it often resulted in the exploiters feeling the hot breath of their followers on the back of their necks.

at the moment concepts of class and "class conflict" are adequate to indicate the processes social structures are going through

So this new situation that is on the road to completion is building new class structures but is not abolishing the concept of class. This is not a question of terminology, but an operational necessity. At the moment the concept of class—and that related to "class conflict" seem quite adequate for indicating the processes of social structures and how they function. In the same way it is still possible to use the concept of "class consciousness" in the face of the increasing difficulty that the "excluded" are faced with concerning their own condition of exclusion.

Every revolutionary strategy we can imagine for resistance against the process of restructuring in course should bear in mind the modifications that are underway and, within certain limits, the stratification within the classes themselves. Perhaps in this early phase the margins of the included class (the enemy class) are not easy to define. We will therefore have to address our attack towards objectives that are more obvious. But this is only a question of documentation and analysis.

What is more important at this stage is to show that discussions on terminology are not going to solve the problem of finding the enemy and unmasking it. A persistence in doing this merely hides the incapacity to act.

AMB

against technology

A revolutionary project must comprehend the destruction of all of the structures that have been built by capital. A perspective that aims to save the technological aspect of present day capitalism, believing it can be put to good social use, would mean to conserve a system of knowledge that has come from military research. Revolution cannot come about only in the parts of social reality we do not like. It also means opening up new spheres of human knowledge.



THE MAFIA ATTACK EX-CINEMA EXPERIA

There is an old saying "If the police don't get you, the Mafia will".

That in fact is what happened in Catania. Not that the Centre had escaped from the police entirely. So much so that one of the people who frequented it was severely beaten by the latter. But things stopped there.

The mafia, on the other hand, went further.

There have been four attacks on the Social Centre since the day it was squatted on June 18 this year. At the end of July one of the doors leading from the outside arena to the building was smashed open and a device made up to look like a bomb was left in the bar area. At first not much importance was attached to this. It seemed just a rather macabre joke.

On the night of July 31 the main door was set fire to. The fire brigade and the police forensic department intervened. The door was badly damaged but still functioned.

On the night of August there was a break-in next door to the Centre which resulted in police coming into the Centre, and taking two people away, one of whom was beaten up.

At about 6pm on Sunday, August 28 there was another attack, just before the Centre was due to open. The padlock on the door to the arena was forced, and the room housing the electric meters was set fire to. The fire brigade return. The electrical system was put out of action.

Counter-information about these attacks was widely distributed throughout the city on each of these occasions, and after the last attack a public meeting was held in the Social Centre. The decision not to give in to this intimidation was confirmed, and it was decided to carry on with the work that the Centre was doing.

The next day, Sunday September 4, at about 3pm, another attack took place. The large entrance hall was rationally set fire to through the use of furniture, photographic displays, drawings done by local children, and anything else that could be found in the building that was inflammable. The result of this was that the building has had to be abandoned as it has become unsafe.

Big interests lie behind these actions. In the past few months, starting from the day of the occupation, a whole series of articles have appeared in the local newspaper *La Sicilia*, speaking of the restructuring of this area. This involves huge financial interests for the well known local mafia construction companies, and also for the Christian Democrat party who have their eyes on the many old buildings in the area.

The attacks on the Experia should therefore be seen in the light of the old idea of a mafiosa management of a city where any attempt that is made towards evolution and growth is immediately squashed with recourse to the old methods of the mafia.

It is necessary to respond in a clear and coherent way, and above all not to be intimidated in order to continue and carry forward the struggle for the liberation of the territory and the city.

Experia Self-managed Social Centre

context and are finally reaching the provinces. These places are born through direct action, because of the practical necessity of those who take them over, and generally they intervene practically and directly on the living areas and towns where they exist. The struggle to take them over is usually carried out by a promoting committee of heterogenous composition which often includes the inhabitants of the area where the centre grows up, and where the public administration

is reduced to nil. Often the buildings squatted are structures that the local councils, provinces and regional councils have left unused and empty.

In cities like Milan, Rome and Turin where social divisions are more evident, the battle for selfmanaged Social Centres has been waged along with students, unemployed, underemployed and homeless people. They act on the social situation therefore, and constitute the most effective response to this particular moment of struggle, to social disintegration and solitude, especially among the young and the old.

These are liberated spaces where recreational activity takes place. There are also debates, conferences, seminars, open to all, where the problems inherent to the local areas are discussed. The problem of isolation is faced and that of the real needs of association of those who benefit from them.

But not only that. There are also studios for musicians who are struggling against record market speculation. They produce and distribute their own products in open contrast to the iron rules of the commodity market. Parties and concerts are held. These are often free. There are darkrooms, projection rooms, laboratories and, in some places, centres for disintoxication of drug addicts. Nothing to do with the ghettos that the media describe to public opinion to justify violent evictions by police. The real ghetto is what they are forcing us to live in every day.

10, 100, 1,000 occupations

A squatter at Experia Self-managed Social Centre



EXPERIA

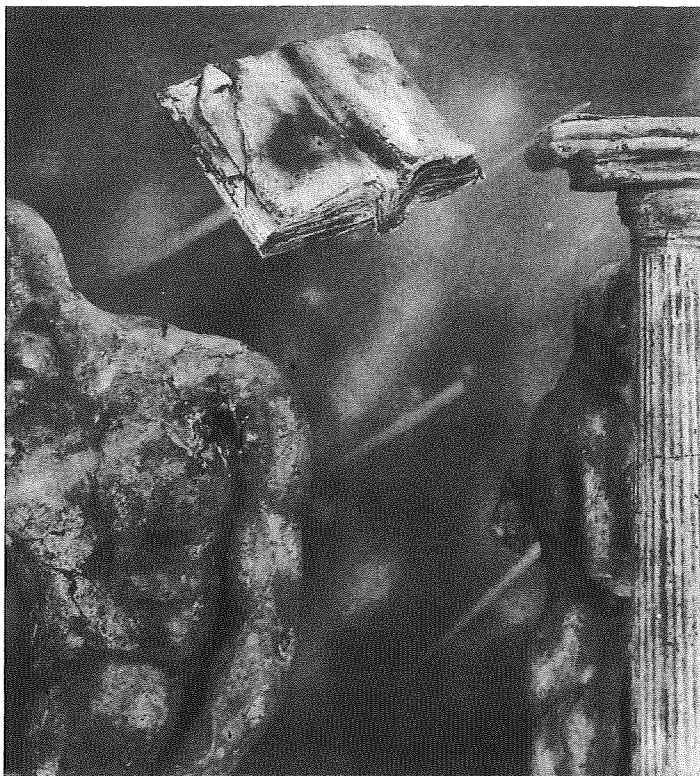
a disused cinema in Catania is squatted and becomes the first self-managed social centre in Sicily—until the mafia intervene

Catania is a typical Sicilian town. Decades of mafia-style management of the local power structure. Huge piles of rubbish lie in most streets. Many of the poorest areas suffer a perennial lack of water, which with the 40 degrees of most summer days, becomes real discomfort, almost torture. Drug-taking is on the increase, unemployment is the norm.

This is the context of a large southern Italian city that combines the negative points of the metropolis with

those of a small village. A city which at times seems to wake up and at others to succumb to a situation that seems as though it will never change.

In this social context, on June 18, 1988, came about the squatting of the ex-cinema Esperia, renamed Experia.



There are a few dozen self-managed Social Centres in Italy today. They are dispersed over the national territory, have moved away from their original metropolitan

IN A TOWN WHERE EVERYTHING HAS BEEN DENIED THE EX-CINEMA ESPERIA HAS BEEN SQUATTED

You, like us, are living in a city devastated by the bad use of public structures, a ghetto city with a total lack of social services because of a situation that is in the hands of corrupt and absent political parties.

Even the national press talk about the unlivable conditions in Catania: the dramatic problem of juvenile delinquency, unemployment, drugs, lack of housing. There is no answer to these problems. There never has been. To reinforce police repression, as though this ever alleviated anything, is the only measure they have found to deal with the deeper lacerations.

The dominant culture rests and reinforces itself on this palliative. It steals vital space from young people and relegates us into paying ghettos: discos, bars, beer cellars in the best of cases, or into the self-destructive ones of the street, drug addiction or mugging.

We've had enough! We are no longer willing to see ourselves massified and nullified in this way, sacrificed on the altar of uninvolved and entertainment imposed by shopkeepers, political parties, priests and youth associations.

It is time to unmask the activities aimed at perpetuating this way of life where there is no room for our needs, no space for a different kind of social life that is not based on commerce. This need is as elementary as it is inconvenient, because it undermines the basis of apathy on which they want to reduce us to silence.

We cannot provide any magical solutions to alleviate this state of affairs either, but we believe we must begin along a road that takes us away from the abyss of the dominant culture.

We propose the creation of a Self-managed Social Centre, where the young can find possibilities of real expression, without any political padrinos pulling the strings. We propose spontaneous adhesion and involvement in creating models of life that are finally different, free and liberatory.

An antagonist space where everyone can take part, where we can meet, talk, make theatre, music, dance, show videos, create work cooperatives—without inscriptions, time-keeping and above all WITHOUT SPENDING A PENNY!

A space in which to begin a common road to freedom, beyond the hierarchical logic and delegation that has been inculcated into all of us, so that we can open our eyes and finally find our lives in our own hands.

Self-managed Social Centre EXPERIA

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The ex-Cinema ESPERIA in via Plebiscito has been squatted today with the aim of turning it into a SELF-MANAGED SOCIAL CENTRE.

This building, like so many others of public ownership in Catania, had been left to rot. Unused, neglected by the local administration, it had become a ghetto for drug addicts.

We have taken over this space against the logic of local institutions which have never taken any interest in the young, pushing them to emargination, alienation and drugs. We have taken it over so that it can become a place of encounter and free expression in Catania. We consider, moreover, that such a practice is socially legitimate, and that only the law defines it illegal.

We have therefore created a Self-managed Social Centre as somewhere to go in the evenings, to have parties, concerts, create music, photography, graphics, ceramics laboratories.

The activity of the Social Centre—completely free—will begin today with an assembly/debate on the problem of social space in Catania.

It will take place at 8pm, followed by a party/concert where many groups will be playing.

Self-managed social centre EXPERIA

a perspective based on the need to completely destroy technology is confusing to many comrades, and a considerable number of them refuse to accept it. They find it more reasonable and realistic to consider only the problem of destroying so-called hard technology (all kinds of nuclear armaments, asbestos, etc). They consider soft technology (electronics, information technology, etc) socially useful and think they will be able to make good use of it in the future, as though the latter could be detached from the logic of domination that produced and developed it.

In this way comrades are demonstrating an "enlightened" positivist attitude to science. They claim the instruments produced by technological and scientific knowledge are neutral, and only criticise the bad social use that Power puts them to.

We think, on the contrary, that the instruments created by Power cannot fail to obey the logic that created them. They are totally functional to its aims no matter who uses them and in spite of any apparent advantages they might bring to society.

all the base technology that is used in every field of social life today comes from military research

We are against those who are always trying to justify things, saying that there is some good at the base of everything, and it deserves to be preserved. Moreover, we think it is useful to place an element of doubt into the swamp of certainties and commonplaces that abound.

Those who maintain there is an absolute need for existing technology are the bosses, governors and their multitude of servants. They all have good reason for doing so, no doubt. Comrades, on the other hand, should have just as good reasons for always being suspicious of such attitudes. Things become tragic when we see an identity of viewpoint between those in power and those struggling against it.

All the base technology that is used in every field of social life today comes from military research. Its civil use obeys this logic far more than we immediately understand. Until now all we have succeeded in demonstrating has been the precise, scientific, authoritarian project at organisational level. It is important to understand the unconscious mechanisms that operate at mass level, allowing the power structure to overcome

who points out the need for the total destruction of the technological apparatus produced by capital is passed off as an irresponsible madman who wants to take civilisation back to the Stone Age.

This does not have to be the case, if one thinks about it. Present day technology is the practical result of a form of knowledge that matured during capital's industrial development. It is always motivated by those who are in power. To



people's initial rejection and gain their full support. Only a few

to want to safeguard some technologies over others is to put an obstacle in the way of the destruction of the whole order of dominion

people contest cybernetic command. The general tendency is a feeling of inevitability. It is coming to be considered indispensable, therefore socially useful. Anyone

want to safeguard some technologies over others is to put an obstacle in the way of the total destruction of the whole productive order of dominion. It also means to put a limit on revolutionary action and maintain an ambiguous social relationship with such structures.

So those who, although they say they are revolutionary, support the need to safeguard part of capital's productive technology, do not see that in doing so they are lending

a hand to the declared reformists. The latter, more coherently, support a continual modification of all the organisms of power in such a

we are against those who see present day knowledge as something that has reached its conclusion

way that the system is always functional and updated to meet the new needs of domination and social change.

Our radical project to destroy technology must be within the revolutionary process, and we should put no limits on the course of this or circumscribe it to within our presently limited knowledge.

The problem of a contemporary social revolution cannot be resolved with recourse to the knowledge that has been acquired until now and which is limited by the interests of Power. We are against those who see present day knowledge as something that has reached its conclusion.

As for how things stand now: the so-called scientists who are studying artificial intelligence or the application of present-day technology in other fields, are in fact scientific workers. They are highly specialised in one sector (the scientific one) but most of them are unaware of what is happening in other fields of research, not to mention the rest of society which they often neglect completely in their aseptic laboratories.

scientists are in fact the new intermediate class produced by the technological revolution

The way these scientific workers think greatly resembles the machines they project. They apply binary logic and are basically incapable of thinking beyond this. There is no creative reasoning, they cannot bring any development of thought into the field of knowledge.

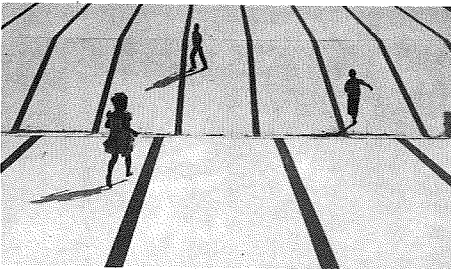
It is only our ignorance that makes us consider them great brains. This is an important factor that should be gone into further. Scientists are in fact the new interme-

diated class produced by the technological revolution.

we cannot be revolutionaries concerning only the one social structure we do not accept

The greatest discoveries have always been made when the principle of authority was absent or vacillating at all levels—as happened at the beginning of the century—and this also applies to the field of science. We cannot be revolutionaries concerning only the one social structure we do not accept, but must be so in all fields, including the scientific one. The dominating order we want to destroy has roots everywhere, therefore should be attacked everywhere.

The only attitude to have towards the bosses of science is that of discerning what they are hiding behind all the things that seem



innocuous and humane to the profane public.

This is very important as we are used to being aware of only the most noticeable and superficial things around us. The bosses and their servants take great care to show us certain things, just enough to capture our innate curiosity, pushing us to look at things that in reality are of no importance. We thus miss out the most important things that are brought about without our knowledge, to our cost. We should not underestimate the enemy's intelligence. The aim of those who dominate is to use all the scientific instruments that present-day scientific knowledge has to offer, not to alleviate suffering but to continue it within a set of relations that are modified from time to time. Capital and State find themselves obliged to carry out this incessant modification because of the unrelenting struggle that the

proletariat carry on against them

the attack on the State and capital becomes one that knows no limits and intends to concede nothing to the enemy

daily. In fact, notwithstanding the great transferral of wealth that takes place every day in the attack on the exploited, it would not take much for the latter to thwart the bosses' projects.

Once they show their intention to destroy things radically, revolutionaries gain an immeasurable advantage, as the attack on the State and capital becomes one that knows no limits and intends to concede nothing to the enemy. This is why it is necessary to destroy the entire technological apparatus, beyond the use that anyone may think to make of it in the future. It will prevent the struggle from falling into the trap laid by the radical reformists who, from the partial destruction of the structures of domination have made the starting point for restructuring.

We are therefore against those who support political criticism, even in the field of science, because such a critique always tries to reduce the reasons for radical opposition to a simple question of detail concerning certain operative choices. In this way the supporters of the political critique are looking

the decision to push ourselves beyond the barriers of prejudice and taboo is up to us

for adjustment and compromise with the class enemy who is intelligently disposed to formally modifying its own position, with the aim of reconstructing a new, more rational consensus around the threatening institutions.

No fetish should remain in our minds. If we have had the strength to build ourselves a thousand chains we also have the power to break them. The decision to push ourselves beyond the barriers of prejudice and taboo is up to us.

Pierleone Porcu

High voltage pylon sabotaged

A HIGH voltage electricity pylon in Vallo di Caluso, about half a mile from the Chivasso motorway was sabotaged on the night of September 17, obliging the ENEL to cut off electricity supply for a number of hours.

The action was claimed in a communique to the press agency Ansa: "we claim responsibility for the sabotage to the ENEL pylon no 16 and greet the bosses of exploitation and destruction, their devastating plants and pro-

jects, their representing nuclear power in another disguise."

The communique was signed *figli della terra* (children of the earth).

Immediately the national ecology association *Amici della terra* (Friends of the earth) issued a dry communique dissociating themselves from the action.

The line attacked has been the object of demonstrations by ecologists in the past, limiting themselves to banners and slogans.

The IRA against the British army

The IRA has carried out a series of attacks against the British army both in Ireland and elsewhere since the assassination of their three militants in Gibraltar.

The most spectacular was that in Armagh where a car bomb blew up a lorry full of British soldiers: 8 dead, 30 wounded.

An interesting debate is taking place within the IRA concerning the effectiveness of such actions, the objectives to strike, and a political evaluation of these objectives. The need to avoid striking civilians, even those involved in the support structures of the occupying army, or participants in the armed protestant defence groups is being put forward. One position is that it is always better to strike British soldiers from the point of view of propaganda, especially those stationed outside Ireland, either in England or on the continent.

However, to continue to see the conflict in course as one that is a purely nationalist one is a serious if convenient mistake. It is not just a question of a people united against

an invading enemy. A deep class division also cuts across Irish society. The protestants occupy the middle and upper strata and do not want to lose their privileges, as would come about in the case of an end to colonial rule. Those who have little to lose have participated on occasions in social struggles with catholic exploited.

Then there is so-called Free Ireland. The most fascist and oppressive State in Europe. It supports the IRA indirectly, but does not approve of the extremism of Sinn Fein, and even less so of the more radical components of the IRA itself.

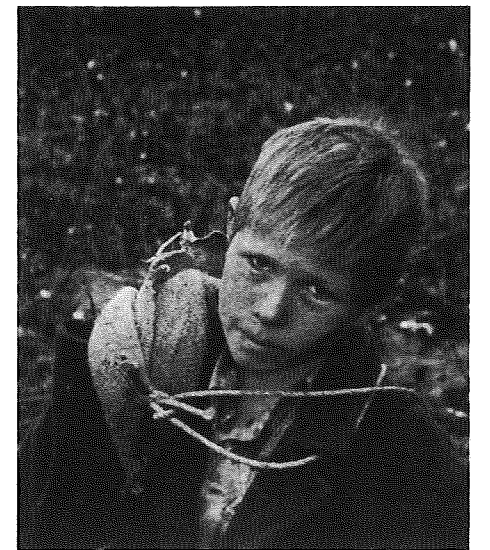
Alongside the much publicised attacks on British soldiers by the IRA, there is a social situation that is talked about little by the media. Mass rioting takes place regularly in Northern Ireland. Street barricades, burning buses, molotovs against police, etc, are common, and many of those participating are very young.

History has shown that British colonialism does not retreat until it has its back against the wall. It's time in Ireland could soon be up.

Master of the Hounds attacked

Following the liberation of thousands of minks by animal rights activists, leaving them to run wild in the countryside in the south of England, a new sport, mink hunting, has emerged.

Joint master of the Kent and Sussex Hounds, Michael Errey, was awakened by the sound of an explosion and looked out to find his van wrecked, and other unexploded devices under his two cars. They consisted of two litre bottles filled with petrol, an aerosol can of lighter fuel, and a mixture of sugar and weed killer. The devices were fixed under the vehicles and connected by a narrow stream of petrol.



Bomb attack against Farmoplant

In the middle of August the Farmoplant industry in Massa Carrara, Italy, infamous for having polluted the area and the object of mass demonstrations locally, was attacked with a bomb.

The explosion, which damaged the surrounding wall, took place about 200 metres away from the factory's incineration plant.

Gathering succeeded in doing: it created an informal structure within which it was possible to gain an understanding of some of the positions and ideas of the comrades present. From there onwards it was up to us.

A FEW WORDS ON THE MOVEMENT

It would be presumptuous to think one could give an account of the anarchist movement in North America after such a short stay. A few considerations can be made, however. Beyond the various publications that we are all familiar with, there is a feeling of a young movement that is still in embryo. It is a movement that is basically informal, apart from some syndicalist or industrially orientated groups. This movement breathes a desire for freedom, despises the social reality of the American Dream. It feels close to the native people of the north American continent, and some comrades are involved in the struggles of the latter against cultural and physical annihilation.

Other comrades project a strong sense of guilt towards the people of the continents from which the western world extracts its trashy wealth. Many address themselves towards the ecological question, sometimes through 'alternative' projects in isolated attempts to redress the ecological holocaust of

the multinationals. Many are isolated by vast distances which it is hard for we Europeans even to imagine. The predominant form of organisation is that of groups that could loosely be called affinity groups. But one element seemed to be lacking: a revolutionary projectuality, an analysis and methodology leading towards a clear class perspective in the struggle against capitalism as a whole. This is understandable from a country where capital is unevenly distributed between extremes of advanced levels of post-industrialism and backward areas. There seemed to be a lack of projectuality and political awareness, perhaps due to the tendency of the movement to look for an alternative life-style approach to the refusal of capital.

One proposal did come forth, however, like a brick. It was the third day of the Gathering, which had now moved away from the university and community centre to a leafy park. Comrades were assembled to discuss future meetings and to exchange contact addresses. Out of the blue, a two or three page long document was produced proposing that a highly structured national organisation be formed. The document contained detailed indications as to how meetings should be held, decisions be made, members be expelled, etc, similar to the kind of papers that circulate among the anarchist communist comrades. It was not a pro-

posal for struggle, but rather, it seemed, an attempt to capture a captive audience. Strangely archaic and out of context in such a situation that had had been prepared and had functioned informally, one might say almost to perfection. No one was disposed to being shackled in this way and after some time a group of comrades proposed to publish the document for debate within the movement.

Certainly one left feeling a sense of a great potential within a part of the North American movement, a potential that lacks some of the instruments necessary for it to come to the fore concretely in the struggle. And the same movement is looking towards Europe for some of its indications.

To sum up, the Survival Gathering was an intensely worthwhile experience which, in our case at least, will lead to a far closer contact with the comrades and struggle in North America. In future events of the kind (one is being planned for San Francisco next year), it would be useful and productive to have more analysis, perhaps comrades could write something brief on the subjects that interest them. This will only be possible if the 'post-gathering' period is one which addresses itself towards the reality of the struggle. Events such as conferences and the Gathering in question are important instruments in the movement, but that is all they are.

Jean Weir

PINELLI, NINETEEN YEARS ON

An ex-Lotta Continua militant has accused himself and three others of being responsible for the death of Pinelli's executioner, police commissioner Calabresi, in 1972. The question is not whether the four accused are responsible for this act, so much as at the time, there was a general feeling among comrades that Pinelli's murder had been avenged.

A few weeks ago, an ex *Lotta Continua* militant, Leonardo Marino, presented himself to a Milan judge and "confessed" to having participated, along with others, in the execution of the political police commissioner Luigi Calabresi 16 years ago.

Comrades will remember that it was Calabresi who was in charge of the interrogation of anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli on December 16 when the comrade "committed suicide" by "falling" out of the top floor window of the police headquarters in Milan. Other elements of the political police and the secret services were also present.

Certainly, it was nothing new then, nor is it now, for police interrogators to use methods of convincing that result in the death of those undergoing them. Not to mention the systematic use of torture of every variety that is used as a matter of course to force confessions out of proletarians.

What happened then in the Milan police headquarters that makes the case of Pinelli particular?

One must remember the climate

of the times: the events of '68 were still fresh. The Hot Autumn of 1969 where the struggles around the renewal of wages contracts were escaping the control of the trades unions. The anarchists, perhaps more for their potential role as a point of reference in the future than their real presence in these struggles, had to be presented as scapegoats.

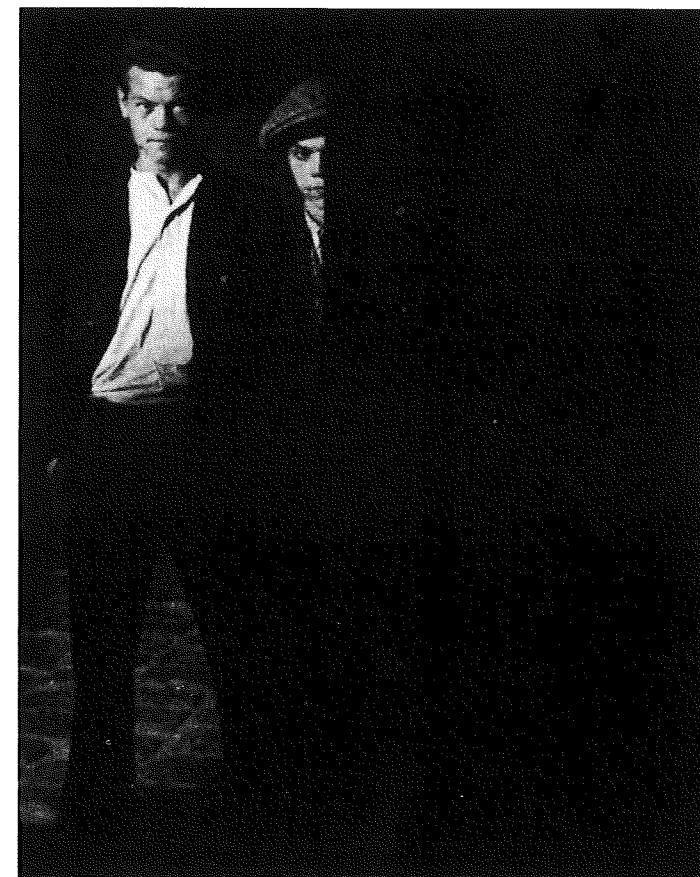
As always when the State sees itself threatened, when the usual methods of maintaining consensus are no longer sufficient, it sets its reserve bodies in motion: fascists, death squads, military coups, etc. In this case it was a combination of fascists and secret services which produced the bomb which exploded in the Banca del Agricoltura in piazza Fontana, Milan on December 12 1969. That same day the chemical industry union signed the *confindustria* wages contract, thus breaking the workers' front. The State feared the reaction of the mechanical sector, and needed to create a diversion that would at the same time capture the attention of the whole country, and create a climate of fear aimed at pushing the

workers back into the ranks of the trades unions.

That wasn't enough. Public attention had to be turned towards and against the anarchists. Valpreda and two other anarchists were arrested. Pinelli was summoned for questioning and put to silence. In fact Calabresi was already renowned for his interrogation technique: making his victims sit on the window ledge of his room and inviting them to throw themselves down onto the pavement below.

When Calabresi was later executed there was a general sense of relief and vindication among comrades. Pinelli's murder had been avenged.

Now the latest *pentito* has appeared on the scene, accusing himself and three other ex militants of *Lotta Continua*: Adriano Sofri, ex national leader of the organisation; Giorgio Pietrostefano, ex director of the *servizio d'ordine*; and Ovidio Bompreschi. The first two he claims gave orders for the action to take place, the latter, he claims, was the person who shot Calabresi. All three totally reject Marino's accusations.



SABOTAGE AGAINST SHELL

Shell is one of the few multinationals that are openly continuing to work in South Africa, supporting and guaranteeing its racist government. The many attacks against the company's petrol stations in Holland and Sweden can be seen as revolutionary solidarity in the struggle against apartheid and the multinationals.

SHELL HELD A shareholders' meeting in Holland at the beginning of 1988. Demonstrators mingled with the ordinary shareholders and protested against Shell's involvement in South Africa. At the end of the meeting Shell's board of directors unanimously decided that under no circumstances would they be leaving South Africa. As one of the directors puts it in an internal letter, Shell are trying to develop commercially and "work in accordance with existing laws in a way that responds to society in a socially responsible way. The most important contribution

that the company can make to society and to the material progress of the countries where it exists, is by being as efficient as possible."

In spite of these grand statements, things are beginning to go downhill for Shell. They are beginning to feel the boycott campaign that is going on in Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the USA. It is only in Sweden, Norway and Denmark that the boycott has led to noticeable loss for Shell, however. In Denmark, for example, the boycott began in 1986. In spite of that, a spokesman for Danish Shell says in *Politiken* (a Danish daily) on May 11, that the boycott has not affected them economically, but that the sabotage has cost the company large sums of money. Such a speech should not be taken too literally, as it is hardly in Shell's interest to incite people to sabotage. It is more an attempt to put an end to the boycott campaign by making it seem ineffective. But both methods are important in order to try to force Shell on their knees. Some forms of dissent have been crushed in the past, and that is why it is necessary to have a clear ideological position. The ISAK (Swedish anti-apartheid movement) have been backing this campaign of dissuasion by talking about "good" and "bad" forms of resistance to apartheid, and could end up condemning themselves if Shell continue to make similar accusations.

BEYOND SECTARIANISM

When Joyce Mekhesi met *Brand* she pointed out that sectarianism is a great problem within the solidarity organisations in Western Europe. We met her when she was on a world tour to seek support for the release of the Sharpeville Six. Joyce's brother is one of them, and in her attempt to save them she has met many different groups, some of which seem to have very little political awareness. For example, some of them seem to think in terms of the "good capitalist", says Joyce, "but as a socialist I can see for instance that Shell is a big multinational company. Regardless of whether they still exploit people in South Africa or not, they are still exploiting people, and you

Certainly, the comrades who hosted the Gathering had worked for months to make it possible for this to happen in Toronto. All comrades who arrived had somewhere to sleep. All had good food to eat for the whole duration of the Gathering, regardless of whether they could contribute to the cost or not. This Gargantuan undertaking by the organisers had a considerable effect on the conditions of the meeting itself. It was possible to dedicate the whole time to discussion and all the other exchanges of such a unique occasion to meet comrades from so many different realities. It was also a chance to meet in person many comrades whom one had known only through correspondence until then.

The self-sufficiency of the Gathering also meant that media attempts to scare the good people of Toronto with horror stories before the event remained a ridiculous farce. Nor were faint hearts subjected to scenes of long-haired anarchists and punks crowding into the city's cafes in the fruitless attempt to find vegetable patties in the place of hamburgers.

This brings to mind another anarchist 'gathering' which took place a few years ago in Venice, and which, through the photograph album that was produced following it, was apparently a source of inspiration to some of the Toronto comrades. That was a different situation indeed. In fact, in Venice there were two gatherings: the official one that was organised by the comrades of *Rivista A* in Milan, with its conference hall and worthy speakers with their brief cases and hotel room keys (and their passive audience in a more or less similar position). Then there was the unofficial meeting, which consisted of the many punks and other young comrades who had come from all over Europe. Many had hitch-hiked to get there and did not have the money to frequent cafes and bars to benefit from their toilet facilities. Some ended up peeing in the canals of Venice, to the consternation of the

local people, council and press. Young comrades roaming the streets after 'curfew' were threatened by the organisers. The following day there was almost a rebellion amongst comrades.

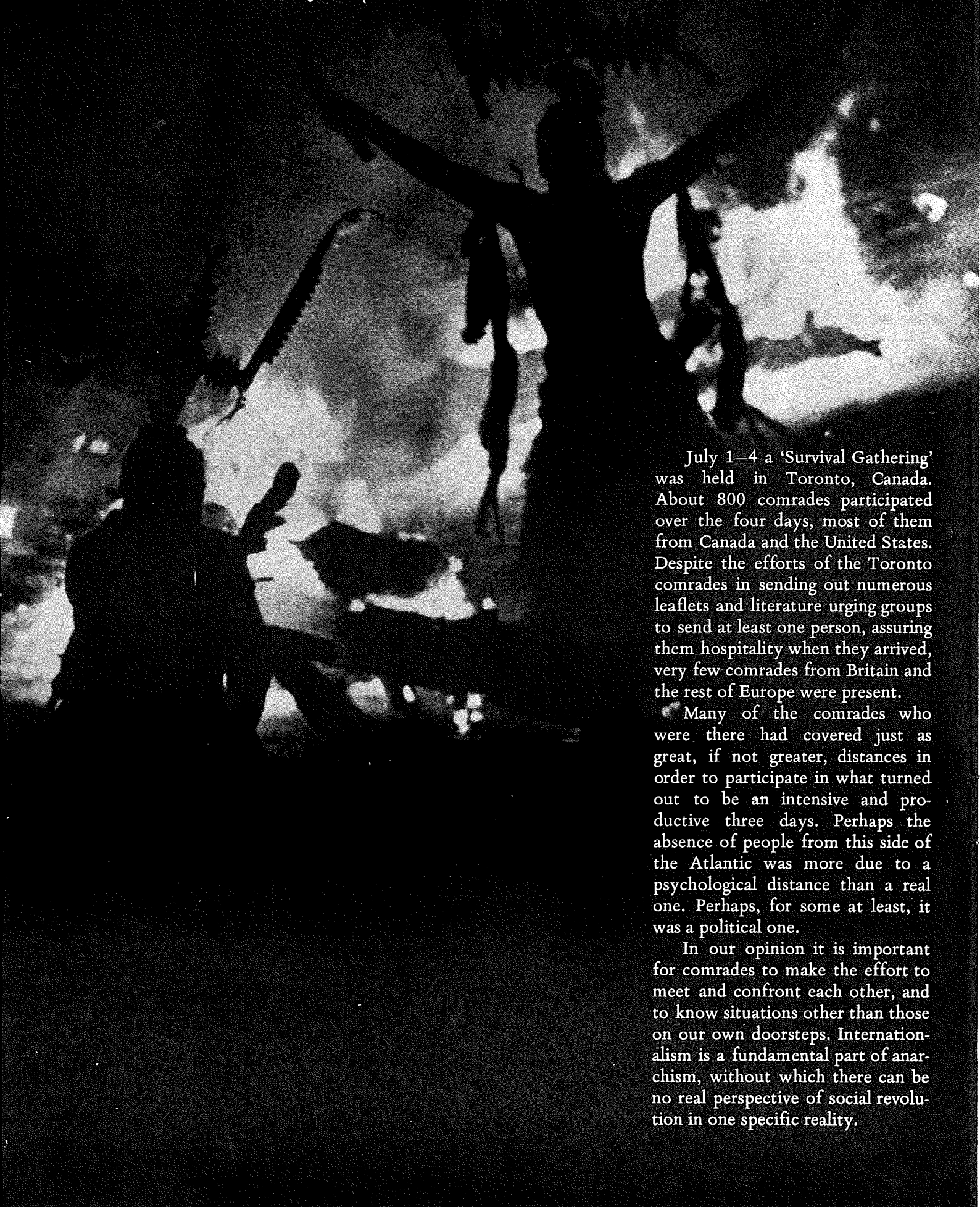
ORGANISATION

Compared to this situation where two distinct and separate entities passed each other by (when they were not in conflict) in Venice, the Toronto Gathering maintained a homogeneity throughout the whole four days. There was obviously contrast within that homogeneity, but never a situation where one part of the comrades was excluded from what the other was doing. This can be explained by the presence of two factors: one, that the 'official' North American (and European) movement had abstained from participation; two, the structure of the Gathering itself. This was such that comrades coming from outside found themselves in a condition to participate in not only the discussions of their choice, but also in the management of the Gathering itself: defence, bookstalls, decisions concerning the media (it was unanimously decided to keep them out), food distribution, etc. Instead of conference

tables and microphones there was an informal structure of workshops which enabled comrades, even in such a great number, to find a dimension in which they could participate directly. There were 63 workshops in two days, and ample space in which to hold them. The comrades had the use of a university building and a community centre for the weekend. They had also printed 1,500 pamphlets, laying out the whole programme of workshops, orientation in the city, evening gigs, etc. Workshop subjects ranged from technology to feminism to the middle east, to national liberation, to the anarchist movement in Greece and much more. It is impossible, for reasons of space, to go into any of these here. Discussions were often disjointed due to the numbers of people participating in them, sometimes speaking in rotation rather than discursively. In any case, few could have been under the illusion that something specific could come from the workshops themselves. They were more a filtering process which made it possible to get to know the comrades in whom one recognised most affinity. It was then possible to meet and talk in smaller groups. This, in my opinion, is what the



Survival Gathering Toronto July 1-4, 1988



July 1-4 a 'Survival Gathering' was held in Toronto, Canada. About 800 comrades participated over the four days, most of them from Canada and the United States. Despite the efforts of the Toronto comrades in sending out numerous leaflets and literature urging groups to send at least one person, assuring them hospitality when they arrived, very few comrades from Britain and the rest of Europe were present.

Many of the comrades who were there had covered just as great, if not greater, distances in order to participate in what turned out to be an intensive and productive three days. Perhaps the absence of people from this side of the Atlantic was more due to a psychological distance than a real one. Perhaps, for some at least, it was a political one.

In our opinion it is important for comrades to make the effort to meet and confront each other, and to know situations other than those on our own doorsteps. Internationalism is a fundamental part of anarchism, without which there can be no real perspective of social revolution in one specific reality.

should never accept that. So it is not enough for there to be a few reforms in South Africa, which is what a large part of the world still believes. A fundamental change and a new society is necessary."

UNSUCCESSFUL OFFENSIVE AGAINST ANTI-SHELL ACTIVISTS

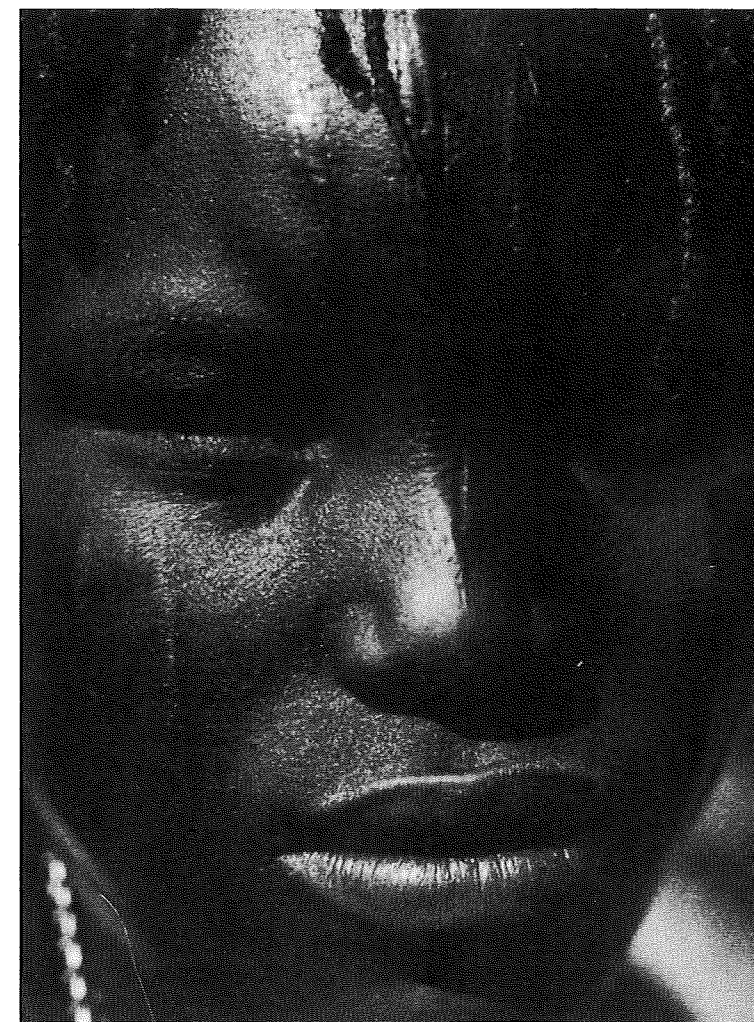
Of course Shell directors are not just sitting on their fat bottoms waiting for the boycott to have an effect. In their attempt to face it, they are organising large campaigns and trying to enlist the support of the most important petrol consumers by giving them discounts or donating money to charities. Since 1986 Shell have been consulting Pagan International who specialise in combating consumer boycotts against large companies.

At the same time the police in Denmark and Holland have begun an offensive against Shell activists. Among other things there have been numerous raids and house searches. They have been pulling people in to the police station in the hope of forcing out confessions, though this has had little result. The police in Holland have been working on this for the past few years. Until 1986 there were two sections that dealt with political activism: the CRI, which is a political bureau, and a special anti-gang squad. Work between them was loosely connected, but then on the orders of the Home Office, they began closer collaboration under the LCT, the national organ under which they work together. The trial period began in January 1986, immediately following two actions by RaRa, the Revolutionary antiRacist action group. This group has carried out actions against Shell and Macro, among others.

LCT consists of a) a tactical division, responsible for the daily work of going through cases; b) a technical division which assists the previous one; c) a forensic department for examining finger prints, press releases, etc; d) an administrative department and e) a search group that operates 24 hours a day.

Since the beginning of 1986 there have been 350 police working on political activism daily, and so far they have spent 180 million guilder—about £50 million—. The Minister of Justice has stated that for the attempt to become permanent the LCT must produce some results, but so far they have produced little. In conclusion one could say they know a lot about people who carry out actions, and sometimes they succeed in tracking them down. But so far they have only succeeded in arresting five people. Three were arrested due to bad luck and because of bad planning, not because of the work of the police in tracking them down. One person was arrested while carrying out an anti-Shell action, and right now one person is in prison following a large number of raids. There is no proof against them and the other eight who were taken in at the same time have since been released.

The parliamentary justice commission in Holland



which held a meeting on March 28, has confessed in an internal letter that they have exceeded the limits of the law in order to try to arrest people.

A GLOBAL ATTACK

So, what conclusions can you draw from all this? Well, if you don't talk shit on the telephone, if you don't leave fingerprints, if you don't keep the typewriter on which you write the press releases in your home, and your place is "clean" in other respects so that the police can raid you whenever they please without finding any evidence, then you can conclude that you can keep going indefinitely.

Actions of sabotage against Shell in Sweden alone have cost Shell millions of Kronas, but Shell is a big multinational company, and even if they are worried about this wave of sabotage, more is required in order to force them to leave South Africa. All companies are insured and it is the insurance companies that are being hit most, but of course Shell has to pay the premium and the day they become such bad customers for the insurance company that they refuse to insure them, then Shell will have to pay every penny themselves. So, if the anti-Shell activists are serious, it will take more than a few broken windows to make the company fall.

One view of the Shell activists that has been put out by the media is that sabotage is an end in itself.

The sound of breaking glass, the fragrance of petrol fumes and an action reported in the press. This way of treating activists as hooligans who just can't sit still, is a conscious attempt by the mass media (who are brutally moving public opinion in the direction they want to) to silence a way of thinking that is different to that of the traditional left.

I don't call it hooliganism to go from words to action in one's own area, in one's community, acting in solidarity with other groups struggling in other countries and other parts of the world. When a person is prepared to take a long sentence for attacking a system that is wrong: this cannot be seen as courting the media.

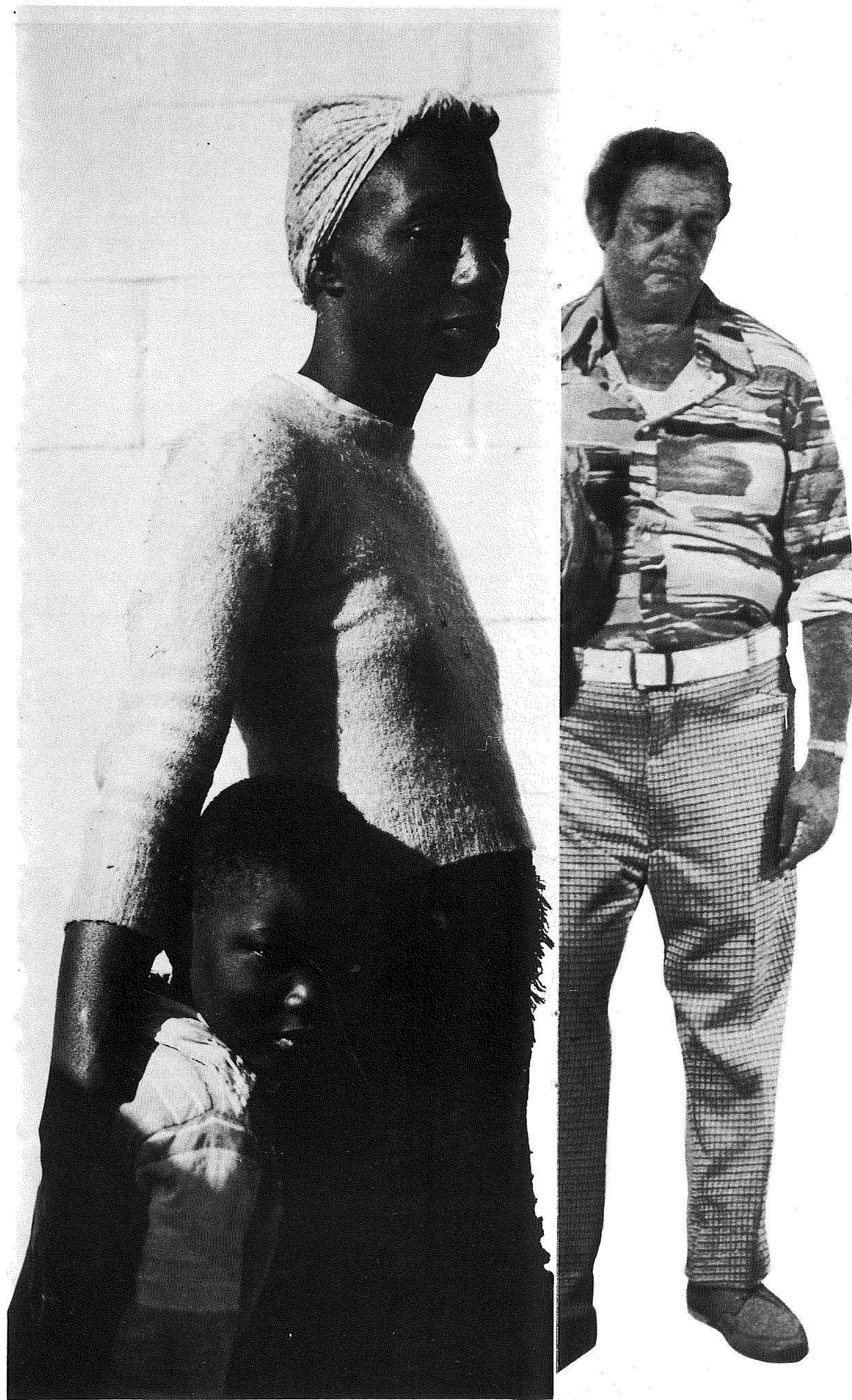
If you understand how the structures of the capitalists are built up and how the big companies are weaving their nets closer and closer around the world, then you realise that the fight against the system has to be carried out globally. An attack on a Shell station in Sveg, a tiny village in the middle of nowhere is as important as an attack against a station in Amsterdam, or as important a part of the struggle as a funeral march in South Africa demonstrating their conviction that Botha should fall. As the system is attacked, weakened and destroyed, so our resistance is strengthened. WE decide how we are going to crush oppression, both through discussion and action. We should not, no, cannot censure the resistance of a struggle against the various rulers, and I do not mean just parliament and governments.

Shell's secret list—the following—of sabotage that has been carried out against the company is not complete. A blockade in Hudducksvan is not complete. But it does give some idea of how wide the resistance is. Most of these actions are not taken up by the national media, and sometimes not even by the local press. It is important therefore that when you do something, you send information to *Brand*. It is important for the struggle not to be suffocated.

Brand

NOTE: The South African Economic Affairs Ministry has devised a scheme whereby Shell helps the latter break the oil embargo in exchange for exporting quotas of cheap coal.

The coal is off-loaded in Dutch ports, and distributed throughout Europe after being blended with Chinese coal to disguise its origins by changing its calorific value. The coal is then sent to traders in Britain, West Germany, France and Italy, and is accounted for as "Dutch imports". For example, officially recorded imports in the UK in 1986 were 100,000 tonnes, whereas the Dutch Bureau of Statistics show that in fact 1.1 million tonnes were shipped to Britain via Dutch ports.



situation as a whole. We cannot put off moral judgement on the need to attack and strike the enemy until we have consulted those who all together combine to determine the "collective situation". I shall explain better. I am not against the mass work of counterinformation and the preparation for intermediate struggles that are also necessary in a situation of exploitation and misery. What I am against is the symbolic (exclusively symbolic) course these struggles take. They should be aimed at obtaining results, even partial ones, but results that are immediate and visible, always with the premiss that the insurrectional method—based on the refusal of the delegate, on autonomy, permanent conflictuality, and self-managed base structures—is used.

What I do not agree with is that one must stop there, or even before that point as some would have it, at the level of simple counterinformation and denunciation, moreover orchestrated by the deadlines provided by the repression.

It is possible, no, necessary, to do something else, and that something has to be done now, in the present phase of violent and speedy restructuring. It seems to me that this can be done in the direct attack on small objectives that indicate the class enemy, objectives that are quite visible in the social territory, and when they are not visible the work of counterinformation can make them so with very little effort.

those who take a distance from these actions are far fewer than those who support them but do not put them into practice

I do not think that there can be any anarchist comrades who are against this practice, at least in principle. There can be those (and there are) who say that they are against it, based on an evaluation of the present political and social situation because they do not see any constructive mass outlet, and I can understand this. But there should

not be a condemnation of those actions on principle.

The fact is that those who take a distance from these actions are far fewer than those who support them but do not put them into practice. How can that be explained? I think it can be explained precisely by this "moral split" that going beyond the threshold of others' "rights" takes us into, particularly in the case of comrades like myself who were educated to say "thank-you" and "sorry" at the slightest push.

We often speak of liberating our feelings. We often speak of refusing the ideals that were transmitted from the bourgeoisie in their moment of triumph and imposed upon us.

Basically what we are talking about is the real satisfaction of our needs, which are not only the so-called primary needs of simple physical survival.

Well, I think that words are not enough for this beautiful project. When it stayed firmly within the old concept of class struggle that was based on the desire to "re-appropriate" what had unjustly been taken from us (the product of our labour), we were able to "talk" (even if even then we didn't get very far) of needs, equality, communism, and even anarchy. Today, now that this phase of simple reappropriation has slowly been modified under capital itself, we cannot have recourse to the same words and the same concepts.

The time of words is slowly coming to an end. And we realise more each day that we are tragically behind, closed within a ghetto, arguing about things that are no longer of any real revolutionary interest, while people are rapidly moving towards other meanings and other perspectives, with Power slyly and effectively urging them on.

The enormous task of liberating man from ethics, this great weight that in its time was built in the laboratories of capitalism and smuggled into the ranks of the exploited, has hardly begun.

Alfredo M. Bonanno

So, from one justification to another, we end up building a church, almost without realising it. I say "almost", because basically we are aware of it, but it scares us.

the act of expropriation means something, precisely in its present class context

To take other people's property from them has a social significance. It constitutes rebellion and, precisely because of this, the property owners must clearly be seen as part of the property-owning class, not simply people who possess something. We are not aesthetes of nihilist action who do not see a difference between taking from the former and taking money from the beggar's plate.

The act of expropriation means something precisely in its present class context, not because of the "wrong" way that those we intend to expropriate have acted in the past. If that were our only point of reference then the capitalist who pays union wages and "looks after" his workers, sells at reasonable prices, etc, would be excluded from the legitimacy of expropriation. Why should we concern ourselves with such questions?

If we take for example a firm that supplies arms to South Africa or which finances the racist regime in Israel, designs nuclear power stations or makes electronic devices with which to "improve" traditional arms, the accent is not so much on their specific responsibility when we attack them, so much as their belonging to the class of exploiters. Specific responsibility only involves the strategic and political choice. The sole element for having made the ethical decision is the element of class. To realise this helps us to reach some clarity. The moral foundation for an action is the difference between classes, a belonging to one or other of two components of society that are irremediably opposed and whose solution will only come through the destruction of one or other of the two.

without realising it it is in the field of moral decision that many of us find obstacles

The political and strategic foundations, on the other hand, require a series of considerations that can be contradictory. All the objectives listed above concern this latter aspect, and have nothing to do with the underlying moral justification.

But without our realising it, it is in the field of moral decision that many of us find obstacles. Basically, the peaceful mass demonstration, however demonstrative of our intentions "against", was something different. Even the very violent clashes with the police were something different. There was an intermediate reality between ourselves and the "enemy", something that protected our moral alibi. We felt sure of being "right" even when we adopted positions (still in the area of democratic dissent) that were not shared by the mass of demonstrators. Even when we smashed a few windows things remained in such a way that we were able to accommodate them.

if we reach out and attack other people's property we must accept full responsibility for it without having to find justification

Things are different when we act on our own, or with other comrades who could never give us a psychological "cover" of the kind we get so easily from within the "mass". It is now individuals who determine to attack the institution. We either attack or recede. We either accept the class logic of the clash as an irreducible counterposition that has no solution, or we move backwards towards negotiation and linguistic and moral deception.

If we reach out and attack other people's property—or something else, but always belonging to the class enemy—we must accept full responsibility for it without having to find justification in the presumed level of the collective



Holland

16 - 17 March - 37 Shell stations totally or partially destroyed: hoses cut, computers put out of action, cash machines damaged and tanks polluted. The damage came to hundreds of thousands of florins. Many actions followed over the next few weeks. A Shell station in Almere, was attacked, and in Hemmestede was set fire to, among others. In Rotterdam, among other things, an action was claimed: "In the night between 17 and 18 March we attacked the Anker Kolen headquarters and the Shell headquarters, both in Rotterdam, with liquid steel and paint bombs. These societies are responsible for the continuation of the racist regime in South Africa with their economic support. Anker Kolen work with South African coal and what Shell does is well known to all. So long as Botha can count on the support of these criminals, it will be a long time before a legitimate situation comes about in that country."

27 April - four Shell petrol stations in South Holland sabotaged.

10 May - One Shell station sabotaged in Hilversum, Holland. Through a communique to the mass media it was dedicated to the ANC members sentenced to death.

12 May - Press release:

We attacked the Shell petrol station South Rotterdam on the night of May 12. We cut hoses, destroyed price meters and painted slogans. We are tired of Shell's hypocritical politics concerning South Africa. Let us make it clear once and for all: so long as Shell continues in South Africa we shall sabotage them. FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. BURN DOWN THE MULTINATIONALS.

5 June - Shell station in Tilbury sabotaged. Slogans written on bridges and viaducts: **SHELL BURNS BETTER!** **SHELL OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA!**

6 June - 2 Shell stations in Holland burned. £35,000 damage done. The action is dedicated to Dulcie September, an ANC representative murdered in France on March 29 by South African secret services.

6 June Shell station in Tilbury sabotaged.

7 June - Action group Split Apartheid break into the CASA refinery in Zaandam, Holland, in which Shell has a 20 per cent share. The company is heavily involved in the South African coal trade. Administrative papers were seized disclosing to which countries the coal was being exported. 19 per cent of the total coal exported from South Africa is redirected through Dutch ports. By working with these coal traders south African coal mining is being re-routed and with the use of false destination papers finds its way to countries that are officially boycotting it, for example France and Denmark.

10 August - 10 comrades are accused of sabotage against Shell and Macro.

Attacks against Shell continue unabated. They try unsuccessfully to link the RaRa activists arrested to the sabotage, but do not succeed in extinguishing the burning fuse. Of the comrades arrested in April there is still one inside. There is no technical evidence against him.

During the week of the arrests 20 Shell stations were sabotaged in Holland in solidarity with those arrested.

Motorways were blocked with burning tyres.

There were demonstrations outside police stations and in Amsterdam banners appeared on squatted houses: **SUPPORT THE RA RA AND BURN SHELL TO HELL**

"The question "guilty/not guilty is unimportant. We want to move our political identity a step forward. A political identity is more important than the suspicion against one or more individuals. An identity that has grown from what we have in common: the international political resistance movement."

9 August - demonstration

"The trial and manifesto gives us the opportunity to discuss needs and possibilities for resistance as a militant answer to the development around us. The accelerating and hardening war politic has already existed for many years with the final goal a UNIFIED EUROPE in 1992. The coming and harmonisation of European politics in arresting suspects and trying and punishing them will not stop at Holland's extradition of Frank Hoffman to Germany or the ETA militants from France to Spain or IRA members from Germany to Britain. These are only episodes compared to what will happen in the future. We are trying to discuss a common front and develop a resistance fight for a world without race, class or sex clashes." RaRa

"Changes will not come about through talking. Changes you have to fight for through the attack on the western imperialist world's economic, political and military institutions. What unites us in our common struggle is our unified perspectives and our unconditional solidarity with the black freedom fight in South Africa which has to be fought with so much blood. Support the resistance in South Africa and form the front in Western Europe."

THE MORAL SPLIT

Sweden

11.7.86 - At Swedish Shell's main office in Solna the building was evacuated and work stopped for about an hour following an anonymous bomb threat.
1.8.86 - Shell petrol station in Limhamn, Malmö sabotaged: building sprayed in black paint. Money and credit card machines put out of action.
31.7.86 - Credit card machine at the Shell station in Skholmen rendered unusable.
1.8.86 - Spray paint against the Shell station in Nacka.
5.8.86 - Slogans in orange paint against the Shell station in Ropsten, Stockholm.
5.8.86 - Graffiti against Shell station in Skarpnäck.
9.5.86 - Graffiti to Shell petrol station in Folkungatatan, Stockholm.
4.6.87 - Shell sales office set fire to in Edsberg Sollentuna. Business cancelled.
5.6.87 - Shell petrol station in Saltsjö: credit card and cash machine sabotaged.
5.6.87 - Stone thrown shop window at Shell station in Havsörnsvägen, Farsta.
7.6.87 - Shell shop window and two car windows smashed at Folkungatan, Stockholm
23.6.87 - Graffiti spray-painted against Shell station in Drottninggatan, Helsingborg.
5.9.87 - Credit card machine and cash machine put out of action in Gyldengatan.
5.9.87 - Petrol pump put out of action at Magellungsvägen, Farsta.
15.9.87 - Huddingevägen, Johannesnov, cash machine out of action.
15.9.87 - Sabotage to cistern equipment in Arstafältet, Johanneshov.
15.9.87 - Sabotage to all pumps at Shell station in Packhusplatsen, Göteborg.
15.9.87 - Graffiti at the Shell petrol pumps in Almanacksvägen, Göteborg.
15.9.87 - Trollebergsvägen, Lund, graffiti.
15.9.87 - Dalbyvägen, Lund, graffiti to machines.
16.9.87 - pumps put out of action at Osterplan, Örebro.
17.9.87 - Sabotage to Shell pumps at Mogetorp, Dyltabruk.
20.9.87 - Sabotage to petrol pumps and cash machines at Grucksbovägen, Bandhagen
20.9.87 - Diesel poured out and set alight at Fiskebryggan, Nynäshamn.
22.10.87 - Petrol poured on to pumps and building at Shell station in Lyxorron-
dellen, Motala.
28.10.87 - Fire attack on Shell station in Orjansvägen, Skelleftehamn.
16.11.87 - Posters glued to machines at Shell station in Sundsvall.
20.11.87 - As above to pumps in Hagavägen, Sundsvall.
21.11.87 - Tanker valve smashed and sugar poured in in Linköpingeväg.
21.11.87 - A slimy substance put into the container, and fliers left at Katrineholm.
3.12.87 - Bomb threat against Shell in Danderydsvägen, Sollentuna.
23.2.88 - Graffiti to buildings and machines in Drottninggatan, Malmö.
23.2.88 - Fire attack on Shell station in Trollebergsvägen, Lund, claimed in com-
munique to the press by AAA - Anti Apartheid Action - group.
21.3.88 - Alby, Slagsta; Gyldengatan, Stockholm; Hagavägen Sundsvall: graffiti.
24.3.88 - Stickers put up at Shell stations in Malmö.
26.3.88 - demonstrations and disturbances in Umeå.
27.3.88 - Petrol pump heads smashed in Dalbyvägen, Lund.
6.4.88 - Graffiti at Shell station in Falköpingsvägen.
8.4.88 - Graffiti, posters and glue to all locks at Shell station in Akersberga.
30.5.88 - *Today we attacked Shell's main office and a Shell station by the Unden area of Stockholm with acid and iron bars. Recently at a company meeting in Holland, Shell decided to continue their work in South Africa in spite of international boycotts and in spite of world opinion. They have shown yet again which side they are on. Without economic enforcement in the form of boycotts and sabotage, making their losses in other countries greater than their gains in South Africa, they may never leave that country. THE RESISTENCE AGAINST SHELL IS GROWING. WE HAVE A LONG, HOT SUMMER AHEAD OF US.*
4 June - Sweden: the morning national press reports that a Shell station in Gothen-
berg has been blown up, probably an action against Shell involvement in racist South
Africa.

Funnily enough this controversial news "disappeared" from the broadcasts later in the day. Even stranger - not one line in the newspapers that evening or next day.

Almost a total blackout. Information about the anti-Shell struggle is being censored in the news rooms - not because of self-censorship or lack of interest by individual reporters. The widespread blackout began at the beginning of 1988. It is now even more important for people who carry out actions against Shell to send communiques to Brand, who don't take orders from police and apartheid collaborators, so that we can show the resistance against apartheid is alive." Brand.

In order for an action to be carried out it is not enough for it simply to be considered "right". Other elements intervene, some of which, like the underlying moral consideration, have nothing to do with whether the action is valid or not. This is quite evident in the difficulty comrades have in carrying out actions which in themselves have nothing exceptional about them.

A moral obstacle intervenes, leading to a real ethical "split" with consequences that are not easily predictable

we have often pointed out the uselessness of the huge, peaceful mass demonstrations

For example, we have been pointing out the uselessness of the huge peaceful mass demonstrations for some time now. Instead we propose demonstrations that are still mass demonstrations, but which are organised insurrectionally, supported by small actions of attack against the capitalist structures that are responsible for the present situation of exploitation and genocide at world level.

We think it could be useful to reflect for a moment on the different attitudes that are held towards such actions beyond any question of method or political consideration.

we are all against private property but when we stretch out a hand to attack it an alarm bell rings inside us

No matter how much we go into things theoretically, phantoms remain within all of us. One of these is other people's property. Others are: people's lives, God,

good manners, sex, tolerance of other's opinions, etc. Sticking to our subject: we are all against private property, but as soon as we stretch out a hand to attack it, an alarm bell rings inside us.

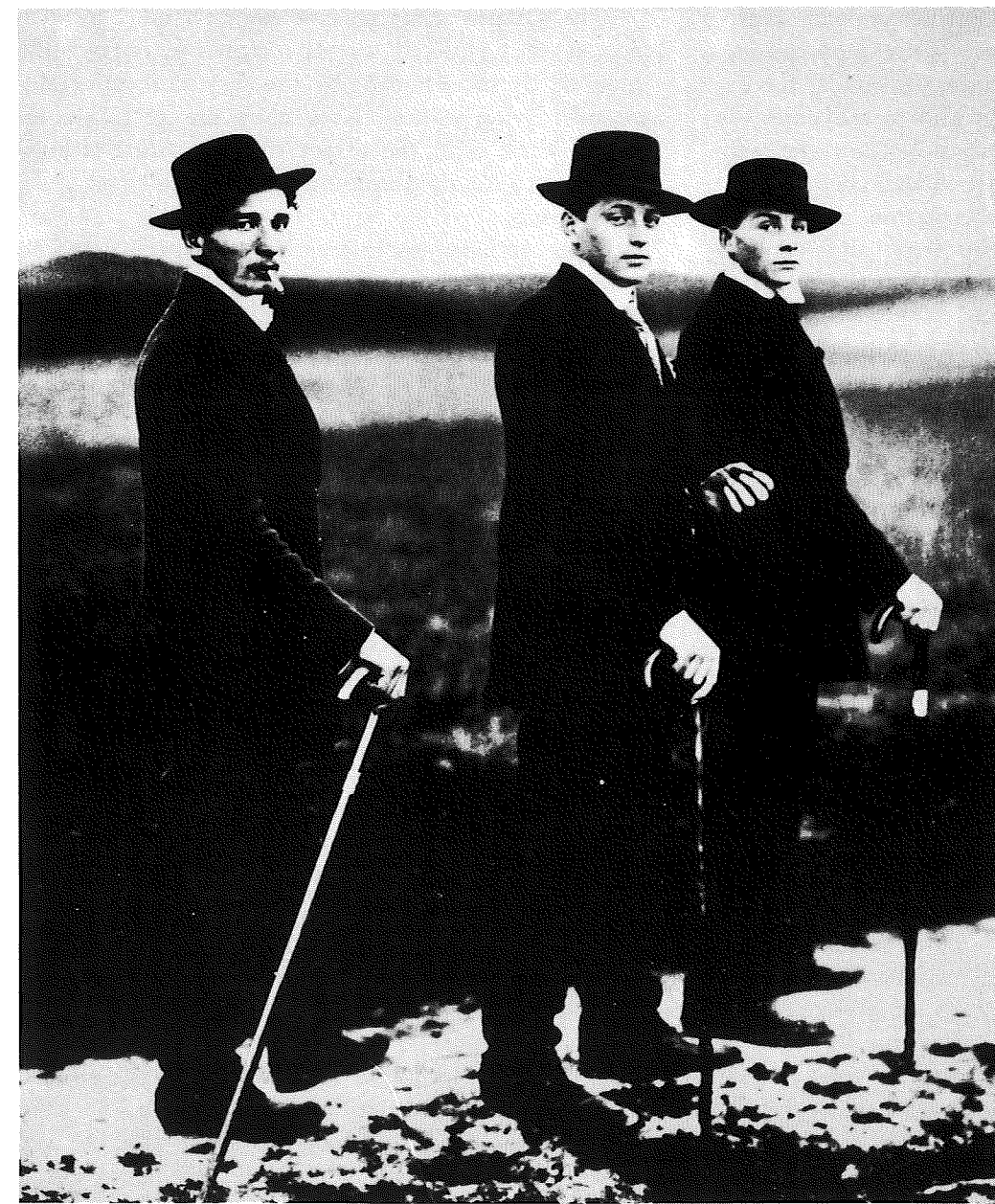
Centuries of moral conditioning set into action without our realising it, with two results: on the one hand there is the thrill of the forbidden—leading many comrades to carry out stupid little thefts that often go beyond immediate and unavoidable needs—; and on the other the discomfort of behaving "immorally". Putting the "thrill" aside, which I am not interested in and which I willingly leave to those who like to amuse themselves with such things, I want to take a look at the "discomfort".

we have all been reduced to the animal state of the "herd"

The fact is, we have all been reduced to the animal state of the "herd". The moral that we all share (all of us, even those who in theory do not) is "altruistic". It is respectable, egalitarian and leveling. The territories of this morality have yet to be explored. How many comrades assert free love for example, yet would recoil at the sight of their own sister's nakedness? Certainly not a few.

And when we justify our attack on private property to ourselves—and to the tribunal of history—saying it is right that the expropriators be expropriated, we are prisoners of a kind of slavery, the moral one, to be exact. We are confirming the "eternal" validity of our past bosses, leaving others to judge whether those into whose hands we have consigned what has been taken from us personally should be considered expropriators or not.

**is it possible
to attack
the structures
of dominion
without
coming up against
false problems
of conscience
as so often
happens?
the only possible
ethical
judgement
is the
class category
no anarchist
is against
revolutionary action
on principle
but does not always
put that into
practice
the reason
might be
this
"moral split"**



Against the "alternative" solutions proposed by the ecologists, we see the only way to approach the problem of ecological devastation is within the context of the subversion of all the relations and values on which the capitalist system is based

AGAINST ECOLOGY

Ecology has become the most relevant social phenomenon at mass level in countries in the post-industrial phase. It is also becoming the affair of the century for capital and the State.

We must therefore look at what the ecological struggle means both to those involved in it, and to the State and capital who are working to preserve their interests.

The ecological struggle has aimed until now at finding "alternative" solutions capable of redressing the balance of man's destructive relationship with nature and breaking with the logic of technological development based on sackage and devastation.

Although the aspirations of the ecologists are right, none of them question the power structure but on the contrary are turning out to be useful to it, enabling it to present itself in a more critical

and attractive guise. When separated from the social question, ecology becomes a great occasion for Power to build grandiose projects of social integration, exploiting the consensus of the proletarian masses towards the ecologists.

The ecological humanitarianism of those who protest against the crazed wasting of resources while millions die of hunger, does not touch capital's post-industrial interests an inch. It becomes an incentive for them in fact to improve their own productive and organisational levels that often lag behind overall levels of industrial development.

Has capital become ecological then? Contrary to the ecologists, we think the answer is yes. At the present time capital is looking for new technologies to overcome the imbalance that still exists in processing raw materials. This is happening through an

increased rationalisation of its instruments of production. That undoubtedly puts a brake on the ecological destruction of the planet, improving the exploitation of resources thanks also to recycling the mountains of refuse that lie unused. The more technologically advanced countries are well ahead in that direction, going towards the creation of a world market linked to soft technology and ecology that represent new frontiers for capital.

In the advanced industrial countries it is the State itself which launches the great campaigns on ecological problems, as it can draw great advantage from the industries which produce instruments for reducing pollution. Another reason is that in this way the State can also guarantee a wider control over society, through the involvement of the great masses who seem to have made this their only form of social involvement.

The development of an ecologically sound technology becomes a way for the more advanced States to increase the dependence of the economically weaker countries on them and affect their future development. Hence the need for States and international capital to invest millions of dollars in financing ecological programmes.

Ecological campaigns are creating a true ecological culture, even in the schools where there are now specific courses on the subject. It is the more progressive and sensitive politicians who support this project, never missing a chance to underline their engagement and to point out the hard parliamentary battles they are waging against the conservatives.

The environmentalists are giving a hand to capital and the State. The Greens, as well as their ritual protesting, make constructive proposals based on "alternative solutions". In this way they play the role of a "loyal opposition" to the system, not realising that this makes them elements which are involved in its advancement. Their action serves domination. Although they present themselves as having high social values, they always tend towards the political recuperation of fringes of the anti-institutional opposition.



The Greens want to give domination a human face, so they think it is right for their projects to be financed by the State or by the very structures that are destroying nature. Now they are getting into local bodies, with the effect that the State is now able to extend its dominion to even the most peripheral areas.

Who can have any interest in a prospect aimed at making capital abandon its insane development towards so-called hard technology, substituting "soft" ecological ones, if not those who want to conserve the present social system?

We are not interested in capital's development, be it hard or soft. We are only interested in destroying capital as a system, along with the State apparatus all over the world that supports it.

The ecologist spectacle wants us to participate in this system of death, trying to nail us to an ongoing situation of survival. We are submitting to it with supine resignation when we promote ecological battles against the imminent death of the planet.

It is necessary to do more. The violent rupture with constituted order is a vital necessity for us. In this sense we propose putting the ecological struggle on an insurrectional footing.

Ecology is important only if it is understood within a radical process of transformation, as this is the only way it can be used to speed up the end of this society of domination.

We therefore have two roads: the first starts from the destruction of the relationship with power in order to reach an egalitarian, free, ecological society; the second limits itself to saving the planet from complete destruction. If we choose the first road we will always find comrades who support our initiatives. If we choose the second, these comrades will see us as their enemies.

We too are for ecology and against all kinds of pollution, but we see the ecological struggle within the context requiring the total subversion of all the relations and values on which the system is based.

Pierleone Porcu

RURAL AREAS have never offered much to proletarians who live in them, and this has often resulted in Saturday night activity in the form of drunken brawls outside pubs.

This situation is now spreading and changing in content. Most often it is now police and class enemies who are the object of attack, either directly or as a result of their intervening in gang fights.

A look at only a few examples violence in rural areas in the first two weeks of August show how boredom and deprivation of human dignity are becoming the causes of widespread social struggles in advanced capitalist countries, where hunger and poverty were motives in the past.

The NUR went on strike due to disturbances on late Faversham to Dover trains. Kilmerdon, in Avon, a tiny rural village which had known idyllic peace until recently, has now become the scenario for regular incursions of drunken young people from the neighbouring mining towns of Radstock and Midsomer Norton. The local Lord Hylton had his car stolen by joyriders and two other parked cars were rammed. One of the newlyself appointed neighbourhood watchers who are now patrolling the village has been attacked.

One person was killed in a gang fight in Newmarket. There was a pitched battle with police in the market place of Shifnal near Telford. Extra police were drafted in. More than 100 young people were involved in the riot, and petrol bombs were thrown.

Fighting spread through the streets of Oswestry, Shropshire when rival gangs clashed.

There were 17 arrests in one evening in Newquay, Cornwall when tourists and local people fought running battles with police.

In Poole, Dorset 5 people ended up in hospital and 2 were arrested after wooden benches had been ripped up from the street and hurled through shop windows. 7 people were arrested for street violence in Stratford-on-Avon. 4 police were injured during street fighting involving more than 100 people in Pentre,

Mid Glamorgan. In Barry, South Glamorgan there were running battles along the sea front where rocks, pick-axe handles and legs from deck-chairs were used.

In sea-side resorts such as Bournemouth, illuminations light

bulbs are smashed on an average of 150 each night, and deck chairs are destroyed.

The frustration and anger that is being expressed all over the country, is a logical response to the new structure of capital.

Rural Violence

Even in the most remote parts of the country a struggle against the effects of post-industrial capitalism is taking place. Boredom and denial of human dignity are becoming the roots of a struggle that was motivated by poverty and hunger in the past.



to switch the machine off to get rid of it, but this does not completely eliminate it and it reappears again after some time.

Still among the "viruses" that contain more of a joke element is something that is being prepared in Germany by a group there: a "virus" to be inserted into the telefax telecopier. With a simple automism the "fax-virus" will gain access to the transmission of documents, sending out in their place an irreverent pornographic comic strip to millions of users all over the world.

The danger of the "viruses" is therefore in their capacity to spread and reproduce themselves, rapidly passing from one disc to the other, right to the internal memory of the computer.

It has become an accepted fact that it is not difficult for anyone who knows the "architecture" of a computer today to overcome the access barrier, inoculating it with apparently innocuous input capable of irreparably damaging the memory. And this form of inconvenience can even reach such systems of communication and services as the French "Militel", given that its central computer could be attacked by receiving "deviant" orders via one of the many computers linked to it.

As usually happens in cases such as this, various theories are developed about the origins of the "viral" phenomenon. Those responsible can be groups of hackers, modern pirates amusing themselves by playing atrocious jokes on the software bosses. Another theory is that the "viruses" on a planetary scale are operated by multinationals to save themselves from theft and protect their own programmes from counterfeiters. It is possible that they have studied security systems where the injection of a "virus" protects their own programmes by setting off as soon as any illicit copying starts. Two large American companies declared some time ago that they had prepared a "security" programme which would destroy all the users lines.

There are also authentic saboteurs of information systems such as the Swiss group who call themselves SCA (Swiss Cracking Association) who have contributed to the spreading of the "virus", demonstrating the weakness of the elaborator's surveillance systems.

As far as "antidotes" are concerned, there are no programmes capable of combatting all types of "viruses", only specialised programmes that can fight one individual one at a time.

There is also another difficulty. Discs today are capable of holding over 20 million characters, while a virus programme can be composed of only a hundred. Hence the extreme difficulty in identifying it right away; in some cases it is impossible to identify them if they have been accurately prepared.

The spreading of such "inconveniences" to States cannot fail to please revolutionaries, as it demonstrates that even the computerised systems of

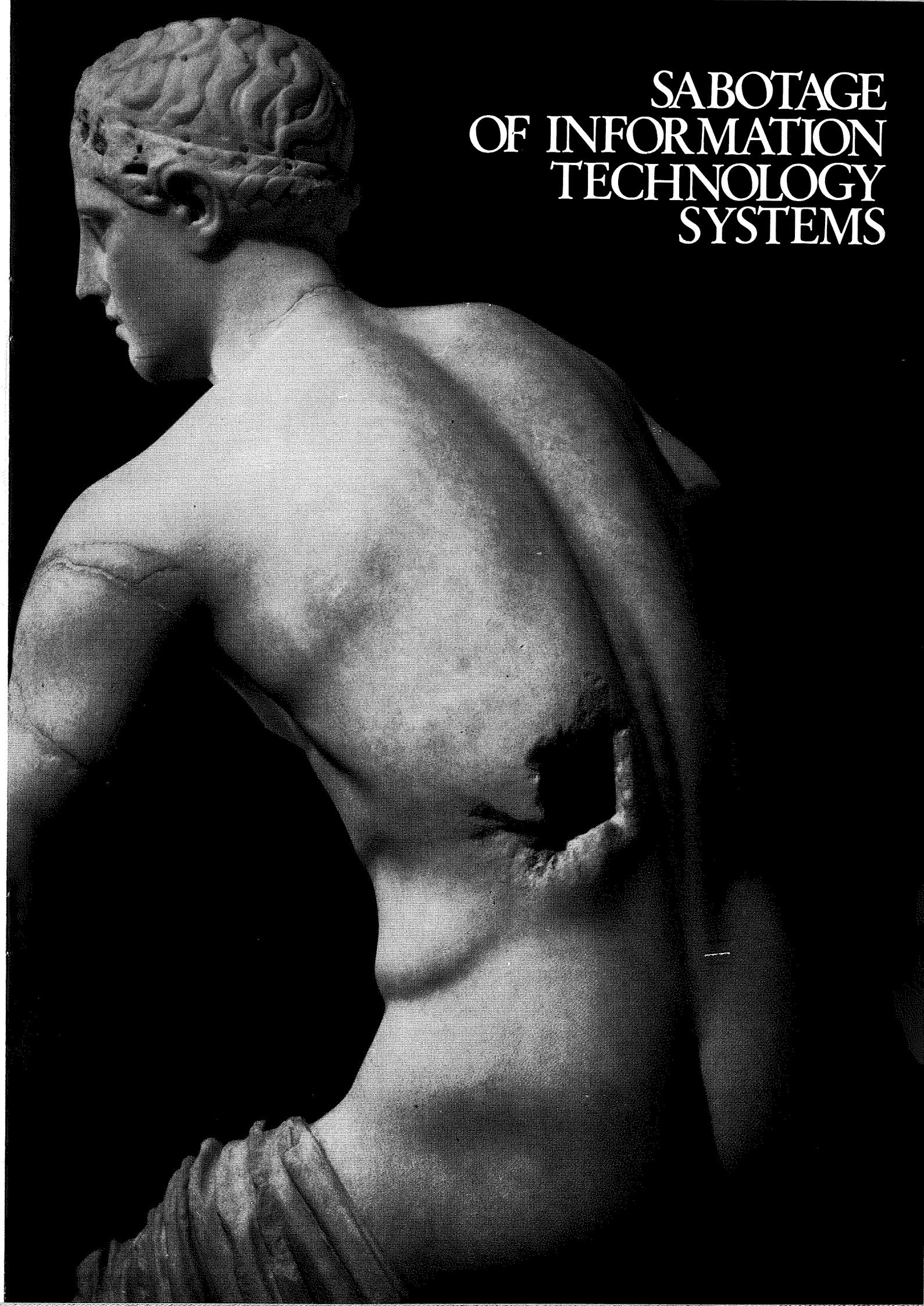


social control are not as invulnerable as people would have them be after all. These forms of sabotage are a very good arm of attack on the technological apparatus of capital and the State. Not so much in the material sense but because they help us to free ourselves from that magical spellbound respect that we all have for these sophisticated electronic gadgets.

Without doubt any revolutionary prospect today also bases itself on the need to destroy the apparatus of dominion through the deepening of a knowledge of the arms which the class enemy has at its disposal.

Asterity

SABOTAGE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS



SABOTAGE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS

Information systems and the data they contain have become the backbone of capital and the State. They could be compared to the blood circulation. What is certain is that the present economic, political and social formation can no longer function without this network which is taking on greater and greater proportions.

A centralised coordination of the whole of information technology is unthinkable at present and for a long time to come. Very complex systems do exist, but they are only linked together in part. Telematic knowledge is the wealth of the post-industrial era, and, like all wealth, it is being accumulated. What is transmitted is just enough to guarantee supremacy and domination. Perhaps capital is behind the times in maintaining this tendency to accumulate, but at present it is at the root of competition in the field of information technology.

Although attacking and destroying these systems, or at least damaging them significantly, is valid in revolutionary terms, it should be said that the bosses of the economy and politics are defending themselves more from competition and piracy than from sabotage and destruction as a consequence of social unrest. There is a great reluctance among those affected by these attacks to discuss the extent of them. One of the main aspects of information technology is its own myth. An idea of the extent of these attacks, however, can be had from a glance at a 1986 French insurance company report: £700 million pounds paid out, 44% of which for fraud, theft or sabotage; 30% for accidents and breakdowns and 26% for software or human error. The more companies rely on computer communications, the more the risk of sabotage increases. For this reason companies exist who specialise in working out expedients of defence. What follows is some of these, and some of the forms of attack that have been studied and carried out.

Decodification Research Group

THE PROBLEM OF PLANT LAYOUT

A complex information system such as that belonging to any private or public economic or political structure occupies very considerable space and has to be installed in an environment which has certain characteristics.

Some of these characteristics concern the temperature, dust, conditions of electrical supply, etc. Others on the other hand concern the methods that can be used to obstruct anyone who wants to enter

the environment in question in order to destroy or damage the information system, etc.

There are three kinds of defence:

a) External defence: usually walls, gates or other structures that isolate and encircle the whole building where the computer is to be found. This is not a very effective form of defence, even though, through the use of video cameras and video control they can prevent or delay an attack by one person or a small group. This defence turns out to be of little effect in the case of mass demonstrations or riots.

THE COMPUTER VIRUS

In the field of information technology sabotage the media have been reporting recently on the existence of a "virus" which, as well as destroying programmes, causes irreparable damage to computer memories. What it consists of are discs containing "killer-messages" which, once they are fed into a computer render it practically unusable. The message inserts itself into a part of the memory, infects it partly or completely, altering it (according to what type of "virus" is inserted), and it is impossible to erase it, even by putting the machine out of action.

Even "healthy" discs put into the computer where the "killer-message" programme has passed are contaminated and damaged irreparably.

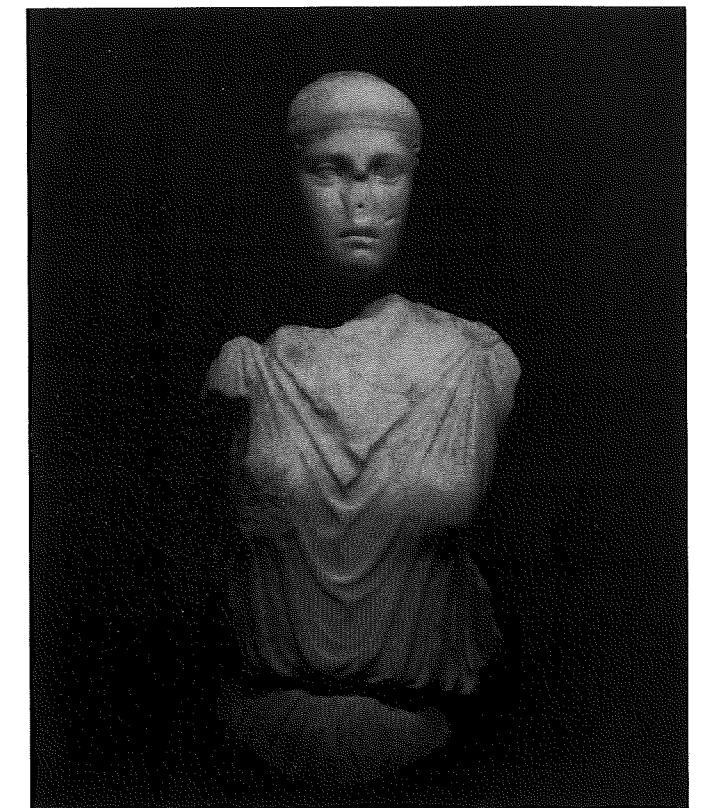
As well as terrifying the bosses of the electronic market and giving controllers of computerised surveillance installations nightmares, this sabotage also has considerable economic consequences. This rapidly spreading phenomenon not only nullifies claims of "security", but could lead to the blocking of all functioning computers, including those used for maintaining social control.

All the most technologically advanced countries are therefore living in the terror that this dangerous epidemic might extend to the point of contaminating the millions of computers that are already functioning in every part of the planet. Computer "Aids" knows no frontiers and has already extended to most of Europe, the Middle East (Israel), North America (Canada and the USA), Asia (Japan), to as far as the Australian continent (New Zealand).

A preliminary analysis of this phenomenon reveals a number of "viral branches" that present varying levels of danger. The list is an extremely long one. We shall mention only a few instances here.

One of the most dangerous "viruses" for information technology is one which turned up in Jerusalem University, defined by the Israeli authorities a "parasite" which, attacking other programmes, is slowly developing until it causes the progressive paralysis of the whole computer memory. An Israeli expert, Yossi Gil, announced through the military radio, "We have identified the "virus" before it managed to destroy the memory of all the computers belonging to Jerusalem University containing documents, study programmes and exam results." A lecturer from the same university, Daniel Liman, declared, "The problem came to light when

an increasing number of computers began to stop functioning inexplicably. We discovered that someone had added to a programme a section that reproduced itself each time it is activated, to the point of reaching monstrous dimensions that leave no room for the rest of the programme within the disc." But what worried him and caused panic among the Israeli authorities was the discovery by a university student Yuval Rakavy of the existence of a "virus" that saturates computer memories and which had been programmed like a time bomb to devastate Israeli computers on May 13. It was to tell the computer to destroy itself. They said it was Palestinian sabotage as May 13 was the fortieth anniversary of the last day of the existence of the Palestinian State.



Although various firms have been struck by the computer "virus" in France, the only one to admit so publicly has been the "Loriciels", a video-games industry. The other firms have preferred to remain silent about the attacks on them it seems. The director of the above-mentioned company, Claude Akriche, stated he had received the programmed disc by post, inserted it into the computer which a week later began to "act strangely", disobeying instructions.

Among the "viruses" considered to be less dangerous for computer memories is one discovered recently at Turin Polytechnic. It makes a dot appear on the screen which bounces against the edges of the video passing between the written lines. It is enough

by users during verification procedures in order to get hold of the access codes. Then one adopts a system of masking for entering and intercepting communications.

CHANGE OF CODE

This is only possible through internal complicity. In fact one can change the code on access card through a further registration.

ENTRANCE BETWEEN THE LINES

The non-authorized terminal is linked to an authorized one then, when this penetrates the system, it marks it quite easily. Often, in fact once the communication is inserted there are periods of inactivity that can be exploited.

THE TROJAN HORSE

These are programmes which claim to do one thing and in fact do something else. They appear, from their purpose, to do something harmless, but are really in the process of destroying the hard disc. These are not one of the various joke programmes that are in circulation, but are actually destructive. They affect the boot sector, the FAT and the directory, which all DOS disks have. If the boot sector is missing, the DOS will report that the disk is not a DOS disk, and it won't be able to find its way around. After the boot comes the File Allocation Table (FAT). This simple table is used by DOS to keep track of which piece of disk belongs to which file. Without this the data is all on the disk, but DOS can't read a file as it can't locate on the disk. Scrambling the FAT is a good way to destroy data.

There is a file of such programmes which circulates on bulletin board systems, called "The Dirty Dozen"—although the number on it has now risen to over 200.

THE BRAIN VIRUS

This has infected many PCs in a Midlands university which refuses to disclose its name. It also infected a Leicester consultancy with discs from Pakistan. The Victoria office of a major British company is also "infected"—this time from Jakarta. A fourth is a major insurance company whose originally infected disc came from the Philippines.

The Brain virus is so-called because when it detonates it puts a volume label on the diskette '(c) Brain'. It writes the volume label a few places after the last file so that DOS won't see it until the extra directory entries have been added. The Brain replaces the boot sector with its own code, and stores the rest of itself in sectors further down the disc that are marked as bad sectors in the FAT. On boot-



up the Brain is run and installs itself in the memory. Thereafter diskette access will install itself on that diskette.

THE ITALIAN BOUNCING VIRUS

This works the same way as the Brain but with the distinguishing effect that a little bouncing ball appears on the screen and even after being erased reappears when the system clock reaches the right value. It comes from Italy and is infecting a South London College.

THE BOOT KILLER VIRUS

This is a deadly one. It creates chains of lost clusters on a hard disc, denying use of disc space. Sometimes it also formats the first track of a diskette, with eight sectors instead of nine, numbering the sectors from two to nine. The DOS cannot then find a sector one. The diskette is unusable, and all the data is lost. This infection renders computers useless.

WRITING VIRUSES

A book exists on how to write a virus, but it is not available in the UK. It gives the source code for several viruses in different languages (C, Pascal, assembler, etc).

The programming required to produce a virus is fairly complicated. A simple one could be written in about two weeks, a more complex one as much as two months. Two months' work that could have a devastating and incalculable effect on the workings of Power.



b) Access points: doors, manhole covers, air vents, service tunnels, windows, etc are usually closed and supplied with simple alarm systems. Usually this point of access is only practicable if it is certain that there is no alarm attached, otherwise it would be better to carefully devise another way of access, through a roof for example, or through possible communicating doors, walls, etc with other buildings. The question of alarms is not all that simple for whoever is in charge of plant security. There is always the possibility of inside intervention which would allow alarm systems to be disconnected. Two systems of control are therefore normally in use: internal (alarms) and external (security guards on patrol).

c) Particular forms of protection: in the form of objects where the information system is located. In this way areas of maximum security are created. They can be containers or vaults. The containers are actually safes or reinforced cupboards containing registrations or documents, and are both fire resistant and burglar-proof. They are usually less resistant to dynamite.

The vault, on the other hand, is a permanent construction inside the building in question. It is usually made of iron or steel and reinforced concrete. It is reached through a door with steel reinforcements.

d) Data processing room: these are rooms similar to the treasuries of the large banks, usually less armoured. They are larger than vaults and are not

very resistant to break-ins and sabotage with explosives. They are rooms therefore that are more suitable to resisting fire than break-ins and sabotage by explosives. Inside these rooms are usually fire-proof and burglar-proof cupboards where ribbons and discs are kept.

e) Closed areas: these are areas where access is controlled even during working hours. The computer room, the area of access to vaults and data processing rooms. Only those with passes can enter. These are usually areas that are also guarded by armed guards.

SECURITY SYSTEMS

1) Electrical circuits: these are systems that go off following the interruption or closure of an electrical circuit. They can be found in any part of the route that must be covered and can also control the opening of the buildings.

2) Photo-electric cells: they reveal the passage of a person or object in certain points of the establishment. Some can be neutralised by pointing a beam of light at the cell. Others require this beam of light to be at a certain frequency. Their presence can be discovered by blowing cigarette smoke on to the luminous beam, but some types of cells do exist that use beams of light whose frequency is outside the spectrum visible to the naked eye.

3) Sound-detecting devices: these can be microphones that reveal noise or vibrations, even very weak ones.

4) Ultrasound detectors: these are devices that are in two parts: one generates the ultrasound, the other captures it. In normal conditions the amount of ultrasound is constant. A sudden variation in the amount sets off the alarm.

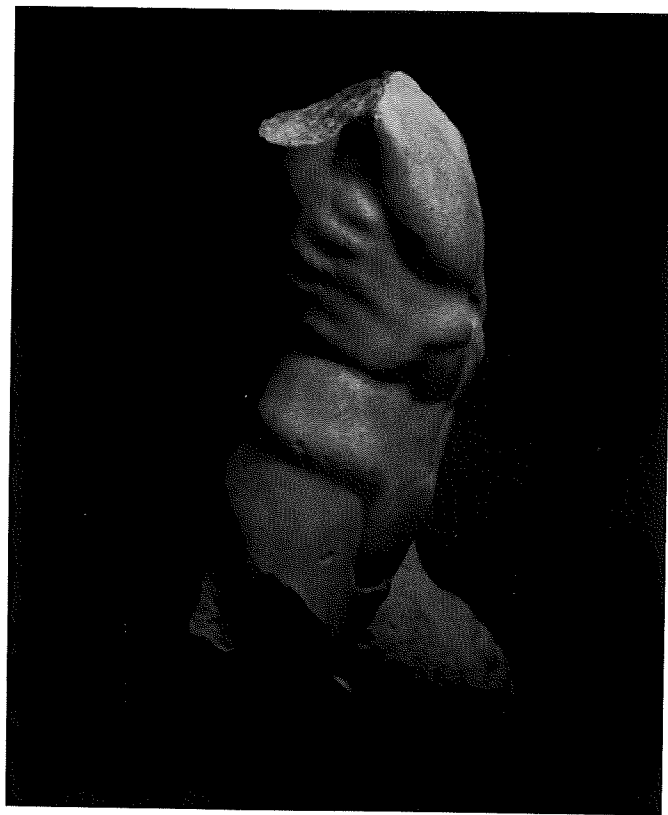
5) Devices that reveal variations in intensity of an electrical field: they work by setting off the alarm when a person or object goes through a magnetic field.

6) Magnet detectors: as it is possible to wipe out data registrations with magnets, this is one of the means most frequently used by saboteurs. Detectors show the presence of a magnet at a distance of nine metres.

7) ID card readers: these are placed at entrances and are linked by door-opening devices which work by reading a magnetic card belonging to an authorised person whose code is registered.

8) Closed circuit television: these are situation in the key points to be controlled. They usually transmit images to a central control post and usually cover different areas of the establishment.

9) Theft indicators: objects that can be removed (such as tapes, discs, etc) are marked with a special substance (as happens with books in some bookshops today), and the alarm goes off when they pass a special instrument near the exit.



FIRES

This is the easiest form of sabotage and thus is among the things borne in mind by whoever organises the security system for computers.

The contrivances used are:

- a) air vents built in such a way as to make the passage of flames more difficult;
- b) apparatus spread out in such a way as to reduce probability of it all being damaged by fire;
- c) no data or inflammable material kept near computers;
- d) manual extinguishers;
- e) automatic antifire devices;
- f) smoke detectors;
- g) emergency buttons;
- h) important data kept in fire-proof cupboards in vaults;
- i) backup data is always kept somewhere outside the building;
- m) all backup copies of the programmes are also kept outside the building;
- n) provisions for the immediate installation of a replacement computer are made in the case of the complete destruction of the first.

SABOTAGE

It is not necessary for the attack to take place directly on the computer. The damage can be just as serious even if it has come about indirectly.

Violent sabotage carried out from outside the building (using explosives for example), can only be considered in extreme (infrequent) cases in which the room has a communicating wall with the outside.

It is easier to work out how the plants that allow for the computer's functioning are laid out: the airconditioning, electrical transformers, communication lines, main power supply, etc.

It is usually possible for saboteurs to inject gas or inflammable liquid into the air conditioning plants which can explode on reaching the air conditioner, causing considerable damage.

The communication lines are the most exposed. They are usually protected and also duplicated, but they can be identified and easily destroyed. The connections are in a reinforced cupboard, but one that is certainly not indestructible.

Often these subsidiary aspects of the computer are camouflaged but cannot be completely protected. The mainline power supply for example is always unprotected and the lines leading from this are clearly indicated and are easily recognisable.

A few things should be said concerning wiping or destroying registrations with the use of magnets. First of all, this is a question of "internal" sabotage that can be carried out by people working inside the structure housing the information system, or it must be a question of structures that have no protection at all. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that for data to be completely wiped out it is necessary for a permanent magnet to be placed at a distance of not more than 16cm from the surface to be erased. If it is an electromagnet, even if it is very strong the distance must be no more than 30 centimetres. One can see therefore that this kind of sabotage is less simple than it might seem at first glance. It should also be noted that in the more important complexes there are always magnet detectors installed above the entrances and close to the tape stores.

The use of strong electromagnetic radiation from outside can cause minimal damage to either data processing or to the recordings, but these errors can now be isolated and corrected. Moreover the radiation must be over 1 Volt/metre in intensity.

It goes without saying that once inside the plant, practically touching the computer or the stores of tapes and discs, the sabotage takes quite a different direction, and methods of defence are practically useless. That is why, basically, the thing most to be borne in mind by all the defence systems of such plants is precisely controlling all those who have access to the building in question.

FLOODING

Something just as dangerous for the computer can be water. Flooding can destroy systems and render data useless.

For this reason water extinguishers are hardly ever used in the computing rooms, although they are better and less expensive than carbon nitrate or Halon ones.

The route usually chosen for flooding is the air-conditioning plants.

Other places where water can filter, especially in plants in establishments that are not isolated are: the attic, side entrances, the floor (if there is a cellar).

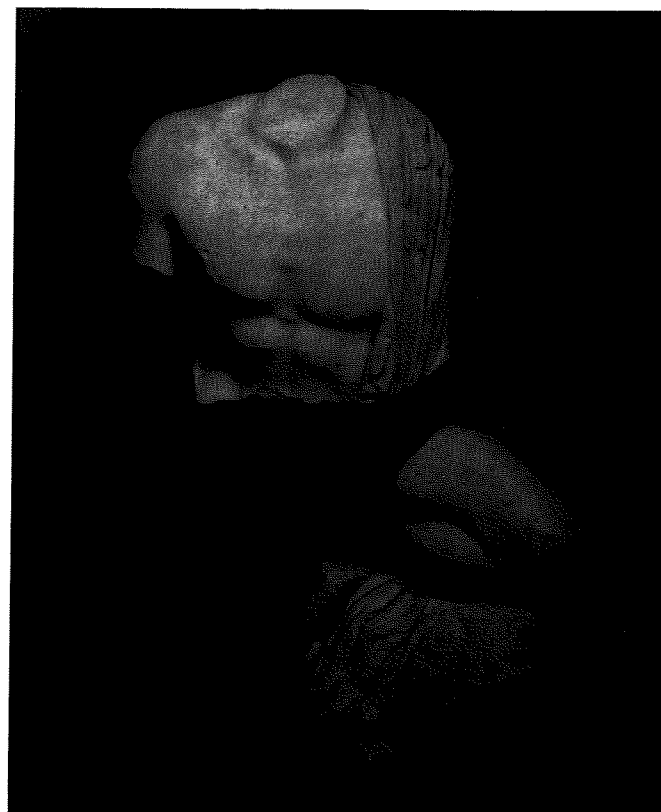
Water damage does not only concern the computer and data but also causes shortcircuits that can affect the whole apparatus.

"HACKING"

Computerised systems have become increasingly vulnerable to electronic penetration. This can be with a simple interceptor or a sophisticated terminal. With the dramatic increase in the use of personal computers and domestic terminals (more than three million in the USA in 1985) even an amateur can penetrate most computerised systems. Whoever wants to can intercept transmissions of information from the lines of a system and also take over the file from a central computer.

INTERFERENCE

The commonest and the oldest of the systems of sabotage used. The apparatus required to intercept



other lines is easily accessible and can be acquired in any computer shop. It is:

- a good microphone
- an Am-Fm radio
- a modern modulator-demodulator
- a computer terminal with printer.

It is enough to link up directly by telephone, naturally after having overcome the password which is often not impossible.

PUTTING UNDER CONTROL

The microphone is placed in a computer installation. The aim is to intercept the oral communications between operators. The system is simple. The thing can supply precious information concerning the information system, its personnel, security, codes of access, etc.

MASKING

One enters the system taking on the identity of an authorised user. Systems that do not have a way of identifying the users and installations are often vulnerable to this.

To put the system of penetration called "masking" into effect, one can have recourse to putting pressure on an authorised user, or take the password from a document or report. This is often possible even among discarded papers.

READING IN DRIBLETS

The entry, once authorised, can take a short time. That is, the intruder can avoid staying a long time, identifying the whole content gradually until he finds the information that seems to be most important.

THE DUSTBIN

In this case the carelessness of personnel who should be destroying surplus registered information can be exploited.

BUGGING

One exploits the radiation generated by the processor in the central computer through the telephone or through other receivers or microwaves. These interceptions are difficult to decipher as the signals can come out in a confused way due to a particular defence system inserted within the system itself.

CATCHING OFF GUARD

One exploits any delay, mistake or omission